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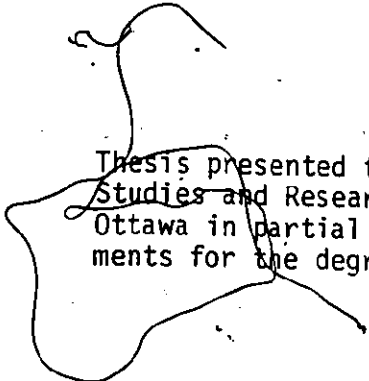
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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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THE CREATION OF A ROMANIZED ELITE IN SPAIN

by Leonard A. Curchin



Thesis presented to the School of Graduate
Studies and Research of the University of
Ottawa in partial fulfilment of the require-
ments for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Ottawa, Canada, 1981

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Note: Names of classical authors, journals and standard reference works are abbreviated according to the system in The Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1970), ix-xxii. In addition, the following abbreviations should be noted:

<u>AEA</u>	<u>Archivo Español de Arqueología.</u>
<u>AHAM</u>	<u>Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval.</u>
Albertos, <u>OPP</u>	M.L. Albertos Firmat, <u>La onomástica personal primitiva de Hispania Tarraconense y Bética.</u> Salamanca, 1966.
Alföldy, <u>Fasti</u>	G. Alföldy, <u>Fasti Hispanienses.</u> Wiesbaden, 1969.
Alföldy, <u>Flamines</u>	G. Alföldy, <u>Flamines provinciae Hispaniae citerioris.</u> Madrid, 1973.
<u>ANRW</u>	<u>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt.</u>
<u>Arq. Port.</u>	<u>O Arqueólogo Português.</u>
Badian, <u>FC</u>	E. Badian, <u>Foreign Clientelae 264-70 B.C.</u> Oxford, 1958.
<u>Bol. Aur.</u>	<u>Boletín Auriense.</u>
<u>BRAH</u>	<u>Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia.</u>
Cheesman, <u>Auxilia</u>	G.L. Cheesman, <u>The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army.</u> Hildesheim, 1971.
<u>CIP</u>	"Corpus Inscriptionum Palentinorum (sic)" in L. Sagredo San Eustaquio and S. Crespo Ortiz de Zarate, <u>Epigrafía romana de la provincia de Palencia.</u> Palencia, 1978.
De Laet, <u>Samenstelling</u>	S. De Laet, <u>De Samenstelling van den Romeinischen Serraat.</u> Antwerpen, 1941.
<u>EJER</u>	A. D'Ors, <u>Epigrafía jurídica de la España romana.</u> Madrid, 1953.
<u>ERAe</u>	L. García Iglesias, <u>Epigrafía romana de Augusta Emerita.</u> Madrid, 1973.
<u>EResp.</u>	<u>Les empereurs romains d'Espagne.</u> Paris,

ERLérida

1965.

F. Lara Peinado, Epigrafía romana de Lérida. Lérida, 1973.

ERZaragoza

G. Fatás and M.A. Martín Bueno, Epigrafía romana de Zaragoza y su provincia. Zaragoza, 1977.

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FC

J. Alarcão and R. Etienne, eds., Fouilles de Conimbriga, 7 vols. Paris, 1974-79.

Gil

O. Gil Farrés, La moneda hispánica en la edad antigua. Madrid, 1966.

Gorges, Villas

J.-G. Gorges, Les villas hispano-romaines. Paris, 1979.

HAep.

Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica.

Heiss, Monnaies

A. Heiss, Description générale des monnaies antiques d'Espagne. Paris, 1870.

Hisp. Ant.

Hispania Antiqua.

ILER

J. Vives, Inscripciones latinas de la España romana. Barcelona, 1971-72.

Inv.

Inventory number at the Archaeological Museum, Mérida.

IRG

Inscripciones romanas de Galicia, 4 vols. Santiago, 1949-68.

IRLugo

F. Arias Vilas et al, Inscriptions romaines de la province de Lugo. Paris, 1979.

Kajanto, Cognomina

I. Kajanto, The Latin Cognomina. Helsinki, 1965.

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R.C. Knapp, Aspects of the Roman Experience in Iberia. Vitoria/Valladolid, 1977.

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- Legio VII Gemina
León, 1970.
- MCV
Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez.
- MM
Madrid. Mitteilungen.
- NAH
Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico.
- Nicolet, Ordre équestre
 C. Nicolet, L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine, 2 vols. Paris, 1966-74.
- OCD²
The Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1971.
- Palomar Lapesa, Onomástica
 M. Palomar Lapesa, La onomástica personal pre-latina de la antigua Lusitania. Salamanca, 1957.
- PAPS
Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.
- Pastor, Los Astures
 M. Pastor Muñoz, Los Astures durante el imperio romano. Oviedo, 1977.
- PB
 C. Castillo, Prosopographia Baetica, 2 vols. Pamplona, 1965.
- Pflaum, Carrières
 H.-G. Pflaum, Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain. Paris, 1960-61.
- p. H. c.
provincia(e) Hispania(e) citerior(is)
- RIT
 G. Alföldy, Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco. Madrid, 1975.
- Schulze, Eigennamen
 W. Schulze, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen. Berlin, 1966.
- SPAW
Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Stech, Senatores
 B. Stech, Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum. Leipzig, 1912.
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 A. Stein, Der römische Ritterstand. München, 1927.
- Syme, RP
 R. Syme, Roman Papers, ed. E. Badian, 2 vols. Oxford, 1979.
- Thouvenot, Essai²
 R. Thouvenot, Essai sur la province romaine de Bétique, 2nd ed. Paris, 1973.

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aricas hasta la dominación arabe. Madrid,
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on. Oxford, 1977.

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sity, 1968.

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Ritter aus den hispanischen Provinzen.
Diss. Freiburg, 1971.

Wiseman, New Men

T.P. Wiseman, New Men in the Roman Senate.
Oxford, 1971.

ZPE

Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One of the bulwarks of the Roman Empire was the presence in the provinces of a romanized élite -- persons of high status who espoused the Roman cause (if only for personal gains) and provided a nucleus of Romanity in nearly every community. But where did this romanized élite come from? Did it emerge full-fledged or develop gradually? What sort of persons comprised it, and what was their social background? These are important questions, worthy of investigation in each province and in the Empire as a whole; yet surprisingly little has been achieved in this field. The deficiency is partly attributable to the practical difficulties posed by the diverse nature of the evidence. Yet the evidence is not insurmountable: indeed, it is less of an obstacle than the apathy or defeatism for which it is even nowadays the excuse.¹ The answer to the question, "Who were the élite?" could and should have been determined long ago through the medium of prosopography. But prosopographers have generally limited themselves to matters of loftier concern, the careers of senators and equestrian officials, most of whom left their native provinces in the course of their careers. Where are the prosopographies of the municipal magistrates, who constitute the largest attested segment of the élite in the Roman West? Without investigating

¹ E.g. G.P. Burton, JRS 66 (1976), 254-55.

the nature of the local provincial hierarchy we can never hope to understand the provincial élite or their romanization. The same principle holds true for the religious and commercial élites.

In the past few years some steps have been taken to address the problem of the provincial élite. Articles have been written on the local élites of Africa and Gallia Comata, as well as (on a more general level) the Empire as a whole.² Such studies, if not definitive, provide a starting-point for discussion of the élite, at least in those provinces which have been investigated. Obviously, parallel inquiries must be undertaken in the remaining provinces to complete the picture. Among those areas not yet treated, one of the most glaring omissions is Spain, Rome's earliest continental province. The present study aims to redress this deficiency by examining the nature, composition and origins of the élite in Spain during the romanizing period, i.e. the Late Republic and Early Empire.³

The first problem is to identify the élite. This has necessitated the compilation of a prosopographical catalogue listing all members of the élite according to their municipal and regional affiliations. The catalogue not only tells us who were the individual members of the élite, but also forms the data-base for computations of collective identity. It is the sine qua non of this study, and may also be found

² Africa: J.E. Iffie, Museum Africum 5 (1976), 36-58. Gaul: J.F. Drinkwater, Latomus 37 (1978), 817-50; idem, Britannia 10 (1979), 89-100. Empire: P.A. Brunt in Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine (Paris, 1976), 161-73. There are also articles on the Late Empire, which does not concern us here.

³ The Frankish invasions of ca. 260-85 provide a logical and convenient terminus ante quem for this study.

useful by other investigators, since it presents for the first time a complete prosopography of the élite of Roman Spain.⁴

The two remaining problems are less tractable: to determine where the élite originated, and how their romanization was realized. The methodology adopted here has been to analyze the contents of the catalogue in an attempt to discern patterns bearing on these problems. Many questions remain, but it is hoped that the results of this analysis will shed some light on the problems. In our understanding of the provincial élites we are still infants, and each step forward is a notable achievement.

Before presenting the analysis and the catalogue, it is necessary for us to define what is meant by "élites" and "romanization", and to explain why a regional approach has been adopted for this study. These matters are treated in the sections which follow.

The Concept of an Elite

Elites have been defined as "functional, mainly occupational, groups which have high status (for whatever reason) in a society."⁵ The number of élites in a society, then, depends on the number of func-

⁴ There have previously been prosopographical studies of Spanish senators and knights (R. Wiegels, Die römischen Senatoren und Ritter aus den hispanischen Provinzen bis Diokletian (Diss. Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, 1971)), of the flamines of Tarraconensis (G. Alföldy, Flamines provinciae Hispaniae citerioris (Madrid, 1973)), and of the élite of Baetica (C. Castillo, Prosopographia Baetica (Pamplona, 1965)). Important as these works are, they touch only selected segments of the Spanish elite. Moreover, Wiegels and Castillo are not available in libraries in North America.

⁵ T.B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (Harmondsworth, 1966), 14.

tional groups; but since some groups are more important to society than others, their élites have greater social impact. These ultra-élites are sometimes termed "strategic élites" or "power élites",⁶ but they are more often referred to generically (if inaccurately) as "the" élite. It is this collective élite with which we are concerned in the present study, and it should be understood as the aggregate of five theoretically distinct functional élites -- political, military, religious, economic, and intellectual -- which in practice are often interconnected since they react socially and functionally with one another, and since one person may belong concurrently or consecutively to more than one of them.

The structure of the Roman senatorial and equestrian cursus honorum made military and religious offices normal and often necessary rungs on the ladder. Similarly at the municipal level it was common for magistrates to have held a priesthood and sometimes military rank. Intellectuals, known to us chiefly from the survival of their writings, were usually already members of the political élite, whose ideas tended to shape society.⁷

It is equally difficult to separate the political and commercial élites. Wealth was both the prerequisite and the reward for political

⁶ Ibid., chapter 2; S. Keller, Beyond the Ruling Class (New York, 1963), 20 et passim.

⁷ "The ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas": K. Marx and F. Engels, Die deutsche Ideologie (1846), reprinted in Karl Marx, Selected Writings, ed. T.B. Bottomore and M. Rubel (Harmondsworth, 1961), 93. Cf. Dio Cass. fr. 110.3: "The subject class tends always to be modelled after the opinions of its rulers" (πέφθηκεν γὰρ ὡς ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰς γνώμας τῶν ἀρχόντων τυποῦσθαι καὶ τὸ ὑποχέριον).

and military offices. There were fixed property qualifications for entry to the upper classes (senatorial and equestrian); municipal magistrates were expected to provide certain public services from their own pockets. Property ownership also meant control of the means of production. The owners of latifundia and mines would normally have been de facto senators or knights. It is this overlapping of élites which allows us to think of "the" élite as a corporate entity.

Social Mobility and Career Progression

The term "social mobility" refers to the movement of persons from one social position to another. When applied to the upper levels of society, social mobility is also known as "circulation of élites". The opposite of social mobility is social stratification, in which no circulation is permitted. Elites may be classified as "open" or "closed" depending on the degree of mobility which they allow. We may distinguish two basic types of social mobility: vertical (from one social stratum or "class" to another) and horizontal (from one social group to another in the same class).⁸

The Roman social hierarchy was based on wealth. Membership in the two upper classes, senatorial and equestrian, depended upon a property qualification. The third class comprised those free men -- for slaves were not considered persons -- who could not meet the equestrian census. Naturally within each class some men were richer than others (and in the third class there were also different levels of citizenship), but

⁸ P.A. Sorokin, Social Mobility (New York, 1927), 133.

the three classes constituted the basic social structure. Vertical mobility therefore involved movement from one of these three classes to another. This is an important point, because in the provinces, unlike at Rome, the élite was not confined to the two upper classes. Whereas the Roman Senate, by definition, consisted solely of those of the first class, the local "senate" in a provincial town consisted of equestrians and lower. Indeed, admission to the Roman Senate or to an equestrian appointment often removed a man from his home province. So the provincial élite cannot be defined in terms of class, nor admission to it in terms of social mobility; rather, it comprised persons in all three classes, with the third class outnumbering the others except in the larger cities (e.g. Gades with its five hundred knights). But within the élite, social mobility did occur and is important for our study.

In considering circulation of the provincial élite, we must note a distinction between two allied but different processes, social mobility and career progression. By career progression we mean the pursuit of the cursus in one or more social strata (senatorial, equestrian or sub-equestrian). It could involve horizontal or vertical mobility or both, but it did not necessarily imply either. A member of the political elite in a provincial town who held several local magistracies but did not become a knight or belong to any other élite group was not mobile. Similarly, social mobility did not necessarily involve career progression. A landowner or decurion who obtained the equestrian census would move into a different social stratum without advancing in the cursus.

The distinction is of great importance when we come to consider channels of advancement. Vertical mobility was economic, career progression occupational. Movement between classes depended upon wealth, and no per-

son however talented could advance to a higher class without possessing the necessary census. In practice, vertical mobility and career progression sometimes went hand-in-hand: in the course of holding various offices in the cursus, the individual might amass the necessary property qualification for mobility to a higher stratum.

The Concept of Romanization

Romanization may be defined as the process of assimilation by which a non-Roman people, territory or socio-cultural element (such as law, art, government or religion), or any part thereof (e.g. an individual or group of persons, or a specific art form) becomes increasingly similar to, or associated with, its Roman counterpart. The process of romanization is complete when total assimilation is achieved.

Provincial romanization was neither instantaneous nor simple. Many years, usually centuries, were required to create a romanized province. But once the transformation was complete, the inhabitants would be so fully assimilated with the Romans as to be practically indistinguishable from them; indeed, they could be considered Romans.⁹

There is no definitive method of measuring romanization, but a very useful indicator is provided by institutions. A romanized province will have adopted Roman institutions in place of the pre-Roman ones. Therefore, the more Roman institutions we find in a province or district, the

⁹ Strabo (3.2.15) describes the Turdetanians of Baetica as being on the verge of achieving this ultimate stage of romanization, while the inhabitants of the Ebro Valley and Celtiberia are called togati (3.4.20). The assimilation was, however, mutual: Roman soldiers who had been stationed for a long time in Spain actually became hispanized and were considered provincials (Caes. BCiv. 1.44, 1.86; BAlex. 53).

more romanized we should expect its inhabitants to be. Yet equally important is the depth to which these institutions have penetrated the local cultures; otherwise the adoption even of several institutions might represent but a thin veneer over an essentially unromanized society. Thorough romanization, then, requires profound implantation of a plurality of institutions. This is not to say that a romanized province will necessarily have all the institutions that might be found at Rome: some Roman customs, trappings and procedures were anachronistic, others appropriate only to the Imperial capital. But such institutions as a romanized province does have, will by definition be Roman. The major institutions, in our estimation (and in no particular order), are as follows:

1. Roman language (including Latin speech, script and nomenclature);
2. Roman law;
3. Roman religion;
4. Roman citizenship;
5. Roman art and architecture; and
6. Roman municipal government.

We submit that any province which had adopted these basic institutions in place of the corresponding pre-Roman ones, would be effectively romanized.

The factors contributing to the romanization of Spain, as formulated by L. Pareti and J.M. Blázquez, are as follows:¹⁰

¹⁰ J.M. Blázquez, *Hispania* 24 (1964), 5-26, 166-84, 325-57, 485-508; *idem*, *La romanización*, II (Madrid, 1975), 19-20 *et passim*.

1. the presence of the Roman army in the Peninsula;
2. the creation of Italian centres, beginning in the time of Scipio, and later of colonies;¹¹
3. the granting of citizenship rights, chiefly by Caesar;
4. the administration introduced by Rome;
5. the construction of roads;
6. the use of Latin as an official language, initially spoken by the army only and later by the upper classes;
7. commerce;
8. the presence of Spanish troops in the Roman army; and
9. the influence on the inhabitants of great Roman personalities in the Peninsula.

To these we would add:

10. the influence of Roman and Italian immigration to Spain;
11. the penetration of Roman religion;
12. the influence of Roman education and literature;
13. the influence of imported manufactured goods, objets d'art, and technologies;
14. reports brought back to Spain by natives who had visited Italy; and
15. the intermarriage of Italians and Spaniards.

Not all of these factors are directly relevant to the romanization of the élite, but all contributed to the romanized atmosphere in which

¹¹ Perhaps the Romans also created new towns for indigenous peoples: cf. Knapp, Roman Experience 159-60.

it functioned.¹²

The Romanized Elite: Problems, Evidence and Approach

In any romanized province, the élite were among the first to be romanized. They therefore formed an essential nucleus for the romanization of the province. Elite romanization was encouraged by the Roman conquerors, for the most part conservative men convinced of the effectiveness of aristocracy. If existing local élites were willing to collaborate with the new administration, so much the better; after all, they were the traditional, experienced leaders of the community, and their co-operation would help effect a smooth transition to romanization. It was only common sense, then, that they should be given a share in the government of the town, the province, the Empire. And it was only common sense for the conquered to accept this role; those who resisted would be replaced by others more acceptable to the régime.

This policy worked better in principle than in practice, where disruptive factors intervened. Many of the old élite had been killed in the wars of conquest or in subsequent revolts. Other aristocratic lines may have died out through dearth of offspring. Individual members of the élite moved away, either to serve the Romans or to flee them.

¹² Obviously the wider issues of romanization cannot be explored in any detail here. For Spain the three most useful works dealing expressly with romanization are: C. Sánchez Albornoz, "Proceso de la romanización de España de los Escipiones hasta Augusto", *AHAM* 1 (1949), 5-35; A. García y Bellido, "La latinización de Hispania", *AEA* 40 (1967), 3-29; J.M. Blázquez, *La romanización*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1974-75). Knapp, *Roman Experience* is helpful on the early period, to 100 B.C. For a fuller bibliography consult J.M. Blázquez in *Legio VII Gemina*, 66 n. 4, and *Bibliografía España Romana III*, ed. S. Crespo Ortiz de Zarate and L. Sagredo, San Eustaquio (Valladolid, 1976), 56-73.

These persons would have to be replaced. For the Romans, then, it was not simply a matter of romanizing the old élite; in many cases it was no longer intact. A romanized élite had therefore to be created from both old and new elements. It is the historian's task to inquire who these élite were, where they came from, and how their romanization was achieved.

Such questions could be applied to any Roman province. We have selected Spain, for two reasons: first, because the early Roman presence in some parts of the Peninsula but not in others produced varying degrees of romanization which conveniently enable us to observe successive stages in the formation of a romanized élite; and second, because Spain is an area in which very little work of this nature has so far been undertaken. The amount of surviving evidence on the élite of Roman Spain is in fact quite impressive. Since this evidence forms the basis of our study, its character and limitations must be clearly understood at the outset. It may be divided into five main categories:

1. Inscriptions. These are very numerous, and mostly of Imperial date. They are our best source for identifying the Spanish élite of the Principate. Information from inscriptions allows us to reconstruct careers and genealogies, and sometimes gives indications of personal wealth.
2. Coins. These are also numerous, and generally earlier in date, beginning at the end of the second century B.C. and continuing into the reign of Gaius. The information they provide is succinct -- usually just a name and title -- and it is sometimes

difficult to date them. However, the coins are crucial for filling in the gap between the pre-Roman élite named in literary sources and the romanized élite of the inscriptions. They thus cover much of the formative period of romanization.

3. Literary sources. These refer chiefly to the pre-Roman élite in their early encounters with the Romans. The most useful authors for our purpose are Polybius, Livy, Appian, Dio Cassius and Caesar. Members of the Spanish élite are occasionally mentioned in contemporary or later authors, e.g. the two Senecas, the two Plinys, and Tacitus.
4. Architecture. Hundreds of villae rusticae attest the agrarian interests of the élite and the wealth derived from praedia exploitation. Roman town houses survive in a few cities, revealing the luxury of urban life for the élite. The size and grandeur of tombs and of gravestones are also indicative of the financial standing of the élite.
5. Pottery stamps. These sometimes give clues as to the main commercial producers. The provenance of such pottery (particularly amphorae) throughout the Empire shows the range and profitability of such enterprises. Unfortunately the producers' names are often reduced to the merest abbreviations, and there is not infrequently doubt as to whether the name on a pot refers to the owner of the estate or to the potter.

Most of this evidence is readily accessible. The literary sources are well known. The coins have been the subject of two comprehensive studies,¹³ and the pottery stamps have been catalogued.¹⁴ The villas have recently been studied in admirable detail,¹⁵ although there is as yet no comprehensive analysis of tombs. The biggest problem is the inscriptions: the last (and only) supplement to CIL II was published in 1892, and much time and trouble are required to track down the inscriptions published in the past ninety years in scattered, sometimes obscure journals and monographs (many of them unknown to the editors of l'Année épigraphique). And hundreds of unpublished inscriptions lurk in museum basements and private collections.

How can this evidence be used to determine the identity, origins and the extent and manner of romanization of the Spanish élite? Our approach must be dictated by the types of information provided by the evidence itself. Since most of the sources refer to individual members of the élite, our first task is individual-oriented, i.e. prosopographical: all the information on these individuals must be organized into a catalogue which will serve as a controllable data-base for further calculations. Each entry in the catalogue represents an individual. The entries might be arranged alphabetically, as in PIR; but since most élites

¹³ A. Vives, La moneda hispánica, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1926-28); O. Gil Farrés, La moneda hispánica en la edad antigua (Madrid, 1966).

¹⁴ Amphorae: M.H. Callender, Roman Amphorae (London, 1965); M. Beltrán Lloris, Las ánforas romanas en España (Zaragoza, 1970). Terra sigillata: M.A. Mezquíriz de Catalán, Terra sigillata hispánica (Valencia, 1961).

¹⁵ J.-G. Gorges, Les villas hispano-romaines (Paris, 1979).

are locally based we have found it preferable to group them in local units, alphabetically by town, within larger, regional divisions. This method allows us to witness relationships within communities which would not be apparent in a catalogue arranged by nomina. The entries within each local unit are arranged chronologically so far as possible.

The catalogue answers on an individual basis the first question, who were the élite? Moreover, by computing the number of individuals engaged in any specific élite role (municipal magistrate, priest, senator, landowner, etc.) we can determine the nature and composition of élite groups, and the interactions between them (since one person may belong to several different élites).

To determine the origins of the élite we must compare the nature and identity of the romanized élite (listed in the catalogue) with those of the pre-Roman élite (treated near the beginning of each chapter). We look for continuations of the titulary and nomenclature of the old aristocracy into the Roman period to indicate survival of the pre-Roman élite, and for innovations which may suggest new men and new élites. We can only claim limited success in this part of the investigation, but our findings suffice to demonstrate the variety of ethnic and social origins of the romanized élite.

Romanization of the élite can be gauged, as already suggested, by the extent to which they adopted Roman institutions: citizenship, names, municipal office, priesthood in a Roman cult, material culture (villas, mosaics, pottery), etc. The level of individual romanization is also indicated by the degree of social mobility (horizontal or vertical) into other romanized élites and higher social strata. In assessing career patterns and the spread of Roman institutions we get our

clearest insight into how romanization functioned, and how it spread, until the élite were, in varying measures, romanized.

We shall attempt to determine patterns of élite structure and romanization. Great caution is requisite here. We are limited by the amount (large but by no means exhaustive) of available evidence, whose survival is largely accidental. Sweeping generalizations are therefore seldom warranted or provable. We must especially beware the temptation to advance neat "functional" models which are so idealized as to bear little relation to the real people whose behaviour they pretend to describe.¹⁶ That is why we rely so heavily upon the actual careers of individuals, the variety of which provides fewer rules and more exceptions than one might like. The exceptions must not be ignored in favour of some dynamic but potentially fallacious theory.

We have also avoided the temptation to rely on supposed "parallels" from Italy and other provinces to explain the functioning and romanization of the élite in Spain. The folly of assuming that élite patterns in one province are the same as in its neighbour, or even consistent within itself, has recently been demonstrated.¹⁷ Regional trends must therefore be independently established before an overall pattern can legitimately be proposed.

The Impact of Geography

By virtue of its peninsular configuration and the barrier consti-

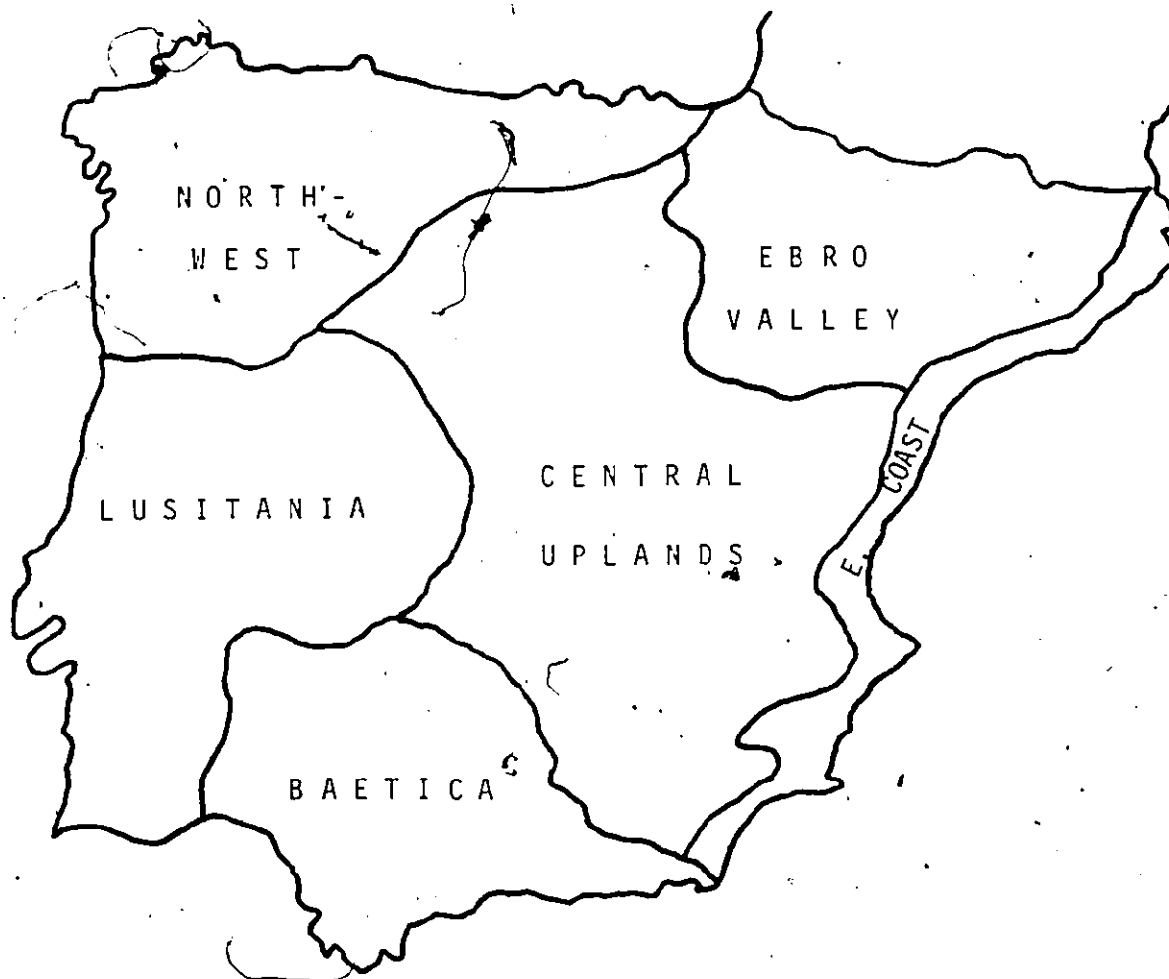
¹⁶ Cf. J. Boissevain, Friends of Friends (Oxford, 1974), 12-13.

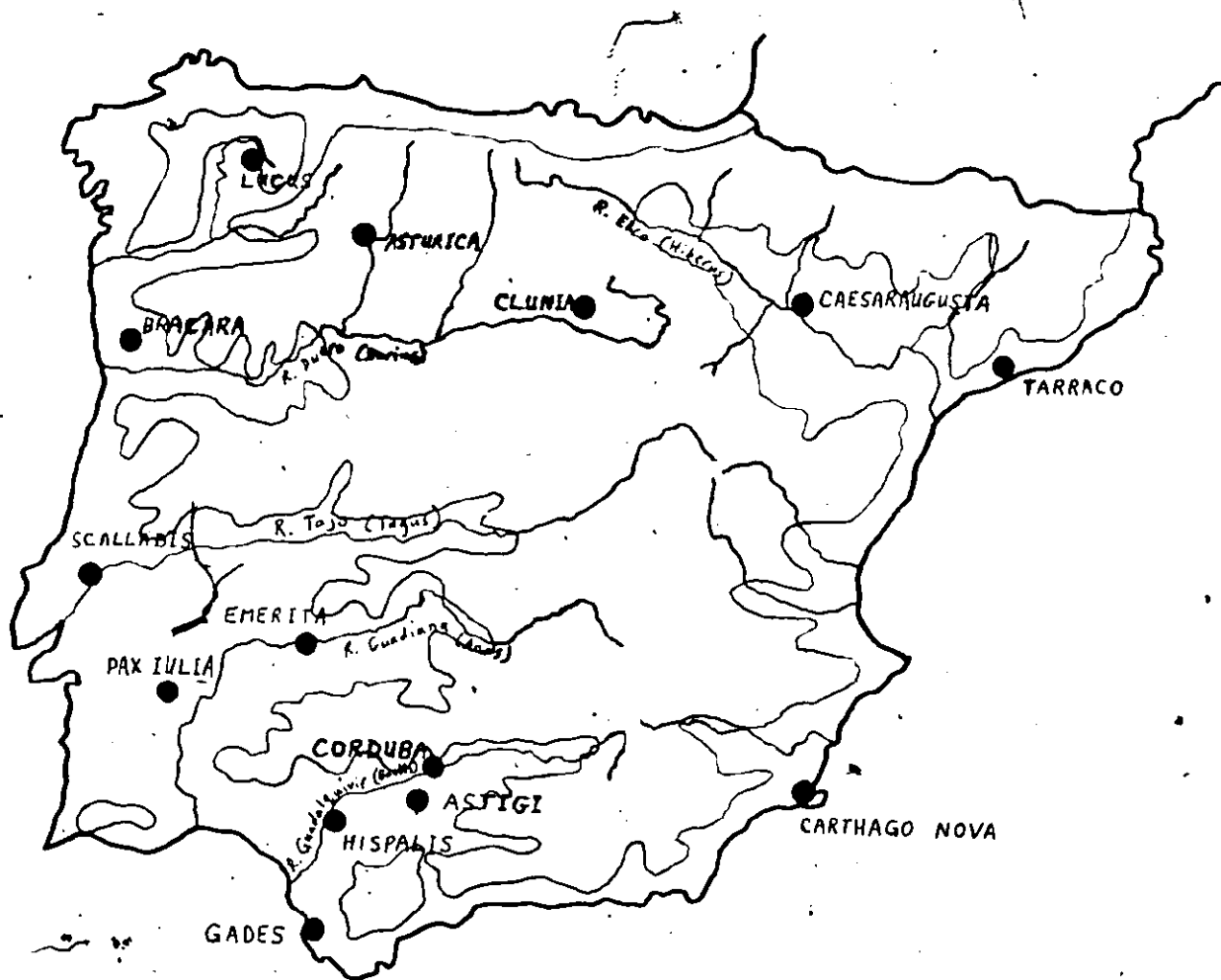
¹⁷ J.F. Drinkwater, Britannia 10 (1979), 89-100.

tuted by the Pyrenees which isolate it from the remainder of Europe, Spain has always been a peculiar geographic entity, a virtual sub-continent. Within the Peninsula, however, there are acute differences of elevation, climate, resources, soil and drainage which affect population patterns, racial distribution, language, culture, economy and communications. Additionally, proximity to Italy and accessibility of sea and land routes helped induce the Romans to visit, and eventually conquer, certain parts of Spain before others, and this chronological disparity had a corresponding effect on the romanization "schedule". For all these reasons, little would be achieved by considering the Spanish élite as a unified whole (indeed, it never was). A regional approach is therefore a more logical and profitable method of examining the subject, reflecting as it does both the geographical diversities of Spain and their impact on the nature, timing, extent and effectiveness of élite romanization.¹⁸

To arrive at a regional division, we may begin by distinguishing the rugged and largely barren (central plateau (Meseta) from the fertile coastline which encompasses it (see Map 1). The coastal strip may itself be split on a climatic basis into "wet" (the Atlantic seaboard) and "dry" (the Mediterranean seaboard). The valleys of the Guadalquivir and Ebro rivers have peculiar characteristics which set them apart, as does inhospitable Galicia. By these criteria one may identify six different geographical regions, which serve as the framework for our study of the

¹⁸ On the geography of ancient Spain, see e.g. M. Cary, The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History (Oxford, 1949), 231-43.

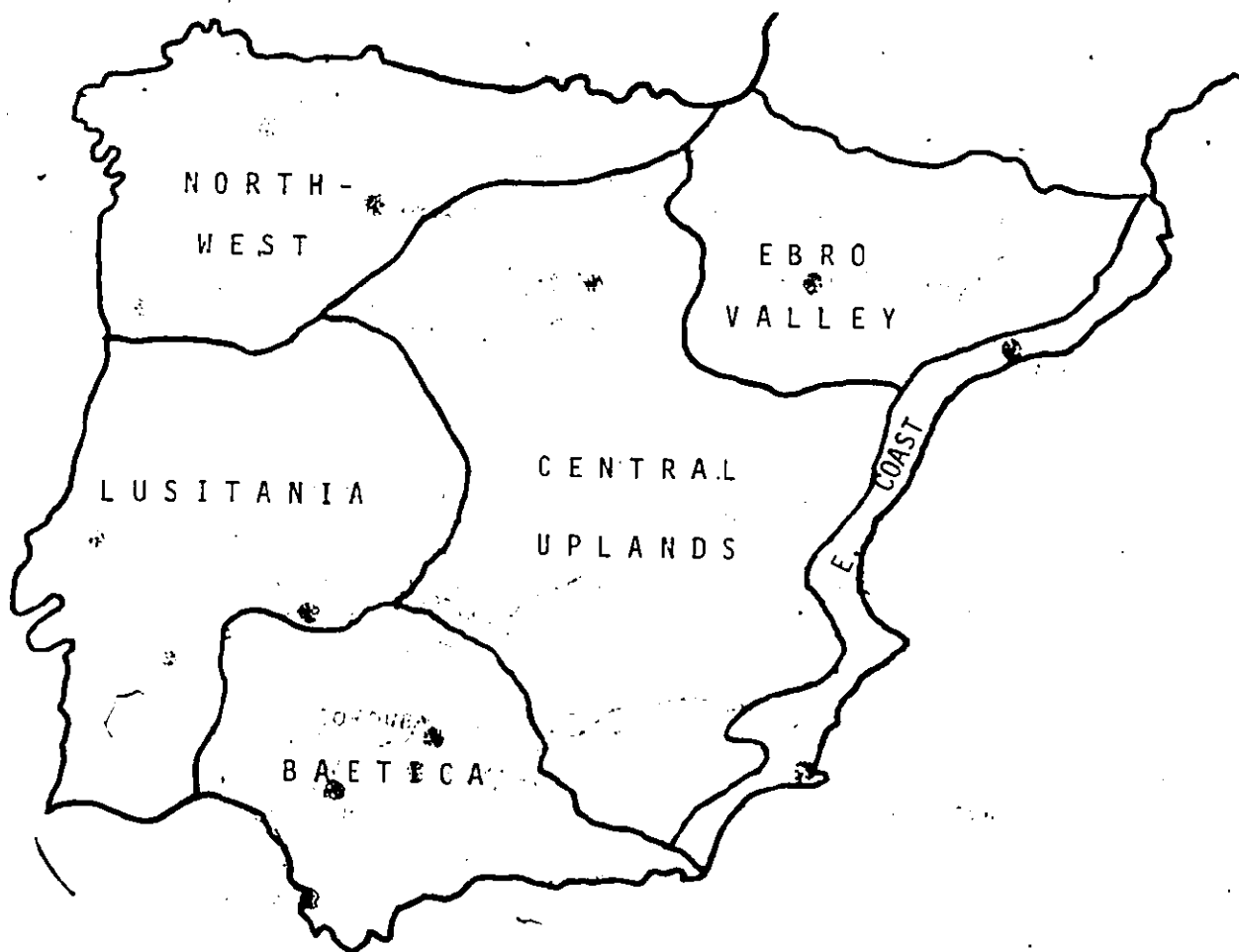




Scale - 1:7,000,000

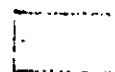
Elevations over 500 metres
shown thus: 

Map 1. SPAIN - GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS



Scale 1:2,000,000

Elevations over 800 metres
shown thus:



MAIN - GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

Spanish élite.¹⁹ Running clockwise from the south, these are as follows:

1. Baetica or Andalusia. The extensive basin of the lower Guadalquivir (ancient Baetis) is the most fertile region of Spain and very attractive to settlers. Its productivity is enhanced by its southerly latitude and consequent warm climate. The region is also rich in minerals. The adjacent coastline affords excellent fishing.
2. Lusitania, including most of modern Portugal and a small part of western Spain. The low-lying Atlantic coastal plain enjoys a mild, usually wet climate conducive to mixed agriculture and fishing. Minerals are an additional resource.
3. The North-West or Galicia. Cold, wet and rugged, this forbidding region was the last conquered by the Romans, its abundant mineral wealth being a prime attraction.
4. The Ebro Valley. The only major Spanish river flowing eastward provides not only a fertile agricultural basin but an important corridor of communication with the interior.

¹⁹ While the Roman provinces of Baetica and Lusitania correspond nicely with natural regions, the province of Tarraconensis contains so many geographical contrasts that it must be subdivided. Nor do the conventus of that province provide suitable divisions; the conventus Carthaginensis, for instance, includes such diverse locations as Madrid (some 600 m. above sea-level, in the heart of the Peninsula) and the Balearic Islands.

5. The East Coast. This temperate maritime strip is for the most part fertile, contains mineral deposits, and in addition offers several good port facilities.
6. The Central Uplands. The Meseta with its rugged mountain ranges and extreme, dry temperatures is given mostly to pasturage, the soil being very poor, especially in the north. The westward flow of the three major rivers in this region (Duero, Tajo, Guadiana) does not favour communication with the Mediterranean.

The next six chapters will consider the élite of each of these regions in turn. A concluding chapter will summarize and consolidate our findings.

CHAPTER 2

BAETICA

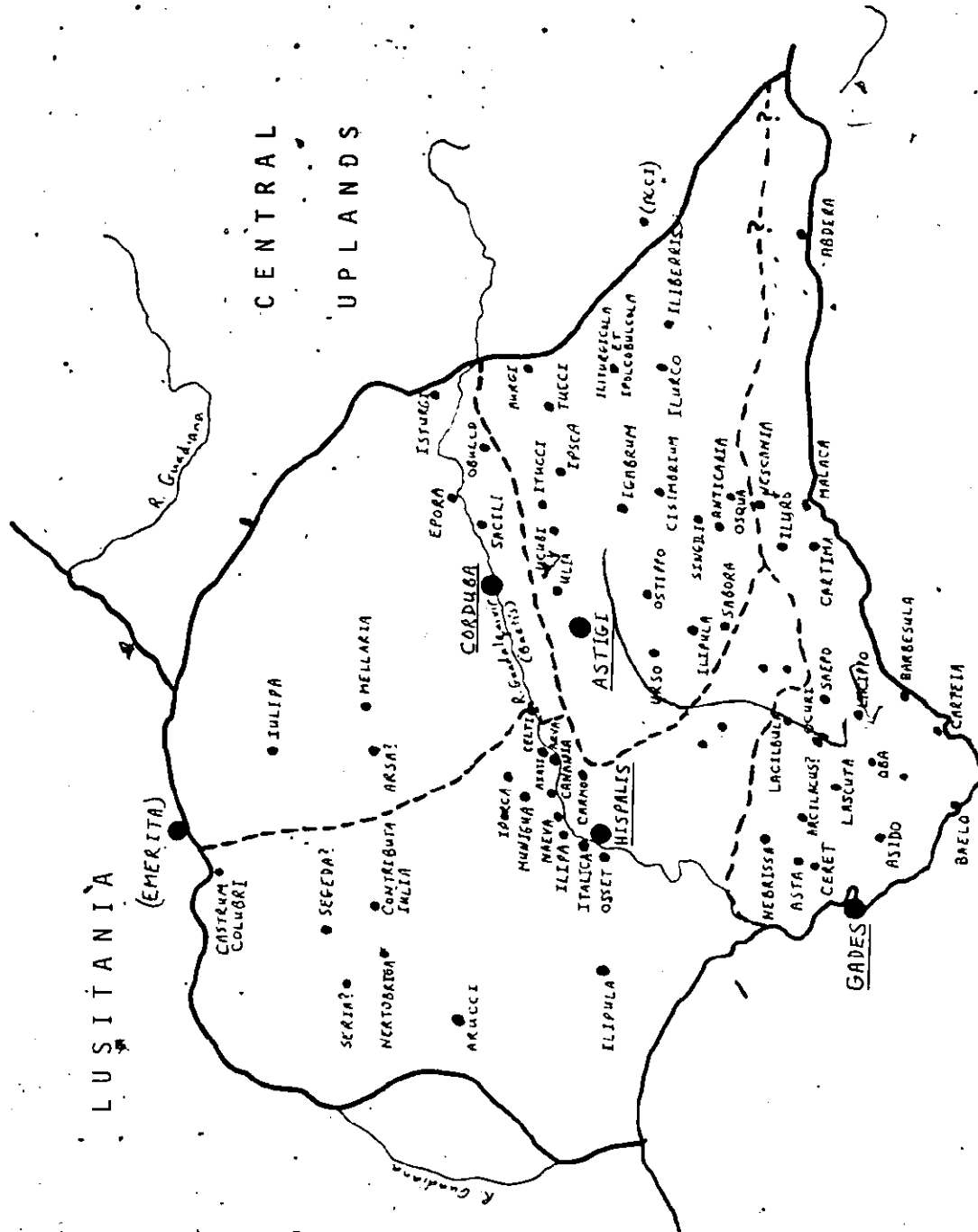
Baetica was created by Augustus' partition of Hispania Ulterior into two provinces (the other being Lusitania), at an unknown date.¹ Blessed with a mild winter climate, rich mineral resources, and the fertile valley of the river Baetis (now the Guadalquivir), Baetica had earlier been settled by Phoenicians and, to a smaller extent, Greeks.² Augustus divided it into four juridical districts (conventus) centred on the cities of Astigi, Corduba, Gades and Hispalis.³

The élite of this region antedate not only the Roman presence in Spain but also, if tradition be credited, the foundation of Rome itself. Mythological rulers such as Heracles and Geryon may at once, of course, be discounted. On the other hand, the monarchs of Tartessos (no doubt a real kingdom, which Avienus (Ora Maritima 269-70) identifies with Gades) may be genuine enough. Its most ancient king (rex vetustissimus) was Gargoris, who first discovered the secret of collecting honey (Just.

¹ Dio Cass. 53.12.4-5 dates the partition to 27 B.C., which seems too early. See R. Syme, AJPhil. 55 (1934), 300; *idem*, Rom. Rev. 326 n. 1, 395 n. 1; and for bibliography of earlier scholarship on the question, C. Sánchez Albornoz, BRAH 95 (1929), 375 n. 3.

² Recent bibliography: Thouvenot, Essai² 762-66. On archaeological evidence for the Phoenician presence see B.W. Treumann, Ancient World 1 (1978), 15-32.

³ On the meaning of conventus in this context see Knapp, Roman Experience 66 n. 8.



Map 2. BAETICA - GENERAL

Epit. 44.4.1). His successor Habis forbade the populus to perform menial labour, and divided the plebs into seven "cities" (ibid. 44.4.13). But surely the most renowned Tartessian king was Arganthonius, who ascended the throne at age forty and reputedly lived to age 120 or even 150.⁴

Centuries later we see that this kingdom had suffered a decline: the Tartessians, commanded now by Chalus, a mere chieftain (dux), were attacked and defeated by Hasdrubal Barca in 216 B.C. (Livy 23.26.6). Ten years afterwards, Turdetania (roughly western Baetica) was in the hands of Attenes, a petty king (regulus) who deserted with many followers from Hasdrubal son of Gisco at Baecula (Livy 28.15). The sufetes (Punic magistrates) of Gades (a Phoenician settlement allegedly older than Carthage) were crucified by Mago for refusing him entry that same year (Livy 28.37). And fifty of the chief men (ἀρχαῖοι) of Astapa, near the Straits, committed suicide by fire in order to escape capture by the Romans, also in 206 (App. Hisp. 33). We hear too of Phorcys and Arauricus, Baetican duces who fought on the side of Hannibal (Sil. Pun. 3.402-05).

The defeat of Hannibal did not end fighting in this region. The

⁴ Anacreon fr. 8 Bergk; Hdt. 1.163-67; Cic. Sen. 29; Val. Max. 8.13 ext. 4; Sil. Pun. 3.396-98; App. Hisp. 1.63; Phlegon (FGrH ii 257) F 37.98; J. Caro Barroja, Estudios sobre la España antigua (Madrid, 1971), 81-85. A. Garcia y Bellido, Hispania Graeca, I (Barcelona, 1948), 126-28 dates Arganthonius to the period 630-550 B.C., "segun los datos más prudentes y más verosímiles". C.H.V. Sutherland, The Romans in Spain (London, 1971), 105 postulates that Arganthonius owed his fame to the rich silver mines in the kingdom. The wealth of Tartessos is evidenced by the rich treasures of La Aliseda, Villena, etc. (A. Montenegro Duque, Historia de España, Edad Antigua, I (Madrid, 1972), 276-80). For Argant(h)onius as a genuine Celtic name, cf. Palomar Lapesa, Onomástica 40-41.

regulus Culchas, who had ruled 28 Turdetanian towns in 206 but had only 17 in 197, joined another regulus, Luxinius, in a revolt against the Romans in the latter year (Polyb. 11.20.3, 5; Livy 28.13.3, 33.21.7-8). In 179, when Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was besieging Cartima, a party of local ambassadors (legati) made an unsuccessful attempt to secure aid from neighbouring tribes; when Cartima finally surrendered, forty of her noblest knights (nobilissimi equites) were taken as a guarantee of loyalty (Livy 40.47). No doubt these and similar revolts in the period following the Second Punic War impeded the process of romanization in the new province of Ulterior.

The first trace of a romanized élite appears in 152 B.C., when Corduba was founded as a Roman "colony" (so Strabo 3.2.1, inaccurately) comprising picked men (ἐπιλεκτοὶ) of the Romans and of the indigenous population (τῶν ἐπιχωρῶν). By the latter expression, Strabo clearly means Iberians (in this case they would be Turdulians); our translation "indigenous" rather than "native" is deliberate and reflects a conceptual distinction which we shall maintain throughout.⁵ There is no indication (or even likelihood, at such an early date) that these Iberians were granted Roman citizenship, but they were evidently assimilated enough to participate in the new settlement as partners of the Romans. What made them "select" was clearly not their legal but their social status within the surrounding communities: in other words, the Romans implanted a cross-section of the local élite into the fabric of the new

⁵ Henceforth we shall arbitrarily use the term "indigenous" to refer to peoples of pre-Phoenician, pre-Greek, pre-Roman descent (the Iberians, Celtiberians, etc.) and their cultures, and the term "native" to designate persons born in Spain (i.e. Hispani) regardless of racial origin.

town, which was soon to become (perhaps as a result of this successful fusion of Roman and indigenous elements) the administrative and cultural capital of the province.⁶

It is tempting but dangerous to accept Appian's testimony that C. Marcius of Italica (no. 231 in our Catalogue), who commanded the forces which attacked Viriathus in 143 B.C., was an Iberian. Against this identification are the twin objections that (1) provincials are nowhere else attested as commanders of Roman troops at this time; and (2) Italica, founded by Scipio Africanus in 206, had a largely Italian population, mostly army veterans. On both counts C. Marcius is likely to have been the son of an Italian soldier, although his mother may well have been Iberian, and to have been born at Italica.⁷ The explanation for Appian's apparent error may be that his source (Livy 53?) accurately but misleadingly called Marcius an Hispanus (one born in Spain).

The war with Viriathus was concluded in 140 through the treacherous actions of members of the Baetican élite. Three envoys from Urso (by name Audax, Ditalco and Minurus, alias Nicorontes) accepted bribes from the Romans to assassinate their comrade Viriathus (Diod. 33.21; App. Hisp. 74). This incident, however, gives less indication of romanization than of avarice.

Tentatively dated to the period ca. 120-90 is a series of bronze coins from Obulco (nos. 306-11) bearing the names of magistrates written in the "Tartessian" alphabet. Two of these names (L. Aemilius, M. Iuni-

⁶ Cf. Knapp, Roman Experience 124.

⁷ Ibid., 116.

us) are patently Latin, and a third (Co. Ni.) is probably Latin (i.e. Cornelius Niger?); the remainder (BODILCOS, INSANI, SISIREN) are apparently indigenous. The Obulco coinage represents an intermediate stage of romanization: half of the minting magistrates have adopted Roman names, but half have not; and the script is not yet Roman.

To the period 105-80 (as dated by a recent study) belong the gold torques, bracelets and other jewellery found in the modern province of Córdoba, which undoubtedly belonged to members of the local élite. The torques in particular suggest remnants of a warrior aristocracy.⁸

The picture presented by this disparate evidence is perhaps not as confusing as it might at first appear. Even allowing that the numismatic and archaeological evidence might be inaccurately dated, we can hardly expect romanization to have proceeded uniformly everywhere.

Italica was already romanized (or more correctly, italicized) by virtue of its Italian population. Corduba, settled in the mid-second century by the cream of the Iberians and Romans, was undoubtedly avant-garde in comparison with its Iberian neighbours: Obulco, still semi-romanized years later, lies only fifty kilometres away, while non-Roman jewellery persisted almost on the outskirts of the capital.

The first century B.C. sees a real acceleration in élite romanization. We may cite L. Cornelius Balbus Maior as the perfect if exceptional example of a Baetican parvenu: already a member of the local elite in his native Gades, he served in the war against Sertorius, became an officer on Caesar's staff, and finished as a consul at Rome; his

⁸ K. Raddatz, Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel (Berlin, 1969), pls. 5, 6, 49; and on the dating, p. 53.

career is discussed in detail in Appendix A.

Caesar, who had been quaestor in Ulterior in 68 and propraetor in 61-60, recognized the talents of provincials and especially Spaniards, several of whom became senators. The provincial élite regularly dined at his table (Suet. Iul. 48). Gades, home of the Balbi and a city already well on the road to romanization (Cic. Balb. 43), received the Roman citizenship in 49 B.C.⁹ The same year, every civitas of Farther Spain sent its magistratus principesque to a conference summoned by Caesar at Corduba (BCiv. 2.19).¹⁰ There were also many Roman citizens in the province at this time (ibid. 19-21). Prominent provincial leaders such as Annius Scapula of Corduba (no. 98) and T. Thorius of Italica (no. 232) played an active role in the political struggles of the Civil War, while Baetican ambassadors managed to get the provincial governor recalled in 48 B.C. (Dio Cass. 42.16.2). Magistrates with Roman names appear on the coinages of Baelo, Carteia, Onuba and Vesci. Not surprisingly we find newly romanized magistrates bearing the nomen Iulius.¹¹ At Urso, where the magistrates had adopted Roman names before the Civil War (e.g. L. Ap. Q. f. Dec., no. 403), Caesar executed those principes who opposed him in 45 B.C. (BHisp. 22) and apparently installed his own centurions as duumvirs (e.g. C. Vettius, no. 406). Envoys

⁹ Livy Epit. 110, cf. Caes. BCiv. 2.21; Dio Cass. 41.24.1. As C.E. Goodfellow notes, "one wonders how many were already Romans" (Roman Citizenship (Diss. Bryn Mawr, 1935), 55). Cf. G. Dipersia in Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Antica, I (Milano, 1972), 108-20.

¹⁰ The principes of Gades are mentioned again in BCiv. 2.20.

¹¹ E.g. P. Iulius of Carteia (no. 71), Cn. Iulius of Corduba (no. 97).

from other Baetican towns and tribes wisely submitted to the imperator (Dio Cass. 43.34.5, 43.35.1).

When Baetica became a separate province under Augustus, it had achieved no small degree of romanization. All attested members of the élite now bear Latin or latinized names. The equestrian rolls were replete with Spaniards: Strabo records five hundred knights at Gades, a figure matched only by Patavium in Italy (3.5.3); some of the five hundred were probably Italian settlers.¹² Chief among the sons of Gades was the younger Balbus, consul in 32 B.C. and the last Roman, apart from members of the Imperial family, ever to win a triumph (see Appendix A). Another well-to-do knight was Annaeus Seneca of Corduba, whose son later became Nero's chief adviser and had a hand in provincial appointments and the selection of Spanish senators (see Appendix B).

The citizenship was being extended as well. Under Caesar and Augustus the number of communities with Roman or Latin status rose sharply.¹³ While their immediate successors pursued a more cautious policy in extending the franchise,¹⁴ Vespasian granted the ius Latii to "all" of Spain (Pliny HN 3.30), or at any rate to a great many communities. By

¹² Nicolet, Ordre equestre 119-20 draws the bizarre conclusion that the five hundred knights "représentent, à notre avis, tous les parents, proches ou lointains, des véritables knights ceux qui ont reçu...le cheval public". But surely Strabo means five hundred men who met the equestrian census.

¹³ Out of 175 Baetican communities listed by Pliny (HN 3.7, referring to the period before A.D. 6), just under a third (55) were of Roman or Latin status.

¹⁴ Claudius gave municipal status to Baelo, and is alleged by a hostile source to have wanted to see all Spaniards, Gauls, Greeks and even Britons enfranchised (Sen. Apocol. 3.3).

the second century the Baetican élite were indubitably romanized, and from their ranks came knights, senators, and two emperors (Trajan and Hadrian: Appendix C).

The creation of this romanized élite was a more complicated process than the foregoing chronological summary might suggest. It was not just a question of securing the loyalty of the pre-Roman aristocrats, changing their names and teaching them Latin, although all these factors were involved to some extent. In Baetica we find, not simply a romanization of the existing élite, nor yet its wholesale replacement by an implanted Roman élite, but a gradual melding of pre-Roman élite and Italian immigrants (Hispanienses) over a period of several generations. Seneca, Trajan and Hadrian were all descendants of Italian families which had settled in Baetica at an unknown date.¹⁵ Some of the Hispanienses were already members of the Roman élite when they arrived; others were soldiers or tradesmen, whose progeny might later earn admission to one or more levels of elite membership. The Hispanienses were a crucial element in the evolution of a romanized élite in Spain. How and why they came is a question meriting closer scrutiny.

First and foremost, there were the Roman soldiers who fought in Hispania Ulterior during the Hannibalic and subsequent wars. Many returned to Italy or to other theatres of war, but many others settled in the pro-

¹⁵ Perhaps as merchants in the second century B.C.: R. Syme, Ktema 2 (1977), 378-79.

vince, whose soil was far superior to that of Central Italy.¹⁶ Military settlements such as Italica (founded in 206 B.C., and eventually given colonial status by Hadrian) became their domiciles.¹⁷ The original number of settlers is unknown, but by 171 B.C. Rome was induced to establish Carteia as a "freedman colony" for some 4000 half-breeds (hybridae), the offspring of Roman soldiers and Spanish women (Livy 43.3.1-4).¹⁸ By the mid-first century B.C. a large number of Italian soldiers, including the entire Second Legion, could be counted as provincials on the basis of their prolonged service in Farther Spain (BAlex. 53). The Civil Wars which ended the Republic created an unprecedented number of legionaries who had to be settled at the end of their service. To this end, Julius and Augustus Caesar each founded at least four colonies in Baetica.¹⁹ The wars of the Late Republic also produced a large number of displaced persons: political exiles, soldiers of defeated armies, and farmers dispossessed to provide land for the victors. Some of these refugees will undoubtedly have sought new homes in the fertile valley of

¹⁶ R. Syme, Colonial Elites (London, 1958), 10.

¹⁷ Italica was probably settled not by Roman citizens but by Italian allied troops: Knapp, Roman Experience 114.

¹⁸ Cf. A.J.N. Wilson, Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome (Manchester, 1966), 24-25; Knapp, Roman Experience 117-19; J.M. Roldán Hervás in Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte: Festschrift F. Vittinghoff (Wien, 1980), 163.

¹⁹ Julian: Hasta Regia, Hispalis, Ucubi, Urso. Augustan: Asido, Astigi, Traducta, Tucci. See F. Vittinghoff, Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus (Mainz, 1952), 1288-97; A. Tovar, Iberische Landeskunde, I: Baetica (Baden-Baden, 1974), s.vv. Another possible but problematic Caesarian colony is Baetis (Strabo 3. 2.1; cf. M.I. Henderson, JRS 32 (1942), 13)

the Baetis.²⁰

Other Italians came specifically in pursuit of profit. Contractors (redemptores) had been engaged to supply the Roman forces in Spain during the Hannibalic war. The frugal Cato sent some of them home in 195, preferring to live off the land (Livy 34.9.12); but even at the end of the Republic the army relied on Italian supplies furnished by contractors.²¹ Italian financiers and merchants (negotiatores) soon followed.²² Publicani were contracted to collect the provincial revenue. There were also speculators and investors, of both senatorial and equestrian class, who settled in Baetica, purchased land and reaped great profit from agrarian productivity.²³ During the "silver rush" of the Late Republic, a horde of Italians (πλῆθος Ἰταλῶν, no doubt an exaggeration) flocked to the mines of southern Spain and realized large fortunes (Diod. 5.36.3).²⁴ Contractors in the mining towns held monopolies on the provision of essential services. These ventures were ob-

²⁰ Syme, Colonial Elites 11; Wilson, Emigration 79-80; P.A. Brunt, Italian Manpower (Oxford, 1971), 262-65; M.K. Hopkins, Conquerors and Slaves (Cambridge, 1978), 7.

²¹ Livy 24.9.12; E. Badian, Publicans and Sinners (Ithaca, 1972), 27-28.

²² Goodfellow, Roman Citizenship 50, 57; A. García y Bellido, Hispania 26 (1966), 497-501. There were also negotiatores from the East, at Malaca for instance: τὸ ἐν Μαλάκῃ Σύρων τε καὶ Ἀσιανῶν κοινόν (CIL II p. 251 = IG XIV 2540, which García y Bellido, Hispania 26 (1966), 506 would date to the second or first century B.C.).

²³ Rostovtzeff, Roman Empire² 213; Brunt, Italian Manpower 211-24; cf. C. Domergue, MCV 8 (1972), 620.

²⁴ Diodorus' words are accepted by Wilson, Emigration 24; contra, Brunt, Italian Manpower 210.

viously profitable: in 49 B.C., M. Varro secured pledges of 20,000 pounds of silver, 18 million HS; and 120,000 pecks of wheat from private citizens in the province (Caes. BCiv. 2.18.4).

Unlike the inhabitants of more remote regions of Spain, the people of pre-Roman Baetica were no barbarians. The Phoenicians, confined at first to the coastal strip, later penetrated inland in search of silver (Diod. 5.35.4). According to tradition, Gades was centuries older than either Rome or Carthage. The Turdetani had their own script, art and coinage; they wrote history, poetry and laws (Strabo 3.1.6). Wealthy merchants plied a lucrative trade with foreign lands. In short, Baetica was already civilized when the Romans arrived, a fact which undoubtedly contributed to the seeming ease with which the leading natives (mostly Iberians, save in the handful of Phoenician and Greek settlements) and Hispanienses blended into a homogeneous provincial élite. Many of them saw service in auxiliary units or the legiones vernaculae. The presence of Italian troops in local garrisons and winter quarters accelerated the assimilation.²⁵ Hybridae settled in Baetican communities, notably Car-teia. The influential conventus civium Romanorum in the larger towns encouraged commercial contacts between Italians and natives.²⁶ The Baetican élite became thoroughly, and for the most part willingly, romanized. This transformation did not occur overnight (indeed, it took centuries) but, having begun in the third century B.C., it was already

²⁵ As a result, Baetica was in some ways more italicized than romanized: Knapp, Roman Experience 155-58.

²⁶ Ibid. 151; cf. T.R.S. Broughton, Cahiers d'histoire mondiale 9 (1965), 129.

bearing fruit by the end of the first. Strabo, in the early days of the Principate, could report:²⁷

The Turdetanians, however, and particularly those that live about the Baetis, have completely changed over to the Roman mode of life, not even remembering their own language any more. And most of them have become Latins, and they have received Romans as colonists, so that they are not far from being all Romans.

Strabo's remarks are surely applicable only to the large towns, not to rural areas, while those who were becoming Romans in his day hardly represent all of the population but rather the élite.

The preceding narrative on the development of a romanized élite in Baetica and the integration of indigenous and Italian elements has dealt mostly with the Republic, and the sources for that period are chiefly literary. For the Empire, however, most of our information comes from inscriptions. These afford an instructive means of seeing individuals engaged in local and Imperial careers. Such persons may belong to the political, religious or military élite, or to a combination of these; some progress from minor municipal offices to positions of greater power by pursuing various avenues of career progression and social mobility. We shall examine the composition of the élite at each level, indicating the career patterns and routes of advancement which they pursued.

Like an aspiring member of the élite we shall commence at the bottom rung of the ladder and progress to loftier honours. Most careers began at the local level, be it in a colonia, municipium, urbs, civitas or

²⁷ Strabo 3.2.15, transl. H.L. Jones (Loeb). On Strabo's loose use of the term "Turdetania" in place of "Baetica", see R.C. Knapp in Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History, II (Bruxelles, 1980), 47.

oppidum. For convenience of reference we shall allude to such careers collectively as "municipal", without regard for the status of the individual towns (cf. Gell. NA 16.18).

More than a hundred duumvirs are attested in Baetica, as well as forty aediles, many of whom were also duumvirs (cf. Table 1). From the coinage of the first century B.C. we have the names of nearly forty magistrates, probably duumvirs, aediles or quaestors. Some indeed are designated as "Q.", which probably stands for "quaestor" rather than "quinquennalis".²⁸ Strangely however there is no unequivocal mention of either a quaestor or a quinquennial magistrate. It would appear that holding a local quaestorship -- where, indeed, such an office existed²⁹ -- was seldom considered worthy of epigraphic record. Inscriptions attest the office of decemvir at Cartima (no. 85) and Ostippo (no. 336) under the Julio-Claudians. This office is probably based on the Italian municipal system, where the decemvirate antedates the granting of ius Latii to a town, although there remains a possibility that in Baetica it represents a Punic institution.³⁰ Cartima later received municipal status.

The office of quattuorvir appears in a few towns, notably Gades -- which had previously had sufetes as magistrates. The quattuorviri com-

²⁸ This question is explored at greater length in Chapter 6.

²⁹ The quaestorship is mentioned in the Lex Salpensana but not in the Lex Ursonensis. Quaestors were not present in all towns: cf. G.H. Stevenson, Roman Provincial Administration (New York, 1939), 172.

³⁰ On the latter possibility cf. T.R.S. Broughton, Cahiers d'histoire mondiale 9 (1965), 130.

Table 1. BAETICAN MAGISTRATES (by conventus)

	<u>Hisp.</u>	<u>Ast.</u>	<u>Gad.</u>	<u>Cord.</u>	<u>Unc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
aedilicia potestate			1	1		2
aedilis	6	14	9	11		40
censor			3			3
decemvir		1	1			2
decurio	3	2	1	2		8
decurionatus ornamenta	2	1				3
duumvir	27	52	15	27		121
duumvir designatus	3			1		4
duumvir iure dicundo				1		1
duumviri potestate			1	1		2
duumviri ornamenta		1				1
legatus	1			2		3
legatus perpetuus				1		1
magistrate (unspecified)	3	2	12	15	4	36
praefectus		5		2		7
praefectus Caesaris/Imperator	1	2				3
praefectus iure dicundo		1	2	1		4
q(uaestor)			5	1		6
quattuorvir	9	1	21			31
quattuorvirali potestate	2					2
quinquevir			1			1
TOTALS	57	82	72	66	4	281

prised two duumvirs and two aediles. Contrary to the notion of certain scholars, that while the magistrates in colonies were usually called duumvirs, those in municipia were called quattuorvirs,³¹ we find many Baetican municipia with duumvirs. When Sabora became a municipium it actually converted from quattuorvirs to duumvirs. A similar transformation at the municipium Asido Caesarina may explain the presence of both offices there. Or perhaps the use of these titles was a matter of local preference.

The office of praefectus iure dicundo appears in the conventus capitals of Corduba, Astigi and Gades. These local officials were not normally elected but rather appointed by the provincial governor to hear minor cases in each conventus.³² One of them, however (no. 161) was creatus a decurionibus: the fact that this procedure is mentioned probably indicates that the means of selection was irregular.

Roman citizenship was not a prerequisite for local office. Indeed, in towns with ius Latii, citizenship was obtained through holding a magistracy.³³ Four Baetican magistrates (nos. 99, 186, 212-13) are known to have obtained Roman citizenship per magistratum under Vespasian. The magistrates also had to be fairly affluent; since they were required (like magistrates in Italian towns) to contribute to the cost of public

³¹ F.F. Abbott and A.C. Johnson, Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire (Princeton, 1926), 59; A. Degrassi, Scritti vari di antichità, I (Roma, 1962), 168-71; Knapp, Roman Experience 136. Stevenson, Roman Provincial Administration, 172 observes that this rule applies chiefly to Italy, not the provinces.

³² Knapp, Roman Experience 102.

³³ Lex Salpensana 25; cf. Syme, Colonial Elites 12.

games.³⁴ At Urso, for instance, the duumvirs and aediles had to contribute 2000 HS from their own pockets to this end.³⁵ In the inscriptions, however, we see that the magistrates' donations usually went to public buildings and monuments rather than games.³⁶ Now 2000 HS is not exorbitant (a mere 0.5% of the equestrian property qualification), and even the Baetican seviri had to pay this amount for their office.³⁷ Nonetheless, there sometimes might be no volunteers for the magistracies, and in such cases recourse would be had to compulsory nomination of all eligible citizens.³⁸

³⁴ Cf. R. Duncan-Jones, The Roman Economy: Quantitative Studies (Cambridge, 1974), 148-49.

³⁵ Lex Ursonensis 70-71.

³⁶ Cf. the examples conveniently collected in Thouvenot, Essai² 213.

³⁷ Duncan Jones, Roman Economy 152. A much larger figure is the 20,000 HS contributed by the pontifex L. Porcius Saturninus of Cartima (no. 90) to free his town from debt. The same sum was given by the sacerdos Baebia Crinita of Arucci (no. 18) to build a temple of Apollo and Diana.

³⁸ Lex Malacitana 51. Cf. the shortage of candidates at Rome under Augustus: Syme, Rom. Rev. 370 and n. 2. We should not assume, however, that there was a chronic lack of candidates or that magistracies were generally unpopular: cf. the caveat in P. Garnsey, ANRW II/1, 231. The graffiti at Pompeii attest election fever under the Flavians. J.J. Van Nostrand, Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, ed. T. Frank, III (Baltimore, 1937), 211-12 sees the provision in the Lex Malacitana as "legislation for a distant future". Certainly there were problems in the Late Empire.

The ex-magistrates formed a local senate, the ordo decurionum or (rarely) senatus.³⁹ The decurions are frequently cited en masse in Imperial rescripts or in the formula "d(ecreto).d(ecurionum)".⁴⁰ They were the most prominent citizens of the community, and usually the richest; many of them would be knights.

It is apparent that the municipal system of government was quickly adopted by Baetica, and it is perhaps no accident that three of our most important documents on municipal magistrates -- the charters of Urso, Malaca and Salpensa -- come from this province.

From a municipal magistracy, an aspiring member of the élite might progress to a municipal priesthood. The sequence "aedile-duumvir-pontifex" is fairly common in local career patterns, and confirms the importance of the Imperial cult, which even at the local level surpassed all secular offices.⁴¹ The pontifices bear a variety of titles, as shown in Table 2. There are also six augurs.

Another priesthood, open to men and women, was the sacerdotium. The sacerdotes are much more evenly distributed throughout the province than the pontifices (in which the conventus Astigitanus particularly abounds), although fewer are known. Women outnumber men by a ratio of nearly 4:1 (the exact figures are 19:5) and seem to have a monopoly on

³⁹ Senatus of Gades: Cic. Balb. 41. Senatus of Munigua: ILER 5831 = Alföldy, Fasti 182-83 (Augustus or Tiberius). Senatus of Iptuci: EJER no. 20 = HAEp. 547 (A.D. 31). A provincial senate is attested by Cic. Fam. 10.32. Cf. H. Galsterer, Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (Berlin, 1971), 51-55.

⁴⁰ Such mass citations are not included in the Catalogue.

⁴¹ J.F. Drinkwater, Britannia 10 (1979), 94-95.

Table 2. BAETICAN PONTIFICES (by conventus)

	<u>Hisp.</u>	<u>Ast.</u>	<u>Gad.</u>	<u>Cord.</u>	<u>Total</u>
pontifex	6	7	2	6	21
pontifex Caesarum		2			2
pontifex designatus		1			1
pontifex Divi Augusti	1	1			2
pontifex domus Augustae		1			1
pontifex perpetualis				1	1
pontifex perpetuus	1	5	1		7
pontifex perpetuus Divorum et Augustorum		1			1
pontifex perpetuus domus Augustae		1			1
pontifex sacrorum		2			2
pontifex sacrorum perpetuus		1			1
pontificalis	2				2
TOTALS	10	22	3	7	42

Table 3. BAETICAN SACERDOTES (by conventus)

	<u>Hisp.</u>	<u>Ast.</u>	<u>Gad.</u>	<u>Cord.</u>	<u>Total</u>
sacerdos	4	3	3		10
sacerdos Divae Augustae	1	1			2
sacerdos Divarum Augustarum		1	1		2
sacerdos perpetua Divorum Divarum			1		1
sacerdos perpetua domus Divae Augustae			1		1
sacerdos genii municipii				1	1
sacerdos perpetua	1	2	3		6
sacerdos Romae				1	1
<u>TOTALS</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>24</u>

the cult of the deified Augusta(e). Probably by chance, all the sacerdotes from Astigitanus are female. The sacerdotes are listed in Table 3.

Finally, we must mention the flamine. At the municipal level we find both flamines and their female counterparts, flaminicae. A flaminica was often, but not invariably, the wife of a flamen.⁴² There is also a provincial flamine, the highest religious office in the province. Somewhat more than one-third of the Baetican flamines are provincial. There is only one provincial flaminica attested, but more must have existed. Flamines tend to occur more frequently in Cordubensis than in any other conventus; again, this may be an accident of survival. For the range of titles employed by flamines and flaminicae, see Tables 4 and 5.

What is the difference between pontifices, sacerdotes, and flamines, and what is the significance of the wide variety of titles which they display? No satisfactory answer emerges; all attempts to discover a difference result in failure.⁴³ Baetican provincial flamines come as often from a municipal pontificate as from a flamine. The complexity, irregularity and inconsistency of titles (e.g. sacerdotes as wives of flamines) are characteristic of the Empire as a whole.⁴⁴ In the end we must advance the conclusion, unsatisfactory as some may find it, that

⁴² Etienne, Culte 170-71.

⁴³ Discussion: ibid., 231-38.

⁴⁴ D. Ladage, Städtische Priester- und Kultämter im Lateinischen Westen des Imperium Romanum zur Kaiserzeit (Köln, 1971), 41-47.

Table 4. BAETICAN FLAMINES (by conventus)

	<u>Hisp.</u>	<u>Ast.</u>	<u>Gad.</u>	<u>Cord.</u>	<u>Unc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
flamen	2	1	3	7		13
flamen Augustalis	1			1	1	3
flamen Aug. prov. Baeticae	2					2
flamen coloniarum immunium prov. Baeticae		1				1
flamen designatus prov. Baet.				1		1
flamen Divi Augusti		2	1			3
flamen Divorum Augustorum		1				1
flamen Divorum Augustorum prov. Baeticae	1	1		4		6
flamen Divorum et Augustorum prov. Baeticae	1					1
flamen perpetuus			1	1		2
flamen prov. Baeticae				1		1
flamen quinquennalis Divorum Augustorum		1				1
flamen sacrorum publicorum		2				2
flaminalis prov. Baeticae	1					1
TOTALS:	8	9	5	15	1	38

Table 5. BAETICAN FLAMINICAE (by conventus)

	<u>Hisp.</u>	<u>Ast.</u>	<u>Gad.</u>	<u>Cord.</u>	<u>Total</u>
flaminica		1		3	4
flaminica Augustalis		1			1
flaminica Divarum Augustarum prov. Baeticae	1				1
flaminica domus Augustae		1			1
flaminica perpetua domus Augustae		1			1
TOTALS	1	4	0	3	8

Table 6. BAETICAN EQUESTRIAN PREFECTS (by conventus)

	<u>Hisp.</u>	<u>Ast.</u>	<u>Gad.</u>	<u>Cord.</u>	<u>Unc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Aegypti			2			2
alae		1				1
annonae			2			2
classis			1		1	2
cohortis	1	2	4	1	1	9
fabrum		2	2	3		7
fisci					1	1
praetorio	1					1
vigilum					1	1
TOTALS	2	5	11	4	4	26

the question of titulature was largely a matter of local preference. For reasons to be discussed later, however, the pontificate seems to have been more popular in Baetica than in other parts of Spain.

Municipal honours, both religious and secular, were open to men of the second and third class. We should expect, but cannot prove, that the higher offices would be held by equestrians, especially in the larger cities where the majority of decurions would meet the equestrian census of 400,000 HS. When we remember that, in the time of Augustus, Gades alone had some five hundred knights, for whom fourteen rows of seats were reserved in the amphitheatre, the total number in Baetica must have been in the thousands.⁴⁵ The origin of these equestrians is an interesting problem. Some will have been Italian immigrants (whether or not they met the equestrian census before coming to Spain); others, like the Balbi, were rich before they obtained the citizenship. Since citizenship was accorded to the families of magistrates in towns with ius Latii, all the prominent families in the large centres will soon have acquired citizenship per honorem. In the backwoods areas there may have been peregrines who would have qualified as knights but for their lack of citizenship; they will still have held a dominant position by virtue of their wealth in non-citizen communities.

The number of equestrians actually attested in inscriptions is disappointingly small. Unless they subsequently held an equestrian post outside the local community (be it the tres militiae, or a procuratorship or prefecture) we have no idea which local decurions were

⁴⁵ Knights of Gades: Strabo 3.3.5; Cic. Fam. 10.32.2.

knights. The paucity of evidence also makes it futile to speculate on increases or decreases in the number of knights at different times.⁴⁶

Tables 6-7 summarize the distribution of known equestrian prefects and procurators from the province. Since most of them held several of these appointments, the number of actual individuals involved is much smaller than the total number of titles might suggest.

Military tribunes (excluding laticlavii) are distributed as shown in table 8. The lower military offices are hardly ever mentioned by those who went on to higher equestrian posts. There is a centurio hastatus who became a decurio equitum (no. 366) and a primuspilus who was later prefect of the fleet (no. 437). Of course, these men may already have been equestrians when they held the centuriate posts.⁴⁷

Known senators from Baetica are 50 in number. Of these, 28 reached the consulship, beginning with L. Cornelius Balbus in 40 B.C. The geographical distribution of senators is as follows:

Astigitanus	- 9 (including 8 consuls)
Cordubensis	- 11 (including 6 consuls)
Gaditanus	- 11 (including 5 consuls)
Hispalensis	- 13 (including 7 consuls)
Uncertain	- 6 (including 3 consuls)

⁴⁶ We are told that 3000 Roman knights, "some from Rome, some from the province" (i.e. Farther Spain) were killed at Munda (BHisp. 31). But without knowing the proportions, we can infer little from this figure, even if it be correct.

⁴⁷ Cf. B. Dobson in Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique (Paris, 1970), 99-116.

Table 7. BAETICAN PROCURATORS (by conventus)

	<u>Hisp.</u>	<u>Ast.</u>	<u>Gad.</u>	<u>Cord.</u>	<u>Unc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
a rationibus Augusti			1			1
Augusti		1	1	1	1	4
provinciae			1		3	4
TOTALS	0	1	3	1	4	9

Table 8. BAETICAN MILITARY TRIBUNES (EQUESTRIAN) (by conventus)

	<u>Hisp.</u>	<u>Ast.</u>	<u>Gad.</u>	<u>Cord.</u>	<u>Unc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
cohortis		1				1
legionis	2	2	4	4	5	17
TOTALS	2	3	4	4	5	18

The social origin of these senators is more difficult to identify. The Balbi were rich merchants, probably Punic (see Appendix A). Some senators (e.g. Trajan) were the scions of senatorial families, others (e.g. the younger Seneca) the sons of Roman knights. The high proportion of knights from Italica (11 out of the 13 from Hispalensis) suggests what we should in any event have expected, that many of the senators from Baetica were of Italian origin rather than indigenous. But there are comparatively few cases where this can be determined with certainty.

Two of these senators, Trajan and Hadrian, became emperors. Much has been written about their beneficia to Spain and their promotion of their countrymen. It is undeniable that most of the senators from Italica and indeed many from Baetica and Spain in general flourished during the principates of Trajan and Hadrian. But there is no evidence that these senators owed their creation to the Spanish emperors. Most of them had indeed entered the Senate under the Flavians. Trajan and Hadrian represent merely the crest of this wave of Spanish senators; they cannot be considered its propagators.⁴⁸ As a matter of fact, Hadrian offset the Flavian trend of promoting Spaniards into the Senate, by recruiting an increasing number of senators from Africa and the East.⁴⁹ Thereafter the Spanish, and indeed Western, senators were grossly outnumbered by the Eastern senators.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Cf. R. Syme, Emperors and Biography (Oxford, 1971), 139.

⁴⁹ M.M. Alves Dias, MM 19 (1978), 264.

⁵⁰ Lambrechts I, 191-92; II, 79-80.

Does Baetican career progression follow a pattern? The order of offices in the cursus honorum is by no means well marked. For those who remained in their own community, the sequence "aedile-duumvir-pontifex" was quite common, although it is not the only pattern (indeed, some careers fall into no pattern). Other members of the élite went on to provincial priesthoods and equestrian posts (military or civil). Senators are notorious for not listing their pre-senatorial careers, so it is impossible to trace their progression.⁵¹ The incompleteness of citations of equestrian status and the lower military posts has already been mentioned. Even where we have a complete career, there may be doubt as to whether the offices are listed in ascending or descending chronological order, or in order of importance, or in a combination of these orders.

The role of the army as a vehicle for advancement in Baetica seems minimal. With the exception of C. Vettius, a Caesarian centurion who became a municipal magistrate (no. 406), and the two equestrians with centuriate service (see above), there are no mentions of service in the ranks as a preliminary step to élite status. Although there were no legions in Baetica under the Empire, one would at least expect to find Baeticians working through the ranks of military units abroad, returning (perhaps as centurions) to their home towns, and seeking municipal office. This is not, however, the case. Baeticians were clearly not interested in using the army as a stepping-stone.

⁵¹ The elder Balbus (cos. suff. 40 B.C.) was a praefectus fabrum; the younger Balbus (cos. suff. 32 B.C.) was a quattuorvir at Gades. Mention of such junior posts is exceptional among senators, and is known to us only through literary sources. In most cases it seems unlikely that senators will have held municipal appointments.

Outside the actual cursus there were two unofficial fields in which the élite excelled, intellectual and commercial. By "intellectual" we mean not just educated men but writers of literature. There is no question that Corduba and Gades were the two intellectual centres in the province. From Corduba came the poet Sextilius Ena (no. 102), the two Senecas (nos. 103 and 111), the poet Lucan (no. 114), the playwright Statorius Victor (no. 107) and the writer Acilius Lucanus (no. 105). Gades produced the two Cornelii Balbi (nos. 151, 155), the agricultural writer Columella (no. 160), the poet Canius Rufus (no. 168) and the philosopher Moderatus (no. 167), while from nearby towns came Turranius Gracilis (no. 285) and Pomponius Mela (no. 363). Of uncertain locality are the historian Fabius Rusticus (no. 427) and the biographer Herennius Senecio (no. 430). To these must be added the poets of Corduba mentioned by Cicero and Seneca.⁵² These intellectuals were usually already members of the élite who dabbled in literature. Most of them were equestrians; four were senators, including three consuls.

The commercial élite similarly overlaps other élite categories. By "commercial" we mean those members of the élite involved in a lucrative business, be it manufacture, agriculture, shipping, banking or whatever. Since Phoenician times, a prosperous port such as Gades could have boasted a mercantile élite, to which the Balbi may later have belonged. Elsewhere in Baetica, rich mineral and agricultural resources provided ample opportunity for enterprising businessmen to make their fortunes. While only landed wealth was considered important among the upper eche-

⁵² Cic. Arch. 26; Sen. Suas. 6.27. We know only Sextilius Ena and Statorius Victor; a later generation would produce Lucan.

lons of the Roman hierarchy, profits resulting from other types of business could always be invested in land. All wealth being thus transmutable, businesses other than those derived from landownership should also be considered.

The mines of Baetica were famed for their wealth. Strabo (3.2.8-9) informs us that they were unsurpassed in his day for the quantity and quality of their metals, and that mining was therefore exceedingly profitable for the Baetians. The richest area of all was the Sierra Morena, situated to the north of Corduba and roughly parallel to the river Baetis (Guadalquivir): here were found gold, silver and copper.⁵³ Sextus Marius (no. 109), the richest man in Spain, owned gold and copper mines near Corduba; the copper from this district was known as aes Marianum.⁵⁴ Lead and tin were also produced in abundance, as is shown both by literary sources (Pliny HN 3.30, Strabo 3.2.9) and by the discovery of lead ingots, from various places in the Sierra Morena, at Gades and Carthago Nova.⁵⁵ Many of these are stamped with personal names, pre-

⁵³ Strabo 3.2.3. Ilipa and Sisapo were especially productive in silver, Cotinae in gold and silver.

⁵⁴ Tac. Ann. 6.19.1; Pliny HN 34.4; CIL II 2269 = ILER 3856 (slave of Sex. Marius at Corduba); R.K. McElderry, JRS 8 (1918), 100-01; T.R.S. Broughton in Polis and Imperium, ed. J.A.S. Evans (Toronto, 1974), 14; Weinrib, Spaniards 185-87. It is generally and probably rightly assumed that both the aes Marianum and the mons Marianum (CIL II 1179; cf. ὄρος Μαρριανόν, Ptol. Geog. 2.4.15) are named after Marius. This view has been challenged by O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe (Oxford, 1935), 114, citing the χαλκὸς Μαρριεύς mentioned in a fourth-century B.C. inscription (IG II 1054f). However, this latter bronze alloy comes not from Spain but from Marium in Cyprus (LSJ Suppl. p. 149).

⁵⁵ Some of the ingots are definitely from mines owned by Astigi, as they bear the stamp "COLON. AVGVST. FIRM.": C. Domergue, MCV 8 (1972), 617-18.

sumably of private lessees or of publicani working the mines for Rome.⁵⁶ State ownership of certain Baetican mines was definitely in effect by the mid-first century B.C. and probably earlier. At Sisapo, for instance, the cinnabar mines were operated by a societas publicanorum which adulterated the metal in order to make more profit than the price fixed by the government would otherwise have allowed.⁵⁷ By the time of Augustus, most of the gold mines in Spain were state-owned, although the silver mines had passed into private hands.⁵⁸ Tiberius confiscated the gold and copper mines of Sextus Marius in A.D. 33 after having him thrown from the Tarpeian Rock, allegedly for incest but really, we are told, for his wealth.⁵⁹ When we consider that Tiberius had just constructed a road into the Sierra Morena in A.D. 32/3, it would appear that the takeover of the Marian mines was premeditated.⁶⁰

After mining, agriculture was probably the chief source of wealth

⁵⁶ Goodfellow, Roman Citizenship 55; Van Nostrand, Economic Survey, 140; Wilson, Emigration 27; Domergue, MCV 8 (1972), 614-15. The names, which date to the second or first century B.C. and probably designate Italians, include: Cato; T. Iuuentius; C. Ponticienius M. f.; M. and P. Roscius M. f. Mai.; P. Turvilius M. f. Mai.

⁵⁷ Cic. Phil. 2.48; Pliny HN 33.118. The societas apparently had a branch office in Capua: CIL X 3964. Cf. Van Nostrand, Economic Survey 163-64; Wilson, Emigration 27.

⁵⁸ Strabo 3.2.10; cf. Wilson, Emigration 39-40. On the rich silver mines at Riotinto see now G.D.B. Jones, JRS 70 (1980), 146-65.

⁵⁹ Tac. Ann. 6.19.1. On Tiberius' confiscation of the property of other wealthy Spaniards on trumped-up charges, see Suet. Tib. 49. An Imperial freedman is a procurator montis Mariani under the Flavians: CIL II 1179 = ILS 1591 = ILER 5702, Hispalis. Cf. A. García y Bellido, Hispania 26 (1966), 503-05; R. Etienne and G. Fabre, FC II, pp. 59-60.

⁶⁰ CIL II 4935 (milestone); cf. Sutherland, Romans in Spain 171.

in Baetica. The Baetis Valley was Spain's leading producer and exporter of wheat, wine and olive-oil.⁶¹ The extent of the trade in these products is attested by the hundreds of different stamps on Baetican amphorae in the Monte Testaccio at Rome and at sites all over the Empire.⁶² It is usually impossible to tell which product was being carried to any particular place, although some amphorae seem to have held specific items (e.g. olive oil in amphorae of form Dressel 20).⁶³ The amphorae attest production throughout the province, although those from the Arva-Axati district seem to predominate: Arva and Axati must have been especially busy centres.

Scholars are still in disagreement over whether the name stamped on an amphora represents the owner of the predial estate where the contents were produced, or the owner of the figlina which manufactured the vessel itself. They do agree that the names of the exporters were painted rather than stamped on the amphora; but few such painted legends survive.⁶⁴ While it is tempting to see each stamped name as a landowner and the most frequently-occurring names as wealthy latifondisti, the presence

⁶¹ Pliny HN 3.7; Strabo 3.2.6; Van Nostrand, Economic Survey 175-78. Cic. Arch. 26 jokingly refers to the "oily" verses of the poets of Corduba, although the production of olive oil on a large scale was probably not realized until the Empire (cf. Sutherland, Romans in Spain 103). Mart. 12.63 similarly calls Corduba "fatter than greasy Venafrum" (uncto laetior Venafro).

⁶² On Baetican stamps in the Monte Testaccio see now E. Rodríguez Almeida, Mélanges d'arch. 91 (1979), 873-975.

⁶³ D. Colls et al., Archaeonautica 1 (1977), 23-47; cf. D.P.S. Peacock in Roman Shipping and Trade (London, 1978), 51.

⁶⁴ D. Colls et al., Archaeonautica 1 (1977), 27 n. 30 (stamps debate), 91-92 (exporters).

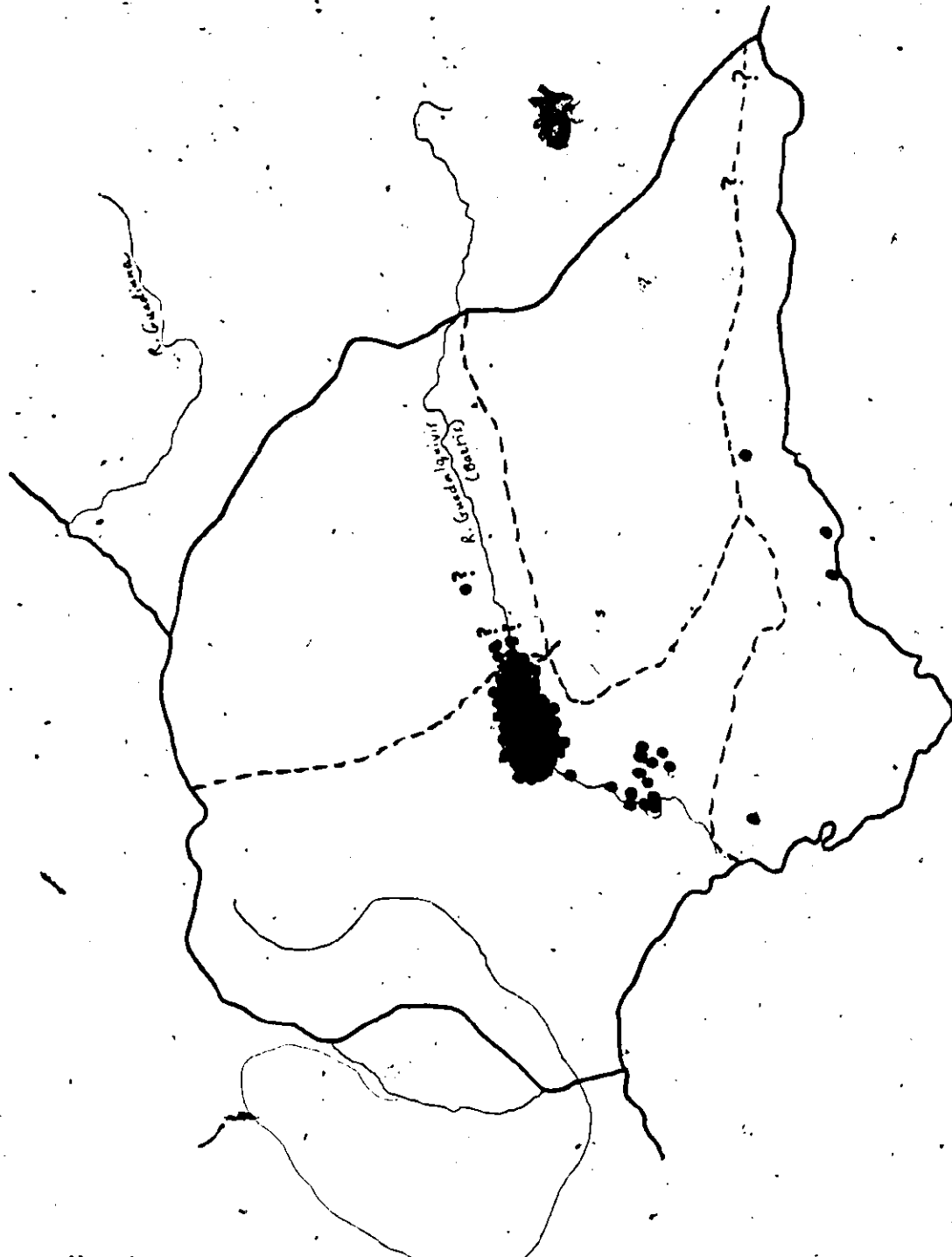
of apparently libertine names (e.g. C. Sempronius Polyclitus) rings a warning bell. For the present, the question must remain open. In any event, the enormous quantity of Baetican amphorae found all over the Empire leaves little doubt that producers and exporters alike had a large and prosperous business,⁶⁵ until the end of the second century when the estates were confiscated by Septimius Severus, apparently as a punishment for Spain's allegiance to the Imperial pretender Clodius Albinus.⁶⁶

There is also disagreement over the size of the estates. This controversy is due to the lamentable fact that virtually none of the hundreds of known villa sites in Baetica has been excavated, and no doubt many more sites still await discovery.⁶⁷ The calculation that Baetica, despite its fertility, has yielded only 12% of known villa sites has

⁶⁵ Cf. Strabo 3.2.6. Inscriptions from Rome give further evidence of this lucrative overseas trade, especially in oil. There are negotiatores olearii ex Baetica, a mercator olei Hispani ex provincia Baetica, and a corpus negotiatorum Malacitanorum (CIL VI 1625b, 1935, 9677). We also find dealers in Gaul: a diffusor olearius ex Baetica, curator eiusdem corporis, negotiator vinarius Luguduni (CIL VI 29722) and an (ole)arius diff(usor) at Arelate (CIL XII 714a).

⁶⁶ Private amphora stamps disappear until the end of the Severan dynasty. See Van Nostrand, Economic Survey 185; I.A. Richmond, Roman Britain² (Harmondsworth, 1963), 173; E.M. Schtjerman, Die Krise der Sklavenhalterordnung im Westen des römischen Reiches (Berlin, 1964), 147-48; M.H. Callender, Roman Amphorae (London, 1965), 78; E.M. Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treveri (London, 1970), 52; T.R.S. Broughton, Polis and Imperium (Toronto, 1974), 21-22; S. Frere, Britannia² (London/Boston/Hedley, 1978), 195, 328, 330; D.P.S. Peacock in Roman Shipping and Trade (London, 1978), 51.

⁶⁷ Systematic explorations are now being conducted in certain districts, with impressive results: see M. Ponsich, Implantation rurale antique sur le Bas-Guadalquivir, 2 vols. (Paris, 1974-79).



Map 3. BAETICAN VILLAS AT THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

Scale - 1:2,750,000.

Based on Gorges, Villas fig. 6

prompted speculation that latifundia were the norm here.⁶⁸ We believe that both the premiss and the conclusion are erroneous. In the first place, Baetica contains 138 of the 602 known villa sites in the Peninsula, or nearly 23%.⁶⁹ This far exceeds the percentage of Spain's total area occupied by Baetica, and the future discovery of more villas there (not to mention the likelihood that intensive agriculture over the centuries has destroyed many others) may even increase this percentage. Moreover, the known villas along the Baetis and its principal tributaries are so close together as to have left room only for narrow strips of land perpendicular to these rivers.⁷⁰ If latifundia did exist in Baetica, they must therefore have been restricted to dry farming in the hills; yet those districts are precisely the ones in which no villas (the focal points of such large estates) have surfaced. There can be villas without latifundia, but not latifundia without villas.

Roman villas made their appearance late but suddenly in Baetica. The absence of Campanian ware on villa sites provides a terminus a quo in the last third of the first century B.C.⁷¹ About two dozen villas are known from the Augustan period, especially in the Italica-Hispalis district and around Nebrissa, famed in antiquity for its wines. The characteristic Dressel 20 oil amphorae also make their appearance at

⁶⁸ R. Etienne, MCV 8 (1972), 625; cf. Rostovtzeff, Roman Empire² 213.

⁶⁹ Gorges, Villas 83.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 100.

⁷¹ Ibid., 26-27.

this time.⁷² By the end of the first century A.D., villas were clustered all along the Baetis, with a heavy concentration between Hispalis and Celti (Map 3); within this stretch lie Axati and Arva, where so many of the amphora stamps are attested.

In conclusion, the great output of agricultural products from Baetica must be balanced with the large number of producers among whom (as well as the exporters and river-traffickers) the profits were divided. No doubt some estates were larger than others, but it would be fallacious to infer that in Baetica, as in Africa (cf. Pliny HN 18.35) a handful of senatorial families controlled agrarian production.⁷³

Fishing was another source of income for Baeticans exporters. Many kinds of fish and crustaceans were caught in the coastal waters (Strabo 3.2.7).⁷⁴ The fish-salting industry was quite important; salt fish from Baelo and Malaca were sold in Mauretania (*ibid.* 3.1.8, 3.2.6, 3.4.2). Even more lucrative was the garum sociorum ("company fish-sauce") industry, operated by a state corporation.⁷⁵ The sauce was ex-

⁷² *Ibid.*, 32-33.

⁷³ The passages cited by Brunt, *Italian Manpower* 214 as showing large estate-owners in Baetica during the Late Republic show nothing of the kind.

⁷⁴ Strabo 3.2.7. A fisherman is depicted on coins from Carteia and tunnies on coins of Gades and vicinity, testifying to the importance of fishing to the economy of the coastal cities. Cf. Sutherland, *Romans in Spain* 102; Van Nostrand, *Economic Survey* 181-83.

⁷⁵ V. Quittner, *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 6 (1978), 45-47 contends that the socii are socii navales, i.e. Punic shipping tradesmen. However, Pliny, who was a procurator in Spain, attests that the socii were a societas civium Romanorum, as were the socii of the cinnabar mines (HN 31.94). These socii were exclusively equestrians; however, senators could purchase shares in the societas: Badian, *Publicans and Sinners* 101-03.

tremely expensive (Pliny HN 31.93) but presumably profitable for the producers, since the company was still going strong in the fourth century (Auson. Ep. 25). Sauce-vats have been found at Baelo.⁷⁶

Urban architecture provides a further index of personal wealth. We should expect that well-to-do members of the elite would own a comfortable house in town, even if they also owned country villas. This is precisely the case in second-century A.D. Italica, whose excavated town houses, replete with mosaics and statuary, attest the lavish expenditures made by their owners.⁷⁷ One of them was 1000 square metres in area, while another contained forty rooms.⁷⁸

Necropoleis have been found at Baelo, Gades and Italica, but none is so rich as that of Carmona.⁷⁹ The tombs here often contain visible signs of wealth: gold pins, rings, glass vases, toilet articles, coins etc. Moreover, the mausolea themselves are sometimes quite elaborate and richly painted. Unfortunately it is very difficult to date individual tombs, which begin in the Iron Age and continue into the Late Em-

⁷⁶ M.P. Charlesworth, Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire (London, 1926), 157; R. Etienne, Latomus 29 (1970), 297-313; C. Domergue, Belo, I: La stratigraphie (Paris, 1973), 106-09. The archaeological evidence for the fish-salting industry does not antedate Augustus, but the literary sources indicate that it was flourishing under the Republic: cf. M. Ponsich and M. Tarradell, Garum et industries antiques de salaison (Paris, 1965), esp. 114-15.

⁷⁷ R. Nierhaus, Studien zur Römerzeit in Gallien, Germanien und Hispanien, ed. R. Wiegel's (Bühl/Baden, 1977), 148-49.

⁷⁸ P. Mackendrick, The Iberian Stones Speak: Archaeology in Spain and Portugal (New York, 1969), 171.

⁷⁹ G.E. Bonsor, An Archaeological Sketch-Book of the Roman Necropoleis at Carmona (New York, 1931), *passim*; cf. Thouvenot, Essai chap. XI; M. Bendala Galán, La necropolis romana de Carmona (Sevilla) (Sevilla, 1976).

pire; in his excavation report, Bonsor failed to identify the exact provenance of the datable finds.⁸⁰ One suspects that here (as with the villas) the more elaborate the monument, the later the date: therefore those of the period of romanization are probably not the most fully developed.

Finally, a word is in order concerning the onomastics of élite families. The inscriptions attest a wide variety of nomenclature, although Iberian names are few and mostly early (see Table 9). There are only two instances where filiation is by the (non-citizen) father's cognomen: Vestinus Rustici f. (no. 85; A.D. 53-54) and Cornelia Clementis f. Tusca (no. 217; unknown date). There is no overwhelming preponderance of any particular gens, although certain gentes (e.g. the Corneli and Fabii) are more frequently represented than others, suggesting an adherence of the local élite to the clientelae of Republican senatorial families.⁸¹ A latecomer was the gens Iulia: unlike Gaul, where practically every nobleman of the Julio-Claudian period is a Iulius,⁸² Baetica has only a dozen Iulii, some of them from the second and third centuries A.D. Some other gentes (e.g. Acilii and Valerii) seem to flourish only after Vespasian's extension of the citizenship.⁸³ The

⁸⁰ A few of the tombs have recently been dated by Bendala Galán, Necropolis romana de Carmona, esp. 83-87. Unfortunately these are not the richest tombs.

⁸¹ Cf. Knapp, Roman Experience 163.

⁸² J.F. Drinkwater, Latomus 37 (1978), 818.

⁸³ C. Castillo, ANRW II/3, 650.

Table 9. SUSPECTED INDIGENOUS NAMES FROM BAETICA

<u>Catalogue No.</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>
4	Acinipo	Folce	47-44 B.C.
39	Baelo	Fat(?)	47-44 B.C.
56	Carteia	Curman.	2nd half 1st c. B.C.
76	Carteia	Mion.	before 19 B.C.
102	Corduba	Ena	1st c. B.C.
261	Itucci	Icstnis	Augustan
277	Lascuta	Irthi	<u>ca.</u> 57 B.C.
278	Lascuta	Scuic.	47-44 B.C.
309	Obulco	Bodilcos	120-90 B.C.?
310	Obulco	Insani	120-90 B.C.?
311	Obulco	Sisiren	120-90 B.C.?
315	Obulco	Ilno	47-44 B.C.
316	Obulco	Atitim(?)	1st c. B.C.
329	Onuba	Colp.(?)	47-44 B.C.
339	Sacili	Olaf.	2nd half 1st c. B.C.
411	Vesci	Sisdn(!)	<u>ca.</u> 48-47 B.C.
417-18	Uncertain	Bodo.	47-44 B.C.

adoption of a Roman nomen does not necessarily mean that the individual was legally entitled to it, but it does suggest willingness to assimilate with and even emulate the Romans.⁸⁴

Conclusions

Baetica was originally ruled by monarchs who controlled territories or groups of towns. Romanization began after the Second Punic War and took hold first along the river Baetis and the coast, only later penetrating the hinterland. Italian settlers (largely soldiers and businessmen; there is no evidence for massive immigration of peasants) were an important catalyst in the romanizing process and indeed, being already romanized themselves, they provided a substantial portion of the élite. The Baetican élite was manifestly an admixture of Italian and indigenous elements. The thoroughness of romanization, which was complete by the second century A.D., is attributable to three factors: the early commencement of the process (late third century B.C.), the Italian presence, and willing co-operation of the already civilized indigenous élite.

Italian municipal and religious institutions were widely adopted in the province. Local offices attracted equestrians and non-equestrians alike. Baetican knights also pursued the Imperial cursus, some of them becoming procurators or senior prefects. At least fifty Baeticans entered the Senate, many of them under the Flavians (those who entered subsequently were mostly descendants of Flavian admissions). The large number of equestrians (probably thousands) and senators arising from

⁸⁴ R.C. Knapp, Ancient Society 9 (1978), 189-90.

• this province suggests a high incidence of social mobility. Baetica produced the first provincial consul (Balbus Maior), the first provincial triumphator (Balbus Minor) and the first provincial emperor (Trajan), as well as numerous literary figures. The élite were also engaged in profitable commercial enterprises, especially mining and agriculture; it was undoubtedly the wealth acquired from such ventures which accounts for widespread upward mobility.

CHAPTER 3

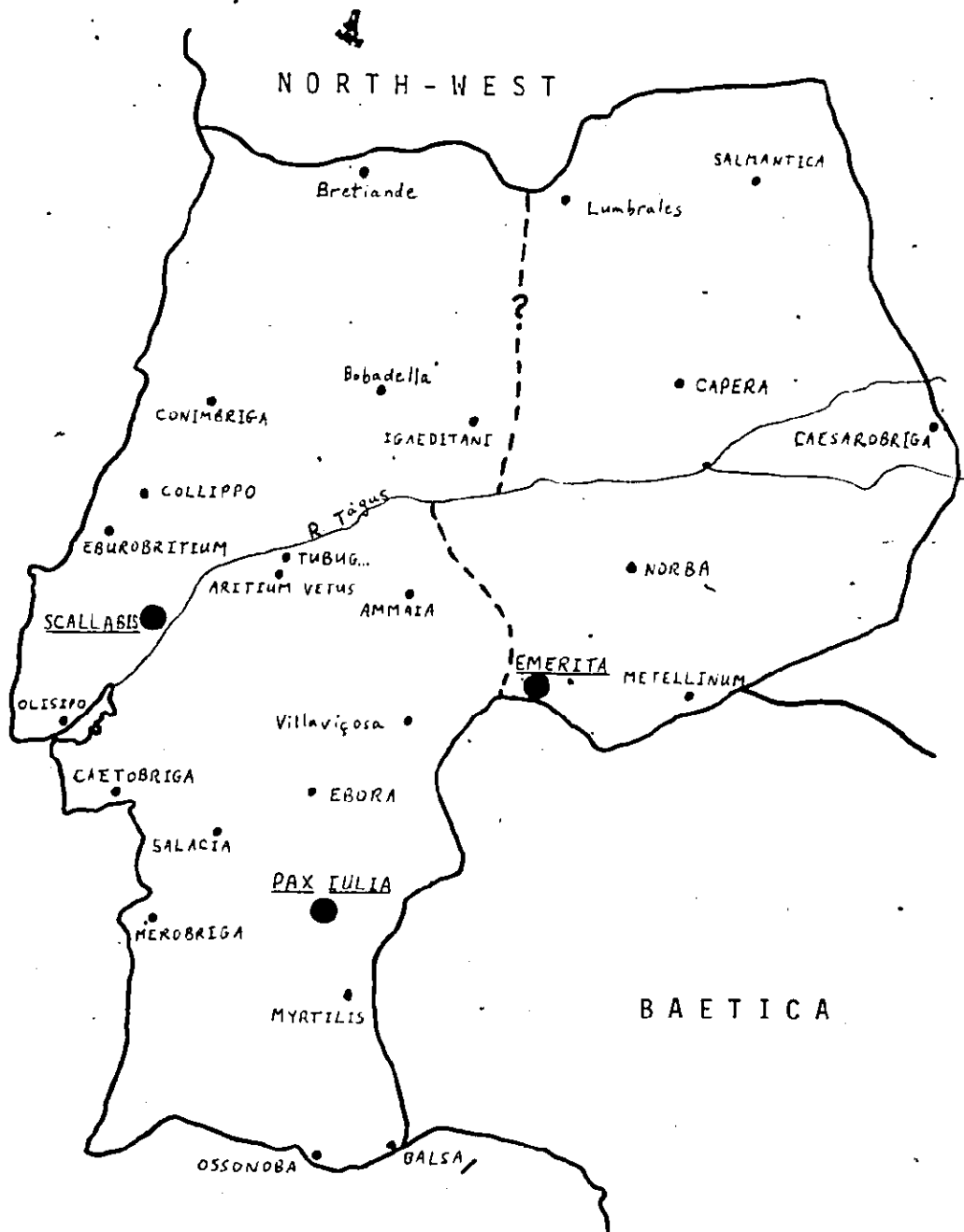
LUSITANIA

Lusitania, the westernmost province of the Roman Empire, was created by Augustus' partition of Hispania Ulterior. In addition, it included the territory across the Tajo (Tagus) and Duero (Durius), a region of comparatively recent conquest. A generally low-lying area, with a long but little-used coastline, Lusitania was famous in antiquity for three things: horses, minerals, and bandits.

The province was essentially an artificial creation, conveniently bounded by the Guadiana, the Atlantic, the Duero, and an arbitrary line drawn from the latter to the northernmost bend of the Guadiana. Within these borders were located not one but several ethnic groups (Lusitani, Celtici, Cunei, Vettones, Turdetani). The province was officially subdivided into three conventus (Emeritensis, Pacensis, Scallabitanus), each with a Roman colony as its capital.¹

The élite of this region first enter the historical record in 155 B.C., when a general (ἡγεμὼν), allegedly named Punicus, led his troops

¹ On these colonies (Emerita, Pax Iulia, Scallabis), cf. A. Tovar, Iberische Landeskunde, II: Lusitanien (Baden-Baden, 1976), 223, 211, 264 respectively.



Scale - 1:3,000,000

Map 4. LUSITANIA - GENERAL

to victory over the Romans.² Punicus was killed while besieging the pro-Roman Blastophoenicians, and his successor Caesarus was defeated by L. Mummius (App. Hisp. 56). Mummius had also to deal with the rebel ἡγεμών Caucaenus in 153 (ibid. 57). Lusitanian ambassadors (πρέσβεις) sought peace with the Romans in 150, but they and 30,000 of their people were massacred through the perfidy of Ser. Sulpicius Galba (ibid. 59-60; Suet. Galba 3). One of the escapees, Viriathus (uncharitably described in Roman sources as a shepherd, a hunter or a brigand), dissuaded another group of Lusitanian ambassadors from falling into a similar trap in 148, and was chosen as their general (στρατηγός, dux, imperator) in the struggle against Rome (Livy Per. 52; Florus Epit. 1.33; App. Hisp. 61-62; Just. Epit. 44.2.7).³ His harassment of the Romans over the next eight years, and his ultimate assassination through treachery, are episodes too well-known to need recounting here.⁴

In the course of the Viriathic war we encounter a number of other members of the Lusitanian élite. In 142 B.C., Q. Fabius Maximus Servi-

² I dismiss as fictitious the characters Balarus, leader of the Vettones in support of Hannibal (Sil. Pun. 3.378) and Burnus, of noble ancestry (ibid. 16.559). We know also of an anonymous Celtic chieftain from the region of the river Anas (Guadiana), who died after crossing the Limaeus at an unspecified date (Strabo 3.3.5).

³ The name "Viriathus" is derived from Celtiberian viria meaning "bracelet"; cf. Pliny HN 33.39-40. On his previous "occupations" see Diod. 33.1; Florus Epit. 1.33; Dio Cass. fr. 73; Eutropius 4.16.2; Oros. 5.4.1; [Aur. Vict.] De Vir. III. 71.1.

⁴ E.g. Diod. 33.1, 7, 19, 21, 21a; Cic. Off. 2.11.40; Livy Per. 52, 54; Oxyr. Per. 52-54; Vell. Pat. 2.1.3, 2.90.2; Sil. Pun. 3.354-55; Frontin. Str. 2.5.7, 2.13.4, 3.10.6, 3.11.4, 4.5.22; Florus Epit. 1.33; Suet. Galba 3.2; App. Hisp. 60-75; Dio Cass. frs. 73, 75, 78; A. Schulten, Viriathus (Leipzig, 1917); H.G. Gundel, Caesaraugusta 31-32 (1968), 175-98; idem in Legio VII Gemina 111-30.

lianus killed or maimed five hundred principes of the Lusitani and dealt with such renegade leaders as Curius, Apuleius and Connoba (App. Hisp. 68; Oros. 5.4.12). Some other rebel leaders (κορυφαῖου) were killed or handed over to the Romans in 139, and hostages were taken from Talabriga (Dio Cass. fr. 75; App. Hisp. 73). Following Viriathus' death, ~~the~~ Lusitanian army chose Tantalus as its new στρατηγός (App. Hisp. 75). We are told that Viriathus' father-in-law Astolpas was a man of extraordinary wealth (Diod. 33.7). Pre-Roman torques and jewellery verify the affluence of the indigenous élite.⁵

An interesting economic question arising at this point is the distribution of wealth in the pre-Roman period. Several Spanish scholars have postulated that a handful of Lusitanian nobles enjoyed extreme wealth while the rest of the population was forced through destitution into banditry.⁶ Certainly the ancient sources mention Lusitanian bandits (latrones and praedones), but they also mention bandits from Baetica and Tarraconensis. The theory of polarity of Lusitanian wealth seems to be based chiefly upon the anecdote in Diod. 33.7 in which Viriathus shuns the lavish hospitality of his father-in-law Astolpas. This story appears to be didactic, the Stoic theme of self-sufficiency being a topos in classical literature. It would be dangerous to use it as the

⁵ K. Raddatz, Die Schatzfunde der Iberische Halbinsel (Berlin, 1969), pls. 84-92, 95-97; J. Maluquer de Motes, Pyrenae 6 (1970), pls. IX a, X a; M. Farinha dos Santos, Pré-história de Portugal² (Lisbon, 1972), chap. 9; A. Pardo, The World of Ancient Spain (Genève, 1976), 78, 91.

⁶ J. Caro Barroja, España primitiva y romana (Barcelona, 1957), 70; M. Vigil, Historia de España Alfaguara, I (Madrid, 1973), 259; J.M. Blázquez, La romanización, I (Madrid, 1974), 212; J.J. Sayas Abengochea in Estudios dedicados a Carlos Callejo Serrano (Cáceres, 1977), 5.

basis for generalizations on the economic structure of pre-Roman Lusitania (or Spain as a whole). If nearly everyone was a brigand, who was left to be robbed, and how long would the resources of a few last against so many bandits? While no one would deny that poverty and crime rates were quite high (cf. Strabo 3.3.5) it is difficult to believe that Lusitania was utterly destitute of a "middle class", such as merchants and skilled craftsmen.

The Sertorian wars (ca. 81-72 B.C.) began when Lusitanian ambassadors (πρέσβεις) invited Q. Sertorius to lead a revolt against the Roman government (Plut. Sert. 10). In the process of resisting romanization, however, the Lusitanians actually became more romanized through serving with Sertorius, who established a Roman-style civil and military government in Spain, as well as a school of Greek and Roman learning for sons of the élite.⁷ It may even be argued that the Lusitanians must have been considerably romanized in the first place, to have entrusted their fate to a Roman general.⁸

In 61 or 60 B.C. Julius Caesar, calculating that a brilliant victory in Spain would win him an immediate consulship (as well as providing the booty necessary to pay off his personal debts) launched a vigor-

⁷ Plut. Sert. 14.2, 22.4. Numismatic evidence: H. Mattingly, JRS 12 (1922), 235.

⁸ C.H.V. Sutherland, The Romans in Spain (New York/London, 1939), 96; W.C. Atkinson, A History of Spain and Portugal (Harmondsworth, 1960), 25.

ous campaign in Lusitania.⁹ The results of this lightning campaign were, however, rather superficial: even the much acclaimed victory at Mons Herminius was transitory, for the "mountain" had to be recaptured in 48 (BAlex. 48.2). Moreover, Caesar's hostility probably alienated the Lusitanians, making them all the more willing to support Pompeius in the coming civil war.¹⁰ Our sources for the Lusitanian campaign make no suggestion that any of the Lusitanian chieftains took the side of Caesar or exhibited the smallest degree of co-operation or interest in the benefits of romanization. A recalcitrant people, the Lusitanians fought to remain independent. Ancient writers acknowledged them as the bravest of all the Iberians, adding that Lusitania took more time for the Romans to conquer than any other part of the Peninsula.¹¹ Indeed, Lusitania proper -- i.e. the land of the Lusitani, who lived north of the Tagus -- was not even part of Hispania Ulterior in Republican times, so it is hardly surprising that the process of romanization took so long despite the early (mid-second century B.C.) contacts with Roman arms.

Roman names appear on the coinages of Myrtilis, Baesuri, Salacia

⁹ Dio Cass. 37.52-53, cf. 44.41; Livy Per. 103; Obsequens 62; Plut. Caes. 12.1; Suet. Iul. 18; App. BCiv. 2.8. There is some doubt over the exact date of this campaign. Plutarch (and possibly Appian) place it in 61 (followed by M. Gelzer, Caesar (Oxford, 1969), 62-63); Dio and Obsequens (both following Livy) place it in early 60, making Caesar hasten directly from the battlefield to Rome to seek his consulship. Certainly he would have had a longer campaigning season in 61, and was presumably eager to achieve rapid victory; but the testimony of Livy is not easily discounted, while Plutarch's sources are often suspect.

¹⁰ Caes. BCiv. 1.38; BHisp. 18, 35-36, 38, 40; Luc. 4.8.9. Of course, much was due also to Pompeius' extensive network of clientelae in Spain.

¹¹ Diod. 5.34.4; Florus Epit. 1.33; Strabo 3.3.3.

and Brutobriga during and after the civil war (see Catalogue s.vv.). Of these four towns, the first three lie south of the Tagus while the fourth is of uncertain location. There is no specific evidence for elite romanization north of the Tagus before the first century A.D.

Augustus (or rather, his unsung generals)¹² completed the conquest of Lusitania and partitioned it from Baetica; five military colonies (Pax Iulia, Scallabis, Norba, Metellinum, Emerita) and at least two municipia (Olisipo, Eborac) were established, and hill tribes were translated onto the plain. In the Augustan period we find an octovir at Norba (no. 515), possibly the remnant of a pre-Roman local government, although parallels from Italy for this office can be adduced.¹³ Four magistrates (in appearance quattuorvirs, but this title is never used in Lusitania) are found at Igaeditani in 16 B.C. Duumvirs and aediles are attested under Tiberius at Emerita (no. 478), Olisipo (no. 520) and Pax Iulia (no. 539). We also find the first flamines of the Imperial cult (nos. 520, 521, 539, possibly no. 462). Under later reigns the number of romanized elite naturally increases, although many of the inscriptions cannot be closely enough dated to allow demonstration of any sharp increase under specific dynasties.¹⁴

A great variety of municipal offices is attested in the inscrip-

¹² R. Syme in Legio VII Gemina 106-07.

¹³ CIL IX 4543, Nursia; IX 4896, Trebula Metuesca; XI 5006, Trebi-ae; XI 5621, Plestia. These Italian octovirates had developed into quattuorvirates by the Early Empire: cf. Taylor, Voting Districts 82-83.

¹⁴ E.g. the Flavians, where one might expect it; yet there are very few Flavian municipia in Lusitania as compared with Baetica.

tions from Lusitania, although the number of examples is considerably smaller than in neighbouring Baetica, which was more romanized and contained more cities. The number of duumvirs and aediles in Lusitania is less than a third of the number in Baetica, and we have far fewer attestations of magistrates on coins, none of which antedates the civil war of 47-45 B.C. We have already mentioned the Augustan octovir at Norba; however, there is not a single quattuorvir in the province, and even the municipia (contrary to the supposed rule) use the titles "Iivir" and "aedilis". Also unlike Baetica, Lusitania has no magistrates with duumviral or aedilician power, although there is one pro-duumvir (no. 553). There is only one magistrate-designate (no. 522). There are also no praefecti iure dicundo as such, although there are two praefecti of uncertain function. Only one Lusitanian calls himself a decurio (no. 486), as opposed to eight in Baetica. As has been noted elsewhere in connection with Gaul,¹⁵ the less intense one's contacts with Rome, the less one's desire to use the decurial title; it is not used at all in the North-West or the Central Uplands. The breakdown of magistracies appears in Table 10.

Apart from individuals we may record the existence of a local senate at Augustobriga, probably in the reign of Augustus;¹⁶ an embassy (legatio) sent to Tiberius from Olisipo, bearing a silly report about the appearance of a Triton (Pliny HN 9.4.9); the ordo splendidissimus

¹⁵ J.F. Drinkwater, Britannia 10 (1979), 92.

¹⁶ senatus populusque Augustobrigensis: CIL II 5346.

Table 10. LUSITANIAN MAGISTRATES (by conventus)

	<u>Pac.</u>	<u>Scal.</u>	<u>Emer.</u>	<u>Total</u>
aedilis	3	5	7	15
aedilis designatus		1		1
decurio			1	1
duumvir	13	10	22	45
duumviralis			1	1
magistrate (unspecified)	10	2		12
magistratus		4	1	5
octovir			1	1
omnibus honoribus functus		1	1	2
praefectus			2	2
praefectus pro duumviro	1			1
quaestor	1		3	4
TOTALS	28	23	39	90

Table 11. LUSITANIAN PONTIFICES (by conventus)

	<u>Pac.</u>	<u>Scal.</u>	<u>Emer.</u>	<u>Total</u>
pontifex	2		2	4
pontifex perpetuus	1		1	2
TOTALS	3	0	3	6

Emeritensium in an inscription of A.D. 213;¹⁷ and a curious inscription from Lumbrales consisting of the three(?) words, tesera/Gauriesis/magistratu/turi, the last of which is otherwise unattested.¹⁸ Finally, a small (13.15 x 5.44 m.) senate-house (curia ordinis) of Augustan date has been discovered at Conimbriga.¹⁹

Whereas in Baetica the most common local career pattern was "aedilis-duumvir-pontifex", in Lusitania we usually find "aedilis-duumvir-flamen".²⁰ The province has, indeed, very few pontifices, but a large number of flamines -- almost as many as Baetica, as the following summary illustrates:

	<u>Lusitania</u>	<u>Baetica</u>
pontifices	6	42
flamines (municipal)	19	25
flamines (provincial)	11	13

Why so few pontifices in Lusitania? A glance at Table 11 reveals that all the Lusitanian pontifices are called simply pontifex or ponti-

¹⁷ AE 1952 116 = Alföldy, Fasti 147.

¹⁸ HAEp. 1051 = 1309. One explanation is that Turi is a separate word, leaving magistratu as an ablative or dative singular (so used in Caesarian and Imperial prose in place of -ui). On this basis we have tentatively entered the name Turius in the Catalogue (no. 507) as a possible magistrate (there is no known town Turus or Turius). Magistratuturi as a spelling error for magistratui seems unlikely: the extra -tu- might be explained as dittography, but what about the r?

¹⁹ J. de Alarcão and R. Étienne in Symposion de ciudaes augusteas, I (Zaragoza, 1976), 182; eidem, FC I, 36-38.

²⁰ An exceptional case is that of C. Pompeius Priscus, (no. 484) who appears to have been flamen before his duumvirate.

Table 12. LUSITANIAN FLAMINES (by conventus)

	<u>Pac.</u>	<u>Scal.</u>	<u>Emer.</u>	<u>Total</u>
flamen	3	1	2	6
flamen Augustalis		1		1
flamen Caesaris	1			1
flamen Divae Augustae prov. Lusitaniae			1	1
flamen Divi Augusti		1	1	2
flamen divorum	2			2
flamen Divorum Augustorum	1			1
flamen Germanici Caesaris		1		1
flamen Iuliae Augustae		1	1	2
flamen perpetuus	1	2		3
flamen provinciae Lusitaniae	5	2	2	9
flamen prov. Lusitaniae Divi Augusti. Divae Augustae			1	1
TOTALS	13	9	8	30

Table 13. LUSITANIAN FLAMINICAE (by conventus)

	<u>Pac.</u>	<u>Scal.</u>	<u>Emer.</u>	<u>Total</u>
flaminica	2	2		4
flaminica perpetua	1		3	4
flaminica provinciae Lusitaniae	2	1	2	5
TOTALS	5	3	5	13

fex perpetuus. There is not a single pontifex Divi Augusti or the like. The pontifices in Lusitania do not, apparently, belong to the Imperial cult. Flamines, on the other hand, are by definition priests of that cult. In Lusitania, then, it would appear that the title pontifex was not used in the Imperial cult; hence so few pontifices and so many flamines in comparison with Baetica, where both titles are frequent. There is no difference in rank between pontifices and flamines, but pontifex is the older title. Etienne is probably correct in suggesting that in an Imperial province (such as Lusitania or Tarraconensis) the new Imperial cult with its distinctive priestly title (flamen) would be received much more readily than in a senatorial province like Baetica, where conservatism fostered retention of the traditional title (pontifex) even when used to designate priests of the Imperial cult.²¹ This preference for the title flamen in Lusitania may also explain the absence there of any sacerdotes of the Imperial cult. The flamine is similarly the summit of local careers in Gaul,²² although there are some pontifices in the senatorial province of Narbonensis. In Lusitania we find too an occasional tendency, entirely unknown in Baetica, to designate specific Imperial persons in the title, e.g. flamen Germanici Caesaris (no. 520). The complete range of flaminial titles is shown in Table 12.

Lusitania has thirteen flaminicae, considerably more than Baetica (again probably because of greater zeal towards the Imperial cult). Five of these are provincial appointments (see Table 13).

²¹ Etienne, Culte 231-34.

²² C. Jullian, Histoire de la Gaule³, IV (Paris, 1924), 344, 346; J.F. Drinkwater, Britannia 10 (1979), 94.

Several Lusitanian knights are recorded: an eques Romanus from the conventus Pacensis (no. 557), and six praefecti fabrum (two from Pacensis, four from Emeritensis).

There are possibly as many as seven known senators from Lusitania, all from the conventus Pacensis and Emeritensis. At Ebora we have the consul L. Fabius Cilo (late second to early third century; no. 469) and the praetor-designate Q. Iulius Maximus (third century; no. 473), as well as two possible senators whose full cursus are not preserved (nos. 465 (first century) and 466). At Emerita are attested three senatorial Roscii (nos. 500-02, spanning the second and early third century). The Roscii pose a problem in that the family seat is Brescia in Italy, and we do not know how many Roscii were at Emerita or why (they were certainly not provincial governors there). Whatever the connection and the motive (perhaps economic?), the Roscii were active at Emerita over a space of several generations and therefore appear to have been resident Hispanienses.

The intellectual elite have left little record in Lusitania; probably they were not numerous anyway. Apart from an orator (apparently of senatorial family) at Collippo (see under no. 475), we know only of the writer Cornelius Bocchus, one of the sources used by the elder Pliny. If he is correctly identified with L. Cornelius Bocchus of Salacia (no. 552), he certainly had an impressive career, being an Imperial prefect, a provincial flamen, a pontifex for life, a praefectus fabrum, and a legionary tribune in Africa.

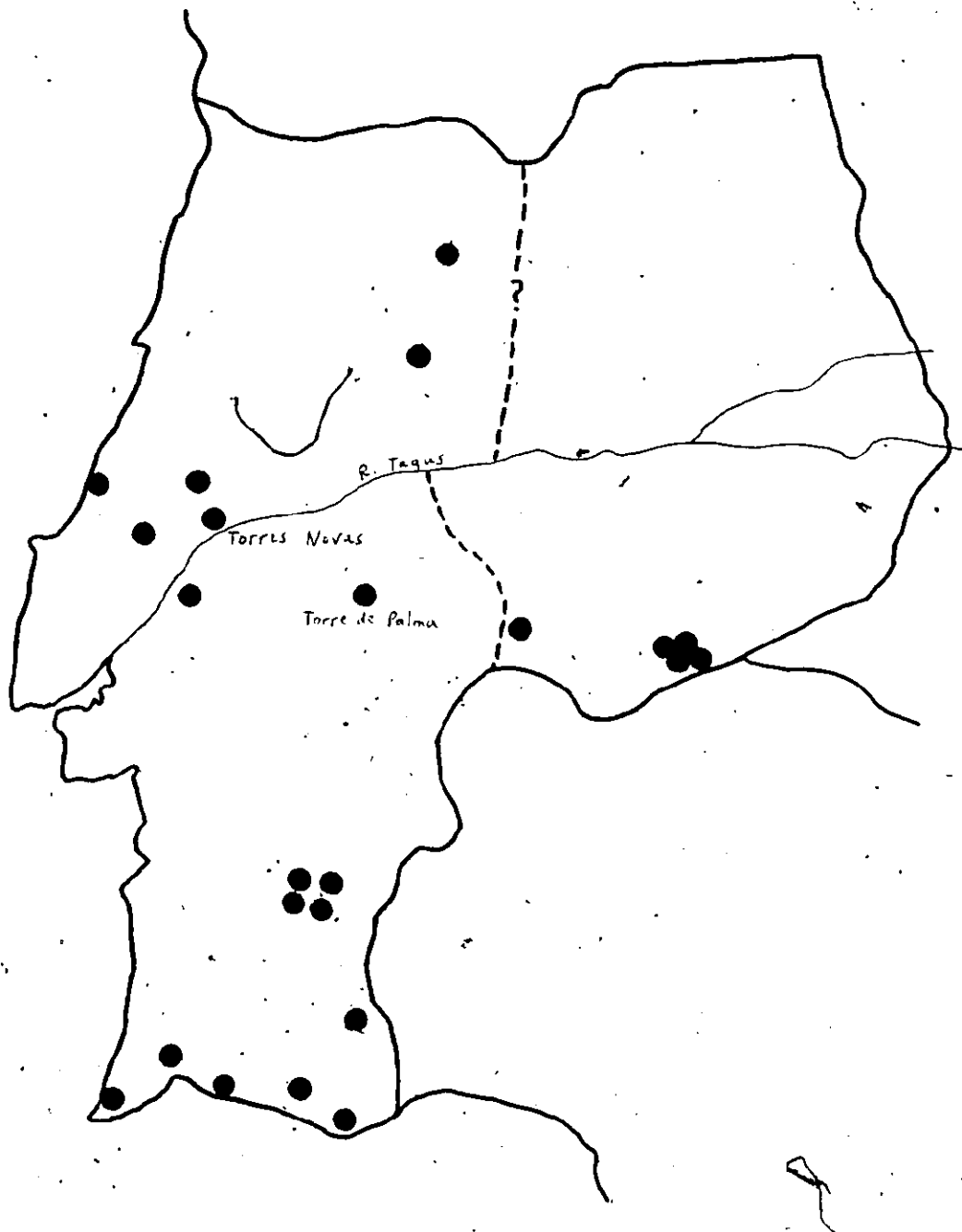
Multiple membership in several elite groups is attested in Lusitania, chiefly in conformity to the municipal-religious cursus "aedilis-duumvir-flamen". Other combinations are quite rare and usually unique.

As in Baetica, the army does not appear to have been a frequent channel of mobility for Lusitanians.

The discovery of élite inscriptions in a rural context (no. 516, Norba; nos. 554-55, Torre de Palma; several of the Olisipo inscriptions come from the surrounding countryside) suggests agricultural estates, whose existence is confirmed by the archaeological evidence (see below). Agriculture was indeed the primary source of income in Lusitania, although there was mining activity as well. While Lusitania could hardly compete with the Baetis Valley in the production of oil and wine, it is reasonable to expect the élite landowners to have been active in the cultivation of olives and grapes, and to have sold the surplus for export.

Villas are very rare in the Augustan period,²³ but a considerable number of them spring up during the first century. This timing correlates well with the date of the conquest of Lusitania, allowing a few years for "romanization" to filter into this rather remote backwater. Many of the villas are located in the South-West, the more romanized sector of the province, and a cluster of them is found around Pax Iulia (see Map 5). This localization suggests intensive agriculture to supply the city with foodstuffs (and no doubt wine). The villa of Torre de Palma, some 20 km. south-west of ancient Ammaia, has yielded an inscription of Flavian date, bearing the name of P. Anonius (sic) Quir. Silo, presumably the owner (no. 554). In the second century the same villa is apparently owned by one M. Coelius Celsus (no. 555). At Torres Novas

²³ Gorges, Villas 30.



Based on Gorges, Villas fig. 6

Scale - 1:3,000,000

Map 5. LUSITANIAN VILLAS AT THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

(about 40 km. north of ancient Scallabis) is a very large villa, owned in the fourth century by the Cardilius family, but built in the first.²⁴

The distances between villas suggest the existence of latifundia, beginning in the first century A.D. and increasing in number during the second and third. Since there was no massive urbanization in Lusitania, such properties would not have been encroached upon, and could have retained their basic characteristics.²⁵ If these properties were as large as Gorges supposes (up to 8000 ha., with 600-900 ha. as the average), the agrarian élite of Lusitania must have been quite prosperous.²⁶ But one's suspicions are instinctively aroused both by these rather precise figures and by the additional claim that Lusitania had the largest latifundia in all the western provinces.²⁷ Other factors may well be at work here: undiscovered villas, villa sites destroyed by subsequent land use, and the possibility that large tracts of land were still forested, or sparsely occupied, or farmed by peasants whose hovels have not left traces.

Surviving evidence tells us very little about personal wealth during the Roman period, but there are a few indications. L. Iulius Peto of Pax Iulia (no. 541) helped pay the price of grain ("annonam inlata pecunia adiutam"). L. Sulpicius Claudianus, husband(?) of the flaminica Laberia Galla (no. 467) repaid the city of Collippo for her "impensa

²⁴ Ibid., 37

²⁵ Ibid., 40.

²⁶ Ibid., 99.

²⁷ Ibid., 98.

funeris, locum sepulturae et statuum". The consul L. Fabius Cilo (no. 469) owned houses in Italy. There are also luxurious town houses with rich mosaics at Emerita and Conimbriga. At the former city we find the "Casa Basilica" (possibly Augustan), "Casa del Mithraeo" and "Casa del Anfiteatro" (both from the second half of the first century A.D.).

Those at Conimbriga are much later, dating to the third century: a house with a private bath complex, and one with a central peristyle court (the latter house was left outside the city wall, erected later in the century).²⁸

Finally, the onomastic evidence. The élite appear to have adopted Roman names quite readily, and there are only a few examples of indigenous names.²⁹ This suggests a receptiveness to Roman customs, although it should be noted that a romanized élite does not begin to appear until the second half of the first century B.C., much later than in Baetica or on the East Coast.

There are also a few examples of indigenous filiation, in which the father's cognomen (rather than praenomen) appears as part of the son's nomenclature. In the seven instances attested among the Lusitanian élite, neither father nor son appears to be a Roman citizen:

Toutonus Arci f. (no. 503; 16 B.C.)

Malgeinus Manli f. (no. 504; 16 B.C.)

²⁸ P. MacKendrick, The Iberian Stones Speak (New York, 1969), 141-42; M. Almagro, Guía de Mérida⁸ (Madrid, 1979), 78-80, 83-85; J.M. Bairão Oleiro et al., Conimbriga: Guide to the Museum and the Ruins³ (Coimbra, 1975), 19-24, 27-30.

²⁹ On indigenous nomenclature in Lusitania see Palomar Lapesa, Onomástica, passim.

Celtius Arantoni f. (no. 505; 16 B.C.)

Amininus Ati f. (no. 506; 16 B.C.)

Vegetus Tallici f. (no. 444; A.D. 37)

...ibius ...ariont f. (no. 445; A.D. 37)

Albinus Albui f. (no. 479; reign of Claudius)

The non-Roman character of such names is largely attributable to the early date; indigenous filiation disappears by the middle of the first century A.D.

We may also note the comparatively large number of Iulii among the Lusitanian élite -- 17 out of 118 entries in the Catalogue, or nearly 15%. It is tempting to interpret these Iulii as recipients of citizenship in connection with the establishment of municipia and coloniae in Lusitania by Julius and Augustus Caesar, or as descendants of such recipients. In absolute terms, however, 17 inscriptions are not very many, especially when one considers that hundreds of Lusitanian inscriptions still await publication; and in any event, the adoption of Roman nomina (Iulius or otherwise) is no proof of citizenship.

Conclusions

The pre-Roman élite of Lusitania was based on tribal leadership rather than kingship. The assumed social conflict between the very rich and the very poor may be shown to be fallacious.

Romanization of the indigenous élite began in the middle of the first century B.C. and was largely complete by the end of the first century A.D., thanks in part to integration with Italian colonists. The region south of the Tagus, having been conquered earlier than the north, and being more influenced by Baetica, led the race and was always the

more romanized (producing, for instance, all the known senators).

The "standard" municipal cursus is well attested from the reign of Tiberius onward. Being less conservative than their Baetican neighbours in religious matters, the Lusitanian élite widely adopted the Imperial cult and its flamine, although pre-Roman religions were not wholly eradicated. A handful of equestrians and possibly seven senators can be traced to this region; one senatorial family, the Roscii, is definitely of Italian origin. There is also evidence that the Lusitanian élite had agrarian interests (possibly latifundia) and owned town houses scarcely meaner than their Baetican counterparts.

CHAPTER 4

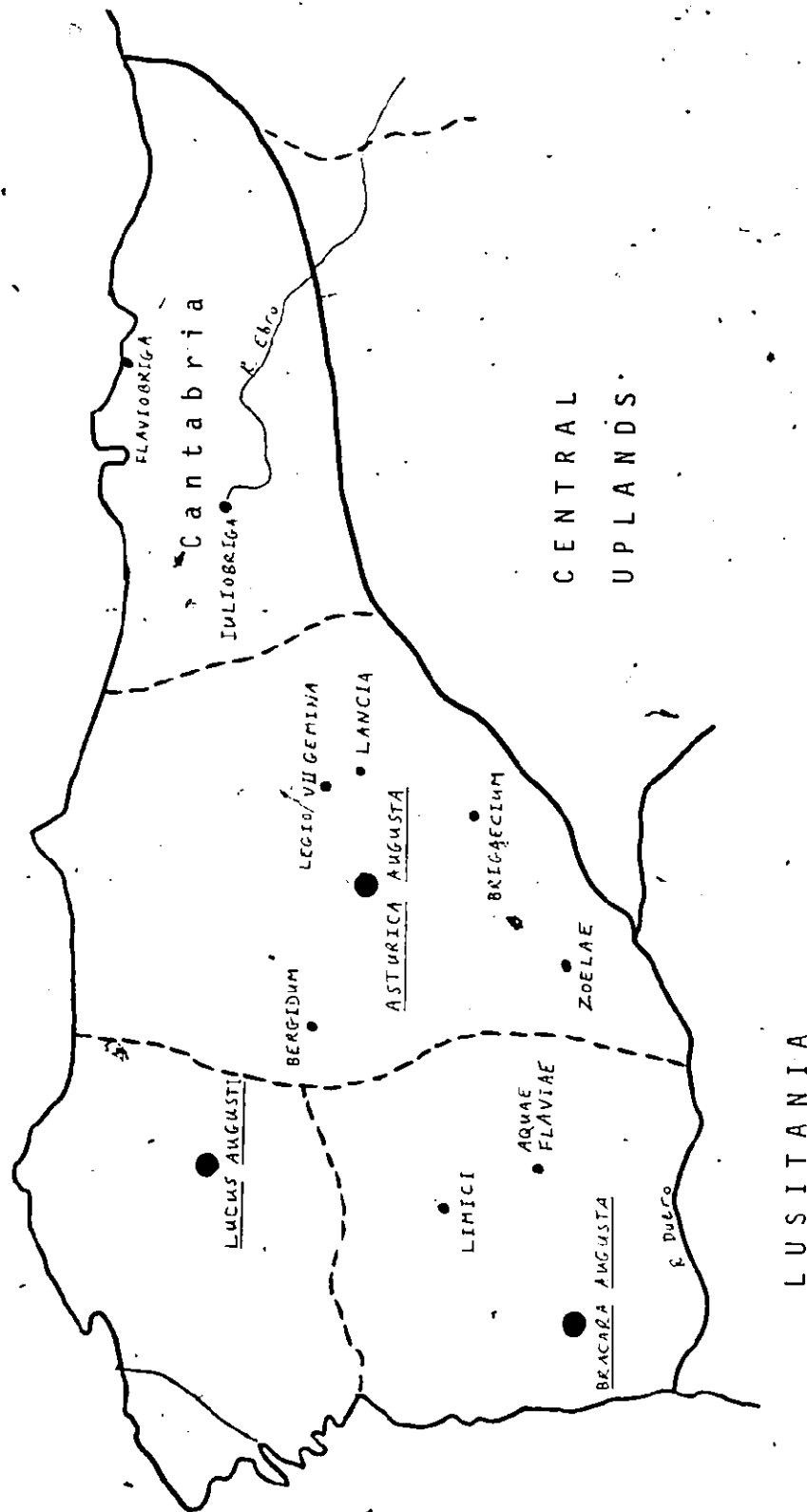
THE NORTH-WEST

The North-West (henceforth N.W.) comprises three ancient territories: Gallaecia (conventus Lucensis and Bracaraugustanus), Asturia (conventus Asturum), and Cantabria (in conventus Cluniensis). The Gallaecians (Callaici) were of Lusitanian origin (Strabo 3.4.20) and seem to have caused little trouble after the initial conquest.¹ The Astures and Cantabri, on the other hand, were fierce warriors who vigorously resisted the Roman advance into the N.W. and were subdued only with great difficulty.

Very little is known about the élite of the N.W. in pre-Roman times. Indeed, there does not survive the name of a single member of the local aristocracy before the time of Tiberius.² However, we are aware that the people of the N.W. in the pre-Roman period were divided into social groupings which the Romans identified with clans (gentes, gentilitates) and centuries (centuriae), and the clans appear to have

¹ They are not mentioned in our sources for Augustus' war against the Asturians and Cantabrians; R. Syme suggests that they were more amenable to Roman rule (Legio VII Gemina, 88 = RP 830)

² Strabo, writing under Tiberius, assumed that because the women of Cantabria cultivated the fields and were able to inherit property, Cantabrian society was gynaeocratic (3.4.17-18) -- an unjustified inference, although understandable in view of the limited role of women in Greco-Roman society. Oddly, Strabo's theory is accepted by A. Barbero and M. Vigil, Hisp. Ant. 1 (1971), 201-03.



Scale - 1:3,000,000

Map 6. NORTH-WEST - GENERAL

been ruled by chiefs (principes).³ Presumably it was these clan chiefs who acted as military commanders in time of war;⁴ but their other functions are quite unclear.⁵ Here as in Lusitania, kingship was apparently unknown.⁶

There is also material evidence for the existence of a pre-Roman élite, in the form of gold jewellery, which first appears in the N.W. ca. 700 B.C. and continues into the Roman period. Particularly noteworthy are the gold torques, diadems and bracelets (virgae) which were apparently the hallmarks of a warrior aristocracy, and which continued to be produced (again, presumably, for the élite) during Roman times.⁷

³ Thus we find, in the Roman period, Nicer Clutosi f., of the centuria Cariaca, principis Albionum (no. 584). The only other member of the N.W. elite who gives his clan and century is L. Cassius Caenicus Tamac(anorum) centuria Nem... (no. 580). On gentilitates see M.L. Albertos Firmat, Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología 40-41 (1975), 9-31; and on centuriae, ibid. 31-38.

⁴ Cantabrian leaders (duces), who had learned military science from Sertorius, reinforced the Aquitani in their struggle against the hapless P. Crassus in 56 (Caes. B.Gall. 3.23.3-5, 3.26.6; Oros. 6.8; cf. Dio Cass. 39.46.3).

⁵ Cf. the discussion by H. Galsterer in Actas del II coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la Península Ibérica (Salamanca, 1979), 460.

⁶ See J. Caro Barroja, Estudios sobre la España antigua (Madrid, 1971), 156 on the failure of monarchy to penetrate the gentilic system of social organization in the N.W.

⁷ J. Caro Barroja, España primitiva y romana (Barcelona, 1957), pl. 176; R. Menéndez Pidal (ed.), Historia de España³, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1962), 136 fig. 103; K. Raddatz, Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel (Berlin, 1969), 172-97; F. de Almeida in Legio VII Gemina, fig. 8-11 (facing p. 297); J. Maluquer de Motes, Pyrenae 6 (1970), pls. III, X b, XIII; F. Diego Santos, Asturias romana y visigoda (Vitoria, 1977), 179; F.-S. López, Historia de Galicia (Pontedeume, 1979), 26-27.

Roman penetration into the N.W. was slow, a fact which helps explain the low level of romanization. The first incursions into this territory were intended to suppress guerrilla bands who were aiding Viriathus.⁸ In 61-60, Julius Caesar defeated the Callaici (Plut. Caes. 12; Dio Cass. 37.53.4), but it was left to Augustus and his generals to subdue the Cantabri and Astures (26-19 B.C.).⁹ The details of the latter war are poorly attested and strongly debated;¹⁰ the significant fact is that the N.W. first came under Roman administration during Augustus' principate. At first, Asturia and Gallaecia were assigned to the province of Lusitania -- indeed, they had been conquered by a series of governors from Ulterior -- while Cantabria was claimed by the Nearer province. Augustus later reunited them in Citerior (Tarraconensis), thereby eliminating the necessity of maintaining a legion in Lu-

⁸ In 139 B.C. the consul Q. Servilius Caepio ravaged the lands of the Callaici, while in 137 D. Iunius Brutus attacked the Bracari and (temporarily) subdued all Gallaecia (App. Hist. 70, 72; Ovid Fasti 6.461; Florus Epit. 1.33.12).

⁹ "While the presence of the Emperor himself may be some indication of the importance attached to it [the Cantabrian war], at the same time six triumphs during the proceeding [sic] ten years for Roman generals operating in the north and north-west of the Peninsula would suggest that some 'softening-up' process had been going on": F.J. Wiseman, Roman Spain (London, 1956), 48.

¹⁰ See discussion in R. Syme, AJPhil. 55 (1934), 293-317; W. Schmitthenner, Hist. 11 (1962), 29-85; J.J. Wilkes, University of Birmingham Historical Journal 10 (1965), 9-10; Syme in Legio VII Gemina 83-107 = RP 825-54; J.M. Blázquez, La romanización, I (Madrid, 1974), 247-58; F. Diego Santos, ANRW II/3, 531-43; F.-S. López, Historia de Galicia (Pontedeume, 1979), 47-48; A. Rodríguez Colmenero, Augusto e Hispania (Bilbao, 1979), 100-30.

sitania to watch the N.W.¹¹

Romanization in the N.W. achieved its greatest impact in the towns; in rural areas it was superficial. Strabo describes the varying degrees of romanization in the region during the first century, noting that in places where the Romans seldom travelled the natives were still quite uncivilized, while Pliny refers to the barbarous names of the populi of Lucensis (Strabo 3.3.8; Pliny HN 3.28).¹² The epigraphy of the N.W. similarly reflects differing grades of romanization.¹³ Some progress was made under Vespasian by the establishment of municipia in the N.W.¹⁴ but outside this handful of towns there is little trace of romanization,¹⁵ and even within the towns there is no trace of the public buildings (temples, theatres, etc.) which one associates with a Roman

¹¹ The date of the transfer is not known. J.M. Alonso Núñez, Bol. Aur. 5 (1975), 346 would date it to the end of the Cantabrian war. It was certainly completed by 2 B.C., when the governor of Citerior is attested in the N.W., and possibly a decade earlier: see C.H.V. Sutherland, The Romans in Spain (London, 1939), 239 n. 15; R. Syme, Epigraphische Studien 8 (1969), 125-33 = RP 732-41; idem in Legio VII Gemina 104-05 = RP 850; Alföldy, Fasti 9-10.

¹² Cf. J.M. Alonso Núñez, Bol. Aur. 5 (1975), 343-47.

¹³ F. Diego Santos, Romanización de Asturias a través de su epigrafía romana (Oviedo, 1963), 4-6; cf. M. Pastor Muñoz, Hisp. Ant. 7 (1977), 149.

¹⁴ See R.K. McElderry, JRS 8 (1918), 75-76, 87; P. Le Roux and A. Tranoy, MCV 9 (1973), 226, 230; M. Pastor Muñoz in Estructuras sociales 191. Pliny HN 3.28 calls Asturica an urbs magnifica; the aptness of this description is challenged by M. Pastor Muñoz, Zephyrus 26-27 (1976), 423. More reasonably, Bracara Augusta is called an oppidum (HN 4.112).

¹⁵ G. Fabre, Latomus 29 (1970), 338 notes the absence of secondary towns. M. Pastor Muñoz, Estructuras sociales 192 ascribes to the Romans the limited ambition of establishing marketplaces (fora) in rural areas, rather than fostering urbanism. On fora cf. A. García y Bellido, AEA 40 (1967), 19-20 and P.A. Brunt, Italian Manpower (Oxford, 1971), 570-76.

city.¹⁶ The persistence of indigenous religion, law, nomenclature and social organization,¹⁷ combined with the absence of Roman pottery and coins in many rural areas,¹⁸ attests the limits of romanization on the N.W. frontier. Latin is found in inscriptions (and they are not very numerous) throughout the region.¹⁹ Yet the use of Latin is not, by itself, indicative of profound romanization; moreover, much of it is bad Latin.²⁰ Finally, the absence of colonies in Asturia-Gallaecia (and there was only one, Flaviobriga, in Cantabria) precluded the integration of Italians with the indigenous population, which was such an important factor in the romanization of such regions as Baetica or the East Coast.

¹⁶ Cf. M.A. del Rincón Martínez, Pyrenae 6 (1970), 75; M. Pastor Muñoz, Zephyrus 26-27 (1976), 423.

¹⁷ M. Vigil, BRAH 152 (1963), 225-33; J. Caro Barroja in Legio VII Gemina 61; J.M. Blázquez in Legio VII Gemina 65-76 and in Actas del coloquio internacional sobre el bimilenario de Lugo (Lugo, 1976), 69; J.M. Vázquez Varela and F. Acuña Castrovieja in La romanización de Galicia (Sada/La Coruna, 1976), 82; Pastor, Los Astures, 90-105.

¹⁸ Blázquez in Actas del coloquio internacional sobre el bimilenario de Lugo, 77. But Roman pottery is commonly found on villa sites: Gorges, Villas, passim.

¹⁹ But as F. Diego Santos points out (Romanización de Asturias (Oviedo, 1963), 4-6) they are found mainly along the river valleys, not in the hinterland. The rivers, of course, were primary channels of communication and intercourse, and hence of romanization.

²⁰ Cf. Blázquez in Actas del coloquio internacional sobre el bimilenario de Lugo, 67. M.L. Albertos, Estudios de arqueología alavesa 4 (1970), 221 claims that modern Alava (in Cantabrian territory) was one of the most romanized provinces of the North, because of a considerable number of inscriptions and the use of Latin names. But this "romanized" area produced no attested members of the elite.

In short, then, the N.W. achieved only a low level of romanization and remained a potential threat to Roman securitas.²¹

How do the élite fare in this semi-romanized atmosphere? For one thing, the number of élite attested in the N.W. is very small compared with other regions. If we consider, for instance, the duumvirs (the most commonly mentioned municipal office in the rest of Spain) we find that the total number attested in the N.W. is four (and Lucensis has none at all).²² There are also no quattuorvirs, aediles or quaestors recorded; possibly there were none. The earliest attested magistrates, in A.D. 27 and 28, were called simply that: magistratus (nos. 583, 587-88). The slim statistics for municipal offices are shown in Table 14. As for larger bodies of the political élite, we have only a curious reference to a national council (gentis concilium) at Asturica (Florus Epit. 2.33), and a local senate at Zoelae (ordo Zoelarum: CIL II 2606).

We are a little better informed about religious appointments. In addition to several sacerdotes (as conventual appointment)²³ we find a good proportion of provincial flamines: an indication both that the imperial cult had penetrated the N.W. and that members of the local élite had access to religious offices. Most of the flamines p. H. c. from

²¹ As Mommsen observed (The Provinces of the Roman Empire (London, 1909), vol. 1, 65) the N.W. was the only part of the Empire, not bordering on enemy territory, which required a legionary garrison.

²² We do not include here non-specific references to duumvirs, such as implied by the formula, omnibus honoribus functus.

²³ Etienne, Culte, livre II, chap. 2.

Table 14. NORTH-WESTERN MAGISTRATES (by conventus)

	<u>Luc.</u>	<u>Brac.</u>	<u>Ast.</u>	<u>Unc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
duumvir		1	2	1	4
legatus		1			1
magistrate (unspecified)			2		2
magistratus			1	2	3
omnibus honoribus functus	1	3	2		6
TOTALS	1	5	7	3	16

Table 15. NORTH-WESTERN PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES

	<u>Luc.</u>	<u>Brac.</u>	<u>Ast.</u>	<u>Clun.</u>	<u>Total</u>
flamen Augustalis p. H. c.		1	1		2
flamen designatus p. H. c.			1		1
flamen p. H. c.	3	4	2	1	10
flamen Romae divorum et Augg.		1			1
flaminica		1			1
flaminica p. H. c.		1		1	2
sacerdos conv. Bracaraugustae		1			1
sacerdos perpetua Romae et Aug.		1			1
sacerdos Romae Augg. Caesarum		1			1
sacerdos Romae et Augusti	1		4		5
sacerdos Urbis Romae			1		1
TOTALS	4	11	9	2	26

Table 16. NORTH-WESTERN EQUESTRIANS

	<u>Luc.</u>	<u>Brac.</u>	<u>Ast.</u>	<u>Clun.</u>	<u>Unc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
praefectus cohortis			2	1		3
praefectus equitum			1			1
praefectus legionis			1			1
tribunus militum	1		1		1	3
TOTALS	1	0	5	1	1	8

the N.W. state that they had begun as local magistrates and worked their way up (omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus). It must be remembered, however, that career progression depended largely upon geographical mobility; the provincial flaminiate required a move to the East Coast. The flaminicae are only two in number, but such disparity between the sexes recorded in flaminial contexts is typical of all regions of Spain. The composition of the religious élite is indicated in Table 15.

There is little trace of social mobility in the N.W. Only a handful of equestrians are known, and no senators. The equestrians served all or part of the tres militiae (see Table 16); this perhaps testifies to the importance of the army as a career vehicle in the N.W. However, the total number of appointments attested is only eight and the number of persons involved is still smaller (five), so the military bent of the figures may be misleading. Unquestionably the army in the N.W. -- both the Legio VII Gemina²⁴ and the various auxiliary cohorts -- provided employment and eventually citizenship for many natives of the region, and we know of at least two Asturians and a Cantabrian commanding auxiliary cohorts (nos. 562, 578, 590). But entry into the equestrian officer ranks of a Roman legion was a far rarer honour. We know of only two Spanish equestrians in the Legio VII Gemina, one in the first centu-

²⁴ Under Tiberius there were two legions in the N.W.: VI Victrix and X Gemina. The latter was sent to Carnuntum in 63, returning to Spain briefly during the Civil War (68-70). VI Victrix was moved to Germany in 69, as was X Gemina the following year. Legio VII was raised by Galba and suffered heavily at Cremona (Tac. Hist. 3.22). Vespasian amalgamated it with another understrength legion (hence the cognomen Gemina) and sent it back to Spain, where it remained permanently. See H.M.D. Parker, The Roman Legions (Oxford, 1958), 90, 99-100, 144, 147.

ry A.D. And one in the third, and neither of them from the N.W.²⁵ Like career progression, social mobility required residential mobility; those inhabitants of the N.W. who wished to hold equestrian appointments had to leave Spain to do so.²⁶

The scarcity of data makes it difficult to detect career patterns. Many of the flamines p. H. c. held all local honours before achieving that position.²⁷ Otherwise the order of offices tends to be haphazard, allowing various avenues of progression. An analagous situation may be found in Gallia Comata.²⁸

There is little evidence for a commercial élite in the N.W. The premier industry of this region was mining, particularly gold-mining, and there is a vast literature on the subject, but little mention of the owners or managers of these mines.²⁹ We know that Augustus and Tiberius confiscated the Spanish gold-mines (Strabo 3.2.10; cf. Tac. Ann.

²⁵ H.-G. Pflaum in Legio VII Gemina, 379.

²⁶ On the correlation between romanization and geographical mobility in the N.W., cf. G. Fabre, Latomus 29 (1970), 331. There was some immigration into the N.W. (cf. C. García Merino, Hisp. Ant. 3 (1973), 9-28), but so far as we know this did not involve movement of élites.

²⁷ It appears that, having reached a high position, one felt no need to outline one's earlier career in detail. The same syndrome occurs in Gaul: J.F. Drinkwater, Britannia 10 (1979), 95.

²⁸ Ibid. 89-95.

²⁹ Among recent works may be cited: P.R. Lewis and G.D.B. Jones, JRS 60 (1970), 169-85; R.F.J. Jones and D.G. Bird, JRS 62 (1972), 59-74; F. Diego Santos, Asturias romana y visigoda (Vitoria, 1977), chap. 7; C. Domergue et al., Minas de oro romanas de la provincia de León, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1977); C. Domergue and G. Herail, Mines d'or romaines d'Espagne: Le district de la Valduerna (Le Mirail, 1978).

6.19.1) and one may assume with reasonable confidence that they were managed by Roman procurators, as was certainly the case in Lusitania.³⁰ But whether these were Italians or romanized Spaniards is another question; and given the limited degree of romanization in the N.W., the latter alternative seems most unlikely. The only attested procurator metallorum in the N.W. is an imperial freedman.³¹

In the field of marketing we have some activity in the form of the cives Romani qui negotiantur Bracaraugusta;³² but again, these persons (even if operating on a sufficiently lucrative scale to warrant inclusion among the élite) appear to be outsiders from Italy or elsewhere in Spain, and not even necessarily permanent residents in the N.W.

The appearance of Roman villas in the N.W. in the first century A.D. (see Map 7) attests both the romanization of local architecture and the involvement of the élite in agriculture.³³ The date is significant: it was Augustus who ordered the Asturians to descend from the mountains and cultivate the soil (Florus Epit. 2.33). Because of the ruggedness of the terrain, the N.W. was the only region of Tarraconensis in which small farms seem to have prevailed. It would appear that these were a Celtic legacy, despite the romanity of the buildings erected upon

³⁰ Cf. Lex Metalli Vipascensis (ILS 6891).

³¹ M. Ulpius Aug. lib. Eutyches proc. metall. Alboc(olensium): CIL II 2598 = ILER 664.

³² CIL II 2423; cf. P. Le Roux and A. Tranoy, MCV 9 (1973), 230.

³³ The villas are discussed by M. Pastor Muñoz, Zephyrus 26-27 (1976), 429-34 and Gorges, Villas, catalogue.



Based on Gorges, Villas fig. 6

Scale - 1:3,000,000

Map 7. NORTH-WEST VILLAS AT THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

them, and that the properties were hereditary.³⁴ Although there is no direct evidence, one would expect the agricultural products of the region to have found a ready and lucrative market among the soldiers stationed at Legio VII Gemina.³⁵

From their epigraphical study of the nomenclature of the N.W., Le Roux and Tranoy have concluded that the process of romanization of names in this region began to make headway at the end of the first century A.D. and continued into the second and third.³⁶ The oft-cited inscription from Asturica, CIL II 6101, demonstrates the transition: the names of the witnesses of this guest-friendship document of A.D. 27 are all indigenous; in the agreement of 152 they are all Roman.³⁷ But it should be noted that this example involves a difference of a century and a quarter. The process of assimilation undoubtedly required a lengthy period of time.

Aside from the retention of non-Latin (i.e. Celtic) nomina, cognomina, gentes, and centuriae, we may cite as an example of indigenous nomenclature the use of the father's name in the genitive (sc. filius) as a means of filiation, instead of the father's praenomen. The obvious implication is that the fathers were not Roman citizens (for that mat-

³⁴ F. Diego Santos, Asturias romana y visigoda (Vitoria, 1977), 90-91, chaps. 12-14; Gorges, Villas 97.

³⁵ On the economic importance of the legions as local consumers of provincial produce, see R. MacMullen, Phoenix 22 (1968), 337-41.

³⁶ MCV 9 (1973), 182 n. 4.

³⁷ Discussion: T.R.S. Broughton, PAPS 103 (1959), 648; R. Etienne et al. in Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien (Paris, 1976), 101; M. Pastor, Hisp. Ant. 6 (1976), 273-74.

ter, neither were most of the sons, if the nomenclature is any indication). The following instances of indigenous filiation occur among the N.W. élite:

C. Valerius Flaviani f. Arabinus (no. 569).

Camalus Melgaeci f. (no. 571)

L. Iunius Blaesi f. Maro Aemilius Paternus (no. 579)

Abienus Pentili f. (no. 583)

Nicer Clutosi f. (no. 584)

Latinus Ari f. (no. 587)

Aius Temari f. (no. 588)

It is noteworthy that all of the examples with indigenous filiation but not the tria nomina are either pre-Flavian or involve non-magistrates but that the two post-Flavian magistrates with indigenous filiation nonetheless bear the tria nomina. So do all the Flavian and post-Flavian magistrates of the N.W.³⁸ Vespasian granted ius Latii to all of Spain in the early 70's,³⁹ and despite some delay in enacting the charters (e.g. the existing ones from Malaca and Salpensa were issued by Domitian) it would appear that some towns in the N.W. achieved at least this degree of romanization. Most of the non-magisterial elite of Flavian or later date bear the tria nomina,⁴⁰ not that this necessarily makes

³⁸ The only possible exception is C. Lepidius M. f. (no. 585), of indeterminate date. But his nomenclature is Roman, and the absence of a cognomen may in fact mean that he was a citizen under the Julio-Claudians.

³⁹ Pliny HN 3.30; A.N. Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship² (Oxford, 1973), 361.

⁴⁰ The exception is Camalus Melgaeci f. (no. 571), apparently Flavian. I assume that Nicer Clutosi f. principis Albionum is earlier.

them genuine citizens. The impact of the Flavians on this part of Spain is revealed by the researches of Le Roux and Tranoy: out of 213 instances of Flavian names (nomina or cognomina) in Spain, the N.W. claims 69 -- about equal to the rest of Tarraconensis (67), and considerably more than Baetica (24) or Lusitania (53).⁴¹ Thus, while non-Roman names persisted among the lower levels of society, nomenclature of the élite appears to have been romanized by the end of the first century A.D. Even in the two cases where élite of the second century display indigenous filiation, it is interesting to note that the fathers, while not ostensibly romanized, at least have Latin cognomina, one of them (significantly) Flavianus.

Conclusions

The N.W. was never thoroughly romanized. Traces of clan and century structure, a legacy of the pre-Roman warrior aristocracy, are still visible. Urban development (a necessary stage in romanization) was realized only on a limited scale. In a handful of towns the Roman succeeded in creating a romanized superstructure, successfully encouraging the local élites to adopt Latin names and language and to hold Roman citizenship, municipal offices, the provincial priesthood of the imperial cult, and equestrian appointments. Such advancement normally required emigration to more romanized localities -- to Tarraco for the flamines, and out of Spain altogether for the knights. In other words, local opportunities were very limited. Despite the presence of a Roman

⁴¹ MCV 9 (1973), 224.

legion in the N.W., the local élite are not attested as filling officer vacancies in it. If the élite participated in agriculture it was on a small scale; there is no trace of a mercantile élite.

Celtic nomenclature and filiation persist, despite the frequent adoption of tria nomina. The effects of Vespasian's grant of ius Latii in the N.W. were felt chiefly by the élite, enabling them to achieve at least a semblance of romanization by the end of the first century.⁴²

⁴² Cf. M. Vigil in Historia de España Alfaguara, I (Madrid, 1973), 424; M. Pastor, Hisp. Ant. 7 (1977), 155 and in Estructuras sociales 192; F. Arias Vilas et al., IRLugo, p. 15.

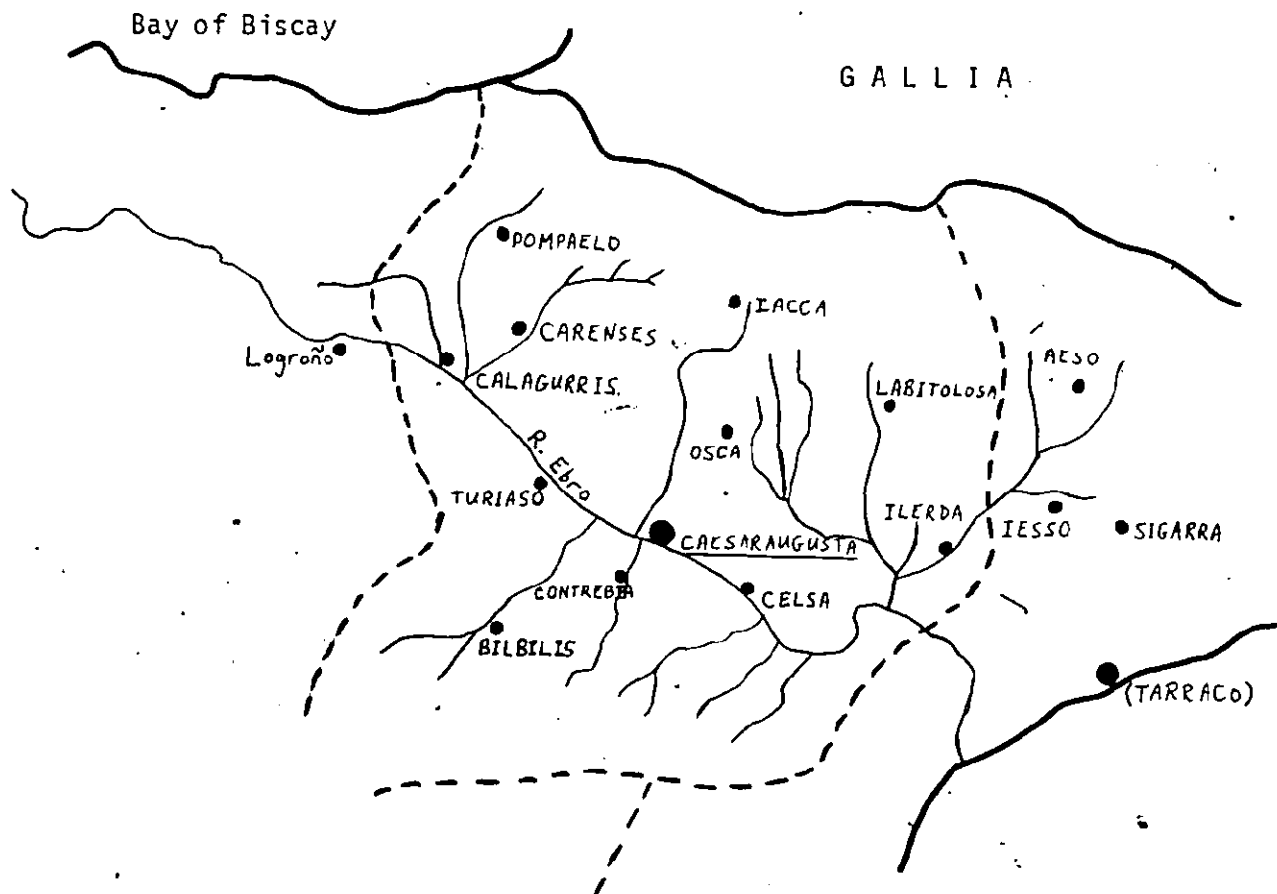
CHAPTER 5

THE EBRO VALLEY

The river Ebro (ancient Iberus) rises in Cantabria and flows south-east to the Mediterranean.¹ On its course to the sea the Ebro is fed by a multitude of smaller rivers with sources in the Pyrenees or the uplands of the Meseta. The basin of the Ebro and its tributaries thus occupies much of North-East Spain. The valley offers various attractions to settlers: fertile alluvial soil suitable for growing olives, grapes and cereals; vast mineral wealth (iron, silver, lead); and a route to the sea. The Ebro is navigable as far upstream as Logroño, and from early antiquity it formed a natural corridor of access to the interior. During the Bronze Age, Iberian culture worked its way up the length of the Ebro Valley, merging with the pre-Iberian cultures. During the Iron Age there was some fusion of Iberians and Celts in the Ebro region, but never as intense as on the Meseta.

Roman influence in North-East Spain was initially confined to the Mediterranean coast; conquest of the Ebro Valley began in earnest in the second century B.C. Cato in 195 seized huge quantities of Oscan silver (Livy 34.10.4, 34.10.7, 34.46.2). The appearance of mints in cities along the Ebro during the first half of the century gives silent witness to the Roman penetration. The presence of Roman garrisons in

¹ On the geography, history and resources of the Ebro Valley, see N. Dupré, MCV 9 (1973), 133-75.



Scale - 1:3,000,000

Map 8. EBRO VALLEY - GENERAL

towns along the Ebro played a considerable role in their romanization -- or rather, italicization.² In 89 B.C. Pompeius Strabo granted Roman citizenship virtutis causa to the members of a cavalry squadron from the middle Ebro, the turma Salluitana, under authority of the Lex Iulia of 90 (ILS 8888); the epithet Salluitana may denote geographical origin rather than the name of the squadron commander.³

Strabo, writing under Tiberius, refers to the dwellers on either side of the Ebro (οἱ τοῦ Ἰβήρος πλησίου ἑκατέρωθεν οἰκοῦντες) as togati, with mild manners and Italian customs (3.2.15, 3.4.20). At this time, then, the inhabitants of the Ebro Valley were already romanized, at least in appearance.

The first recorded members of the pre-Roman élite are Indibilis (variant Andobales) and Mandonius, princes (δυνάσται, principes, reguli) of the Ilergetes, who defected from Hannibal to Scipio but later revolt-

² P.A. Brunt, Italian Manpower (Oxford, 1971), 218, cf. 230; Knapp, Roman Experience 147-48.

³ In 87 B.C. we find mention, in another inscription, of the Salluienses who are neighbours of the Contrebiani. Contrebia lies some 20 km. from Caesaraugusta, whose original name was Salduba according to Pliny HN 3.3.24. We also have Saluie(nses?) attested on Iberian coins from the Ebro (Heiss, Monnaies 148-50). The philological transition from ld to ll being a simple one, it seems likely that the turma Salluitana should be associated with Salduba/Caesaraugusta. See N. Criniti, L'epigrafe di Asculum di Gn. Pompeo Strabone (Milano, 1970), 194-95; G. Fatás, BRAH 176 (1979), 426 (on the other inscription).

ed against the Romans.⁴ Mandonius and other leaders (principes) were surrendered to the Romans in 205, together with hostages (obsides) from about thirty tribes (Livy 29.3.4-5).

When Cato arrived in Spain in 195 he was approached by three ambassadors (legati) of Biliastages, prince (regulus) of the Ilergetes, seeking his help against hostile tribes (Livy 34.11-12; Frontin. Str. 4.7.31). After defeating the enemy in battle, Cato received envoys (πρεσβεύοντες) and hostages (ὄμηρα) from all the towns along the Ebro, and ordered their magistrates (οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντες) to dismantle their town-walls (App. Hisp. 41; Polyaeus 8.17; Zonaras 9.17). Fulvius Flaccus dealt with ambassadors (πρέσβεις) of the rebellious Lusones in 181 (App. Hisp. 42). Ca. 92 B.C. the populace of Belgeda set fire to their own town's senate-house and burned the senators (App. Hisp. 100).⁵ Several years later, Sertorius received hostages (obsides) from Contebia (Livy fr. 18); he also established a school at Osca for the sons of the nobles, much to the delight of the latter (Plut. Sert. 14.2-3). Ambassadors from Osca, Calagurris, the Iacetani and the Illurgavones came to Julius Caesar in 49, as did the Spanish principes who had been held hostage by the Pompeians (Caes. BCiv. 1.60.1-2, 1.74.5, cf. 1.51.3).

The earliest known romanizing magistrates in the Ebro region are

⁴ Polyb. 3.76, 9.11, 10.18, 10.35-40, 11.29-33; Diod. 26.22; Livy 22.21, 25.34, 26.49, 27.17, 27.19, 28.24-28, 28.31, 28.34, 29.103; Val. Max. 4.3.1; Sil. Pun. 3.376-77, 16.564-65; App. Hisp. 37-38; Dio Cass. 16 fr. 57.42; Zonaras 9.10; J. Triviño, Cuadernos de Historia 23-24 (1955), 268-306; M. Guallar Pérez, Indibil y Mandonio (Lérida, 1956). Silius refers to "Mandonius" and "Caeso"; the latter character appears to be fictitious. The gold torques from Conca de Tremp in Lérida province (J. Maluquer de Motes, Pyrenae 6 (1970), pl. VI) perhaps belonged to chiefs of the Ilergetes.

⁵ Cf. Broughton, MRR II, 18.

those of Contrebia (nos. 726-31) in 87 B.C.: a praetor and five magistratus, all with indigenous nomenclature. The office of praetor is very strange in such a context: Roman colonies often had a pair of praetores in charge, both in Italy and outside,⁶ but here we have a single praetor in what is patently not a Roman town. The board of five magistrates is equally suspicious. Quinqueviri did exist as commissioners at Rome, but they were hardly magistratus. A quinquevir at Lacippo in Baetica (no. 276) provides an intriguing but probably unrelated parallel. One is reminded of the odd numbers of magistrates in semi-romanized towns of Africa: three sufetes at Mactar, and undecimprimi elsewhere. It would appear that we are dealing with an intermediate stage in the romanization of Contrebia: the princeps and his council have adopted equivalent Latin titles for their appointments, but have not actually adopted the Roman magisterial system. The same inscription shows that Contrebia had a senatus and iudices; the names of these bodies clearly imitate those at Rome (perhaps too closely),⁷ but one suspects that they are romanized in name only and are basically pre-Roman institutions.

During the third quarter of the first century B.C. we find pairs of magistrates styled "pr." on coins of Celsa and Calagurris. One of the pairs from the former city is "pr. quin.". "Pr." is probably again

⁶ E.g. at Narbo Martius, founded in 118 B.C. For Italian examples see P.A. Brunt; Italian Manpower (Oxford, 1971), 529-30, 534.

⁷ The local governing body in a municipium was properly the ordo decurionum. But Contrebia was not even a municipium, and the loftier appellation senatus is surely presumptuous. Similarly, iudices are a Roman office; in the provinces we expect praefecti iuredicundo or the like.

Table 17. EBRO VALLEY MAGISTRATES (by conventus)

	<u>Caes.</u>	<u>Tar.</u>	<u>Total</u>
aedilis	23	3	26
decurio	.	1	1
duumvir	136	7	143
duumviralis		1	1
legatus	5		5
magistratus	7		7
omnibus honoribus functus	4		4
p̄aetor	1		1
pr.	8		8
pr. quin.	2		2
quattuorvir		2	2
TOTALS	186	14	200

praetor, imitating the pre-duumviral title of the chief magistrates of Roman colonies. The alternative restoration, praefectus (sc. i.d.)⁸ is less likely: first, because these are coining magistrates, not judicial ones, and secondly, because despite the relative frequency of municipal praefecti in Spain there exists no parallel for a praefectus quinquennalis.⁸

There are few further surprises among the Ebro magistrates. The number of duumviri is quite high, but most of these appear on coins and thus are more reflective of the frequent coinage issued along the Ebro than of widespread romanization;⁹ indeed, the number of towns represented by this horde of duumvirs is quite small. The breakdown of local magistrates appears in Table 17.

As for collective citations, apart from the senatus of Contrebia already discussed, we have mention of the ordo Caesaraugustanus in CIL II 4244 = ILER 1612 = RIT 304, and the ordo Ilesoniensis in CIL II 4452 = ILER 1211.

There are 17 flamines attested in the Ebro Valley, half of whom are provincial (flamen p. H. c. or the like). Their titles are pedestrian and elicit no special comment (see Table 18). There are also three flaminicae (two of whom are certainly, and one possibly, provincial) and two flaminicae perpetuae. Flamen is clearly the official designation for priests of the imperial cult in this region: we find not a single

⁸ M. Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas (Cambridge, 1946), 211-12 interprets "PR(aefecti pro) IIVIR(is)" and "PR(aefecti pro) QUIN(quennalibus)"; this is an even more complex and less likely solution.

⁹ Even in the first century A.D. we find a duumvir of Aeso (no. 595) worshipping the moon.

Table 18. EBRO VALLEY FLAMINES (by conventus)

	<u>Caes.</u>	<u>Tar.</u>	<u>Total</u>
flamen	7	1	8
flamen p. H. c.	6	1	7
flamen Romae divorum et Augg. p. H. c.	2		2
TOTALS	15	2	17

Table 19. EBRO VALLEY EQUESTRIANS (by conventus)

	<u>Caes.</u>	<u>Tar.</u>	<u>Total</u>
eques	1		1
equo publico donato	1		1
praefectus Caesaris	3		3
praefectus fabrum	2	3	5
procurator Augusti ab alimentis	1		1
procurator monetae	1		1
tribunus militum	4	3	7
TOTALS	13	6	19

pontifex or sacerdos.

A variety of equestrian titles is attested in the region, and military appointments are quite numerous (seven military tribunes and five praefecti fabrum). We also have two procurators, one monetal, one alimentary. Equestrian appointments are listed in Table 19.

There are no known senators from the Ebro Valley -- somewhat surprisingly in view of its early and seemingly thorough romanization. However, the rhetorician Quintilian was an honorary senator (awarded the ornamenta consularia) and entertained hopes, later dashed, that his son, adopted by a consular, might achieve the highest offices of state. Quintilian and Martial are the only representatives of an intellectual elite in the region.

As in most of Spain, the usual local career pattern in the Ebro region is "aedilis - IIVir - flamen". At the provincial level, many of the priests are equestrians, and in all such cases their equestrian appointments are listed before the flamine, suggesting that these persons were already knights before receiving the provincial priesthood. Such instances would seem to support Pflaum's contention that the provincial flamine was the last post held by an equestrian, rather than a stepping-stone to the equestrian cursus.¹⁰

The interaction of career progression and geographic mobility is very noticeable among the Ebro Valley élite. The centurions and military tribunes serve all over the Empire, from Britain to Syria; one man (no. 737), after being centurion in five different legions, becomes a decurion at Barcino. Two men (nos. 732 and 734), after holding all

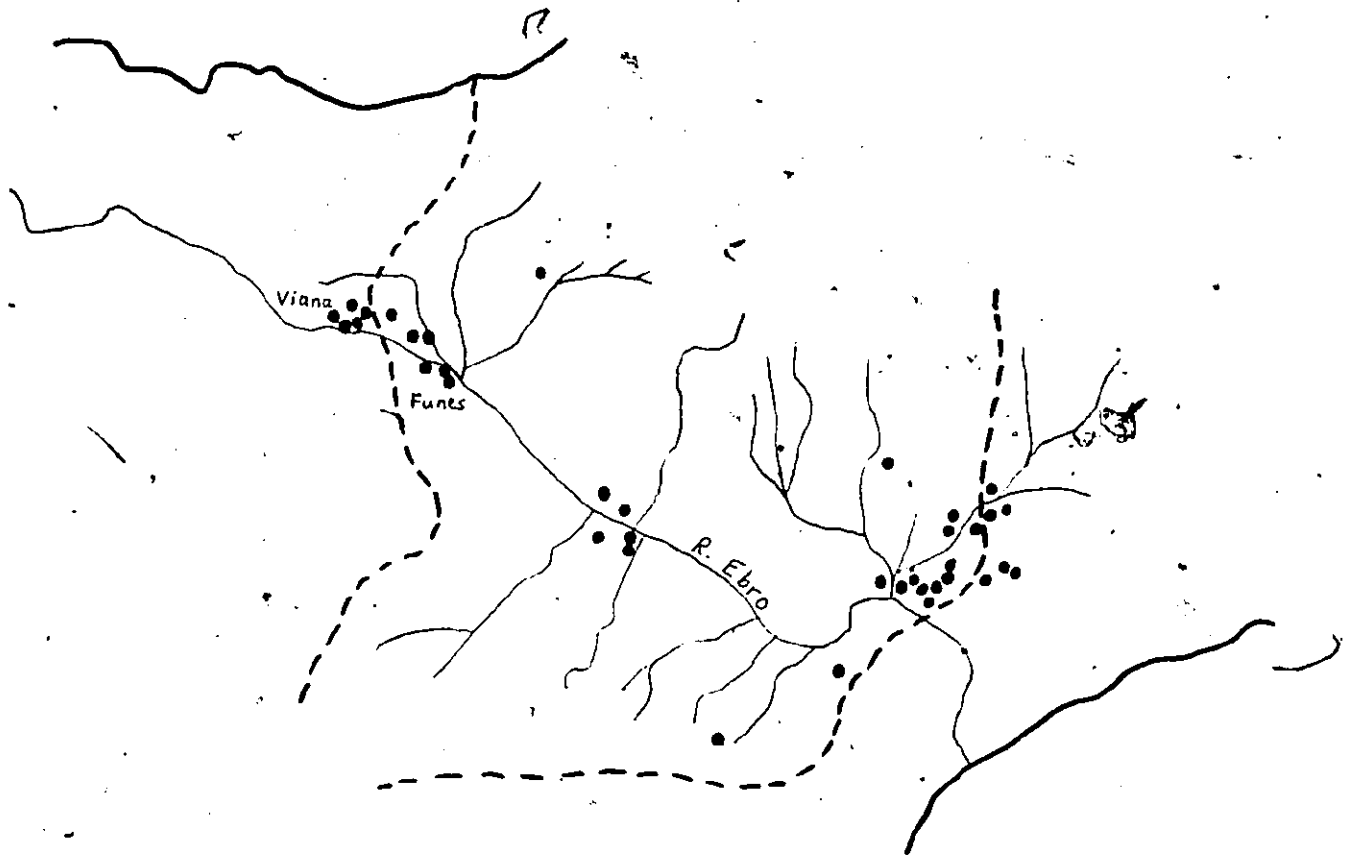
¹⁰ H.-G. Pflaum, EResp. 106, contra Etienne, Culte 152.

municipal posts in their home towns, move to Caesaraugusta and hold all posts there as well; one of them goes on to become a provincial flamen. A duumvir of Osicerda (no. 760) is also a duumvir at Tarraco. A quattuorvir at Sigarra (no. 770) has a son who also becomes duumvir at Tarraco. Martial and the Quintilians moved to Rome and achieved fame and honours. A native of Caesaraugusta (no. 660), after holding all local offices, was adlected among the iudices at Rome, then returned to Spain to hold the provincial flaminiate. A native of Osicerda (no. 761) became provincial flaminica at Tarraco and subsequently became flaminica for life in three cities.

The commercial élite is attested solely through archaeological evidence. In the first century B.C. we know of at least ten villas along the middle Ebro and near cities on its tributaries (notably Ilerda and Pompaelo). Commercial activity is attested by the great quantity of Republican amphorae and Campanian ware as well as Iberian ceramics.¹¹ Although some of these villas were destroyed during the Civil Wars of the Late Republic, we find a large number (some three dozen) of villas springing up in the first century A.D., with the densest clusters of them around the ancient cities of Ilerda, Caesaraugusta and Calagurris, and the modern town of Viana, where an ancient town may have existed (see Map 9). Wine production is attested around the last two centres.¹² Agrarian exploitation becomes even more intense during the second and third centuries. Particularly noteworthy is the discovery, 7 km. west

¹¹ Gorges, Villas 26, 28.

¹² Ibid., 34.



Based on Gorges, Villas fig. 6

Scale - 1:3,000,000

Map 9. EBRO VALLEY VILLAS AT THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

of modern Funes in Navarra province, of a large wine factory/warehouse, equipped with presses and vats; gold coins dating to the reigns of Vespasian and Hadrian attest the profitability of this establishment.¹³

Indigenous cognomina, gentilics (in -um) and filiation (of the type "Lubbi f.") are found among the early magistrates of Contrebia (nos. 726-31), but on the whole the nomenclature of the Ebro élite is quite Roman. One may reasonably conjecture that some of the magistrates of Osca, who are cited by cognomen alone, are not Roman citizens. There are rare instances of indigenous filiation at Caesaraugusta (C. Cludius Recti f. Rectus, no. 657) and Pompaelo (Sempronia Fusci f. Placida, no. 767), as well as the revealing cognomen "Celtiberus" at Aeso (nos. 600 and 602).

There are seven Porcii and a Cato among the Ebro Valley élite. One is reminded of L. Porcius Cato who was governor here in 195, and attempts have been made to connect them with him.¹⁴ However, the number is not large, and Porcius is not a rare name in Spain. It is doubtful that virritim grants of citizenship were being issued at the beginning of the second century B.C. On the other hand, some of these Porcii might be descendants of Cato's freedmen.

Conclusions

In the pre-Roman period the Ebro Valley was ruled by tribal princes. Romanization began in the second century B.C. and was virtually

¹³ Ibid., 39, 322.

¹⁴ So A. D'Ors, Emerita 40 (1972), 66.

complete by the early first century A.D. Semi-romanized magistrates appear in the 80's B.C.; it is clear that these magistrates, although bearing Roman titles, are remnants of the pre-Roman élite rather than new men. A considerable number of Ebro natives went on to equestrian careers or provincial priesthoods, although such advancement usually required that they leave the valley. On the other hand, there were riches to be made in the valley itself, as witness the thriving agrarian economy.

The Ebro Valley owed its speedy romanization to two factors: its situation on the early Roman route to Spain, and its commercial importance as the only major Spanish river emptying into the Mediterranean. Yet the romanized élite are less conspicuous here than on the East Coast, and in some respects (e.g. the failure to produce senators) the valley is more akin to the Central Uplands.

CHAPTER 6

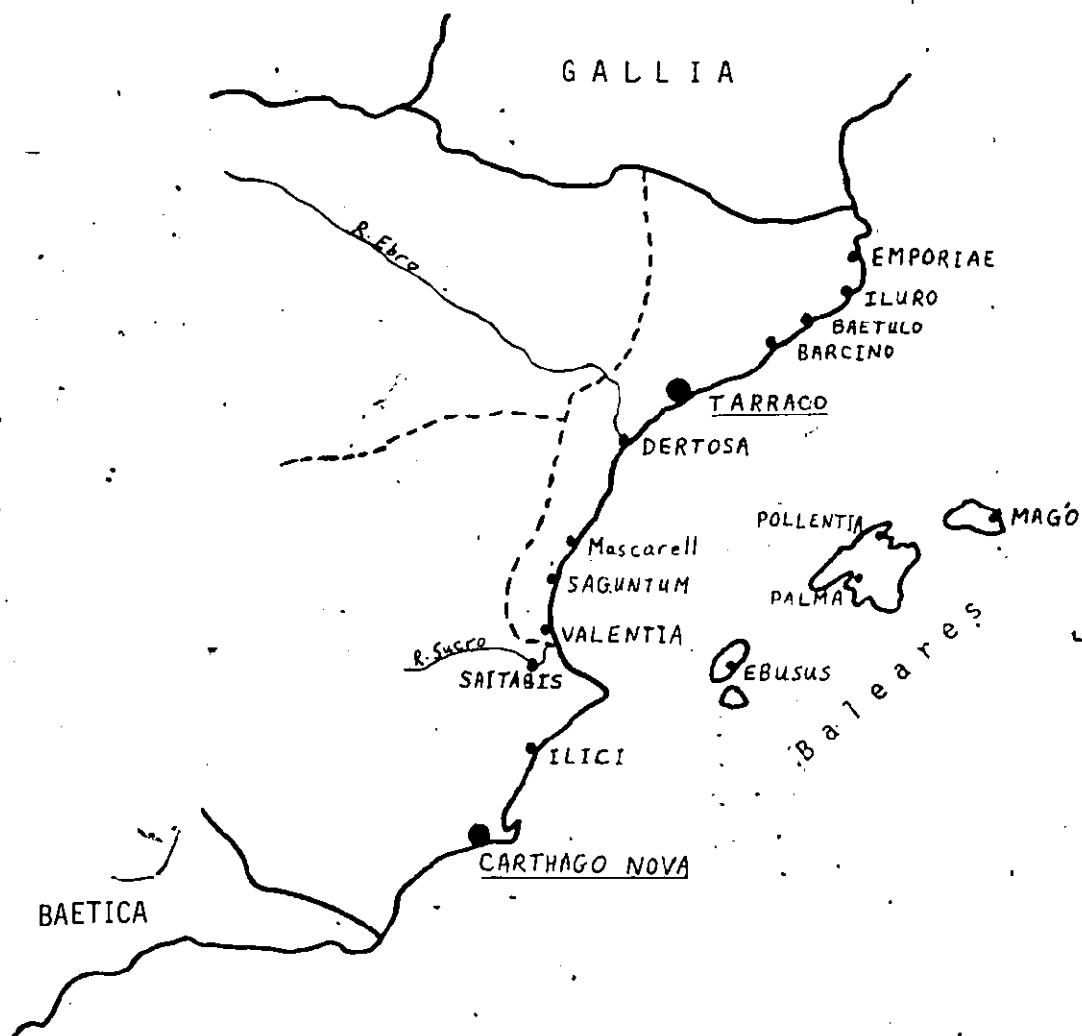
THE EAST COAST

The East Coast, an extent of Mediterranean littoral stretching from the Gallic border to the environs of Carthago Nova, was by its very location susceptible to influences from abroad. Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans successively left their mark on this coastal plain. The Greek motive was metals: cities in Sicily, for instance, used Spanish silver in their coinage.¹ In the third century B.C. the Carthaginians joined the metal rush, founding Carthago Nova (228) and overthrowing Saguntum -- an act which precipitated the Second Punic War and gave the Romans a foothold in Spain.

The most romanized sector of the coast was, not surprisingly, the stretch between Dertosa (the entrepôt at the mouth of the all-important Ebro; its coins appropriately portray a ship)² and Emporiae (a Greek town and the chief military and commercial harbour). Between them lie Tarraco (the terminus of the land-route from Italy, and the provincial

¹ T.J. Dunbabin, The Western Greeks (Oxford, 1948), 248, cf. 329. On Greek Spain in general see A. García y Bellido, Hispania Graeca, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1948) and R. Carpenter, The Greeks in Spain (Bryn Mawr, 1925). Many of the supposed Greek colonies are unsubstantiated by archaeological evidence; the connection of Rhodae with Rhodes and of Saguntum with Zacynthus appears to be popular etymology.

² Modern Tortosa lies several kilometres inland, because of modern silting, but the ancient city was situated on the sea: M. Sanz y Martínez, Boletín Arqueológico 121-28 (1973-74), 12.



Scale - 1:6,500,000

Map 10. EAST COAST - GENERAL

capital) and Barcino. The Greeks did not blend readily with the Romans: hence, significantly, the Iberians of Emporiae were enfranchised before the Greeks,³ and there are few occurrences of Greek names among the elite of the East Coast. It was typical of the Greeks (whose culture was older and, in their eyes, superior) to ignore Roman institutions, refusing even to learn Latin; reciprocally, the Romans distrusted and despised the Graeculi.⁴ Thus the Greeks play little part in our study. The Iberians on the other hand were on the whole so quick and, it would seem, willingly romanized that we see few vestiges of the actual transition.⁵

The earliest known members of the East Coast élite were Greeks. Theron, king (rex) of Hither Spain, launched a fleet against Gades in a reckless attempt to capture the temple of Heracles (Macrob. Sat. 1.20. 12). The diadem found at Jávea was perhaps worn by a local Greek ruler at Hemeroscopeion.⁶ Ambassadors sent by Spain to Alexander the Great (Diod. 17.113.2; Oros. 3.20.8, cf. 6.21.20) came presumably from the Greek settlements on the East Coast.

³ Rostovtzeff, Roman Empire² 630 n. 25; P. A. Brunt, Italian Man-power (Oxford, 1971), 248, 604.

⁴ P. A. Brunt in Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien (Paris, 1976), 162-63; Wiseman, New Men 23 and n. 4.

⁵ A few Iberian cognomina appear, mostly on Republican coinage; some of these are written in Iberian script. There are also bilingual Iberian-Latin inscriptions at Saguntum in the Augustan period: A. García y Bellido, AEA 40 (1967), 25.

⁶ J. Caro Barroja, España primitiva y romana (Barcelona, 1957), pl. 103.

In about 220 B.C. the Turbuletes sent ambassadors (πρέσβεις) to Carthage to complain about the neighbouring Saguntines (App. Hisp. 10). In the face of expected attack, the Saguntine senate and noble elders (patres claresque senum) dispatched envoys (πρέσβεις, lecti viri) to both Rome and Carthage (ibid. 10 ff.; Polyb. 3.15.1; Sil. Pun. 1.564-65; Zonaras 8.21). We read too of Amusicus, princeps of the Ausetani, who fled to Hannibal's side in 218 (Livy 21.61); of Abilyx, a noble Saguntine unsurpassed in rank or wealth (ibid. 22.22; Polyb. 3.98-99; Zonaras 9.1);⁷ and of Murrus, a Saguntine hero (Sil. Pun. book 1, passim). Some three thousand noble hostages (nobilissimi obsides) of the Carthaginians were finally released when Scipio captured Carthago Nova in 209 (Polyb. 10.18; Livy 26.47.4, 26.49.1; Val. Max. 4.3.1; Eutropius 3.15.3). Scipio also captured the elders and senators of Carthago Nova (Polyb. 10.18-19; Livy 26.51, 27.7) and set free the daughter of a Spanish noble (Gell. NA 7.8.3, cf. Polyb. 10.19). Edesco, prince (δυνάστης) of the Edetani and clarus inter duces Hispanos went over to Scipio in 208 (Polyb. 10.34-35; Livy 27.17), while in the same year the Roman general rewarded the Spanish princes and chiefs (reguli principesque) for their part in the capture of Baecula (Livy 27.19.7). Scipio also restored more Spanish hostages in this campaign (Polyb. 10.34, 38, 40; Livy 27.17). Culchas (Colichas), who ruled over 28 towns, sent troops to aid Silanus in 206 (Polyb. 11.20.3-5; Livy 28.13). Many petty kings (regu-

⁷ The wealth of the Iberians on the East Coast is witnessed in part by the gold and silver jewellery found in the treasure of Tivisa near Dertosa: R. Menéndez Pidal (ed.), Historia de España, I (Madrid, 1935), 56-57 (figs. 45-46); K. Raddatz, Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel (Berlin, 1969), pls. 69-78. On the gold and silver of Saguntum cf. App. Hisp. 12.

li) sent contingents to participate in Scipio's games in that year, and the twin brothers Corbis and Orsua, homines clari inlustresque, duelled for the kingship of Ibes (Livy 28.16.10, 28.21, cf. 28.43.15; Sil. Pun. 16.533-48; Zonaras 9.10). Ambassadors (legati) from Saguntum addressed the Roman Senate in 205 and 203 (Livy 28.39, 30.21).

During the Late Republic we catch only occasional glimpses of the élite in this region. In 195 Cato dealt with Spanish legati and senatores, and an anonymous chieftain (princeps) of the Bergestani (Livy 34.16.6, 34.17.7, 34.21.2). Later in the second century we see both Iberian and Latin names among the magistrates of Emporiae, although the script is still Iberian (nos. 900-904). Probably around the end of the century we find magistrates with Roman names at Valentia (nos. 1094-99). Q. Varius Severus Hybrida, tribunus plebis in 90 B.C., although apparently born on the East Coast, was undoubtedly sired by an Italian (no. 1105). During the civil wars of the 40's we find magistrates with Roman names at Carthago Nova (q.v.). Julius Caesar, campaigning on the East Coast in 49, received envoys (legati) from the Tarraconenses and Ausetani (Caes. BCiv. 1.60.1-2). By the start of the Imperial period, the élite of this region appear already romanized.

Coins and inscriptions attest a wide range of local offices held by the élite. While most of the magistracies involved have been discussed in previous chapters, a few warrant special comment. One of these is honores aedilicii. This honorary magistracy was not confined to the élite, for we find it conferred on obvious freedmen.⁸ Of the

⁸ E.g. M. Porcius Theopompus, sevir Augustalis (CIL II 4060-61 = ILER 1383, 5573); P. Valerius Dionysus, sevir Augustalis (CIL II 4062 = ILER 1382).

Table 20. EAST COAST MAGISTRATES (by conventus)

	<u>Carth.</u>	<u>Tarr.</u>	<u>Total</u>
aedilis	15	62	77
decurio	1	5	6
duumvir	29	64	93
duumvir q.(?)	7	1	8
duumvir quinquennalis	24	7	31
honor decurionatus		1	-1
honores aedificii		3	3
legatus	2	5	7
magistrate (unspecified)	5	13	18
omnibus honoribus (per)functus	11	11	22
ornamenta aedilicia		1	1
praefectus	4	1	5
praefectus murorum		1	1
praetor	2		2
quaestor		51	51
quattuorvir	1	1	2
quinquennalis	1	2	3
triumvir	1		1
TOTALS	103	229	332

three honorary aediles listed in Table 20, two are definitely members of the élite (one a decurion and pontifex, the other a duumvir, knight and provincial flamen) while the third, although of possible libertine descent, is not necessarily to be excluded.⁹ There were also honorary duumvirs, including, at Carthago Nova, King Juba of Mauretania and his son Ptolemy: these of course are not Spanish, nor true magistrates (Juba was also duumvir at Gades: Avienus Ora Maritima 284), and we have not listed them in Table 20 nor in the Catalogue.

A more enigmatic problem is the interpretation of the designation "q." on certain coins. In inscriptions, "q." usually stands for "quaestor", rarely "quinquennalis".¹⁰ Many of the coins of Emporiae are stamped "q.", and this apparently stands for "quaestor" since some of the coins give an alternative and fuller form, "QVAIC".¹¹ At Carthago Nova, on the other hand, we have monetal magistrates called "Ilvir q.", and here the "q." in at least three cases can be demonstrated to mean "quinquennalis": (1) Helvius Pollio is called "Ilvir q." on some coins but "Ilvir quin." on others; (2) King Juba is called "Ilvir qu." on coins but "Ilvir quinq." in CIL II 3417 = ILS 840 = ILER 6040; (3) Laetilius Apalus is called "Ilvir q." on coins but "Ilvir quinq." in CIL II

⁹ See P. Garnsey in The Ancient Historian and his Materials, ed. B. Levick (Westmead, 1975), 167.

¹⁰ J.E. Sandys, Latin Epigraphy (London, 1927), 307.

¹¹ L. Villaronga in Estudios de numismática romana (Barcelona, 1964), 93 perversely interpreted "QVAIC" as "quinquennalis", but has now recanted, accepting even "q." as "quaestor" (Aes Coinage 13). M. Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas (Cambridge, 1946), 156 took "Q.V." and "A.I." as "C(ensores)", adding that "q." is regularly "quinquennalis".

3417 = ILS 3624 = ILER 1414. It therefore appears that "IIVir q." at Carthago Nova designates a quinquennalis. What then of the "IIViri q." at Ilici? In the absence of evidence to the contrary, "q." should be "quaestor" ("quinquennalis" would be abbreviated "q.q.", at least in inscriptions; "q.q." never appears on Spanish coinage). But in view of the proximity of Ilici to Carthago Nova, one has to wonder. Beltrán Lloris contends that the Ilici magistrates are quinquennales, but he weakens his credibility by suggesting that "q." is "quinquennalis" also at Emporiae, Valentia, Urso and Corduba.¹² It might be argued that "q." may have a different meaning when it follows "IIVir", especially since "quaestor" is supposedly a lower office and should precede the higher. Such an argument is in fact very hazardous: Beltrán Lloris cites a magistrate of Emporiae (our no. 939) with the titulary "aed. IIVir q." as evidence that "q." is "quinquennalis" there; he is seemingly unaware of another magistrate from the same city (no. 935) whose inscription reads, unequivocally, "aed. IIViro quaestori". The position of the quaestorship in the cursus honorum, or at least in the epigraphical record of it, is by no means well marked; it sometimes comes between the aedileship and duumvirate, sometimes after the duumvirate, sometimes after a post-duumviral flaminiate -- in short, it seems, anywhere except the beginning of the cursus. We therefore have grave reason to question the widespread belief that the quaestorship preceded the aedileship in the municipal cursus.¹³ The municipal charters do not say so (the quaestor-

¹² F. Beltrán Lloris, Numisma 28 (1978), 173, 179.

¹³ F.F. Abbott and A.C. Johnson, Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire (Princeton, 1926), 59; four additional references in J.F. Drinkwater, Britannia 10 (1979), 89 n. 1.

torship is listed after the other magistracies, and they all appear to have the same age requirement of twenty-five years rather than a sliding scale: *Lex Malacitana* 54), and many inscriptions can be adduced from Italy and Narbonensis in which the municipal quaestorship follows the aedileship and often the duumvirate.¹⁴ It therefore appears that the quaestorship could be held at any stage of the cursus, not necessarily at the beginning, and perhaps not necessarily at all (in Baetica, for instance, quaestors are conspicuous by their scarcity). The role of the quaestor is also called into question. Undoubtedly he was in charge of local finances, the municipal treasury; but was he in charge of coinage as well? In some cities, e.g. Emporiae, assuredly so -- and Emporiae was an Augustan municipium. The coinage of other Spanish cities names aediles, quattuorvirs and (most commonly) duumvirs -- some of them quinquennial. Responsibility for coinage is not spelled out in the municipal charters as we have them, and the variety of offices named on the coins suggests that the delegation of such responsibility was a matter of local preference.

As for collective citations, the ordo is frequently mentioned in inscriptions from East Coast cities (Baetulo, Barcino, Dertosa, Ebusus, Segobriga, Sigarra, Tarraco, Valentia). There is also mention in A.D. 6 of the senatus Bocchoritanus at Pollentia (CIL II 3695 = ILER 5828).

The chief religious office is the flamine of the Imperial cult. A wide variety of flaminial titles is attested in this region, many of them provincial (see Table 21). There are also a few pontifices

¹⁴ E.g. ILS 6146, 6259, 6264, 6482, 6489, 6529, 6536, 6542, 6551, 6594, 6620-21, 6694, 6968.

Table 21. EAST COAST FLAMINES (by conventus)

	<u>Carth.</u>	<u>Tarr.</u>	<u>Total</u>
flamen	4	27	31
flamen Aug. p. H. c.		1	1
flamen Augustorum	1		1
flamen conventus Carthaginiensis	1		1
flamen Divi Augusti	1	1	2
flamen Divi Claudi		1	1
flamen Divi Titi		1	1
flamen Divi Traiani Parthici		1	1
flamen Divi Vespasiani		1	1
flamen Divorum Augustorum p. H. c.		1	1
flamen Divorum et Aug.	2	1	3
flamen Divorum et Augustorum p. H. c.		2	2
flamen Imp. Vespasiani Caesaris Aug. perpetuus		1	1
flamen p. H. c.	9	14	23
flamen Romae Divorum et Augustorum		1	1
flamen Romae Divorum et Augustorum p. H. c.	3	1	4
flamen Romae et Augusti	2	4	6
flamen Romae et Augusti p. H. c.		1	1
flamen Romae et Augustorum		1	1
flamen Romae et Divi Augusti		1	1
flamen Romae et Divorum Augustorum		1	1
TOTALS	23	62	85

Table 22. EAST COAST FLAMINICAE (by conventus)

	<u>Carth.</u>	<u>Tarr.</u>	<u>Total</u>
flaminica	1	1	2
flaminica p. H. c.		2	2
flaminica perpetua Concordiae Augustae		2	2
TOTALS	1	5	6

Table 23. EAST COAST EQUESTRIAN PREFECTS (by conventus)

	<u>Carth.</u>	<u>Tarr.</u>	<u>Unc.</u>	<u>Total</u>
alae		2		2
Augusti		2		2
cohortis	3	8		11
fabrum	1	6		7
insularum Baliarum		1		1
insularum Baliarum et orae maritimae		1		1
orae maritimae		7	1	8
orae maritimae Laeëtanae		1		1
			6	
TOTALS	4	28	1	33

Table 24. EAST COAST PROCURATORS (by conventus)

	<u>Carth.</u>	<u>Tarr.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Augusti a rationibus		1	1
Augusti provinciae	1	1	2
Caesarum conventus Tarraconensis		1	1
Divi Titi		1	1
TOTALS	1	4	5

(three in the conventus Carthaginiensis, ten in Tarraconensis), five flaminicae (Table 22) and a few augurs (two from Carthaginiensis, three from Tarraconensis) and sacerdotes (one per conventus). The office of Salus (three attested, plus four Saliorum magistri) occurs at Saguntum, which is indeed the only place outside Italy where this priesthood is encountered.¹⁵

There are numerous equestrians attested in this region, including seventeen military tribunes (sixteen from Tarraconensis) and eleven prefects of cohorts (see Table 23). Many of the provincial flamines were equestrian, and, in the Flavian period most of them had held equestrian posts in the army before attaining the provincial priesthood.¹⁶ There is also evidence for five procurators of East Coast origin (Table 24).

The East Coast has no shortage of senators, though not as many as Baetica: fifteen from Tarraconensis, three from Carthaginiensis, one from an uncertain conventus. The earliest, of course, was Q. Varius Severus Hybrida (tribunus plebis 90 B.C. and of Italian extraction), whom we have already mentioned. The senators include thirteen consuls

¹⁵ D. Ladage, Städtische Priester- und Kultämter im Lateinischen Westen des Imperium Romanum zur Kaiserzeit (Köln, 1971), 8. The reason for this solitary location is unclear. Perhaps pre-Roman Saguntum had a comparable cult?

¹⁶ Alföldy, Flamines chap. 3. In the second century the tendency was for provincial flamines to have held only municipal offices previously. This does not mean that municipal decurions could not be equestrians; but their careers were hardly comparable with those of the military tribunes and prefects who held the provincial flamine under the Flavians. This seeming decline in the social status of the priesthood did not apply everywhere: on its continuing prestige in Gallia Comata cf. J.F. Drinkwater, Latomus 37 (1978), 822-23 and n. 33.

(including six from Barcino and three from Tarraco), of which six were consul in the first century and seven in the second: one each under Claudius and Nero, four under Domitian (presumably adlected by Vespasian), three under Trajan, four under Hadrian.

The most illustrious senatorial family is the Pedanii of Barcino, who first appear under the Julio-Claudians. They appear to be immigrants from Rome, belonging to the urban tribe Palatina. The family produced four consuls, but fell into disfavour in 136 after disputing the proposed succession to Hadrian: thereafter the Pedanii hold local offices only.¹⁷

If the East Coast produced an intellectual élite, we are ignorant of the fact. The only known member of the East Coast literary élite is Florus, an immigrant from Africa, Hispaniensis rather than Hispanus.

Career progression usually begins with the familiar cursus "aedile-duumvir-flamen", although there are numerous permutations. Upward social mobility is attested in some cases: local magistrates become equestrian army officers and provincial flamines. Two former centurions retired (one of them from the Spanish legion VII Gemina) and held municipal offices (nos. 818, 1075, both second century); another centurion finished as a procurator (no. 888). Although an equestrian career within Spain was culminated by the provincial flamine, only one flamen p. H. c. (Raecius Gallus, no. 1037) made the difficult transition to senatorial status.

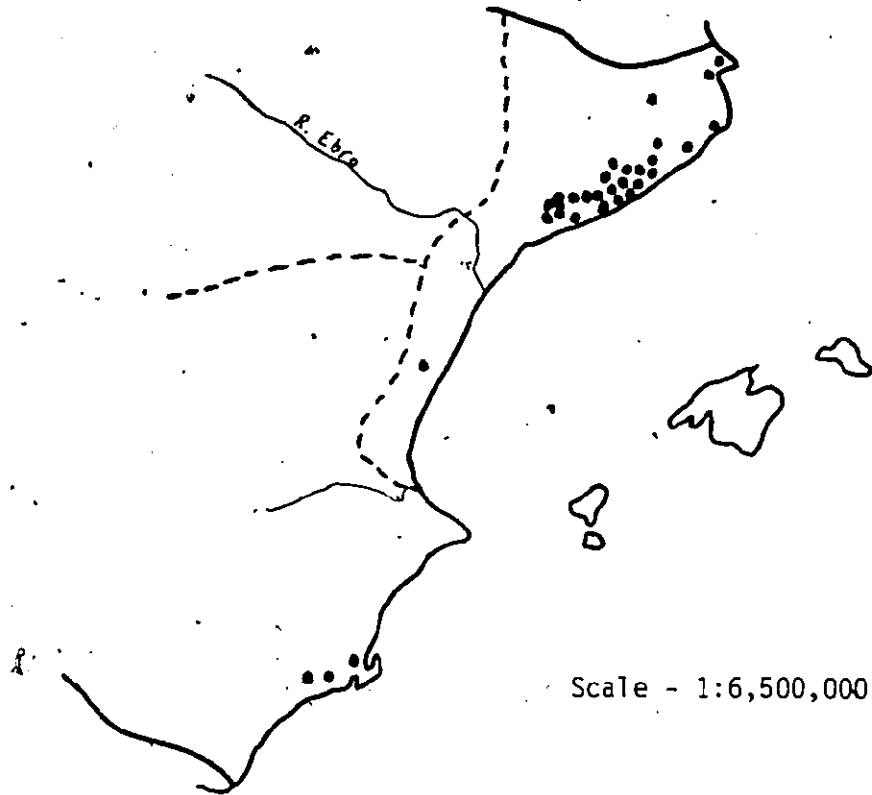
¹⁷ On the gens Pedania see Weinrib, Spaniards 206-11; F.P. Verrié, Studi Genuensi 9 (1972), 3-11; I. Rodá de Llanza, El origen de la vida municipal y la prosopografía de Barcino (Barcelona, 1974), 26-33; eadem, Hisp. Ant. 5 (1975), 223-68.

The élite were also active in commerce. The Greeks had been attracted to the East Coast by its commercial potential, and even in the Roman period there were probably well-to-do Greek merchants at such cities as Emporiae, although no names survive. The cities of the East Coast were spared the ruinous destruction suffered by the rest of the province during the Sertorian wars (Sall. *H.* fr. 2.98.9), and so remained prosperous.

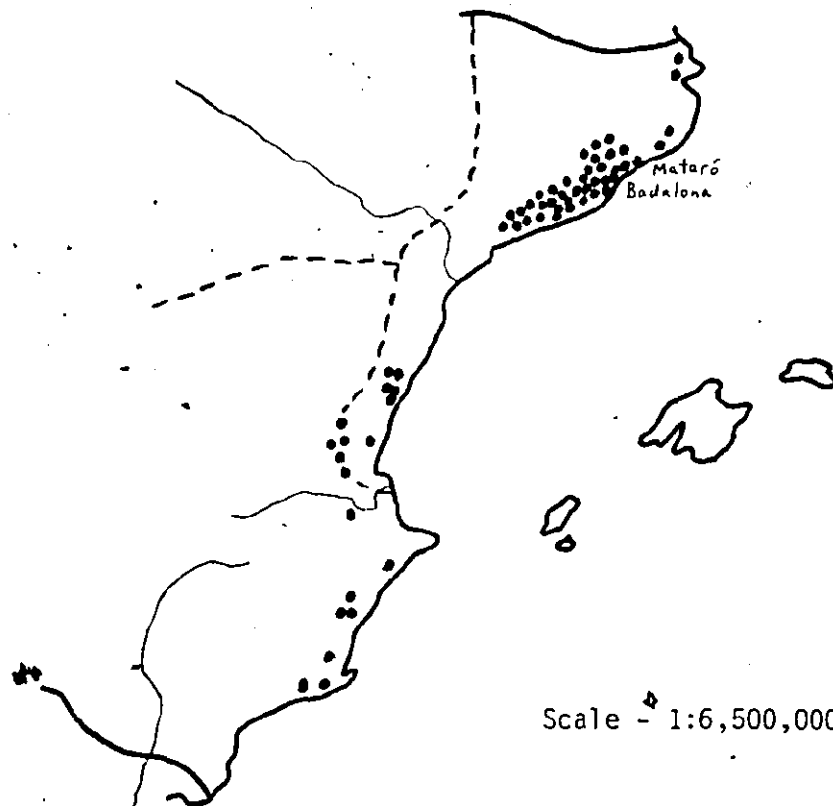
The mines of Carthago Nova produced 25,000 drachmas of silver a day (Polyb. 34.9.9). In the second century B.C. they were owned by the State, but by the Julio-Claudian period they were in private hands (Strabo 3.2.10). Closely allied with silver was lead, and numerous lead ingots found in the vicinity of Carthago Nova attest production in the first half of the first century B.C. by L. Lucius L. f. Russinus, his brother or son Marcus, Cn. Atellius T. f. Mene(nia), C. and M. Aquinus, and others.¹⁸

There was money to be made on the East Coast, and many of the élite had made it. The numerous equestrians and senators obviously had at least the minimum property qualification for their *ordo* (400,000 and 1,000,000 HS respectively). Voconius Romanus (no. 1029) had 4,000,000 HS, but could not get into the Senate despite the support of the younger Pliny. Caecilius Optatus, a retired centurion turned magistrate, left 14,500 denarii to provide games at Barcino and Tarraco (no. 818). A citizen of Ebusus (no. 898) donated 96,000 HS to his town.

¹⁸ C. Domergue, *MCV* 1 (1965), 9-25; *idem*, *AEA* 39 (1966), 41-72. Domergue makes the Planii relatives of Cicero's friend M. Planius Heres (*Fam.* 9.13). Atellii are attested among the magistrates of Carthago Nova (*viz.* nos. 840, 857).



Map 11. EAST COAST VILLAS IN THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD



Map 12. EAST COAST VILLAS AT THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

Based on Gorges, Villas figs. 4 and 6

Villas begin to appear on the East Coast in the late third and second centuries B.C., but it is during the first century, when romanization had been more fully realized, that we find the flourishing of numerous villas along the coast from Tarraco to Emporiae (Map 11).¹⁹ That these agrarian enterprises prospered is signalled by the continuing increase in the number of villas in the first century A.D. (Map 12), while in the late second and early third centuries the villas display luxurious features such as baths, gardens, and mosaics of a splendour matched only in Italy and Narbonensis.²⁰ The heavy density of villas in the Tarraco-Barcelona-Baetulo district at any given time (cf. maps) precludes the likelihood of many latifundia there. Elsewhere, however, overcrowding was probably not so severe as sometimes represented,²¹ and further south (e.g. between Saguntum and Valentia) larger estates may well have

¹⁹ A. Balil, Celticum 9 (1964), 217-28; Gorges, Villas 24. Both authors make the same two false assumptions: (1) that Cato (cos. 195) instigated a "descent to the sea" of the pre-Roman population (in fact the sources say only that the towns had to dismantle their walls); (2) that the increase in villas is attributable to a great influx of Italian settlers in the second (Gorges) or first (Balil) century B.C. (in fact there is no evidence for massive immigration to Citerior in the second century: Knapp, Roman Experience 152-58. In the first century, colonies were established at Tarraco and Carthago Nova, but these do not account for the proliferation of villas at Barcino and Baetulo).

²⁰ Gorges, Villas 38.

²¹ For instance, Gorges (Villas 94) suggests that the presence of some 115 villas in the vicinity of Mataró (ancient Iluro) would only have left room for small farms. However, this crowding is not reflected in his maps (information reproduced in our Maps 11-12), and an inspection of his catalogue shows why: most of these "villa" sites are in fact only scatters, and of the true or probable villas only six can be dated (Gorges' B 01, 45, 51, 52, 61, 119) and of these only four are of continuous duration. Thus at any one time the villas in this district were probably fewer, and their territories larger, than Gorges is prepared to concede.

existed.

Two members of the attested élite are known to have owned villas: Valerius Avitus of Tarraco (no. 1082) and Voconius Romanus of Saguntum (no. 1029). The inscription of Avitus was found at El Munt, one of the richest and most magnificent villas on the East Coast.²² Perhaps Voconius Romanus owned the villa at Puzol, where archaeology has uncovered olive and wine presses.²³ Pliny (Ep. 9.28.2) refers to Voconius' grape harvest.

Two large town houses of Late Republican date have been discovered at Emporiae.²⁴ These spacious dwellings contain rich mosaics and other decorative features, many of them Greek; one of the houses is equipped with private baths. These dwellings presumably belonged to wealthy Greek merchants, both because of the architecture and because Emporiae was primarily a commercial port.

The anthroponymy of the East Coast suggests rapid romanization. The earliest magistrates of Emporiae and Saguntum still bear Iberian names, but these soon give way to Latin ones (first in Iberian script, then in Roman). There are a few cases of non-praenominial filiation, but the parental nomina are all good Latin names:

C. Coelius Atisi f. (no. 797)

L. Iunius Iusti f. Severus (no. 971)

²² Gorgés, Villas 407-08.

²³ Ibid., 433-34; F.J. Wiseman, Roman Spain (London, 1956), 128-29.

²⁴ P. MacKendrick, The Iberian Stones Speak (New York, 1969), 57-58; E. Ripoll Perelló, Ampurias: Description of the Ruins and Monographic Museum (Barcelona, 1976), 58-70 with Plans 5-6.

-. Raecius Tauri f. Gallus (no. 1037; son of a senator)

-. Caecilius Placidi f. Placidus (no. 1049)

The nomenclature of the senatorial gens Pedania also warrants consideration. "Pedanius" is an Etruscan nomen, therefore, we should expect the Pedanii of Barcino to be immigrants from Italy. Two of the Pedanii give their tribe as Palatina; these are both magistrates at Barcino (the tribe of the senators is unknown). The question arises, did the entire gens Pedania belong to the urban tribe Palatina, and if so are they descendants of freedmen? There is no clear answer. In Republican times Palatina did include a few senatorial families, but like the other urban tribes it soon became crowded with libertini. So three possible solutions present themselves: (1) the Pedanii came from an old family of Rome with Etruscan antecedents; (2) the Pedanii were descended from freedmen; (3) those Pedanii who were senators belonged to an unknown tribe, while the magistrates in the tribe Palatina were descendants of slaves freed by the Pedanius family in Spain. It is perhaps worth mentioning that there are three members of Palatina at Tarraco and one at Barcino (apart from the two Pedanii), plus a Collina at Carthago Nova. Possibly some of these were freedmen who had emigrated from Rome to Spain in search of new careers.

Conclusions

The pre-Roman élite consisted of petty kings and tribal chiefs. Easy accessibility by road and sea promoted rapid and effective romanization of the region by the early years of the first century B.C. Indeed, the élite of the East Coast were second only to Baetica in their degree of romanization. The region produced nineteen known senators

and a large number of knights. The incidence of multiple membership is high, with the combination of municipal and religious offices predominating. Upward mobility into the equestrian class is well established, and the senators of Spanish origin, while seldom betraying their early careers, may first have been equestrians. Agriculture and mining interests were evidently profitable to the élite, although in terms of intellectuals the East Coast seems surprisingly barren.

CHAPTER 7

THE CENTRAL UPLANDS

In the centre of the Peninsula, and encircled by the other five regions, is a high central plateau or Meseta. This rugged hinterland is characterized by difficult communications, climatic extremes and indifferently arability. Like the N.W., it was destined to realize only superficial romanization, except on the fringes where contacts with more romanized regions had some impact. Unlike the N.W., however, it has not been the subject of much research, especially as regards romanization.

The pre-Roman élite of the region is first attested by its rich jewellery and equipment, such as the gold-handled sword of Bronze Age date from Guadalajara, the gold vessels from Villena and the gold torques of third century B.C. and later date from a variety of sites, but particularly in the modern province of Jaén and around Palencia.¹ The first literary reference to the élite pertains to the Second Punic War and, unusually, to a woman: Hannibal's wife Imilce was a native of Castulo (Livy 24.41.7, cf. Sil. Pun. 3.97, 3.106). In 212 Hasdrubal bribed the chiefs (principes) of the Celtiberi to desert the Romans

¹ K. Raddatz, Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel (Berlin, 1969), 103-12 and pls. 4, 22-30, 34-45, 51-68; J. Maluquer de Motes, Pyrenae 6 (1970), pls. IV, V, VIII, IX b; B. Osaba and R. de Erunchun, Museo Arqueológico de Burgos (Madrid, 1974), 48 and pl. 8. The gold sword is housed in the National Archaeological Museum, Madrid. Aurei torques armillaeque are mentioned by Livy 24.42.8.



Scale - 1:6,500,000

Map 13. CENTRAL UPLANDS - GENERAL

(Livy 25.33). A Celtiberian magistrate (ἐν τέλει), Alicius by name, was sworn to friendship by Scipio in return for the release of his fiancée; the high ransom paid by the girl's parents shows that they too were members of the élite.² The commander of the Spanish garrison at Castulo, who bears the Celtiberian name Cerdubelus, betrayed the city to Scipio in 206 (Livy 28.20.11). In 193 B.C. the king (rex) of the Vaccaeii, Vettones and Celtiberi was captured near Toletum by M. Fulvius Nobilior (Livy 35.7.8; Oros. 4.20.16). After the capture of Alce in 179 the Romans received many noble prisoners (captivi nobiles) including two sons and a daughter of one Thurrus, chieftain (regulus) of the Celtiberian tribes and by far the most powerful of all the Spaniards ("longe potentissimus omnium Hispanorum": Livy 40.49.4-7).

In 153 B.C. the Segedians sent one of their elders (πρεσβυτέρων) to deal with the Roman senatorial commission (Diod. 31.39). When negotiations failed, they fled to the Arevaci, who selected a Segedian named Carus as general (στρατηγός); and upon his death they chose Ambo and Leuco as generals (App. Hisp. 45-46). The following year the Arevaci, Belli and Titthi sent ambassadors (πρέσβεις) to parley with Marcellus and with the Roman Senate (ibid. 48-50). Peace with Marcellus was meanwhile concluded by the Numantine στρατηγός Litenno, and hostages given (ibid. 50). In 151 the city elders (πρεσβύτατοι) of Cauca met the demands of Lucullus and provided hostages; another fifty hostages were handed over by Intercatia (ibid. 52-54). During the Numantine War of

² Polyb. 10.19; Livy 26.50; Frontin. Str. 2.11.5; Gell. NA 7.8.3; Dio Cass. fr. 57.43; Zonaras 9.8; PW s.v. "Aluccius"; M. Zucker in Monatsbericht für Kunstwissenschaft 7 (1914).

142-33 we encounter a variety of Numantine leaders, magistrates, envoys and hostages,³ as well as the nobles (εὐγενεῖς) of Lagni (Diod. 33.17.3) and the elders (πρεσβύτεροι) of Lutia (App. Hisp. 94). Two names of Numantine leaders survive: the dux Rhoecogenes or Rhetogenes, surnamed Caraunius (App. Hisp. 94; Florus Epit. 1.34), and Avarus, who led the embassy to Scipio (App. Hisp. 95). Florus reports the death of the Celtiberian dux Olyndicus early in the revolt, adding the comment that the Lusitanians and Numantines were the only Spanish tribes with (sc. effective) leaders (Epit. 1.33). Pyressus, "who excelled all the Celtiberians in nobility and bravery", fought a duel with Q. Occius in 142 (Val. Max. 3.2.21), while Thyresus is cited as a Celtic chieftain (princeps) in Spain in 133 (Oros. 5.8.1). A robber chief named Tancinus commanded a large following in 141 (App. Hisp. 77). Finally, the leading men (ἐκφανεῖς) of an unnamed town near Colenda were betrayed by Didius in 98 (App. Hisp. 100). The pre-Roman élite were thus a very mixed lot, with a variety of titles and a liberal proportion of military leaders. In many instances we seem to be dealing with a warrior aristocracy, similar to that in the N.W.

The first visible sign of a romanized élite is the issue of coins at Castulo (q.v. in Catalogue) bearing magistrates' names in Latin script. The earliest of these names (which Gil dates to ca. 120-90) are indigenous, but these are soon superseded by Latin nomina. The influence of Baetica, where élite romanization was simultaneously underway, explains the early romanization of Castulo (which in this period

³ Diod. 33.16.1; App. Hisp. 77, 80, 83; Plut. Ti. Gracch. 5-6; Dio Cass. fr. 79.1; Oros. 5.5.3.

still belonged to Hispania Ulterior). The romanizing process would have been much slower in the centre of the Peninsula, where its isolated position largely shielded it from external influence. When Strabo refers to the Celtiberians as togati (3.2.15, 3.4.20), he is surely thinking of the inhabitants of towns on the civilized fringes, not those living deep in the interior. The persistence of non-Roman art (even on tombstones with Latin epitaphs) throughout the Roman period furnishes a revealing illustration of the incompleteness of romanization in the Central Uplands.⁴

A considerable, but hardly overwhelming, number of magistrates is represented in the surviving evidence from the region. There are 25 quattuorvirs (mostly from Clunia, a Galban colony), 19 duumvirs (mostly from the conventus Carthaginensis), and half as many aediles. There is some indirect evidence for the possible existence of triumvirs at Castulo around the end of the second century B.C. (three names on each coin: nos. 1115-18) and at Maggava in A.D. 14 (three magistrates named on a tessera hospitalis).⁵ No quaestors are mentioned: comparative evidence suggests that this office was not an invariable component of the municipal structure.⁶ The figures are broken down in Table 25.

As for collective citations, we have the ordo of Castulo (ILER

⁴ E.g. B. Osaba and R. de Erunchun, Museo Arqueológico de Burgos (Madrid, 1974), pls. 11-27.

⁵ On triumvirs cf. Dessau, ILS vol. 3, p. 698.

⁶ W. Langhammer, Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung der magistratus municipales und der decuriones in der Übergangsphase der Städte (Wiesbaden, 1973), 157.

Table 25. CENTRAL UPLANDS MAGISTRATES (by conventus)

	<u>Clun.</u>	<u>Carth.</u>	<u>Caes.</u>	<u>Total</u>
aedilis	7	2		9
dumvir	2	10	7	19
legatus	3			3
magistrate (unspecified)	3	16		19
omnibus honoribus functus	3	5	1	9
omnibus honoribus gestis		1		1
quattuorvir	25			25
TOTALS	43	34	8	85

Table 26. CENTRAL UPLANDS FLAMINES (by conventus)

	<u>Clun.</u>	<u>Carth.</u>	<u>Caes.</u>	<u>Total</u>
flamen	1	1		2
flamen August(orum?)		1		1
flamen Augustorum p. H. c.		1		1
flamen divorum Augustorum prov. Baeticae		1		1
flamen divorum et Augustorum p. H. c.			1	1
flamen perpetuus		2		2
flamen p. H. c.	3	8	1	12
flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum p. H. c.		1		1
flamen Romae et Augusti	1	4	1	6
flamen Romae et divi Augusti	1			1
flamen Romae et divorum Augustorum p. H. c.		1		1
TOTALS	6	20	3	29

Table 27. CENTRAL UPLANDS FLAMINICAE (by conventus)

	<u>Clun.</u>	<u>Carth.</u>	<u>Total</u>
flaminica		1	1
flaminica p(erpetua? or provinciae?)		1	1
flaminica p. H. c.	1	1	2
TOTALS	1	3	4

1717); the magistrates and senate of Maggava in A.D. 14 (ILER 5823-24); and the senate of Termes in a second-century inscription (HAEp. 549 = AE 1953 267).

The number of attested flamines of the imperial cult (total 29) shows that Roman religion achieved some penetration in the region.

Sixteen of these are provincial priests at Tarraco. The range of flaminial titles is depicted in Table 26. As usual, the flaminicae are few in number (four, of which two are provincial); cf. Table 27. Residential mobility is evident in several priestly careers. Aurelia Marcelina from the conventus Cluniensis moved to Tarraco with her husband Licinius Sparsus (nos. 1215-16); their daughter died at Asturica in the N.W. A provincial priest from Intercætia (no. 1183) had a wife from the N.W. (no. 560). Mamilius Praesens of Tritium Magallum turned down a decurionate at Italica but became a flamen p. H. c. (no. 1209).

Only one pontifex is recorded (no. 1111): the first pontifex of his town, in the early first century A.D. The title was probably borrowed from nearby Aurgi in Baetica, where pontifices are common. There are also four sacerdotes in the region, one of them a sacerdos annua from Castulo (no. 1134).

Equestrian offices are not profusely attested. Three men call themselves eques or eques Romanus; another two received the public horse. Castulo apparently produced a procurator Baeticae (no. 1135) in the third century. There are three military tribunes (one of whom saw service in distant Egypt) and two prefects of cohorts. No known senators hail from this region, but it later produced the emperor Theodosius, from Cauca.

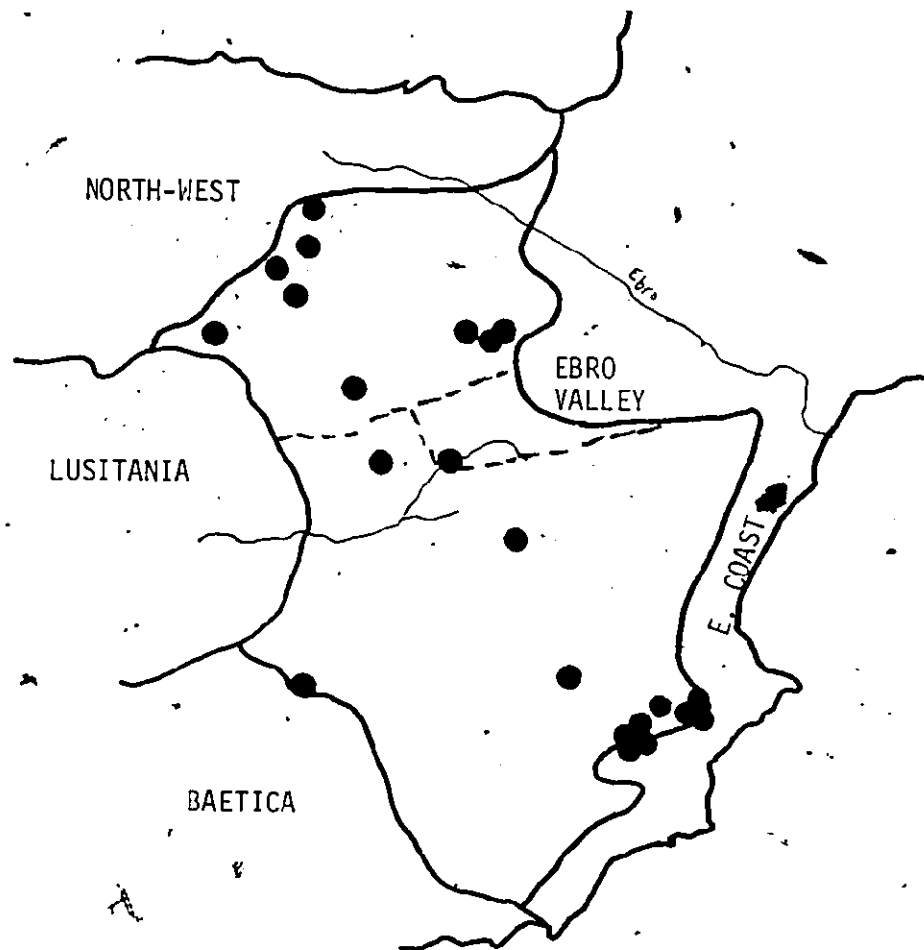
Career progression is difficult to trace, chiefly because we can

seldom be sure that the offices are given in chronological order. Is a career such as "aed. flam. Ilvir" (no. 1196) a deviation from the usual pattern (aed. Ilvir flam.), or just sloppy recording? On the whole, one is inclined to believe that here, as in the N.W. or the Three Gauls, the sequence of offices was less rigidly fixed than in more romanized areas, and that a person could pursue alternate avenues of career progression more easily.

Evidence for membership in the commercial élite is scanty. L. Sempronius Numida, named in an inscription from Cerro de la Muela near Segobriga, may be a factory owner.⁷ C. Iulius Italus (no. 1200), although an originaire of Segobriga, shows up at Narbo Martius. Since he bears neither a military nor a procuratorial title, yet is an eques Romanus, he may be a private businessman or a publicanus.

Personal wealth is indicated in four instances. C. Calvisius Sabinus of Clunia (no. 1162), a flamen and possibly a magistrate, distributed grain to the people when the price was high ("populo frumentum annona cara dedit"); the fact that this deed is mentioned suggests that it was not part of the expected duty of a local official. L. Lucretius Densus, a duumvir at Lara (no. 1185), built a local via Augusta -- presumably out of his own pocket, since public roads were a responsibility of the aedile and, being part of the job, would not be worth documenting, especially after one had reached a higher office. Voconia Avita of Tagili (no. 1208) built public baths for her municipality, presumably at no small expense. But the prize for benefaction goes to the knight Q.

⁷ M.M. Sadek, Classical News and Views 19 (1975), 6-9.



Based on Gorges, Villas fig. 6

Scale - 1:6,500,000

Map 14. CENTRAL UPLANDS VILLAS AT THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

Torius Culleo of Castulo (no. 1135), who repaired the walls and roads and donated land, statues, food, games, and the gigantic sum of ten million HS to his home town. Unfortunately we do not know the source of his wealth.

Evidence for villas in the Augustan age is very slight,⁸ but by the end of the first century we know of about twenty villas in our region (see Map 14). Although some of these are isolated, there are small clusters in the hinterland of Saetabis and Ilici, and around Uxama. This clustering effect suggests a concentrated rural population as well as intensive cultivation in these districts.⁹ The owners of these villas give every indication of being indigenous Hispani who continue using Spanish sigillata until the beginning of the third century. The same century sees the most intense occupation of the soil and the largest number of villas, particularly along the course of the Tajo (ancient Tagus).¹⁰ The richness of the mosaics, private baths and the like testifies to the profit derived from agriculture by the élite who owned the villas, as does the size of the fundi. Those in the north sometimes cover 150-300 ha., while further south there are veritable latifundia -- interspersed, however, with farms of more modest expanse.¹¹

Nomenclature reflects the incompleteness of romanization. The earliest magistrates of Castulo bear such indigenous names as Sacalis-

⁸ Gorges, Villas, 30.

⁹ Ibid., 34.

¹⁰ Ibid., 41-42.

¹¹ Ibid., 97 and n. 66.

cer and Soced., while those of Maggava include Caraegius and Aburnus, both Celtiberian names. There is also some indigenous filiation, e.g. P. Coe. Star. f.(?) of Castulo; C. Calvius Aeonis f. Sabinus and Caelius Clouti f. of Clunia, as well as an indigenous gentilic, Caisaros Cecci-q(um) of Uxama. L. Caecilius L. Caecilii Charitonis f. Maecianus(?) of Alaba displays, in the indigenous fashion, his father's cognomen; yet the father bears the tria nomina, and the Greek cognomen Charito looks suspiciously like the name of a libertinus.

Conclusions

The romanization of the warlike tribes of the Central Uplands was neither rapid nor even. Elite in districts near Baetica or the East Coast were romanized at a comparatively early date, whereas those isolated further inland were only gradually and incompletely romanized. By virtue of its geographical position, the conventus Carthaginiensis was generally more romanized than Cluniensis, producing all the known equestrian officers and most of the provincial priests. Residential mobility was a prerequisite for career progression at such levels. Agrarian exploitation by the élite increased steadily, culminating in a profusion of Roman-style villas and apparently latifundia in the third century, while donations of food, money and public works to local communities indicate that at least certain members of the élite controlled substantial material resources.

CHAPTER VIII

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Our aim in this chapter is not to repeat the statistics and discussions already presented, but to consolidate and emphasize what we feel are the dominant aspects of the topic.

1. The Pre-Roman Elite. Our knowledge of the pre-Roman élite is limited partly by shortage of documentation, and partly by the failure of classical authors to understand the social organization of the indigenous races. The pre-Roman élite are referred to indiscriminately as dux, princeps, στρατηγός, etc., and the same man is often given different titles by different historians. Despite this loose terminology (which demonstrates how poorly Greek and Roman titulary corresponded to the indigenous hierarchy) it is clear that the monarchical system prevailed on the south and east coasts; it was perhaps introduced by the Phoenicians and Greeks. Lusitania and the North-West, on the other hand, operated on a clan system dominated by war-lords (principes). The so-called reguli who occur with some frequency throughout the eastern half of Spain appear to be little more than tribal chiefs.

2. The Transition to Romanization. The monarchical system, where it existed, seems to have broken down for the most part during the Second Punic War and in the course of the second century; the last known king died in battle in 46 B.C. (BHisp. 10). In conquered regions, im-

plantation of the Roman system of provincial and municipal government rendered the tribe obsolete as a viable political unit, and the tribal leaders faded into obscurity. Those who were willing to accept Roman ways became local magistrates, such as the self-styled praetor of Con-trebia; the others perished in futile revolts, or ended up as hostages or as exhibits in Roman triumphs. The suspicious-looking boards of three, five or ten magistrates in some towns suggest that pre-Roman institutions were continuing under the Roman aegis, while the non-Roman nomenclature on early coinage confirms that indigenous families still comprised the local élite. The Italian colonists and settlers who emigrated to Spain (especially Baetica and the East Coast) during the second and first centuries B.C. had the advantage of being already romanized in a world where romanization was becoming a prerequisite to advancement. Italian and indigenous elements therefore merged, apparently with little difficulty, into an integrated Hispano-Roman élite. The benefits of romanization were self-evident to astute provincials, who needed little further incentive to assimilate themselves. Successful, romanized Hispani such as the Balbi were no doubt a source of inspiration to their compatriots.

3. Fruition: The Elite in the Empire. Under the Empire the indigenous élite became Roman citizens, on a par with their Italian-Spanish partners, and eligible for honours outside Spain; nonetheless, most of those who reached the highest posts seem to have been of Italian descent. A spate of Spanish equestrians and senators appears under the Flavians, attaining its peak with Trajan and Hadrian. This marks the maximum visible extent of vertical mobility among Spaniards. Thereafter

Spain is eclipsed by Africa and the East, and produces few senators, knights or even writers.

4. Regional Differences. Tremendous differences in the nature, composition, romanization and career structure of the élite obtain in the various regions of Spain, largely because of geographical and ethnic divergencies, and occasionally through differing conditions within political boundaries (e.g. the preference for the pontificate in the senatorial province of Baetica). Thus there was never a unified or homogeneous élite in Spain, however well-integrated the élite might be within each region. In descending order of romanization we would arrange these regions as: Baetica, the East Coast, the Ebro Valley, Lusitania, the Central Uplands, the North-West. Senators came only from Baetica, the East Coast and Lusitania (in the latter region these were presumably all Italians, for Lusitania is otherwise less romanized than the Ebro). Some parts of Spain (Baetica and the East Coast) achieved a level of romanization unsurpassed in the rest of the Empire; others (the Central Uplands and the North-West) remind us more of Dalmatia and Moesia.

CATALOGUE OF THE SPANISH ELITE

CATALOGUE - PRELIMINARY NOTE

This catalogue lists all known persons whom we consider to belong to the élite of Roman Spain during the period under study.

The catalogue is divided into seven parts, one for each of the six geographical regions treated in the text, and one for those Spaniards who cannot be localized to a specific region.

Within each region listings are arranged alphabetically by town. Persons associated with several towns are listed under the town with which they appear to have the closest connection. Individuals belonging to a given region but of uncertain town are listed at the end of each part.

Within each town the élite are listed in chronological order so far as this may be determined or approximated. Since many coins and inscriptions are not firmly datable on the basis of available information, the order of certain entries has necessarily been arbitrary. Sometimes members of the same family have been grouped together where the advantages of such contiguity seemed to outweigh a slight prejudice to strict chronology.

The principal merits of this essentially geographical arrangement are that it facilitates reference to and from the corresponding regions in the text and permits an examination of the composition, interrelations and chronological development of the élite within each community. The rationale for this method, as opposed to an arrangement by nomina, is explained in Chapter 1.

The criteria for inclusion of individuals in the catalogue has been twofold: (1) that they belonged to the élite during the period of roman-

ization, and (2) that they were natives or long-time residents of Spain. The latter prerequisite is often difficult to prove. In general we have avoided the practice (exemplified by Groag, Syme and Wiegels) of assuming that all persons with a given nomen (e.g. Annius, Aponius, Roscius), or belonging to the tribe Galeria, must automatically be Spanish. Even so, there are many degrees of probability and possibility in making one's selection, and our choice may not meet with universal approval, nor should it.

Reference is almost invariably made to PIR², CIL II and ILER, although in exceptional cases we have omitted a misleading entry or misprinted inscription. PW is cited for many entries but is too out of date to be useful for others. Other publications are cited with discretion. A considerable number of inscriptions have been published several times (quite unnecessarily) or referred to in secondary works which add little or nothing to our knowledge of the person in question. We have tried to avoid pedantry by presenting those references which might enlighten anyone seeking to learn more about an individual, and omitting the rest. When a person is mentioned in a large number of inscriptions, we have adopted the expedient of citing PIR², where complete references will be found.

Coin dates are usually those assigned by Gil Farrés, except where more specialized research has revealed a likelier chronology. Numismatic dating is still an inexact science, at least so far as ancient Spain is concerned, and we have not hesitated to add "ca." or question marks to many of Gil's "absolute" dates. Even so, they should be treated with caution, if not outright skepticism.

I. BAETICA

ABDERA, municipium (conv. Gaditanus)

1. ...lla - sacerdos (divae Augustae?)
(CIL II 1979; Etienne, Culte 241 n. 1; PB Ignoti 9)
2. Anonymus - IIvir, praefectus cohortis ..., praefectus fabrum, flamen divi Augusti. Son of no. 1.
(CIL II 1979; PB Ignoti 13)
3. Marcia C. f. Celsa - sacerdos perpetua domus d(ivae) [A(ugustae)].
Etienne, Culte 241 cites Marcia Celsa twice, seemingly unaware that CIL and AE are reporting the same inscription.
(CIL II 1978 = AE 1917-18 10 = ILER 1669; PB 233-34)

ACINIPO (conv. Hispalensis)

4. L. Folc(is) - aedilis, ca. 47-44 B.C.
(VM 105:1 = GiI 1153; PB xix)
5. M. Servilius ... Asper - centurio, [pontifex?] sacrorum curiarum; reign of Augustus.
(CIL II 1346 = ILER 576; PB 293)
6. Q. Servilius Q. f. Maec. Lupus - pontificalis, patronus.... Relative of no. 5? The tribe Maecia is rare in Spain.
(CIL II 1349 = ILER 1510; PB 294)

7. M. Marius M. f. M. n. Quir. Fronto - pontificalis, IIvir, patronus;
Flavian or 2nd century.
(CIL II 1348 = ILER 1509; PB 238)

8. M. Iunius L. f. L. n. Gal. Terentianus Servilius Sabinus - IIvir,
flamen, pontifex perpetuus, patronus.
(CIL II 1347 + p. 701 = ILER 1742; PB 205)

9. Anonymus - IIvir?
(CIL II 1351)

10. Anonymus - sacerdos. Wife(?): Rufina. Son: Marcellus.
(A. Madrid Muñoz, BRAH 63 (1913), 94 = J. González Rosado, Acinipo
(Málaga, 1967), 68)

ANTICARIA, municipium (conv. Astigitanus)

11. M. Cornelius Proculus - pontifex Caesarum, A.D. 18-19.
(CIL II 2038-39 = ILER 1258, 1054; Etienne, Culte 201; PB 115)

12. Cornelius Bassus - pontifex Caesarum, A.D. 23.
(CIL II 2040 = ILER 1059; Etienne, Culte 201-02; PB 106)

13. Anonymus (Cornelius?) - flamen (divi?) Augusti; before A.D. 33.
Inscription dedicated by Cornelius Se(d)igitus(?), presumably a
relative.

(CIL II 2045; Etienne, Culte 202; PB Ignoti 14)

14. L. Porcius Sabellus - IIvir, A.D. 76-77. Since this inscription is dated shortly after Vespasian's censorship (73), Hübner thinks it may commemorate a grant of ius Latii.

(CIL II 2041 = ILER 1083; PB 278)

ARCILACUS(?) (conv. Gaditanus)

15. C. Avielius C. f. Pap. Paetignus - praefectus iure dicundo; 1st century A.D.

(Eph. Epigr. VIII 94)

ARSA(?), municipium Iulium V... (conv. Cordubensis)

16. K. Ae. L. f. - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C.

(VM 92:1 = GI 1164; PB xxvii)

17. M. Herennius M. f. Gal. Laetinus - aedilis, IIvir III, pontifex, augur.

(CIL II 5547 = ILER 1537; PB 174)

ARUCCI (conv. Hispalensis)

18. Baebia C. f. Crinita - sacerdos. Donated a shrine of Apollo and Diana at a cost of 20,000 HS. A native of Turobriga.

(CIL II 964 = ILS 5402 = ILER 1760; PB 71)

ARUNDA (conv. Hispalensis)

19. L. Iunius L. f. Quir. Iunianus - IIvir II. Son: Iunius Gallus.

The tribe Quirina suggests a Flavian or later date.

(CIL II 1359 = ILS 5498 = ILER 1745; PB 196)

ARVA, municipium Flavium (conv. Hispalensis)

20. Q. Fulvius Q. f. Q. n. Gal. Carisianus - patronus, pontifex; ca.
reign of Trajan.

(CIL II 1064 = ILS 6919 = ILER 1459; PB 167)

ASIDO, municipium Caesarina (conv. Gaditanus)

21. Q. Fabius Cn. f. Gal. Senica - ~~II~~IIIvir; Augustan.

(CIL II 1315 = ILER 1498; PB 161)

22. L. Fabius L. f. Gal. Cordus - ~~II~~IIIvir.

(CIL II 1305 = ILER 1681; PB 148)

23. M. Acilius M'. f. Gal. Silo - IIvir, praefectus cohortis.

(CIL II 1314 = ILER 5602; PB 9)

ASTA REGIA, colonia (conv. Gaditanus)

24. A. Baebius - Roman knight who deserted to Caesar in 45 B.C. on a
horse laden with silver.

(BHisp. 26.2; PB 69b; Nicolet, Ordre équestre no. 52)

25. C. Flavius - Roman knight who deserted to Caesar in 45 B.C. on a
horse laden with silver.

(BHisp. 26.2; PB 164a; Nicolet, Ordre équestre no. 147)

26. A. Trebellius - Roman knight who deserted to Caesar in 45 B.C. on a
horse laden with silver.

(BHisp. 26.2; PB 165a; Nicolet, Ordre équestre no. 351)

Note: Hübner believed that [-. B]aebi[us -. f.] Ser(gia) and-T. [...ius -. f. Ser.], mentioned in CIL II 5405 as having undertaken some project at their own expense (Hübner thought of restoration of walls and towers), were magistrates. Possibly Baebius is related to no. 24; however, the inscription is too fragmentary to permit a secure interpretation.

ASTIGI, colonia Augusta Firma (conv. Astigitanus)

27. Cn. Manlius Cn. f. Pap. - praefectus iure dicundo, IIvir, praefectus cohortium, tribunus cohortis praetoriae; Augustan.

(CIL II 1477 = ILER 6390; PB 226)

28. C. Cosconius L. f. Pap. Taurus - IIvir.

(CIL II 1476 = ILER 3566; PB 129)

29. ...ius M. f. Pap. Longinus - IIvir II, praefectus III. Donated ten fully-equipped lacus to the public baths.

(CIL II 1478 = ILER 2052; PB Ignoti 5)

30. L. Bercius Aper Nov. Mon. - IIvir. A rare nomen, if the reading is correct. The last cognomen may be Mon(tanus), cf. no. 31.

(CIL II.1489; PB 72)

31. Aponia Montana - sacerdos divarum Augustarum. Perhaps of the same family as Aper Mon. (no. 30).

(CIL II 1471 = ILER 432; PB 61)

32. Sex. Allius Mamercus - pontifex perpetuus coloniae Astigitanae et flamen divorum Augustorum.

(CIL II 1475 = ILS 6907 = ILER 1729; PB 28)

AURGI, municipium Flavium (conv. Astigitanus)

33. M. Fabius Probus - flamen, pontifex perpetuus divorum et Augustorum; Flavian or later.

(CIL II 3362 = ILER 5549; PB 157)

34. C. Sempronius C. f. Gal. Sempronianus - Ilvir bis, pontifex perpetuus; Trajanic. Daughter: Sempronia Fusca Vibia Anicilla.

(CIL II 3361 = ILER 2040; PB 289a)

35. M. Valerius M. f. Quir. Marcellus - aedilis, Ilvir; Trajanic. Donated a clock, games and circuses to Tucci, whence the inscription.

(CIL II 1685 = ILS 5623 = ILER 6079; PB 316)

AXATI, municipium Flavium (conv. Hispalensis)

36. C. Iuventius C. f. Quir. Albinus - aedilis, Ilvir munificentissimus, patronus patriae; Flavian or later.

(CIL II 1054 = ILER 1457; PB 207)

BAELO, municipium Claudium (conv. Gaditanus)

37. Q. Manlius - magistrate (aedilis?), ca. 47-44 B.C.

(VM 91:1 = GiI 1362; PB xxxiii)

38. P. Cornelius - colleague of no. 37.

(VM 91:1 = Gil 1362; PB xiii)

39. Fat. - AID(ilis?), ca. 47-44 B.C. Indigenous name?

(VM 91:3 = Gil 1363)

40. L. Aponius - colleague of no. 39.

(Ibid.; PB v)

41. Q. Pupius Q. f. Gal. Urbicus - IIvir; 1st half of 2nd century.

Parents: Q. Pupius Geneti(v)us, Iunia Eleuthera.

(J.C.M. Richard et al., MCV 8 (1972), 577 = AE 1971 172 = AE 1975 495)

BARBESULA, municipium (conv. Gaditanus)

42. Sex. Fulvius Lepidus - flamen; Trajanic. Daughter(?): Fulvia Sex. f.

(CIL II 1939 = ILER 1000; Etienne, Culte 203; PB 168)

43. L. Fabius Gal. Caesianus - IIvir, flamen perpetuus; Trajanic.

Heirs: Fabia C. f. Fabiana, Fulvia Sex. f. Honorata; the former is presumably a sister or niece, the second may be the daughter of no.

42.

(CIL II 1941 = ILER 1556; Etienne, Culte 203; PB 146)

44. C. Cervius Quir. Quintianus - IIvir; ca. reign of Trajan. Father:

Cervius Honoratus Ostorianus Rufus (cf. Honorata s.v. no. 43)

(CIL II 1940 = ILER 1739; PB 93)

BATORA (conv. Astigitanus)

45. P. Fabius P. f. Gal. Iulianus - Ilvir II, pontifex. Mother: Iunia - M. f. Severa.

(CIL II 1677 = ILER 1425; PB 151)

46. M. Se...ius Maternus - pontifex between 167 and 170. Wife: Annia Q. f. Severa.

(A. Recio, Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses 59 (1969), 34; C. Castillo, ANRW II/3, 623 n. 103)

Bujalance (ancient name unknown; conv. Cordubensis)

47. C. Pomponius Quir. Marullus - Ilvir; Flavian or later. Uncle: L. Aemilius Avitus. Brother: C. Pomponius Lupus.

(CIL II 2150 = ILER 1722; PB 271)

CALLENCES AENEANICI (conv. Hispalensis)

48. ...ius Fabianus - Ilvir.

(A.M. Canto, Habis 9 (1978), 293)

49. ...ius Senecio - colleague of no. 48.

(Ibid.)

CANAN(I)A, municipium Flavium (conv. Hispalensis)

50. L. Attius Quir. Vetto - flamen, Ilvir; Flavian or later. His cognomen is the name of a Lusitanian tribe (Vettones) and his family may have come from that region. Son: L. Attius Vindex. Daughter: Attia Autumnina. Granddaughter: Antonia Procula.

(CIL II 1074 = ILS 5544 = ILER 6071; cf. CIL II 1075; PB 64)

51. Anonymus - flamen Augustalis provinciae Baeticae; 2nd century.
(M. Ponsich, Implantation rurale antique sur le Bas-Guadalquivir
(Paris, 1974), 139 = AE 1974 369)

CARMO, municipium (conv. Hispalensis)

52. L. Iunius L. f. M. n. L. pron. Gal. Rufus - IIIIvir, pontifex, augur, quattuorvirali potestate. Honoured by the equites Romani; he may therefore be a knight himself.
(CIL II 1380 + p. 701 = ILS 5080a = ILER 1481; PB 203)

53. Anonymi - equites Romani. Dedicate the inscription to no. 52.
(Ibid.)

54. Fonteius C. f. Calp... - IIIIvir.
(CIL II 1379 = ILER 1480)

CARTEIA, colonia Latina (conv. Gaditanus)

55. Anonymi - legati Carteienses, 45 B.C.
(BHisp. 36)

Note: Nos. 56-71 are all dated by Gil to the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.

56. C. Curman. - magistrate.
(VM 126:11-12 = Gil 1222-23; PB xvi)

57. L. Marcius - magistrate.
(VM 126:13-14 = Gil 1227-28; possibly also VM 129:9-10 = Gil 1225-26, inscribed "L.M."; PB xxxiv)
58. M. Cur. - magistrate. Colleague of L.M. (no. 57?) and perhaps a relative of no. 56.
(VM 129:9-10 = Gil 1225-26; PB xvii)
59. M. Sep(timius) - magistrate.
(VM 126:8 = Gil 1229; PB xlix)
60. Num(isius?) - magistrate.
(VM 127:10 = Gil 1230; PB xli)
61. C. Ninius - Q(uaestor?).
(VM 127:2 = Gil 1231; PB xxxix)
62. Curius - Q(uaestor? Quintus?).
(VM 126:7 = Gil 1232; PB xv)
63. Opsil(ius?) - Q(uaestor? Quintus?).
(VM 127:3-4 = Gil 1233-34; PB xlii)
64. Pedecaius - Q(uaestor? Quintus?). *Rare nomen.
(VM 127:7-8 = Gil 1235-36; PB xliiv = xlv)
65. C. Vibius - AID(ilis?).

(VM 127:9 = Gil 1237; PB lvi)

66. Cn. Mai(us? cf. no. 73) - aedilis.

(VM 127:5-6 = Gil 1238-39; PB xxxi)

67. L. Arc(ius?) - aedilis; colleague of no. 66.

(VM 127:5-6 = Gil 1238-39; PB vii)

68. L. Raius - censor. Censors often occur in Latin towns. A Raius Plebeius is attested at Italica (no. 238).

(VM 127:1 = Gil 1240; PB xlviii; cf. Knapp, Roman Experience 119)

69. L. Agrius - colleague of no. 68.

(VM 127:1 = Gil 1240; PB ii)

70. Anonymus - censor.

(VM 126:4 = Gil 1241)

71. P. Iulius - magistrate: Q(uaestor?).

(VM 126:9-10 = Gil 1242-43; PB xxv)

Note: Nos. 72-82 are all dated by Gil to the period before 19 B.C.

72. Anonymi - IIIIviri.

(VM 128:11, 12, 14; 129:5 = Gil 1805-07, 1809)

73. C. Maius C. f. Pollio - IIIIvir. Castillo sees this as two men,

L. (sic) Maius C. f., and Pollio.

(VM 128:2 = Gil 1810; PB xxxii, xlv)

74. Aufidius - IIIIvir.

(VM 129:14 = Gil 1811; PB ix)

75. Maecilius - IIIIvir.

(VM 129:1 = Gil 1812; PB xxx)

76. P. Mion. - IIIIvir. Indigenous name?

(VM 129:7 = Gil 1813; PB xxxvi)

77. M. Falcidius - IIIIvir. Uncommon nomen; perhaps related to C. Falcidius of Reate in Italy.

(VM 128:1 = Gil 1814; PB xviii; Wiseman, New Men no. 170)

78. L. Atinius - IIIIvir.

(VM 128:3-4 = Gil 1815-16; PB viii)

79. C. Nucia - colleague of no. 78. Strange nomen.

(VM 128:3-4 = Gil 1815-16)

80. C. Vibius - IIIIvir it(erum).

(VM 128:5-9 = Gil 1817-21; PB lviii)

81. C. Minius Q. f. - IIIIvir it(erum); colleague of no. 80.

(VM 128:5-9 = Gil 1817-21; PB xxxv)

82. C. Minius C. f. - IIIIvir iter(um). Son of no. 81?
(VM 128:10 = Gil 1822)
83. C. Curvius C. f. Ser. Rusticus - IIIIvir iterum. Late 1st century B.C. or early 1st century A.D.
(C.F. Chicarro y de Dios, Bellas Artes 1 (1970))
84. Q. Cornelius Gal. Senecio Annianus - senator under Hadrian and Antoninus; sacerdos Herculis, quaestor urbanus, tribunus plebis, praetor, curator viae Latinae, legatus legionis VII Geminae Felicis, consul suffectus, proconsul Ponti et Bithyniae (after 143). Attempts to identify him with "Q. Co..." cos. 116 appear futile. Perhaps related to Cornelius Senecio, an equestrian friend of the younger Seneca (Ep. 101.1.4) and possibly Spanish (so PB 120).
(CIL II 1929 = Alföldy, Fasti 119 = ILER 1512; PIR² C 1450; Lambrechts I, no. 387; R. Syme, JRS 43 (1953), 151-52 = RP 237; Etienne, Culte 67; PB 121)

CARTIMA, municipium civium Latinorum (conv. Gaditanus)

85. Vestinus Rustici f. - Xvir, A.D. 53-54. The office of decemvir antedates the granting of ius Latii. Note that Vestinus lacks both praenomen and nomen. Son: Rusticus. The family tree can be reconstructed from CIL II 1952-53 and 1962:

```

      Rusticus
      |
    Vestinus, Xvir
      |
Rusticus = Vibia Rusticana  L. Vibius Rusticus  ?
                             |
                             Vibia Turrina
  
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- (CIL II 1953 = ILS 5504 = ILER 1071; PB 332; J. Muñoz Coello, Hisp. Ant. 6 (1976), 20-21).
86. D. Iunius Gal. Melinus - eques Romanus. Perhaps enfranchised elsewhere, since citizens of Cartima were enrolled in the tribe Quirina. (CIL II 1955 = ILER 1746; PB 198)
87. Iunia D. f. Rustica - sacerdos perpetua et prima in municipio Car-timitano; Vespasianic. An industrious builder of public facilities, and evidently affluent. Probably the daughter of no. 86. Husband: C. Fabius Fabianus. Son: C. Fabius Iunianus. (CIL II 1956 = ILS 5512 = ILER 2054; Etienne, Culte 240; PB 206; J. Muñoz Coello, Hisp. Ant. 6 (1976), 20; cf. A.M. Canto, Habis 8 (1977), 421 n. 60)
88. M. Decimius Quir. Proculus - pontifex perpetuus; probably Vespasianic. Daughter(?): Decimia Procula (CIL II 1959 = ILER 6467). (CIL II 1954 = ILER 1747; PB 135)
89. Vibia L. f. Turrina - sacerdos perpetua; probably Vespasianic. Presumably the daughter of L. Vibius Rusticus, and therefore related to no. 85 (q.v.). (CIL II 1958 = ILER 1764; PB 339)
90. L. Porcius Quir. Saturninus - pontifex; late 1st century A.D. Donated 20,000 HS to rid the town of debt. (CIL II 1957 = ILER 1441; PB 279; J. Muñoz Coello, Hisp. Ant. 6

(1976), 20)

91. Valeria C. f. Situllina - sacerdos perpetua. Rare cognomen.
(CIL II 5488 = ILER 1671; PB 328)

CASTRUM COLUBRI (conv. Hispalensis)

92. Licinius Serenianus - vir clarissimus. Apparently the same man as the governor (legatus Augusti pro praetore) of Cappadocia under Maximinus. Probably entered the Senate under Alexander Severus.
Wife: Varinia Flaccina, clarissima femina (daughter of no. 356).
Daughter: Varinia Serena.
(CIL II 1024 = ILS 3106 = ILER 361; CIL III 6932, 6945, 12195; PW 157; Lambrechts II, no. 255; PB 210; A. Balil, Saitabi 11 (1961), 56; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 101)

CERET (conv. Gaditanus)

93. f. Serg. Vernus - aedilis duumviri potestate. The cognomen suggests a servile origin: could this be a libertinus? Freedmen might hold municipal office under Julius Caesar: cf. W. Langhammer, Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung der magistratus municipales und der decuriones (Wiesbaden, 1973), 44.
(CIL II 1306 = ILER 1502)

CISIMBRIUM, municipium (conv. Astigitanus)

94. Valerius L. f. Quir. Rufus - Ilvir, A.D. 75. Citizenship granted per honorem.
(CIL II 2096; PB 320)

95. C. Valerius C. f. Gal. Valerianus -- IIvir, pontifex perpetuus.

Granddaughter: Flavia Valeriana.

(CIL II 2098 = ILS 5356 = ILER 1443; PB 323; cf. Alföldy, Fasti 190)

CONTRIBUTA IULIA UGULTUNIACUM, municipium Flavium (conv. Hispalensis)

96. Q. Manlius Gal. Avitus - IIvir II; pre-Flavian? Daughter: Manlia Avita.

(CIL II 1029 = ILER 5306; PB 227)

CORDUBA, colonia Patricia (conv. Cordubensis)

97. Cn. Iulius L. f. - Q(uaestor); before 49 B.C. Castillo suggests that he was quaestor of the province rather than a local magistrate. Not listed in Broughton, MRR.

(VM 118:1-3 = Gil 1263-65; PB xxiv; C. Castillo, Hisp. Ant. 4 (1974), 193)

98. Annius Scapula - a provincial of the highest standing and influence (maximae dignitatis et gratiae). Executed for conspiracy in the attempted assassination of Q. Cassius Longinus, propraetor of Hispania Ulterior, in 48 B.C.

(BAlex. 55.2; PB 44)

99. T. Quinctius Scapula -- a knight, resident at Corduba but undoubtedly of Italian stock; cf. the Quinctii Scapulae of Lanuvium. Ring-leader of a revolt against Julius Caesar, and evidently a wealthy

man. Committed suicide after the battle of Munda in 45. The coincidence of cognomen with no. 98 is remarkable.

(BHisp. 33; Dio Cass. 43.29.3; Nicolet, Ordre équestre no. 780)

100. A. Calpurnius Salvianus - tortured for conspiracy in the assassination attempt on Cassius Longinus, but, unlike Annius Stupula (no. 98), he bought his way out for either 60,000 or 6,000,000 HS.

(BAlex. 53, 55; Val. Max. 9.4.2; PB 84)

101. L(?) Calpurnius Salvianus - presumably descendant of no. 100. Banished from Rome by Tiberius in A.D. 25 for bringing an accusation against Sex. Marius (no. 109). Probably the same L. Calpurnius Salvianus attested in an inscription from Corduba.

(Tac. Ann. 4.36; CIL II 2265 = ILER 3850 + p. 840; PB 85; cf. Stein, Römische Ritterstand 391)

102. Sextilius Ena - poet; 1st century B.C. Non-Latin cognomen.

(Sen. Suas. 6.27; cf. M. Griffin, JRS 62 (1972), 5, 12-13)

103. L(?) Annaeus Seneca - see Appendix B.

104. Porcius Latro - Spanish declaimer. A friend of no. 103 since early childhood. He defended a relative, Porcius Rusticus, in Spain.

(Sen. Controv. 1 pr. 13, 16; 9 pr. 3; Quint. 10.5.18; H. de La Ville de Mirmont, Bulletin hispanique 12 (1910), 5; A.L. Ferrill, Seneca: The Rise to Power (Diss. Univ. of Illinois, 1964), 14-15; Weinrib, Spaniards 96; M. Griffin, JRS 62 (1972), 5-8; eadem,

Seneca, A Philosopher in Politics (Oxford, 1976), 31)

105. Acilius Lucanus - orator and writer of certain works (scriptis aliquibus) which were still known in the Late Empire. Father-in-law of no. 112. Of Lucanian origin?

(Vacca Vita Lucani; PW 48; PIR² A 74; PB 7)

106. Clodius Turrinus - an advocate, who lost his family fortune during the Civil War. His grandfather had received Julius Caesar as a guest in 68 B.C. According to Griffin, his nomen "indicates an enfranchised native or a descendant of one."

(Sen. Controv. 10 pr. 14-16; PB 309; Weinrib, Spaniards 55; M. Griffin, JRS 62 (1972), 4)

107. Statorius Victor - a playwright. His nomen is of Etruscan origin.

(Sen. Suas. 2.18. contra M. Griffin, JRS 62 (1972), 4; Schulze, Eigennamen 237; PB 299)

108. M. [Sem]pro[nius] M. f. [B]ibu[us?] - IIvir; reign of Augustus.

(F. Fita, BRAH 56 (1910), 143; PB 288)

109. Sex. Marius - the richest man in Spain (Hispaniarum ditissimus) under Augustus and Tiberius. Owned gold and copper mines near Corduba. Originally a favourite of Tiberius, he incurred the emperor's wrath by concealing his daughter from him, and was put to death in A.D. 33. Tiberius then confiscated the mines, which were probably his real motive for eliminating Marius.

(Pliny HN 34.4; Tac. Ann. 4.36; Dio Cass. 58.22.2; PW 28; PB 235)

110. L. Iunius Gallio Annaeanus (né Annaeus Novatus) - see Appendix B.

111. L. Annaeus Seneca - see Appendix B.

112. M. Annaeus Mela - see Appendix B.

113. Aemilius Aelianus - presumably a well-known citizen of Corduba, tried by Augustus.

(Suet. Aug. 51.2; PIR² A 329; PB 22)

114. M. Annaeus M. f. Lucanus - see Appendix B.

115. T. Marius Mercello Persinus - aedilis, IIvir. With the rare cognomen Mercello we may compare Mercelio (or Mergilio) of Italica in BAlex. 52.3, 55.4.

(CIL II 2226 = ILER 1454; PB 242)

116. ...lius L. f. Cinna - praefectus, IIvir aedilicia potestate; Augustan?

(CIL II 5525 = ILER 1449; PB 109)

117. L. Fulcinius Pacatus - IIvir.

(A. García y Bellido, BRAH 168 (1971), 184 = AE 1971, 185)

118. Fulcinia L. f. Prisca - flaminica. Daughter of no. 117.

(Ibid.)

119. L. Manlius A. f. A: n. Gal. Bocchus - tribunus militum legionis XV, IIvir, praefectus i. d. An early date is suggested by the absence of a cognomen for the legion. It is probably XV Apollinaris, created by Augustus; otherwise XV Primigenia, raised by Gaius.

(CIL II 2225 = ILER 1692; PW "Legio" cols. 1747, 1756-58; PB 228)

120. L. Valerius Poenus - IIvir. The cognomen suggests Punic origin. Mid-1st century A.D.?

(CIL II 2242 = ILER 3442; PB 317)

121. L. Antistius Rusticus - colleague of no. 120.

(CIL II 2242 = ILER 3442; PB 52)

122. C. Dillius A. f. Serg. Vocula - tribunus militum legionis I, IIIIvir viarum curandarum, quaestor provinciae Ponti et Bithyniae, tribunus plebis, praetor, legatus legionis XXII Primigeniae (in Germany, A.D. 69-70). Killed in 70 by order of Julius Classicus.

Wife: Helvia T. f. Procula, on whom see Appendix B.

(CIL VI 1402 = ILS 983; Tac. Hist. 4.24-27, 33-37, 56-59, 62; PW 2; PIR² D 90; PB 137)

123. C. Dillius L. f. A. n. Serg. Aponianus - tribunus militum legionis IIII Macedonicae, IIIvir capitalis, quaestor provinciae Siciliae, tribunus plebis, praetor, legatus Imp. Caesaris Vespasiani Augusti legionis III Gallicae, cos. suff. ca. 71-73, legatus pro praetore,

curator riparum et alvei Tiberis. Relative (nephew?) of no. 122; the nomen is very rare.

(Tac. Hist. 3.10-11; CIL VI 31547 = ILS 5928; L. Wickert, SPAW 1931 831 = AE 1932 78; PW 1; PIR² D 89; R. Syme, Tacitus 785; PB 136; Weinrib, Spaniards 220-35)

124. L. Antistius - f. Gal. Rusticus - Xvir stlitibus iudicandis, tribunus militum legionis II Augustae (in 69), adlectus inter praetorios a divo Vespasiano et divo Tito, donis militaribus donatus ab eisdem corona murali corona vallari corona aurea vexillis III hastis puris III (presumably as legatus legionis ca. 77-78), curator viarum Aureliae et Corneliae, legatus divi Vespasiani et divi Titi et Domitiani legionis VIII Augustae (in Germany, 79-81), proconsul prov. Hispaniae ulterioris Baeticae, praefectus aerarii Saturni, cos. suff. 90, legatus Augusti pro praetore prov. Cappadociae, Galatiae, Ponti, Pisidiae, Paphlagoniae, Armeniae minoris, Lycaoniae. Died in Cappadocia in 93 or 94. Wife: Mumia Nigrina. A Spanish origin is suggested by his enrolment in the tribe Galeria, by his friendship with Martial, and by the homonymous magistrate (no. 121) whom W.M. Ramsay, JRS 14 (1924), 179-81 considers his father. (PIR² A 765; S.E. Stout, CPhil. 21 (1926), 43-51; PB 53; Weinrib, Spaniards 244-47; Alföldy, Fasti 160-61).

125. L. Dasumius (Hadrianus?) - consul between 93 and 100; proconsul of Asia under Trajan in ~~106-07~~.

(PW 3; PIR² D 14; Stech, Senatores no. 883; Syme, Tacitus 792; A. Balil, Zephyrus 11 (1960), 218; Pflaum, Carrières 635-36;

Etienne, EResp. 60; PB 132)

126. L. Iulius M. f. Q. n. Gal. Gallus Mummianus - tribunus militum cohortis maritimae, Ilvir, flamen divorum Augustorum prov. Baeticae; early 2nd century. Received an equestrian statue. Wife: Aelia Flaviana (daughter of a Flavian freedman?).

(CIL II 2224. = ILS 6905 = ILER 1718; Etienne, Culte 129; Pflaum, EResp. 93; PB 186)

127. Iunius Bassus Milonianus - Ilvir, praefectus fabrum; probably Trajanic.

(CIL II 2222 = ILER 1691; PB 194)

128. P. Dasumius Rusticus - cos. ord. (with Hadrian) 119. Adopted son of no. 125; natural son, apparently, of P. Tullius Varro.

(PW Suppl. VII 115, no. 1a; PIR² D 15; Syme, Tacitus 792; PB 133)

129. L. Aelius L. f. Faustinus - Ilvir; 2nd century. Daughter: Aelia Faustina.

(CIL II 5524 = ILER 1448; PB 14)

130. M. Cassius M. f. Agrippa - procurator Augusti; probably 2nd century. Brother: M. Cassius Pollio.

(CIL II 2212; PIR² C 482; Pflaum, EResp. 108; PB 89)

131. L. Dasumius P. f. Stell. Tullius Tuscus - cos. suff. 152, comes Augusti, augur, sodalis Hadriani, sodalis Antonini, curator opera-

rum publicarum, legatus pro praetore prov. Germaniae superioris et Pannoniae superioris, praefectus aerarii Saturni, praetor, tribunus plebis, legatus prov. Africae, quaestor Imp. Antonini Aug. Pii, tribunus militum legionis IIII Flaviae, IIIvir a.a.a.f.f. The order of offices is problematic. Son of no. 128. Son: M. Dasumius L. f. Tullius Varro (CIL VI 1400).

(ILS 1081; PIR² D 16; Lambrechts I, no. 391; Pflaum, Carrières 636; PB 134)

132. M. Lucretius Marianus - IIvir.

(CIL II 2216 = ILER 6049; PB 217)

133. Q. Vibius Laetus - colleague of no. 132: IIvir, curator?

(CIL II 2216 = ILER 6049; CIL II 2207; PB 334)

134. C. Annius C. f. Lepidus Marcellus - IIIvir kapitalis. Presumably from Corduba, where an equestrian statue was erected in his honour and the expense repaid by his mother Quintia P. f. Galla of Anticaria.

(CIL II 5522 = ILER 1719; PW 59; PIR² A 666; PB 39; cf. CIL II 2048 = ILER 1495)

135. M. Helvius M. f. Serg. Rufus - flamen divorum Augustorum prov. Baeticae; 2nd third of 2nd century. Perhaps of the same family as M. Helvius Rufus in CIL I 999.

(J. Muñiz Coello, Habis 7 (1976), 388 = AE 1976 285)

136. ...it. Rusticus - flamen designatus prov. Baeticae.

(CIL II 2220 = ILER 1548; PB 128)

137. M. Marcius Gal. Proculus - IIvir. Native of Sucaelo. Daughter:
Marcia Procula.

(AE 1935 6 = ILER 5505; PB 232).

138. ...na - sacerdos Romae, (flaminica?) prov. (Baeticae?).

(CIL II 2228)

139. Cornelius Restitutus - flamen; 2nd century.

(CIL II 2195 = ILER 405; PB 119)

140. Cornelius Africanus - colleague (possibly relative) of no. 139.

(CIL II 2195 = ILER 405; PB 101)

141. Sempronius Donatus - clarissimus vir; 2nd or 3rd century. Buried
at Corduba where his father commemorates him, therefore likely to
be of local family.

(J. Castro Sanchez, Habis 8 (1977), 450)

142. L. Iunius P. f. Serg. Paulinus - pontifex, flamen perpetuus, IIvir,
flamen prov. Baeticae; late 2nd or early 3rd century. Dedicated
statues costing 400,000 HS, therefore presumably a knight. The
tribe Sergia is distinctive, cf. no. 135.

(CIL II 5523 = ILS 5079 = ILER 1720; Etienne, Culte 130, 203; PB
201)

143. P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Gal. Anullinus - Salus Palatinus, augur,
cos. ord. 216. Son of no. 198.
 (PW 59; PIR² 1323; Lambrechts II, no. 153; PB 103)
144. -. Fabius M. f. Gal. ...dus - flamen divorum Augustorum prov. Baeticae, A.D. 216 (dated by no. 143). Father: M. Fabius Basileus Celtitanus (perhaps from the town Celti in the conv. Hispalensis).
 (CIL II 2221 = ILS 6909 = ILER 1723; Etienne, Culte 130; J. Deining-
 er, MM 5 (1964), 174-75; PB 141)
145. Ulpius Helias - sacerdos of the cult of the living emperor Alexander Severus, A.D. 234.
 (L. Wickert, SPAW 1931 830 = HAep. 2401 = ILER 6785)
EPORA, municipium Foederatorum (conv. Cordubensis)
146. P. Attenius C. f. Gal. Afer - flamen Augustalis; 1st century A.D.
 (CIL II 2159 = ILER 1553; Etienne, Culte 203; PB 62)
147. L. Calpurnius L. f. - flamen; 1st century (Flavian?).
 (CIL II 2160 = ILER 1554; Etienne, Culte 203; PB 81)
148. L. Modius Priscus - Ilvir.
 (CIL II 2161 = ILER 1451; PB 247)
149. Anonymus - sacerdos Herculis. Mother: Modia Rusticula (daughter or sister of no. 148).
 (CIL II 2162 = ILER 1668; PB Ignoti 15)

GADES, municipium Augustum (conv. Gaditanus)

150. L. Cornelius - father of nos. 151-52. Member of a rich and distinguished family. Early 1st century B.C.
(Known only from the filiation of no. 151)

151. L. Cornelius L. f. Cru. Balbus (Maior) - see Appendix A.

152. P. Cornelius L. f. Balbus - father of no. 155.
(Known only from filiation)

153. Anonymus - accusator of no. 151 in 56 B.C.
(Cic. Balb. 32, 41-42)

154. Anonymi - legati...principes civitatis. Members of a delegation sent by Gades in support of no. 151 in 56 B.C.
(Cic. Balb. 39, 41-43)

155. L. Cornelius P. f. L. n. Balbus (Minor) - see Appendix A.

156. M. Tuccius L. f. Trom. Galeo - producer and exporter of wine.
Charged with assault in 51 B.C. by C. Sempronius Rufus. Galeo's stamp appears on amphorae in Spain, Gaul, Italy, Germany, Egypt and Palestine.
(Cic. Fam. 8.8.1; Att. 11.12.4; A. García y Bellido, Revue d'études ligures 35 (1969), 143-44 = AE 1971 176)

157. P. Curtius - producer and exporter of wine, from Gades to Palestine.

(A. García y Bellido, Revue d'études ligures 35 (1969), 144)

158. Herennius Gaïllus - an actor, granted the privileges of a knight (illegally) by no. 155.

(Cic. Fam. 10.32)

159. M. (Iunius) Columella - prominent landowner; uncle (patruus) of no. 160.

(Columella Rust. 5.5.15, 7.2.4, 12.21.4; PIR² I 745)

160. M. Iunius L. f. Gal. Moderatus Columella - tribunus militum legionis VI Ferratae in Syria and Cilicia Tracheia, A.D. 36. Writer on agriculture; owner of estates in Spain and Italy. His De re rustica was composed ca. 60-65.

(CIL IX 235 = ILS 2923; Columella Rust. 3.3.3, 3.9.2 (estates); PW 104; PIR² I 779; PB 200; Weinrib, Spaniards 161; R. Syme, Harv. Stud. 73 (1969), 221-22 = RP 760-61; OCD² 268; M. Griffin, JRS 62 (1972), 15-17)

161. L. Fabius L. f. Gal. Rufinus - praefectus iure dicundo ab decurionibus creatus.

(CIL II 1731 = ILS 6908a; PB 158)

162. L. Antonius Q. f. Gal. Antullus - IIIIvir aedilicia potestate.

(CIL II 1727; PB 54)

163. L. Antonius C. f. Gal. Antullus - sacerdos. Relative of no. 162?

(CIL II 1728 = ILS 8131 = ILER 3783)

164. Q. Antonius C. f. Gal. Rogatus - decurio Augustanus. Inhabitants and magistrates of cities bearing the Augustan title were known as Augustani.

(CIL II 1729 = ILER 3544)

165. ...s P. f. Gal. ...us - aedilis, IIII(?)vir, sacerdos; 1st century.

(Eph. Epigr. IX 236; PB 56 = Ignoti 2)

166. L. Cornelius L. f. Gal. Pusio Annius Messala - IIIIvir viarum curandarum, tribunus militum legionis XIV Geminae (before 61), quaestor, tribunus plebis, praetor, legatus Augusti legionis XVI (probably under Nero), cos. suff. (probably under Vespasian), proconsul (of Asia or Africa), VIIvir epulonum.

(PIR² C 1425; Syme, Tacitus 792; PB 117; Weinrib, Spaniards 194-203)

167. Moderatus - Neopythagorean philosopher; 2nd half of 1st century.

Possibly related to no. 160; Thouvenot therefore restores the nomen "Iunius".

(PW 5; Stein, Römische Ritterstand 390; PB 199; Weinrib, Spaniards 94; Thouvenot, Essai² 672)

168. Canius Rufus - poet and friend of Martial. His wife Theophila had been educated in Greece and is praised for her learning.

(Mart. 1.61, 1.69, 3.20, 3.64, 7.69, 10.48; PW 1; PIR² C 397; PB 182)

169. L. Cornelius L. f. L. n. Gal. Pusio Annus Messala - son of no. 166. Cos. 90 (suffect for Domitian?). Possibly pontifex or flamen in 101 or 102. Brother: M. Cornelius Pusio. (Etienne, EResp. 59; M. McCrum and A.G. Woodhead, Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors A.D. 68-96 (Cambridge, 1966), 9; PB 118; A. García y Bellido, BRAH 168 (1971) 200 = AE 1971 175)
170. M. Antonius M. f. Syriacus - Ilvir; 1st or 2nd century. Hübner thinks the letters in the inscription are Antonine, but García y Bellido prefers a Flavian date. (CIL II 1313 = ILER 1486; A. García y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal (Madrid, 1949), no. 299; PB 57)
171. M. Annus M. f. Gal. Libo - cos. ord. 128. Son of M. Annus Verus (no. 382). Uncle of the emperor M. Aurelius. Daughter: Annia Fundania Faustina (PIR² A 713; PB 50a). (PIR² A 667; Stech, Senatores no. 1737 and p. 168; Lambrechts I, no. 8; Etienne, EResp. 66-67; PB 40)
172. M(?) Annus M. f. Gal. Verus - brother of no. 171. Father of M. Aurelius. Praetor; died after 128-29. (PIR² A 696; Stech, Senatores no. 1738; Lambrechts I, no. 143; Etienne, EResp. 67; PB 48)
173. M. Annus M. f. M. n. Gal. Libo - son of no. 171. Probably legatus pro praetore in Syria in 163. Killed by order of L. Verus?

(S.H.A. Verus 9.2; PIR² A 668; Lambrechts I, nos. 335, 685; PB 41)

174. Anonymus - IIIIvir.

(M.J. Jiménez Cisneros, Emerita 30 (1962), 297 = HAEp. 1978; PB 20)

175. M. Annius Sabinus Libo - clarissimus vir, curator Lavinii. Son of no. 173.

(ILS 6183; PIR² A 688; PB 43)

176. M. Annius Flavius Libo - Salus Palatinus 178, cos. ord. 204. Son of no. 175.

(PIR² A 648; Lambrechts II, no. 22; PB 38)

HISPALIS, colonia Iulia Romula (conv. Hispalensis)

177. L. Blatius L. f. Serg. Ventinus - tribunus militum legionis V, item tribunus militum legionis X Gemellae, aedilis, IIvir; 1st century A.D. If the order of offices given in the inscription is correct, Ventinus held equestrian posts abroad before assuming municipal appointments. Perhaps related to L. Blattius Traianus (no. 236).

(CIL II 1176 = ILER 6039; PB 736)

178. C. Aelius C. f. C. n. Quir. Avitus - patron of the guild of boatmen (lyntrarii) of Canania, Oducia and Naeva. On patrons of professional collegia under the Empire, cf. A. Momigliano, OCD² 791.

(CIL II 1182 = ILER 5721; PB 12)

179. L. Horatius L. f. Gal. Victor - IIvir bis. Honoured for his muni-

ficence to patria and populus.

(CIL II 1185 = ILER 1461-62; PB 177)

180. Q. Pomponius Clemens Serg. Sabinianus - aedilis, IIvir, pontifex, augur. Parents: Q. Pomponius Clodianus, Sabina.

(CIL II 1188 = ILER 1464; PB 270)

181. Q. Iunius Quir. Venustus - received posthumously the decurionatus ornamenta and a funeral oration. His father Q. Iunius ... reimbursed the colony for the funeral expenses.

(CIL II 1186 = ILER 1463)

182. C. Annius C. f. C...dus - pontifex (perpetuus?); flamen divorum (et Augustorum prov.) Baeticae; beginning of 2nd century.

(A.M. Canto, Habis 5 (1974), 226 = AE. 1974 376)

183. Fabia Q. f. Hadrianilla - daughter of a consular. Wife, sister and mother of senators. Left 50,000 HS toward the alimenta programme.

(CIL II 1174 = ILER 5839; Thouvenot, Essai² 678)

184. D. Cutius Balbinus M. Cornelius Potitus L. Attius Iunianus Romulus - IIIIvir viarum curandarum; Hadrianic or Antonine. Possibly related to no. 351.

(CIL II 1172-73 = ILER 6367, 4123; PIR² C 1642; PB 130)

185. L. Vibius L. f. Gal. Tuscus Aurelius Rufinus - praefectus cohortis

I Ausetanorum; aedilis? 2nd century or later. The Ausetani were Latin citizens of Tarraconensis.

(CIL II 1181 = ILER 6402; cf. Pliny HN 3.23; Ptol. 2.4.70; PB 338)

IGABRUM, municipium (conv. Astigitanus)

186. M. Aelius M. f. Niger - aedilis; A.D. 75-76. Granted Roman citizenship per magistratum.

(CIL II 1610 = ILS 1981 = ILER 174; PB 18)

187. M. Cornelius A(?) f. Novanus Baebius Balbus - praefectus fabrum, tribunus militum legionis VI Victricis Piae Felicis, flamen prov. Baeticae. This legion was not "Pia Felix" before Trajan. Cornelius Novanus was probably a Spaniard (the cognomen "Novanus" is Celtic) who served with the Sixth Legion in Germany and Britain in the 2nd century, then returned to Baetica.

(CIL II 1614 = ILER 6075; PW "Legio" col. 1611; Etienne, Culte 129; Pflaum, EResp. 93 n. 37; PB 114)

188. ...atius L. f. ... - flamen sacrorum publicorum. The same title appears at Urgavo (no. 400). Wife: Iulia P. f. [Call]iope.
(F. Fita, BRAH 53 (1908), 41; PB 178)

ILIBERRIS, municipium Florentinum (conv. Astigitanus)

189. L. Galerius L. f. Gal. Valerianus - IIvir, pontifex perpetuus? Hübner suggests reading "IIvir. [po]nt." for the improbable "IIvir VI". The nomen is rare in Spain, but compare Seneca's uncle, C. Galerius (see Appendix B).

(CIL II 2081 = ILER 1434; PB 170)

190. Anonymus - pontifex perpetuus. Received an equestrian statue.

(CIL II 2086 = ILER 1715; PB Ignoti 18)

191. Cornelia P. f. Severina - flaminica Augustalis; probably Vespasianic.

(CIL II 2074 = ILER 1657; PIR² C 1501; Etienne, Culte 240; PB 126)

192. Q. Valerius Vegetus - entered the Senate under Vespasian; cos.

suff. 91. Probably the husband of no. 191. The Valerii Vegeti owned a house at Rome on the Quirinal with parietes formacei, a wall construction technique which is common in Spain but rare at Rome.

(PW 375; Stech, Senatores no. 692 and p. 168; A. Balil, Zephyrus 11 (1960), 222; idem, Oretania 3 (1961), 96-97; Etienne, EResp. 65; PB 325; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 161)

193. (Pomptilius?) Gratus - pontifex, augur; late 1st or early 2nd century.

(CIL II 5513 = ILER 1432; PB 274)

194. Q. Valerius Vegetus - cos. suff. 112. Probably the son of no. 192.

Wife: ...lia Afer.

(A. Balil, Oretania 3 (1961), 97; PB 326)

195. L. Mummius Niger Q. Valerius Vegetus Severinus Caucidius Tertullus

- cos. probably under Antoninus Pius. Presumably the son of no. 194, and probably the same Mummius Niger Valerianus Vegetus vir consularis who owned land at Vitterbo.

(PW 19 = 20; Lambrechts I, no. 296a; A. Balil, Oretania 3 (1961), 97; J. Morris, Listy Filologicke 86 (1963), 43; Etienne, EResp. 69, cf. 83; PB 250 = 251; Pflaum, Carrieres 634-35; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 119. Lands: ILS 5771, cf. Weinrib, Spaniards 248)

196. ... L. f. Patricia - sacerdos.

(CIL II 5514 = ILER 1435; PB Ignoti 7)

197. Cn. Papirius Gal. Aelianus Aemilianus Tuscillus - quaestor prov. Achaiae, tribunus plebis, praetor, legatus legionis XII, legatus Augusti pro praetore Daciae superioris (133), cos. suff. (130's), legatus Augusti pro praetore Britanniae (146).

(PW 27; Lambrechts I, no. 452; Etienne, EResp. 72; PB 263; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 123)

198. P. Cornelius P. f. Gal. Anullinus - quaestor, tribunus plebis, praetor, legatus proconsularis prov. Narbonensis, proconsul prov. Baeticae (170), legatus legionis VII Geminae (171-72), legatus Augusti pro praetore (prov. incertae), cos. suff. (174 or 175), legatus Augusti pro praetore Germaniae superioris, curator alvei et riparum Tiberis, proconsul prov. Africae (193-94), dux Septimii Severi (194-95, in the campaign against Pescennius Niger and in expeditione Adiabenica), praefectus urbi (198?), cos. II ord. 199. An intimate friend of Septimius Severus. Son: no. 143.

(CIL II 2073 = 5506 = ILS 1139 = ILER 1297; Epit. de Caes. 20.6; PIR² C 1322; Lambrechts I, no. 710; A. Balil, Saitabi 11 (1961), 52; PB 102; Alföldy, Fasti 122-23; H.-G. Pflaum, Les fastes de la province de Narbonnaise (Paris, 1978), 66-68)

199. Cn. Papirius Aelianus - cos. ord. 184. Probably grandson of no. 197.

(Lambrechts I, no. 1072; PW 28; PB 262; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 122)

200. P. Cornelius Anullinus - son of no. 198 and perhaps born in Spain. Salius Palatinus, augur 201, cos. 216.

(PIR² C 1323; A. Balil, Saitabi 11 (1961), 53)

ILIPA (conv. Hispalensis)

201. Anonymus - flamen(?) Augustalis prov. Baeticae; 2nd century.

(M. Ponsich, Implantation rurale sur le Bas-Guadalquivir (Paris, 1974), 139 = AE 1974 369)

202. M. Calpurnius Lucius - municipal decurion; early 3rd century.

(CIL II 1088 = ILER 5798; cf. A.M. Canto, Habis 8 (1977), 421)

ILIPULA (conv. Hispalensis)

203. M. Curiatius Quir. Longinus - decurion; Flavian or later.

(CIL II 954 = ILER 392)

204. M. Cornelius - II(?)vir; reign of Antoninus Pius.

(CIL II 955)

ILIPULA LAUS (conv. Astigitanus).

205. Valerius Ter(entianus?) - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C.

(VM 1161 = Gil 1326; PB 1v)

206. L. Flavius L. f. Quir. Gallus - IIIIvir, IIvir bis.

(CIL II 1470 + p. 702 = ILER 1479)

ILITURGICOLA (conv. Astigitanus)

207. L. Porcius L. f. Gal. Maternus - IIvir.

(CIL II 1648 = ILER 6017; PB 276)

ILURCO (conv. Astigitanus)

208. P. Cornelius P. f. Quir. Callicus - IIvir; Flavian or later.

(M. Sotomayor, NAH 8-9 (1964/5), 354; idem, NAH 10-12 (1966-68), 275)

209. C. Annius Seneca - IIvir under L. Verus or Commodus.

(CIL II 5511 = ILER 1128; ILER 1143; PB 45)

210. Q. Cornelius Macer - colleague of no. 209. Cf. P. Cornelius Macer (no. 442).

(CIL II 5511 = ILER 1128; ILER 1143; PB 113)

211. L. Cominius L. f. Gal. Iulianus - flamen divorum Augustorum prov.

Baeticae, A.D. 191.

(A.M. Vicent, NAH 6 (1962), 423 = HAep. 2091 = J. Deininger, MM 5 (1964), 174 = AE 1966 181)

ILURO, municipium (conv. Gaditanus)

212. L. Munnius Quir. Novatus - IIvir under Domitian. Granted Roman citizenship per honorem.

(CIL II 1945 + p. 704 = ILS 1982 = ILER 1090; PB 255)

213. L. Munnius Quir. Aurelianus - colleague and relative of no. 212, and enfranchised at the same time.

(CIL II 1945 + p. 704 = ILS 1982 = ILER 1090; PB 254)

214. C. Fabius Vibianus - IIvir. Mother: Vibia Lucana. Heir: Fabia Firma.

(CIL II 1947 = ILER 1768; PB 163)

IPOLCOBULCOLA (conv. Astigitanus)

215. P. Iunius Abitus - IIvir.

(CIL II 1646 = ILER 5338; PB 193)

216. L. Porcius Quir. Quietus - IIvir, pontifex. Built a temple, statue and forum on his own land at his own expense. Flavian or later.

Son: T. Porcius Quietus.

(CIL II 1649 = ILER 2075; PB 277)

IPORCA (conv. Hispalensis)

217. Cornelia Clementis f. Tusca - sacerdos perpetua.

(CIL II 1046 = ILER 1765; PB 127)

218. C. Antonius Gal. Seranus - flamen divorum Augustorum prov. Baeticae, A.D. 152.

(A. García y Bellido, BRAH 168 (1971), 182 = AE 1971 183)

IPSCA, municipium Contributum (conv. Astigitanus)

219. Anonymus - Iivir.

(CIL II 1576)

220. Anonymus - Iivir.

(CIL II 1577)

221. Anonyma (Montana?) - sacerdos.

(CIL II 1574)

222. Iulia M. f. Laeta - sacerdos divae Augustae; 1st or 2nd century.

(CIL II 1571 = ILER 1670; PB 191)

223. Licinia Q. f. Rufina - sacerdos perpetua at Ipsca, Ucubi and Iliberris.

(CIL II 1572 = ILS 6909 = ILER 1761; PB 214)

224. M. Clodius ... - pontifex designatus; reign of Vespasian. Wife: Annia Sons: M. Clodius Rusticus, -. Clodius Marcellus.

(CIL II 1570; PB 94)

225. C. Sempronius C. f. Quir. Lucretius Salvianus - Ilvir, patronus, praestantissimus civis; 2nd century?

(CIL II 1597 = ILER 1712; PB 289)

IPTUCI (conv. Gaditanus).

226. C. Trebecius Lucanus - one of three men (presumably legati) who enacted hospitium between Iptuci and Ucubi in A.D. 31.

(EJER no. 20 = AE 1955 21 = HAEP. 547; PB 307)

227. C. Attius Severus - colleague of no. 226.

(EJER no. 20 = AE 1955 21 = HAEP. 547; PB 63).

228. L. Catinius Optatus - colleague of no. 226. Presumably related to Catinia L. f. Sila, also of Iptuci (CIL II 5484 = ILER 1001).

(EJER no. 20 = AE 1955 21 = HAEP. 547; PB 92)

ISTURGI, municipium Triumphale (conv. Cordubensis)

229. A. Terentius A. f. Gal. Rusticus - aedilis, Ilvir, pontifex; Antonine.

(CIL II 2121 = ILER 6076; PB 301)

230. Porcia Gamice - flaminica.

(CIL II 2122 = ILER 5955; PB 281)

ITALICA, municipium Augustum; later colonia Ulpia (conv. Hispalensis)

231. C. Marcius - ἄνδρα Ἰβηρα ἐκ πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς. Spanish military

commander sent against Viriathus in 143 by Quinctius, governor of Ulterior. Although Appian implies that he was a romanized Iberian, his Latin nomen, the early date, and the improbability that Roman troops would be commanded by an actual Iberian, suggest rather that C. Marcius was a Spanish-born son of an Italian settler.

(App. Hisp. 66; PW 10; PB 229; Knapp, Roman Experience 116)

232. T. Thorius - elected leader (dux) of several legions in the mutiny against Q. Cassius Longinus in 48 B.C.

(BAlex. 57-59; PW 3; PB 305)

233. L. Munatius Flaccus - one of the conspirators against Cassius Longinus. Placed by Pompeius in charge of the defence of Ategua in 45.

(BAlex. 52.3-4; BHisp. 19.4; Dio Cass. 43.33.4-34.5; Frontin. Str. 3.14.1; Val. Max. 9.2.4; PW 19; PB 253)

234. Q. Pompeius Niger - eques Romanus Italicensis. A Caesarian officer who fought a duel with Antistius Turpio in 45 B.C.

(BHisp. 25; PB 269)

235. Aelius Marullinus - Roman senator (the first in his family) at the very end of the Republic. Atavus of Hadrian.

(S.H.A. Hadr. 1.2; PW 90; PIR² A 219; De Laet, Samenstelling no. 11 ("Augustan"); PB 17; Weinrib, Spaniards 59 ("under Caesar or shortly thereafter"); Wiseman, New Men no. 5 ("under the triumvirs?"); A. Chastagnol in Mélanges...Pierre Boyancé (Rome, 1974), 170 ("se-

cond triumvirat ou dans les années voisines de la bataille d'Actium"))

236. L. Blattius L. f. Traianus Pollio - IIvir designatus iterum, pontifex primus creatus (together with no. 237). Blattius and Fabius Pollio were the first duumvirs and first pontifices of the Augustan municipium of Italica and had been re-elected to a second term. From their own pockets they built the orchestra, proscaenium, parodoi, altars and statues in the theatre. The foundation of the municipium may be dated on the basis of the numismatic evidence (coins with image of Augustus and legend "PER(missu) AVG(usti)") to ca. 15 B.C. This is also the first appearance in history of a Traianus; Italica later produced the emperor of that name (no. 241).

(A. Blanco Freijeiro in Segovia y la arqueología romana (Barcelona, 1977), 134-39; cf. F. Chaves Tristan, Las monedas de Itálica² (Sevilla, 1978), 12-13)

237. C. Fabius C. f. Pollio - colleague of no. 236.
(Ibid.)

238. L. Raius L. f. Serg. Plebeius - IIvir III.
(CIL II 1129 = ILER 1677)

239. L. Bruttius Bargathes Firmus - flamen Augustalis; 1st century A.D.
(HAep. 566 = ILER 264; Etienne, Culte 203; PB 74)

240. M. Ulpius Traianus - see Appendix C.

241. M. Ulpius M. f. Traianus Augustus - see Appendix C.

242. L. Iulius Ursus Servianus - cos. suff. 90; legatus in Germany (98) and then Pannonia; cos. II ord. 102, cos. III ord. 134. Brother-in-law of the emperor Hadrian and father-in-law of Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator (no. 803). Hadrian had considered him as a successor, and when Servianus objected to Hadrian's subsequent decision to make L. Commodus emperor, he was put to death for conspiracy.

(Pliny Ep. 8.23.5; Dio Cass. 69.17; S.H.A. Had. 2.6, 23.2-8; PW 538; Lambrechts I, no. 74; F.H. Cramer, Astrology in Roman Law and Politics (Philadelphia, 1954), 174-78; A. Balil, Zephyrus 11 (1960), 221; Etienne, EResp. 60-61, cf. 82; PB-189; R. Syme, Harv. Stud. 73 (1969), 232 = RP 770; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 94)

243. Anonymus - curator; ca. Trajanic.

(CIL II 1122; PB Ignoti 12)

244. P. Coelius Serg. Apollinaris - cos. suff. 111.

(PIR² C 1239; Lambrechts I, no. 262; Etienne, EResp. 67; PB 95)

245. ... Caecilianus - adlectus [a Tr]aian(o). If the restoration is correct, Caecilianus may have been a senator. One could be "adlected" to the local ordo as a decurion, but this should not have required the emperor's permission. However, cf. no. 1209.

(Unpublished inscription from the theatre; now in the Itálica Museum)

246. P. Aelius Hadrianus Afer - see Appendix C

247. P. Aelius P. f. Hadrianus Augustus - see Appendix C

248. C. Agrius Rupus Silonis f. - adlected as a decurion of Italica.

Perhaps a native of Merobriga in Lusitania, whence the inscription.

(AE 1964 276 = HAep. 2685; J. Gagé, Rev. Ét. Anc. 71 (1969), 75)

249. M. Accenna L. f. Gal. Saturninus - quaestor, tribunus plebis, praetor, proconsul prov. Baeticae; 2nd century, probably under Trajan or Hadrian. Etruscan nomen. Possessed a villa near Tibur.

Wife: Atilia L. f. Barbilla.

(CIL XIV 3585; PIR² A 24; Syme, Tacitus 785; PB 2; Alföldy, Fasti 171, cf. 66 n. 321)

250. P. B...ius Fortunatus - sacerdos coloniae (sc. Aeliae) Augustae Italicensium; reign of Hadrian. The nomina Blattius and Bruttius occur among the élite of Italica; other possible restorations include "Baebius" and "Badius".

(HAep. 348 = ILER 372; PB 69)

251. P. Acilius Attianus - eques Romanus, praefectus praetorio, senator under Hadrian.

(PIR² A 45; Stein, Römische Ritterstand, 162, 248; Lambrechts I,

no. 2; Etienne, EResp. 70; Pflaum, EResp. 103; PB 4)

252. P. Coelius P. f. Serg. Balbinus Vibullius Pius - son of no. 244; Xvir stlitibus iudicandis, sevir equitum Romanorum, tribunus militum. Adlected to the Senate by Hadrian; quaestor, praetor, cos. ord. 137; possibly governor of Dalmatia in 138-40.

(CIL VI 1383 = ILS 1063; PW 9; PIR² C 1241; Lambrechts I, no. 39; PB 97; Etienne, EResp. 71; Weinrib, Spaniards 241-44)

253. M. Accenna M. f. Gal. Helvius Agrippa - son(?) of no. 249; tribunus laticlavus Syriae legionis XVI Flaviae, item tribunus laticlavus Britanniae legionis XX Valeriae Victricis, IIIvir capitalis, quaestor prov. Africae, legatus prov. Africae diocesis Carthaginensium, tribunus plebis, praetor, curio minor. 2nd century (Hadrianic or Antonine). Son: M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa.

(CIL II 1262 = ILER 6360; PIR² H 65; Syme, Tacitus 785; PB 1)

254. Licinius Victor - IIvir under M. Aurelius. Perhaps related to the Licinii Victores of Munigua (cf. no. 293). The inscription mentioning this magistratē refers to enemy activity in Baetica -- presumably the Moorish invasion of ca. 172 (S.H.A. Marc. 21.1).

(CIL II 1120 = ILS 1354 = ILER 1470; PB 213)

255. Fabius Aelianus - colleague of no. 254.

(CIL II 1120 = ILS 1354 = ILER 1470; PB 145)

256. M. Aqu(ilius?) P. Coelius Apollinaris - son of no. 252; cos. ord.

169.

(Lambrechts I, no. 709; PIR² C 1240; PB 96)

257. Iulius Ho... - egregius vir, curator; 3rd century.

(CIL II 6283; PB 187)258. Aurelius Iulius - vir perfectissimus, agens vices praesidis;
under Florianus (A.D. 276) and Probus.(CIL II 1115 = ILS 593 = ILER 1199; CIL II 1116 = ILER 1200; PIR²
A 1539; Alföldy, Fasti 174)259. Aurelius Ursianus - vir egregius, curator rei publicae Italicensi-
um; A.D. 276.(CIL II 1115 = ILS 593 = ILER 1199; PB 68a)

260. ...cus - (aedilis?), IIVir, praefectus(?) militum sagittariorum.

(Unpublished inscription from the theatre; now in the Itálica Mu-
seum)ITUC(C)I, colonia Virtus Iulia (conv. Astigitanus)261. M. Pompeius Q. f. Gal. Icstnis - IIVir; Augustan. First duumvir
from the familia Pompeia. Non-Roman cognomen.(CIL II 1585 = ILER 1675; PB 268; Albertos, OPP 276)262. Cn. Pompeius Cn. f. Afer - aedilis, IIVir; Augustan. Possibly re-
lated to no. 261; however the nomen is very common.(CIL II 1596; PB 267)

263. Q. Mummius L. f. Gal. Gallus - IIvir.

(CIL II 1584 = ILER 1674a; PB 248)

264. Numisius Si... Stabilis - praetor tutelarius(?); late 2nd or 3rd century. The inscription is very fragmentary, with later mention of "annona plebi" (praefectus annonae? aedilis plebis?).

(CIL II 1599)

IULIPA, municipium (conv. Cordubensis)

265. M. Cornelius Proculus - aedilis. Cf. no. 11.

(Eph. Epigr. IX 253 = A. García y Bellido and J. Menéndez Pidal, El distylo sepulcral romano de Iulipa (Zalamea) (Madrid, 1963), no. 13 = ILER 5553; PB 116)

266. L. Attius L. f. Gal. Optatus - decurio. A native of Arsa.

(García y Bellido and Menéndez Pidal, op. cit. no. 26 = ILER 6845)

267. ...lius ... - IIvir, decurio. Possibly a native of Emerita.

(García y Bellido and Menéndez Pidal, op. cit. no. 25 = ILER 6846; PB 180)

LACILBULA (conv. Gaditanus)

268. M. Fabius ... - legatus? One of four magistrates who enact hospitium with Q. Marius Balbus in A.D. 5.

(CIL II 1343 = ILS 6097 = ILER 5833; PB 143; Thouvenot, Essai² 225)

269. M. Manilius ... - colleague of no. 268.

(CIL II 1343 = ILS 6079 = ILER 5833; PB 221)

270. P. Cornelius ... - colleague of no. 268.

(CIL II 1343 = ILS 6079 = ILER 5832; PB 100)

271. C. Fabius ... - colleague (and brother?) of no. 268.

(CIL II 1343 = ILS 6079 = ILER 5833; PB 142)

LACIPPO (conv. Gaditanus)

272. Anonymus - IIvir.

(CIL II 1936 + p. 875 = ILER 1547)

273. Rusticus - colleague of no. 272.

(Ibid.)

274. C. Marcius Cephalo - flamen.

(Ibid.; PB 230)

275. C. Marcius Niger - flamen; relative of no. 274?

(CIL II 1935 = ILER 456; PB 231)

276. Q. Fabius Q. f. Varus - pontifex, Vvir; 1st century A.D. Dedicated an open-air crypt to divus Augustus at his own expense. This is the only quinquvir attested in Spain, but the reading of the stone is unequivocal (cf. photograph).

(R. Puertas Tricas and P. Rodríguez Oliva, Estudios sobre la ciudad romana de Lacipo (Valladolid, 1980), 23-27 and pl. VIII 2)

LASCUTA (conv. Gaditanus)

277. A. Irthi - magistrate, ca. 57 B.C. Beltrán Martínez suggests reading "HIRTHI(us)" (recte?).

(VM 92:9 = Gil 1414; A. Beltrán Martínez, Numismática antigua (Cartagena, 1950), 448; PB xx)

278. Scui... - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C. Indigenous name?

(VM 92:2 = Gil 1416)

MALACA, municipium Flavium (conv. Gaditanus)

279. L. Octavius L. f. Rusticus - aedilis.

(CIL II 1967 = ILER 503; PB 260)

280. L. Granus M. f. Balbus - aedilis (colleague of no. 279).

(CIL II 1967 = ILER 503; PB 171)

281. L. Valerius L. f. Quin. Proculus - praefectus cohortis IIII Trachum Syriacae, tribunus militum legionis VII Claudiae Piaae Fidelis (in Moesia inferior), praefectus classis Alexandriae et Potamophylaciae, procurator Augusti Alpium Maritimarum, delectator Augusti, procurator provinciae ulterioris Hispaniae Baeticae, procurator provinciarum Cappadociae, Paphlagoniae, Galatiae, procurator Asiae, procurator provinciarum trium Galliarum, procurator a rationibus Augusti, praefectus annonae, praefectus Aegypti A.D. 145-47; patron of Malaca, of which Stein believes him to be a native. Sister: Valeria L. f. Procula, wife of T. Pontius Sabinus.

(CIL II 1970; for sister, CIL X 5829 (Ferentinum); Stein, Römische

Ritterstand 391; PM 213; Pflaum, Carrières 274-76; PB 318)

282. C. Valerius L. f. Quir. Florinus - praefectus cohortis II Trachum Syriacae, tribunus militum legionis VII Claudiae Piaae Fidelis.

Brother and presumably compatriot of no. 281.

(CIL XIV 2957 (Praeneste); PB 315)

MELLARIA (conv. Cordubensis)

283. C. Annius C. f. Quir. Annianus - IIvir II, pontifex perpetualis; Flavian or later.

(CIL II 2343 = ILER 2047; PB 36)

284. C. Sempronius Speratus - flamen divorum Augustorum prov. Baeticae, A.D. 98-99. Awarded two equestrian statues. This is the earliest datable example of a provincial flamen of Baetica. Wife: Venusta.
(CIL II 2344 = ILER 1725; Etienne, Culte 127-29; PB 290; J. Deininger, MM 5 (1974), 175-76)

Note: CIL II 2349 = ILER 6344 does not mention a duumvir; the preferred reading is "[I]II[TER]R", i.e. "trium terr(itoriorum)".

MELLARIA alter (conv. Gaditanus)

285. C. Turranius Gracilis - praefectus Aegypti (7-4 B.C.), praefectus annonae from Augustus to Claudius. A writer on Spain, and possibly related to or identical with the tragedian Turranius mentioned in Ovid Pont. 4.16.29. The gens Turrania originated in Italy; there are eight representatives in Spain.

(Pliny HN 3.3, 9.11, 18.75; Tac. Ann. 1.7, 11.31; Stein, Römische Ritterstand 389; Pflaum, EResp. 88, 116; PB 308; Weinrib, Spaniards 102; R. Syme, Harv. Stud. 73 (1969), 219-20 = RP 759; R. Etienne and G. Fabre, Conimbriga 11 (1972), 196-97; B.D. Hoyos, Hist. 28 (1979), 460)

Montemolin (ancient name unknown; conv. Hispalensis)

286. L. Norbanus - f. Mensor - (aedilis?) bis, IIvir...; 1st century.
(CIL II 6337; PB 257)

MUNIGUA municipium Flavium (conv. Hispalensis)

287. L. Lucceius L. f. - magistrate (under Augustus or Tiberius).
(Alföldy, Fasti 182-83 = ILER 5831; PB 215)

288. L. Octavius M. f. Silvanus - legatus. Held office at the same time as no. 287.

(Alföldy, Fasti 182-83 = ILER 5831; PB 261)

289. L. Servilius L. f. Pollio - IIIIvir II, praefectus C. Caesaris IIIIvirali potestate, (pontifex or flamen) sacrorum publicorum municipalium (under Tiberius), pontifex divi Augusti. Wife: Postumia Q. f. Prisca, perhaps related to Q. Postumius Hyginus and Postumia Cypare of Carmo, where Servilius Pollio was buried. She is not likely to have been their daughter, as Bonsor had proposed: indeed, their inscription (CIL II 5422 = ILER 4660) appears to date to the 2nd century. Thouvenot even considers them freedmen.
(CIL II 5120 = ILER 5680; G. Bonsor, Archaeological Sketch-book of

the Roman Necropolis at Carmona (New York, 1931), 111-12; Etienne, Culte 202; PB 295; Thouvenot, Essai² 555; M. Bendaña Galán, La necrópolis romana de Carmona (Sevilla, 1976), 83)

290. Servilius Pollio - presumably the son of no. 289. He lent a large sum of money to the city of Munigua, at interest. The city later appealed to the emperor Titus (whose rescript survives) for exemption from repayment, but without success.

(W. Grünhagen, VI Congreso Arqueológico Nacional (Zaragoza, 1959), 215-16 = A. D'Ors, Emerita 29 (1961), 210 = AE 1962 288 = Alföldy, Fasti 159; PB 296)

291. Anonymi - IIIIviri, A.D. 79.

(Ibid.)

292. Valerius Quir. Firmus - (IIvir?) II; Flavian. Built a temple, forum, etc. for the city.

(F. Collantes and C. Chicarro, AEA 45-47 (1972-74), 366-68 = AE 1972 268-69)



293. C. Licinius Victor Annianus - probably a magistrate. Undoubtedly a relative of L. Licinius Annianus who makes a dedication to a Flavian emperor. A Licinius Victor also dedicates to Titus. The double cognomen suggests a possible lineage:

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L. Licinius Annianus
|
- L. Licinius Victor
|
C. Licinius Victor Annianus

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Wife: Aelia L. f. Procula.

(Collantes and Chicarro, AEA 45-47 (1972-74), 364 = AE 1972 264;
cf. CIL II 1050-51 = ILER 1248, 6051)

294. L. Quintius L. f. Quir. Rufinus - IIvir II; early 2nd century.

(Collantes and Chicarro, AEA 45-47 (1972-74), 362-64)

295. Anonymus - IIIIvir(?); early 2nd century. This might, however, be
a [II]IIIIvir.

(Ibid. 386)

296. T. Aemilius T. f. Quir. Pudens - IIvir II; mid-2nd century. Wife:
Fulvia.

(Ibid. 365-66, 368-69 = AE 1972 265-66).

297. L. Quintius L. f. L. n. Quir. Rufus - son of no. 294; IIvir II;
late 2nd century.

(Collantes and Chicarro, AEA 45-47 (1972-74), 345, 392-94)

298. T. Aemilius T. f. T. n. Quir. Pudens - son of no. 296; IIvir II;
late 2nd or early 3rd century. Collantes and Chicarro read "L.

Aemilius L. f.", but it is clear from their photograph on p. 393
that both praenomina were correctly read as "T." by Hübner. This
means that no. 296 must also be a Titus. Collantes and Chicarro,
followed by the editors of AE, seem unaware that this inscription
was already published in CIL.

(Ibid. 391 = AE 1972 267 = CIL II 1378 = ILER 1476; PB 27)

299. Quintia M. f. Flaccina - flaminica divarum Augustarum splendidae provinciae Baeticae; 2nd or 3rd century. An earlier Quintia Flaccina, undoubtedly related, dedicated a shrine and exedra to the city. The editors of AE wrongly conclude that the two are the same, but it is clear from the letter forms that they belong to different centuries.

(HAEP. 1561 = ILER 327; cf. Collantes and Chicarro, AEA 45-47 (1972-74), 369-70 = AE 1972 270; PB 287)

NAEVA, municipium Flavium (conv. Hispalensis)

300. L. Aelius Quir. Aelianus - IIvir; Flavian or later. Wife: Egnatia M. f. Lupercilla.

(CIL II 1191 = ILER 1472; HAEP. 1027 = AE 1958 39 = ILER 1735; PB 11 = 303)

NERTOBRIGA, Concordia Iulia (conv. Hispalensis)

301. Flacci(lla?) - sacerdos divae Augustae; 1st or 2nd century A.D. Castillo suggests that this might be Varinia Flaccina, wife of no. 92; but the evidence is inconclusive.

(Eph. Epigr. VIII 83 = AE 1894 9; Etienne, Culte 240; PB Ignoti 3; C. Castillo, ANRW II/3, 7611 n. 38)

NESCANIA, municipium Flavium (conv. Gaditanus)

302. L. Calpurnius Gallio - curator iuvenum Laurensium; A.D. 153.

(CIL II 2008 = ILS 5423 = ILER 149; PB 82. On curators of collegia cf. OCD² 791)

303. C. Marius Clemens - colleague of no. 302.

(CIL II 2008 = ILS 5423 = ILER 149; PB 237)

OBA (conv. Gaditanus)

304. L. Cornelius Herennius Rusticus - Ilvir; 2nd century A.D. Grandson of L. Herennius Herennianus, whom he buried on 9 March 151.

(CIL II 1330, 1332-33 = ILER 1501; 5845; 6536; PB 112)

305. M. Sentius Restitutus - colleague of no. 304.

(CIL II 1330 = ILER 1501; PB 291)

OBULCO, municipium Pontificiense (conv. Cordubensis)

306. Co(rnelius) Ni(ger?) - pr(aefectus?), ca. 120-90 B.C.

(VM 94:2 (cf. p. 56) = Gil 408; PB xiv)

307. L. Aemilius - aedilis, ca. 120-90 B.C.

(VM 96:6 = Gil 430; PB iii)

308. M. Iunius - colleague of no. 307.

(VM 96:6 = Gil 430; PB xxvi)

309. Bodilcos - magistrate(?), ca. 120-90 B.C. Non-Roman name.

(VM 97:5 = Gil 435; PB xi; Albertos, OPP 57)

310. Insani - magistrate, ca. 120-90 B.C. Indigenous name?

(VM 97:6 = Gil 439; PB xxii. Name: F. Beltrán Lloris, Numisma 28 (1978), 185; but Schulze, Eigennamen 175-76 records an Etruscan

name insni, whence Latin "Insianus" etc.)

311. Sisiren - colleague of no. 310. Indigenous name.

(VM 97:6 = Gil 439; PB li; J. Untermann, Elementos de un atlas antroponimico de la Hispania antigua (Madrid, 1965), 162; Albertos, OPP 210)

312. Nig(er?) - magistrate, ca. 67 B.C.

(VM 97:12-14, 98:1, 173:4 = Gil 1461-64, 1467; PB xxxviii)

313. Cn. ...om. - magistrate, ca. 67 B.C.

(VM 98:3 = Gil 1468)

314. Anonymus - IIIIvir(?), ca. 67 B.C. The coin bears the legend

"IIII"; a different interpretation is not excluded.

(VM 98:6 = Gil 1470)

315. Ilno - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C. Indigenous name?

(VM 94:3 = Gil 1471; PB xxi = xxxvii)

316. Atitim(?) - magistrate? Appears to be a non-Roman name, with paral-

lels in Upper Germany ("Atitio") and Spain ("Atitta"). However,

Castillo proposes the reading "A. TITI(us)", perhaps rightly.

(VM 97:10; PB liv; Albertos, OPP 39; cf. M. Beltrán Lloris, Las ánforas romanas en España (Zaragoza, 1970), 121 no. 36)

317. C. Cornelius C. f. C. n. Gal. Caeso - aedilis, flamen, Ilvir;

Vespasianic.

(CIL II 2126 = ILS 6911 = ILER 1777; Etienne, Culte 202; PB 107)

318. C. Cornelius C. f. Cn. C. pron. Gal. Caeso - sacerdos genii municipii; pontifex? Son of no. 317.

(CIL II 2126 = ILS 6911 = ILER 1777; PB 108)

319. Q(?) Quintius Q. f. Q. n. Q. pron. Q. abn. Gal. Hispanus ...us - aedilis, flamen, Iivir, pontifex, (pro?)curator Baetis, praefectus cohortis primae ...rum equitatae, comes et adsector legati ad census accipiendos, comes et adsector proconsulis prov. Galliae Narbonensis; 2nd century A.D. Not an imperial procurator.

(CIL II 2129 = ILS 1404; Pflaum, Carrières 61, 1049; idem, EResp. 108-12; PB 286)

320. Cornelius L. f. Gal.... - aedilis. Sister: Cornelia L. f. Anus.

(CIL II 2130 = ILS 5497 = ILER 1713; PB 99)

321. ...nicius L. f. L. n. L. pron. Gal. Mento Man... - aedilis, Iivir i. d., praefectus Iivirali potestate, praefectus fabrum; pontufex, augur.

(CIL II 2149a + p. 886 = ILER 1542; PB Ignoti 6)

322. L. Porcius L. f. Gal. Stilo - aedilis, Iivir designatus. Received an equestrian statue.

(CIL II 2131 = ILER 5375; PB 280)

323. M. Valerius M. f. M. n. Q. pron. Pullinus - IIvir, legatus perpetuus municipii, praefectus fabrum, flamen, pontifex, augur.

(CIL II 2132 = ILS 6908 = ILER 1415; PB 319)

324. ... P. f. Pyramus - IIvir at Corduba and Obulco; buried at the latter town, aged 70. Greek cognomen: perhaps son of a freedman?

Probably 2nd century.

(CIL II 2133 = ILER 5396; PB Ignoti 8)

OCURI (conv. Gaditanus)

325. Postumia C. f. Honorata - sacerdos divarum Augustarum. A native of Barbesula.

(CIL II 1338 = ILER 1667; PB 285)

ONUBA (conv. Cordubensis)

326. C. Aelius - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C.

(VM 102:1-3 = Gil 1488-90; PB i)

327. Q. Publilius - colleague of no. 326.

(VM 102:1-3 = Gil 1488-90; PB xlvii)

328. P. Terentius - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C.

(VM 102:4 = Gil 1487; PB lii)

329. Colp. - colleague of no. 328. Indigenous name, or abbreviation for "Co(rnelius) L... p(raefectus)" or the like?

(VM 102:4 = Gil 1487; PB xii)

OSQUA, municipium (conv. Astigitanus)

330. C. Licinius Agrinus - Ilvir bis. His cognomen is otherwise unknown but presumably a variant of Agrianus. Son: C. Licinius Agrippinus.
(CIL II 2030 = ILS 5488 = ILER 1751; PB 209)

331. P. Coelius - f. Rutilus - possibly Ilvir. The crucial line of the text may be read either "IIV(ir)" or "ILV(ronensis)".
(CIL II 2032 = ILER 2551)

OSSET, municipium Iulia Constantia (conv. Hispalensis)

332. L. Luc. - magistrate; late 1st century B.C.
(VM 111:2 = Gil 1506; PB xxix)

333. P. Vet(tius?) - colleague of no. 332.
(VM 111:2 = Gil 1506; PB lvii)

334. L. Caesius L. f. Pollio - aedilis, Ilvir and presumably quinquennialis ("censu et duomviratu bene acto"); 1st or early 2nd century A.D.
(CIL II 1256 = ILS 6918 = ILER 1469; PB 80)

335. Q. Cornelius Q. f. Quir. Senex - Ilvir IIII(!); Antonine. Daughter: Cornelia Fabulla.
(CIL II 1258 = ILER 1678 = A.M. Canto, MM 20 (1979), 333; PB 123)

OSTIPPO, oppidum liberum (conv. Astigitanus)

336. Q. Larius L. f. Niger - Xvir maximus; ca. A.D. 15-20. Cf. note on

no. 85.

(CIL II 5048 = ILER 1057; PB 208)

SABORA, municipium Flavium (conv. Astigitanus)

337. C. Cornelius Severus - Ilvir; A.D. 78.

(CIL II 1423 = ILS 6092; PB 124)

338. M. Septimius Severus - colleague of no. 337. Perhaps father of Septimia M. f. Severa in CIL II 1432.

(CIL II 1423 = ILS 6092; PB 292)

SACILI MARTIALIUM (conv. Cordubensis)

339. Ola f. - magistrate; 2nd half of 1st century B.C. Indigenous name.

(VM 113:2 = Gil 1519; PB xliii; Albertos, OPP 172)

340. L. - magistrate; 2nd half of 1st century B.C.

(VM 113:5 = Gil 1520)

341. V. f. P(?) - magistrate; 2nd half of 1st century B.C.

(Gil 1521)

342. L. Acilius L. f. Gal. Barba - Ilvir; 2nd century A.D. Daughter (or sister?): Acilia L. f. Lepidina.

(CIL II 2188 = ILER 6361; PB 5)

343. L. Acilius L. f. L. n. Gal. Terentianus - Ilvir, flamen(?). Son of no. 342.

(CIL II 2188 = ILER 6361; PB 10)

344. Cornelia Q. f. Lepidina - flaminica; wife of no. 343.

(CIL II 2188 = ILER 6361; PB 125)

Note: In CIL II 2849 = ILER 6344, for "Ilvir" read "terr."

SAEPO, municipium V... (conv. Gaditanus)

345. Pomponia M. f. Rosciana - sacerdos perpetua divorum divarum.

(CIL II 1341 = ILER 1770; PB 273)

346. Fabius Senecio - Ilvir; late 2nd century A.D.

(CIL II 1340 = ILER 1131; PB 160a)

347. Fabius Pollio - Ilvir (colleague of no. 346).

(CIL II 1340 = ILER 1131; PB 155)

348. L. Fabius L. f. Gal. Pollio - quaestor imperatoris ..., legatus ..., tribunus plebis, praetor, proconsul prov..... Presumably related to no. 347.

(CIL VI 1411; PW 130; PIR² F 52; PB 156; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 81)

SALPENSA, municipium Flavium (conv. Hispalensis)

349. L. Messius Rusticus - cos. suff. 114; curator alvei et riparum Tiberis et cloacarum Urbis 121-24. Presumably from Salpensa, like no. 351.

(CIL VI 1240, XVI 61; PW 13; Lambrechts I, no. 88; Etienne, REsp. 69; PB 243; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 114)

350. M. Messius Rusticus Aemilius Afer Cutius Romulus Priscianus Arrius Proculus - Xvir stlitibus iudicandis. Patently a relative of no.

351. Parents: M. Aemilius Papus, Cutia Prisca.

(CIL XIV 3516; PW 15; PB 244)

351. M. Cutius M. f. Gal. Priscus Messius Rusticus Aemilius Papus Arrius Proculus Iulius Celsus - IIIIvir viarum curandarum, tribunus militum legionis III Augustae (in Africa), quaestor prov. Africae, tribunus plebis, praetor peregrinus, curator viae Aureliae, legatus legionis XX Valeriae Victricis (in Britain, 128), praefectus aerarii Saturni, cos. suff. (under Hadrian), curator operum locorumque publicorum (138), legatus Augusti pro praetore prov. Dalmatiae (between 141 and 147).

(CIL II 1282-83, 1371 = ILER 1122, 1293, 1107; PW "Messius" 14; Stech, Senatores no. 1756; Lambrechts I, no. 89; Etienne, REsp. 71; PB 131; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 115)

352. ...ia L. f. Celerina - sacerdos.

(CIL II 1278 = ILER 438)

353. L. Marcus L. f. L. n. L. pron. C. abn. Quir. Saturninus - awarded the ornamenta decurionatus, a funeral and an equestrian statue by the city upon his death at age 18. His father L. Marcus remitted the expense. 2nd century A.D.

(CIL II 1286 = ILER 1741)

Sanlúcar la Mayor (ancient name unknown; conv. Hispalensis)

354. Anonymus - IIvir; apparently Neronian.

(CIL II 1266)

355. C. Lucius ... - IIII(?)vir. He might, however, be a [II]IIIIvir.

(CIL II 1271 = ILER 1740)

SEGEDA, Restituta Iulia(?) (conv. Hispalensis)

356. C. Varinius Fidus - aedilis, IIvir, flaminialis prov. Baeticae;
end of 2nd or beginning of 3rd century. Daughter: Varinia Flac-
cina, wife of no. 92 (cf. no. 301?).

(CIL II 983 = Eph. Epigr. VIII 89 = ILS 6904; Etienne, Culte 129-
30; PB 329)

SERIA, Fama Iulia (conv. Hispalensis)

357. L. Octavius Gal. Licinianus - flaminialis prov. Baeticae. Son:
Octavius Licinianus.

(A.M. Vicent, Cronica del XII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología
(Zaragoza, 1973), 676)

SINGILI BARBA, municipium Flavium liberum (conv. Astigitanus)

358. C. Mummius C. f. Quir. Hispanus - pontifex; Flavian or later, but
definitely post-Vespasianic.

(CIL II 2025 = ILER 1538; PB 249)

359.-C. Fabius Rusticus - apparently a Ilvir; reign of M. Aurelius.

(CIL II 2015 = ILS 1354a = ILER 1487; Pflaum, Carrières 586; PB 160)

360. L. Aemilius Pontianus - colleague of no. 359.

(CIL II 2015 = ILS 1354a = ILER 1487; PB 26)

361. M'. Acilius Quir. Fronto - praefectus fabrum, patronus (municipii); mid- or late 2nd century. Wife: Acilia Plecusa, his freedwoman.

(CIL II 2016 = ILER 1488; cf. CIL II 2019-20 = ILER 5454-55; PB 6)

362. M. Acilius M'. f. Quir. Phlegon - son of no. 361. Received ornamenta decurionalia. His Greek cognomen suggests that he may have been born before his mother's manumission. Sister: Acilia Sept(umina).

(CIL II 2017-18 = ILER 1489-90)

TINGENTERA (conv. Gaditanus)

363. Pomponius Mela - geographical writer under Claudius, probably at Rome. Wrote Chorographia or De situ orbis in three books, ca. A.D. 41-44. A native of Tingentera ("unde nos sumus": Chorographia 2. 96).

(PW 104; PB 272; R. Syme, Harv. Stud. 73 (1969), 221 = RP 760; OCD² 666)

TUCCI, colonia Augusta Gemella (conv. Astigitanus)

364. Q. Iulius Q. f. T. n. Serg. Celsus - aedilis, Ilvir II; Augustan.

(CIL II 1666, 1679 = ILER 1023, 6084; PB 183)

365. L. Iulius L. f. Serg. Culleo - IIvir.

(CIL II 1680 = ILER 6378; PB 185)

366. C. Iulius C. f. Serg. Scaena - decurio equitum, centurio hastatus primus legionis IIII, IIvir. The order of offices is uncertain.

Iulius Scaena probably served in legio IIII Macedonica, which was stationed in Spain until A.D. 43. Daughter: Iulia Laeta.

(CIL II 1681 = ILER 5672; E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army (Kendal, 1953), 117; PB 188)

367. L. Mummius Serg. Rufus - IIvir, pontifex.

(CIL II 1684 = ILER 1676; PB 252)

368. L. Licinius ... - praefectus.

(CIL II 1683)

369. Anonymus - aedilis.

(CIL II 1688)

370. Q. Antonius ... - praefectus.

(CIL II 1675)

371. Valeria C. f. Paetina - sacerdos (at Corduba), flaminica (at Tucci), flaminica sive sacerdos (at Castulo).

(CIL II 3278 = ILER 1662; PB 327; D. Ladage, Städtische Priester- und Kultämter im Lateinischen Westen (Köln, 1971), 45-46)

372. Iulia C. f. Laeta - flaminica domus Augustae. Probably the daughter of no. 366. Another Iulia Laeta appears at Ipsca (no. 222).

(CIL II 1678 = ILER 1659; Etienne, Culte 204; PB 190)

373. P. Cornelius Firmus - aedilis, Ilvir; 2nd century or later.

(CIL II 1676 = ILER 5554; PB 110)

374. L. Lucretius Fulvianus - flamen coloniarum immunitum prov. Baeticae, pontifex perpetuus domus Augustae; reign of Caracalla.

(CIL II 1663 = ILS 5080 = ILER 464; Etienne, Culte 204, 240; PB 216)

375. Lucretia L. f. Campana - flaminica perpetua domus Augustae; reign of Caracalla. Daughter(?) of no. 374.

(CIL II 1663 = ILS 5080 = ILER 464; PB 218)

376. -. Cornelius L. f. Savo - aedilis, Ilvir, pontifex.

(HAep. 2274 = AE 1965 78 = ILER 1420)

377. Iulius Claudius - curator (sc. rei publicae?), A.D. 280.

(CIL II 1673 = ILS 596 = ILER 1203)

UCUBI, colonia Claritas Iulia (conv. Astigitanus)

378. T. Iulius T. f. ... - aedilis.

(CIL II 2223 = ILER 1453; PB 181)

379. Anonymus - possibly aedilis designatus.

(CIL II 1560)

380. Anonymus - Iivir...praefectus Imp. Caesaris.

(CIL II 1558; PB Ignoti 17)

381. Annius Gal. Verus - senator, praetor; proavus paternus Imperatoris M. Aurelii. Stech and De Laet would make him a senator under Nero. Apparently descended from the Dasumii of Corduba, whose other scions presumably include nos. 125 and 131.

(S.H.A. Marc. 1.4; PW 90; PIR² A 694; Stech, Senatores no. 132; De Laet, Samenstelling no. 1296; Syme, Tacitus 784-85; idem, Ktema 2 (1977), 378-79; PB 46).

382. M. Annius Gal. Verus - son of no. 381. Adlected into the Senate in 73 or 74; cos. suff. 97, pontifex or flamen 101-02, frater Arvalis 105; cos. II ord. 121, praefectus urbi, cos. III ord. 126. Still alive in 135 and possibly in 138. Wife: Rupilia Faustina. Daughter: Annia Galeria Faustina. Verus may have been born in Ucubi but emigrated to Gades, where his sons (nos. 171-72) were born.

(CIL VI 2975, 31034, 32445; PW 93; PIR² A 695; Stech, Senatores no. 284 and p. 168; Lambrechts I, no. 9; A. Balil, Zephyrus 11 (1960), 218; Syme, Tacitus 792-93; Etienne, EResp. 59 (no. 1); PB 47; Weinrib, Spaniards 188-89)

383. C. Lucretius Fronto Fabianus - decurio. Died at age 19!

(Unpublished inscription in the Córdoba Museum)

384. Valerius [Chalcidicus?] - curator, procurator Augusti, curator rei publicae colonorum Claritatis Iuliae; A.D. 196.

(S. de los Santos Gener, Memorias de los Museos Provinciales, 4 (1943), 83 and pl. XVIII 1; PB 314a)

UGIA, municipium Martiense (conv. Cordubensis).

385. P. Mummius P. f. Gal. Ursus - one of two legati sent to Emerita to establish hospitium in A.D. 6. On the location of Ugia see A.

Tovar, Iberische Landeskunde, vol. 1 (Baden-Baden, 1974), 108; B.D. Hoyos, Hist. 28 (1979), 444-45.

(AE 1952 49 = ILER 5830)

386. M. Aemilius M. f. Gal. Fronto - colleague of no. 385.

(Ibid.)

ULIA, municipium Fidentia (conv. Astigitanus)

387. L. Cornelius L. f. Gal. Niger - IIvir, pontifex sacrorum; beginning of 1st century A.D.

(A.M. Canto, Habis 5 (1974), 222 = AE 1974 373)

388. P. Aelius P. f. Fabianus Pater - aedilis, IIvir, praefectus C. Caesaris, praefectus iterum, pontifex sacrorum, flamen divi Augusti (under Tiberius). A native of Corduba.

(CIL II 1534; Etienne, Culte 202; PB 13)

389. L. Aemilius M. f. M. n. Cato - aedilis, IIvir, praefectus.

(CIL II 1535 = ILER 1673; PB 23)

390. L. Calpurnius L. f. Gal. Pannonius - IIvir.

(CIL II 1536 = ILER 1674; PB 83)

391. L. Fabius L. f. Gal. Tuscus - IIvir.

(CIL II 1537 = ILER 1450; PB 162)

392. L. Calpurnius L. f. Gal. Danquius - aedilis, IIvir, praefectus;
2nd century. The cognomen appears to be a variant spelling of the
common Lusitanian name Tancinus. Relative of no. 390?

(A.M. Canto, Habis 5 (1974), 222 = AE 1974 373)

393. Q. Caesius M. f. P. n. P. pron. Hirrus Aelius Pairvinus Fabianus -
aedilis, IIvir, flamen quinquennalis divorum Augustorum, pontifex
sacrorum perpetuus. Cf. Aelius Fabianus, no. 388.

(HAep. 1023 = ILER 1545; PB 79)

394. M. Maenius Cornelianus - curator annonae, A.D. 212.

(CIL II 1532 = ILER 1701; PB 219)

ULISI (conv. Astigitanus)

395. L. Iunius Barbarus - native of Ulisi; municipal decurion at Ulisi
or a neighbouring town; late 2nd century. Canto would make him the
son of L. Iunius Maurus, magister larum Augustalium at Singili Bar-
bā (CIL II 2013 = ILER 230), on the assumption that their cognomina
both reflect an African origin. By virtue of his title, Maurus is
a libertinus, but sons of freedmen are sometimes decurions.

(A.M. Canto, Habis 8 (1977), 420-22 = I.M. González-Pardo, AEA 50-

51 (1977-78), 57-76)

396. C. T(erentius?) Fabianus - Ilvir?

(CIL II 5499 = ILER 5456, reading "[I]IV[I]R" for "TVR")

URGAVO, municipium Albense (conv. Astigitanus)

397. L. Aemilius L. f. Nigellus - aedilis, Ilvir. Dedicated an inscription in A.D. 11-12.

(CIL II 2106 = ILER 1030; PB 25)

398. A. Cantilius ... - Ilvir II. Unusual nomen.

(CIL II 2113; PB 88)

399. M. Horatius M. f. Gal. Bodon - Ilvir. Native of Iluro. Wife: Lucretia L. f. Sergeton.

(CIL II 2114 = ILER 1427; PB 176)

400. L. Calpurnius L. f. Gal. Silvius - Ilvir bis, flamen sacrorum publicorum, pontifex domus Augustae.

(CIL II 2105 = ILS 6910 = ILER 210; Etienne, Culte 203; PB 87)

401. M. ...vius M. f. Gal. Novatus - Ilvir...pontifex divi Augusti (under Tiberius). Castillo restores the nomen "Helvius" on the basis of CIL II 2116 = ILER 1560.

(CIL II 2115 = ILER 1444; Etienne, Culte 202; PB 173)

402. C. Venaecius P. f. Voconianus - flamen divorum Augustorum, praefec-

tus cohortis I Chalcedonensis, tribunus legionis III Gallicae Felicis, praefectus alae I Lemavorum. Rare cognomen (was his mother a Voconia?). Both the cohort and ala are otherwise unknown. Chalcedon is a town in Bithynia; the Lemavi are a tribe in North-West Spain.

(CIL II 2103 = ILER 455; Etienne, Culte 204; Kajanto, Cognomina ad loc.; cf. Ptol. Geog. 2.6.25; PB 331)

URSO, colonia Genetiva Iulia Urbanorum (conv. Astigitanus)

403. L. Ap. Q. f. Dec. - magistrate; before 49 B.C.? Cf. no. 511.

(VM 112:3-8 = Gil 1570-72; PB vi)

404. Anonymi - legati, 45 B.C.

(BHisp. 22)

405. Anonymi - principes, 45 B.C.

(Ibid.)

406. C. Vettius C. f. Serg. - centurio legionis XXX, Ilvir iterum. The Thirtieth Legion was created by Julius Caesar in 49 or 48 (BAlex. 53.5). Vettius will then have been one of the first duumvirs of Urso.

(CIL II 5438 = ILS 2233; PB 333)

407. ...ius L. f. Gal. Gallus - (Ilvir?), praefectus fabrum; 1st century A.D.

(CIL II 5442 = ILER 6655; PB 284)

408. M. Valerius M. f. Serg. Sabinus - Ilvir, pontifex perpetuus.

(CIL II 5441 = AE 1952 120 = ILER 1543; PB 321)

409. C. Aemilius C. f. Serg. Faustinus - awarded the ornamenta duumviralia upon his death at age 19.

(J. González Fernández, Habis 8 (1977), 437)

410. Aelia Apratispitana - sacerdos perpetua; 2nd century. Castillo assumes a double cognomen, viz. Apra Tispitana.

(CIL II 5443 = ILER 5245; PB 20)

VESCI (conv. Gaditanus)

411. SISDN - magistrate(?), ca. 48-47 B.C. Indigenous name?

(VM 91:3 = Gil 1579; PB 1)

412. C. Livius - magistrate, ca. 48-47 B.C.

(VM 91:5 = Gil 1580; PB xxviii)

Villafranca de los Barros (ancient name unknown; conv. Hispalensis)

413. C. Aufidius C. f. Gal. Vegetus - Ilvir II, curator. Built a bath (balineum). Middle or late 2nd century A.D.

(CIL II 5354 = ILER 2050; PB 66)

414. C. Aufidius C. f. C. n. Gal. Avitus - Ilvir designatus. Son of no. 413.

(CIL II 5354 = ILER 2050; PB 65)

UNCERTAIN LOCALITY

415. Vibius Paciaecus (or Paccianus?) - legate of L. Sulla, 81 B.C.

Probably to be identified with the Vibius Paciaecus who owned land near the Baetican seashore, where he sheltered M. Crassus. The Paciaeci were a rich and noble family of Hispanienses. The nomen (or praenomen?) Vibius and the stem of the cognomen are Oscan and bespeak Italian origin; the suffix -aecus may be Iberian.

(Plut. Sert. 9.2, Crass. 4.2; Val. Max. 5.4 ext. 3; PW "Paciaecus" 1 = "Vibius" 13; Schulze, Eigennamen 28; Badian, FC 308; PB 336; Wiseman, New Men 21 and no. 300)

416. C. (Vibius?) Paciaecus - fought with Crassus at Carrhae and portrayed him in the mock triumph. Presumably a son of no. 415.

(Plut. Crass. 32.2)

417. P. Terent(ius) Bodo. - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C. Unknown city, once thought to be Lascuta. Cf. M. Horatius Bodon at Iluro and Urgavo (no. 399).

(VM 92:1 = Gil 1367; PB liii)

418. L. Numit(orius) Bodo. - colleague of no. 417. Curiously he bears the same cognomen (or toponym? but no such town is known).

(VM 92:1 = Gil 1367; PB xli)

419. L. Q. Ul^{trix} f. - magistrate of an unknown town M(unicipium?) C. F.; ca. 47-44 B.C.

(VM 71:14 = Gil 1366)

420. Q. Isc. f. - colleague of no. 419.

(Ibid.)

421. L. Vibius Paciaecus - presumably the brother of no. 416 and son of no. 415. A well-known (notus) resident of Hispania Ulterior, he commanded Caesar's relief force to Ullia in 46 B.C. Weinrib thinks he may have been made a senator in 45, but this is pure conjecture. (BHisp. 3; cf. Cic. Att. 12.2.1 (46 B.C.), Fam. 6.18.2 (45 B.C.); PB 337; Weinrib, Spaniards 27, 59)

422. Q. Aponius - knight, elected leader by the soldiers revolting against Trebonius in 46 B.C.. Undoubtedly a resident of Ulterior, since the two rebellious legions were long established there. (Dio Cass. 43.29.3; cf. BHisp. 7, BAlex. 53; PB 58a; Nicolet, Ordre équestre 780)

423. Titius - senator adlected by Julius Caesar by 46 B.C. He is perhaps identical with L. Titius, military tribune of the legio vernacula in Ulterior (BAlex. 57.1). His sons' cognomen Hispanus suggests native stock.

(BAfr. 28.2; PW 13; R. Syme, Hist. 4 (1955), 70 = RP 290; PB 302; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 155; Wiseman, New Men 22 and no. 436; Nicolet, Ordre équestre no. 348)

424. Titii Hispani - sons of no. 423; both military tribunes of Legio V. They were executed by Q. Metellus Pius Scipio in 46 B.C.

(BAfr. 28.2; PB 302a-b)

425. Annaeus Serenus - praefectus vigilum under Nero. A close friend and probably a relative of the younger Seneca, who addressed three dialogues to him. He died ca. 62 after eating poisoned mushrooms. (Sen. Ep. 63.14; Pliny HN 22.96; Tac. Ann. 13.13; Mart. 7.45.2, 8.81.11; PIR² A 618; M. Griffin, JRS 62 (1972), 15; eadem, Seneca, A Philosopher in Politics (Oxford, 1976), 447-48)
426. L. Helvius Agrippa - Neronian senator; proconsul Sardiniae A.D. 68-69; possibly pontifex. Died in 83. Cf. M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa of Italica (no. 253). (PW 8; PIR² H 64; Stech, Senatores no. 93; De Laet, Samenstelling no. 1417; PB 172; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 85)
427. Fabius Rusticus - historian; a friend and client of the younger Seneca. He was still alive in the time of Quintilian and perhaps in A.D. 108 (CIL VI 10229.24). He was a source for Tacitus' Annals and probably for the Histories also. Tacitus (Agr. 10.3) compares his style with that of Livy. (PW 140; PIR² F 62; Syme, Tacitus 289-94; R.M. Ogilvie and I.A. Richmond (eds.), Cornelii Taciti de vita Agricolae (Oxford, 1967), 167-68; PB 159)
428. Anonymus -fisci et curator divi Titi in Baetica, praefectus fisci Germaniae Caesarum imperatorum (before 83), tribunus legionis VIII, flamen Augustalis in Baetica primus [e municipio suo?], ca. 90. (CIL II 3271 = ILER 1555; R.K. McEldey, JRS 8 (1918), 80, 82;

Etienne, Culte 126-27; Pflaum, EResp. 91-92, 99; J. Deininger, MM 5 (1964), 169-73; PB Ignoti 16)

429. Marius Priscus - cos. suff. between 83 and 85; VIvir epulorum, proconsul prov. Africae 98-99. Upon his return from that province he was impeached by the younger Pliny and banished from Italy. (Pliny Ep. 3.9.3-18; Juv. 1.49; PW 59; Stech, Senatores no. 190; Etienne, EResp. 62; PB 239; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 109)
430. Herennius Senecio - quaestor prov. Baeticae; biographer, prosecutor, friend of the younger Pliny. Refused to hold any office beyond the quaestorship because of his disgust with Domitian. Impeached Baebius Massa, governor of Baetica, but was himself prosecuted for maiestas by Mettius Carus in 93. His description of the death of C. Helvidius Priscus may have been utilized by Tacitus. (Pliny Ep. 1.5.3, 3.11.3, 7.19.5, 7.33.4-7; A.N. Sherwin-White, The Letters of Pliny (Oxford, 1966), ad locc.; Tac. Agr. 2, cf. 45; Dio Cass. 67.13.2; PW 44; PIR² H 128; Stech, Senatores no. 849; PB 175; Ogilvie and Richmond (above, no. 427), 133; Alföldy, Fasti 185; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 86)
431. L. Memmius Quir. Severus - aedilis, IIvir; Flavian or later. From an unknown town in the Singili Valley (conv. Astigitanus). Son(?): L. Memmius Severus. (CIL II 2059 = ILER 1446; PB 240)
432. Fabius Hispanus - an eloquent and influential Baetican prosecuted

by the younger Pliny in 99. He was sentenced to five years' banishment as an accomplice of the corrupt proconsul of Baetica, Caecilius Classicus.

(Pliny Ep. 3.9.12-17; PW 85; PIR² F 36; PB 150)

433. Baebius Probus - another influential accomplice of Caecilius Classicus. Like Fabius Hispanus he was banished for five years.

(Pliny Ep. 3.9.12-17; PIR² 27; PB 70)

434. Norbanus Licinianus - Baetican envoy and legal investigator (legatus et inquisitor). Had a successful legal and political career under Domitian, but after the emperor's death he was ruined by his enemies.

(Pliny Ep. 3.9.29-35; Sherwin-White (above, no. 430), 235-36; PW 11; PB 256)

435. P. Postumius A. f. Pap. Acilianus - praefectus cohortis II Hispanorum miliariae equitatae (in Mauretania), praefectus Imperatoris et tribunus militum legionis XII Fulminatae (in Cappadocia), procurator prov. Achaiae; procurator...., procurator Augusti prov. Syriae (102). Acilianus seems to be a native of the conventus Cordubensis. His grandson Paulus Postumius Acilianus may appear as a praefectus cohortis at Alauna (Britain).

(CIL II 2213 = Eph. Epigr. VIII 104; Pflaum, Carrieres 145-47; idem, EREsp. 100-01; PB 282)

436. A. Platorius A. f. Serg. Nepos Aponius Italicus Manilianus C. Lici-

nus Pollio - IIIvir capitalis, tribunus militum legionis XXII Primigeniae Piaae Felicis, quaestor prov. Macedoniae, candidatus divi Traiani, tribunus plebis, praetor, curator viarum Cassiae, Claudiae, Ciminiae, Novae, Traianae; legatus Augusti legionis I Adiutricis, legatus Augusti pro praetore prov. Germaniae inferioris 120-82, legatus Augusti pro praetore prov. Britanniae 122-24 (or longer); augur. A native of either Italica or Corduba, he was responsible for the construction of Hadrian's Wall. Platorius is an Illyrian name; cf. C. Platorius Trebonius of Gades (CIL II 1861 = ILER 5164). Platorius Nepos is also to be identified with the owner of a ceramic factory (CIL XV 1363-34) whose products date to 123-34 but could have continued after Nepos' death.

(PW 2; Stech, Senatores no. 1577; Lambrechts I no. 106; Syme, Tacitus 785; Etienne, EResp. 70, 84; PB 265; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 129; D.J. Breeze and B. Dobson, Hadrian's Wall (Harmonds-Worth, 1978), passim)

437. M. Calpurnius Gal. Seneca Fabius Turpio Sentinatianus - primuspilus legionis I Adiutricis, procurator prov. Lusitaniae et Vettoniae, praefectus classis praetoriae Ravennatis, praefectus classis Misensis (A.D. 134). Attested in three inscriptions from the conventus Hispalensis. Wife: Succonia C. f. Rustica.
(CIL II 1083, 1178, 1267 = ILER 1460, 1475, 362; CIL XVI 79; PIR² C 318; Pflaum, EResp. 103-04; PB 86)

438. Iulius Sabinus - a cruel slave-owner in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Possibly qualifies for inclusion among the élite.

(Inst. Iust. 1.8.2; Dig. 1.6.2; Coll. 3.3.2-3)

439. A. Platorius Nepos Calpurnianus - cos. suff. under Antoninus Pius; curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum Urbis 160-61. Probably the son of no. 436.

(PW 3; Lambrechts I, no. 457; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 130)

440. P. Magnus Q. f. Quir. Rufus Magonianus - tribunus militum IIII, procurator Augusti XX hereditatium per Hispaniam Baeticam et Lusitaniam, item procurator Augusti ad kalendarium Vegetianum, item procurator Augusti prov. Baeticae ad ducena; end of 2nd century? Not definitely a native of Baetica, but did hold several offices there. The inscription giving his cursus is from Osqua.

(CIL II 2029 = ILS 1405; Pflaum, REsp. 112; PB 220)

441. Aelius Ulpianus - legatus of an unknown province at the time of Caracalla. His nomen and cognomen suggest a Baetican origin, cf. the Aelii and Ulpii of Italica.

(Cod. Iust. 9.51.1; PIR² A 279; Lambrechts II, no. 11; A. Balil, Saitabi 11 (1961), 49; PB 19)

II. LUSITANIA

AMMAIA, municipium (conv. Pacensis)

442. P. Cornelius Q. Macer - quaestor, IIvir. Received the Roman citizenship from Claudius ("viritim a divo Claudio civitate donato"), presumably per magistratum, and died during a subsequent principate (Claudius is divus). The interpretation of "Q" is controversial. Hübner states categorically, "Q est QVIRINA"; yet the citizens of Baelo, also enfranchised by Claudius, were enrolled in the tribe Galeria. Moreover, the inscription concludes, "Quintius Capito cum Q. f. h. p.", and one would expect both Q's to stand for the same name, although Dessau wants "Quirina" in the first instance and "Quinto" in the second. Etienne and Fabre decided that all three must be Quin(c)tii. But quite aside from the fact that Q is not a standard abbreviation for Quinctius, this solution gives Cornelius Macer two nomina. Moreover, the rationale of this proposal hangs on Quintius Capito being a close relative ("h. p." representing "heredes posuerunt"). But if he were, say, the brother or father of Macer, his nomen would surely be Cornelius; indeed, if he is a relative, why does he not state the relation? Furthermore, the son should be the primary heir and the first-named of the heredes, and he too should be a Cornelius. (Affected members of the élite sometimes list other nomina and cognomina of their ancestry, but their own nomen normally comes immediately after the praenomen.) Surely the simplest solution is to assume that Quintius Capito is not a close relative but a friend (or distant relative) who contributed largely to the cost of the monument and

who was named as an heir in Macer's will (ex testamento, line 7), and that "Q. f." is Quintius' son Quintus, a co-heir (if Quintus were Cornelius' son, he would be primary heir and the principal dedicant of the epitaph). The proposed reading is therefore: "P. Cornelio Q(uinti filio) Macro...ex testamento ipsius Quintius Capito cum Q(uinto) f(ilio) h(eredes) p(osuerunt)." This solution has the merit of retaining the same meaning, and an accepted one, for both abbreviations "Q". The omission of "f." in the "Q. f." formula is by no means rare. Another Q. Cornelius Macer is attested at Ilurco under Commodus(?) (no. 210), and is possibly related.

(CIL II 159 = ILS 1978 = ILER 1523; R. Etienne and G. Fabre, Conimbriga 11 (1972), 201; J. Francisco Martin in Estructuras Sociales, no. 34)

443. C. Iulius Vegetus - flamen provinciae Lusitaniae. Wife: Procilia S. f. Afra(?).

(CIL II 160 = ILER 5518)

ARITIUM VETUS (conv. Pacensis)

444. Vegetus Tallici f. - magistratus; A.D. 37. Attested in the oath of allegiance to the new emperor (Gaius). The two magistrates (cf. no. 445) are given no more specific title; they are not Roman citizens, as the nomenclature makes clear.

(CIL II 172^a = ILS 190)

445. ...ibius ...arioni f. - colleague of no. 444.

(Ibid.)

446. T. Aemilius Macrinus - aedilis, Iivir, flamen provinciae Lusitaniae.

Obviously of later date than nos. 444-45. Daughter(?): T(ita?)

Aemilia Macrina.

(M. de Figueiredo, Beira Alta 12 (1953), 186)

BAESURI (conv. Pacensis)

447. M. An. Ant. - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C. Hübner restores "M.

An(nius) Ant(hius)", but a more likely restoration is "Ant(onia-nus)".

(VM 104:1 = Gil 1174; A. Beltrán Martínez, Numismática antigua

(Cartagena, 1950), 445; PB iv)

448. Anonymus - colleague of no. 447.

(Ibid.)

BALSA (conv. Pacensis)

449. T. Manlius T. f. Quir. Faustinus - Iivir II; reign of Commodus.

A native of Balsa. Sister: Manlia T. f. Faustina. Although fairly common among the Baetican élite, the Manlii are rare in Lusitania, the only other magistrate being T. Manlius T. f. of Brutobriga (no. 454).

(CIL II 4990 = 5162 = ILER 5264; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales, no. 2)

Bobadella (ancient name unknown; conv. Scallabitanus)

450. Sex. Aponius Scaevus Flaccus - flamen provinciae Lusitaniae.

(CIL II 396 = ILER 463)

451. Iulia Modesta - flaminica. Wife of no. 450.

(CIL II 396-97 = ILER 463, 6080)

452. Anonymus - flamen.

(M. de L. Rodrigues, Humanitas 11 (1960), 127)

Bretiande (ancient name unknown; conv. Scallabitanus)

453. Car[isius U]rsianus - curator rei publicae; civis Romanus.

(ILER 125)

BRUTOBRIGA (conv. Scallabitanus)

454. T. Manlius T. f. Serg. - magistrate, ca. 45-44 B.C.

(VM 118:1 = Gil 1181)

CAESAROBRYGA, municipium Flavium (conv. Emeritensis)

455. L. Annius Quir. Placidus - quaestor, aedilis, IIvir ter; Flavian or later, because of the tribe Quirina. Wife: Domitia Attia.

(CIL II.896 = ILER 5271; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales, no. 20)

456. Domitia L. f. Proculina - flaminica provinciae Lusitaniae, flaminica municipi sui prima et perpetua. Probably related to the wife of no. 455. Her appointment as the first flaminica of the municipium

dates to the reign of Vespasian, who granted municipal status to the town.

(CIL II 895 = ILS 6895 = ILER 1661; Etienne, Culte 167)

CAPERA (conv. Emeritensis)

457. M. Fidius Fidi f. Quir. Macer - IIvir II, praefectus fabrum; Flavian. The editors read "MAG III", but the correct reading is surely "MACIIR", i.e. Macer. M. Fidius Macer is attested in two other inscriptions from Capera, CIL II 834-35 = ILER 3717, 6136. The filiation shows that Macer's father lacked a praenomen. Macer then was the first citizen of the family, presumably winning the franchise by holding the duumvirate.

(AE 1967 197 = HAep. 2574; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales, no. 24)

458. P. Aufidius P. f. - Held all offices in his town (omnibus in re p. honoribus functus). Wife: Martia C. f.

(CIL II 815; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales, no. 43)

COLLIPPO (conv. Scallabitanus)

459. Q. Allius Maximus - IIvir; A.D. 167. Non-Latin nomen. The dedicant of this inscription, Q. Talotius Q. f. Allius Silonianus, remarkably enough bears the names of both duumvirs (cf. no. 460). Another Allius Maximus appears as legate of Tarraconensis in 280 (CIL II 3738 = ILS 597).

(CIL II 5232 = ILER 1129 = D. de Pinho Brandão, Conimbriga 11

(1972), 51-55; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales, no. 33,

cf. no. 45)

460. C. Sulpicius Silonianus - colleague of no. 459.

(CIL II 5232 = ILER 1129 = Brandão, Conimbriga 11 (1972), 51-55;

Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales, no. 32)

461. C. Aurelius Quir. Cassianus - omnibus honoribus in re p. functus.

Flavian or later. Grandfather: Cassianus. Father: Rufinus.

(Brandão, Conimbriga 11 (1972), 56-60; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales, no. 44)

CONIMBRIGA, municipium Flavium (conv. Scallabitanus)

462. L. Papirius L. f. - flamen Augustalis provinciae Lusitaniae. 1st century B.C., possibly under Tiberius. The absence of a cognomen supports the early dating. Papirius would then be the earliest known citizen of Conimbriga and the earliest known flamen of the provincial imperial cult in Lusitania.

(CIL II 41* = FC II no. 25)

463. M. Iunius Latro - flamen provinciae Lusitaniae, A.D. 77-78.

(CIL II 5264 = ILER 1082 = FC II no. 24)

464. C. Turranius Quir. Rufus - member of a local, romanized élite family, sporting a Latin nomen. His receipt of Roman citizenship under the Flavians must have resulted from the holding of municipal office at Conimbriga. The Turranii were one of the most prominent families of this city, with numerous relatives attested.

(R. Etienne and G. Fabre, Conimbriga 11 (1972), 193-203 = AE 1971 162 = FC II no. 70, cf. p. 99)

EBORA, municipium Liberalitas Iulia (conv. Pacensis)

465. Q. Iulius D. f. Gal. Cordus Iunius Ma(u?)ricus - Iulvir (capitalis or monetalis); 1st century A.D. This inscription is unfortunately broken off at the beginning of what appears to be a senatorial cursus. Cordus' nomen Iulius occurs elsewhere among the élite of Eborā. As Alföldy observes, the provenance of this inscription virtually precludes the possibility of Cordus being a governor of Lusitania; rather, he appears to be a senator born in the Eborā region. (His tribe Galeria also supports a Spanish origin.) It is even possible that this senator is to be identified with, or is at any rate related to, the Q. Iulius Cordus who was proconsul of Cyprus in 64-65 and probably governor of Aquitania in 69 (cf. Tac. Hist. 1.76; PIR² I 272). The reading of the final cognomen depends upon whether we interpret the ligature preceding "RICVS" as "MA" or "MAV". Certainly the latter is the more attractive possibility, suggesting connections with the known senatorial Iunii Maurici of the 2nd century, while the alternative "Maricus" is a Celtic name which a romanized senator would be unlikely to flaunt.

(J. Mendes de Almeida and F. Bandeira Ferreira, Revista de Guimarães 79 (1969), 256-59 = AE 1969-70 215; G. Alföldy, AEA 45-47 (1972-74), 411-16)

466. Anonymus - Xvir stlitibus iudicandis. The inscription is dedicated by his mother, (Iu?)lia Q. f. Avita in Eborā, which is presumably

therefore his home town. The initial, lost portion of the text would have given the name of this official and probably a senatorial cursus in descending order, ending with the preserved title.

(CIL II 113)

467. Laberia L. f. Galla - flaminica of Ebora, flaminica provinciae Lusitaniae. Both these titles are preserved in two inscriptions, one (CIL II 339) from Collippo, the other from Ebora: this latter, possibly a forgery (cf. CIL II p. 805), names five freedmen, each of whose names begins "L. Laberius". Galla's husband(?), L. Sulpi-
cius Claudianus, who apparently repays the cost of her funeral and statue to the decurions of Collippo, also appears in CIL II 340. Galla is conceivably related to a Laberia Galli f. Catulla at Silveirona (Estremoz) in the 1st century (J. d'Encarnação, Conimbriga 16 (1977), 71). There are also Laberii Galli in Italy (ILS 1167, 7217).

(CIL II 114 = ILER 5525; CIL II 339 = ILER 1774 = D. de P. Brandão, Conimbriga 11 (1972), 61-69)

468. Maria(?) C. f. Calchisia - flaminica provinciae Lusitaniae II; mid-2nd century. The nomen "Maria" is proposed for the unlikely "Memoria". Her daughter (or at any rate her mother's granddaughter) appears to be "Mar(ia) L. f. Sidonia". Her mother, Iunia Leonica, dedicates the epitaph.

(CIL II 122 = AE 1969-70 214)

469. L. Fabius M. f. Gal. Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus

Fulcanianus - clarissimus vir, Xvir stlitibus iudicandis, tribunus militum laticlavus legionis XI Claudiae Piae Fidelis, quaestor prov. Cretae et Cyrenarum, tribunus plebis, legatus pro praetore prov. Narbonensis, praetor urbanus, legatus Augusti legionis XVI Flaviae Firmae Samosatae, proconsul provinciae Narbonensis, praefectus aerarii militaris, legatus Augusti pro praetore prov. Galatiae, cos. suff. 193, praepositus vexillationibus Illyricianis Perinthis tendentibus (193), legatus Augusti pro praetore prov. Bithyniae et Ponti (193-94), comes Imperatoris Caesaris L. Septimi Severi Pertinacis Aug. in expeditione orientali (194), ~~legatus~~ Augusti pro praetore Moesiae superioris (196?), dux vexillationum per Italiam exercitus Imp. Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug. et M. Aureli Antonii Aug. (196), legatus Aug. pro praetore Pannoniae superioris (197-98), praefectus urbi, cos. II ord. 204, praefectus Urbi, iterum praefectus (Urbi) et cos. (III?!). Minor offices: curator Nicomedensium, Interamnatum Nartium, Graviscanorum; sodalis Hadrianiensis; curio minor, patronus Mediolanensium, Ancyranorum, collegii alicuius Ostiensium. Owned houses on the Aventine and on the road to Ostia. The Spanish and possibly Eboran origin of this senator is demonstrated by his tribe (Galeria) and the presence at Eborac of two clarissimi Catinii (nos. 471-72). These three are the only known senatorial Catinii, and are presumably closely related. There is also a L. Catinius Optatus, magistrate at Iptuci (no. 228). Castillo associated Fabius Cilo with Baetica because of the existence of an Acilia Septimina at Singili Barba (CIL II 2018), but this is less cogent than the Catinius link at Eborac. (PIR² F 27; Lambrechts I, no. 1129; II, no. 166; A. Balil, Saitabi

11 (1961), 53; PB 147; H.-G. Pflaum, Les fastes de la province de Narbonnaise (Paris, 1978), 30-35)

470. Canidia Albina - clarissimae memoriae femina. Apparently married to a Catinius, cf. no. 471.

(CIL II 111; PIR² C 385)

471. Catinius Canidianus - clarissimae memoriae vir. Son of no. 470.

(CIL II 111; PW 2; PIR² C 560)

472. Catinia M. f. Aciliana - clarissima femina. Maternal cousin of no. 471.

(CIL II 111; PW 3; PIR² C 561)

473. Q. Iulius Maximus - clarissimus vir, quaestor prov. Siciliae, tribunus plebis, legatus prov. Narbonensis Galliae, praetor designatus. Died at age 45. Buried by his wife Calpurnia Sabina at Eborac, presumably their home. Early 3rd century.

(CIL II 112 = AE 1967 130 = ILER 6421; PW 354; PIR² I 424; A. Balil, Saitabi 11 (1961), 54; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 90; Pflaum (above, no. 469), 70)

474. Q. Iulius Clarus - clarissimus iuvenis, IIIIvir viarum curandarum. Son of no. 473. Died at age 21.

(CIL II 112 = AE 1967 130 = ILER 6421; PIR² I 266; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 89)

475. Q. Iulius Nepotianus - clarissimus iuvenis, IIIIvir viarum curandarum. Younger brother of no. 474, dying at age 20. A Q. Iulius Maximus Gal. Nepotianus orator, son of a Q. Iulius Maximus, is attested in an epitaph from Collippo (CIL II 354 = ILER 5741), and may be a brother (PIR² I 428); he cannot however be the same as no. 475, since they are buried in different cities.

(CIL II. 112 = AE 1967 130 = ILER 6421; PIR² I 439; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 91, cf. 90a)

EBUROBRITIUM (conv. Scallabitanus)

476. -. Tolius Maximinus - IIvir; 2nd century or later. Perhaps related to Tolia Maxima of nearby Collippo, where Tolius' inscription was found (Tolia: CIL II 349 = ILER 4411).

(J. Leite de Vasconcelos, Revista de Arqueologia 2 (1934), 194-95; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales, no. 35)

EMERITA; colonia Iulia Augusta (conv. Emeritensis)

477. Anonymi - homines illustres; resident at Emerita in the reign of Augustus.

(Ps.-Isidorus Chronica Gothorum p. 21)

478. Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Pap. Severus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen Iuliae Augustae, praefectus fabrum. Reign of Tiberius (before A.D. 29).

(AE 1915 95 = ILER 1558 = G. Forni in Augusta Emerita, ed. A. Blanco Freijeiro (Madrid, 1976), 34 no. 14; Etienne, Culte 199; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales, no. 13)

479. Albinus Albui f. - flamen divae Augustae provinciae Lusitaniae.
 Reign of Claudius. The father's name is a rarity, the only other instance being Mantaus Albui f. at Norba (C. Callejo Serrano, BRAH 151 (1962), 117, perhaps = CIL II 710?).
 (CIL II 473 = ILS 6892 = AE 1946 201 = ILER 1032; Etienne, Culte 124-25)
480. L. Pomponius M. f. Capito - IIvir, praefectus fabrum, flamen coloniae Augustae Emeritae, flamen provinciae Lusitaniae divi Augusti divae Augustae. A.D. 48.
 (AE 1966 177 = ILER 5540)
481. Anonymus - [IIII?]vir bis, IIvir, praefectus, flamen provinciae Lusitaniae. The word after "praefectus" is lost: the Anonymus might be a praefectus i. d. or praefectus fabrum. R.C. Knapp suggests (personal communication) that he might have been in charge of one of the praefecturae into which the territory of Emerita was divided.
 (CIL II 493)
482. Valeria Viniciania - flaminica perpetua.
 (CIL II 494 = ILER 5312)
483. P. Attennius Afer - [flamen?] Augu[st.?). Cf. P. Attennius Afer, flamen Augustalis at Epora in Baetica (no. 146).
 (Eph. Epigr. VIII 29)
484. C. Pompeius L. f. Pap. Priscus - flamen coloniae, IIvir, flamen

provinciae Lusitaniae. The order of offices suggests that the local flamine was held before the duumvirate, an abnormal cursus.

(AE 1967 187 = ILER 6404 = G. Forni in Augusta Emerita (above, no. 478), 34 no. 15; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 14)

485. L... Pompeus ...nus - (aedilis?), Ilvir, pontifex.

(J.R. Mélida, Catálogo monumental de España: Badajoz (Madrid, 1925), no. 907 = ERAE 600)

486. L. G... Vettus - decurion.

(HAEp. 1845 = ERAE 543)

487. Ummidius - Ilvir, flamen. Cf. C: Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, governor of Lusitania ca. 31-39 (Alföldy, Fasti 136-37).

(Unpublished inscription from the amphitheatre; no inventory number)

488. Anonymus - Ilvir, p(ontifex? or praefectus?).

(ERAE 626)

489. Anonymus - aedilis, Ilvir iterum.

(Inv. 622 = ERAE 592; García Iglesias' reading is incomplete)

490. ... M. f. Pap. - Ilvir, praefectus, pontifex.

(Inv. 8547 = ERAE 486; García Iglesias' reading is incomplete)

491. Anonymus - Ilvir.

(Inv. 18982, unpublished)

492. Anonymus- (aedilis?) et Iivir.

(ERAE 658)

493. Anonymus - q(uaestor), aedilis, (Iivir), praefectus.

(Inv. 10031 = ERAE 589; García Iglesias' reading is incomplete)

494. ...nius C. f. Galba - (aedile?), Iivir, (flamen?) divi Augusti.

(ERAE 103; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 15)

495. ... Vegetus - Iivir.

(ERAE 605)

496. Flavia L. f. Rufina - flaminica provinciae Lusitaniae, flaminica coloniae Emeritensis perpetua et municipii Salaciensis. A native of Emerita. Her nomen suggests a family enfranchised by Vespasian.

(CIL II 32 = ILER 49; Etienne, Culte 167)

497. Ulp^{ius} Rufus - allectus (sc. decurio) Emerita^e; excussatus, Traiani decurialis. A native of Tritium in conv. Cluniensis. As a judge (decurialis) he must have been a knight.

(HAEp. 677 = ILER 6398)

498. ... Modestus M. f. Ser. - flamen divi Augusti, Iivir, praefectus fabrum.

(ERAE 108; Francisco Martin, Estructuras sociales no. 16)

499. L. Antestius Pap. Persicus - Iiviralis, pontifex perpetuus; mid-3rd

century. Children: Antestius Antianus, Iulia Persica.

(A. Garcia y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de Espana y Portugal (Madrid, 1949), no. 285 = AE 1952 117; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 12)

500. L. Roscius L. f. Quir. (Aelianus? Paculus?) Maecius Celer M...
Postumus Mamilius Vergilius Staberianus - quaestor imperatoris Hadriani Augusti, sodalis Augustalis, praetor peregrinus, legatus legionis XIV Geminae. Undoubtedly the son of L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer, cos. suff. 100 (PW 8).

(Eph. Epigr. VIII 302 = ILER 1686; PW 10; Lambrechts I, no. 120; Alföldy, Fasti 148; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 148; L. García Iglesias, Hisp. Ant. 7 (1977), 92-95)

501. L. Roscius Paculus - cos. suff. between 132 and 146. Wife: Domitia Patruini f. Vettilla. A dedication made in the Temple of Mars at Emerita by "Vettilla Paculi (uxor)" attests the presence of this couple in Lusitania. Some scholars (Lambrechts, García Iglesias) contend that this is the same man as no. 500. This is very possible, but cannot be proved.

(CIL II 468 = ILER 237; CIL V 6657 = ILS 6741a, Vercelli; CIL XI 5178, Vetona; PW 23; García Iglesias, Hisp. Ant. 7 (1977), 92-96)

502. L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus Salvius (Rufus?) Iulianus - cos. ord. 223, proconsul prov. Africae, VIIvir epulonum, fetialis, sodalis Flavialis...(idem) Titialis. Father: L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus, cos. ord. 187 (PW 9), who is probably the grandson of no. 500 (so

Groag, PW 10). Mother: Vibia Salvia Varia.

(CIL V 4353, Brescia; CIL VI 32334; AE 1952 115, Emerita; PW 11; Lambrechts II, no. 330; A. Balil, Saitabi 11 (1961), 56-57; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 149; García Iglesias, Hisp. Ant. 7 (1977), 92-96)

Note: We do not list here the other Roscii, even those immediately related (e.g. the consuls of 100 and 187), who have no known specific connection with Emerita. The problem is that the Roscii are closely associated with Brescia in Italy; even no. 502, whom we do list as Spanish, is attested at Brescia and Rome. Why certain members of this consular family (which is undoubtedly Italian in origin) appear to be resident at Emerita during a period spanning at least a century, has yet to be explained. None of them is attested as a Lusitanian governor.

Spurious Magistrates of Emerita

- A. Iunius - aed(ilis), Ilvir c(oloniae) I(uliae). Found at Trujillo. The wording of the inscription is very suspect. Hübner comments, "Titulum loco indicato extitisse non nego, textum vero totum fictum esse apparet." It should have been relegated to the section of "Tituli falsi".

(CIL II 5276 = ILER 764)

- B. -. Terentius L. f. Pap. [Rufinus...] Ter. - In this inscription, Hübner had suggested reading, "[Ilvir] ter", but later recanted. Other proposals include Mommsen's "[pa]ter" and Hirschfeld's

"[Em]er(itensis)" or "[In]ter(amniensis)", none of which is entirely satisfactory, although a toponymous adjective appears to be needed. Kubitschek somehow confused this inscription with CIL II 515 (= ILER 3455), thinking that "Ter." in that inscription required emendation. But the reading there is secure, and "Ter." is patently "Ter(etinā tribu)". Forni has lately revived the "[I]vir]ter" suggestion, not very wisely; one suspects that he did not notice Hübner's subsequent retraction.

(CIL II 512 + p. 820 = ILER 5220 = G. Forni in Augusta Emerita, ed. A. Blanco Freijeiro (Madrid, 1976), 34 no. 16; cf. W. Kubitschek, Zur Geschichte von Städten des römische Kaiserreiches (Wien, 1916), 6-7)

IGAEDITANI (conv. Scallabitanus?)

503. Toutonus Arci f. - magistratus; 16 B.C. Celtic name.

(AE 1967 144 = ILER 5846a; Palomar Lapesa, Onomástica 105-06)

504. Malgeinus Manli f. - colleague of no. 503. Celtic name.

(AE 1967 144 = ILER 5846a; Palomar Lapesa, Onomástica 83)

505. Celtius Arantoni f. - colleague of no. 503. Celtic name. The nomen Celtius is very common in Lusitania.

(AE 1967 144 = ILER 5846a; Palomar Lapesa, Onomástica 38, 63)

506. Amminus Ati f. - colleague of no. 503. The Celtic name Amminus occurs only in Lusitania, Gaul and Britain.

(AE 1967 144 = ILER 5846a; Palomar Lapesa, Onomástica 33)

Lumbrales (ancient name unknown; conv. Emeritensis?)

507. Turius(?) - magistratus. The two tesserae in question read "tessera Cauriesis magistratu Turi". "Cauriesis" clearly refers to the town Caurium in the conv. Emeritensis. But what do the last two words signify? "Magistratu" appears to be in the ablative case, perhaps ablative absolute ("when Turius(?) was magistrate"). But the provenance of the two tesserae so far from Caurium suggests tesserae hospitales between that town and someone at the town on the present site of Lumbrales, where pre-Roman walls at least have been found. "Magistratu" may then be an ablative of accompaniment, with "cum" understood.

(HAEp. 1050-51 = ILER 5858)

MEROBRIGA, municipium Flavium (conv. Pacensis)

508. M. Iulius Marcellus - aedilis et IIvir.

(CIL II 25 = ILER 1518; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 11)

METELLINUM, colonia (conv. Emeritensis)

509. Q. Licinius Saturninus - IIvir; reign of Domitian. Inscription dedicated to Domitia Augusta (cf. Suet. Dom. 3).

(CIL II 610 = ILER 1262; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 19)

510. L. Mummius Pomponianus - colleague of no. 509.

(CIL II 610 = ILER 1262; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 18)

MYRTILIS (conv. Pacensis)

511. L. Ap. Dec. - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C. The nomen may be Aponius or Apuleius. "Dec." is presumably a cognomen: it would be superfluous for a monetal magistrate to style himself "dec(urio)". A L. Ap. Q. f. Dec. is a magistrate at Urso around the same time (no. 403).

(VM 109:1, 3, 4, 6 = Gil 1451-52, 1454, 1456)

512. L. Ac. - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C.

(VM 109:2 = Gil 1455)

513. C. Iulius Marinus - IIvir.

(CIL II 15 = ILER 1515; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 3)

514. C. Marcius Optatus - colleague of no. 513.

(CIL II 15 = ILER 1515; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 4)

NORBA, colonia Caesarina (conv. Emeritensis)

515. C. Allius Quadratus - quaestor, VIIIVir; Augustan. Father: C. Allius Syriacus. Mother: Allia Serani f. Maxima. This is the only octovir attested in Spain. Also of interest is the title "quaestor", disproving Langhammer's guess that, although quaestors might exist in Latin colonies, there were none in Roman colonies (such as Norba). A Q. Allius Maximus appears at Collippo (no. 459). (Eph. Epigr. IX 119. = ILER 5561 = V. Carrasco Llanez, Revista de

estudios extremeños 32 (1976), 160-61; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 46; W. Langhammer, Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung der magistratus municipales und der decuriones (Wiesbaden, 1973), 157)

516. P. Norbanus Serg. Flaccinus - aedilis. His name reflects that of the founder of the colony, C. Norbanus Flaccus (cos. 38 B.C., proconsul prov. Hispaniae 36-34). The epitaph was found at Abertura near Cáceres (ancient Norba); the rural provenance suggests that Norbanus may have owned an estate in the vicinity.

(HAEp. 761 = ILER 5551; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 37)

517. Q. Norbanus Q. f. Capito - aedilis, IIvir; 1st century A.D. Another namesake of the colonial founder. Wife: Iulia Quintilla. Mother-in-law: Sulpicia Fausta.

(CIL II 695 = ILER 4869; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 23)

518. D. Iulius Celsus - IIvir, A.D. 194-95. This is the only Iulius attested among the elite of the conventus Emeritensis. A C. Iulius Celsus is recorded as a procurator of Lusitania earlier in the century, although he is not known to be of Spanish origin himself (HAEp. 1217; cf. H.-G. Pflaum, Les procureurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain (Paris, 1950), no. 106 bis).

(CIL II 693 = AE 1919 88 = ILER 1153; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 22)

519. L. Petronius Niger - colleague of no. 518.

(CIL II 693 = AE 1919 88 = ILER 1153; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 21)

OLISIPO, municipium Felicitas Iulia, et vicinia (conv. Scallabitanus)

520. Q. Iulius Q. f. Gal. Plotus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen Germanici Caesaris, flamen Iuliae Augustae in perpetu(u)m. Since Germanicus died in A.D. 19 (Tac. Ann. 2.72), and Livia did not become Iulia Augusta until A.D. 14 (Suet. Aug. 101) we may confidently date the career of Q. Iulius Plotus to the early years of Tiberius' reign. Francisco Martin's claim that Livia could have been Augusta prior to 14 demonstrates his ignorance of the terms of Augustus' will.

(CIL II 194 = ILS 6896 = ILER 5534; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 29)

521. L. Iulius Maelo - caudicarius, flamen divi Augusti; reign of Tiberius. The cognomen is Lusitanian. As a ship-owner, Maelo may have been a man of considerable social standing.

(CIL II 260 = ILER 1584; Etienne, Culte 200; V. Soares Mantas, Conimbriga 15 (1976), 157-62)

522. C. Iulius C. f. Gal. Rufinus - aedilis designatus.

(CIL II 225 = ILER 6381; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 40)

523. Anonymus - flamen Aug(ustalis). Late 1st or early 2nd century.

(J. Cardin Ribeiro, Arg. Port. n.s. 7-9 (1974-79), 288-302)

524. Q. Antonius Callus - IIvir under Trajan (before 107).

(CIL II 4993 = ILS 326 = ILER 1265; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 31)

525. T. Marcius Marcianus - colleague of no. 524.

(CIL II 4993 = ILS 326 = ILER 1265; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 30)

526. M. Gellius Rutilianus - IIvir, A.D. 121-22. Possibly flamen later, cf. no. 528.

(CIL II 186 + p. 692 = ILER 1104; CIL II 4992 = 5221 = ILER 1268; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 25)

527. L. Iulius Avitus - colleague of no. 526.

(CIL II 186 + p. 692 = ILER 1104; CIL II 4992 = 5221 = ILER 1268; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 26)

528. Caelia Vegeta - flaminica. Wife of no. 526.

(CIL II 197 + 5218 = ILER 4453; Etienne, Culte 239 n. 1)

529. Q. Coelius Cassianus - IIvir, ca. 178-80.

(CIL II 187 + p. 692 = ILER 1144; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 28)

530. M. Fabricius Tuscus - colleague of no. 529.

(CIL II 187 + p. 692 = ILER 1144; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 27)

531. C. Caecilius Q. f. Gal. Gallus - aedilis.

(CIL II 192 = ILER 5548; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 38)

532. Q. Caecilius Q. f. Gal. Caecilianus - aedilis. Brother of no. 531?

Wife: Iunia M. f. Marcella. Son: M. Caecilius Avitus.

(CIL II 261 = ILER 5550; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 41)

533. L. Cantius L. f. Gal. Marinus - aedilis. Grandmother: Vibia Maxima. Mother: Maria Procula.

(CIL II 193 = ILER 5547; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 39)

534. Servilia L. f. - flaminica provinciae Lusitaniae. Etienne would make her the daughter of Albinus of Emerita (no. 479), but the syntax of the inscription demands that "Albini" and "Terentiani" are nominatives (as subjects of "d. d."), not genitives.

(CIL II 195 = ILER 1660; Etienne, Culte 166)

535. C. Gavius C. f. Gal. Rectus - aedilis. Died at age 29; the minimum age for holding municipal office was 25 (cf. Lex Malacitana 54).

(CIL II 262 = ILER 5549; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 42)

536. Iulia D. f. Cas(s)iana - clarissima femina. Husband: Castrensius Florus(?). Daughters: Castrensia(?) Sabina, Iulia Cas(s)iana. Presumably a native of Lusitania. Probably related to, and possibly the daughter of, Iulius Cassianus, recipient of an imperial rescript from Severus and Caracalla, and probably a praeses provinciae or magistratus (Dig. 48.4.5, Marcianus).
(CIL II 4994; PIR² I 656, cf. 248; A. Balil, Saitabi 11 (1961), 54)

OSSONoba (conv. Pacensis)

537. ...us L. f. Felicior - flamen et IIvir Ossonobensis. Designated as VI...NSI(s), therefore a native of Vipasca, or conceivably "Ulisipo" (for Olisipo; cf. CIL II 124). Francisco Martin suggests that this man may be a relative of C. Iulius C. l. Felix "en Olisipo" (surely he means ILER 5018, from Emerita: there is a C. Iulius Felix at Olisipo (CIL II 224); but he is a native of Cappadocia). But Hubner's restoration "C. Iulius" is strictly exempli causa, and we prefer to leave Felicior's nomen in question.
(CIL II 5141 = ILER 1514; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 1)

538. M. Cornelius M. f. Gal. Persa - flamen provinciae Lusitaniae; patron of Ossonoba.
(M. Lyster Franco, Outra inscrição inédita de Ossonoba (Beja, 1940))

PAX IULIA, colonia (conv. Pacensis)

539. M. Aurelius C. f. Gal. - IIvir, flamen Ti. Caesaris Augusti, praefectus ~~fabrum~~. Early 1st century A.D., the flamine obviously

falling between 14 and 37. Doubts as to the authenticity of this inscription now appear to be groundless.

(CIL II 49 = ILER 1557; Etienne, Culte 199 n. 2; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 7)

540. C. Iulius C. f. ... - Ilvir bis.

(CIL IL 52 = ILER 1516; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 8)

541. C. Iulius C. f. Gal. Pedo - Ilvir, flamen divorum. An efficient administrator and a financial contributor to the annona. As Francisco Martin remarks, he was in all likelihood a man of substance. The mark L. I(ulius?) PED(o) occurs on amphora stamps of the 1st(?) century (M.H. Callender, Roman Amphorae (London, 1965), no. 875).

(CIL II 53 = ILS 6897 = ILER 1559; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 9)

542. -. Clodius M. f. Gal. Quadratus - aedilis.

(CIL II 50 = ILER 5552; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 36)

543. L. Clodius M. f. Gal. Salvianus - flamen divorum Augustorum. Presumably a relative of no. 542.

(CIL II 51 = ILER 1583; Etienne, Culte 200)

544. Acilianus - pontifex, flamen rei publicae Pacis Iuliae. His lack

of, or failure to mention, a nomen is curious.

(HAep. 174 = AE 1955 242 = ILER 5520)

545. Q. Petronius Maternus, - Ilvir; reign of Antoninus Pius. The inscription is dedicated to Antoninus' adoptive son, L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus, viz. L. Verus (Vives erroneously dates it to the reign of Commodus!). The same Petronius re-appears in CIL II 48 which may be, as Hübner reasonably conjectures, an inscription to the other imperial son, M. Aurelius. Cf. also the amphora stamp "QPM" (M.H. Callender, Roman Amphorae (London, 1965), no. 1490) (CIL II 47 = ILS 6899 = ILER 1145; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 5)

546. C. Iulius Iulianus - colleague of no. 545.

(CIL II 47 = ILS 6899 = ILER 1145; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 6)

547. Anonymus - pontifex, flamen Pacis Iuliae, pontifex(?) or flamen elsewhere (toponym lost). In lines 3-4 restore: "[pont. (or sac.?) si]/ve flami[ni....]" On this use of sive cf. CIL II 3278 = ILER 1662: "flaminicae sive sacerdoti municipi Castulonensis". (CIL II 55)

SALACIA, urbs imperatoria (conv. Pacensis)

548. Sisbe A. S.(?) - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C.

(VM 84:3 = Gil 1899)

549. Conil Siscr. f. - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C.

(VM 84:4 = Gil 1403; Palomar Lapesa, Onomastica 67, 98)

550. Sisuc. - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C.

(VM 84:6 = Gil 1402; Palomar Lapesa, Onomastica 98)

551. Cor(nelius?) - magistrate, ca. 47-44 B.C.

(VM 84:8 = Gil 1400)

552. L. Cornelius C(?) f. Bocchus - praefectus Caesarum bis, flamen provinciae, pontifex perpetuus, flamen perpetuus, praefectus fabrum, tribunus militum legionis III Augustae; 1st century A.D.

Also honoured by Scallabis "ob merita in coloniam". He will have seen military service in Africa, where the Third Legion was permanently stationed. He is almost certainly the Spanish writer Cornelius Bocchus cited by the elder Pliny (HN 16.216; 37.24, 97, 127; indices of books 33 and 34), and possibly also the Bocchus named by Solinus (27.3, 37.8, 38.22), in which case he should date to the reign of Claudius. Some confusion has arisen from the filiation "L. f." in CIL II 5184. Etienne recognizes two separate men, making L. Cornelius L. f. the son of L. Cornelius C. f. Against this argument we must weigh the extreme unlikelihood of two synonymous men holding both the provincial flamine and legionary tribunate, the latter office in particular being rare among the Lusitanian élite.

(CIL II 35 = ILS 2920 = AE 1967 195 = ILER 1562; CIL II 2479 = 5617 = Eph. Epigr. VIII 4 = ILER 1546; CIL II 5184 = ILS 2921 = ILER

1561; PW 77; PIR² C 1333; Etienne, Culte 123-24; Pflaum, REsp. 93; R. Syme, Harv. Stud. 73 (1969), 220-21 = RP 759-60; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 249)

553. L. Porcius L. f. Gal. Himerus - Ilvir, praefectus pro Ilviro, flamen divorum bis. - Francisco Martin insists that this man is a relative of L. Porcius Maternus, Ilvir of Iliturgicola (no. 207), and of L. Porcius Stilo, Ilvir of Obulco (no. 322). He might as well have added L. Porcius Quietus, Ilvir of Ipolcobulcola (no. 216), L. Porcius Sabellus, Ilvir of Anticaria (no. 14), and L. Porcius Saturninus, pontifex of Cartima (no. 90)! The fact is that Porcius (and especially L. Porcius) is a very common name in Spain among both élite and non-élite (see the index nominum in CIL II or ILER; cf. R.C. Knapp, Ancient Society 9 (1978), 211), and there is no evidence to link L. Porcius Himerus with the various L. Porcii in Baetica.

(CIL II 34 = ILS 6894 = ILER 1585; Francisco Martin in Estructuras sociales no. 10)

Torre de Palma (ancient name unknown; conv. Pacensis) .

554. P. Anonius Quir. Silo - This Roman citizen is attested on an inscription at the huge villa of Torre de Palma of which he is presumably the owner. Since the inscription is of Flavian vintage, it would appear that a romanized élite was active in agriculture at an early date in Lusitania.

(J. d'Encarnação, Conimbriga 16 (1977), 67-68; Gorges, Villas 37, 466)

555. M. Coelius Celsus - Dedicates an altar to Mars; 2nd century A.D.

This inscription, found in the same villa as no. 554, probably refers to another owner. The dedication to the Roman god Mars gives further evidence of rural romanization.

(M. Heleno, Arg. Port. n.s. 4 (1962), 337 n.; J. d'Encarnação, Conimbriga 16 (1977), 68-69; Gorges, Villas 40, 466)

TUBUG..., oppidum (conv. Pacensis)

556. Marcel... - flamen provinciae Lusitaniae; 2nd century or later.

A native of Tubug... (modern Abrantes) near Aritium Vetus. The full name of the town is unknown (there is also a "medicus Tubuc." on an inscription from the same site).

(M. de Figueiredo, Beira Alta 12 (1953), 186)

Villaviçosa (ancient name unknown; conv. Pacensis)

- 557: Sex. Cocceius Craterus Honorinus - eques Romanus. His dedication to the indigenous chthonic god Endovellicus is a probable indication of Lusitanian origin.

(CIL II 131 = ILER 830; J.M. Blázquez, Diccionario de las religiones prerromanas de Hispania (Madrid, 1975), 95)

UNCERTAIN LOCALITY

558. Philo - a Pompeian partisan in the Civil War (45 B.C.), and a very well-known figure throughout the province. ("tota Lusitania notissimus"). He was responsible for the capture of Hispalis.

(BHisp. 35)

559. Caecilius Niger - a non-Roman (hominem barbarum; the reading of the MSS, nomine barbarum, is disproved by the very name) who led a large force of Lusitanians in 45 B.C. They assisted Philo (no. 558) in the capture of Hispalis and massacred the Caesarian garrison. Where Caecilius Niger got his latinized name is unclear. There is a Q. Caecilius Niger, quaestor of Sicily in 72 B.C., but this is an extremely long shot. It may well be that Niger was not a Roman citizen at all but illegally adopted a Roman nomen and cognomen. (Ibid.; cf. Wiseman, New Men, no. 73)

III. THE NORTH-WEST

AMOCA (Cantabria, conv. Cluniensis)

560. Paetinia Paterna Paterni f. - flaminica p. H. c.; 2nd half of 2nd century A.D. Wife of L. Antonius Modestus of Intercatia (no. 1183).
(CIL II 4233 = ILS 6940 = ILER 1651 = RIT 323; Alföldy, Flamines no. 106)

AQUAE FLAVIAE (conv. Bracaraugustanus)

561. C. Ceraecius C. f. Quir. Fuscus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, flamen p. H. c. between 120 and 180. The Cer- nomen is a common Celtic formation.
(CIL II 4204 = ILER 1607 = RIT 266; CIL II 2473 = ILER 661; Albertos, OPP 85; Alföldy, Flamines no. 15)

ASTURICA AUGUSTA (conv. Asturum)

562. -. Pompeius -. f. Quir. Faventinus - praefectus cohortis VI Asturum, tribunus militum legionis VI Victricis, praefectus equitum alae Sulpiciae civium Romanorum, flamen p. H. c., (sacerdos) Urbis Romae. Received the corona aurea, hasta pura and vexillum from Vespasian; but the inscription postdates this emperor, who is called divus. Pompeius will have served his tres militiae in Germania Inferior, beginning possibly as early as the campaign against the Batavi (70), and probably winning his decorations in the campaign against the Bructeri (77-78). Alföldy posits a date in the 80's for his flamine, perhaps rightly; but there remains unsolved the problem of the priesthood of Urbs Roma -- a cult supposedly not founded until

the 120's. Wife(?): Val(eria) C. f. Arabica.

(CIL II 2637 = ILER 1699 = G. Alföldy, MM 6 (1965), 105-13 = AE 1966 187; Etienne, Culte 134; Alföldy, Flamines no. 50; D. Fishwick, Hist. 24 (1975), 114-20; Pastor, Los Astures 170)

563. L. Cosconius L. f. - augur. A native of Vallata (location unknown).
(CIL II 2647 = ILER 5545; Pastor, Los Astures 174)

564. C(?) Iulius C. f. Quir. Fidus - sacerdos Romae et Augusti, flamen p. H. c.; late 1st or 2nd century A.D. Daughters: Iuliae (maior et minor).
(CIL II 5124 = ILER 1672; Alföldy, Flamines no. 32; Pastor, Los Astures 170)

565. L. Domitius Silo - magistrate, A.D. 152. The cognomen Silo is common in Spain, although whether a Latin or Celtic name is unclear.
(CIL II 2633 = ILS 6101; Albertos, OPP 207-08)

566. L. Flavius Serenus - colleague of no. 565.
(CIL II 2633 = ILS 6101)

Note: Hübner, followed by J.B. Reid, The Municipalities of the Roman Empire (Cambridge, 1913), 236, sees the magistri Gavius Pacatus and Flavius Proculus (CIL II 2636 = ILER 947) as magistrates, presumably because they act on behalf of the res publica Asturica Augusta. However, it is more probable, in view of their nomenclature and the fact that they are making a dedication to the indigenoūs.

god Vagodonnaegus, that these are municipal freedmen belonging to a religious college. Cf. A. von Domaszewski, JRS 1 (1911), 50; Pastor, Los Astures 172.

AVOBRIGA (conv. Bracaraugustanus)

567. L. Sulpicius Q. f. Gal. Niger Gibbianus - omnibus in re p. sua honoribus functus, flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum p. H. c. between 150 and 180. The agnomen Gibbianus is unique.

(CIL II 4247 = ILER 6025 = RIT 307; Alföldy, Flamines no. 64; Kajanto, Cognomina 246)

568. S. C...ius Gal. Avitus - flamen Augustalis p. H. c. between 120 and 180.

(Eph. Epigr. IX 390 = RIT 261; Etienne, Culte 143, 145 n. 4; Alföldy, Flamines no. 72)

BERGIDUM FLAVIUM (conv. Asturum)

569. C. Valerius Flavianus f. Arabinus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, sacerdos Romae et Aug. Second century. Although the text reads "sacerdoti Romae et Aug. p. H. c." it appears that p. H. c. is in the nominative case as the dedicant of the inscription, rather than in the genitive as part of the title.

(CIL II 4248 + p. 973 = ILS 6937 = ILER 1705 = RIT 333; Etienne, Culte 183 n. 5; Pastor, Los Astures 173)

BRACARA AUGUSTA (conv. Bracaraugustanus)

570. C. Iulius - sac(erdos?)

(Eph. Epigr. IX 266a)

571. Camalus Melgaeci f. - sacerdos Romae Aug(ustorum) Caes(arum); Flavian? He and his father bear un-Roman names of a type common in Lusitania and the N.W.

(CIL II 2426 = ILER 1671a; Etienne, Culte 182-83; J. Untermann, Elementos de un atlas antroponimico de la Hispania antigua (Madrid, 1965), 85-86; Albertos, OPP 73, 154)

572. Lucretia Fida - sacerdos perpetua Romae et Aug. conventus BracarAugustani; late 1st or early 2nd century. Dedicates a votive inscription to Isis Augusta. The last word of her title might be Augusti, Augustorum, or even Augustarum; all three have been proposed.

(CIL II 2416 = ILS 6924 = ILER 352; Etienne, Culte 184)

573. Pro... Nigrina - flaminica p. H. c.; 2nd century.

(CIL II 2427 = ILER 5521; Alföldy, Flamines no. 110)

574. Q. Pontius Q. f. Quir. Severus - omnibus honoribus in re p. functus, flamen p. H. c. between 120 and 180.

(CIL II 4237 = ILER 1614 = RIT 299; Alföldy, Flamines no. 53)

575. Anonymi - sodales Flavii; 1st half of 2nd century. They erected at their own expense an epitaph to one Severus Reburri f. Tiophilus of Elaenobriga, who may or may not have been among their number.

(P. Le Roux and A. Tranoy, MCV 9 (1973), 187-89)

BRIGAECIUM (conv. Asturum)

576. L. Fabius L. f. Quir. Silo - Ilvir, sacerdos Romae et Aug. conventus Asturum, adlectus in decurias quinque iudicum Romae, flamen p. H. c. between 140 and 180. Adlection was the prerogative of the emperor; cf. below on no. 579. On the cognomen Silo; see above on no. 565.

(CIL II 6094 = ILER 1664 = RIT 275; Alföldy, Flamines no. 24; Pastor, Los Astures 173-74)

COELERNI (conv. Bracaraugustanus)

577. P. Campanius Geminus - envoy (legatus), A.D. 132. Arranged hospitium between Coelerni and C. Antonius Aquilus, praefectus cohortis I Celtiberorum.

(J. Ferro Couselo and J. Lorenzo Fernández, Bol. Aur. 1 (1971), 9-15 = C. Castillo, Emerita 41 (1973), 115 = AE 1972 282)

IULIOBRIGA (Cantabria, conv. Cluniensis)

578. Q. Porcius Q. f. Quir. Vetustinus - praefectus cohortis I Latobicorum, flamen p. H. c. between 110 and 130. The cohors I Latobicorum et Varcianorum served in Germania Inferior. A Porcius Vetustinus is attested as procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis in 150 (ILS 5795, 9056): this is probably the son of the flamen.

(CIL II 4240 = ILER 1320 = RIT 302; Etienne, Culte 138-39; Pflaum, EResp. 104-06; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 317; Alföldy, Flamines no. 57) -

LANCIA (conv. Asturum)

579. L. Iunius Blaesi f. Quir. Maro Aemilius Paternus - omnibus in re p. sua honoribus functus, IIvir bis, sacerdos Romae et Aug. conventus Asturum, adlectus in quinque decurias legitimae Romae iudicantium, flamen Augustalis p. H. c. ~~between~~ 110 and 140. Adlection to the five decuriae was by act of the emperor, whose name is not given here.

(CIL II 4223 + p. 365 = ILS 6932 = ILER 1550 = RIT 287; Etienne, Culte 136-37 and n. 1; Alföldy, Flamines no. 86; Pastor, Los Astures 174)

LIMICA (conv. Bracaraugustanus)

580. L. Cassius Caenicus Tamac(anorum) - decurio alae I Gigurrorum. Was twice awarded the torques and phalerae. As a decurion he would command one of the troops (turmae) in his squadron, and would probably have risen through the ranks. The Tamacani and Gigurri were peoples of the N.W. Caenicus is a member of the centuria Nem.... His Celtic cognomen and use of clan and century nomenclature suggest incomplete romanization.

(IRG IV no. 66 = AE 1976 296, replacing the inferior reading of HAEp. 331 = ILER 161; Cheesman, Auxilia 37-38; Albertos, OPP 69)

581. M. Flavius M. f. Quir. Sabinus - IIvir, sacerdos conventus Bracaraugustani, flamen p. H. c. between 140 and 180.

(CIL II 4215 = ILS 6931 = ILER 1621a = RIT 276; Alföldy, Flamines no. 25)

LUCUS AUGUSTI (conv. Lucensis)

582. -- Memmius Anie(n)s(i tribu) Barbatus - sacerdos Romae et Aug. ad Lucum Augusti, flamen p. H. c., tribunus militum legionis I Italiae (in Moesia Inferior); late 1st century A.D. Died at Asturica at age 58. His tribe is rare in Spain, and may suggest that Memmius' family came from Caesaraugusta. In a curious non sequitur, Pflaum insists that Memmius is a native of Asturica, whose tribe (he says) is Aniensis. To prove his point he cites Etienne, Culte 185 n. 4 ("il est originaire d'Asturica") -- but Etienne is referring to Pompeius Faventinus (no. 562)! The tribe of Asturica, in fact, appears to be Quirina.

(CIL II 2638 = ILER 5515; Etienne, Culte 136, 145 n. 11, 185;

Pflaum, EResp. 97; Alföldy, Flamines no. 45; Pastor, Los Astures 169)

ZOELAE (conv. Asturum)

583. Abienus Pentili (f.) - magistratus, A.D. 27. A non-citizen with indigenous cognomen and filiation. "Abienus" (variant Abianus) is apparently derived from the Celtic or Ligurian name Abia, while "Pentilius" is found in Aquitania and Britain.

(CIL II 2633 = ILS 6101; Albertos, OPP 3, 180)

UNCERTAIN LOCALITY

584. Nicer Clutosi (f.) - principis Albionum. A member of the centuria Cariaca in the conventus Asturum. It is unclear whether "principis" is a grammatical error for "princeps", or whether the title refers to the father, Clutosus.

(ILER 5630; J. Caro Baroja in Legio VII Gemina 45; J.M. Vázquez Varela and F. Acuña Castroviejo in La romanización de Galicia (Sada/ La Coruña, 1976), 82)

585. C. Lepidius M. f. - Ilvir. Named on two terracotta plaques listing road distances between various towns of the conv. Lucensis, Bracaraugustanus and Asturum.

(AE 1921 7, 9)

586. C. Virius Fronto - flamen p. H. c. between 150 and 180. From an unknown town in the conv. Lucensis, perhaps Lucus itself. Daughter: Viria Flavina.

(CIL II 4255-56 = ILER 1619-20 = RIT 314-15; Alföldy, Flamines no. 71)

587. Latinus Ari (f.) - mag(istratus?), A.D. 28. Possibly from conv. Lucensis. Despite the indigenous filiation, the cognomen Latinus may indicate a certain degree of romanization.

(AE 1961 96 = ILER 5835 = IRLugo no. 55)

588. Aius Temari.(f.) - colleague of no. 587. His name is common in Celtiberia.

(Ibid.; Albertos, OPP 13)

589. M. Ulpius C. f. Quir. Reburus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, flamen p. H. c. between 150 and 180. From the conv. Bracaraugustanus: the res publica in question might be Bracara. The

cognomen is a Celtic loan-word.

(CIL II 4237 = ILER 1614 = RIT 308; Etienne, Culte 145 n. 5; Kajanto, Cognomina 236; Alföldy, Flamines no. 65)

590. C. Sulpicius Ursulus - praefectus Symmachiariorum Asturum belli Dacici, centurio legionis I Minerviae Piaae Fidelis, centurio cohortis XII Urbanae, centurio cohortis IIII Praetoriae, primus pilus legionis XIIIX, praefectus legionis III Augustae. Relative: C. Sulpicius Africanus (perhaps a son born while Ursulus was serving in Africa with the Third Legion).

(ILER 5676; Pastor, Los Astures 171; idem in Estructuras sociales 195)

591. Pomp(eia) Maximina - flaminica (p. H. c.?). Wife of no. 589. Not specifically designated as a provincial priestess; Etienne makes her municipal.

(CIL II 4236 = ILER 1654 = RIT 324; Etienne, Culte 244; Alföldy, Flamines no. 107)

592. M. Iulius Q. f. Serenianus Adoptivus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, sacerdos Romae et Augusti, adlectus in quinque decurias equitum Romanorum a [b Imp.] Commodo, flamen p. H. c. This knight comes from the conv. Lucensis, possibly from Lucus itself. Son: M. Iulius Adoptivus.

(Eph. Epigr. VIII 199 = AE 1897 100 = RIT 284; CIL II 4221 = ILER 1625 = RIT 285; Etienne, Culte 141, 145 n. 9; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 276; Alföldy, Flamines no. 35)

593. L. Alfidius Urbanus = tribunus militum legionis VII Geminae Piae Felicis; reign of Caracalla. Since the same man appears as a speculator in this legion during the governorship of L. Hadius Lollianus Gentianus (202-05), it appears likely that he was a native of the N.W. who had joined the local legion and worked his way up through the ranks. The nomen Alfidius is otherwise unattested in Tarraconensis, but appears several times in Baetica and Lusitania (ILER 2761, 2902, 4118).
- (CIL II 4122 = ILER 1311 = RIT 140; CIL II 4137 = ILER 5816 = RIT 161; Pflaum in Legio VII Gemina 372-73, 379; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 212)

IV. THE EBRO VALLEY

AESO (conv. Tarraconensis)

594. C. Aemilius C. f. Gal. Fraterninus - praefectus fabrum II, tribunus militum legionis V Alaudarum (at Vetera in Germania Inferior), flamen p. H. c.; censum egit in prov. Gallia Aquitania. His provincial priesthood dates to Nero. The Aquitanian census was presumably that of A.D. 61 (cf. Tac. Ann. 14.46).

(CIL II 4188 = ILS 1393 = ILER 1603 = RIT 252; Etienne, Culte 132; Pflaum, REsp. 88-89; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 206; Alföldy, Flamines no. 1)

595. L. Aemilius Maternus - IIvir; 1st century A.D. Dedicates an inscription to the moon (Luna Augusta) in memory of his deceased daughter Aemilia Materna. Wife: Fabia Fusca.

(F. Fita, BRAH 32 (1898), 532 = ERLérida no. 86, replacing CIL II 4458 = ILER 640 which omit his duumvirate)

596. L. Atilius Verus - centurio legionis V Macedonicae (in Moesia Inferior), primus pilus legionis VII (Galbiana). Died heroically in the battle of Cremona in 69. His daughter Atilia Vera dedicates the monument to no. 597, another centurion in Spain's Seventh Legion.

(Tac. Hist. 3.22; AE 1912 188; PIR² A 1311; Pflaum in Legio VII Gemina 357)

597. L. Aemilius L. f. Gal. Paternus - primus pilus, praefectus fabrum

cohortis IIII Praetoriae, centurio legionis VII Geminae, centurio legionis I Minerviae, centurio legionis VII Claudia, centurio legionis XIII Geminae, centurio cohortis X Urbanae, centurio cohortis IIII Praetoriae, trecenarius legionis II Augustae et primus pilus. Received gifts three times from the emperor Trajan, viz. the torques, armillae, phalerae, and corona vallaris (twice in Dacia, once in Parthia). Dedicated by Atilia Vera (daughter of no. 596). (CIL II 4461 = ILS 2661 = ILER 1684 = ERLérida 87; ERLérida 79; P. Le Roux, MCV 8 (1972), 122-23); Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 208)

598. M. Aemilius L. f. Gal. Fraternus - praefectus fabrum, tribunus militum. Brother of no. 597 and presumably related to no. 594 (cf. cognomina). (CIL II 4460 = ILER 1695 = ERLérida 87; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 207)

599. Aemilia Paterna - flaminica perpetua, ca. 100-20. Undoubtedly related to no. 597 et al. (CIL II 4462 = ILER 1652 = ERLérida 77; CIL II 4190 = ILER 1651 = RIT 319 = ERLérida 101; ERLérida 102 = AE 1972 314; Etienne, Culte 172 n. 8; Alföldy, Flamines no. 101)

600. M. Licinius L. f. Quir. Celtiberus - aedilis, Ilvir; Flavian or later. Grandson: Q. Fabius Licinianus. (CIL II 4464 = ILER 1380 = ERLérida 89; ERLérida 91 = R. Etienne and G. Fabre, Ampurias (forthcoming), no. VIII bis)

601. Q. Fabius Q. f. Gal. Maternus - aedilis. Mother: Licinia M. f. Numantina (daughter of no. 600?).
(Barcelona Museum inventory no. 9554 = Etienne and Fabre, Ampurias (forthcoming), no. VIII ter)
602. M. Licinius Celtiberus Fabius Licinianus - IIvir. Brother of no. 601.
(ERLérida 78 = Etienne and Fabre, Ampurias (forthcoming), no. VII)
603. C. Antonius C. f. Gal. Verecundus - bis IIvir, tribunus militum legionis III Augustae bis (in Africa); 2nd century (Antonine?). Mother: Porcia Serana.
(R. Pita Mercé, Ampurias 30 (1968), 338 = ERLérida 81 = AE 1972 311; presumably the same inscription as that alluded to by HAep. 498 = AE 1957 313)
604. L. Marcius - aedilis, IIvir, flamen.
(HAep. 497 = AE 1957 312 = ILER 5528)
605. M. Porcius M. f. Gal. Catullus - IIvir bis; late 2nd century.
Daughter: Porcia Catulla, who married C. Licinius Silvanus, perhaps a member of the same house as nos. 600-02.
(R. Pita Mercé, Ampurias 30 (1968), 339 = AE 1972 312 = ERLérida 82; cf. Pita Mercé, loc. cit. = AE 1972 313 = ERLérida 83; A. D'Ors, Emerita 40 (1972), 66)
606. L. Porcius L. f. Quir. Serenus - IIIIvir, IIvir; Flavian or later.

Perhaps related to no. 605 or to the mother of no. 603. Son: L.

Porcius Priscus. Daughter: Porcia Procula.

(CIL II 4466-67 = ILER 5679, 4735 = ERLérída 74, 106; A. D'Ors, Emerita 40 (1972), 66)

607. L. Valerius L. f. Gal. Faventinus - Ilviralis qui annona frumentaria empta plebem adiuvit..

(CIL II 4468 = ILER 1379 = ERLérída 95)

BILBILIS, municipium Augusta vel Italica (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

608. M. Sempronius Tiberi(a?nus) - Ilvir; ca. 1 B.C.

(VM 139:1-3 = Gil 1584-86)

609. L. Licinius Varus - colleague of no. 608.

(Ibid.)

610. L. Cornelius Caldus - Ilvir; ca. A.D. 1.

(VM 139:4-5 = Gil 1587-88)

611. L. Sempronius Rutilus - colleague of no. 610.

(Ibid.)

612. C. Pompeius Capella - Ilvir; reign of Tiberius.

(VM 139:6 = Gil 1761)

613. C. Valerius Tranquillus - colleague of no. 612.

(Ibid.)

614. C. Cornelius Refectus - Ilvir; reign of Gaius.

(VM 139:10 = Gil 2000)

615. M. Helvius Front(o) - colleague of no. 614.

(Ibid.)

616. M. Valerius Martialis - knight and poet. Born ca. A.D. 40, the son of (Valerius) Fronto and Flaccilla. After a rhetorical education in Spain, he moved to Rome in 64 and remained there for 34 years. Before turning to poetry he led a penniless life, possibly as an advocate, but his growing literary fame after A.D. 80 led to knight-hood, an honorary military tribunate, and the ius trium liberorum. He was also a friend of such literary figures as Quintilian, Juvenal, Canius, and the younger Pliny. He owned a small farm near Nomentum, although this was intended for leisure rather than profit. His literary works include the Liber spectaculorum (A.D. 80), the gift-motto books Xenia and Apophoreta (84-85), and twelve books of Epigrams. In 98, wearying of Rome and bereft of his Flavian patrons, Martial retired to his native Bilbilis. Pliny, who had given him money for the journey, records his death ca. 104.

(L. Friedländer, M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri (Leipzig, 1886), 3-16; PW 233; Weinrib, Spaniards 169-70; M. Dolc, Hispania y Marcial (Barcelona, 1953); W. Allen et al., CJ 65 (1970), 345-57; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 337; D. Daube, American Journal of Ancient History 1 (1976), 145-47)

CAESARAUGUSTA, colonia immunis (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

Note: Nos. 617-24 are dated by Gil to 23-13(?) B.C.

617. Q. Lutatius - IIvir.

(VM 147:1-2 = Gil 1589-90)

618. M. Fabius - colleague of no. 617.

(Ibid.)

619. C. Alsanus - IIvir.

(VM 147:3-5 = Gil 1591-94)

620. T. Cervius - colleague of no. 619.

(Ibid.)

621. C. Sabinus - IIvir.

(VM 147:6)

622. P. Varus - colleague of no. 621.

(Ibid.)

623. L. Cassius - IIvir.

(VM 147:7-11 = Gil 1595-1601)

624. C. Valerius Fen(estella?) - colleague of no. 624. Cf. no. 775.

(Ibid.)

625. M'. Kaninius - IIvir iterum; ca. 12 B.C.

(VM 148:1-4 = Gil 1602-05; J.M. de Navascués, BRAH 168 (1971), 633-34)

626. L. Titius -- colleague of no. 625.

(Ibid.)

627. M. Porcius - IIvir, 8 B.C.

(VM 148:7-9 = Gil 1606-08; Navascués, op. cit. 633)

628. Cn. Fadius - colleague of no. 627.

(Ibid.)

629. C. Alliarus - IIvir, 6 B.C.

(VM 148:5-6 = Gil 1609-10; Navascués, op. cit. 633)

630. T. Verrius - colleague of no. 629.

(Ibid.)

631. Cn. Domitius Ampian(us) - IIvir, 4 and 2 B.C.

(VM 148:10-12 = Gil 1611-14; Navascués, op. cit. 632-33)

632. C. Vettius Lancia(nus) - colleague of no. 631.

(Ibid.)

633. Ti. Clodius Flavus - IIvir, praefectus Germ(anici Caesaris); ca.

A.D. 4?

(VM 149:1-5 = Gil 1615-19)

634. L. Inventius Lupercus - IIvir with no. 633.

(Ibid.)

635. M. Cato - IIvir, A.D. 31.

(VM 150:10-12, 1511-4 = Gil 1776-81)

636. L. Vettiacus - colleague of no. 635.

(Ibid.)

637. Iunianus Lupus - (IIvir?), praefectus G(aii) Caesaris, A.D. 34.

(VM 151:8-10 = Gil 1791-93)

638. C. Pomponius Parra - IIvir with no. 637.

(Ibid.)

Note: Nos. 639-50 date to the reign of Tiberius (exact dates unknown)

639. Sex. Aebutius - IIvir.

(VM 150:4-5 = Gil 1782-83)

640. L. Lucretius - colleague of no. 639.

(Ibid.)

641. Clemens - IIvir.

(VM 150:7-9 = Gil 1784-87)

642. Lucretius - colleague of no. 641. Cf. no. 640.

(Ibid.)

643. Fulvianus - (Ilvir?), praefectus G(a) Caesaris).

(VM 151:5-6 = Gil 1789-90)

644. Lupus - Ilvir with no. 643. Cf. no. 637.

(Ibid.)

645. C. Carri(sius?) Aquil(a? us?) - Ilvir. For the cognomen Aquila, cf. no. 660.

(VM 151:7 = Gil 1794)

646. L. Iunius(?) Veteranus(?) - colleague of no. 645.

(Ibid.)

647. M'. Flavius Festus - Ilvir.

(VM 152:7-8 = Gil 1795-96)

648. M. Ofillius Silvanus - Ilvir iter., colleague of no. 647.

(Ibid.)

649. T. Caecilius Lepidus - Ilvir.

(VM 152:4-6, 9 = Gil 1797-1800)

650. C. Aufidius Gemellus - colleague of no. 649.

(Ibid.)

651. Licinianus - Ilvir, A.D. 37.

(VM 154:4-8 = Gil 2001-05)

652. Germanus - colleague of no. 651.

(Ibid.)

653. Scipio - Ilvir, A.D. 38 or 39.

(VM 153:5-9, 154:1-3 = Gil 2006-13)

654. Montanus - colleague of nos. 653 and 655, qq.v.

655. Titullus - Ilvir, A.D. 38 or 39.

(VM 153:1-4 = Gil 2014-17)

656. M. Iulius Antonianus - aedilis.

(CIL II 2992 = ILER 5082 = ERZaragoza no. 71)

657. C. Cludius(?) Recti f. Ani. Rectus - procurator monetae, praefectus fabrum, flamen p. H. c. between Trajan and 180. The inscription is from Tarraco, but the tribe suggests that Rectus came from Caesar-augusta, whose citizens were enrolled therein.

(CIL IV 4206 = ILER 1608 = RIT 268; Etienne, Culte 135; Pflaum, EResp. 108; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 244; Alföldy, Flamines no. 17)

658. T. Pomponius T. f. Ani. Avitus - flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum p. H. c. (under Trajan, Hadrian or the Antonines).

(CIL II 4235 = ILER 1590 = RIT 298; Etienne, Culte 140; Alföldy, Flamines no. 52)

659. M. Porcius M. f. Ani. Aper - IIvir, praefectus fabrum, tribunus militum legionis VI Ferratae, procurator Augusti ab alimentis, flamen p. H. c. between 105 and 110.

(CIL II 4238 = ILER 1615 = RIT 298; Etienne, Culte 139; Pflaum, Carrières no. 187; idem, EREsp. 107; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 315; Alföldy, Flamines no. 54)

660. Q. Herennius Q. f. Ani. Aquila - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, inter decurias iudicum Romae adlectus, flamen p. H. c.; 2nd century A.D. (after 120?).

(CIL II 6096 = ILER 1632 = RIT 283; Etienne, Culte 137; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 269; Alföldy, Flamines no. 31)

CALAGURRIS, municipium Iulia Nassica (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

661. C. Sextius - aedilis; ca. 34 B.C.

(VM 157:2 = Gil 1026)

662. C. Valerius - aedilis, IIvir; colleague of nos. 661 and 663-64, qq.v.

Note: Nos. 663-74 are dated by Gil to 33-28(?) B.C.

663. L. Feni(us?) - IIvir, colleague of no. 662.

(VM 158:1)

664. L. Granus - IIvir; another colleague of no. 662.

(VM 157:3 = Gil 1031)₄

665. Q. Antonius - IIvir, colleague of no. 666.

(VM 158:2 = Gil 1027)

666. L. Fabius - IIvir, colleague of nos. 665 and 667, qq.v.

667. M. Antonius - IIvir, colleague of no. 666 and probably brother of no. 665.

(Heiss, Monnaies 165 no. 14)

668. C. Mar(ius) Cap(ito) - IIvir, colleague of no. 669.

(VM 157:4 = Gil 1030)

669. Q. Urso(nius?) - IIvir, colleague of no. 668, then (iter.) of no. 670, qq.v.

670. M. Plaet(orius) Tran(quillus?) - IIvir, colleague of no. 669.

(VM 1575 = Gil 1032)

671. M'. Memmius - IIvir.

(VM 157:6 = Gil 1029)

672. L. Iunius - colleague of no. 671.

(Ibid.)

673. Q. Aemilius - IIvir.

(VM 157:7 = Gil 1028)

674. C. Postumius Mil(o) - colleague of no. 673.

(Ibid.)

Note: Nos. 675-80 are dated by Gil to 27-25(?) B.C.

675. L. Baebius - IIvir.

(VM 158:3 = Gil 1033)

676. P. Antestius - colleague of no. 675.

(Ibid.)

677. C. Marius - pr., IIvir. Perhaps the same man as no. 668?

(VM 158:4-6 = Heiss, Monnaies p. 165 no. 11 + Gil 1034-36)

678. M. Valerius Quad(ratus) - colleague of no. 677. A duumvir of the same name appears at Turiaso (no. 780) under Tiberius.

(Ibid.)

679. L. Baebius Priscus - IIvir. Same as no. 675?

(VM 158:8-12 = Gil 1037-41)

680. C. Granius Brocchus - colleague of no. 679.

(Ibid.)

681. C. Sempronius Barbatus - IIvir; ca. 2 B.C.?

(VM 159:2 = Gil 1621)

682. Q. Baebius Flavus - colleague of no. 681; relative of no. 679?

(Ibid.)

683. M. Licinius Capella - IIvir; ca. 1 B.C.

(VM 159:1 = Gil 1622)

684. C. Fulvius Rutil. - colleague of no. 683.

(Ibid.)

685. L. Valentinus - IIvir; ca. A.D. 1.

(VM 159:2 3 = Gil 1623-24)

686. L. Novus - colleague of no. 685.

(Ibid.)

Note: Nos. 687-92 are all of Tiberian date.

687. L. Fulvius Sparsus - IIvir. Relative of no. 684?

(VM 159:5 = Gil 1801)

688. L. Saturninus - colleague of no. 687.

(Ibid.)

689. C. Celer - Ilvir.

(VM 159:6, 8 = Gil 1802-03)

690. C. Rectus - colleague of no. 689.

(Ibid.)

691. L. Valerius Flavius - aedilis.

(VM 159:7 = Gil 1804)

692. T. Valerius Merula - colleague of no. 691.

(Ibid.)

693. (Fabius) Quintilianus - father or grandfather of no. 694. He was a renowned rhetorician in his own day, but his fame did not survive him. He was already dead when the elder Seneca published his Controversiae in the 30's A.D.

(Sen. Controv. 10 pr. 2, 10.4.19; Quint. 6 pr. 13, 9.3.73; PM 135; PIR² F 57; M. Griffin, JRS 62 (1972), 12 and n. 139)

694. M. Fabius Quintilianus - rhetorician and critic. Although a native of Calagurris, he was educated at Rome, studying under Domitius Afer and other prominent rhetoricians and grammarians. He then returned to Spain, but in 68 Galba brought him again to Rome, where he established the first public school and was the first teacher to be paid a salary out of the fiscus. His pupils included the young-

er Pliny and two grand-nephews of Domitian, the sons of Flavius Clemens, through whom Quintilian received the ornamenta consularia. After twenty years of teaching and pleading in the courts, he retired and published two treatises on rhetoric (De causis corruptae eloquentiae and the Institutio oratoria. Two further, unauthorized books on the art of rhetoric were compiled from his lecture notes). Some of his speeches (and others purporting to be his) were also published. He married late in life and had two children, but outlived them. He also owned extensive lands.

(PW 137; PIR² F 59; Weinrib, Spaniards 176-78; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 261)

695. (Fabius M. f.) Quintilianus - son of no. 694, whom he predeceased in his tenth year. He showed great promise in oratory and had been adopted by a consular.

(Quint. 6 pr. 9-13; PW 136; PIR² F 58; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 81a)

696. C. Sempronius M. f. Gal. Fidus - tribunus militum legionis IIII Scythicae, tribunus militum legionis VI Ferratae, tribunus militum legionis III Gallicae, tribunus militum legionis XX Valeriae Victricis, flamen p. H. c. between 70 and 138. This native of Calagurris saw service in Syria (first three legions mentioned) and Britain before returning to Tarraco to assume the provincial flamine.

(CIL II 4245 = ILER 1613 = RIT 306; Etienne, Culte 137; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 325; Alföldy, Flamines no. 63)

CARENSES (conv. Caesaraugustus)

697. Postumia Nepotiana sive Marcellina - flaminica, probably p. H. c.
(despite Etienne's doubts), ca. 150-180. Her husband, T. Porcius
Verrinus, flamen p. H. c. is of uncertain origin (no. 1234).
(CIL II 4242 = ILER 1646 = RIT 326; Etienne, Culte 242; Alföldy,
Flamines no. 109)

CELSA, colonia Victrix Iulia Lepida (conv. Caesaraugustus)

698. M. Ful(vius) - pr. quin(quennalis), ca. 45-44 B.C.
(VM 160:5 = Gil 1054)
699. C. Otac(ilius) - colleague of no. 698.
(Ibid.)

Note: Nos. 700-09 are dated by Gil to 39-37(?) B.C.

700. L. Nep(os) - pr., Ilvir.
(VM-160:4 = Gil 1055)

701. L. Sura - colleague of no. 700.
(Ibid.)

702. P. Salpa - pr., Ilvir.
(VM 160:1-2 = Gil 1056-57)

703. M. Fulvius - colleague of no. 702. Perhaps son of no. 698?
(Ibid.)

704. C. Balbus - pr., Ilvir.

(VM 160:3 = Gil 1058)

705. L. Porcius - colleague of no. 704.

(Ibid.)

706. L. Sempronius Maximus - aedilis.

(VM 160:6 = Gil 1059)

707. M. Caedius(?) - colleague of no. 706.

(Ibid.)

708. L. Cal(purnius) - aedilis.

(VM 160:7 = Gil 1060)

709. Sex. Niger - colleague of no. 708.

(Ibid.)

710. L. Pompeius Buccus - Ilvir; ca. 28 B.C.

(VM 160:9 = Gil 1062)

711. L. Cornelius Front(o) - colleague of no. 710.

(Ibid.)

Note: Nos. 712-19 are dated by Gil to ca. 27-25 B.C.

712. M. Iulius Hispanus - Ilvir.

(VM 160:10-11, 173:11 = Gil 1063-66)

713. L. Cornelius Terre(nus?) - colleague of no. 712.

(Ibid.; cf. Kajanto, Cognomina 341)

714. L. Sura - IIvir. Son of no. 701?

(VM 160:12 = Gil 1067)

715. L. Buccus - colleague of no. 714. Same as no. 710?

(Ibid.)

716. L. Baccius - IIvir.

(VM 161:1-4 = Gil 1068-71)

717. M. Flavius Festus - colleague of no. 716. A duumvir of the same name appears at Caesaraugustus (no. 647).

(Ibid.)

718. L. Aufidius Pansa - aedilis.

(VM 161:5-6 = Gil 1072-73)

719. Sex. Pompeius Niger - colleague of no. 718. Son of no. 709?

(Ibid.)

720. Cn. Domitius - IIvir, ca. 5 B.C.

(VM 161:8 = Gil 1646)

721. C. Pompeius - colleague of no. 720.

(Ibid.)

722. Bacc(ius) Front(o) - Ilvir II; reign of Tiberius. Relative of no.

716?

(VM 161:9 = Gil 1838)

723. Cn. Buccus - colleague of no. 722.

(Ibid.)

724. Vetilius Bucco - aedilis; reign of Tiberius.

(VM 161:7 = Gil 1839)

725. C. Fufius - colleague of no. 724.

(Ibid.)

CONTREBIA BALAISCA (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

726. Lubbus Urdinocum Letondonis f. - praetor, 87 B.C. Indigenous gentilic (ending in -um) and filiation; so also nos. 727-31..

(G. Fatás, BRAH 167 (1979), 424; idem, Contrebia Balaisca, II (Zaragoza, 1980), passim)

727. Lesso Siriscum Lubbi f. - magistratus, 87 B.C.

(Ibid.)

728. Babbus Bolgondiscum Ablonis f. - colleague of no. 727.

(Ibid.)

729. Segilus Annicum Lubbi f. - colleague of no. 727.

(Ibid.)

730. ...atu...lovicum Uxenti f. - colleague of no. 727.

(Ibid.)

731. Ablo Tindilicum Lubbi f. - colleague of no. 727.

(Ibid.)

DAMANIA (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

732. M. Valerius M. f. Gal. Ani. Capellianus - adlectus in coloniam Caesaraugustanam ex beneficio Divi Hadriani, omnibus honoribus in utrâque re p. functus, flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum p. H. c. between 140 and 160. Evidently Capellianus not only moved to Caesaraugusta but was re-enrolled in Aniensis, the tribe of that colony. He then proceeded to Tarraco to exercise the provincial priesthood.

(CIL II 4249 = ILS 6933 = ILER 1591 = RIT 304; Etienne, Culte 139; Alföldy, Flamines, no. 66)

733. P. Sempronius Taurinus - native of Damania; citizen and patron of Pompaelo, A.D. 185.

(CIL II 2960)

GRALLIA (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

734. M. Sempronius M. f. Quir. Capito - a native of Grallia, adlectus in ordine Caesaraugustano, omnibus honoribus in utrâque re p. functus,

flamen p. H. c. ca. 120-180.

(CIL II 4244 = ILER 1612 = RIT 304; Alföldy, Flamines no. 61)

IACCA (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

735. Bucco Sadansis f. - Iiv(ir?). A native of Arsaos(?).

(ERZaragoza no. 34)

736. L. Valerius Ser. Veratius - Iivir bis. Repaired the road leading from Iacca to Aquitania.

(HAEp. 971)

IESSO (conv. Tarraconensis)

737. C. Iulius Gal. Lepidus - primus pilus, centurio legionis X... Geminae Piaae Felicis, centurio legionis I Adiutricis, centurio legionis X Geminae Piaae Felicis, centurio legionis XX Ulpiae Victricis, centurio legionis VII Geminae Piaae Felicis, adlectus in numerum decurionum ab ordine Barcinonensium; reign of Trajan? A good example of an army officer becoming a municipal decurion upon retirement.

(CIL II 4463 + p. 981 = ILER 1685 = ERLérida no. 94)

ILERDA, municipium (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

738. C. Licinius C. f. Gal. Saturninus - aedilis, Iivir, flamen. Wife: Porcia P. f. Nigrina. A Q. Licinius Saturninus is attested as a duumvir at Metellinum in Lusitania (no. 509).

(CIL II 3010 = ILER 5529 = ERLérida no. 1)

739. Ti. Manlius Ti. f. Gal. Silvanus - aedilis, Iivir, flamen; late 1st

or early 2nd century. Wife: Cornelia Faventina, possibly from Iesso (cf. CIL II 4453-54).

(CIL II 5548 = ILER 5527 = ERLérida no. 2)

740. C. Marcius Gal. Masclus - aedilis, Ilvir, flamen; 2nd century.

Mother: Marcia Tempesta.

(AE 1938 21 = ERLérida no. 5)

741. M. Cornelius L. f. Gal. Arrianus - aedilis, Ilvir, flamen, augur; 2nd century or later. Wife: Licinia L. f. Nigrina.

(R. Pita Mercé, Ampurias 30 (1968), 332 = ERLérida no. 32 = AE 1972 315)

742. M. Fabius M. f. Gal. Paulinus - civis optimus ob plurimas liberalitates in rem p. suam, equo publico donato ab Imperatore Caesare Hadriano Augusto. He is possibly an ancestor of the senator Fabius Paulinus, put to death by Severus (S.H.A. Sev. 13.3; PIR² F 50; cf. A. Balil, Saitabi 11 (1961), 54; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 80).

(CIL II 4269 = ILS 6942 = ILER 1329 = RIT 374 = ERLérida no. 24; ILER 1336, 1338 = RIT 375-76; F. Lara Peinado, Lérida romana (Lérida, 1973), 135; M.M. Alves Dias, MM 19 (1978), 264-68, 271)

743. - Atilius Commodus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus...; 2nd century.

(J. Vives, Anuari del Institut d'estudis catalans 8 (1927-31), 374 = ERLérida no. 7)

LABITOLOSA (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

744. M. Clodius M. f. Gal. Flaccus - Ilvir bis, flamen, tribunus militum legionis IIII Flaviae, vir praestantissimus et civis optimus; late 1st or early 2nd century. the legio IIII Flavia Felix was stationed in Moesia Superior.

(CIL II 5837 = ILER 1378; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 240)

OSCA, municipium (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

745. M. Quinctius - Ilvir, ca. 26 B.C.

(VM 136:6 = Gil 1126)

746. Q. Aelius - colleague of no. 745.

(Ibid.)

747. Compostus - Ilvir, ca. 1 B.C.

(VM 136:9-10 = Gil 1697-98)

748. Marullus - colleague of no. 747.

(Ibid.)

749. Sparsus - Ilvir, ca. A.D. 1.

(VM 136:7-8 = Gil 1699-1700)

750. Caecilianus - colleague of no. 749.

(Ibid.)

751. Hospes - Ilvir; reign of Tiberius.

(VM 137:3-4 = Gil 1940-41)

752. Florus - colleague of no. 751.

(Ibid.)

753. Quietus - Ilvir; reign of Tiberius.

(VM 137:1 = Gil 1944)

754. Peregrinus - colleague of no. 753.

(Ibid.)

755. M. Aelius Maxumus - Ilvir; reign of Tiberius.

(VM 137:2 = Gil 1945)

756. Q. Ae(lius?) Proculus - colleague of no. 755.

(Ibid.)

757. C. Tarracina - Ilvir; reign of Gaius.

(VM 137:7-11 = Gil 2026-30)

758. P. Priscus - colleague of no. 757.

(Ibid.)

759. M. Marius M. f. Gal. Nepos - Ilvir, flamen. Daughter: Maria Materna.

(HAEp. 2211 = AE 1966 185)

OSICERDA (conv. Caesaraugustus)

760. L. Cornelius Gal. Romanus - flamen, IIvir at Osicerda, IIvir at Tarraco; late 1st or early 2nd century. Wife: Aemilia Kara.

(CIL II 4267 = ILS 6944 = ILER 1564 = RIT 341)

761. Porcia M. f. Materna - flaminica p. H. c. et postea Osicerdensi, Caesaraugustanae, Tarracohensi perpetua, ca. 120-40. This cursus demonstrates that the provincial flaminica was a temporary appointment, but one might be made an honorary flaminica for life (perpetua) in a city. In this case, Porcia Materna is honoured by her home town, by the capital of her conventus, and by the provincial capital which is also the birthplace of her husband, L. Numisius Montanus (no. 1069). She will undoubtedly have followed him to Rome upon his appointment as a decurial judge.

(CIL II 4241 = ILER 1656 = RIT 325; Etienne, Culte 172, 248-49; Alföldy, Flamines no. 108)

POMPAELO (conv. Caesaraugustus)

762. Sex. Pompeius Nepos - legatus, A.D. 57. Named on a tessera hospitalis between Pompaelo and one L. Pompeius Primianus.

(CIL II 2958 = ILER 5832)

763. Sergius Crescens - colleague of no. 762.

(Ibid.)

764. Cn. Pompeius Cn. f. (Pompaelonensis) - IIvir, flamen p. H. c. between 70 and 180. Even if Pompaelonensis is a cognomen, as Alföldy

believes, a connection with Pompaelo seems likely.

(CIL II 4234 = ILER 1630 = RIT 297; Etienne, Culte 142; Alföldy, Flamines no. 51)

765. Anonymi - Ilviri. Addressees of a rescript from the provincial governor in 119.

(CIL II 2959 = ILER 5826 = Alföldy, Fasti 79)

766. C. Cornelius Valens - legatus. Undertook, on behalf of the province and at his own expense, a legatio censualis to the emperor M. Aurelius in Sirmium, ca. 173-75. He was probably also a flamen, his wife being a flaminica. Q. Cornelius Valens, legate of Numidia in 210, may be a descendant.

(CIL II 4208 = ILS 6928 = ILER 1324 = AE 1971 190 = RIT 332)

767. Sempronia Fusci f. Placida - flaminica; wife of no. 766. Since her monument was erected at Tarraco "consensu concili p. H. c." she was probably a provincial priestess.

(CIL II 4246 = ILS 6939 = ILER 1647 = RIT 327; Etienne, Culte 168-69; Alföldy, Flamines no. 111)

768. T. Antonius Paternus - legatus(?), A.D. 185. Named on a tessera hospitalis between Pompaelo and P. Sempronius Taurinus of Damania (no. 733).

(CIL II 2960)

769. L. Caecilius Aestivus - colleague of no. 768.

(Ibid.)

SIGARRA, municipium (conv. Tarracónensis)

770. C. Vibius Lupercus - IIIIvir. Wife: Iunia Severina. Son: C. Vibius Latro, who re-appears as a magistrate at Tarraco (no. 1044).
(CIL II 4479 = ILER 5415; CIL II 4480)

TURIASO, municipium (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

771. M. Caecilius Severus - IIvir; ca. A.D. 1.
(VM 155:9, 156:1 = Gil 1740-41)

772. C. Valerius Aquilus - colleague of no. 771.
(Ibid.)

773. L. Marius - IIvir; ca. A.D. 2.
(VM 155:10-11 = Gil 1742-43)

774. L. Novius - colleague of no. 773.
(Ibid.)

775. L. Fenest(ella) - IIvir; ca. A.D. 3. The name is Etruscan and very rare; -hence this Fenestella may be related to the historian Fene-
stella (indeed, Weinrib makes them identical). Cf. no. 624.
(VM 155:12 = Gil 1744; Weinrib, Spaniards 168-69, cf. Plut. Cras. 5)

776. L. Seranus - colleague of no. 775.
(Ibid.)

Note: Nos. 777-90 date to the reign of Tiberius.

777. M'. Sulpicius Lucanus - IIvir.

(VM 156:6-7 = Gil 1983-84)

778. M. Sempronius Front(o) - colleague of no. 777.

(Ibid.)

779. C. Caecilius Sere(nus) - IIvir. Heiss preserves the reading SERE, as against SER in Vives and Gil.

(Heiss, Monnaies p. XXIII 23 = VM 157:1 = Gil 1985)

780. M. Valerius Quad(ratus) - colleague of no. 779. Perhaps related to no. 678:

(Ibid.)

781. M. Pontius Marsus - IIvir. Heiss preserves MARSO, against MARS in Vives and Gil.

(Heiss, Monnaies pl. XXIII 26 = VM 156:10-11 = Gil 1986-87)

782. C. Marius Vegetus - colleague of no. 781.

(Ibid.)

783. L. Caecilius Aquin(us) - IIvir.

(VM 156:12 = Gil 1988)

784. M. Cel. Palud(ius?) - colleague of no. 783.

(Ibid.; cf. Kajanto, Cognomina 117, 310)

785. T. Sulpicius - aedilis.

(VM 156:8 = Gil 1989)

786. Q. Pontius Pla. - colleague of no. 785.

(Ibid.)

787. Marius Vegetus - aedilis. Perhaps the same man as no. 782?

(VM 156:9 = Gil 1990)

788. Licinius Crescens - colleague of no. 787.

(Ibid.)

789. Rectus - aedilis.

(VM 157:2 = Gil 1990)

790. Macrinus - colleague of no. 789.

(Ibid.)

V. THE EAST COAST

Alcora (ancient name unknown; conv. Tarraconensis)

791. ...nius C. f. ...nanus - aedilis.... Son: ... Rufus.

(CIL II 4041)

AQUAE CALIDAE (conv. Tarraconensis)

792. L. Aemilius L. f. Quir. Probus - aedilis, IIvir. Flavian or later, because of the tribe Quirina.

(Unpublished inscription in the Archaeological Museum of Gerona)

Archena (ancient name unknown; conv. Carthaginiensis)

793. C. Cornelius Capito - IIvir; principate of Augustus.

(CIL II 3541 + p. 955 = ILER 2043)

794. L. Heius Labeo - colleague of no. 793.

(Ibid.)

BAETULO (conv. Tarraconensis)

795. Q. Caecilius Tertullus - legatus, A.D. 98. Named on a tessera hospitalis between Baetulo and Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus of Tarraco (no. 1067).

(AE 1936 66 = ILER 5829)

796. M. Fabius Gal. Nepos - aedilis, IIvir II, flamen Romae et Augustorum, curator balnei novi. A native of Iesso, but appears to have held his offices at Baetulo, whence the inscription.

(CIL II 4610 = ILER 1571)

BARCINO, colonia Faventia Iulia Augusta Pia (conv. Tarraconensis)

797. C. Coelius Atisi f. - IIvir quinquennalis; muros turres portas faciundas coeravit. Republican period.

(L. Wickert, SPAW 1929 56 = ILER 2090; cf. Albertos, OPP 39)

798. L. Pedanius Secundus - senator under Tiberius(?), cos. suff. 43, proconsul prov. Asiae between 50 and 54, praefectus Urbi 56; murdered by his slaves in 61, whereupon all 400 slaves were put to death. The first known consul of Spanish origin under the Empire (although the Balbi had been consuls during the civil wars). L. Pedanius L. f. Secundus Iulius Persicus (CIL II 4513) may be his son. The nomen Pedanius is Etruscan.

(CIL VI 2015 = XIV 2241; Pliny HN 10.35; Tac. Ann. 14.42; PW 9; De Laet, Samenstelling no. 719; Weinrib, Spaniards 207; A. Balil, Cuadernos de Historia 2 (1968), 28; R. Syme, Harv. Stud. 73 (1969), 236 = RP 773; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 128; I. Rodá, Hisp. Ant. 5 (1975), 231-32)

799. Cn. Pedanius Salinator - senator under Claudius; cos. suff. 60 or 61. De Laet believes that he was the brother of no. 798, but this is by no means assured: he might equally have been a nephew or (as Wiegels suggests) a cousin.

(ILS 1987, 8582; PW 8; Stech, Senatores no. 259; De Laet, Samenstelling no. 1074; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 127)

800. (Cn.) Pedanius Fuscus Salinator - cos. suff. between 82 and 85; proconsul prov. Asiae between 102 and 104. Wiegels suggests that he was admitted to the Senate in the census of 73-74, but this would not have given him time to reach the consulship (unless cos. 85). Presumably the son of no. 799. His career curiously resembles that of no. 798.
(Pliny Ep. 10.87; ILS 8822; PW 5; Stech, Senatores no. 350; Etienne, EResp. 63; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 126; I. Rodá, Hisp. Ant. 5 (1975), 232-36)
801. Q. ... Nigellio - aedilis, flamen; end of 1st century A.D.
(CIL II 6321 = ILER 5531)
802. L. Pedanius L. f. Pal. Aemilianus - aedilis, IIvir II, flamen divorum et Aug.; reign of Trajan. Mother: Aemilia Furiana. The unusual (for Barcino) tribe Palatina re-appears in no. 810.
(AE 1957 33 = ILER 1576; I. Rodá, Hisp. Ant. 5 (1975), 238-40)
803. Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator - senator under Trajan; cos. ord. 118 (with Hadrian II). Son of no. 800. A scholar, orator and close friend of Pliny, he tactfully married the daughter of Hadrian's Spanish brother-in-law L. Iulius Ursus Servianus (no. 242). Was presumably already dead before the execution of his son and father-in-law in 136.
(Pliny Ep. 6.11, 6.26, 7.9; ILS 5462; PW 6; Stech, Senatores no. 1572; Lambrechts I, no. 104; Syme, Tacitus 247, 600; Etienne, EResp. 69-70; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 125; Rodá, Hisp. Ant. 5

(1975), 232-36)

804. C. Iulius C. f. Ani. Seneca Licinianus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen, praefectus fabrum, tribunus militum legionis VI Victricis Piae Fidelis (in Germany or Britain), tribunus militum legionis XV Apollinaris, flamen p. H. c. under Trajan or Hadrian.
(CIL II 6150 = ILER 1639; Etienne, Culte 137-38; Alföldy, Flamines no. 34; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 275)
805. L. Minicius L. f. Gal. Natalis - IIIIvir viarum curandarum, quaestor prov...., tribunus plebis, praetor, legatus legionis (in the First Dacian War), legatus legionis III Augustae ca. 104-05 (in Africa), cos. suff. 106, curator alvei Tiberis et riparum, legatus prov. Pannoniae, proconsul prov. Africae (123-24), sodalis Augustalis.
(PW 18; Stech, Senatores no. 1229; Lambrechts I, no. 95; A. Balil, Zephyrus 11 (1960), 220; Etienne, EResp. 62-63; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 117)
806. L. Minicius L. f. Gal. Natalis Quadronius Verus - son of no. 805 and born at Barcino ca. 97. Triumvir monetalis, tribunus militum legionis I Adiutricis Piae Fidelis (in Dacia or Pannonia), item legionis XI Claudia Piae Fidelis (in Moesia Inferior), item legionis XIII Geminae Martiae Victricis (in Pannonia Superior), quaestor candidatus Divi Hadriani et eodem tempore legatus prov. Africae (under his father), legatus legionis VI Victricis (in Britain, ca. 130), curator viae Flaminiae, praefectus alimentorum, cos. suff.

ca. 133, curator operum publicorum et aedium sacrarum, legatus Augusti pro praetore prov. Moesiae inferioris (end of Hadrian's reign or beginning of Antoninus'), proconsul Africae ca. 150. (ILS 1061; PW 19; Lambrechts I, no. 96; Etienne, EResp. 72; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 118)

807. Pedanius Fuscus (Salinator) - patrician; son of no. 803. According to Dio, he was born during his father's consulship (118) and put to death, together with his grandfather Iulius Servianus (no. 242), for conspiracy in 136. But a horoscope sometimes assigned to him would place his birth on 6 April 113 and his death in 137-38. (Dio Cass. 69.17.1; PW 4; F.H. Cramer, Astrology in Roman Law and Politics (Philadelphia, 1954), 174-78; O. Neugebauer and H.B. van Hoesen, Greek Horoscopes (Philadelphia, 1959), 108-09; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 124; T.D. Barnes, Phoenix 30 (1976), 76)
808. L. Pedanius L. f. Ursus - decurio coloniae Barcinonis; 2nd century A.D. Mother: Pedania Dionysia. (AE 1957 30 = ILER 1358; I. Rodá, Hisp. Ant. 5 (1975), 241-44)
809. L(?) Pedanius L. f. Atilianus - aedilis. Father: L. Pedanius Paternus. Mother: Pomponia Philete. (CIL II 4529 = ILER 1704; Rodá, Hisp. Ant. 5 (1975), 246-48)
810. L. Pedanius L. f. Pal. Clemens Senior - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus; quinquennalis (Q.Q.) at Tarraco. Another member of the urban tribe Palatina (cf. no. 802).

(AE 1957 27 = ILER 1357; Roda, Hisp. Ant. 5 (1975), 252-53)

811. T. Iulius T. f. Gal. Placidus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen; 2nd century A.D.

(CIL II 6151 = ILER 5559)

812. L. Gavius Trom. Romanus Vibius Secundus - tribunus militum legionis III Augustae (in Africa), flamen p. H. c. between 70 and 180.

The tribe Tromentina is very rare in Spain; Gavius may therefore be of Italian descent.

(CIL II 4219 = ILER 1623 = RIT 281; CIL II 4515 = ILER 1638; Alföldy, Flamines no. 29)

813. M. Ac[ilius] Gal. Firma[nus] - [IIvir, IIvir quinquen]n. ter; flamen R[omae et Aug.]; 2nd century A.D. The restoration is that of Hübner (followed by Etienne), although the first office might be [aedilis].

(CIL II 4520; Etienne, Culte 210, 227)

814. C. Aemilius C. f. Gal. Antonianus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen; mid-2nd century. Daughter: Aemilia Optata.

(CIL II 4521)

815. C. Iulius C. f. Gal. Paulinus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua perfectus; 2nd century. Wife: Sergia Fulvianilla.

(CIL II 4522, 4526 + p. 982 = ILER 5265, 1371)

816. C. Iulius C. f. Pal. Silvanus - aedilis; 2nd century. Died at age 18. Father: C. Publicius Melissus (or rather step-father, to judge by the different nomina. Publicius also has a son C. Publicius Hermes who is only a sevir Augustalis). Mother: Aurelia Nigella. The tribe Palatina belongs to Rome (cf. no. 810) and is appropriate for the Publicii (libertine family).

(CIL II 4527 = ILER 5587)

817. Mandulius -. f. Ter. Crescens - IIvir, flamen (Romae?) et Aug., praefectus fabrum; 2nd century.

(CIL II 4516 = 6147 = ILER 1575; Etienne, Culte 206; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 294a)

818. L. Caecilius L. f. Pap. Optatus - centurio legionis VII Geminae Felicis et centurio legionis XV Apollinaris; missus honeste missione ab Imp. M. Aurelio Antonino et Aurelio Vero Augustis (A.D. 161-69); atlectus a Barcinonensibus inter immunes, consecutus in honores aedilicios, IIvir III, flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum. A good example of a retired centurion attaining municipal offices. Left 7500 denarii to the city, the interest from which was to pay for boxing matches on June 10th of each year and for a distribution of oil in the baths on the same day. A further 7000 denarii were left to Tarraco to provide games there. On the immunes of Barcino cf. Dig. 50.15.8 (Paul.). Why June 10th should be a holiday at Barcino (and Tarraco?) is not clear; D. Iunius Brutus defeated the Callaici on this day in 137 B.C. (Ovid Fasti 6.461), but it is not easy to see why this event in Ulterior would be celebrated on the

East Coast.

(CIL II 4514 = ILER 5838; Etienne, Culte 209, 292; E.M. Schtajer-
man, Die Krise der Sklavenhalterordnung im Westen des römischen
Reiches (Berlin, 1964), 144; I. Rodá, El origen de la vida munici-
pal y la prosopografía romana de Barcino (Barcelona, 1974), 18-26)

819. L. Calpurnius - f. Gal. Iuncus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen. Wife:
Valeria L. lib. (not his own freedwoman; cf. the nomina).

(CIL II 4524 = ILER 5557)

820. L. Calpurnius L. f. Gal. Iuncus - aedilis, IIvir II, flamen. Son
of no. 819. Daughter: Calpurnia L. f. Severa.

(Ibid.)

821. M. Herennius C. f. ... Severus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen, augur;
2nd century. Sister: Herennia C. f. Optata. Cf. the Hadrianic
consul P. Herennius Severus of Valentia (no. 1101).

(CIL II 4525 = ILER 5558; HAep. 565 = AE 1957 36; Etienne, Culte
210; S. Mariner Bigorra, Ampurias 28 (1966), 125)

822. ...us M. f. Ani. ... - aedilis, IIvir. Wife: ... Montana.

(CIL II 4532)

823. Q. Calpurnius Q. f. Gal. Flavus - aedilis, IIvir; honores flamina-
les (posthumous).

(CIL II 4523 + p. XLVIII = ILER 5555)

824. P. Manlius Cn. f. Gal. - aedilis, IIvir.

(CIL II 4528 = ILER 1372)

825. Cn. Manlius P. f. Gal. Secundus - aedilis. Son of no. 824?

(Ibid.)

826. Q. Salvius Q. f. Gal. - aedilis, duoivir et duoivir quinquennalis.

(CIL II 4530; S. Mariner Bigorra, Ampurias 28 (1966), 126)

827. L. Valerius L. f. Gal. Terentianus - decurio Barcinonis. Brother:

L. Valerius L. f. Cornelianus.

(CIL II 4531 = ILER 6327)

828. C. Domitius L. f. Maternus - honor decurionatus. Perhaps a native of Aquincum in Pannonia Inferior, since he bears the epithet "Acucensis", i.e. Aqu(n)censis.

(CIL II 6153 = ILER 1375)

829. C. Cilnius C. f. Pomp. Ferox - pontifex, tribunus militum legionis IIII Flaviae.

(ILER 1544)

830. C. Marius L. f. Ani. Aemilianus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, IIvir III, flamen Romae et Divi Augusti, iudex ex quinque decuriis. Wife: Vibia Liviana.

(CIL II 4617 = ILER 1377; AE 1969-70 281 = ILER 6031; I. Rodá, Hisp. Ant. 5 (1975), 254; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 300)

831. L. Cornelius C. f. Gal. Secundus - aedilis, IIvir. Father: C. Aemilius L. f. Gal. Mother: Cornelia. Brother: Q. Cornelius C. f. Gal. Niger. Grandmother: Numitoria L. f. Cornelius Secundus seems to have taken his nomen from his mother, very strangely (unless his father was also a Cornelius and C. Aemilius is really a step-father).

(AE 1966 208 = ILER 6848)

832. Q. Cornelius Seranus - aedilis, IIvir. Parents: Q. Cornelius Spurii f. Secundus (cf. L. Cornelius Secundus, no. 831), Geminia Optata. Grandmother: Cornelia Quarta. Sisters: Cornelia Tertullina, Cornelia Quartilla, Cornelia Dubisima.

(AB 1966 207 = ILER 5498)

833. L. Porcius L. f. Gal. Celer - aedilis. Mother: Domitia Lucilla.

(ILER 1368 = AE 1972 297)

834. Anonymi - aedilicii et IIvires; 2nd century.

(AE 1957 36; the same inscription mentions no. 821)

Note: In CIL II 4533 Hübner reads "...MAXIM. AEDIL. APV...." S. Mariner Bigorra, Ampurias 28 (1966), 126 shows that the correct reading is "...MAXIMAE DILABV(ntur)...."

BOCCHORI (Balearis Maior, conv. Carthaginiensis)

835. C. Coelius C. f. - legatus, 10 B.C. Named on a tessera hospitalis with the town's patron, M. Crassus Frugi (cos. 14 B.C.).

(HAEp. 545 = AE 1957 317 = ILER 5827)

836. C. Caecilius T. f. - colleague of no. 835.

(Ibid.)

837. Q. Caecilius Quintus - praetor, A.D. 6. Named on a tessera hospitalis with the town's patron, M. Atilius Vernus (otherwise unknown). The title "praetor" is possibly the Latin translation of a Punic title.

(CIL II 3695 = ILS 6098 = ILER 5828; J.B. Reid, The Municipalities of the Roman Empire (Cambridge, 1913), 246)

838. C. Valerius Icesta - colleague of no. 837.

(Ibid.; cf. Albertos, OPP 123)

CARTHAGO NOVA, colonia Victrix Iulia (conv. Carthaginiensis)

839. L. Fabricius - magistrate; early 40's B.C.?

(VM 173:8 = Gil 1042)

840. P. Atelius - colleague of no. 839.

(Ibid.)

841. Helvius Pollio - IIvir quinquennalis, 46-45 B.C.

(VM 130:12-14 = Gil 1043-45)

842. Albinus - colleague of no. 841.

(Ibid.)

Note: Nos. 843-51 are dated by Gil to the period 42-23 B.C.

843. Conducus → Ilvir quinquennalis.

(VM 130:3-4 = Gil 1947-48; M. Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas (Cambridge, 1946), 216)

844. Malleolus - colleague of no. 843.

(Ibid.)

845. C. Caedius - Ilvir quinquennalis.

(VM 130:2 = Gil 1049)

846. T. Popilius - colleague of no. 845.

(Ibid.)

847. L. Appuleius - Ilvir quinquennalis. Beltrán dates him to 32 B.C.

(VM 130:10-11 = Gil 1050-51; F. Beltrán Lloris, Numisma 28 (1978), 174)

848. C. Maecius - colleague of nos. 847 and 849, qq.v.

849. Q. Acilius - Ilvir quinquennalis. Beltrán dates him to 32 B.C.

(VM 130:9 = Gil 1052; Beltrán Lloris, loc. cit.)

850. P. Baebius Pollio - Ilvir quinquennalis.

(VM 130:5-6 = Gil 1053)

851. C. Aquinus Mela - colleague of no. 850. A C. Aquinus M. f. is attested on lead ingots from this city.
(Ibid.; C. Domergue, MCV 1 (1965), 19 n. 1; idem, AEA 39 (1966), 54-57)
852. Cn. Cornelius L. f. Gal. Cinna - Ilvir; 2nd half of 1st century B.C. Built two walls, one of them 102 feet in length. Cf. ...lius L. f. Cinna at Corduba (no. 116).
(CIL II 3425 = ILS 5332 = ILER 2088; Eph. Epigr. IX 331; C. Belda Navarro, El proceso de romanización de la provincia de Murcia (Murcia, 1975), 32; M. Koch, MM 17 (1976), 294)
853. -. Maecius C. f. Vetus - augur, aedilis; 2nd half of 1st century B.C. Built a wall 60 feet in length. Cf. the magistrate C. Maecius (no. 848).
(AE 1975 525; M. Koch, MM 17 (1976), 292-94)
854. M. Cornelius M. f. Gal. Marcellus - augur, quinquennalis; 2nd half of 1st century B.C. Built a wall from the Popilian Gate to the nearest tower and beyond (Blázquez erroneously believes that the inscription mentions two gates). Cf. the titulary of no. 869.
(CIL II 3426 = ILS 5333/4; M. Koch, MM 17 (1976), 294; J.M. Blázquez, Symposion de ciudades augusteas, I (Zaragoza, 1976), 112)
855. Hiberus - Ilvir quinquennalis, 23 B.C.? Blázquez dates him to 7 B.C. on the presumption that this is Q. Varius Hiberus (cf. below on no. 860).

(VM 130:16 = Gil 1628; Blázquez, op. cit., 114-15)

856. C. Lucius P. f. - colleague of no. 855.

(Ibid.)

857. Cn. Atelius Ponti(anus?) = Ilvir quinquennalis; 19 B.C.? Colleague of King Juba, patron of Carthago Nova.

(VM 130:15 = Gil 1629. On Juba as Ilvir quinquennalis see also ILS 840)

858. Hiberus - praefectus M. Agrippae quinquennalis, between 18 and 12 B.C. (17 B.C.: Beltran). Same as, or relative of, no. 855? When a member of the imperial family was a duumvir (here quinquennalis) his municipal duties were discharged by a praefectus: F.F. Abbott and A.C. Johnson, Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire (Princeton, 1926), 63.

(VM 131:1-3 = Gil 1630-32; F. Beltrán Lloris, Numisma 28 (1978), 175)

859. L. Bennius - praefectus Imperatoris Caesaris quinquennalis; colleague of nos. 858 and 860, qq.v.

860. Q. Varius - magistrate, between 18 and 12 B.C.? A Q. Varius Hiberus is attested on lead ingots from Carthago Nova, and is very probably a relative, although there is not sufficient evidence to infer that nos. 860 and 855/858 are the same.

(VM 131:4 = Gil 1633; C. Domergue, MCV 1 (1965), 24 n. 3)

861. Cn. Staius Libo - praefectus, sacerdos; between 18 and 12 B.C.?
(VM 131:7 = Gil 1634-35)

862. M. Postumius Albinus - Ilvir quinquennalis, 12 B.C.?
(VM 131:8-9 = Gil 1636-37; J.M. Blázquez in Symposion de ciudades augusteas, I (Zaragoza, 1976), 113)

863. L. Porcius Capito - colleague of no. 862.
(Ibid.)

864. C. Varius Rufus - Ilvir quinquennalis; after 12 B.C.?
(VM 131:10-12 = Gil 1638-40)

865. Sex. Iulius Pollio - colleague of no. 864.
(Ibid.)

866. Helvius Pollio - praefectus, A.D. 4? Relative of no. 841? The future emperor Tiberius, who was adopted by Augustus in A.D. 4, was honorary quinquennalis in this year.
(VM 130:17 = Gil 1641)

867. Hiberus - colleague of no. 866. Son of no. 855?
(Ibid.)

868. C. Laetilius M. f. Apalus - Ilvir quinquennalis, A.D. 5? Colleague of King Ptolemy. Two other members of the Laetilius family appear in CIL II 3473-74, and the mark "LAETILI FERM" is found on lead in-

gods (C. Domergue, MCV 1 (1965), 17 n. 7).

(VM 131:5-6 = Gil 1642-43; CIL II 5929 = ILS 3624 = ILER 1414)

869. L. Iunius - Iivir quinquennalis, augur; after A.D. 5?

(VM 130:7-8 = Gil 1644-45; F. Beltrán Lloris, Numisma 28 (1978), 174)

870. L. Acilius - colleague of no. 869.

(Ibid.)

871. C. Sediato P. f. Rufus - aedilis; reign of Augustus.

(M. Koch, MM 19 (1978), 261-62)

872. Anonymus - Iivir, Iivir quinquennalis; reign of Augustus. The same double title occurs in no. 884.

(CIL II 3435)

873. P. Turul(l)ius - Iivir quinquennalis, ca. A.D. 18. A P. Turullius M. f. Mai., attested on lead ingots from this city, suggests a connection with the senatorial Turullii from Lanuvium in Italy.

(VM 131:13-17 = Gil 1823-27; R. Syme, Hist. 13 (1964), 123-24 = RP 602-03; C. Domergue, MCV 1 (1965), 17 n. 7, 19 n. 1)

874. M. Postumius Albinus - Iivir quinquennalis iterum. Colleague of no. 873, and presumably a descendant of no. 862.

(Ibid.)

875. Cn. Atellius Flaccus - IIvir quinquennalis, ca. 37-39.

(VM 132:1, 7-10 = Gil 2018-19)

876. Cn. Pompeius Flaccus - colleague of no. 875.

(Ibid.)

877. ... Pollio - IIvir. Cf. the Helvii Polliones (nos. 841, 866).

(CIL II 3429 = ILER 6605)

878. M. Valerius M. f. Quir. Vindicianus - flamen conventus Carthaginensis; beginning of 2nd century.

(CIL II 3418 = ILS 6952 = ILER 1710)

879. L. Aemilius M. f. M. n. Quir. Rectus - scribe quaestorius or aedilicius at Carthago Nova, Sicellis (location unknown), Asso (in the conventus Carthaginensis), Sparta and Argos; civis adlectus ob honorem aedilitatis (at Carthago Nova); reign of Trajan. Apparently died before he could reach the duumvirate. A native of Rome, therefore Hispaniensis.

(CIL II 3423 + p. 952 = ILER 6081)

880. Cn. Numisius Cn. f. Serg. Modestus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, electus a concilio provinciae ad statuas aurandas Divi Hadriani, flamen p. H. c. between 140 and 160.

(CIL II 4230 + p. 973 = ILS 6930 = ILER 1611 = RIT 294; Etienne, Culte 140 n. 4; Alföldy, Flamines no. 47)

881. Postumius Claranus - flamen, perhaps of the conventus Carthaginensis, between 145 and 161.

(CIL II 3412 = ILER 1124; Etienne, Culte 180 n. 1)

882. Anonymus - flamen p. H. c.

(A. García y Bellido, BRAH 168 (1971), 204)

883. L. Magius Cn. f. Fab. Sabellus - aedilis, Ilvir. The tribe suggests a non-local family.

(Eph. Epigr. IX 332)

884. L. Numisius Cn. f. Serg. Laetus - aedilis, Ilvir et Ilvir quinquennialis, flamen Augustorum, pontifex, praefectus cohortis Musulami-
orum, flamen p. H. c. bis. Probably son or brother of no. 880.
Etienne supports a date in the reign of M. Aurelius; Alföldy prefers the first half of the second century.

(AE 1908 149 = ILER 1643; Etienne, Culte 141, followed by Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 303; Alföldy, Flamines no. 46)

885. C. Antonius P. f. Col. Balbus - aedilis. The tribe Collina is one of the four urban tribes at Rome; Balbus' family may have been libertine.

(HAep. 42 = ILER 6318)

DERTOSA, colonia Iulia Augusta (conv. Tarraconensis)

886. C. Cassius C. f. Gal. Niger - omnibus honoribus functus. Son: C. Cassius Avitus.

(CIL II 4059 = ILER 3926)

887. M. Aelius M. f. Gal. Gracilis - quaestor, legatus Augusti (legionis?), legatus (Augusti pro praetore) prov. Galliae Belgicae ca. 55-56, patronus Dertosanorum. Probably a native of Dertosa. He will have entered the Senate under Claudius.

(Tac. Ann. 13.53; Eph. Epigr. IX 385; PW 62; PIR² A 182; De Laet, Samenstelling no. 931; Pflaum, EResp. 103; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 15)

888. Cn. Pompeius Sex. f. Quir. Homullus Aelius Gracilis Cassianus Longinus - primus pilus bis legionis II Augustae (in Britain) et legionis X Fretensis (in Judaea), tribunus cohortis III Vigilum, tribunus cohortis X Urbanae, tribunus cohortis V Praetoriae, donis donato ab Imperatore torquibus phaleris armillis corona aurea hasta pura; procurator Augusti prov. Britanniae, procurator Augusti provinciarum duarum Lugudunensis et Aquitanicae, procurator Augusti a rationibus. It is interesting that this ex-centurion, whose military service was performed under Domitian, held all his procuratorial offices in the West (under Trajan). This fact, combined with the occurrence of the name Aelius Gracilis in his nomenclature, makes it very possible that he is the grandson of no. 887. Galeria and Quirina are the two commonest tribes in Spain.

(CIL VI 1626 = ILS 1385; Eph. Epigr. IX p. 143 ad no. 385; PW 86; Pflaum, Carrières no. 89; idem, EResp. 102-03; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 311)

889. L. Mummius L. f. Gal. Placidus - Ilvir, flamen Romae et Aug.; 1st or early 2nd century. Wife: Porcia L. f. Placida. Son: L. Mummius Placidus.

(Eph. Epigr. IX 386-87 = ILER 1574, 1567; Etienne, Culte 207)

890. M. Baebius Crassus - legatus, A.D. 138. Performed a legatio (probably of congratulations and loyalty), at his own expense, to the emperor Antoninus Pius upon the accession of the latter.

(CIL II 4057 = ILER 1115)

891. Anonymus (or Anonymi?) - honoured "ob legationes in concilio p. H. c. [et?] apud Antoninum Augustum prospere gestas". If this is a single man, it might be no. 890.

(CIL II 4055 = ILS 6925 = ILER 490)

DIANIUM, municipium (conv. Carthaginensis)

892. Q. Granius Q. f. Gal. Clemens - omnibus honoribus in re p. functus. Nephews: Iunius Festus and (Iunius) Severus (no. 896?).

(CIL II 5962)

893. L. Saenius L. f. Gal. Iustus - flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum p. H. c. under Hadrian (or later?). The family seems to come from Dianium (cf. L. Saenius in CIL II 5967).

(CIL II 4243 = ILER 1600 = RIT 303; Etienne, Culte 146 n. 15; Alföldy, Flamines no. 60)

894. L. Valerius L. f. Gal. Propinquus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua

functus, adlectus in quinque decurias, flamen p. H. c. between 120 and 180 (Etienne's dating to the reign of Antoninus Pius is rather speculative). In CIL II 4250 Valerius calls himself "flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum p. H. c.": the two flaminial titles are probably equivalent.

(CIL II 3584-85 = ILER 1641-42; CIL II 4250 = ILER 1589 = RIT 310; Etienne, Culte 163, 486; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 339; Alföldy, Flamines no. 67)

895. -. Cornelius Q. f. Gal. Placidus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus. Wife: Aemilia L. f. Severina.

(CIL II 3582 = ILER 1405)

896. T. Iunius T. f. Gal. Severus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, praefectus cohortis IIII Dalmatarum (in Germania Superior), tribunus legionis XX Valeriae Victricis (in Britain). Nephew of no. 892? Father or uncle of T. Iunius Severus Cos. suff. 154?

(CIL II 3583 = ILER 1406; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 283)

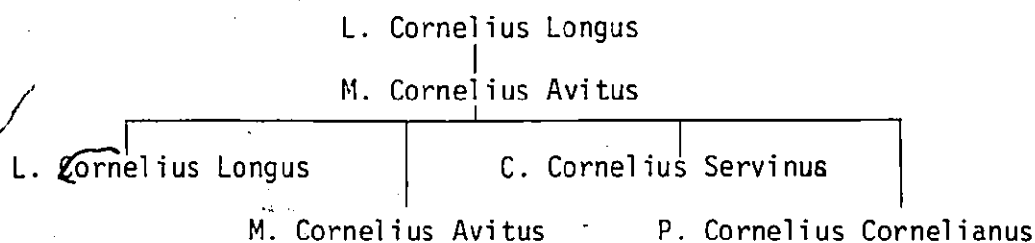
EBUSUS, municipium Flavium (Pityusae, conv. Carthaginiensis)

897. L. Oculatius L. f. Quir. Rectus - aedilis, Ilvir, flamen; 2nd century A.D. Son: L. Oculatius L. f. Rectus.

(CIL II 3662 = ILER 5530 = Veny, Corpus no. 179, cf. 176)

898. Anonymus (possibly a Cornelius, since one of his heirs is a C. Cornelius Servinus) - bequeathed 90,000 HS to his home town to pay the annual tribute (probably the poll tax) to Rome, and a fur-

- ther 6,000 HS to be lent out and the interest used to provide annual games. Legacies for paying the poll tax are otherwise attested only in Greece. C. Cornelius Servinus and his family appear in another inscription (CIL II 3663 = ILER 2044) as providers of a municipal water system for Ebusus. Their family tree may be reconstructed as follows:



It may be one of these Cornelii who left the legacy which concerns us here.

(CIL II 3664 = ILS 6960; Rostovtzeff, Roman Empire² 631 n. 31)

EGARA, municipium Flavium (conv. Tarraconensis)

899. Q. Granius Q. f. Gal. Optatus - Ilvir, tribunus militum. Wife: Grania Anthusa. Late 1st or early 2nd century.

(CIL II 4495 = ILER 1690; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 268)

EMPORIAE, municipium (conv. Tarraconensis)

900. Iskerbeles - magistrate, 2nd century B.C. An Iberian name, written in Iberian script.

(Villaronga, Aes Coinage 35 no. 16; J. Untermann, Elementos de un atlas antroponímico de la Hispania antigua (Madrid, 1965), 71)

901. Iltirarker - magistrate, 2nd century B.C. The element Iltir/Ildir-

is common in Iberian names. Iberian script.

(Villaronga, Aes Coinage no. 17; Albertos, OPP 123)

902. Atabels - magistrate, 2nd century B.C. Iberian name and script.

The suffix -bels is equivalent to -beles in no. 900.

(Villaronga, Aes Coinage no. 18; Untermann, loc. cit.)

903. Tiberius - magistrate, 2nd century B.C. A Latin name written in

Iberian script, indicating a transitional phase of romanization.

(Villaronga, Aes Coinage no. 19)

904. Lucius (LVKI) - magistrate, 2nd century B.C. Another Latin name in Iberian script.

(Villaronga, Aes Coinage no. 20 and pp. 12-13)

Note: Nos. 905-34 are dated by Gil to the period 45-23 B.C. and by Villaronga to "after 27 B.C.".

905. C. Ca. T. - quaestor.

(VM 122:3 = Gil 1079 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issues 99-100)

906. C. O. Ca(r.) - colleague of no. 905.

(Ibid.)

907. C. I. Nicom. - quaestor. Perhaps a C. Iulius.

(VM 121:9-10 = Gil 1081-82 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issues 85-86;

M. Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas (Cambridge, 1946), 156)

908. P. Fl. - colleague of no. 907? But Villaronga interprets "p(rimus) fl(amen)".

(VM 121:9-10 = Gil 1081-82 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issues 85-86 and p. 14)

909. C. I. - quaestor. Possibly the same man as no. 907.

(VM 121:7-8 = Gil 1080, 1100 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issues 73-74)

910. L. C. - colleague of nos. 909 and 911, qq.v.

911. C. R. - quaestor.

(VM 122:9 = Gil 1090 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issue 80)

912. C. P. C. - quaestor.

(VM 122:7 = Gil 1983 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issue 88)

913. M. S. R. - colleague of no. 912.

(Ibid.)

914. C. S. B. - quaestor.

(VM 122:1 = Gil 1084 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issue 94)

915. L. C. M. - colleague of no. 914.

(Ibid.)

916. Cn. C. Gr. - quaestor.

(VM 122:2, 4 = Gil 1086 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issues 97-98)

917. L. C. Fa. - colleague of no. 916.

(Ibid.)

918. Cn. C. P. - quaestor.

(VM 123:3-4 = Gil 1087-88 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issues 95-96)

919. C. M. A. - colleague of nos. 918 and 920, qq.v.

920. C. O. C. - quaestor.

(VM 122:5 = Gil 1089 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issues 102-03)

921. C. T. C. - quaestor.

(VM 121:4 = Gil 1085 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issue 101)

922. Q. C. Ca. - colleague of no. 921.

(Ibid.)

923. L. M. Ruf. - quaestor.

(VM 122:10 = Gil 1091 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issue 89)

924. P. C. - colleague of no. 923? But Villaronga, following Heiss, interprets "p(raefectus) C(aesaris)".

(Ibid.; Villaronga, Aes Coinage 14)

925. M. A. B. - quaestor?

(VM 121:5-6 = Gil 1092-93 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issues 104-06)

926. M. F. M. - colleague of no. 925.

(Ibid.)

927. M. O. H. - quaestor.

(VM 122:6, 123:1 = Gil 1094-95 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issues 90-92)

928. L. A. F. - colleague of no. 927.

(Ibid.)

929. P. C. Pu. - quaestor.

(VM 123:2 = Gil 1096 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issue 93)

930. Q. C. C. - colleague of no. 929.

(Ibid.)

931. P. I. P. - quaestor.

(VM 122:8 = Gil 1097 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issues 83-84)

932. C. S. M. - colleague of no. 931.

(Ibid.)

933. P. L. - quaestor?

(Gil 1098 = Villaronga, Aes Coinage issues 75-76)

934. L. L. - colleague of no. 933.

(Ibid.)

935. L. Minicius L. f. Rufus - aedilis, IIvir, quaestor, flamen Romae et Aug.; 1st century A.D.

(M.J. Pena et al, Información arqueológica 27-28 (May-Dec. 1978), 65 ff.)

936. C. Aemilius C. f. Gal. Montanus - aedilis, IIvir. Built a shrine and statue to Tutela at his own expense. This is one of eight shrines on the north side of the Forum, all built, it would seem, by wealthy citizens (cf. no. 937).

(Unpublished inscription in the Archaeological Museum, Barcelona; cf. E. Ripoll Perelló, Ampurias: Description of the Ruins and Monographic Museum (Barcelona, 1976), 71)

937. -. Caecilius L. f. Gal. Macer - aedilis, IIvir. Built a shrine at his own expense.

(Unpublished inscription from one of the shrines (see on no. 936))

938. M'. Cornelius M' f. Gal. Saturninus Paternus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen. Dedicated by the cultores Larum.

(AE 1900 118 = M. Almagro, Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas (Barcelona, 1952), 90-92 = ILER 1566)

939. L. Rosius L. f. Ser. Rufus - aedilis, IIvir, q(uaestor). Father: L. Rosius. Mother: Rosia. Previous editors restore "q(uinquennialis)", but cf. no. 935.

(Almagro, op. cit. 107-08 = ILER 6800)

☛ Gandia (ancient name unknown; conv. Carthaginiensis)

940. Minicius M. f. Gal. Marcellus - decurio, omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus; 2nd century or later.

Mother: Pompeia(?).

(CIL II 3606 = ILER 6410)

GERUNDA (conv. Tarraconensis)

941. L. Plotius L. f. Gal. Asprenas - aedilis, IIvir, flamen, tribunus legionis III Gallicae (in Syria). Wife: Iulia C. f. Marcia.

(CIL II 4622 = ILER 5533)

942. C. Marius C. f. Pal. Verus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, flamen p. H. c. between 120 and 180.

(CIL II 4229 = ILER 1627 = RIT 293; Alföldy, Flamines no. 44)

GUIUM (Balearis Maior, conv. Carthaginiensis)

943. Cn. Gavius Cn. f. Quir. Amethystus - citizen of both Palma and Guium, but probably a native of the latter, since he is not in the tribe Velina and since he is unlikely to have gone from a large town to a small one in the course of what was obviously an ascending career: omnibus honoribus in rebus publicis suis functus, flamen p. H. c. between 120 and 180.

(CIL II 4218 = ILS 6935 = ILER 1622 = RIT 280; Etienne, Culte 147 n. 8; Alföldy, Flamines no. 28)

ILICI, colonia Iulia Augusta (conv. Carthaginiensis)

944. Q. Terentius Montanus - IIvir; 2nd half of 1st century B.C.

(Gil 1116-17)

945. C. Salvius - colleague of no. 944.

(Ibid.)

946. L. Manlius - Ilvir; ca. 27-26 B.C.?

(VM 133:1-3 = Gil 1118-20)

947. T. Petronius - colleague of no. 946.

(Ibid.)

948. Q. Papirius Car. - Ilvir q.; ca. 27-26 B.C.? (13-12 B.C. according to Blázquez).

(VM 134:4 = Gil 1121; cf. J.M. Blázquez in Symposion de ciudades augusteas, I (Zaragoza, 1976), 113)

949. Q. Terentius Montanus - colleague of no. 948. Same as no. 944, or his son?

(Ibid.)

✓ 950. L. Terentius Lon(gus?) - Ilvir q.; before A.D. 19.

(VM 133:12-13 = Gil 1923-24)

951. L. Papirius Avitus - colleague of no. 950.

(Ibid.)

952. M. Iulius Setal. - Ilvir, A.D. 22.

(VM 133:9-11 = Gil 1925-27)

953. L. Sestius Celer - colleague of no. 952.

(Ibid.)

954. T. Coelius Proculus - magistrate; reign of Tiberius.

(VM 133:6-8 = Gil 1928-30)

955. M. Aemilius Severus - colleague of no. 954.

(Ibid.)

956. P. Fabricius Respectus - IIvir.

(CIL II 3557 = ILER 2072)

957. P. Fabricius Iustus - colleague (and presumably relative) of no. 956.

(Ibid.)

958. ...ius Q. f. C... - aedilis, IIvir et q.

(HAep. 1969)

959. Anonymus - [a]edil[is?].

(CIL II 5952)

960. L. Porcius ... - IIIvir, IIIIv[ir...] aug(ur? or [flamen] Aug(usta-
lis?). Municipal triumvirs are rare, but not unknown. Another
possible restoration might be [I]IIIvir, IIIIv[ir quinq.].

(CIL II 5950 = ILER 201; A. Degrassi, Scritti vari di antichità, I (Roma, 1962), 125; G. Alföldy, AEA 45-47 (1972-74), 411, n. 3)

961. M. Maecius Celer - tribunus militum laticlavus (in Syria), legatus Augusti iuridicus Hispaniae citerioris Tarraconensis (88-91?), legatus legionis (in Syria, by 94), cos. suff. 101. Probably a descendant of C. Maecius C. f. Celer of Ilici (CIL II 3555 = ILER 1025, Augustan).

(Mart. 7.52; Stat. Silv. 3.2; PW 6; Alföldy, Fasti 76-78)

ILURO (conv. Tarraconensis)

962. L. Marcius Q. f. Gal. Optatus - aedilis at Tarraco, IIvir at Iluro, IIII(?)vir quinquennalis primus, praefectus Asturiae, tribunus militum legionis II Augustae (in Germany or Britain). Died in Phrygia. (CIL II 4616 = ILS 6948 = ILER 3436; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 298)

LIRIA, civitas Edetanorum (conv. Tarraconensis)

963. M. Cornelius M. f. Gal. Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus - tribunus militum legionis XIV Geminae (in Britain or Dalmatia, under Nero), adlectus inter praetorios(?) by Vespasian and Titus, legatus Augusti legionis VIII Augustae (in Germania Superior, ca. 75-78), legatus pro praetore prov. Aquitaniae (79-82), cos. suff. 83, legatus pro praetore prov. Moesiae (ca. 86-89), legatus Augusti pro praetore prov. Syriae (ca. 94-97). Heavily decorated during Domitian's Dacian war.

(CIL II 6013, 3783 = ILER 1295-96; PIR² C 1407; PW 276; Wiegels,

Senatoren und Ritter no. 57; G. Alföldy and H. Halfmann, Chiron 3 (1973), 331-69; A. Montenegro in J.M. Blázquez et al., Historia de España antigua, II (Madrid, 1978), 313)

964. M. Valerius M. f. Gal. Propinquus Grattius Cerealis - flamen p. H. c., cui honores civitatis suae res publica <indul?>sit, adlectus in equite (sic) a Tito Imperatore, praefectus fabrum bis, praefectus cohortis II Asturum in Germania (sc. Inferiore), tribunus legionis V Macedonicae in Moesia (Inferiore), praefectus alae Prhygum (sic), item praefectus alae III Thracum in Syria. Although the remainder of the cursus appears to be in chronological order, the prestigious provincial priesthood has been moved to the head of the list of honours; a similar displacement occurs in CIL II 6150. Alföldy dates Valerius' flamine to ca. 100 -- reasonably, if we accept Pflaum's thesis that the flamine was the last post held. (CIL II 4251 = ILS 2711 = ILER 1618 = RIT 311; Etienne, Culte 134; Pflaum, REsp. 93; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 340; Alföldy, Flamines no. 68; idem, Chiron 3 (1973), 369-73)

965. L. Caecilius L. f. Gal. Cassianus - omnibus honoribus functus.
Wife: Licinia C. f. Celerina. Son: L. Caecilius Crassus.

966. ... L. f. Gal. Maximus - praefectus mi[?]itum?].
(CIL II 3791)

967. Anonymus - flamen bis.
(CIL II 3792)

968. ...us - flamen.

(L. Martí Ferrando, Archivo de prehistoria levantina 13 (1972), 182
no. XLII = XLIV)

969. -. Baebius M. f. Gal. Baebianus Severus - IIvir, flamen.

(CIL II 3789 = ILER 5678)

970. L. Fabius Fabullus - q(uaestor), IIIIvir bis.

(Martí Ferrando, op. cit., 178 no. XXIX)

971. L. Iunius Iusti f. Gal. Severus - IIvir bis, flamen bis; 3rd century. Wife/client: Iunia Apronia. Obviously Apronia had been a slave of Iunius and was later manumitted by and married to him.

(CIL II 6014 = ILER 6029)

LUCENTIA (conv. Carthaginiensis)

972. -. Tadius M. f. Rufus - praefectus. Attended to the construction of a tower or towers.

(CIL II 3561 = ILER 2091)

MAGO, municipium Flavium (Balearis Minor, conv. Carthaginiensis)

973. (Q. Cornelius?) Q. f. Labeo - aedilis, IIvir; 2nd century A.D. Parents: Q. C(orneli?)us Philistio, Iulia Sévera. The editors would restore "C(aecili)us"; but cf. the nomen of no. 974.

(CIL II 3708 + p. 963 = ILER 1384 = Veny, Corpus no. 128)

974. Q. Cornelius Q. f. Quir. Secundus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen divorum

et Augustorum; 2nd century. Son-in-law: L. Cornelius Satur.

Grandson: Q. Cornelius Satur.

(CIL II 3709 + p. 963 = ILER 1572 = Veny, Corpus no. 121)

975. L. Fabius L. f. Quir. Fabullus - aedilis, IIVir III, flamen divorum Augustorum; Flavian or later. Cf. L. Fabius Fabullus of Liria (no. 970) and the senatorial Fabii Fabulli (PIR² F 30-32).

(CIL II 3710 = ILS 6958 = ILER 1573 = Veny, Corpus no. 122)

976. -. Maecius Maecianus Quir. Montanus - aedilicius iterum IIViratu in insula functus, etiam flaminatu p. H. c. Maecius' career and date are open to differing interpretations. Dessau construes "iterum" with "IIViratu", Alföldy with "aedilicius". Hübner dates the inscription to the early 2nd century, Alföldy to the period 150-250.

(CIL II 3711 + p. 963 = ILS 6959 = ILER 1640 = Veny, Corpus no. 123; Alföldy, Flamines no. 41)

977. Serena - magisteriis et honoribus omnibus functa. Husband: Maecius Maecianus (no. 976?). It is very unusual for a woman to use the "omnibus honoribus functus" formula, since so few offices were open to women. She was presumably a local priestess of the imperial cult and a magistra of others.

(CIL II 3712-13 = ILER 1385, 1775 = Veny, Corpus nos. 124, 126)

Mascarell (ancient name unknown; conv. Tarraconensis)

978. M. Tettienus M. f. Gal. Pollio - aedilis, IIVir, flamen, augur,

quaestor. Wife: Baebia L. f. Lepida.

(CIL II 4028 = ILER 5535)

Murcia (ancient name unknown; conv. Carthaginiensis)

979. M. Postumius ... - pontifex, aedilis; 1st century A.D.

(CIL II 5945)

PALMA, colonia c. R. (Balearis Maior, conv. Carthaginiensis)

980. L. Aufidius Q. f. Vel. Secundus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua
functus, flamen p. H. c. between 120 and 180.

(CIL II 4197 + p. 972 = ILER 1605 = RIT 260; Alföldy, Flamines no. 9)

981. L. Clodius M. f. Vel. Ingenuus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua
perfunctus, praefectus fabrum, flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum
p. H. c. between 120 and 180.

(CIL II 4205 = ILS 6929 = ILER 1597 = RIT 267; Alföldy, Flamines
no. 16)

982. ...us P. f. Vel. ...s - Ilvir.

(HAEp. 1457 = 2733 = Veny, Corpus no. 2; AE 1957 38)

983. C. Aburius -. f. Vel. Montanus Iulius Gratus - pontifex. Grand-
father: L. Manlius Montanus.

(CIL II 3669 = ILER 5222 = Veny, Corpus no. 7)

POLLENTIA, colonia c. R. (Balearis Maior, conv. Carthaginiensis)

984. L. Dentilius L. f. Vel. Modestus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen; reign of Trajan? Nephew: L. Favonius....

(CIL II 3697 + p. 962 = ILER 6373 = Veny, Corpus no. 26)

985. Q. Caecilius Q. f. Vel. Catullus - aedilis, IIvir, (flamen) Romae et Aug.; reign of Hadrian? Caecilii are very common at Pollentia and apparently designate natives who originally took their nomen from Q. Caecilius Metellus, who founded the colony in 123/2 B.C.

(CIL II 3696 + p. 962 = ILER 6371 = Veny, Corpus no. 25; cf. Knapp, Roman Experience 132)

986. L. Vibius L. f. Vel. Nigellio - aedilis, IIvir bis. Wife: Manlia Fabiana. Son: Vibius Manlianus.

(CIL II 3698 = ILER 6028 = Veny, Corpus no. 27)

SAETABIS, municipium Augustum (conv. Carthaginiensis)

987. Q. Iunius Q. f. Gal. Iustus - IIvir, flamen divi Augusti; reign of Tiberius.

(CIL II 3620 = ILER 1578; Etienne, Culte 207)

988. (L. or M.) Fulvius L. f. Gal. Marcianus - IIvir, flamen Romae et Augusti. Mother: Fulvia M. f. Marcella.

(CIL II 3623 + p. 960 = ILER 5536)

989. Postumia C. f. Aprulla - flaminica. Died at age 19. Father: C. Postumius Successus.

(CIL II 3782 = ILER 5523)

990. Q. Fabius -. f. Gal. M... - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, equo publico donato ab Imperatore Hadriano, allectus in V decurias ab eodem, praefectus cohorts primae ..., flamen p. H. c. between 125 and 138. Several other Fabii are attested at Saetabis (CIL II 3618, 3652, 3658)

(CIL II 4213 = ILER 1636 = RIT 273; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 259; Alföldy, Flamines no. 22)

SAGUNTUM, municipium (conv. Tarraconensis)

Note: Nos. 991-1001 are dated by Gil to ca. 120-90(?) B.C.

991. Icorbeles - magistrate. An Iberian name, paralleled at Ilerda.

(VM 17:2 = Gil 327; Albertos, OPP 123)

992. Balcacaldur - colleague of nos. 991 and 993, qq.v. Balce- is a common Iberian anthroponymic element: cf. Albertos, OPP 48.

993. Biulacos - magistrate. Although written in Iberian script, this name appears to be common Indo-European, with parallels in northern Italy.

(VM 17:7 = Gil 332; Albertos, OPP 54-55)

994. Valerius - magistrate.

(VM 173:6 = Gil 328)

995. L. Calpurnius - aedilis.

(VM 18:1-2 = Gil 329-30, 335)

996. Cn. Baebius Blab(ro?) - colleague of nos. 995 and 997, qq.v.

997. M. Aemilius Ercol(es?) - aedilis. The cognomen is apparently a variant of Hercules (cf. Kajanto, Cognomina, index s.v. Erc-).

(VM 18:3, 5 = Gil 333, 336)

998. C. Popilius - magistrate.

(VM 18:4 = Gil 334)

999. M. Acilius - colleague of no. 998.

(Ibid.)

1000. L. Sempronius Vetto - magistrate.

(VM 18:6 = Gil 337)

1001. L. Fabius Postumus - colleague of no. 1000.

(Ibid.)

1002. C. Lucilius L. f. - Ilvir; Republican period.

(CIL II 6021 = ILER 1396)

1003: -. Fulvius -. f. Titianus - colleague of no. 1002.

(Ibid.)

1004. L. Sempronius Geminus - Ilvir; reign of Tiberius.

(VM 124:1, 3 = Gil 1952-54)

1005. L. Valerius Sura - colleague of no. 1004.

(Ibid.)

1006. L. Aemilius Maxumus - aedilis; reign of Tiberius.

(VM 124:2, 4 = Gil 1955-56)

1007. M. Baebius Sobrinus - colleague of no. 1006.

(Ibid.)

1008. M. Acilius M. f. Gal. Rufus - procurator Caesarum conv. Tarraconensis; 1st century A.D. Saguntum belongs to the tribe Galeria, and it appears that Acilius is being honoured by his home town, where the inscription was found.

(CIL II 3840 + p. 967 = ILS 1367 = ILER 1391; PW 53; Pflaum, REsp. 101; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 203)

1009. M. Baebius M. f. Gal. Crispus - aedilis, pontifex, Salus. Relative of no. 1007?

(CIL II 3853 = ILS 6950 = ILER 1540)

1010. Cn. Baebius Cn. f. Gal. Geminus - pontifex, aedilis, Salus. Descendant of no. 996? Note that although Baebius Geminus holds the same appointments as his presumed relative no. 1009, the order is different.

(CIL II 3854-55 = ILER 1541, 1390)

1011. P. Baebius L. f. Gal. Maximus Iulianus - aedilis, flamen. Another member of the gens Baebia (cf. also CIL II 3880-91).

(CIL II 3856 = ILER 5539)

1012. Q. Caecilius Q. f. Gal. ... - aedilis...pontifex, equo (publico donato).

(CIL II 3857 = ILER 1394)

1013. Q. Caecilius ... Valerianus - aedilis, IIvir II, quaestor, flamen, pontifex. Conceivably the same man as no. 1012, or almost certainly a relative. Father of no. 1031. May be the son of P. Caecilius Rufus and Valeria (CIL II 3960 = ILER 3854), whence his cognomen.

(HAep. 2414; cf. Alföldy ad RIT 331)

1014. M. Calpurnius M. f. Gal. Lupercus - aedilis, IIvir, pontifex.

(CIL II 3858 = ILER 5537)

1015. Q. Fabius Cn. f. Gal. Geminus - pontifex, Salus.

(CIL II 3859 = ILER 1536)

1016. C. Licinius Q. f. Gal. Campanus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen. The cognomen suggests a possible Italian origin.

(CIL II 3860 = ILER 1563)

1017. L. Manlius C. f. Fabianus - IIvir.

(CIL II 3862 = ILER 1393)

1018. Q. Varvius Q. f. Gal. Cerealis - aedilis, IIvir, flamen bis, Saliorum magister, quaestor.

(CIL II 3864 = ILER 1569)

1019. C. Voconius C. f. Gal. Placidus - aedilis, IIvir II, flamen II, quaestor, Saliorum magister, eques Romanus. Reign of Vespasian. Father of no. 1029.

(CIL II 3865 = ILS 6951 = ILER 1570; Pliny Ep. 2.13.4; Etienne, Culte 208)

1020. C. Aemilius C. f. Gal. Nepos - aedilis, IIvir.

(CIL II 6025 = ILER 1395)

1021. -. Valerius L. f. Gal. Optatus - aedilis, IIvir, flamen, Saliorum magister.

(CIL II 6055 = ILER 6022-23)

1022. Varvia Sa... - [flaminica munic]ipii.... So restored by Hübner, although there are other possibilities, e.g. "Varvia Sa[gunti munic]ipii [liberta]". Relative of no. 1018?

(Ibid.; cf. Etienne, Culte 242 n. 3)

1023. ...Lucretius ...mus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus.

Son: Q. Lucretius Lucretianus.

(CIL II 6056 = ILER 4955)

1024. M. Fabius M. f. Gal. Maximus - flamen p. H. c. between 70 and 180.

(CIL II 4214 = ILER 1637 = RIT 274; Alföldy, Flamines no. 23)

1025. L. Aemilius L. f. Gal. Veranus - aedilis, Ilvir, flamen, quaestor.

(AE 1955 163 = ILER 1568)

1026. L. Aemilius L. f. Gal. Gallus - aedilis, Ilvir, flamen II, Saliorum magister, quaestor, pontifex. Mother: Aemilia L. f. Severa.

(HAEp. 512 = ILER 6409. Read "flam. II" at end of line 4 and "filio" in line 8)

1027. C. Cornelius Maximus Valentinus - aedilis, Ilvir. Wife: Fabia Marcelina.

(HAEp. 510 = AE 1955 162 = ILER 6374)

1028. A. Anerius ... - pontifex(?). Wife: Fulvia. The praenomen Aulus is rare in Spain.

(HAEp. 1582)

1029. C. Licinius C. f. Gal. Marinus Voconius Romanus - son of a distinguished equestrian (no. 1019) but adopted by a clarior, C. Licinius Marinus. A school-mate of the younger Pliny, Voconius returned to Spain and became flamen p. H. c. in 96. Pliny recommended him to both Nerva and Trajan for adlection to the Senate, probably without success, since Voconius' provincial priesthood precluded

any subsequent senatorial career (cf. R. Syme, JRS 68 (1978), 15). Pliny also recommended him to the legate of Syria, L. Iavolenus Priscus, perhaps for a military tribunate, and again apparently without success. Pliny was able, however, to obtain for him the iūs trium liberorum. Voconius, a man of letters and by profession a lawyer, retired to Saguntum, where he built a seaside villa. He had a private fortune of four million HS (well above the property qualification for admission to the Senate), inherited from his mother. His wife Popilia Rectina (relative of Popilius Artemisius in Pliny Ep. 9.28.2?) died at age 18.

(Pliny Ep. 1.5, 2.13, 9.7, 9.28, 10.4 and A.N. Sherwin-White, The Letters of Pliny (Oxford, 1966) ad locc.; CIL II 3865a-66 = ILER 4382, 3959; PW "Voconius" 6; E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army (Kendal, 1953), 141; Etienne, Culte 160-61; idem, EResp. 69; Pflaum, EResp. 94; PIR² L 210; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 100; Alföldy, Flamines no. 37; Syme, RP 480-81, 769)

1030. ... Silanus ... Iustus An... Cn. Lepidi f. - senator; sevir equitum Romanorum, quaestor urbanus, tribunus plebis, praetore pro consule prov. Hispaniae ulterioris; 1st or early 2nd century.

Since he is honoured by the citizens of Saguntum, yet had no apparent business there, he is thought to be a native.

(CIL II 3838 = ILER 1392; PW "Silanus" 3; Alföldy, Fasti 166; cf. PIR² L 153)

1031. Q. Caecilius Q. f. Gal. Rufinus - legatus. Undertook at his own expense a mission to the emperor Hadrian in Rome, for which he was

honoured by the p. H. c. Son of no. 1013 and perhaps grandson of P. Caecilius Rufus (see above on no. 1019), from whom his cognomen may be derived.

(CIL II 4201 = ILS 6927 = ILER 1304 = RIT 331)

SEGOBRIGA (conv. Tarraconensis)

1032. L. Aemilius L. f. Gal. - flamen Romae et divorum Augustorum.

(R.P. Ripolles, Sinopsis de epigrafía latina castellonense (Castellon, 1977), no. 109)

TARRACO, colonia Iulia Victrix Triumphalis (conv. Tarraconensis)

1033. Gavius Silo - declaimer who pleaded before Augustus in Tarraco (26 or 25 B.C.). Probably Hispaniensis.

(PIR² G 111; M. Griffin, Seneca, A Philosopher in Politics (Oxford, 1976), 31)

1034. ...ius T. f. Nepos - tribunus militum legionis VI, flamen (Romae) et Augusti. Both the letter forms and the absence of the legionary cognomen Victrix point to an Augustan date. At Tarraco the imperial cult was already established in Augustus' own lifetime (Quint. 6.3.77; cf. Dio Cass. 53.20.2), and in A.D. 15 the city set an example for the rest of the Empire by creating a temple to him (Tac. Ann. 1.78). Coins of Tarraco (Gil 1963-66) even refer to Augustus as deus rather than divus.

(CIL II 6097 = RIT 173; Etienne, Culte 206; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 356)

1035.: -. [Calpu]rnius Tiro - aedilis; 1st century A.D. The restoration is virtually certain, the gens Calpurnia being heavily represented among the elite of Spain.

(RIT 340)

1036. Popilia M. f. Secunda - flaminica; probably 1st century A.D.

(CIL II 4276 = ILER 1649 = RIT 350)

1037. -. Raecius Tauri f. Gal. Gallus - tribunus militum Galbae Imperatoris, flamen Imperatoris Vespasiani Caesaris Augusti perpetuus ex decreto decurionum, flamen p. H. c. between 71 and 74, quaestor prov. Baeticae, tribunus plebis, praetor (77?), sodalis Augustalis, cos. suff. 84. Probably an adoptive son of M. Raecius Taurus, vir praetorius in 49 and frater Arvalis under Nero in 69 (there is no evidence that Raecius Taurus was Spanish; his nomen is Etruscan). Raecius Gallus is a unique example of a provincial flamen entering the Senate: Syme implies that he was admitted by Galba, whose tribune he had been. Alternatively, Weinrib proposes that he was adlected by Vespasian, while his priesthoods may have been honorary ones held in absentia.

(AE 1966 189 = ILER 6052 = RIT 145; De Laet, Samenstelling no.

1552; Pflaum, EResp. 94-95; R. Wiegels, MM 9 (1968), 230-36; idem; Senatoren und Ritter no. 144 = 323; Alföldy, Flamines no. 59; idem, Fasti, 184-85; Weinrib, Spaniards 254-69; R. Syme, JRS 68 (1978), 15; cf. idem, RP 773 n. 3)

1038. Q. Licinius M. f. Gal. Silvanus Granianus - flamen Romae et Aug.

p. H. c. (between 80 and 90), praefectus orae maritimae Laeëtanae, procurator Augusti. D'Ors would also make him the patron of Baetulo mentioned in AE 1936 66 = ILER 5829, but this honour is likelier to have gone to a senator, viz. his son (no. 1067).

(CIL II 4225-26 = ILS 2714-14a = ILER 1593, 1551 = RIT 288-89; PW 158; Etienne, Culte 133-34; Pflaum, EResp. 89-91; PIR² L 248; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 290; Alföldy, Flamines no. 38; A. D'Ors, Emerita 42 (1974), 69-75)

1039. Baebia T. f. Galla - flaminica p. H. c.; wife of no. 1038.

(HAep. 808 = ILER 1645 = RIT 321; PIR² B 32; Alföldy, Flamines no. 103)

1040. ...rius Q. f. (Gal?) Fuscus - Ilvir, flamen Divi Claudii, praefectus orae maritimae, flamen divorum et Augustorum p. H. c.; Flavian. The priesthood of the deified Claudius is plausibly but not necessarily of Vespasianic date.

(CIL II 4217 = ILER 1594 = RIT 316; Alföldy, Flamines no. 73)

1041. Anonymus - [praefectus?] cohortis I Breucorum, tribunus militum, procurator Divi Titi Alexandriae, agonothea certaminis pentaheterici bis; reign of Domitian.

(CIL II 4136 = ILS 1399 = ILER 6363 = RIT 159; Pflaum, Carrières no. 49; idem, EResp. 91; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 358; P. Piernavieja, Hisp. Ant. 4 (1974), 199-202)

1042. M. Clodius M. f. Gal. Martialis - Ilvir, quaestor, flamen, augur,

praefectus fabrum, praefectus ins[ularum Baliae orae maritimae?];
Flavian or early 2nd century.

(HAep. 176 = ILER 6050 = RIT 168; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 242)

1043. Fulvia M. f. Celera - flaminica perpetua Concordiae Augustae coloniae Tarraconensium et flaminica p. H. c. (between 70 and 150).

Daughter of no. 1036 and perhaps the wife of no. 1044. On the cult of Concordia Augusta see Etienne, Culte 330.

(CIL II 4270 = ILER 1655 = RIT 344; ILER 1644 = RIT 322; CIL II 4276 = ILER 1649 = RIT 350; Alföldy, Flamines no. 104)

1044. C. Vibius C. f. Gal. Latro - quaestor, IIvir, item IIvir quinquenalis, flamen p. H. c.; end of 1st or 1st half of 2nd century.

The monument to him is erected "ex testamento Fulviae Celerae" (no. 1043?). Latro was the son of a municipal magistrate of Sigarra, C. Vibius Lupercus (no. 770).

(CIL II 4253 = ILER 1616 = RIT 312; Alföldy, Flamines no. 69)

1045. M. Porcius M. f. Gal. Narbonensis - tribunus militum legionis

XXII, praefectus alae Thracum Herclanae, praefectus orae maritimae, flamen divum Augustorum p. H. c. between 70 and 134. "Narbonensis" is a cognomen, perhaps however suggesting descent from a Narbonensian family; the tribe Galeria suggests that citizenship was conferred in Spain.

(CIL II 4239 = ILER 1588 = RIT 301; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 316; Alföldy, Flamines no. 55)

1046. -. Sempronius -. f. Gal. ...to - flamen p. H. c. between 70 and 150. The cognomen might be Fronto or Capito. A M. Sempronius Capito is attested at Grallia, but his tribe is Quirina (no. 734), while a M. Sempronius Front. was Ilvir at Turiaso under Tiberius (no. 778).

(RIT 305; Alföldy, Flamines no. 62)

1047. Q. Caecilius L. f. Gal. Fronto - quaestor, Ilvir, procurator Augusti; end of 1st century or Trajanic-Hadrianic. C. Caecilius Fronto, named in RIT 159 as an heir of no. 1041, is presumably a relative.

(CIL II 4139 = ILER 1317 = RIT 157; PIR² C 46; Pflaum, Carrières no. 1011; idem, EResp. 107-08; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 229)

1048. L. Antonius T. f. Gal. Silo - praefectus fabrum, praefectus cohortis IIII Thracum (equitatae? cf. no. 1056), praefectus cohortis novae tironum, praefectus orae maritimae; Flavian or early 2nd century. There are several known Antonii Silones (see list in Alföldy, Fasti), including a "...us L. f. Gal. Hispanus Pompeius Marcellus Antonius Silo" at Saguntum (CIL II 3839) who is conceivably related to our man.

(CIL II 4138 = ILS 2715 = ILER 1316 = RIT 162; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 221; Alföldy, Fasti 153 n. 22)

1049. -. Caecilius Placidi f. Quir. Placidus - praefectus cohortis ..., tribunus militum...; Flavian or Antonine. This equestrian, whose

inscription was found in the Forum at Tarraco, may also have been a provincial flamen.

(CIL II 4140 = ILER 1318 = RIT 163; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 231)

1050. L. Caecina C. f. Gal. Severus - Ilvir, quaestor, praefectus fabrum, praefectus cohortis I et orae maritimae; between A.D. 50 and 150.

(CIL II 4264 = ILS 2716 = ILER 1565 = RIT 165; AE 1929 230, 234 = ILER 6362, 6369 = RIT 164, 166; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 234)

1051. Ti. Claudius L. f. Quir. Paullinus - Ilvir, quaestor, praefectus insularum Baliarum et orae maritimae; Flavian or 1st half of 2nd century. He appears to be a relative of two senators of the same name in the 2nd and 3rd centuries (PIR² C 954-55). There is also a "Ti. Claudius Paullinus philosophus heros" at Antioch (ILS 7777).

(HAep. 862 = ILER 5629 = RIT 167; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 239)

1052. L. Cornelius C. f. Gal. Celsus - Ilvir, praefectus orae maritimae, praefectus cohortis I et II; Flavian or 1st half of 2nd century.

Wife: Pompeia Donace.

(CIL II 4266 = ILS 2717 = ILER 1325 = RIT 169; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 250)

1053. P. Licinius L. f. Gal. Laevinus - aedilis, quaestor, flamen Romae

et Aug., IIvir, praefectus cohortis novae tironum, orae maritimae;
 Flavian or 1st half of 2nd century. Mother: Iulia f. Ingenua.
 (CIL II 4224 = ILER 1582 = RIT 171; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter
 no. 286)

1054. L. Rufidius L. f. Gal. Iullus - praefectus cohortis IIII Vindelico-
 rum (in Germania Superior), tribunus militum legionis III Au-
 gustae (in Africa); Flavian or 1st half of 2nd century. Father:
 L. Rufidius Pollentinus. The family probably came to Tarraco
 from Barcino, where other Rufidii are attested.
 (AE 1930 147 = ILER 5627 = RIT 174; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter
 no. 324)

1055. Cn. Antonius Cn. f. Gal. Avitus - flamen p. H. c. between 70 and
 180.
 (CIL II 4193 = ILER 1602 = RIT 255; Alföldy, Flamines no. 4)

1056. C. Egnatuleius C. f. Gal. Seneca - aedilis, quaestor, IIvir, fla-
 men Divi Titi, equo publico donato, praefectus cohortis IIII Thra-
 cum equitatae (in Germany), flamen p. H. c. between 85 and 150.
 Evidently already knighted before receiving the provincial flami-
 nate.
 (CIL II 2227 = 4212 = ILER 1633 = RIT 272; Wiegels, Senatoren und
Ritter no. 257; Alföldy, Flamines no. 21; R.C. Knapp, ZPE 36
 (1979), 137; cf. Cheesman, Auxilia 179)

1057. L. Caecilius Porcianus - decurio adlectus in colonia Tarraconensi,

itemque aedilis, [IIvir?]; 1st or 2nd century. An immigrant from Africa, who seems to have settled and flourished in Tarraco and was provided with a monument and burial plot by the local decurions. Another man of the same name appears at Segobriga (no. 1204). (CIL II 4263 = ILER 1314 = RIT 339)

1058. L. Fonteius M. f. Gal. Maternus Novitianus - aediliciis honoribus ab ordine data; IIvir, quaestor, iudex decuriarum III, flamen Divi Vespasiani; equo publico donato ab Imp. Nerva Augusto, flamen p. H. c. (end of 1st century or beginning of 2nd). Possibly the son of M. Fonteius Novitianus of Aquae Calidae (CIL II 4487 = ILER 178).

(CIL II 4216, 6095 = ILER 1634, 1587 = RIT 278-79; Pflaum, REsp. 98; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 265; Alföldy, Flamines no. 27)

1059. C. Marius C. f. Gal. Nigrinus - flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum p. H. c. between 70 and 180. Not necessarily from Tarraco, but the absence of any indication of origin makes a local career probable.

(CIL II 4228 = ILER 1599 = RIT 292; Alföldy, Flamines no. 43)

1060. P. Fabius P. f. Serg. Lepidus - ornamentis aediliciis; end of 1st century or 1st half of 2nd. Mother: Iulia Sex. f. Reburina, who repaid the cost of the statue erected by the decurions.

(CIL II 4268 = ILER 1328 = RIT 343)

1061. Munnia L. f. Severa - flaminica perpetua Concordiae Augustae; Flavian or 1st half of 2nd century. Her son Novitianus repaid the cost of her statue erected by the decurions.

(CIL II 4438 = RIT 348; AE 1930 149 = ILER 5526 = RIT 347)

1062. M. Voconius M. f. Gal. Vaccula - aedilis, flamen divi Augusti, quaestor; between 70 and 150.

(CIL II 4279 = ILER 1577 = RIT 356)

1063. Anonymus - [Ilvi?]r, aedilis, Lu[percus?!]; Early Empire.

(RIT 357)

1064. Anonymus - [...quaestor] prov. Baeticae, tribunus plebis, praetor designatus; Flavian or 1st half of 2nd century. Probably Spanish, since there is no other apparent reason for him to have been buried at Tarraco. As Alföldy observes, the remnants of this cursus are very similar to that of no. 1037, except that this man did not live to discharge the praetorship. Wife: Claudia Atiliana.

(RIT 1077)

1065. L. Antonius L. f. Gal. Saturninus - aedilis, Ilvir, flamen p. H. c. between 70 and 180. Perhaps related to L. Antonius Saturninus, cos. suff., 83, although the nomen and cognomen are too common to justify Syme's suggestion that the local magistrate may be the consul's father.

(CIL II 4194 = ILER 1635 = RIT 257; Syme, Tacitus 596 and n. 6; idem, Harv. Stud. 73 (1969), 230 = RP 768; Alföldy, Flamines no.

6; Syme, JRS 68 (1978), 15)

1066. L. Annaeus (or P. Annius?) Florus - poet and epitomizer. A native of Africa (cf. no. 1057), he participated in the Capitoline Games of 96 but was deprived of his award by Domitian. His subsequent travels led him eventually to Tarraco, where he settled down and developed his literary skills. Thus, although an immigrant, he joined the intellectual élite of Spain. His works included verses on Trajan's Dacian triumph, the dialogue "Vergilius orator an poeta", and an epitome of Livy. He was a friend and correspondent of Hadrian, and moved to Rome during that emperor's reign.

(S.H.A. Hadr. 16; PW 9; PIR² A 650; OCD² s.v. Florus; A. Schroeder, Cuadernos de Historia de España, 51-52 (1970), 418-27)

1067. Q. Licinius Q. f. Q. n. Silvanus Granianus - clarissimus vir; cos. suff. 106, proconsul Asiae under Hadrian; patron of Baetulo. Son of no. 1038. Groag (in PW), Stech and Balil telescope his career with that of no. 1072.

(PW 159; Stech, Senatores no. 1057; A. Balil, Zephyrus 11 (1960), 219; Pflaum, EResp. 83; PIR² L 247; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 102)

1068. C. Calpurnius P. f. Quir. Flaccus - flamen p. H. c. between 100 and 125, curator templi, praefectus murorum. The temple and walls of Tarraco were apparently rebuilt at the time of Hadrian's visit (winter 122-23: S.H.A. Hadr. 12.3). Probably the father of no. 1073, in which case he may be the Calpurnius Flaccus to whom Pliny

writes.

(CIL II 4202 = ILS 6946 = ILER 1631 = RIT 264; Pliny Ep. 5.2; PIR² C 265; Alföldy, Flamines no. 13; R. Syme, Harv. Stud. 73 (1969), 231 = RP 769)

1069. L. Numisius L. f. Pal. Montanus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus: aedilis, quaestor, Ilvir, item quinquennalis Ilvir, equo publico donato ab Imp. Hadriano, iudex decuriae I, flamen p. H. c. between 120 and 140. Sister: Numisia Victorina. Wife: Porcia Materna (no. 761). His wife's religious success probably aided his own career, since the tribe Palatina suggests low social origin.

(CIL II 4231, 4241, 4275 = ILER 1628, 1656, 1327 = RIT 295, 325, 349; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 305; Alföldy, Flamines no. 48; M.M. Alves Dias, MM 19 (1978), 268-71)

1070. L. Numisius L. f. Pal. Ovinianus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, tribunus cohortis I Macedonicae, flamen p. H. c. between 120 and 140. Brother of no. 1069.

(CIL II 4232 = ILER 1629 = RIT 296; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 306; Alföldy, Flamines no. 49)

1071. L. Minicius L. f. Gal. Apronianus - aedilis, quaestor, Ilvir, Ilvir quinquennalis, flamen Divi Traiani Parthici. Reign of Hadrian? He may be related to the senatorial family L. Minicii of Barcino.

(CIL II 4071, 4274 = ILER 558, 1552 = RIT 23, 918; CIL II 4488 =

ILER 170)

1072. Q. Licinius Q. f. Q. n. Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus -
 IIIVir ad monetam, tribunus militum legionis VI Victricis Piaae Fi-
 delis ca. 100. Son of no. 1067.

(CIL II 4609 = ILS 1028 = ILER 1376; Pflaum, REsp. 90; PIR² L
 249; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 103)

1073. C. Calpurnius C(?) f. Flaccus - IVvir viarum curandarum, tribunus
 militum, quaestor, tribunus plebis, praetor, curator viae Aureli-
 ae, legatus legionis, legatus Augusti prov. Lusitaniae (ca. 121),
 proconsul prov. Cypri (123), cos. suff. 124. Probably the son of
 no. 1068. He may be the same Calpurnius Flaccus to whom Hadrian
 addresses a rescript (Dig. 37.9.8, Paul.).

(IGR III 991; ILS 7912; V. Karageorghis, BCH 86 (1962), 404; Lam-
 brechts I, no. 183; PIR² C 268; Etienne, REsp. 71; Alföldy, Fasti
 140; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 47)

1074. L. Aemilius -. f. Pal. Sempronius Clemens Silvanianus - aedilis,
 quaestor, IIvir, flamen, curator Capitoli, iudex decuriae IIII;
 2nd century. The Capitol referred to is surely that at Tarraco
 (cf. curator templi, no. 1068). ✓

(AE 1946 1 = ILER 6388-89 = RIT 922)

1075. M. Lucretius Quir. Peregrinus - centurio legionis I Minerviae Piaae
 Fidelis, item legionis III Cyrenaicae (in Arabia?), praefectus co-
 hortis IIII Lingonum (in Britain), decurio Tarraconensi adlectus;

2nd century. A retired centurion and equestrian who entered municipal politics.

(AE 1961 330 = ILER 5601 = RIT 172; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 291)

1076. Q. Anthracius Q. f. Ingenus - aedilis, IIvir; 2nd century. Wife: Didia Amabilis.

(CIL II 4262 = ILER 1322 = RIT 338)

1077. Anonymus - legatus. Sent to purchase grain (in Africa?) to relieve the plebs. 2nd century.

(RIT 364)

1078. ...cianus - adlectus inter quinquennales, iudex Romae; 2nd century. Mother: Fabia Lepida(?).

(AE 1928 195 = ILER 5564 = RIT 342)

1079. C....Pru... - flam(en? inica?); 2nd century. The inscription is too fragmentary to permit further restoration.

(RIT 359)

1080. ... Pollentinus - [omnibus honoribus functus?], flamen p: H. c. Early Empire.

(RIT 317; Alföldy, Flamines no. 75)

1081. M. Granus Probus - decurio, pontifex, aediliciis honoribus functus; 2nd half of 2nd century? Mother: Caecilia Galla. Sister:

Herennia Aphrodite. The Granii, Caecilii, and Herennii are all attested elsewhere at Tarraco.

(CIL II 4272 = ILER 1535 = RIT 345)

1082. C. Valerius Avitus - Ilvir; reigns of Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius: A native of Augustobriga in the conv. Cluniensis, he was removed by Antoninus Pius to Tarraco, where he later became a magistrate. He must also have been well-to-do, for he owned the El Munts villa, 12 km N.E. of Tarraco, one of the most magnificent villas on the E. coast. He was not however its original owner: it was built in the 1st century and continued to be occupied into the 5th.

(CIL II 4277-78 = ILS 6943, 5485, = ILER 1330-31 = RIT 352-54; RIT 923; Gorges, Villas 408-09)

1083. L. Numerius L. f. Felix - centurio legionum VII Geminae Felicis (in Spain), XX Victricis (in Britain), III Cyrenaicae (in Arabia), XXII Primigeniae (in Germania Superior), III Italicae (in Raetia); late 2nd century. Wife: Mamilia Prisca, who appears to be Spanish. The Spanish origin of Numerius Felix is not indisputable, but if the order of offices is correct, he enrolled in the legion stationed in the conventus Tarraconensis, became a centurion, served abroad, and returned to Tarraco.

(CIL II 4162 = ILER 5645 = RIT 181; PW "Legio" 1634)

1084. P. Alfius P. f. Gal. Maximus Numerius Licinianus - Xvir stlitibus iudicandis, quaestor urbanus, tribunus plebei candidatus, praetor

Parthicarius. His appointment as praetor Parthicarius probably dates to the reign of Septimius Severus. Possibly the same as P. Alfius Maximus, legatus of Galatia and of Pannonia Superior.

Son: P. Alfius Avitus Numerius Maternus, who is possibly the poet Alfius Avitus. (PIR² A 530, 531).

(CIL II 4110 = ILS 2931 = ILER 1305 = RIT 127; PW 9; PIR² A 534, 535; Lambrechts I, no. 507; A. Balil, Saitabi 11 (1961), 50; Etienne, EResp. 66; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 27)

1085. C. Iulius Moschus - centurio(?) legionis XII Fulminatae (in Cappadocia?); end of 2nd century, or 3rd century. After his military service he retired to his presumed home town of Tarraco. His nomen and cognomen may indicate the descendant of an Imperial freedman, possibly of Eastern origin.

(CIL II 4158 = ILER 5663 = RIT 180; PW "Legio" 1710)

1086. M. Valerius Vindex - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus; end of 2nd or first third of 3rd century.

(AE 1928 198 = ILER 5106 = RIT 355)

1087. Aemilius Valerius Chorintus - honores aedilicii (posthumous); 2nd half of 2nd century, or 3rd century. Wife: Antonia Frontonia. Possibly of libertine extraction, or descendant of a local (or immigrant?) Greek family.

(CIL II 4261 = ILER 3882 = RIT 336)

1088. L. Ovinius L. f. Quir. Rusticus Cornelianus - quaestor, adlectus

inter tribunicios, curator viae Val. (sic), praetor, legatus legionis I Italicae (in Moesia Inferior), curator viae Flaminiae, curator viae Tiburtinae, consul designatus, curator rei p. Ricinensium. This order of offices is uncertain, as is the date (Severan?). Wife: Rufria L. f. Secundilla; Daughter: Rufria Ovinia Corneliana.

(AE 1935 21; CIL II 4126 = ILER 1312 = RIT 144; PW 9)

1089. [P. Alfius Max]imus Numerius Avitus - quaestor, sevir equitum Romanorum, allectus inter tribunicios, praetor candidatus, legatus prov. Baeticae (probably under Severus Alexander), praefectus frumenti dandi, sacerdos Iunonis(?)....Lupercus, curator civitatis E.... Probably the son of no. 1084.

(CIL VI 1474 = Alföldy, Fasti 179; PW "Numerius" 4; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 26)

1090. Fulvia Procula - clarissima femina; 3rd century. Since Fulvius is a common nomen at Tarraco, and since Fulvia's mother Celsia Flavinna erected a statue to her there, she is probably a native. She apparently married the oriental senator L. Septimius Mannus, whose monument (CIL II 4127 = ILER 1313 = RIT 146) was discovered with hers.

(CIL II 4119 = ILER 4282 = RIT 136; PW 119; PIR² F 566)

1091. Claudia Persina - sacerdos. Uncertain date.

(CIL II 4265 = ILER 1663 = RIT 363)

1092. ... M. f. Serg.... - [IIvir?] designatus II. Uncertain date.
(CIL II 6099 = RIT 358)

Note: In CIL II 4086 = RIT 44, we have mention of "IIIVI...[a]nn.
XV...." A. García y Bellido, Religions orientales dans l'Espagne
romaine (Leiden, 1967), no. 21, proposed that this was a duumvir
(reading "IIvi[r...]") but this seems to be precluded by the low
age at death, even if we restore "XV[IIII]".

Totana (ancient name unknown; conv. Carthaginiensis)

1093. L. Iulius Cat... - procurator Augusti prov....; 2nd century. The
obscure place of burial suggests local origin. The cursus is pre-
sumably given in reverse order, beginning with the highest post
held.

(CIL II 3532; PW 174; PIR² I 252; Pflaum, EResp. 112; Wiegels,
Senatoren und Ritter no. 272)

VALENTIA, colonia Latina (conv. Tarraconensis)

1094. C. Lucienus - q(uaestor), ca. 120-90 B.C.

(VM 125:1 = Gil 366)

1095. C. Munius - colleague of no. 1094.

(Ibid.)

1096. L. Coranius - q(uaestor), ca. 120-90 B.C.

(VM 125:2 = Gil 367)

1097. C. Numi. - colleague of no. 1096.

(Ibid.)

1098. T. Ahi(us) T. f. - q(uaestor), ca. 120-90 B.C.

(VM 125:3-6 = Gil 368-69).

1099. L. Trinius L. f. - colleague of no. 1098.

(Ibid.)

1100. L. Antonius L. f. Gal. Crescens - aedilis, Ilvir, flamen; reign of Trajan. Mother: Iulia C. f. Maxima.

(AE 1933 5-6 = G. Pereira Menaut, Inscripciones romanas de Valencia (Valencia, 1979), no. 23)

1101. P. Herennius Severus - cos. suff., possibly ca. 101-03 but more probably under Hadrian; vir doctissimus. His slaves are attested in inscriptions from Valentia (CIL II 3731, 3779 = ILER 300, 83). Cf. the duumvir M. Herennius Severus of Barcino (no. 821).

(Pliny Ep. 4.28.1; Suda s.vv. Φάλων, Ἑρμειππος; PW 45; PIR² H 130; Stech, Senatores no. 1339; Lambrechts I, no. 61; Etienne, EResp. 60; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 87)

1102. ...nianus - omnibus honoribus functus. Mother: Eutychia.

(Pereira Menaut, op. cit., no. 26)

Villajoyosa (ancient name unknown; conv. Carthaginiensis)

1103. Q. Manlius Q. f. Quir. Celsinus - Ilvir III, flamen IIII(!). Fla-

vian or later, because of the tribe Quirina. Wife: Manilia Chrysis.

(CIL II 3571 = ILER 5212)

1104. L. Lucretius Servilius Gallus Sempronianus - clarissimus vir; 3rd century. Not unquestionably Spanish, but the provenance of the inscription and the nomenclature of this senator are compatible with a Spanish origin.

(G. Alföldy, ZPE 27 (1977), 217-21)

UNCERTAIN LOCALITY

1105. Q. Varius Severus Hybrida (alias Hispanus, Sucronensis) - native of an unidentified town in the Sucro valley. Tribunus plebis 90 B.C. Responsible for the establishment of a special quaestio to which he himself fell victim. His cognomen Hybrida suggests the son of a Roman settler by a Spanish woman. "Hispanus" suggests that he was born in Spain (an immigrant would be Hispaniensis).

(PW 7; Broughton, MRR II 26-27; Weinrib, Spaniards 8-12; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 163; Wiseman, New Men no. 465; M. Griffin, JRS 62 (1972), 3)

1106. Pompeius Flaccus - a Roman knight who served under L. Vitellius (father of the emperor) in Syria ca. 35 and introduced the pistachio nut to Spain from that country. Cf. Cn. Pompeius Flaccus of Carthago Nova (no. 876).

(Pliny HN 15.91; PW 82; R. Syme, Harv. Stud. 73 (1969), 217 = RP 756)

1107. Q. Pomponius Rufus - praefectus orae maritimae Hispaniae citerioris et Galliae Narbonensis (68); adlected by Vespasian (in 73?); legatus pro praetore prov. Hispaniae citerioris (75-78), legatus legionis V (in the 80's?), legatus Augusti pro praetore prov. Dalmatiae (91-94?), cos. suff. 95, legatus Augusti pro praetore prov. Moesiae (ca. 99), pontifex, sodalis Flavialis, curator operum publicorum, proconsul prov. Africae (ca. 110). Probably from the East Coast, where his career began.

(AE 1948 3, Lepcis Magna; Weinrib, Spaniards 270-72; R. Syme, Harv. Stud. 73 (1969), 228-29 = RP 766-68; Alföldy, Fasti 71-75; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 141 = 314)

1108. C. Lutatius - f. Vel. Cerealis - IIvir III, pontifex perpetuus, iudex Romae inter selectos decuriarum V(?), equo publico honoratus, flamen p. H. c. between 70 and 150. The tribe Velina suggests an origin at Palma or Pollentia.

(RIT 290; Alföldy, Flamines no. 40)

VI. THE CENTRAL UPLANDS

ACCI (conv. Carthaginiensis)

1109. P. Octavius Flavius - flamen divorum Augustorum prov. Baeticae.

Son: P. Octavius Priscus.

(CIL II 3395 = ILER 5517; PB 259)

ALABA (conv. Carthaginiensis)

1110. L. Caecilius L. f. Gal. (M?)aecianus - eques (sc. Romanus), omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, flamen p. H. c. between 150 and 180. Father: L. Caecilius Charito.

(CIL II 4200 = ILER 1595 = RIT 263; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 230; Alföldy, Flamines no. 11)

Alcalá (ancient name unknown; conv. Carthaginiensis)

1111. C(?) Cornelius C. f. Gal. Vetulus - IIvir, pontifex Caesaris primus. First century (Tiberius?). Wife(?): Cornelia L. f. Silliboris.

(CIL II 3350-51 = ILER 6368, 1426; Etienne, Culte 206)

ATTACCA(?) (conv. Carthaginiensis)

1112. L. Aemilius L. f. Paulus - flamen p. H. c., omnibus in re p. sua honoribus functus, tribunus militum legionis III Cyrenaicae (in Egypt), praefectus cohortis I.... Probably Flavian or Trajanic.

(CIL II 4189 = ILER 1601 = RIT 253; Etienne, Culte 137; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 209; Alföldy, Flamines no. 2)

CASTULO, municipium (conv. Carthaginiensis)

Note: Nos. 1113-22 are dated by Gil to ca. 120-90(?) B.C.

1113. Sacaliscer - magistrate. The name contains a modified form of the Celtiberian onomastic element Sacar-, but it is written in Latin characters.

(VM 70:13 = Gil 392; J. Untermann, Elementos de un atlas antropológico de la Hispania antigua (Madrid, 1965), 117; Albertos, OPP 195)

1114. Soced. - colleague of no. 1113.

(VM 70:13 = Gil 392; Albertos, OPP 210)

1115. C. N... L. f. - magistrate.

(VM 70:14 = Gil 393)

1116. M. Fulvius - magistrate.

(VM 71:1 = Gil 394)

1117. C. Aelius - colleague (a) of nos. 1115 and 1118; (b) of nos. 1116 and 1118, qq.v.

1118. M. Isc(er?) - colleague (a) of nos. 1115 and 1117; (b) of nos.

1116 and 1117. Cognomina beginning with Isc- (e.g. Iscerbeles, and cf. Sacaliscer, no. 1113) are known in Tarraconensis, but this is the only such nomen. Cf. Albertos, OPP 125.

1119. Cn. Voconius St. f. - magistrate.

(VM 71:2-3 = Gil 395-97)

1120. Cn. Fulvius Cn. f. - colleague of no. 1119.

(Ibid.)

1121. M. Valerius - magistrate.

(VM 71:7 = Gil 398)

1122. C. Cornelius - colleague of no. 1121.

(Ibid.)

Note: Nos. 1123-28 are dated by Gil to pre-49 B.C.

1123. M. Popillius M. f. - magistrate.

(VM 71:6 = Gil 1248)

1124. P. Coe(lius?) Star. f.(?) - colleague of no. 1123.

(Ibid.)

1125. M. Ba(dius?) L. f. - magistrate.

(VM 71:8-10, 12, 173:1 = Gil 1249-53)

1126. M. Virillius Q. f.(?) - colleague of no. 1125.

(Ibid.)

1127. Ap. Clo(dius?) - magistrate.

(VM 71:5 = Gil 1254)

1128. A. Postumius Cn. f.(?) - colleague of no. 1127.

(Ibid.)

1129. M. Iunius C. f. Gal. Paternus - IIvir, flamen Romae et Augusti;
reign of Trajan or Hadrian. Wife: Cornelia P. f. Severa.

(HAEp. 1464 = ILER 1716; Etienne, Culte 205)

1130. L. Cornelius L. f. Gal. Agricola - IIvir, flamen Romae et Augusti;
reign of Trajan or Hadrian.

(ILER 1581; Etienne, Culte 205)

1131. P. Cornelius M. f. Gal. Verecundus - omnibus honoribus functus,
flamen p. H. c. between 120 and 180.

(CIL II 4209 = ILER 1610 = RIT 270; A. D'Ors, Emerita 40 (1972),
66; Alföldy, Flamines no. 19)

1132. C. Cornelius C. f. Gal. Valentinus - IIvir, flamen Romae et Augusti.
Wife: Cornelia L. f. Verecundina (perhaps a relative of no. 1131?).
Etienne misreads Cornelius' cognomen as "Valens"; the inscription reads "Valenti/no".

(CIL II 3276 = ILER 5677; Etienne, Culte 211)

1133. Anonymus - IIvir, f[lamen perpe]tuus?

(CIL II 3277)

1134. Anonyma - sacerdos annua. Donated at her own expense an area in front of the temple of Rome and Augustus. This is the only mention in Spain of an annuus, a priest(ess) with a one-year term (opposite perpetuus).

(CIL II 3279)

1135. Q. Torius Q. f. Culleo - procurator Augusti prov. Baeticae; 3rd century. Restored the city walls, donated land on which to build baths, repaired the road between Castulo and Sisapo, placed statues of Venus and Cupid by the theatre, remitted the money which the city owed him and gave a banquet and games. As Pflaum observes, the only explanation for such beneficence to Castulo by the procurator of another province is that he was a native of that city. The sum of money involved was a staggering 10 million HS, which Duncan-Jones finds scarcely credible; yet the text of the inscription appears sound. The high figure is doubtless explained by the devaluation of the sesterce, which by the mid-3rd century was worth only 3% of its 1st-century value.

(CIL II 3270 = ILS 5513 = ILER 1417; PW 2; Pflaum, EResp. 113; R. Contreras de la Paz, Oretania 7 (1965), 63-96; PB 306; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 332; R. Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire (Cambridge, 1974), 31 n. 6; cf. Rostovtzeff, Roman Empire² 470)

CLUNIA, colonia Sulpicia (conv. Cluniensis)

Note: Nos. 1136-61 are dated by Gil to the reign of Tiberius.

1136. Cn. Pompeius - IIIIvir.

(VM 163:2 = Gil 1840)

1137. M. Antonius - colleague of no. 1136.

(Ibid.)

1138. T. Antonius - colleague of no. 1136. Relative of no. 1137?

(Ibid.)

1139. M. Iulius Seranus - colleague of no. 1136.

(Ibid.)

1140. C. Aemilius Met(ellus?) - IIIIvir..

(VM 163:3 = Gil 1841)

1141. T. Cornelius Maternus - colleague of no. 1140.

(Ibid.)

1142. L. Caecilius Pres(sus?) - colleague of no. 1140.

(Ibid.)

1143. C. Aelius Caud(inus?) - colleague of no. 1140.

(Ibid.)

1144. L. Iulius Rufus - IIIIvir.

(VM 163:4 = Gil 1842)

1145. T. Calpurnius Con. - colleague of no. 1144.

(Ibid.)

1146. T. Pomp(eius) Lon(gus?) - colleague of no. 1144.

(Ibid.)

1147. P. Julius Nep(os?) - colleague of no. 1144.

(Ibid.)

1148. L. Rufinius - IIIIvir.

(VM 163:5 = Gil 1843)

1149. T. Consi. - colleague of no. 1148.

(Ibid.)

1150. T. Longius - colleague of no. 1148.

(Ibid.)

1151. P. Antonius - colleague of no. 1148.

(Ibid.)

1152. C. Arr(ius) - IIIIvir.

(VM p. 111)

1153. T. Caelius - colleague of no. 1152.

(Ibid.)

1154. Restitutus - colleague of no. 1152.

(Ibid.)

1155. C. Caelius Caud(inus) - colleague of no. 1152.

(Ibid.; cf. Hübner on CIL II 2781)

1156. L. Domitius Robustus - aedilis.

(VM 163:6 = Gil 1844)

1157. T. Octavius Metel. - colleague of no. 1156.

(Ibid.)

1158. M. Lucretius Ter. - aedilis.

(VM 163:7 = Gil 1845)

1159. C. Calpurnius Varus - colleague of no. 1158.

(Ibid.)

1160. L. Sempronius Rufus - aedilis.

(VM 163:8 = Gil 1846)

1161. Cn. Ar(rius?) Gracilis - colleague of no. 1160.

(Ibid.)

1162. C. Calvisius Aeonis f. Gal. Sabinus - mag(ister or magistratus),
flamen Romae et Divi Augusti. Reign of Tiberius. Distributed
grain to the populace when the official price was high (anhona

cara). Calvisius also receives a dedication from the decurions of Uxama for his good deeds there. His indigenous filiation is noteworthy.

(CIL II 2782, 2822 = ILER 1580, 6385; Etienne, Culte 206-07)

1163. C. Magius L. f. Gal. Silo - legatus, A.D. 40.

(CIL II 5792 = ILS 6102)

1164. T. Aemilius Fuscus - colleague of no. 1163.

(CIL II 5792 = ILS 6102)

1165. -. Valerius Vegeti(anus?) - flamen Romae et Augusti; 1st century.

Possibly related to the Valerii Vegeti of Hiberris.

(ILER 390; Etienne, Culte 208; PB 324)

1166. -. Caelius Clout f. - IIIIvir I.... Uncertain date, although the indigenous filiation suggests 1st century. Hübner restores "I[ure dic.]", but "I[I]" (i.e. "bis") is equally possible and perhaps more likely since there is no other IIIIvir i.d. in Spain.

(CIL II 2781)

1167. Valerius Marcellus - legatus, A.D. 222. Named on a tessera hospitalis between the concilium conventus Cluniensis and C. Marius Pudens, commander of Legio VII Gemina. Cf. the Trajanic duumvir Valerius Marcellus of Aurgi (no. 35).

(CIL VI 1454 = ILS 6109)

COMPLUTUM (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

1168. Cn. Nonius C. Noni f. Quir. Crescens - mag(ister or magistratus), flamen Romae et Aug. A Flavian or later date is indicated by the tribe Quirina. Son: C. Nonius Sincerus. ~

(CIL II 3033 = ILER 1579; cf. Etienne, Culte 228)

1169. L. Caecilius L. f. Quir. Caecilianus - duovir ter, flamen divorum et Augustorum p. H. c. between 70 and 150. Son: Q. Caecilius Campanus.

(CIL II 4199 = ILER 1596 = RIT 262; Alföldy, Flamines no. 10)

CONSABURA, municipium (conv. Carthaginiensis)

1170. L. Domitius M. f. Serg. Dentonianus - iudex decuriarum V, equo publico per Traianum, IIvir, flamen perpetuus, tribunus militum cohortis Asturum et Callaecorum (in Mauretania Tingitana), flamen p. H. c. between 105 and 117.

~(CIL II 4211 = ILS 6936 = ILER 1586 = RIT 271; Etienne, Culte 136; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 256; Alföldy, Flamines no. 20)

DERCINOASSEDA (conv. Cluniensis)

1171. L. Licinius Pilus - IIIIvir; 2nd century A.D.

(EJER no. 25 = AE 1953 267 = HAep. 549)

1172. M. Terentius Celsus - colleague of no. 1171.

(Ibid.)

1173. L. Pompeius Vitulus - colleague of no. 1171.

(Ibid.)

1174. T. Pompeius Rarus - colleague of no. 1171.

(Ibid.)

ERCAVICA, municipium (conv. Caesaraugustanus)

1175. C. Cornelius Florus - IIvir; reign of Tiberius.

(VM 162:5-6 = Gil 1918-19)

1176. L. Caelius Alegr. - colleague of no. 1175.

(Ibid.)

1177. C. Terentius Sura - IIvir, A.D. 38.

(VM 162:8-11 = Gil 2021-25)

1178. L. Licinius Gracilis - colleague of no. 1177.

(Ibid.)

1179. M. Calpurnius M. f. Lupus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, praefectus cohortis I Biturgium, flamen p. H. c. between 120 and 180.

(CIL II 4203 = ILER 1310 = RIT 265; Alföldy, Flamines no. 14;

Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 235)

1180. ... - f. Licinius (Vi?)talís - IIvir.

(CIL II 3167 = ILER 6036)

1181. Anonymus - colleague of no. 1180.

(Ibid.)

1182. T. Valerius M. f. Gal. Clemens - eques Romanus. Arranged in his will for two statues to be erected here (and a banquet given?).

Almost certainly a native, as the tribe Galeria suggests.

(CIL II 3165a = ILER 1758; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 335)

INTERCATIA (conv. Cluniensis)

1183. L. Antonius Paterni f. Quir. Modestus - omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, sacerdos Romae et Augusti ararum Augustanarum, flamen p. H. c.; 2nd half of 2nd century. Wife: Paetinia Paterna of Amoca. (no. 560).

(CIL II 6093 = ILER 1606 = RIT 256; Etienne, Culte 191; Alföldy, Flamines no. 5)

LAMINIUM, municipium Flavium (conv. Carthaginiensis)

1184. Licinia C. f. Macedonica - flaminica p(erpetua?).

(CIL II 3231 = ILER 5522)

Lara de los Infantes (ancient name unknown; conv. Cluniensis)

1185. L. Lucretius Densus - IIvir. Built a via Augusta, apparently a local road in the vicinity of Lara. Hübner suggests on the basis of the name Augusta that Densus may have been a duumvir of Augustobriga; however, this hypothesis is rather tenuous, and it seems preferable to locate this official at the town of provenance.

(CIL II 2886 = ILER 1966)

1186. C. Terentius Reburinus - veteranus legionis VII Geminae Felicis, IIvir.

(CIL II 2853 = ILER 5671)

1187. L. Antonius - f. Ovi... - aedilis, II(vir?). The fragmentary inscription reads "AED II...", allowing the alternative interpretation "aedilis bis".

(A. Garcia y Bellido, Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal (Madrid, 1949), no. 358 = J.A. Abásolo Alvarez, Epiografía romana de la región de Lara de los Infantes (Burgos, 1974), no. 127 = F. Marco Simon, Caesaraugusta 43-44 (1978), 144 no. 132)

1188. Valerius Cres(cens?) - (II?)vir. Possibly not élite, since one might restore (IIIIII)vir; on the other hand, his name does not reflect libertination.

(Abásolo Alvarez op. cit. no. 195 = Marco Simon, Caesaraugusta 43-44 (1978), 159 no. 224)

LIBISOSA, colonia Forum Augustum (conv. Carthaginiensis)

1189. C. Vibius C. f. Gal. Porcianus Quintius Italicianus - equo publico donato a Divo Hadriano; omnibus honoribus in re p. sua functus, flamen p. H. c. between 140 and 160.

(CIL II 4254 = ILER 1617 = RIT 313; Etienne, Culte 139; Wiegels, Senatoren und Ritter no. 346; Alföldy, Flamines no. 70).

MAGGAVA (conv. Cluniensis)

1190. Caraegius - mag(istratus?) named on a tessera hospitalis of A.D.