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NEW MEN IN THE  
ROMAN SENATE

139 B.C.—A.D. 14

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T. P. WISEMAN

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DEDICATED  
TO MY PARENTS  
AND  
TO ANNE

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## PREFACE

THE heart of this book is the Prosopography at pp. 209–83, in which an attempt is made (I believe for the first time) to include every late-republican and Augustan senator for whom equestrian or municipal origin is attested or can be inferred. The identification of the new men is a difficult business, and since the evidence varies from the secure to the perilously tenuous, the reader's attention is directed to the preamble to the list, where the dangers and uncertainties involved are set out. But it could never even have been attempted without constant reference to T. R. S. Broughton's great work, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. It will be obvious throughout how great is my debt to *MRR*, and hardly less to the work of Münzer, Groag, and Cichorius in the early decades of this century and Syme, Badian, and Lily Ross Taylor in more recent years. I owe a more personal debt to Mr. M. W. Frederiksen, who supervised the D.Phil. thesis of which this is a revised and shortened version, and to Professor E. Badian, Mr. P. A. Brunt, Mr. M. H. Crawford, Mr. R. Meiggs, and Mr. A. N. Sherwin-White. Their criticisms at various stages (and in various capacities) have never failed to improve the original, and where the argument is still crude, the detail otiose, and the speculations wild, they are not to blame.

I should also like to thank the British School at Rome, for the Rome Scholarship which enabled me to do much of the groundwork in 1962–3; the Department of Classics at Leicester University, for giving its Assistant Lecturer a light teaching load in the following two years; the Leicester University Research Board, for its generous contributions to two trips to Italy in 1966 and 1968 in search of further inscriptional evidence for senators' origins; and Miss Anna Czerniawska, for translating Linderski's book on electoral assemblies for me.

My wife has been involved with this book and its vicissitudes to a degree well beyond the call of duty. For her patience and encouragement no thanks can be adequate.

T. P. W.

*Leicester, January 1970*



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## ABBREVIATIONS

STANDARD works, such as Pauly–Wissowa, the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, and Broughton's *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, are referred to by their familiar initials, and other modern literature by the author's name with either an abbreviated title or the name and year of a periodical. Most of the abbreviations will, I hope, be obvious; all of them may be traced by reference to the Bibliography.

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# 1

## INTRODUCTION

THE term 'homo novus' was ambiguous in the usage of the late Republic. It might refer to a consul (or consular candidate) whose ancestors, though senators of up to praetorian rank, had not attained the consulship, or it might mean a senator whose forebears had been of equestrian status and had not entered the Senate at all.<sup>1</sup> It is in the latter, and more normal, sense that the phrase is used throughout this book, meaning a senator with no senatorial antecedents in his family. Thus M. Tullius Cicero, *cos.* 63, qualifies as a *novus* in my treatment, but L. Licinius Murena, *cos.* 62, does not, despite the language of the *pro Murena*.<sup>2</sup>

*Novitas generis* as it was understood in the late Republic could not exist before its corollary, an aristocracy based on tenure of office. The agitation of the plebeians for social and political equality with patricians was thought to have been an analogous situation, the parallel between exclusive patricians and exclusive *nobiles* being drawn by the annalists of the second and first centuries,<sup>3</sup> but it was the hardening of the new patrician-plebeian nobility in the next three generations which saw the real beginning of the process. The first consul to be named in our sources as a new man was Sp. Carvilius in 293,<sup>4</sup> and within a few decades one branch

<sup>1</sup> See Strasburger, *PW* xvii. 1223 f., Hellegouarc'h, *Voc. lat.* 472 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Mur.* 17, 'de generis novitate'. A mere lawyer's ploy: Murena was closely related to Lucullus (Cic. *Att.* xiii. 6. 4), and his stepson was a patrician (Cic. *Mur.* 73).

<sup>3</sup> Livy vii. 1. 1 on L. Sextius Lateranus in 366 ('hic annus erit insignis novi hominis consulatu'), possibly from Licinius Macer (cf. vii. 9. 3, Ogilvie, *Comm. Livy* 7-12, esp. 11); cf. also Livy iv. 48. 7, 54. 6, and especially xxii. 34. 7-8, the speech of Q. Baebius Herennius, a tribune related to the *novus* C. Varro—only a new man would be a 'vere plebeius' consul, for the plebeian *nobiles*, 'iam eisdem initiati sacris', now despised the *plebs*.

<sup>4</sup> Not counting Lateranus (see n. 3 above). V.P. ii. 128. 2, cf. Gelzer, *KS* i. 59; perhaps not trustworthy (cf. p. 3 n. 2 below, and Syme, *Hermes* 1956, 262 ff. on the reason for Velleius' choice of example).

of the Fulvii were calling themselves 'Nobiliores'. The patricians preserved their consciousness of distinction, but now some of the plebeian houses were also seeking to indicate their social superiority over families who were of the same order but more recently risen to prominence. So the *nobilitas* began to evolve.<sup>1</sup> The criterion that eventually developed was probably the tenure of a curule office, bringing with it the *ius imaginum*. A patrician would have a series of ancestral images going back to the days of the kings, but a man whose great-grandfather had been one of the first plebeian magistrates would still be proud to be 'known' by his handful of *imagines* as the superior of a man with none.<sup>2</sup> But with the increase in the number of praetorships (to four in 227 and six in 197), curule rank became a too hospitable criterion of nobility, and a more stringent one began to develop.<sup>3</sup> The *lex Villia annalis* of 180 fixed the order in which the curule offices were to be held, and thus established a clear gradation of status among ex-magistrates within the traditional concept of nobility depending on the *ius imaginum*.<sup>4</sup>

The dilution of the prestige of the office of praetor had already caused increased competition for the consulship, resulting in a bribery law in 181, notorious *ambitus* and *munificentia* in the 160s, and Polybius' reflection that wealth, extravagance, and rivalry for office were threatening to destroy the *μικτή* and turn it into ochlocracy.<sup>5</sup> Under this pressure the oligarchy was hardening: the *nobiles* were already trying to reserve the consulship for themselves to the exclusion of new men.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See now Toynbee, *HL* i. 320 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Afzelius, *CM* 1945, 184-5. Some plebeians may have had consular *imagines* as ancient as those of the patricians: see Momigliano, *JRS* 1966, 21 on the problem of the plebeian names in the early *Fasti*.

<sup>3</sup> For the redefinition of political terms in the second century, see Earl, *Sallust* 26 f. and *MPTR* 35.

<sup>4</sup> Only one generation earlier (before 227) the praetorship had been as important as the consulate, and held by ex-consuls (cf. Afzelius, *CM* 1945, 187).

<sup>5</sup> Polybius vi. 57. Livy xliii. 14. 3, xliv. 18. 8 (169), Obseq. 12 (166); *MRR* i. 442 f. (162-1); Livy, *per.* 47 (159 bribery law); cf. Pliny, *NH* viii. 64 on import of wild beasts (170). According to Cicero (*dom.* 130), a need was felt for *concordia* in 164. See Astin, *SA* 28 ff., 59 f., 65 f., and 102 on the need for popular appeal at elections.

<sup>6</sup> Scullard, *RP* 11 (though he uses *gentes* for 'families'); cf. Toynbee, *HL* ii. 488 f. on *novi* (not all accurate).

Between M'. Acilius Glabrio in 191 and C. Marius in 107, only three consuls are attested as *novi* in our sources,<sup>1</sup> and in fact two of them were almost certainly sons of praetors.<sup>2</sup> The third, Q. Pompeius, *cos.* 141, was long a friend of Scipio Aemilianus, and only broke with him on the eve of his candidature; he had to work hard for his election, by taking the trouble to know and greet by name all the electors who mattered.<sup>3</sup> Scipio also helped the career of P. Rupilius, *cos.* 132, who had been a *publicanus* in Sicily.<sup>4</sup> Though not specified as such, Rupilius and his brother (who failed to become consul) were probably new men. It is striking that after the crystallization of the *nobilitas* in the first decades of the second century, the only *novi* to reach the consulship did so in part at least through the good offices of a noble who was, as his friend Polybius remarked, untypical of his class—not least in his patronage of the Italian upper classes.<sup>5</sup>

The *nobiles'* ability to keep the consulate unsullied by the intrusion of new men, like their selfish pursuit of power and the abdication from the interests of the Roman people as a whole which finally stirred up popular opposition against them from 151 onwards,<sup>6</sup> was made possible by the fact that in the last resort they controlled the elections. Through the system of open oral voting the great aristocrats could keep track of the votes cast by

<sup>1</sup> According to Val. Max. iii. 4. 5, M. Perperna (*cos.* 130) was found after his consulship to be not a *civis*, but since his father (?) had been on a senatorial embassy in 168, the point was clearly a technicality exploited by his *inimici*. (For Glabrio see Livy xxxvii. 57. 15.)

<sup>2</sup> Cn. Octavius Cn. f. *cos.* 165 (cf. Cn. Octavius *pr.* 205), L. Mummius L. f. *cos.* 146 (cf. L. Mummius, *pr.* 177); see respectively Cic. *Phil.* ix. 4 (cf. *Off.* i. 138) and V.P. i. 13. 2, where both authors have surreptitiously extended the concept of *novitas* to include men of notable *virtus*. Velleius in particular needed virtuous precedents for Sejanus (V.P. ii. 128. 2). Cf. Gelzer, *KS* i. 59 (but Cic. *Verr.* iii. 9 does not make Mummius a *novus*).

<sup>3</sup> Rut. Rufus fr. 7 P (cf. V.P. ii. 1. 5 for his *gratia* in 138); Cic. *de am.* 77; Plut. *Mor.* 87 c. See Scullard, *JRS* 1960, 69 and n. 40; Earl, *TG* 98–103.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *de am.* 73, cf. 69, 101; V.M. vi. 9. 8, ps. Asc. 264 St.; Cassola, *GPR* 388; Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 143 (who suggests a Praenestine origin and a connection with no. 366).

<sup>5</sup> Pol. xxxi. 23; Astin, *SA* ch. 2. Opposition to *optimates*: Cic. *acad.* ii. 13; McDonald, *CHJ* 1939, 145; Scullard, *JRS* 1960, 65, 71, etc. Patronage of Italian landowners: App. *BC* i. 19; Cic. *rep.* i. 31; Livy, *per.* 59 (Badian, *FC* 175).

<sup>6</sup> See Taylor, *JRS* 1962, 19–27 (esp. 22, 25) on the newly aggressive tribunate.

their clients and dependants, and by threatening reprisals could coerce them to support the right men. But in 139 the tribune A. Gabinius passed a law requiring secret ballot at elections, and two years later another tribunicial measure introduced ballot-voting at trials before the people. The *lex Gabinia* was an innovation of great importance, not only for the Senate's popular critics but also for ambitious men whose way to high office now depended less on the patronage of the *nobilitas*. Not for the last time, conservative municipal men joined in forced alliance with popular agitators as the only practical opposition to the established oligarchy in Rome.<sup>1</sup> It may even be significant that A. Gabinius himself was probably of Campanian origin as well as supposedly servile descent.<sup>2</sup>

The ballot laws were, potentially at least, revolutionary.<sup>3</sup> The sudden popularity of the moneyership among nobles, which seems to begin about the very time of the *lex Gabinia*,<sup>4</sup> shows how seriously it was taken in some quarters: there was now a necessity to advertise oneself to the electorate. However, it seems that the original ballot laws did not prevent *optimus quisque* in each tribe from interrogating his *tribules* and asking to see their marked ballots. This practice, which was evidently forbidden by subsequent legislation on *ambitus*,<sup>5</sup> can only have been carried out on the *pons*, the raised gangway from each tribal enclosure to its

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 173 f. below on the quasi-popularis early careers of late-republican *novi homines*, and Gabba, *Ath.* 1954, 63 n. 2, 70-6 on the equestrian/popular alliances behind C. Gracchus, Saturninus, and Marius.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, *VDRR* 217, to which add *NS* 1922, 146, A. Gabinius Helio of Nuceria; Badian, *Phil.* 1959, 87. For his descent, *Cic. leg.* iii. 35; *Livy, per. Oxy.* 54, 'A. Gabinius verna[e nepos]'.  
<sup>3</sup> See *Cic. leg.* iii. 34, *de am.* 41 (Cicero spoke differently before the people: *leg. ag.* ii. 4; cf. *Sest.* 103, *Planc.* 15), and the annalists' projection of the controversy back into the past: *Livy* ii. 56. 3 ('potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi quos vellent'), iv. 3. 7, 43. 12, vi. 40. 7, x. 24. 9 ('suffragia in paucorum potestate').  
<sup>4</sup> See Appendix VI.  
<sup>5</sup> *Cic. leg.* iii. 38-9 ('leges quae postea latae sunt . . . ut ne sit ambitus'). Cicero's proposal that the ballot should be 'nota optimatibus, populo libera' must have been part of Scipio's self-defence in the *de re publica* (*leg.* iii. 38) for supporting the ballot law of 137: this is what was actually done before it was stopped. As so often in the *de legibus*, Cicero was proposing as law what had been *mos maiorum* (cf. *leg.* ii. 23).



voting urn, since it was only after stepping on to the *pons* that the voter was handed his ballot by the *rogator* standing on the ground next to it (the procedure is illustrated on a coin of P. Nerva).<sup>1</sup> Marius' tribunicial law of 119 put a stop to this by narrowing the *pontes*, presumably so that they could only be crossed in single file, with no room for the *primores viri* to stand there and exert moral influence before the voters dropped their ballots in the urn. The law was passed immediately after the acquittal of L. Opimius, and according to Plutarch was particularly concerned with trials, but the same tactics could presumably also be used in electoral or legislative voting;<sup>2</sup> the important point is Plutarch's remark that it was designed to lessen the control of the *principes*. Clearly the secret ballot's effects had been felt sufficiently for the *optimates* to do their best to frustrate it.

In the lower magistracies, however, through which a new man could gain entry to the Senate, the *auctoritas bonorum* would be less easy to preserve. So it may be no exaggeration to say that in 139 a new chapter had opened in the history of the Senate's recruitment.

Even for the best-attested periods, only a minority of the senators is known to us by name, and since most of the names we do know come from literary sources, we cannot treat them as a random sample for statistical purposes. A quantitative treatment of the proportion of new men in the Senate in each period is therefore impossible.<sup>3</sup> However, the main stages in the development can be seen clearly enough.

The first critical point was the law of 119, passed by C. Marius of Arpinum to enable the secret ballot to work freely.<sup>4</sup> It may be significant that the first censors after the passage of the law took it upon themselves to remove thirty-two men, including a friend

<sup>1</sup> Misunderstood, I think, by Taylor in *RVA* 44, 76: the *pons* is seen from the side, not the front. For *rogatores*, still used in ballot voting (cf. Taylor, *RVA* 39), see Cic. *Pis.* 36, *red. Sen.* 28.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *leg.* iii. 38; Plut. *Mar.* 4. 2 (Badian, *JRS* 1956, 94); cf. Cic. *Att.* i. 14. 5.

<sup>3</sup> What raw material there is for such a treatment is supplied in Appendices I and II.

<sup>4</sup> See above. For the significance of 119 see Badian, *JRS* 1956, 93-4, *Hist.* 1962, 215. Cf. Cic. *leg.* iii. 36 for ballot-laws at Arpinum itself: a dispute between M. Gratidius and M. Cicero *avus* in 115.

of Marius, from the Senate<sup>1</sup>—presumably men whom the *boni* could previously have kept out. Several well-known new men entered the Senate in the following years,<sup>2</sup> and some of them profited by the consulships of Marius and the discomfiture of the nobility to reach the highest office. In the twelve years from 105 to 94, nine consulships (including five of Marius') were held by *novi*.<sup>3</sup>

The Social War opened up a huge new potential membership of the Senate among the local aristocrats of the newly enfranchised Italian states, and also (after the new citizens had been distributed among the tribes)<sup>4</sup> a new and largely uncontrolled voting body whose influence on elections might help the newcomer. It is not surprising that the years of Cinna's *dominatio* were associated in the Roman mind with *novi homines*.<sup>5</sup> That was partly a schematic contrast with Sulla's victory as the triumph of the *nobilitas*,<sup>6</sup> but the known new men of the period, including some who had only just received the *civitas*, show that the idea was justified.<sup>7</sup>

To those *novi* who were too committed to change sides, Sulla's dictatorship and proscriptions were a disaster. Other municipal men, however, were able to benefit from the new regime: some had fought in Sulla's army,<sup>8</sup> some had joined him on the march from Brundisium,<sup>9</sup> and even the newly enfranchised Italians were divided in their allegiance.<sup>10</sup> So when Sulla doubled the size of the Senate by promoting three hundred *equites*—another milestone

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *per.* 63; Plut. *Mar.* 5. 3; Badian, *FC* 195 n. 3 for the censors.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. nos. 16, 69, 127, 156, 180, 243, 313.

<sup>3</sup> Cn. Mallius 105, C. Fimbria 104, C. Marius 104–100, T. Didius 98, C. Coelius Caldus 94. C. Billienus nearly made a tenth (Cic. *Brut.* 175).

<sup>4</sup> Livy, *per.* 84: in 84 B.C.? Badian, *FC* 240 f., *contra* Meier, *RPA* 230 n. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Verr.* i. 35; cf. *Brut.* 227, *Phil.* viii. 7 (*indigni*), *Rosc. Am.* 140 (*equites*); Meier, *RPA* 219.

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 15, 138, 141, *Verr.* i. 35, 37, etc. Meier, *RPA* 248 for the limits of this.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. nos. 54 (cf. Gabba, *Ath.* 1954, 327), 71, 105 (proscribed, Dio li. 21. 6), 240–1, 394, 490 (proscribed? Dio xlv. 17. 1).

<sup>8</sup> e.g. nos. 257 (cf. 258), 261; also the father of nos. 52–3 (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 75. 1).

<sup>9</sup> V.P. ii. 25. 2 ('optimus quisque et sanissimus'); Diod. xxxvii. 2. 14 (Apulia and Samnium); Cic. *Verr.* i. 38 (Beneventan colonists friendly to Sulla).

<sup>10</sup> See Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 16–26, *Cluent.* 21–5, on events in Ameria and Larinum (cf. Badian, *FC* 246–8).

in the history of the composition of the Senate—most, if not all, of the newcomers would be *novi homines*, and some of them perhaps *novi cives* as well.<sup>1</sup> But there were now twenty ex-quaestors instead of eight competing for eight praetorships instead of six; only one senator in ten (it had been one in five before) had a statistical chance of the consulship. Faced with this problem, the nobles were determined to keep a firm grip on election to the higher offices, and it was hard for a *novus* to make his way.<sup>2</sup>

Aristocratic control of the elections depended partly on the fact that many new citizens had not been enrolled by the censors and could therefore not vote in the centuriate assembly.<sup>3</sup> This situation was reversed by Pompey by the election of censors in 70. Their *lustrum* was followed by a decade or more of electoral chaos—and, we are told, by a strong antipathy for new men among the urban populace.<sup>4</sup> But the first *novus* consul for a generation was elected in 64—partly thanks to careful study of the new electoral conditions<sup>5</sup>—and his success gave added lustre to the equestrian order to which, like most of the municipal *domi nobiles*, he had previously belonged.<sup>6</sup> Cicero's message was a *concordia ordinum* based on *tota Italia*; Pompey in 70 had preached *concordia*,<sup>7</sup> and to a certain extent acted on it with his amnesty for the followers of Sertorius and Lepidus (who must have included many allied rebels).<sup>8</sup> But neither made any attempt to allow the descendants of the proscribed the right to stand for office. There was still a long way to go before Italy was united.

<sup>1</sup> Possible examples: nos. 106, 247, 414 (Latin colonies), 140 (Tibur); cf. also the tribe of no 165.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Verr.* v. 180, *Cluent.* 151.

<sup>3</sup> See *JRS* 1969, 62, 65; Cic. *div. Caec.* 8 for the *boni* blocking the census in the seventies.

<sup>4</sup> *Comm. pet.* 14; cf. *JRS* 1969, 66 (and pp. 65 f. on the electoral crisis). One object of hostility was no. 359 and his *lex theatralis* (Plut. *Cic.* 13, cf. *Hist.* 1970, 80).

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Att.* i. 1. 2, *comm. pet.* 18 and *passim*; cf. *JRS* 1969, 66 f.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *NH* xxxiii. 34, cf. *Hist.* 1970, 80 f.

<sup>7</sup> Sall. *or. Lep.* 24–6 (the fraudulent Sullan slogan of *pax et concordia*); Cic. *Cluent.* 152, *Corn. Asc.* 78 c (concord achieved by *lex Aurelia*); cf. ps. Sall. *ep. Caes.* ii. 7. 1 (concord between old and new citizens). See Weinstock, *JRS* 1960, 45 ff. on 'pax et concordia'.

<sup>8</sup> I follow *MRR* in putting the *lex Plotia de reditu Lepidanorum* in 70. See Cic. *Verr.* v. 153 and Plut. *Pomp.* 20. 4 on Pompey and the Sertorians.

When Caesar went to war in 49, he claimed to be the avenger of Carbo and the Marians<sup>1</sup>—a shrewd piece of propaganda to win those Italians whose enrolment as citizens Sulla's friends had prevented for so long, and especially those who were disqualified from public office by the law of Sulla, still in force after thirty years. To the *boni* at Rome this meant proscription, confiscation, and *novae tabulae*,<sup>2</sup> but it seems that the Italian aristocracies did not interpret it in this light. When Caesar made it clear that he had no designs on their property or their *nummuli*, they welcomed him like a god.<sup>3</sup>

One of the first of Caesar's acts was to abolish Sulla's restriction on the sons of the proscribed; several beneficiaries of this act of justice may be detected, among them the grandsons of some of the leaders of rebel Italy.<sup>4</sup> Like Sulla, Caesar was accused of opening the Senate to riff-raff of all sorts<sup>5</sup>—which means, at least, that many *novi homines* benefited from his dominance. But the area from which they came was wider than that of Sulla's Senate, and not restricted to Italy. There had been provincial senators before,<sup>6</sup> but never so many at a time, and never before men from Gaul beyond the Alps, though the reality was less startling than the wits made out: the known names are Italian, and suggest descent from emigrant businessmen and colonists.<sup>7</sup>

Under Caesar the Senate numbered nine hundred; the Triumvirs let it swell to over a thousand.<sup>8</sup> The twenty years of the dictatorship and the triumvirate opened the Senate to scores of Italian and provincial *novi* who would never have reached it

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Att.* ix. 14. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Att.* vii. 3. 5, II. I, x. 8. 2, etc.; *off.* ii. 84 for Caesar as a new Catiline, *Att.* x. 8. 8 on his neo-Catilinarian followers.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Att.* viii. 13. 2, 16. 1-2, ix. 5. 3, 9. 4, 10. 2-3, 13. 4, 15. 3; cf. *Cael. fam.* viii. 17. 2 (*faeneratores*); Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 386 (*publicani*).

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 33, 148, 279 (also son of 105); probably 197 (p. 234 below, Syme, *RR* 90 f.), perhaps 153 (Syme, *JRS* 1937, 127 ff.). Rebel leaders: nos. 50, 339, 205, 474 (perhaps 413).

<sup>5</sup> See Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 12 ff. (Caesar), 22 f. (Sulla).

<sup>6</sup> e.g. no. 465, and probably nos. 346-7 and 437.

<sup>7</sup> Suet. *DJ* 76, 80. Narbonensis: nos. 104, 131, (107?). Spain: 138, 153, 436. Cisalpina: 203, 211-13, 392 (also possibly 253, 327?).

<sup>8</sup> Dio xliii. 47. 2 (45 B.C.); Suet. *DA* 45. 1, etc.

otherwise,<sup>1</sup> but it was a very different Senate from that of the free Republic. The Italian aristocracies did not approve of revolution or despotism that threatened their property. They had turned against Caesar before he died (no doubt because of the land he needed for his veterans), and their opposition to Antony and their rising against Octavian in the war of Perugia shows that they had little love for the Triumvirs.<sup>2</sup> Yet in 31 Octavian could lead an apparently united Italy to war against Antony, with seven hundred out of a thousand-strong Senate on his side. How was it done?

Personalities mattered as much as policies. Despite the burning of Perugia and the humiliation of Nursia, Octavian was a man whom the Italian aristocracies might be expected—however reluctantly—to trust. He was the grandson of a banker from Velitrae who had come originally (so it was said) from the colony of Thurii in the far south, the son of a woman from Aricia and a praetor who had deserved well of the landowners of southern Italy by putting down roaming bands of brigands in 60, the brother-in-law of an Etruscan from Luna whose career had been held up by Sulla's interdict on the sons of the proscribed, and the husband (since January 38) of a granddaughter of the Italians' champion Livius Drusus, probably Marsic on her mother's side, whose previous husband had fought for the Italian landowners in the Perusine war.<sup>3</sup> His most trusted helpers came from the mountainous areas of what had been allied Italy,<sup>4</sup> and though there were Italian aristocrats who clung to Antony,<sup>5</sup> and others who could not forget Octavian's early career of bloodshed,<sup>6</sup> it is clear that

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I for the known examples.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar: below, p. 47. Antony: Cic. *Phil.* vii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. *DA* 2-3, 7 (Thurii), no. 33 (Appuleius of Luna), *Hist.* 1965, 333-4 (Livia's mother), Suet. *Tib.* 4 (Ti. Nero); Livia's second son was renamed Drusus (Suet. *Claud.* 1). Cf. p. 49 below for the influence of Octavian's stepfather in Campania.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 96, 221, 374, 413, 497; and the names of nos. 99, 101, and 238 (his earliest partisans) look Italian. Also Maecenas of Arretium, and C. Proculeius—conceivably Sabine (cf. Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 266), though *ILLRP* 530 is not enough to prove it. C. Cornelius Gallus was Ligurian, Transpadane, or Narbonensian (Syme, *CQ* 1938, 39 ff.; Boucher, *Gallus* 6-11).

<sup>5</sup> e.g. nos. 50, 81, 108, 125-6, 293, 339, 350, 365, 474.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. Sex. Propertius of Asisium (*Prop.* i. 21-2). *Pax et concordia* (Dio liii. 5. 1, p. 7 n. 7 above) will have won some of them round.

the man from Velitrac, and his relatives and friends, appealed to more of them than did the *nobilis* Antony—with or without Cleopatra and the degenerate East.

After his triumphant return from Alexandria, Octavian rid the Senate of the more 'unworthy' of the members it had accumulated during the Triumvirate and admitted more reliable replacements.<sup>1</sup> Then, in 28, with the appropriate participation of Agrippa, now consul for the second time, he performed the first censorial *lustrum* for forty-one years, an official inauguration of the new age which proclaimed, among other things, the final attainment of *tota Italia*.<sup>2</sup> Over four million *cives* were enrolled, thanks to the innovation of registration by proxy,<sup>3</sup> and they were enrolled to vote, if they chose—for the *lustrum* entailed the restoration of the Republic (and the *comitia*),<sup>4</sup> which was formally performed on 13 January 27 B.C., and celebrated three days later with the conferment of the name of Augustus. The centuriate assembly could now be dominated by the *principes Italiae*, on whom Augustus could most rely. They turned up in unprecedented numbers to vote for him as *pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C.,<sup>5</sup> and their support must have been similarly dependable in the twenties for the consular candidatures of himself and his friends. The elections were in safe hands.

Augustus abandoned the consulship in 23 B.C., but proved the strength of his popularity to the tenacious *nobiles* by the electoral disturbances in his absence from 22 to 19.<sup>6</sup> On his return he performed another *lectio senatus*. It was not like the careful thinning of the Senate in 29, which had been done with diplomacy and tact so as not to violate *concordia* at the birth of a new era

<sup>1</sup> Dio lii. 42. 4, lvi. 14.3; Suet. *DA* 35. 1; Sattler, *Aug. Sen.* 31-4.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. *RG* 8. Cf. Sattler, *Aug. Sen.* 56 f. on 29-28 as the millennial beginning of a new order.

<sup>3</sup> See *JRS* 1969, 71.

<sup>4</sup> Earl, *MPTR* 64 f. Cf. Ehrenberg-Jones, *Documents*<sup>2</sup> 301. 25-6, 302. 13-14 on *suffragium ferre* as a corollary of *censeri*; Dio liii. 23. 1-2, lv. 8. 3-4 on the *Saepta* and *Diribitorium*—presumably built to be used.

<sup>5</sup> Aug. *RG* 10: 'cuncta ex Italia ad comitia mea confluente multitudine, quanta Romae numquam narratur ad id tempus fuisse.'

<sup>6</sup> Dio liv. 6. 1-2, 10. 1-3; Jones, *SRGL* 12. For the *nobiles'* resentment see Dio liv. 12. 3-4, 15. 1 and 4 (Sattler, *Aug. Sen.* 94) on the danger of assassination: the context probably Agrippa's *trib. pot.* and *imp. procos.*

(fifty men accepted an invitation to resign voluntarily, and the further 140 who were removed suffered no *infamia*);<sup>1</sup> this time nobody volunteered to leave, but Augustus was confident enough to demote certain 'useless' men still remaining even after his selectors had made their choice, and put his own nominees in their place.<sup>2</sup>

As an organ of political opposition the Senate was defeated, and Augustus was in control. The fact may be expressed in these terms, because the Senate was conscious of its corporate identity and traditions as the *splendidissimus ordo*, and because Augustus had to a certain extent used the *plebs* as a weapon against it.<sup>3</sup> But in another sense it was a defeat not for the Senate as such but for the minority of *nobiles* who had still cherished hopes of regaining political power by the old rules. To the Italian *novi* in the Senate Augustus' victory must have appeared as the final vindication of their own long-standing indictment of the unworthy and disproportionately powerful *nobilitas*.<sup>4</sup> As for the ambitious *nobiles*, their political battles were fought henceforth on ground of the *princeps*' own choosing, in the *consilium*<sup>5</sup> and the imperial household.

The new senators of the period between 18 B.C. and the *lectio senatus* of A.D. 4, after which the influence of Tiberius has to be reckoned with, presumably represent Augustus' own idea of how the Senate should be filled.<sup>6</sup> The number of men from ex-allied

<sup>1</sup> Dio lii. 42. 2-4; Sattler, *Aug. Sen.* 32 f.

<sup>2</sup> Dio liv. 13-14; Sattler, *Aug. Sen.* 96-9 (cf. 99-101 on the importance of the years 18-17).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dio liv. 1. 3 f, Aug. RG 5 (the famine of 23-22). See Meier, *RPA* 108 f. on the mutual suspicion and hostility of Senate and *plebs*, which continued under the Empire (e.g. Jos. *AJ* xix. 228 on A.D. 41).

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 107-13 below.

<sup>5</sup> Here too the *nobiles* were outnumbered. See the list in Crook, *Cons. Princ.* for Augustus' *amici*: seventeen are known or presumed *novi homines* (Crook nos. 28, 34, 105-6, 132, 192, 246, 248, 268, 276-7, 281, 291, 310, 316, 344, 347), sixteen are non-senators (Crook nos. 30, 35, 40, 71, 114, 175, 219, 228, 278, 290, 296, 322a, 324, 334-5, 341); only fourteen are members of the old nobility (Crook nos. 13-14, 77-79, 111, 116, 124, 135, 142-3, 199, 222, 283), and there are nine other men of senatorial family (Crook nos. 38, 212, 236, 261, 298-9, 306, 359-60).

<sup>6</sup> And perhaps Agrippa's too: cf. p. 180 n. 3 below for a possible trace of Agrippa's *clientela* (Paquius Scaeva).

Italy is striking<sup>1</sup>—men like Salvius Otho from a town in Etruria, now under the patronage of Livius Drusus' granddaughter.<sup>2</sup> But of provincial senators like those of Caesar there is no sign, and even Gallic Italy is barely represented.<sup>3</sup> After Tiberius' adoption the picture is significantly different, with the entry of the first recorded Greek senator,<sup>4</sup> a possible Narbonensian, and several men from distant corners of Transpadane Italy.<sup>5</sup> Well might Claudius, on the occasion of the adlection of the *primores Galliae*, cite Tiberius (as well as Augustus) as a precedent for the introduction to the Senate of 'omnem florem *ubique* coloniarum ac municipiorum'. His liberal attitude to new men in general is typified by his judgement on a man whose origin Tacitus professed to be ashamed to relate: 'Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus.'<sup>6</sup> The effect of that liberality on the composition of the Senate could already be seen before the year which made Tiberius *princeps* and transferred the elections from the now apathetic *populus* to the Senate itself.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> e.g. nos. 44, 143, 222, 236, 266-7, 329, 331-3, 376, 386, 463, 484, 488, 491, 503-4, 519.

<sup>2</sup> No. 376 (Suet. *Otho* 1).

<sup>3</sup> Only no. 455 (L. Valerius Catullus). All the more remarkable in view of Augustus' frequent sojourns in Mediolanum, Aquileia, and Ravenna (e.g. Suet. *DA* 20; Jos. *AJ* xvi. 91). Cf. Suet. *DA* 40. 3 for Augustus' attitude to the *civitas* contrasted with Tiberius'.

<sup>4</sup> No. 330 (cf. 45); Bowersock, *AGW* 133 f. for Tiberius' philhellenism.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 149 (Narbonensis), 88, 304, 336, 415, 442. The date of entry to the Senate cannot be certain in every case.

<sup>6</sup> *ILS* 212. 2; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 21. The same phrase at Cic. *Cael.* 19, in a slightly different context but with a clear reference to *novitas* (cf. *Cael.* 6 for 'ex fonte manare'); the person referred to may be no. 185.

<sup>7</sup> Tac. *Ann.* i. 15. 1; for the origins of the new system see p. 134 n. 4 below.



## MUNICIPALIS ORIGO

## I. THE CITIZENSHIP

A ROMAN senator had to be a Roman citizen. The prime factor in determining from where the Italian senators came was, therefore, the constitutional status *vis-à-vis* Rome of their native towns or regions. The earlier in the patchwork history of the Romanization of Italy that a community had received full Roman citizenship, the more likely it was to have sent men to the *curia* by the late Republic.

In only two cases do we have negative evidence of how long a town or region might be without any native son in the Senate at all. The Sentii, praetors in the nineties B.C., were the first curule magistrates from the prefecture of Atina in north-west Samnium (though there may have been earlier *quaestorii*), and Q. Varius Geminus, who entered the Senate not later than the second decade of Augustus' principate, is described as the first senator from the Paeligni.<sup>1</sup> In each case—if we assume with Brunt that the Atinates were promoted from *civitas sine suffragio* to the full franchise in the first half of the second century<sup>2</sup>—it was presumably the third citizen generation that reached the Senate, the grandfather of the senator having been the first of his family to hold the Roman citizenship.

A similar time-lag, give or take a decade or two, may be observed in other cases not explicitly attested as the first senators from their home towns. The lowland Sabines, promoted to full citizenship in 268, show two praetors at the very end of the third century.<sup>3</sup> Marius of Arpinum, whose *patria* was promoted in 188, must have been enrolled in the Senate by the censors of 120.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Planc.* 19 (nos. 387-8); *ILS* 932 (no. 463)—no. 268 an earlier moneyer?

<sup>2</sup> Brunt, *JRS* 1965, 93: see below, p. 185 n. 11.

<sup>3</sup> M. Sextius Sabinus, Q. Fulvius Gillo: see below, p. 185.

Nursia of the highland Sabines and Interamnia of the Praetuttii may have been promoted about the same time as Atina, and probably sent senators who were approximate contemporaries of the Atinate Sentii.<sup>1</sup> Coponius of Tibur, praetor in 49, is an interesting analogy—probably grandson of the man who had won the citizenship for his family by successfully prosecuting a certain C. Papirius Maso, though the Tiburtines were enfranchised in a body not long afterwards. The Samnite M. Papius Mutilus has two generations of citizens in his affiliation on the consular Fasti for A.D. 5: doubtless his grandfather was the first in the family, the previous generation being that of the great rebel leader.<sup>2</sup>

In some cases the time-lag seems to be longer—at least a century for the Sabine Antistii, if dates may be trusted in the regal period and the early Republic, and for the men of Lanuvium two centuries later. But lack of information makes argument *e silentio* impossible, both in cases like these where senators can be detected only after a lengthy interval, and in the more frequent ones where none are known at all. One class of apparently under-represented towns, however, may be worth considering separately, since factors other than mere lack of evidence may apply to them.

By the end of the fourth century there were Roman citizen colonists at Ostia, Antium, and Tarracina. Minturnae and Sinuessa were soon added, then Sena Gallica, the two Castra Nova in Picenum and Etruria, and Alsium and Fregenae on the Etruscan coast by 245. The great colonization programme of 194 added Volturnum, Liternum, Puteoli, Salernum, Buxentum, Tempa, Croton, and Sipontium in southern Italy; Pyrgi, Saturnia, and Graviscae followed in Etruria; Potentia, Pisaurum, and Auximum on the Adriatic coast; and Parma, Mutina, and Luna in Cisalpine Gaul and Liguria. There are twenty-seven known colonies in Cispadane Italy; senators are known from only eleven of them, and there are only two possible cases of senatorial representation in less than a century and a half after the colony's foundation.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, since many of the colonies were on the coast, evidence

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 248 (Marius), 313 (Peducæus), 246 (Manlius Maltinus).

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 133, 306.

<sup>3</sup> Minturnae (C. Fannius, *tr. pl.* 184?), Auximum (no. 294?).

for the detection of senators' origins is particularly likely to be confused by villa sites, so some 'colonial' senators (especially those listed under Tarracina and Minturnae) may not really belong there at all. More than lack of evidence is needed to account for this consistent phenomenon, and explanation is not difficult. The colonies were originally very small foundations, mere garrisons with a specific military purpose.<sup>1</sup> Only when they outgrew their original function and developed into self-sufficient communities could they provide sufficiently sound a basis of civic life to produce men who could fill senatorial magistracies. Not all of them did develop. The colonies of 194 were particularly unfortunate, two of them being deserted within the first eight years of their existence.<sup>2</sup> Some of the sites were too unattractive to have a chance: Liternum, for instance, was a swamp, Sipontum waterless, Graviscae malarial,<sup>3</sup> and it is not surprising that hardly any of the colonies of the early second century seem to have sent senators to Rome. One of the exceptions was Puteoli, which was quite untypical; it had been long established as the Greek city of Dicaearchia, and was a busy cosmopolitan harbour town.<sup>4</sup> The next great colonizing movement shows that the Romans had learnt the lesson: Parma, Mutina, Luna, and presumably Auximum were of the unprecedentedly large size of two thousand settlers each<sup>5</sup>. All four flourished, and senators are known from three of them.

If lack of evidence makes it hard to prove examples of longer intervals than the 'third-generation' norm provided by the attested cases of Atina and the Paeligni, shorter ones can be detected with less difficulty. The first of the consular Fulvii from Tusculum held office in 322, only some sixty years after the

<sup>1</sup> Sherwin-White, *RC* 72-3. No independent local magistrates? *ibid.* 77 ff. Three hundred families at each: Livy viii. 21. 11, xxxiv. 45. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Livy xxxix. 23. 3 (Buxentum and Sipontum).

<sup>3</sup> Livy xxii. 16. 4; Cic. *leg. ag.* ii. 71; Cato *ap. Serv. Aen.* x. 184. Cf. Catullus 81. 3 on Pisaurum, 'moribunda sedes'.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo v. 245; Toynbee, *HL* ii. 336-7; cf. Cic. *Planc.* 65 on its villa society. No. 197 was a Puteolan, 216 (and just possibly 195) from Pisaurum.

<sup>5</sup> Toynbee, *HL* ii. 142 ff. on the change of policy; hitherto only Latin colonies had been so large.

incorporation of his home town in the Roman state; it depends on how long he took to reach the consulship whether his father or his grandfather is to be supposed the first citizen in the family. The first known Opimius was quaestor in 294, forty-four years after the incorporation of Aricia, his presumed place of origin. In the second century, a junior official who may be connected with a family at Faventia appears only a decade after the origin of that outpost—conceivably a son of one of the settlers, though the evidence for his origin is weak.<sup>1</sup>

Better evidence for senatorial sons of new citizens can be got from the Capitoline Fasti. Fourteen men, from L. Tarquinius Flaccus, *magister equitum* in 458, to M. Fufius Strigo, one of the *quindecimviri* concerned with the Secular Games of 17 B.C., appear in them with only partial affiliation, the grandfather's initial not being recorded.<sup>2</sup> The implication is that the father was the first to hold the citizenship, usually, though not necessarily, by the enfranchisement of his place of origin. Sons of freedmen would be recorded in the same way, a probable example being the ex-scribe M. Claudius Glicia, dictator in 249. Though the stigma of slavery was a greater handicap than that of non-Roman descent, the two categories are comparable, with seven or eight sons of freedmen attested in the late-republican and Augustan Senates.<sup>3</sup> Men who had themselves been born in slavery are much more difficult to detect, and only two certain cases are known—both scandalous examples of triumviral licence.<sup>4</sup>

Almost equally rare, though rather less scandalous,<sup>5</sup> are examples of free first-generation citizens in the Senate. Q. Anicius of Praeneste may be an early one, aedile in 304 although 'paucis

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 185, 187. In any case, the Faventia settlers would be citizens already.

<sup>2</sup> Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* xiii. 21-2. The list is: L. Tarquinius Flaccus, M. Claudius Glicia, M'. Aimilius M'. f., M. Porcius Cato (see Degrassi, loc. cit.), and nos. 50, 138, 186, 243, 279, 312, 413, 467, 474, 497.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 29 (?), 163, 189, 194, 338, 429, 440; no. 73 is a very doubtful case. See below, pp. 70-2.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 63, 489. Nos. 163 and 194 are remotely possible, if slander may be believed (*Cic. Rab. perd.* 20; *Plut. Cic.* 27. 2).

<sup>5</sup> See, however, V.M. iii. 4. 5 on M. Perperna and viii. 6. 4 on no. 465, for accusations of peregrine status.

ante annis hostis fuisset'.<sup>1</sup> Either he or his father must have been given a personal grant of the *civitas*, possibly for services rendered during the Latin War. C. Norbanus, consul in 83, was almost certainly a new citizen, and L. Cossinius, praetor ten years later, had probably been given the citizenship after a successful prosecution.<sup>2</sup>

Anicius and Cossinius bring us to the interesting but elusive class of Italian senators who achieved that rank before the enfranchisement of their home towns. Although the evidence for their origins is by no means certain, senators in the second century, or even earlier, may be traced both to communities of *cives sine suffragio* (Falerii and Caere) and to towns with the *ius Latinum* (Praeneste and the colonies of Suessa Aurunca and Paestum).<sup>3</sup> After about 125, when the Latin towns and colonies were given the right of citizenship *per magistratum*, their ruling classes found the way to honours more easy. The first step no longer depended on an exceptional personal grant of citizenship, and senators (or would-be senators) appear from the Latin colonies of Firmum, Aquileia, and Brundisium before the *lex Julia* enfranchised all their inhabitants in 90 B.C.<sup>4</sup>

More startling than these men from comparatively favoured communities are those who appear from allied states before the Social War. Two of the earliest examples are very uncertain—a possible Marrucine as one of Scipio Africanus' legates in 205, and a possible Tarquinian under Metellus Macedonicus sixty years later—but a third, the Perperna mentioned as an ambassador in 168, may be confirmed by the attempt made to impugn the right to the citizenship of his son (?), who was consul in 130.<sup>5</sup> As Licinius Archias and Cornelius Balbus discovered, anyone who had the *civitas* given to him by a special grant, as must have

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *NH* xxxiii. 17; the Latin war had ended thirty-five years before his election.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 278, 140 (possibly his father?).

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 186–8. The tribe of the senatorial Lucilii was Pupinia (Taylor, *VDRR* 227), while Suessa after its enfranchisement was enrolled in Aemilia.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 163, 437, 166 (not certain when his career began). See also Cic. *Brut.* 169–70, 172 for contemporary orators (*equites*?) from Sora, Bononia, Fregellae, and Placentia.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 189.

happened for these men if their origins are rightly inferred, always risked an attempt by his *inimici* to deny its validity.

Further confirmation of the possibility of allies' being given the citizenship by viritate grant and then going on to the Senate may be had from Cicero's information on their equestrian counterparts. T. Betutius Barrus of Asculum, praised in the *Brutus* as 'omnium eloquentissimus extra hanc urbem', was almost certainly an *eques Romanus* when he was involved in the Vestals' scandal in 114,<sup>1</sup> and one of the *equites* who opposed Livius Drusus in 91 is named in the *pro Cluentio* as C. Maecenas, surely from the Arretine family of Augustus' minister.<sup>2</sup> The Marsic orator Q. Vettius Vettianus may have been an *eques* too.<sup>3</sup> If the censors accepted such men as *equites Romani*, they could accept them also in the *lectio senatus*. Against this background the second-century allied senators noticed above, and the praetor P. Sextilius of Nola and the Perusine moneyer C. Vibius Pansa in the nineties, appear less anomalous.<sup>4</sup> They were followed by certain men in the eighties who reached the Senate through the influence of one Roman faction or another, having acquired the citizenship individually, for services rendered, before the enfranchisement of their home towns: the sons of Min. Magius from Aeclanum are an attested example, and one might suspect the same of the Samnite Staius and Tarquinius Priscus of Tarquinii.<sup>5</sup>

The general extension of the Roman citizenship to the cities and peoples of Italy, though of great importance for the Romanization of Italy of which the Italian senators were a result and a symbol, was not always decisive in producing or failing to produce senators from this town or that. It sometimes lagged behind the individual enfranchisements of local families, the reasons for which might be social, political, or economic, and

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Brut.* 169; Plut. *QR* 284 B (implying equestrian rank); cf. Oros. v. 15. 22 ('L. Veturius eques R. '); Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. 30 and scholl. He may be the *scurra* of Hor. *Sat.* i. 4. 110, 7. 8 and *Sen. ep.* i. 7. 13 (from Lucilius?). Cf. also V.M. vii. 8. 8, and *CIL* ix. 3455 (Peltuinum).

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Cluent.* 153; cf. *Macr. Sat.* ii. 4. 12; *ILS* 7848; Hor. *Odes* i. 1. 1, iii. 29. 1; Prop. iii. 9. 1 on Maecenas' royal descent from the Cilnii of Arretium.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Brut.* 169.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 401 (Sextilius), 490 (Pansa—origin not certain).

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 240-1 (V.P. ii. 16. 3), 414, 420. Cf. also no. 193 (Umbrian?).

not a direct result of the constitutional development of Roman Italy as a whole. But before exploring the non-constitutional factors involved, it is worth looking at an interesting sub-class which both illustrates some of them and provides further examples of senators from Latin or allied communities.

## II. PROVINCIAL SENATORS

The enfranchisement of Italy after the Social War applied mainly south of the Apennines, but the Latin colonies in Cisalpine Gaul also received the citizenship, and considerable tracts of territory which had belonged to the Boii and Statielli were already occupied by Roman citizens. Cn. Pompeius Strabo granted Latin status to non-citizens in the towns of Cisalpine Gaul, putting the non-urban tribes under their jurisdiction as *attributi*;<sup>1</sup> roughly speaking, the dividing line was the Po, though Ravenna and the surviving Boii remained *socii* to the south, and Aquileia and Cremona were now citizens to the north, along with the Roman colonists settled at Eporodia in 100 B.C. Cisalpina was still a predominantly Celtic country, and still a province ruled by proconsular governors,<sup>2</sup> but the Latin rights, including that of full citizenship *per magistratum*, gave the Transpadanes an advantage over other provincials in the representation of their peoples in the Roman Senate. It also gave them an appetite for complete enfranchisement, and their claim was consistently championed by Caesar, who was already agitating in the district in 66. In 51 there were rumours that in his capacity as proconsul of Gaul he had given permission for the election of municipal officers in the Transpadane towns; these were unfounded, but in 49 the *lex Roscia* gave citizenship to all the towns south of the Alps, though it remained a province for seven more years.<sup>3</sup>

The Veneti and Cenomani in the eastern half of Transpadana had been *socii* since 225. With the Insubres, the Ligurians, and

<sup>1</sup> Asc. 3 c; Pliny, *NH* iii. 138; Ewins, *PBSR* 1955, 73 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Chilver, *CG* 7 f.; Badian, *Mélanges Piganiol* 905-7. Cf. App. *Hann.* 8 for the Celtic nature of Cisalpina in 217; the Raeti were still giving trouble as late as 15 B.C., when Tiberius even needed a squadron of warships on Lake Garda (Dio *liv.* 22).

<sup>3</sup> Suet. *DJ* 8; cf. Dio xxxvii. 9. 3-4; Cic. *Att.* v. 2. 3, *fam.* viii. 1. 2; Dio xli. 36.

their neighbours in the west and the northern Apennines, however, Rome's relations were much less cordial;<sup>1</sup> the Istri beyond Aquileia also had a long history of hostility to Rome, and their territory was not included in Caesar's grant of citizenship in 49. Not surprisingly, therefore, it was the Cenomani of Verona who sent the first detectable Gallic senators to Rome—the Pobjicii in the seventies B.C., followed by a possible Caesarian senator, a praetor under the Triumvirs, and an Augustan moneyer. From Brixia, the other main centre of the Cenomani, came an ill-fated tribune of 44 (Helvius Cinna the poet) and a late-Augustan aedile; the latter's *cognomen* was 'Paelignus', and his family may have come to Brixia when Augustus founded his *colonia civica* there.<sup>2</sup> Patavium of the Veneti, which had no fewer than five hundred men of equestrian standing in A.D. 14, must have sent many senators to Rome, but only one is known, a moneyer of 44 B.C. Another member of that college of moneyers is the only possible senator known in our period from the peoples of the north-west (Ligurians or Insubres), and even he is very uncertain. A late-Augustan senator appears from Hasta, but that had been Roman territory since the second century.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the veterans settled at existing Cisalpine towns during and after the civil wars, there were also new colonial foundations in the area. Concordia near Aquileia was founded under the Triumvirate, as were Tergeste, Parentium, and Pola in Istria; Augusta Taurinorum and Augusta Praetoria were settled in the far north-west in 27 and 25 respectively. The Istrian colonies, which were founded for strategic reasons (as recently as 52 the Dalmatian peoples had sacked Tergeste), were followed by Augustus' extension of the boundary of Italy to include the whole of the Istrian peninsula. Two senators are known from Pola, one of them surprisingly early if he belongs to the triumviral period; the other was a *comes* of Tiberius in Rhodes, who eventually became suffect consul in A.D. 43 and may have reached the Senate

<sup>1</sup> Toynbee, *HL* ii. 277–82 on the long and difficult conquest of the Ligurians.

<sup>2</sup> Verona: nos. 95, 346–8 (Pobjicii), 451 (?), 455. Brixia: 203, 336, cf. 492–3? See *CIL* v. 4222 for Augustus' colony.

<sup>3</sup> Patavium: Strabo v. 213, no. 392. No. 88 (late Augustan?) may perhaps have come from Venetic Atria. Ligurii/Insubres: no. 253, cf. 415 (Hasta).



—doubtless through Tiberius' influence—before Augustus' death. One of his contemporaries, praetor by A.D. 19, came from Concordia.<sup>1</sup>

Though the Transpadanes were the closest provincials to Rome and the most favoured constitutionally, with their Latin status since 89, the first known provincial senators came not from there but from Spain. They were provincials, however, only in a geographical sense. Q. Varius Hibrida, the notorious tribune of 90 B.C., though accused by his enemies of being but dubiously entitled to the *civitas*, was presumably descended from one of the families of Roman citizens who had settled in Spain in the second century to exploit the mines and timber of the province; the Sucro valley, which was his home, was one of the richest areas in Spain and would naturally have attracted *negotiatores*.<sup>2</sup> Sulla's legate Paciaecus (?) may have been the man who hid Crassus in Spain; if the reading of the name is reliable, it suggests an Italian immigrant family, quite possibly Roman citizens. So too does the *cognomen* of L. Fabius Hispaniensus, quaestor in 81, while L. Decidius Saxa, a tribune of 44 to whom Cicero objected as a Celtiberian 'deductus ex ultimis gentibus', had an Italian name and may well have come from a trading family. The valley of the Baetis was as fertile as that of the Sucro, and Romanized at an early stage by the settlement of veterans at Italica in 205 and Corduba in 152; hence Hadrian's great-great-grandfather Aelius Marullinus, a senator from Italica under the Triumvirs, was also of citizen extraction.<sup>3</sup>

The first known native Spaniards in the Senate were the Cornelii Balbi from the great port of Gades at the mouth of the Baetis; the elder, the agent of Pompey and later of Caesar, was

<sup>1</sup> Istria: Hirt. *BG* viii. 24. 3; Chilver, *CG* 22-3; Ewins, *PBSR* 1955, 89-91. Pola: nos. 304, 518 (possibly mid-Augustan rather than triumviral). Concordia: no. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Livy xxi. 7. 1 on the wealth of Saguntum near the coastal plain of the Sucro. See Wilson, *Emigration* 24-7 on the Spanish 'metal rush'. Varius: no. 465.

<sup>3</sup> Paciaecus: no. 300, cf. Gabba, *Ath.* 1954, 307 n. Hispaniensus: no. 168, cf. Syme, *JRS* 1937, 133 n. 44 on the name. Saxa (and his brother), nos. 152-3; Syme (*RR* 80 n. 1) connects them with the proscribed Samnite Cn. Deci(di)us. Marullinus: no. 5, cf. Strabo iii. 140-7 on the Baetis valley and the Turdetani.

enfranchised by a Cornelius Lentulus, gained phenomenal riches in the service of the dynasts, and eventually became consul in 40 B.C. His nephew entered the Senate under Caesar. So, by adlection, did the father of two 'Titii Hispani adulescentes', military tribunes of the fifth legion in 46; the *cognomen* suggests that he was a native Spaniard.<sup>1</sup>

A similar distinction between Roman settler families and indigenous provincials must be observed with the known senators from Sicily and Narbonensis. From Sicily came Q. Caecilius Niger, quaestor in 72, and perhaps Cn. Heius, a senator in the seventies. The Heii were a rich and well-known family at Messana, quite probably Italian (and subsequently Roman) *negotiatores*; indeed, the senator may have come from southern Italy itself rather than from the Sicilian branch of the *gens*.<sup>2</sup> Caecilius, on the other hand, was a client of the Metelli put up to 'accuse' their ally Verres and get him acquitted; his name and *praenomen* strongly suggest that his family had received the citizenship from a Metellus. He was probably not a Sicilian Greek: a Ciceronian scholiast, for what he is worth, calls Caecilius 'domo Siculus'. The Caesarian tribune Caecilius (?), who according to Cicero first saw Rome only two years before his year of office, may also have been a Metellan client from Sicily or Spain.<sup>3</sup>

In a famous passage of the *pro Fonteio* (c. 69 B.C.), Cicero calls Narbonese Gaul 'referta negotiatorum, plena civium Romanorum'. Narbo itself had been a Roman citizen colony since 118, and Italian and Roman businessmen were quick to exploit the rich valley of the Rhône. 'No coin changes hands in Gaul', Cicero went on, 'without being entered in the books of a Roman citizen.' The Volcae, when Strabo wrote, were mostly Romanized in language and habits, and their capital Nemausus had Latin rights; in the elder Pliny's time, Narbonensis was 'Italia verius quam provincia'.<sup>4</sup> It was from here, and from Cisalpina, that the

<sup>1</sup> Balbi: nos. 137-8 (Strabo iii. 168-9 on Gades). Hispanus: 436.

<sup>2</sup> No. 202. Diod. xxxiv. 2. 32 for the 'colonization' of Sicily by *Italici* after the Hannibalic war. Cf. Wilson, *Emigr.* 57—Sicilian and south-Italian *patriae* interchangeable?

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 73 (ps. Asc. 185 St.), 72.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Font.* 11; Strabo iv. 177-80, 186-7; Pliny, *NH* iii. 31.

'trousered Gauls' came to Caesar's Senate—the same Gauls, according to the wits, that he had led in triumph. Two tolerably certain names are known: (Co)minius Longinus of Narbo, presumably descended from a citizen colonist, and T. Carisius of Avennio, *praetor* of the Volcae, who appears as moneyer about 45 B.C. The Carisii may have been local Gallic aristocrats, but the occurrence of their name in Campania perhaps suggests that they were a family of *negotiatores*.<sup>1</sup>

It is noteworthy that no name can be traced to the Greek city of Massilia. The absence of senators from the Greek cities of Italy and Sicily is equally conspicuous: the only three possibilities (all very uncertain) are attributable to Cumae, long Latinized and a part of the Roman state since 338; to Ancona, isolated amid the citizen settlements of Picenum and the *ager Gallicus*; and to Arpi in Apulia, which had most of its land confiscated and handed over to Roman settlers after the Hannibalic war. So even if all three senators' origins are rightly inferred, there is no certainty that any of their families were Greek.<sup>2</sup> No name can be traced to Velia, Rhegium, Locri, or Metapontum; nor (understandably) to Naples or Heraclea, which jealously preserved their Greek character to the extent of deliberating whether or not to accept Roman *civitas* when it was offered, since many of their citizens preferred 'the freedom of their own treaty'.<sup>3</sup> They had a proud civic tradition of their own, and were little interested in taking part in the alien—and, they may have thought, inferior—constitutional system of Rome.

In view of this indifference, and the traditional Roman distrust and contempt for *Graeculi*,<sup>4</sup> the absence of senators from Greece proper at a time when other provincials were appearing is not remarkable. Even if Theophanes of Mytilene had been Caesar's

<sup>1</sup> Narbo: no. 131, cf. 107? Avennio: nos. 104, 102-3 (brother?). No. 149 (late Augustan) may have come from Nemausus.

<sup>2</sup> Cumae: no. 244 (Livy xl. 43. 1 for Latin as the official language after 180). Ancona: no. 217. Arpi: no. 329 (the relevance of confiscations to his origin applies also to the senators attributed to Cosilinum, Abellinum, and the Caudini).

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Balb.* 21; V.P. i. 4. 2; Strabo v. 246; Bowersock, *AGW* 81-4 (Naples).

<sup>4</sup> For cultural differences and social exclusiveness between Greeks and Italians see Millar, *Cassius Dio* 9 f., 12 f., 184-90, and Sherwin-White, *Racial Prejudice* 62 ff.

agent and not Pompey's, it is unlikely that he would have become a senator like his adopted son Balbus of Gades. Theophanes' own son (according to Strabo—possibly a grandson) was the Pompeius Macer who was made procurator of Asia by Augustus, but only in the next generation, with Q. Pompeius Macer, *pr.* A.D. 15, did the family become senatorial.<sup>1</sup> It is just possible, though not likely, that his contemporary M. Artorius Geminus was the son of Octavian's Greek physician. The only other possible Greeks in our period are T. Annius Cimber, 'Lysidici filius' (to use Cicero's sarcastic designation of him), and A. Castricius Myriotalenti f. from Lanuvium, but in each case the affiliation could indicate descent from a freedman long naturalized in Italy.<sup>2</sup>

### III. NON-CONSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

The citizenship, and the attitude of a non-Roman city or state to it, were clearly of the greatest importance in determining when, and from where, Italian and provincial senators appeared in Rome. But as we have seen, it was not the only relevant factor. Senators are detectable from Latin colonies, cities of *cives sine suffragio*, and even allied states before the franchise was granted to them. The citizenship could be given to an individual whatever the status of his *patria*, even if his fellow countrymen were at war with Rome—indeed, support of Rome in such circumstances could be one of the prime qualifications for a personal grant of *civitas*, as witness the Anicii of Praeneste, the Magii of Aeclanum, and Staius the Samnite. On the other hand, determined resistance to Rome might mean that few senators, or none at all, would come from the defeated state even after its enfranchisement. Sulla's law *de proscriptorum filiis* effectively kept out till 49 B.C. all but the pro-Roman elements in the states that had rebelled in 90, but the notable absence of Insubrian (and Ligurian?) senators compared with the number known from the Cenomani may show that even without formal prohibition a history like that of the Insubres and Ligures might effectively deny their *domi nobiles* the chance

<sup>1</sup> No. 330; Strabo xiii. 618.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 45, 29, 109 (probably not a senator in any case).

of senatorial status. (Many of them, of course, may not have wanted it.)

It is noteworthy that although Marsic, Samnite, and perhaps Apulian<sup>1</sup> senators are known under Caesar's dictatorship or before, the Paeligni were unrepresented until the middle years of Augustus, and no senators at all are known in our period from the ex-allied Vestini, Bruttii, and Calabri. This cannot be due entirely to participation in the Social War, and a further relevant factor may be sought in the political organization of these peoples. The two reasons are interconnected, since the insurgents of 90 B.C. consisted more or less of the highland peoples of Italy whose political development had been on a tribal rather than an urban basis;<sup>2</sup> they were dwellers in villages rather than towns. It is difficult to assess accurately how much of a disadvantage a would-be senator from a tribal community suffered in competition with a man from a town organized on lines analogous to the Roman political system,<sup>3</sup> but it is certain that the Romans themselves regarded a non-urban system as inherently inferior.<sup>4</sup> The Picentini of southern Campania, for instance, were punished for their support of Hannibal by a rearrangement of their government on a village basis. According to Strabo, some districts of Italy which contained only villages had once boasted cities, but these were ruined as a result of wars—for instance the Sabine country, Samnium, and Calabria.<sup>5</sup> In other areas there had never been anything but a village system. The geographer dismisses contemptuously the obscure settlements of the Lucanians, Samnites, and Bruttii, while the upland districts of Liguria 'contain nothing worthy of description except that the people live only in villages, ploughing and digging stony land'. The central-Appennine tribes, however, though mostly village-dwellers, did have some urban centres: not only Marruvium for the Marsi, but Corfinium for the Paeligni,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II. There is not quite enough evidence to attribute Apulian origin to no. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Salmon, *Samn.* 343.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kahrstedt, *Hist.* 1959, 175 on *praefecturae*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Salmon, *Samn.* 53, 59 on the 'uncouth' Oscan-speakers. *Ibid.* 78 ff., 100, 391 on the Samnites' political structure.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo v. 251 (Picentini), 228 (Sabines), vi. 281 (Calabria).

Teate for the Marrucini, and Pinna for the Vestini.<sup>1</sup> Why are there evidently more senators from the Marsi than from their neighbours? Clearly the question of social and political organization cannot entirely account for regional differences in senatorial representation.

On Samnium, Strabo specifies that Aesernia, Bovianum, Panna, Telesia, and other places were reduced to the status of villages by Sulla. Sulla's vengeance on the Samnites was terrible: he slaughtered three thousand prisoners in the Villa Publica, and swore that Rome could never be safe while the Samnites preserved their corporate identity.<sup>2</sup> Quite apart from their political degradation, the Samnites must have suffered economically from sacked cities, ravaged land, and depopulation as a result of the Social War. Only rich men could hope to be elected to office in Rome, and a further reason for the rarity of senators from Samnium and elsewhere in southern Italy was no doubt the comparative poverty of such areas. This may perhaps have applied to the Paeligni: though Sulla's threat to destroy Sulmo was never carried out,<sup>3</sup> it is hard to imagine that the Italian rebels' confederate capital at Corfinium escaped unscathed.

It was not only defeat in war that made some places less prosperous than others. In the very nature of things, the cities that controlled the fertile plains of Campania or the rich soil of the Tiber valley<sup>4</sup> were better off than the highland peoples whose territory was in large part fit only for huntsmen and herdsmen. In Lucania and Bruttium, for example, the wild highlands were mostly forest, where the boar and the wild bull roamed; even where it was not wooded, the land was fit only for grazing sheep.<sup>5</sup> The south-east of Italy, though less mountainous and inaccessible than the south-west, was also largely given over to sheep-grazing

<sup>1</sup> Strabo v. 217-18 (Liguria), 241 (central Apennines), vi. 253-4 (Lucania, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo v. 249-50; cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 162.

<sup>3</sup> Florus ii. 9. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Campania: Strabo v. 242, 247, Cic. *leg. ag.* i. 21, ii 76 ff., etc. Tiber valley: Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 20, cf. 39, 43 (Ameria); also Varro, *RR* i. 9. 6 ('in agro pingui, ut in *Etruria*')?

<sup>5</sup> Evidence for the state of Lucania and Bruttium in the late Republic is collected in *PBSR* 1964, 34-5.

(with its attendant dangers of unruly herdsmen turning to brigandage), because of the very low rainfall of 'siticulosa Apulia' and the dry, dusty nature of the topsoil.<sup>1</sup> Although not much is known of the agriculture of Samnium, the same conditions may have applied there in the late Republic; Cicero mentions the *res pecuariae* of the men of Larinum, and one of the most notorious Sullan *possessores* had wide estates among the Hirpini.<sup>2</sup>

*Latifundia* are attested also in the Sabine highlands, and the heavily forested Umbrian Apennines are used by Cicero as an example of a land populated by nomadic herdsmen.<sup>3</sup> In Etruria too, much of the primeval forest still remained, both in the hills and on the marshy, malarial coast.<sup>4</sup> Like the mountains of the south, and for the same reasons, Etruria was full of herdsmen and brigands. They flocked to Marius in 87, and gave shelter to Sertorius and Carbo in 82.<sup>5</sup> Catiline recruited them gratefully, and it is clear that his makeshift army at Pistoriae was largely composed of them: three-quarters of his force, according to Sallust, was armed only with hunting-spears or sharpened stakes. (After his defeat the survivors disappeared back into the hills, until Clodius rounded them up again for his own purposes.)<sup>6</sup> So it is quite clear that great areas of Apennine Italy were little better than a wilderness.

Evidence of this sort, however (and it could be multiplied), serves only to indicate the poverty of agricultural resources

<sup>1</sup> See Toynbee, *HL* ii. 240-1 and 564 ff. (G. D. B. Jones) on the depopulation of Apulia, and erosion through overgrazing.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Cluent.* 196, *leg. ag.* iii. 8, etc.; cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 50-1 on Cocceius' *plenisima villa* at Caudium (Salmon, *Samn.* 390).

<sup>3</sup> Toynbee, *HL* ii, ch. 7 (286-95), cf. Syme, *Sall.* 13 n. 29, 42 (Sabini); Toynbee, *op. cit.* 595; Cic. *div.* i. 94 (Umbria)—cf. Catullus 39. 11 ('*parcus Umber*').

<sup>4</sup> Toynbee, *HL* ii. 590, 594 f.; Pliny, *ep.* v. 6. 1 on the Etruscan coast.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. *Mar.* 41; App. *BC* i. 67, 92; Exsup. 4; Gran. Lic. 16 F: 'erat autem Etruria fidissima partibus Marianis', though that was because of the *civitas* grant. Cf. Sall. *Hist.* 83 M, Cic. *Cluent.* 153 for a Sertorian from the Etruscan aristocracy (C. Maecenas), and Pliny, *NH* vii. 181 on Marius' brother-in-law C. Caesar, who died while staying at Pisae.

<sup>6</sup> Sall. *Cat.* 56. Cic., *de aere alieno Milonis* ap. Sch. Bob. 172 St. (cf. Cic. *Phil.* xii 23, *Mil.* 26, 50, 55, 74, 87): the scholiast foolishly claims that Clodius commanded Catiline's army in *Appennino*, which at least indicates that the context of the remark was Clodius' connection with Catiline and his followers.

available to the highland peoples as a whole. For potential senators from such areas, the pastoral economy might be no disadvantage; many of the *latifondisti* who profited by it were just those local aristocrats who might aspire to senatorial status. A more interesting example, where the economic health of a particular town may be relevant to its known output of senators, is to be found much nearer to Rome.

The towns of Aricia and Lanuvium in Latium sent many senators to Rome, and continued to do so—with a consul each—under Augustus. From their neighbour Velitrae, however, only the Octavii are attested.<sup>1</sup> It is true that Velitrae was probably not fully enfranchised in 338, but perhaps an equally significant difference lies in the famous sanctuaries of Diana near Aricia and Juno Sospita at Lanuvium. The funds of these temples (and that of Fortuna at Antium) made the towns a worthwhile prize for the Marians in 87, and Octavian tried unsuccessfully to borrow from them in 41; Lanuvium and Aricia thus became important centres, profiting from the traffic of visitors to the shrines, while Velitrae remained a dim place noted only for wine and snails.<sup>2</sup> But perhaps this is still not a sufficient reason. Praeneste and Antium had famous sanctuaries to Fortuna, but while Praeneste supplies senators in considerable numbers, Antium is known only for two moneyers. What else did Aricia and Lanuvium have that Antium and Velitrae had not?

It is perhaps relevant that Aricia was the first night's stop on the Appia for lazy travellers, and that men like Cicero and Atticus kept villas at Lanuvium, presumably for the same purpose.<sup>3</sup> Communications with Rome and, in particular, proximity to a Roman trunk road, also deserve notice as a factor in considering the *patriae* of the Italian senators. Velitrae was off the road; so was Anagnia, a town of some size, yet the home of only one known senator.<sup>4</sup> The Marsi were on the Via Valeria, but the paved road did not go as far as the Paeligni and the other highland

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II: the consuls are nos. 237 and 416. Octavius: no. 287.

<sup>2</sup> App. *BC* i. 69, v. 24, 27; Pliny, *NH* viii. 140, xii. 10, xiv. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 1; Cic. *Att.* ix. 9. 4, 13. 6, xii. 44. 3, 47 ff., etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Phil.* ii. 106 on 'Anagnini devii'.



tribes<sup>1</sup>—could this be why Marsic senators are more numerous? The Sabines, though village-dwelling highlanders, were mostly accessible by the Salaria as far as Reate, and perhaps by the Via Caecilia to Foruli, Amiternum, and beyond<sup>2</sup>—was this how their senators were encouraged to come to Rome? It may not be entirely because of their colonial status that the first Umbrian senators whose home towns are known came from Spoletium, Narnia, and Pisaurum on the Via Flaminia,<sup>3</sup> while men from the towns off the road are not attested until Augustus. The almost complete lack of Roman public roads in Samnium until Augustus in A.D. 2 built a road north-east from Venafrum to Aesernia, and thence around the north of Mt. Tifernus towards Bovianum,<sup>4</sup> may in part account for the comparatively small number of Samnite senators.

But it was not only because the local aristocrats could get to Rome easily that the proximity of their towns to the Roman roads was important. Antium, after all, was within easy reach of Rome by the Via Ardeatina, but evidently produced few, and obscure, senators. Traffic in the opposite direction was just as important: a Roman magistrate or general, on his travels along one of the great trunk roads, had to be accommodated. If he had a villa of his own to go to, the *domi nobiles* were his neighbours; if he had not, they were his hosts. The most distant Latin colonies were those at Aquileia and Brundisium, yet they were among the first that are known to have sent senators to Rome; was it because Aquileia was inevitably the base of Roman generals operating against the Istri or the Dalmatians, and because every proconsul on his way to an eastern province had to stay at least one night in Brundisium before crossing to Epirus? Two Brundisian

<sup>1</sup> *CIL* ix. 5973: Claudius counted the mileage of his extension from Cerfennia Marsorum. Strabo (v. 238) says that the road led in his time ἐπὶ Μαρσῶν καὶ Κορφίνιον, but the pass over into the Aternus valley was clearly not part of the *via munita*—perhaps a mule track.

<sup>2</sup> See *PBSR* 1964, 23 n. 12 for the possible date.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 96, 124-6, 188, 216 (triumviral or earlier); but also no. 357 from Mevania, probably under the Triumvirs.

<sup>4</sup> *CIL* ix. 5977-9. Cf. D.H. xx. 11. 1 for communication by goat-tracks in Samnium; but pre-Roman communications were not entirely inadequate (Samon, *Samn.* 19 ff.).

examples illustrate the point—L. Rammius, ‘*princeps Brundisi*’ in 172, the host of Roman commanders and Macedonian royalty, and M. Laenius Strabo who gave hospitality to Ap. Claudius, no doubt on his way to or from Cilicia in 53 or 51.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, it would seem that close contact with the Roman nobility was a more important single factor than easy communication with Rome. The towns of Aquinum and Casinum were both in the plain of the Liris, both on the Via Latina, and both in easy contact with Rome; they were towns of considerable size, being described by Strabo as *μεγάλη πόλις* and *πόλις ἀξιόλογος* respectively.<sup>2</sup> Aquinum, well situated at the junction of the Latina and the mountain road to Minturnae, was the centre of a dyeing trade and became large and prosperous first as a result of the destruction of Fregellae, and later after a colony was planted there by the Triumvirs.<sup>3</sup> Casinum was noted for its oil; it had some connection with the Roman nobility through the Ummidius who entertained L. Philippus, the Rubrius who made a bequest to Antony, and the villa of M. Varro which passed to Antony in the proscriptions.<sup>4</sup> Yet only three senators are known from these towns, one of whom (Rubrius) is not certain; from Arpinum, on the other hand, up in the Apennine foothills away from the Roman road, a town to which the Marsi—via the upper Liris valley—and the Samnites of Atina and Venafrum were far more accessible than Rome,<sup>5</sup> there came a succession of praetors and consuls for two generations after Marius entered the Senate in or about 123 B.C. No doubt our dependence on the evidence of Cicero distorts the picture; but even so, the number and the prominence of Arpinate senators seem to require further explanation, and that explanation is surely to be sought in the success of Marius.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy xlii. 17. 3 ff.; Varro, *RR* iii. 5. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo v. 237; Livy xxvi. 9. 2 (contrast x. 36. 12) for Casinum on the Latina.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Att.* xvi. 10, 13a. 2 (Minturnae road); Hor. *Sat.* i. 10. 26 and schol. (dyeing); Pais, *Mem. Linc.* 1923, 363 (colony).

<sup>4</sup> Cato *agr.* 136; Varro, *RR* iii. 3. 9 (cf. no. 452); Cic. *Phil.* ii. 40–1 (no. 363?); Varro, *RR* iii. 5. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Planc.* 22 (Samnites); Cato, *agr.* 135. 1–3 (communications between Volscian country and Marsi); cf. p. 138 below.

<sup>6</sup> Thus Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 412: ‘tous les municipes n’étaient pas aussi avancés sur la voie des honneurs.’

Thanks to Marius' career and reputation, Arpinum became known, and its ruling class—some of it related to the Marii—made close and fruitful contact with Roman political society. In the late second century, we know that Cicero's grandfather was a friend of M. Scaurus, his uncle L. Cicero and C. Visellius Aculeo of L. Crassus, M. Gratidius of the orator M. Antonius;<sup>1</sup> Visellius probably adopted a Terentius Varro, and Scaurus' friend L. Fufidius may have belonged to the Arpinate family of that name.<sup>2</sup> The Visellii and the Tullii Cicerones were connected with Marius' family through the Gratidii, and through Marius' family with the consular Baebii and the patrician Julii. Marius' son married into the Licinii Crassi, a Gratidia into the patrician Sergii.<sup>3</sup> It was this close social intercourse which produced, and advanced, the Arpinate senators, and presumably the other towns of the 'fautrix suorum regio' also benefited: we happen to know that the first of many Atinates to reach curule rank were the Sentii Saturnini, who entered the Senate at the very period of Marius' run of consulships, and the only two senators known from the near-by Latin colony at Sora began their careers in the next generation.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the same process may be illustrated on a smaller scale among the Hernici, if A. Hirtius, *cos.* 43, is rightly assigned to Ferentinum: the only possible senator from the near-by town of Verulae is attested in the year after Hirtius' consulship, and men from Anagnia and Aletrium are known only under Augustus.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that their families benefited politically from Hirtius' success.

Social intimacy with political circles at Rome would also be enjoyed by the local aristocracy in those areas where wealthy Romans built or bought country villas in order to escape, for a while, from the heat of the Roman summer and the wearying

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *de or.* i. 191, ii. 2, 265, *de leg.* iii. 36. Note also the Arpinates M. Pontidius, an orator at Rome (*Brut.* 246), and Q. Mamercus (*fam.* xiii. 11. 1), whose name may be relevant to the town's connections with the Aemilii Scauri. See p. 106 below on Scaurus.

<sup>2</sup> See nos. 501 (Taylor, *VDRR* 266) and 183 (cf. 184).

<sup>3</sup> See Carney, *Marius*, stemma opp. p. 76, and below, pp. 55-7.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Planc.* 22; nos. 387-8 (Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 156 ff.; Cic. *Planc.* 19), 457, and 106.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 206, 307 (?), 38, 68.

bustle of the Forum. The Alban hills were a favourite refuge, and the large numbers of senators from Tibur and Tusculum may not be solely an index of their proximity to Rome; the Latin status of Tibur and the economic decline of Tusculum were disadvantages evidently outweighed by the presence of Roman nobles as temporary neighbours of the *domi nobiles* at their villas in the summer.<sup>1</sup> Forum Clodi in Etruria is an analogous case.<sup>2</sup> Why are four senators known from Forum Clodi on the pleasant shores of lake Bracciano, but none at all from Forum Appi in the Pomptine marshes, Forum Aurelii on the swampy Etruscan coast, or Forum Decii in the wild mountains of the Sabine country? There is no explicit evidence for summer villas at Bracciano in ancient times, but, then as now, it must have been a perfect site for them, conveniently close to Rome.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, even in our absurdly inadequate statistics it is noticeable that the known Picene senators predominate in the period between the Social War and the civil war of Pompey and Caesar<sup>4</sup>—in the period, that is, when the reputation and influence of Pompey, who inherited from his father what amounted to a private barony in Picenum,<sup>5</sup> might achieve election to office and a seat in the Senate for a *novus homo* who happened to be his client. Contact and familiarity with influential Roman politicians, whether as clients, as neighbours and social intimates, or as relatives by marriage and adoption, was indubitably the most important single factor among all the circumstances which might help or hinder a municipal aristocrat who aspired to the Senate. The evidence for such social contact in its various forms must be considered next.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Planc.* 21, *leg. ag.* ii. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 121, 290-1, 349.

<sup>3</sup> NS 1940, 398-419 for a republican villa near Anguillara, though not on the lake.

<sup>4</sup> Picentes/Praetuttii entering Senate before 89: nos. 163, 246, 257 (?). Between 89 and 49: nos. 9, 78, 150 (?), 217 (??), 220, 223, 231, 234, 258, 273, 274, 282 (?), 294 (?), 316, 406, 513-14. After 49: nos. 205 (Asculum), 214, 325, 340-1, 474 (Asculum), 487. The Asculani, of course, besides being *ex-socii*, had least reason to be grateful to Pompey and his family.

<sup>5</sup> See further pp. 40-2 below.

## EX MUNICIPIIS NECESSARII

## I. HOSTS AND GUESTS

EVER since Homeric times, the most important relationship in the ancient world after those of kin and marriage had been that between ξένοι or guest friends. Evidence of it at Rome appears early, in a comedy of Naevius where the presence of such guests at one's house is mentioned as a normal circumstance.<sup>1</sup> The existence of the bond of guest-friendship and the responsibilities involved was symbolized by the *tessera hospitalis*, a token recording the names of the *hospites*: several examples survive, one of them bearing the names of T. Manlius T. f., clearly a patrician, and a Marsian T. Staiodius N. (f.).<sup>2</sup> With the extension of the Roman *civitas*, hospitality became less vital for the protection of one's interests in other cities, but the relationship was still an important one and the social duties involved were in no way decreased: 'non curia vires meas desiderat', vowed Cicero in 44, 'non amici, non clientes, non hospites.'<sup>3</sup>

The mutual nature of *hospitium* means that the two parties must have been (roughly) social equals; a Roman senator in an Italian town would not have stayed at the house of a nobody. In some cases his host may himself have been of senatorial rank: Cicero and Ap. Claudius stayed with the senator Q. Axius at Reate when they went to referee a dispute with Interamna, Cornelius Merula stayed with M. Seius at Ostia, and Catiline when visiting Arretium was the guest of a C. Flaminius who was probably the aedile of 67.<sup>4</sup> Other hosts of Roman travellers were

<sup>1</sup> Naevius, *Ariolus* ap. Macr. *Sat.* iii. 17. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *ILLRP* 1064-9; Plaut. *Poen.* 1048-52, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *sen.* 32, cf. *fam.* v. 18. 5, etc. Macr. ii. 3. 11 (p. 89 below) for a typical case.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Att.* iv. 5. 5; Varro, *RR* iii. 2. 2-3, 7-8; Sall. *Cat.* 36. 1.

local aristocrats whose families were to become senatorial in two or three generations: an Ummidius at Casinum and a Valerius Catullus at Verona entertained Marcus Philippus and Caesar respectively.<sup>1</sup> Ti. Gracchus' friend C. Blossius of Cumae, a *hospes* of the Mucii Scaevolae, came from the highest Campanian nobility, and M. Laenius Strabo, Ap. Claudius' host at Brundisium was doubtless of similarly exalted rank in municipal society.<sup>2</sup>

The same, of course, applied to the Italian or foreign guests of Roman senators. 'Camerini cives nostri', said Cato in a speech of about 190 B.C., 'cum Romae veniebant prorsus devertabantur pro hospitibus ad amicos suos'; official delegations to Rome were not put up at public expense but stayed at the homes of the friends and *hospites*, as did the ambassadors sent by Perseus in 172, who tried to find out the Senate's attitude through their *patroni hospitesque*.<sup>3</sup> Such official representatives of Italian towns or foreign kingdoms were naturally men of importance. Similarly C. Vibius Capax of Larinum, who lived and died at the house in Rome of the Tusculan senator L. Platorius, came from a local dynastic *gens* which reached the Senate and the consulship under Augustus.<sup>4</sup> The Marsian *princeps* Poppaedius Silo was the guest of Livius Drusus at Rome, and the brother of Pompeius Strabo entertained or was entertained by Vettius Scato, another rebel leader.<sup>5</sup>

But though *hospitium* was a relationship between men of approximately equal social standing, the dominance of Rome and the correspondingly large political power wielded by a member of the Roman Senate resulted in the merging of the idea of *hospitium* into that of *clientela*. The Roman could do more for his foreign or Italian host or guest than the latter could do for him, and so became in a sense his patron and protector, expecting in

<sup>1</sup> Varro, *RR* iii. 3. 9; Suet. *DJ* 73.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *de am.* 37; Livy, xxiii. 7, 8-9, xxvii. 3, 4, 5; Dudley, *JRS* 1941, 94-5. Varro, *RR* iii. 5. 8; cf. M. Laenius Flaccus, host of Cicero at Brundisium in 58 and 57 (*fam.* xiv. 4. 2, *Planc.* 97, *Sest.* 131), and M. Laenius, a *negotiator* in Laodicea and Bithynia and Torquatus' agent in 51 (*Att.* v. 21. 4, 10, *fam.* xiii. 63).

<sup>3</sup> Cato, *ORF* fr. 56; Livy xlii. 14. 7. Cf. L. Rammius at Brundisium (Livy xlii. 17. 2 ff.), Dio of Alexandria and the Coponii (Cic. *Cael.* 24), Dio of Halaesa and Servilia (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 24), and many other examples (Badian, *FC* 154 f.).

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Cluent.* 25, 165; *vir. ill.* 80. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. *Cato min.* 2. 1-4; *V.M.* iii. 1. 2; Cic. *Phil.* xii. 27.

return for his *beneficia* as much political support as his *hospes* could muster in his home town or district.

Clients and *hospites* are often mentioned together,<sup>1</sup> and the two statuses had much in common, notably the idea of *fides*, the responsibility of giving fair return for favours received. In many cases they were considered almost synonymous: the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* lists the evidence of *potentia* for which one could reasonably attack an opponent as 'nobilitatem, clientelas, hospitium, sodalitatem, affinitates', and Cicero remarks that by not going to a province in 62 he gave up the chance of 'clientelae hospitiaque provincialia'.<sup>2</sup> A further parallel with *clientela* is provided by the institution of *hospitium publicum*, an honour which could be conferred by a community on a private citizen, as on Cornelius Balbus at Gades or on Cicero's cousin Lucius at Syracuse.<sup>3</sup> Presumably this honour involved the recipient in the duties as well as the rights of a *hospes*, and he must thereby have become *de facto* a patron of the town. The parallelism of patronage and *hospitium* is made quite clear by the agreement made in A.D. 5 between the senator Q. Marius Balbus and a municipality in Baetica:

Q. Marius Balbus *hosp[itium fecit]* cum senatu populoque [. . .] liberisque eoru[m eosque liberos] posterisque eo[rum in fidem] *clientelamqu[e . . . recepit]*.<sup>4</sup>

Defence in a law court was one of the prime services which a Roman could fulfil for his *hospites* at their request. The following passage of the *pro Roscio Amerino* is the best example, and serves to emphasize again the social equality of host and guest, despite the Romans' advantageous position:

Sex. Roscius pater huiusce municeps Amerinus fuit, cum genere et pecunia non modo sui municipi verum etiam eius vicinitatis facile

<sup>1</sup> *TLL* vii. 3023. 39 ff., 54 ff., 3038. 31 ff.; Hellegouarc'h, *Voc. lat.* 51-2, on *hospitium* as a part of *amicitia*. <sup>2</sup> *Rhet. Her.* i. 5. 8; *Cic. Cat.* iv. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Cic. Balb.* 41, *Verr.* iv. 145; *Sest.* 10 'decretum . . . vicinitatis aut clientelae aut hospiti publici . . . gratia', *Livy* i. 45. 2, v. 50. 3, xxi. 12. 6, xxxvii. 54. 5; *Pliny ep.* iii. 4. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *CIL* ii. 1343, cf. i<sup>2</sup>. 611, ii. 2690. 6, viii. 8837. 5. Note also *Cic. Rosc. Am.* 106: 'cum multos a maioribus Roscii patronos hospitesque haberent, omnes eos colere atque observare destituerunt ac se in Chrysogoni fidem et clientelam contulerunt.'

primus tum gratia atque hospitibus florens hominum nobilissimorum. Nam cum Metellis, Serviliis, Scipionibus erat ei non modo hospitium verum etiam domesticus usus et consuetudo . . . (filii) fama et vita innocentis ab hospitibus amicisque paternis defenditur.<sup>1</sup>

Cicero earned by his activity in the law courts the gratitude of the *eques* Cluentius Habitus of Larinum, Varenus of Fulginiae, Caecina of Volaterrae, 'amplissimum totius Etruriae nomen', an anonymous but no doubt distinguished woman of Arretium, and other Italians, including the younger Sex. Roscius himself; Caesar similarly defended a Decius or Decidius from Samnium.<sup>2</sup> Some of these people will have been guests or hosts of their counsels; whatever the origin of acquaintance, such services offer a good indication of Roman contacts with local aristocracies. There will have been no question with whom Cicero would stay in Volaterrae, or who would organize the more prosperous Larinates to go to Rome and vote in their tribe for Cicero's advancement.

Some of Cicero's Italian acquaintances were not his clients but his colleagues and opponents in the courts. Prosecuting counsel in the cases of C. Cornelius and Cluentius were two Umbrian *equites*, both friends of Cicero, respectively P. Cominius of Spoletium and T. Accius of Pisaurum; Cicero also knew the Marsian orator Q. Vettius Vettianus, clearly from the leading family of the region, and Q. and D. Valerii from Sora were his neighbours and friends.<sup>3</sup> These men illustrate the fact that Italians could be patrons at Rome as well as clients. For Italian senators this goes without saying—we may compare the Coponii, grandsons of a Tiburtine who won the citizenship by a successful prosecution, hosts and patrons of an Alexandrian philosopher and ambassador<sup>4</sup>—but Cominius, Accius, and their friends remind us that there were many non-senatorial members of the municipal aristocracies who lived at Rome and wielded influence not far below that of their contemporaries in the Roman Senate.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rosc. Am.* 15 (cf. *Verr.* ii. 96 on the 'defensores atque hospites Stheni'). Sex. Roscius had thirteen farms in the Tiber valley and could no doubt entertain a Metellus or a Scipio in the style to which he was used.

<sup>2</sup> *Cic. Caec.* 104, 97; *Tac. dial.* 21; cf. *Cic. Cluent.* 161; Syme, *JRS* 1937, 132-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Cic. Brut.* 271, 169.

<sup>4</sup> *Cic. Cael.* 24, *Balb.* 52.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Meier, *RPA* 85 n. 126 on the *clientelae* of *equites*.



Since *amicitia* too, for the same reasons as *hospitium*, became absorbed in the idea of clientship, some Romans' municipal friends may have been clients obliged to support a patron; others however will have been genuine friends and acquaintances, and when they offer political support it is no doubt more through common ideals and interests than by virtue of the ties of *clientela*.<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the case with the Arpinate friends of M. Scaurus, L. Crassus, and M. Antonius, and with the Lanuvine *eques* L. Aelius Stilo, who accompanied Metellus Numidicus into exile.<sup>2</sup> The Gracchi had their municipal friends, like Blossius of Cumae and Septumuleius of Anagnia;<sup>3</sup> so too did Catiline,<sup>4</sup> Clodius,<sup>5</sup> and other nobles whose *amici* happen to be mentioned in the sources.<sup>6</sup> (Cicero's *familiares*, of course, included many municipal men.)<sup>7</sup> Similar friendships probably lie behind Livy's remark that the Mopsii of Compsa in Samnium were a 'familia per gratiam Romanorum potens' in 216, and no doubt the Ventidii driven out of Auximum by Pompey in 83 were *amici* of Carbo and his supporters.<sup>8</sup>

Personal friends, political supporters, hosts, guests, clients—the categories are ill-defined and run into each other. What is certain is that the local aristocrats were important men whose friendship was valued by Roman politicians.

Sunt enim quidam homines in suis vicinitatibus et municipiis gratiosi, sunt diligentes et copiosi . . . his hominum generibus sic inserviendum

<sup>1</sup> Brunt, *PCPS* 1965, 1–20 *passim*. *Clientela*: Badian, *FC* 11–12, *TLL* i. 1907, 77 ff.

<sup>2</sup> p. 31 above; Suet. *gramm.* 3.

<sup>3</sup> p. 34 n. 2 above; Cic. *de or.* ii. 269, *vir. ill.* 65. 6 (Septumuleius turned traitor).

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Septimius Camers, Caepius of Tarracina (Sall. *Cat.* 27. 1, 46. 3).

<sup>5</sup> Titius of Reate (Cic. *Sest.* 80, 112), the *eques* C. Causinius Schola of Interamna (*Mil.* 56, Asc. 31 c—cf. the imperial banking house of Causinius, *PW* xvii. 1431. 121), Menulla from Anagnia (*dom.* 81), the Marsic Scato (*dom.* 116, *Att.* iv. 5. 2, vi. 1. 15); cf. also Fidulius, Plaguleius, Lentidius (*dom.* 13, 79, 80).

<sup>6</sup> e.g. Cic. *fam.* ix. 18. 4 (L. Paetus, Naples), Caes. *BC* i. 15 (Lentulus Crus, Capua), Varro, *RR* ii. 7. 1 (M. Varro and Q. Modius Aequiculus), iii. 2. 2–3 (Ap. Claudius and Fircellius Pavo), V.P. ii. 76. 1 (Ti. Nero and C. Velleius).

<sup>7</sup> e.g. C. Curtius of Volaterrae, C. Avianius of Puteoli, L. Tarutius of Firmum (Cic. *fam.* xiii. 5, *Acad.* ii. 80, *div.* 98).

<sup>8</sup> Livy xxiii. 1. 2; Plut. *Pomp.* 6. 5.

est ut ipsi intellegant te videre quid a quoque exspectes, sentire quid accipias, meminisse quid acceperis.<sup>1</sup>

Such men's support could be solicited by cultivation or in some cases demanded as a return for favours given. Thus the exiled Cicero in 58 made for the south-Italian towns whose *clientela* he and his brother had earned in 75 and 62, and expected shelter from the Sicilians whom he had served as quaestor; in particular he counted on the Sicilian Vibius (Sicca?) at Vibo Valentia, who had become *praefectus fabrum* in Cicero's consulship. The claims of *pietas* however proved in this case less strong than the sanctions laid down in Clodius' law—or perhaps than the ties which Clodius himself had since established with the Sicilians.<sup>2</sup>

## II. PATRONS AND CLIENTS

With patronage earned by benefits conferred we are on firmer ground, duties and responsibilities being more clearly defined. One of the sources of Crassus' power, as we know from Plutarch, was the large number of his grateful clients.<sup>3</sup> Many of Cicero's clients will have been his friends the *equites*, bankers, tax-farmers, and businessmen in the provinces, mostly no doubt of municipal origin like the Praenestine financier P. Rupilius Rex (no. 366). Cicero was the chief representative of their interests in the Senate ('publican[os] . . . ordinem de nobis optime meritum et per nos cum re publica coniunctum') and enjoyed a *summa necessitudo* with the order as a whole and with many individual members of it.<sup>4</sup> M'. Curius, a *negotiator* at Patrae and Cicero's host there, calls him 'patrone mi', and the thirteenth book of the letters *ad familiares* is full of recommendations made by Cicero to provincial governors in favour of *equites'* business interests.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Comm. pet.* 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Cic. Planc.* 97, *leg.* ii. 15; *Plut. Cic.* 32. 2 (*Oros.* vi. 6. 7 on Q. Cicero in 62); cf. *Att.* xvi. 6. 1, 7. 1 for Cicero's hosts at Vibo and Rhegium in 44, Münzer, *PW* s.v. Sicca for Vibius. *Cic. Att.* ii. 1. 5 for Clodius.

<sup>3</sup> *Cic. Att.* xii. 54. 2; *Plut. Crass.* 7. For the political exploitation of patronage see Taylor, *PP* 41-2 (cf. *D.H.* ii. 9-11).

<sup>4</sup> *Cic. QF* i. 1. 6, 32. Cf. *comm. pet.* 3 on Cicero's support: 'omnes publicani, totus fere equester ordo.'

<sup>5</sup> *Cic. fam.* vii. 28. 1, 29. 1, 30. 3, xiii. 17, 50; xiii. 6a, 9. 2, 22. 1, 31, 33, 43-7, 51, 65. 2; cf. 19. 2, 23. 1, xiv. 12. 1, *Verr. act.* i. 38.

The same book reveals Cicero's provincial *clientela* in Sicily and Cyprus, earned in 75 and 51–50 respectively; he was also patron of several Asiatics and at least one Sardinian—from provinces where his brother Quintus had served from 61 to 56.<sup>1</sup> Provincial *clientelae* are beyond the scope of this chapter,<sup>2</sup> but one of the techniques of achieving them—enfranchisement—was much used also in Cisalpine Gaul and other parts of Italy, before they were given the citizenship *en masse*. For instance, Pompeius Strabo's act in giving the Cisalpines Latin status and Caesar's consistent efforts to secure them full citizenship gave both Pompey and Caesar supporters in north Italy, as may be seen from Cicero's comment on Marcellus' illegal flogging of a man from Novum Comum in 51—'ita mihi videtur non minus stomacho nostro (*sc.* Pompeio) quam Caesari fecisse.'<sup>3</sup> Antony counted on Caesar's memory<sup>4</sup> to secure the support of the Transpadanes in 44 and 43, but they let him down, no doubt because many of them were also clients of Cassius, whose father had been proconsul there in 72.<sup>5</sup> However, Bononia was firmly in Antony's *clientela* in 32, and he also carried out enfranchisements at Placentia.<sup>6</sup> Similar grants of citizenship had been made by Marius to two Camertine cohorts and to individuals at Iguvium and Spoletium, by Pompey at Ravenna, and by C. Valerius Flaccus at Velia in Lucania.<sup>7</sup> In 60 B.C. the Senate entrusted C. Octavius, praetor the year before and

<sup>1</sup> Sicily: *fam.* xiii. 30, 32, 34–9, *Att.* ii. 1. 5, xiv. 12. 1, *Verr.* i. 16, iv. 25, *div. Caec.* 2–3, *Plut. Cic.* 31. 5, 32. 1–2 (S. Italy: *PBSR* 1964, 36); Cyprus: *fam.* xiii. 49. Asia: xiii. 67, 69–71, 73, 78 (Democritus of Sicyon 'paene Aethiopiae princeps'), *leg.* iii. 15, *Planc.* 97. Sardinia: *Scaur.* 43. Cf. *fam.* xiv. 1. 7, 3. 4, *Planc.* 97 (Dyrrachium).

<sup>2</sup> See Badian, *FC*, esp. chapters 7 and 11; Meier, *RPA* 15 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Cic. Att.* v. 11. 2; *Suet. DJ* 8; *MRR* ii. 258 for Caesar and Transpadana.

<sup>4</sup> *Hirt. BG* viii. 50, 52 on Caesar's canvassing in Cisalpine Gaul; *Suet. DJ* 73; *Caes. BC* iii. 71 (c.g.) for his Cisalpine friends. Cf. Ewins, *PBSR* 1955, 91–5.

<sup>5</sup> Cassii: *Livy, per.* 96; *Oros.* v. 24. 4; *Phleg. Trall. FGrH* 257 F 37. 12 and 40; *Suet. DA* 51. 1, cf. no. 108; C. Cassius, *cos.* 96, took over Strabo's army in 87 (*Gran. Lic.* 29 B); *Cic. fam.* xii. 5. 2, *Phil.* iii. 13, x. 10, xii. 10 (cf. xi. 39); *Plut. comp. Brut. Dion.* 5. 2 (Brutus honoured in Mediolanum).

<sup>6</sup> *Suet. DA* 17. 2; *Dio* l. 6. 2; *Pliny, NH* xxxiii. 83, *CIL* xi. 720, cf. *Tac. Ann.* xii. 58. 2 (Nero inheriting his great-grandfather's duties?). *Phleg. Trall. FGrH* 257 F 37. 32 for a T. Veteranius at Bononia; *ibid.* F 37. 26, 43, 77; *Suet. gramm.* 7 for Cisalpine Antonii.

<sup>7</sup> *Cic. Balb.* 46, 50, 55; cf. *Plut. Mar.* 28. 2.

now about to leave for his province of Macedonia, with the task of mopping up the remains of Spartacan and Catilinarian bands in the area of Thurii in southern Italy. A recently discovered inscription names a C. Oct[avius] as patron of the neighbouring Greek city of Locri—perhaps the praetor himself, or a member of a family enfranchised by him.<sup>1</sup>

Q. Minucius Rufus celebrated a triumph over the Ligurians as consul in 197; the area evidently remained in the family's *clientela*, for in 117 his grandsons Q. and M. Minucii Q. f. Rufi were appointed to arbitrate in a boundaries dispute at Genua.<sup>2</sup> C. Cassius Longinus, *cos.* 171, campaigned in Istria: four generations later a L. Cassius C. f. Longinus was duumvir at Pola with a L. Piso. The Licinii Crassi had influence in Istria in the first century A.D.: the other consul of 171 had been a Crassus, his brother fought in Cisalpine Gaul three years later, and his great-grandson was the dynast Crassus, who agitated for the enfranchisement of the Transpadanes in his censorship in 65.<sup>3</sup> This patronage of a people defeated in battle (particularly, no doubt, those members of it who had joined the Roman side before it was too late) is paralleled both by the Marcelli's responsibility for Sicily<sup>4</sup> and by the *clientela* of Pompey in Picenum after his father's Asculum campaign.

It was acutely observed by Cichorius that the large middle group of names in the *consilium* of Pompeius Strabo before Asculum in 89, with the Velina tribe predominating, were in all probability *equites* and local dignitaries from the Picene towns who took the Roman side. Of these the brothers L. and T. Terentii A. f. were probably from Firmum, Cn. Oppius Cn. f. from Auximum, and L. Minucius L. f. from Cupra Maritima, perhaps son of the L. Minucius Basilus who served as legate under Sulla in 88 and whose son was 'patronus agri Piceni et Sabini'. L. Junius Q. f. Lem. may have come from Ancona, and the

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *DA* 3; *AE* 1965, 153.

<sup>2</sup> *MRR* i. 333; *ILLRP* 517.

<sup>3</sup> Cassii: *ILLRP* 639; cf. Harris, *PBSR* 1965, 114 for the *cos.* 171 and the Via Cassia—perhaps built in his censorship in 154, linking with the Annia (built from Bononia to Aquileia in 153? *PBSR* 1964, 22 ff.), to form a continuous paved road almost to Istria. Crassi: Tac. *Hist.* ii. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *div. Caec.* 13, *Verr.* ii. 36, 51, 122, iii. 212, iv. 86, 89 ff.

members of the Pollia tribe—M. Teiedius M. f., C. Fornasidius C. f., M'. Otacilius M'. f., and M' Aebutius M'. f.—possibly from Forum Semproni, Fanum Fortunae, Ostra, or Aesis in the *ager Gallicus* to the north.<sup>1</sup> As usual, some at least of the more prosperous local residents displayed fidelity to Rome—perhaps even at Asculum, if the tribe of T. Petronius P. f. Fab. indicates his origin from the town, which was enrolled in the Fabia in 89.<sup>2</sup> By putting themselves under the patronage of the Roman commander such men stood to gain advancement in proportion to the influence (in this case considerable) enjoyed by him and his descendants.

It is often assumed<sup>3</sup> that the influence and patronage of Pompeius Strabo in Picenum dated from before the Social War, but this is not necessary. In 83 young Pompey raised a private army of three legions in the *ager Picenus*, 'qui totus paternis eius clientelis refertus erat'. According to Plutarch he owned *χωρία* in the area and was especially popular in the towns, which favoured him because of his father; with the last part of this Dio (*διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡγεμονίαν*) and Appian (*κατὰ κλέος τοῦ πατρὸς*) concur. According to Valerius Maximus and the author of the *Bellum Africanum* his army consisted of his father's old soldiers; Livy's epitomator calls them merely *voluntarii*.<sup>4</sup> Strabo's clients, with whom his son was so popular, were presumably those local nobles who had taken the Roman side, joined Strabo, and will have benefited after the war at the expense of their less prudent contemporaries. Pompey could call on them for help as an obligation, and they were no doubt glad to give it, having been subjected the year before to Cinna and his army at Ancona, who must have favoured their opponents. The estates mentioned by Plutarch may also have been a result of the war; no doubt a Roman commander benefited

<sup>1</sup> Cichorius, *RS* 157-9. Nos. 294, 257-8 (Taylor, *VDRR* 240, 253; Cic. *off.* iii. 74). No. 217: Taylor, *VDRR* 258.

<sup>2</sup> Sulla's quaestor L. Manlius Torquatus (*cos.* 65) married a woman from Asculum (Cic. *Sull.* 25)—see p. 53 below.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Gelzer, *KS* i. 96; Cichorius, *RS* 158; Badian, *FC* 228 f. Strabo's levy of his army in Picenum was not necessarily from his own clients.

<sup>4</sup> *V.P.* ii. 29. 1; *Plut. Pomp.* 6. 1; *Dio xxxiii.* fr. 107. 1; *App. BC* i. 80; *V.M.* v. 2. 9; *Bell. Afr.* 22. 2; *Livy, ep.* lxxxv. Cf. Cic. *Phil.* v. 44.

himself as well as his supporters at the expense of a captured city, and it is worth remembering that Pompey was brought to trial for his father's appropriation of the booty from Asculum, which should have gone to the public treasury. Pompey married the daughter of the magistrate in charge, won the case, and presumably kept the property.<sup>1</sup>

By these means Pompey acquired a *δυναστείαν ἰδίαν* in Picenum. In 56 he could summon a 'magna manus' from Picenum and the *ager Gallicus* against Clodius, and in 49 the loss of the area was regarded as particularly disastrous for him. Caesar naturally makes much of the welcome he received on his march south at Auximum and Cingulum. Attius Varus had been recruiting for Pompey at Auximum, but the decurions of the town supported Caesar and he had to give up; Lentulus Spinther was holding Asculum but fled, many of his men deserting to Caesar; L. Vibullius Rufus was sent by Pompey 'confirmandorum hominum causa' but achieved nothing and retreated with the remaining Pompeian forces to Corfinium. Behind Caesar's partial account we can glimpse traces of continued fidelity to Pompey's allegiance: of the soldiers levied by Varus at Auximum (a town of which Pompey was patron), 'nonnulla pars militum domum discedit, reliqui ad Caesarem perveniunt'. No details are given of the supplies and soldiers provided by Cingulum and other towns. Only at Asculum, which had least to thank Pompey for, are we told that a 'magna pars' of the Pompeian soldiery deserted. Certainly nineteen cohorts at least were raised by the Pompeians in Picenum; in March 49 they were with Ahenobarbus at Corfinium. The citizens of Firmum, Strabo's base in 90, were perhaps still motivated by the memory of his son in 43, when they promised money to be used against Antony.<sup>2</sup>

Pompey's Picene clients were the men who had been on the right side in the Social War. (No doubt they were remunerated, like the notorious Sullan Vettius Picens,<sup>3</sup> from the property of

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Pomp.* 4. 1-4; Oros. v. 18. 26. (Plut. *Pomp.* 1 on Strabo's covetousness.) Cf. Caes. *BC* iii. 4 on Pompey's slaves and *pastores*.

<sup>2</sup> Dio xxxiii. 107. 1; Cic. *QF* ii. 3. 4, *Att.* vii. 13. 1, viii. 3. 4, 8. 1. Caes. *BC* i. 12-15; Cic. *Att.* viii. 12a. 1 (Pompey). *Phil.* vii. 23. <sup>4</sup> Sall. *or. Lep.* 17.

their proscribed opponents.) It is possible that the Marsic support L. Ahenobarbus could command in 49 was also the result of the Social War.

Diodorus has a story that during Drusus' tribunate Poppaedius Silo was marching on Rome with a large armed band to demand the citizenship when they were met and persuaded to turn back by a certain C. Domitius (probably a mistake for Cn., as the Domitii did not use the *praenomen* C.). This may be relevant to the fidelity shown to L. Domitius Cn. f. Ahenobarbus by the Marsian soldiery under his command at Corfinium in 49. According to Caesar, the troops under Domitius wanted to desert to him, but the Marsi disagreed and occupied a strongpoint in the town which they held until it was discovered that Domitius intended to retreat. The two legions from Corfinium were transferred to the Caesarian army under Curio in Africa, where the desertion of two Marsic centurions and twenty-two soldiers gave rise to fears that all the troops were unreliable: 'municipia etiam diversis partibus coniuncta, namque ex Marsis Paelignisque veniebant . . .' Again according to Caesar's version, these fears were unfounded, and Caesar gives a lengthy account of the attempt on the Pompeian Attius Varus' life by a Paelignian centurion; but it looks very much as if the Marsi at least were under some sort of obligation to Ahenobarbus and his allies and only served Caesar reluctantly.<sup>1</sup>

The *equites* and centurions from the surrounding towns had been summoned to Corfinium by Ahenobarbus; Caesar on taking the town complained of this and reminded them of his own *beneficia* to the Marsic municipalities. It is interesting that the Latin colony of Alba Fucens had been enrolled in Ahenobarbus' own tribe, the Fabia; he held this town too in 49 but was driven out by Caesar, another man of the Fabia, who, like his adopted son twenty years later at Bononia, transferred his enemy's clients to himself and became patron of Alba.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xxxvii. 13 (cf. Gabba, *RFIC* 1959, 197 n. 3); Caes. *BC* i. 20, ii. 27, 29 (text uncertain), 35. For Marsic contact with the Roman nobility cf. Dio xxix. 98. 1; Cic. *Phil.* xii. 27; Plut. *Cato min.* 2. 1-4; V.M. iii. 1-2, *vir. ill.* 80-1.

<sup>2</sup> Caes. *BC* i. 23; De Visscher, *AC* 1964, 104-7. For Ahenobarbus' tribe at Alba,

The recruitment of troops, like the conquest of a hostile people, could also provide a generous commander with grateful clients: thus L. Licinius Murena earned a significant following in Umbria by his *liberalitas* when recruiting there as consul in 62. In 129 the Italians who were suffering from the application of the Gracchan agrarian law appealed for representation and protection to Scipio Aemilianus, under whom many of them had served; six years later C. Gracchus' road-building activities earned him the support of a *πλήθος ἐργολάβων καὶ χειροτεχνῶν*.<sup>1</sup>

We can sometimes catch a glimpse of the operation of a senator's connections in Italy. Q. Servilius (Caepio), for instance, whose murder sparked off the Social War, had been sent to Asculum in 91 because of his influence there. Evidently it was insufficient; the Asculan opposition was represented in Rome by one T. Betutius Barrus, who attacked Servilius' cousin in a court case.<sup>2</sup> Similar connections must lie behind the story of Marius' rescue by the Minturnians, or the support of C. Rabirius at his trial in 63 by a large number of men from Campania (where he had a house) and Apulia; M. Satrius is described as 'patronus agri Picentis et Sabini', and the obligations incurred by the townsmen of Cales towards P. Sittius of Nuceria ensured his protection during the proscriptions.<sup>3</sup> Such assistance could be mobilized by municipal dynasts as well: the trial of A. Cluentius of Larinum was attended not only by business men and landowners from the defendant's home town but by deputations from Teanum Apulum, the Frentani, Marrucini, and Samnium.<sup>4</sup>

compare Taylor's suggestion (*VDRR* 310 ff.) on the assignment of *ex-socii* to the tribes of Marian leaders.

<sup>1</sup> Murena: Cic. *Mur.* 42 and p. 139 below; cf. App. *Ib.* 8 on Scipio Africanus in Sicily, 205. Aemilianus: App. *BC* i. 19 (cf. Cic. *de am.* 12 'socii et Latini'). Gracchus: *ibid.* i. 23, cf. p. 139 n. 3 below.

<sup>2</sup> App. *BC* i. 38; Gabba, *RFIC* 1959, 197 n. 3; Cic. *Brut.* 169 (p. 18 above). Betutius' opponent was the son of Q. Caepio, *cos.* 106, grandson of Cn. Caepio, *cos.* 141 (Münzer's stemmata at *RA* 282, 346 and *PW* 11 A. 1777 corrected by Cichorius, *RS* 129-30); the man killed at Asculum was presumably grandson of Q. Caepio, *cos.* 140 (brother of the *cos.* 141).

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *red. Quir.* 20, *Sest.* 50, *Planc.* 26, etc. (cf. *ILLRP* 726); *Rab. perd.* 8, *Att.* i. 6. 2; *off.* iii. 74, App. *BC* iv. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Cluent.* 197. A man could also gain enemies: *Cluent.* 116 for P. Septimius



The formal patron/client relationship also applied between a Roman senator or *eques* and a town or city, an arrangement analogous to that of *hospitium publicum*. Naturally, the more important the place, the greater the patron: Capua was in the *clientela* of Cicero, Balbus, and probably L. Piso, who was *Ivir* there in 58,<sup>1</sup> while the patron of Ulubrae was the *eques* Trebatius Testa.<sup>2</sup> Similarly the greater the *patronus*, the more towns he had in his *fides*: Cicero was also patron of Cales, Atella, Reate, and (naturally) Arpinum, as well as such Sicilian and south-Italian towns as he and his brother had benefited in 75 and 62.<sup>3</sup> An Italian senator would be patron of his home town, but it is not always safe to infer a man's home from his status as patron unless he was comparatively obscure: apart from Cicero and Balbus at Capua, M. Herennius Picens (*suff.* A.D. 1) was patron of Veii, Asinius Pollio's grandson of Puteoli, and a Tiberian inscription records a man who was patron of Aquinum and *IVvir* (in absence) at Verona. On the other hand, the praetorian Pullius Pollio, patron of Forum Clodi, may have been a local man; so may the T. Resius who was granted *locus sepulturae* in Mevania at public expense 'ob plurima erga municipium merita'. The A. Pompeius A. f. Clu. who was patron of Interamna Nahars and saved the town from unspecified dangers and difficulties bore the local tribe, though this might just be a coincidence.<sup>4</sup>

L. Piso's duumvirate at Capua in 58 exemplifies a further type of authority which a powerful Roman might exercise over Italians. Piso probably held this local magistracy in order to supervise the establishment of Pompey's veterans at the new colony. At a later date, he was *Ivir* at the triumviral colony of Pola in Istria; the Istri had held an important position between Piso's province of Macedonia and that of Caesar, his son-in-law, and in

Scaevola, condemned by Apulian witnesses, and App. *BC* v. 56 for the Brundisians' hostility to Ahenobarbus.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Sest.* 9, *Pis.* 25; *CIL* x. 3854; Cic. *Sest.* 19, *red. Sen.* 17, *Pis.* 24-5, *domo* 60. Compare C. Manlius Aci[dinus], *cosol* Ariminum c. 190 (*ILLRP* 77—L. Acidinus was *cos.* 179) and see further below.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *fam.* vii. 12. 2, 18. 3—transferred to Cicero while Testa was in Gaul.

<sup>3</sup> *Fam.* ix. 13. 3; *xiii.* 7; *QF* ii. 13. 3; *Scaur.* 27; *QF* iii. 1. 1; p. 38 n. 1 above.

<sup>4</sup> *ILS* 922, 933; *CIL* x. 5392-4, ix. 7553; *ILS* 6629.

58–57 Piso had evidently taken pains to cultivate them.<sup>1</sup> A M. Valerius Messalla appears as aedile at Venusia in 31 B.C., and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that his year of office was part of Octavian's campaign to control the allegiance of the Italian towns in the war against Antony.<sup>2</sup> In precisely the same way, reliable Romans had been sent as local magistrates to supervise the Sullan settlement of suspect areas of Italy. C. Quinctius Valgus, a landowner notoriously enriched by the proscriptions, was a duumvir at Pompeii and Abellinum, and patron of Aeclanum; his colleague at Pompeii was M. Porcius M. f., who had been *IVvir* with L. Sextilius L. f., Cn. Cornelius Cn. f., and A. Cornelius A. f.—all patently Roman names.<sup>3</sup> At Paestum, P. Claudius C. f. and C. Sexstilius L. f. were *Iiviri de senatus sententia*: P. Claudius C. f. appears also at Spoletium, where the local origin of his fellow *iudices* had to be specifically recorded; a *IVvir* at near-by Interamna—also in Marian Umbria—may even have been Lucullus himself.<sup>4</sup> These men must frequently have become patrons of the towns concerned: we may compare the dictator's nephew (?) P. Sulla, *patronus* of the Sullan colony at Pompeii, who according to his lawyer was so popular that even the old *municipes* supported him at his trial.<sup>5</sup>

The whole complex of duties, responsibilities, and liabilities involved in the ancient concepts of *hospitium* and *clientela* implied

<sup>1</sup> *ILLRP* 639, cf. p. 40 above for his colleague L. Cassius. Piso and Itria: *ILLRP* 423–4; Cic. *Pis.* 92 and Nisbet, ad loc. <sup>2</sup> *ILS* 6123.

<sup>3</sup> *ILLRP* 645–6, 598, 523 (cf. Cic. *leg. ag.* iii. 3, 8, 13–14); *ibid.* 644, cf. 650. M. Porcius was a wine-exporter—see Oxé, *Germania* 1924, 81, Callender, *RA*, index no. 1160 (cf. 1368). Presumably his vineyards were property which he (like Valgus) had acquired during the proscriptions. Rowland (*Hist.* 1969, 374f.) would make the M. Porcius at Pompeii a Cato, but in that case one would expect his *cognomen* to appear at *ILLRP* 645–6.

<sup>4</sup> *CIL* x. 480 (Paestum); *ILLRP* 668 (Spoletium, cf. Flor. ii. 9. 27 for Marian sympathies); *CIL* xi. 4210, cf. Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 136 (Interamna).

There are many other possible examples: T. Annius Rufus among the Paeligni (*ILLRP* 621), Marcius Philippus at Herculaneum (Bloch, *Gnomon* 1965, 561–2, cf. p. 49 below), L. Claudius at Paestum (*Arch. Class.* 1967, 99), L. Cornelius L. f. and P. Claudius P. n. at Brundisium (*CIL* ix 6079. 18, *Epigraphica* 1966, 131). Q. Considius at Clusium could be a Sullan senator (*CIL* xi. 2757, cf. no. 132), though local Considii are known (xi. 2117, 2316).

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Sull.* 60–1.

a series of close relationships between Roman *gentes* and the equivalent governing families of the Italian municipalities.

### III. NEIGHBOURS AND FRIENDS

The Roman senator on duty abroad had dealings with many prosperous *municipales* and no doubt enjoyed their company during his leisure.<sup>1</sup> Similarly at home when he retired to his country estates, his friends, neighbours, and companions were members of the same local aristocracies. Any senator living out of Rome knew and cultivated the more influential of his neighbours; they in turn called on him as did his *amici* and clients in Rome, in numbers proportionate to his authority. Thus in April 59 Cicero's country house at Formiae was crowded 'like a basilica' with local worthies expressing their indignation at Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus: 'qui fremitus hominum! quam irati animi! quanto in odio noster amicus Magnus!'<sup>2</sup> Two of them are named—Sebosus, 'ille Catuli familiaris', and C. Arrius, with whose philosophical small-talk Cicero was becoming bored. Similarly in March 49, though now Cicero was less satisfied with their political attitude: 'multum mecum municipales homines loquuntur, multum rusticani; nihil prorsus aliud curant nisi agros, nisi villulas, nisi nummulos suos.' Won over by Caesar's 'insidious clemency' and afraid of Pompey's threats, they treated Caesar like a god. 'Provided he doesn't kill anybody or take anybody's property, all those who hated him before will love him', says Cicero bitterly. This concern of the *rusticani* for their property neatly places their socio-economic status: they were, as one might have guessed, the 'equites Romani et locupletes' who would vote for anyone 'studiosum otii et rerum tranquillarum'.<sup>3</sup> After Caesar's murder there was another reaction: 'exsultant laetitia in municipiis', wrote Cicero from Fundi in April 44; 'dici enim non potest quanto opere gaudeant, ut ad me concurrant, ut audire cupiant mea verba de re publica.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 190: 'fieri non potest ut . . . locupletem . . . tu in tua provincia non cognoveris.'

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Att.* ii. 13. 2, 14. 2, cf. 21. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Att.* viii. 13. 2, 16. 1-2, ix. 2a. 2, 5. 3, *comm. pet.* 53, etc.; see further Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 295 and n. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Att.* xiv. 6. 2.

A letter from Cicero at Pompeii to the consul Dolabella in May 44 indicates the sort of friends he had there and his authority over them:

convenio autem cotidie plurimos; sunt enim permulti optimi viri qui valetudinis causa in haec loca veniant, praeterea ex municipiis frequentes necessarii mei.

All the men who thus paid court to Cicero praised Dolabella to the skies for his show of indifference to Caesar's memory and expressed their gratitude to Cicero, to whose precepts, they had no doubt, Dolabella's excellence was due. A further insight into this villa society is provided by a remark of Lucullus reported in the *de legibus*; defending himself against the charge of luxury, he pointed to the magnificent villas of his two neighbours at Tusculum, an *eques* above him and a freedman below—might not he enjoy the same privilege as members of a lower order? At Cicero's Cumaean villa in 51 the company included the old and ailing Hortensius, C. Sempronius Rufus, and Cicero's friend the Puteolan banker C. Vestorius, among many others—'habuimus quasi pusillam Roman'.<sup>1</sup>

In Roman society a man's neighbours occupied a place analogous to that of his *amici*, *hospites*, and clients, with whom they are often mentioned: they should be cultivated by a candidate to vote for him, and could be expected to display their zeal for his interests if he were prosecuted in court. Moreover, a town might honour a distinguished neighbour as if he were a patron or a public guest.<sup>2</sup> *Vicinitas* is yet another aspect of the social system which bound together in countless ways the nobility of Rome and of Italy.

A list—with no pretensions to completeness—of the known estates and country houses of senatorial Romans in the second and first centuries will be found in Appendix III. Some of the contacts made between these Roman notables and their neighbours may be deduced from accidental references: Sulla, for instance, died

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *fam.* ix. 14. 1, *leg.* iii. 30, *Att.* v. 2. 2. Cf. *Att.* xvi. 7. 1 for the deputation of *illustres homines* from Rhegium to the villa where Cicero was staying in August 44, who dissuaded him from going to Athens.

<sup>2</sup> *Comm. pet.* 17; Cic. *Cluent.* 202 ('amicis, vicinis, hospitibus, quorum videtis studia, reddite'), *Sest.* 10. For *munificentia* to a neighbouring town, cf. Nonius Balbus' buildings at Herculaneum (*CIL* x. 1425 ff., no. 275).

at his Campanian villa after a violent argument with one Granius, a leading man at the colony of Puteoli.<sup>1</sup> More often relations were friendly, or at least polite. C. Rabirius may have owed the Campanian support he enjoyed at his trial to the neighbours of his villa at Naples. One of the first *duoviri* at Herculaneum was a Marcius Phi[lippus], a fact which can hardly be irrelevant to the Cumaean estate of the great *piscinarius* L. Marcius Philippus, *cos.* 56.<sup>2</sup> We know from Cicero's correspondence that Pompey's agent in Cappadocia in 50 was M. Cluvius of Puteoli, who was his neighbour when he stayed at Cumae. Cicero too often stayed at Cumae and Puteoli, and we learn from the same letter that 'Cluvius Puteolanus valde me observat valdeque est mihi familiaris'.<sup>3</sup> Another Puteolan, the financier C. Vestorius, was also a close friend of Cicero's, who wrote several letters to Atticus from his dining-couch; so too perhaps was the banker Vettienus, mentioned in several letters from Cicero at Cumae.<sup>4</sup> Yet another part-time resident at Cumae was Faustus Sulla; one of his sister's many lovers was a Pompeius Macula, evidently a Campanian since his family is recorded in Pompeii; he himself owned a villa in the *ager Falernus*.<sup>5</sup>

On a more respectable level, Caesar's property at Nemus Dianae (the modern Nemi) evidently brought him into close relationship with the aristocracies of the near-by towns of Aricia and Velitrae; M. Atius Balbus of Aricia married his sister, C. Octavius of Velitrae his niece.<sup>6</sup> The estate of Varro at Casinum is interesting in view of the *cognomen* and Sabine tribe of the Visellii Varrones from near-by Arpinum; the Rubrii of Casinum itself also

<sup>1</sup> V.M. ix. 3. 8; Plut. *Sulla* 37. Cf. Asc. 31 c, Cic. *Mil.* 51 (Clodius and Aricia).

<sup>2</sup> Rabirius: Cic. *Rab. perd.* 8. Philippus: Bloch, *Gnomon* 1965, 561-2. Compare Cicero's friend M. Marius and the aedile-candidate of that name at Pompeii (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 1656, a-g, Münzer, *PW* xiv. 1820); L. Cocceius Nerva's Caudine villa and a *IVvir* L. Cocceius at Beneventum (*ILLRP* 556); L. Piso's villa at Herculaneum and duumvirate at Capua (p. 45 above).

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *fam.* xiii. 56; cf. *Att.* vi. 2. 3, xvi. 16. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Vestorius: *Att.* xiv. 12. 3, 20. 5, 21. 4; cf. iv. 19. 1, v. 2. 2, vi. 2. 3 and 10, xiii. 37. 4, 46. 3 and 5, 50. 2, xiv. 9. 1, 14. 1-2, *fam.* vi. 11. 2. Vettienus: *Att.* x. 5. 3, 11. 5, 13. 2, 15. 4, xii. 3. 2, xv. 20. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Macr. Sat.* ii. 2. 9; Cic. *fam.* vi. 19; *CIL* x. 896.

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *Phil.* iii. 15-16; Suet. *DA* 4; Plut. *Ant.* 31.1, etc. (nos. 56, 287).

seem to have been connected with Varro's family, if the Marian orator Q. Rubrius Varro was one of them. Here, too, *vicinitas* seems to have led to closer ties between Roman senator and municipal nobility.<sup>1</sup> In Lucania, the estates of Pompey and Cato may well be relevant to Cato's recruiting programme for Pompey in Lucania and Bruttium in 49, and to the retirement of Brutus and Cassius to Velia in August 44.<sup>2</sup>

All this evidence of relationship by hospitality, patronage, or neighbourhood implies a common social milieu in which the Roman aristocrat and the municipal *domi nobilis* found themselves equally at home. The social unification of Italy, or more precisely of the Italian upper classes, long anticipated the political integration of the peninsula, and already before the Social War Rome must have been a cosmopolitan city where Metelli and Claudii dined and bathed with Papirii from Fregellae, Valerii from Vibo, and Betutii from Asculum.<sup>3</sup> This comparatively homogeneous social background may be observed in Cicero's account of his municipal predecessors and colleagues in the law courts,<sup>4</sup> but the best evidence for it is in the poems of Catullus.

The son of a Veronese *hospes* of Caesar's, Catullus was *urbanus* in style if not in origin. The names of his friends and enemies give us a unique insight into the sophisticated society of his time. 'One enters a recognisable and raffish world—poets and scholars, gourmets, gamblers, and musicians, financial experts and political agents.'<sup>5</sup> Everyone at Rome who had money, literary tastes, and political interests had some part in that world, though the more staid, like Cicero, felt they had to apologize for it.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Visellii: Taylor, *VDRR* 266 (no. 501). Rubrii at Casinum: p. 256 f. below (no. 363). Note also C. Annius T. f. from Interamna (*ILLRP* 541), a few miles up the Flaminia from Milo's estate at Oriculum.

<sup>2</sup> Caes. *BC* i. 30; Cic. *Phil.* x. 8, *Att.* xvi. 7. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Papirius: Cic. *Brut.* 170. Valerius Valentinus: *V.M.* viii. 1. 8; Cichorius, *UL* 344. Betutius: Cic. *Brut.* 169, p. 18 above.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 18, 36 above. What follows is an illustration of the '*familiaritas-necessitudo*' type of *amicitia* (Hellegouarc'h, *Voc. Lat.* 68 ff.)

<sup>5</sup> Syme, *JRS* 1961, 26.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. *fam.* ix. 20. 2, on the banquet where Cytheris was present. Note that Cicero, despite the *in Pisonem*, was friendly with the poet Philodemus, who will often have been his neighbour in Campania (Sbordone, *Cicerone e Filodemo*).

Among his intimates Catullus numbered a poet from the Transpadane town of Brixia and a Roman orator whose name went back to the consular tribunes of the fifth century; his mistresses included a Veronese Aufillena and the heiress of eleven generations of consuls and dictators; his lampoons sneered equally at the insidious flatulence of a Scribonius Libo and the sexual deviations of an obscure couple from Bononia.<sup>1</sup> He was acquainted with Cicero, Hortensius, and Caesar, and was an intimate friend of at least two young Roman *nobiles*—a ‘*flosculus Juventiorum, non horum modo sed quot aut fuerunt aut posthac alii erunt in annis*’, and a Manlius Torquatus whose marriage to Aurunculeia he celebrated with the aristocratic sentiment ‘*non decet tam vetus sine liberis nomen esse*’.<sup>2</sup> Together with these Roman nobles, he enjoyed the company of municipal men whose families had either recently reached the Senate (like Cornificius)<sup>3</sup> or were to do so in that or the next generation. He knew the Marrucine Pollio, later senator and consul, he attacked Mamurra of Formiae, *praefectus fabrum* of Pompey and Caesar, his friend Cinna became tribune in the year of Caesar’s death, and his enemies Otho, Tappo, and Silo may well have been related to the later senators from Ferentium, Aquileia, and the Marsi.<sup>4</sup> The forgetful and treacherous Alfenus reproached by the poet may have been the jurist P. Alfenus Varus, suffect consul in 39 and possibly from Cremona; the family of the poet’s friend Veranius, like Catullus’ own, reached the Senate under Augustus.<sup>5</sup>

Late-republican society at Rome prided itself on its culture, but

<sup>1</sup> Cinna (no. 203) and Calvus; Cat. 100 (cf. 110–11) on Aufillena, Apuleius *Apol.* 10 (cf. Ovid, *tristia* ii. 427–8) for Clodia; Cat. 54. 3 (Libo), 59. 1–2 (‘*Bononiensis Rufa Rifulum fellat*’).

<sup>2</sup> Cat. 49, 65, 95. 3; Suet. *DJ* 73; Cat. 24. 1, cf. 48, 81, 99; 61. 205–7 (Torquatus).

<sup>3</sup> No. 139 (Lanuvium), Cat. 38; for Naso (Cat. 112), cf. nos. 62, 373 and 543, and the praetor Q. Voconius Naso.

<sup>4</sup> Pollio (no. 50), Cat. 12. Mamurra: Cat. 29, cf. 41, 43, 47; Pliny, *NH* xxxvi. 48; Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 37; Suet. *DJ* 73; Cic. *Att.* vii. 7. 6, xiii. 52. Cinna (no. 203): Cat. 10. 30, 95. Otho, Tappo, Silo (Cat. 54. 1, 104. 4, 103. 1): cf. nos. 376, 34, 339. Also Sufficius (Fuficius?) and Volusius: Cat. 54. 5, 36. 1, 95. 7, cf. nos. 182, 513–14.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 18 (Cat. 12), 476 (Cat. 9, 12, 28, 48); Catullus, no. 455. Cf. also Maecilia (Cat. 113) and the Augustan moneyer M. Maecilius Tullus.

with the exception of Hortensius and Calvus, all the poets of that age were municipal men—Transpadanes like Catullus, Cinna, Nepos, and Catullus' friend Caecilius of Novum Comum, men from Latium like Cornificius and Cicero, even provincial Gauls and Spaniards like Egnatius.<sup>1</sup> All of them were members of the high (or comparatively high) society of Rome. Nepos was a friend of Cicero and Atticus, Cornificius was engaged to the daughter of Aurelia Orestilla; a Cornificia Q. f., 'vetula sane et multarum nuptiarum'—his sister or his aunt—refused a Juventius Thalna because he was too poor.<sup>2</sup> Cicero might for his own purposes in court affect a metropolitan snobbery about a woman from Placentia and call her father an Insubrian, but such an attitude would be unthinkable in private life; he himself had been called the first foreign king of Rome since the Tarquins by L. Torquatus, a personal friend of his.<sup>3</sup> The sneer was conventional and expected, no more to be taken seriously than Cicero's counter-attack on Torquatus' Asculan mother.

The evidence of Catullus is important because it takes us back as far as the mid fifties of the first century, though we can guess that the picture given by him applied much earlier.<sup>4</sup> The same picture appears in the generations after that of Catullus, with the poets Cassius of Parma (also a politician and a senator), Propertius of Asisium, the ex-military tribune Horatius Flaccus from Venusia, the Transpadane Virgil, and the Paelignian Ovid; varying in origin from indigenous aristocracy (Ovid) to the client of a Roman *gens* and a freedman's son (Cassius, Horace), they all fit more or less comfortably into a Roman society dominated in their time by Maecenas of Arretium, the obscurely born Vipsanius Agrippa, and the *princeps* himself from a small town in Latium.

<sup>1</sup> Nepos: Pliny, *NH* iii. 127, *ep.* iv. 28. 1; cf. Cic. *fam.* xv. 16. 1; Macr. *Sat.* ii. 1. 14; Suet. *DJ* 55 (correspondence with Cicero), Nepos, *Att.* pref. 1; Gell. xv. 28. 1 (friend of Atticus, Cicero). Caecilius: Cat. 35. Egnatius: Cat. 37, 39. Suet. *gramm.* 3 on the literacy of Gallia Togata; Sen. *suas.* vi. 27 on poets at Corduba.

<sup>2</sup> Cornificius: *fam.* viii. 7. 2; *Att.* xiii. 29. 1. His sister married Catullus' friend Camerius—*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 793, Cat. 55.

<sup>3</sup> The mother of Piso, *cos.* 58: Asc. 5 c. Torquatus: Cic. *Sull.* 22, 25; *de fin.* 1 for his friendship with Cicero.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the Sabine (?) Vatienna to whom the poet Laevius wrote: Syme, *Hist.* 1956, 208.



## IV. WIVES AND IN-LAWS

The real test of social acceptability is marriage. However much evidence of patronage, friendship, and hospitality is adduced, no proof of equality necessarily follows unless it can be shown that the Roman nobility did not think it beneath them to marry into a municipal family.

Uncritical acceptance of Roman law-court slander at its face value can provide a *prima-facie* case for social apartheid between Romans and municipals, but the conventional insults of public life in Rome cannot be pressed as acceptable evidence for the real attitudes and prejudices of the men who made them. Cicero's exchange with his friend L. Torquatus at the trial of P. Sulla has been mentioned above: Cicero was called a 'rex peregrinus' and countered with Torquatus' Picene mother. Significantly, he could appeal to the judges, most of whom must have been municipal men: 'si, iudices, ceteris patriciis me *et vos* peregrinos videri oporteret, a Torquato tamen hoc vitium sileretur.'<sup>1</sup> The same gambit was used against Antony's sneers at Octavian's Arician mother: 'videte quam despiciamur omnes qui sumus e municipiis, id est omnes plane; quotus enim nostrum non est?' As always, the charge could be answered with a *tu quoque*, in this case Antony's step-mother Numitoria of Fregellae and his first wife Fadia, though his Marsic brother-in-law or the husband of his cousin would have done almost as well.<sup>2</sup>

It may be that the families that formed the hard core of the *natio optimatum* in the late Republic were not prepared to intermarry with any but other noble *gentes*. We do not hear of any non-*nobiles* marrying into the Metelli,<sup>3</sup> the Caepiones, or the Ahenobarbi, and it is clear that some noble families preferred to marry inside their own *gens* if no eligible aristocrat was available.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Sull.* 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Phil.* iii. 15, 17. See below, pp. 56 f., for the Antonii's alliances.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 64 and 138, however, for Verres' *cognatio* with L. Metellus.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. a Metellus married to a Caecilia and then taking her niece as his second wife (Cic. *div.* i. 104; V.M. i. 5. 4); P. Scipio Nasica Corculum marrying Cornelia P. Africani f. (Livy xxxviii. 57. 2, *PW* Cornelia 406); Polla Terentia married to an A. Terentius Varro (*ILS* 8773).

But the practice of these few families does not prove a general social rule; rather it indicates perverse and self-conscious snobbery.

Apart from a few conventional accusations of obscure origin, wives and mothers are rarely named in our sources except for their nobility or notoriety; much of the evidence we have for Roman senators' marriage alliances comes from casual reference or from inscriptions. Many of the names thus revealed are clearly municipal in origin, and this fact, coupled with the rarity of serious attacks on the obscurity of an opponent's relatives (restricted almost entirely to Antony's slander of Octavian), strongly suggests that such alliances raised no eyebrows and were taken for granted in Roman society. The exception that proves this rule is the elder Cato's marriage late in life with the daughter of Salonius, one of his own tenant farmers. This marriage was considered unusual, but because of the social rather than the geographical origin of the bride. This is made clear by an eloquent Paelignian in one of the elder Seneca's *controversiae*:

Varius Geminus factum ipsum defendit: magnos viros fecisse ut libertinas uxores ducerent. M. Cato, inquit, coloni sui filiam duxit uxorem. 'Sed ingenuam.' Respondeo: sed Cato; plus interest inter me et Catonem quam inter libertum et colonum.<sup>1</sup>

Not a word to suggest that Salonia was unsuitable because she was not Roman, and indeed we do not know where she came from; had she been rich and well connected in her home town we should never have heard of the marriage at all.

Even in the comparatively thinly documented third and second centuries we know, more or less by accident, of senatorial marriage-ties outside Rome. Pacuvius Calavius, *meddix tuticus* of Capua in 217 and a 'nobilis idem ac popularis homo' who urged the Capuan senate to go over to Hannibal in 216, was married to a daughter of Appius Claudius; his own daughter was the wife of a M. Livius, perhaps the consul of 219.<sup>2</sup> The Hostilii Catones, who operated in Apulia in 201 in connection with land assignments for Scipio's African veterans, and were evidently patrons of Salapia

<sup>1</sup> Sen. *contr.* vii. 6. 17; cf. Gell. xiii. 20. 8, 13, 15; Plut. *Cato mai.* 24. 10; Solinus i. 59. All call Salonius a *cliens*.

<sup>2</sup> Livy xxiii. 2. 6.

on the Apulian coast, had some sort of connection by marriage or adoption with the Dasii, a powerful family of that area, recorded in the name of L. Hostilius Dasianus, *tr. pl.* 68, and by a Messapic inscription bearing the same name and *cognomen*.<sup>1</sup>

The Arpinate C. Marius, then of praetorian rank, married a patrician Julia in or before 111 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The bride was descended from Ancus Marcius on her mother's side and from Olympus on her father's; more mundanely, she was great-granddaughter of a third-century praetor and great-niece of the consul of 157, though her father and grandfather had not been distinguished. Her new husband was the son of a Fulcinia, possibly connected with the Tarquinian Fulcinii; through his sister he was related to another of the ruling families of Arpinum, the Gratidii, and through them with the Tullii Cicerones. Another sister was married to a Lusius, whose name suggests Oscan origin.<sup>3</sup>

Thanks to the fame of Marius, Cicero, Caesar, and Antony, we have comparatively abundant evidence both for the alliances of the Arpinate families and for those of their new *adfines* the Julii. The Marii and Gratidii further strengthened their connection by the adoption of M. Marius Gratidianus; his sister Gratidia was the wife of L. Sergius Catilina, a patrician of recently undistinguished family whom slander later accused of being Gratidianus' murderer.<sup>4</sup> One of the cousins of this Gratidia was M. Tullius Cicero, the orator's father, married to a Helvia whose sister was the wife of C. Visellius Aculeo. Aculeo probably adopted the son of A. Terentius Varro, *leg.* 82,<sup>5</sup> and it is not impossible that Cicero's wife Terentia belonged to the Varrones.

<sup>1</sup> Münzer, *PW* Hostilius 13, Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects* ii. 357 (no. 474 l. 5), 574: 'Dasentis Vustelii' (i.e. Hostilii?). Hostilii in Apulia: Livy xxxi. 4. 3, Vitr. i. 4. 12. See *PW* s.v. for Dasii.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Mar.* 6. 3; for the date cf. App. *BC* i. 87—the younger Marius was born in 110. The marriage of Pompeius Strabo to an Auruncan Lucilia of senatorial family (p. 188 n. 1 below) no doubt took place about this time.

<sup>3</sup> Julia: Suet. *DJ* 6. 1. Fulcinii: Cic. *Caec.* 10, 12, 17, see p. 189 below. Cicerones: *Att.* xii. 49. 1, *de or.* i. 178. Lusius: V.M. i. 12, etc., Schulze, *LE* 184; cf. *ILS* 2690 from Venafrum near Marius' home town: an Augustan equestrian officer M. Vergilius M. f. Ter. Gallus *Lusius*.

<sup>4</sup> *Schol. Bern. ad Lucan* ii. 173; Sall. *Hist.* i. 45 M.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *de or.* i. 178, ii. 2, *prov. cons.* 40; Taylor, *VDRR* 266.

The younger Marius, being technically a *nobilis*, married Licinia, daughter of L. Crassus;<sup>1</sup> after 63 at least Cicero and his brother could also have married into noble families.<sup>2</sup> Other motives were stronger, however: M. Cicero's second marriage was notoriously mercenary, and Quintus after an unhappy life with Atticus' sister was reputedly considering matrimony in 44 with a rich heiress Aquilia.<sup>3</sup> Similarly Caesar, the nephew of Marius' wife, was engaged as a boy to Cossutia, 'familia equestri sed admodum dives'; however, in 86 he broke it off in order to marry Cinna's daughter.<sup>4</sup> Both Caesar's sisters married municipal men: a Pedius from Campania whose son was suffect consul in 43, and the distinguished Arician M. Atius Balbus, praetor by 60 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Balbus' daughter Atia married C. Octavius of Velitrae (himself previously married to an Ancharia of recently senatorial family) and was thus Octavian's celebrated 'Aricina mater'; after Octavius' death she married L. Marcius Philippus, *cos.* 56, whose son later married her sister.<sup>6</sup>

The other branch of the Julii Caesares, descended from the elder son of the praetor of 208, allied themselves in the eighties with the family of the eloquent M. Antonius, whose elder son married a Julia. This man was M. Antonius, *pr.* 74, later called Creticus after his unhappy campaign against the pirates; he had previously taken to wife the daughter of Q. Numitorius Pullus, who had betrayed Fregellae to the Romans in 126.<sup>7</sup> The husband of Creticus' daughter was the Marsian P. Vatinius, elected last to the quaestorship of 63 and probably still an *eques* at the time

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Balb.* 49, *de or.* i. 66, iii. 8, *Brut.* 211, *Att.* xii. 49. 2, xiv. 8. 1. Cf. *Plut. mor.* 310 D (unexplained) on 'Marius' daughter Calpurnia'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. Rupilius (*cos.* 132), whose daughter married a son of Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus (*V.M.* ii. 7. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Att.* xiv. 13. 5—both may have been of senatorial family but it is their money, not their birth, that is recorded.

<sup>4</sup> Suet. *DJ* 1.

<sup>5</sup> Suet. *DJ* 83. 2 for Caesar's 'sister's grandsons', L. Pinarius and Q. Pedius. Atius' mother may have been an Auruncan Lucilia (Cichorius, *RS* 145 f. on Suet. *DA* 4. 1).

<sup>6</sup> Suet. *DA* 4; *Plut. Ant.* 31 (Ancharia); *V.P.* ii. 59. 1-2; *Dio* xlv. 1. 1, etc.; *Phil.* iii. 17 (Philippus senior); *Ovid, fasti* vi. 501, *trist.* i. 2. 139 (Philippus junior).

<sup>7</sup> Cic. *Phil.* iii. 17, *de inv.* ii. 105, *fin.* v. 62 (cf. *CIL* x. 5620).

of his marriage.<sup>1</sup> Finally, M. Antonius, Creticus' eldest son, married first the daughter of a freedman, Q. Fadius, who may have belonged to an Arpinate family,<sup>2</sup> then his own cousin, then Fulvia, and finally Octavian's half-sister, daughter of Octavius of Velitrae and Ancharia.<sup>3</sup>

It may be that the Julii and Antonii were particularly broad-minded about municipal marriage-connections, and that in this they were untypical of the Roman senatorial class; however, they are two of the families of which we have most information, and though others more intimately connected with the optimate faction may have been deliberately more exclusive, the Julii and Antonii have at least as much right as the Metelli or Caepiones to be considered representative of the general attitude of Roman society. For C. Claudius Marcellus was the first husband of Octavia, daughter of Octavius of Velitrae and granddaughter of the Arician Atius Balbus—both men of praetorian rank, but still *municipales*.<sup>4</sup> The patrician Claudii also married outside the Roman nobility: the wife of M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, *pr.* 50, was Alfidia, daughter of a municipal man (perhaps from the Marsi), and Ti. Claudius Nero, probably grandfather of the emperor, married his daughter to Q. Volusius of Cingulum. Yet another example may be the marriage of D. Brutus Albinus, the heir of two great consular families, to the daughter of a Valerius Triarius who was probably a *novus* from Fundi.<sup>5</sup>

There is in fact no lack of evidence for Roman *nobiles* contracting marriage ties with municipal families who were either outside Roman public life altogether or at least comparatively new to it. Some such *nobiles* were the descendants of old but declining families, whose daughters' dowries were less impressive than their pedigrees (Nunnuleius Nudus' wife Pomponia may be an

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Bob. 149 St., cf. Cic. *Vat.* 28 (11 f. for the quaestorship). Vatinius' second wife was a Pompeia (Cic. *fam.* v. 11. 2, cf. Syme, *Sallust* 32 n. 15).

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Phil.* ii. 3, iii. 17, xiii. 23, cf. *Att.* xvi. 11. 1. Fadii: *Att.* xv. 15. 1, 17. 1, 20. 4; Syme, *JRS* 1961, 24 n. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Antonia: Cic. *Phil.* ii. 99; cf. Plut. *Ant.* 9. Octavia: *PW* 95.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Phil.* iii. 17; Plut. *Ant.* 3; Dio xl. 59. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 5, *Cal.* 23; cf. *Hist.* 1965, 333-4; Cic. *Att.* v. 21. 6; Syme, *RR* 424 n. 4; cf. p. 277 below on nos. 513-14. Cic. *fam.* viii. 7. 2, xi. 8. 1 (cf. no. 458).

example), or whose political prospects did not attract their more successful fellow aristocrats: a struggling scion of the Papirii Masones married Ofania C. f. Quarta, who may have come from the Vestini, while the wife of an obscure Papirius Carbo bore a name known to history only through a *praeco* of the consul Opimius killed in 121.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the last of the Ti. Gracchi under Augustus was married to an Alliarina, whose name is known only at Amiternum, and the last of the Atilii Serrani married a daughter of the senator Cn. Oppius Cornicinus, who may have come from Picenum.<sup>2</sup>

Serranus was by birth a Gavius from Campania, adopted into the consular house. Milo's family was a similar case: his maternal grandfather T. Annius, who was surely a *nobilis*, adopted a relative from Lanuvium.<sup>3</sup> Adoption, like exogamy, was a favourite method for noble families to use to avoid extinction; the Baebii Tamphili prolonged their precarious existence under Augustus by these means, adopting a son from the Lucanian Numonii Valae, and the name of the late-Augustan senator C. Valerius Flaccus Tanur(ianus) is clear evidence for its use in his case as well.<sup>4</sup>

But such desperate and dying houses were not the only noble families to ally with the municipal aristocracies—powerful men and members of influential families did so too. The wife of P. Crassus, *cos.* 97, was a Venuleia; the first known office-holder of that name was an obscure *IIIvir capitalis* proscribed in 82.<sup>5</sup> Scipio Asiaticus, *cos.* 83, was probably the husband of a Sabine Vatienna, and married his daughter to P. Sestius, at the time a *quaestorius* at most and quite possibly not even a senator; all Sestius had by way

<sup>1</sup> *ILS* 3414 (no. 286). *ILS* 907: C. Ofanii only at Peltuinum (*CIL* ix. 3479; cf. 3494; x. 3655, xi. 6674. 30 for other *praenomina*). *ILS* 909: Plut. *CG* 13, *vir. ill.* 65. 6, App. *BC* i. 25, cf. *CIL* vi. 6075 (the only other known Antullius), i<sup>2</sup>. 340 (Rudia Vergelia Antulai f., Praeneste).

<sup>2</sup> Gracchus: Tac. *Ann.* i. 53, cf. *CIL* ix. 4500. Serranus: Cic. *red. Quir.* 12 (no. 294); cf. *Sest.* 72; Cichorius, *RS* 241–3. It is just possible that the Valerii Poplicolae gave a daughter to the Cartilii of Ostia: Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* 477, but cf. Bloch, *Gnomon* 1965, 193; Panciera, *Arch. Class.* 1966, 59–61. <sup>3</sup> Asc. 53 c.

<sup>4</sup> *ILS* 903 (cf. no. 285); *CIL* xiv. 4704. Cf. Porph. Hor. *Odes* ii. 2. 5: Varro Murena and a Scipio the (adoptive?) brothers of the *eques* C. Proculeius.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Att.* xii. 24. 2, cf. no. 475.

of ancestral honours was his father's tribunate.<sup>1</sup> Sulla's daughter Fausta married Annius Milo of Lanuvium in the year of his praetorship; the mother of Atius Balbus of Aricia was a close relative of Pompey; the wife of the Campanian Q. Pedius was a Valeria Messallina; L. Scribonius Libo married the sister of a Sentius Saturninus from Atina.<sup>2</sup>

It becomes clear that if the hard core of the optimate clique only married among themselves, then they were in a minority; the general social acceptability of external marriages is quite obvious. Moreover, there are sufficient examples from the early first century and before to indicate that this state of affairs was not just a result of the gradual increase in the numbers of municipal men in the Senate after the Social War, though that process was certainly relevant to it. One might doubt whether Fausta would have married Milo if he had been no more than dictator of Lanuvium; Sentia Libonis was of praetorian family, and the Valeria who married Q. Pedius also became an *adfinis* of the Julii Caesares; but it would be quite wrong to assume that the social equality was entirely a result of the political. The two are interrelated, but it would be truer to say that social acceptance came first.

In Augustan Rome, pedigree was less important in high society than proximity to the *princeps*: and though traditional sneers could still be brought out against the *arriviste*,<sup>3</sup> the respectability of intermarriage between *novus* and *nobilis* was almost complete. Vipsanius Agrippa marries a Claudia Marcella.<sup>4</sup> Arruntii from Atina ally with the Cornelii Sullae, Ummidii of Casinum with the Cassii Longini, Caecinae from Volsinii (evidently) with the Terentii Varrones.<sup>5</sup> Sulpicius Quirinius of Lanuvium marries

<sup>1</sup> *ILLRP* 384; Taylor, *VDRR* 263. Cic. *fam.* v. 6. 1, *Sest.* 7 (Sestius' first wife was an Albinia—*fam.* xiii. 8. 1; *Sest.* 6).

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Att.* iv. 13. 1; Asc. 31 C; Suet. *DA* 4; Pliny, *NH* xxxv. 21; App. *BC* iii. 22-3, 94; *ILS* 8892.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 3 on Sejanus as a *municipalis adulter*.

<sup>4</sup> Suet. *DA* 63; Dio liii. 1; Plut. *Ant.* 87; *ILS* 8996.

<sup>5</sup> Arruntius: Tac. *Ann.* iii. 131; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1128. Ummidius: Pliny, *ep.* vii. 24. 8; Syme, *Hist.* 1962, 154. Caecina: Sumner, *Phoen.* 1965, 138 on the father of Caecina Tuscus and the granddaughter of Varro Murena. Note also Sumner, p. 140, on Seius Strabo's probable marriage to a Junia Blaesa.

first a Claudia Ap. f., then an Aemilia Lepida.<sup>1</sup> Marriages are arranged between the noble Servilia, daughter of the consul of 3 B.C., and M. Aedius of Allifae, and between a lady who called herself 'C. Africani f.' and the Umbrian senator Arruntius.<sup>2</sup> It is unlikely that such matches as these could have been made if the fathers and grandfathers of these noblewomen had frowned on marriages outside the ruling caste.<sup>3</sup> All the evidence is against social intolerance as a general rule. The social homogeneity of the upper classes all over Italy, increasingly centred on Rome with the entry of their members to the Senate, is further illustrated by the marriages of the new senators.

Some of them married among themselves: C. Octavius with an Ancharia (just possibly from Umbria) whose family had been senatorial for one or two generations,<sup>4</sup> the Perusine consul Vibius Pansa with the daughter of Q. Fufius Calenus.<sup>5</sup> Others kept to the local aristocracies of their own region,<sup>6</sup> like the poet Pacuvius of Brundisium, whose mother's brother was Ennius from Messapian Rudiae, or (under Augustus) the Picene consul Poppaeus Sabinus, who married his daughter to T. Ollius of Cupra Maritima.<sup>7</sup> The brother of Cicero's legate M. Anneius was probably adopted by a Nonius Suffenas; the families came from neighbouring towns, Carseoli and Trebula.<sup>8</sup> Vespasius Pollio of Nursia, an equestrian military man whose son predictably entered the Senate, chose for his daughter a Sabine husband, Flavius Sabinus of Reate, the son of a centurion. Two Etruscan families on the threshold of the

<sup>1</sup> *CIL* vi. 15626; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 22 f. Suet. *Tib.* 49. Cf. Suet. *Otho* 1. 2 (no. 376).

<sup>2</sup> Syme, *Hermes* 1964, 413; *CIL* xi. 4179 (no. 40). Cf. also P. Vitellius' wife Acutia (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 47; *TLL* i. 471 for the name).

<sup>3</sup> Two apparent cases of intermarriage should be rejected: M. Marcellus and Calvisia (cf. *CQ* 1964, 133 n. 2), and C. Minucius Thermus and Pontia Telesina (Salmon, *Samm.* 397). See, respectively, Oliver, *AJP* 1947, 150 ff. and Taylor, *VDRR* 236.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 287, 25: Suet. *DA* 4; Plut. *Ant.* 31; cf. Cic. *pro Vareno ap.* Priscian vii. 14. 70 for C. Ancharius Rufus of Fulginiae.

<sup>5</sup> Son of no. 490, no. 185: Cic. *Phil.* viii. 19, x. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gell. xvi. 11. 1 on endogamy among the Marsi.

<sup>7</sup> No. 340, Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 45. T. Ollii only at Cupra (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 1919, cf. Syme, *RR* 499 n. 1), other *praenomina* early at Pompeii and Delos (i<sup>2</sup>. 1652? 1660).

<sup>8</sup> *V.M.* vii. 7. 2 (no. 28)—also 'sanguine coniunctus' with L. Sextilius and P. Popilius.



Senate (if not already represented) were allied when A. Caecina of Volaterrae married the Tarquinian widow Caesennia, 'summo loco nata'.<sup>1</sup> In this category no doubt belongs A. Cottius, a proconsul under Augustus whose wife was called Pacula; both names are of Oscan origin and suggest Campanian descent, though Paculli and Paculi occur also in Narbonensis and at Brixia—transmitted perhaps by Campanian traders in Gaul.<sup>2</sup>

More interesting are those who formed connections with the municipal families of other regions, such as T. Ampius Balbus, *pr.* 59, married to a Praenestine Eppuleia,<sup>3</sup> or the tribune M. Coelius Vinicianus, adopted out of a Campanian family perhaps into a Tusculan one, and married to an Opsilia whose name indicates a home in the Umbrian town of Interamna or its neighbour Narnia. T. Vinius and his wife Tanusia probably represent the alliance of a Sabine family with an Etruscan one.<sup>4</sup> M. Cusinius, a praetor of 44 in the Velina tribe, was the son of Fictoria C. f.; a C. Fictorius Firmus was quaestor, duumvir, and the holder of other municipal responsibilities at Puteoli.<sup>5</sup>

Little can be made of the name of Besia C. f. Sabina, the wife of an Augustan quaestor L. Pinarius Ruscus, who died at the age of fifteen; C. Besii are known only in Africa, where many Italian families are recorded.<sup>6</sup> The tomb of Rufrena T. f. Polla is more informative. This woman, probably daughter of an Arretine

<sup>1</sup> No. 480, Suet. *Vesp.* 1; Cic. *Caec.* 17 (nos. 74, 82).

<sup>2</sup> No. 142, *ILS* 8438. Pacullus: cf. *CIL* vi. 11158 (marble tomb at Rome) 'Aemiliae Pacullae C. Aemilius Sacerdos'. Oscan: Schulze, *LE* 476-7; Livy xxxix. 13. 9; *IG* xiv. 894, etc. Gaul: *CIL* xii. 5218 (Narbo), 2555, 4185, cf. 699; v. 4241, 4342, 4353 (Brixia); Brixian Roscii Paculi rose to the consulship in the late second century A.D. The Carisii may provide a parallel for Campanian names in Gaul.

<sup>3</sup> No. 23, Cic. *fam.* vi. 12. 3. *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 149-52, 1444; *EE* ix. 833 for Praenestine A. C. M. Eppuleii, and the wife Eppuleia of a Tiburtine M. Cornelius M. f. Pup. Mamulla; known elsewhere only from the freedmen of a M. Eppuleius at Rome (*CIL* vi. 5701-2, 17249-51, 33559).

<sup>4</sup> Vinicianus: no. 129 (*ILS* 883); P. Opsilii at Interamna and probably Narnia (*CIL* xi. 4232, 4135), others only at Rome (vi. 6034, 23535). Vinius: Dio xlvii. 7. 4 (nos. 496, 418).

<sup>5</sup> No. 149, *ILS* 965. C. Fictorii: *CIL* x. 1799, vi. 6039, 1911, 3592, 30982 c, xiv. 2604; *EE* ix. 915; *AE* 1941, 71. 38; other *praenomina* at Rome, Brixia (v. 4424), and Pola (v. 163).

<sup>6</sup> *CIL* vi. 1489. C. Besii, viii. 12391, 16374; others, vi. 4532, 10350. I. 6, 13568-9, 38093, 38268, xiii. 1688.

pottery-manufacturer who became a senator under Caesar, was married to a L. Attius Vel. Rufus whose family is known at Pausulae in Picenum.<sup>1</sup> Paquius Scaeva of Histonium is also helpful in setting out his genealogy for three generations back: his mother and grandmother are not startling (Flavia and Didia), but his great-grandmother was a Dirutia, whose name appears in the Marsic capital of Marruvium and at Potentia in Lucania.<sup>2</sup> The wife of the Augustan senator M. Lartidius Sex. f. was an Umbrian Varena, perhaps from Fulginiae; her husband's home may have been Pistoriae in Etruria, though freedmen of the couple are attested at Tibur and Nola.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most notable examples of marriage alliances between people from different areas of Italy is provided by Nonius Balbus of Nuceria, a benefactor of Herculaneum who was probably the Antonian tribune of 32, or else his son. Balbus' mother was Viciria A. f. Archais, perhaps from the vicinity of Saena, where A. Vicirius A. f. Arn., military tribune, *praetor Etruriae*, and *flamen*, was honoured with a public burial *ob merita*: an early C. Vicirius appears at Caere, but other Auli are known only at Rome. Viciria's family reached the consulship in A.D. 89 and 98. Her son Balbus married another Etruscan lady, Volasennia C. f. Tertia from Arretium or Volaterrae, possibly—like Rufrena—connected with an Arretine pottery; the Volasennae produced a consul by the middle of the first century A.D.<sup>4</sup> A parallel case is that of the Samnite Staius Murcus, honoured by the Paeligni,<sup>5</sup> or the family

<sup>1</sup> No. 365, *CIL* vi. 25575, ix. 5795; *Mnemosyne* 1963, 277.

<sup>2</sup> No. 308, *ILS* 915 (p. 249 below). Dirutii: *CIL* ix. 3716, Marruvium (P. Diruitius Hilarus); x. 186, Potentia ('Diruitia P. f. Tertia sibi et P. Diruitius P. f. Siloni patri, Anniae Q. f. matri'—p. 253 f. below for Marsic Silones in Lucania); iii. 9031, Salonae.

<sup>3</sup> Syme, *Hist.* 1956, 207 (no. 222). We may add the mother of L. Valerius Catullus (no. 455?), Terentia Cn. f. Hispulla, presumably related to the *publicanus* P. Terentius Hispo (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 4159; *Cic. fam.* xiii. 65. 1; *Att.* xi. 10. 1).

<sup>4</sup> No. 275, *CIL* x. 1440. Vicirii: xi. 1806 (Saena), i<sup>2</sup>. 2623 (Caere), vi. 9846, 28899. Also early L. and T. Vicirii at Delos, i<sup>2</sup>. 2239. Syme, *Hist.* 1959, 210. C. Volasennae: x. 1403. a2. 16, 21, g3. 36, *liberti* of Balbus' wife; Oxé-Comfort, *CVA* 2463-4 for the pottery. Other Volasennae or *velasnei* at Arretium (Schulze, *LE* 103, also Faesulae; *CIL* xi. 1878), Volaterrae (xi. 1743, 1788a, 1793-4, cf. 7792), Rome, and Pompeii (vi. 23971, iv. 3102—from Herculaneum?).

<sup>5</sup> No. 411, *ILLRP* 444 (Taylor, *VDRR* 255-6). Note also N. Deceitius, con-

of the Augustan consul C. Vibius Postumus of Larinum, whose brother (uterine or adopted) was Q. Modius Aequiculus, descended from a petty chieftain of the Aequi. C. Vibius Marsus, suffect consul of A.D. 17, was not a *novus* and may have been Vibius Postumus' son or nephew; his *cognomen* suggests further central-Appennine ramifications, and his daughter, who married into the Plautii Silvani, describes herself as 'Vibia Marsi f. Laelia nata', naming her mother in the Etruscan style.<sup>1</sup>

There is thus excellent reason for believing in an 'international aristocracy' in Italy composed of the ruling families of Latin, Etruscan, Oscan and central-Appennine towns, who intermarried freely among themselves and among their social equals, the Roman nobility.<sup>2</sup> This conclusion is in no way inconsistent with the notorious Roman arrogation of responsibility and power throughout Italy in the second century, nor with its corollary, the increasing bitterness and sense of grievance of much of the Italian ruling class, which finally broke out in violence during the winter of 91-90 B.C. The arrogance of many Romans towards the Italians and the selfish short-sightedness which denied the citizenship to so many of them until they had to fight for it were results of the advantage taken by the Romans of their *de facto* political dominance, not strictly relevant to the close social ties that many of them had with individual Italian families. Indeed, the discrepancy between the equality enjoyed in private life by the Italian upper classes and the political disadvantages under which they laboured may account for the bitterness manifested by the *socii* in 90.<sup>3</sup>

nected with the Marrucine Pollio (CIL xv. 2233; La Regina, *Rh. Mus.* 1966, 276-8).

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 488, 491, 259; *Ath. Mitt.* 1894, 25; *IGR* iv. 1564. Sealey, *Phoenix* 1961, 110 on Marsus (*Tac. Ann.* vi. 48), *ILS* 964 for his daughter. Cf. p. 274 below. Note also that the Oppianici of Larinum, well known from the *pro Cluentio*, were connected with the forebears of Paquius Scaeva from Histonium (no. 308: *CIL* ix. 731, Syme, *RR* 361 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> For the common interests of Roman and Italian aristocrats cf. Alföldi, *ERL* 381 (fifth-century Latium), Münzer, *RA* 50-1, 78, Toynbee, *HL* i. 333 ff. (fourth and third centuries).

<sup>3</sup> Thus Toynbee, *HL* ii. 110-11 on 'social fusion' between Romans and at least the Romanized *socii*. The latter were bitter because the political equivalent was denied them.

The Social War was a war between friends and relatives, and there must have been many women and children who (like the Sabine women) had husbands, fathers, and grandfathers fighting on opposite sides.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, there must have been many men in the predicament of C. Vettienus, who preferred to cut off his fingers than to fight for Rome; he was a Roman citizen, but his name shows clearly enough that he would have had relatives in the rebel camp. The attitude of some at least of the leaders of each side towards each other is well summarized by Vettius Scato's colloquy with Sex. Pompeius in 90: 'quem cum Scato salutasset, "quem te appellem?" inquit; at ille "voluntate hospitem, necessitate hostem".'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Brunt, *JRS* 1965, 96. Diod. xxxvii. 15. 2 on combatants linked by marriage; cf. also Cic. *Cluent.* 21 (Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 121) on the Oppianici and Cluentii, Roman citizens of Larinum, connected by marriage with the Auri, who fought for the rebels at Asculum.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Phil.* xii. 27. V.M. vi. 3. 3 for Vettienus.

## OBSCURO LOCO NATUS

## I. THE MONEYED CLASS AND ITS SUBDIVISIONS

AT Rome, as in most societies, there was a high correlation between financial and social status. Ennius, for instance, used *opulentus* as a synonym for *nobilis*,<sup>1</sup> and Cicero in the *Republic* had to make Scipio argue against the automatic equation of richest with best which most people took for granted. 'Boni, id est lauti et locupletes.'<sup>2</sup> As in the case of 'nobiles', descriptive terms of wealth soon developed moral and political overtones,<sup>3</sup> and even the legal distinction between rich and poor which was codified in imperial times seems to have existed *de facto* under the Republic.<sup>4</sup>

Distinctions of wealth and property-ownership pervaded Roman society, and every Roman citizen was assessed by the censors according to the extent of his possessions.<sup>5</sup> The Servian constitution created five *classes*, but it is clear that by the late Republic the only important demarcation was that between the first class and the rest: this line was probably drawn at about 40,000 or 50,000 *HS* in the second century,<sup>6</sup> but by Augustan times and possibly since Sulla, the figure was 100,000 *HS*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Enn. *scaen.* fr. 200, translating Eur. *Hec.* 294-5. Gellius (xi. 4. 1) objected to the translation of *δοκοῦντες* and *ἀδοκοῦντες* by *opulenti* and *ignobiles*, but Ennius and his readers must have considered the antithesis a reasonable one.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *rep.* i. 51; *Att.* viii. 1. 3 (defining which *boni* he means—i.e. the wealthy men who stayed at Rome in 49, as opposed to the *optimates* who followed Pompey); cf. *comm. pet.* 53, or *Claud.* (ILS 212, col. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 295; Hellegouarc'h, *Voc. Lat.* 525-34; cf. Wirszubski, *JRS* 1961, 17 f. (*egentes*); *TLL s.vv.* 'humilis', 'honestus', etc.; Kelly, *RL* 33 and n. 2 on *optimus* and *opes*. P. 110 below for the moral sense of *nobilis*.

<sup>4</sup> Kunkel, *UERK* 71-9 (esp. 77 f.); Kelly, *RL* 67 on Labeo in *Dig.* iv. 3. 11. See Kelly, ch. 2 *passim* on the practical disadvantages of not being rich and *gratiosus*, under both the Republic and the Empire.

<sup>5</sup> Or at least every citizen who wanted to vote in the centuriate assembly.

<sup>6</sup> Pol. vi. 23. 15; Gell. vi. 13. 1; Fest. 100 L; Pliny, *NH* xxxiii. 43; Taylor, *PP* 203-4; Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 60 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Dio lvi. 10. 2, ps. Asc. 247 St. (on 70 B.C.). Mattingly (*JRS* 1937, 105-6)

The increasing prosperity of the Roman state in the third and second centuries thus made obsolete, for practical purposes of evaluating wealth, all the Servian property qualifications except the highest, and required further distinctions to be made within the *prima classis*.<sup>1</sup> This first becomes clear with the super-tax levied in 214 to pay for manning the fleet. Those with property of from 50,000 to 100,000 *aeris* (presumably *asses*) were to provide one sailor and six months' pay; 100,000 to 300,000 *asses*, three sailors and a year's pay; 300,000 to 1,000,000, five and a year's pay; over 1,000,000, seven and a year's pay; senators, eight and a year's pay.<sup>2</sup> Allowing for an extra patriotic obligation on the part of the senators *pour encourager les autres*, it appears that already a senatorial *census* of 1,000,000, *asses*—that is, 400,000 *HS*—was being applied, *de facto* if not *de iure*. This figure is precisely the *census equester* attested in later times; since senators were still members of the eighteen equestrian centuries in 214, this is doubtless no coincidence, and may be taken as evidence, along with Polybius' observation that in his day the *equites* were chosen *πλουτίωνδην*, that the 400,000 *HS* equestrian census existed at the end of the third century, and served also as the property qualification for senators.<sup>3</sup> At some subsequent stage—possibly when *equites* and senators were legally separated by the *plebiscitum equorum reddendorum*—the limit for senators may have been raised. We are told that Augustus raised the limit from 400,000 *HS*, to which it had been relaxed as a result of the civil wars (in which many of the senators had lost their estates), to either 1,000,000 or 1,200,000 by 13 B.C.;<sup>4</sup> it is possible that he was restoring a republican requirement rather than making one of his own, or perhaps, as in other spheres, he was regularizing what had been informal practice under the Republic. For we have evidence of republican

dates the change to 89; perhaps Sulla's comitial reform in 88 (App. *BC* i. 59) offers a better context.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Henderson, *JRS* 1963, 64.

<sup>2</sup> Livy xxiv. 11. 7; Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 63-4.

<sup>3</sup> Pol. vi. 20. 9; Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 52-3; cf. Henderson, *JRS* 1963, 63 n. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Dio liv. 17. 3 (18 B.C.), 26. 3 (13 B.C.), 30. 2 (12 B.C., *equites* filling empty *tr. pl.* places to have 1,000,000 *HS*); Suet. *DA* 41.1 (raised from 800,000 to 1,200,000). Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 65-6.

senators of slender means who would hardly have qualified if there had been a rigidly enforced legal bar at 1,000,000 *HS*. They would, however, always be liable to demotion by unfriendly censors.<sup>1</sup>

The distinction between senators and *equites*, though intermittently of great political importance, tends to disguise the essential homogeneity of the moneyed class.<sup>2</sup> Cicero's horror at the pauper senators whose fortune was *vix equester*<sup>3</sup> should be put against the pre-Caesarian centurion's stipend of 960 (or 1,440) *HS per annum*—and as the young Horace found out at school, in a small pond at least centurions were very big fish.<sup>4</sup> By any standards other than the grossly inflated property prices paid by the great men of the late Republic,<sup>5</sup> 100,000 *HS* must have been a sizeable fortune. The *equites* Oppius and Balbus might, in courteous mock-modesty, describe themselves in a letter to Cicero as 'homines humiles',<sup>6</sup> but in fact they were very rich men. One has to distinguish between the standards applied *within* the upper class, whereby a fortune of 100,000 *HS* is comparatively insignificant, and those describing Roman society as a whole. Most of the ancient sources concentrate on the former, with misleading results for the historian who incautiously accepts their language in modern terms as applying to the whole spectrum of society.

<sup>1</sup> Henderson, *JRS* 1963, 70-1; cf. Willems, *Sénat* i. 189-97 and Gelzer, *KS* i. 35. Compare Varro, *Men.* 221 B, and C. Antonius' expulsion for bankruptcy in 70 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> See in general Brunt, *Equites*, 118, 121-2; Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 470-1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cic. *Planc.* 12. The relative nature of the term *egens* can be seen from its application to equestrian *iudices* (Cic. *Att.* i. 16. 2-3). Probably it often means merely 'in debt'; men like (for instance) Catiline could be *egentes* in this sense and still well-endowed (cf. Gelzer, *KS* i. 35, 114 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. 73—'magni pueri magnis e centurionibus orti'; see below, pp. 74-7.

<sup>5</sup> Tenney Frank, *ESAR* i. 371, 406; Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* 1965, 224 ff. on land prices, etc. Compare V.P. ii. 10. 1 and Cic. *Cael.* 17: rent of 6,000 *HS p.a.* was thought criminally extravagant in 125, but 30,000 was a possible rent in 56. See also Plut. *Mar.* 24. 2 on the rise in property prices, and Cic. *Verr.* iii. 184 for inflation in general (an extortion case involving 8,000 *HS*—very trivial compared with later standards).

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *Att.* ix. 7a. 1.

There is no Latin word corresponding to 'gentleman', but practically all Roman knights and senators would have recognized themselves in Macchiavelli's famous definition of *gentiluomini*—'those who live in idleness on the abundant revenue of their estates, without having anything to do either with their cultivation or with other forms of labour essential to life'.<sup>1</sup> When viewed against the whole range of Roman society, the senatorial and equestrian orders (the latter including the major municipal gentry) form a single more or less homogeneous social unit. But it is worth while to focus on the substrata of the upper class itself, the comparatively minute social criteria which graded one wealthy man above or below another, and in which our sources are more interested.

One such division was created by the senatorial *census* (however informal) and the *lex Claudia*. Further, the senators themselves took care to have their distinction symbolized by special marks of honour that were adopted during and after the Hannibalic war;<sup>2</sup> another one, applicable in the first century at least, was the *latus clavus*.<sup>3</sup> Within the Senate itself a double criterion of rank applied—the old distinction of patrician and plebeian, and the new one, crystallized during the second century, of *nobilis* and non-*nobilis*. As an ex-consul ranked higher than a *praetorius* or an *aedilicius*, so a man of consular family was socially more exalted than one whose ancestors had held only the lower curule offices, and the latter, in turn, than the descendant of a quaestor.

The development of the *equester ordo* shows a similar attempt at exclusiveness. It was first created as a constitutionally definable body by the exclusion of senators from the centuries of *equites equo publico* some time shortly after 129 B.C.;<sup>4</sup> the selection of the

<sup>1</sup> Macchiavelli, *Discorsi* i. 55. 7 (trans. L. J. Walker, 1946).

<sup>2</sup> Gold ring (Pliny, *NH* xxxiii. 11, 20-1); separate places at theatre (Livy xxxiv. 44. 5, cf. 54. 4 f., etc.); dining rights on Capitol during games (Livy xxxiii. 42. 1, cf. xxxviii. 57. 5, Gell. xii 8. 2, etc.); 'patrician' shoes now worn by men of curule rank (Fest. 143 L). See Willems, *Sénat* i. 123-8, 147-8; Mommsen, *StR* iii. 888-94. All these senatorial honours originate from the late third and early second centuries.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Varro, *Men.* 313 B for transparent togas worn to show the *clavus* on the tunic!

<sup>4</sup> *Cic. rep.* iv. 2; Henderson, *JRS* 1963, 70-1. The *largitor* in question may perhaps have been L. Cassius Ravilla, censor in 125.



members of these centuries by the censors thus defined the new class. But the centuries remained the same size, despite the increasing number of men with the equestrian census now qualified to become members, and these men caused the term 'eques' to be surreptitiously extended. The unofficial 'equites' may have been given a constitutionally recognized position by the creation of the judicial panel of *tribuni aerarii* in 70 B.C., but since they were still commonly called *equites*, the dignity of the equestrian order proper had to be defended against this dilution. It suffered again under Caesar, who merged the equestrian jury-panel with the *tribuni aerarii*, but recovered with Augustus' creation of the *turmae equitum equo publico* and his revival of the annual parade to the temple of Castor. Once more, the men whose wealth qualified them for selection, but who were not in fact members of the *turmae*, encroached on the titulature and prerogatives of the real *equites*, until Tiberius allowed them the legal right to the title and insignia. But the men of the *turmae* remained pre-eminent, distinguished by the pomp and circumstance of their annual review.<sup>1</sup>

Distinctions were made not only between the *equites* proper (with the public horse) and the men of equestrian census, but also inside the former body itself. If an *eques* were the first of his family to reach the *ordo*, he would suffer in *dignitas* beside men like Atticus, Cn. Plancius, or Ovid, whose rank was inherited—'usque a proavis vetus ordinis heres'. Like *nobilitas* among the senators, *vetustas equestris nominis* gave a man high social status among his peers in the order, though constitutionally his position was the same as theirs.<sup>2</sup>

By such means the old 'top people'—consular families in the Senate, hereditary *principes* in the equestrian order—protected their position against the new, creating stratified systems of status inside the moneyed class which they at least regarded as no less significant than the distinction between the moneyed class itself and the rest of the populace. It may be doubted whether the newly qualified Italian *eques* or the ex-equestrian *novus homo* making

<sup>1</sup> For the detailed argument see *Hist.* 1970, 67–83.

<sup>2</sup> *Nep. Att.* 1; *Cic. Planc.* 32; *Ovid, am.* iii. 15. 5–6; Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 89–90.

his way in the Senate saw the social structure of his time in quite the same way, but he too would become jealous enough of such privileges of rank once he had attained them.<sup>1</sup>

## II. THE NEW RICH

Some of the subdivisions of the senatorial and equestrian orders considered above were constitutional innovations, creating groups objectively definable by privilege and insignia. There were other less formal criteria, however, which placed a rich man high or low on the social scale within the moneyed class. Practically all senators and *equites* were rich by absolute standards, but they were judged on the newness of their wealth and the means by which they had acquired it.

The first of these criteria was that of birth. From the days of Appius Claudius the censor, with his proposal to open the Senate to the sons of freedmen and the subsequent reaction of his opponents against the *forensis turba*,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that many of at least the smaller traders of Rome were *liberti*; the long-drawn-out struggle over where they should vote in the tribal assembly<sup>3</sup> indicates clearly enough their numbers and their influence. As the empire expanded and the commercial scope of Rome grew with it, the more successful of these freedmen traders must have become rich men; their influence may be inferred from comitial reforms, in this case the concession of registration in a rural tribe for freedmen with property worth over 30,000 *HS*.<sup>4</sup> This was a minimum qualification: some men must have been worth many times this amount, as is shown by the plentiful evidence for the wealth of freedmen in the late Republic.<sup>5</sup> A considerable proportion of the equestrian order—we have no idea exactly how much<sup>6</sup>—must

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Cicero (*Att.* i. 16. 13) on the election of L. Afranius to the consulship, which would turn Cicero's own 'deification' into a *Faba mimus*: the farce referred to was evidently about the admission of riff-raff to Olympus (*Sen. apocol.* 9. 3).

<sup>2</sup> See Treggiari, *RFLR* 38-42, 54-7.

<sup>3</sup> Taylor, *VDRR* 132 ff.; Treggiari, *RFLR* 42 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Livy xlv. 15. 3-7.

<sup>5</sup> Treggiari, *RFLR*, esp. pp. 233, 239 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 27, a speech in the Senate in A.D. 56 claiming ultimate servile origin for many senators and most *equites* (value as evidence doubtful). Sons of freedmen as *equites*: e.g. *ILS* 1316; *CIL* v. 4455, 6349, x. 6100, xii. 527 (imperial date); Treggiari, *RFLR* 64-7 for the Republic.

have been composed of freedmen's sons, if not the freedmen themselves,<sup>1</sup> and like other *equites*, they had the resources, if not usually the ambition, to stand for public office and the Senate. In a famous passage in the *pro Sestio*, Cicero includes *libertini* as possible *optimates*, referring to them in close proximity to municipal Italians, businessmen, and the vaguely defined 'classes to which the Senate was open'; but no inference can be drawn from Cicero's theorizing as to whether such men (whatever their status was<sup>2</sup>) were regularly found in the Roman Senate. Appius Claudius had enrolled freedmen's sons as senators (one, Cn. Flavius, known by name), and more than one such man is known in the late-republican Senate: two seditious tribunes of 100 and 99, a certain Gellius mocked by Cicero, the corrupt juryman P. Popillius, and others.<sup>3</sup> Horace too could have been a senator, like his butt Tillius, whose birth was no better than his own; but that was in the free and easy days of the Triumvirate, when even slaves usurped senatorial office.<sup>4</sup>

Here again, as with the *egens*, his origin did not prevent the election of a freedman's son, but it could endanger his continued senatorial status if a censor were hostile. Just as the honour of the equestrian gold ring was normally denied them, so freedmen's sons only sat in the Senate under the threat of possible ejection.<sup>5</sup> And their presence there was resented: Horace, who did wear the gold ring—presumably in virtue of his military tribunate—and sat with Maecenas in the fourteen rows,<sup>6</sup> suffered criticism

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ILS* 1949: Zosimus' patron could give him the equestrian census, but not make him an *eques*.

<sup>2</sup> Treggiari, *RFLR* 53 (Suet. *Claud.* 24. 1 mistaken?).

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 163, 189, 194, 338, 440 (cf. 29, 429). All freedmen's sons, with the possible exception of 163 and 194. See Treggiari, *RFLR* 57–62 (unnecessary doubts about the senatorial status of no. 189, p. 59); cf. Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 13 f.; Willems, *Sénat* i. 182–9. Plut. *Cic.* 7. 5 on no. 73 probably wrong; Cicero would have mentioned libertine birth.

<sup>4</sup> Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. 24, 107–110; cf. Taylor, *AJP* 1925, 168–9. Slaves: Dio xlviii. 34. 5; Jer. 158 H; *Dig.* i. 14. 3 (nos. 63, 489); and were the *orcini* of Suet. *DA* 35. 1 freedmen (Sattler, *Aug. Sen.* 32)?

<sup>5</sup> Treggiari, *RFLR* 60.

<sup>6</sup> Hor. *Sat.* ii. 9. 48, 7. 53. App. *Pun.* 104 for *trr. mil.* wearing the gold ring; Caesar (*BG* iii. 7, 10) equates them with *equites*. Taylor (*AJP* 1925, 165) suggests that Brutus may only have accepted Horace as a tribune because he was short of officers.

although he was not a senator, and joined in the attack on those of his equals who were.<sup>1</sup>

The case of Horace brings us to the other important way in which some of the new rich were looked down on by the old. Horace's freedman father had been an auctioneer's middleman, and he himself had served as a quaestor's *scriba*.<sup>2</sup> The means by which a man had made his money were of prime importance for his social status. As we know from the account-books of the Pompeian auctioneer Caecilius Jucundus, a *coactor* could have wide financial interests, and Horace's father was not necessarily a poor man;<sup>3</sup> but what might be acceptable at Pompeii or Venusia was rated very low in the Roman society where the poet had found a place.

Horace puts his father's occupation alongside that of criers (*praecones*), who in Caesar's *lex municipalis* were disqualified—like undertakers—from holding local magistracies, at least as long as they remained in that business.<sup>4</sup> It is next to certain that a similar regulation governed senators at Rome; the *scriba* Cn. Flavius was only permitted to stand for the aedileship of 304 after he had laid down his scribal office<sup>5</sup>—and *scribae* certainly ranked higher than *praecones*. For both criers and scribes were included among the permanent staff of magistrates, Roman and municipal, along with lictors, summoners, soothsayers, copyists, and flute-players, and their relative status may be gauged from the rates of pay of the *apparitores* attached to *IIviri* and aediles at Caesar's colony at Urso.<sup>6</sup> For practically all these grades of the 'civil service', evidence from the late Republic suggests that their comparatively

<sup>1</sup> *Sat.* i. 6 *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sat.* i. 6. 85-7; Suet. *Hor.*; Fraenkel, *Horace* 4-5, 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> *CIL* iv. 3340 (pp. 275-405); Mommsen, *GS* iii. 225 ff. 'Pauper agellus' (*Sat.* i. 6. 71) is a comparative term.

<sup>4</sup> *Hor. Sat.* i. 6. 86-7. Bruns 18. 94 'quei praeconium dissignationem libitinamve faciet, dum eorum quid faciet'—cf. *Cic. fam.* vi. 18. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Piso, ap. Gell.* vii. 9. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Bruns 28. 62-3: duumviral scribe, 1,200 *HS* per quarter; aedile's scribe, 800; *accensus*, 700; lictor, 600; *haruspex*, 500; *viator*, 400; *librarius*, *tibicen*, and *praeco*, 300. Cf. *Cic. Verr.* ii. 27, iii. 28, 54, 137 (adding *medici*). The basic modern treatment of *apparitores* is Jones, *SRGL* 153-8; see also Treggiari, *RFLR* 153-6, who points out the high proportion of freedmen.

small salary does not necessarily reflect accurately the resources they could accumulate, and the social position they sometimes enjoyed.<sup>1</sup>

The senior grade was that of the *scribae*. Several scribes are known to have reached equestrian rank under the Empire, and Cicero mentions the *ordo scribarum* of the late Republic in the same breath as the *equester ordo*.<sup>2</sup> Evidently the scribes' *decuria* could be considered as practically a subdivision of the equestrian order, and certainly a *census* was demanded for membership. Thus Cicero attacked unworthy members, 'qui nummulis corrogatis de nepotum donis ac de scaenicorum corollariis, cum *decuriam emerunt*, ex primo ordine explosorum in *secundum ordinem civitatis* se venisse dicunt'.<sup>3</sup> If scribes were *equites* at least by *census*, and required some judicial training and expertise,<sup>4</sup> it is not surprising that several became senators. They were not always considered unworthy *adfinis* for senators, at any rate; the elder Cato's second wife was the daughter of his former scribe, and when Vespasian was a quaestor he married the daughter of a *scriba quaestorius*.<sup>5</sup> Yet all those whose names are known—Cn. Flavius, Claudius Glicia, C. Cicereius, and Sulla's scribe Cornelius—are damned by our sources as anomalous parvenus. This is largely because of the *potentia* of their respective patrons, and Cornelius' case his profiteering from the proscriptions,<sup>6</sup> yet in

<sup>1</sup> 'Parvae mercedes': Cic. *Verr.* iii. 182 (scribe); Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. 86-7 (*praeco*). *Praecones*: Cic. *Planc.* 33, *Brut.* 160, 172, *de or.* 244 (Q. Granius); Cic. *Verr.* ii. 122; *ILS* 1934 (decurions); Suet. *gramm.* 3; Pliny, *NH* xxxiii. 29 (L. Aelius Stilo Praeconinus). *Tibicines*: *CIL* x. 5392-4 (patron of Aquinum, Tiberian date); Plut. *mor.* 200 c (father of Q. Pompeius, *cos.* 141, but cf. Astin, *SA* 312). *Viatores*: *ILS* 1924 (a Lupercus); cf. Pliny, *NH* xxxiv. 11-12; V.M. ix. 1. 8. *Haruspices*: Cic. *fam.* vi. 18. 1 (Caesarian senators?); cf. Dio lv. 11. 2; Suet. *DA* 98. 4 (Thrasyllus). *Lictors*: Cic. *Verr.* v. 118 ff. *Accensi*: *ILS* 1949 (Tiberian), 1945 (cf. Broughton, *AJP* 1929, 279-85).

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *dom.* 74, *Cat.* iv. 15; cf. *Rab. Post.* 13, *Verr.* iii. 182-3 ('ordo est honestus'). Jones, *SRGL* 205 nn. 41-3 (cf. Taylor, *AJP* 1925, 166) for references to equestrian *scribae*.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Verr.* iii. 184, cf. Suet. on Horace—'scriptum quaestorium comparavit'

<sup>4</sup> Jones, *SRGL* 157.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. *Cato mai.* 24. 1-4 (but see p. 54 above); Suet. *Vesp.* 3. Cf. Plut. *Cato min.* 16. 4 (censor Catulus defending a quaestor's scribe); Hor. *Ep.* i. 8. 2 (Tiberius' comes *scribae* Albinovanus).

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *off.* ii. 29; Sall. *or. Lep.* 17.

*scribae* in general, like all the other ranks of professional civil servants, could be considered unsuitable as senators precisely in that they were professional.

Illiberales autem et sordidi quaestus mercennariorum omnium quorum operae, non quorum artes emuntur; est enim in illis ipsa merces auctoramentum servitutis.

It would be misleading to say that such men's wealth was *earned*—no doubt most of it was acquired by irregular means such as the 4 per cent cut Verres gave his scribe—but their social status was lowered by the receipt of a salary. They were paid for what they did.<sup>1</sup>

So were soldiers; the humblest *miles gregarius* might become a centurion, and centurions in the second century B.C. received either 960 or 1,440 *HS* per annum,<sup>2</sup> a salary which compares with that of the lower grades of *apparitores* at Caesar's Spanish colony—but the irregular income of soldiers (in loot, bounties, and so on) must have surpassed anything a civilian office-holder could collect.<sup>3</sup> The centurionate was a sufficiently lucrative office for unscrupulous commanders to offer it for sale, and the wealth of some centurions is indicated by the fact that it was from them, as well as from his equestrian officers, that Caesar borrowed money to distribute to the troops in Spain in 49.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the reforms in military pay carried out by Caesar and Augustus enhanced their financial status still further; the donatives offered in the Philippi campaign imply that centurions in 42 B.C. received five times the pay of the ordinary legionary, as opposed to twice or three times before Caesar;<sup>5</sup> under Augustus even the lowest grade of cen-

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *off.* i. 150; *Verr.* iii. 181; Jones, *SRGL* 156–7.

<sup>2</sup> Pol. vi. 39. 12, as interpreted respectively by Brunt (*PBSR* 1950, 51–2) and Watson (*Hist.* 1958, 114–15).

<sup>3</sup> Brunt, *JRS* 1962, 77–9 on booty and donatives, and especially (for centurions) *Tac. Ann.* i. 17. 6, *Hist.* i. 46 on income from bribes. Ramsay, *JRS* 1916, 90–2 for a triumviral veteran who became *scriba* to a local quaestor at Pisidian Antioch.

<sup>4</sup> Sale: Cic. *leg. Man.* 37, *Pis.* 87. Loans to Caesar: *Caes. BC* i. 39.

<sup>5</sup> App. *BC* iv. 100, 120; Brunt, *PBSR* 1950, 67. Polybius makes the centurion's pay twice that of the legionary; Watson (*op. cit.* 116–17) suggests that the retariffing of the *as* (c. 123 B.C.?) reduced legionaries' pay from 180 to 112½ *denarii p.a.*, but left the centurions' untouched, thus increasing it to just over three times that of the legionary. Plut. *Sulla* 25. 2 for *ταξίαρχοι* who got 50 drachmae per day

turion probably received an annual salary of 15,000 *HS* and the highest—the *primi pili*—no less than 60,000.<sup>1</sup>

Under Augustus, the primipilate qualified a man for an equestrian commission, if he wanted it and had the equestrian census; the same process is attested at the time of Caesar, and there is no reason to suppose that it was a novelty then.<sup>2</sup> The case of the humble L. Petronius, who 'ad equestrem ordinem et splendidae militiae stipendia P. Coeli beneficio pervenerat',<sup>3</sup> indicates that even under the Republic proper a soldier might reach, through the centurionate, a social position from which he might even hope to become a senator. In times of civil war and revolution, with military reliability at a premium and unusual opportunities of enrichment open to the soldiers,<sup>4</sup> such transitions must have become more frequent, and the further step to the Senate more practicable. As usual, our literary sources are vague and misleading. Centurions, particularly *primi pili*, were not uncouth infantry troopers but frequently men of substantial means, who served on jury panels as Roman knights.<sup>5</sup> Several are known in local magistracies, not only (as might be expected) in veteran colonies, but in their native *municipia* as well.<sup>6</sup> So when Lepidus called the Sullan

from their billets in Asia, as opposed to 16 for other ranks; but the word is ambiguous in Plutarch, sometimes meaning centurion (*Caes.* 20. 4, cf. *Caes. BG* ii. 25. 1) and sometimes military tribune (*Cam.* 37, *Pomp.* 6. 3, where the *λοχαγοί* must be centurions).

<sup>1</sup> Brunt, *PBSR* 1950, 67–71.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *SPMA* 67–8; cf. Syme, *JRS* 1937, 128, who (too cautiously?) considers it an innovation of Caesar's. De Laet, *Ant. Class.* 1940, 13–23 on Augustan *primi pili*.

<sup>3</sup> V.M. ix. 7. 5. Kübler (*PW* vi. 292) also adduced L. Septimius (*Caes. BC* iii. 104. 2; *Plut. Pomp.* 78. 1), L. Fufidius (no. 184), and the centurion Valerius Flaccus of *BC* iii. 53. 1—who would certainly have gone on to the *militia equestris*, and in all probability to the Senate.

<sup>4</sup> One centurion, L. Luscius, made 10 million *HS* out of Sulla's proscriptions (*Asc.* 90 c).

<sup>5</sup> Juries: *Cic. Phil.* i. 19–20. Cf. *Suet. Vesp.* 1. 2–3 for a Pompeian centurion who became an *argentarius* after Pharsalus: his son had a tax-collecting and money-lending business in the provinces, and married the sister of a senator. (Not infantrymen: on the march, if not in battle, centurions were evidently mounted, as is indicated by the horse on T. Calidius' tomb-relief at Carnuntum—*CIL* iii. 11213, between Augustus and Trajan.)

<sup>6</sup> *ILLRP* 502; *ILS* 2226 (Pais, *Mem. Linc.* 1923, 370–1, 388 on the colony at

senator L. Fufidius 'honorum omnium dehonestamentum', the description was justified more by his profits from the proscriptions than by his service as a *primipilaris*.<sup>1</sup> The other known senatorial ex-soldier is C. Fuficius Fango, *procos.* of Africa in 41, who had served in the ranks, and was doubtless one of the centurions whom Cicero expected to find in Caesar's Senate.<sup>2</sup> How many others there were, brought in by Sulla or Caesar or gaining election in the normal course of things, it is impossible to tell: Sallust's generalization on the *gregarii milites* in Sulla's Senate and Dio's descriptions of conditions under Caesar and the Triumvirs are too vague and too biased to be helpful.<sup>3</sup>

Dio makes Maecenas give Augustus some advice on this point which is of great importance for understanding the social unacceptability of soldiers: Maecenas recommends that a centurion might become an *eques* and thence a senator, but not if he had risen from the ranks, 'for it is both a shame and a reproach that men of this sort, who have carried faggots and charcoal, should be found on the roll of the Senate'. The criterion was evidently manual work—what would be done in civilian life by a slave. It appears again in Augustus' symbolic degradation of centurions who left their posts, in making them carry measuring poles or sods of turf as if they were legionaries engaged on building the ramparts.<sup>4</sup> Only men who had been appointed directly to the centurionate (*ex equite Romano*, as they were known under the Principate)<sup>5</sup> would have escaped the menial occupations of the common soldier and thus be eligible for senatorial status. Such

Sora); also *ILLRP* 592 (Ausculum); *ILS* 2233 (Urso, *col. Jul.*); see Syme, *JRS* 1937, 138–9. Dio *xlix.* 14. 3 for decurions.

<sup>1</sup> Sall. *or. Lep.* 17; Oros. *v.* 21. 3; cf. Plut. *Sulla* 31, *Sert.* 12.

<sup>2</sup> Dio *xlvi.* 22. 3; Cic. *div.* ii. 23. Add Cafo (no. 89), if he was a senator.

<sup>3</sup> Sall. *Cat.* 37; cf. Syme, *Sallust* 235–6; Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 576–7 (really *equites*?); Dio *xliii.* 20. 1–2, 47. 3, *lii.* 42. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Dio *lii.* 25. 6–7 (Loeb trans.); Suet. *DA* 24. 2; cf. Jos. *BJ* iii. 5. 83—legionaries as artisans? On Maecenas' speech see Millar, *CD* 102–18: 'there is no serious room for doubt that (it) is in itself a propaganda pamphlet, for its entire content (with trivial exceptions) relates to the early third century and not to the time of Augustus.' The point here, however, is not affected.

<sup>5</sup> *ILS* 2654–6, 4664, etc.; Birley, *RBRA* 122–4. No doubt there was a republican equivalent.



men might be landowners, and therefore respectable, not to be considered on the same level as one who had served all his adult life in the ranks. This is what was held against Fuficius Fango by the supercilious Romans at Cirta in his province of Africa: ἐν γὰρ τῷ μισθοφορικῷ ἐστράτευτο.<sup>1</sup>

Receipt of a regular salary or *stipendium* (civil or military) was socially unacceptable, and particularly in the soldier's case, because what he was paid to do was considered illiberal and degrading. This notion extended beyond the category of wage-earners: many occupations rendered a self-employed man also *sordidus* in Roman eyes.

### III. ARTES INHONESTAE

The conventional Roman attitude to money-making, as put forward by Cicero in the *de officiis*, was based on *mos maiorum*—that is, the idealized memory of men like L. Cincinnatus, C. Fabricius, and M'. Curius, who worked their own small farms and had no need of money.<sup>2</sup> The survival of that ideal, which became obsolete in practice as soon as Rome progressed beyond what was essentially a subsistence economy, was largely due to the opinions and influence of the elder Cato, who defended it (and the antique Roman way of life which depended on it) at a time when economic change was at its most violent, declaring that commercial profit from the lending of money was morally equivalent to homicide, and boasting that in his youth he had worked the Sabine soil with his own hands, as he knew no other way of making money than by farming and thrift.<sup>3</sup> But even in his day it was all quite unreal. Once launched on a successful political career, Cato soon conformed to the normal pattern of wealthy Romans, drawing his income in profit from the working

<sup>1</sup> Dio xlviii. 22. 4; cf. Tac. *Ann.* i. 20 on Aufidienus Rufus, 'diu manipularius, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus'.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *off.* i. 150-1. Livy iii. 26. 7-10 (Cincinnatus); V.M. iv. 3. 6; App. *Samm.* 10. 4 (Fabricius); Plut. *Cato mai.* 2. 1-2; V.M. iv. 3. 5 (Curius). See Crook, *LLR* 240 on the unreality of the convention in Cicero's day.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *off.* i. 151, ii. 88; Cato, *de agr.* pref. 1, etc.; *ORF*<sup>2</sup> frag. 128; Plut. *Cato mai.* 1. 3, 25. 1 (cf. *Mar.* 3. 1). See p. 116 below on the propaganda value of this ideal.

of estates bought for that purpose, and investing some of it for further profit in the underwriting of overseas trade.<sup>1</sup>

This last activity required discreet camouflage behind a non-senatorial 'front man', since the *lex Claudia* forbade senators to own ships of ocean-going size. But the extent of senatorial opposition to that law, and Cicero's observation that it and others on the same lines were 'antiquae leges et mortuae' in his day, show that Cato was not alone in this, and that the prejudice against senatorial participation in commerce was neither universal nor applied in practice.<sup>2</sup>

Besides, how could any landowner who was more than a mere subsistence farmer avoid commerce or financial dealings in one form or another? The income from his estates might come in rent;<sup>3</sup> or in the proceeds of any deposits of minerals or fuller's earth, hot springs, lakes for fishing, or forests for timber and pitchworks that his land encompassed;<sup>4</sup> or, above all, from the marketing of its pastoral or agricultural produce, either in the form of wine, oil, cereals, wool, etc., or as livestock for slaughter or sale.<sup>5</sup> The greater the landowner, the greater the proportion of this produce which was surplus to his own needs and therefore had to be disposed of commercially, for cash.

The same applies to usury. Anyone whose lands made him wealthy was a source of money for loans, and naturally he would require a return for the service in interest. The ubiquitous private lending and borrowing among themselves of the

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Cato mai.* 21. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Livy xxi. 63. 3-4; Cic. *Verr.* v. 45 (but note that Caesar's extortion law in 59 restated the terms of the *lex Claudia*: *Dig.* l. 5. 3). Cato had only objected to trade because of the risks involved (*de agr.* pref. 1, 3).

<sup>3</sup> Varro, *RR* i. 2. 17, ii. 3. 7; Cic. *Att.* xiii. 9. 2 (*praediola*), *fam.* xvi. 18. 2; Caes. *BC* i. 34 (*coloni*), etc.; see Brunt, *JRS* 1962, 71.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Cato mai.* 21. 5. Mines: Plut. *Crass.* 2. 5 (silver, cf. Strabo iii. 176, tin); *ILLRP* 1002 (iron, state-owned?); 1261-2 (lead, Spain), Pliny, *NH* xxxiii. 78 on North Italian gold. Lakes: Macr. *Sat.* iii. 15. 3; V.M. ix. 1. 1 (Lucrine lake, state-owned). Woods: Cic. *Brut.* 85; Pliny, *NH* iii. 74, etc.; *ILLRP* 732-3, 738, 746; Cic. *leg. ag.* ii. 36 (Sila, Minturnae, state-owned). Hot springs: *CIL* x. 1063; Pliny, *NH* xxxi. 5 (M. Crassus Frugi).

<sup>5</sup> Varro, *RR*, *passim*. Vineyards: Cic. *ND* iii. 86 (Rutilius Rufus, Formiae). Cf. also Gummerus, *PW* ix. 1455 ff. on 'household' products which could also be manufactured for sale.

equestrian and senatorial classes in Rome is well attested,<sup>1</sup> and many rich senators could be described as Horace described Fufidius, 'dives agris, dives positus in faenore nummis'.<sup>2</sup>

What mattered, in both trade and finance, was the scale of the transactions and the practitioner's attitude to it. The Claudian law allowed the senatorial landowner the use of boats large enough to transport goods to market by river or up the coast,<sup>3</sup> and the local disposal of surplus produce must have been considered a legitimate by-product of the agricultural life; large-scale surplus production for export was a different matter.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, lending to a friend or acquaintance was one thing; leaving one's money available for anyone who could pay the interest, or making large-scale loans to provincial communities or client kings, was another. As for attitude, the question was whether you sold or lent merely as a convenience, leaving the matter to your steward and disdaining to interest yourself in profit margins, or whether (like Fufidius) you looked for trade and spent most of your time and preoccupation on profiting from it.<sup>5</sup>

For various reasons, attitudes were changing in the late Republic. Politicians who needed money were prepared to get it by means at which their fathers might have sniffed.<sup>6</sup> A few of them were now so rich that further investment in land was hardly possible, and loans were practically the only way their money could be used.<sup>7</sup> The results of the change can be seen most interestingly in the thirties and twenties B.C., when we find an Ap. Claudius Pulcher exporting *amphorae* far afield, his wares rubbing

<sup>1</sup> Frederiksen, *JRS* 1966, 130-1; Kelly, *RL* 159. Compare the hiring of gladiators: e.g. the training establishments of C. Aurelius Scaurus (*V.M.* ii. 3. 2), Cn. Lentulus Vatia (*Plut. Crass.* 8. 2; *Oros.* v. 24. 1), and Caesar (*Caes. BC* i. 14. 4; *Cic. Att.* vii. 14. 2; *Suet. DJ* 31. 1); also the profits made by Atticus (*Cic. Att.* iv. 4a. 2, 8. 2); cf. Lintott, *VRR* 83-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Hor. Sat.* i. 2. 12; cf. Alfius in *epode* 2, 'iam iam futurus rusticus'.

<sup>3</sup> *Livy* xxi. 63. 4; cf. Cato, *de agr.* 1. 3, Strabo v. 235 for this sort of transport.

<sup>4</sup> The single *amphorae* of such men as M. Cispus (*ILLRP* 383 n.) or L. Cornelius (*CIL* ix. 6079. 18)—evidence only of small-scale local production?—contrast with the widespread wares of the Sepullii (Callender, *RA* nos. 1396, 1596) or the family of M. Herennius Picens (*ibid.* 1099-1105).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Dem.* 37. 52-4 for the distinction in fourth-century Athens.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. provincial equipment grants left *in faenore*: *Cic. leg. Man.* 37, *Pis.* 86.

<sup>7</sup> See Badian, *RILR* 72 ff. on Crassus and Pompey.

shoulders with those of Tattius Blandus and Tuccius Galeo,<sup>1</sup> and the slaves of a Metellus sharing the less reputable corners of the Forum with those of Tamudius and Fidiclanus at the tables of the *argentarii*.<sup>2</sup>

Not that they were by any means the first. The banking firm of the Fulvii attested at Rome and Delos from the late second century used the *praenomina* (Q. and Ser.) borne by a junior branch of the Fulvii Flacci. This could be no more than a case of freedmen operating independently of their patrons, and no sure sign of the consular family's involvement, but in the case of the Manlii Torquati we have firm evidence of loans to provincials, as well as two possible members of the family known as bankers in 56 and 50 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The Junii Bruti provide better testimony. The *Verrines* disclose D. Brutus, the consul of 77 B.C., standing surety with his estates for a young P. Junius who held a state contract for the upkeep of temples. This young man was probably a client of the family,<sup>4</sup> but the banker whose slave Philodamus is attested in 71 B.C. may have been a Brutus himself, if Philodamus can be identified with the freedman of a D. Brutus known from a gravestone in Rome.<sup>5</sup> In the next generation the loan of M. (Caepio) Brutus to Cyprian Salamis is notorious, and makes possible his identification as the banker 'M. Servilius' known in

<sup>1</sup> Callender, *RA* no. 111: examples found in Gaul and Germany, but the business was evidently based in the Mutina area, like that of Herennius Picens. This suggests (*contra* Oxé, *Germ.* 1924, 81) that it was the *amphorae* themselves, and not their contents, which Pulcher dealt in: see Livy xli. 18. 4; Pliny, *NH* xxxv. 161 (export); *ILLRP* 1152-70 (tiles, 75-36 B.C.), etc., for Mutina potteries. Cf. Callender, *RA* nos. 1184 and 1187 for Tattius and Tuccius.

Two Valerii named Volusus and Potitus evidently ran a pottery in southern Gaul (Oxé-Comfort, *CVA* 2231, cf. 2221-9). Those *cognomina* were used by the Valerii Messallae of Augustus' time (*cos.* 29 B.C. and A.D. 5)—but curiosity cannot be satisfied.

<sup>2</sup> Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1427. 79, cf. *ILLRP* 1035, 1027. Forum: Livy xl. 51. 5; *CIL* vi. 363 ('*argentarius post aedem Castoris*'). Disreputable: Plaut. *Truc.* 66, '*circum argentarias scorta et lenones qui sedent cottidie*'.

<sup>3</sup> Fulvii: *ILLRP* 995, 997, 1056; *PW* xvii. 1427. 84; Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 97, *BCH* 1912, 36. Torquati: Cic. *Att.* v. 21. 10, vi. 1. 6; *ILLRP* 1039, 1054.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Verr.* i. 130, 144 (cf. Sch. Bob. 106 St. on *subsignare*); the young man's father was a *homo de plebe R.* (i. 151), his stepfather an equestrian *publicanus*, and his *tutores* partly plebeian and partly noble (i. 132, 135, 137).

<sup>5</sup> *ILLRP* 1012; cf. *CIL* vi. 10371 (Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1441 is agnostic).

46.<sup>1</sup> His cousin Damasippus, whose father had been on the wrong side at the Colline Gate, was operating an estate-agent's business at the time, and may also have been involved in the buying and selling of works of art.<sup>2</sup>

These last two activities must have been very profitable in the luxurious inflation of the late Republic. Wealthy *equites* were involved in both of them, but so were great nobles—a Lentulus, for instance, and M. Crassus.<sup>3</sup> No doubt much of the building done in Rome by the great men of the late Republic was merely for conspicuous expenditure,<sup>4</sup> but it would be very surprising if none of it at all was investment in (for instance) apartments for rent, or even town houses for sale.<sup>5</sup>

An attempt to summarize the known *negotia*—in public contracts, commerce, and finance—of senators and senators' families will be found in Appendix IV.<sup>6</sup> Besides aristocrats like those observed above, a great many of the detectable names are those of *novi homines*. This is, of course, not surprising: many Italian senators came from equestrian families which had been traditionally engaged in such activities, and it had been the local

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Att.* vi. 2–3; *ILLRP* 1045 (Herzog, p. 1445).

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Att.* xii 33. 1 (45 B.C.); Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 1 (with Porph., who gives the *gentilicium* Junius); compare Vettius Scato, presumably also a *filius proscripti* (Cic. *dom.* 116). However, Mrs. Treggiari (*RFLR* 105 n. 7) makes Damasippus of libertine status.

<sup>3</sup> Works of art: Wilson, *Emigr.* 96–7 (Cossutii); Cic. *Att.* i. 8. 2, 9. 2 (Lentulus). Property speculation: Pliny, *NH* ix. 168 (Sergius Orata); Plut. *Crass.* 2. 3–4 (for the slave architects mentioned there cf. *ILLRP* 599, 'Appiai servos').

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Cic. *Att.* iv. 2. 7, 5. 2, *QF* ii. 2. 2, 4. 2–3, 5. 4 (57–56 B.C.); *Att.* ix. 13. 8, xii. 2. 2 (Balbus). Buying houses: *Att.* i. 13. 6, 14. 7, *fam.* v. 6. 2, etc.; Plut. *Crass.* 2. 3; Pliny, *NH* xxxvi. 116 (Crassus and Metella profiteering in 82).

<sup>5</sup> Plut. *Crass.* 2. 5. We are ill informed about the *domini insularum* (cf. Suet. *DJ* 41. 3): Cic. *QF* ii. 4. 3, *Att.* xii. 32. 2, xv. 17. 1, 26. 4, xvi. 1. 5 for flats owned by Cicero in three places in Rome (*Att.* xv. 20. 4 for Terentia's dowry, 26. 4 for Caerellia); Cic. *Cacl.* 17 for the luxury flat Caclius rented from Clodius, who then offered it for sale; *Att.* xiv. 9. 1 (D'Arms, *AJP* 1967, 195–200) on urban property of Cicero and Hortensius at Puteoli.

<sup>6</sup> I have tried to distinguish, where possible, between senators and their families engaged in commerce, moneylending, etc., and those whose *negotia* are not specified. See List D in Appendix IV for the latter category: their agents and freedmen may have been merely seeing to provincial estates (cf. Cic. *fam.* xiii. 69 on C. Curtius Postumi l. Mithres) or the claiming of a bequest (ibid. 26, 28, L. Mescinius Rufus).

aristocracies of the Italian towns (especially in the south) which had led the way in commercial dealings with the Greek world.<sup>1</sup> Now domiciled in Rome, they might carry on or even expand their commercial and financial interests—but with one disadvantage. The influence of the antique Catoian ideal, however grotesquely inapposite in the conditions of the late Republic, was still powerful,<sup>2</sup> and gave their rivals and *invidi* an opening to attack them when they turned to public life. It was all too easy to represent them to the voters of the tribal assembly as usurious parasites battenning on the sufferings of the poor, or—more commonly and much less justly—to senatorial audiences as shabby tradesmen or horny-handed sons of toil. Since the convention was as important as the reality, it is worth looking at the details of it.

The general terms in which new men are described in the sources are (inevitably) both descriptive and evaluative. *Infimus*, *humilis*, or *obscurus*,<sup>3</sup> besides indicating a man's place in the social hierarchy, also convey a moral overtone as clear as *nobilis* or *honestus* at the other end of it. Often the description is even more openly a moral judgement, with words like *turpis* and *sordidus* being employed.<sup>4</sup> Such generalities are of little help in detecting the actual status, or indeed the character, of the senator concerned; nor does 'born from the *plebs*' get us much further, and even 'poor' is a relative term.<sup>5</sup> Only in the cases where the man's alleged occupation is specified can we see what the conventional social criteria were.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gabba, *Ath.* 1954, 53 ff.; Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 238–45; BCH 1912, 130–4.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Cic. *Att.* i. 17. 5 (Hill, *RMC* 48)—Cicero's self-conscious politeness about Atticus' *negotia*.

<sup>3</sup> *Infimus*: Cic. *Brut.* 243 (no. 37); Tac. *Hist.* ii. 38. 1 (no. 248); Suet. *DA* 66. 1 (374); Pliny, *NH* xviii. 37 (419). *Humilis*: Sall. *Hist.* iv. 43 M (231); Cic. *Cluent.* 111–12 (351); Pliny, loc. cit. (419), Gell. xv. 4. 3 (474), cf. Plut. *mor.* 806 A (no. 9). *Obscurus*: V.P. ii. 76. 4 (374), Tac. *Ann.* iii. 23. 1 (416). *modicus* is more polite: Tac. *Ann.* vi. 39. 3 (340).

<sup>4</sup> *Turpis*: Cic. *Rab. perd.* 24 (no. 189), *Cluent.* 87 (410). *Sordidus*: *Cluent.* 87 (410); Tac. *Ann.* iii. 48. 2 (416); Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. 107 (429); cf. Cic. *Brut.* 224 (C. Servilius Glaucia, p. 206 below). Also Cic. *Att.* i. 19. 5 (no. 204, 'nequam'); Asc. 81 c ('contemptissimum nomen' of no. 424).

<sup>5</sup> *Plebs*: Dio xxvii. 94. 1; Tac. *Hist.* ii. 38. 1 (no. 248—cf. Weynand, *PW* Supp. vi. 1367–8). Poor: Plut. *Mar.* 3. 1 (parents of no. 248), Cic. *Att.* i. 19. 5 (204), *Cluent.* 70 (410); cf. Suet. *DA* 66. 1 (374); Cic. *Brut.* 224 (Glaucia)—*fortuna*.

The philosopher Posidonius had divided *artes* into *volgares*, *ludicrae*, *pueriles*, and *liberales*; Cicero, following him, agreed that all manual work must be vulgar and sordid, but distinguished as comparatively respectable certain useful practices and callings which required *prudencia* and *doctrina rerum honestarum*. He specifies doctors and architects, but scribes and perhaps *haruspices* might also have been included.<sup>1</sup> Posidonius' 'artes ludicrae' are presumably what Cicero calls those connected with pleasure, and which he expressly condemns. His first examples are fishmongers, butchers, poulterers, and chefs; we may add bakers, adducing what unfriendly critics said of the Vitellii, that they were founded by a freedman cobbler, made rich as an informer and by buying confiscated estates, who married a prostitute, the daughter of a baker. According to Antony and Cassius of Parma, the father of M. Atius Balbus was an African who kept a bakery and a perfumery at Aricia; *unguentarii* are also on Cicero's list of *artes inhonestae*.<sup>2</sup>

Another trade with a bad reputation was that of *divisores*, officials of the thirty-five tribes who saw to the distribution among the *tribules* of gifts, money, and favours from members of their tribe who hoped for election. This was not illegal unless it was done throughout all the tribes,<sup>3</sup> but when electoral bribes were passed outside a candidate's own tribe, they had to be passed through the *divisores*, and most of the references to them in our sources come from such contexts.<sup>4</sup> Apart from such biased evidence, we have no information on their status; such tribal officers as are recorded epigraphically were, as would be expected, often freedmen in the urban tribes but *ingenui* elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> It could certainly be a profitable business,<sup>6</sup> and here too we may be dealing

<sup>1</sup> Posidonius in Sen. *ep.* 88. 21; Cic. *off.* i. 150-1. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 66 on the 'obscura initia' of a schoolmaster (*ars liberalis?*) who became a senator.

<sup>2</sup> Suet. *Vit.* 2. 1, *DA* 4. 2 (cf. *ILLRP* 823-6 for freedman *unguentarii*).

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 133 f.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Cic. *Mur.* 54, *Planc.* 48, 55 *Verr.* ii. 161 (coupled with theft but about Verres' father), *comm. pet.* 57.

<sup>5</sup> *ILS* 6049-53, 6057-61 (Suc., Pal., Esq.—one officer of the Succusana was a *municipalis* from Tarquinii), 6054-6 (Pollia).

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *har. resp.* 42: 'quaestum illum maxime fecundum uberemque campe-strem.'

with men who were often of equestrian rank. For the wealthy C. Octavius of Velitrae was supposed to have been a *divisor*, as had the elder Verres (also a senator), and the father of one Herennius, who became tribune in 61. Herennius, however, was a *homo nequam atque egens*, and Atticus was not expected to know him.<sup>1</sup>

Bottom of every ancient list of acceptable occupations came manual work: 'opifices omnes in sordida arte versantur, nec enim quicquam ingenuum potest habere officina.'<sup>2</sup> As we have seen, the first of the Vitellii was said to have been a cobbler; so was P. Alfenus Varus, if Horace's scholiast can be trusted. The father of M. Scaurus, poor but patrician, was reputedly a charcoal-dealer, C. Octavius' grandfather a freedman ropemaker from Thurii, and his father a money-changer.<sup>3</sup> This last charge, at least, was true, in that the elder Octavius was evidently a banker who acted as his own clerk, and actually handled coin himself, which is what his detractors sneered at.<sup>4</sup> How much justification there was for any of the other charges, it is impossible to guess. Those made by contemporaries may have had a germ of truth in them, like Plancus' description of the one-time haulage contractor P. Ventidius Bassus as a muleteer; the Insubrian *mercator et praeco* who married his daughter to L. Piso's father is recognizable as a Transpadane businessman.<sup>5</sup> But later sources whose exaggerations cannot be checked have little or no validity. Plutarch, for instance, goes further than the contemporary Cicero in calling Q. Caecilius Niger a *libertinus*; it was an easy smear, like that of Suetonius on an ancestress of the emperor Otho, 'incertum an ingenua'. If we were to believe a speech in Dio, Cicero's father was a fuller.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *DA* 3. 1; Cic. *Verr.* iii. 161, cf. *act.* i. 22-5; Cic. *Att.* i. 16. 12. Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 603-4 on *divisores* in general.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *off.* i. 150; cf. Sen. *ep.* 88. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. *Vit.* 2. 1; Porph. *ad Hor. Sat.* i. 3. 130; *vir. ill.* 72. 1 (cf. Plut. *mor.* 318 c; Asc. 23 c); Suet. *DA* 2. 3; ps. Cic. *ep. Oct.* 9.

<sup>4</sup> *ILLRP* 1046 (p. 246 below); Cassius Parmensis, *ap.* Suet. *DA* 4. 2: 'hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarius.'

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *fam.* x. 18. 3; Pliny, *NH* vii. 135; Gell. xv. 4. 3; cf. Syme, *Lat.* 1958, 77 (see further pp. 88 f. below); Cic. *Pis.* fr. 9 (Asc. 11 c), etc.

<sup>6</sup> Niger: p. 71 n. 3 above. Suet. *Otho* 1 on the mother of no. 376. Dio xlv. 4. 2 for Calenus' speech; pseudo-Sallust has nothing more banausic than 'mercennarius patronus' (*in Cic.* 3).



Nor was it only urban trades that could be imputed to illustrate a man's obscurity: Marius appears in the elder Pliny as 'arator Arpinas', and Dio, perhaps with marginally more plausibility, makes Salvidienus Rufus a shepherd-boy.<sup>1</sup>

Wealthy centurions become *militēs gregarii*, Sicilian Greeks become freedmen, men in the military transport business become muleteers. Cicero asserted that 'nihil ingenuum potest habere officina', but numbered among his friends one of the senators known in the pottery manufacturing business.<sup>2</sup> In this world of doublethink, it is clear that the municipal cobblers, ropemakers, and auctioneers of our defamatory sources were usually, if not always, businessmen of substance and repute in their native towns. As with scribes and centurions, respectable Roman knights may easily lurk behind the loaded terminology.<sup>3</sup>

An interesting glimpse of reality is provided by the high correlation of the names of moneyers with those of bankers recorded on *tesserae*.<sup>4</sup> This might be thought coincidental, were it not that the young Lollius Palicanus seems actually to advertise his family's business with a bank-*tessera* design on his coins.<sup>5</sup> Another triumviral moneyer was Petillius Capitolinus, whose responsibility for the temple of Capitoline Jupiter was evidently no less financial than religious, since he was tried for embezzlement as a result of it; the bank of Petillius is known from three contemporary *tesserae*, and it may not be fanciful to suppose that financial expertise was a potent qualification for his moneyership.<sup>6</sup> It was a 'magistratus in pecunia maxime tractanda procurandaque versatus',<sup>7</sup> and it is not surprising that it was filled by members of families with plenty of monetary experience—and

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *NH* xxxiii. 150; Dio xlviii. 33. 1 (cf. *CQ* 1964, 130).

<sup>2</sup> No. 485 (*Mnem.* 1963, 275 ff.); cf. no. 365, and Taylor, *VDRR* 267 on the possible connection of the Gabinii with Campanian potteries.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cic. *QF* i. 2. 6, 'homo levis ac sordidus sed tamen equestri censu'. See Gelzer, *KS* i. 28-31.

<sup>4</sup> Acutely observed by Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1443, 1454. See Appendix IV, list C: Pomponius, Cloilius, Malleolus, Dossenus, Axsius, Lollius, Procilius, Petillius, and Brutus were all either moneyers themselves or related to moneyers.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 238 below.

<sup>6</sup> Porph. *ad Hor. Sat.* i. 4. 93 ff., 10. 26; *ILLRP* 1042, 1044, 1060.

<sup>7</sup> Cic. *Font.* 5.

not only equestrian families, as is shown by the case of the Junii Bruti considered above.<sup>1</sup> This conclusion is interesting for the appointment of *monetales* (many municipal families would be highly qualified), and it shows that so far from being unfit for a senator, in at least one public office financial *negotia* were a positive advantage.

It follows that the use by our sources of such phrases as 'humili atque obscuro loco natus' is not in itself evidence for social mobility except within the upper class itself, and sometimes not even that.<sup>2</sup> It may indicate recent enrichment or wealth acquired by commerce, but such distinctions were largely ignored for the purposes of everyday social intercourse, and only dragged out to prejudice a man's claim to senatorial office and advancement, or to damn his memory in the eyes of posterity.<sup>3</sup> In practically every case,<sup>4</sup> it is impossible to guess which of the new senators considered in this chapter had started life on a genuinely humble social level. Not even in the case of the freedmen, soldiers, and salaried *apparitores* whose comparatively low original status is explicitly recorded can we trust our sources without qualification. Even if they do not exaggerate, we have seen that *scribae*, for example, were comparatively wealthy men whose *ordo* was at least half-way to respectability, while centurions, as Maecenas' remark indicates, had not always been common soldiers;<sup>5</sup> and although freedmen had *ex hypothesi* risen from nothing, their sons could be born rich, and it was their sons who entered the Senate.

Even the Cicerones, whose grandfather was a municipal magistrate—and a conservative at that<sup>6</sup>—appear in Dio as the sons of a fuller. That was merely idle slander written a century and

<sup>1</sup> p. 80 above. M. Brutus was moneyer about 54; it is worth noticing that he had been employed by his uncle Cato to keep a check on the appropriation of Ptolemy's treasure (Plut. *Brut.* 3, *Cato min.* 35-7).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gelzer, *KS* i. 29-32.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 53 ff. above for further evidence, and one possible qualification (the apparent endogamy of a very few noble families).

<sup>4</sup> The only certain exceptions are the runaway slaves, nos. 63 and 489.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 76 f. above.

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *leg.* iii. 36; see p. 31 above (Dio xlvi. 4. 2).

a half after their death; but other, apparently more convincing, cases prove equally baseless. Marius had stood for the aedileship at Arpinum, C. Octavius' father had held municipal magistracies, and Salvius Otho's family was 'vetus et honorata atque ex principibus Etruriae'. Scepticism is confirmed by the case of Fuficius Fango, who is explicitly recorded as having served in the ranks, but who appears as an aedile at his native Acerrae.<sup>1</sup>

It is quite clear that in their tenure of local office these men were typical of many other *novi homines* who were lucky enough to avoid dangerous eminence or hostile slander. Q. Sertorius, for instance, came of a distinguished family at Nursia and received a legal education which was doubtless employed in a municipal magistracy. The *municipes* of M. Caelius Rufus adlected him to the decurionate in absence before he even reached the Senate, and the official deputation sent to support him at his trial included *equites* and senators who were also presumably decurions at Interamnia.<sup>2</sup> The brother of Minatius Magius' two praetorian sons was *IVvir* at Aeclanum; the father of the Marian Gratidii had opposed M. Cicero *avus* over ballot-voting at Arpinum; the father of Octavian's general M. Nonius Gallus was a magistrate at Aescernia; and the elder brother of a nameless Corfinian senator is described as 'maximis municipi honoribus iudiciis Augusti Caesaris usus'.<sup>3</sup> Several municipal senators are themselves attested as local magistrates,<sup>4</sup> but in these cases it is not always possible to establish whether they held office before entering the Roman Senate or afterwards; when Milo held the dictatorship of Lanuvium he was already a consular candidate, and Cicero's son, aedile of Arpinum in 46, was, of course, a *nobilis*.<sup>5</sup> Many more can be identified with some confidence as at least closely related to

<sup>1</sup> Marius: V.M. vi. 9. 14. Octavius: Suet. *DA* 1. 2. Otho: Suet. *Otho* 1; *ILLRP* 588-90. Fango: *CIL* x. 3758 (cf. *ILS* 2243 for an ex-legionary as decurion at Ateste).

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Sert.* 2; Cic. *Cael.* 5 (nos. 394, 78).

<sup>3</sup> *ILLRP* 523 (nos. 240-1); Cic. *leg.* iii. 36 (nos. 198, 250); *ILS* 895 (no. 276); *ILS* 2682 (no. 519). Add the father of no. 321, 'princeps inter suos' (Cic. *Planc.* 32).

<sup>4</sup> e.g. nos. 75 (*ILLRP* 438), 135 (*ibid.* 414), 349 (*ILS* 916), 400 (*CIL* x. 6661).

<sup>5</sup> Asc. 31 c; Cic. *fam.* xiii. 11. 3. See pp. 45-6 above on senators as local magistrates.

contemporary or earlier magistrates at their native towns;<sup>1</sup> still others may be added rather more conjecturally, either because *praenomina* for exact identification are missing<sup>2</sup> or because the municipal magistrate in question may be chronologically later than the senator.<sup>3</sup>

The Italian towns had their own *nobiles*, and presumably their own *novi homines* in the municipal councils, whose social position was recently acquired rather than inherited. Sometimes, perhaps, the self-made man might go on to the Roman Senate, if luck and patronage allowed, and some of the new men described as of humble origin in our sources may be examples. But, as we have seen, it is not safe to take the sources literally. The evidence for social mobility is in most cases too insubstantial to be used. As a final example, let us return to P. Ventidius Bassus the 'muleteer'. There is no reason to doubt Gellius' story that Bassus, for whom a political career was impossible until Caesar admitted ex-rebels and the sons of the proscribed, had spent some of his difficult early life in the transport business, just as the Marsic Vettius Scato was reduced to estate-agency in the fifties B.C. But Scato was certainly a local aristocrat, and the story of the mules is in itself no evidence that Bassus was not equally well-connected. Gellius calls him 'genere et loco humili', but uncharacteristically quotes no authority for this other than a vague 'quae scripta sunt'; since Ventidius served under Antony, we should require very explicit confirmation of this sort of vague charge. It might be true; but it might equally be malicious inference ('all muleteers are base-born') from an occupation forced on Bassus by circumstances after the Social War. It is worth remembering another man who earned the nickname *mulio*: Vespasian also took up the mule-trade

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 34 (*ILLRP* 540), 68 (*ibid.* 529), 76 (*CIL* x. 6017), 104 (*i<sup>2</sup>*. 2279), 128 (*ILLRP* 688), 131 (*ibid.* 627), 181 (*CIL* v. 989), 188 (*xi.* 4804), 206 (*ILLRP* 584-6), 221 (*CIL* x. 49-50), 247 (*ILLRP* 526), 293 (*ibid.* 555), 307 (*NS* 1922, 253 ff.), 316 (*ILLRP* 305), 325 (*CIL* ix. 6384), 409 (*ILLRP* 609), 505 (*Fast. Ost.* 47-45 B.C.).

<sup>2</sup> e.g. nos. 197 (*V.M.* ix. 3. 8; *Plut. Sulla* 37. 3), 214 (*CIL* ix. 5560), 237 (*EE* vii. 1236), 246 (*CIL* ix. 5073), 288 (*ILLRP* 678), 289 (*CIL* ix. 3688), 509 (*ILLRP* 666).

<sup>3</sup> e.g. nos. 77 (*CIL* xiv. 2622), 167 (*ILLRP* 558), 257 (*ibid.* 577), 335 (*CIL* xi. 3254. 2. 13), 458 (*ILLRP* 604), 496 (*ILS* 3701).

in a period of financial embarrassment, and he was a *consularis* at the time.<sup>1</sup>

The Vettii and the Vespasii were certainly office-holders in their native towns. They represent the characteristic milieu of the senatorial *novus homo*—that of the decurions and magistrates of the Italian municipalities—and it is to this that we must now turn.

#### IV. THE ORDO DECURIONUM

The position of *decurio* was much sought after,<sup>2</sup> a Pompeian *hospes* of Cicero, one P. Mallius, even invoking his patron's authority to obtain it for his stepson, and it was the common practice to give expensive gladiatorial games to celebrate one's newly acquired decurionate.<sup>3</sup> The privileges of the office were analogous to those of the Roman senator; a stripe on the toga, places of honour at the theatre and the games, banquets at public expense, and so on.<sup>4</sup> Before the Social War, the magistrates of Latin colonies became *ex officio* Roman citizens—indeed privileged citizens, in that they were excused military service—and under the Empire this right passed to the ex-magistrates of provincial towns.<sup>5</sup> The decurions' privileged position was protected by the qualifications for the election of magistrates: Caesar's municipal law laid down an age limit of 30 (unless a candidate had served three campaigns in the cavalry or six in the infantry), required *praecones* and undertakers to give up their professions before candidature, and forbade

<sup>1</sup> Bassus: Gell. xv. 4. 3 ('in vetere memoria'), cf. p. 84 n. 5 above. Scato: Cic. *dom.* 116, *Att.* iv. 5. 2, vi. 1. 15 (Syme, *RR* 91 n. 5). Vespasian: Suet. *Vesp.* 4. 3; cf. (on Sabine horses, asses, and mules) Varro, *Men.* 502 B, *RR* ii intr. 6, 1. 14, 6. 1, 8. 3 and 6.

<sup>2</sup> Sherwin-White, *RC* 82-9 on municipal magistracies in the late Republic. For decurions as ex-magistrates cf. *ILLRP* 533-4, and Pliny, *ep.* x. 80 on the Bithynian practice established by Pompey in 64. See, in general, Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 397-400 (*domi nobiles*) and 400-5 (local magistrates and decurions).

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *ILS* 5053 (Pompeii, Augustan)—10,000 *HS*. See further p. 94 below. Mallius: Macr. *Sat.* ii. 3. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Kübler, *PW* iv. 2330-2: Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 36 and Porph., Bruns 18. 27-31, 29. 15-16, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Asc. 3 C on Transpadane towns: 'ut possent habere ius quod ceterae Latinae coloniae, id est ut petendo magistratus civitatem Romanam adipiscerentur' (Tibiletti, *RIL* 1953, 53-8; Badian, *FC* 179-80, etc., on the date—124 B.C.?). Bruns 30. 21 (*lex Salpensana*, A.D. 81-4).

convicts, gladiators, actors, and other disreputable people from ever holding office.<sup>1</sup> Augustus seems to have relaxed the age limit, but at one point Caesar's liberality was later abandoned: subsequent regulations demand free birth for a magistrate, thus excluding *liberti*, whom Caesar had admitted.<sup>2</sup>

If local senates could ever include freedmen and soldiers—for Caesar's regulations catered for candidates who had served in the legions—it becomes necessary to examine closely what sort of men local magistrates and decurions usually were. Here the inscriptions of Pompeii give us an invaluable cross-section covering the late Republic and early Empire, and although many of the men we know most about were candidates for office in the very year of Vesuvius's eruption (A.D. 79), perhaps the information to be gleaned from them is not wholly inapplicable to the social conditions of two and three generations before.<sup>3</sup>

One family which embraced several of the activities practised by the governing class of Pompeii was the Vibii, who produced the republican *IVvir* Vibius Coecianus Nucerninus and the Augustan *IIvir* N. Curtius Vibius Salassus;<sup>4</sup> their agricultural activities are attested by the *dolia* of M. Vibius Liberalis and the vineyard owned by a lady of the family.<sup>5</sup> This Vibia also manufactured the fish sauce for which Pompeii was famous, as did a member of another early family, the Trebii, who had provided at least one

<sup>1</sup> Bruns 18. 23–5.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny x. 80 (Bithynia age-limit fixed by Augustus at twenty-two); Bruns 30. 54 (free birth, age limit twenty-five). Caesar and *liberti*: Strabo viii. 381; *ILLRP* 580; *ILS* 1945 (Corinth, Africa); cf. *ILLRP* 630 (Nola) 'M. Salvio Q. f. Venusto decurioni beneficio dei Caesaris'—the son of a freedman? Frederiksen, *PBSR* 1959, 93–4 on the Capuan *magistri*, who (until 59 B.C.) were quasi-magistrates: no objection to *liberti*, nor (*ibid.* p. 87) to *praecones* and manual workers, whether libertine or not.

<sup>3</sup> If Ostia is any guide, however, social conditions were changing in the Flavian period: see Meiggs, *RO* 196–208, esp. 204–5 on the descendant of a public slave who had been a local magistrate before A.D. 105. The Pompeian aedile-candidate C. Julius Polybius, noted below, is doubtless a parallel case. Meiggs, *RO* 189–96 on Ostian magistrates of the late Republic and early Empire: traders as well as landowners, and at least two military men, one of them the son and grandson of centurions (*ibid.* 195).

<sup>4</sup> *CIL* x. 1075, cf. 8148; iv. 1866, cf. Antony's prefect Q. Curtius Salassus (41 B.C.).

<sup>5</sup> *CIL* x. 8047. 19; iv. 5792, 5909 (Varro, *RR* i. 2. 24 for *figlinae* on farm estates).

*meddix tuticus* in Oscan times.<sup>1</sup> The Mamii and the Popidii were also ancient Oscan houses, represented by a priestess and a *meddix* respectively: the *fundus Mamianus* and the tiles of Num. Popidius may indicate that their interests were primarily agricultural.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most important men in Pompeii during Augustus' principate must have been A. Clodius Flaccus, duumvir three times between c. 20 and 3 B.C. and father of a priestess of Ceres. His interest was evidently in the production of wine.<sup>3</sup> Wine and *garum* were the produce of the Stlaborii, bricks and tiles of the Eumachii; both families produced magistrates under Tiberius.<sup>4</sup> More interesting is the occupation of their contemporary M. Vesonius Marcellus, *Ivir* A.D. 34, who may have been related to the fuller (Vesonius?) Primus known forty years later.<sup>5</sup> If it was a family business already in operation in Marcellus' time, then he is the earliest magistrate known to us who practised this unpopular trade; the next known case is that of L. Verenius Hypsaeus, *Ivir* in A.D. 58 or 59 and standing again for election in A.D. 79, who owned a large *fullonica* in the 'via di Mercurio'.<sup>6</sup>

Except in this last case, few of the recorded magistrates can be precisely identified in the actual practice of their various businesses; the most we can say is that their families were so engaged. It is therefore particularly valuable to know that A. Umbricius Scaurus, a man of sufficient importance to be given an equestrian statue in the forum by the decurions, was personally involved in the manufacture and sale of fish sauce—'liquamen optimum A. Umbrici Scauri'.<sup>7</sup> It is almost equally certain, though *cognomina*

<sup>1</sup> NS 1914, 112 ('hallex optima Vibiac'), 1912, 185 (A. Trebius Synhodus); cf. Conway, *ID* no. 47 (Num. Trebius Trebi f.); *CIL* iv. 677 (A. Trebius Valens, *Ivir cand.* A.D. 79).

<sup>2</sup> *CIL* x. 998, 816; Conway no. 44; *CIL* iv. 3864, x. 8042. 154, Conway no. 77. 17. For the Samnite Mamii, cf. Conway no. 75 and *CIL* ix. 3090, a Mamia Vibi f. who was priestess of Ceres and Venus at Sulmo.

<sup>3</sup> *CIL* x. 793, 890, 960, 936; iv. 2564, 5918 ('vinum Clodianum'), cf. 5374, 5588. See further p. 93 below.

<sup>4</sup> *CIL* iv. 5686, 5526, x. 8042. 47-8; x. 896, cf. 806 (M. Stlaborius Veius Fronto, *Ivir quinq.* A.D. 26), 899, 810 (L. Eumachius Fuscus, *aed.* A.D. 32, and Eumachia L. f., *sacerdos publica*).

<sup>5</sup> *CIL* x. 904; iv. 3478, 3482, cf. Della Corte, *Case ed abitanti* II n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *CIL* iv 5352, 187, Della Corte, p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> *CIL* x. 1024 (Claudian), iv. 5711, cf. 7678 (*vasa faecaria*).

are not recorded on their *amphorae*, that Q. Bruttius Balbus and Q. Postumius Modestus, aedile and *Iivir* in A.D. 56, were themselves wine-wholesalers; and when the latter's son Proculus stood for the aedileship in A.D. 79, one of his supporters was a tavern-keeper.<sup>1</sup>

In the same way, the *pistores* supported C. Julius Polybius for the aedileship in A.D. 79; his slogan was 'panem bonum fert', so he himself may have been a baker.<sup>2</sup> It was long thought that Polybius' competitor P. Paquius Proculus was also a baker; this was a mistake, but the *studiosus* (*iuris*?) whose portrait was mistaken for Paquius' was evidently the brother of the man who owned the bakery in which it was found;<sup>3</sup> and even without this identification, the fact that a *pistor* could be the brother of a lawyer proves that in Pompeii, at least in the first century A.D., bakery and other similar trades were not necessarily considered *artes inhonestae*.<sup>4</sup>

Many of these men might have become senators if they had wished. The honour paid to Umbricius Scaurus the fish-sauce merchant was the same as that given to Nonius Balbus at Herculaneum, who was either a senator himself or the son of one.<sup>5</sup> The praetor Nigidius Figulus probably came from Pompeii, and his *cognomen* doubtless indicates that he had once been at home among the Vibii and Popidii.<sup>6</sup> But the *domi nobiles* were not always interested in the Roman Senate. Ostia provides a good example: C. Cartilius Poplicola, duumvir eight times, three times with censorial power and elected at least once in absence, could doubtless have got into the Senate practically for the asking,

<sup>1</sup> *CIL* x. 826; iv. 5783 (cf. *NS* 1895, 207 ff. for L. Bruttius Eros in a *villa rustica* outside the town, doubtless the site of the vineyard), 5605, 5607-10; 7238.

<sup>2</sup> *CIL* iv. 886, 429.

<sup>3</sup> Della Corte, *JRS* 1926, 145-54, esp. 150-1.

<sup>4</sup> Lawyer: Della Corte, *JRS* 1926, 151; *CIL* iv. 808, 6629, 6678, 6690. Legal knowledge could not always be counted on in a local magistrate: cf. Hardy, *RLC* 128 n. 14 for the careful explanation in the *lex Rubria de Gallia Cisalpina* (ch. xx *ad fin.*) that 'Seius', 'Licinius', and 'Mutina' were used as paradigm names and were not to be taken literally.

<sup>5</sup> *CIL* x. 1425 ff. (no. 275).

<sup>6</sup> No. 271. The traditional explanation of his *cognomen* (from Suetonius?) is probably fanciful: Aug. *CD* v. 3; Sch. Luc. i. 639; cf. Della Casa, *Nig. Fig.* 1-18, and Münzer, *PW* xiv. 1557 on the Marcii Figuli.



particularly as he seems to belong to the triumviral period.<sup>1</sup> But he was content to be a big fish in the comparatively small pond of Ostia. So was Horace's friend Ser. Oppidius of Canusium, who threatened his sons with disinheritance if they became senators at Rome; Oppidius was 'dives antiquo censu' and objected to his sons squandering their patrimony on electoral expenses.<sup>2</sup> It must have been a common enough attitude. Cicero's grandfather preferred to remain in local politics; Sex. Roscius of Ameria was satisfied with his friends among the Roman nobility and sought no senatorial position for himself;<sup>3</sup> nor did Ovid, though it was expected of him.<sup>4</sup>

Whether they were traders, farmers, or manufacturers, all local magistrates and decurions were rich men. There was always (so far as we know) a property-qualification for candidates, which at Comum in Pliny's time, and at Cumae in Petronius', was 100,000 HS;<sup>5</sup> possibly membership of the *prima classis* was the regular qualification. Quite apart from the *census*, an entrance fee was regularly demanded of new decurions.<sup>6</sup> At Iguvium in Augustus' time 6,000 HS were required; the man who paid this also contributed 6,200 HS for restoring a temple, 3,450 HS towards the upkeep of the legions, and 7,750 HS for the *ludi Victoriae Augusti*. A. Clodius Flaccus, already mentioned as one of the *principes* in Augustan Pompeii, gave 10,000 HS for his first duumvirate, and celebrated with spectacular games each of the three occasions when he held the office—for one of them the famous *pantomimus* Pylades was hired from Rome.<sup>7</sup> It is quite true that the honour

<sup>1</sup> Meiggs, *RO* 39-40, 475-8; Panciera, *Arch. Class.* 1966, 54-63.

<sup>2</sup> Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 168 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *leg.* iii. 37, *Rosc. Am.* 15 (pp. 35 f. above).

<sup>4</sup> Ovid, *trist.* iv. 10. 34-5.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Verr.* ii. 120, 122 on *census* at Halaesa (no figure mentioned); the Digest (l. 4. 15) merely says 'sufficientes facultates'. Pliny, *ep.* i. 19. 2; Petr. *sat.* 44; Duncan-Jones (*PBSR* 1965, 285, cf. 226) also refers to Dio lxxix. 16. 3 and Catullus 23. 26-7, but these are hardly relevant to the decurionate.

<sup>6</sup> On *summae honorariae* in general (mostly imperial) see Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* 1965, 226-31; also Frederiksen, *PBSR* 1959, 88-9. Cf. Pliny, *ep.* x. 113; Isid. *orig.* ix. 4. 23, 'non est decurio qui summam non intulit'.

<sup>7</sup> *ILS* 5531 (cf. Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* 1965, 227), 5053. Cf. *CIL* viii. 7983 (Rusicade, imperial)—decurion 20,000 HS, pontifex 55,000. Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* 1965, 285-6 for comparative costs in Italy.

of a decurionate was frequently conferred *gratis*, but this did not mean that the recipient was not rich; on the contrary, the privilege was usually granted in return for his *liberalitas* and *munificentia* towards the town. An example from Ostia, probably Augustan, is provided by P. Lucilius Gamala, a local notable who obtained his decurionate free, and left a legacy of 15,200 *HS* to the city.<sup>1</sup>

The requirement of wealth is intelligible enough; even if the magistrates did not pay for public works out of their own pockets—and many of them did<sup>2</sup>—some private assistance for the public funds was usually necessary. At Urso, for example, *Ilviri* were expected to celebrate four days of games in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, spending on them not more than 2,000 *HS* of public money, and not *less* than a further 2,000 of their own.<sup>3</sup> On a republican inscription from Tegianum, contributions towards a rebuilding programme, presumably offered by decurions, vary from 250 to 1,587½ *HS*; rather more spectacular were the expenses of a duumvir at Sinuessa, who honoured his dead father with gladiatorial games, free dinners, and distributions of delicacies to the citizens, and a monument which alone cost 12,000 *HS*.<sup>4</sup> This shows that in some *municipia* at least the honour of a magistracy could be bought or preserved by judicious *beneficia* to the electorate in much the same way as at Rome. A man from a town like Pompeii, where the surviving electoral notices betray keen competition and such devices as *coitiones* between candidates, would not be out of his depth in the *comitia* of the capital. The regulations for elections in the colony at Urso have a very metropolitan sound: candidates were forbidden to distribute largesse, and entertainments, banquets, and dinner invitations were prohibited in the year of candidature, or at least limited to the not inconsiderable number of nine invitations per day.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ILS* 6147 (Meiggs, *RO* 493–500); also 6135, 6367 (Pompeii), etc. *Cic. Verr.* ii. 120.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *ILLRP* 522, 541, 558, 562a, 571, 574, 587, 592, 607–9, 645, 662, 665–6.

<sup>3</sup> *Bruns* 28. 70–1 (aediles gave three days' games, for which only 1,000 *HS* were allowed from the public treasury).

<sup>4</sup> *ILLRP* 667, 674. See Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* 1965, 179 for comparative costs.

<sup>5</sup> *Bruns* 28. 132. Pompeii notices: *CIL* iv. 103, 597, 7242, 7809, etc.

## QUIBUS PATET CURIA

### I. THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULAR CHOICE

IT was ordained by *mos maiorum*, according to Cicero,<sup>1</sup> that members of the Senate should be chosen by the entire Roman people. No man could sit in the Senate by hereditary right,<sup>2</sup> nor did the Senate co-opt its own members until the transfer of elections from the people in A.D. 14. Membership of the Senate depended entirely on election to a qualifying magistracy by the vote of the Roman people, and therefore (at least in theory) on the merits of the man who thus earned the people's approval.

Since Sulla's law of 81 B.C. the qualifying office was the quaestorship, 'primus gradus honoris'.<sup>3</sup> Previously senatorial membership had depended on the quinquennial *lectiones* of the censors, but even then (as Cicero implies<sup>4</sup>) there were magistracies which gave the man who held them the right of senatorial membership and automatic selection at the next *lectio*, unless there were very strong grounds for judging him unworthy of the *curia*. This follows from Festus' description (in his item on 'praeteriti senatores') of the fourth-century *plebiscitum Ovinium*, which gave the censors the right to choose new senators. Originally, says Festus, when the consuls and *tribuni militum cos. pot.* had chosen their own particular friends and supporters, there was no stigma attached to

<sup>1</sup> *Sest.* 137; cf. also *Cluent.* 153 ('iudicio populi Romani in amplissimum locum pervenire').

<sup>2</sup> However, the senator's son inherited the *latus clavus* (Mommsen, *StR* iii. 470) and was subject to the same disqualifications as his father (*lex rep.*, *Bruns* 10. 13-14 and 17).

<sup>3</sup> *Cic. Verr.* act. i. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Sest.* 137. Fortunately, we do not have to depend on Cicero's implication alone; in a speech before a jury of whom two-thirds were non-senators (and within earshot of the whole people), he was quite capable of fraudulently attributing to an earlier age the relevance of popular elections, even if it were not in fact true.

non-selection; but when the Ovinian law had laid it down 'ut censores ex omni ordine optimum quemque iurati (MSS. *curiati*) in senatum legerent', it was considered a disgrace to be passed over. 'Ex omni ordine' must mean 'out of every rank (of ex-magistrates)': thus M. Fabius Buteo, who as dictator in 216 after the slaughter of Cannae filled up the Senate with strict regard for seniority of rank, did so 'ut *ordo ordini*, non homo homini praelatus videretur'.<sup>1</sup>

Buteo's order of nomination was: (i) those who had held a curule magistracy since the last censors held office, and had thus not yet been 'lecti in senatum', (ii) those who had been (plebeian) aediles, tribunes, or quaestors, and (iii) men who had not yet held office but could produce evidence of gallantry in battle. No doubt this was the regular censorial method, extended to cope with the unusually large number of vacancies; among the casualties in the battle itself Livy records twenty-nine military tribunes of consular, praetorian, or aedilician rank, plus eighty 'aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent unde in senatum legi *deberent*'.<sup>2</sup> Buteo had to choose 177 men; the normal number of vacancies to be filled by each pair of censors will probably have been about fifty.<sup>3</sup> Presumably therefore they would have enrolled all his first class, the ex-curule magistrates, and a selection (*optimum quemque*) of his second; the men who had never held office can only have

<sup>1</sup> Festus 290 L; Livy xxiii. 23. 4; Willems, *Sénat* i. 153-60; Mommsen, *St.*<sup>3</sup> ii. 418-19. For *curiati* in the Festus passage Willems (p. 157) read *iurati*, Mommsen (419 n. 1) *curiatim*; the former is more likely: for oaths that censors (etc.) have acted *e re publica* and not from private interest cf. Livy xxix. 15. 10; Dio liv. 13. 2 (Sattler, *Aug. Sen.* 98 n. 224); Suet. *Tib.* 21; Tac. *Ann.* iv. 21, 31. Momigliano, however (*JRS* 1963, 111 with n. 68), prefers *curiatim*.

<sup>2</sup> Livy xxiii. 23. 5-6, xxii. 49. 16-17.

<sup>3</sup> Willems (*Sénat* i. 161-6), using modern statistics of life-expectancy, reckoned 45-50. Sulla's system presupposes twenty vacancies per year for a Senate of 600—i.e. fifty per five-year *lustrum* for one of 300 (pre-Sullan quaestors could be younger than thirty, but the gap between the office and the following *lectio* will have largely cancelled out this difference). However, Sulla did not have access to death-rate statistics, and must have been working on an expected *senatorial* life of thirty years, possibly with a fixed retiring age. Cf. Nonius 842 L, Bruns 10. 13 and 17 (*lex Acilia*) on men over sixty being 'a publicis negotiis liberi atque otiosi'—this certainly applied to senators in the first century A.D. (*Sen. brev. vit.* 20. 4). Presumably after sixty no excuse was needed for non-attendance (cf. Suet. *DA* 94. 5; Dio xlv. 1. 5, lv. 3. 2).

been considered in cases of unusually high senatorial mortality. For the ex-curule aediles would provide ten men every five years, and the ex-tribunes alone would number fifty more.<sup>1</sup> Ever since the fourth century, therefore, popular election to a magistracy had been necessary, if not yet sufficient, for membership of the Senate.

It is evident from Livy that the ex-curule magistrates enjoyed a superior position; no doubt they had the right to sit in the Senate as soon as their year of office was finished, in anticipation of selection by the next censors. This *ius sententiae dicendae* was extended at some unknown date to the plebeian aediles. The *lex Acilia repetundarum* excludes from its juries those 'quei tr. pl., q., IIIvir cap., tr. mil. l. III primis aliqua earum, IIIvir a.d.a. siet fueritve, queive in senatu siet fueritve';<sup>2</sup> so in 123/2 it was still possible to be an ex-tribune or an ex-quaestor without being in the Senate, though the plebeian aediles were evidently *ex-officio* senators by this date.<sup>3</sup>

It may have been this privilege which was subsequently extended to the *tribunicii* by the law of an unknown tribune Atinius: 'nam et tribunis plebis senatus habendi ius erat, quamquam senatores non essent ante Atinium plebiscitum'.<sup>4</sup> It would be appropriate to attribute the measure to C. Atinius Labeo, *tr. pl.* 131, who was passed over by the censors of that year in their *lectio* of the Senate, and in revenge consecrated the property of one of them (Metellus Macedonicus) and threatened to throw him off the Tarpeian rock; but the terms of the *lex Acilia* would rule out any date before 123 if Atinius' law offered *ex officio* senatorial membership. Perhaps, then, it compelled the censors to enrol all ex-tribunes at each *lectio*; this would allow the *lex Acilia* wording to refer to those who had held the tribunate but had not yet had the

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that all the *quaestorii* went on to the tribunate; in fact, some of the quaestors will have been patricians, ineligible for tribunate or plebeian aedileship.

<sup>2</sup> Bruns 10. 13, 16, 22.

<sup>3</sup> See Gabba, *Ath.* 1955, 218-25 for the suggestion that both tribunes and quaestors had the *ius sententiae dicendae* at least since 180. Not all his examples (pp. 221-3) are convincing—surely *praeteritio* does not necessarily imply previous senatorial membership?—but he is right to insist that Sulla's extension of the right to quaestors is no more than a hypothesis.

<sup>4</sup> Varro (or Ateius Capito?) in Gell. xiv. 8. 2; cf. Zonaras vii. 15. 1.

chance of enrolment, and the plebiscite could be put in 131, or earlier.<sup>1</sup>

Before the *lex Atinia* came into force, whenever that was, not all the ex-tribunes will have been chosen by the censors, nor (presumably) all the ex-quaestors before Sulla's *lex Cornelia*. The censors only chose a sufficient number to fill the vacancies—and their choice must surely have favoured *nobiles* as a rule. It was a special disgrace when a Metellus who had been quaestor in 214 and tribune the following year was passed over by the censors of 209<sup>2</sup> (he had already been degraded by the previous censors for plotting to desert Italy after Cannae); in the same way, Atinius Labeo's indignation at his omission in 131 was no doubt due to the belief that the slight was unworthy of his praetorian descent. P. Licinius Crassus, *q.* in 152, had not yet been nominated by the censors when he was told by Fabius Maximus of the Senate's secret decision on the third Punic war;<sup>3</sup> Fabius' mistake implies that a Crassus who had been quaestor was considered as good as a senator already. It was, therefore, to *novi homines*, and in particular to such men as Saturninus' colleagues Furius and Equitius, that the extension of the *ius sententiae* will have been most important. To them, pious platitudes about popular selection for the *amplissimus ordo* must have meant the difference between political life and death.

With the examples before him of the turbulent tribunes of 100 and 99, it seems likely *a priori* that Sulla, notoriously hostile to the tribunate as an institution, would have abolished the *plebiscitum Atinium*. But his drastic limitation of the tribunes' powers, and especially his prohibition of higher office to ex-tribunes, may have been enough; Sulla could afford to have ex-tribunes in the Senate if they were debarred from positions of power. Perhaps, then, the law remained in force, and the tribunate as well as the quaestorship still carried with it the right to a seat in the Senate.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The date of 149 for the *lex Atinia* in *MRR* depends on the reading 'la[ta est] l[ex] At[inia]' in the Oxyrhynchus epitome of Livy 1; Rossbach (ad loc.) claims the L and T as 'satis certae', but the restoration is still hazardous. Astin dates the law to 131: *SA* 354 f., *Hommages Renard* 34 n. 1, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Livy xxvii. 11. 12.

<sup>3</sup> V.M. ii. 2. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Alternatively (cf. Syme, *Sallust* 28) the right may have been restored in 75.

The significance of this is twofold: on the one hand, the tribunate was a demanding and financially unrewarding office<sup>1</sup> compared with a profitable provincial quaestorship, and was also less easy to obtain, since there were only ten vacancies, as against twenty for quaestors. On the other hand, an energetic tribunate could earn an ambitious man support or notoriety, and (most important) it seems to have had no age limit. Entry to the Senate via the tribunate would therefore appeal to a young man interested in advancing himself by *popularis* methods to an unusually early membership of the upper order, and who had the resources, or the backing, to forgo quaestorial profits and fight a more difficult election. Such men were Caelius Rufus and Asinius Pollio, tribunes in 52 and 47 at the age of twenty-nine and twenty-seven respectively.<sup>2</sup> Octavian proposed—or threatened—to stand for the tribunate in 44; he was then some two months short of his nineteenth birthday.<sup>3</sup> All three were ambitious men and political activists. Few men had the *gratia* to attain such precocious advancement, and under the *libera res publica* promotion via the tribunate must have been exceptional; most senators, particularly *novi*, will have qualified by the conventional means of a quaestorship.<sup>4</sup>

Later on, other means of bypassing the quaestorship appeared. The *cursus* of C. Papirius Masso shows no office between *tr. mil.*

<sup>1</sup> Dio liv. 26. 7, 30. 2 (13–12 B.C.) for the unpopularity of the tribunate *διὰ τὸ τὴν ἰσχὺν καταλεύσθαι* under Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *NH* vii. 165 for Caelius' birth in May 82; cf. Austin, *pro Caelio*<sup>3</sup> appendix 1; *MRR* Supp. 11–12. The alternative suggestion in *MRR*, that Caelius 'secured exemption or early preferment' (i.e. a quaestorship between 56 and 52) by a successful prosecution, seems unlikely; it is true that Papirius Carbo, *tr. pl.* 67, received consular *ornamenta* for his conviction of M. Cotta, but he still followed the normal *cursus* (*pr.* 62). His case is hardly parallel; see Willems, *Sénat*<sup>2</sup> i. 635, and Badian, *Gnomon* 1961, 495. Tac. *dial.* 34 (Pollio 21 in 54 B.C.). App. *BC* ii. 129 (Dolabella 25 in 44, therefore tribune in 47 at twenty-two) can hardly be right.

<sup>3</sup> Dio xlv. 6. 2; Suet. *DA* 10. 2; App. *BC* iii. 31; Plut. *Ant.* 16. (Note that Suetonius makes Octavian doubly disqualified from the office: he was a patrician, and he was not a senator. But senatorial membership as a necessity for the tribunate is no doubt an anachronism.) Agrippa too probably entered the Senate via the tribunate (*MRR* and Supp.); he was *praetor urbanus* in 40, at the age of twenty-three (Pliny, *NH* vii. 46 for his age at death; cf. Nic. Dam. *Caes.* 7).

<sup>4</sup> Add *ILLRP* 440 'M. Fruticius M.f. pr. aed. tr. pl.' (no. 181—Caesarian? triumphal?), and perhaps the comeback of C. Antonius (*cos.* 63) after his expulsion in 70 (Syme, *JRS* 1963, 59).

and *aed. pl.*;<sup>1</sup> he may have been adlected into the Senate by the Triumvirs, thus missing the primary stage of his career. Even under Augustus' reorganization, with the quaestorship the recognized first step and the tribunate fixed as subsequent to it,<sup>2</sup> there were men who entered the Senate as ex-tribunes; not only the *equites* from whom Augustus allowed the post to be filled when there were not enough candidates,<sup>3</sup> but *laticlavii* who had passed through the pre-senatorial minor magistracies. Sex. Palpellius Hister is an example of this; he had been a *comes* of Tiberius in Rhodes, and may have owed this accelerated early career to Tiberius' favour.<sup>4</sup>

Except in the case of triumviral adlection, these irregularities still involved election by the populace. Sulla and Caesar, it is true, had both adlected men into the Senate by virtue of their dictatorial powers; in each case, however, the total size of the Senate was being increased, and the procedure was thus analogous to that of Fabius Buteo as dictator after Cannae, when the number of ex-magistrates was insufficient to fill the vacancies.<sup>5</sup> Under normal circumstances, Cicero's claim that the Roman people chose the senators was justified. Quaestor or tribune, a man had to be elected. The quaestorial and tribunicial elections thus became an entrance examination, where the candidate's qualifications for admission to the Senate were put to the test. For the *nobilis*, the qualification was birth alone; in competition with this, how much of a disadvantage was the municipal man's *novitas*, and by what means could he overcome it?

## II. THE NEW MAN'S ELECTORAL DISADVANTAGES

'At long last a letter worthy of Appius Claudius, full of kindness, courtesy and thoughtfulness . . .'<sup>6</sup> Cicero's correspondence

<sup>1</sup> CIL vi. 1480-1.

<sup>2</sup> Dio lii. 20. 2 *ταμειύσαντές τε καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντες ἢ δημαρχήσαντες στρατηγεῖτωσαν.*

<sup>3</sup> Dio liv. 30. 2 (12 B.C.), lvi. 27. 1 (A.D. 12).

<sup>4</sup> ILS 946 (no. 304).

<sup>5</sup> Festus 7 L: 'adlecti dicebantur apud Romanos qui *propter inopiam* ex equestri ordine in senatorum numero sunt adsumpti.' (Suet. DA 35. 1 for the Triumvirs' adlections—with the result, if not the intention, of increased senatorial membership.)

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *fam.* iii. 9. 1 (trans. L. P. Wilkinson).



with Appius in 51 and 50, his exchange of letters with Metellus Celer in 62, and even the letters to his friend and supporter Lentulus Spinther in the fifties provide abundant evidence of the limitations of the social equality between the new senator, even of consular rank, and his contemporaries of the *nobilitas*.

Metellus Celer's complaint in 62 is notorious:

If the respect due to my brother was not enough to protect him, either the prestige of our family or my own devotion to you and the Republic ought to have been enough to help him in his need. . . . Seeing that your procedure in this matter has been marked neither by reasonableness nor the clemency of our ancestors, nobody need be surprised if you live to regret it.<sup>1</sup>

Despite Celer's grudging reference to 'meum studium erga vos', the letter remains an example of aristocratic arrogance at its crudest. In Cicero's lengthy and reasoned reply, he relates how the Senate sniggered when he had expressed hopes for Celer's approval and praise for his conduct;<sup>2</sup> this was the beginning of Cicero's long years of disappointment and bitterness at the *nobiles'* ingratitude for his services in 63 and their open support of Clodius against him—proof that for many of the great families of Rome birth was a more potent criterion of acceptance than political reliability.

Cicero's situation is most neatly summed up in a letter to Spinther in August 56, on the optimates who were supporting Clodius.

Video non, ut antehac putabam, novitati esse invisum meae; in te enim, homine omnium nobilissimo, similia invidorum vitia perspexi; quem tamen illi esse in principibus facile sunt passi, evolare altius certe noluerunt.

It is clear from this that Cicero was *not* tolerable 'in principibus'; it is also clear that Spinther had earned the unpopularity of his fellow nobles by his help of Cicero's career—Cicero had just described Spinther as 'te . . . qui non solum temporibus his quae per te sum adeptus, sed iam olim nascenti prope nostrae laudi

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *fam.* v. 1 (Loeb trans., adapted).

<sup>2</sup> v. 2. 2.

dignitatique favisti'.<sup>1</sup> The new man who hoped for advancement and powerful friends had to endure the aristocrat's snobbishness and pander to his sensitivity. Despite the disgraceful conduct of Ap. Claudius when Cicero arrived to take over his province in 51—in disappearing pointedly to the other end of Cilicia and continuing to hold assizes in defiance of the *lex Cornelia*—Cicero's remonstrances were a model of tact, and his anxiety to preserve his new reconciliation with Appius is pathetically apparent.<sup>2</sup> Similarly when writing to congratulate Aemilius Paullus on his election to the consulship in 51, he takes care to lay stress on Paullus' nobility:

Etsi mihi numquam fuit dubium quin te populus Romanus pro tuis summis in rem publicam meritis et pro *amplissima familiae tuae dignitate* . . . consulem facturus esset, tamen incredibili laetitia sum adfectus . . . eumque honorem tibi deos fortunare volo a teque *ex tua maiorumque tuorum dignitate* administrari.<sup>3</sup>

Even the careful Cicero could be provoked, however, as when Appius wrote complaining that Cicero had not gone to meet him in Cilicia—'Appius Lentulo, Lentulus †Appio† processit obviam, Cicero Appio noluit?' Despite the grotesque unfairness of this version of the incident, Cicero's reply begins with open flattery—'an ego tibi obviam non prodirem, primum Appio Claudio, deinde imperatori?' But in the next paragraph he mounts a spirited counter-attack which sheds interesting light on Cicero's own conception of his relationship with the *nobilitas*.

Ullam Appietatem aut Lentulitatem valere apud me plus quam ornamenta virtutis existimas? Cum ea consecutus nondum eram, quae sunt hominum opinionibus amplissima, tamen ista vostra nomina numquam sum admiratus; viros eos qui ea vobis reliquisset magnos arbitrabar. Postea vero quam ita et cepi et gessi maxima imperia, ut mihi nihil neque ad honorem neque ad gloriam deesse putarem, superiorem quidem numquam, sed parem vobis me speravi esse factum.

<sup>1</sup> i. 7. 8.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. iii. 1. 1, 6. 1 'cum meum factum cum tuo comparo, etsi non magis mihi faveo in nostra amicitia tuenda quam tibi, tamen multo magis meo facto delector quam tuo' (*ep. Brut.* fr. 11, OCT p. 165, for the reconciliation—through Pompey).

<sup>3</sup> xv. 12. 1, cf. xv. 7 'pro tua parentisque tui dignitate', 8 'totam denique domum vestram', 9. 1 'te . . . pietatis in tuos . . . fructum cepisse'.

This conception of being able to earn equality with the nobility by holding the consulship (and being industrious in the office—‘*et cepi et gessi*’) was, as can be seen from the letter to Spinther quoted above, just what Appius and his equals would not accept.<sup>1</sup> For Cicero goes on—‘*nec mehercule aliter vidi existimare vel Cn. Pompeium, quem omnibus qui umquam fuerunt, vel P. Lentulum, quem mihi ipsi antepono*’; Pompey, whose family was of recent ennoblement and who owed his position neither to his birth nor to the *nobiles*, could afford to adopt this attitude, while Spinther, as we have seen, held it only against opposition from his peers. It is significant that Cicero could quote no more convincing authority. Cicero ends his self-defence with a frosty suggestion that Appius should read what the philosopher Athenodorus had to say on *εὐγένεια* and *ἐξοχή*.<sup>2</sup> The theorizing of the Greeks must have seemed beside the point to a patrician, but Cicero’s tone had some effect; Appius evidently wrote back in conciliatory terms, and Cicero’s relief and delight are patent.<sup>3</sup>

Catiline too was contemptuous of Cicero, complaining in 63 that unworthy men were being made respectable by high office.<sup>4</sup> But there was an important difference between his standpoint and Appius’. Catiline’s patrician family was like those of Scaurus and Sulla, long impoverished and sunk into obscurity.<sup>5</sup> When Sulla, as consul in 88, married a Caecilia Metella, there were those among the nobility who thought him unworthy of her.<sup>6</sup> Established political influence, which Sulla did not yet possess and Catiline never achieved, was another valid reason for the

<sup>1</sup> Thus Nicolet (*Ord. eq.* 400) is surely wrong to use this passage as evidence against the ‘technical’ use of the word *nobilis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Fam.* iii. 7. 4–5.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *fam.* iii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Sall. Cat.* 34. 3, cf. 31. 7; *App. BC* ii. 2. Catiline’s view was shared by the tribune Q. Mucius Orestinus, evidently an Aurelius Orestes adopted by a Mucius Scaevola (*Cic. tog. cand. Asc.* 86 c).

<sup>5</sup> *Comm. pet.* 9 (Catiline ‘natus in patris egestate’); cf. *Asc.* 23 c, *vir. ill.* 82, *V.M.* iv. 4. 11 (Scaurus); *Plut. Sulla* 1 (Sulla). Appius himself had financial problems in his youth (Varro, *RR* iii. 16. 2), but his successful career must have solved them by the time of his correspondence with Cicero; his sister, at least, was rich in 56 B.C. (*Cic. Cael.* 36, 38).

<sup>6</sup> *Plut. Sulla* 6. 10 (from Livy).

consciousness of superiority. Those who held that the consulship was 'polluted' by the election of new men<sup>1</sup> were not only envious nobles whose only asset was their birth, but also the *principes civitatis* who were interested in preserving the threatened political authority of an exclusive nobility. The same distinction applied under Augustus: when Julia, only three generations out of Velitrae, married the patrician Ti. Claudius Nero, she despised him as beneath her.<sup>2</sup> His birth mattered less than the fact that he was less close than she to the source of power. On the other hand, it was probably not a *de facto* ruling clique that boycotted Agrippa's funeral games in 12 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> but a social élite of now powerless nobles who used exclusiveness as a substitute for influence and to soothe their injured self-respect.

Often enough, the assumption of inherent superiority was no more than a political or forensic gibe. In the Verres case, for example, the defence made out that Verres had left Carbo for the Sullan side because of his hatred for *novi homines*—a shaft clearly aimed at Cicero, who returned it ironically ('C. Verrem . . . ad nobilitatem, hoc est ad suos, transisse').<sup>4</sup> Nor was the new man himself above using the terminology of the *nobiles*, as witness the *in Pisonem* and Cicero's description of Vatinius, 'emersus e coeno'.<sup>5</sup> It meant little: L. Munatius Plancus sneered at Ventidius Bassus as a 'muleteer', but Plancus himself as censor could be forced to yield precedence to a haughty young noble who was no more than aedile.<sup>6</sup> Cicero's choice of a successor to himself in Cilicia in 50, when he preferred the noble but ill-qualified Coelius Caldus to his other quaestor (a *novus*), indicates the practical

<sup>1</sup> Sall. *BJ* 63. 7, *Cat.* 23. 6 (cf. p. 103 n. 4 above). See Rudd, *Sat. Hor.* 37-41, 49-50 on Horace's exploitation of the ambiguity of such words as (*in*)*dignus*, (*in*)*honestus*, *ingenuus*.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Ann.* i. 53. 2 'spreverat ut imparem'; but cf. Carcopino, *Pass. Pol.* 121 (*impar* meaning unworthy of her in force of character?).

<sup>3</sup> Dio liv. 29. 6: μηδενός τῶν πρώτων ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἀπαντῆσαι ἐθέλοντος.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Verr.* i. 35. Nicolet (*Ord. eq.* 400) denies any irony, but cf. p. 103 n. 1 above.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Pis.* 1, 14, 53, 87, etc., *Vat.* 17 (cf. 11).

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *fam.* x. 18. 3; Suet. *Nero* 4 (Domitius Ahenobarbus). There may have been a formal reason for Ahenobarbus' action (cf. Mommsen, *St.* i.<sup>3</sup> 386 n. 4 on aediles' lictors), but it was remembered as an example of his *arrogantia*.

advantages accruing to *nobilitas*. Cicero's motive was not mere snobbery—he wanted to enjoy the *amicitia* of the Coelii Caldi and their friends by conferring this *beneficium*.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the fastidious pride of the *nobilis* could communicate itself to the voters of the Roman *comitia*. To the new man's social discomfort was added a much more important political disadvantage, the conservatism and snobbery of Roman electors, which combined with the inherited *clientelae* and political alliances of the old families to produce a system weighted heavily against the newcomer who aspired to high office.<sup>2</sup> The *nobilis* could rely on a famous name and dispense with personal effort to make his worth known; on such men office was conferred in their sleep, as Cicero remarked in a famous passage of the Verrines (v. 180). We do not have to accept the whole of Cicero's picture of L. Piso to believe that there were indeed aristocrats of no ability who were elected 'commendatione fumosarum imaginum'—the name was qualification enough.

Etiam qui te numquam viderant, tamen illum honorem nomini mandabant tuo. . . . Piso est a populo Romano factus, non iste Piso. Praetura item maioribus delata est tuis; noti erant illi mortui, te vivum nondum noverat quisquam.<sup>3</sup>

Even in elections for the lower magistracies, where the competition was not so severe, the immense advantage enjoyed by men whose names were already famous could seriously hold up a new man's career if there were too many *nobiles* among his contemporaries. Such delayed careers can be detected in the few cases of obscure men who subsequently acquired powerful backers and caught up with their rivals at the later stages—men like P. Autronius Paetus, or the Marsian P. Vatinius, who only just won the quaestorship at the bottom of the poll in 63, and then not at his first attempt.<sup>4</sup> At each subsequent stage the difficulty was greater, the competition more formidable. As Cicero reminded

<sup>1</sup> See Thompson, *AJP* 1965, 384–5 (also 376 on *fam.* ii. 18. 2–3): *fam.* ii. 19, *Att.* vi. 6. 4, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Meier, *RPA* 8 ff. for voting motives in the late Republic.

<sup>3</sup> *Cic. Pis.* 2.

<sup>4</sup> Badian, *Studies* 146–7: *Cic. Vat.* 11. (Cf. *Sull.* 7 for Autronius' abundant *amicitiae*.)

the populace in 63, those new men who had become consuls at the first attempt had only done so by waiting to take advantage of some year, perhaps long after their first legal opportunity at the age of forty-two, when the aristocratic opposition was for some reason less strong. Those who, on the other hand, made their attempt *suo anno* were rarely successful—

reperietis . . . me esse unum ex omnibus novis hominibus de quibus meminisse possimus qui consulatum petierim cum primum licitum sit, consul factus sim cum primum petierim.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the *nobilitas* held the consulship 'praesidiis firmatum atque omni ratione obvallatum', both by deliberate exclusiveness and the massive organization of electoral support, and by the inherent disadvantages under which the unknown man laboured. Not that only the *novus* was unknown: Sulla and Catiline could not count on their patrician birth and ancestors for high office; Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, whose nobility was better known to antiquarians than to the *comitia*, only reached the consulship twelve years after his first attempt; M. Aemilius Scaurus had to work like a new man to retrieve his family's power after three generations of obscurity.<sup>2</sup> But if it was sometimes hard for a *nobilis*, for a new man it was never anything else.

In theory, indeed, the praetorship and consulship should have been easier elections for the newcomer, being decided by the *comitia centuriata*, in which the wealthy *equites* of the Italian municipalities had more say. But for these elections the great men of the time would exert proportionately more effort to secure election for their own nominees; besides, though a new man could probably count on the support of his own home town and the neighbouring districts, men from other parts of Italy would be just as ready as the urban *plebs* to elect a Piso or a Claudius over him. The difficulties, amply documented in Cicero

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *leg. ag.* ii. 3. The popular memory would hardly reach back to Q. Pompeius, *pr.* 144 (?), *cos.* 141—and censor 131 (on whom see Earl, *Ti. Gracchus* 98–102).

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Mur.* 16; *Asc.* 23 c. Scaurus' friends at Arpinum (p. 31 above), and the influence *apud rusticos* which he bequeathed to his son (Cic. *Att.* iv. 16. 6), may be evidence of his electoral *labor*.

and by Sallust after him, which faced the municipal man in search of senatorial rank and curule office largely cancelled out the socio-economic status, comparable with that of the Roman senatorial order, of the local magisterial families from whom the new men were almost entirely drawn.

### III. THE IDEOLOGY OF *NOVITAS*

The greatest advantage of the *nobilis* was the Romans' notorious obsession with *mos maiorum*, their belief that 'what is done by precedent is done by right'.<sup>1</sup> There were ample precedents for the election of a Lentulus or a Scipio; the task of the new man was to find analogous ancient *exempla* to whom he might appeal and for whose reputation he might claim some affinity. The difficulty was, of course, that the entrance-hall of the noble's house, crowded every morning with visitors and clients, displayed in impressive ranks the wax death-masks of the ancestors of the *gens*, blackened with the smoke of pious sacrifices and no doubt adorned with the insignia of the offices they had held. Only to men of curule rank was the 'ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae' extended,<sup>2</sup> and though there was nothing to prevent the *novus* from displaying busts of his own forebears, everybody knew the difference.

In fact, though he was naturally proud of the local significance of his own family,<sup>3</sup> the new man challenged the nobles' past not with his own ancestors but with his spiritual predecessors. In the field of *popularis* politics one can see the same principle at work, with Sex. Titius' condemnation under the *maiestas* law for keeping an image of Saturninus, or Cicero's anger at Dolabella's statue of Clodius in 47;<sup>4</sup> and although we have no evidence that any *novus* honoured his predecessors in quite this way, certainly the famous

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *fam.* iv. 3. 1: 'nam quod exemplo fit, id etiam iure fieri putant.'

<sup>2</sup> Verr. v. 36, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*<sup>3</sup> i. 442 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Leg. ii. 3: Cicero and his brother were 'orti stirpe antiquissima'. Cf. Suet. *Otho* 1, etc. For imaginary ancestors see Cic. *Brut.* 62; cf. *TD* i. 38, *vir. ill.* 81. 1, Plut. *Cic.* 1. 1 (Cicero); Suet. *DA* 2. 1, *Vit.* 1. 2 (Augustan).

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Rab. perd.* 24; V.M. viii 1. damn. 3; Cic. *Att.* xi. 23. 3; cf. Dio liii. 32. 4 on L. Sestius' images of Brutus.

*municipales* of the past formed a large part of his self-justification and helped him to counter the great names of the nobles. He too could cite great names, 'non modo Curiis, Catonibus, Pompeiis, antiquis illis fortissimis viris, novis hominibus, sed his recentibus Mariis et Didis et Coeliis commemorandis'. This line of heroes reappears in one form or another so often as to become a cliché; M'. Curius Dentatus is usually recalled in the company of the other two third-century giants Ti. Coruncanius and C. Fabricius, and it is significant that Cicero makes the elder Cato appeal to Dentatus as a model of antique frugality.<sup>1</sup>

For Cicero himself the two most worth exploiting were the orator Cato, 'quo omnes qui isdem rebus studemus quasi exemplari ad industriam virtutemque ducimur', and Marius of Arpinum, seven times consul and admitted saviour of the Roman state.<sup>2</sup> It is clear what Cicero thought these two men had in common with himself, particularly (in the case of Marius) after 63—'ex eo municipio (sum) unde iterum iam salus huic urbi imperioque missa est'—though no doubt he had invoked them ever since the beginning of his career. Q. Pompeius, *cos.* 141, was also a useful predecessor; like Cato, he had been censor, and his name will have carried weight among the admirers of Pompeius Magnus. As for Didius and Coelius Caldus, consuls in 98 and 94, they were, if not the last consuls of equestrian family before Cicero, at least the last with whom he was prepared to identify himself.<sup>3</sup> Once only he remarks on M. Herennius' unexpected election over L. Philippus for the consulship of 93, and once again on M. Tullius Decula, who became consul (in 81) after missing the aedileship, but neither of these men is exploited;<sup>4</sup> nor, understandably, is C. Norbanus, the Marian consul of 83 who was twice defeated by Sulla and Metellus Pius, and only escaped the executioners of the

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Mur.* 17; *Sull.* 23, *de am.* 18, 39, *de sen.* 43, *ND ii.* 165, etc.; *de sen.* 55, followed by Plut. *Cato mai.* 2. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cato: *de rep.* i. 1, *de sen.* passim; cf. *Verr.* v. 180, *Sull.* 23, *Planc.* 20, etc. Marius: *Sest.* 37, 116, *red. Quir.* 9, *Cat.* iii. 24, *Rab. perd.* 27, etc.; see Carney, *WS* 1960, 83–122.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Sull.* 23; *de or.* i. 117, *comm. pet.* 11 on Coelius Caldus.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Mur.* 36, *Planc.* 51. Not all the *exempla* in *Mur.* 36 were new men: Q. Fabius Maximus is included for having unexpectedly beaten M. Scaurus.



proscriptions by taking his own life in exile. Decula and Herennius may well have been of obscure senatorial family, like Cornificius and Licinius Sacerdos in 64, though Norbanus was probably the first of his family to hold the citizenship;<sup>1</sup> in any case, there was nothing to be gained by citing their careers, as there certainly was from that of T. Didius, who appeared twice on the triumphal *fasti*. The new man's quasi-ancestors had to be men of energy and achievement as well as mere office-holders.<sup>2</sup>

The aristocrat achieved office by *mos maiorum* and the recognition or assumption of inherited ability and experience. The corollary of this was that any success scored by a *novus* must be put down to the whim of Fortuna, 'indignorum faulrix'.<sup>3</sup> There were two shrines to the goddess set up by low-born men who had made good (Ser. Tullius and Sp. Carvilius), and a famous *novus* of a later age acknowledged her favour.<sup>4</sup> But in public, at least, it was more respectable to base one's claim on virtue than on luck, and on an ability supposedly more obvious than that assumed by the *nobiles* and their imitators.<sup>5</sup> 'Odistis hominum novorum industriam, despicitis eorum frugalitatem, pudorem contemnit; ingenium vero et virtutem depressam extinctamque cupitis, Verrem amatis!'<sup>6</sup>

Cicero's description of Cato as an 'exemplar ad industriam virtutemque' and his protest to Ap. Claudius on the excellence of 'ornamenta virtutis', both quoted above, illustrate the crux of the *novus*' case against the *nobilitas*.<sup>7</sup> 'Since nobility is nothing but recognized virtue,' he wrote to Hirtius, 'who would demand

<sup>1</sup> See p. 245 below; Asc. 82 c for Cornificius and Sacerdos.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Font.* 43 on Didius: 'non litteris ad rei militaris scientiam sed rebus gestis ac victoriis eruditus.'

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *NH* ii. 22, cf. Rudd *Sat. Hor.* 41 on *Hor. Sat.* ii. 6. 49 ('Fortunae filius'); *Sen. ep.* 118. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Dio lvi. 7. 2; Pliny, *NH* viii. 197 on Sejanus (cf. Syme, *Hermes* 1956, 261); Varro, *LL* vi. 17; Livy x. 46. 17 on Fortuna temples.

<sup>5</sup> In fact, *fortuna* was associated with *virtus* in the Roman mind, and contrasted with *auctoritas*, the aristocrat's attribute: see Hellegouarc'h, *Hommages Renard* 424-9.

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *Verr.* iii. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cic. *fam.* iii. 7. 4, *de rep.* i. 1. For the whole subject of the new man's virtues, see Gelzer, *KS* i. 44 ff.; Vogt, *Homo Novus*, *passim* (who is too ready to believe in them); Schur, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 1929, 54-66; Syme, *Tacitus* ch. xlii; Wirszubski, *Libertas* 52-5; cf. also Earl, *Sallust* chs. ii and iii, *MPTR* 47 ff.; Syme, *Sallust* 168-9.

antiquity of family in a man whose old age was seen to bring him fame? In this fragment, which one suspects refers to his own case, Cicero had developed an advanced form of the new man's ideology, in which nobility was redefined in its moral sense to the exclusion of the technical Roman usage (a doctrine, taken no doubt from Athenodorus of Tarsus, which became popular under the early Empire);<sup>1</sup> but the basic antithesis of the energetic newcomer challenging the degenerate nobles with his *virtus* and *industria* was used by Cicero at least as early as his aedileship, and it had a long pedigree before that. The whole of the celebrated passage in the peroration of the Verrines, where Cicero explains the effort he has spent and the enmities he has earned in taking the case, is relevant to this antithesis and based on it. Cicero did not have the advantages of those on whom the benefits of the Roman people were showered as they slept:

longe alia mihi lege in hac civitate et condicione vivendum est. Venit mihi in mentem M. Catonis, hominis sapientissimi et *vigilantissimi*; qui cum se *virtute non genere* populo Romano commendari putaret, cum ipse sui generis initium ac nominis ab se gigni et propagari vellet, hominum potentissimorum suscepit inimicitias, et *maximis laboribus* ad summam senectutem summa cum gloria vixit. Postea Q. Pompeius . . . nonne plurimis inimicitiis maximisque sui periculis ac *laboribus* amplissimos honores est adeptus? Modo C. Fimbriam, C. Marium, C. Coelium vidimus non mediocribus inimicitiis ac *laboribus contendere* ut ad istos honores pervenirent ad quos vos per ludum et per neglegentiam pervenistis.

This was the new man's way of life, these were the men whose example he followed; but his *virtus* and *industria* brought him hostility, and traps were laid for him if ever he relaxed his attention.

Semper nobis vigilandum, semper laborandum videmus; inimicitiae sunt, subeantur; labor, suscipiatur . . . hominum nobilium non fere quisquam nostrae industriae favet.<sup>2</sup>

Practically all our knowledge of this ideology comes from

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *ep. Hirt.* fr. 3 (*OCT* p. 162); *fam.* iii. 7. 5; *V.P.* ii. 128. 1; *Sen. ben.* iii. 28; *Juv.* viii. 19 ff. Note particularly *V.P.* ii. 34. 3 on Cicero—'vir novitatis nobilissimae' (Wirszubski, *Libertas* 55); cf. Earl, *MPTR* 52-4 for the redefinition of *virtus* and *nobilitas* by Cicero and Sallust.

<sup>2</sup> *Verr.* v. 180-2; see also *Sest.* 136-8.

Cicero. Sallust's treatment of Marius, and in particular the great speech put in Marius' mouth at *BJ* 85, may contain independent material, and may even represent what Marius himself thought and said, but this cannot be certain; the many parallels with Cicero's thought may as well be literary borrowings by Sallust as evidence for the continuity of the *novus*' propaganda.<sup>1</sup> What independent hints we do have, however, suggest that Cicero's arguments were not his own invention. The antithesis of *virtus* and *nobilitas* was doubtless exploited by the annalists who projected into the remote past the slogans of the Gracchan and Marian *populares*; Livy's treatment of Tanaquil of Tarquinii may come from such a source.<sup>2</sup> Marius himself used the spoils of the Cimbric campaign to dedicate a temple to Honos and *Virtus*—largely no doubt in emulation of Fabius Maximus and Scipio Aemilianus, who had done the same, but perhaps not without a suggestion of the energy characteristic of the new man.<sup>3</sup> In the case of the elder Cato we have a precious piece of first-hand evidence, a fragment of Cato's speech *de suis virtutibus* delivered in defence of his censorship against L. Minucius Thermus: 'ego iam a principio in parsimonio atque in duritia atque *industria* omnem adulescentiam meam abstinui, agro colendo, saxis Sabinis silicibus repastinandis atque conserendis'.<sup>4</sup>

In this fragment of Cato we have a good example of the newcomer's claim, not only to *virtus*, but to *prisca virtus*, the ancient simplicity and honesty on which the greatness of Rome was reputedly founded, and which the degenerate and luxurious nobility had thrown away.<sup>5</sup> As Cicero said to Appius in 51, it

<sup>1</sup> Earl, *Sall.* 28–40, esp. 39 for Sallust's contribution. Cf. *Sall. Cat.* 20 (Syme, *Sallust* 68): Catiline on *virtus, fides*, and *potentia paucorum*.

<sup>2</sup> Livy i. 34. 6; Ogilvie, *Comm. Livy* 10, 143 (Licinius Macer); cf. Polybius vi. 14. 16—'the people bestow office on the *deserving*'.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Sest.* 116; Platner–Ashby, *TDAR* 259–60 (*ibid.* for Fabius Maximus); Plut. *Mor.* 318 D–E (Aemilianus). Acilius Glabrio, a *novus*, vowed a temple to *Pietas* in 191 (Livy xl. 34. 4; V.M. ii. 5. 1).

<sup>4</sup> *ORF*<sup>2</sup> 51 (fr. 128: *TLL* i. 197. 56 for the use of *abstineo*). Cf. Earl, *MPTR* 46–7 on his own view of his virtues, and Toynbee, *HL* ii. 501 for the propaganda purpose of this passage: Cato, whatever he claimed, was not a small-holding peasant (p. 77 f. above).

<sup>5</sup> Most explicitly in *origines* frs. 51, 73, 76 p. The idea is well discussed by

was not the names of the nobility that were admirable, but the men who had made the names famous—and the founders of the great *gentes* had, like the *novus homo*, made their reputations on their own merits and not through inherited fame. The new man could accordingly claim as much credit from these heroes as could their unworthy descendants, in that he had inherited their ability if not their name. A stray surviving line from Cicero's poem on his consulship, presumably addressing his noble but disreputable competitors Catiline and Antonius, makes use of this idea ('nam quasi vos sibi dedecori genuere parentes'), and Sallust borrowed it for the speech he gives to Marius after election in 108 B.C.:

Ac si iam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis nisi sese liberos quam optumos voluisse?

If they despise me, Marius is made to go on, let them also despise their forefathers, 'quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit'.<sup>1</sup>

This insistence on virtue and ability contrasted with the *nobilis'* belief that he could prove himself worthy of his ancestors merely by holding office; thus a Scipio who rose no further than the praetorship could have written on his tomb:

Virtutes generis meis moribus accumulavi,  
progeniem genui, facta patris petiei.  
Maiorum optenui laudem, ut sibi me esse creatum  
laetentur; *stirpem nobilitavit honor*.<sup>2</sup>

For Sallust's Marius, however, such nobles were 'rotten with pride, passing their life as if they despised the dignities of the Roman people, yet demanding them as though they had lived an honour-

Fraenkel, *Horace* 285-8: Horace contrasts the moral degeneration of Rome in the thirties with the tough virtues of the Sabines and Apulians.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *de cos. suo* fr. 15 Traglia (Probus, *GLK* 248. 15); Sall. *BJ* 85. 16-17; Syme, *Sall.* 168; Earl, *MPTR* 47-8 (in general), 48-50 (Marius). Compare Cic. *Mur.* 17: Cicero had opened the consulate to *virtus* as well as *nobilitas*, 'sicut apud maiores nostros fuit'. Horace (*Ep.* i. 20. 22) was also conscious of *virtus* as a substitute for *genus*.

<sup>2</sup> *ILLRP* 316, exploiting the moral connotation of *nobilis* and *honor*. Cf. Earl, *MPTR* 27 for the defensive tone: earlier Scipionic epitaphs had laid more emphasis on *virtus*, but still as expressed in public office (*ibid.* 21-3).

able life'.<sup>1</sup> We need not suppose that either of these schematic views was universally accurate.

Cato spent his youth digging the stony land of the Sabines, 'severissimi homines'; Marius and Cicero came from mountainous Arpinum—'ea nostra ita aspera et montuosa ut fidelis et simplex . . . regio'.<sup>2</sup> C. Sentius of near-by Atina was noted for his old-fashioned frugality, and three generations later Velleius Paterculus, always ready with the appropriate cliché, praised Sentius' fellow townsman L. Arruntius for his 'prisca gravitas, rara frugalitas, incorrupta vita'.<sup>3</sup> By Velleius' time the equation *novus homo*—*prisca virtus* was almost obligatory, and duly turns up in his eulogy of Sejanus. Velleius even describes Marius as 'hirtus atque horridus vitae sanctus'; this romantic tradition of the rustic Marius was current in Cicero's lifetime, perhaps even accepted by Cicero in his later days.<sup>4</sup> Cicero's own feeling for the hilly land of his birth comes out in a line attributed to his poem on Marius—'ad montes patrios et ad incunabula nostra'—and in his comparison of Arpinum with Ithaca, *τρηχεῖ*, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος. The moneyers Titurius and Vettius Sabinus proudly decorated their coins with the hirsute head of the Sabine king Tatius: unkempt hair was evidence of *prisca virtus*.<sup>5</sup> But the attribution to the *novus homo* of all the ancient virtues of the central-Italian hill peoples was merely a pious myth, another feature of the self-justification accumulated against the *nobiles* by their less favoured competitors.

It was certainly true, in the higher ranks of the Senate at least, that the new man could not afford to have obvious vices. As Cicero observed in 63, the *nobiles* would give no help to a new man who was idle or hesitant, and his brother Quintus, proconsul of Asia

<sup>1</sup> Sall. *BJ* 85. 19 (cf. 85. 37 'nos illorum aemulos'); Carney, *SO* 1959, 65 ff.; Earl, *Sallust* 26.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Vat.* 36, *Planc.* 22, cf. Hor. *Odes* iii. 21. 11–12 on 'prisci Catonis virtus'.

<sup>3</sup> Sentius (no. 387): Cic. *Verr.* iii. 217; Pliny, *NH* xiv. 96. Arruntius (no. 41): *V.P.* ii. 86. 2—probably accurate (Sen. *ep.* 114. 17, cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 6).

<sup>4</sup> *V.P.* ii. 127. 4 'vir severitatis laetissimae, hilaritatis priscae'; ii. 11. 1; Cic. *Pis.* 58 (ironical), *TD* ii. 53 'C. Marius rusticanus vir, sed plane vir'. Cf. Pliny, *NH* vii. 46 on the supposed *rusticitas* of Agrippa; Carcopino, *Pass. Pol.* 104–6 for the reality.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Att.* ii. 15. 3, 11. 2, cf. *de leg.* ii. 3; Alföldi, *Mattingly Essays* 81 (nos. 438, 482).

in 60 and 59, had to be reminded that 'our situation is that the *boni*, though favourable, demand and expect of us all possible excellence and assiduity'.<sup>1</sup> Sloth and inefficiency were not the only slurs to be avoided: like C. Gracchus before him, and in contrast with the reputed orgies of Verres, Cicero claimed credit for his sexual self-discipline in his quaestorial province.<sup>2</sup> Cicero apart, however, how did the *municipales* of the late Republic match up to their traditional claims of pristine virtue and devoted self-denial?

Two noted Epicureans from Lanuvium, C. Velleius and L. Thorius Balbus, may well have been sober and respectable men; Cicero's antipathy to the creed of Epicurus is sufficient to account for his description of Thorius' luxuriousness, 'potans in rosa'.<sup>3</sup> Again, Sallust's Lepidus described the Sullan Fufidius as 'ancilla turpis', but the insinuation may be groundless political slander.<sup>4</sup> Yet even with these allowances made, there remains too much contrary evidence to acquit the municipal men of metropolitan vices.

Campania was notoriously degenerate, or so ran the Roman legend, and we need not be surprised at Augustus' Cumaean friend C. Cupiennius Libo, *sectator matronarum*, or even at the sons of Q. Arrius of Formiae, who had nightingales imported for lunch—'par nobile fratrum, nequitia et nugis pravorum et amore gemellum'.<sup>5</sup> From the unbending Sabines, however, from the hardy mountaineers of central Italy and the harsh and hilly region of Arpinum and Atina, better habits could have been expected.<sup>6</sup> But no: one young man from Atina, accused among other things of raping a mime-actress in his home town, had to be defended by his Arpinate counsel with the plea that in Atina such conduct was permitted by tradition. C. Sallustius Crispus

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *leg. ag.* ii. 5, *QF* i. 1. 41, cf. 2. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Gell. xv. 12. 3 (Gracchus), Cic. *Verr.* v. 36, cf. Plut. *Cato min.* 7. 3 on Laelius.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *fin.* ii. 63-5, 70, *ND* i. 15; Momigliano, *Sec. Contr.* 377 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Sall. *or. Lep.* 22; cf. Cic. *Att.* i. 14. 5 ('duce filiola Curionis') and xiv. 20. 5 on young Quintus, 'Antoni dextella'.

<sup>5</sup> Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 36 and Porph., ii. 3. 243 f. Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 115-16 on Cupiennius, and the unreliability of Porphyrio.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Salmon, *Samn.* 57-9 on Samnite morality.

from Amiternum, high in the Sabine mountains, was expelled from the Senate in 50 B.C. for immorality; one of his sexual partners, according to the gossip of the time, was a freedman hired for 100,000 HS *per annum* from another Sabine, L. Cassius Nomentanus, who was himself notorious as a gourmet and a spendthrift.<sup>1</sup> As for the central Apennine highlands, one can point to Octavian's mistress Salvia Titisenia, to the (Vestinian?) Catia who kept assignations with her lover in the temple of Pompey's theatre, to the Paelignian senator whose wife was exiled for prostitution in A.D. 19, and to at least one of the 'prodigi et ob flagitia egentes' expelled from the Senate under Tiberius.<sup>2</sup>

Moral delinquency of a much more serious nature is exemplified by the consular *novus* T. Didius, who earned his second triumph by wiping out an entire tribe of Celtiberians, men, women, and children, whom he had enticed into a stockaded camp on the pretext of allotting land to them. This was part of Roman military tradition, however: like L. Pinarius, author of the massacre at Enna in 214, Didius did not lose credit by his treachery, but gained it by his success.<sup>3</sup> *Iniquitas* and *iniuria* in civilian life were less easily condoned, being practised not on *hostes* but on Roman citizens; but they were a familiar phenomenon, and new men in positions of responsibility were just as guilty as *nobiles*. Burrienus, praetor in 83, is an instance that happens to be attested.<sup>4</sup>

There is no lack of examples. Since the days of M'. Curius Dentatus, 'quem nemo ferro potuit superare nec auro', the aristocracies of the Italian towns had assimilated themselves so much to

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Planc.* 30 (no. 321); Dio xl. 63. 4; Hor. *Sat.* i. 1. 102 and Porph. (reasonably doubted by Syme, *Sallust* 283), ii. 1. 22; Sen. *beat. vit.* 11. 4; see also Rudd, *Sat. Hor.* 142 on Nomentanus.

One might add the adulterous Betutius Barrus of Asculum (p. 18 n. 1 above), the Praetuttian Caelius Rufus (Cic. *Cael.* 6, etc.), and some choice examples in Catullus (poems 33, 49, 57, 67, 81, 103, 110). Visellius Varro, another *municipalis adulter* (V.M. viii. 2. 2), was probably adopted from a Sabine family into an Arpinate one (no. 501).

<sup>2</sup> Ant. *ap. Suet.* *DA* 69. 2 (cf. *CR* 1965, 20); Porph. *ad Hor. Sat.* i. 2. 94 (cf. Cic. *fam.* x. 23. 5 for C. Catius Vestinus); Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85. 3, 48. 3 (nos. 432, 484) —cf. Syme, *JRS* 1949, 16–17.

<sup>3</sup> App. *Hisp.* 100, cf. Livy xxiv. 39. 7. See Lintott, *VRR* 43–4.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Quinct.* 9, 69 (no. 71); Kelly, *RL* 88.

the Roman upper class that by the first century B.C. there was hardly any significant distinction to draw between them.<sup>1</sup> The *novus homo* clung to his legendary monopoly of virtue with as little justification as the noble to his claim of inherited ability. 'Even the new men', wrote Sallust (and he should have known), 'who used to defeat the nobility *per virtutem*, now struggle into honours and commands by intrigues and violence.'<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, who inherited Sallust's disillusionment, sharply exposed a successful *novus* promoted by Tiberius: 'adversus superiores tristi adulatione, adrogans minoribus, inter pares difficilis, consulare imperium triumphi insignia ac postremo Africam obtinuit.'<sup>3</sup> Although it may have been true—before Caesar and the Triumvirs, at any rate—that only an energetic *novus* could reach the highest offices of state, the vast majority of *municipales* in the lower reaches of the Senate were no more or less corrupt and inefficient than their contemporaries of senatorial family, many no doubt meriting Cicero's happy description of one of them as 'levis, libidinosus, tagax'.<sup>4</sup>

#### IV. QUALIFICATIONS FOR OFFICE

This vaunted and insubstantial moral superiority of the new man was only for public consumption, political propaganda to counter the equally fallacious claims of the *nobilitas*. The kernel of truth in it is that the new man did need, and had to supply, some qualification for election to office which the *nobilis* could often forgo. What were the *real* qualities which rendered the municipal man worthy of, or at least capable of attaining, the rank of senator and magistrate at Rome?

First of all, money. 'Curia pauperibus clausa est, dat census honores.' When Cicero in the *pro Sestio* says that the Senate was

<sup>1</sup> Brunt, *JRS* 1965, 97–101 on the cultural and linguistic (as well as political) Romanization of Italy is relevant here. *Cic. rep.* iii. 6 for Curius.

<sup>2</sup> Sall. *BJ* 4. 7, cf. 8. 1—but contrast 63. 2–3 on the energetic, upright, and frugal Marius. Syme, *Sallust* 218.

<sup>3</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xi. 21. 3; Syme, *Tacitus* 563, cf. 580–1.

<sup>4</sup> *Cic. Att.* vi. 3. 1 on no. 251—in this case possibly undeserved (cf. Thompson, *AJP* 1965, 381–4).



open to all citizens of *industria* and *virtus*, it is clear that these familiar terms of moral approval carry financial, or at least social, overtones—'boni viri et locupletes'. Velleius' description of Octavian's father, 'gravis, sanctus, innocens, dives', was not intended as an epigram; Octavius' wealth was as much a virtue as his *innocentia*.<sup>1</sup> Money was a legal requirement, since senators could be demoted for bankruptcy,<sup>2</sup> or even relative impoverishment. Thus Cicero's client C. Curtius of Volaterrae was in danger of losing his senatorial rank (recently acquired from Caesar) if his estate should be appropriated in 45 B.C.: 'quem ordinem ille ista possessione amissa tueri vix potest. Gravissimum autem est, cum superior factus sit ordine, inferiorem esse fortuna.' M. Seius, who after his unspecified *calamitas* in the seventies could not even keep an equestrian census intact, was luckier; he became aedile, remembered by Cicero as an anomaly.<sup>3</sup> But apart from legal qualifications, the would-be senator had to be well off to support the expenses of his career. Not all the men who owned the requisite property were prepared to seek expensive office, as Augustus discovered. Such a man was Ser. Oppidius of Canusium, 'dives antiquo censu', who made his sons swear never to stand for public office and squander their patrimony on base ambition.<sup>4</sup>

Uter aedilis fueritve  
vestrum praetor, is intestabilis et sacer esto.  
In cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis,  
latus ut in circo spatiere aut aeneus ut stes,  
nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis?

Cicero too found a political career demanded a higher standard of living ('vivo paulo liberalius quam solebam; opus erat'), but that was as a consular, at a time when he was even estimating his

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *fasti* iii. 8. 55; Cic. *Sest.* 137; Claudius, *ILS* 212. 2; V.P. ii. 59. 1-2 (Octavius elected praetor at the top of the poll against *nobilis* opposition; he was amiable as well as rich—cf. Cic. *QF* i. 1. 21 'iucundissimus').

<sup>2</sup> e.g. C. Antonius (Asc. 84 c).

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *fam.* xiii. 5. 2, *Planc.* 12 (nos. 148, 385); Willems, *Sénat* i. 189-97 for other less wealthy senators.

<sup>4</sup> Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3. 163-86 (p. 93 above); Dio liv. 26. 4, etc., for Augustus' difficulties.

chances of a censorship.<sup>1</sup> For the humbler ranks of those whose ambition demanded no more than a quaestorship or a tribunate, the expense must have been less; but to be a senator at all cost more than some could afford. For men like Verres, Caesar, or Clodius, whose ambition outstripped their funds, the answer was to borrow on the security of a profitable provincial command; under the ordered state of the Julio-Claudians a grant from the emperor would be bestowed on deserving cases.<sup>2</sup>

Any municipal man who aspired to the Roman Senate had therefore to be well off.<sup>3</sup> But wealth itself was not enough. No man was rich enough to buy every tribe or century in the Roman *comitia*, and an unknown municipal needed other claims to election. The practice of the emperor Tiberius is relevant here: 'mandabat honores nobilitatem maiorum, claritudinem militiae, industres domi artes spectando.' For the man without ancestors, this meant that he must excel either in armed service or in the 'worthy civil pursuits' of jurisprudence and oratory, and thus attract the favourable attention of the emperor. In the Republic, when election to magistracies and therefore to the Senate was in the hands of the people, it was their attention the new man had to win to make his name known, but the methods were the same: 'ad summos honores alios scientia iuris, alios eloquentia, alios gloria militaris provexit', as Livy wrote of the elder Cato, who reputedly qualified in every sphere.<sup>4</sup> Cicero admittedly remarks in the *pro Murena* that 'there are only two *artes* which can place a man in the highest office—that of the general and that of the good orator', but this is in the context of Murena's election as consul for 62 over Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, whose support earned as a jurisconsult Cicero is anxious to minimize. All these passages are concerned particularly with the consulship, but at a lower

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *QF* ii. 5. 1, cf. *Att.* iv. 2. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Verr.* i. 101, iv. 45 (Verres); Plut. *Crass.* 7. 6, *Caes.* 11. 1, etc. (Caesar); Cic. *in Clod. Cur. ap. Sch. Bob.* 86-8 St. (Clodius). Imperial grants: Suet. *DA* 41. 1; Dio li. 17. 8, liii. 2. 1, 27. 5, liv. 13. 6; Tac. *Ann.* i. 75. 5, ii. 37. 2; Pliny, *NH* xviii. 37; Aug. *RG* app. 4.

<sup>3</sup> e.g., as random examples, nos. 4 (Cic. *fam.* xi. 16. 2-3), 106 (Varro, *LL* vi. 71, with Lintott, *VRR* 84), 234 (Varro, *RR* ii. 5-7), 414 (App. *BC* iv. 25).

<sup>4</sup> Tac. *Ann.* iv. 6. 2; Livy xxxix. 40. 5.

level the same qualifications were required, as is made clear by Ovid, who gave up the idea of public life before the quaestorship:

non me more patrum, dum strenua sustinet aetas,  
praemia militiae pulverulenta sequi  
nec me verbosas leges ediscere, nec me  
ingrato vocem prostituisse foro.

At this stage too, the aspiring *novus* sought to become known at Rome either as soldier, lawyer, or orator.<sup>1</sup>

Legal expertise brought C. Billienus, 'homo per se magnus', to hopes of the consulship which were only frustrated because of Marius' repeated tenures of office, and his more successful contemporary C. Flavius Fimbria, *cos.* 104, was 'non rudis in iure civili'.<sup>2</sup> Many another new man earned recognition in this way—A. Cascellius, Visellius Varro, and later Alfenus Varus and Q. Haterius.<sup>3</sup> Cicero's highly biased account in the *pro Murena* of the jurist's electoral disadvantages *vis-à-vis* the military man and the orator unconsciously demonstrates just how much *gratia* a man could accumulate by specializing in the law. 'Nulla est in ista disciplina munita ad consulatum via', says Cicero, but jurisprudence had brought Ser. Sulpicius Rufus almost to the consulship (which he eventually held in 51) from a position analogous to that of a *novus homo*; for Sulpicius, though patrician, was the son of an *eques*.<sup>4</sup> By oratory, according to Cicero, the candidate for office can win powerful supporters and *amicitiae*, 'quorum in isto vestro artificio, Sulpici, nihil est'. But his support of this claim that jurisprudence wins no friends—three paragraphs of playing for laughs at the expense of the pedantic verbosity of lawyers—rings very hollow, and is implicitly contradicted by

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Mur.* 30; Ovid, *am.* i. 15. 3-6. For jurists and orators cf. Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 444 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Brut.* 175 (the text is uncertain—*simili ratione* may refer to oratory), *ibid.* 129: nos. 69, 180.

<sup>3</sup> V.M. vii. 2. 12, etc. (no. 106); *Brut.* 264, *de or.* i. 191 (no. 501); *Dig.* i. 2. 2. 44; Gell. vii. 5. 1; Porph. *Sat.* i. 3. 130 (no. 18); Cic. *fam.* ix. 18. 3 (no. 200).

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Mur.* 23; 16 on Sulpicius' father. The reputation of P. Sulpicius Rufus, *tr. pl.* 88, may be relevant to Servius' career.

Cicero's own earlier description of Sulpicius' career after the quaestorship.

Servius we had here with us, pursuing that anxious and irritating civilian service of legal opinions, contracts, and warnings to clients. He learnt civil law; he worked hard, never slept; he was on call for many people, endured many people's idiocy and arrogance, swallowed their unhelpfulness; he lived at other men's bidding, not his own. A great merit and pleasing to everyone, that one man should exert himself in a subject which is useful to all.<sup>1</sup>

*Praesto multis fuit*: behind the irony, we can see that a lawyer like Sulpicius Rufus could earn as many clients (and in much the same way) as a defending orator like Cicero himself.<sup>2</sup>

The defence counsel, like the lawyer, built for himself a *clientela* of those who had benefited by his services; the prosecutor could win fame or notoriety at an early age by attacking powerful men. Small wonder then that many new men rested their claim to a senatorial career on rhetorical prowess, beginning with that archetypal *novus* C. Terentius Varro, 'the butcher's son'. Varro, says Livy with a sneer, had no sooner inherited the money made by his father at this sordid trade than he resolved to better himself and enter public life, 'and by declaiming on behalf of ignoble men and causes against the property and reputation of persons of the better sort, achieved first notoriety and then office'. No doubt he reasoned, as did Cicero later, that the greatest fame and influence was won by the counsel who dared to defend those threatened by the rich and powerful.<sup>3</sup> Cases such as Cicero's defence of Roscius of Ameria, or prosecutions like Caesar's of Dolabella and Caelius' of C. Antonius were particularly appropriate to the very early stages of a man's career, when the renown he achieved, win or lose, by taking the case was so valuable that it outweighed the *inimicitia* of his opponent; later on, he could

<sup>1</sup> *Mur.* 24-8, 19; cf. 38 on Servius' *urbana suffragatio*, *de or.* i. 184 on jurists.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, e.g., *Cic. Planc.* 66: 'feci ut quotidie me praesentem viderent, habitavi in oculis, pressi forum, neminem a congressu meo neque ianitor meus neque somnus absterruit'; also *comm. pet.* 44, *fam.* i. 9. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Livy xii. 26. 1-2 (Loeb trans.), *Cic. off.* ii. 51.

ill afford to make enemies.<sup>1</sup> Cicero opened the Verres case with an apology that he had broken his well-known custom of taking only defence cases, and imagined his ill-wishers taking exception to his prosecution of Verres, particularly at an age when he was seeking the aedileship; he was too old, it was considered, for such aggressiveness.<sup>2</sup> When the *novus* had made his name known early on by a daring defence or a bold prosecution, he would concentrate on winning friends by defence alone, and on being, like Sulpicius Rufus, at the service of all. No appeal for help should be refused, for availability could be more valuable than oratorical skill itself. Q. Arrius was the proof of this: 'is omnibus exemplo debet esse quantum in hac urbe polleat multorum oboedire tempori multorumque vel honori vel periculo servire.' By these means Arrius, though a new man and 'without learning or ability', achieved office, wealth, and influence. So too did Cicero—'quicquid es, ex hoc es'.<sup>3</sup>

Useful patronage could be won, as in the case of Marius,<sup>4</sup> by the third of the new man's possible qualifications, warfare. 'Military service' might be a better term, for one could earn the approval of a proconsul as his legate, tribune, or *contubernalis* as well in a peaceful province as in a theatre of war. Thus of one of his brother's legates in Asia, Cicero remarked 'noster est . . . etiam imitatione vivendi'. Such service was analogous to that of a provincial governor's civilian *comites*, who might also seek his patronage: 'pete nobiles amicos!' as Catullus said bitterly of his own and his friends' unprofitable sojourn with Memmius and Piso respectively.<sup>5</sup>

To impress the voters of the *comitia*, the best recommendation

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *off.* ii. 49–50: 'semel igitur, aut non saepe certe.' Gelzer, *KS* i. 88 for references to prosecutions by very young men. Caesar's situation as an ex-Marian in the seventies is not wholly irrelevant to that of a *novus*.

<sup>2</sup> *Div. Caec.* I, cf. 41; 70.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Brut.* 242 (no. 37), *comm. pet.* 2; cf. Hor. *Odes* ii. 1. 13 on Pollio—'insigne maestis praesidium reis'. Note that Arrius stood for the consulship of 58, and expected to win it (Cic. *Att.* ii. 5. 2, 7. 3); compare L. Turius, 'parvo ingenio sed multo labore', who almost gained a consulship in 64 (*Brut.* 237, *Att.* i. 1. 2—no. 448).

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Mar.* 4–5 on Marius' patrons the Metelli and Herennii.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *QF* i. 1. 10 (no. 21, on whom cf. *Phil.* xi. 32); Catullus 28. 12.

of all was active service under a successful general. A complimentary mention in the commander's dispatches to the Senate and people, and the presence at Rome of soldiers who had fought in the same campaign and talked about their victories, were excellent advertisements for a young man who wanted to get his name known for a forthcoming election. Two important factors in Murena's success at the consular elections of 63 were Lucullus' praise of him in *litterae publicae* and the talk of Lucullus' soldiers, which was taken for a good omen.<sup>1</sup> Examples are not hard to find of men who earned the consulship by military experience and long service—Afranius for Pompey, Tarius Rufus and Sulpicius Quirinius for Augustus<sup>2</sup>—and such commendations were equally valuable earlier in a man's career. Sertorius owed his quaestorship to his military ability, as had Marius before him; Cicero describes a junior senator (M. Crepereius) as 'ex acerrima illa equestri familia et disciplina', and a Q. Marcius Crispus, who was at most an *aedilicius*, as 'in primis belli ac rei militari peritus'.<sup>3</sup> These men will have gained their senatorial status by reputations won on active service. Moreover, such service was not always merely one successful campaign as military tribune, or even the statutory ten years which had once been necessary for the quaestorship; before his praetorship in 64, M. Petreius had served no less than thirty years as tribune, prefect, and legate. To him perhaps the rank of senator came late; there are analogous cases under Augustus.<sup>4</sup>

Such were the new man's qualifications when he presented himself for election to a magistracy of the Roman people. But they still had to be turned into votes.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Mur.* 20, 38 ('multum apud universum p. R. auctoritatis habet suffragatio militaris'—the soldiers' votes were also important); cf. *JRS* 1966, 114 (with n. 79) on Q. Cicero.

<sup>2</sup> Afranius: *MRR* for his career in the sixties and seventies. Tarius Rufus: Pliny, *NH* xviii. 37 'militari industria'. Quirinius: Tac. *Ann.* iii. 48 'impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis'. See further below, pp. 176-7.

<sup>3</sup> Sall. *Hist.* i. 88 M; Plut. *Sert.* 3, etc.; Sall. *BJ* 63. 3-4; Cic. *Verr.* act. i. 30, *Pis.* 54. Also D. Carfulenus (no. 101), 'praestans rei militaris scientia' in 47 (*bell. Alex.* 31. 1-3), *tr. pl.* in 44.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 152.

## V. THE COMITIA

The election of praetors and consuls was performed by the *comitia centuriata*, composed of five classes to which men were assigned by varying property qualifications, the richest (over 100,000 *HS*)<sup>1</sup> forming the class that voted first. There were probably 193 centuries, seventy of which, the *iuniores* and *seniores* of each tribe, formed the first class; in addition there were eighteen centuries of *equites equo publico* (including sons of senators), some of which at least voted with the centuries of the first class, and a single enormous century of those without property, who would (if the issue ever remained open that long) vote after the fifth class. The system was admitted to be biased in favour of the richer citizens;<sup>2</sup> the *equites equo publico* and the first class had originally been able to command a majority in the assembly by themselves, and even after the third-century reform they needed only a few of the second class's centuries to outvote all the rest. Despite intermittent *popularis* proposals for calling the centuries to vote indiscriminately by lot from all the classes,<sup>3</sup> this plutocratic system remained. One century, chosen by lot from the *iuniores* of the first class, voted first and had its decision announced before the rest began: this *centuria praerogativa*, whose decision was considered to be an indication of great importance, had replaced twelve of the eighteen equestrian centuries in this function,<sup>4</sup> and was itself replaced under the *lex Valeria Cornelia* of A.D. 5 by ten centuries chosen from the senators and *equites*. In each case the all-important first say in the selection of consuls and praetors was granted to a cross-section of the 'upper class' to which belonged both the members of the Senate and the local aristocracies of the Italian towns.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pol. vi. 23. 15; cf. ps. Sall. *ad Caes.* ii. 7. 11-12; Taylor, *Party Politics* 56, 203-4; p. 65 above.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., Cic. *rep.* ii. 39 on Servius Tullius' arrangement: '(classes) ita disparavit ut suffragia non in multitudinis sed in locupletium potestate essent.'

<sup>3</sup> Ps. Sall. *ad Caes.* ii. 8 (C. Gracchus); Cic. *Mur.* 47 (Ser. Sulpicius Rufus in 63).

<sup>4</sup> See now Momigliano, *JRS* 1966, 22-3 on the possible early history of the *praerogativae*. Taylor, *RVA* 92 on *iuniores*.

<sup>5</sup> For all this section see Taylor's *RVA* (though I do not agree with all her arguments) and chapter 3 ('Delivering the Vote') of her *Party Politics*. I have deliberately avoided the controversy over the detailed working of the *comitia centuriata* after its reform: see now Taylor, *RVA* 88-90.

The property-qualification for the first class was a quarter of that for membership of the equestrian order, and the same as what was later required of a local magistrate;<sup>1</sup> all *municipales* who aspired to local eminence would thus safely qualify, and if they could be assembled to vote in Rome, their presence could be decisive. Their assembly may have been made easier by Sulla, if it was he who moved the time of the elections from the end of the year to midsummer.<sup>2</sup>

Notoriously, it was *tota Italia* that voted Cicero to the consulship, and *tota Italia* that carried him back from exile on its shoulders; for the bill for his recall was passed by the *comitia centuriata*. Augustus, too, knew whom to thank for his election as *pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C.—‘*cuncta ex Italia ad comitia mea confluyente multitudine, quanta Romae nunquam fertur ante id tempus fuisse*’.<sup>3</sup> Given this Italian preponderance, however, in the most important section of the centuriate assembly, how was it that the *nobiles* kept their grip on the consulship, and that between the revolutions of Sulla and Caesar only Cicero and Afranius reached the office from the municipal aristocracy?

The censors of 70–69 B.C. enrolled over 900,000 *civium capita*; the previous census had produced a total of 453,000.<sup>4</sup> Even if Sulla conducted a *lustrum* by virtue of his dictatorial powers,<sup>5</sup> he will surely have enrolled only his own supporters from the Italian towns, probably not a large number; the main influx of Italians must be the cause of the remarkable increase in 70. The censors of 70 were the consuls whose law had enabled Pompey to make *viritalis* grants of citizenship, and their admission of such large numbers of Italians to the *classes* was no doubt also done in Pompey’s interest. For (broadly speaking) the Italians who could afford to come and be enrolled were those who could afford to

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 65, 93.

<sup>2</sup> See Meier, *RPA* 259.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Pis.* 3, *red. Sen.* 27, etc.; Aug. *RG* 10.

<sup>4</sup> 70 (Cn. Lentulus Clodianus and L. Gellius): Livy, *per.* xcvi; Phleg. Trall. *FGrH* 257 F 12. 86 (L. Philippus and M. Perperna): Eusebius, *ap.* Jerome 151 H; cf. Badian, *FC* p. 242 n. 2—the low figure was probably not through want of trying.

<sup>5</sup> As suggested by Tibiletti, *SDHI* 1959, 121–2, but improbable (*e silentio*, Cic. *Arch.* 11).



come and vote; many of them must have qualified for the first class, thus providing a vast new membership for the most important part of the centuriate assembly, full of gratitude to Pompey. It was the signal for a chaotic outbreak of electoral bribery and malpractice as Roman politicians strove to influence the new voters; the upshot was that the *boni* managed to keep their hold on the consulship, but only by finding new and increasingly lawless methods of doing so.<sup>1</sup>

The elections for the lower magistracies were much less dominated by the rich, and there the Italians had proportionately less influence even after the census of 70–69. The *comitia tributa*, known as the *concilium plebis* when presided over by a tribune for the election of plebeian officers, reached its decisions by a simple vote of the thirty-five tribes, each comprising men of every income group. In these elections, therefore, the urban *plebs*, and those in the rural tribes but with little property, had far more say than in the centuriate assembly, where they were practically disfranchised. ‘Semper in re publica tenendum est, ne plurimum valeant plurimi’, Cicero remarked in his *de re publica*, and the comparatively democratic nature of the *comitia tributa* roused his scorn in the defence of Plancius:<sup>2</sup>

Do you really think the *populus* is a good judge of magistrates? Sometimes, perhaps—would it were always! But it is only on very few occasions, and then for the filling of offices to which it thinks its own safety is entrusted. In these minor elections, position is won by the personal efforts and popularity of the candidate. . . . The *populus* does not make judgements; it is swayed by partiality, yields to prayers, and returns those who court it most. And even if it does make a deliberate judgement, it is guided not by any wisdom of choice but by a kind of impetuous impulse. Thought, reason, discrimination, and care have no place in a mob.

Nobles like Clodius, with a traditional *clientela* among the urban *plebs*, would no doubt have expressed themselves rather differently; for Cicero, the trouble was that in the *comitia tributa* his friends

<sup>1</sup> For this interpretation see *JRS* 1969, 59 ff. (esp. 65).

<sup>2</sup> *Cic. rep.* ii. 39, *Planc.* 7, 9. Cf. *Mur.* 35–6—similar strictures (for forensic purposes) on the *comitia centuriata*.

of the first property class enjoyed no legal advantage over the humblest of their fellow tribesmen.

At some time during the twenty-four days between the edict announcing the elections and the elections themselves,<sup>1</sup> the would-be candidate had to make his *professio*, or official declaration of intention to compete, to the presiding consul or tribune. In extreme circumstances, the presiding magistrate could refuse to accept the *professio* of a candidate he deemed unworthy, as did C. Piso in 67 and C. Sentius Saturninus in 19, but if the candidate was not legally disqualified (for instance by the terms of the *lex annalis*), he could not stop him from going on to fight the election. He could only announce that he would not return him (*renuntiatio*) and thus make his *creatio* legally valid, even if he achieved a majority of votes.<sup>2</sup> Normally, however, the names were accepted and announced,<sup>3</sup> and the voters presented with a list of men from whom they were to make their choice.

Originally, each voting group, tribe or century, had voted successively.<sup>4</sup> At the *comitia centuriata*, the spokesman of each century in turn announced its decision in reply to the crier's question about each candidate ('dic de L. Manlio', etc.)<sup>5</sup> and no doubt the tribal assembly's procedure was similar. As soon as a man had got a simple majority—e.g. eighteen tribal votes out of the thirty-five—he was declared elected, and the remaining tribes cast fewer votes as the vacancies were gradually filled.<sup>6</sup> It could happen that a man with eighteen tribal votes or more was not elected, because some of his tribes only voted after all the places were filled: thus the order of the tribes' vote was important,

<sup>1</sup> See Linderski, *RZW* 58–68 (English summary, p. 172); *ibid.* 63 ff. on the necessity for personal *professio*, perhaps only insisted on after 63 B.C. (contrast Cic. *leg. ag.* ii. 24 and Suet. *DJ* 18, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> V.M. iii. 8. 3 (Piso); V.P. ii. 91–2 (Saturninus), in each case against a dangerously popular candidate; Linderski, *RZW* 52–7 (*contra* Astin, *Hist.* 1962, 252–5); cf. Taylor, *RVA* 104–5.

<sup>3</sup> *Nominatio*? But see now Levick, *Hist.* 1967, 214–21.

<sup>4</sup> On the voting procedure I have followed Mrs. Hall, in *Hist.* 1964, 267 ff. (q.v. for detailed references and bibliography), and—with some reservations—Professor Taylor's *RVA*.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *de or.* ii. 260 (180 B.C.); Maluginensis' witty reply means that we do not know what the regular response formula was.

<sup>6</sup> Hall, pp. 276–282; Taylor, *RVA* 81.

and decided on by lot—sometimes perhaps manipulated by the presiding magistrate to help his friends and make things difficult for candidates he did not favour.

After 139, however, when electoral voting was by secret ballot, the collection and counting of all the ballots of each tribe must have made successive voting an unreasonably long-drawn-out procedure, and the late-republican system whereby all the tribes voted simultaneously must have come into operation at the same time.<sup>1</sup> At the *comitia centuriata*, the classes were still consulted in succession, but all the centuries in each class—or more probably all the *iuniores*, followed by all the *seniores*, etc.<sup>2</sup>—voted simultaneously. The centuriate assembly was technically the *exercitus*, and had presumably always met on the Campus Martius, but by 124 at least we also find the tribunicial elections being held there instead of in the Forum or the *area Capitolina* as before, a change certainly connected with the need for greater space when all the citizens were voting at once—though presumably even before that the whole citizen body should have been present at once to hear the introductory *contio*.<sup>3</sup> A character in one of Varro's satires, awakening, probably in the seventies B.C., after a sleep of fifty years, observes with surprise that there is now a market in the Forum where the *comitia* used to be held.<sup>4</sup> But even now that simultaneous voting was the rule, a bare majority was still sufficient for election, and the order of announcement of each tribe's vote after the ballots have been counted was just as important as the order of verbal voting had been before. It was still a mark of distinction to have been *factus prior*,<sup>5</sup> even

<sup>1</sup> Taylor (*RVA* 46, cf. 109) denies the connection of the ballot and simultaneous voting, but surely oral voting could never have been simultaneous. Perhaps the ballot law was itself made necessary because the increased size of the citizen body made simultaneous voting essential if the election was to be completed in one day?

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, *RVA* 47, 96 f. (cf. *Cic. fam.* vii. 30. 1).

<sup>3</sup> 124: Plut. *CG* 3. *Area Capitolina*: Plut. *TG* 16 ff.; App. *BC* i. 15, cf. Hall, pp. 292–3 (but this possibly legislative? Taylor, *Ath.* 1963, 51–69, Astin, *SA* 352). Introductory *contio*: Taylor, *RVA* 56, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Varro, *Men.* 497 B. *ILS* 6044 (Sejanus) for consular elections on the accursed Aventine (Gell. xiii. 14. 6) must be exceptional—see Syme, *Hermes* 1956, 257 ff.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. *Cic. Pis.* 2–3, *Mur.* 18; *tog. cand. ap. Asc.* 85 c; however, these examples concern the *centuriate* assembly, where the *classes* (though not the *centuries*) still voted in succession.

though the first eighteen-vote majority to emerge during the announcement might be only a trick of the lot, with the other men subsequently amassing a higher score.

The procedure of the *comitia tributa*, then, must have been approximately as follows.<sup>1</sup> The *populus*, or as much of it as was sufficiently interested to vote,<sup>2</sup> assembled in the Campus Martius and divided up into tribes at the order of the presiding magistrate.<sup>3</sup> The tribes were called into the voting-enclosures (*saepta*), in which they were separated from one another by ropes—a permanent building, the *Saepta Julia*, was only completed under Augustus.<sup>4</sup> Each *saeptum* was connected by a *pons* to the president's tribunal and the baskets (*cistae*) that were used as ballot-boxes.<sup>5</sup> Each man, as he crossed the *pons*, received a ballot (*tabella*)—either a blank one on which he wrote the names of the men he favoured, or one with the list of candidates, on which he put a mark (*punctum*) by the name or initials of each man of his choice, presumably marking as many names as there were vacancies.<sup>6</sup> Each tribe then dropped its ballots into its basket, whence they were taken out by the comitial officers and sorted (*diribitae*), the marks against each man's name being totted up. In the quaestorial elections, the twenty

<sup>1</sup> See Taylor, *RVA* 84–106 on the centuriate assembly's procedure. Hall (pp. 275 ff.) and Taylor (*RVA* 40, 128 n. 26), following Fraccaro, assume that simultaneous voting was only used at elections; I am not sure that their arguments are enough to rule out the possibility of simultaneous voting (after the ballot was introduced) at the much less crowded judicial and legislative assemblies. (The tradition of the voting on the *lex Gabinia* in 67 is surely influenced by the parallel with Octavius' deposition in 133.)

<sup>2</sup> It is not known whether Cicero's evidence for small attendance at legislative *comitia* (*Sest.* 109, some tribes not even represented) is valid also for elections; probably not, as the candidates would take good care to have as many supporters present as possible.

<sup>3</sup> 'Discedite': *Cic. leg. iii.* 11; *Asc.* 71 c, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Platner-Ashby, *TDAR* 373, 460–1. *Saepta* also called *ovilia* from their likeness to sheep-pens (*Lucan* ii. 197; *Livy* xxvi. 22. 11; *Juv.* vi. 528). Ropes: *D.H.* vii. 59. 1 (but cf. *Serv. Ecl.* i. 33).

<sup>5</sup> *Tab. Heb.* 18 for *cistae* (Taylor, *RVA* 35, 127 n. 13). I am not convinced by Professor Taylor's reconstruction of the procedure (*RVA* ch. 3): in particular, I do not understand how she visualizes the *pontes* (*RVA* 41, 74, 109), and I disagree with her interpretation of P. Nerva's coin (*ibid.* 39, 44, 76). See p. 5 above.

<sup>6</sup> Written ballots: *Plut. Cato min.* 46. Initials: *Cic. dom.* 112. The details of the procedure were doubtless often modified (*Cic. leg. iii.* 33 'saepe quaesita').

men with most *puncta* were noted as the choice of that tribe, the first ten in elections for tribunes, the first two for aediles, and so on. When the choice of all the tribes was complete, the *renuntiatio* was begun, the nominees of each tribe being read out in the order determined by the lot. As each man attained a total of eighteen tribal votes he was sworn in by the presiding magistrate and declared elected,<sup>1</sup> until all the vacancies had been filled.

It must frequently have happened that the vacancies would be filled before all the tribes had voted. But even after the full number had been elected, it seems that the votes of the rest of the tribes were read out, just as before the introduction of the ballot all the tribes had been asked for their nominations even when it was too late for them to have any effect.<sup>2</sup> Why were these 'dead votes' announced? In the *comitia centuriata* the rule did not apply: if sufficient men had obtained a majority during (say) the voting for the centuries of the second class, the remaining centuries of that class may have had their votes read out, but the following classes did not vote. No doubt the custom had grown up because every tribe had wanted its choice made public even if it had not been effective, to indicate the preferences of its members and (perhaps) to prove its loyalty or the fulfilment of a promise of support. The contrast with the *comitia centuriata* perhaps suggests that the men who wanted their opinions known in this way were the richer (and more influential) men in each tribe, whose opinion in the centuriate assembly was always expressed in the first class.<sup>3</sup>

The announcement of tribal votes in an unpredictable order made it necessary for the candidate to secure as much support as he could throughout all the tribes, by trying to attach to his cause the most influential members of each. As soon as the *professiones* had been made, the candidates in their specially whitened togas spent the statutory twenty-four days before the election in *ambitio*, going about supplicating for the votes of the *populus*; in fact, the business of winning over the key men in each tribe or century began unofficially long before the *professio*, indeed more or less as soon as the would-be magistrate conceived the intention of

<sup>1</sup> Hall, p. 288, on the analogy of the *lex Malacitana* (Bruns 30. 57. 56).

<sup>2</sup> Hall, pp. 284-5, 293-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

standing for an election perhaps two or three years ahead.<sup>1</sup> For the new man especially, this careful cultivation of electoral support was vital for his advancement.

#### VI. CANVASSING THE TRIBES

The extension of the franchise to practically all Italy south of the Po, and the eventual distribution of the new citizens throughout the thirty-five tribes, must have had an effect on the composition of the *comitia* by enlarging certain tribes and thus altering the previous balance of patronage and controls.<sup>2</sup> But this was only a half-way stage: with the doubling of the voting body by the mass registration of Italians in the *classes* in 70-69, the system must have been thrown wide open.

One effect of the greatly enlarged centurial membership was, as we have seen, a spate of bribery attested by the unprecedented sequence of *leges de ambitu* in the sixties.<sup>3</sup> Another was the employment of clubs and associations as organized pressure-groups to influence and control the tribal voters; Asconius, commenting on Cicero's defence of Cornelius in 65, asserts that

at that time companies of seditious men were frequently being formed without public authority . . ., with the result that the guilds (*collegia*) were afterwards abolished by a *senatus consultum* and by several laws, with the exception of a certain few, such as the smiths' and potters', which would have been missed as useful to the state.

Several different types of communal organization were pressed into political and electoral service during the sixties and fifties, often difficult to distinguish because of ambiguous nomenclature; it is not known what sort the *collegium Corneliorum* was, to which Cicero was referring as evidence for the proliferation of Corneli,

<sup>1</sup> The usual period in the case of a consular candidate was about a year before the election (Linderski, *RZW* 69-71 on *Cic. Att.* i. 1. 1)—i.e., in most cases, after he returned from his praetorian province. But a *novus* might be expected to give himself as much time as possible to build up support. Less work was needed for the praetorship, at least if one had influential friends: Verres seems not to have yet started canvassing at the beginning of the year of the election (*Cic. Verr.* i. 125).

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, *VDRR* 121, citing the examples of the Arnensis and Fabia.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 125 above.

but it is clear that the SC of 64 and the subsequent legislation mentioned by Asconius were concerned with trade-guilds.<sup>1</sup> These guilds were reputedly founded by Numa, who is said to have given to each its own cult and rites;<sup>2</sup> this religious background, and the local influence that individual guilds must have won by the concentration of particular trades in particular areas,<sup>3</sup> explains the relevance of the *ludi compitalicii*, popular games held in honour of the Lares of the crossroads in different quarters of the city and presided over by *magistri vicorum*, which were included in the Senate's interdiction. A tribune had tried unsuccessfully to hold these games in December 61, and in 58 Sex. Cloelius, 'operarum Clodianarum dux', did hold them, with the connivance of the consul Piso, a few days before Clodius' law re-established the *collegia*.<sup>4</sup>

Clodius organized the guilds on a district basis (*vicatim*) into quasi-military units,<sup>5</sup> to be used as an instrument of terror rather than to sway elections through the tribes. However, composed as they were of the urban *plebs*,<sup>6</sup> they must have provided automatic control of the four urban tribes for anyone who used them. Clodius himself was a member of the Palatina, his lieutenant Sex. Cloelius perhaps of the Collina; it is significant that when Clodius raised a new gang to stop Milo's consular candidature in 52 he apparently based it on the Collina.<sup>7</sup> Before Clodius adapted them for violence, the *collegia* were one means by which a man could

<sup>1</sup> Asc. 75 c: 'frequenter tum etiam coetus factiosorum hominum . . . fiebant.' On *collegia*, see Waltzing, *Corp. prof.* (esp. i. 91 ff.); Lintott, *VRR* 78-83 and 194; Treggiari, *RFLR* 168-77.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Numa* 17. 1-3; cf. Pliny, *NH* xxxiv. 1, xxxv. 159; Florus i. 6. 3.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *CIL* vi. 975, 9796; Suet. *DA* 57: *vici frumentarius, lorarius, sandalarius*.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Pis.* 3 and Asc. 7 c. Topographical basis of *collegia*: Cic. *dom.* 74; Livy ii. 21, 27. 5, v. 50. 4 (Aventine, Capitoline cults, and *collegia*). Religious *collegia*; Pliny, *NH* ii. 93; Apul. *met.* xi. 30; Livy xxxix. 18. 9, *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 581. 10 ff. (Bacchanals). Clodius and *collegia*: Cic. *Pis.* 9, *Sest.* 55 (new ones conscripted), *red. Sen.* 33, *Sest.* 34 (slaves); *MRR* ii. 196. See Lintott, *VRR* 78 ff., esp. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *domo* 13 'cum desperatis ducibus decuriatos ac descriptos haberes exercitus perditorum', 129, *Sest.* 34 (*vicatim*), *red. Quir.* 13 (*centuriatim*). See Treggiari, *RFLR* 172 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Domo* 13 ('tabernarii'), *Pis.* 9 ('ex omni faece urbis'), etc.

<sup>7</sup> *Mil.* 25. Clodius in the Palatina: *domo* 49, *Sest.* 114. *CIL* vi. 24627-8 for a Sex. Cloelius in the Collina.

win the support of the *plebs* and the urban tribes, and they appear as such in the *commentariolum petitionis*:

deinde habeto rationem urbis totius, collegiorum omnium, pagorum, vicinitatum; ex his principes ad amicitiam tuam si adiunxeris, per eos reliquam multitudinem facile tenebis.<sup>1</sup>

Cloelius, presumably, would be one of the *principes*. However, the perfunctory way in which the author of the *comm. pet.* deals with the canvass of the urban *plebs* sufficiently indicates how little hope it offered to a man whose support and sympathies lay with the wealthy Italians.

There were other organizations of more use to the candidate who did not want to depend on the urban *plebs*. Like the Athenian politician and his *ἐταῖροι*, influential Romans often belonged to 'brotherhoods' (*sodalitates*), social and sometimes religious in nature, which, like the *ἐταιρείαι* and some Masonic societies, could function without difficulty as organized pressure-groups in the interests of their members at trials and elections. Cicero affected surprise that Caelius Rufus was being prosecuted by a fellow member of the *sodalitas Lupercorum*, and the duty of assisting a *sodalis* is well testified.<sup>2</sup> The *lex Acilia* excluded from its juries *sodales* of the defendant as well as members of the same *collegium*, and we know from the defence of Murena that a man had claims even on his father's *sodales*.<sup>3</sup> Hence the importance of any benefits conferred by the candidate on members of influential clubs, as stressed in *comm. pet.*:

hoc biennio quattuor sodalitates hominum ad ambitionem gratiosissimorum tibi obligasti, C. Fundani, Q. Galli, C. Corneli, C. Orchivi . . . qua re hoc tibi faciendum est, hoc tempore ut ab his quod debent exigas saepe commonendo, rogando, confirmando . . .

Such men, like all the other men of influence won over the candidate, should each have his electoral role marked out—'discriptum

<sup>1</sup> *Comm. pet.* 30, 32. The context of the SC of 64 may suggest that the *collegia* were outlawed because of their use in *ambitus* rather than intimidation.

<sup>2</sup> *Cael.* 26; *Verr.* i. 93. *Sull.* 7, *Brut.* 166, *de or.* ii. 200; cf. *de am.* 45 for *sodalitates* as dining-clubs.

<sup>3</sup> *Bruns no.* 10, lines 20, 22 (cf. 10 on *patroni*), *Cic. Mur.* 56.



ac dispositum suum cuique munus sit';<sup>1</sup> that is, the candidate should carefully arrange his supporters in order to carry as many tribes as possible.

In 64 this was still fair practice; but the *sodalitates*, like the *collegia*, became organized into illegally efficient electoral machines, split up into companies (*decuriae*) operating throughout the tribes.<sup>2</sup> In February 56 a SC was passed dissolving 'sodalitates decuriatique', accompanied by a law applying the same sanctions as for *vis*: the following year Crassus passed the *lex Licinia de sodaliciis*, redefining the illegal associations so as to distinguish them from innocent social clubs.<sup>3</sup> It is clear, both from the context of Cicero's report of the SC and from his remarks in the defence of Plancius, that this legislation was aimed at electoral corruption by 'decuriatio tribulium, discriptio populi, suffragia largitione devincta', and that proof of organized bribery throughout the tribes was necessary for conviction.<sup>4</sup> Plancius was also accused of having formed a *coitio* with another candidate, no doubt to give the prosecution's charge of bribery more credit; the organization of political clubs (under the Greek name of *ἐταϊρικά*) is likewise attested for the most famous of all Roman *coitiones*, the alliance of Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar.<sup>5</sup>

This last example, like the use of *factio* as a synonym for *sodalitas*,<sup>6</sup> serves to show that such illegal associations were merely a perversion of the time-honoured Roman political concept of *amicitia*; they became illegal only when organized throughout the tribes, to buy the support of men on whom the candidate had no other (legally acceptable) claims.<sup>7</sup> For his own tribe, the

<sup>1</sup> *Comm. pet.* 19, 20 (cf. 57—to nullify opponents' bribery, foil their *sequestres* and *divisores*).

<sup>2</sup> It was the *organization* that was intolerable: compare the opening of the SC on the Bacchanals ('de bacanalibus quei foederatei esent'). Cf. Toynbee, *HL* ii. 400.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *QF* ii. 3. 5; *MRR* ii. 215. Cf. *Planc.* 37: 'hanc consensionem, quae magis honeste quam vere sodalitas nominaretur . . .'

<sup>4</sup> *Planc.* 45, cf. *domo* 13 (p. 131 n. 5 above) on *collegia*.

<sup>5</sup> Dio xxxvii. 57. 2; Taylor, *PP* 68, 210 on *sodalicia* and *coitio*. *Coitio* not in itself illegal (*QF* iii. 1. 16, Hall, *Hist.* 1964, 301-2), but probably exceptional—Meier, *RPA* 178 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *QF* iii. 1. 15, cf. *Asc.* 43 c.

<sup>7</sup> *Mur.* 67: the *lex Tullia* forbade the hiring of *sectatores*, or paying people to meet the candidate and escort him (also *Sest.* 133, *Vat.* 37).

candidate could distribute money through *divisores*, provide seats at the gladiatorial games, offer banquets at his own expense, and so on; in fact, these duties were expected of him.<sup>1</sup> But to do so throughout the tribes was *ambitus*.<sup>2</sup>

The candidate and his supporters could, of course, *ask* for the votes of other tribes, and this was a regular proceeding;<sup>3</sup> this recommendation of a candidate through all the tribes by influential supporters gradually developed—after the ageing Augustus in A.D. 8, following the precedent of Caesar the dictator, abandoned a personal canvass and posted a list of his favoured candidates—into the Tiberian system, whereby the *princeps* and the Senate between them settled the composition of all the magistracies and nominated for the *comitia* only as many men as there were vacancies.<sup>4</sup> But such *commendatio* had to be free of any suspicion of bribery, as Cicero shows by the careful description of his own canvass in favour of Plancius:

non enim opibus, non invidiosa gratia, non potentia vix ferenda, sed commemoratione beneficii, sed misericordia, sed precibus aliquid attulimus etiam nos. Appellavi populum tributim, summissi me et supplicavi.

All the tribes might legally be canvassed (*tribum rogare*), but only the candidate's own could be won by deliberate *beneficia*. His friends, however, could and did carry their own tribes in his favour, in return for a promise of similar assistance at their own elections; such services, remarks Cicero, were 'plena . . . officii, plena observantiae, plena etiam antiquitatis', and no exception could be taken to them.<sup>5</sup> Hence the importance of political *amicitiae* and the marriage-alliances; the inheritance and exploitation of such connections was the main advantage enjoyed at

<sup>1</sup> *Divisores*: *Att.* i. 18. 4; *Suet. DA* 40; cf. *App. BC* iii. 23. Banquets, games-seats: *Mur.* 72-3, *QF* iii. 1. 1. *Planc.* 47 for *beneficia* to individual *tribules*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mur.* 67, 72; *Verr. act.* i. 22, *har. resp.* 42; *Att.* i. 16. 12-13, iv. 16. 7; *Asc.* 33 C, etc. Cf. Meier, *RPA* 38 f.; also Taylor, *RVA* 68-9 on 'circumire tribus': the tribal headquarters in Rome would be important here.

<sup>3</sup> *Planc.* 7-10, *comm. pet.* 41-3; *Phil.* ii. 76, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Jones, *Studies* 34; *Dio* lv. 34. 2; cf. *Suet. DJ* 41. Lacey, *Hist.* 1963, 167 ff., for the system under Tiberius. Levick, *Hist.* 1967, 209-14 on *commendatio* as *suffragatio* in absence.

<sup>5</sup> *Planc.* 24; 45, *comm. pet.* 18, cf. 4, 21.

elections by the *nobilis*. For the new man, fighting perhaps his first election, such ready-made machinery of support did not exist—who were his *amici*?

'In elections', observed the author of *comm. pet.*, 'the word "friend" acquires a wider definition than usual.' Indeed, the whole of his essay is a variation on this theme: offend nobody, make contacts everywhere, flatter, oblige, equivocate. It is not surprising to find Cicero complaining in 60 B.C. that his showy electoral friendships gave him no private pleasure.<sup>1</sup> Every influential man should be sounded with a view to winning a tribe or century, and not only from the upper class: 'multi homines urbani industrii, multi libertini in foro gratiosi navique versantur.'<sup>2</sup> Particularly important, of course, were the *nobiles*, especially consulars; they made an impressive show among the supporters, if they could be persuaded that the candidate was a safe *bonus* and a defender of senatorial authority. Cicero had to tread carefully during the sixties to avoid offending them while at the same time earning the approval of Pompey and his supporters.<sup>3</sup>

In consular and praetorian elections, the eighteen centuries of *equites equo publico*, consisting partly of young men of noble or senatorial family, were a particularly vital section of upper-class opinion, both for their voting power in the first class of the centuriate assembly, and for their enthusiasm in escorting and canvassing for the candidate. L. Ahenobarbus, for example, 'adolescens clarissimus et princeps iuventutis', was a valuable supporter of Cicero and his brother in their candidatures for the praetorship and aedileship respectively; this was in 67 and 66, and Ahenobarbus only became a senator with his quaestorship in the latter year.<sup>4</sup> These young men were sometimes controlled (through agents?) by men of newly senatorial status who had gone on to one of the tribal centuries of the first class; thus Cicero in 43 appealed to D. Brutus for the support of the equestrian

<sup>1</sup> *Comm. pet.* 16 and *passim*; *Att.* i. 18. 1; Till, *Hist.* 1962, 318.

<sup>2</sup> *Comm. pet.* 29, cf. 17 and p. 70 f. above on *liberti*.

<sup>3</sup> *Comm. pet.* 4-5, 18 ('*amici ad speciem*'), 51, 53; *Asc.* 61 c, cf. Till, pp. 319-20. Cf. *Cic. Cluent.* 69 for the avoidance of *invidia* and *offensio*. See Meier, *RPA* 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Comm. pet.* 33 (cf. *Hist.* 1970, 74 f. and Meier, *RPA* 175); *Cic. Att.* i. 1. 3, *Verr.* i. 139.

centuries in favour of Aelius Lamia's praetorship campaign.<sup>1</sup> Similarly Curio, though only a *quaestorius*, was solicited as a *dux et auctor* in Milo's campaign for the consulship. Cicero's enumeration of Milo's existing advantages confirms the testimony of *comm. pet.* on the elements that had to be cultivated by the new man:

habemus haec omnia: *bonorum* studium conciliatum ex tribunatu, *vulgi* ac multitudinis propter magnificentiam munerum liberalitatemque naturae, *iuventutis* et *gratosorum* in suffragiis studia propter ipsius excellentiam in eo genere vel gratiam vel diligentiam, nostram *suffragationem* . . .<sup>2</sup>

But if the cultivation of the *boni*, the *plebs*, and the young nobles of the eighteen centuries was a necessary chore for the *novus*, to counteract the inherited alliances of his better-born competitors, there was one point where he held the advantage: he was more likely than his competitors to know the key men of his own milieu, the local aristocracies of Italy. 'Hos ceteri et maxime tui competitors ne norunt quidem, tu et nosti et facile cognosces, sine quo amicitia esse non potest.'<sup>3</sup> These local dynasts, whose influence could win valuable support in the tribes of their own municipalities, formed, as has been observed, a considerable proportion of the newly enrolled Italian voters admitted by the censors of 70-69. They also formed a very large part of the *equester ordo*.<sup>4</sup> No documentation is necessary for Cicero's support of the interests of the equestrian order and the *publicani*, or for his vain attempt to preserve the short-lived concord between wealthy men of both senatorial and equestrian rank which had been formed by the passing threat of Catiline's revolution. Cn. Plancius of Atina was 'princeps publicanorum', and the members of the many commercial companies which he founded or managed gave his son invaluable help at elections; Q. Cicero, as governor of

<sup>1</sup> *Comm. pet.* 33; *fam.* xi. 16. 3: 'quoniam equitum centurias tenes in quis regnas, mitte ad Lupum nostrum ut is nobis eas centurias conficiat.'

<sup>2</sup> *Fam.* ii. 6. Cf. also *Mur.* 73—equestrian centuries won by Murena's stepson, L. Pinarius Natta.

<sup>3</sup> *Comm. pet.* 31, noteworthy also for a metropolitan sneer: 'homines municipales ac rusticani, si nomine nobis noti sunt, in amicitia se esse arbitrantur.' *Ibid.* 3, 24, 30, 53, *Mur.* 47, etc., for municipal *gratosi* in general.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Meier, *RPA* 84 f.

Asia, had to be reminded by his brother not to offend the tax-farmers, 'ordo de nobis optime meritus et per nos cum re publica coniunctus'; Marius himself had been a *publicanus*, and his career owed no little to the help of the newly powerful equestrian order.<sup>1</sup> It was from this background that the Italian senators came, and they were the men who knew it best.

Even here, however, the new man had opposition. The Roman nobility also had widespread and often long-standing contacts with the Italian aristocracies, as illustrated in Chapter 3. To win a sufficiently wide cross-section of the tribes via the local magnates of the *municipia* involved as much hard work, even for a municipal man, as the cultivation of the urban *plebs* and the nobility. In his own home town and its vicinity, of course, the new man generally had no difficulty; but why should an Umbrian vote for Cicero of Arpinum? The tribes had to be won: organised support was needed in every community.<sup>2</sup>

The *novus'* native town was the nerve-centre of his hold on his own tribe; here, unless he had very powerful enemies, the prestige he reflected on his town was certain to bring him powerful backing and the *municipalis* could normally count on the vote of his own tribe.<sup>3</sup> Scarcely less important were the towns in the immediate vicinity. *Vicinitas* was, as we have seen, an important social tie, and the influential families of neighbouring communities will normally have been on good terms with one another and prompt with mutual support at election time.<sup>4</sup> It was especially valuable to be on good terms with the men of near-by towns if they were in different tribes. Thus the citizen of Arpinum was in a particularly happy position: besides his own Cornelia tribe, he could expect support in the Teretina from his neighbours at Atina, in the Oufentina from Aquinum, in the Tromentina from

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Planc.* 24-5, 31-5; *QF* i. 1. 6, 32; Diod. xxxiv-v. 38. 1; V.P. ii. 11, etc. (cf. Oros. v. 17, *equites* supporting Marius in 100); Badian, *FC* 195-6, 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Comm. pet.* 30, cf. 24, 32, etc.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Cicero's sneer at Vatinius' loss of the *Sergia* (*Vat.* 36). Cf. *Planc.* 20: 'in quemcunque Arpinatem incideris, etiamsi nolis, erit tamen tibi fortasse etiam de nobis aliquid, aliquid certe de C. Mario audiendum.' *Ibid.* 21 on Atinate support for Plancius; cf. Fraenkel, *Horace* 304-5 on Hor. *Odes* iii. 30. 10 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Comm. pet.* 17 ('tribules, vicini, clientes'), etc. Cf. pp. 48 ff. above.

Fabrateria, and in the Romilia from Sora. The final good fortune was if any such tribes were small enough to be carried by the friendly *vicini* alone—as in the case of Sora, whose inhabitants must have almost monopolized the Romilia until the enfranchisement of Ateste in 49.<sup>1</sup>

Most regions of Italy were fragmented between various tribes in this way, but there were some areas, notably Picenum in the Velina, most of Lucania in the Pomptina, and perhaps Apulia in the Claudia, where great blocks of territory were ascribed to a single tribe.<sup>2</sup> Men from such districts must have been at a considerable electoral disadvantage, the nearest town in a different tribe being too far away for easy influence. However, the ties of *vicinitas* spread wide: Plancius (according to his lawyer) could count on the votes of the Voltinia tribe 'propter necessitudinem et vicinitatem'—yet Samnite Aufidena, the nearest town in the Voltinia to Atina, was forty miles away by road across a pass 1,500 metres high.<sup>3</sup> Similarly in Cicero's celebrated purple passage on the 'fidelis et simplex et faulrix suorum regio' around Atina, he refers not only to the predictable supporters of Plancius from Arpinum, Sora, Casinum, and Aquinum, but even to men from the Samnite areas round Venafrum and Allifae; they too, like the towns of the Voltinia, were separated from the Latin communities by a considerable mountain mass, and Allifae was almost as far away from Atina as the Campanian coast.<sup>4</sup>

After fellow tribesmen and neighbours, clients could be enrolled to swing their tribes. Cicero enjoyed the *clientela* of certain south Italian *municipia* and no doubt exacted from them as much electoral support as he could; however, it is unlikely that very many men could have made the long journey to Rome for the

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, *VDRR* 157, 311–12. No reference to the Romilia in the *pro Plancio*: the facts were presumably too well known for comment. Besides, Plancius will not have needed to sway it by any means open to question by the prosecution.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Salmon, *Samm.* 376—a corollary of non-urban political organization?

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Planc.* 43, cf. 38, 54. Possibly fraudulent, since Plancius was accused of bribing the Voltinia (as well as his own tribe, the Teretina).

<sup>4</sup> *Planc.* 22. Even if Allifae was only included for the sake of Alfius Flavius, before whom the case was tried (as tentatively suggested below, p. 211), yet Flavius could still be called a *vicinus* as well as a *tribulis* of Plancius (*Planc.* 43). Cf. also *Cluent.* 49, 56, 192 (Aletrium, Fabrateria, Venafrum).

*comitia*, and in any case, two of the tribes of the Bruttian towns (Cornelia and Aemilia) were probably already safely controlled, thanks to Cicero's Arpinate following and his friends at Formiae.<sup>1</sup> L. Murena was much better off with the Umbrian supporters he had won after his praetorship: marching up the Flaminia towards his province of Gaul, he had conducted a levy in Umbria with such *liberalitas* as to attach to his cause the many tribes 'quae municipiis Umbriae conficiuntur'. These tribes were the Lemonia of Hispellum, Attidium, and Sentinum, known elsewhere only at Ancona and Bononia (where Murena will also have made himself known); the Clustumina at a dozen or more Umbrian towns, which must have swamped the only other known contingent, from Larinum; the Camilia of Pisaurum and Suasa, which could challenge the Tiburtine element of that tribe; and the Oufentina and Stellatina, which Umbria shared with four Latin and eight Etruscan towns, respectively.<sup>2</sup>

This multiplicity of tribes partly explains why a curator of the Via Flaminia was considered a powerful candidate for the consulship.<sup>3</sup> It is also relevant to Cicero's decision to go on a *legatio* to C. Piso in Gaul during the autumn of 65:<sup>4</sup> while the effects of the doubling of the voting body in 70-69 on the elections were still being explored, one of the most influential regions was seen to be Cispadane Gaul, the great area between the Apennines and the

<sup>1</sup> See Cic. *Planc.* 97, *leg.* ii. 15 on Cicero's south Italian *clientela*, p. 47 above for Formiae. The Maecia (Rhegium, Brundisium) was probably carried by the men of Lanuvium—where Cicero had a villa, and (subsequently) the support of Milo.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Mur.* 42. For the Clustumina, note that many men of Larinum seem to have been in the Voltinia (Birley, *RBRA* 172-4; Taylor, *VDRR* 321-2). Umbrian control must have been all but complete.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Att.* i. 1. 2 (July 65) on Minucius Thermus: 'nemo . . . firmior candidatus fore videatur, propterea quod curator est viae Flaminiae.' Milestones, like coins, were a good way of publicizing an aspiring politician's name as widely as possible; in any case, care of the roads was an expensive business (cf. Dio *xlvi.* 17. 4, *liii.* 22. 1-2) and brought acclaim to anyone public-spirited enough to undertake it. C. Gracchus gained support by this means (*Plut. CG* 6), and Caesar's curatorship of the Via Appia was undertaken partly at least as a bid for popularity (*Plut. Caes.* 5. 7). Note also Curio's proposal in 51 of a five-year commission to build and repair roads; it was done in Caesar's interest, and the Pompeians could not allow it to be passed (*Caelius, fam.* viii. 6. 5; *App. BC* ii. 27).

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Att.* i. 1. 2; cf. *Phil.* ii. 76.

Po, from Placentia to Ancona. The Umbrian *ager Gallicus* and much of the territory along the Via Aemilia had long been occupied by Roman citizens enrolled in (and monopolizing) the Pollia tribe; the assignment of the Latin colonists of Ariminum and Cremona to the Aniensis, of Bononia to the Lemonia and of Placentia to the Voturia meant that the assiduous canvasser could carry these tribes too.<sup>1</sup> For the other towns in the Lemonia, as we have seen, were in Umbria and could be canvassed on the way to Gaul; the men of Cremona and Ariminum, if organized in force, could surely carry the Aniensis even without support from Car-seoli and the somewhat dim villages of upper Latium that composed the rest of the tribe; and Placentia must have provided about a third of the membership of the Voturia (Caere and Ostia supplying the rest). Furthermore, Faesulae was within the boundaries of Cisalpine Gaul; its tiny tribe, the Scaptia, is known elsewhere only at Etruscan Vetulonia and Velitiae in Latium. Pisae and Luna, similarly, shared the Galeria with only four towns on the marches of Campania and Samnium. It is not surprising that both Cicero and Caesar<sup>2</sup> found Cisalpine Gaul a profitable recruiting-ground for electoral support.

Faesulae and the other cities that suffered in Sulla's settlement must have been unusually important in the years after the censorship of 70 B.C., since the number of citizens from such towns in the seventies was presumably small, and the relative increase when the Italians were finally enrolled proportionately large. One of these towns, Volaterrae, was enrolled in the Sabatina, a small tribe which it shared with only three unimportant south Etruscan communities until Mantua was enfranchised in 49. Whoever could attach the Volaterran aristocracy to his side could carry that tribe without difficulty; it is a nice coincidence to find Cicero in 69 B.C. defending A. Caecina of Volaterrae, 'in parte Italiae minime contemnenda facile omnium nobilissimus', and opposing an attempt nine years later to encroach on the property of

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, *PP* 57-8 and notes; cf. *VDRR* 126-7, suggesting that the upper classes of Transpadane towns are also relevant. Ravennate citizens in the Camilia would certainly be an asset.

<sup>2</sup> *BG* viii. 50, cf. 52.



Volaterran and Arretine landowners.<sup>1</sup> A similar attempt to control a small tribe may perhaps be detected in Clodius' legislation in favour of Menulla of Anagnia in 58; with Cales, Anagnia and its two neighbouring towns composed the entire Poblilia tribe at this time.<sup>2</sup>

In 54 Cicero defended Pompey's agent C. Messius, who had been summoned back from his *legatio* in Gaul by the praetor. 'Tribus habet Pomptinam, Velinam, Maeciam', observed Cicero: the Velina was the tribe of Picenum, still comfortably controlled by Pompey, while the Pomptina and the Maecia included the towns of northern Lucania, where Pompey owned estates and where his influence is detectable in 49 and 44. No doubt these tribes were among those mobilized by Pompey and his friends to get Messius into the Senate in the first place; his own tribe was probably the Teretina of Teanum Sidicinum.<sup>3</sup>

Further important evidence on the control of the tribes is contained in Cicero's treatment of the jury before whom he was defending Plancius in 55. The *lex Licinia de sodaliciis* had laid it down that the prosecution were to choose four tribes to constitute the jury, one of which the defence had the right to reject; the purpose of this, according to Cicero, was that the tribes whom the defendant was accused of corrupting should be chosen to pass judgement on him, and that the same men should be both witnesses and jurors.<sup>4</sup> (The defence was no doubt being deliberately misleading—surely a tribe that had been bribed to vote for a man was *prima facie* suspect, and likely to acquit him if only to reject the imputation of its own corruptibility?) Cicero complains that Laterensis has not chosen the Teretina and the Voltinia, which Plancius was alleged to have bribed—hardly surprisingly, since the Teretina was Plancius' own tribe. Laterensis had selected four tribes full of his own friends and Plancius' *inimici*; Cicero

<sup>1</sup> *Fam.* vi. 6. 9 (his son?); *Att.* i. 19. 4, *fam.* xiii. 4. 1-2; cf. *Mnemosyne* 1963, 280-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Cic. domo* 81. After 49, Verona and the distant Ligurian community of Albingaunum were added to the Poblilia.

<sup>3</sup> *Cic. Att.* iv. 15. 9 (no. 252). P. 50 above on Pompey and Lucania; the Picene colony of Hatria was also in the Maecia.

<sup>4</sup> *Planc.* 36-7, agreeing with Hortensius' opening speech.

indeed suggests that he brought his accusation under the *lex Licinia* rather than a *lex de ambitu* for the very purpose of packing the jury. 'Quid Plancio cum Lemonia? quid cum Oufentina? quid cum Crustumina? Nam Maeciam non quae iudicaret sed quae reiiceretur esse voluisti.'<sup>1</sup> The Maecia was put up so that Plancius would not reject any of the others; presumably Laterensis (who as a Tusculan should have been in the Papiria) had influence in it too well known to the public for Cicero to specify.<sup>2</sup> What of the other three? They were three of the tribes 'quae municipiis Umbriae conficiuntur', which have been considered above. What connection Laterensis had with Umbria is not recorded (his quaestorship had been in Cyrene); no doubt he had taken a canvassing trip up the Via Flaminia in preparation for the election, and when his support proved insufficient, took advantage of the *lex Licinia* to use it against his successful rival.

By such means the *novus homo* conducted his election, capitalizing whatever assets of *vicinitas* and *clientela* he could command, emphasizing his various virtues to the sceptical populace, trying not to antagonize any element that might offer support, and taking care, even in the details of his private life,<sup>3</sup> not to incur the least criticism. Thus, if he had been diligent, he was made a magistrate of the Roman people, and earned himself a place in the 'assembly of kings'.

<sup>1</sup> *Planc.* 40, cf. 36; 38.

<sup>2</sup> Note that Laterensis' (presumed) *adfinis* Juventius Thalna had an estate at Velia in Lucania (*Cic. Att.* xvi. 6. 1—44 B.C.); the tribe of Velia is not known, but it was next to Paestum in the Maecia.

<sup>3</sup> *Comm. pet.* 17 ('be popular with your slaves!'), 44, cf. pp. 113 ff. above.

## HOMO NOVUS PARVUSQUE SENATOR

## I. PRE-SENATORIAL POSITIONS

ACCORDING to Polybius, ten years' military service was required before any citizen could hold any magistracy.<sup>1</sup> This rule was not rigidly enforced, however: it is clear from the early oratorical career of the young L. Crassus that by the late second century no very strenuous or sustained military activities were demanded,<sup>2</sup> and from those of Cicero and Caelius Rufus that in the first century the rule had lapsed entirely.<sup>3</sup> But though a man with talent for the law courts could get away with hardly any military service at all, most would-be senators, particularly *novi homines* who had to create their own qualifications, would prefer to gain their reputations on the field of battle as equestrian officers.<sup>4</sup>

There were two sorts of equestrian commission open to them—the original twenty-four elective military tribunates (six for each of the four legions of which the Roman army had consisted when the post was introduced), and the additional tribunes and prefects who were not elected by the people but nominated by the commander under whom they were to serve. The elected tribunes had a special significance in that they alone were magistrates of the Roman people. They appear as such in the *lex de repetundis*, as 'tr. mil. legionibus IIII primis aliqua earum', among the office-holders thenceforth debarred from jury service, and in C. Gracchus' law on judicial corruption among the senators

<sup>1</sup> Pol. vi. 19. 5; Plut. CG 2. 5—C. Gracchus did twelve years' service instead of the statutory ten, before his quaestorship in 126; but it is possible that the quaestorship counted as part of the service (Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 107).

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Brut.* 159–60 (three major cases in his twenties); his contemporary M. Brutus did no military service (*de or.* ii. 226).

<sup>3</sup> Cicero: Plut. *Cic.* 3.2; Cic. *Phil.* xii. 27, *div.* i. 72, ii. 65, *Lig.* 21, *Brut.* 307. Caelius: Cic. *Cael.* 73.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 121 f. above.

liable under that law.<sup>1</sup> In Polybius' day—and here we have no evidence for the later obsolescence of the rule—fourteen of the twenty-four men were elected from those who had completed five years' service, and a further ten from those with ten years' experience.<sup>2</sup> Even by the end of the third century they must have been well in the minority: nineteen of the twenty-three legions in service in 211 B.C. will have been staffed by non-elected officers.

For a new man, there was something to be said for the elective position. For twenty-four places the competition would not be severe, and his election would form a precedent when in due course he would have to ask the *populus* to return him as quaestor.<sup>3</sup> The requirement of five or ten years' previous service might mean that he would not have much opposition from young aristocrats who were assured of a career, and for whom this unnecessary election would mean little extra fame and no added advantage. At least the ten positions reserved for men of ten years' service would more regularly be filled by 'professional soldiers', either equestrian or with only long-term ambitions for the Senate—often men from the ambitious new man's own milieu, and with no inherent social advantage over him.

Some of the known elected tribunes of the late Republic bear out this supposition: C. Marius, a new man and a good soldier; M. Crepereius and Cn. Tremellius, low-ranking senators of unknown family, one at least a military expert; C. Caesar, a militant ex-Marian with a brilliant military record, whose tenure of the office was a bid for popular support; C. Popillius, a *nobilis*, but one whose family had missed the consulship for two generations.<sup>4</sup> The tendency was carried much further under Augustus,

<sup>1</sup> Bruns 10. 2, 16, 22; Cic. *Cluent.* 148 (cf. 156); Ewins, *JRS* 1960, 94 f. Called 'tribuni comitiati' by ps. Asc. on *Verr.* act. i. 30 (216 St.).

<sup>2</sup> Pol. vi. 19. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Plut. *Cato min.* 16, *Sert.* 10 for the expectation that a quaestorship candidature would immediately follow the military tribunate: thus Caesar (*MRR* ii. 115 n. 6, 136 n. 7) and probably Marius (*Sall. BJ* 65. 3).

<sup>4</sup> *Sall. BJ* 63. 4 (Marius); Suet. *DJ* 5, Plut. *Caes.* 5. 1 (Caesar, Popillius); Cic. *Verr.* act. i. 30 (Crepereius, Tremellius). Also L. Cassius (Cic., loc. cit.), M. Cato (Plut. *Cato min.* 9–11) and perhaps L. Torquatus (Cic. *Sull.* 24, *Att.* i. 16. 16; *CR* 1967, 263).

when the military tribunate *a populo*, as the post was now called, was hardly ever held by men who had any ambition beyond local office.<sup>1</sup> Even more than during the Republic, it seems to be reserved for 'professional soldiers'.

The declining military importance of the tribunate in general—a process best illustrated by a comparison of the Pydna campaign in 168, when many senators and even consulars served as *tribuni militum*, with the campaigns of Lucullus and Pompey, or even the Jugurthine war, when the same duties were done by legates<sup>2</sup>—was hastened by the reforms of Marius, which evidently decreased the power and therefore the standing of military tribunes to the advantage of the centurions.<sup>3</sup> This lowering of the tribunes' status may be a cause of the apparently declining popularity of the post among the *nobilitas* in the late Republic (though the emphasis of the sources for earlier periods may have distorted the statistics). Some *nobiles* did, of course, still hold the tribunate, but it was no longer the *sine qua non* for the aristocratic politician that it had once been. It no longer conferred sufficient *dignitas*.<sup>4</sup>

One stage in this development may have come when P. Rutilius Rufus (*cos.* 105), who anticipated at least one of Marius' military reforms,<sup>5</sup> made some change in the status of the non-elective tribunes, who were thenceforth known as *rufuli*.<sup>6</sup> If the diminutive was contemptuous, it is possible that Rutilius' law

<sup>1</sup> *CIL* ix. 3153 (no. 236) is the only known senator. For typical examples cf. (e.g.) *CIL* x. 820, 830, 857, 996, 1074d, 1132, 3888; xi. 3216, 7497; *AE* 1966, 120; *ILS* 9007 for the Paelignian Q. Octavius Sagitta, *praef. fabr., praef. eq., tr. mil. a pop.*, and subsequently Augustus' procurator in Raetia, Spain, and Syria.

<sup>2</sup> *Pol.* xxxv. 4. 4–5 on the declining popularity of the tribunate by 151; both tribunes and legates were in short supply for the wars in Spain, and Aemilianus offered to go in either capacity (*ibid.* 4. 9).

<sup>3</sup> Bell, *Hist.* 1965, 417. Carney (*Marius* 32 n. 162) takes Marius' decoration of his son-in-law's killer and the centurion Petreius of Atina (Pliny, *NH* xxii. 11) as examples of his favour to centurions at the expense of tribunes; but the former beneficiary was not a centurion, and the latter may have owed his prize to *vicinitas*.

<sup>4</sup> Statistics summarized by Suolahti, *JORA* 142. For the tribunate in the third and second centuries see the *elogia* (*ILLRP* 316; *ILS* 48–9, 54, 56, 59).

<sup>5</sup> Gladiatorial training: *V.M.* ii. 3. 2; cf. *Front. Strat.* iv. 7. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Festus* 316–17 L: 'Rufuli appellabantur tribuni militum a consule facti: de quorum iure quod Rutilius Rufus legem tulerat, rufuli ac post rutuli sunt vocati.' Mommsen (*St.* ii<sup>3</sup>. 576) read 'Rutuli ac post rufuli'.

reduced or abolished the qualifications for non-elected tribunes.<sup>1</sup> Certainly less experience was required for what was now a less important position. The resulting situation is illustrated by the panic caused by the prospect of facing Ariovistus among the tribunes and prefects in Caesar's army in 58, 'qui ex urbe amicitiae causa Caesarem secuti non magnum in re militari usum habebant'. Caesar's terminology conceals the fact that he had appointed these men himself, at the urging of personal friends or political allies; Trebatius Testa is a case in point, granted a tribunate at Cicero's request, 'dempto labore militiae'.<sup>2</sup> Trebatius was an *eques*, but young men of senatorial or noble family are just as likely to have been among those officers appointed by the proconsul, following him to get rich or to enjoy the political benefit of his *amicitia*.<sup>3</sup>

Not that all non-elective officers were necessarily inexperienced or incompetent.<sup>4</sup> Nor were they all using the position merely as a means to the end of wealth or advancement. Here too there was a place for the 'professional soldier'—and it must be remembered that the category overlaps that of the senatorial *novus homo*. For not all the Italian senators had started their careers with that status firmly in view. Sulla and Caesar were notorious for their promotion of 'knights and soldiers'—men like Lucretius Ofella (had he been less fatally ambitious) or Cornelius Balbus—but the case of M. Petreius shows that the process was not solely an example of the *potentia* of the two dictators. Petreius had had thirty years' active service as tribune, prefect, and legate before his praetorship in 64;<sup>5</sup> perhaps he chose the army as his life, and came to the Senate only as an afterthought, the reward for unexpected success

<sup>1</sup> Even before this, the rules about previous service cannot have applied to these tribunes: Scipio Africanus was *tr. mil.* at nineteen or twenty in 216, T. Flaminius at twenty in 208, C. Gracchus at nineteen in 134.

<sup>2</sup> Caes. *BG* i. 39. 2; Cic. *fam.* vii. 5. 3, 8. 1 (Trebatius), xiii. 12, iii. 1. 10, *QF* ii. 14. 3: Cicero got Q. Fufidius and M. Curtius tribunates, and Metellus Scipio did the same for A. Clodius (Caes. *BC* iii. 57. 1).

<sup>3</sup> So Lenge's theory (*PW* iv A 2242), that the name *rufulus* comes from the narrow purple stripe worn by men of equestrian family, is probably wrong. Young *nobiles* as prefects: C. Censorinus (87 B.C.), C. Antonius (84), P. Crassus (58), M. Antonius (57), D. Brutus (56), etc.

<sup>4</sup> See Smith, *SPMA* ch. 5 and Birley, *RBRA* 133 ff. for a defence of 'amateur' officers.

<sup>5</sup> Sall. *Cat.* 59. 4—though Petreius could have been a Sullan senator.

in his chosen career. Or he may have been aiming at the Senate from the start, working hard to qualify himself for it by military prowess, and eventually reaching the praetorship some ten years after he was legally entitled to seek it. Many men whose careers we label 'equestrian' may have had ambitions of the *curia* which were not fulfilled, or of the fulfilment of which we hear nothing. For instance, can we doubt that Mamurra and Volusenus Quadratus were offered seats in Caesar's Senate?<sup>1</sup>

The *novus*, then, had a choice of two routes to the Senate by way of military service. Either he could plunge straight into the election battle at Rome by standing for one of the twenty-four elective tribunates on the strength of previous reputation or personal canvass, and trust that the tribes of the *comitia* would repeat their election of him when he stood (probably very shortly afterwards) for the quaestorship; or, distrusting his chances in the Campus, he could get himself appointed tribune and/or prefect by a powerful commander through whose influence loyal service might be rewarded by promotion to senatorial status. The second way might take longer, but the first was riskier, and only a self-confident or popular man would choose it.

For the man who preferred to pursue his pre-senatorial career in the city, there were the posts of *IIIvir capitalis*, *IIIvir monetalis*, and *Xvir stlitibus iudicandis*. This is the order in which they are given by Cicero in the *de legibus* (who in fact begins with the quaestorship);<sup>2</sup> it is presumably the order of seniority, since—in the late second century at least—only the first college was elected.<sup>3</sup> The *decemviri* were presumably appointed by the praetors, whose assistants they were, and the moneyers perhaps by the consuls.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dio lii. 25. 6, liii. 15. 2 for late entry to the Senate by equestrian officers under Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *leg.* iii. 6: quaestorship included because he makes the aedileship the first stage in the *cursus*, as it had been in Scipio Aemilianus' time (*leg.* iii. 7, cf. *rep.* i. 70 on the *optimus civitatis status*, *leg.* i. 20 and ii. 23 for the connection between the two dialogues).

<sup>3</sup> Inferred from the *lex repetundarum* (Bruns 10. 16, 22, cf. 2) and *lex Bantina* (Bruns 8. 15). Festus 468 1 for an undated *lex Papiria* which presupposes election of *IIIviri capitales*. Mommsen, *St.* ii<sup>3</sup>. 593 n. 5 for the order of seniority.

<sup>4</sup> Moneyers presumably worked under the control of the quaestors, but the latter, being *sine imperio*, could hardly have appointed them.

(There is no evidence that moneyers were ever elected.<sup>1</sup>) As with the military tribunate, the elective office may have been less attractive for aristocrats than for men trying to carve out their own position. The known names of *tresviri capitales*, which include the disreputable Q. Manlius, 'petulans atque improbus scurra', an obscure Venuleius, and a Lucilius from Aquileia,<sup>2</sup> contrast strongly with the two aristocrats recorded as *decemviri*.<sup>3</sup> With ten vacancies per year in the latter college, however, and the chance it offered an ambitious man of earning a *suffragatio urbana*, it is highly likely that some *novi* also chose that office.

As for the moneyership, we are very well informed about the men who held it, and therefore the social prestige of the office, thanks to the names on the coins themselves. It has been observed in Chapter 1 that the moneyership quite suddenly became more popular with promising young members of powerful families at about the time (and doubtless as a result) of the *lex Gabinia* of 139. The remarkable run of consular ex-moneyers that begins with the consul of 128 tails off after the eighties, which suggests that the office had become less attractive. This may have been a result of Sulla's legislation, if his fixing of the quaestorship as the first step in the *cursus honorum* meant that the moneyership had to be held earlier; perhaps it was less valuable for a politician to coin in his twenties, a decade or more before the important elections for praetorship and consulate.

The names of the consular ex-moneyers from Sulla to Augustus may be seen from the list in Appendix VI. The casualties of the civil wars may have some effect on its composition: Faustus Sulla, for instance, was a moneyer, and in normal circumstances would almost certainly have reached the consulship. On the other hand, the promotion by the Triumvirs of men who would not otherwise

<sup>1</sup> Pink (*Triumviri Monetales* 54-5) disputes Mommsen's view that the failure of the *lex repetundarum* to mention moneyers proves they were not elected; however, he gives no explanation of their absence.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Cluent.* 38-9 (Manlius); *MRR* ii. 73 (Venuleius); Lucilius (no. 235) may be post-Caesarian; cf. also the early *IIIviri* M. Mulvius, C. Pescennius, etc. 'L. Serveilius L. f. L. n. q. III [. . .]' (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 841) may have been a *capitalis*; his *praenomen* suggests that if he came from the noble Servilii it was from a dim collateral branch. For the triumvirs' duties see now Lintott, *VRR* 102-6.

<sup>3</sup> Cn. Scipio Hispanus, M. Livius Drusus; just possibly also C. Caesar, *pr. c.* 92.



have become consuls more than counterbalances this factor. New men and obscure men—*equites*, perhaps, qualified by financial expertise<sup>1</sup>—now hold the office as often as *nobiles*.

At least thirty-three out of the seventy-nine known moneyers between 90 and 49 B.C. are not heard of again.<sup>2</sup> Many of them bear names that suggest equestrian or very recently senatorial origin; others, like Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Ap. n. and A. Postumius A. f. S. n. Albinus, were the sons of younger sons, descended from collateral branches of noble *gentes* that were either dying out or could now only hope for one man in high office per generation. It seems that the moneyership, with its opportunities for publicizing its holder's name and achievements, had become in the last decades of the Republic a more popular office for new men. Indeed, to judge by their disappearance, it seems that many men who held it must have had need of the publicity, and that it did them little good. It may be relevant that coins were a means of advertising to the *populus* rather than to members of the ruling order, who did not deal in cash and left the management of it to their slaves and freedmen; a new man who wanted to appeal to the judgement of his equals would perhaps choose different means.

The fluctuating prestige of the office in republican times is repeated after 49 B.C., as may be seen by a comparison of the men who coined under Caesar's dictatorship and the first years of the Triumvirate with those who appear after Augustus' restoration of the mint of Rome. Out of thirty Caesarian and triumviral moneyers, only two went on to the consulship.<sup>3</sup> Six of the others at the most were *nobiles*, but two of these (one very uncertain) only betray their otherwise unsuspected status by their

<sup>1</sup> See p. 85 above.

<sup>2</sup> Names in Crawford, *RRCH*, tables xii–xiii. *Nobiles*: M. Cato, Ti. Claud. Ti. f. Ap. n., C. Mamilius Limetanus?, Ogul(nius), A. Postumius A. f. S. n. Albinus, C. Servilius C. f.? Other senatorial families: Q. Crepereius Rocus, C. Egnatius Maxsumus, M. Fonteius C. f., P. Fonteius P. f. Capito, L. Furius Brocchus, L. Julius Bursio, L. Lucretius Trio, C. Marius Capito, L. C. Memmii L. f. Gal., C. Naevius Balbus, Q. Pomponii Musa and Rufus, Q. Sicinius. Probable *novi*: nos. 62, 141, 145, 172, 193, 210, 305, 346, 378, 437, 490, 508. Early deaths, of course, may partly account for the phenomenon.

<sup>3</sup> Crawford, *RRCH* 30–2 (tables xiv–xv), omitting military issues and gold struck by higher magistrates. Consuls: C. Pansa, Brutus Albini f. (*cos. des.*).

coin-types, and another two come from families with no known senators since the second century.<sup>1</sup> None of them is heard of again. A further nine men probably had senatorial antecedents in the previous generation;<sup>2</sup> the remaining thirteen are new names, some of which can be tracked down to Italian and even provincial origins.<sup>3</sup> The Augustan moneyers of the years after about 20 B.C. offer a sharp contrast. The coinage preserves the names of forty-five men, of whom twelve at the very least rose to the consulship,<sup>4</sup> and fourteen or more were patricians.<sup>5</sup> Only two have gentile names not previously known in the Senate,<sup>6</sup> and only one is demonstrably a new man. The latter is really an exception that proves the rule, since in his case we have independent evidence of imperial patronage.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. Clodius Vestalis (more likely a municipal man? no. 121), L. Valerius Acisculus; A. Licinius Nerva, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. The other *nobiles* were P. Clodius M. f. and (Cornelius Lentulus) Marcellinus—the former, to judge by his father's initial, from a cadet branch of the family.

<sup>2</sup> L. Aemilius Buca (cf. Asc. 28 c), C. Antius Restio, C. Cossutius Maridianus, L. Flaminius Chilo, L. Livineius Regulus, Palikanus, C. Numonius Vaala, L. Plotius Plancus, Q. Voconius Vitulus.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 8 above on Caesar's new senators. Also no. 516, no coins surviving.

<sup>4</sup> T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus (9 B.C.), C. Marcius Censorinus and C. Asinius Gallus (8 B.C.), Cn. Piso Cn. f. (7 B.C.), C. Antistius Vetus (6 B.C.), L. Vinicius (5 B.C.), L. Lentulus (3 B.C.), L. Caninius Gallus (2 B.C.), Cossus Cn. f. Lentulus (1 B.C.), Volusus Valerius Messalla (A.D. 5), A. Licinius Nerva Silianus (A.D. 7), Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus (A.D. 8).

The *quadrans* moneyers are more difficult. See HSCP 1970, 213-15: I would add Apronius (A.D. 8), Taurus (A.D. 11), Silius (A.D. 13), Sisenna (A.D. 16), Regulus (A.D. 18), C. Rubellius Blandus (A.D. 18, p. 256 below), Messalla (A.D. 20), Annus and Pulcher (A.D. 21 or 22?). If this dating is not accepted, Messalla and Silius would be the consuls of 3 B.C. and A.D. 3, and Galus and Lamia could be added (4 B.C., A.D. 3).

<sup>5</sup> C. Antistius Vetus, L. Aquillius Florus, C. Asinius Gallus, Cossus Cn. f. Lentulus, Lentulus L. f., Cn. Piso Cn. f., T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, Volusus Valerius Messalla, Silius, Pulcher, Taurus, Galus, Messalla. (Six of the fourteen belong to *gentes* promoted to the patriciate by Augustus.) We might add ILS 903, if his career is Augustan; also Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus, adopted from a patrician *gens*, and C. Antistius Reginus, who presumably shared the status of his kinsman Vetus.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 68, 159; cf. also 400 (no coins), 455.

<sup>7</sup> Suet. *Otho* 1. 2 on no. 376: 'M. Salvius Otho, patre equite Romano matre humili incertum an ingenua, per gratiam Liviae Augustae, in cuius domo creverat, senator est factus.'

Augustus' restoration to the office of moneyer of the prestige it had enjoyed in the later second century B.C. (and which persisted throughout the Principate, the post being reserved for patricians, nobles, and specially favoured men) was only a part of his rationalization of the pre-senatorial magistracies. The process began under Caesar with the establishment of the XXVvirate,<sup>1</sup> which was cut down by Augustus to twenty men and made (if it had not been already) an essential prerequisite for senatorial membership. The date is disputed,<sup>2</sup> but may have been 23 B.C., when other reforms in the magistracies were carried out.<sup>3</sup>

The normal career for a man of senatorial family under Augustus' system was a civilian office in the XXvirate, followed in some cases by a military tribunate, though the latter position could be omitted by men with no military talents or ambitions.<sup>4</sup> The *novus*, too, could sometimes follow this order, presumably in cases where his suitability for the Senate had been marked out by an early grant of the *latus clavus*.<sup>5</sup> Otherwise, he could make himself eligible by distinguishing himself in military service *before* the XXvirate as tribune or *praef. eq.*, or else in a succession of military officerships;<sup>6</sup> in the latter case, and sometimes even after only one military post, he might be allowed to go straight to the quaestorship without holding a minor civil magistracy at all.<sup>7</sup> The tenure of several successive army commissions was an obvious choice for

<sup>1</sup> Dio liv. 26. 5-6; *ILS* 908-10, 1901, 2676; Festus 262 L; Mommsen, *St.* ii<sup>3</sup>. 593 n. 2. Caesar: Suet. *DJ* 41. 1? The expression 'XXVvirate' does not appear in the Republic, and *ILS* 908-10 are all on marble, therefore not likely to be pre-Augustan.

<sup>2</sup> Before 13 B.C. (Dio, loc. cit.). Mommsen (*St.* ii<sup>3</sup>. 604) argued for 20, on the strength of Dio liv. 8. 4; questioned by Cichorius, *RS* 291. The even more controversial date of the reintroduction of 'senatorial' coinage (bibliography in Robertson, *RICHC* xxxii-vi) need not be relevant.

<sup>3</sup> Praetors reduced to ten in number (Dio liii. 32. 2); tribunate and aedileship probably made alternative posts (Cichorius, *RS* 286-8); also differential quaestorships established (pp. 157 f. below)?

<sup>4</sup> *ILS* 903, 910, 928, 943; *CIL* x. 3852, vi. 1515 (?).

<sup>5</sup> McAlindon, *JRS* 1957, 195. e.g. nos. 38, 301, 349, 403, 415, 452, 463; also Ovid (*trist.* iv. 10. 35—no *tr. mil.*).

<sup>6</sup> e.g. nos. 109, 265, 304; 518? Cf. no. 236, whose career may be parallel to that of 265. Also *ILS* 909, C. Papirius Carbo—an unprivileged *nobilis*?

<sup>7</sup> e.g. nos. 81, 283, 336, 487, 519; also *CIL* vi. 1480-1 (anomalous).

a new man of military ability who was not clearly marked out from youth as a likely senator;<sup>1</sup> in this case the transfer to the Senate might take place at a comparatively late stage, as under the Republic.<sup>2</sup> The civilian equivalent of this procedure was willingness to hold more than one XX(VI)viral position, a sacrifice which Augustus found it worth his while to encourage, in order to avoid the embarrassment of not being able to fill the XXviral colleges.<sup>3</sup> In each case the unknown man had to earn his right to senatorial status or advancement by proof of diligence and hard work either in war or in the less exalted strata of civil life. For the noble, there was no such necessity.

Augustus inherited the flexible republican system of pre-senatorial careers based on individual aptitude and preference, and gradually hardened it into the formal system of social differentiation known under his successors.<sup>4</sup> To a certain extent this applies also to the choice of individual offices within the XX(VI)virate, except that Augustus' treatment of the moneyership meant that the *nobiles* normally went to that college, thus leaving more room for *novi* in the decemvirate *stl. iud.*<sup>5</sup> Though the small number of aristocrats' early careers epigraphically attested under Augustus makes the statistics vulnerable, new men appear to predominate both in the decemvirate and (as under the Republic) in the college of *capitales*.<sup>6</sup> All three of the known Augustan *IVviri viarum curandarum* were new men.<sup>7</sup>

Even under Augustus, it is likely that a man's choice of minor

<sup>1</sup> McAlindon, *JRS* 1957, 192-3 (*latus clavus* granted during *militia equestris*). e.g. nos. 38, 109, 487, 519.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 122 above. No. 519 was 'superiori destinatus ordini' when his parents had been married thirty-nine years; however, he seems to have been a younger son (*ILS* 2682).

<sup>3</sup> e.g. nos. 308, 345, 516, 518; also Ovid (*trist.* iv. 10. 34, *fasti* iv. 384). All except Ovid were rewarded: the patriciate (no. 516), a priesthood (no. 208), military decorations (no. 518), or a senatorial dispensation from the *leges annales* (no. 345). Cf. Dio liv. 28. 5 on the period 16-13 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> For which see McAlindon, *JRS* 1957, 191 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Novi*: nos. 301 (?), 304, 308, 349, 403, 415, 452, 463, 516, 518; Ovid (*fasti* iv. 384). Senatorials: *ILS* 928; *CIL* vi. 1515? See p. 150 above on moneyers.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 38, 265, 308, 345; Ovid (*trist.* iv. 10. 34), and Sex. Campatius of Caere (*CIL* xi. 3610-11), who died as *trib. mil.* Senatorials: *ILS* 943; *CIL* x. 3852.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. 267, 516, 518.

office was controlled by his individual talents as well as by his social standing: he might still omit the military tribunate, for instance, if he had other claims to consideration.<sup>1</sup> But though outstanding ability in either the military or the civil sphere might still excuse the aspiring senator from the necessity to qualify himself in the other as well, the same basic demands were made as under the Republic. Military, legal, or oratorical competence was always required of those whose ancestors were not commendation enough.

## II. THE CURSUS HONORUM

After his election to the quaestorship, the new senator was entitled to sit in the reserved seats at the theatre, to dine at public expense on the Capitol during certain festivals, to wear the *latus clavus* on his tunic, and to sport the distinctive high sandals of the senatorial order.<sup>2</sup> But though he was now a member of the most exalted order of the Roman state, within that order he ranked very low. The purple-bordered *toga praetexta*, and the coveted right to leave his wax portrait for honour and sacrifice in his family *atrium*, were not his until he had held one of the higher magistracies—curule aedile, praetor, consul—symbolized by the curule chair of office. And though he might have exercised the revolutionary *potestas* of a tribune of the *plebs*, only by holding the praetorship could he be entrusted with independent command (*imperium*) in the name of the Roman people.<sup>3</sup>

An example of the added prestige bestowed by higher office is shown by one of L. Piso's enormities, as related by Cicero: when Piso retired from his province of Macedonia, he left his quaestor in charge, 'aediliciis reiectis'. The procedure was not uncommon—Cicero did it himself in 50—but its inclusion among Piso's alleged offences shows that exception might be taken to the conferment of honours and duties without due regard for seniority.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 301 (?), 349, 403, 415, 452, 463, 516.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 68 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Verr.* v. 36, *Cluent.* 154, *Rab. Post.* 16 on post-curule honours; 'toga praetexta, sella curulis, fasces, imperia, provinciae, sacerdotia, triumphus, denique imago ipsa ad posteritatis memoriam prodita'. Willems, *Sénat* i. 135; Mommsen, *St.* i<sup>3</sup>. 418 ff., iii. 887 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *Pis.* 88, cf. *fam.* ii. 15. 4, 18. 2, *Att.* vi. 3. 1. See Thompson, *AJP* 1965, 376

High office meant greater power, greater prestige. It also gave the senator more chance to take part in the business of the House. Though there was no fixed order of seating in the various halls and temples where the Senate met, there was certainly a rigidly observed hierarchy in the order of speaking in debate; the presiding magistrate asked the opinions first of the consuls-elect, then of the ex-consuls, praetors-elect, ex-praetors, and so on *gradatim*.<sup>1</sup> Members of only quaestorial or tribunician rank did sometimes speak,<sup>2</sup> but dusk or the presiding officer at his discretion might bring the session to an end before such lowly opinions had been inquired.<sup>3</sup> Often enough the only chance low-ranking senators had of taking part was during the division (*discessio*) on whatever motion the presiding officer chose to put to the vote—‘qui hoc censetis, illuc transite; qui alia omnia, in hanc partem’—and this movement across the hall in support of or opposition to the motion earned them the ironic title of *pedarii*.<sup>4</sup> Senators frequently changed their position during the debate to anticipate the *discessio* or to demonstrate their support of a speaker;<sup>5</sup> the ‘foot-men’ did this because they did not expect their own opinion to be asked.

With twenty quaestors per year (to ignore men who entered via the tribunate) and only eight praetors, it is clear that half the Senate must have been composed of *pedarii*.<sup>6</sup> Assuming that—other things being equal—a new man was less likely to advance than a *nobilis*, we have to suppose that these obscure and silent men were mostly *novi*. This should be remembered in the follow-on *fam.* ii. 18. 2–3: Cicero did this in 50 because his quaestor, unlike his legates, was an elective magistrate?

<sup>1</sup> Varro *ap.* Gell. xiv. 7. 9 ‘quemque suo loco rogare’; Cic. *Att.* iv. 2. 4, etc.; Willems, *Sénat* ii. 180 ff.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *Att.* i. 19. 9 (P. Servilius *filius* ‘in postremis’). Cato often spoke as *quaestorius*: Sall. *Cat.* 52. 1 (but cf. Syme, *Sallust* 114).

<sup>3</sup> *Att.* i. 17. 9 (December 61): ‘quin erat dicturus—ad quem propter dici brevitatem perventum non est—heros ille noster Cato’ (*tribunicus*). Sall. *Cat.* 53 for Cicero closing the 63 debate after Cato’s speech.

<sup>4</sup> Gell. iii. 18; Cic. *Att.* i. 19. 9, cf. 20.4; Willems, *Sénat* i. 137–43; Festus 314 L (*s.v.*) for ‘qui hoc censetis . . .’.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *QF* ii. 1. 3, *Cat.* i. 16, ii. 12, etc.

<sup>6</sup> See Hawthorn, *G & R* 1962, 53 ff., for a discussion of the more obscure post-Sullan senators.

ing discussion; the municipal men who advanced to the upper ranks of the Senate were a minority, and those who reached the consulship quite exceptional. A qualification must be made for the triumviral age, when the demands of friends and allies swelled the numbers of praetors and consuls, diluting in proportion the value and prestige of the offices,<sup>1</sup> but under the normal working of the *libera res publica*—and even the republic of Augustus—a career that reached the praetorship was for a *novus* a highly successful one, while to obtain a consulate or a major priesthood was the height of felicity. The discussion of the new men's senatorial career is therefore largely restricted to the exceptions, those who were both ambitious and successful. Many *novi* never got past the first stage of the *cursus honorum*.

That first stage was regularly the quaestorship; tenable in the second century at any age after the completion (when this was demanded) of the statutory period of military service, it was fixed by Sulla with an age-limit of thirty, reduced to twenty-five in Augustus' reorganization.<sup>2</sup> This was the *minimum* age; new men often had to wait, even at this lowly stage, to amass sufficient support for inclusion among the twenty men elected. For men of obscure family and limited resources, the senatorial dignity itself was, like the consulship for a senator or a censorship for the great politicians, the crowning reward for a life's hard work. The Cornelius who had been a scribe under Sulla and became *quaestor urbanus* through Caesar's favour is an example, as are those soldiers who worked through several ranks of equestrian commissions before venturing to apply for the dignity of the upper order.<sup>3</sup> Even more ambitious *novi*, who aimed at the Senate from the start, might have to wait—if they were lucky, like Vatinius, they could catch up later.<sup>4</sup>

Plutarch suggests that Cato held the quaestorship slightly later

<sup>1</sup> V.P. ii. 16. 3—the praetorship worth more before its numbers were increased; Cic. *fam.* x. 26. 2 on Caesar's sixteen praetors—'magistratus levissimus et vulgatissimus'. Sixty-seven praetors in 38 B.C. (Dio xlviii. 43. 2), eight consuls in 33, including two *novi*.

<sup>2</sup> p. 143 above for the pre-Sullan age, Dio lii. 20. 1 (29 B.C.) for Augustus.

<sup>3</sup> Cornelius: *MRR* Supp. 17–18. Soldiers: p. 122 above.

<sup>4</sup> p. 105 above.

than the earliest possible date;<sup>1</sup> his nephew Brutus, born in 85 B.C., did not become quaestor till 53; Faustus Sulla, born probably in 86, not till 54. The case of Faustus may suggest a reason why *nobiles* sometimes waited before holding the quaestorship: the Senate had resisted *popularis* attempts to make Faustus repay the profits of his father's dictatorship, but the lavish gladiatorial games he gave in 60 B.C. must have hurt his pocket. He was in debt in 49 (though by then he was also responsible for restoring the Curia Hostilia), and it may be that he was anxious to minimize the length of time between his quaestorship and praetorship because he could not afford to be aedile.<sup>2</sup> As a patrician, he was debarred from the tribunate—though he was probably entitled to stand for praetor two years early.<sup>3</sup> The financing of a forthcoming *cursus* was much easier if a lucrative quaestorian province could be acquired; Caesar's Spanish quaestorship had paid his debts for him, and we find Clodius negotiating for Syria in 61, though he had to be content with Sicily.<sup>4</sup>

Sulla's twenty quaestors were composed of two assistants to the consuls (raised to four in 38 B.C.),<sup>5</sup> two *urbani* in control of the treasury and with other administrative duties, three men entrusted with administration in Italy, and the rest serving in the provinces. The spheres of competence of the Italian quaestorships were Ostia and the west coast harbours ('*provincia aquaria*'), the *ager Gallicus*, and the upland pastures of southern Italy.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> But cf. *MRR* ii. 165 n. 5 for a quaestorship in 64, when Cato was thirty (cf. *Plut. Cato min.* 3. 2, 73. 1). Possibly Plutarch (16. 1) merely implies that he waited a few months before beginning his canvass for a quaestorship *suo anno*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Dio* xlviii. 43. 2 for the reverse process: quaestorships held under age in 38, when higher offices depended on the favour of the Triumvirs.

<sup>3</sup> Attempted lawsuits in 66 and 63: *Asc.* 73 c; *Cic. Cluent.* 94, *leg. ag.* i. 12. Games: *Dio* xxxvii. 51. 4; *Cic. Sull.* 54-5. Debt: *Att.* ix. 11. 4; cf. *Dio* xl. 50. 2 for the restoration of the *curia*. Cf. Badian, *Studies* 151-2 for early patrician praetorships.

<sup>4</sup> *Plut. Caes.* 11. 1, *Crass.* 7. 6; *Cic. in Clod. Cur.* (Sch. Bob. 86-8 St).

<sup>5</sup> *Dio* xlviii. 43. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ostia: *V.P.* ii. 94; *Cic. Mur.* 18; cf. *Dio* lv. 4. 4; *Cic. Vat.* 12 (*aquaria*, Puteoli), *Att.* ii. 9. 1 (Antium); Mattingly, *Homm. Renard* 506. *Ager Gallicus*: *Suet. Claud.* 24. 2; Mattingly, *op. cit.* 507.

Both posts were abolished in A.D. 44. Mattingly (p. 509) would emend Suetonius to read '*detractaque Ostiensi et callium provincia*', and reject the Gallic



Ostian post was an unpopular one, greeted with jeers (or a shout of relief!) during the allotment of *provinciae*; it involved hard work and little chance of acquiring fame or *gratia*.<sup>1</sup> If the urban posts, like the urban praetorship, were the most sought-after, it does not seem that the difference in prestige made it worth while to fix the lot; some *nobiles*, like Lentulus Spinther, held the urban quaestorship, but so did several very obscure new men who are not heard of again.<sup>2</sup> The case of the consuls' assistants is similar: those of 63 were T. Fadius, a new man and possibly a fellow townsman of his commander,<sup>3</sup> and P. Sestius, whose family was of only tribunicial status. Provincial quaestorships could be profitable, as we have seen, and these were perhaps the most popular; two of the few late-republican consular *novi*, as well as many *nobiles*, started as provincial quaestors,<sup>4</sup> but with thirteen quaestors out of every twenty serving abroad, this has no significance for their subsequent success.

During the Empire, on the other hand, the various quaestorial posts were very carefully apportioned on a basis of social standing and promise of success. The specially favoured, including patriicians, were appointed as the emperor's personal assistants, and the provincial quaestorships under proconsular governors carried the least prestige.<sup>5</sup> (The provincial quaestor, following a custom that

quaestorship altogether. But there is no call for emendation. Suetonius need not imply that there were only two Italian quaestorships, as Mattingly thinks (p. 505), and the argument *e silentio Ciceronis* (pp. 508-9) is very dangerous: Serranus was only mentioned because he turned against Cicero in 57. However, Mattingly is probably right (pp. 509-11) to reject the old view that there were *four* Italian quaestors.

*Calles*: Tac. *Ann.* iv. 27, cf. Suet. *DJ* 17; *PBSR* 1964, 35; Syme, *Sallust* 137; Mattingly, *Homm. Renard* 507-8.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Mur.* 18. But perhaps deliberately misleading: the opportunity of securing plentiful grain should have been useful for an ambitious politician, at least when there *was* plentiful grain to be secured.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. nos. 227, 270; also 404, 442 (Augustan). A commander could sometimes choose his quaestor *sine sorte*—Cic. *Att.* vi. 6. 4, *Phil.* ii. 50.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 230 below. Cic. *Verr.* i. 101, iv. 45, for a lucrative consular quaestorship.

<sup>4</sup> Norbanus (Cilicia), Cicero (Lilybaeum, Sicily). Also Cocceius Nerva, *cos.* 36.

<sup>5</sup> Abundantly illustrated in epigraphic *cursus*; cf., e.g., Brasloff, *Hermes* 1904, 618; Dessau, *JRS* 1913, 304-5; Birley, *PBA* 1953, 204-5.

grew up under the Triumvirate, was designated *q. propr.*)<sup>1</sup> This imperial segregation however, was certainly not in operation before about 25 B.C., when the patrician P. Scipio (*cos.* 16) served his quaestorship in Achaëa;<sup>2</sup> no doubt in this, as in other rules of status and precedence in public careers, the Augustan age was one of transition from the freedom of the Republic to the organized system of later times. Only one (presumed) *novus* under Augustus is known to have held the coveted imperial quaestorship; this was Ummidius Quadratus in A.D. 14, whose rapid promotion to praetor and subsequent career as imperial legate (culminating in a late consulship) suggest, perhaps, untestified senatorial ancestry.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, of seven recorded provincial quaestors among the Augustan *novi*, only one is known to have got as far as the praetorship.<sup>4</sup> Under the Triumvirate, the anonymous Arretine whose repeated pre-senatorial posts were observed in the last section served as quaestor and legate in Achaëa; not only did he reach the praetorship, but he was evidently made a patrician in 29.<sup>5</sup> Nor is there any apparent correlation between quaestorial and vigintiviral duties, such as appears under Tiberius and afterwards:<sup>6</sup> The one *q. Augusti* had been *Xvir stl. iud.*, as had one of the provincial quaestors; among the others, excluding the Arretine, were two prefects of cavalry and two *Illviri capitales*.

After Augustus had restored the Republic, he laid it down that after his quaestorship a man should be either tribune or aedile before going on to be praetor; this did not, however, prevent entry to the Senate via the tribunate (as we have seen), nor did the rule apply to patricians, who could pass straight to the praetorship without holding either of the unpopular intermediate posts.<sup>7</sup> The system was, in fact as in name, a return to—and a regularization of—republican practice. For since patricians were

<sup>1</sup> D. Laelius Balbus, M. Barbatius Pollio, L. Gellius Poplicola (*qq. propr.* 42-41), etc. In 65 Cn. Calpurnius Piso needed a SC to go to Spain as *q. propr.* (*ILLRP* 378).

<sup>2</sup> *IG ii/iii*<sup>2</sup>. 4120-1—certainly not later than 23.

<sup>3</sup> No. 452; also no. 95, the mysterious 'quaestor imperatorum', on whom see p. 220 f. below. <sup>4</sup> No. 265; the others are nos. 38, 146, 236, 283, 403.

<sup>5</sup> No. 516; see pp. 152 n. 3, 173.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. McAlindon, *JRS* 1957, 195; Augustan careers frequently do not specify the type of quaestorship, which in itself suggests that the distinctions were not hard and fast. <sup>7</sup> Dio lii. 20. 1; p. 99 above; Cichorius, *RS* 285-8.

ineligible for the tribunate and for two of the four annual aedileships, even in the Republic some of them must have had to stand for the praetorship without holding any office since that of quaestor;<sup>1</sup> similarly the tribunate as a first office was not unknown under the Republic. But the *lex Villia* of 180 fixed the minimum age for the praetorship at thirty-nine, which might be ten years after the candidate had been quaestor; the tribunate and aedileship, therefore, though legally not essential parts of the *cursus*, came often to be held before the praetorship, and with the purpose of attracting popular support in order to win it. The traditionally demagogic nature of the tribunate, and the games which aediles were expected to provide at their own expense, were particularly valuable for this purpose.

The Augustan *cursus* demanded a tribunate or an aedileship from non-patricians; in fact, we find several men who held both.<sup>2</sup> All were *novi*, as might be expected—men who needed all the popularity they could get, and who (like Paquius Scaeva)<sup>3</sup> were prepared to do unpopular jobs and earn advancement by hard work. This too had republican precedents. About the turn of the third and second centuries, it seems to have been popular to hold both tribunate and aedileship;<sup>4</sup> sometimes, indeed—and this no doubt explains the practice—to stand for election to the praetorship while in office as aedile.<sup>5</sup> After 180, when the *lex Villia* had fixed legal minimum ages for aediles and praetors, and stipulated a *biennium* between the two offices, this duplication became less popular, but was still sometimes practised; the following table—

<sup>1</sup> Sulla, for instance (Plut. *Sulla* 5; Badian, *Studies* 158–60), though missing the aedileship jeopardized his advancement. Cf. p. 156 above on Faustus.

<sup>2</sup> M. Ampudius, Appuleius Tappo, M. Fruticius, Paquius Scaeva (all early—perhaps triumviral or even Caesarian); Sex. Pacuvius Taurus. See Cichorius, *RS* 285–8.

<sup>3</sup> No. 308. Perhaps Tappo as well—he was *iudex quaestionis*.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. (to mention only *nobiles*) the careers of Ti. Gracchus, M. Marcellus, M. and P. Junii Bruti, C. Servilius Geminus. See Scullard, *RP* 24–5 for the increased importance of the aedileship, as a result of newly organized public games between 220 and 173; but the change may be illusory, since complete attestation is only possible with Livy's third decade.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. M'. Acilius Glabrio, *tr. pl.* 201, *aed. pl.* 197, *pr.* 196; Cn. Baebius Tampilus, *tr. pl.* 204/3, *aed. pl.* 200, *pr.* 199. Both were the first men of note in their respective families.

of men known to have held both posts between 180 and the triumviral age<sup>1</sup>—helps to show us why.

1. M. Fulvius Nobilior	<i>tr. pl.</i> 171/ <i>aed.</i> 166
2. M. Junius Pennus	126/ <i>c.</i> 123
3. M. Livius Drusus	122/ <i>c.</i> 120–117?
4. L. Licinius Crassus	107/before 100
5. Q. Mucius Scaevola	106/before 100
6. L. Marcius Philippus	104?/ <i>aed.</i> ? <sup>2</sup>
7. C. Scribonius Curio	90/ <i>aed.</i> ? <sup>2</sup>
8. Q. Metellus Celer	90/88? <sup>3</sup>
9. P. Antistius	88/86?
10. C. Visellius Varro	69/ <i>c.</i> 59
11. L. Calpurnius Bestia	62/ <i>c.</i> 59
12. Q. Metellus Scipio	} 59/57
13. C. Cosconius	
14. P. Clodius Pulcher	58/56
15. C. Messius	57/55
16. A. Plautius	} 56/55
17. Cn. Plancius	
18. M. Caelius Rufus	52/50
19. L. Trebellius	47/before 44.

Nos. 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 are certain or suspected *novi*; their need for both offices to gain support is obvious.<sup>4</sup> But why should *nobiles* bother? For Clodius (14) there is an easy explanation: he needed to be in office as often and as long as he could to avoid impeachment by Milo. Scaevola (5) had supported the arch-*bonus* Caepio as tribune, no doubt thereby forfeiting popular support; his aedileship (with L. Crassus) was famous for its magnificent games, which must have cancelled out his former unpopularity.

<sup>1</sup> Not included: M. Livius Drusus, '*aed. c.* 94', *tr. pl.* 91 (no aedileship on Drusus' *elogium*—I therefore take *vir. ill.* 66. 1 as a mistaken reference to the elder Drusus, and include the latter in the list); C. Vibius Pansa, *tr. pl.* 51, '*aed.* 49' (but Dio xli. 36. 2, cf. *MRR*); M. Vipsanius Agrippa, *tr. pl.* 43, *aed.* 33 (after his consulship—a special case).

<sup>2</sup> Both had obtained '*omnia quae haberentur amplissima*' (Cic. *off.* ii. 59), which may not include the aedileship (cf. Shatzman, *Ath.* 1968, 353 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly his son, possibly not an aedile: cf. Broughton, *MRR* ii. 41, 45 n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Add P. Vatinius, *tr. pl.* 59 and unsuccessful aedile candidate for 56 (Cic. *Vat.* 16, 36, 39, *Sest.* 134–5); his election to the praetorship in 55 was notoriously contrived by the consuls Pompey and Crassus (Plut. *Pomp.* 52. 2, etc.).

Similarly Metellus Scipio (12) gave sumptuous games as aedile; in his tribunate he and Cosconius had opposed Caesar and Pompey. Bestia (11) had been a Catilinarian tribune, which had doubtless done his career little good; an aedileship, and his *rapprochement* with Cicero, who defended him in court in 56, may have salvaged something of it. Very similar motives may also be detected in two of the *novi*: Caelius Rufus had supported Milo and offended Pompey—hence his aedilician games, and the notorious panthers. L. Trebellius quarrelled with Dolabella as tribune, acting (according to Dio) in the interests of the *boni*.<sup>1</sup> Under Caesar's dictatorship, and with Dolabella earmarked as consul for 44, such a record would need to be counterbalanced by an aedileship.

The tenure of both posts, then, was practised by men who distrusted their electoral chances for the praetorship—a situation particularly typical of the ambitious *novus*. Such *nobiles* as followed this course can be taken as exceptions proving the rule: men for whom particular circumstances had limited their accustomed electoral influence. Many new men, however—the two Ciceros are an obvious example—did not find it necessary to hold both offices; to hold neither, of course, would be ludicrously presumptuous, but one or the other might well suffice for a careful man to get through to the praetorship.

The tribunate might be held for altruistic motives of reform, but surely no man (except Agrippa in 33) went to the trouble and expense of the aedile's duties without the idea of self-advancement; this is neatly proved by the complete absence of candidates for the office in 36 B.C., when praetorships could be got without much trouble.<sup>2</sup> The aedileship was a gamble, however; too much expense might ruin a campaign for the praetorship through lack of funds. Of the new men in our lists who became praetors and whose previous stage is recorded, slightly fewer than the statistically predictable two out of seven had been aediles; sixteen, in fact, out of a total of sixty-three.<sup>3</sup> Only two *novi*—Cicero and

<sup>1</sup> Dio xlii. 29. 2, ἔλεγε τῶν ἀμεινόνων προϊστασθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Dio xlix. 16. 2 (cf. p. 155 n. 1 above).

<sup>3</sup> Ex-aediles: nos. 4, 87, 150, 173, 192, 255, 265, 271, 287, 320, 387, 446–7, 452, 487, 517 (also possibly no. 239). Both offices held before praetorship: nos. 34, 78, 181, 308, 324.

Ummidius Quadratus—are known to have reached the consulship after being aediles, as against sixteen ex-tribunes.<sup>1</sup> If any conclusion can be drawn from such figures, it is perhaps that the aedileship was rather more of a risk for the *novus* than was the tribunate; less confident or less promising men might prefer to be tribunes, or (if they could afford it) try to win both posts. Two new men only are known to have omitted both: a newly made patrician, probably promoted by Caesar, and an Augustan senator who required a senatorial dispensation.<sup>2</sup>

The number of praetorships per year rose between 227 and 198 B.C. from two to six, to provide governors for the newly acquired provinces of Sicily, Sardinia, and the two Spains; it thus evolved from a consular post to one held immediately before the consulship, an order legalized by the *lex Villia* in 180. Sulla, needing yet more governors, as well as presidents for his new *quaestiones*, put the number up to eight and stipulated a year's judicial service in the capital for each, followed by a provincial command as propraetor; Caesar, with additional provinces to deal with, increased the number to ten, fourteen, and finally sixteen; Augustus reduced it to twelve, but his successors did not keep to this.<sup>3</sup> The republican age-limit for the post was thirty-nine (with a possible two-year exemption for patricians in the post-Sullan period); waived by Caesar for several of his supporters, this limit was brought down to thirty by Augustus.<sup>4</sup>

The two senior praetors were the *urbanus* and the *peregrinus*, whose names often appeared with those of the consuls on official documents,<sup>5</sup> and of these the urban praetor enjoyed the greater

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 50, 127, 156, 185, 190 (*des.*), 206, 248, 278, 304, 415, 444, 467, 474, 494, 497, 520 (*dest.*). According to Dio (xxxvi. 43. 5), Cicero deliberately avoided the tribunate because of his 'senatorial' sympathies; and the curule aedileship, at least, was a post which marked out the man who held it as a potential consul (cf. Syme, *Sallust* 99).

<sup>2</sup> Sex. Appuleius, C. Propertius Postumus (nos. 33, 345).

<sup>3</sup> Caesar: Dio xlii. 51. 3, xliii. 47. 2, 49. 1, 51. 4; *Cic. fam.* x. 26. 2. Augustus: *Tac. Ann.* i. 14. 6. Eventually crystallized at 18—*Dig.* i. 2. 2. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Astin, *Lex Annalis* 31–6 (Badian, *Studies* 140–56). Willems, *Sénat* i. 589–90 for Caesar's exemptions (Caelius Rufus, Pollio, C. Antonius, D. Brutus, and Q. Cornificius), 609 ff., 616 for those of the Triumvirs. Dio lii. 20. 1 for Augustus' reorganization.

<sup>5</sup> *SC de Ascl.* (Bruns 41), cf. Livy xliii. 11. 8 ('*duae urbanae*'), etc.

prestige. Caelius Rufus disputed the honour with Trebonius, and M. Brutus with Cassius; such quarrels were possible because the dictator, like Augustus later, filled the post by nomination instead of using the lot, as had been the republican practice.<sup>1</sup> As with the quaestorship, it seems that the lot was not normally manipulated in favour of the *nobiles* (at least, only about a half of the urban and peregrine praetors recorded in *MRR* for the late Republic were of consular or praetorian family), so no conclusions can safely be drawn if a new man, like Burrienus in 83, obtained the senior position.<sup>2</sup> Cicero, elected at the top of the poll in 67, was allotted the extortion court; the urban praetorship went to C. Antonius, who had been trailing in the election and only reached third place with Cicero's help.<sup>3</sup> Order of election, not the allotted duty, was the index of performance.

The praetors, like the consuls, wielded *imperium*; in the provinces at least, they were escorted by six lictors each, whose *fascēs* symbolized the power of life and death.<sup>4</sup> Like the consuls, they were elected by the *comitia centuriata*, in which the richer citizens—including the Italian aristocracies—predominated. The preponderance of Italians in the centuriate assembly was greatly increased by the census of 70–69 B.C., but this increase is certainly not reflected in any great rise in the proportion of *novi homines* reaching the praetorship. Between 138 and 70 B.C., *MRR* records about 240 praetors: forty, or nearly 17 per cent, appear in our list of certain or presumed *novi*. Between 69 and 49 B.C. the increase is noticeable but slight—the proportion rises to about thirty-five out of 140, or 25 per cent. By bribery, violence, and simple force of precedent, the *nobiles* retained their hold of the centuriate assembly.

L. Gellius and Lentulus Clodianus enrolled 900,000 citizens in 70 B.C.; the next *lustrum*, that of Agrippa and Octavian in 28, numbered 4,063,000. It is impossible even to guess how many of the men who made up this staggering increase were Italian local

<sup>1</sup> Dio xlii. 22. 2 (cf. liii. 2. 3 on Augustus), App. BC iii. 112.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Burrienus was a Marian—and Q. Cicero got the urban post in his brother's consulship.

<sup>3</sup> According to Cicero (in Asc. 85 and 92–3 c).

<sup>4</sup> Cic. Verr. v. 142; App. Syr. 15. Two each in Rome (Cic. leg. ag. ii. 93).

aristocrats sufficiently wealthy and sufficiently interested to come to Rome to vote in the *comitia centuriata*; but there is no need to impute to the twenties B.C. the cynicism and apathy of forty years later.<sup>1</sup> The Republic was apparently restored, and if Augustus and his trusted friends were returned as consuls year after year by the centuriate assembly, this proves no more than that 'the *comitia* were spontaneously eager to elect the great leader and the colleague of his choice'.<sup>2</sup> The assembly once more chose consuls and praetors; the electoral dominance of the great families, now weakened and decimated by civil war, was at an end. The statistics for Augustus' reign are less certain, in that they involve some doubtful cases who may belong to the Triumvirate, or to Tiberius; there is, however, another detectable rise. About 180 praetors known, about fifty-five in the lists of *novi*: from 17 per cent before 70 and 25 per cent between 69 and 49, the proportion rises to 35 per cent.

In the second century, with a Senate of 300 and six praetors per year, about three men in every five might hope to hold the office. Sulla doubled the senatorial membership, but added only two praetorships; in the late Republic, therefore, the proportion falls to two in every five. Under Augustus (to ignore Caesar's experiments and triumviral excesses) twelve praetors per year restored the old figure. How many senators could hope for the consulship? One in five before Sulla; one in ten in the late Republic and under Augustus. Augustus, however, whose own repeated tenures from 30 to 23 B.C. must have made the office even more difficult to obtain,<sup>3</sup> was sometimes prepared to alleviate the situation by admitting suffect consulates, though never on the scale of the Triumvirs' appointments; two *suffecti* appear in 23, one in 19, one in 16, three in 12, and finally two per year after 5 B.C., when

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Ann.* i. 15. For the survival of post-Actium euphoria, and continued enthusiasm for the benefits of Augustus' regime, see the excellent ninth chapter of Fraenkel's *Horace* on *Odes* iv. 2, 5 and 15 (15-13 B.C.).

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *Studies* 36 (rightly adducing as proof the events of 23-19), Sattler, *Aug. Sen.* 41 n. 96. See p. 10 above.

<sup>3</sup> If Varro Murena, *cos.* 23, was Varro Murena, *aed. c.* 45 (and the gap is very short for father and son), then even a brother-in-law of Maecenas might be held up for several years before his consulship—cf. Stockton, *Historia* 1965, 40.



the office became a six-monthly tenure. By this final system, which lasted until A.D. 11, the balance of consulates (as well as praetorships) to the total membership of the Senate was restored to its pre-Sullan proportion. From 78 to 49, therefore, it was twice as difficult to win a consulship as it had been before Sulla's dictatorship, and similarly from 30 to 5 B.C. Most elusive of all was the consulship under Caesar, who increased the size of the Senate and the number of praetors, but left the consuls at two per year, admitting *suffecti* only in 45, when he had himself been sole consul until October.<sup>1</sup>

Of men who entered the Senate between the introduction of the secret ballot in 139 B.C. and the transfer of the elections to the senators themselves in A.D. 14, fifty-two certain or inferred *novi* are known to have become consuls.<sup>2</sup> The list (in Appendix V) is tolerably complete, thanks to the Capitoline *Fasti*; some of them may, of course, have had senatorial (even praetorian) ancestors.

With the exception of the three Caesarian *novi*, justly rewarded for long political or military service to the dictator,<sup>3</sup> the dates reflect accurately the fluctuations in the availability of the consulship: two only between Sulla and Caesar, twelve in the forty-four years of Augustus (reflecting perhaps the crippling of the *nobiles'* electoral power as much as the *princeps'* own preference), of whom only four were *ordinarii*. A new generation of office-hungry *nobiles* may indeed have been part of the reason for the introduction of regular *suffecti* after 5 B.C.,<sup>4</sup> but it is clear that several *novi* immediately benefited from the doubling of the number of offices: six in five years, while the previous six are spread over twenty-five. Even before 5 B.C., *suffect* consulships had been found for certain deserving *novi* who could hardly be left out; another solution, employed in the case of Furnius but

<sup>1</sup> Caninius Rebilus was third *suffect* in 45 after the death of Fabius Maximus; Dolabella was earmarked as *suff.* 44, but only to take office when Caesar left for the East (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 80, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> There were others (e.g. nos. 69, 231, 287) who were expected to do so.

<sup>3</sup> Two (at least) were old enough to merit an immediate prize—Vatinius, *q.* 63 (not *suo anno*), Calenus, *pr.* 59. Trebonius was probably *q.* in 60.

<sup>4</sup> Brunt, *JRS* 1961, 73.

understandably dropped with the return of republican forms, had been to adlect disappointed men directly to consular rank.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the figure of nineteen consular *novi* in ten years' triumviral rule speaks for itself; several were excellent men, but many would never have reached such a position in any other period.

At every stage the new man's career was likely to be obstructed. Even the quaestorship, as we have seen, might be denied him for a year or two, as it was denied Vatinius; or, like Sulla's scribe Cornelius, he might not even venture to apply for it until late middle age. Similarly, the tribunate: L. Quinctius was tribune in 74 at nearly fifty years of age, and won himself a late praetorship by his agitation;<sup>2</sup> P. Appuleius, *tr. pl.* in 43, had been a supporter of Cicero twenty years before; the poet Helvius Cinna was tribune in 44, more than twenty years after his youthful trip to Bithynia.<sup>3</sup> With the higher offices, the delays were even longer—C. Turranius was an old man when praetor in 44, the lawyer A. Cascellius was praetor more than thirty years after his quaestorship<sup>4</sup>—and Cicero's pride at being the first *novus* within living memory to hold the consulship at the earliest legal age is understandable.

In the case of T. Didius, consul only five years after his tribunate, we may legitimately wonder whether Cicero's claim was completely true; however, Didius may have been tribune comparatively late in life, and some of Cicero's other predecessors certainly bear out his boast. Marius had been quaestor at thirty-three or thirty-five, praetor at forty-one, consul at forty-nine;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dio lii. 42. 4 (also C. Cluvius).

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Cluent.* 110 'annos ad quinquaginta natus', cf. 111 for his pride in his (newly acquired?) *latus clavus*. He was *pr.* 68.

<sup>3</sup> Appuleius: Cic. *Phil.* xiv. 16. Cinna: Rostagni, *att. acc. Tor.* 1932-3, 502 ff. (p. 234 below). Cf. Badian, *JRS* 1956, 91-2, *Phil.* 1959, 95-6 on the late tribunates (and subsequent offices) of P. Decius Subulo and A. Gabinius; Taylor, *Ullman Studies* 83-4 for M. Favonius' election as aedile in 52—eight years after his first attempt? (Cic. *Att.* ii. 1. 9); and Alföldy, *FH* 182 on no. 236, who had an adult daughter by the time he was aedile.

<sup>4</sup> Turranius: V.M. ix. 11. 5; App. *BC* iv. 18; he may have been one of the *fili proscriptorum* (but cf. Syme, *CP* 1955, 132—'it is not easy to accept sexagenarian praetors'). Cascellius: *MRR* Supp. 14.

<sup>5</sup> He died in 86 aged seventy (Plut. *Mar.* 45, etc.); p. 240 below for his quaestorship.

Fimbria reached the consulship when 'longius aetate provectus'; Coelius Calvus was praetor at least six years before he was consul; Cicero's single republican successor, L. Afranius, was at the very least one year late for his consulship, and probably much more.<sup>1</sup> The orator's achievement was indeed remarkable.

The Caesarian *novi* were all over the required age, having been kept out by the *boni* if ever they had made an earlier attempt.<sup>2</sup> Hirtius' consulship could have been *suo anno* (he was praetor a *biennium* before), but not that of Q. Pedius, who had a son of quaestorial age in 41. Ventidius Bassus, who had taken part as a child in Pompeius Strabo's triumph in 89, must have been at least forty-five in the year of his praetorship and suffect consulate; similarly Balbus, who was active in Spain in the seventies, was well over the required age-limit in 40 B.C., as was Canidius Crassus, if he is identical with Cato's quaestor (?) in Cyprus seventeen years before. Furnius and L. Vinicius had been tribunes before the civil war, Nonius Asprenas and Calvisius Sabinus probably praetors under Caesar. C. Norbanus was in all probability son of the consul of 83 and a Marian moneyer, his career held up until 49 B.C., and his consulship delayed to only fourteen years before that of his own son. Balbus apart, these men were legal, if not all worthy, candidates for the consulship. But the triumviral age also saw Pollio consul at thirty-five (though his exemption was due to Caesar), Agrippa at twenty-five, and Salvidienus Rufus designated consul not only under age but without even belonging to the Senate.<sup>3</sup> Cocceius Nerva, *proq.* 41, *cos.* 36, also looks suspiciously young.

<sup>1</sup> Fimbria: Cic. *Brut.* 129. Calvus: *MRR* ii. 3 n. 2. Afranius: Plut. *mor.* 806 B (in fact, he was probably praetor in 71). Cf. Oros. v. 16. 2—Mallius Maximus had two sons of military age in his consulship; C. Norbanus took twenty years from *tr. pl.* to *cos.*, but may have been tribune in his twenties.

L. Turius stood (unsuccessfully) for the consulship of 64, some ten years after his praetorship (Cic. *Att.* i. 1. 2, *Brut.* 237); Q. Cicero was thinking of standing for 52, again ten years after he had been praetor (*JRS* 1966, 108 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 165 n. 3 above; cf. *BG* viii. 50. 3 for Caesar's ex-legate Ser. Sulpicius Galba excluded from the consulship of 49.

<sup>3</sup> Pollio (cf. p. 162 n. 4 above) twenty-one in 54 (*Tac. dial.* 34); Agrippa contemporary with Octavian (see above, p. 99 n. 3); Salvidienus a friend—and contemporary?—of Octavian and Agrippa in 44 (*V.P.* ii. 59. 5), cf. Dio xlviii. 32. 2: ὑπατον μηδὲ βουλευόντα. Cf. also M. Titius L. f., *q.* 36, *suff.* 31.

Legality returned with Augustus. Only one reasonably certain age is recorded: that of A. Caecina Severus, whose military career started in 26 B.C.;<sup>1</sup> he was therefore consul *suo anno* at forty-two if he began his army service at sixteen. The only other hint we have suggests older *novi* as consuls, if L. Arruntius was Trebatius Testa's friend mentioned in 53.<sup>2</sup> Finally, after the Senate controlled the elections, two late consulships are known: those of Ummidius Quadratus, about twenty-five years after his quaestorship, and Sex. Palpellius Hister, who had been a *comes* of Tiberius some forty years before.<sup>3</sup>

The consulars were powerful men, the *principes* of the state; yet there were still rarer and loftier honours that they could win—a second consulship, a censorship, or selection by the censors as *princeps senatus*. This last honour had carried with it the right of giving the first opinion in senatorial debate—a custom which had lapsed by the late Republic,<sup>4</sup> when it is doubtful whether the honour was still bestowed. Unofficially, at least, however, it may have carried on, losing its original restriction to patricians; Cicero called Q. Catulus 'princeps huius ordinis', and was himself described as *princeps senatus* by Cremutius Cordus.<sup>5</sup> He was the first and only *novus* to hold the title, which was conferred on Augustus in 28 B.C.<sup>6</sup>

Three new men achieved more than one consulship. Marius, elected originally on the strength of his military reputation to finish the war in Africa, was re-elected five more times in succession in the face of the threat from the Cimbri and Teutones, and usurped a reputedly predestined but mercifully short-lived seventh honour after his violent return in 87. Multiple consulships to ensure continuity of military command, such as Marius enjoyed after 104, were subsequently obviated by the regular employment of prolonged *imperium*. Ten years' interval between consulships was made compulsory, and only the very greatest statesmen could

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Ann.* i. 64 (cf. iii. 33); Caecina was probably the second or third senator in his family.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *fam.* vii. 18. 4, though it could be his father.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 452, 304.

<sup>4</sup> Varro, *ap. Gell.* xiv. 7. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *MRR* ii. 130 n. 1. Catulus: Cic. *Pis.* 6. Cicero: Cremutius Cordus, *ap. Sen. suas.* vi. 19; cf. Cic. *Phil.* xiv. 18, *fam.* xii. 24. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Dio lii. 1. 3.

hope to earn such recognition; Cicero in 43, for instance, thought himself worthy of it.<sup>1</sup> Under the Triumvirs, loyal servants were the new statesmen: Agrippa and Statilius Taurus owed their repeated consulships—whether the reward of a thankful people or the precautions of a nervous despot—to their intimacy with the victor of the civil wars.

As for the censorship, two celebrated *novi* had held it in the second century. But after Q. Pompeius in 131, the office was long the preserve of the *nobiles*. Marius wanted it in 97, as did Cicero forty years later,<sup>2</sup> but to no avail. Apart from Agrippa, who shared Augustus' *ensoria potestas* for the census of the new republic in 28, the first *novus* for over a century to hold the office of censor was L. Munatius Plancus, the dextrous diplomat on whose proposal Octavian had become Augustus. After Plancus and his patrician colleague, the office was revived twice (once in A.D. 48 with Claudius and L. Vitellius)<sup>3</sup> and then abandoned for ever.

### III. PRIESTS AND PATRICIANS

Marius and Cicero missed the censorship, but each was elected to the college of augurs—Marius at fifty-nine, Cicero at fifty-two. It was a high honour. 'Maximum autem et praestantissimum in re publica ius est augurum', Cicero himself remarked proudly, and Augustus' *res gestae* put the augurate second only to the chief priesthood in the list of the princeps' religious offices.<sup>4</sup> But for Marius and Cicero the honour was especially high, in that no other new men are known to have held any major priesthood from the time of Ti. Coruncanius, *pontifex maximus* in the third century, down to Caesar's dictatorship.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> References in Syme, *RR* 182-3.

<sup>2</sup> Marius: Plut. *Mar.* 30. 4; cf. Badian, *Studies* 47-8, 171, *FC* 212; Gruen, *Hist.* 1966, 37. Cicero: Cic. *Att.* iv. 2. 6 (October 57) 'ut, si comitia censorum proximi consules haberent, petere possem . . .'.  
<sup>3</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xii. 4—brother of nos. 503-4.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *leg.* ii. 31; Aug. *RG* 7; Lewis, *Priests* 155-6 for the order of prestige of the major priesthoods.

<sup>5</sup> The elder Cato may have been an augur (*MRR* ii, p. 642), and it is possible that M. Atius Balbus was Pompey's colleague in 59 as augur rather than as agrarian commissioner (Cic. *Att.* ii. 12. 1; Shackleton Bailey, *Philologus* 1964, 110-12).

The importance of priests to preside over the public rites, explains Cicero, is that 'the state is held together by the people's constant need for the counsel and authority of the *optimates*'.<sup>1</sup> Religious power, even more than political, was bestowed on *nobiles*, and not on men whose families had not previously lived in Rome and were therefore inexperienced in the traditional ritual. Cicero later claimed that he could have had the augurate earlier, after his consulship, but we may legitimately doubt this;<sup>2</sup> neither the decease of Metellus Celer in 59 nor that of Lucullus in 56 offered him an opening, and he finally joined the college on the untimely death in battle of a man young enough to be his son. P. Crassus, who had succeeded Lucullus, was by no means unique in gaining the honour so young; Ti. Gracchus became an augur while still a boy, as did the younger Lentulus Spinther in 57.<sup>3</sup> The moneyers L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Marcius Philippus decorated their coins with the insignia of their priesthoods—*XVvir sacris faciundis* and augur, respectively.<sup>4</sup> Caesar had been nominated (but not inducted) as *flamen Dialis* at the age of thirteen; he was a pontiff before his military tribunate, and *pontifex maximus* while still only an ex-aedile.

Such effortless successes by young nobles—and there are many other examples—make even more remarkable the unique achievements of Marius and Cicero. Already, however, the priesthoods were beginning to be considered as prizes to be offered by political dynasts to their supporters. Vatinius hoped to fill Metellus Celer's place in the augural college of 59, relying on support from the consul Caesar and his new allies; Caelius Rufus was thinking of making an attempt in 50, after the death of Hortensius, but threw his support behind Antony when he saw that the latter was being backed by Caesar.<sup>5</sup>

Vatinius eventually became augur during his consulship in 47. After Caesar's victory the great priesthoods became more or less

<sup>1</sup> *Leg.* ii. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Fam.* xv. 4. 13 (to Cato, 51 or 50).

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *TG* 4. 1; Spinther, *q.* 44? (cf. *Cic. Att.* iv. 2. 4 for *pontifices* not of senatorial age).

<sup>4</sup> It is possible that these emblems celebrated priesthoods held by the moneyers' ancestors.

<sup>5</sup> *Cic. Att.* ii. 9. 2, *Vat.* 19–20; *fam.* viii. 12. 1–2, 14. 1.

openly instruments of patronage, bestowed on dependable men of whatever background; from now on these exclusive societies were thrown open to deserving *novi*. Ventidius Bassus became a pontifex, A. Hirtius an augur, L. Munatius Plancus a *VIIvir epulonium*—the latter two (at least) before their consulships—and the C. Cestius who was praetor in 44 no doubt owed his later cognomen Epulo to membership of the septemvirate.<sup>1</sup> The process was extended by the Triumvirs: multiple priesthoods for the most powerful men (Agrippa, Statilius Taurus, Calvisius Sabinus),<sup>2</sup> and high honours bestowed on such minor figures as Petillius Capitolinus, whose coins suggest the quindecimvirate *sacris faciundis*.<sup>3</sup> New men who rose to the consulship under the Triumvirs attained predictable priesthoods—including Uttidius Afer, who was augur as well as consul designate when he committed suicide after offending Octavian.<sup>4</sup> M. Nonius Gallus and Sex. Appuleius did not reach the consulate, but were created respectively *VIIvir* and *flamen Iulialis* after Actium, Gallus for military service in Gaul, Appuleius as Octavian's brother-in-law.<sup>5</sup>

The 700 senators who served under Octavian's standards in the war of Actium represented eighty-three past or subsequently attained consulships, and about 170 priesthoods.<sup>6</sup> Consulars therefore accounted for about half the total membership of all the priestly colleges under Augustus. Some of the rest will have been young *nobiles* of little ability, elected almost automatically as they had been in the Republic;<sup>7</sup> others were members of the minor colleges, like L. Mussidius, one of the Arval brethren, or the industrious Paquius Scaeva and Pullius Pollio, new men

<sup>1</sup> See p. 224 below on Cestius Epulo.

<sup>2</sup> Agrippa: V.P. ii. 127 (*XVvir s.f.* at least before 37: *CIL* ix. 262). Taurus: *ILS* 893a (augur, *curio maximus*). Sabinus: *ILS* 925; cf. *MRR* Supp. 13–14; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 113, etc. (*VIIvir ep., curio max.*). The later honours will have been granted by Augustus. Lewis, *Priests* 157–8 on multiple priesthoods held by relatives of the *princeps*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *CQ* 1964, 124.

<sup>4</sup> No. 454 (Suet. *DA* 27); also Nonius Asprenas (*VIIvir ep.*), Norbanus Flaccus and Cocceius Nerva (*XVviri*), M. Titius (*pontifex*).

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 33, 276.

<sup>6</sup> *RG* 25. Syme, *RR* 238, 381–2 on triumviral and Augustan priesthoods.

<sup>7</sup> Syme, *RR* 382; cf. also *ILS* 934, 959 (augur and *sal. Pal.* at 24, *sal. Col.* at 20).

and *fetiales*.<sup>1</sup> At least one non-consular *novus* is known to have held a major priesthood under Augustus—M. Fufius Strigo, who was the grandson of a non-citizen and *XVvir* in 17 B.C., perhaps rewarded for military services like those of Nonius Gallus.<sup>2</sup> Under Augustus, new men had to work hard for their priesthoods. Two further *XVviri* were rewarded for successful military activity,<sup>3</sup> and C. Vibius Postumus no doubt earned his septemvirate under Tiberius in Illyricum; all three were new men, and consulars.

Consulships, priesthoods—the *nobiles'* traditional preserves—were rudely invaded by Caesar and the Triumvirs for distribution to their own henchmen. Finally it was the turn of the patriciate, the most exclusive club of all, steadily shrinking in numbers despite the encouragement and partiality of Sulla. Caesar created new patrician *gentes*, including the Antonii, *nobiles* but plebeians; the family of his sister's late son-in-law, C. Octavius of Velitrae; and perhaps the Appuleii of Luna in Etruria, one of whom had married Octavius' daughter.<sup>4</sup>

Octavian too made new patricians, in 33 and (more respectably) under a *lex Saenia* in 29. Several of his promoted *gentes* were ancient members of the plebeian nobility, such as the Aelii Tuberones, Domitii Ahenobarbi, Sempronii Gracchi, and Junii Silani,<sup>5</sup> but his less aristocratic supporters also had their reward. No plebeian posts are recorded among the descendants of Statilius Taurus; his family, like Agrippa's, must surely have been promoted, and possibly the Sentii Saturnini as well.<sup>6</sup> The Cocceii of Narnia, with two triumviral consuls, certainly were. Much more

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 266, 308, 349.

<sup>2</sup> No. 186; cf. Fufius Geminus, Octavian's commander in Pannonia, 35–34 (Dio xlix. 38. 1–3).

<sup>3</sup> M. Vinicius (*ILS* 8965—possibly Sulpicius Quirinius) and Ummidius Quadratus.

<sup>4</sup> p. 213 below for Sex. Appuleius, Heiter, *gent. patr.* 40–1 for Antony and Octavian.

<sup>5</sup> *Dig.* i. 2. 2. 44; *Suet. Nero* 1; *Juv.* ii. 117; cf. *CIL* vi. 1515 (*sal. Col.*); *CIL* vi. 1384 (*flam. Mart.*); also *Dio* lvii. 15 for the Scribonii Libones, *Suet. DA* 5 for the Laetorii.

<sup>6</sup> As conjectured by Heiter, *gent. patr.* 53. Not the Arruntii, however: the patrician forebears of L. Arruntius Stella, *suff.* A.D. 101 (*Stat. Silv.* i. 2. 71), were probably Cornelii Sullae; see *Tac. Ann.* iii. 31 and Groag, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> ii, p. 223 for the relationship.



interesting than these successful men, however, is the mysterious Arretine who performed several pre-senatorial duties and advanced to the praetorship; he had been tribune of the *plebs*, but at some subsequent stage, presumably in 33 or 29, he must have become a patrician to hold the priesthood of *salius Palatinus*.<sup>1</sup> His identity evades detection, but he and Sex. Appuleius may be typical of other Italians and obscure men, rewarded by Octavian for unattested services or claiming their rights as relatives of the new *princeps*. These men achieved a short cut to social prestige, if not to political power; for most *novi*, the only road to such tangible indexes of success as priesthoods and consulships was by hard work, servility, or luck—and frequently a combination of all three.

#### IV. THE NEW MAN'S MEANS OF ADVANCEMENT

In the wide and complex spectrum of political opinion and allegiance in Rome, the Italian senator occupied a difficult and ambiguous position. He was himself usually *domi nobilis*, of a family that will have held its position in its native town by much the same combination of wealth, alliances, patronage, and corruption as perpetuated the power of the Roman *optimates*; yet at the capital he was an outsider, loud in his denunciations of nepotism and exclusive cliques. No friend of demagogues by nature, he might be forced into nervous alliance with reformers and revolutionaries whose motives—except for a common hostility to the controlling oligarchy—were alien to him. Both *populares* and *novi* preached the superiority of *virtus* over *nobilitas*, and Catiline's propaganda in 64, on the 'potentia paucorum', has an ironic affinity to that of Cicero himself.<sup>2</sup>

As soon as their aid had served its purpose for his advancement, such allies were quickly dropped: once the successful new man, as consular or *praetorius*, had reached his ambition and become a part of the established order himself, no one was more jealous of its privileges or hostile to its critics than he. Cicero declared that Afranius' forthcoming election as consul was a farce, and

<sup>1</sup> Cocceii: Dio lxxvii. 15. 5-6, *CIL* xi. 5743 (*sal. Pal.*). No. 516: pp. 158, 278.

<sup>2</sup> Sall. *Cat.* 20; see above, pp. 109 ff., and Meier, *RPA* 231.

Caesar's friend A. Hirtius had some biting comments to make on demagogy and the ignorant masses.<sup>1</sup> There were, of course, subdivisions of status and social prestige within the oligarchy itself, and a successful *novus* might soon discover that the *boni*, resenting his intrusion, were not such good men after all. But Cicero's complaints in the fifties against his *invidi* in the nobility—and indeed Marius' last desperate and disastrous attempt to regain political power after his neutralization in the nineties—merely prove that the new man's dominant aim was acceptance, recognition of the equality he had earned with the *nobiles*.<sup>2</sup>

It is not easy to find *novi homines* who pursued *popularis* programmes out of conviction rather than ambitious calculation. A possible example may be Caelius Rufus in 48; 'hoc nullius praemi spe faciam', he wrote to Cicero early in that year, 'sed, quod apud me plurimum solet valere, doloris atque indignitatis causa.' But Caelius was no altruist; his resentment and sense of injustice arose less from the plight of the debtors whose cause he took up than from the preferment of C. Trebonius as *praetor urbanus*.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the various slogans of the *populares*, the most important political realities of late-republican Rome were power and prestige: those who enjoyed them were good men, and the *improbi* those who disputed their right to do so. Some (but not many) of the Italian senators may have been financially underprivileged—like Curtius of Volaterrae, or the tribune Herennius<sup>4</sup>—and in sympathy with 'popular' opposition of a revolutionary nature; far more were wealthy and conservative, forced against their natural inclinations to join forces with demagogues, though still trying to win the confidence and support of the *boni*.

These circumstances account for the ambiguities inherent in the careers of such men as Cicero and Marius. The tribunate of Marius, for instance, was noted equally for a measure against electoral intimidation by the *nobiles* (passed only after a threat to imprison

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Att.* i. 16. 13 (*Fabam mimum*); Hirt. *BG* viii. 22. 2. Cf. p. 70 n. 1 above.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, the expensive Campanian villas bought by Marius and Cicero (p. 193 f. below) were presumably status symbols to advertise their equality with the aristocrats.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *fam.* viii. 17. 2; Dio xlii. 22. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *fam.* xiii. 5. 2; *Att.* i. 19. 5 (nos. 148, 204).

the consuls), and for his opposition to a popular law about grain-distribution. No doubt he was trying to win gratitude from all sides; it is significant that his 'popular' bill was concerned with freeing the elections from optimate control. Similarly Cicero's enthusiastic support of Pompey in the sixties was achieved, as far as possible, without offending the nobles. His defence of Pompey's quaestor C. Cornelius in 66 was a masterpiece of tact, in which the *dignitas* of the optimate hierarchy who were supporting the prosecution was handled with great delicacy; but later in the same year his prevarication in getting the politically dangerous case of C. Manilius postponed from his own praetorian court to that of the following year was less adroitly managed, and his nickname of *αὐτόμολος* reputedly dated from that time. His predicament is summed up by the advice of the *commentariolum petitionis*: to convince the *nobiles* that

si quid locuti populariter videamur, id nos eo consilio fecisse ut nobis Cn. Pompeium adiungeremus, ut eum qui plurimum posset aut amicum in nostra petitione haberemus aut certe non adversarium.<sup>1</sup>

It was a predicament common to all ambitious newcomers. 'I'm sure you know', wrote Cicero to Munatius Plancus, pro-consul of Gaul, in September 44, 'that there was a time when men considered you too much of a time-server. I would have done so myself if I had thought you approved of what you had to tolerate, but when I realized what your feelings were, it seemed to me that you were considering the limitations of your power . . .' Six months later Plancus wrote to the Senate, explaining how he had to secure the adherence of his army and his officers:

Ita numquam diffitebor multa me, ut ad effectum horum consiliorum pervenirem, et simulasse invitum et dissimulasse cum dolore . . .<sup>2</sup>

Nor were his manœuvres finished; before the summer was out he had joined Antony. With few inherited allies and connections, enjoying little of the help a *nobilis* might expect from his peers,

<sup>1</sup> *Plut. Mar.* 4; *Asc.* 61 c; *Dio xxxvi.* 43-4, cf. xxxix. 63. 5 (54 B.C.), xlvi. 3. 4 (43 B.C.); *comm. pet.* 4-5, cf. 14, 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Cic. fam.* x. 3. 3, 8. 4.

the new man was on his own, getting support from whatever source he could; consistency was more than he could afford.

The few new men whose careers *are* consistent were those who put all their hope in the service of a great general or politician.<sup>1</sup> Several *novi* are known whose careers were due to the backing of Scipio Africanus,<sup>2</sup> and in the late Republic any one of the dynasts might offer, as Africanus had offered, more certain help than the senatorial oligarchy for an aspiring *novus*, especially one of military talent. The great generals, absent from Rome for long periods at a time, needed trustworthy men in high office to safeguard their interests, and a competent and loyal legate could count on powerful aid when he came to Rome to stand for tribune, praetor, or consul; alternatively, the general's prestige after a triumphal return from victorious campaigns would have the same effect. L. Afranius is the most obvious example—praetor (probably in 71) and consul in 60 after service under Pompey in Spain and the East respectively. Political as well as military service was equally valuable; the talkative Picene tribune Lollius Palicanus was rewarded with the praetorship, and hopes (not fulfilled) of even higher distinction in 67 and 65.<sup>3</sup>

We are better informed of Caesar's legates, in Gaul and during the campaigns against the Pompeians. C. Trebonius and Fufius Calenus won the consulship, and it was earmarked for T. Labienus before the break with Pompey and the *boni* forced him to change sides.<sup>4</sup> Vatinius too served briefly in Gaul, though it was his political dependability that won him the praetorship of 55, and—more fortunate than Palicanus—the high honours of consul and augur eight years later. Q. Cicero must also have been watching his chance for the consulship, trying to win the favour of the dynasts by service in Gaul under Caesar.<sup>5</sup>

Many of the younger generation of Caesar's legates were *novi*

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Plut. *Crass.* 7, and p. 121 f. above.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. C. Laelius (Livy xxxvii. 1. 7), C. Cicereius (V.M. iv. 5. 3, cf. Scullard, *RP* 191); also Ti. Fonteius, Q. Statonius, Q. Pleminius, Sex. Digitius, P. Matienus (senators who had served in Scipionic armies).

<sup>3</sup> V.M. iii. 8. 3; Cic. *Att.* i. 1. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Hirtius, *BG* viii. 52. 1; cf. Syme, *JRS* 1938, 113 ff. and *RR* 67.

<sup>5</sup> For the reality of Quintus' consular ambitions see *JRS* 1966, 108 ff.

whose service won them the tribunate or praetorship—such men Hirtius, Pedius, Sextius, and Plancus, and later Calvisius Sabinus, Sallustius Crispus, Staius Murcus, and Asinius Pollio. Several later reached the consulship, through their own new-found standing as statesmen or by military or diplomatic achievements on behalf of the Triumvirs. For many men, the struggles of the triumviral period offered the same opportunity as the Gallic and civil wars had for Caesar's legates. Not every leader was equally valuable for an ambitious man: a legate of Sex. Pompeius could expect only the praetorship—and might not be able to enjoy even that. Antony, as Munatius Plancus decided in 43, was a better proposition, and Canidius Crassus and M. Cocceius Nerva were two *novi* who owed their consulships solely to his power. But Antony, away in the East, could hardly compete in dependable patronage with Octavian at Rome; hence Agrippa, consul at twenty-five, Statilius Taurus and Q. Laronius, also consuls, and a host of nameless praetors in Octavian's service. Salvidienus Rufus would have been consul too, had he been as careful of his ambition as Octavian's other generals. Agrippa, for instance, knew well enough that hard work and loyalty were essential. 'He used to remark to his intimate friends', relates Dio, 'that most men in positions of power wish no one to be superior to themselves . . . they do not want their subordinates to win a complete success and secure glory from it. His advice, therefore, was that the man who expected to come out alive should relieve his masters of undertakings which involve great difficulty, and reserve for them the successes.'<sup>1</sup>

The consular *novi* of Augustus' restored republic are in the direct tradition of these men, from Afranius to Agrippa. L. Arruntius and Tarius Rufus had both fought at Actium, Sulpicius Quirinius achieved his career, his wealth, and his patrician wives by tireless service in the field;<sup>2</sup> M. Vinicius served in Gaul in the twenties B.C., L. Passienus Rufus won triumphal *ornamenta* and the title of *imperator* in Africa not long after his consulship. Caecina Severus,

<sup>1</sup> Dio xlix. 4. 2-4 (Loeb trans.). Sex. Pompeius' legate: L. Plinius Rufus, *pr. des.* (no. 327).

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Ann.* iii. 48.

Vibius Postumus, L. Apronius, and C. Poppaeus Sabinus all had distinguished military careers after their consulships, and the attested case of Caecina<sup>1</sup> suggests that all four had previously earned the honour by this means. In the same way, L. Seius Tubero became suffect consul two years after his service under Germanicus in A.D. 16; Palpellius Hister and Ummidius Quadratus reached their late consulships after military appointments; and the anonymous patron of Allifae was 'destinatus' as consul on Tiberius' commendation after serving twice as legate of imperial provinces following his praetorship.

Prowess in arms was only one of the possible qualifications for a successful career; there were also the 'illustres domi artes'. No Augustan *novi* seem to have reached the consulship through legal distinction (C. Ateius Capito, *suff.* A.D. 5, was a second-generation senator); but Arruntius was an orator as well as a soldier.<sup>2</sup> He was also an historian, having treated the Punic wars in the style of Sallust,<sup>3</sup> and this may not be irrelevant to his advancement. For there were two Augustan consuls of undistinguished, if not municipal, family whose sole claim to repute was in the literary field. Clodius Licinus, *suff.* A.D. 4, had written 'res Romanae' in at least twenty-one books, evidently beginning with the Punic wars and continuing down to his own time.<sup>4</sup> Twelve years previously, one of the suffect consuls had been the poet C. Valgius Rufus; as well as epigrams, bucolics, and the elegies celebrated by Horace on the death of a youth called Mystes, Valgius was an epic poet of distinction—'aeterno propior non alter Homero'—named by an anonymous panegyrist as well qualified to celebrate the martial deeds of a Messalla.<sup>5</sup> Valgius also wrote in prose, on rhetoric, grammar, and botany; he dedicated an unfinished work on medicinal herbs to Augustus, with the prayer that the emperor's *maiestas* might ever continue to heal all the ills of mankind.<sup>6</sup> We can be sure that his epic works (and

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Ann.* i. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xi. 6, 'ad summa proventus incorrupta vita et facundia'.

<sup>3</sup> Sen. *ep.* 114. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Book iii cited by Livy (xxix. 22. 10) on the year 194 B.C. Suet. *gramm.* 10 for a contemporary reference (to the death of Julius Hyginus).

<sup>5</sup> Tib. iv. 1. 177 ff. (Hor. *Odes* ii. 9. 9 on Mystes).

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *NH* xxv. 4.

Clodius Licinus' history) contained a version of recent events that was satisfactory to the *princeps*. Theophanes of Mytilene had received no such recognition for his history of Pompey's campaigns, nor Furius Bibaculus for his poetic *Annales* of Caesar's achievements in Gaul; but times had changed, and now propaganda joined oratory and jurisprudence as a pursuit worthy of high honour.

One of the uses to which legal knowledge (however vestigial) was put during the Republic was the post of *iudex quaestionis*, presidency of one of the courts not governed by the praetors; this position was held between the aedileship and the praetorship,<sup>1</sup> and was no doubt useful in gaining support for election to the latter office, or (as Caesar did in 64) in turning the inquiry into a political demonstration. The custom continued for a while under Augustus, when three men—all *novi*—are known to have held this post.<sup>2</sup> Two of them had been both tribune and aedile, the other was also *praefectus frumenti dandi* and curator of temples and sacred monuments; all achieved the praetorship, but no more. These men, much more than any consular generals and propagandists, are typical of the general run of Italian senators under Augustus, whose less spectacular but equally deserving careers should also be considered.

The case of C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus has already been commented on for his service as *quaestor Augusti*, his rapid rise to the praetorship, and the tenure of military commands under several emperors which brought him to a late consulship and a priesthood. But between these two successful phases he seems to have had to work his way with difficulty, as curator of the public records, prefect for the distribution of corn, and proconsul of the very minor province of Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> Such a succession of necessary but unrewarding administrative posts was frequently all a new man could hope for if his talents were not for warfare.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 11, *Brut.* 264, *ILS* 44, 47, 907. Cf. *MRR* for the careers of other known *iudices*: only among the *quaesitores* of 52 are there any certain exceptions.

<sup>2</sup> Paquius Scaeva, Appuleius Tappo, Varius Geminus. *ILS* 907 (Papirius Masso) is doubtless triumviral.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. T. Mussidius Pollianus (son of no. 267?) under Tiberius: *cur. viar.*, *praef. frum. dand. ex SC*, and *procos. of Narbonensis*—but subsequently consul (*ILS* 913).

The prime example of untiring civil service is P. Paquius Scaeva, who held an exceptional series of minor offices after his quaestorship; after service as tribune, aedile, *iudex quaestionis*, and *praetor aerarii*, he too was posted to Cyprus. On his return he was appointed by the Senate to a five-year curatorship of the roads, and after that was sent back to Cyprus *extra sortem* on Augustus' authority. It was to a certain Scaeva, who knew 'quo pacto deceat maioribus uti', that Horace addressed his seventeenth Epistle on the tactful art of pleasing the great.<sup>1</sup> The person addressed is imagined as hoping for reward from an eminent patron to succour his poor relations and his unprofitable farm: could it be Paquius of Histonium, whose relatives are so spectacularly attested on his tomb inscription?<sup>2</sup> Four lines from Horace's poem sum up the limited aspirations of Scaeva's world:

res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostes  
attingit solium Iovis et caelestia temptat:  
principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.  
non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.<sup>3</sup>

'Not the least glory'—it might be an epitaph for the rank and file of senatorial *novi homines* under Augustus.

For Paquius was no isolated phenomenon. There were other equally willing workers, like C. Propertius Postumus, who also duplicated his pre-senatorial offices and was appointed by the Senate as praetor designate *viarum curandarum* and praetor *pro aed. cur.* for judicial duties. Sextius Tarquitianus was *praefectus frumenti dandi*; Murrius Umber and Lucilius Benignus were put in charge of grain-distribution as aediles; several *novi* served under Tiberius as curators of the Tiber banks. These onerous appointments usually led to a praetorship and the rule of one of the minor provinces under senatorial control—Cyprus, Crete with Cyrene,

<sup>1</sup> *ILS* 915 (no. 308). Hor. *Ep.* i. 17. 2: ps. Acro on line 1 calls the recipient Lollius Scaeva, but this is clearly a mistaken connection with the next poem (to Lollius), and is rightly rejected by Wickham and Kiessling-Heinze. Line 16 (younger than Horace?) may be merely jocular.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 11, 46 f.; cf. *ILS* 915; *CR* 1967, 264 f.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 33–6, with the implication of a patron close to the imperial house; it was probably Agrippa, who evidently had an estate at Sorrentum (line 52, cf. Suet. *DA* 65. 1); for *rex* in line 43 cf. *Ep.* i. 7. 37 on Maecenas.



Sicily, Bithynia or Narbonese Gaul.<sup>1</sup> Good work in this capacity might bring recognition by the *princeps* and subsequent service as a *legatus Augusti* in an imperial province; perhaps this was how Ummidius Quadratus, after long service, got his chance of the consulship, though for others imperial employment brought no further advancement.<sup>2</sup> Alternatively, a proconsular governorship could lead to yet more duties in Rome, as it did for Paquius Scaeva; most often of all, it was the final achievement in a lifetime's hard work.

The fasces of the praetor and the authority of the proconsul crowned what was for nearly every *novus homo* a highly successful career. The most tireless and loyal of them were rewarded with the distinction of membership of a minor priestly college—the *fetiales* for Pullius Pollio and the inimitable Scaeva, the Arval Brethren for L. Mussidius—and they certainly earned the honour. Under Augustus, as in the Republic, the senatorial career was easy for a *nobilis*, of whatever capacity, or a military man; but the corollary was that someone had to do the arduous and unpopular jobs of administration. Inevitably, it was the 'new men and small senators' who did them. The Senate to which they belonged was no longer an assembly of kings, but through it they enjoyed the social esteem they considered their due, and provided the empire with the wealth and the service it needed. The worthy *novi* of the Republic had claimed that their *virtus* and *industria* made them morally superior to an effete and pampered aristocracy. Now the aristocratic ideal of *gloria* and *magnitudo animi* was obsolete,<sup>3</sup> and their successors inherited a Senate which had developed in their own image.

<sup>1</sup> Cyprus: nos. 157, 308, 452, cf. 419 (later *cos.*). Crete/Cyrene: nos. 121, 275, 329, 483, 500. Sicily: nos. 19, 266. Bithynia: no. 503. Narbonensis: nos. 349, 432, 487. Province not specified: nos. 44, 75, 81, 110, 135, 255, 302, 345, 377, 463, cf. 304, 491.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. nos. 44, 110, 349, 463.

<sup>3</sup> See Earl, *MPTR* 66 ff. on *virtus* without *gloria*.

## APPENDIX I

### CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX OF NEW MEN

THE arrangement is according to the probable date of entry to the Senate. This is, of course, often very uncertain, and even with the expedient of chronological *incerti* before and after each period, some of the attributions are inevitably arbitrary.

?	7, 8, 15, 55, 155, 171, 176, 196, 219, 224, 230, 264, 284, 317, 318, 337, 361, 362, 380, 441, 460, 461, 523, 528
139-119	14, 59, 180, 243, 248, 260, 393
?	16, 66, 69, 119, 123, 139, 183, 225, 249, 313, 356, 456, 486
118-90	6, 25, 70, 86, 91, 92, 100, 127, 151, 156, 160, 163, 166, 189, 232, 233, 246, 278, 323, 326, 369, 382, 383, 387, 388, 394, 398, 401, 427, 428, 435, 465, 533, 541, 554
?	13, 54, 71, 105, 122, 184, 198, 242, 250, 254, 277, 300, 343, 353, 458, 471, 477, 479, 506
89-82	147, 193, 207, 240, 241, 261, 364, 414, 437, 438, 457, 459, 475, 490, 561
?	9, 26, 35, 37, 90, 132, 140, 145, 165, 167, 175, 191, 215, 231, 234, 239, 245, 247, 257, 288, 290, 291, 338, 346, 373, 385, 406, 433, 448, 462, 507, 525, 536, 542, 562
81-70	12, 56, 58, 61, 67, 73, 79, 80, 83, 87, 106, 111, 112, 114, 128, 144, 168, 170, 174, 179, 192, 199, 202, 208, 217, 218, 223, 258, 287, 296, 305, 314, 319, 320, 322, 334, 347, 351, 355, 370, 381, 384, 389, 391, 410, 417, 420, 424, 439, 443, 445, 446, 447, 453, 466, 481, 501, 508, 510, 522, 526, 531, 537
?	22, 27, 62, 141, 172, 194, 220, 271, 294, 359, 367, 378, 390, 418, 422, 464, 485
69-50	2, 20, 21, 23, 28, 30, 52, 53, 77, 78, 93, 97, 120, 129, 133, 134, 162, 169, 173, 185, 188, 190, 204, 206, 210, 226, 227, 244, 251, 252, 262, 263, 270, 272, 280, 281, 282, 312, 321, 324, 354, 358, 363, 366, 371, 372, 395, 402, 407, 444, 451, 467, 482, 494, 560
?	11, 32, 33, 36, 47, 51, 65, 72, 85, 96, 98, 107, 116, 117, 124, 150, 187, 200, 209, 228, 274, 310, 311, 316, 342, 348, 352, 368, 379, 405, 409, 411, 412, 421, 423, 430, 431, 449, 454, 468, 469, 509, 514, 515, 530, 538, 543, 544, 549, 556

- 49-29 1, 4, 5, 18, 29, 39, 41, 46, 48, 49, 50, 57, 63, 64, 74, 81, 82, 84, 89, 95, 99, 101, 102, 104, 108, 109, 121, 125, 126, 131, 135, 137, 138, 148, 152, 153, 154, 158, 161, 164, 178, 182, 195, 197, 201, 203, 205, 211, 212, 213, 214, 216, 221, 238, 253, 256, 268, 269, 273, 275, 276, 285, 292, 293, 298, 307, 308, 325, 327, 328, 335, 339, 365, 374, 375, 392, 396, 397, 399, 413, 419, 429, 434, 436, 450, 472, 473, 474, 489, 492, 493, 495, 496, 497, 505, 513, 516, 524, 527, 539, 540, 546, 547, 548, 550, 551, 552, 558
- ? 3, 24, 34, 40, 43, 60, 75, 103, 118, 157, 181, 186, 235, 286, 299, 301, 302, 350, 357, 360, 377, 483, 517, 521, 563
- 28-19 297, 349, 416, 440, 532
- ? 10, 38, 42, 113, 136, 142, 237, 309, 329, 345, 484, 488, 491, 512, 518, 519, 555, 557
- 18-A.D.3 44, 45, 159, 222, 303, 306, 331, 333, 340, 341, 344, 376, 386, 463, 499, 503, 511, 553, 559
- ? 68, 143, 229, 236, 259, 265, 266, 267, 304, 330, 332, 400, 415, 442, 455, 480, 487, 498, 502, 504, 529, 534
- A.D. 4-14 17, 19, 88, 94, 110, 146, 336, 403, 408, 452, 470, 476, 478, 500, 520, 535, 545
- ? 31, 76, 130, 149, 177, 255, 283, 289, 315, 404, 425, 426, 432

## APPENDIX II

### ORIGINS OF NEW MEN

LIST A. Communities of Roman citizens before the Social War (including *cives sine suffragio* promoted to full citizenship), in chronological order of foundation or enfranchisement.

LIST B. Communities with Latin rights, in chronological order of foundation, etc.

LIST C. Allied communities, in approximate chronological order of their alliances with Rome.

Senators entering the Senate before 139 B.C. are identified by their names, those entering afterwards by their reference numbers in the Prosopography. An asterisk indicates senatorial status before the enfranchisement of the senator's home town or district. Question marks indicate the degree of uncertainty involved in the detection of a man's *origo*.

#### A. ROMAN CITIZENS BEFORE 90 B.C.

GABII (incorporated, 6th cent.)	Ti. A. Antistii <sup>1</sup>
OSTIA (R. colony, early)	2 (?), 402, 424 (?)
TUSCULUM (incorporated c. 381)	L. Fulvius Curvus, Ti. Coruncanius, L. Mamilius Vitulus, M. Porcius Cato; <sup>2</sup> 318, 506 (?); 77, 128, 129 (?), 319-20 (?); 135, 159 (??), 397 (?)
ANTIUM (colony 338)	367, 400
NOMENTUM (incorporated after 338)	M'. Curius Dentatus (?); <sup>3</sup> 55 (?)

<sup>1</sup> Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC* i. 74. 150 ff.; Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 131. (It is possible that Gabii remained technically an allied state until 89: see Beloch, *RG* 155 ff., 163, 320.)

<sup>2</sup> Fulvius: Cic. *Planc.* 20, *Phil.* iii. 16; Pliny, *NH* vii. 136 on the Fulvii (cf. Alföldi, *ERL* 384). Coruncanius: Cic. *Planc.* 20, *Mur.* 23, cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 24 and Münzer, *PW* s.v. Mamilius: Livy i. 49. 9; D.H. iv. 45. 1; Festus 130 L. Cato: Plut. *Cato mai.* I. 1, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Sch. Bob. 80 St.; Münzer, *RA* 61 f.; Taylor, *VDRR* 209.

ARICIA (incorporated after 338)	L. Opimius Pansa, C. Atinius Labeo, Q. Voconius Saxa; <sup>1</sup> 224 (?); 23 (??), 56, 314 (?), 373 (?); 1 (?), 237
LANUVIUM (incorporated after 338)	L. Villius Annalis (?), L. Aquillius Gallus (?); <sup>2</sup> 139, 219 (?), 254 (??), 343, 427 (??), 428; 30, 239, 305 (?), 352 (?), 358 (?), 359, 422 (??), 471; 1 (?), 109 (?), 253 (?), 416, 450 (??) 173, 368; 298 (??), 301 (?), 399 (??)
TARRACINA (colony 329) <sup>3</sup>	C. Fannius (?); <sup>4</sup> 337 (??); 37 (??), 162 (?), 364 (?), 433 (??); 76 (??)
MINTURNAE (colony 296)	223 (?), 406 (?)
CASTRUM NOVUM, Picenum (colony 283)	Q. Fulvius Gillo (?); <sup>6</sup> 26, 476 (?)
FORUM NOVUM (settled by 268) <sup>5</sup>	226-7 (?); 110 (??), 403-4 (??).
CURES (promoted 268) <sup>7</sup>	M. Sextius Sabinus; <sup>9</sup> 369 (?); 438 (??), 464 (?), 482.
( <i>Sabini cognominati</i> ) <sup>8</sup>	110 (??)
TREBULA MUTUESCA (promoted 268)	52-3 (?)
CASTRUM NOVUM, Etruria (colony 264)	290-1 (?); 121 (?), 349 (?)
FORUM CLODI (settled c. 264?) <sup>10</sup>	5
ITALICA, Baetica (settled 205)	197
PUTEOLI (colony 194)	183 (?), 198, 248, 249 (?), 250; 169 (??), 184 (?), 446-7, 501 (??)
ARPINUM (promoted 188)	4, 24
FORMIAE (promoted 188)	458-9 (?); 399 (?)
FUNDI (promoted 188)	287
VELITRAE (promoted early 2nd cent.) <sup>11</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> Opimius: Taylor, *VDRR* 290. Labeo: Cic. *Phil.* iii. 16; Astin, *Homm. Renard* 35 f. Voconius: Cic. *Phil.* iii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 124, 111-12.

<sup>3</sup> See also Anxur/Tarracina below (p. 186 n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 116.

<sup>5</sup> Date uncertain, but after the conquest of the lowland Sabines in 304.

<sup>6</sup> Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 116 (*ILS* 3596).

<sup>7</sup> *Cives sine suff.* in 290; see Taylor, *VDRR* 59-66; Toynbee, *HL* i. 379 ff. on the enfranchisement of 268 (V.P. i. 14. 7).

<sup>8</sup> Taylor, *VDRR* 61-2 on the Curenses as the Sabini *par excellence*: but see also p. 257 f. below.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. p. 258 below.

<sup>10</sup> Date uncertain: see Ward Perkins, *JRS* 1957, 139-43 (cf. Toynbee, *HL* ii. 664 f.) on the Via Clodia.

<sup>11</sup> The date of the enfranchisement of the *cives sine suffragio* is disputed: I have followed Brunt (*JRS* 1965, 93) in concluding *e silentio* that they had all been promoted before the Social War, and Taylor (*VDRR* 65, cf. Badian, *JRS* 1962, 203) in putting the promotion of the highland Sabines, at least, after 205 (not, I think, refuted by Brunt, *Homm. Renard* 122-5).

ANXUR/TARRACINA (promoted early 2nd cent.?) <sup>1</sup>	122 (??), 123 (?)
CAPUA (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	199 (??)
CUMAE (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	244 (??)
ACERRAE (promoted early 2nd cent.?) (Campania) <sup>2</sup>	182 *M. Atilius Regulus (??), Q. Occius (?); <sup>3</sup> 183 (??), 230 (?); 83 (??), 111 (?), 215 (??), 448 (??); 32 (??), 76 (?), 84-5 (??), 142 (??), 159 (??)
ANAGNIA (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	38 (?)
TREBULA SUFFENAS (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	277 (?), 323 (?), 326; 322 (??), 324 (?)
Aequicoli (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	201 (??), 259 (?)
Aequi (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	432 (??)
ALLIFAE (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	20 (?), 520 (?)
VENAFRUM (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	20 (?)
CASINUM (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	20 (?), 363 (?), 452
ATINA (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	387-8; 314 (??); 41, 42 (?), 425 (?), 426
CAERE (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	*Q. Aulus Cerretanus (??), Cn. Egnatius; <sup>4</sup> 377 (?)
FALERII (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	*M. Cincius Alimentus <sup>5</sup>
REATE (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	61, 62 (??), 170 (??), 466
NURSIA (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	313 (?), 394; 480
AMITERNUM (promoted early 2nd cent.?) (Sabini, Quirina tribe) <sup>6</sup>	58 (?), 372; 434 (?), 496 15 (??), 155 (??); 389, 390 (?); 57 (??), 81 (??)
INTERAMNIA PRAETUTTIORUM (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	246 (?); 78; 340-1 (?)
CUPRA MARITIMA (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	9, 257, 258 (?)

<sup>1</sup> The Cloulii were surely of Volscian stock, not Roman colonists: cf. *CR* 1967, 263-4 for their ancestors.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these men (but not no. 215, in the Falerna) may have come from the southern part of Campania, which remained in allied hands until the Social War.

<sup>3</sup> Regulus: Münzer, *RA* 56 ff., *contra* Beloch, *RG* 338 f. Occius: cf. *ILLRP* 641, an early *Ilvir* at Pompeii.

<sup>4</sup> Cerretanus (Caerretanus?): Schulze, *LE* 73 on the Etruscan origin of the name. Egnatius: Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 133.

<sup>5</sup> Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 114. Toynbee (*HL* i. 171 n. 3) would have the Faliscans fully enfranchised about 225—unlikely. They may even have been *socii* until the Social War.

<sup>6</sup> The Quirina also included the Roman-owned part of the Vestinian territory. No. 136 may be added here as a possible Sabine.

CINGULUM (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	220; 513 (??), 514 (?)
FALERIO (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	234 (??)
TREA (promoted early 2nd cent.?)	487
(Picentes/Praetuttii, Velina tribe) <sup>1</sup>	231, 274 (?), 282 (??), 406; 149 (??), 214 (?), 273 (?), 316 (?)
INTERAMNA NAHARS	40
(promoted early 2nd cent.?) <sup>2</sup>	
(S. Umbria, Clustumina tribe)	476 (?)
PISAURUM (colony 184)	195 (??), 216
PARMA (colony 183)	108 (?)
LUNA (colony 177)	33
FORUM SEMPRONII (settled c. 177) <sup>3</sup>	492-3 (?)
HASTA (settled 173)	415
FAVENTIA (settled 173)	Q. Marcius Libo (??) <sup>4</sup>
AUXIMUM (colony 157)	294 (??), 325
NARBO, Gaul (colony c. 118)	107 (??), 131

## B. LATINS, ENFRANCHISED 90 OR 49 B.C.

*Prisci Latini:*

TIBUR	133, 140, 261-3, 288; 195 (??), 222 (??), 286 (?) 299, 328, 360, 454 (??)
PRAENESTE	*C. Plautius Proculus (??), *Q. Anicius, *L. Saufeius; <sup>5</sup> *230 (??), *382-3 (?); 296, 319- 20 (?), 366; 229 (??), 469 (??)
LABICI	*L. Mummius (??) <sup>6</sup>
Hernici:	
FERENTINUM	206 (?)
ALETRIUM	68 (?)
VERULAE	307 (??)

<sup>1</sup> No tribe attested for nos. 214, 231, 316, who might belong to Firmum or Asculum (not enfranchised till 90).

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, *VDRR* 83-5.

<sup>3</sup> Date uncertain: Radke, *Klio* 1964, 303, *contra* Toynbee, *HL* ii. 657 (122 B.C.?).

<sup>4</sup> Münzer, *PW* on Varro, *RR* i. 2. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Plautius: *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 2422-5, 2460, 2468, 2472 (archaic graves at Praeneste); cf. Münzer, *RA* 44 f. (Tibur); Alföldi, *ERL* 390 f. Anicius: Pliny, *NH* xxxiii. 17. Saufeius: Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 121. The Caecilii (first known senator *cos.* 284) were reputedly descended from Caeculus, founder of Praeneste (Festus 38 L, cf. Cato *orig.* fr. 59 p, Verg. *Aen.* vii. 678 ff. and Serv., Solinus 2. 9).

<sup>6</sup> Mummia Achaica, Galba's mother, was descended from Minos and Pasiphae (Suet. *Galba* 2, cf. 3. 4); Serv. *Aen.* vii. 796 for Minos' son Glaucus, renamed Labicus on arrival in Italy, from whom the Labicani were descended.

## Latin colonies:

SIGNIA (495)	509 (?)
SETIA (5th cent.?) <sup>1</sup>	187 (??)
SUTRIUM (382)	335, 478 (?)
CALES (334)	185 (?), 494 (?); 495
SUESSA AURUNCA (313)	*Lucilius <sup>2</sup>
SORA (303)	106 (?), 457
NARNIA (299)	124 (?), 125-6
CARSEOLI (298)	28 (?)
PAESTUM (273)	*Sex. Digitius (?); <sup>3</sup> 285 (?)
BENEVENTUM (268)	293
ARIMINUM (268)	515
FIRMUM (264)	*I63
AESERNIA (263)	247 (?), 276
BRUNDISIUM (243)	*I66 (?), 167 (?)
SPOLETIUM (241)	188 (?); 96
CREMONA (218)	18 (?)
VIBO VALENTIA (192)	221 (?)
BONONIA (189)	169 (??), 434 (?)
AQUILEIA (181)	*437 (?); 34, 181 (?), 235, 517

## Transpadani:

VERONA	*346-7 (??), *348 (?), *451 (??); 95, 455
BRIXIA	203 (?), 336 (?), 492-3 (??)
PATAVIUM	392 (?)
ATRIA	88 (??)
CONCORDIA (R. colony c. 33)	442
(Cisalpini)	*67 (??); 3 (?), 211-13 (?), 253 (?), 327 (??)

## C. ALLIES

## Cispadane Italians:

## Sidicini:

TEANUM	252 (??); 302, 498-9 (??)
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<sup>1</sup> Date: Toynbee, *HL* i. 122 n. 4, *contra* Taylor, *VDRR* 50 (382, after Velleius).

<sup>2</sup> The family of the satirist C. Lucilius came from Suessa (*Juv.* i. 20). It was a *stirps senatoria* when Pompey's father married into it (*V.P.* ii. 29. 2), and as Cichorius pointed out (*UL* 20 f.), since Velleius does not say 'patre senatore', the family was presumably already senatorial in the generation of the satirist's father. The relationship of C. Lucilius to Pompey is not clear, the scholiasts on *Hor. Sat.* ii. 1. 29 and 75 calling him variously Pompey's *avus*, *avunculus*, and *maior avunculus*.

<sup>3</sup> Münzer, *RA* 91-5 (esp. 94); Cassola, *GPR* 383-4.



Volsci:	
AQUINUM	65 (?)
Campani: <sup>1</sup>	312 (?)
NOLA	*401 (?)
HERCULANEUM	409 (?)
NUCERIA	275, 503-4, 505 (??)
POMPEII	271-2 (?)
Apuli:	158(?), 445 (??)
CANUSIUM	43-4 (??), 408, 470 (??)
ARPI	329 (??)
Frentani:	445 (??)
HISTONIUM	210; 157 (??), 308
LARINUM	488, 491
Umbri:	164 (??), 193 (??), 270 (??); 178 (?), 265 (?), 315 (??), 344 (??)
MEVANIA	357 (?)
ASISIUM	255, 403-4 (??), 497 (??)
IGUVIUM	331 (?), 332-3, 502 (?)
SESTINUM	512 (?)
SUASA SENONUM	88 (??)
Picentes: ASCULUM	205 (?), 474
ANCONA	217 (??)
Etrusci:	*Perperna; <sup>2</sup> 370 (?); 143 (?)
TARQUINII	*L. Fulcinius (??); <sup>3</sup> 420; 82 (?)
FERENTIUM	376
VOLSINII	75 (?), 386
CLUSIUM	418 (?); 350 (??)
ARRETIUM	179 (?), 485 (?); 365 (?), 516
VOLATERRAE	74 (?), 148
PERUSIA	*490 (?), 506 (??)
PISTORIAE	222 (?)
Marsi:	54(??), 467(?); 19(??), 292(?), 339(?), 497(?)
MARRUVIUM	289, 432 (?)
CERFENNIA	483 (?)
Paeligni:	
SULMO	226-8 (?)
SUPERAECUUM <sup>4</sup>	463
CORFINIUM	236, 484 (?), 519

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 186, n. 2; no. 312 was the grandson of a non-citizen.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. V.M. iii. 4. 5; the name is patently Etruscan.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cic. *Caec.* 10, 12, 17.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly incorporated with the highland Sabines and Praetuttii? Cf. Taylor, *VDRR* 97 n. 54; Toynbee, *HL* i. 377 n. 2.

Vestini <sup>1</sup>	54 (??), 374 (?)
Marrucini	*Q. Pleminius (??); <sup>2</sup> 54 (??), 453 (??); 48 (??), 49-50
Hirpini:	
ABELLINUM	228 (??); 110 (?)
ABCLANUM	240-1, 242 (??)
Caudini:	111 (?)
TREBULA BALLIENSIS	270 (??)
Samnites (Pentri)	414, 445 (??); 306, 411 (?)
Lucani:	339 (??)
COSILINUM	256, 469 (??)
VOLCEI	413 (?)
<i>Provincials:</i>	
Sicily	*73, *202 (?)
Spain: <sup>1</sup>	*168, *300 (?)
SUCRO	*465
GADES	*137-8
Narbonensis: <sup>2</sup>	
AVENNIO	*102-3 (??), *104 (?)
NEMAUSUS	*149 (??)
Istria:	
POLA (R. colony 33)	304, 518
Asia:	
MYTILENE	*330

<sup>1</sup> See p. 186 n. 6 above; the distribution of no. 374's name (CQ 1964, 130) may point to the Roman rather than the allied *ager Vestinus*. But certainty is impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sil. It. xvii. 453-8; also Livy xxviii. 45. 19 on Marrucini serving under Scipio in 205.

<sup>3</sup> See also Italica in list A.

<sup>4</sup> See also Narbo in list A. Nemausus had Latin rights under Augustus (Strabo iv. 186-7).

## APPENDIX III

### ESTATES OF ROMAN SENATORS IN ITALY<sup>1</sup>

#### LATIUM, inland

Tusculum	L. Crassus (had belonged to Q. Metellus, passed to L. Cornelius Balbus)	Cic. <i>Att.</i> iv. 16. 3, <i>Balb.</i> 56
„	L. Sulla	Pliny, <i>NH</i> xxii. 12
„	M. Scaurus, 69	Cic. <i>Caec.</i> 54
„	M. Cicero, 66	Cic. <i>Att.</i> i. 4. 3, etc.
„	Q. Cicero, 61	Cic. <i>Att.</i> i. 14. 7
„	Cn. Pompeius	Cic. <i>Phil.</i> xiii. 11
„	L. Lucullus	Cic. <i>leg.</i> iii. 30; Varro, <i>RR</i> iii. 4. 3
„	A. Gabinius, 55	Cic. <i>Pis.</i> 48
„	P. Lentulus Spinther, 50	Cic. <i>Att.</i> vi. 1. 23
„	M. Varro, 46 (had belonged to M. Piso)	Cic. <i>fam.</i> ix. 1. 2, 5. 3, 6. 4; Varro, <i>RR</i> iii. 3. 8, 13. 1
„	M. Brutus, 45	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xiii. 4. 2, 7. 2, <i>Brut.</i> 300
„	A. Hirtius, 44	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xv. 6. 2-3
„	Sulpicii Galbae, 3 B.C.	Suet. <i>Galba</i> 4. 3
Tibur	Q. Metellus Numidicus	Cic. <i>de or.</i> ii. 263
„	Q. Metellus Scipio (passed to M. Antonius)	Cic. <i>fam.</i> xii. 2. 1, <i>Phil.</i> v. 19
Alba	Cn. Pompeius, 55	Cic. <i>Att.</i> iv. 11. 1, vii. 5. 3, 7. 3, <i>Phil.</i> xiii. 11
„	P. Clodius, 52	Cic. <i>Mil.</i> 48
„	C. Curio, 49	Cic. <i>Att.</i> ix. 15. 1
Nemus		
Dianae	C. Caesar, 65	Suet. <i>DJ</i> 46

<sup>1</sup> Note also the following properties of women of senatorial family:

Cornelia, Misenum villa, c. 82 (Plut. *Mar.* 24. 2);

Metella, confiscated estates, 82 (Pliny, *NH* xxxvi. 116);

Terentia Ciceronis, *saltus* on *ager publicus*, 59 (Cic. *Att.* ii. 4. 6, 15. 4);

Clodia Ap. f., Baiae villa, 56 (Cic. *Cael.* 38, 47, cf. *Att.* ii. 8. 2?), and perhaps

Solonium villa, 59 (Cic. *Att.* ii. 9. 3);

Livia Drusilla, villa at Prima Porta near Veii, 38 (Suet. *Galba* 1).

Lanuvium	M. Cicero, 45	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xii. 44. 3, etc.
„	M. Lepidus, 45	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xiii. 46. 2
„	M. Brutus, 44	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xiv. 10. 1
Anagnia	M. Cicero, 46	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xii. 1. 1
Frusino	M. Cicero, 48	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xi. 4. 1, 13. 4
Casinum	M. Varro (passed to M. Antonius by 44)	Varro, <i>RR</i> iii. 5. 9; Cic. <i>Phil.</i> ii. 103

## LATIUM, coastal

Ostia	M. Seius, 67	Varro, <i>RR</i> iii. 2. 7-8
„	L. Cotta, 45	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xii. 23. 3
Ager Laurens	Q. Scaevola augur, 88	Plut. <i>Mar.</i> 35. 6
„	C. Marius, 88	<i>Ibid.</i>
„	Q. Hortensius, 67	Varro, <i>RR</i> iii. 13. 2
„	Fannius Caepio, 23 ('patris villa')	Macr. <i>Sat.</i> i. 11. 21
Antium	C. Lucretius Gallus, <i>pr.</i> 171	Livy xliii. 4. 6
„	M. Cicero, 59 (passed to M. Lepidus)	Cic. <i>Att.</i> ii. 4, etc., ix. 9. 4, xiii. 47a. 1
„	M. Brutus, 44	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xv. 11. 1
Astura	M. Cicero, 45	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xii. 9, etc.
„	(L.) Philippus, 45	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xii. 9, 16
Circeii	M. Brutus, 44	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xv. 10
Tarracina	M. Lepidus, <i>cens.</i> 179	Livy xl. 51. 2
„	Sulpicii Galbae, 3 B.C. (see Formiae/ Minturnae)	Suet. <i>Galba</i> 4. 1
Caieta	M. Cicero, 66	Cic. <i>Att.</i> i. 4. 3; App. <i>BC</i> iv. 19
Formiae/ Minturnae	C. Laelius	Cic. <i>rep.</i> i. 61, <i>de or.</i> ii. 22; V.M. viii. 8. 1; cf. <i>ILLRP</i> 724-5 and Münzer, <i>RM</i> 1935, 323
„	P. Rutilius Rufus	Cic. <i>ND</i> iii. 86
„	L. Sulla?	<i>ILLRP</i> 353, 733; Münzer, loc. cit. 325
„	Sulpicii Galbae (see Tarracina)	<i>ILLRP</i> 727; Münzer, loc. cit. 325-6
„	Aurelii Cottae?	<i>ILLRP</i> 730, 732, 739, 744, 746; Münzer, loc. cit. 326
„	M. Cicero, 66	Cic. <i>Att.</i> i. 4. 3, etc.

Formiae/ Minturnae	Q. Catulus	Cic. <i>Att.</i> ii. 14. 2; <i>ILLRP</i> 738; Mün- zer, loc. cit. 326-7
„	Cn. Pompeius	Cic. <i>Phil.</i> xiii. 11
„	L. Lentulus Crus	Cic. <i>Att.</i> vii. 12. 2; <i>ILLRP</i> 734, Mün- zer, loc. cit. 325
„	Manlii Torquati, 51?	Cic. <i>Att.</i> v. 1. 5, ix. 8. 1; Münzer, loc. cit. 325
„	Q. Cicero, 49	Cic. <i>Att.</i> x. 2. 1
„	M'. Lepidus, 49	Cic. <i>Att.</i> viii. 6. 1
„	(L. Varro) Murena, 37	Hor. <i>Sat.</i> i. 5. 38
„	(C. Fonteius) Capito, 37	Ibid.

## CAMPANIA, inland

Ager Falernus	L. Quinctius	Cic. <i>Cluent.</i> 175
„	Cn. Pompeius	Cic. <i>Phil.</i> xiii. 11
Sinuessa	M. Cicero, 44	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xv. 2. 1
Nola	C. Octavius, 58	Suet. <i>DA</i> 100. 1; Tac. <i>Ann.</i> i. 9

CAMPANIA, coastal<sup>1</sup>

Liternum	P. Scipio Africanus	Strabo v. 243, etc.
„	C. Marcellus, 49	Detailed evidence for all Campanian coastal villas will be found in D'Arms, <i>RBN</i> 171 ff.
Cumae	L. Sulla, 79	
„	Q. Catulus, c. 61	
„	L. Philippus, 60	
„	M. Cicero, 56	
„	Cn. Pompeius, 55	
„	C. Anicius, 55 (or Puteoli?)	
„	Faustus Sulla, 55	
„	L. Torquatus, 50?	
„	C. Curio, 49	
„	Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, 49	
„	M. Brutus, 46	
„	M. Varro, 46	
„	P. Servilius Isauricus, <i>cos.</i> 48	
„	C. Antistius Vetus, <i>cos.</i> 30	

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *CIL* x. 8042. 14, 19 f., 65 f., 72 f., 109: M. Antonius, M. Arrius Maximus, Q. Lepidus, Q. Metellus (Salernum), L. Visellius.

Misenum	M. Antonius, 91	
„	C. Marius, 88	
„	L. Lucullus, <i>c.</i> 63	
„	M. Antonius, 49	
Bauli	Q. Hortensius, <i>c.</i> 63	
„	Q. Hortensius <i>filius</i> , 49?	
„	Q. Pompeius Rufus, 51	
Baiae	C. Marius	
„	C. Curio, 81	
„	'Metellus'?	
„	C. Lucilius Hirrus?	} <i>piscinarii</i>
„	M. Varro Lucullus?	
„	C. Caesar, 48	
„	P. Dolabella, 45	
„	C. Vibius Pansa, 44 (or Pompeii?)	
Puteoli	C. Laelius, <i>cos.</i> 140	
„	P. Lentulus Spinther, 49	
„	L. Luceius, 45	
„	M. Cicero, 45	
„	L. Balbus, 44?	
„	A. Hirtius, 44?	
Neapolis	C. Rabirius, before 67	
„	M. Fonteius, 67	
„	L. Lucullus, <i>c.</i> 63	
„	P. Sulla, 63	
„	L. Ahenobarbus, 49?	
„	L. Philippus, 49?	
„	Lucullus <i>filius</i> , 44	
„	L. Pontius Aquila, before 44?	
„	L. Caesar, 44	
Herculaneum	L. Piso, <i>cos.</i> 58?	
Pompeii	Q. Catulus, <i>c.</i> 61	
„	M. Cicero, after 63	
„	M. Marius, 56	
„	M. Porcius? (p. 46 n. 3 above)	
„	Sex. Pompeius?	
„	M. Agrippa?	
„	Fannius Caepio?	
Surrentum	M. Agrippa?	Suet. <i>DA</i> 65. 1 (Agrippa Postumus)
LUCANIA	Cn. Pompeius	Cic. <i>Phil.</i> xiii. 12
	M. Cato	Plut. <i>Cato min.</i> 20. 1
Velia	(Juventius) Thalna, 44	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xvi. 6. 1

Paestum	C. Rabirius Postumus?	<i>CIL</i> i <sup>2</sup> . 2340b ('Pos. Cur.' tile)
Thurii	P. Fabius, 71 (had belonged to C. Claudius)	<i>Cic. Tull.</i> 14, 18-19 ( <i>saltus</i> )
BRUTTIUM		
„	M. Crassus, 82	<i>Plut. Crass.</i> 6. 7
„	C. Lucilius, 67	Varro, <i>RR</i> ii. 1. 2 (sheep)
APULIA	M. Varro, 67	Varro, <i>RR</i> ii. intr. 6 (sheep)
	C. Rabirius, 63?	<i>Cic. Rab. perd.</i> 8
SAMNIUM Licinii Luculli? <sup>1</sup>		
Caudium	Cocceius (Nerva), 37	<i>Hor. Sat.</i> i. 5. 50-1
Beneventum	C. Verres, 82	<i>Cic. Verr.</i> i. 38
PICENUM	Cn. Pompeius, 83	pp. 41 f. above
SABINI	Ti. Claudius Asellus, <i>pr.</i> 206 M. Porcius Cato, <i>cos.</i> 195	<i>Gell.</i> vi. 11. 9 <i>Plut. Cato mai.</i> 1. 1 (inherited)
	L. Marcus Philippus, <i>cos.</i> 91	<i>Hor. Ep.</i> i. 7. 76 f.
Eretum	L. Valerius Flaccus, <i>cos.</i> 195	V.M. ii. 4. 5; <i>Plut. Cato mai.</i> 3. 1
Reate	M. Varro, 67	Varro, <i>RR</i> ii. intr. 6 (horses)
„	C. Scaevola C. f. Q. n. ( <i>XVvir s.j.</i> 17 B.C.?)	<i>CIL</i> ix. 4414 (cf. x. 7543, Sardinia)
Amiternum	Ancharii?	<i>ILLRP</i> 487; Nicolet, <i>Ord. eq.</i> 302-3
UMBRIA		
Ocriculum	T. Annius Milo, 52	<i>Cic. Mil.</i> 64
Tuder	M. Crassus, 89?	<i>Plut. Crass.</i> 6. 5
ETRURIA		
(coastal)	P. Clodius, 52	<i>Cic. Mil.</i> 26, 50, 55, 74, 87, <i>Phil.</i> xii. 23 ('servi . . . ex Appennino', cf. p. 27 above)

<sup>1</sup> Salmon (*Samm.* 166 n. 3, 177) suggests that the name of the *pagus* is indigenous; *ibid.* 390 for Samnite *possiones* in general.

Capena	P. Servilius, 70 (passed to Q. Catulus?)	Cic. <i>Verr.</i> ii. 31
Alsium	M. Lepidus Porcina, 125	V.M. viii. 1. damn. 7
„	Cn. Pompeius, 52	Cic. <i>Mil.</i> 54
„	C. Caesar, 46	Cic. <i>fam.</i> ix. 6. 1
„	(L.) Murena, 45	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xiii. 50. 4
„	P. Silius, 45	Ibid.
Arretium	M. Messalla Corvinus	Sulpicia [Tib.] iv. 8. 3-5 <sup>1</sup>
Cosa/Igillum	L. Ahenobarbus, 49	Cic. <i>Att.</i> ix. 6. 2; Caes. <i>BC</i> i. 34; cf. 56, 58 ( <i>pastores</i> , <i>coloni</i> )
„	P. Sestius, 44	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xv. 27. 1
Planasia	M. Piso, 67	Varro, <i>RR</i> iii. 6. 2 (peacocks)
Elba	Aurelii Cottae, A.D. 8	Ovid, <i>ex Ponto</i> ii. 3. 85

## SITE UNKNOWN

P. Scipio Nasica, 133	Plut. <i>TG</i> 13. 3: large holdings of <i>ager publ.</i>
M. Octavius, 133	Plut. <i>TG</i> 10. 5: large holdings of <i>ager publ.</i>
Q. Sergius, 90	Cic. <i>Cluent.</i> 21: <i>ergastulum</i>
M. Scaurus, 82	Pliny <i>NH</i> xxxvi. 116: confiscated estates
Q. Metellus Pius, c. 75	Plut. <i>Sert.</i> 22. 1: 4,400 acres offered as part of reward for Sertorius' murder
C. Antonius, 64	Cic. <i>tog. cand.</i> in Asc. 87 c: <i>saltus, pastores</i>
Q. Fufius Calenus, 43	App. <i>BC</i> iv. 47: country house

<sup>1</sup> Degrassi (*Homm. Renard* 174-5) reads 'Eretino' for the manuscripts' 'Aren-tino', and makes it refer to the estate of the Valerii at Eretum (V.M. ii. 4. 5)—but the *frigidus amnis* suggests something less suburban.



## APPENDIX IV

### BUSINESS INTERESTS OF SENATORIAL FAMILIES

ASTERISKS indicate certain senators (or, in list A, men who later became senators). I have included senators' relatives both because of the light they throw on the background of certain *novi homines*, and because they too are relevant to the obsolescence of the *lex Claudia*: we know from the *lex de repetundis* (Bruns 10. 17) that the fathers, brothers, and sons of senators, even if not senators themselves, were excluded from at least one equestrian privilege (the Gracchan juries), and must have been thought to count in some sense as 'homines ordinis senatorii'.

#### A. PUBLIC CONTRACTS—*PUBLICANI*

*P. Rupilius, <i>cos.</i> 132	<i>Publicanus</i> in Sicily	V.M. vi. 9. 8; ps. Asc. 264 St.
*C. Marius (no. 248)	δοκῶν γεγονέναι δημοσι- ώτης	Diod. xxxiv-v. 38. 1
Q. Considius (no. 132?)	Lucrine lake oyster-beds	V.M. ix. 1. 1
P. Vettius Chilo (brother of no. 481)	'Magister scripturae et sex publicorum', Sicily	Cic. <i>Verr.</i> iii. 167 f.
*T. Aufidius, <i>pr.</i> 67	Share in Asia <i>publicum</i>	V.M. vi. 9. 7 <sup>1</sup>
Cn. Plancius (father of no. 321)	'Maximarum societatum auctor, plurimarum magister'	Cic. <i>Planc.</i> 32
C. Falcidius (related to no. 170?)	Asia tax-farming	Cic. <i>Flacc.</i> 91
*C. Rabirius Postumus, <i>pr. c.</i> 48	Shareholder in many <i>publica</i>	Cic. <i>Rab. Post.</i> 4
*L. Aelius Lamia (no. 4)?	Supported Syria <i>publicani</i>	Cic. <i>QF</i> ii. 12. 2 <sup>2</sup>
*P. Ventidius Bassus (no. 474)	Contract for mules and carriages	Gell. xv. 4. 3

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hatzfeld *Traf.* index and *BCH* 1912, 19-20 for the many Aufidii known in the Aegean area, mostly with the *praenomen* L.; Aufidius of Patrae (*PW* 2) was an Olympic victor in 20 B.C. Cic. *fam.* xii. 26-7 for Sex. Aufidius, a *negotiator* in Africa.

<sup>2</sup> Despite Nicolet (*Ord. eq.* 312), Cic. *fam.* xiii. 62 is no evidence for *negotia* in Bithynia.

*P. Rupilius Rcx (no. 366)	<i>Magister</i> of Bithynia <i>societas</i> , 50	Cic. <i>fam.</i> xiii. 9. 2 <sup>1</sup>
*M. Terentius Varro Gibba, q. 46	'Se contulit in societates publicorum'	Cic. <i>fam.</i> xiii. 10. 2

B. COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURE<sup>2</sup>—  
NEGOTIATORES

*C. Terentius Varro, <i>cos.</i> 216	'Institor mercis', meat trade	Livy xxii. 25. 19; V.M. iii. 4. 4
M. Aemilius Scaurus (father of <i>cos.</i> 115)	Charcoal trade	<i>Vir. ill.</i> 72. 1-2 <sup>3</sup>
M. Lollius Q. f. (no. 230?)	Amph., Narbo; Delos <i>mag.</i>	Callender, <i>RA</i> 1133; <i>ILLRP</i> 747
Q. Ser. Fulvii (related to Flacci?)	Traders, Delos and Samos?	Hatzfeld, <i>BCH</i> 1912, 36; <i>ILLRP</i> 779
L. P. Sextilii (related to no. 401?) <sup>4</sup>	Traders, Delos, etc.?	Hatzfeld, <i>op. cit.</i> 78, <i>Traf.</i> 71, 86, 103
*C. Publicius Malleolus, q. 79	Trade in wine, etc., Asia?	Cic. <i>Verr.</i> i. 91
*M. Licinius Crassus, <i>cos.</i> 70	Silver mines, property speculation	Plut. <i>Crass.</i> 2
M. Porcius (sen. family?)	Amph.: Pompeii, Gaul	Callender, <i>RA</i> 1160, 1368
L. Lent(ulus) P. f.	Amph.: Attica, Gaul; Greek statue trade, 67	<i>CIL</i> iii. 7309. 28, xiii. 10002. 308, 10005. 10; Cic. <i>Att.</i> i. 8. 2, 9. 2 <sup>5</sup>
M. L[epi]d. Luc. f.	Amph., Gaul	Callender, <i>RA</i> 1125
L. Ant(onium?) L. f.	Amph., Gaul	<i>Ibid.</i> 802
C. Vibienus (no. 485?)	Arretine pottery	<i>CIL</i> xi. 6700. 760-4, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps descended from P. Rupilius, *cos.* 132. *IGR* iv. 1101 for a P. Rupilius P. f. Longinus in Asia in A.D. 4, *PW* xvii. 1429. 104 for a banker Rupilia in A.D. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 80 n. 1 above on amphora-marks: evidence for pottery manufacture, or trade in wine, oil, etc.? Cf. Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 358 ff.; Wilson, *Emigr.* 4 ff., 156 ff., on the wide meaning of *negotiator*—it overlaps with our list C.

<sup>3</sup> His son (*cos.* 115) would have had a career in commerce but for his oratorical ability. Pace Gruen (*Hist.* 1966, 58-9), Pliny, *NH* xxxvi. 116 probably refers to extortion.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Badian, *JRS* 1965, 113-14: Cic. *Flacc.* 89 for the marriage of C. Sextilius to the sister of Aufidius Lurco (see list C).

<sup>5</sup> Callender (*RA* no. 881) only gives one of the Gallic examples; Oxé (*Germ.* 1924, 81) gives the *praenomen* incorrectly as C.; Lentulus Crus (*cos.* 49) was a L. Lent. P. f.; so was the father of Lentulus Spinther (*cos.* 57), who is almost always referred to in Cicero's letters simply as 'Lentulus', and may therefore be the shipowner mentioned in 67. Though there are exceptions, Cicero normally identifies other Lentuli by *praenomen*, *cognomen*, or magistracy.

*C. Rabirius Postumus, <i>pr. c.</i> 48	Egypt trade (paper, linen, etc.); amph. Germany, etc.	Cic. <i>Rab. Post.</i> 40; Cal- lender, <i>RA</i> 1371; <i>ILLRP</i> 1184
L. C. Cossutii (related to no. 141?) <sup>1</sup>	Statue trade, Paros, De- los, etc.	Wilson, <i>Emigr.</i> 96-7
A. Clodii (sen. family?) <sup>2</sup>	Traders, Delos and Mile- tus?	Hatzfeld, <i>Traf.</i> 104; <i>BCH</i> 1912, 26-7
Junius Damasippus (son of <i>pr.</i> 82?)	Property speculation; statue trade	Cic. <i>Att.</i> xii. 33; Hor. <i>Sat.</i> ii. 3. 1 and scho- liasts
C. Mussidius Nepos and family (related to nos. 266-8?) <sup>3</sup>	Amph.: Rome, Gaul, Germany	Callender, <i>RA</i> 399, 1193
M. P. Roscii (family of nos. 358-9?)	Lead mines, Spain	<i>ILLRP</i> 1262; Syme, <i>Hist.</i> 1964, 124
P. Tur(ul)lii (family of no. 450?) <sup>4</sup>	Lead mines, Spain	<i>EE</i> viii. 480, ix. 282
*Paticus (no. 547)	Wild beasts, Cilicia 50	Cic. <i>fam.</i> ii. 11. 2, viii. 9. 3
P. Sepullii (family of no. 392?)	Amph.: N. Italy, Nar- bonese Gaul	Callender, <i>RA</i> 1396, 1596
T. Rufrenus (no. 365?)	Arretine pottery	<i>CIL</i> xi. 6700. 558-62
*Ap. Pulcher ( <i>cos.</i> 38?)	Amph.: Mutina, Gaul, Germany	Callender, <i>RA</i> 111
*M. Herennius Picens (no. 205?) <sup>5</sup>	Amph.: Mutina, Rome, Afr., Greece, Spain, etc.	<i>Ibid.</i> 1099-1105
*L. Tarius Rufus (no. 419)	Amph.: Pannonia, Gaul, etc.	<i>Ibid.</i> 947-8

C. FINANCE—*ARGENTARII, FAENERATORES*<sup>6</sup>

*M. Porcius Cato, <i>cos.</i>	Marine insurance	Plut. <i>Cato mai.</i> 21. 6 195
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<sup>1</sup> The commercial family mainly used the *praenomen* M. (Cic. *Verr.* iii. 185, etc.), but those of no. 141 and C. Cossutius Sabula (*mon.* 44) also appear: *IG*<sup>2</sup> iii. 2873 (Athens); Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 107, n. 4 (Erythrae); *BCH* 1912, 30 (Delos).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Clodius, legate in 48. A. Clodii may also be connected with the Cascellii of Sora (p. 222 below), though it is quite uncertain whether the latter have anything to do with the commercial Cascellii (Cic. *QF* i. 2. 5, *ILLRP* 1043).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *NS* 1887, 293, the amphora of a L. Mussidius at Sulmo.

<sup>4</sup> The senator's *praenomen* was D., unknown elsewhere in the *gens*: only Cn., L., M., and P. Turullii occur at Rome, and the Spanish Turullii were Cn., M., and P. (cf. Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 124).

<sup>5</sup> Besides the names of M. Herennii Prisc., Phae., Ren., and Ascl., the amphorae also attest M. He. Pic. f. (*CIL* xi. 6649. 49c)—i.e., the *cos. suff.* A.D. 1?

<sup>6</sup> Tenney Frank, *ESAR* i. 350-2 on the activities of bankers, etc. The overlap with *publicani* (cf. Rabirius Postumus, Q. Considius) is shown by the *tesserae* *ILLRP* 996, 1002; *PW* xvii. 1430. 102.

L. Pomponius (related to moneyer L. Pomp. Molo?)	Tesserac, undated	<i>ILLRP</i> 987-8
Falerius (related to no. 171?)	Tessera, undated	<i>ILLRP</i> 1000
C. Cloilius (related to no. 123?) <sup>1</sup>	Tessera, undated	<i>ILLRP</i> 991
Memmius (sen. family?)	Tessera, 96	<i>ILLRP</i> 1001
*C. Publicius Malleolus, q. 79	Loans, Cilicia	<i>Cic. Verr.</i> i. 91
Dossenus (no. 364?) <sup>2</sup>	Tessera, 73	<i>ILLRP</i> 1010
Munatius (sen. family?)	Tessera, 72	<i>ILLRP</i> 1011
Lucretius (sen. family?)	Tessera, 71	<i>ILLRP</i> 1015
Junius (Brutus?)	Tessera, 71	<i>ILLRP</i> 1012
Lucilius (sen. family?)	Tessera, 70	<i>ILLRP</i> 1016
Axsius (sen. family?) <sup>3</sup>	Tessera, 69; money-lender 61, 49	<i>ILLRP</i> 1019; <i>Cic. Att.</i> i. 12. 1, x. 15. 4
*M. Aufidius Lurco, fr. pl. 61	Loans, Asia?	<i>Cic. Flacc.</i> 86, 89 <sup>4</sup>
C. Fidiclanus (no. 174?) <sup>5</sup>	Tesserac, 62	<i>ILLRP</i> 1027, 1030
Lollius (related to no. 231?) <sup>6</sup>	Tessera, 62	<i>ILLRP</i> 1025
Q. Considius (no. 132?)	Moneylender, 63 and 61	<i>V.M.</i> iv. 8. 3; <i>Cic. Att.</i> i. 12. 1
*C. Rabirius Postumus, pr. c. 48	Loans to <i>civitates</i> , kings, etc.; tessera, 62	<i>Cic. Rab. Post.</i> 4-5, 43; <i>ILLRP</i> 1026
Procilius (related to no. 343?)	Tessera, 59	<i>ILLRP</i> 1034
Titinius (no. 433?) <sup>7</sup>	Moneylender, 59	<i>Cic. Att.</i> ii. 4. 1
*L. Calpurnius Piso, cos. 58.	Money left <i>in faenore</i> , 57	<i>Cic. Pis.</i> 86
Acilius (sen. family?)	Tessera, 56	<i>ILLRP</i> 1041
Petillius (related to moneyer Petillius Capitolinus?)	Tesserac, 56, 54, 46, A.D. 11	<i>ILLRP</i> 1042, 1044, 1060; <i>PW</i> xvii. 1430. 106
L. Egnatius Rufus (sen. family?) <sup>8</sup>	Moneylender 55, 49	<i>Cic. Att.</i> iv. 12. 1, vii. 18. 4, x. 15. 4

<sup>1</sup> Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1439, followed in *CR* 1967, 263 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1439 f., 1441 for the identification.

<sup>3</sup> Herzog (*PW* xvii. 1442) tentatively suggests an identification with no. 62; Shackleton Bailey (on *Att.* i. 12. 1) prefers no. 61.

<sup>4</sup> 'Libera legatio exigendi causa'; his freedman attested in Asia.

<sup>5</sup> Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1443; cf. Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 377.

<sup>6</sup> See Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1442-3, and p. 238 below.

<sup>7</sup> See Münzer (*PW*) and Nicolet (*Ord. eq.* 257) for the identification, doubted by Shackleton Bailey on the Cicero passage.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Cichorius, *RS* 121 on C. Egnatius C. f. Rufus (*Xvir a.d.a.* in 91?);

Manlius (Torquatus)?	Tesserae, 56 and 50	<i>ILLRP</i> 1039, 1054
*A. Manlius Torquatus, <i>leg.</i> 67	Loans, Cilicia 51	<i>Cic. Att.</i> v. 21. 10, vi. 1. 6
C. Octavius (father of no. 287) <sup>1</sup>	Tessera, 53	<i>ILLRP</i> 1046
Scribonius (Libo?) <sup>2</sup>	Tessera, 53/52	<i>ILLRP</i> 1058
Fufidius (related to nos. 183-4?)	Loans, Macedonia, etc.	<i>Cic. Pis.</i> 86; <i>Hor. Sat.</i> i. 2. 12
*Cn. Pompeius Magnus	Loans, Cilicia, etc.	<i>Cic. Att.</i> vi. 1. 3, 2. 5; <i>fam.</i> xiii. 56 <sup>3</sup>
Lurius (no. 238?) <sup>4</sup>	Tessera, 51	<i>ILLRP</i> 1052
*M. (Servilius Caepio) Brutus, <i>pr.</i> 44	Loans, Cyprus; tessera, 46?	<i>Cic. Att.</i> vi. 2-3; <i>ILLRP</i> 1045 <sup>5</sup>
Volcaciis (Tullus?)	Tesserae, 50 and 19	<i>ILLRP</i> 1053; <i>PW</i> xvii. 1427. 81
(Q.) Fulvius (Flaccus?) <sup>6</sup>	Tesserae, 48, 17, etc.	<i>ILLRP</i> 995, 997, 1056; <i>PW</i> xvii. 1427. 84
Autronius ( <i>cos. suff.</i> 33?) <sup>7</sup>	Tessera, 33	<i>ILLRP</i> 1063
Metellus	Tessera, 24	<i>PW</i> xvii. 1427. 79
Antonius	Tessera, A.D. 6	<i>Ibid.</i> 1429. 100
Arruntius (no. 41?)	Tessera, A.D. 6	<i>Ibid.</i> 101
Caedicius (no. 76?)	Tessera, A.D. 6	<i>Ibid.</i> 98
Papirius (Carbo?)	Tessera, A.D. 6	<i>Ibid.</i> 97
Tiberius (Caesar) <sup>8</sup>	Tessera, A.D. 13	<i>Ibid.</i> 1431. 109

D. UNSPECIFIED PROVINCIAL NEGOTIA, NOT  
NECESSARILY FINANCIAL OR COMMERCIAL

C. Appuleius Decianus (son of <i>tr. pl.</i> 98)	<i>Negotia</i> in Asia, 85-59	<i>Cic. Flacc.</i> 70 ff. <sup>9</sup>
*C. Verres, <i>pr.</i> 74	<i>Quaestus</i> , Lampsacus, 79	<i>Cic. Verr.</i> i. 63 <sup>10</sup>
Ser. Sulpicius (Rufus?)	Freedman at Delos, 74	<i>SIG</i> <sup>3</sup> 746
Cn. Calidius (father of no. 90)	<i>Negotia</i> in Sicily, 70s	<i>Cic. Verr.</i> iv. 42 ( <i>tot annos</i> )
M. Caelius Rufus (father of no. 78)	<i>Res</i> in Africa, 61	<i>Cic. Cael.</i> 73

M. Egnatius Rufus was the ill-fated consular candidate of 19 B.C. The banker handled Cicero's cash in 48 and 45 B.C. (*Cic. Att.* xi. 3. 3, xii. 18. 3, 30. 1-2, 31. 2-3).

<sup>1</sup> See Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1443-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 1443.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Badian, *RILR* 72-5. <sup>4</sup> Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1445 for the identification.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 1445 (and p. 80 above) for the possibility that 'M. Servilius' is Brutus.

<sup>6</sup> *ILLRP* 997 (undated) gives the *praenomen*; Herzog (*PW* xvii. 1440) connects the banking house with the Delos Fulvii (cf. p. 198 above).

<sup>7</sup> Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1447.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 1448; also 1447 on the *tessera* of L[IV]IA AVGV]STI (25 B.C.).

<sup>9</sup> *Cic. Flacc.* 71-2, 74, 80 for his purchases of land at Apollonis, *ibid.* 77 on his father.

<sup>10</sup> Possibly just loot from extortion, or else sexual rather than financial.

C. L. Cestii (family of nos. 116-18?)	Asia, 59; Ephesus, 51; Priene, Samothrace	Cic. <i>Flacc.</i> 51, <i>Att.</i> v. 13. 1; Hatzfeld, <i>Traf.</i> 59, 125, 128 <sup>1</sup>
L. Egnatius Rufus (sen. family?)	<i>Negotia</i> and procurator, Asia, 58	Cic. <i>fam.</i> xiii. 43-5, 73-4
*M. Anneius, <i>leg.</i> 51	<i>Negotia</i> , <i>controversia</i> with Sardis, 51	Cic. <i>fam.</i> xiii. 55, 57 <sup>2</sup>
M. Mindius (brother of no. 251)	<i>Negotia</i> at Elis, 50	Cic. <i>fam.</i> v. 20. 2 and 8, xiii. 26. 2
T. Furfanus (no. 188?)	Freedmen at Sestos	Hatzfeld, <i>Traf.</i> 114
*C. Anicius, <i>sen.</i> 44	<i>Negotia</i> in Africa, 44	Cic. <i>fam.</i> xii. 21 <sup>3</sup>
*L. Aelius Lamia (no. 4)	<i>Negotia</i> , procurators, freedmen, <i>familia</i> : Africa, 43	Cic. <i>fam.</i> xii. 29 <sup>4</sup>
Q. Considius Gallus (son of no. 132?)	<i>Negotia</i> in Africa, 43	Cic. <i>fam.</i> xii. 20. 1

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Cestius Hor. Servili(an)us at Opus (*PW* 16).

<sup>2</sup> His dispute was with the Sardiani as a body, which suggests a loan not repaid, rather than a legacy or a matter of land.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meiggs, *RO* 212-13 on the African connections of the late-imperial Anicii.

<sup>4</sup> The *saltus Lamianus* (*CIL* viii. 25943. 2. 13, 3. 6) suggests that Lamia's interests were in land.

## APPENDIX V

### CONSULAR *NOVI*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| C. Marius (248) cos. 107, 104-100, 86  | Q. Laronius (221) 33 suff.              |
| Cn. Mallius Maximus (243) 105          | L. Vinicius (494) 33 suff.              |
| C. Flavius Fimbria (180) 104           | Uttiedius Afer (454) (43-33) des.       |
| T. Didius (156) 98                     | C. Furnius (190) (29) des.              |
| C. Coelius Calvus (127) 94             | L. Arruntius (41) 22                    |
| C. Norbanus (278) 83                   | M. Vinicius (495) 19 suff.              |
| M. Tullius Cicero (446) 63             | L. Tarius Rufus (419) 16 suff.          |
| L. Afranius (9) 60                     | P. Sulpicius Quirinius (416) 12         |
| Q. Fufius Calenus (185) 47             | L. Passienus Rufus (309) 4              |
| P. Vatinius (467) 47                   |   |
| C. Trebonius (444) 45 suff.            | C. Vibius Postumus (491) A.D. 5 suff.   |
| A. Hirtius (206) 43                    | Lucilius Longus (237) 7 suff.           |
| Q. Pedius (312) 43 suff.               | A. Vibius Habitus (488) 8 suff.         |
| P. Ventidius Bassus (474) 43 suff.     | C. Poppaeus Sabinus (340) 9             |
| L. Munatius Plancus (262) 42           | M. Papius Mutilus (306) 9 suff.         |
| C. Asinius Pollio (50) 40              | Q. Poppaeus Secundus (341) 9 suff.      |
| P. Canidius Crassus (98) 40 suff.      | Cn. Pomponius Graecinus (333), 16 suff. |
| L. Cornelius Balbus (137) 40 suff.     | L. Pomponius Flaccus (331) 17           |
| C. Calvisius Sabinus (96) 39           | L. Voluseius Proculus (511) 17 suff.    |
| P. Alfenus Varus (18) 39 suff.         | L. Seius Tubero (386) 18 suff.          |
| C. Cocceius Balbus (124) 39 suff.      | M. Vipstanus Gallus (499) 18 suff.      |
| Q. Salvidienus Rufus (374) (39) des.   | C. Stertinius Maximus (415) 23 suff.    |
| C. Norbanus Flaccus (279) 38           | C. Octavius Laenas (289) 33 suff.       |
| M. Vipsanius Agrippa (497) 37, 28, 27  | <i>anonymous</i> (520) (15-37) des.     |
| T. Statilius Taurus (413) 37 suff., 26 | C. Ummidius Quadratus (452) c. 40 suff. |
| M. Cocceius Nerva (126) 36             | Sex. Palpellius Hister (304) 43 suff.   |
| L. Nonius Asprenas (274) 36 suff.      |   |

Cf. also nos. 534 and 563

## APPENDIX VI

### CONSULAR MONEYPERS

THE following names are the only moneyers who can be identified with subsequent consuls, from the time when recognizable names appear on the coinage down to the last types issued before those of Caesar. To avoid circularity as much as possible, the order is that suggested by numismatic criteria alone (hoard sequences, Crawford, *RRCH* tables ix-xiii).

ME <i>cos.</i> 205??	M. SILA 109
TAMP 182/181?	L. PHILIPPVS 91
CN. DO 192	T. DEIDI 98
PVR 196?	C. PVLCHER 92
OPEI 154?	MN. AQVIL 101
Q. ME 143	L. VALERI FLACCI 100/86
AN. RVF 128	M. HERENNI 93
L. OPEIMI 121	L. SCIPIO ASIAG 83
Q. METE 123	C. COIL. CALD 94
CN. DOM 122	L. IVLI. L. F CAISAR 90
M. METELLVS Q. F 115	C. CASSIVS 73
Q. MAX 121/116	C. NORBANVS 38
C. CASSI 124	KALENI 47
T. Q 123	M. LEPIDVS 46
C. METELLVS 113	PAVILLVS LEPIDVS 50/34
MN. ACILI BALBVS 114	LIBO 34
C. CATO 114	PHILIPPVS 38
CARB 113	C. MEMMI C. F 34
M. AVRELI SCAVR 108	MESSAL. F 32
Q. MET 98	L. VINICI 33

In the second century, a man might be moneyer in his thirties (cf. *ILS* 45, between *q.* and *aed.*); if we assume that moneyers in the earlier part of the list coined about ten years before their consulships, then the concentration of consular moneyers begins, with Annius Rufus, at the very time of the *lex Gabinia* (cf. p. 4 above).



# PROSOPOGRAPHY

## FOREWORD

THE following list of men who entered the Senate between 139 B.C. and A.D. 14 includes:

- (i) All known *novi homines*;
- (ii) All senators for whom origin from a town or area of Italy can be inferred with some degree of plausibility; and
- (iii) All senators whose gentile names are not previously attested in the Senate.

I have also included:

- (iv) A few men attested as the sons of *equites* even though their families may have been senatorial<sup>1</sup>—nos. 90, 218, and 472, with 204 (son of a *divisor*) and 456 (son of a *praeco*?); and
- (v) Certain senators whose names only appear in the early history of the Republic and who may not have had any genuine senatorial ancestors<sup>2</sup>—nos. 12, 21, 46, 47, 100, 132, 190, 209, 283, 284, 354, 398, and 507.

Finally, for the sake of completeness I have added a supplementary list of men known only by *cognomen*, or whose gentile names are incompletely recorded.

Men listed in **heavy type** are those explicitly attested in the ancient sources to be of non-senatorial family or humble birth (e.g., nos. 5, 9). I have included in this category of *certi* men appearing in the Capitoline *Fasti* with only partial affiliation—e.g., no. 243, the grandfather's *praenomen* excluded—which implies that the grandfather was not a citizen.<sup>3</sup> It is, of course, possible that a man's father could be the first of his family to hold the citizenship, and yet be a senator (see on nos. 278–9), but I have considered this possibility rare enough to be disregarded.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cic. *Mur.* 16 on Ser. Sulpicius Rufus: 'ego te semper in nostrum numerum adgregare soleo, quod virtute industriaque perfecisti ut cum equitis R. esses filius, summa tamen amplitudine dignus putarere.'

<sup>2</sup> Ogilvie, *Comm. Livy* 14 (cf. 9 f.) on nos. 21, 132, 294, and 354.

<sup>3</sup> Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* xiii, pp. 21–2.

The other men in the main list, apart from those mentioned above under (iv) and (v), are either the first known senators of their *gentes* or else to be assigned to the town or area named at the right-hand margin, with more or less confidence as indicated by the use of question marks.

A query after the reference number (e.g., nos. 1? 14? etc.) indicates that the man's status as a senator is not certain. Moneyers not subsequently attested as senators are so marked, since even in the case of the Augustan names (nos. 68, 159, 400, 455), their promotion to the Senate cannot be certain.<sup>1</sup> So are holders of other minor magistracies (nos. 109, 235, 301, 475).<sup>2</sup>

Designate magistrates are treated as certain senators, even if they did not live to take their seats in the Senate (nos. 163, 197, 214, 374, 395, 489, 519).

There are, of course, many possible sources of inaccuracy. Some men in category (ii), for instance, may have had senatorial ancestors (cf. nos. 318-20, 322-4). Furthermore, there were men who claimed noble descent without justification,<sup>3</sup> or had it manufactured for them by partisan historians,<sup>4</sup> so some men of apparently senatorial family may really have been *novi*.

More important is the opposite danger, of counting as *novi* men whose family was really senatorial. The ambiguity of the term *novus homo* (p. 3 n. 2 above) is one confusing factor; another is that political terminology may or may not be valid evidence for *novitas*. For instance, Cicero describes C. Servilius Glaucia, *pr.* 100, as 'ex summis et fortunae et vitae sordibus', but this is not enough to prove him a *novus*, considering his *popularis* career and ignominious end: a Servilius Glaucia (?) served on Ti. Gracchus' legation to Asia in 162.<sup>5</sup> Similarly

<sup>1</sup> A minor magistracy normally meant a senatorial career under Augustus, but there may have been other men besides Ovid (*trist.* iv. 10. 34 ff.) who declined it.

<sup>2</sup> Three other such men would clearly have gone on to the Senate had they lived: Sex. Campatius M. f. M. n. of Caere (*CIL* xi. 3610-11; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 114); T. Crustidius T. f. Fab. Briso, probably of Alba Fucens (*CIL* vi. 3516; Birley, *RBRA* 136; *CIL* ix. 3966 for Alba); and T. Titius T. f. Ser. Tappo, buried at Nomentum (*CIL* xiv. 3945, tomb put up by his parents).

<sup>3</sup> Shackleton Bailey, *Philologus* 1964, 109-10.

<sup>4</sup> See category (v) and p. 205 n. 2 above. Also the patron of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for whom the historian claimed patrician descent: D.H. iii. 29. 7, *comp. verb.* 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Brut.* 224; Pol. xxxi. 15. 9 Casaubon (see manuscripts for uncertainty about the *cognomen*).

C. Junius, *aed.* 75, whose political advantages were 'parva et infima et ipsius labore quaesita'; the last C. Junius known to have held office was consul in 291 and 277, and the aedile's hard work must have been like that of M. Scaurus, L. Catilina, and Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, analogous to the career of a *novus* but no evidence that he was one.<sup>1</sup>

The main source of uncertainty, however, is category (ii) above. What counts as valid evidence for assigning a senator to an Italian town? His *cognomen*, but only if it is specific enough:<sup>2</sup> his *gentilicium*, if it is distinctive enough to be traced to one area:<sup>3</sup> reference on coin-types to local divinities, etc., which is however far from foolproof:<sup>4</sup> the tribe if it is recorded, though only the smaller tribes are useful without further evidence, and even they cannot be trusted before the Social War (cf. no. 264): a man of the same name on a local inscription, though external patrons complicate the issue (p. 45 above), and suburban localities like Tusculum and Tibur often attracted people who were not native to them.<sup>5</sup>

'The pastime is seductive, with manifold temptations and dangers, some of them already apparent, others to be shown by experiment and risky conjectures.'<sup>6</sup> The inscriptions of L. Staius Murcus at Sulmo and of C. Annius T. f. Milo at Asisium show the fallibility of epigraphic evidence,<sup>7</sup> and literary sources can be equally misleading or admit of more than one interpretation.<sup>8</sup> But as Syme goes on, 'curiosity cannot be quelled', and borderline cases are inevitable.<sup>9</sup> In such a complex subject, no criteria are ever hard and fast; all one can do is to indicate

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Cluent.* 94; p. 205 n. 1 above for Sulpicius, p. 106 for Scaurus and Catiline.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. on no. 369 below. Badian, *JRS* 1962, 209; cf. Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 105.

<sup>3</sup> Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 105-7. Migration may confuse the evidence: see pp. 61 above (Paculli), 221 f. below (Carisii).

<sup>4</sup> Taylor, *VDRR* 182-3. Nos. 159 and 253 are examples of uncertainty from this source.

<sup>5</sup> *CQ* 1964, 128. Cf. nos. 150 (Tusculum) and 404 (Ficulea), *ILS* 5890 (Campania), 3691 (Praeneste)—all disproved by the tribes. Perhaps nos. 498-9 as well?

<sup>6</sup> Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 107.

<sup>7</sup> *ILLRP* 444 (Taylor, *VDRR* 255 f.), *CIL* xi. 5448 (cf. no. 30 below).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. nos. 16, 410, 506; also Syme, *RR* 363 n. 3, 434 on L. Apronius (*V.P.* ii. 116. 3).

<sup>9</sup> Among those not included are: Cornelius Gallus (*CQ* 1964, 126), Cn. Domitius Corbulo (Syme, *Tacitus* 788), M. Herennius (Münzer, *PW* Herennius 10 on his connection with Sicily), Licinius Denticula (*CIL* xi. 712; *NS* 1893, 13 for Cisalpine Gaul), M. Lollius (Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 118), and Numisius (?) Nucula (*ibid.* 120). Appius Appianus (de Laet 440) is omitted as having been probably a patrician Claudius—his family connections are investigated in *HSCP* 1970, 219 f.

the uncertainties where they exist. In the description of senators in the following lists, all *inferred* data of nomenclature and origin are included in brackets.<sup>1</sup> The use of question marks gives some indication of more or less doubtful assumptions, and the reader is earnestly requested to pay attention to them.

<sup>1</sup> References to *MRR* are not normally given; moneyers are dated according to the tables in Crawford, *RRCH*.

## LIST OF SENATORS

See pp. 205-6 above for explanation of conventions

- 1? P. ACCOLEIUS LARISCULUS, mon. c. 43. (ARICIA? LANUVIUM?)  
*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 31; de Laet 1. Taylor; *VDRR* 185: the name appears early at Aricia (*CIL* xiv. 2185, 4196-7). The P. Accoleius Larisculus known at Lanuvium (*EE* ix. 599), evidently a municipal magistrate, was either identical with the moneyer or descended from him (*PIR*<sup>2</sup>).
  
2. M. ACILIUS (Vot.?) CANINUS, q. Sic.?, leg. C. Caesaris (Greece) 48, pr.?  
 47, procos. Sic. 46-45, Greece 45-44. (OSTIA?)  
*PW* 13; Meiggs, *RO* 507-9; Taylor, *VDRR* 325-6 (*ILLRP* 435) on the origin of the Canini (and Glabriones?) from Ostia.
  
3. Q. ACUTIUS Q. f., senator by 25. (CISALPINE GAUL?)  
*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 97; de Laet 5. Q. Acutii are found outside Rome only in Cisalpine and Narbonese Gaul: at Mutina (*CIL* xi. 845, 6689. 11, 6690. 2), Ateste (*NS* 1886, 67; *Supp. It.* 516), Altinum (*CIL* v. 2167), Augusta Bagiennorum (v. 7680), and Nemausus (xii. 3366). No. 3 was presumably the father of Q. Acutius Faiananus, *leg. propr.* under Augustus (*AE* 1915, 35—Lusitania): Alföldy (*FH* 133 f.) identifies the two.
  
4. L. AELIUS L. f. LAMIA, aed. pl. 45, pr.?  
 42. (FORMIAE)  
*PW* 75. Probably son of the L. Aelius Lamia who defended Marius Gratidianus and was mocked by L. Crassus as *deformis* (*Cic. de or.* ii. 262, 269). Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 110; Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 406, 416 for the family's Formian origin and reputed descent from the king of the Laestrygonians (*Hor. Odes* iii. 17. 1 ff.; cf. *Cic. Att.* ii. 13; Pliny, *NH* iii. 59); compare the Tusculan Mamili, who claimed descent from Telegonus (Taylor, *VDRR* 229).
  
5. (AELIUS) MARULLINUS, senator under the Triumvirs? ITALICA  
*PW* 90; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 219; de Laet 11. *SHA Hadr.* 1. 2, Hadrian's *atavus*; cf. *CQ* 1964, 124; Syme, *Tacitus* 603 for his date of birth. For the *cognomen* compare Epidius Marullus (no. 161) and Levick, *RCSAM* 96 (Pisidian Antioch).
  
6. AESILLAS, q. and proq. Mac. c. 94-92 (or c. 68?).  
*NS* 1910, 365 for a P. Titius Aesil[las] at Ancona; otherwise the nearest approach to the name is Aesilus Savi f., a Gaul from Carpenterate in Narbonensis (*CIL* xii. 1160). Note Asilas, the Etruscan seer from Pisae in *Virg. Aen.* x. 175-9, etc.  
 His name appears on Macedonian coins with those of 'CAE. PR.' and 'SVVRA LEG. PROQ.'; i.e., as has usually been assumed, L. Caesar, *cos.* 90, and

Q. Bractius Sura (no. 70 below). Lewis, however (*NC* 1962, 296-9), suggests L. Caesar, *cos.* 64, and his brother-in-law P. Lentulus Sura: *NC* 1962, 275-333 (esp. 296-9, 329-30) for his numismatic arguments and a defence of the traditional view by Margaret Thompson, supported by Broughton.

7. L. AFINIUS L. f. Lem., pr.? by 129.
8. L. AFINIUS L. f. Ouf., senator 129.
9. L. AFRANIUS A. f., leg. Cn. Pompeii (Spain) 75-72, pr. 71?, procos. Spain 70-69?, leg. Cn. Pompeii (East) 66 ff., *cos.* 60, procos. Gall. Cis. 59, leg. Cn. Pompeii (Spain) 55-49, (Africa) 48-46. (CUPRA MARITIMA)  
*PW* 4; *ILS* 878; Syme, *RR* 31 n. 5 for his origin. *Plut. Mor.* 806 A on his *novitas*; but Afzelius (*CM* 1945, 152) and Nicolet (*Ord. eq.* 582) consider him of senatorial family. L. A. Afranii L. f., patrons of Magnesia and Caunus in the late first century, were probably his sons (*AE* 1957, 165; cf. Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 124).
10. AIETIUS PASTOR, senator under Augustus.  
*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 473; de Laet 22; Syme, *JRS* 1949, 8; cf. no. 17 ('Aletius').
11. Sex. ALBESIVS (ALBEDIUS?), senator 43.  
*PW* Albedius 1; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 55, quoting an Albia Cn. f. Secunda from Nemausus; but if he were a Gallic senator Cicero would surely have exploited the fact.
12. C. ALBINIVS, senator before 60. *PW* 1.
13. P. ALBINOVANVS, leg.? C. Norbani 82.  
*PW* 2-3; Taylor, *AJP* 1942, 385 f. Bulst (*Hist.* 1964, 327 n. 34) thought him a Lucanian, presumably because of the *τέλος Λευκανῶν* he commanded in 82 (*App. BC* i. 91).
- 14? ALBIVS, q.? 120. *PW* 2.
15. P. ALBIVS P. f. Qui., pr. by 129. (SABINI??)  
 Taylor, *VDRR* 188; Cichorius, *UL* 246 f.
16. T. ALBVCIVS, pr. c. 105?, propr. Sard. c. 104?  
*PW* 2; on the date of his praetorship see now Gruen, *TAPA* 1964, 100-5 (suggesting 107).  
 Lucilius (88-91 M) makes Scaevola address him thus: 'Graecum te, Albuci, quam Romanum atque Sabinum, municipem Ponti, Tritani, centurionum, praeclarorum hominum ac primorum signiferumque, maluisti dici. . .'  
 Was Albucius a Sabine, or is the reference merely to the proverbially least

vicious people of Italy (cf. on 369 below)? Pontius and Tritanus seem to have been from Formiae and Samnium respectively (Marx, ad loc.), so inference of Albucius' origin is probably unjustified.

17. M. ALETIUS (?), pr. by A.D. 17, leg. extra ord. (Asia) A.D. 17.  
*PW* Ateius 6; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1278; de Laet 56; Syme, *JRS* 1949, 8. Cf. no. 10 above.
18. P. ALFENUS P. f. VARUS, leg.? C. Caesaris (agr. dand.) 41-40, cos. suff. 39. (CREMONA?)  
*PW* 8. Alfenus *vafser*, a cobbler of Cremona, according to Porph. on Hor. *Sat.* i. 3. 130 (rejected by Fraenkel, *Horace* 89); a jurist, pupil of Ser. Sulpicius (Gell. vii. 5. 1; Hor. loc. cit.; *Dig.* i. 2. 2. 44). A V. Alfienos Po(bli) f. is known at Cupra Montana in Picenum (*ILLRP* 578); the *praenomen* appears also in Campania (*CIL* iv. 3340. 45, x. 2039).
19. ALFIDIUS SABINUS, procos. Sic., late Aug. (MARSI??)  
*PW* 2, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 527; de Laet 439. *Hist.* 1965, 333-4 for the (Marsic?) Alfidia M. f., mother of Livia; no doubt the senator belonged to the same family.
20. C. ALFIUS Ter. FLAVUS, tr. pl. 59, pr.? (or iud. q.) 54. (ALLIFAE? CASINUM? VENAFRUM?)  
*PW* 7. Cichorius, *RS* 58 ff. identified the Augustan *rhetor* Alfius Flavus with the poet whose 'Bellum Carthaginiense' dealt kindly with the Mamertines, thus indicating an Oscan/Samnite background for the family: cf. Marius Alfius, *meddix tuticus Campanorum* in 215 (Livy xxxiii. 35. 15), and Salmon, *Samn.* 124.  
 Flavus was a *tribulis* and *vicinus*, but not a *municeps* (as assumed by Taylor, *VDRR* 189), of Cn. Plancius of Atina, over whose trial he presided. In his defence of Plancius, Cicero made a point of mentioning the 'tractus Allifanus', even though it was some distance from Plancius' home town (*Planc.* 22, 43, cf. p. 138 above); Allifae could well be Flavus' *origo*, though Venafrum or Casinum would do as well. For Venafrum, note the *haruspex* C. Flavidius M. f. Ter. of that town (*NS* 1924, 85), whose name is clearly related to Flavus' *cognomen*.
21. A. ALLIENUS, leg. Q. Ciceronis (Asia) 61-59, tr. pl. 55?, pr. 49, procos. Asia 48-46, leg. C. Treboni, P. Dolabellae (Syria) 44-43.  
*PW* 1. Torelli, *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 1969, 38 f. for a *praef. fabr.* A. Allienus A. f. Gal. Laetus at Vibinum—but perhaps the son of a freedman. A. Allieni also at Brundisium (*EE* viii. 8; *AE* 1965, 113), otherwise only at Rome—evidently the freedmen of no. 21 and his family, connected in two cases with Umbrians (*CIL* vi. 192, 11470, cf. no. 188 below and Syme, *Hist.* 1956, 207). No. 21 may be the A. Allienus married to Polla Minucia Q. f. (*ILLRP* 396; cf. *CIL* vi. 5961 ff.)—the daughter of Q. Thermus, pr. by 59?
22. 'AMNÆUS', senator c. 60.  
*Plut. Cato min.* 19. 5; cf. *Luc.* 40. 3 (not named). The name is unparalleled

(*TLL* i. 1939, 18 ff.). One might read Ἀμμαῖος, and identify him with no. 26. But there was an Ammaeus to whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus dedicated some of his works (*PW* s.v.), and T. Ammaus P. f. Nerva was aedile at Superaequum (*ILLRP* 671).

23. T. AMPIUS T. f. Hor. BALBUS, tr. pl. 63, pr. 59, procos. Asia 58, cos. cand. 56?, leg. propr. Cn. Pompeii (Asia) 49–48. (ARICIA??)

*PW* 1. The tribe may indicate Arician origin.

24. M. AMPUDIUS N. f. (Aem.), q., tr. pl., aed. before 23. (FORMIAE)

*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 569; de Laet 24; *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 812 for his origin; Taylor, *VDRR* 189; Cichorius, *RS* 175 (ibid. 286–7 on his career).

25. Q. ANCHARIUS, pr. by 88.

*PW* 2; perhaps son of the Ancarius of Lucilius vi. 232 M (cf. Cichorius, *UL* 282). For the praenomen cf. Q. Ancharius C. f. Pol., a Narbonensian *equus evocatus* (*ILLRP* 498, Minturnae), and a pottery-owner Q. Ancharius Felix (Oxé-Comfort, *CVA* 66–73, Puteoli?). *ILLRP* 487, cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 161 (Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 302 f.) for estates of the Ancharii in the Sabine hills.

26. C. ANNAEUS C. f. Clu. (BROCCHUS), aed. ? by 73. (FORUM NOVUM)

*PW* 3; cf. no. 22 above; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 110 for his origin (Cic. *Lig.* 11, 32–3, *CIL* ix. 4806, etc.). He was forced to pay money and corn when Verres' agent came collecting tithes at Egesta (Cic. *Verr.* iii. 93); Gabba therefore considers him a Sicilian (*Ath.* 1954, 102 n. 1), but it is more likely that he had an estate there (so Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 585–6). For the cognomen cf. L. Furius Brocchus, *mon. c.* 63. A *mulier pecuniosa* called Annaea is mentioned at Cic. *Verr.* i. 111.

27. L. ANNALIUS (?), senator by 55.

*PW* 1: Λεύκιον Ἀνάλιον ἄνδρα βουλευτήν (Plut. *comp. Nic. Crass.* 2. 2), identified in *MRR* Supp. 70 as L. Villius Annalis (*PW* 7). But an early Q. Annalius is known at Falerio in Picenum, and Annaleni at Rome and near Interamnia Praetuttiorum (*CIL* ix. 5464, 5053, vi. 23329). Klebs (*PW*) and Meyer (*Caesars Mon.* 158) accept the name as Annalius.

28. M. ANNEIUS (Ani?), leg. M. Ciceronis (Cilicia) 51–50. (CARSEOLI?)

*PW* Annaeus 2; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 111 (Val. Max. vii. 7. 2; *CIL* ix. 4061 for origin and tribe).

29. T. ANNIUS 'Lysidici f.' CIMBER, pr. 44.

*PW* 37; Cic. *Phil.* xi. 14, cf. xiii. 28 'Philadelphus'. Possibly the son of a Greek *affranchi* or a freedman?



30. T. ANNIUS MILO (PAPIANUS), tr. pl. 57, pr. 55, cos. cand. 53.

## LANUVIUM

*PW* 67. Nothing on his ancestors in the *pro Milone* (cf. Taylor, *VDRR* 190), but no answer to charges of ignoble birth, either, and no hint in the sources that he was a *novus*. It is surprising that Cicero makes nothing of his adoptive father (and maternal grandfather) T. Annius, who was surely descended from consuls (153 and 128 B.C.)—cf. p. 58 above. Salmon, *Samm.* 314, 388, 392 (over-emphatic) on Milo's natural father.

Asc. 31 c for Lanuvium; cf. *bell. Alex.* 55 on Annius Scapula, a provincial magistrate of Corduba in 48 (Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 112 for Lanuvine Quinctii Scapulae, *ibid.* 124 on Lanuvine families in Spain). For a sobering reminder of the fallibility of the criteria employed for deducing senators' origins note a C. Annius T. f. Milo at Asisium in Umbria (*CIL* xi. 5448).

31. ANTEIUS, leg.? Germanici A.D. 16; senator under Aug.?

*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 727; de Laet 28. *PW* i. 2349 for his stemma and descendants.

32. Pacuvius ANTISTIUS LABEO, leg. M. Bruti 42. (CAMPANIA??)

*PW* 35; Frederiksen, *PBSR* 1959, 119.

33. Sex. APPULEIUS (Sex. f. Gal.), q., pr., flam. Iul. (LUNA)

*PW* 16a; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 960; de Laet 36. Taylor, *VDRR* 192 (*ILS* 935) for his origin, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 959–63 for his descendants; his granddaughter bore the *cognomen* Varilla (Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 111), but it came from her mother Quinctilia, wife of Sex. Appuleius *cos.* 29 (*Arch. Anz.* 1965, 450).

He must be the husband of Augustus' half-sister Octavia; see the editors' notes to *CIL* viii. 24583 (his fragmentary *cursus* inscription at Carthage) for the elimination of the other possible Sex. Appuleii. If, as is probable, he succeeded Antony as *flamen Iulialis* in 30, he must have been made a patrician by Caesar—or by Octavian in 33 (*Dio* xlix. 43. 6)—though it is not impossible that the flamine was empty for a year or two and that he was promoted by the *lex Saenia* in 29.

Evidently father of Sex. Appuleius *Sex. f. (cos. 29)* and M. Appuleius (*q. 45, cos. 20*); with a younger son apparently quaestor in 45 he can hardly have been less than fifty in that year, yet his *cursus*, omitting any post between quaestor and praetor, suggests that he held the latter post, at least, only under Caesar's dictatorship. A new man would hardly miss both tribunate and aedileship under the *libera res publica*, but a newly created patrician might easily go straight to the praetorship, as under the Augustan system (p. 158 above). Therefore either a *quaestorius* promoted by Caesar, or—more likely—descended from a victim of Sulla's proscription and thus denied any public office until 49.

34. C. APPULEIUS M. f. TAPPO, q., aed., tr. pl., pr., iudex quaest. rerum capital. (AQUILEIA)

*PW* 31; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 967. *ILLRP* 436, 540; *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 2205 for his *origo*. Cf. *ILS* 908 (T. Titius T. f. Ser. Tappo) and Catullus 104. 4 ('sed tu cum Tappone omnia monstra facis').

- 35? AQUINUS, leg. Q. Mctelli (Spain) 78.  
*PW* 1; if related to no. 36, perhaps an *eques*?
36. M. AQUINUS, leg.? Afr. 46 (had held *honores* already), Syria 43-42?  
*PW* 5: *bell. Afr.* 57, 89. 5, presumably to be identified with the Aquinus of *App. BC* ii. 119. Cf. *Plut. Cic.* 27. 1 (Aquinius? Aquilinus?).
37. Q. ARRIUS, pr. 73, propr. 'Sic.' (but sent against Spartacus) 72, cos. cand. 59. (MINTURNÆ??)  
*PW* 8. Taylor, *VDRR* 193 and Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 582-3 for his possible origin (*Cic. Att.* ii. 14. 2, 15. 3—Cicero's neighbour at Formiae); *ILLRP* 753 makes Minturnae more likely than Formiae, but in any case, the evidence may indicate only that he had a villa there.  
*Praetorius* in 64, consular candidate in 59 (*comm. pet.* 15; *Cic. Att.* ii. 5. 2, 7. 3), he is no doubt identical with the praetor of 73 defeated by Spartacus' lieutenant Crixus; *Schol. Gron.* 324 St., who reports his death in the defeat, is probably mistaken. Douglas, however (*Brutus* 179 and *AJP* 1966, 299), distinguishes two men on the basis of Cicero's mention of no. 37 at *Brut.* 242 (q.v. for his *novitas*).
38. M. ARRIUS M. f. MAXIMUS, IIIvir cap., praef. eq., q. propr., aed. cur. (ANAGNIA?)  
*PW* 23; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1099; de Laet 42; *ILS* 912 (Anagnia). *NS* 1922, 33 and 35 for slaves of his at Ateste.
39. C. ARRUNTANUS BALBUS, propr. Sic. by 27 (fleet 36?).  
*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1122.
40. (C.) ARRUNTIUS, tr. pl., propr. bis, pr. (INTERAMNA NAHARS)  
*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1127; de Laet 44. *CIL* xi. 4179: the two Arruntii C. f. below him on the inscription are more probably his sons (Groag, *PIR*<sup>2</sup>) than his brothers (de Laet), since his own name has no affiliation, and the letters are spaced.
41. L. ARRUNTIUS L. f. L. n., leg. Caes. Oct. (fleet) 31, cos. 22. (ATINA)  
*PW* 7; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1129; de Laet 46; *ILS* 5349 for his origin.
42. Cornutus (ARRUNTIUS Ter.?) AQUILA, leg. propr. (Galatia) 6 B.C. (ATINA?)  
*PW* Cornutus 4; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1137; de Laet 48. For the *gentilicium* see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1138-9; Syme, *Tacitus* 619 n. 6; *ILS* 980.
43. ARTICULEIUS PAETUS, senator late Rep./early Aug. (CANUSIUM??)  
*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1174; de Laet 49; cf. *PW* 2. Expelled in 18 B.C., by which time his son was of senatorial age; his consular descendants under Domitian and Trajan used the *praenomen* Q., which makes likely a relationship with no. 44.

44. Q. ARTICULEIUS REGULUS, pr., procos., leg. Aug. after 2 B.C.  
(CANUSIUM??)  
*PW* 4; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1178; de Laet 51. Patron of Canusium (*ILS* 929).
45. M. ARTORIUS GEMINUS, leg. Aug., praef. aer. mil. c. A.D. 10.  
*PW* 5; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1186; de Laet 53; cf. Mommsen, *CIL* vi. p. 3157 f. for the possibility that he was the son of Octavian's doctor M. Artorius Asclepiades. Cf. Oxé-Comfort, *CVA* 134, a potter M. Artor(ius).
46. L. ASELLIUS, pr. 33.  
Not in *PW*. Too old to be the son of no. 47, since his own son was made praetor in his place. Possibly both were descended from the *Λεύκιος Ἀσύλλιος* of Diod. xxxvii. 8. 1 (son of a quaestor and himself proconsul of Sicily), who is usually identified as L. Sempronius Asellio.
47. M. ASELLIUS M. f. Mac., senator by 44. *PW* Gellius 7.
48. ASINIUS, senator 43. (MARRUCINI??)  
*PW* 1. 'Senator voluntarius, lectus ipse a se' after Caesar's murder (*Cic. Phil.* xiii. 28). He may be Pollio's brother Marrucinus (no. 49?), in which case his adlection might have been a gesture of goodwill by Antony to secure Pollio's support; Cicero, however, makes no mention of any such relationship.
49. (Cn.) ASINIUS (MARRUCINUS), senator 43. (MARRUCINI)  
*PW* 1-2: if this man is Pollio's elder brother, his *praenomen* should be Gnaeus. Catullus 12. 1 for the *cognomen*.
50. C. ASINIUS Cn. f. (Her. n.) POLLIO, leg.? C. Caesaris (Sic. etc.) 49-48, tr. pl. 47, leg. C. Caesaris (Africa) 46-45, pr. 45, procos.? Hisp. Ult. 44-43, leg. propr.? agr. div. 41, cos. 40, procos. Mac. 40-38. (MARRUCINI)  
*PW* 25; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1241; de Laet 55; V.P. ii. 128. 3 for his *novitas* (cf. also the *Fasti Triumphales*). One of his sons was called Herius (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1222), and Herius Asinius was praetor of the Marrucini in the Social War (*Livy, per.* 73); cf. *Sil. It.* xvii. 452 ff. on a Herius 'cui nobile nomen Marrucina domus clarumque Teate ferebat'.
51. ATEIUS, leg. M. Antoni? (Gall. Cis.) 41-40. *PW* 2.
52. C. ATEIUS (L. f. Ani.) CAPITO, tr. pl. 55, leg.? C. Caesaris (agr. dand.) 44. (CASTRUM NOVUM?)
53. L. ATEIUS L. f. Ani. CAPITO, q. by 52, pr. (CASTRUM NOVUM?)  
*PW* 7 and 9; Syme, *JRS* 1949, 8; Taylor, *VDRR* 194; *CIL* xi. 3583-4 for Castrum Novum. C. Ateius L. f. L. n. Capito, *cos. suff.* A.D. 5 and a celebrated jurist, is described by Tacitus as 'avo centurione Sullano, patre praetorio'

(*Ann.* iii. 75. 1). No. 53 was presumably his father, and 52 his uncle—perhaps identical with the C. Ateius who was taught jurisprudence by Ser. Sulpicius Rufus (*Dig.* i. 2. 2. 44, identification doubted by Jörs, *PW*). Possibly the Sullan centurion who founded the family's fortunes was the M. Ateius who took part in the siege of Athens (*Plut. Sulla* 14), in which case Plutarch must have mistaken the *praenomen*.

54. AT(T)IDIUS, senator before c. 75. *PW* 2. (CENTRAL APENNINES??)

55. L. ATILI(US) NOM(ENTANUS), mon. c. 150–140, leg. Q. Scaevolae (Asia) 120? (NOMENTUM?)

*PW* 44 and Nomentanus 1.

56. M. ATIUS BALBUS, pr. by 60. ARICIA

*PW* 11. *Hist.* 1965, 333–4 for Suetonius' (surely mistaken) report that his family was senatorial (*DA* 4, misunderstanding *Cic. Phil.* iii. 16?); see p. 83 above on the accusations of African descent and lowly occupation made by Antony and Cassius Parmensis. Alternatively, Suetonius' 'multae senatoriae imagines' may have come from the family of Balbus' mother, who was related to Pompey (*Suet. loc. cit.*, cf. Cichorius, *RS* 145 f.—a Lucilia?).

57. P. ATTIUS P. f. Qui./Col., aed.? by 39. (SABINI??)

*PW* 6; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 113: if the tribe is Quirina, he was doubtless related to no. 58.

58. C. ATTIUS CELSUS, pr. 65? (AMITERNUM?)

Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 113 (*ILS* 7385) for his origin; Q. Attius C. f. Sab. (*sic*) Sabinus made a dedication to Isis at Attidium (inscr. now in Ancona museum). Celsus may be identical with no. 522 below.

59. AUFEIUS, tr. pl.? 124 or 123.

Hill (*CR* 1948, 112) suggests that the name may be a corruption of 'Aquililius'; *contra* Badian, *FC* 183 n. 9.

60. C. AUFUSTIUS, senator late Rep./early Aug.

*PW* 2; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 56. One of Pliny's list of sudden deaths; mentioned after Q. Fabius Maximus *suff.* 45, Q. Aemilius Lepidus, and C. Volcacius Gurgus, he probably belongs to the triumviral period or the early Principate (*Pliny, NH* vii. 181).

61. Q. AXIUS M. f. Qui., q. by 73. REATE

62? L. AXSIUS L. f. NASO, mon. c. 72. (REATE??)

*PW* 4 and 7. Varro, *RR* iii. 2. 7 on no. 61 and Reate, iii. 7. 10 on an *eques* L. Axius, no doubt related to no. 62; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1691 for a descendant, *ILLRP* 1019 for a banker Axius in 69 B.C., plausibly connected by Herzog (*PW* xvii. 1442) with no. 62; cf. *Cic. Att.* i. 12. 1, x. 15. 4 (p. 200 above).

63. **BARBARIUS PHILIPPUS**, pr. after 41.  
*PW* Barbatius; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 57; *MRR* Supp. 9. For the name cf. *CIL* x. 1199 (Abella), xii. 1756 (Valentia); *IG* xiv. 2105 (Rome); Callender, *RA* no. 180.
64. **M. BARBATIUS POLLIO**, q. propr. M. Antoni (Asia) 41, aed. cur.?  
*PW* 1; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 57.
65. **P. BARRONIUS** (Ouf.?) **BARBA**, aed. cur. late Rep. (AQUINUM?)  
*PW* 1, cf. no. 525 (Barba). Apart from T. Baronius, a centurion of the *legio III Augusta* in Africa (*AE* 1927, 39), and Q. Baronius Q. f., a Dalmatian *sacerdos* (*CIL* iii. 3075), the name is found outside Rome only at Aquinum and at Rufrae, some twenty miles down the Via Latina: M. Barronius M. f. Ouf. Sura, *praef. fabr.* (*CIL* x. 5400), M. Baronius and Baronia D. l. Prima (x. 5405, 5449), M. Barronius L. f. Ter. (x. 4836).
66. **L. BELLIENUS**, pr. (Afr.) 105.  
*PW* 5; Shackleton Bailey, *PCPS* 1957, 11–13: not an Annius. Cf. the Bellienus of *Cic. fam.* xvi. 22. 2, viii. 15. 2, *Phil.* ii. 91.
67. **BELLINUS**, pr. 68. (CISALPINE GAUL??)  
*PW* Bellienus 1. The *cognomen* is Celtic, appearing only in Cisalpina, Gaul, Britain, and Germany: *TLL* ii. 1815; Holder, *Altkeltischer Sprachsatz* i. 390 f.
- 68? **P. BETILIENUS BASSUS**, mon. c. 4 B.C.? (ALETRIUM?)  
*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> B 115; de Laet 64; Syme, *RR* 360 n. 3; Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 410. *ILLRP* 189, 528–9 for P. Betilienus M. f. and L. Betilienus L. f. Vaarus, local magistrates at Aletrium.
69. **C. BILLIENUS** (C. f.), q. Delos before 100, leg. Delos, pr. c. 107, procos. Asia? c. 106.  
*PW* Bellienus 3–4. *Cic. Brut.* 175: ‘per se magnus’ through his legal expertise, he would have reached the consulship but for Marius’ run in office.
70. **Q. BRAETIUS SURA**, leg. proq. C. Sentii (Mac.) 93–86.  
*PW* 10, Supp. iii. *IG* ix. 613; *Rev. Arch.* 1948, 831 for the spelling of the name: Appian, *Mith.* 29 has ‘Bruttios’, Plut. *Sulla* 11. 4 ‘Brettios’.
71. **BURRIENUS**, pr. urb. 83.  
*PW* 1; possibly a new citizen (Gabba, *Ath.* 1954, 102 n. 1)? See Shackleton Bailey, *JRS* 1955, 36 on the text of *Cic. QF* ii. 10. 3 (Feb. 54): his explanation of the joke concludes that ‘perhaps . . . the nobles in Cicero’s audience had resented the occupation of a curule magistracy by a certain low-born person named or nicknamed Burrhinus’. It could be the son of no. 71, if the pun ‘burrhinum/Burrienum’ is acceptable.

72. **CAECILIUS** (or **POMPONIUS**), tr. pl.? 45.  
Cic. *Att.* xiii. 35. 1: 'o rem indignam! gentilis tuus urbem auget, quam hoc biennio primum vidit.' See *MRR* on his office.
73. **Q. CAECILIUS NIGER**, q. Sic. 72. SICILY  
*PW* 101; Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 256-7. 'Domo Siculus' (ps. Asc. 185 St.), educated in Sicily (Cic. *div. Caec.* 39), ἀπελευθερικός (Plut. *Cic.* 39, cf. Badian, *FC* 302-3).
- 74? **CAECINA** (Sab.?), leg. (env.) 41. (VOLATERRAE?)  
*PW* 4. No doubt identical with Octavian's friend 'Caecina quidam Volateranus' sent by him to Cicero in the autumn of 44 (Cic. *Att.* xvi. 8. 2); *MRR*, however, identifies him with no. 75. The gens was most prominent in Volaterrae: Cic. *Caec.* 18 and *passim*, *fam.* vi. 6. 9; Pliny, *NH* x. 71; *CIL* xi. 1743, 1760-8 and p. 325; *NS* 1955, 114 ff., 123 (for the tribe). Taylor, *VDRR* 198-9; cf. Syme, *JRS* 1966, 58 (with n. 48) on A. Caecina Severus, *suff.* 1 B.C.
75. **L. CAECINA L. f.**, q., tr. pl., procos. (VOLSINII?)  
*PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 96; *ILLRP* 438 (Volsinii).
76. **C. CAEDICIUS AGRIPPA**, (pr.), cur. rip. alv. Tib. between A.D. 14 and 24. (CAMPANIA: MINTURNAE??)  
*PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 114; de Laet 540. *CIL* vi. 31543: below L. Caninius Gallus (*suff.* A.D. 2) and L. Volusenus Catulus f. (son of no. 512) on the Tiber board.  
C. Caedicius C. f. was *Ilvir* at Minturnae with L. Gellius L. f. Poplicola, probably early in Augustus' reign (*CIL* x. 6017, cf. 6025a; *ILLRP* 741—a freedman and two slaves); one of the two C. Caedicii in *CIL* vi has the tribe Fal. (vi. 3509, the other 1870a); Pliny, *NH* xiv. 62, cf. Livy xxii. 36. 7; *CIL* x. 4727 for a *vicus Caedici* near Sinuessa; Festus 45 L records 'Caediciae tabernae' on the Via Appia, named after their owner; an early M. Caedicius M. f. appears at Cumae, an A. Caedicius *Pompeianus* at Clusium (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 1614, xi. 2255); and Caedicia M. f. Victrix may have come from Naples (*IG* xiv. 722; Callender, *RA* no. 218). The evidence points to the Campanian coast—perhaps Minturnae in particular—as the *origo* of no. 76.
77. **C. CAELIUS C. f. RUFUS**, leg. propr. Mac. 52, tr. pl. 51. (TUSCULUM)  
*PW* 7. Tusculum: *CIL* xiv. 2622-7; Groag, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 141; Syme, *RR* 362 n. 5.
78. **M. CAELIUS M. f. RUFUS**, tr. pl. 52, aed. cur. 50, pr. per. 48. *PW* 35. (INTERAMNIA PRAETUTTIORUM)  
Cic. *Cael.* 3, 5, 73 for his *novitas*, *ibid.* 5 and Austin, *Pro Caelio*<sup>3</sup> appendix ii for his origin. Broughton, *AJP* 1929, 279 ('Formiae'); Münzer, *PW* iii. 1267 and Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 6 n. 19 ('Tusculum'); *contra* *CQ* 1964, 126.
79. **C. CAEPASIUS**, q. before 70.

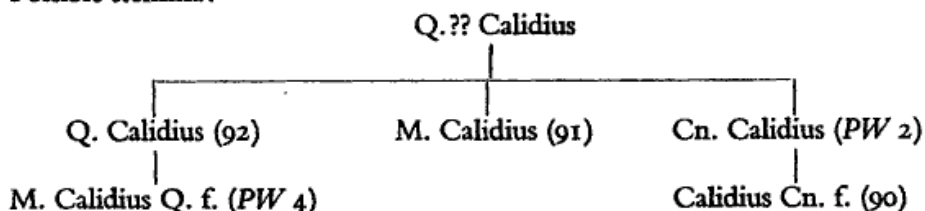
80. **L. CAEPASIUS**, q. before 70.  
*PW* 1; Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 23 n. 119: 'ignoti homines et repentini' (Cic. *Brut.* 242). *CIL* iii. 14045 (Pannonia) the only other example of the name; cf. Callender, *RA* no. 221 for a south Italian Caepo, and *TLL* Onom. 30-1 for Caeparius and Caepius.
81. **C. CAERELLIUS M. f. Qui.**, tr. mil., q., tr. pl., pr., leg. M. Antoni, procos.  
 (SABINI??)  
*PW* 2; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 155; de Laet 77. The *cognomen* of C. Caerellius Sabinus, legionary legate under Commodus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 161) may be significant in view of this man's tribe. Sabinus' son was in the Oufentina (c 157, cf. Taylor, *VDRR* 200), but his full name was C. Caerellius Fufidius Annius Ravus Pollittianus, and the tribe may have come with one of his other *gentilicia*.
82. **CAESENNIUS (Ste.?) LENTO**, leg.? C. Caesaris (Spain) 45, VIIvir a.d. 44.  
 (TARQUINI??)  
*PW* 6. Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 113 for Tarquinii (Cic. *Caec.* 10, 17, 27; *CIL* xi. 3392, 3415-17).
83. **P. CAESETIUS**, q. Sic. 72. *PW* 3. (CAMPANIA??)
84. **L. CAESETIUS FLAVUS**, tr. pl. 44. *PW* 4. (CAMPANIA??)
85. **CAESETIUS RUFUS**, senator 43. *PW* 5. (CAMPANIA??)  
 P. Caesetius Sex. f. Capito was *IIVir* of Pompeii in 2 B.C. (*CIL* x. 857c, 890), and the name is mainly concentrated in Campania. The father of no. 84 was an *eques* (V.M. v. 7. 2); cf. Q. Ligarius' friend C. Caesetius (Cic. *Lig.* 33).
- 86? **L. CAESIUS**, mon. c. 120-110. *PW* 4.
87. **M. CAESONIUS**, aed. pl. 69, pr. by 66, cos. cand. 64. *PW* 1.
88. **C. CAETRONIUS (Cam.?)**, leg. (leg. I) Germ. Inf. A.D. 14.  
 (ATRIA?? SUASA SENONUM??)  
*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 216; de Laet 79. Probably related to C. Caetronius C. f. Cam. Miccio, proconsul of Baetica about A.D. 37-8 (*AE* 1966, 186): see Alföldy, *FH* 67-70, who assigns Miccio to Suasa Senonum on the strength of the tribe and the Celtic *cognomen* (Holder, *AS* ii. 58 f.). But since the name Caetronius is common in Venetia (*TLL* Onom. 57), Atria may be a more likely conjecture.
- 89? **CAFO**, VIIvir a.d.a. 44.  
 Cf. Syme, *JRS* 1937, 135-6. Possibly not a senator: cf. Cassius Scaeva, another archetypal Caesarian centurion, but not a senator, despite Cic. *Att.* xiv. 10. 2 (cf. Syme, loc. cit. 128), for he was still serving in 41 (*ILLRP* 1116a, cf. 498).

90. CALIDIUS Cn. f., senator by 73. Cf. *PW* 2.

91? M. CALIDIUS (Q. f.), mon. c. 120-110. *PW* 3.

92. Q. CALIDIUS, tr. pl. 98, pr. 79, propr. Hisp. Cit. 78. *PW* 5.

Possible stemma:



The father of no. 90 was the 'eques splendidus et gratus' whose silver horses were 'bought' by Verres (Cic. *Verr.* iv. 42). For a Calidius, presumably one of these, sent to the East in 82, see *CQ* 1964, 123.

93. Q. CALPENUS, senator before 46.

*PW* 1. 'Senator quondam actorque caesarum' (Suet. *DJ* 39. 1), perhaps demoted by the censors of 50 (so Meyer, *Caesars Mon.* 386 n. 1). Callender, *RA* no. 1427 for a 'Q. Cal. Q. f.', probably early.

94. C. CALPETANUS C. f. STATIUS RUFUS, pr. by A.D. 19, cur. rip. alv. Tib., cur. loc. publ. iud.

*PW* 4; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 236; de Laet 548. His career, and that of certain other *novi*, may be dated from *CIL* vi. 31544, from which it appears that he and no. 408 were senior to M. Marcellus, pr. A.D. 19; and from *CIL* vi. 1266-7 and 31574, which give two orders of seniority: no. 94 above no. 336 above no. 315 above M. Crassus Frugi (cos. A.D. 27), and no. 500 above M. Cornutus (*fr. Arv.* A.D. 14) above the son of no. 512 above no. 336. It follows that nos. 94 and 500 are certainly Augustan senators, nos. 315 and 336 possibly.

95. L. CALPURNIUS L. f. Pub. SQUILLIUS (?), q. imperatorum, tr. pl., pr. (VERONA)

*PW* 120; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 319. *CIL* v. 3335 (Verona), known only from a fifteenth-century copy: 'L. Calpurnio L. f. Pub. Squillio q. imperatorum trib. pl. praef. (sic) d.d. patrono' (the dedicator's name not recorded). In *PW*, Groag suspected both the *cognomen* and 'q. imperatorum'; in *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, however, he accepted the *cognomen*, whatever its exact form, as confirmed by the consular Gavius Squillae Gallicani of the second century A.D. (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 113-14) and the Veronese *eques* M. Gavius M. f. Pob. Squillianus (*CIL* v. 3401). There is also L. Licinius Squillus, an *eques* in Spain in 48 B.C. (*bell. Alex.* 52, 55): perhaps Calpurnius' *cognomen* was really 'Squillus', the second i being a mistake by the copyist, whose fallibility is shown by his misreading of 'praet.'

The formula 'q. imp.', not specifying the emperor concerned, does sometimes appear in imperial inscriptions (e.g. *ILS* 1114, 2927; cf. *CIL* xiv. 4240), and it is possible that this man was quaestor in a year spanning two reigns,



such as A.D. 14. To be *quaestor Augusti* (the usual term) was however a great favour, and this man's career seems impossibly undistinguished for such an honour. More probably he belongs to the triumviral age. Compare T. Marius Siculus, 'praef(ectus) duor(um) princ(ipum)' in the thirties B.C. (*CIL* xi. 3058; Groag, *Klio* 1914, 55-6).

96. C. CALVISIUS C. f. SABINUS, leg. C. Caesaris (Greece) 48, pr. 46?, procos.? Afr. 45-44, cos. 39, procos.? (fleet) 38-37, leg. Caes. Oct. (or praef.) 36-35, procos. Spain 31-28; VIIvir ep., curio maximus. (SPOLETIUM)  
*PW* 13; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 352; de Laet 87. Either he or his son was patron of Spolegium (*ILS* 925); for his origin there see Syme, *Latomus* 1958, 79-80; *Hist.* 1964, 113, to which add *CIL* xi. 6689. 60, a brick-stamp of C. Calvisius Primus at near-by Interamna Nahars.
- 97? CANIDIUS, q.? Cyprus 57.  
*PW* 1; see *CQ* 1964, 123 on his office, and cf. V.P. ii. 45. 4 (a quaestor with Cato). Probably identical with no. 98.
98. P. CANIDIUS P. f. CRASSUS, leg. M. Lepidi (Gall. Narb.) 43, procos.? Gaul/Italy 41-40, cos. suff. 40, procos./leg. M. Antoni (Parthia, etc.) 37-31.  
*PW* 2; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 106; Robinson, *BM Cyrene* ccxxi-ii; cf. no. 97.
- CANINIUS, see SALLUSTIUS (371).
99. Ti. CANNUTIUS, tr. pl. 44.  
*PW* 3; no doubt connected with the C. Cannutius who opposed Octavian and Antony (Suet. *rhet.* 4). *TLL* Supp. 141 for the distribution of the name.
100. C. CANULEIUS, tr. pl. 99.  
*PW* 3; Gruen, *Hist.* 1966, 34 f. for the date of his tribunate—the year after P. Furius', which was probably 100, rather than 99 as in *MRR*.
101. D. CARFULENUS, leg.? C. Caesaris (Egypt) 47, tr. pl. 44, leg. Caesaris Oct. (or A. Hirti) 43.  
*PW* 1. Name unparalleled: cf. Schulze, *LE* 353 (Etruscan origin?).
102. CARISIUS, leg. Caesaris Oct. (fleet) 36. (AVENNIO??)
103. P. CARISIUS, leg. propr. Lusitania 27-? 22 (AVENNIO??)  
*PW* 1 (identifying the two); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 422; de Laet 93; Alföldy *FH* 131 f. For the *origo* see below on no. 104, and de Laet, pp. 36-7 (*contra* Gardthausen, *Aug.* ii. 138-9). No. 102 may be identical with either 103 or 104.
- 104? T. CARISIUS (Vol.?), mon. c. 46. (AVENNIO?)  
*PW* 2; *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 2279; *CQ* 1965, 160 n. 9 for his origin from Avennio in Narbonensis and his probable adlection by Caesar. *TLL* Supp. 194-5 for the name: apart from isolated instances in Ostia, Forum Livi, and Atria, it is

concentrated in two areas, Campania and Narbonese Gaul. This distribution strongly suggests emigration to Narbonensis by Campanians, presumably *negotiatores*.

105. C. CARRINAS (Qui? Col?), leg.? C. Mari 83, pr. 82.  
*PW* 1; Taylor, *VDRR* 201 for the tribe. His family perhaps newly enfranchised (Gabba, *Ath.* 1954, 102 n. 1)? He was the father of C. Carrinas *suff.* 43 (Dio li. 21. 6), who was a beneficiary to the will of Q. Metellus Nepos some time after 54 (V.M. vii. 8. 3).
106. A. CASCELLIUS A. f. Rom., q. by 73, pr. urb. after 43? (SORA?)  
*PW* 4; *MRR* Supp. 14 on his inferred praetorship under the Triumvirs. A Cascellius in the nineties was an expert on the *ius praedictorius* (Cic. *Balb.* 45; V.M. viii. 12. 1)—probably the father of no. 106, who was a celebrated jurist.  
 By his tribe, the Romilia, he should come from Sora. At Marruvium of the Marsi, at the other end of the upper Liris valley from Sora, was buried a Julio-Claudian senator in the Sergia tribe with the *cognomen* Cascellius (*CIL* ix. 3666); a relationship by marriage or adoption with Soran Cascellii is quite possible. A. Cascellii are known only in Rome, and only as *liberti*—clearly descendants of the freedmen of the jurist's family. One early inscription (*ILLRP* 768) records A. Cascellius A. l. Nicepor in company with an A. Clodius A. l. Apollodorus and a Vettia Q. l. Glucera: A. Clodii are rare and early, but this trail leads only to medical men at Beneventum and Tusculum (*CIL* ix. 1715, xiv. 2652); Q. Vettii, however, point to the Marsi and Marruvium itself, where Q. Vettius Q. f. Silo was *IVvir i.d.* (ix. 3694). Cf. x. 5719, a doctor at Sora married to a Vettia L. f. A Soran origin, and perhaps ties of *vicinitas* with Marruvine families, may safely be assumed for no. 106.
- 107? CASSIUS BARBA, senator? 45. (NARBO??)  
*CIL* xii. 4686 for a L. Cassius Barba at Narbo.
108. C. CASSIUS PARMENSIS, q. (fleet) 43, proq. Asia 42. (PARMA?)  
*PW* 80. Cf. Phleg. Trall. *FGrH* 257. 37. 12 (Cassii at Parma).
- 109? A. CASTRICIUS Myriotalentis f., tr. mil., praef. eq. et classis, mag. Lupercor. (etc.), XXVIvir.  
*PW* 9; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 541; de Laet 452; *ILS* 2676 (Lanuvium). In 23 B.C. a Castricius informed on the Lanuvine Varro Murena (Suet. *DA* 56. 4, cf. *ILS* 897; Cic. *Mur.* 86, 90). Stockton (*Hist.* 1965, 27) thinks Castricius was a local man, Myriotalentis the nickname of the informer, who had been enriched for his services; cf. Morris, *Geras Thomson* 153—'“son of a million dollars”, who had evidently used his myriads to buy citizenship and *dignitas*'. It seems odd to have a not very complimentary nickname on a *cursus* inscription, but on the other hand Myriotalentis is a very odd name.

The Castricii were one of the greatest of the Italian trading families in the Aegean area (Wilson, *Emigr.* 131), and used the *praenomen* Aulus: Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 68 n. 7 (Thespieae), 72 (Coronea), 100 (Cos?); *BCH* 1912, 24-5 (Delos). A. Castricii appear also at Herculaneum, Capua, and Tarracina (*CIL* x. 1403. f. 3 and 14, 4067, 6338;) cf. also *CIL* iii. 7301 (Thebes), Palatina tribe.

110. P. CATIENUS P. f. Ser. SABINUS, q., tr. pl., pr., praef. aer. mil. (after A.D. 5), leg. Aug., cur. rip. alv. Tib.

(ABELLINUM? TREBULA MUTUESCA?? CURES??)

*PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 551; de Laet 98. Patron of Abellinum (in the Galeria): *NS* 1928, 381; cf. *CIL* x. 1159 for a P. Catienus Q. f. there. Cures and Trebula Mutuesca are the only Sabine towns known in the Sergia (but cf. p. 257 f. below on the *cognomen*). *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 552 for his son, *CIL* vi. 14580 for his grandson?

111. C. CAUDINUS, senator 74. (CAMPANIA/CAUDINI?)

*TLL* Supp. 283-4; Schulze, *LE* 148, 534 n. 1 for the name: connected with the Samnite community of Caudium, from which the Cornelii Lentuli Caudini (*PW* 210 and his descendants) took their *agnomen*. But they did not use the *praenomen* C., so this man will not be descended from them.

The name is known from Caudina L. f. Prima and C. Cauden(i)us Primitivus at Rome; from a Pompeian Caudinius and the freedwoman of a C. Caudinus at Salernum (*CIL* vi. 14611, 1057. 5. 41, iv. 7074; *NS* 1949, 103); and from Caudina C. f., niece of a *pr. Ilvir* N. (or Cn.) Octavius A. f., whose inscription was reused in the late Empire as the 45th milestone of the Via Appia. Mommsen doubtfully assigned Octavius to Tarracina, though observing that *praetores duoviri* are not known anywhere near. However, the magistrates of Abellinum and Telesia were *pr. Ilviri*, and both towns were close to Caudium. Even if not closely linked with its place of origin, the name Caudinus seems at least to be native to Campania.

112. L. CAULIUS MERGUS, senator 74.

113. CERRINIUS (TERRINIUS?) GALLUS, senator under Augustus.

*PW* 3; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 678; de Laet 99. The manuscripts of Suet. *DA* 53 have 'Terrinius', emended by von Rohden on the strength of *CIL* x. 3722—L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Justus Lutatius Natalis. But cf. *CIL* x. 6399 (Tarracina) for a Terrinius.

114. P. CERVIUS, leg. C. Verris (Sic.) 73-2. *PW* 1.

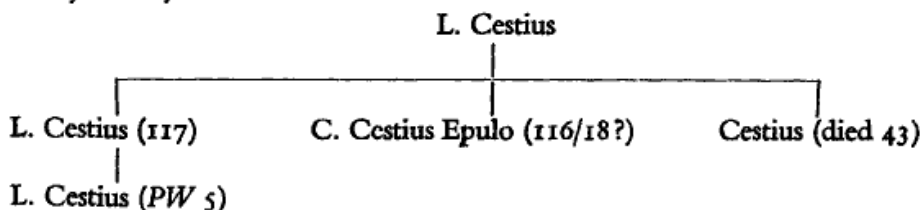
115. C. CESTILIUS, tr. pl. 57. *PW* 1.

116. C. CESTIUS (Pob.), pr. 44. *PW* 3.

117. L. CESTIUS (Pob.), pr.? 44/43. *PW* 4.

118. C. CESTIUS L. f. Pob. EPULO, tr. pl., pr. late Rep./early Aug.; VIIvir ep. *PW* 7; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 686; Syme (*Hist.* 1964, 114) connects these men with the Praenestine Cestii—cf. M. Plaetorius Cestianus, no. 320 below.

Nos. 116 and 118 may be identical, in which case 117 may be Epulo's brother and heir (*ILS* 917a). Münzer (*PW*), however, identifies with no. 116 the Cestius who committed suicide in the proscriptions (App. *BC* iv. 26); compare the cases of 'Thouranium' and Naso, who may be two other praetors of 44, nos. 449 and 543 below (App. *BC* iv. 18, 26), but Appian gives the rank of 'Thouranium' alone. More probably the proscription victim was a third brother. No. 117 was probably the father of L. Cestius (*PW* 5), senator in 17, though de Laet (no. 100) considers the latter a son of 118. I suggest the following stemma for the senatorial Cestii; to judge by the *praenomina*, the *negotiatores* known in the East (Cic. *Flacc.* 31, *Att.* v. 13. 1; *IG* iii. 283; Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 59 n. 2, 125, 128) must be connected with them, but it is impossible to say exactly how.



119? M. CIPIUS M. f., mon. c. 125-120.

*PW* 2: perhaps the Cippius who remarked 'non omnibus dormio' (Lucilius, *ap. Festus* 173 l; cf. Cic. *fam.* vii. 24. 1; Juv. i. 56 f.). Rowland's political inferences from Cippius' name in *CP* 1967, 186-7 go well beyond the evidence.

120. M. CISPIUS L. f., tr. pl. 57, pr. after 49?

*PW* 4. His father supported Cicero in 57 (Cic. *red. sen.* 21, *Sest.* 76); L. Cispus, an officer in Caesar's fleet blockading Thapsus, doubtless identical with Plancus' officer Cispus Laevus, may be his son (*PW* 3, 6). A connection with C. Cispus the Arretine vase-manufacturer is not impossible, but *NS* 1949, 248 (an amphora marked 'M. Cisp. pr.'—cf. *ILLRP* 383 n.) is more probably evidence of wine-production on Cispus' estates.

121. C. CLODIUS C. f. VESTALIS, mon. c. 40, procos. Crete/Cyrene.

(FORUM CLODI?)

*PW* 62, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 1192; de Laet 116. Patron of Forum Clodi (*ILS* 904; cf. Taylor *VDRR* 205)—possibly a descendant of the founder? Stucchi, *Cirene* 174 nos. 34-6 for his activities in Cyrene; *CIL* xi. 3311 (also from Forum Clodi) for his son.

122. CLOELIUS (CLOULIUS?), leg.? 83.

(TARRACINA??)

*PW* 5. Perhaps identical with T. Cloulius, quaestor c. 95 and son of no. 123 (q.v.).

123? T. CLOULIUS, mon. c. 130-125.

(TARRACINA?)

*PW* 5. *CR* 1967, 263 f. for his suggested identification with T. Cloelius

Tarracinesis (Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 64), his connection with the banker C. Cloelius of Tarracina (*ILLRP* 991), and speculations about earlier Volscian Cloclii or Cluili.

124. C. COCCEIUS (Pap.?) BALBUS, cos. suff. 39, leg. M. Antoni (Greece).  
(NARNIA?)  
*PW* 3; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1214; de Laet 118; Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* xiii. 287 for his *praenomen* and consulship. Presumably related to the Nervae (*PIR*<sup>2</sup>)—brother of nos. 125–6?
- 125? L. COCCEIUS (Pap.) NERVA, leg. (env.) 41, 37. (NARNIA)  
*PW* 12; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1223; de Laet 119; Crook 105. *Epit. Caes.* 12. 1 for Narnia. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 50 for his 'plenissima villa' at Caudium, *ILLRP* 556 for an early L. Coceius who was *IVvir i.d.* at near-by Beneventum.
126. M. COCCEIUS (Pap.) NERVA, proq. propr. M. Antoni 41, procos.?  
Asia 38–37, cos. 36, XVvir s.f. by 31. (NARNIA)  
*PW* 13; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1224; de Laet 120; Crook 106. Brother of no. 125.
127. C. COELIUS C. f. C. n. CALDUS, tr. pl. 107, pr. c. 99, procos. Hisp.  
Cit. c. 98, cos. 94, procos. Gaul 93–90 (–87?).  
*PW* 12; Cic. *de or.* i. 117, *Verr.* v. 181, *Mur.* 17, *comm. pet.* 11.
128. Q. COELIUS (Q. f.) LATINIENSIS, tr. pl. and leg. (Asia) between 81  
and 70? or tr. pl. 68, leg. 67?? (TUSCULUM)  
*PW* 20; *ILLRP* 688 (Tusculum), Cic. *leg. Man.* 58. CQ 1964, 122–3 for the  
dating problem; *contra* Syme, *JRS* 1963, 55 ff., who would put Coelius 'only  
a year or two' before 66 (*ibid.* 55 n. 5 for his *legatio*).
129. M. COELIUS M. f. VINICIANUS, q. c. 56?, tr. pl. 53, pr. c. 48?, procos.  
Bith./Pont.? 47. (TUSCULUM?)  
*PW* 27; *ILLRP* 402 (Tusculum).
- 130? COMICIUS (?) POLLIO, senator? A.D. 19.  
*PW* Domitius 72; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 159; de Laet 166; Syme, *JRS* 1949, 11–12; *TLL*  
Supp. 542 for the name.
131. (CO)MINIUS T. f. (Pol.) LONGINUS, senator by 44?, pr. (NARBO)  
*ILLRP* 296; CQ 1965, 159–60.
132. Q. CONSIDIUS, senator by 74.  
*PW* 7. (i) The senator Q. Considius is mentioned in 74, 70, and 59 (Cic. *Cluent.* 107, *Verr.* i. 18, *Att.* ii. 24. 4; Plut. *Caes.* 14. 6); (ii) a *publicanus* Q. Considius was a friend of L. Crassus (V.M. ix. 1. 1); (iii) a *faenerator* Q. Considius is mentioned in 63 and 61 (V.M. iv. 8. 3; Cic. *Att.* i. 12. 1);

(iv) Q. Considius Gallus was a *negotiator* in Africa in 44 (Cic. *fam.* xii. 20. 1); and (v) a Q. Considius was *IVvir* of Clusium (*ILLRP* 589).

Nicolet identifies (i), (ii), and (iii) as the same man, the father of (iv) (*Ord. eq.* 583-4, but cf. pp. 377, 385), and this is the most economical hypothesis; the senator was an old man in 59, and could well be identical with (ii). Brunt (*Equites* 126 n. 7) also considers (i) and (iii) as probably identical; Syme, however (*Hist.* 1964, 163), identifies (iii) with (iv), and as 'close kin' to (i). A case might also be made for identifying (i) (a Sullan senator?) with (v)—see p. 46 n. 4 above.

133. C. COPONIUS (-. f. T. n.), praef. Syria 53, pr. 49, propr. (fleet) 48.  
(TIBUR)

*PW* 3, 9; no doubt one of the grandsons of T. Coponius Tiburs, who won the citizenship 'damnato C. Masone'; they are described in 56 as 'adulescentes humanissimi et doctissimi' (Cic. *Balb.* 52, *Caef.* 24). Possibly identical with the proscribed Coponius who was saved by his wife's appeal to Antony (App. *BC* iv. 40), and with the 'vir e praetoriis gravissimus', father-in-law of P. Silius, who opposed Plancus in 32 (V.P. ii. 83. 3).

134? CORD(I)US, mon. c. 70.

Obv. KALENI (i.e. no. 185 below), rev. CORDI. He could be a Cordius (father of no. 135?), or a Cordus, *gentilicium* unknown. Nos. 143, 396, and Caesius Cordus (*PW* 19) are the nearest known senatorial Cordi; *TLL* Supp. 595. 78-81 for C. Mucius Cordus (Scaevola), *ibid.* 596 for other men with the *cognomen*.

135. M'. CORDIUS M'. f. RUFUS, mon. c. 48, pr., procos. (TUSCULUM)  
*PW* 2; Sydenham, *RRC* 976; *ILLRP* 414 for Tusculum.

136. C. CORFIDIUS (?) C. f. LONGUS, leg. propr. Afr. before A.D. 2.  
(SABINI??)

*PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 1512; de Laet 152; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 118 (*CIL* ix. 4811; Pliny, *NH* vii. 176 ff.; Cic. *Att.* xiii. 44. 3; Gran. *Lic.* 10 B; Cic. *Lig.* 33) for his origin. His name was copied from the inscription (now lost) as 'Cortidius', which is unparalleled; as legate in Africa, he was the colleague of P. Alfenus Varus, *cos.* A.D. 2 (*CIL* viii. 979).

137. L. CORNELIUS L. f. Clu. BALBUS, *cos. suff.* 40. GADES  
*PW* 69. Enfranchised in 72 with his brother P. (father of no. 138), adopted by Pompey's agent Theophanes (Cic. *Balb.* 57, *Att.* vii. 7. 6), *praef. fabr.* under Caesar in 62 and 59 (*Balb.* 63); he is not recorded in any senatorial office before his consulship, though he was considering entering the Senate in May 49 (*Att.* x. 11. 4; cf. Suet. *DJ* 78; Plut. *Caes.* 60. 1).

138. L. CORNELIUS P. f. BALBUS, q. and proq. Hisp. Ult. 44-43, propr.? Spain 40; pontifex. GADES

*PW* 70; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 1331; de Laet 125. Velleius (ii. 51. 3) calls him 'ex privato

consularis', though he had been quaestor and a promagistrate. Probably Velleius confused him with no. 137, though Münzer (*PW*) and Groag (*PIR*<sup>2</sup>) assume that Augustus adlected him *inter consulares* without his having held any curule office. Lewis, *Priests* 30 for his pontificate, attested on coins.

**139. CORNIFICIUS**, senator *c.* 100? (LANUVIUM)

*CQ* 1964, 123: Münzer was wrong to call his son, Cicero's competitor, a *novus*. The grandson's coins show the family's origin (Sydenham, *RRC* no. 1352).

CORTIDIUS, see CORFIDIUS (136).

**140. L. COSSINIUS**, *pr.* 73. TIBUR

*PW* 2. Presumably L. Cossinius Tiburs, enfranchised after a successful prosecution under the *lex Servilia repetundarum* (*Cic. Balb.* 53-4; Badian, *FC* 304); cf. *CIL* xiv. 3755; *AE* 1931, 78 for a Cossinia L. f. at Tibur. L. Cossinius, friend and perhaps *tribulis* of Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, was probably the Tiburine's son, 'hic optimus atque ornatissimus eques' (*Cic. Balb.* 53, *fam.* xiii. 23. 1, cf. *Att.* i. 19. 11, 20. 6, ii. 1. 1; Varro, *RR* ii. 1. 1).

**141? L. COSSUTIUS C. f. SABULA**, *mon.* *c.* 72.

*PW* 6. Father of C. Cossutius Maridianus, *mon.* 44?

**142. A. COTTIUS**, *procos.* *Hisp.* under Augustus. (CAMPANIA??)

*PW* 2; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> *c.* 1548; de Laet 153. The name is found mostly in Campania: *TLL* Supp. 676; Hatzfeld, *BCH* 1912, 131 (*ibid.* 30-1 for second-century Cottii on Delos); Vetter, *HID* 188 on the Oscan *kotteieis*. The origin of Vestricius Spurinna's wife Cottia (*Plin. ep.* iii. 10) is unknown.

**143? A. CREMUTIUS CORDUS**, senator? under Augustus. (ETRURIA?)

*PW* 2; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> *c.* 1565; de Laet 461: accused of *maiestas* in the Senate, so probably a senator (cf. Syme, *Tacitus* 141). The name is known only from Cremutia L. l. Albana at Rome and C. Cremutius Secundus at Falerii (*CIL* vi. 35059, xi. 3155d). Cordus' daughter was called Marcia after her mother: cf. Sumner, *Phoen.* 1965, 138 on this Etruscan custom.

**144. M. CREPEREIUS**, senator 70, *tr. mil.* (a *populo*) 69.

*PW* 1: 'ex acerrima illa equestri familia ac disciplina' (*Cic. Verr. act.* i. 30). Perhaps father or elder brother of Q. Crepereius M. f. Rocus, *mon.* *c.* 71.

*TLL* Supp. 698-9; Levick-Jameson, *JRS* 1964, 100 ff. for the distribution of the name (originally Sabine?) and the fortunes of the Crepereii under the Empire in commerce and soldiering.

**145? P. CREPUSIUS**, *mon.* *c.* 82.

*PW* 1. Name found only at Rome (*CIL* vi. 16565, C. Crepusius C. f. Pom.). Cf. Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 115 on Varro, *LL* vi. 5 ('Crepusci at Amiternum').

146. A. CRISPINUS CAEPIO, q. Bith. by A.D. 15, leg. Tib. and Calig.  
*PW* Caepio 3; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 149; de Laet 76. Syme (*JRS* 1949, 14) and Groag (*PW*, *PIR*<sup>2</sup>) take Caepio as the gentile name, Crispinus as the *cognomen*: cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 150-1, E 83 for A. Caepio Crispinus (*cos. suff. ann. inc.*) and Ti. Caepio Hispo. But see *CIL* vi. 9341, 16587, 31762, 31765: Crispini Caepionis f., A. Crispinus Caepionianus, Crispina Caepionis f., *ossa* A. Crispini Caepionis.
147. L. CRITONIUS, aed. pl. c. 83.  
*PW* 2. Aedile before 84, if his coin-types refer to grain-distributions under Cinna. Father of Critonius, aed. 44?
148. C. CURTIUS, senator (adl. by Caesar) 45. (VOLATERRAE)  
*PW* 6; *Cic. fam.* xiii. 5. 2. His rank depended on his Volaterran estate, which was presumably hereditary. A friend of Cicero 'ab ineunte aetate', he had suffered a *calamitas* under Sulla; could his father have been Curtius, the professional prosecutor killed in the proscriptions of 82 (*Cic. Rosc. Amer.* 90)?
149. Sex. CURVIUS (Vol.?) SILVINUS, q. propr. Hisp. Ult. under Aug. or Tib. (NEMAUSUS??)  
*AE* 1962, 287; Alföldy, *FH* 182-3: perhaps father of Sex. Curvius Sex. f. Vol. Tullus (*CIL* vi. 16671), identified by Groag (*PW*) as the natural father of the Cn. Domitii Lucanus and Tullus who were adopted by Cn. Domitius Afer about A.D. 42. The tribe and the adoptive parent's origin suggest that the Curvii came from Nemausus too.
150. M. CUSINIUS M. f. Vel., aed. pl., aerario praef., pr. 44. (PICENUM??)  
*PW* 1-2; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 1626; de Laet 156; Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 17 on the date of his entry to the Senate. His inscription at Tusculum (*ILS* 965) probably indicates a villa there; the tribe suggests a Picene origin (Taylor, *VDRR* 326). M. Cusinii are known outside Rome only from the affiliation of women at Pata-vium and Turin: *CIL* v. 2829 (mother of a *sacerdos divae Domitillae*), 6956a, cf. 7027-8 for Taurinian Cusii. A Cusinius was joint-owner with Trebonius of the *locus Publicianus* considered by Cicero in 45 as a possible site for Tullia's shrine (*Cic. Att.* xii. 38a. 2, 41. 3). The imperial Cusinii were descended from no. 150, to judge by the tribe (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 395-6).
- 151? (DE)CIDIUS C. f. RUFUS, Xvir a.d.a.? 91?  
*MRR* ii. 23; Cichorius, *RS* 120-1.
152. DECIDIUS SAXA, q. and proq. Syria 41-40. (SPAIN)  
*PW* 3: brother of no. 153 (*Dio* xlvii. 25. 2).
153. L. DECIDIUS SAXA, tr. pl. 44, VIIvir a.d.a. 44, leg. M. Antoni (Syria) 42-40. (SPAIN)  
*PW* 5; Syme, *JRS* 1937, 132-3 (*Cic. Phil.* xi. 12, xiii. 27, etc.) on his origin and status.



154. Q. DELLIUS, leg. M. Antoni (Asia) 41-31.  
*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 29; de Laet 157; Crook 132; Gardthausen, *Aug.* ii. 180.
155. C. DIDIUS C. f. Qui., senator 129. (SABINI??)  
 Taylor, *VDRR* 210. Possibly related to the Didius who was tribune in 143.
156. T. DIDIUS T. f. Sex. n. (Cor.?), tr. pl. 103, pr. by 101, procos. Mac. 100-99?, cos. 98, procos. Hisp. Cit. 97-93, leg. L. Caesaris 90-89.  
*PW* 5; Cic. *Mur.* 17. No doubt identical with the moneyer T. Deidius. For the tribe see *CIL* ii. 3462, with Badian, *FC* 306 and *Hist.* 1963, 143; the name does not occur in any town in the Cornelia.
157. A. DIDIUS POSTUMUS, procos. Cypr. after 22. (HISTONIUM??)  
*PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 72; de Laet 161. The *praenomen* strongly suggests that he belongs to the family of A. Didius Gallus, *cos. suff.* A.D. 36, whose *origo* may tentatively be assigned to Histonium on the strength of *CIL* ix. 2903 (the slave-girl of a Didia Galla) and *ILS* 915 (Didia, wife of Paquius Consus of Histonium and grandmother of no. 308); see Syme, *Hist.* 1968, 75.
- 158? DOMITIUS APULUS, senator? 43. (APULIA?)  
*PW* 34; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 61: not specifically called a senator, but named in a list of them.
- 159? M. DURMIUS, mon. c. 18. (TUSCULUM?? CAMPANIA??)  
*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 209; de Laet 167; Mattingly-Sydenham, *RIC* 126-35: coins reminiscent of Campanian types. M. Durmius aedile with C. Caelius at Tusculum, another Marcus at Velitrae (*CIL* xiv. 2627, x. 6582); other Durmii at Aricia, Tarquinia, and Polimartium (*TLL s.v.*, Schulze, *LE* 160). No. 452 below was presumably his son.
160. C. EGNATULEIUS, q. c. 97. *PW* 1.  
 Grueber, *RRCBM* i. 164-5 n. 3 on his coin-types, celebrating Marius' victories in Gaul. Father of L. Egnatuleius, q. 44?
161. C. EPIDIUS MARULLUS, tr. pl. 44. *PW* 3.
162. M. EPPIUS M. f. Ter., q. by 52, leg. Q. Metelli (Afr.) 46, Sex. Pompeii (Spain) 44. (MINTURNAE?)  
*PW* 2; Taylor, *VDRR* 211; Münzer, *RM* 1935, 324 for Minturnae (Cic. *Att.* viii. 11b. 1, etc.), but he may have been only a villa-owner there.
163. L. EQUITTIUS, tr. pl. (des.) 100. FIRMUM  
*PW* 3. V.M. ix. 15. 1 for his origin; for the date of his death see Gabba on Appian, *BC* i. 33 (pp. 110-11) and Gruen, *Hist.* 1966, 33 n. 6. See *vir. ill.* 73. 2 on his status; excluded by Metellus Numidicus from the census of 102 (V.M. ix. 7. 2; *vir. ill.* 62. 1; Cic. *Sest.* 101; *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. p. 196).

164. L. ERUCIUS L. f. Ste., q. by 44. (UMBRIA??)  
*PW* 3. Perhaps related to C. Erucius, prosecutor in two cases concerning Umbrians: Cic. *Rosc. Am. passim*, esp. 45–6 on Erucius' obscure origin and 48 on Umbria, *pro Vareno ap. Prisc. GLK* ii. 112; Quint. viii. 3. 22. There was a Spoletine local magistrate called C. Erucius C. f. (*CIL* xi. 4800), and the Stellatina tribe is attested at three Umbrian towns.
165. L. FABERIUS L. f. Ser., senator by 78.  
*PW* 2. The tribe, like that of L. Hirtuleius (no. 208) is interesting: possibly new citizens from the Marsi or Paeligni? The Sabine villages of Cures and Trebula Mutuesca are equally possible, however; the rare names are unfortunately no help.
166. C. FABIVS HADRIANVS, pr. and propr. Afr. 84–82. (BRUNDISIUM?)  
*PW* 82; Badian *Hist.* 1963, 133 (*ILLRP* 558) for Brundisium; *ILLRP* 363 for a C. Fabius C. f. Q. n. Hadrianus honoured at Delos.
167. M. FABIVS HADRIANVS, leg. L. Luculli (Asia) 72–68. (BRUNDISIUM?)  
*PW* 83; probably younger brother of no. 166. C. Fabius M. f. (Hadrianus), pr. 58, may be his son, or else son of the M. Fabius who accused Fonteius (*Cic. Font.* 36).
168. L. FABIVS L. f. HISPANIENSIS, q. Spain 81. (SPAIN)  
*PW* 84; 'senator ex proscriptis', served under Sertorius in Spain (*Sall. Hist.* iii. 63 and 83 M), had perhaps been a follower of Lepidus (Gabba, *Ath.* 1954, 307).
169. T. FADIIVS (Lem.??), q. (consulis) 63, tr. pl. 57. (ARPINUM?? BONONIA??)  
*PW* 9; Shackleton Bailey, *CR* 1962, 195–6; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 116: not called Gallus, and not connected with Cicero's Epicurean friend who quarrelled with his brother over a *fundus* at Herculaneum (*Cic. fam.* ix. 25. 3, etc., *fin.* ii. 55, 58 for the father? Probably Fadii in any case).  
 Cicero's assistant as quaestor, and his supporter in 57: it is tempting to associate him with the Arpinate Fadii (*Cic. Att.* xv. 15. 1, 17. 1, 20. 4; Syme, loc. cit. and *JRS* 1961, 24 n. 19). Taylor, *VDRR* 213 for the possibility of Bononia; *Cic. Fam.* v. 18. 1 for his *novitas*.
170. C. FALCIDIIVS, tr. pl. and leg. before 81 (or tr. pl. 68, leg. 67?). (REATE??)  
*PW* 27; *CQ* 1964, 122–3; cf. Syme, *JRS* 1963, 55, *Hist.* 1964, 106. *CIL* ix. 4719 for Reate; cf. Vives, *MH* cxxviii. 1 for M. Falcidius, *IVvir* of Carteia in Baetica.
171. M. FALERIIVS M. f. Cla., senator 129.  
*PW* 1. No other M. Falerii known anywhere. Note a Venusian C. Falerius (*CIL* ix. 515 'litteris vetustis') and the late-republican Brundisian magnate

C. Falerius C. f. (*ILLRP* 558); the Claudia tribe is found in this quarter of Italy at two Apulian coastal towns and perhaps at Tarentum, but at this early date the tribe is no sure guide. Tarentum was colonized in 122, the other towns enfranchised after the Social War; the only places in the Claudia known before that are Misenum, Cliternia, the territory of the Aequicoli, and the suburban village of Fidenae.

172? L. FARSULEIUS MENSOR, mon. c. 74. *PW* 1.

173. M. FAVONIUS (M. f.), q. by 60, leg. Sic., aed. 52, pr. 49, propr.?  
Mac. 48. (TARRACINA)

*PW* 1; Syme, *Mus. Helv.* 1958, 53, to which add Callender, *RA* no. 850. *CIL* x. 6316 (cf. 6562) for Tarracina; the name is not widespread.

174. C. FIDICULANIUS (Col.?) FALCULA, senator 74.

*PW* 1; Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 143 (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 2522) on the tribe. Perhaps identical with the banker Fidiclanus attested in 62 (*ILLRP* 1027, 1030; Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1443).

175. M. FIDUSTIUS, senator by 43 (by 82?).

*PW* 1; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 61-2. The name is found at Rome, Nepes, and Nomentum: *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 1305, vi. 16706, 35354 f., xi. 3200, 3205, 3233; *NS* 1930. 520, 1901. 209.

176. L. FILIUS L. f. Hor. (or Sab.), senator 129. *PW* 1.

177. FIRMIUS CATUS, senator by A.D. 16, pr. extra ordinem.

*PW* 2; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 158; de Laet 463.

178. Q. FISCILI(US), pr. 28. (UMBRIA?)

*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 167. The name is found only in Rome and Umbria: *CIL* vi. 17941, xi. 4668 (Tuder), 5191 (Vettona), 5228 (Fulginiae)—all with *praenomen* C.

179. C. FLAMINIUS, aed. cur. 67, iud. q. 66. (ARRETIVM?)

*PW* 4; Sall. *Cat.* 36. 1 for Arretium.

180. C. FLAVIUS C. f. FIMBRIA, cos. 104.

*PW* 87; Cic. *Verr.* v. 181, *Planc.* 12 for his *novitas*. The ill-fated brothers Fimbriae who fought for the Marians (*PW* 86 and 88) were presumably his sons. A L. Flavius Fimbria was *cos. suff.* A.D. 71—considered by Groag (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 188) to be the great-grandson of L. Flavius *suff.* 33 (*PW* 18), who would in that case be descended from no. 180.

181. M. FRUTICIUS M. f., tr. pl., aed. (before 23?), pr. (AQUILEIA?)

*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 494; de Laet 179. The Fruticii were an Aquileian family: *CIL* v. 794, 796, 989, 1218, 1219 (*praenomina* M. and Q.). The name occurs

nowhere else; this man's inscription (*ILLRP* 440) is listed under Verona, but 'de origine non constat' (*CIL* v. 3339)—clearly from Aquileia.

182. **C. FUFICIUS (C. f. Fal.) FANGO**, *procos. Afr.* 41-40. (**ACERRAE**)  
*PW* 5; *CIL* x. 3758 (Acerrae); Dio *xlvi*. 22. 3 (an ex-legionary). Cf. *ILLRP* 662. 14, a *fundus Fangonianus* at Sassina.
183. **L. FUFIDIUS**, *pr.* late second/early first century. (**ARPINUM? CAMPANIA??**)  
*PW* 3; *MRR Supp.* 25-6: perhaps identical with, or father of, the Sullan no. 184. Schulten, *Klio* 1903, 244 for the distribution of the name in Samnium, Campania, and Latium; Vetter, *HID* 5c. 2 on the Oscan *fufidis*: republican M. L. Fufidii at Teanum Sidicinum (*NS* 1907, 698-9), N. Fufidius *Ivir* Puteoli 105 (*ILLRP* 518), *CIL* iv. 3340. 57, 78, 95, 132 for Pompeii.  
 Arpinum: *ILLRP* 546 for M. Fufidius M. f. *aed.* (cf. Cic. *fam.* vii. 5. 2); *CIL* x. 5685, 5733 for other Fufidii at Arpinum and at Sora near by; Q. Fufidius Q. f. (*PW* 7) served under Cicero in Cilicia, was sent to inspect Arpinate property in Gaul in 46, and was stepson of M. Caesius, 'maxime et familiaris et necessarius' of Cicero, who served as aedile of Arpinum with the young M. Q. Cicerones (*fam.* xiii. 11-12); *QF* iii. 1. 3, *Att.* xi. 13. 3, 15. 4 for an Arpinate landowner Fufidius, identified by Münzer (*PW* 1) with the moneylender Fufidius who operated in Macedonia (Cic. *Pis.* 86; Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 12; Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 54). See now Nicolet, *REL* 1967, 297-303.
184. (**L.**) **FUFIDIUS**, *pr.* 81?, *propr.* *Hisp. Ult.* 80. (**ARPINUM?**)  
*PW* 4. 'Ancilla turpis, honorum omnium dehonestamentum' (Sall. *Hist.* i. 55. 22 M); called 'L. Fursidius primipilaris' by Orosius (v. 21. 3). If he was really an ex-centurion, it counts against his being the son of no. 183. He may be associated with the Arpinate Fufidii and/or the moneylender (see above on 183)—cf. Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 584. Perhaps a newly promoted senator, despite his praetorship in 81, since Sallust's Lepidus objected to his promotion, 'praelatus in magistratibus capiundis' (Sall. *loc. cit.*); thus Syme, *Sallust* 211, by implication.
185. **Q. FUFIVS Q. f. Q. n. CALENUS**, *mon. c.* 70, *tr. pl.* 61, *pr.* 59, *leg. C. Caesaris (Gaul)* 51-49, (*Achaea*) 48-47, *cos.* 47, *leg. propr. M. Antoni (Gaul)* 42-40. (**CALES?**)  
*PW* 10. His father, a man of conservative opinions, knew the young Cicero (Cic. *Phil.* viii. 13); L. (Fufius) Calenus, no doubt a brother, was a witness in Verres' trial and a prosecutor in 64 (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 23, *tog. cand.* Asc. 86 c). Not necessarily senators, however (cf. Shackleton Bailey, *CQ* 1960, 263 n. 9).
186. **M. FUFIVS M. f. STRIGO**, *XVvir s.f.* 17.  
*PW* 19; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 513, de Laet 181: no grandfather's initial in the Secular Games inscription.
187. **FULVIUS SETINUS (SEPINUS?)**, senator before 46. (**SETIA??**)  
*PW* 108; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 62. Compare Furius Leptinus (*PW* 62), and the gladiator Fulvius in Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7. 96.

188. T. FURFANIUS (Hor.?) POSTUMUS, q. 51?, proq. Sic. 50-49, pr. 46?,  
 procos. Sic. 45. (SPOLETIUM?)  
*PW* 1; Schulze, *LE* 357; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 116-17 for the distribution of  
 the name and the assignation of no. 188 to Spoletium; add *NS* 1893, 375,  
 a Sabine Sex. Furfanius Sex. l. Freedmen of a T. Furfanus are recorded at  
 Sestos in the first century (Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 114).
189. P. FURIUS, tr. pl. 100.  
*PW* 22; Cic. *Rab. perd.* 24; App. *BC* i. 33; cf. Dio xxviii fr. 95. 1-3. For the  
 date of his tribunate see Gruen, *Hist.* 1966, 32-4 (following Gabba).
190. C. FURNIUS, tr. pl. 50, leg. L. Planci? (Gall. Trans.) 44-43, pr. cand. 43  
 (pr. 42?), leg. L. Antoni 41-40, M. Antoni 39, procos. Asia 36-35, cos. des. 29.  
*PW* 3; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 590; de Laet 183. His son *cos.* 17 (*PW* 4).
191. C. GALLIUS, leg.? M. Antoni (Greece) 73-72? *PW* 3.
192. Q. GALLIUS, aed. pl. 67, pr. (de mai.) 65.  
*PW* 6. M. Gallius *pr.* 44 (*PW* 5) is probably to be identified with the M.  
 Gallius Q. f. who served under Caesar in 47 (Cic. *Att.* xi. 20. 2), and so  
 could well be this man's son—perhaps identical with the senator M. Gallius  
 who wanted to adopt the young Tiberius in his will (Suet. *Tib.* 6).
- 193? GAR(GONIUS), mon. c. 86. (UMBRIA??)  
 Probably identical with the Marian *eques* C. Gargonius (Cic. *Brut.* 180);  
 C. Gargonii appear only at Rome, Faventia, Mevania, and Fulginiae (*CIL* vi.  
 1058. 6. 119, 384092, 18886, xi. 629, 5103, 5205). 'Gargilius' is a formal  
 possibility: Hor. *Ep.* i. 6. 58 for the name (found predominantly in Africa),  
 cf. Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 117.
194. M. GELLIUS, senator in Cicero's lifetime.  
*PW* 7; Plut. *Cic.* 27. 2.
195. C. GEMINIUS Cam., senator 39. (TIBUR?? PISAURUM??)  
*PW* Supp. iii. 542. Perhaps the son of Pompey's friend and contemporary  
 Geminius (*PW* 2), sent to kill M. Brutus in 77 (Plut. *Pomp.* 2. 4, 16. 5), who  
 was probably not a senator. Probably identical with Antony's friend C.  
 Geminius (Plut. *Ant.* 59; cf. *CIL* xii. 553, 3598, clients?). Syme, *Hist.* 1955,  
 62-3; Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 134 on his origin.
196. P. GESSIUS P. f. Arn., pr.? by 129.  
 P. Gessii at Pompeii, Praeneste, and in the Romilia tribe (*CIL* x. 8062. 5,  
 xiv. 3144; *ILLRP* 503); the name does not occur at any town in the Arnensis.  
 Badian (*Hist.* 1963, 134) suggests Forum Clodi as Gessius' possible origin.

197. GRANIUS PETRO, q. des. 46. (PUTEOLI?)  
*PW* 9; Syme, *RR* 90-1 on his origin. The name is especially common in Puteoli: *ILLRP* 518 (C. Granius C. f., decurion 105); *CIL* x. 1783 (Q. Granius, decurion), x. 2187, 2484-9, 2607, 2651 (early gravestones), etc.; cf. *ILLRP* 819 (Stabiae); *CIL* iv. 3340. 15, 25, 54, 76 (Pompeii).  
 The Granii were supporters of Marius (Plut. *Sulla* 37. 3, *Mar.* 35. 8, 37. 2, 40. 1; App. *BC* i. 60, 62; V.M. ix. 3. 8), of Sertorius (Cic. *Verr.* v. 154), and of Caesar (Censor. iii. 2; Caes. *BC* iii. 71. 1).
198. GRATIDIUS, leg. C. Mari 88. (ARPINUM)  
*PW* 1. Probably son of M. Gratidius, the brother-in-law of Cicero's grandfather who was killed serving under M. Antonius in 101 (*PW* 2); brother of Marius Gratidianus (no. 250 below); and father of M. Gratidius, Q. Cicero's legate in Asia (*PW* 3). Cic. *leg.* iii. 36, *Brut.* 168, *QF* i. 1. 10 for this Arpinate family (not found on inscriptions outside Rome); cf. Porph. on Hor. *epod.* 3. 7, 5. 43, *Sat.* i. 8. 23 for a supposed Gratidia, Oxé-Comfort, *CVA* 131 (cf. 755-67) for a M. Gratidius Arretinus.
199. Ti. GUTTA, senator 74. (CAPUA??)  
*PW* 1; CQ 1964, 127; Gabba, *Ath.* 1951, 259; Badian, *Studies* 60, cf. *FC* 247. The Capuan Gutta of 82 can hardly be identified with the Ἀλβίως who fell at the Colline Gate, as an Albius Gutta (Gabba, *ad App.* *BC* i. 93), since the Albi Guttae were Pisan (*CIL* xi. 1420-1), and Appian explicitly calls the Marian Gutta *Καρυαῖος*. However, the family might just have been Marian Capuans who fled to northern Etruria and later appear in office at Pisae. Salmon (*Samn.* 385 n. 5) mistakenly assigns Ti. Gutta to Larinum.
200. HATERIUS, senator 43.  
*PW* 1; *MRR* Supp. 28: father, rather than brother, of Q. Haterius *cos. suff.* 5 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 24, 'familia senatoria'). A jurist (Cic. *fam.* ix. 18. 3).
201. C. HEDIUS C. f. Cla. THORUS, q. by 39. (AEQUICOLI??)  
*PW* 3; Taylor, *VDRR* 219.
202. Cn. HEIUS, senator 74. (SICILY?)  
*PW* 3; Gabba, *Ath.* 1954, 102 n. 1 (cf. Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 587) for his origin. The Heii were an old rich family of Messina (Cic. *Verr.* iv. 6, etc.—also at Lilybaeum, iv. 37).
203. C. HELVIUS CINNA, tr. pl. 44. (BRIXIA?)  
*PW* 11. Plut. *Brut.* 20. 4 for the identification with Catullus' friend Helvius Cinna the poet; Catullus 10. 30 for the *praenomen*; Cinna fr. 9 M (cf. *CIL* v. 4237) for his origin. Rostagni, *Atti r. acc. Torino* 1932-3, 502-13 on his trip to Bithynia: more probably in 66/65 (*Suda s.v.* Parthenius) than in 57 as is normally assumed (e.g. Syme, *JRS* 1961, 23-4).

204. C. HERENNIUS Sex. f., tr. pl. 60.  
*PW* 8. Cic. *Att.* i. 18. 4-5, ii. 1. 5: 'homo nequam atque egens', son of a divisor of Atticus' tribe; but for this, Atticus was not expected to know him.
205. M. HERENNIUS (M'. f. PICENS), cos. suff. 34, procos. Asia? 33.  
 (ASCULUM?)  
*PW* 13. Probably father of M. Herennius M. f. M'. n. Picens, suff. A.D. 1, and therefore perhaps grandson of Ti. Herennius, the Marsic/Picene leader in the Social War (*Eutropius* v. 3. 2; Taylor, *VDRR* 219-20: however, Salmon, *Samn.* 356 doubts his Picene origin). The proconsul M. Herennius Picens of SIG<sup>3</sup> 784 (Ephesus) may be either no. 205 or the consul of A.D. 1.
206. A. HIRTIUS A. f. (Ser.?), leg.? C. Caesaris (Gaul) c. 52-50, tr. pl.? 48, pr. 46, procos. Gall. Trans. 45, cos. 43; augur. (FERENTINUM?)  
*PW* 2; cf. Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 137: A. Hirtius A. f., censor of Ferentinum with M. Lollius early in the first century (*ILLRP* 584-6, cf. *CIL* x. 5877-8), was probably his father, but Degraffi associates him with the Q. Hirtius A. f. Ser. known at Rome (*ILLRP* 420).
207. HIRTULEIUS, q. 86/85.  
*PW* 1. Possibly identical with the C. Hirtuleius defended by L. Sisenna in the eighties (Cic. *Brut.* 260).
208. L. HIRTULEIUS (L. f. Ser.), q. Spain 79.  
*PW* 3. 'Hirtuleii fratres' fought for Sertorius in Spain (*Oros.* v. 23. 12; *vir. ill.* 63. 2; Flor. ii. 10. 6); the other brother was doubtless Q. Hirtuleius L. f. Ser., no. 34 in Strabo's *consilium*. See above on Faberius (no. 165).
209. HORATIUS, leg. C. Calvisii Sabini (Afr.), 45-43. *PW* 3.
- 210? C. HOSIDIUS C. f. (Arn.) GETA, mon. c. 68. (HISTONIUM)  
*PW* 4: *CIL* ix. 2844, 6078. 35 and 97, 6083. 96 for Hosidii Getae at Histonium (Schulten, *Klio* 1903, 244 for Hosidii elsewhere, Vetter, *HID* 168 on the Oscan *husidiis*). Dio xlviii. 10. 6; App. *BC* iv. 171 for his proscription, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 214-19 for descendants.
211. C. (HOSTILIUS) SASERNA, leg. C. Caes. (Afr.) 46. tr. pl. 44?  
 (CISALPINA?)
- 212? L. HOSTILIUS SASERNA, mon. c. 48. (CISALPINA?)
213. P. (HOSTILIUS) SASERNA, leg. C. Caes. (Afr.) 46, tr. pl. 44?  
 (CISALPINA?)  
*PW* 22-4; *MRR* Supp. 29. Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 15 n. 72 for their origin (Verona?): Varro, *RR* i. 18. 6, etc. (cf. Callender, *RA* nos. 133 and 1499) on

the Cisalpine Sasernae; Schulze, *LE* 30, 94, 175 on the *gentilicium*, connected with the Cisalpine town of Hostilia and perhaps derived from the Venetic *hosthi*.

214. HOSTILIUS TULLUS, tr. pl. des. for 42. (PICENUM?)  
*PW* 7; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 117.
215. L. INSTEIUS (L. f. Fal.), leg.? Q. Sertorii (Spain) 76. (CAMPANIA??)  
*PW* 2; Taylor, *VDRR* 272: the tribe suggests Campania. Cichorius, *RS* 167: perhaps brother of the C. Insteius (*PW* 1) who recruited cavalry for Sertorius.
216. M. INSTEIUS, tr. pl. 42?, leg. M. Antoni (fleet) 31. (PISAURUM)  
*PW* 3, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> i. 28; Cic. *Phil.* xiii. 26 (cf. *CIL* xi. 6310. 2) for his origin.
217. Q. JUNIUS (Q. f. Lem.), senator 70. (ANCONA??)  
*PW* 30; Cichorius, *RS* 168: probably brother of L. Junius Q. f. Lem. in Strabo's *consilium*, whose father is the only other Q. Junius known. If he was a Picene, like so many of his companions, then the tribe would indicate Ancona.
218. M. JUVENTIUS PEDO, senator 74.  
*PW* 18. Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 587 rightly infers equestrian origin from Cic. *Cluent.* 107 ('ex vetere illa iudicum disciplina'), but assumes a connection with the noble Juventii of Tusculum.
- 219? Q. LABERIUS L. f. Mae., senator? 129. (LANUVIUM?)  
 Taylor, *VDRR* 223.
220. T. LABIENUS, tr. pl. 63, pr.?, leg. propr. C. Caesaris (Gaul) 58-49, Cn. Pompeii (Greece/Afr.) 49-45. (CINGULUM)  
*PW* 6; Caes. *BC* i. 15. 2 (cf. *Sil. It.* i. 32-5) for his origin. His father and uncle were on opposing sides in Saturninus' *sedition* (Cic. *Rab. perd.* 22, etc.; Oros. v. 17. 9), his son Q. was the 'Parthicus imperator' of 41 (Gardthausen, *Aug.* ii. 107-9).
221. Q. LARONIUS, leg. M. Agrippae (Sic.) 36, cos. suff. 33. (VIBO VALENTIA?)  
*PW* 2; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 112. Q. Laronius Q. f. was augur and *IVvir i.d. cens. pot.* at Vibo, where a brickstamp names no. 221, whose home no doubt it was (*CIL* x. 49-50, 8041. 18); no other Q. Laronii are found outside Rome.
222. Sex. LARTIDIUS, leg. C. Asini Galli (procos. Asia) 6-5. (PISTORIAE? TIBUR??)  
*PW* 2; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 116; de Laet 210; CQ 1964, 128; Syme, *Hist.* 1956, 205.



223. L. LARTIUS L. f. Pap., aed.? by 73. (CASTRUM NOVUM?)  
*PW* 1. May be identical with, or related to, Lartius L. f. Pap. Rufus of Castrum Novum (*CIL* ix. 5150) and the Lartius described as 'callidus et versutus' by Cicero, *ap. Quint.* vi. 3. 96.
224. Ti. (LATINIUS Hor.) PANDUSA, pr. Mac. 129. (ARICIA?)  
*PW* 6. *CIL* xiv. 2166 (Aricia) for an Augustan Ti. Latinius Ti. f. Hor. Pandusa; cf. xi. 3247 (Sutrium); *IG* v. 1169; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 66; and *NS* 1890, 381 (a Pandusa at Luna).
225. (C.) LICINIUS (Ste.) SACERDOS, senator c. 100?  
*CQ* 1964, 123; Asc. 82 c: the father of Cicero's competitor, presumably the first senator in the family. *V.M.* iv. 1. 10; Cic. *Cluent.* 134 for an *eques* C. Licinius Sacerdos in 142.
226. Q. LIGARIUS, leg. propr. C. Considii (Afr.) 51-49. (CURES?)
227. T. LIGARIUS, q. urb. c. 54. (CURES?)  
*PW* 4-5; Taylor, *VDRR* 225-6 (Cic. *Lig.* 32) for their origin, Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 118 for the tribe. The third brother, killed with T. in the proscriptions (*App. BC* iv. 22), may have been Brutus' friend C. Ligarius (*Plut. Brut.* 11). *Bell. Afr.* 64 for a Pompeian P. Ligarius, *App. BC* iv. 23 for another Ligarius killed in the proscriptions.
228. L. (LIVINEIUS) REGULUS, pr. before 42. (ABELLINUM??)  
*Cf. PW* 2. *MRR* Supp. 35-6 for the praetorship. Perhaps identical with Cicero's friend L. Livineius Regulus, evidently exiled circa 58 (*Cic. Att.* iii. 17. 1, *fam.* xiii. 60. 1). *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 1613 for Abellinum (two freedmen of an early L. Livineius); L. Livineii also at Pompeii (*CIL* iv. 3340. 5, 38, 66).
229. L. LIV(IUS) RUFINUS, aed. cur. ?, procos. Ach. under Aug. (PRAENESTE??)  
*PIR* I 198; de Laet 221; Groag, *Achaea* 18 (*CIL* iii. 6367) for the name. *CIL* xiv. 2866 (cf. vi. 191) for an aedile L. Rufinus who made a dedication at Praeneste; Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* xiii. 215 on the Rufinus recorded by the Ostian *Fasti* as *suff.* A.D. 16.
- 230? M. LOLLIUS Q. f. Men., senator? 129. (CAMPANIA? PRAENESTE??)  
 Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 136 on his origin, invoking a homonymous *magister* at Capua (*ILLRP* 723b); there was also a second-century M. Lollius Q. f. on Delos (*ILLRP* 747).
231. M. LOLLIUS PALICANUS, tr. pl. 71, pr. by 69?, cos. cand. 67.  
 PICENUM  
*PW* 21; Badian, *Gnomon* 1961, 496, *Hist.* 1963, 137, against Taylor's view that no. 546 was connected with the Palicani (Taylor, *VDRR* 226; cf. *RVA*

127 n. 16; *MRR* Supp. 36). Taylor's reference to the censor of Ferentinum (*ILLRP* 584-6) is irrelevant if Badian is right. *Sall. Hist.* iv.43 M for Palicanus' origin—'humili loco Picens'.

*Val. Max.* iii. 8. 3 for his consular candidature in 67; A. Gabinius, tribune in that year, was married to a Lollia, perhaps Palicanus' daughter (*BCH* 1922, 198 f.; cf. *Suet. DJ* 50. 1; *Cic. fam.* ix. 22. 4). His son was no doubt the moneyer Palikanus of c. 47 (*PW* 20).

The banker Lollius known in 62 (*ILLRP* 1025) is very probably to be associated with the Palicani. See Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1442-3, who adduces the *tessera* type on a sestertius issue of the younger Palicanus (Grueber, *RRCBM* plate 50. 21): the ring handle and lack of an inscribed legend show that it is not, as Grueber supposed, a voting tablet (for which see his plates 47. 22, 48. 11, 49. 6, 93. 15, 96. 6 and 7), but a banker's *tessera*, as attached to a bag of coin. The design on the obverse may not be a money-bag, as Herzog identifies it, but neither is it a voting-urn: Palicanus' types are concerned with *libertas*, but record his father's part in the restoration of the tribunes' powers and have no apparent reference to ballot laws. Degrossi (*ILLRP* loc. cit.) seems to endorse Herzog's account; Taylor, however (*RVA* 37, cf. 44-5), still identifies the type as referring to ballot-voting, in connection with the restoration of the tribunes' right of legislation (cf. *ibid.* 127 n. 17, noting the ring handle but not explaining it).

This financial interest of the Palicani may connect them with the M. Lollii of Delos (Hatzfeld, *BCH* 1912, 47)—but cf. no. 230 above.

232. LUCAN(I)US, leg. C. Cosconii 89.

*PW* Lucanius 1: 'Lucanus' (*Livy, per.* 75) altered by Münzer to Lucanius on the strength of a *lex Lucania* (Varro, *Menipp.* 67 B) and M. Lucanius M. f. Hor., a *tiro* in Strabo's *consilium* (cf. Cichorius, *RS* 171-2). However, Lucanus does exist as a *gentilicium* (*CIL* vi. 5014b, 7459a. 3, b. 3, v. 523, 609, xi. 674, 4700). Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 118-19 suggests Arician origin for the *tiro* at least, invoking the curiously parallel name Latinius: cf. Syme, *JRS* 1949, 13, with *NS* 1953, 338 (Lucanian Latinii surnamed Lucanus and Lucanianus) and *NS* 1910, 80.

233? L. LUCCEIUS M. f., leg.? Mac. c. 92

*PW* 4. *ILLRP* 210, Samothrace July 92; cf. *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 664; Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 59 n. 2 for Luceii on Samothrace.

234. Q. LUCIENUS, senator c. 67.

(FALERIO??)

*PW* 1. *NS* 1921, 187 for Q. Lucienus Secundus at Falerio in Picenum; otherwise there are only L. Lucienus Rufus, a libertine Q. Lucienus at Rome (*CIL* vi. 21566, 38569), and C. Lucienus, a local magistrate at Valentia (Grant, *FITA* 472). *Cic. Att.* vii. 5. 3 for a 'Luscenius'.

235? C. LUCILIUS C. f., IIIvir cap. late Rep./early Aug.

(AQUILEIA)

*PW* 7; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 377 (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 2204, Aquileia). Miltner (*PW* 23) assumes a relationship with no. 236, but this is no more likely than that he was (e.g.) a Lucilius Hirrus.

236. C. LUCILIUS BENIGNUS NINNIANUS, tr. mil. a pop., (IIIvir cap.??),  
q. Hisp.?, aed. cer.? (CORFINIUM)

*PW* 23, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 380 (*CIL* ix. 3155, Corfinium). Augustan by his military tribunate, but a Paclignian and therefore in the Senate later than Varius Geminus (no. 463, q.v.). His career may be reconstructed as follows:

[t]r[ib.mil.] a popu[lo]  
[IIIviro cap]i[t.]  
[quaestori]  
[pr]ovinc. [H]is[p.]  
[. .]aedili ci[. .]t? (i.e. cerealis??).

The reading is very uncertain, but the gap between military tribunate and quaestorship should contain a vigintiviral post. *CIL* ix. 3156-7, 3244 for his daughter Lucilia Benigna.

237. LUCILIUS LONGUS, cos. suff. A.D. 7. (ARICIA)

*PW* 27; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 389; de Laet 231; Crook 214. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 15 for his *novitas*, *EE* vii. 1236 for his origin.

238. M. LURIUS, propr.? Sard. 42-40, leg. Caesaris Oct. (fleet) 31.

*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 425. Perhaps the banker Lurius attested in 51 (*ILLRP* 1052; Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1445).

239. C. LUSCIUS (Mae.) OCREA, senator by 76. (LANUVIUM)

*PW* 2; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 119 (*CIL* xiv. 2119; *EE* vii. 1237) for tribe and origin.

240. MAGIUS Min. f., pr. before 81. Cf. *PW* 8. AECLANUM

241. MAGIUS Min. f., pr. before 81. Cf. *PW* 8. AECLANUM

242. P. MAGIUS, tr. pl. 87. *PW* 10. (AECLANUM??)

V.P. ii. 16. 3 on nos. 240-1: praetors before Sulla increased the number in 81. One of them, or a third brother, was no doubt M. Magius Min. f. Surus, *IVvir* at Aeclanum (*ILLRP* 523); so may no. 242 have been, and/or the L. Magius who served under Fimbria against Sulla (cf. Gabba, *Ath.* 1954, 57 n. 1). See now Sumner, *HSCP* 1970, 257-62.

243. Cn. MALLIUS Cn. f. MAXIMUS, cos. (Gaul) 105.

*PW* 13. Cic. *Planc.* 12; no grandfather's initial in the Fasti Capitolini.

244. MANILIUS CUMANUS, tr. pl. 52. *PW* 24. (CUMAE??)

245. MANIUS, leg. M. Antoni 74.

Syme (*Hist.* 1964, 119) deduces a Tiburtine origin from *ILLRP* 678, a C. Manius who was a magistrate there; but there is also L. Manius, an early

quaestor at Paestum (*Arch. Class.* 1967, 101). Q. Manius was a local magistrate at Baelo in Baetica (*Vives, MH* xci. 1), T. Manius T. f. Pol. Magnus a centurion of the *legio XXII* in Germany (*CIL* xiii. 6502); note also Mania, the mother of a C. Pisentius at Clusium (xi. 2235).

The name may be a *praenomen* in any case: no. 245 could be (e.g.) Glabrio, *pr.* 70. Varro named one of his Menippean satires after a Manius (*Men.* 66 B, 259 B, etc.)—conceivably this man.

246. MANLIUS MALTINUS, leg. (amb. Bith.) 89–88.

(INTERAMNIA PRAETUTTIORUM?)

*PW* 59. Taylor, *VDRR* 231 (*CIL* ix. 5073) for origin; add the Maltinii of Nursia, not far from Interamnia (*CIL* ix. 4576–7; *NS* 1902, 122—also at Trebula Mutuesca, *AE* 1964, 26). See Nonius 53 L for the meaning of the *cognomen*; it follows that *Hor. Sat.* i. 2. 25 is probably not about a real person (otherwise it could be the son or grandson of no. 246).

247. L. MARCILIUS, leg. L. Luculli (Asia) 74–72.

(AESERNIA?)

*PW* 1. *ILLRP* 526 for Q. Marcilius L. f., *IIvir* at Aesernia. M. Marcilius, the son of Cicero's interpreter in Cilicia, was evidently a *negotiator* (*Cic. fam.* xiii. 54).

248. C. MARIUS C. f. C. n., tr. mil., q. c. 123–121, tr. pl. 119, *pr.* 115, *procos.* *Hisp. Ult.* 114, leg. Q. Metelli (Numid.) 109–108, *cos.* (Numid.) 107, *procos.* Numid. 106–105, *cos.* (Gaul) 104, 103, 102, 101, 100, *procos./leg.* P. Rutili Lupi 90, *cos.* VII 86; augur from 97.

(ARPINUM)

*PW* 14. *Sall. BJ* 63. 2, *V.P.* ii. 1 etc. etc. for his equestrian birth. See Badian, *DUF* 1964, 144 on his quaestorship, suggesting 123 as most probable in that a Metellus was consul; Carney (*Marius* 17 f.) prefers this year for the military tribunate, 121 for the quaestorship.

249. M. MARIUS, *pr.* and *propr.* *Hisp. Ult.* 102–101.

(ARPINUM?)

*PW* 22. Probably brother of no. 248, adoptive father of no. 250.

250. M. MARIUS GRATIDIANUS, tr. pl. 87?, *pr. bis* (85–84?).

(ARPINUM)

*PW* 44: *Cic. leg.* iii. 36, *Brut.* 168, *Schol. Bern. Luc.* 62 U (his sister married to Catiline).

251. L. MESCINIUS RUFUS, q. Cilicia 51.

*PW* 2. Grandfather or father of L. Mescinius Rufus, *mon. c.* 16? L. Mescinii occur outside Rome at Cremona (59 B.C.) and in the *ager Albanus* (*ILLRP* 200; *CIL* xiv. 4090. 12).

252. C. MESSIUS, tr. pl. 57, aed. pl. 55, leg. C. Caesaris (Gaul) 54, (Africa) 46.

(TEANUM SIDICINUM??)

*PW* 2. At Teanum Sidicinum in Feb. 49 (*Cic. Att.* viii. 11d. 2); cf. *ILLRP* 168 for a *mentor* Messius Stichus who made a dedication to Juno Populona at

Teanum. The name is evidently Oscan in origin (Münzer, *PW*; Chase, *HSCP* 1897, 127); for other Campanian occurrences see *ILLRP* 713 (Capua), *Hor. Sat.* i. 5. 51 ff. and Porph. (Caudium).

- 253? M. METTIUS, mon. 44. (TRANSPADANA/LIGURIA? LANUVIUM?)  
*PW* 2; perhaps identical with the M. Metius sent by Caesar to Ariovistus in 58 (Caes. *BG* i. 47. 4-6, 53. 5-8). The mission was a dangerous one, and it is unlikely that Metius was a senior officer; he was chosen because he was a *hospes* of Ariovistus—therefore quite possibly himself from Gaul, Transpadane or Narbonese. There is a concentration of Mettii in the towns of Liguria and the upper reaches of the Po, from Augusta Bagiennorum to Eporedia: *CIL* v. 6759, 6785, 7163, 7446, 7520, 7553, 7604, 7612, 7622, 7693; *NS* 1885, 57 (L. Mettius L. f. Ste. Balbinus, *IVvir* at Turin).  
 Caesar's officer perhaps came from this area, in which case his identification with the moneyer of 44 comes up against the Juno Sospita type on the latter's coins (Grueber, *RRCBM* plate 54. 4). She might just be Victoria (as in 54. 7 etc.), but the parallel type of L. Procius (51. 19) makes the goddess of Lanuvium most likely. Perhaps, if Mettius was a Gaul, he adopted a Lanuvine coin-type to divert attention from his real origin?
254. C. MILONIUS, tr. pl., leg. L. Cinnae 87. (LANUVIUM??)  
*PW* 2; Syme (*Hist.* 1964, 119-20) calls attention to Milonius, praetor of Lanuvium in 340 (Livy viii. 11. 4), and the *cognomen* of the Lanuvine T. Annius Milo.
255. Post. MIMISIUS C. f. SARDUS, tr. mil., q. (under Aug.?), aed. pl., pr., leg. Ti. Caes. Aug., procos., praef. frum. dand. ex SC. (ASISIUM)  
*PW* 1; *PIR* M 422; de Laet 684. *ILS* 947 (Tibur); *ILLRP* 550 for his grandfather (?) Post. Mimisius C. f., *maro* at Asisium with T. Mimesius Sert. f., etc. Apart from two men known at Rome (*CIL* vi. 9860, 38637), the name is restricted entirely to Asisium and its neighbourhood (xi. 5437, 5484, 5490-5, 6689. 157, 8011).  
 His career probably ended before Claudius' reign at least (Kornemann, *PW* iv. 1780 on *praefecti frum. dand.*) and thus may well have begun under Augustus.
256. M. MINATIUS (M. f. Pom.) SABINUS, proq. Cn. Pompeii f. (Spain) 46-45. (COSILINUM)  
*PW* 3; Taylor, *VDRR* 235; Bracco, *Mem. Linc.* 1962, 432 n. 9: M. Minatius M. f. Pom. Sabinus restored walls at Cosilinum in Lucania (not Tegianum—Bracco, loc. cit. 476). For the *cognomen* see below on no. 369, and cf. M. Minatius M. f. Gal. Sabellus, *IVvir* at Luna (*ILLRP* 624).
- 257? L. MINUCIUS (Vel.) BASILUS, leg.? L. Sullae 88, tr. mil. Greece 86. (CUPRA MARITIMA)
258. M. (MINUCIUS Vel.) BASILUS, senator 74. (CUPRA MARITIMA?)  
*PW* 37 and 39; Taylor, *VDRR* 235; Cichorius, *RS* 175-7. (i) L. Minucius L. f. Vel. was no. 51 in Strabo's *consilium*; (ii) the rich L. Minucius Basilus



a.d. 41–40, procos. Asia 40–38, leg. M. Antoni (Syria) 35, censor 22; VIIvir ep. by 45. *PW* 30; *PIR* M 534; de Laet 251. TIBUR

263. T. MUNATIUS L. f. L. n. L. pron. (Cam.) PLANCUS BURSA, tr. pl. 52, leg. M. Antoni? (Gall. Trans.) 43. *PW* 32. (TIBUR)

Brothers (Asc. 32 c); a third brother C. became L. Plotius Plancus (no. 328) by adoption. No. 262 was probably father of the Munatius who accompanied Tiberius to the East (*PW* 3), and father or grandfather of L. Munatius L. f. L. n. Plancus, cos. A.D. 13.

264? M. MUNIUS M. f. Lem., senator? 129.

The Umbrian towns in this tribe were all *socii* until after the Social War, and the only other place known to have been enrolled in it was the Latin colony of Bononia. It is improbable that this man and no. 284 came from there; the tribes of Latin colonies may have been assigned before the Social War, but not this long before (Taylor, *VDRR* 107–11). At this early date tribes alone are of little help for the detection of origins.

265. (Ma)mius MURRIUS UMBER, tr. mil., IIIvir cap., q. propr., leg. propr., aed. pl. cerealis, pr. (UMBRIA?)

*PW* 2; de Laet 253. Schulze, *LE* 516 (cf. Syme, *RR* 361 n. 2) for the Umbrian *praenomen*; cf. no. 315 for a (related?) Umbrinus—but ethnic *cognomina* are treacherous guides.

266. L. MUSSIDIUS (L. f. T. n.?), procos. Sic. under Aug; frater Arvalis? (SULMO?)

*PW* 1; *PIR* M 550; de Laet 254.

267. T. MUSSIDIUS (L. f. T. n.?), IVvir viar. cur., q., tr. pl. under Aug.? (SULMO?)

*PW* 2; *PIR* M 551; de Laet 687.

268? L. MUSSIDIUS T. f. LONGUS, mon. c. 42. *PW* 3. (SULMO?)

*CQ* 1964, 127: the Paelignian origin of the family implies that if Varius Geminus' claim was true, no. 268 never became a senator after his moneyer-ship. No. 266 was probably his son, entering the Senate under Augustus some time after Geminus, as presumably did nos. 236, 484, and 519 (qq. v., and Taylor, *VDRR* 255–6 on no. 411).

No. 267's inscription (*CIL* vi. 1467) may be read either as "T. Mussi[dio] . . . Pollia[nus pater]", or as "T. Mussi[dius] . . . Pollia[no patri]". Mommsen (*CIL*) and Fluss (*PW*) prefer the former, and assume that the father was T. Mussidius Pollianus, cos. after A.D. 38 (*PW* 4); but the quattuorvirate *viar. cur.* was a very poor beginning for the son of a consul. The latter reading, presupposed here, would make no. 267 the brother of 266 and father of Pollianus.

See Callender, *RA* no. 399 (cf. 1193) for the *amphorae* of C. Mussidius Ne(pos), Augustan date.

269. Q. NASIDIUS, leg. Sex. Pompeii (fleet) 38–36, M. Antoni (fleet) 31.  
*PW* 4; probably son of L. Nasidius (*PW* 3), Pompeian naval commander 49–47. Cf. the Marsic Nasidius supposedly serving under Cato in 47 (Lucan ix. 790 ff., cf. Sil. It. xv. 450).
270. (Cn.) NERIUS (Pup.), q. urb. 49. (TREBULA BALLIENSIS?? UMBRIA??)  
*PW* 3. Perhaps identical with the Cn. Nerius Pup. who accused Sestius in February 56 (Cic. *QF* ii. 3. 5), though the tribe may have been quoted in order to distinguish the two men (Taylor, *VDRR* 237).  
 Cn. Nerii are known from two *liberti* at Rome (*CIL* vi. 7920, 26909) and nowhere else. The Pupinia was a small tribe, known only at Sassina and the Forobrentani in Umbria, at Trebula Balliensis not far from Capua, and after 49 at Laus Pompeia in Transpadana. The Asisian *praenomen* Nerius (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 2112–13, 2115) and the lamp-maker L. Nerius whose wares are found widely in northern Italy and the Alpine provinces (xi. 6699. 142, v. 8114. 98, iii. 6008. 42, 12012. 65–7, etc.) may indicate the Umbrian area; the Capuan *magistri* Ov. L. M. Nerii (*ILLRP* 707, 712, 723b; cf. Frederiksen, *PBSR* 1959, 120) suggest the Campanian town.
271. P. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS, aed. 60?, pr. 58, leg. Q. Thermi (Asia) 52–51.  
 (POMPEII?)  
*PW* 3; *CQ* 1964, 127; Richardson, *MAAR* 1955, 80–95 on the important Nigidii of Pompeii. See Della Casa, *Nig. Fig.* 1 ff. on his *cognomen*; Badian, *Studies* 143 on his *cursus*; Quint. vii. 7. 2 and viii. 3. 32 (cf. Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 22 n. 108) for a Figulus who claimed the inheritance of a (Marrucine?) Urbinia. Shackleton Bailey (*CQ* 1960, 262) makes him a descendant of the second-century praetor C. Nigidius.
272. L. NINNIUS QUADRATUS, tr. pl. 58. (POMPEII?)  
*PW* 3; *CQ* 1964, 127 (Cic. *Att.* x. 16. 4) for Pompeii. No L. Ninnii are known outside Pompeii and Rome; Vetter, *HID* 90 for the Oscan origin of the name; Heurgon, *Capoue* 107; Frederiksen, *PBSR* 1959, 120; Conway, *ID* 155 for Campanian occurrences.
273. (NONIUS Vel.?) ASPRENAS, tr. pl. 44. (PICENUM?)  
*PW* 13; no doubt son of one of the Nonii in Strabo's *consilium* (see below) and therefore brother or cousin of no. 274.
274. L. NONIUS L. f. (T. n.?) Vel. ASPRENAS, procos. Afr. 46, leg. C. Caesaris (Spain) 45, cos. suff. 36; VIIvir epulonum by 31? (Propr. Gall. Narb.)  
 (PICENUM?)  
*PW* 14; Cichorius, *RS* 170: the presumably Picene brothers L. T. Nonii T. f. Vel. in Strabo's *consilium* were probably his father and uncle. He himself was probably father of L. Nonius L. f. L. n. Asprenas, *suff.* A.D. 6; Groag (*PW* 15) and de Laet (no. 258) postulate an intermediate generation, but this is unnecessary. The L. Nonius L. f. Vel. in the *SCta* of 39 and 35 is no. 274 (Taylor, *VDRR* 237), as in all probability is the propraetor of Narbo-



nensis and the *VIIvir ep.* (*ILLRP* 432; *CIL* vi. 2156; *MRR* ii. 428 and *Supp.* 43); on the other hand, the friend of Augustus who was accused by Cassius Severus of poisoning his guests and defended by Asinius Pollio about 9 B.C. (*Suet. DA* 56. 3, *Dio* lv. 4. 3, etc.) was either the consul of A.D. 6 or M. Asprenas the father of the *cos.* A.D. 38.

L. Nonius L. f. Asprenas *cos.* (A.D. 6 or 29) was patron of Velia in Lucania (*CIL* x. 8342b).

275. (M.) NONIUS BALBUS, tr. pl. 32; *procos.* Crete/Cyr.?, pr.? (NUCERIA)  
*PW* 25; *PIR* N 101; de Laet 260. M. Nonius M. f. Balbus, praetor and proconsul under Augustus, who came from Nuceria and was honoured for his buildings at Herculaneum (*CIL* x. 1425 ff.), was either the tribune of 32 or his son. Gardthausen, *Aug.* ii. 178 (*CIL* x. 1430-4) for the proconsulship.
276. M. NONIUS C. f. C. n. M. pron. GALLUS, *procos.* Gall. Trans. c. 30 (imp.), *VIIvir ep.* (AESERNIA)  
*PW* 33; *PIR* N 105; de Laet 261; *CQ* 1964, 124 (*ILS* 895, Aesernia).
277. Sex. NONIUS SUFENAS, pr. 81. (TREBULA SUFENAS?)  
*PW* 53; Taylor, *VDRR* 237-8. Probably identical with Sulla's nephew Nonius, defeated at an election in 88 (*Plut. Sulla* 10. 5, for the tribunate?), and father of M. Nonius Suffenas, tr. pl. 56, whose coins celebrate Sulla's victory.
278. C. NORBANUS ('PULBUS'), tr. pl. 103, q. Cilicia 99?, pr.? and propr.?  
Sic. 88-87, *cos.* 83, *procos.* Gall. Cis. 82. *PW* 5.
279. C. NORBANUS C. f. FLACCUS, pr. 44/43, leg.? M. Antoni/Caesaris  
Oct. (Mac.) 42, *cos.* 38, *procos.* Spain 36-34; *XVvir s.f.* by 31.  
*PW* 9a; *PIR* N 135; de Laet 264. The moneyer C. Norbanus was probably the son of no. 278, referring to his Sicilian governorship; cf. *SEG* i. 418 for a C. Norbanus C. f. honoured by the people of Rhegium in 87 (*Münzer, PW*). No. 279 was the grandson of a non-citizen, to judge by his limited filiation in the triumphal *Fasti*, so perhaps he was the son of 278 and identical with the moneyer; as the son of a proscribed Marian, he would have his career curtailed until Caesar's law of 49, after which he could have risen to the consulate in his sixties. No. 278 would then be the first of his family to hold the Roman citizenship (so Badian, *FC* 202, doubted by Gruen, *Hist.* 1966, 46 n. 85). Cicero's failure to mention him as one of his *novi* predecessors is explicable on political grounds (cf. p. 108 f. above).  
For the date of the elder Norbanus' quaestorship see Gruen, *CP* 1966, 105-7.
280. L. NOVIUS, tr. pl. 58.
281. NOVIUS NIGER, quaes(i)tor 62.  
*PW* 7, 12; perhaps identical.

282. Q. NUMERIUS Q. f. Vel. RUFUS, q. Afr. *c.* 60, tr. pl. 57, leg. C. Caesaris (Dalm.) *c.* 55. (PICENUM?)

*PW* 5; Taylor, *VDRR* 238 for his origin. A Q. Numerius is known from a Cisalpine vase (*CIL* v. 8968. 12).

283. P. NUMICIUS PICA CAESIANUS, praef. eq., *Vivir* (turm. eq. Rom.), q. propr. Asia, tr. pl.—under Augustus?

*PW* 5; *PIR* N 165; de Laet 268. Evidently Augustan by the lettering (Dessau on *ILS* 911). A 'Minucius' Pica in the sixties (Varro, *RR* iii. 2. 2) was no doubt his grandfather.

284. C. NUMITORIUS C. f. Lem., mon. *c.* 145–140, senator 129.

Cf. *PW* 1, and above on no. 264.

285? C. NUMONIUS VAALA, mon. *c.* 41. (PAESTUM?)

*PW* 1, Gardthausen, *Aug.* ii. 804–5. His coins refer to an ancestor Vaala, recording some military exploit—not necessarily in the civil war, as wrongly stated in *CQ* 1964, 124; Münzer (*PW*) suggests his father. His son was presumably the Numonius Vala (*PW* 2) killed in the *clades Variana*, perhaps identical with the C. Numonius Vala at Philae in Egypt in 2 B.C. (*CIL* iii. 74); *ILS* 903 for a Numonius Vala adopted by a Baebius.

Q. Numonius C. f. Vala was patron of Paestum in Lucania (*CIL* x. 481), and Horace wrote to a Vala at Salernum or Velia, close to Paestum (*Ep.* i. 15. 1 and 21); so presumably the family originated there. Badian, however (*Hist.* 1963, 134), prefers Caere, 'both in view of distance and in view of the distinctive *cognomen*'; the cognomen is probably Etruscan (Schulze, *LE* 376), but distance is no objection—other Lucanian senators are known, one from Paestum (probably) as early as the late third century (p. 188 above).

286. C. NUNNULEIUS C. f. NUDUS, leg. propr. late Rep./early Aug.

(TIBUR?)

*PW* 1; *PIR* N 196; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 64–5. *ILS* 3414 (Tibur) for his monument, put up by his wife Pomponia L. f.; the name is otherwise known only at Nola (*CIL* x. 1318, M. Nunnuleius Priscus).

287. C. OCTAVIUS C. f. C. n. C. pron. (Sca.), tr. mil. *bis*, q. *c.* 73, aed. pl. 64?, iud. q. 63?, pr. 61, procos. Mac. 60–59. VELITRAE

*PW* 15; Suet. *DA* 2, 40. 2 on tribe and origin; *ibid.* 2. 3; *V.P.* ii. 59. 1–2; *Nic. Dam. Caes.* 2. 3; *Plut. Cic.* 44. 3 for his family. It is unlikely that he was related to the consular Cn. Octavii, as Suetonius says (*Hist.* 1965, 333, *contra* Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 705). *Cic. Phil.* iii. 15; Suet. *DA* 3. 1, 70. 2 for charges of *ignobilitas*; his father was indeed a *nummularius*, or rather a banker who himself handled cash—*ILLRP* 1046 (cf. Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1443–5) betrays him at work in 53 B.C.

288. OCTAVIUS GRAECINUS, leg.? Q. Sertorii 76-72. (TIBUR)  
*PW* 55; *CQ* 1964, 127-8. For the *cognomen* cf. P. Graecinius Laco of Verona, *praef. vig.* A.D. 31 (*ILS* 1336, etc.).
289. C. OCTAVIUS LAENAS, cos. suff. A.D. 33, cur. aq. A.D. 34.  
 (MARRUVIUM)  
*PW* 64; *PIR* O 29; de Laet 704; Syme, *Tacitus* 627: an Octavius Laenas was *IVvir quinq.* at Marruvium (*CIL* ix. 3688), another married Rubellia Blandi f. Bassa, yet another (probably) was the father of Sergia Plautilla, maternal grandfather of Nerva—Sergius Octavius Laenas Pontianus, cos. A.D. 131, was no doubt a descendant. No. 289 could well have been an Augustan senator, if consul at forty-two or more.
290. L. (OCTAVIUS) LIGUS, senator by 75. (FORUM CLODI?)
291. M. OCTAVIUS LIGUS, senator by 75. (FORUM CLODI?)  
*PW* 68-9, brothers. A. Octavius A. f. Ligus was *tr. mil.* in Spain and *IIvir* of Forum Clodi, 5 B.C. (*CIL* xi. 3312; *ILS* 135, 142; cf. *CQ* 1964, 128).
292. M. OCTAVIUS MARSUS, leg. P. Dolabellae (Syria) 44-43. (MARS?)  
*PW* 71; Syme *PBSR* 1938, 21 n. 107; Gardthausen, *Aug.* ii. 34-5: doubtless an ancestor of no. 289.
293. M. OPPIUS CAPITO, praef. class. propr. 36. (BENEVENTUM)  
*PW* 24; C. Oppius Capito, *q. pr. interr. cens.* at Beneventum (*ILLRP* 555), was no doubt an ancestor, the praetorian Oppius Capito of Pliny, *NH* vii. 63 a descendant.
294. Cn. OPPIUS (Cn. f. Vel.?) CORNICINUS, senator 57. (AUXIMUM??)  
*PW* 28; Taylor, *VDRR* 240 on his origin—that of Cn. Oppius Cn. f. Vel., no. 24 in Strabo's *consilium*? Ogilvie, *Comm. Livy* 462 on the *cognomen*.
295. P. ORBIUS, pr. 65?, propr. Asia 64. *PW* 3.
296. C. ORC(H)IVIUS, pr. (de pec.) 66. (PRAENESTE)  
*PW* Orcivius 1. The name is early and frequent at Praeneste: *ILLRP* 101, 104, 105b, 107c, 167, 264; *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 93, 128, 228-33, 1467, 2357, 2466-7; cf. Vetter, *HID* 505-6; Conway, *ID* 307. Also occurs early at Caere, Sinuessa, and Delos (i<sup>2</sup>. 1967, 2256, x. 4734).
297. C. (OR)CONIUS C. f., procos. Achaea early Aug.?  
 Groag, *Achaea* 13-14 (cf. Broneer, *AJA* 1932, 394); de Laet 469 bis. *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 4. 70. 46 (cf. Münzer, *PW*) for C. Orconius C. f. at Delphi; an early P. Orcunius at Rome, a possible Pompeian M. (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 1126, iv. 6); otherwise unparalleled.

298. Q. OVINIUS, senator by 30. (TARRACINA??)  
*PW* 2; *CQ* 1964, 128; cf. Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 65; *CIL* x. 8050 for Tarracina. Gardthausen (*Aug.* ii. 238) connects him with the Augustan equestrian officer L. Ovinus of Venafrum (*CIL* x. 4872).
299. PACCEIUS L. f., q. propr. late Rep./early Aug. (TIBUR)  
*PW* 1. *ILS* 6171; *AE* 1955, 178 for two inscriptions put up in his honour by the *naviculariei Ostienses* at Tibur and Ostia. The name is unparalleled—equated with Paccius by Schulze, *LE* 426.
300. (Vibius) PACIA(E)CUS, leg. L. Sullae 81. (SPAIN?)  
*PW* 1; *Plut. Sert.* 9. 2. Here, and at *Plut. Crass.* 4. 2 and 32. 2, the manuscripts have both Pac(c)ianus and Pac(c)iacus; the man named at *Crass.* 4. 2 is called Vibius—a *praenomen* rather than a gentile name? At any rate, the *difficilior lectio* would seem to be Pacciacus, or as Münzer (*PW*), followed by Gabba (*Ath.* 1954, 307 n. 4) and Wilson (*Emigr.* 30-1), would have it, Paciaecus. In that case no. 300 may perhaps be identified as the Spanish Roman who sheltered Crassus (*Crass.* 4. 2), and his son with the man who fought at Carrhae (32. 2). Ziegler's Teubner text, however, chooses 'Paccianus' throughout, and is followed by Broughton in *MRR*; the *cognomen* appears in *CIL* v. 1401, viii. 12241, xii. 1803.
- 301? C. PACCIUS C. f., Xvir ad hastam, q.? (TARRACINA?)  
 Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 65 (*ILS* 5051, Tarracina); Hofmann (*PW* 7) and Benario (*Hist.* 1959, 496-8) prefer a post-Augustan date.
302. C. PACCIUS C. f. BALBUS, pr. procos., leg. propr. Asia? late Rep./early Aug. (TEANUM SIDICINUM)  
*PW* 12; *PIR* P 10; *EE* viii. 883 (Teanum).
303. Sex. PACUVIUS TAURUS, tr. pl. 9?, aed.  
*PW* 7 and 12; *PIR* P 36; de Laet 274. *Macr. Sat.* i. 12. 35 for his plebiscite on renaming the month Sextilis as Augustus, which took place about 8 B.C. A tribune who dedicated himself to Augustus and made him his heir (27 B.C.) was either Sex. Pacuvius or Apudius; Cichorius (*RS* 286-7) equates him with M. Ampudius M. f. (no. 24 above), Hofmann (*PW*) with the father of no. 303.
304. Sex. PALPELLIUS P. f. Vel. HISTER, comes Ti. Caesaris datus a divo Augusto, tr. mil., Xvir stl. iud., tr. pl., pr., procos., leg. Tib., cos. suff. A.D. 43. (POLA)  
*PW* 2; *PIR* P 53; de Lact 275; Crook 246; Syme, *RR* 363 n. 2; Chilver, *CG* 95 (*ILS* 946, Pola). Not an immigrant (cf. Chilver), if the Polan *Ilvir* Sex. Palpellius Sex. f. Vel. Mancina is earlier, as the lettering of his inscriptions suggests (*Inscr. It.* x. 343; cf. *Mem. Linc.* 1967, 2; *Inscr. It.* x. 67, 74, 76, 312, 343-6,

606, 683 for other Polan Palpellii). P. Palpellius P. f. Mac. Clodius Quirinalis of Tergeste, *praef. cl.* A.D. 56, may be his adoptive brother (so Stein, *PW*).

- 305? L. PAPIUS, *mon. c.* 78. (LANUVIUM?)  
*PW* 9. Sydenham, *RRC* 773 for his origin; cf. *Asc.* 53 c for Milo's father, a Papius from Lanuvium. L. Papius Celsus, *mon. c.* 45, was presumably son of no. 305.
306. M. PAPIUS M. f. M. n. MUTILUS, *cos. suff.* A.D. 9. (SAMNIUM)  
*PW* 13; *PIR* p 92; de Laet 276. Presumably great-grandson of the Samnite leader 'G. Paapi. G. f. Mutil. embratur', for whom see Sydenham, *RRC* 635-41; *Oros.* v. 18. 10; *App. BC* i. 40-2; *V.P.* ii. 16. 1, etc. Papii in Samnium and Campania: *Livy* viii. 39. 10 ff., etc. (4th cent.); *Cic. Cluent.* 27 f. (Oppianicus' wife, Teanum); *ILLRP* 499, 667, 720 (Bovianum, Sinuessa, Capua).
307. Q. PAQUIUS RUFUS, *leg. M. Antoni* (Greece) 42. (VERULAE??)  
*PW* 2. C. Paquius Q. f., *IVvir* at Verulae early in the first century (*NS* 1922, 253 f.); Q. Paquii elsewhere only obscure men at Rome and Narbo (*CIL* vi. 23819, 33146, xii. 4322, cf. vi. 23713, viii. 5119).
308. P. PAQUIUS P. f. SCAEVA, q., *Xvir stl. iud. ex SC, IVvir cap. ex SC, tr. pl., aed. cur.* (before 23), *iud. q., pr. aerarii* (23 or after), *procos. Cypr., viar. cur. ex SC in quinq., procos. Cypr. extra sortem auct. Aug.; fetialis.*  
(HISTONIUM)  
*PW* 3; *PIR* p 93; de Laet 279; Cichorius, *RS* 289-90 for his career; his quaestorship, held before a succession of minor offices, no doubt fell under the Triumvirate. *CIL* ix. 6078. 128 for a tile from his villa at Histonium; ix. 2827, 2845-6, 2857 for other Paquii in the town. His sarcophagus (*ILS* 915, Histonium) gives his descent and that of his wife Flavia C. f. (cf. *CIL* vi. 1483). Mommsen, *CIL* ix. 2845 f.; Dessau in *PIR*; Stein, *PW* vi. 2542; Hofmann, *PW* xviii. 1119 for reconstructed stemmata. *CR* 1967, 264 f. for his descendants. See above on no. 157, and p. 180 for his possible identification as the Scaeva of *Hor. Ep.* i. 17 (Agrippa's client?).
309. L. PASSIENUS RUFUS, *cos. 4, procos. Afr. c.* A.D. 3.  
*PW* 6; *PIR* p 111; de Laet 280; Crook 248. Presumably son of the *declamator* Passienus who died in 9 B.C. (*Jer. Chron.* sub anno, 'Passienus pater'), and father of C. Sallustius Passienus Crispus, *cos.* II A.D. 44—on whom see Syme, *RR* 384, 501, *Tacitus* 328 n. 9; *CIL* viii. 2680 for another son who served under him in Africa.
- 310? C. PATISIUS, *leg. (env.)* 48.  
*PW* 1. Perhaps identical with Patiscus, no. 547 below (Willems, *Sénat* i. 573); *Cic. fam.* ii. 11. 2, viii. 9. 3 (Caelius) for the Patiscus from whom Cicero was to obtain Cilician panthers in 50. Both names are unparalleled; Schulze (*LE* 157, cf. 72, 86) suggests Etruscan derivation in each case.

311. (PEDANIUS P. f. P. n. Aem.?) COSTA, leg. M. Bruti 43-42.  
*PW* 2, Cichorius, *RS* 174 f.: no doubt son of P. Pedanius P. f. Aem., no. 47 in Strabo's *consilium*. The name is not recorded at any town in the Aemilia.
312. Q. PEDIUS M. f., leg. C. Caesaris (Gaul) 58-57, pr. 46, leg. C. Caes.,  
 procos. (Spain) 46-45, cos. suff. 43. (CAMPANIA?)  
*PW* 1; *CQ* 1964, 129; Cic. *Planc.* 17 for his *novitas*. Q. Pedius q. 41 was no doubt his son (so Münzer, *PW*; Dessau, *ILS* 3102).
313. Sex. PEDUCAEUS, tr. pl. 113. (NURSIA?)  
*PW* 4; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 120 (cf. *Sallust* 229) for Nursia (*CIL* ix. 4582) and the Sabine origin of the Peducaei. No doubt father of Sex. Peducaeus Sex. f., pr. 77, and grandfather of Sex. Peducaeus, procos.? 48 (Cic. *fin.* ii. 58 for the affiliations). A Q. Pedecai(us) was a local magistrate at Carteia in Baetica (Vives, *MH* cxxvii. 7-8).
314. M. PETREIUS, tr. mil., praef., leg., pr. 64?, leg. C. Antoni 63-62, leg. propr. Cn. Pompeii (Spain) 55-49, (Greece, Afr.) 49-47. (ARICIA? ATINA??)  
*PW* 3. Taylor, *VDRR* 242 for Arician Petreii; Pliny, *NH* xxii. 11 for Cn. Petreius of Atina, *primipilus* under Q. Catulus; an early Petreia at Aesernia (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 1756), others at Brixia and Alba (Schulze, *LE* 366).
315. C. PETRONIUS (P. f. C. n.) UMBRINUS, senator under Aug.?, cur. loc. publ. (UMBRIA??)  
*PW* 79; *PIR* P 236; de Laet 724. See on no. 94 above for his date; he could be the C. Petronius who was *cos. suff.* in A.D. 25, brother of the *suff.* A.D. 19 and grandson of C. Petronius the prefect of Egypt. The *cognomen* may indicate his origin (so Groag, *PW*) or adoption out of the family of Murrius Umber (no. 265 above), or both: see *SEG* xix. 765 for a Neronian *leg. propr.* Q. Petronius Umber.
316. M. PETRUCIDIUS M. f., leg. propr. Cn. Pompeii f. (Spain) 45? (PICENUM?)  
*PW* Petrosidius 2; *ILLRP* 1172; *AE* 1952, 111; Dessau, *EE* ix. 506-8 on the name (cf. Schulten, *Klio* 1903, 262-3; Schulze, *LE* 169-70) and on the date—but he could be Augustan.  
 Münzer, *PW* for Picenum (*ILLRP* 305; *CIL* ix. 5777-8); a C. Petrucidius who 'puteum fac[ien]dum curavit de suo' appears on an inscription in Ancona museum, probably from Sentinum or Ostra. The name also occurs at Rome and Antium (*CIL* vi. 15156, 24052, x. 6742, *IG* xiv. 1958). Taylor, *VDRR* 242 on no. 316 is not quite accurate: the man who was associated with Labienus is Pacideius (*bell. Afr.* 13. 1, 78. 4 and 10), possibly connected with L. Pacidius P. f., colleague of M. Petrucidius C. f. as *magister* in the *ager Hadrianus* (*ILLRP* 305).

317? L. PETTIUS, senator? c. 132.

*PW* 3. Named in a Pergamene decree (Jos. *AJ* xiv. 251); cf. Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 66 (senator); Münzer, *PW* (equestrian 'adviser').

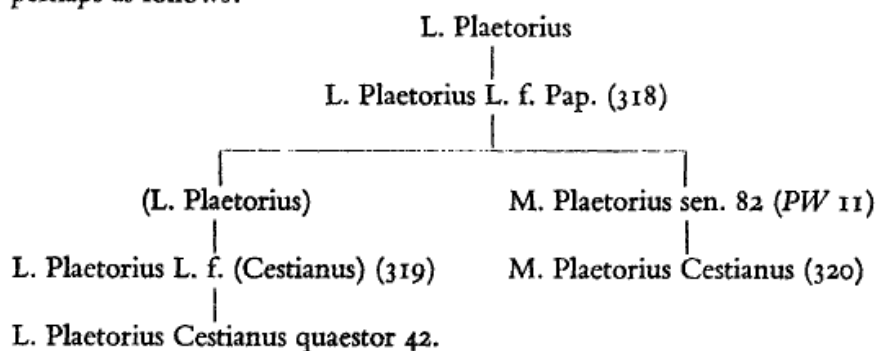
318? L. PLAETORIUS L. f. Pap., senator? 129. (TUSCULUM)

319. L. PLAETORIUS L. f. (CESTIANUS?), q. c. 74-66.  
(TUSCULUM/PRAENESTE)

320. M. PLAETORIUS M. f. CESTIANUS, q. by 70?, aed. 67?, iud. q. 66,  
pr. 64?, procos. Mac. 63-62, leg. 55. (TUSCULUM/PRAENESTE)

*PW* 6, 14, 16. *ILLRP* 59, 689 for Plaetorii at Tusculum (M. Plaetorius L. f. M. n., aedile). Cf. Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 114, who adduces Praenestine Cestii and the figure of Sors on no. 319's coins to indicate a Praenestine origin for the latter; more likely a Tusculan Plaetorius adopting a Praenestine Cestius.

Earlier recorded Plaetorii are two third- or early second-century tribunes without recorded *praenomina* (*PW* 10; *MRR* ii. 472 for another tribune M., third century?), and C. Plaetorius, ambassador in 172. No. 319 may have been a Cestianus, if his coin-types really show an athlete and *caestus* (Imhoof-Blumer, *Nomisma* 1910, 40 interprets the athlete as a runner, the *caestus* as a fillet), in which case he would be the father of L. Plaetorius Cestianus, quaestor under Brutus in 42. So the Cestiani used the *praenomina* L. and M., suggesting descent both from no. 318 (cf. the Tusculan aedile L. f. M. n. above) and from the third-century tribune M. Plaetorius. Probably all the Plaetorii were members of the same Tusculan family, their later descent being perhaps as follows:



321. Cn. PLANCIUS Cn. f. Ter., tr. mil. Mac. 62, q. Mac. 58, tr. pl. 56,  
aed. cur. 55. ATINA

*PW* 4; Taylor, *Ath.* 1964, 12-29 on his aedileship, *ibid.* 22 on his attachment to M. Crassus—a Plancius was defended by L. Crassus in the nineties (Cic. *Cluent.* 140, *de or.* ii. 220; Quint. vi. 3. 44).

Cic. *Planc. passim*; *CIL* x. 5079, 5119 for the Atina family.

322. (A.?) PLAUTIUS (PLOTIUS?), tr. pl. 70?, leg. propr. Cn. Pompeii 67,  
63-62? (TREBULA SUFFENAS??)

323. A. PLAUTIUS (Ani.), leg. L. Catonis 90, Q. Metelli 87?  
(TREBULA SUFFENAS?)
- 324. A. PLAUTIUS (PLOTIUS) (Ani.),** tr. pl. 56, aed. cur. 55, pr. urb. 51, procos.? Bith./Pont. 49-48. (TREBULA SUFFENAS?)  
*PW* 3, 7, 8; *CIL* xiv. 3509; Taylor, *VDRR* 243 and *MAAR* 1956, 10-30 (stemma p. 24). No. 324 was the son of an *eques* (*Cic. Planc.* 17), and therefore hardly of no. 323. See *MRR* Supp. 46: the A. Plotius/Plautius who served under Pompey was probably no. 322 (Smith, *CQ* 1957, 82-5; Syme, *Hist.* 1963, 57-8). Taylor, *Ath.* 1964, 19-29 for the date of no. 324's aedileship.  
No. 326, and perhaps Q. Plotius A.f., leg. 113, belong to the same family; it is possible that the equestrian father of no. 324 was in fact of senatorial stock, and that the family was a branch of the old noble Plautii whose chief estate was at Trebula.
325. C. PLAUTIUS C. f. RUFUS, leg. propr. (Sic.) 31? (AUXIMUM)  
*PW* 36; *PIR* p 360; de Laet 290; *CQ* 1964, 129—where delete the unnecessary suggestion that he was not a senator.
326. M. PLAUTIUS (Ani.) SILVANUS, tr. pl. 89/88. (TREBULA SUFFENAS)  
*PW* 29; Taylor, *VDRR* 243 and *MAAR* 1956, 10-30; Badian, *Studies* 75-7 for the date of his tribunate.
327. L. PLINIUS L. f. RUFUS, leg. propr. Sex. Pompeii (Sic.) 38-36, pr. des.  
(CISALPINE GAUL?)  
*PW* 4; half the total known examples of the name occur in *CIL* v and its Supplement.  
PLOTIUS, see PLAUTIUS (322, 324).
328. L. PLOTIUS PLANCUS, mon. c. 47, leg.? a.d.a. 44, pr. 43. (TIBUR)  
Cf. *PW* 10; born C. Munatius Plancus, brother of nos. 262-3, qq.v.
329. L. PLOTIUS VICINAS, procos. Crete/Cyrene 4/3 B.C.? (ARPI??)  
*PW* 14; *PIR* p 395; de Laet 293. *CIL* ix. 935 for L. Plotius Vicinai l. Seleucus at Arpi, which is at best dubious evidence for the patron's origin: cf. nos. 38 above, 492-3 below. See Desanges, *Homm. Renard* 206 f. for doubts about the date of his proconsulship, and the possibility that it was exceptionally for Crete alone.  
POBLICIUS, see PUBLICIUS (346, 348).
- 330. Q. POMPEIUS MACER,** pr. A.D. 15. MYTILENE  
*PW* 94; *PIR* p 471; de Laet 297. 'Pronepos' of Pompey's agent Theophanes of Mytilene; his father an 'illustris eques' (*Tac. Ann.* i. 72), perhaps (Cn.) Pompeius Macer, procurator of Asia (*Strabo* xiii. 617-18); *PIR* for stemma, cf. also Crook, *Cons. Princ.* 179.  
POMPONIUS, see CAECILIUS (72).



331. L. POMPONIUS L. f. FLACCUS, leg. (leg.) Moes. A.D. 15, cos. A.D. 17, leg. propr. (Moes.) A.D. 18-19, (Syria) 32-33. (IGUVIUM?)
- 332? POMPONIUS C. f. GRAECINUS, praef. urbi feriar. Lat., Xvir stl. iud. (IGUVIUM)
333. C. POMPONIUS L. f. GRAECINUS, cos. suff. A.D. 16. (IGUVIUM)  
*PIR* p 538-540; de Laet 298-300; Crook 273. No. 332 named on an Iguvine inscription (see *PIR*), 333 the brother of 331 (Ovid, *Pont.* iv. 3. 58); 333 cousin or father of 332? The hesitation of *PIR* and de Laet over no. 333's *praenomen* is unnecessary: 'P. Pompo(nius) cos.' was P. Pomponius Secundus in A.D. 44.
334. C. POMPTINUS, leg. M. Crassi 71, pr. 63, procos. Gall. Trans. 62-59, leg. M. Ciceronis (Cilicia) 51-50. *PW* 1.
335. L. PONTIUS AQUILA, tr. pl. 45, leg. D. Bruti 44-43. (SUTRIUM)  
*PW* 17; Pais, *Dalle guerre puniche* i. 324 n. 1; *CIL* xi. 3254. 2. 13, a pontifex L. Pontius Aquila at Sutrium (cf. on no. 478 below, Vergilius Pontianus). He had an estate at Naples (Cic. *Att.* xiv. 21. 3; cf. Suet. *DJ* 50. 2; Macr. *Sat.* ii. 2. 5); for Campanian Pontii, see Cic. *Att.* v. 2. 1, 3. 1, etc. (Trebula, cf. Cichorius, *RS* 171), *ILLRP* 231, 722 (Puteoli, Capua). Cf. also L. Pontius T. f. Qui., no. 42 in Strabo's *consilium*, a L. Pontius in 65 (Cic. *Att.* i. 1. 3), Q. Aquila *praef. class.* 46 (*MRR*), and a *primipilus* Aquila in 43 (Cic. *Phil.* xii. 20).
336. C. PONTIUS C. f. PAELIGNUS, tr. mil., q., cur. loc. publ. iter. (early Tib.), aed. cur., leg. propr. iter. ex SC et ex auct. Ti. Caesaris. (BRIXIA?)  
*PW* 41; *PIR* p 605; de Laet 742; *CIL* v. 4318. See on no. 94 above for the dating of his career.
337. P. POPILLIUS P. f. Ter., senator 129. (MINTURNAE??)  
*PW* 29; Taylor, *VDRR* 247 (son of Laenas, cos. 132?), Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 139—possible connection with Minturnae? Perhaps a villa-owner there.
- 338. P. POPILLIUS**, senator before 74.  
*PW* 10; son of a *libertinus* (Cic. *Cluent.* 132).
339. POPPAEDIUS (-. f. Q. n. Ser.) SILO, leg. M. Antoni (Judaea) 39-38. (MARSII? LUCANIA??)  
 Cf. *PW* 1. Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 21, *RR* 91: clearly descended from the Marsic rebel leader Q. Poppaedi Silo. Cf. *CIL* ix. 3694 for Q. Vettius Q. f. Silo, *IVvir i.d.* at Marruvium, from the *gens* of the other Marsic general P. Vettius Scato.  
 However, no. 339 may have lived in Lucania: Sex. Q. Poppaediei Sex. f. Ser. were aediles at Grumentum in 51 B.C., Q. Poppaedi Q. f. Ser. Cato

a *quaestor quinquennalis* at Volcei (*ILLRP* 607, *CIL* x. 417). The tribe is that of the Marsi: note also the Grumentan aedile C. Bruttius C. f. Ser. (*ILLRP* 608, 57 B.C.), a master-builder T. Vettius Q. f. Ser. living at the same town in 43 B.C. (*CIL* x. 8093), a family of Vibiedii, also at Grumentum, whose name points to a central-Appennine—probably Paelignian—origin (*CIL* x. 205, 275–6, cf. on no. 484 below), and the possibility of Marsic Dirutii at Potentia (p. 62 n. 2 above). For the Poppaedii cf. Diod. xxxvii. 2. 9 on the defeated Silo's flight to Samnium; there was certainly no future for him and his family at Rome (Brunt, *JRS* 1965, 96).

**340. C. POPPAEUS Q. f. Q. n. SABINUS**, cos. A.D. 9, leg. Aug. (Moes.)  
A.D. 12–35. (INTERAMNIA PRAETUTTIORUM?)

**341. Q. POPPAEUS Q. f. Q. n. SECUNDUS**, cos. suff. A.D. 9, procos.  
Asia under Tib. (INTERAMNIA PRAETUTTIORUM?)

*PW* 1–2; *PIR* P 627–8; de Laet 301–2; Crook 276–7. Brothers; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 39. 3 for the *novitas* of Sabinus. *ILLRP* 617–18 (*ILS* 5671, 6562) for Q. C. Poppaei Q. f., patrons of the *municipium* and *colonia* at Interamnia, who were probably identical with Sabinus and Secundus (Syme, *RR* 362). Sabinus' daughter married a T. Ollius of Cupra Maritima in Picenum (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 45; *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 1919; cf. Syme, *RR* 499 n. 1—*PIR* for stemma).

342. L. PRECILIUS, tr. pl. mid first century.

Cf. Cic. *Fam.* xiii. 15, a Precilius commended by Cicero to Caesar in 45, the son of a mutual friend.

343? L. PROCILIUS, senator by 80? (LANUVIUM)

Cf. *PW* 1: L. Procili(us) f. was a moneyer c. 80 B.C., implying a homonymous and presumably senatorial father. Sydenham, *RRC* 771–2 for Lanuvine origin. The moneyer may be identical with (i) Procilius, tribune (?) in 56; (ii) the senator who swore to Cicero in May 56 that the refusal of Gabinius' *supplicatio* was unprecedented; (iii) the first-century historian quoted by Pliny on Pompey's triumph (*NH* viii. 4; Cic. *Att.* ii. 2. 2; Varro, *LL* v. 148, 154); or (iv) the banker Procilius of 59 B.C. (*ILLRP* 1034).

344. PROPERTIUS CELER, pr. by A.D. 15 (UMBRIA??)

*PW* 3; *PIR* P 753; de Laet 306. Buecheler, *Umbria* 172; Conway, *ID* 372; Chase, *HSCP* 1897, 131 for the Umbrian origin of the name: Prop. i. 22. 9, iv. 1. 64; *CIL* xi. 5376, 5389, 5405–6, 5410, 5501, 5515–22 (Asisium), xi. 5736–7 (Sentinum). Cic. *domo* 49 for a late-republican Sex. Propertius.

345. C. PROPERTIUS Q. f. T. n. Fab. POSTUMUS, IIIvir cap., proIIIvir, q., pr. des. ex SC viar. cur., pr. ex SC pro aed. cur. ius dixit, procos.

*PW* 4; *PIR* P 754; de Laet 307; Syme, *RR* 384 n. 6, 466 n. 7 on the Postumus who went to Parthia in 21 B.C., husband of Aelia Galla (Prop. iii. 12)—perhaps a relative of the poet? But the Fabia tribe does not occur in Umbria.

- 346? C. POBLICIUS Q. f., mon. c. 80. *PW* 9. (VERONA??)
347. Q. PUBLICIUS, pr. 67. *PW* 13. (VERONA??)
348. Q. POBLICIUS Q. f., leg. propr. mid first century? (VERONA?)  
 NS 1893, 10; CQ 1965, 158–9, to which add *CIL* v. 8321, a Veronese Poblcius at Aquileia.
349. Cn. PULLIUS POLLIO, Xvir stl. iud., (q.?), tr. pl., pr. by 16, procos. Gall. Narb., leg. Aug. (Gaul, Achaea); fetialis. (FORUM CLODI?)  
*PW* 4; *PIR* p 802; de Lact 308; Crook 281; probably patron of Forum Clodi (*ILS* 916). Groag, *Achaea* 20 f. and *ap.* Ritterling/Stein, *Fasti* 7 for his career (*comes* of Augustus in Gaul, 16–13); Bowersock, *HSCP* 1964, 207 ff. (esp. 209) for his imperial *legatio* to Athens.
350. A. PUPIUS RUFUS, q. procos. Cyrene c. 30–27. (CLUSIUM??)  
 Robinson, *BM Cyrene* ccxxii–iii for his office and date. A. Pupii at Clusium: *CIL* xi. 7137, L. Pupius A. f. haruspex, (An)caria natus (cf. no. 25), and 7138, a tile of A. Pupi.
351. L. QUINCTIUS, tr. pl. 74, leg. M. Crassi 71, pr. 68.  
*PW* 12; ‘humilis’ (Cic. *Cluent.* 111–12). Perhaps father-in-law of Asinius Pollio (App. *BC* iv. 12; cf. Syme, *Hist.* 1956, 67–8).
352. L. QUINCTIUS L. f. RUFUS, pr., procos. first century. (LANUVIUM?)  
*PW* 52; Syme, *Hist.* 1956, 67–8 (cf. 1964, 112): *CIL* xiv. 2108, a Quinctia L. f. Rufa at Lanuvium, *uxor* of L. Albius L. f. Fab. Rufus and daughter-in-law of Pomponia L. f. Rufa.
353. C. RABIRIUS C. f. Gal., tr. mil.? 89, senator.  
*PW* 5. *Vir. ill.* 73. 12 and *MRR* ii. 495 wrongly call him a senator in 100; he was an *eques*, and became a senator later (Cic. *Rab. perd.* 31, *Serv. Aen.* i. 13; Dio xxxvii. 26). Probably a *tr. mil.* in Strabo’s *consilium* in 89. He adopted C. Rabirius Postumus, his sister’s son by C. Curtius, in his will. Cic. *Rab. perd.* 8 for his support at his trial from Campania and Apulia; he had a house at Naples, bought in 67 (Cic. *Att.* i. 6. 2).
354. L. RACILIUS, tr. pl. 56.  
*PW* 1; probably the *eques* L. Racilius in Sicily with Verres in 73–71 (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 31), or his son. Livy iii. 26. 9 and Ogilvie, *Comm. Livy* 14, 442 on Racilia, supposedly wife of L. Cincinnatus in 458—put in by Valerius Antias to honour the tribune’s family?
355. Q. RANCIUS Q. f. Cla., q. by 73. *PW* 1.

356. REMMIUS, aed. c. 120 (or c. 94?).

*PW* 1-2; *MRR* ii. 14 n. 1: colleague of Livius Drusus (*vir. ill.* 66. 1-2)—but which one? Broughton's argument for the younger, despite the absence of aedileship (and quaestorship) on his *elogium*, does not seem adequate: Drusus might easily have omitted the quaestorship (cf. *Cic. Planc.* 52). If the elder Drusus is meant, then Remmius' aedileship would be some time soon after 122 and before 115. Remmius may not be the first of his name known in the Senate; there is an undated tribune (*MRR* ii. 473).

357. T. RESIUS T. f. Aem., leg. propr. late Rep./early Aug. (MEVANIA?)

*PW* 2; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 68; *CIL* xi. 5029 (Mevania).

358. L. ROSCIUS (Mae.) FABATUS, mon. c. 64?, tr. pl. 55?, leg. C. Caesaris (Gaul) 54, pr. 49, leg. A. Hirtii or Caes. Oct. 43. (LANUVIUM)

359. L. ROSCIUS OTHO, tr. pl. 67, pr. 63? (LANUVIUM?)

*PW* 15 and 22; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 112. Lanuvium: Sydenham, *RRC* 915 (Fabatus), *Cic. div.* i. 79 (Q. Roscius the actor); cf. *ILLRP* 1262 for the tribe.

360. C. RUBELLIUS (C. f. BLANDUS), senator under Augustus. TIBUR

Cf. *PW* 4-5; *PIR* R 81-2; de Laet 314-15. C. Rubellius C. f. Blandus, *suff.* A.D. 18, was the grandson of an equestrian *rhetor* from Tibur (*Tac. Ann.* vi. 27. 1, xiv. 22. 2; *Sen. contr.* ii. pref. 5, etc.); the first Tacitus passage, on Blandus' supposed unsuitability as the husband of Drusus Caesar's daughter, reports no objections to his father, who must therefore have been of senatorial rank (the first in his family). Münzer (*PW*) identifies C. Rubellius, an equestrian *negotiator* attested in 43 (*Cic. fam.* iii. 26. 1) as the *rhetor*.

The Augustan moneyer C. Rubellius Blandus, one of a college of four who struck *quadrantes* only, is universally assumed to be the consul's father, but (a) the moneyership was not often given to *novi* under Augustus (p. 150 f. above), and (b) some of the other *quadrans* moneyers seem themselves to belong to the generation of late-Augustan and early-Tiberian consuls (cf. *HSCP* 1970, 213 f.). The only argument against the identification of moneyer and consul is the inscription of the latter's career at *CIL* xiv. 3576, which does not mention the post of *IIIvir a.a.a.f.f.* But *cursus* inscriptions of this succinct type often only begin with the quaestorship—e.g. *ILS* 905, 907, 930, 931, 973.

361. RUBRIUS, tr. pl. 133.

362. C. RUBRIUS C. f. Pob., pr.? by 129.

*PW* 1 and 9; Taylor, *VDRR* 251 (possibly identical).

363. (L.?) RUBRIUS, tr. pl.? 49? (CASINUM?)

*PW* 5; *CQ* 1964, 129 for his possible Casinate *origo*. Note (i) a later M. Rubrius Proculus at that town, and a republican M. Rubrius L. f. Proculus,

municipal magistrate at Anagnia (*CIL* x. 5419; *ILS* 6259); (ii) Q. Rubrius Varro, a Marian orator exiled in 88 (*Cic. Brut.* 168; cf. *CIL* vi. 25528), and M. Varro's estate at Casinum; and (iii) P. Rubrius Barbarus, *praef. Aeg. c.* 13 B.C., who set up a dedication to Augustus at Casinum (*PW* 16; *CIL* x. 5169)—but he was in the Maecia tribe.

364? L. RUBRIUS DOSSENUS, mon. c. 87. (MINTURNAE?)

*PW* 17. *ILLRP* 1010 for the banker Dosse(nus) of 73 B.C.; probably at least related to no. 364, if not the man himself. The *nummularius* who issued the chit was a slave called Philodam(us); a Philo(damus) worked for the bank of 'RV. SAB.' at Minturnae, where Philodamus Rubriae s. and the two slaves of a L. Sabidius are attested as *magistri* (*ILLRP* 990, 732, 724, 729). Rubria's relationship with Dossenus, and thus the latter's origin from Minturnae, depends on the identification of the three Philodami (Herzog, *PW* xvii. 1439-40; Degrassi on *ILLRP* 990 is sceptical).

Pliny, *NH* xiv. 92; Hor. *ep.* ii. 1. 173; Sen. *ep.* 89. 7 on the comic poet Fabius Dossenus.

365. (T.) RUFRENUS, leg. M. Lepidi (Gall. Narb.) 43, tr. pl.? 42. (ARRETIVM?)

*PW* 1; *Mnem.* 1963, 283 ff. for his identification as—or at least connection with—a pottery owner at Arretium (Oxé-Comfort, *CVA* 1599-1606).

366. P. RUPILIUS (P. f. Men.) REX, leg. P. Atti Vari? (Afr.) 49, pr. 43, leg. M. Bruti (Asia) 42. PRAENESTE

*PW* 10; *CQ* 1964, 129 and Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 143 for his Praenestine origin. Badian suggests a descent from the consul of 132 (also a *publicanus*); for his financial dealings cf. the banker Rupilia of A.D. 8 (*PW* xvii. 1429. 104)—perhaps his daughter?

367? L. RUSTIUS, mon. c. 76 (ANTIUM)

*PW* 1; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 120-1 (*CIL* x. 6680; *ILLRP* 229; cf. *CIL* vi. 518, for the Antiate Rustii).

368. M'. SABIDIUS M'. f., leg. Sic. mid first century? (TARRACINA)

*PW* 3; honoured at Tarracina by 'cives Romani in Sicilia Panhormi qui negotiantur' (*ILLRP* 387). Probably to be identified with the Sabidius who supported C. Antonius' campaign for the consulship (*comm. pet.* 8). *ILLRP* 724, 729, 990 for Sabidii at Minturnae—cf. on no. 364 above. Cf. Oxé-Comfort, *CVA* 1640-2, a potter P. Sabidius connected with a C. Memmius (*ibid.* 984-1009, Arretine).

369. P. SABINUS, q. c. 100-97. (SABINI?)

*PW* 30. Münzer and Stein, *PW* i A. 1592 for the *gentes* known to have used the cognomen, of which the following appear in the republican and Augustan Senate: (i) Ap. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis and his son, *cons.* 495, 460; (ii) M.

Sextius Sabinus, *pr.* 202; (iii) L. Titurius Sabinus (no. 438) and his son Q., legate in 58 (*PW* 3); (iv) T. Septimius Sabinus, praetor in 28 (*PW* 50), no doubt son of no. 389 below; (v) T. Varius Sabinus (no. 464); (vi) C. Calvisius Sabinus (no. 96); (vii) T. Vettius Sabinus (no. 482); (viii) M. Minatius Sabinus (no. 256); (ix) P. Catienus Ser. Sabinus (no. 110); (x) C. Poppaeus Sabinus (no. 340); and (xi) Alfidius Sabinus (no. 19). Of these (i), (iii), and (vii) may be assigned to the Sabines from literary tradition or coin-types; (iv) and (ix) belong to tribes found in the Sabine region; (ii) and (v) (like no. 369 himself) remain not proven; while (viii), (x), and in all probability (vi) (and (xi)?) are demonstrably *not* from the Sabine area.

With its connotations of ancient virtue, the name could be a moral as well as a geographical description: see Cic. *fam.* xv. 20. 1 on 'candidatorum licentia' in usurping the *cognomen* for electoral purposes, and cf. pp. 113, 210 f. (on no. 16) above.

370. L. SAENIUS, senator 63. (ETRURIA?)  
*PW* 1; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 56-7; Wistrand, *HNE* 43-5 on his origin, his son L. Saenius L. f. (Balbinus), *suff.* 30, and the family's possible connection with the Lepidi.

SALLUIUS, see SALLUVIUS (373).

371. 'Canini' SALLUSTIUS, q. 52/51, proq. Syria 50.  
 Cf. *PW* 10 and Caninius 14; considered by Funaioli (*PW* i A. 1919) as identical with no. 372—but cf. *MRR* ii. 247 n. 2. Perhaps 'Caninius Sallusti(an)us' should be read (Münzer, *PW* Caninius 14; cf. Syme, *Sallust* 11 n. 20).

372. C. SALLUSTIUS (Qui.) CRISPUS, q. c. 55, tr. pl. 52, leg.? C. Caesaris (Illyr.) 49, 47, pr. (Afr.) 46, procos. Afr. 46-45. AMITERNUM  
*PW* 10; Syme, *Sallust* ch. 2; Jer. 151 H for Amiternum; *CIL* vi. 8199 (cf. *CQ* 1964, 132) for the tribe. Syme, *Sall.* 9-12 on contemporary Sallustii: Cn. Sallustius a close friend of Cicero, Atticus, and Luceius (*PW* 6), P. Sallustius a relative of his (Cic. *Att.* xi. 11. 2); the Sallustius in Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 48 may have been the great-nephew of no. 372.

373. C. SALLU(V)IUS C. f. NASO, leg. propr. L. Luculli (Asia) 73. (ARICIA?)  
*PW* 1. Honoured by the Mysii Abbaritae and the Epictetes (for saving them from Mithridates) on an inscription from Nemus Dianae in the territory of Aricia (*ILLRP* 372).

374. Q. SALVIDIENUS RUFUS (SALVIUS), leg. Caesaris Oct. (fleet) 42, procos.? Spain 41, Gall. Trans. 40, cos. des. 39. (VESTINI?)  
*PW* 4; Crook 291; *CQ* 1964, 130 and Syme, *Sallust* 229 n. 56 for his Vestinian origin (add *NS* 1892, 169, C. Salvidienus Q. l. near Amiternum); cf. also on no. 545 below. *V.P.* ii. 76. 4; *Suet.* *DA* 66. 1; Dio *xlvi*. 33. 1-2 for his *novitas*.

375. SALVIUS, tr. pl. 43. *PW* 6.

376. **M. SALVIUS OTHO**, Illvir a.a.a.f.f. c. 7?, pr. FERENTIUM  
*PW* 20; *PIR* s 108; de Laet 320. Suet. *Otho* 1; *ILLRP* 588–90 (A. Sex. Salvii *IVviri*, etc.) for the Ferentine family; cf. also Degrassi, *APAR* 1961–2, 59 ff. (*AE* 1963, 30–6). Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 143 for a possible connection with no. 375 and a reference to *ILLRP* 639 (Nola).
377. **Q. SANQUINIUS Q. f. Ste., q., tr. pl., pr., procos.**, late Rep./early Aug. (CAERE?)  
*PW* 3; *PIR* s 135; de Laet 321. *ILLRP* 443; *CIL* xi. 3755 from Lorium on the Via Aurelia just out of Rome; the only other recorded instance of the name is a Sanquinia C. f. at Caere, a few miles to the north (*CIL* xi. 7714). No. 377 was probably father of M. Sanquinius Q. f., *mon. c.* 17, and grandfather of Q. Sanquinius Maximus, *cos. iter.* A.D. 39 (on whom cf. Syme, *JRS* 1949, 15, *Hist.* 1964, 106).
- 378? **P. SATRIENUS**, *mon. c.* 76. *PW* 1.
379. **SATRIUS**, leg. C. Treboni (Asia) 44–43.  
*PW* 1. Possibly identical with L. Minucius Basilus *pr.* 45 (*PW* 38), adopted from the Satrii by his maternal uncle. See above on no. 258, and note the magistrate L. Satrius at Castrum Novum in Picenum (*ILLRP* 566)—Basilus was ‘patronus agri Picentis et Sabini’ (*Cic. off.* iii. 74); see now Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 121. Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 1 763 for his granddaughter?
380. **P. SATUREIUS**, tr. pl. 133.  
*PW* 1. The name is unparalleled except for a third-century painter (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 776); if it is interchangeable with Saturius, he could be the grandfather of no. 381.
381. **P. SATURIUS**, senator 74. *PW* 1.
382. **SAUFEIUS**, tr. pl. 91. (PRAENESTE?)
383. **C. SAUFEIUS**, q. 99. (PRAENESTE?)  
*PW* 1 and 3. Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 121 for the old Praenestine family: *ILLRP* 102, 167, 299, 652, 654–5, 870; *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 279–90, 1467 ff., vi. 25960; *EE* ix. 854–6.
384. **SECILIUS(?)**, leg. L. Luculli 69–68.  
The name is unparalleled. Just possibly connected with the Etruscan *secnes* (Schulze, *LE* 227); but it is easier to assume a corruption in Dio’s manuscripts and identify him with Sextilius (*PW* 2), who also served under Lucullus in 79.
385. **M. SEIUS L. f. (Aem.??)**, aed. cur. 74.  
*PW* 3; *Cic. Planc.* 12, from which Nicolet (*Ord. eq.* 586) infers previous

*honores*; CQ 1964, 130 for the tribe; Varro, RR iii. 2. 7 for the house of a M. Seius (this man?) at Ostia.

386. L. SEIUS (L. f. Pom.) TUBERO, leg. Germanici (Germ.) A.D. 16, cos. suff. A.D. 18. (VOLSINI)

PW 17; PIR s 248; de Laet 331; Crook 297. Sumner, *Phoen.* 1965, 133 ff. (esp. 141-3): Tubero born an Aelius, adopted by the great *eques* Seius Strabo, Sejanus' father—and so technically a *novus*. *Latomus* 1963, 87-90 for his grandfather (?), and possible confirmation of the tribe.

387. C. SENTIUS C. f. (Ter. SATURNINUS), aed. c. 97, pr. urb. 94, propr. Mac. 93-86. (ATINA)

388. L. SENTIUS C. f. (Ter. SATURNINUS), mon. c. 105, pr. urb. (ATINA)  
PW 3 and 6. Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 156 ff. for the family and its history; CIL vi. 2722 for the tribe.

389. C. SEPTIMIUS T. f. Qui., pr. 57, procos. Asia 56. (SABINI)  
PW 7; no doubt father of T. Septimius Sabinus, pr. 28. Syme, *Sallust* 13 n. 29 (cf. Taylor, *VDRR* 253) on no. 389 and Sabine Septimii in general; Cic. *leg. ag.* iii. 3 for their Sullan *possessions*? T. Septimii are attested in Chalcis (Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 128); cf. Oxé-Comfort, *CVA* 1739-41 for a pottery-owner C. Septimius.

390. P. SEPTIMIUS, q. M. Varronis (betw. 78 and 49) (SABINI?)  
PW 10, cf. no. 389 above. Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 71 n. 9 for a first-century P. Septimius in Asia; CIL v. 397 for Septumia P. f. Sabina, the wife of a veteran of the IXth legion recorded in Istria whose name suggests Aquileian origin (L. Vinusius, cf. v. 1460-1, 8489).

391. P. SEPTIMIUS SCAEVOLA, senator 74. PW 51.

392? P. SEPULLIUS MACER, mon. 44. (PATAVIUM?)  
PW 1; CQ 1964, 130 for P. Sepullii at Patavium—probably wine exporters, to judge by their *amphorae* (Oxé, *Germ.* 1924, 81; Callender, *RA* no. 1396, cf. 1596). Alföldi, *Mattingly Essays* 91 on Macer's coinage, with its reference to games presumably given or promised by himself.

393? M. SERIUS M. f., senator? 129.  
Possibly a Sergius, but M. Serii are known from vases at Bononia and Ariminum (CIL xi. 6700. 615-17, 8120. 5, cf. 781).

394. Q. SERTORIUS, tr.<sup>r</sup>mil. (Spain) 97-93, q. Cis. Gaul. 90, leg. L. Cinnae 87, pr. 83, procos. Spain 82-73. NURSIA  
PW 3; Plut. *Sert.*, esp. ch. 2.

395. SERVAEUS, tr. pl. des. 50. PW 3.



396. SERVIUS CORDUS, q. Cypr. 48.
- 397? L. SERVIUS RUFUS, mon. c. 43/42. (TUSCULUM?)  
*PW* 4 and 6; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 69; Taylor, *VDRR* 254.
398. L. SESTIUS (Col.), tr. pl. before 90?  
*PW* 2. Father of P. Sestius, tribune in 57, and grandfather of L. Sestius P. f. L. n. Albinianus Quirinalis, *cos. suff.* 23. For the tribe, see Taylor, *VDRR* 255; also *AE* 1929, 209, P. Sestius P. f. Col. Vale(. . .) of Cyrrhus in northern Syria (a veteran of the XVth legion buried at Carnuntum).
399. P. SESTULLIUS (?) P. f. Ouf./Tro., q. by 39. (FUNDI?? TARRACINA??)  
*PW* Sextilius 14; Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 140 for a possible link with *CIL* x. 6273 (Sestullius) and the Fundi area—he could have come from Tarracina in the Oufentina tribe. The name Sestullius is unparalleled; cf. *Cic. Flacc.* 84 and 94 (*MSS*), *Schol. Bob.* 106 St. for Sestullii, who occur at Rome, Nuceria, and Fundi (*CIL* vi. 26472, x. 1100, 6273; cf. Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 110; *IGR* iii. 97); Sestuleii are known at Rome and Alba Fucens (*CIL* vi. 7160, 29681. I. 1, ix. 4028).
- 400? M. SEXTILIUS Q. f., IIIvir a.a.a.f.f. under Aug. (ANTIUM)  
*PW* 11; *PIR* s 456; de Laet 348; *CIL* x. 6661 (Antium).
401. P. SEXTILIUS (Fal. RUFUS), pr. c. 90, propr. Afr. 88. (NOLA?)  
*PW* 12, cf. 25; Badian, *JRS* 1965, 113–14, identifying him as P. Sextilius Rufus, the dishonest executor of Q. Fadius Gallus' will (*Cic. fin.* ii. 55, 58), and suggesting that the family had *negotia* in the East (cf. Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 71 n. 9, 86 n. 3, 103, 123, 127; *BCH* 1912, 78).  
*ILS* 6344 gives the origin—an Augustan P. Sextilius P. f. Fal. Rufus who held local office at Pompeii, 'decurio adlectus e veteribus Nola(nis)'.
- SEXTIUS, see NASO (543).
402. T. SEXTIUS (Vot.), leg. C. Caesaris (Gaul) 53–50, pr. 45?, procos. Afr. 44–40. (OSTIA)  
*PW* 13; *CQ* 1964, 130–1 (anticipated by Syme, *JRS* 1949, 12) and Meiggs, *RO* 193 for his origin and tribe.
403. P. SEXTIUS P. f. Ser. LIPPINUS TARQUITIANUS, Xvir stl. iud., q. propr. Mac. A.D. 14, leg. Tib. (CURES?? ASISIUM??)  
*PW* 28; *PIR* s 470; de Laet 349. For the *cognomina* cf. Varro, *RR* iii. 12. 1; Pliny, *NH* viii. 211 and ix. 173 on Q. Fulvius Lippinus, who had estates near Tarquinii, the home of Tarquinius Priscus (no. 420 below); Sextius was presumably related to the Etruscan house by adoption. See Stucchi, *Cirene* 176 no. 40 for a [Tar]quitian[us] in Cyrene. See also no. 404.

404. (SEX)TIUS P. f. S(er. T)ARQUITIANUS, q. urb., praef. frum. dand.  
(CURES?? ASISIUM??)

*PW* 39; *PIR* s 477; de Laet 351. *CIL* xiv. 4005 (Ficulea); the tribe suggests, however, that Sextius and his brother (?) no. 403 were not native to Ficulea, a suburban hamlet in Latium which was more probably the site of a villa. The *Sergia* indicates the Sabine towns of Cures and Trebula Mutuesca, the Marsi and Paeligni, or Asisium in Umbria. Neither Sextii nor Tarquiti are found in Marsic or Paelignian territory; a Sextius Pothus was *IVvir* at Cures in A.D. 173, a C. Tarquiti Sabinus Priscus *IVvir* of Asisium (*CIL* ix. 4970, xi. 5417)—see on no. 403 for the possible relevance of Tarquiti Prisci.

405. P. SILICIUS CORONA, senator 43.

*PW* 1; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 122–3; Syme prefers 'Selicius', and suggests a Praenestine origin (cf. *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 294–9).

406. (C.) SORNATIUS (C. f. Vel. B . . .), leg. L. Luculli (Asia) 74–68.

(PICENUM—CASTRUM NOVUM?)

*PW* 1; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 123 for his tribe (Velina), his origin (Picene), and his possible identity with Barba, no. 525 below. An amphora with the legend 'C. Sornatius C. f.' comes from near Castrum Novum (*CIL* ix. 6080. 21); the town was probably in the Papiria (no. 223 above is the only evidence), but those round about were all in the Velina. Other C. Sornatii at Rome, and a L. at Ostia (*CIL* vi. 14627, 21650, 26627, xiv. 4585a).

407. C. SOSIUS (T. f.), q. (consulis) 66?, pr. 49.

Cf. *PW* 2. Probably father of C. Sossius C. f. T. n., *cos.* 32. *CIL* ix. 4855 for his great-great-grandson L. Nonius Quintilianus.

408. Sex. SOTIDIUS Sex. f. STRABO LIBUSCIDIUS, senator under Augustus, cur. rip. alv. Tib.

(CANUSIUM)

*PW* 1; *PIR* s 571; de Laet 786; Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 7 n. 22, *RR* 361 n. 3—the name occurs only in Canusium and Rhodes. *CIL* ix. 338, 348, 387, 6186 (all Canusium) for 'Libuscidius'. See on no. 94 above for the dating of his career.

409. M. SPURIUS (Men.), senator 44.

(HERCULANEUM?)

Cf. *PW* 2. *CQ* 1964, 131 (*ILLRP* 609) for Herculaneum; note also N. Spurius D. f., Capuan *magister* in 105 (*ILLRP* 712). For Spurii at Pompeii and Herculaneum see *CIL* x. 879; Onorato, *Inscr. Pomp.* 123; *EE* viii. 322.

410. C. STAIENUS, q. (consulis) 77, aed. cand. 74.

*PW* 1; Cic. *Cluent.* 70, 87 on his humble origin. A centurion L. Staienus is known from *CIL* vi. 3600, a Staienus from iii. 2536; the name, which is evidently Oscan in origin (Münzer, *PW*), seems to occur nowhere else.

411. L. STAIUS (Sex. f.) MURCUS, leg. C. Caesaris (Greece, Afr.) 48-6, pr. 45?, procos. Syr. 44-43, (fleet) 42-41, leg. Sex. Pompeii? 41-39. (N. SAMNIUM?)  
*PW* 2; Taylor, *VDRR* 255-6; Münzer, *PW* iii A. 2136; La Regina, *Rh. Mus.* 1966, 260 ff. (esp. 276-8) for second-century Staii, including Lucii, at Pietrabondante in northern Samnium—probably not Bovianum Vetus, despite Mommsen (*La Regina*, loc. cit. 278-86).

Taylor, loc. cit.; Syme, *RR* 91 on the L. Staius Sex. f. Murcus at Sulmo (*CIL* ix. 3080)—probably no. 411, though the latter can hardly have been a Paelignian. The tribe is not recorded, and no clue can be got from the affiliation: *CIL* x. 313 and 315 (Tegianum, Lucania) for the only other Sex. Staii known.

412. STATILIUS, senator 44. *PW* 2.

413. T. STATILIUS T. f. TAURUS, senator by 44, cos. suff. 37, procos.? (fleet, Afr.) 36-34, (Illyr., etc.) 34-31, leg. Caesaris Oct. (Spain) 29, cos. II ord. 26, cur. urbis et Italiae 20; augur, curio maximus. (VOLCEI?)

*PW* 34; *PIR* s 615; de Laet 358; Crook 310; V. P. ii. 127 for his *novitas*; Syme, *RR* 237 for his probable ancestry (*ILS* 893a, Volcei). *PW* iii A. 2197 for his descendants' stemma; but the moneyer Taurus (*PW* 35) is hardly the father of T. and Sisenna Statilii Tauri, *cos.* A.D. 11 and 16 (thus *PIR*, *PW*), but much more probably identical with the former.

414. STATIUS, senator after 87.

SAMNIUM

*PW* I (App. BC iv. 25); Gabba, *Ath.* 1951, 264, cf. Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 23, Badian, *FC* 247 n. 1, on the date of his entry to the Senate—he must have joined Sulla before it was too late.

415. C. STERTINIUS M. f. MAXIMUS, Xvir stl. iud., q., tr. pl., pr., praef. aer. mil., cos. suff. A.D. 23. (HASTA)

*PW* 13; *PIR* s 660-1; de Laet 361. *CIL* v. 7557 (Hasta): Groag (*PW*) infers only that he had land there. Probably identical with the Stertinius Maximus of Sen. *contr.* iii. 1. 36.

416. P. SULPICIUS P. f. QUIRINIUS, (procos. Crete/Cyrene c. 20-15??), cos. 12, leg. Aug. (Galatia) c. 9-8 or 4-3, mentor C. Caesaris A.D. 2, leg. Aug. (Syria) A.D. 6-7. LANUVIUM

*PW* 90; *PIR* s 752; de Laet 370; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 48 for his origin. *CIL* vi. 16526; Suet. *Tib.* 49; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 22 f. for his marriages to a Claudia Ap. f. and to Aemilia Lepida, late fiancée of L. Caesar. See Desanges, *Homm. Renard* 209-12 on his subjection of the Garamantes—probably as legate of Syria (an emergency operation) rather than as proconsul of Cyrene twenty years before.

417. P. TADIUS, leg. C. Verris (Sic.) 73-71.

*PW* I. Probably the Tadius of Cic. *Att.* i. 5. 6, 8. 12 (68-67 B.C.); cf. *Verr.* i. 128, 130, iv. 31 for his brother (?), related to Verres.

## 418? TANUSIUS GEMINUS, senator? 55. (CLUSIUM?)

*PW* 2—the annalist. Münzer (*PW* iv A. 2231) infers from his knowledge of Cato's senatorial proposal in 55 B.C. (Plut. *Caes.* 22. 3) that he was a contemporary senator. Münzer makes the same inference about the Julius Saturninus named in Suet. *DA* 27. 2 (*PW* Julius 457): Tanusius' case is made more likely by the Tanusia, wife of no. 496 below, who is described by Dio as γυνή ἐπιφανής (Dio xlvii. 7. 4). She may be the annalist's daughter. If L. Tanusius, an equestrian victim of the proscription of 82 (Cic. *tog. cand.* in Asc. 84 c, cf. *comm. pet.* 9), was his father, then the annalist cannot have been a senator before 49, and his attitude to Caesar rules out a date after that; but the *equus* may equally be his uncle.

The name is native to Clusium: Schulze, *LE* 142-3; *CIL* xi. 2233-4, 7165-6. Also at neighbouring Saena and Arretium (*CIL* xi. 1802, vi. 3250. 4. 36), and Rome, Sora, and Aquileia (*EE* viii. 892; *CIL* vi. 36401, v. 8465—the only Lucius).

## 419. L. TARIUS RUFUS, leg. Caesaris Oct. (fleet) 31, procos. Cypr.?, cos. suff. 16, procos. Mac. c. 13, cur. aq. A.D. 23-24?

*PW* 3; *PIR* T 14; de Laet 371; Crook 316; Gardthausen, *Aug.* ii. 191: commanded a small squadron at Actium and earned his consulship *militari industria* (Dio l. 14. 1-2, Pliny, *NH* xviii. 37). Pliny, loc. cit. for his low birth and his estates (bought, not ancestral) in Picenum. His son went into exile at Massilia, which means that the Tiberian (?) inscription of a L. Tarius Rufus at Vienne (*CIL* xii. 1872) does not necessarily indicate Narbonensian origin.

The only other Tarii known outside Rome appear in Dalmatia (*CIL* iii. 2877-8, 3060); also a Taria named on an amphora at Athens (iii. 6545. 10, cf. 7309). Groag, *PW*; Callender, *RA* no. 947 for Rufus' amphorae, known from Cisalpine Gaul and Dalmatia—no doubt he produced wine for export. He might just be connected with the Dalmatian Tarii; Syme (*PBSR* 1938, 27) infers a Picene origin from Pliny.

## 420. C. TARQUITIUS P. f. PRISCUS, q. Spain 81, leg. Q. Sertorii (Spain) 76-72. (TARQUINI)

*PW* 1 and 8; Taylor, *VDRR* 257-8; Heurgon, *Latomus* 1953, 407-8; Cichorius, *RS* 167. (i) C. Tarquitiu L. f. Fal. was no. 37 in Strabo's *consilium*; (ii) C. Tarquitiu P. f. was quaestor in Spain under C. Annii Luscus (Grueber, *RRCBM* ii. 356); (iii) Tarquitiu Priscus served under Sertorius and then helped to murder him (Front. *Strat.* ii. 5. 31, cf. Diod. xxxvii. 22a; Sall. *Hist.* iii. 81 and 83 M). Cichorius and Münzer identify (i) and (iii), invoking the other members of Strabo's staff—Q. Hirtuleius, L. Insteius—who later appear with Sertorius. However, I have followed Heurgon, who more convincingly identifies (ii) and (iii): an Etruscan Tarquitiu Priscus would hardly be in the Falerna tribe, and Annii' quaestor could well have changed sides, like his colleague Fabius Hispaniensis (no. 168 above).

## 421. P. TEDETIUS T. f. Vol., pr.? by 44.

*PW* 1: S. Teditius S. (f.), a second-century *IVvir* (?) in the *ager Falernus* (*ILLRP* 483) is the nearest approach to the name, which is perhaps corrupted

in Josephus' manuscripts. Cichorius (*RS* 153) would emend to Teiedius, comparing M. Teiedius M. f. Pol. in Strabo's *consilium*.

TEDIUS, see UTTIEDIUS (454).

422. Sex. TEIDIUS, senator 52. (LANUVIUM??)  
*PW* 2; probably identical with the lame 'Tidius Sextius' of Plut. *Pomp.* 64, perhaps father-in-law of a Volsinian Seius (*Latomus* 1963, 87-90), and great-grandfather of Sex. Teidius Valerius Catullus, *cos.* A.D. 31. *CIL* xiv. 2095 for a '[. . .] L. f. Valerius Catullus co[s.]' at Lanuvium; no. 422 could have been on his way back from Lanuvium when he found Clodius' body at Bovillae (*Asc.* 32 c—he was returning *ex rure*).
423. TERESIUS (?), pr. first century B.C.  
 Schulze, *LE* 111-12, 278 on the name, which is unparalleled; *NS* 1898, 332 for a Capuan Teressius.
424. M. TERPOLIUS, tr. pl. 77. (OSTIA?)  
*PW* 1. Gabba (*Ath.* 1954, 107 n.) suggests a Praenestine origin: 'Terpona Q. f.' at Praeneste (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 314) was read as Terpolia L. f. in *EE* ix. 860 (cf. *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>, p. 718). But the woman of Praeneste surely belonged to the family of Q. Terebuni M. f. (i<sup>2</sup>. 312); her name appears also at Albingaunum in Liguria (*Boll. Comm.* 1941, 170, C. Terponus C. f. Pob. Pudes).  
*CIL* xiv. 1120-1, the Ostian inscriptions of the freed slaves of P. Humanus, Humania, M. Terpolius, and Terpolia, are the only record of M. Terpolii; note especially M. Terpolius M.M. et Humaniae l. Barnaeus, whose name suggests that a M. Terpolius was married to a Humania. The Humanii were an Ostian family: see *CIL* xiv. 1119 and Meiggs, *RO* 39-40, 475-8. Since M. Terpolii are recorded nowhere else, no. 424 may be assigned to Ostia; for his *novitas* see *Asc.* 81 c.
- TERRINIUS, see CERRINIUS (113).
425. P. TETTIUS RUFUS, pr. under Augustus? (ATINA?)
426. P. TETTIUS P. f. RUFUS TONTIANUS, tr. mil. leg. XX?, q., tr. pl., pr. (ATINA)  
*PW* 12-13; *PIR* T 104; de Laet 376-7; *CIL* x. 5059-60 (Atina), cf. vi. 9319. Possibly identical.
- THORANIUS, see TORANIUS (440).
427. Sp. THORIUS, tr. pl. 111. (LANUVIUM??)  
*PW* 2; Badian, *Studies* 235-41; cf. Douglas, *Brutus* 249; probably the Sp. 'Borius' of App. *BC* i. 27.
- 428? L. THORIUS BALBUS, mon. c. 110-105. (LANUVIUM)  
*PW* 4. Cic. *fin.* ii. 63; Sydenham, *RRC* 598 for Lanuvium.

## 429. TILLIUS, tr. (pl.), pr. by 35.

Cf. *PW* 1. 'Obiciet nemo sordes mihi quas tibi, Tilli . . .' (Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. 107); the context requires that Tillius was the son of a freedman (cf. Taylor, *AJP* 1925, 168-9). Münzer (*PW*) and Broughton (*MRR* Supp. 63) follow Porphyron in identifying him with the brother of no. 430, and assume that his description as 'praetor' is merely Horace's mockery of Tillius' grandiose aspirations. But the scholiast's note looks like guesswork, and is rightly rejected by Kiessling-Heinze (on 6. 25) and Fraenkel (*Horace* 102 n. 6).

## 430. L. TILLIUS CIMBER, pr. 45?, procos. Bith./Pont. 44-43, leg. C. Cassii 42.

## 431. Q. TILLIUS (CIMBER), leg. C. Caesaris (Epirus) 48.

*PW* 4-5. Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 67 n. 1 for a L. Tillius L. f. at Delphi in 62.

## 432. TITIDIUS LABEO, senator A.D. 19, procos. Gall. Narb.

(AEQUI/MARSI: MARRUVIUM?)

*PW* 1; *PIR* T 185; de Laet 472; Syme, *JRS* 1949, 16.

## 433. Q. TITINIUS (C. f.), senator 70.

(MINTURNAE??)

*PW* 17. 'Frater germanus' of the *eques* Cn. Fannius (Cic. *Verr.* i. 128), probably son of the Fannia who protected the fleeing Marius (V.M. viii. 2. 3; Plut. *Mar.* 38), the wife of C. Titinius of Minturnae. See Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 257; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 116. No. 433 was Cicero's host at Formiae, next to Minturnae, early in 49 (Cic. *Att.* vii. 18. 4); *ILLRP* 728-34 (Münzer, *RM* 1935, 321 ff.) for Titinii at Minturnae.

Badian (*Hist.* 1963, 141) suggests that the moneyer C. Titinius (*PW* 6) may be Fannia's husband. Nicolet (*Ord. eq.* 379) identifies no. 433 as the *faenerator* of Cic. *Att.* ii. 4. 1.

## 434. (TI)TISIENUS GALLUS, leg. L. Antoni 41, Sex. Pompeii 40-36.

(AMITERNUM? BONONIA?)

*PW* Tisienus 1; *CR* 1965, 19-20.

## 435. Sex. TITIUS (Aem.?), tr. pl. 99.

*PW* 23. Probably an ancestor of 'Extitius', quaestor in 43, who may have been the father of M. Titius Sex. f. Aem., honoured in Cyrenaica in 13 B.C. (*IGR* i. 1024). Sex. Titii do not occur in any town in the Aemilia.

## 436. TITIUS HISPANUS, senator (adl. by Caesar) 46.

(SPAIN?)

Cf. *PW* 13; Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 184 n. 71; *Hist.* 1955, 71.

## 437? Q. TITIUS (MUTTO), mon. c. 90.

(AQUILEIA?)

*PW* 33; Rowland, *TAPA* 1966, 409. *CQ* 1964, 131 for his connection with T. Titius T. f. Mutto of Aquileia (*CIL* v. 1412, 8473); for the *cognomen* cf. *ILLRP* 572; *NS* 1925, 24-5 (Muttenuus and Mutilius, same district) and *Supp. It.* 93 (a Mutilius emigrating to Aquileia from Teate Marrucinorum?).

438. L. TITURIUS L. f. (Arn.?) SABINUS, mon. c. 89, leg. Cn. Pompeii 75.  
(SABINI??)  
*PW* 2. *CIL* vi. 27539 on the tribe (but cf. Taylor, *VDRR* 260), Sydenham, *RRC* 698-701 for the Sabine coin-types.
439. C. TORANIUS, q. (praetoris) 73, aed. pl. 64?  
*PW* 4. Syme, *CP* 1955, 132, *MRR* Supp. 63-4 for the possible equation with C. Turranius (no. 449).
440. C. T(H)ORANIUS, tr. pl. 25.  
*PW* Thoranius 1; *PIR* T 216; de Laet 381; son of a freedman (Dio liii. 27. 6).  
See Treggiari, *RFLR* 62 (on *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 29): a client of Augustus?
- 441? L. TREBANIUS, mon. c. 145-140.  
*PW* 1. The name paralleled only by C. Treban. Rufus on a seal from Campania (*CIL* x. 8059. 409); cf. Schulze, *LE* 375 for the Etruscan *trepania*.
442. T. TREBELLENUS L. f. Cla. RUFUS, q. urb., tr. pl., leg. Aug., pr. by A.D. 19, leg. Aug. (Thrace) A.D. 19-33. (CONCORDIA)  
*PW* 1; *PIR* T 230; de Laet 382: *ILS* 931 (Concordia).
443. L. TREBELLIVS, tr. pl. 67. (S. ITALY??)  
*PW* 3; no doubt father of L. Trebellius tr. pl. 47 (*PW* 4). The name is found mostly in the southern half of Italy; (Conway, *ID* 188, 257 for comparative frequency in the Samnite and Volscian areas); a Claudian legionary legate Q. Trebellius Catulus was in the Teretina tribe (*CIL* vi. 31771), so probably from Latium or Campania.
444. C. TREBONIUS, q. 60?, tr. pl. 55, leg. C. Caesaris (Gaul) 54-49, pr. urb. 48, procos. Hisp. Ult. 47-46 (-45?), cos. suff. 45, procos. Asia 44-43.  
*PW* 6; Cic. *Phil.* iii. 23, *fam.* x. 28. 1 on his father.
445. Cn. TUDICIUS, senator 66. (FRENTANI?? SAMNIUM?? APULIA??)  
*PW* 1. Cic. *Cluent.* 198: a *vicinus* of Cluentius.
446. M. TULLIVS M. f. M. n. Cor. CICERO, q. Sic. 75, aed. 69, pr. (de rep.) 66, cos. 63, leg. Cn. Pompeii 57, procos. Cilicia 51-50, leg. P. Dolabellae 44; augur from 53. ARPINUM
447. Q. TULLIVS M. f. M. n. (Cor.) CICERO, aed. pl. 65, pr. urb. 62, procos. Asia 61-58, leg. Cn. Pompeii (Sard.) 57-56, C. Caesaris (Gaul) 54-52, M. Ciceronis (Cilicia) 51-50. ARPINUM  
*PW* 29, 31.
448. L. TURIUS, pr. (de rep.) 75?, cos. cand. 65. (CAMPANIA??)  
*PW* 2 (Münzer): identical with the eldest of the brothers L. P. C. Turii recorded at Capua (*ILLRP* 723a)? Cf. *CIL* x. 1403 d. 3. 6, 4817, 4819 for C. Turii at Herculaneum and Teanum Sidicinum.

Cic. *Att.* i. 1. 2 and Syme, *RR* 91 n. 1 for his consular candidature. The moneyer 'L. TVR.' is really L. Titurius Sabinus (no. 438): see *MRR* ii. 454; Sydenham, *RRC* 701 n.

449. C. TURRANIUS, pr. 44.

*PW* 4 (cf. no. 439 above). Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 17 on the date of his entry to the Senate; Varro, *RR* ii. pref. 6, 11. 2, iii. 1. 9 (cf. *ILS* 7654, Narbo) for Turranius Niger, cattle-rancher at Mutina in the sixties—see also Cic. *leg. ag.* iii. 3; Syme, *Sallust* 13 n. 29.

450. D. TURULLIUS (Mae.), q. 44, proq. Bith. (fleet) 43, leg.? (fleet) 42.

(LANUVIUM??)

*PW* 1; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 123-4 for his tribe and possible origin.

451. TUTICANUS GALLUS, senator before 48.

(VERONA??)

*PW* 3. Verona: Q. Tutican(i)us Q. f. Eros, *Vivir* and 'grammaticus Latinus' (*CIL* v. 3433), P. Baebius P. f. Pob. Tuticanus, *tr. mil. a populo* (v. 3334); cf. also A. Sta[berius?] Tutic[anus] at Mutina (xi. 917). Otherwise only at Rome (vi. 220. 27, 13856, 27844-6); C. Tutican(i)i Saturninus and Helius were witnesses of several Trajanic military diplomata, and Tuticanus Capito was prefect of the Ravenna fleet in A.D. 165 (xvi. 55, 100. 6, 160-1, 163-4)—origins unfortunately not known.

See Cichorius, *RS* 80 ff., 323-5 on 'P. Pavus Tubitanus' (Lucilius 467-8 M), quaestor in Spain, and Ovid's friend Tuticanus (son of no. 451?). But if the family was indeed Transpadane, Lucilius' invented name is probably nothing to do with them.

452. C. UMMIDIUS C. f. Ter. DURMIUS QUADRATUS, *Xvir stl. iud.*, q. Aug. and Tib. (A.D. 14), aed. cur., pr. aer. A.D. 18, procos. Cypr., leg. Tib. (Lusit.), Claudii (Illyr.), cos. suff. c. A.D. 40, leg. Claud. and Neronis (Syria); cur. tabl. publ., praef. frum. dand. ex SC; *XVvir s.f.*

(CASINUM)

*PW* Supp. ix; *PIR* v 600; de Laet 428; Syme, *Hist.* 1968, 73-5 (and in general pp. 72-105 for the family's history). *ILS* 972 (Casinum); probably son of no. 159 above.

453. C. URBIN(I)US, q. Spain 74.

(MARRUCINI??)

*PW* 2; cf. Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 22 n. 108 for Urbinia, wife of a Marrucine Clusinius and defended by the Marrucine Asinius Pollio (Quint. vii. 2. 26). But the quaestor's name is recorded as 'Urbinus' (Sall. *Hist.* ii. 70 M).

454. UTTIEDIUS L. f. AFER, cos. des. between 43 and 33, augur. (TIBUR??)

*PW* Tediis 1. *Inscr. It.* iv. 134 (Tibur). He must be Suetonius' 'Tediis Afer' (*DA* 27)—the coincidence of two consuls designate would be too much. If the stone really is later than the triumphal period, it must have been recut (see *Inscr. It.* on the 'sobrietas' of the wording). The name Uttiedius is omitted from Schulzen's list in *Klio* 1903; Schulze, *LE* 202 quotes examples from



Rome, Tuder, Forum Sempronii, Aquinum, Urbinum, and Pisaurum. Afer's inscription may indicate only that he had a villa at Tibur.

- 455? L. VALERIUS CATULLUS, mon. c. 4? (VERONA)  
*PW* 124; *PIR* v 38; de Laet 389. No doubt descended from the poet's family—though hardly his son, as de Laet assumes—and therefore from Verona. Probably father of Sex. Teidius Valerius Catullus, suff. A.D. 31, on whom see above (Teidius, no. 422); *PIR* v 35–41 and Lunzer, *PW* for his descendants.
456. L. VALERIUS PRAECONINUS, leg. Gall. Trans. before 78.  
*PW* 310. His name should mean 'son of a *praeco*' (cf. Suet. *gramm.* 3. 3); cf. Cic. *Verr.* iii. 34 for Verres' *praeco* in Sicily, whose name was Valerius.
457. Q. VALERIUS SORANUS, tr. pl. 82? SORA  
*PW* 345. Cic. *Brut.* 169; Taylor, *VDRR* 261 (cf. Gabba *Ath.* 1954, 102 n. 1) on his origin; Cichorius (*Hermes* 1906, 59) and Della Corte (*Riv. fil.* 1935, 68–70) identify him respectively with the scholar put to death by Pompey in Sicily and with the poet Valerius Aedituus. The poet's *cognomen* ('temple-keeper') may be relevant to the interest in religion betrayed by Soranus' own poetic fragments (Varro *ap.* Aug. *CD* vii. 9; cf. Pliny, *NH* ii. 65, etc., on the 'name of Rome' story).  
 The Apollo Soranus involved in the legendary origin of the noble Valerii (Grueber, *RRCBM* i. 534 n. 2 on the coins of L. Valerius Acisculus) is probably irrelevant. However, it is conceivable that the legend referred to was invented by Soranus and that Acisculus was his son, his career held up until Caesar's dictatorship (cf. Ogilvie, *Comm. Livy* 12 on *populares* tampering with traditional legends). Otherwise, Acisculus would be a genuine *nobilis*; see Porph. on Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 94; *NS* 1923, 62; Quint. vi. 3. 53 for the *cognomen*.
458. C. VALERIUS C. f. TRIARIUS, pr. 78, propr.? Sard. 77, leg. L. Luculli (Asia/Cilicia, fleet) 73–67. (FUNDI?)
459. L. VALERIUS TRIARIUS, q. urb. 81. (FUNDI?)  
*PW* 363 and 366; Taylor, *VDRR* 261–2 (*ILLRP* 604) on their origin. No doubt brothers, 458 probably the father of C. Valerius Triarius, *praef. class.* 49 (*PW* 365), P. Valerius Triarius (*PW* 367), and Polla Valeria, who married D. Brutus in 50 after a sudden divorce (Cic. *fam.* viii. 7. 2, xi. 8. 1).
460. Q. VALGIUS M. f., pr. by 129.  
 Syme, *Hist.* 1956, 206; Taylor, *VDRR* 262. Q. Valgii recorded only in the Greek East (Hatzfeld, *Traf.* 95, Mytilene?), Marci at Rome and in Africa (*CIL* vi. 28302 Menenia tribe, viii. 11343 Quirina).
- 461? M. VARG(UNTEIUS), mon. c. 140–135.  
*PW* 4. *CIL* vi. 28328 and x. 5662 (Frusino, early?) the only other recorded M. Vargunteii.

462. P. VARINIUS, pr. 73, pr. II 65?, procos. Asia 64?  
*PW* 1; *MRR* ii. 142 n. 9 for his inferred second praetorship—perhaps a comeback like that of C. Antonius, after expulsion in 70.
463. Q. VARIUS Q. f. Ser. GEMINUS, Xvir stl. iud., q. before 9 B.C., tr. pl., pr., procos., leg. Aug. *bis*; iud. q., praef. frum. dand., cur. aed. sacr. mon. tuend. (SUPERAEQUUM)  
*PIR* v 187; de Laet 402; 'primus omnium Paelignorum senator factus', according to his inscription at Superaequum (*ILS* 932). If this claim is true, the career of no. 484 below dates his entry to the Senate as earlier than 9 B.C. (cf. also nos. 266–8 above).
464. T. VARIUS T. f. SABINUS, leg.? L. Plaetorii (Mac.) 63–62. (SABINI?)  
 See on no. 369 above.
465. Q. VARIUS SEVERUS HIBRIDA, tr. pl. 90. SUCRO  
*PW* 7; Malcovati, *ORF* 167; cf. Wilson, *Emigr.* 24, 161–2 (son of a Roman citizen by a *peregrina*?). V.M. viii. 6. 4: 'propter obscurum ius civitatis Hibrida cognominatus'. According to Asconius (22 c), Scaurus called his accuser 'Q. Varius Hispanus'; in Quint. v. 12. 20 and *vir. ill.* 72. 11 the name is '(Q.) Varius Sucronensis', in V.M. iii. 7. 8 'Varius Severus Sucronensis'.
- 466? P. VATIENUS P. f. Qui., senator?? after 76. (REATE)  
*PW* viii A. 2394; Syme, *Hist.* 1956, 208; Taylor, *VDRR* 262–3. The distinction of his wife, Cornelia L. Scipionis f., is the only reason for supposing him a senator.
467. P. VATINIUS P. f. Ser., q. ('aquaria') 63, leg. C. Cosconii (Hisp. Ult.) 62, tr. pl. 59, aed. cand. 57, leg. C. Caesaris (Gaul) 58?–56, pr. 55, leg. C. Caes. (Gaul, etc.) 51–47, cos. 47, procos. Illyr. 45–42; augur from 47. (MARSII?)  
*PW* 3; no grandfather's initial in the Triumphal Fasti. Taylor, *VDRR* 263 for his origin; Syme (*Sallust* 27 n. 38, cf. *Hist.* 1956, 208) prefers Cures or Trebula Mutuesca, Sabine towns also in the Sergia, but in that case it is not clear why his grandfather was not a citizen.
468. L. VEHLIUS, q. propr. Afr., late Rep.?  
 Syme, *Hist.* 1956, 209.
469. M. VEHLIUS, pr. 44. (PRAENESTE?? COSILINUM??)  
*PW* 1; Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 124. M. Vehilius Primus put up buildings as *curator rei publ.* at Cosilinum in Lucania (*ILS* 9359; *curatores* were often local men). The only other M. Vehilius known outside Rome are those cited by Syme at Praeneste and Pisidian Antioch (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 338–9, iii. 6860). A M. Vehilius who was proconsul of Cyprus is dated to Augustus' reign by Mitford (*Act. Cong. Epig.* 172)—son of no. 469? Syme, *PBSR* 1938, 17 on the date of the latter's entry to the Senate.

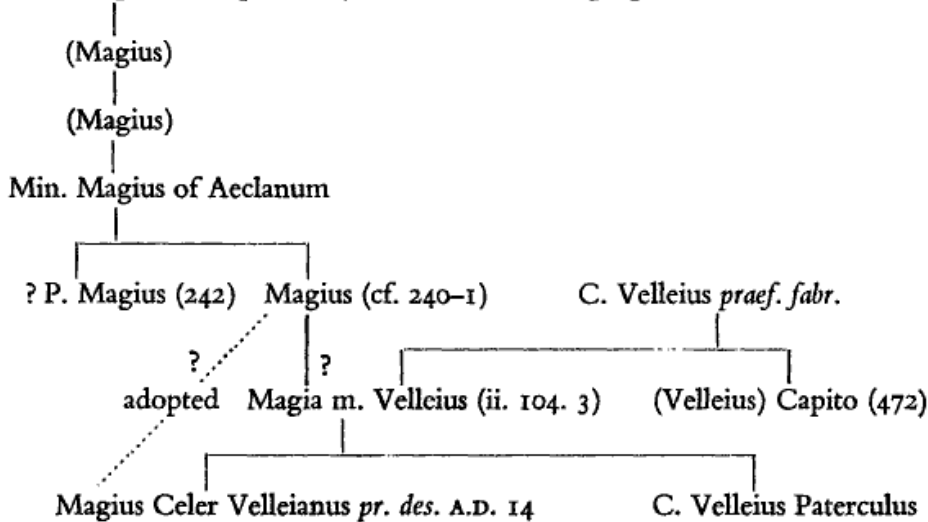
470. P. VELLAEUS, leg. Aug. (Moes.) A.D. 21. (CANUSIUM??)

*PIR* v 231; de Laet 403. No doubt related to C. Vellaeus Tutor, *suff.* A.D. 28?, on whom see Syme, *Hist.* 1956, 210. Dessau (*PIR*) considered the Canusian inscription *CIL* ix. 351 (cf. 404-6) as referring to a freedman of Tutor, and a connection with the town is possible; the name occurs elsewhere at Aquilonia, Forum Iuli, and Aquileia (*CIL* ix. 968, v. 1760, 8297, Aquileia mus. inv. no. 2526).

471. C. VELLEIUS, senator before 77. LANUVIUM  
*PW* 1; Cic. *ND* i. 79.

472. (VELLEIUS) CAPITO, senator by 43.  
*PW* 4; the son of C. Velleius, *praef. fabr.* 40, who had been 'lectus inter cclx iudices' by Pompey and was a friend and partisan of Ti. Claudius Nero (V.P. ii. 76. 1; *PW* 2). The family stemma may be reconstructed from the works of Capito's nephew Velleius Paterculus (V.P. ii. 16. 2-3, 69. 5, 76. 1, 104. 3, 115. 1), on which see now Sumner, *HSCP* 1970, 257-65.

Dec. Magius of Capua (Livy xxiii. 7-10; Cic. *leg. ag.* ii. 93, *Pis.* 24)



Nothing is known either of the origin of the Velleii or of their connection (if any) with the Epicurean from Lanuvium (no. 471). Velleius' silence about earlier members of his father's family seems to imply that Capito was the first to reach the Senate; earlier senators remain possible, however.

473. VENTIDIUS, leg. Q. Cornifici (Afr.) 43-42. *PW* 3.

474. P. VENTIDIUS P. f. BASSUS, senator by 47, tr. pl. 45?, pr. and cos. suff. 43, leg./procos. Gall. Cis. 42-40, procos. Asia/Syria 40-38; pontifex c. 43.

ASCULUM

*PW* 5; Gardthausen, *Aug.* ii. 111-15. Syme, *Latomus* 1958, 73-8 (Pliny, *NH* vii. 135; Cic. *fam.* x. 18. 3) on his *novitas*; no grandfather's initial in the Triumphal Fasti. For his origin see also Taylor, *VDRR* 264; Badian, *Hist.*

1963, 141-2: P. Ventidii occur only in Asculum (*CIL* ix. 5254). Sallust wrote his triumphal oration (Fronto 123 N; Syme, *Sallust* 223).

475? VENULEIUS, IIIvir (cap.?) 82.

*PW* 1; *MRR* Supp. 68. A Venuleia was the wife of P. Crassus *cos.* 97 (Cic. *Att.* xii. 24. 2; cf. Münzer, *RA* 393).

476. Q. VERANIUS (Clu.), leg. Cappadocia A.D. 18, sacerdos A.D. 20.

(FORUM NOVUM? S. UMBRIA?)

*PW* 2; *PIR* v 265; de Laet 405; Syme, *Hist.* 1956, 211-12 and *CQ* 1957, 123-5 (*IGR* iii. 628, iv. 914 ff.) for the tribe.

477. M. VERGILIUS, tr. pl. 87.

*PW* 4, cf. *NC* 1964, 157. Brother of T. Aufidius, 'qui vixit ad summam senectutem . . . bonus vir et innocens' (Cic. *Brut.* 179); cf. Cic. *prov. cons.* 7 on C. Vergilius Balbus, *pr.* 62, 'vir fortis et innocens'.

478. P. VERGILIUS M. f. PONTIAN(US), pr., cur. rip. alv. Tib. between A.D. 14 and 24. (SUTRIUM?)

De Laet 827. *CIL* xiv. 4704 (cf. 192), a college of curators of the Tiber banks: C. Antistius C. f. C. n. Vetus (*cos.* A.D. 23), C. Valerius L. f. Flacc. Tanur., P. Vergilius M. f. Pontian., P. Catienus P. f. Sabinus (no. 110), Ti. Vergilius Ti. f. Rufus. Being senior to no. 110, who served Augustus as legate, Pontianus was certainly an Augustan senator. The college was a praetorian one (Kornemann, *PW* iv. 1791).

For his origin cf. P. Vergilius P. f. R[. . .], *IIvir* of Sutrium, the home of L. Pontius Aquila (no. 335); no Vergilii Pontiani occur in *CIL* apart from no. 478 himself. For the *praenomen* cf. P. Vergilius Maro, the poet of Mantua, and the Augustan senator C. Pontius Paelignus (336) at near-by Brixia.

479. C. VERRES (Rom.?), senator by 90?

*PW* 2; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 71; Taylor, *VDRR* 264. At this date, the tribe is no sure evidence of an origin from Sora, and if the younger Verres had been a *vicinus* of Cicero, it is improbable that no mention of it should have survived. However, his brother-in-law was a Vettius (no. 481 below), and contacts can be detected between Marsic Vettii and at least one family from Sora (see on no. 106 above).

480. VESPASIUS, pr. under Augustus.

NURSIA

*PIR* v 298; de Laet 407; cf. *PW* 1. Suet. *Vesp.* 1. 2-3 (cf. *CIL* ix. 4778) for his family; the name is known elsewhere only at Pompeii (iv. 2014).

481. T. VETTIUS (CHILO), q. and proq. Sic. 73-71.

*PW* 11; *MRR* Supp. 69; Verres' brother-in-law, brother of a *publicanus* (Cic. *Verr.* iii. 72, 166, cf. Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 259).

482. T. VETTIUS SABINUS, mon. c. 69?, iud. q. (SABINI)  
*PW* 14; Sydenham, *RRC* 905; Taylor, *VDRR* 265. Generally associated with P. Sabinus (no. 369, q.v.), who might be his father. His coins are rare and not easily dateable: if Pink's early dating is accepted (*Tr. Mon.* 36), he could be equated with T. Vettius, *pr.* 59 (thus *PW*, and Nicolet, *Ord. eq.* 259).  
 Cichorius, *UL* 348-9 for a Vettius attacked by Lucilius (1322 M) for his rustic speech—Etruscan, Praenestine or Sabine—who may be identical with the Vettius defended by C. Gracchus about 132 (*Plut. CG* 1). For the *praenomen*, cf. T. Vettius of Nuceria, an *eques* who put himself at the head of a short-lived slave revolt in 104 (*Diod. xxxvi. 2. 2-6, 2a*), and T. Vettius Rufus, a decurion of Veii in A.D. 26 (*ILS* 6579).
483. (VETTIUS Ser.) SCATO, *procos.* Crete/Cyr. between 23 and 12. (CERFENNIA?)  
*PIR* s 194; de Laet 325; Robinson, *BM Cyrene* ccxxiii-iv for the possibility (based on Scato's two issues) that he was *q. propr.* shortly before 27, and then *pr. procos.* between 23 and 12.  
 The *cognomen* was apparently used only by the Marsic Vettii Scatones (Syme, *RR* 91 n. 5 for the descendants of the rebel leader) and the Magulnii Scatones of Praeneste (*ILLRP* 299, 653; *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 1472; *NS* 1917, 329-31). The Magulnii are known at Rome as bankers (*ILLRP* 1028, 61 B.C.), but since they do not seem to have aspired to anything higher than local magistracies, no. 483 is much more likely to have been a Vettius. Cf. *CIL* ix. 3649 from Cerfennia Marsorum: '[. . .] Ser. Scatoni Illviro [. . . tribu]no militum in [. . . legio]nis IIII Macedon. [. . .] designato [. . .] Prima mater'—surely a Vettius, and no doubt a relative of no. 483 (but not identical, as Alföldy suggests, *FH* 125). His military tribunate belongs between 48 B.C. and A.D. 70 (Parker, *RL* 265; Ritterling, *PW* xii. 1549 on the *leg. IV Mac.*).
484. Sex. (VIBIDIUS) L. f. Ser. VIRRO, senator by 9 B.C. (PAELIGNI: CORFINIUM?)  
*PW* 2; *PIR* v 372; de Laet 474; Syme, *JRS* 1949, 17 on the central-Apennine (and particularly Paelignian) origin of the name—to which add *NS* 1891, 293, 1928, 228 (Amiternum) and *Epigraphica* 1958, 27. Q. Vibi(e)dius Sedatus, *Ilvir* at Nola in A.D. 30, may be significant for the spread of the family (*ILS* 6124, cf. on no. 339 above).
485. C. VIBIENUS, senator before 58. (ARRETIUM?)  
*PW* 3; *Mnemosyne* 1963, 283 ff. for his identification as—or at least connection with—an Arretine pottery owner (Oxé-Comfort, *CVA* 2286-2302).  
 VIBIUS, see PACIA(E)CUS (300).
486. VIBIUS, *pr.* or *propr.* (Greece) c. 103. *PW* 3.
487. M'. VIBIUS M'. f. Vel. BALBINUS, *tr. mil.*, *praef. fabr.*, *praef. eq.*, *q.*, *aed. pl.*, *pr. aer.*, *leg. Aug.* and *Tib.*, *procos. Gall. Narb.* (TREA)  
*PW* 24; *PIR* v 377; de Laet 408: *ILS* 937 (Trea).

488. A. VIBIUS C. f. C. n. HABITUS, cos. suff. A.D. 8, procos. Afr. A.D. 16-17.  
(LARINUM)

*PW* 35; *PIR* v 384; de Laet 409; brother of no. 491, q.v.

489. VIBIUS MAXIMUS, q. des. 38.

*PW* 12; Dio xlviii. 34. 5; Jer. 158 n.

- 490? C. VIBIUS C. f. (Tro.? Clu.?) PANSA, mon. c. 90. (PERUSIA?)

*PW* 15; *CQ* 1964, 131 on tribe and origin; Rowland, *TAPA* 1966, 409-10—also for C. Vibius Varus, mon. c. 39, who was probably related to the Pansae.

491. C. VIBIUS C. f. C. n. POSTUMUS, pr., procos., cos. suff. A.D. 5, leg. Tib. (Ill.) A.D. 6-9, (Dalm.) A.D. 9, procos. Asia A.D. 13-16; VIIvir ep.

(LARINUM)

*PW* 45; *PIR* v 392; de Laet 411. *CIL* ix. 730; *AE* 1966, 74 for honorary inscriptions put up by the *municipes* and *incolae* of Larinum and (at the same town) by the 'colonia Romulensis'; Cic. *Cluent.* 25 and 165 for Sex. Vibius and C. Vibius Capax of Larinum.

Q. Modius (no. 259 above) was Postumus' brother; see p. 63 above for the families' Italian ramifications. *CIL* vi. 9938 may be relevant: a member of the family of C. Vibius Severus (procos. Spain A.D. 21) with the Oscan *praenomen* Numerius.

492. VIBIUS (VISCUS), senator c. 35? (FORUM SEMPRONII? BRIXIA??)

493. VIBIUS VISCUS THURINUS, senator c. 35?

(FORUM SEMPRONII? BRIXIA??)

*PIR* v 408; de Laet 415-16; cf. *PW* 66: the sons of an equestrian *amicus* of Octavian (Hor. *Sat.* i. 10. 83 and Porph., Crook no. 341). *CIL* xi. 6155 for C. Vibius C. f. Pol. Viscus at Forum Sempronii, v. 4201 (cf. Syme, *RR* 363 n. 2) for L. Vibius Visci l. at Brixia in 8 B.C. For the *cognomen* Thurinus compare the Brixian Pontius Paclignus (no. 336).

494. L. VINICIUS (M. f.), mon. c. 54, tr. pl. 51, cos. suff. 33. (CALES?)

*PW* 1; cf. *PIR* v 443. No doubt father of L. Vinicius L. f. M. n., suff. 5 B.C.; probably a collateral branch of the family of no. 495. The 'L. Vinicius, Vinici frater' mentioned in Sen. *contr.* ii. 5. 19 as an effective orator was no doubt the suff. 5; the brother who needed no introduction was probably P. Vinicius, cos. A.D. 2. Seneca mentions no other Vinicii except these two (i. 2. 3, 4. 11, vii. 5. 10, 6. 11, x. 4. 25).

495. M. VINICIUS P. f., leg. Aug. (Gaul) 25, cos. suff. 19, leg. Aug. (Illyr.) 13-10, (Germ.) A.D. 1-3; leg. Aug. (Illyr.) c. 2-1 B.C.? XVvir s.f.? CALES

*PW* 6; *PIR* v 444; de Laet 418; Crook 344; Syme, *Hist.* 1962, 147-9 for the family, Tac. *Ann.* vi. 15. 1 on his grandson, consul in A.D. 30 and 45: 'Vinicio

oppidanum genus—Calibus ortus, patre atque avo consularibus, cetera equestri familia erat'. The middle generation was that of P. Vinicius, *cos.* A.D. 2 (see on no. 494 above).

496. T. VINIUS, senator? 43, pr.? (AMITERNUM)  
*PW* 2; Syme, *Hist.* 1962, 153, *Sallust* 228 n. 52. T. Vinius Rufus was an Augustan *VIIIvir* at Amiternum (*ILS* 3701); cf. *Cic. Att.* ii. 2. 3 'de vino [*i.e.* Vinio?] laudo'.
497. M. VIPSANIUS L. f. (Ser.?) AGRIPPA, tr. pl. 43, leg.? Caesaris Oct. 41, pr. urb. 40, procos. Gall. Trans. 40–38, *cos.* 37, procos. (fleet) 36, Illyr. 35–34, aed. cur. 33, procos.? (fleet) 32–31, *cos.* II 28, III 27, leg. Aug. (Gaul, Spain) 19, (East) 16–13; trib. pot. 18–12, *XVvir* s.f. etc. (MARSII? ASISIUM??)  
*PW* 2; *PIR* v 457; de Laet 420; Crook 347; Gardthausen, *Aug.* ii. 410–11. *CQ* 1964, 131–2 for the suggestion that he was in the Sergia tribe, and therefore of Marsic or Asisian origin; Hanslik, *PW* ix A. 1227 for earlier guesses about his name. *V.P.* ii. 96. 1, 127. 1; *Tac. Ann.* i. 3. 1; *Sen. contr.* ii. 4. 13, etc., for his obscure origin.
498. (L.) VIPSTANUS (Cla.??) GALLUS, pr. A.D. 17.  
 (TEANUM SIDICINUM??)
499. M. VIPSTANUS (Cla.??) GALLUS, *cos. suff.* A.D. 18.  
 (TEANUM SIDICINUM??)  
*PW* 2–3; *PIR* v 466; de Laet 421–2; Syme, *Hist.* 1962, 149–50 (cf. 1964, 107–8). Presumably brothers; *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 4185 for no. 498's *praenomen*. One of them was surely the father of L. Vipstanus Publicola (*cos.* A.D. 48), and a Vipstanus Publicola was a magistrate at Teanum Sidicinum in A.D. 46 (*NS* 1905, 192). The Claudia tribe is that of L. Vipstanus L. f. Cl. Poplicola Messalla in the second century A.D. (*ILS* 272; *CIL* xiv. 4245; cf. Syme, *Hist.* 1962, 153). But it may have come from his ancestors among the Valerii Messallae (cf. *Tac. dial.* 21. 9, 27. 1), whom Mommsen assigned to the Claudia on the strength of *ILS* 1190, the inscription of L. Valerius L. f. Cl. Poplicola Balbinus Maximus, *cos.* A.D. 253 or 256 (*StR* iii. 789, doubted by Taylor, *VDRR* 261).
500. P. VIRIASIUS NASO, tr. pl., cur. loc. publ. early Tib., (pr.?), procos. tert. (Cyrene) between A.D. 31 and 37.  
*PW* 1; *PIR* v 475; de Laet 843; Syme, *Hist.* 1962, 155. An Augustan senator: see on no. 94 above for the dating.
501. C. VISELLIUS C. f. Qui. VARRO, tr. mil. Asia 80–79, q. by 73, tr. pl.? 69?, aed. cur. c. 59, iud. q. c. 58. (ARPINUM??)  
*PW* 3; Taylor, *VDRR* 266 on his tribe and probable adoption from the Terentii Varrones. Cicero's cousin—his father married Cicero's aunt (*Cic. de or.* ii. 2, *prov. cons.* 40)—therefore from Arpinum? *Cic. QF* iii. 1. 4 for a Varro at Arpinum in 54. Descendants *suff.* A.D. 12, *cos.* A.D. 24.

502. Sex. VISTILIUS, pr. by A.D. 19. (IGUVIUM?)

*PIR* v 489; de Laet 424; Crook 349. An old man and an ex-praetor in A.D. 32 (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 9. 2); the Vistilia described as of praetorian rank in A.D. 19 was no doubt his daughter (*ibid.* ii. 85. 2). Sex. Vistilii occur only at Iguvium and Rome (*CIL* xi. 5825, vi. 29051-2); otherwise only C. Vistilii are known, at Rome, Ameria, Interamna Nahars and Syracuse (vi. 4539, xi. 4317, 4511; *EE* viii. 685).

503. P. VITELLIUS P. f., leg. Aug. (Pann.) A.D. 6-8, pr., leg. Germanici (Germ.) A.D. 15-16, procos. Bith. A.D. 18-19, praef. aer. mil.; sacerdos A.D. 20.  
NUCERIA

504. Q. VITELLIUS P. f., q. under Augustus. NUCERIA  
*PW* 5; *PIR* v 502 and 505; de Laet 425-6. Suet. *Vit.* 1-2: brothers of A. Vitellius *suff.* A.D. 32, Lucius *cos.* A.D. 34, 43, 47.

505. Q. VITELLIUS, senator 29. (OSTIA? NUCERIA??)  
*PW* Supp. ix; *PIR* v 504; de Laet 427. Probably connected with the Ostian *IIviri* of 46-45 B.C., A. and Q. Vitellii (*Inscr. It.* xiii. 183). Mayer-Maly (*PW* Supp. ix. no. 7 f.) makes him a brother of the procurator P. Vitellius who was father of nos. 503-4, but Suetonius' silence makes this unlikely.

506. VOLCACIUS (TULLUS), senator early first century B.C.? (TUSCULUM? PERUSIA??)

L. Volcacijs Tullus, *cos.* 66, cannot have been a *novus homo*; Cicero's claim at *leg. ag.* ii. 3 can be stretched to admit Norbanus (no. 278) as a consular *novus* twenty years earlier, in 83, but hardly a consul of only three years before. So there was at least one earlier senator in the family—no doubt in the previous generation, since the name is first recorded at Rome in the late Republic (Asc. 74 c; Pliny, *NH* vii. 144, etc.).

Syme insists on a Perusine origin for the family: *RR* 466; *JRS* 1949, 18 and 1963, 59; *Hist.* 1962, 152 and 1964, 124-5. But though the name is doubtless Etruscan in its ultimate etymology (cf. Kunkel, *Herkunft* 20), and Volcacci do appear early at Perugia (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 2772, cf. xi. 2083-4), it is too much to claim that 'the Perusine *patria* is given unequivocally by Propertius i. 22. 3' (Syme, *JRS* 1963, 59 n. 48). Addressing the great-nephew of the *cos.* 66, Propertius writes: 'si Perusina tibi patriae sunt nota sepulcra . . .', an expression parallel to 'civilia busta Philippos' (ii. 1. 27), with *patria* meaning Italy, the common motherland of the citizens who fell in the civil wars. See Prop. iv. 6. 24 and 41 (cf. iii. 13. 59) for the patriotic connotation; also i. 6. 22, again to Tullus, but hardly referring to his home town. The only certain use of *patria* in this sense in Propertius is about the poet himself and Umbria (iv. 1. 64 and 122). We gather that Tullus *knew* Perugia—he may have fought there—but that is a long way from proof of his origin.

So the claims of Perugia have to rest on the inscriptions, and the name is not rare enough to tie down firmly. It occurs early at Clusium, and in a



libertine *magister* and a local aedile at Tusculum (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>. 2012, *ILLRP* 59, 689); and a L. Volcatius Tul(lus) appears at Forum Clodi (xi. 3317). Tusculum looks the most plausible choice: cf. Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 125 for a *coniunctio* between the *cos.* 66 and the Tusculan Juventii (Cic. *Planc.* 51).

507? VOLSCIUS, leg. (env. Bith.) 73.

Badian, *Gnomon* 1961, 498. The name is paralleled only by an early grave-stone at Caere (*CIL* xi. 3691). Schulze, *LE* 523 n. 2 on Volscius and Voluscus. The tribune M. Volscius Fictor (Livy iii. 13) becomes *Ὀυλοῦσκίος* in D.H. x. 7. 1. So nos. 507 and 510 may well be related or identical.

508? M. VOLTEIUS M. f., mon. c. 78. *PW* 2.

509? VOLUMNIUS FLACCUS, leg. (env.) 43. (SIGNIA?)

*PW* 12; Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 142: *ILLRP* 666 (Signia *IVviri*) for his origin. Perhaps son of the senator L. Volumnius (*PW* 4), or of no. 562 below; possibly Brutus' friend the historian P. Volumnius (Plut. *Brut.* 48, 51), if the latter was not P. Volumnius Eutrapelus (*PW* 11).

510. L. VOL(U)SCIUS L. f. Arn., aed. by 73.

*PW* 1; see on no. 507 above. A M. Voluscus M. f. Felix appears in Sicily, a Voluscia C. l. near Atina, and an obscure Voluscia Doxa at Rome (*CIL* x. 7448, 5150, vi. 29511).

511. L. VOLUSEIUS PROCULUS, *cos. suff.* A.D. 17.

*PIR* v 646; de Laet 431; brother of no. 553 below?

512. L. VOLUSENUS CATULUS, senator under Augustus. (SESTINUM?)

Cf. *PW* 4 (Supp. ix); *PIR* v 648; de Laet 479. His existence as a senator is implied by L. Volusenus Catulus *f(ilius)*, the second member of a college of curators of the Tiber banks and no doubt a praetor before A.D. 24 (*CIL* vi. 31543, and p. 220 above on no. 94). The same man was probably *cur. loc. publ.* early in Tiberius' reign (*CIL* vi. 1267, 31573-4), and was defended in a court case by Domitius Afer, Passienus Crispus, and D. Laelius Balbus—presumably under Tiberius.

C. L. T. Voluseni of equestrian or decurial standing are common at Sestinum in Umbria, and occur also near by at Ariminum and Tifernum: *NS* 1942, 63, *CIL* xi. 422, 6011-12, 6016-19, 6025, 6689. 263-4; cf. 5995, and Oxé-Comfort, *CVA* 2468-91. C. Volusenus Quadratus (*PW* 3) was *tr. mil.* and *praef. eq.* under Caesar in Gaul—possibly (grand)father of no. 512.

513. M. VOLUSIUS, aed. 43. (CINGULUM??)

514. Q. VOLUSIUS (Vel.), praef. M. Ciceronis 51-50, pr.? (CINGULUM?)

*PW* 4-5; *CQ* 1964, 126 (*CIL* ix. 5680, cf. vi. 7376-7) for Cingulan origin, doubted by Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 156-7—q.v. for the family and its connection

with the Claudi Neronos (Cic. *Att.* v. 21. 6). See *PIR* v 660 and 666 for no. 514 and the consular Volusii Saturnini of the first century A.D.

515. (. . .)IUS C. f., procos. mid first century? (ARIMINUM)

*AE* 1965, 284, after Susini, *Studi Romagnoli* 1964, 137-52: an honorary inscription to C. Marius? Degrassi, however, in a communication to the Fifth International Epigraphy Congress (Cambridge 1967), supposes it to refer to a local senator. Susini *loc. cit.* 140 for the date.

516. (. . .)IUS L. f. Pom. (. . .)US, Xvir (stl. iud.), (I)IIIvir a. a. f. f., IVvir (viar. cur.), tr. mil., q. et leg.? Achaea, tr. pl. (before 29?), pr.; salius Palatinus.

(ARRETIVM)

*PIR incerti* 34: *CIL* xi. 1837 (Arretium). This man was *tr. pl.*, but subsequently member of a patrician college of Salii (cf. Cic. *dom.* 38, D.H. ii. 70, iii. 32, etc.). He was therefore created a patrician after his tribunate, but hardly under the Empire as there is no reference to an *adlectio inter patricios* by the emperor. His promotion could have been through Caesar's *lex Cassia*, or by Octavian in 33 or 29 (pp. 172 f. above); one of the latter occasions is more probable, since his multiple pre-senatorial posts seem to belong to the triumviral rather than the Caesarian era.

Groag (*Achaea* 100-1) doubts the reading 'q. et leg. provinc. Achaiae' as anachronistic before 29 B.C., but the editors of *PIR* judge the absence of a named legion for his military service to be an 'indivium melioris aetatis'.

517. (. . . .), tr. mil., q., aed. cur., leg. Caesaris (before 27??), pr., procos., (leg. pro) pr. (AQUILEIA)

*CIL* v. 879 (Aquileia); Mommsen (ad loc.) judged the lettering Augustan, and the bare formula 'legatus Caesaris' therefore a reference to Octavian before 27. But (i) autopsy suggests that the lettering alone cannot date the stone firmly to Augustus' reign, and (ii) P. Sulpicius Quirinius could be referred to merely as *leg. Caesaris* after A.D. 6 (*ILS* 2683, cf. 971 for a Claudian example).

518. (. . . .), (Xvir stl.) iud., tr. mil., (I)IIIvir viar. cur., q. (POLA)

McAlindon, *JRS* 1957, 194 n. 17: *CIL* v. 36 (Pola). The inscription names the legion in which he served as tribune, which may indicate a date later than that of the Arretine above (no. 516); in that case his multiple pre-senatorial posts would parallel those of Ovid and Propertius Postumus (no. 345 above) rather than those of Paquius Scaeva (308) in the thirties. But either date is possible.

- 519? (. . . .) Nigri f., '(functus) castresibus Caesaris Augusti summis (eq)u(es)-tris ordinis honoribus et iam superiori destinatus ordini'. (CORFINIVM)

*ILS* 2682 (Corfinium). His mother's inscription recording the successes of her sons makes it all but certain that he was a *novus*. His father's *cognomen* was Niger: a Niger was patron of Marruvium among the neighbouring Marsi (*CIL* ix. 3696).

520. (. . . .), (IVvir) viar. cur.? . . . (tr.) pl., pr., leg. Aug. iter., per commendationem Ti. Caes. Aug. ab senatu cos. dest. (ALLIFAE?)

*PIR* incerti 2; de Laet 435; patron of Allifae (*ILS* 944). He might just be an Alfius Flavus (cf. no. 20 above): see Syme, *Hermes* 1964, 414, who adduces *CIL* ix. 2344—'M. A[. . .] aediu[m . . .] desti[. . .] Ti. C[ae]sar[is] . . .'. Perhaps the corrupt 'viacure' transmitted in the early part of no. 520's monument was not part of 'IVvir viar. cur.' but of 'cur. *aedium* sacr. monumentorumque public. tuendorum'? Or a reference to that curatorship could have been on the lost part of the stone.

Syme, who connects this man with the Aedii of Allifae (one of whom married the daughter of a consular Servilius), also invokes *CIL* ix. 2341:

DIVS M. F. BA  
I. CAESARIS AVGVSTI

'Patently a senator', according to Syme, but with so little surviving it is impossible to tell. It is certainly not a conventional *cursus* inscription, unless the man was *quaestor Augusti*, which is unlikely (p. 158 above), and might easily be that of (e.g.) a procurator.

## SUPPLEMENTARY LIST

521. P. ALF(. . .) PRIMUS, leg. propr. Achaëa, late Rep./early Aug.

*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 515; de Laet 439 *bis*. The *praenomen* suggests a relationship with no. 18; but note Alfia P. f. Quarta, who constructed the women's baths at Marruvium (*CIL* ix. 3677), and [. . .] Prima, mother of a senatorial Vettius Scato at Cerfennia near by (ix. 3649, Julio-Claudian).

522. ATTICUS, senator 70s B.C. (adlected by Sulla?).

Varro, *Menipp.* 453 B (in Nonius 199 L), 'noster Atticus rivalis, homo item lectus in curiam cum macescebat'. Nonius' Florentine manuscript reads 'Accius', its corrector (*F*<sup>3</sup>) 'Attius'; *F*<sup>3</sup> evidently used an excellent lost codex, perhaps even the archetype (Lindsay, *CR* 1895, 356; *Philologus* 1896, 160), and his version is probably to be preferred, in which case the man referred to might well be C. Attius Celsus (no. 58).

Cichorius has established the early date of the Menippean satires (*RS* 207-26); this quotation comes from a work entitled 'Serranus *περὶ ἀρχαιρεσιῶν*', possibly about C. Atilius Serranus' unexpected victory over Q. Catulus at the consular elections of 107 (Cic. *Planc.* 12; cf. Pliny, *NH* xviii. 8 for Varro's interest in the Serrani).

523? M. AUF. RUS., mon. c. 150-140. *PW* Aufidius 35.

524. (. . . .) L. f. Ouf. BALBUS, pr.? by 35.

Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 56-7, cf. 65-6.

525. BARBA, leg. L. Luculli 73.  
*TLL* ii. 1727-8; Schulze, *LE* 349; von Rohden, *PW* s.v. for *gentes* which used this *cognomen* (including the *Barronii*—no. 65 above). He could have been a *Cassius* (no. 107, *Cic. Att.* xiii. 52. 1, *Phil.* xiii. 3); more attractively identified by Syme (*Hist.* 1964, 123) with *C. Sornatius B[. . .]*, no. 406.
526. L. BASSUS, leg. Q. Metelli 67.  
 Syme, *Hist.* 1964, 161, suggesting *Lucilius Bassus* (mentioned in *Cic. Att.* xii. 3. 2); cf. *Fam.* vii. 20. 3 'Bassus noster' (44 B.C.), and *Tac. Hist.* ii. 100, etc., on the Vitellian commander *Lucilius Bassus*.
- 527? P. CALP., mon. (Lipara) 37-36.  
 Grant, *FITA* 52-4.
- 528? P. CALP(URNIUS?), mon. c. 145-140.  
*PW* *Calpurnius* 49; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 59: possibly the father of *P. Calpurnius Lanarius* (*PW* 49), since the *Pisones* did not use this *praenomen*.
529. CAPITO, q. between 23 and A.D. 14.  
*PW* 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 405; de Laet 92. *TLL* Supp. 157-9 for the name.
530. CILLO, senator 43.  
*TLL* Supp. 439-40; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 59-60: *Vettius, Annius, Toranius, Magius?* Cf. *Fulvius Gillo, Flaminius Chilo*, and a slave *Cillo* referred to at *Cic. QF* iii. 1. 3.
531. L. CULLEOLUS, pr. c. 60, propr. Mac.? c. 59.  
*PW* 1. *Cic. div.* i. 4 for a *Cornelius Culleolus*; otherwise, nothing nearer than the *cognomen* *Culleo* (*TLL* Supp. 741) is known.
532. L. CUS(. . .), leg. P. Scipionis (Asia) between 10 and 3 B.C.  
*PIR*<sup>2</sup> c 1624; de Laet 155.
- 533? C. F., mon. c. 115-110.
534. (. . . .) FAVONIUS, leg. Aug. and Tib., cos., procos. Asia, XVvir s.f.  
*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 121; de Laet 175; Syme, *JRS* 1966, 59-60. The name is used as a *cognomen*: probably part of the full nomenclature of a known Augustan consul (c. A.D. 5-10? see Syme).
535. FRONTO, leg. propr. (Galatia) A.D. 20.  
*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 485; de Laet 178.

536. C. GALLUS, senator by 70.  
*PW* 20 (Cic. *Verr.* iii. 152). Could be C. Aquillius Gallus, *pr.* 66; the Cornelii and Asinii Galli are too late, the Sulpicii Galli probably too early.
537. GUTTA (COTTA?), *pr.* by 55.  
 Cf. *PW* 1; Cic. *QF* iii. 6. 6 (*JRS* 1966, 113 n. 72).
538. LATINUS, leg. C. Calvisii Sabini (Afr.) 45, 43.  
*PW* 2. *Cognomen* not otherwise known in the republican Senate. According to Cic. *Phil.* iii. 26, Sabinus left only two legates in Africa, so perhaps *Fam.* xii. 30. 7 should be punctuated 'Venuleius Latinus, Horatius' (*MRR* ii. 312).
539. LICINUS, senator adlected by Caesar?  
 Cf. *PW* 4; *CQ* 1964, 132-3, with the suggestion that he could be a Seius from Volsinii.
- 540? MACHAERAS, leg.? P. Ventidi (Judaea) 38.  
 'A flagrant alien' (Syme, *CP* 1955, 136); cf. Jos. *AJ* xiv. 89-96 for the fortress Machaerous in Palestine. But a C. Annidius Machaera is known at Larinum (*CIL* ix. 767 'litteris antiquioribus'); cf. also *CIL* xiv. 1810 (Ostia), iii. 3359.
541. T. MAL., mon. (or q. urb.) c. 110.  
 Cf. *PW* Mallius 10. *MRR* ii. 3 n. 8; Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 138: more likely Mal(oleius) than Mal(lius)? The moneyer Q. Mal. was probably a Publicius Malleolus.
542. C. MEGABOCCHUS, propr. Sard. between 104 and 54.  
 Cf. *PW* 1. Mentioned by Cicero (*Scaur.* 40) after T. Albucius (no. 16) as governor of Sardinia. The Megabocchus of the *sanguinaria iuventus* of 59 (Cic. *Att.* ii. 7. 3), perhaps his son, was probably the same man who served under Crassus and was killed at Carrhae (Plut. *Crass.* 25. 3 and 12). A L. Valerius Megabocchus is known from Opitergium in Venetia—not later than Augustan, to judge by the lettering (*CIL* v. 8787, autopsy).
543. P. NASO, *pr.* 44.  
*PW* 1 and Sextius 33; Badian, *Gnomon* 1961, 497: no doubt the Sextius Naso who conspired against Caesar (App. *BC* ii. 113), perhaps the Naso who was proscribed in 43 (App. *BC* iv. 107), and possibly the Naso who was quaestor in Sicily (*CIL* i<sup>2</sup>, p. 764). Münzer, *PW*, for other republican Nasones: Actorius, Axius, Julius, Otacilius, Salluvius, Voconius.
- 544? NERVA, leg. (env.) 43.  
 Acutius, Cocceius, Licinius, Silius?
- NIGER, see no. 519 above.

545? ORFITUS, senator? late Augustus.

*PW* 1; *PIR* o 90; de Laet 272. Perhaps father of Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvitienus Orfitus, *cos.* A.D. 51. The cognate *gentilicium* Orfidius is known among the Vestini (*CIL* ix. 3378, 3390, 3450; *NS* 1894, 407)—relevant to the Vestinian origin inferred for the Salvidieni (no. 374 above).

PACCIANUS, see no. 300 above.

546. M. (. . . .) Pob. PALLACINUS, senator by 39.

*PW* Lollius 20; Broughton (*MRR* Supp. 36) and Taylor (*VDRR* 226; *RVA* 127 n. 16) equate him with the moneyer (Lollius) Palicanus; Badian (*Gnomon* 1961, 496, *Hist.* 1963, 137) more convincingly identifies him with M. Quin(c)tius 'Plancinus' (*PW* 51), whose *cognomen* would then be the result of corruption in Josephus' manuscripts. Pallacinus is a quite credible *cognomen*: see *Cic. Rosc. Am.* 18 and 132 (Platner-Ashby, *TDAR* 381-2) for *balneae Pallacinae* and a *vicus Pallacinus*.

547. PATISCUS, proq. (propr.? Asia) 43.

*PW* 1; see on no. 310 above.

548. (. . . .) Fal. PLAUTUS, senator by 35.

*PW* 3; Syme, *Hist.* 1955, 66.

549. A. POM., q. mid first century.

Pompeius or Pomponius; Grant (*FITA* 26 n. 19) identifies him as a Pompeius Bithynicus (*PW* 26). The only A. Pomponius known under the Republic was quaestor in Africa in 47-46 (Grant, *FITA* 21 n. 2).

550? D. POR., mon. (Lipara) 37-36.

Grant, *FITA* 52-4. No D. Porcii are recorded; Schulze, *LE* 619 for other (remote) possibilities.

551. M. PRIMUS, procos. Mac. 24.

*PW* 3; *PIR* P 697; de Laet 304. Perhaps an Antonius Primus (Hanslik, *PW*, cf. *Martial* x. 32. 3 f. on Vespasian's partisan); or no. 521 above might be relevant.

552. PRISCUS, senator *c.* 35.

*PW* 15; *PIR* P 720: dismissed by Hanslik, following *PIR*, as an 'erfundener Name'. Why? Horace (*Sat.* ii. 7. 9) could be referring to, e.g., a Tarquitius.

553. PROCULUS, pr. A.D. 16.

*PW* 3; *PIR* P 748; de Laet 305. Cf. no. 511 above, and Q. Lucanius Proculus (de Laet 230).

554? L. R., mon. *c.* 115-110.

555. REGULUS, pr. 2 B.C.  
*PW* 4; *PIR* R 32; de Laet 313; probably a Livineius.
556. P. RU., q. mid first century.  
 Cf. P. Rutilius Lupus (*PW* 27)?
557. RUFUS, senator under Augustus.  
*PIR* R 128; *Sen. ben.* iii. 27.
558. L. SILVANUS(?), cos. cand. 22.  
 Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 827. Sattler, *Aug. Sen.* 83 n. 192, protests against the universal emendation of Dio liv. 6. 2 to produce a L. (Junius) Silanus; besides the Plautii Silvani, he points to M. Pompeius Silvanus, cos. A.D. 45, as a possible descendant.
559. VALENS, pr. A.D. 15.  
*PIR* v 5; de Laet 387; perhaps brother of M. Satrius Valens, pr. urb. A.D. 19. No previous senatorial Valentes are recorded.
560. VARRO, proq. Cn. Pompeii (Spain) 49.  
 Sydenham, *RRC* 1033; *MRR* ii. 100 n. 7; *PIR* iii, p. 388 for later Varrones.
- 561? VER., mon. c. 86.  
*PW* Vergilius 1, cf. *NC* 1964, 157.
- 562? L. VOL. L. f. STRABO, mon. c. 81.  
*PW* Volteius 4—or a Volumnius (Badian, *Hist.* 1963, 142)?
563. (. . .)NA M. f., [leg.] propr., [. . .] des.  
*CIL* ii. 3108. Alföldy, *FH* 66 n. 321, considers him a Spanish senator, legate in an unknown province and cos. des., but the argument depends entirely on Hübner's dating of the lettering as Augustan (*CIL* ii, p. 944). The man might equally be, e.g., a Perperna of triumviral date, legate in Spain and praetor designate (cf. no. 327).

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