

**THE RISE OF NEMAUSUS FROM AUGUSTUS TO ANTONINUS  
PIUS: A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF NEMAUSIAN  
SENATORS AND EQUESTRIANS**

by

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## Abstract

Prosopography seeks to learn about social patterns and establish relationships within a well-defined group of individuals, which is accomplished by studying their biographies and analyzing the data within defined parameters. The adlection of provincials into the equestrian and senatorial orders started during the late Republic and continued into the early Principate. It integrated provincials into Rome's social and political systems and provides the opportunity to closely examine how their roles evolved as time passed during the early Roman Empire. This thesis will show that Nemausus, a provincial tribal settlement in Gallia Narbonensis, was one of the most important towns of the Roman Empire during the early Principate and achieved its prominence through sustained production of senators from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius and, in particular, through its prominent role during the dynasty of the Five Good Emperors. The role of its equestrians and their inability to attain the highest offices of their order will be discussed. Chapter Three will focus on Nemausus' physical transformation as it was converted from a Celtic settlement into a Roman colony, and will lay the groundwork for its rise in the established social structures. Chapter Four will provide a detailed examination of Nemausian equestrians, evaluate their careers individually and illustrate how indispensable they were to Nemausus' growth even if they did not attain the highest offices within their order. Chapter Five will focus on Nemausian senators much in the same manner as the previous chapter. Unlike their equestrian counterparts, Nemausian senators attained great heights in Rome, becoming generals, consuls, and advisors to the emperor. Eventually they became the Imperial family itself, placing the provincial town at the forefront of the Western Roman Empire. Chapter Five will also propose to narrow the scope of Syme's Hispano-Narbonensian nexus to include only the towns of Italica and Nemausus due to their influence during the dynasty of the Five Good Emperors. A variety of evidence will be used

throughout the discussion, in particular epigraphical and literary sources. By examining the careers of Nemausian elites, their impact on the Roman Empire and their native town's increased status, will be discovered.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The Roman Empire during the time of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161) stretched from as far west as the Straits of Gibraltar to as far east as the Euphrates River, from as far north as the Antonine wall in southern Scotland to as far south as the Sahara and the Red Sea. Rome, having grown from its humble beginning as a small Iron Age settlement to the Mediterranean's foremost metropolis, achieved the peak of its geographical expansion during the reign of Trajan.<sup>1</sup> By Antoninus Pius' era, the Roman Empire was comprised of forty-two provinces governed by officials appointed either by the emperor himself, *legati pro praetore*, or by the senate, proconsuls.<sup>2</sup> These provincial governors formed Rome's most influential social group and through Romanization provincials began acquiring these sought-after appointments during the early Principate. Provincials from Rome's oldest and most Romanized provinces such as Bithynia and Pontus, Africa Proconsularis, Hispania Baetica and Gallia Narbonensis eventually came to play an important role both in its political and military circles.

With regard to the last province listed above, Christian Goudineau writes that, Gallia Narbonensis "was ahead of all other provinces from the end of the Republican era, and remained in first place to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. both in the number of equestrians and senators it

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<sup>1</sup> Trajan expanded the borders of the Roman Empire to include Dacia, Nabataea, Assyria, Armenia and Mesopotamia. Rome relinquished control of the last three provinces during Hadrian's reign.

<sup>2</sup> Roman provinces that had a senate appointed governor were classified as Senatorial and did not present any imminent danger or threat to the operations of the Roman Empire. Imperial provinces were under the Emperor's control because of their location near the frontier and the threat that they presented to the order of the empire.

produced and in the brilliance of their careers”.<sup>3</sup> Gallia Narbonensis, located in what is today southern France in the modern regions of Languedoc and Provence, became one of the most important provinces, so much so that it was often simply called *Provincia* or The Province. Geographically speaking, Gallia Narbonensis was determined by physical boundaries; the Pyrenees to the West, the Massif Central to the North (also referred to as the Cevennes Mountains by ancient authors), the Alps to the East, and the Mediterranean Sea to the South.<sup>4</sup> Although enclosed by mountain ranges on both sides and a plateau to the north, the province flourished through its trade with Etruscan and later Roman towns in Italy. Trade occurred mostly through the seaport of Massilia (modern Marseille) as the province was bound by the aforementioned Alps along with the River Var which proved to be a formidable boundary.<sup>5</sup>

Strabo describes its shape as being approximately a parallelogram (Strab. 4.1.3), while Pliny, who relied on Marcus Agrippa as his source, provides the measurements of the province to be 370 miles across by 248 miles in breadth (Plin., *HN*, III, IV). The Rhone Valley, which stretches from Lake Geneva all the way to the Mediterranean Sea, provided the region with ample arable land enabling it to develop economically. The valley also provided a comparable environment to that of Italy, enticing settlers from Rome as well as from the Greek city-states, beginning from the seventh century B.C. onwards to colonize the area.<sup>6</sup> Colonization stimulated

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<sup>3</sup> Christian Goudineau, “Gaul” in *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.474.

<sup>4</sup> A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis: Southern France in Roman Times*, (London: B.T. Batsford, 1988), p.3.

<sup>5</sup> So formidable was this boundary that during the period of the Roman Republic only Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, and the Germanic tribes of the Cimbri and Teutones were able to cross over into the Italian peninsula. Hannibal’s campaign in Italy had a greater impact than the migration of the Cimbri and Teutones who were eventually defeated by Gaius Marius at the end of the second century B.C. This does not take into account the capture of Rome in 390 or 387 B.C. as Rome’s Empire had not expanded past the area of Latium nor does it account for the later infamous invasion of Alaric the Goth in A.D. 410 as the Roman Empire was divided into two separate states.

<sup>6</sup> Rivet, n.4, p.3.

its Romanization as well as ease the transition to Roman rule and law, which led to its impressive number of both senators and equestrians.

The War of Annexation of this region lasted four years from 125-121 B.C. and resulted in the creation of the Roman province of Transalpine Gaul. The war was prompted by Massilia's appeal to Rome for assistance because the Salluvii, a Celtic tribe, was besieging it; Rome obliged.<sup>7</sup> As a result, it sent M. Fulvius Flaccus, a consul, who earned himself a triumph in 123 B.C. for his victories over the Salluvii and other smaller Gallic tribes.<sup>8</sup> Although earning a triumph, he did not completely quell the native tribes and because of that Rome then dispatched Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Q. Fabius Maximus, later surnamed Allobrogicus, to suppress that region once and for all.<sup>9</sup> The War of Annexation ended the area's overt resistance to Rome and led to the creation of the province of Transalpine Gaul.<sup>10</sup>

Sixty years after the conquest of southern Gaul, Julius Caesar's campaign into Gallia Comata or Long-Haired Gaul, which was also known as *Tres Galliae*, the Three Gauls, commenced and its result shifted the balance of the Roman world, since Gallia Comata greatly increased the size of Rome's holdings in the Western Mediterranean. While on campaign in Gallia Comata, Caesar received great support from Transalpine Gaul in the form of auxiliary forces and of local chieftains' sons, whose participation, Rivet suspects, had most likely been

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<sup>7</sup> Charles Ebel, *Transalpine Gaul: The Emergence of a Roman Province*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), p.12. Relations between Rome and Massilia began in the fifth century B.C. and were strengthened as time elapsed most notably with Massilia raising funds to help Rome when invading Gauls besieged it.

<sup>8</sup> Rivet, n.4, p.39.

<sup>9</sup> Rivet, n.4, p.40. C. Sextius Calvinus also established a Roman garrison at Aquae Sextiae during his year in Transalpine Gaul.

<sup>10</sup> Olwen Brogan, *Roman Gaul*, (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1953), p.5. This paper does not have the time nor space to determine if this war actually led to the creation of the province as no *lex provinciae* is found declaring it an official Roman province, but it is generally accepted that Transalpine Gaul became a province following the War of Annexation. For a discussion on Transalpine Gaul's formation as a Roman province see Ebel, n.7, p.64-77. For an opposite view see Brogan, n.10, p.5.

forced upon them.<sup>11</sup> It is surprising that these Gauls did not try to rebel against their Roman rulers, as it had only been 60 years, about two or so generations, since they were conquered. This lack of rebellion illustrates how different Transalpine Gaul was from its three northern counterparts and how the process of Romanization was taking hold. Following the war, Caesar settled many of his veterans in Transalpine Gaul and formed Roman colonies such as Forum Iulii (Fréjus), Arelate (Arles) and Baeterrae (Béziers) furthering the Romanization of the area.<sup>12</sup> Caesar, in fact, with the formation of all these new colonies, reorganized Transalpine Gaul and brought an influx of Roman citizens along with their Roman customs and traditions into the province. He also granted Latin status to the entire province between 58-44 B.C., thanking the province for supporting his campaign into Gallia Comata.<sup>13</sup> These Latin Rights allowed them the right to *commercium* (commerce), *conubium* (marriage) and the *ius migrationis* (the right to move/immigrate) as well as the protection of Roman law.

The next great organization of Transalpine Gaul occurred in 27 B.C. when Augustus renamed the province Gallia Narbonensis.<sup>14</sup> The name Narbonensis originates from Narbo Martius, the capital of the province. Augustus continued Caesar's foundation of colonies within Gallia Narbonensis when he established colonies in Tolosa (Toulouse), Vienna (Vienne), Apta Iulia (Apt), Cabellio (Cavaillon), Arausio (Orange), Avennio (Avignon), Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-provence), Iulia Reiorum (Riez) and Nemausus (Nîmes).<sup>15</sup> In 22 B.C., according to Dio Cassius,

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<sup>11</sup> Rivet, n.4, p.64.

<sup>12</sup> Brogan, n.10, p.22.

<sup>13</sup> Christian Goudineau, n.3, p.473.

<sup>14</sup> Augustus also reorganized Hispania Citerior into Hispania Tarraconensis, which was also named after its provincial capital, Tarraco.

<sup>15</sup> J.J. Hatt, *Histoire de la Gaule Romaine: Colonisation ou Colonialisme?*, (Paris: L'académie Française, 1966), pp.91-92. Some of these towns had previously existed and Augustus granted them either Latin rights or made them a Roman colony (i.e. Nemausus).

Gallia Narbonensis along with Cyprus became Senatorial provinces (Dio Cass., LIV, 4, 4).

Augustus demonstrated how he trusted Gallia Narbonensis and recognized its stability.<sup>16</sup>

There are two major events that occurred following Augustus' death that affected Gallia Narbonensis. First is the grant of the *ius honorum* to Gallia Narbonensis, which gave members of the Gallic tribes the ability to undertake the *cursus honorum* and gain honours for Rome. This officially marked the beginning of the invasion of provincials within the magistracies. The date when this occurred remains unknown, but a theory put forth by Chastagnol proposes A.D. 14 as the year that both Augustus and Tiberius granted these rights.<sup>17</sup> Second, Claudius' speech of A.D. 48 in favour of expanding the *ius honorum* to the Gauls from Gallia Comata recorded in Tacitus' Annals: "*Omnia, patres conscripti, quae nunc vetustissima creduntur, nova fuere: plebeii magistratus post patricos, Latini post plebeios, ceterarum Italiae gentium post Latinos. Inveterascet hoc quoque, et quod hodie exemplis tuemur, inter exempla erit.*" (Everything, Senators, which we now hold as ancient, was once new: plebeian magistrates came after patrician; Latin magistrates after plebeian; magistrates of other Italian peoples after Latin. This practice too will establish itself, and what we justify today as an example, will itself be an example.) (Tac., *Ann.*, 11.24).<sup>18</sup> This presents the fact that Gauls from Gallia Narbonensis had already obtained the *ius honorum*, had become members of the senatorial order and were able to secure positions in that august body. Narbonensis began its rise to become a constant source of

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<sup>16</sup> As opposed to remaining an Imperial province that was controlled by Augustus and future Emperors who would send their own officials and not Senate appointed governors. The fact that Gallia Narbonensis became a Senatorial province further demonstrates the continued pacification that was occurring in the province along with the belief that it was no longer a threat to the empire.

<sup>17</sup> A. Chastagnol, *Les modes d'accès au Sénat romain au début de l'Empire: remarques à propos de la table Claudienne à Lyon*, (Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France, 1971), p.289.

<sup>18</sup> Claudius' speech was found in its original form in Lugdunum (modern Lyon) and does present some changes from Tacitus' description. Tacitus nonetheless captures the essence of Claudius' message to the Senate. It is located in CIL XIII, 1668.

Rome's elite, of military commanders, consuls, procurators and other men of great distinction during the early Roman Empire.

Of all the settlements and colonies of Gallia Narbonensis, Nemausus in particular is one of the most significant historically and prosopographically. Having expanded from its modest beginnings in the fifth century B.C. to becoming the capital of the Volcae Arecomici, a Gallic tribe, the settlement was first granted the status of a Latin colony and later raised to the status of a Roman colony.<sup>19</sup> The town itself is situated in the Rhone valley and on the western bank of the Rhone itself (Strab., 4.1.12). The earliest archaeological evidence for a settlement are quadrangular houses built within a grid-like system, all dating to around 400 B.C.<sup>20</sup> Both Pliny and Strabo fail to mention Nemausus' pre-history and its original settlement, but instead focus on Rome's building program there. Py argues that Nemausus primarily remained a Gallic settlement while the sizeable building program suggests it was Romanized.<sup>21</sup> It, like most other settlements in Gallia Narbonensis, was placed in the Voltinia Roman tribe, when it was given its Latin status.<sup>22</sup> According to Strabo, Nemausus controlled 24 *oppida ignobilia* (ignoble towns) (Strab., 4.1.12). The *ignobilia* refers to the fact that individuals from these 24 towns had on the one hand retained their Latin rights but on the other hand had lost their judicial rights. The residents of these 24 towns no longer were able to gain their full citizen rights in their towns but had to do so in Nemausus.<sup>23</sup> The *ignobilia* is not to be translated as either 'unknown' or to be misunderstood to mean that the 24 towns were dishonourable or that they had lost their Latin rights. A partial

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<sup>19</sup> Michel Christol and Christian Goudineau, "Nîmes et les Volques Arécomiques au I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.-C.", *Gallia*, vol.45, p.92. Nemausus was granted the status as a Latin colony by Julius Caesar at the end of his Gallic War, c.49 B.C., and became a Roman colony c.30 B.C.

<sup>20</sup> M. Py, "Recherches sur Nîmes Préromaines", *Gallia Suppl.*, vol.41, pp.203-204.

<sup>21</sup> Py, n.20, p.210.

<sup>22</sup> Every Roman citizen was placed within a Roman tribe that was used for voting units in political assemblies as well as the basis for other state practices such as the census and taxation. Towns from Transalpine Gaul/Gallia Narbonensis tended to be placed in the Voltinia tribe.

<sup>23</sup> Michel Christol and Christian Goudineau, n.19, p.97.

list of the towns has been recovered, but besides a possible location for some of these towns they have not yet been studied in detail.<sup>24</sup>

By 30 B.C., Nemausus became a centre for minting Imperial coins, exemplified by the archaeological remains found throughout Gaul. The coins struck at Nemausus had a sketch of a crocodile chained to a palm tree, an image that probably represented the addition of veterans from Augustus' campaign in Egypt.<sup>25</sup> These coins began appearing in the late 20's B.C. and continued until about 10 B.C., at which point Lugdunum (modern Lyon) surpassed Nemausus as a mint.<sup>26</sup> This change occurred because it was understood that Lugdunum was better situated to supply coins for the troops on the German border and later for the island of Britain. Despite this loss of the mint, Nemausus continued to thrive, as will be displayed by the contributions of its senators, equestrians and connections to the imperial family during the early Roman Empire.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the Romanization and the rise in importance of Nemausus during the early Principate through an investigation of its leading equestrians and senators in order to demonstrate that it became one of the most important towns within the empire. Nemausus' significance in the Western Roman Empire will be determined by combining the collective influence of senatorial and equestrian careers, as they are the individuals who had an impact in the Roman military, the senate and even in the courts. Historical and epigraphical evidence will be used to evaluate Nemausus' leading citizens. Chapter Two will review the most significant works of literature used for this dissertation. Chapter Three will examine the physical transformations that occurred at Nemausus to demonstrate the link between the physical changes

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<sup>24</sup> See CIL XII, 3062 for the inscription. The inscription only lists 11 of the 24 towns and does not provide any other information regarding their geographical location or relation with Nemausus.

<sup>25</sup> Rivet, n.4, p.78. For a further discussion on the uses of the crocodile and palm tree on the coins themselves see Christol and Goudineau, n.19, p.99.

<sup>26</sup> C.M.Kraay, "The chronology of the coinage of Colonia Nemausus", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 15, (1955): p.85.

that took place and the rise of its citizens among the Roman political and military careers. The significance of Nemausus can be directly correlated to the degree of transformation that it sustained during the early Roman Empire. The importance of epigraphy in assessing the changes that occur in societies that undergo cultural transformations will further cement the argument of Nemausus' prominence.

Chapter Four will identify and discuss what we know about each noteworthy equestrian from Nemausus for the period in question. The evidence provides their political and military achievements and allows for a determination of their level of influence within the empire. Equestrians from Nemausus will be examined as a unit in order to demonstrate how even though they were not the most illustrious group and did not achieve the highest available offices they ensured the growth and administration of Nemausus itself and allowed senators to establish their careers in Rome and throughout the empire.

Chapter Five will provide a lengthy discussion on thirteen Nemausian senators. Other scholars have questioned five senators' origins, but this author hopes to establish a strong connection between these senators and Nemausus. The senatorial group as a whole will be discussed with added emphasis on the imperial connections that exist between Domitius Afer, Titus Aurelius Fulvus and the Antonine Dynasty. Syme's proposed Hispano-Narbonensian nexus will be discussed in the context of a more narrow Italica-Nemausus nexus and this author hopes to provide evidence to illustrate that the nexus was in fact controlling the Roman Empire from the time of Trajan to Antoninus Pius. This chapter will also discuss Lucius Pompeius and the role of his daughter, Pompeia Plotina, Trajan's wife, in Rome, a woman who proactively furthered Nemausian senators' careers.

## Chapter 2

### Literature Review

Epigraphical studies of Roman settlements within Gallia Narbonensis have been carried out since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. These studies include Aquae-Sextiae, Arelate and Tolosa while Nemausus had been forgotten until Yves Burnand's comprehensive epigraphical study.<sup>27</sup> His first article provides all the possible senators and equestrians from Nemausus, but does not develop any theories as to their significance; this, of course, allows other scholars to expand on his work. He does not expand on the impact that these men had on the Roman Empire due to the scope of his research that covers the entire history of Nemausus during the Roman Empire. Burnand, in 1982, published another comprehensive study of Roman senators from both Gallia Comata and Gallia Narbonensis.<sup>28</sup> While he does provide analysis on the significance of Gaul's fifty-five senators within the empire, once again it is done on too large a scale. Burnand provides conclusions on Gallia Narbonensis' added significance when compared to Gallia Comata but does not exclusively discuss Nemausian senators' role within the Roman Empire. Burnand's most recent works have focused on the entire area of Gaul thus leaving out the significance of individual towns. Burnand's research on senators and equestrians from Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Comata is extensive but does not include comprehensive work on Nemausus itself.

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<sup>27</sup> L.-A. Constans, *Arles*, (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres"), 1928; Michel Labrousse, *Toulouse Antique: Des origines à l'établissement des Wisigoths*, (Paris: Éditions de Boccard), 1968; Yves Burnand "Sénateurs et Chevaliers Romains Originaires de la Cité de Nîmes sous le Haut-Empire : Étude Prosopographique", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Antiquité*, 87, (1975).

<sup>28</sup> Yves Burnand "Senatores Romani ex provinciis Galliarum orti", in *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio*, , (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1982), pp.387-437.

The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL) is the single largest collection of all ancient Latin inscriptions and it was compiled by a number of prominent 19<sup>th</sup> century scholars including Theodor Mommsen and Hermann Dessau. It was published from 1893 to 1906 and contains over twelve hundred inscriptions from Nemausus. The CIL along with the *Année Épigraphique* (AE), the modern periodical that records inscriptions found subsequent to the CIL, are the main resources for prosopographical and epigraphical studies.

Rivet's study on Gallia Narbonensis provides the historical background to Rome's increasing role and eventual takeover of the region while also delivering a detailed account of individual Roman towns.<sup>29</sup> His analysis of Nemausus provides an overview of its history, the physical changes that were imposed upon the town by Rome and a brief discussion on Nemausus' role in the province by evaluating some of its *oppida ignobilia*. Rivet does mention that Cn. Domitius Afer, Pompeia Plotina and Antoninus Pius called Nemausus home, but he too allows others to develop why this is relevant or significant.

Devijver's research focuses on equestrian offices and the changes that occurred during the early Principate, which led to the creation of defined military offices for each separate social class. He assembles a collection of articles that focus on equestrian military officers that includes a discussion of Adgennius Macrinus and his cursus along with the monument that his inscription belongs to.<sup>30</sup> Devijver also discusses the question of social mobility regarding Roman equestrians and the difficulties that exist for those who are vying for the highest offices and posts. Devijver provides invaluable insight into the difficulties of equestrian posts as well as illustrates their significance to the Roman Empire.

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<sup>29</sup> Rivet, n.4.

<sup>30</sup> Hubert Devijver, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, (Amsterdam: Geiben Publisher, 1989).

Sir Ronald Syme's contributions to the academic community are incalculable and it is through his work on Tacitus that he proposed a Hispano-Narbonensian nexus during the reigns of the Five Good Emperors, one in which leading senators and knights from Baetica and Gallia Narbonensis came to control many of the most important offices of the empire during the above-mentioned period.<sup>31</sup> He discusses the rise of provincials, including Cn. Domitius Afer and his two adopted sons, but his work is an investigation into the writings of Tacitus.

In order to be considered an important town within the Roman Empire Nemausus had to first undergo a physical transformation. These changes would lead to a Romanization of the area, which in turn was a major factor in the emergence to prominence of senators and equestrians from the former Celtic tribal settlement.

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<sup>31</sup> Sir Ronald Syme, *Tacitus*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958) vol.2.

## Chapter 3

### Nemausus' Physical Transformations

Romanization is the transformation of a conquered society into a Roman mold of customs and traditions. It is the result of Roman imperialism and occurred because of Rome's superior military prowess not because its culture was superior to that of the local population. Change was most keenly felt among the local elites who were forced by the Romans to integrate within the newly installed political system and social customs. Once they had accepted this change, it was hoped that it would then trickle down the social ladder so eventually it would affect the entire populace. The end result of Romanization is the formation of a new provincial culture, one that is, one can argue, neither Roman nor indigenous, but rather a fusion of both. Of all the transformations, most obvious is the physical change that arises within the settlement. Roman buildings are erected within the region once Rome has established its military superiority. These infrastructural changes are the bricks and mortar of Romanization as they facilitate the integration of the newly conquered subjects into the Roman Empire.

Two phases of construction occurred at Nemausus, the first during the age of Augustus (31 B.C.- A.D. 14), the second phase during the second half of the first century A.D. The buildings that Augustus dedicated to the city were oriented to accommodate the new religious and political system and to provide the city with greater security from outside threats. The remaining inscription found on the *Porte d'Auguste* reads:

IMP(ERATOR) CAESAR DIVI F(ILIVS) AUGUSTUS CO(N)S(UL) XI  
TRIB(UNICIA) POT(ESTATE) VIII PORTAS MUROS Q(UE) COL(ONIAE) DAT

*Emperor Caesar Augustus son of the Divine, consul for the 11<sup>th</sup> time, holding tribunician power for the 8<sup>th</sup> time, gave the walls and gates to the colony (CIL XII, 3151)*

From this text, we see that Augustus dedicated the walls and gates to the city in 16 B.C., a date determined by his consulship. As to the extent of these walls, they enclosed, according to Rivet, about 200 hectares of land.<sup>32</sup> Six kilometers in length, they surrounded the city and protected it from outsiders; the walls also positioned Nemausus as a regional urban centre and capital. In the city-centre, a new Roman style forum was constructed that served as its political centre, eliminating the political symbols of the previous Celtic rule. The forum, unimpressive as its remains may be, did provide an area where local elections could be held, business matters could be discussed, and was a natural place for the population to congregate.<sup>33</sup>

Also to be included at this time is the temple that survives in the area of the Forum, the so-called *Maison Carrée* (Square House); of all the temples that remain, this is considered the best preserved within Provence. One area that has succumbed to damage is its inscription, which is used to date the temple.<sup>34</sup> The recent research of Anderson illustrates how problematic dating the temple is, as he rejects both the generally accepted interpretation of Séguier and the other leading theory by Espérandieu.<sup>35</sup> According to Anderson, Séguier's interpretation of the inscription only provides a greater statistical likelihood over Espérandieu's and thus leaves both interpretations as mere theories and nothing more.<sup>36</sup> Both leading theories will be briefly examined to discuss the merits of each one.

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<sup>32</sup> Rivet, n.4, p.164.

<sup>33</sup> The date the forum was built in Nemausus remains unknown, as there is very little knowledge and information concerning the forum itself. It is placed during the first phase of construction because of its connection and importance to the Romanization of Nemausus.

<sup>34</sup> Only the clamp holes of where the inscription once stood remain at the front of the Temple and thus reconstructing the letters from these holes poses quite the challenge.

<sup>35</sup> James C. Anderson "Anachronism in the Roman Architecture of Gaul: The Date of the Maison Carrée at Nîmes", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* vol.60, no.1 (2001): p.70.

<sup>36</sup> Anderson, n.35.

J.-F. Séguier, in 1758, after careful examination and study of the clamp holes, determined the inscription to read in the following way:

C(AIO) CAESARI AUGUSTI F(ILII) COS L(UCIO) CAESARI AUGUSTI F(ILII) COS  
DESIGNATO PRINCIPIBUS IUVENTUTIS

*To Gaius Caesar, son of Augustus, consul, to Lucius Caesar, son of Augustus, consul designate, for the commanders of the youth (CIL XII, 3156)*

This inscription dedicated to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Augustus' grandsons, places the inauguration of the temple at A.D. 2, while the addition of the second line, which gives them the added title, was placed in A.D. 4.<sup>37</sup> The second line is found on the architrave of the temple indicating that it was added at a later date when both Gaius and Lucius were given the title. Amy uses Séguier's interpretation while making minimal changes that provide greater precision to the inscription.

In contrast to that above prepared reading, Espérandieu offers a very different one:

M(ARCUS) AGRIPPA L(UCII) F(ILII) CO(N)S(UL) III IMP(ERATOR)  
TRIBUN(ICIA) POTEST(ATE) III COL(ONIAE) AUG(USTAE) NEM(AUSO) DAT

*Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, consul for the 3<sup>rd</sup> time, holding tribunician power for the 3<sup>rd</sup> time, gave [this] to the Colonia Augusta Nemausus*

The theory that Agrippa dedicated the temple to Nemausus suggests that it was dedicated around 16 B.C.<sup>38</sup> Espérandieu's theory is based on two inscriptions found in Nemausus that were reconstructed by Mommsen to include the word *fecit* (he built/dedicated).<sup>39</sup> These two inscriptions do not allow us to conclude that Agrippa had a history of dedicating buildings in Nemausus and as a result Espérandieu's theory cannot be used for the temple's architrave. On

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<sup>37</sup> Amy, Robert and Gros, Pierre, "La Maison Carrée de Nîmes", *Gallia*, suppl.39, (1979): p.193.

<sup>38</sup> Amy and Gros, n.37, p.178.

<sup>39</sup> Both inscriptions CIL XII, 3153 and CIL XII, 3154 were reconstructed with *fecit* in the inscription.

account of Anderson's research neither interpretation can be used even if Séguier's theory is historically attractive, the date of the Maison Carrée must remain unknown.

A nymphaeum was also built during the time of Augustus in an existing spring sanctuary that was dedicated to a Celtic version of Aesculapius, as evidenced by both the large number of dedications describing his healing capabilities and the Celtic archaeological remains such as the spring for holy washing, a nearby temple and a grand portico for the sick.<sup>40</sup> The nymphaeum was built in order to unite the Imperial cult of Augustus into the sanctuary: "The sanctuary would interlock the role of god(s), ceremony, water healing, culture and loyalty".<sup>41</sup> This concludes the first phase of the building program at Nemausus that aimed to ensure that the city was protected, that the political changes brought forward by Rome were established and that they promoted Roman religious beliefs.

The second phase of prolonged construction as mentioned above, from the second half of the first century A.D., provided Nemausus with more impressive buildings that were not necessary for its day-to-day operations, but that greatly increased its standard of living and social standing. The first structure was an aqueduct that supplied fresh water to Nemausus. A recent study suggests that it was built during the middle of the first century A.D., most likely during the reign of Claudius.<sup>42</sup> "The existence of a tunnel passing below the town's walls built in c.15 B.C. is one of the best arguments for taking authorship of the aqueduct's water system away from Agrippa."<sup>43</sup> The aqueduct, using Eure near Ucetia (modern Uzès) as its source, travels almost 50 kilometers in length before reaching its destination, while always maintaining a miniscule

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<sup>40</sup> James Bromwich, *The Roman Remains of Southern France*, (London: Routledge Press), 1993, p.101.

<sup>41</sup> Bromwich, n.40.

<sup>42</sup> G. Fabre, J.-L. Fiches and J.-L. Paillet, "Interdisciplinary Research on the Aqueduct of Nîmes and the Pont du Gard", *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, vol.4, (1991): p.72.

<sup>43</sup> Fabre et al, n.42.

gradient to ensure the water would reach Nemausus, as witnessed by a total incline of 17 metres from start to finish.<sup>44</sup> The most prominent feature that is still standing today is the Pont du Gard that crosses the River Gardon and displays the sophistication of Roman architecture and ingenuity. The aqueduct further cemented Nemausus' position as a leading town of Gallia Narbonensis, as the 50 kilometer aqueduct with an impressive multi-level vaulted archway was a symbol of its standing within the province.

The Roman amphitheatre at Nemausus, one of the best-preserved amphitheatres of the whole empire, is still used today, holding upwards of 15,000 patrons while staging bullfights and other events.<sup>45</sup> Its construction date is not specifically known but estimates place it between A.D. 54-95, the same time period that the aqueduct was built.<sup>46</sup> Both the amphitheatre and the aqueduct were built during the second phase of construction in order to cement Nemausus' political position and to further continue the process of Romanization. The building program and the improvements to the buildings parallel the rise in the number of senators and equestrians during this period.

### **3.1 Romanization:**

Rome's building program in Nemausus contributed to the Romanization of its elite. There are two models of Romanization: a top-down model and its opposite a bottom-up model. The top-down model of Romanization follows the simple logic that by converting the local elites

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<sup>44</sup> Trevor A. Hodge, *Roman Aqueducts & Water Supply*, (London: Duckworth Press, 1992), p.184. Émile Espérandieu, *Le Pont du Gard et l'Aqueduc de Nîmes*, (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1926), p.33.

<sup>45</sup> Émile Espérandieu, *L'amphithéâtre de Nîmes*, (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1967), p.7.

<sup>46</sup> Espérandieu, n.45, p.25.

to the Roman life they will, as a result, be able to ensure that revolts and rebellions are averted. Rome's aim was to administer the province through its local elites by giving them power and more importantly the incentive to follow Roman customs and traditions.<sup>47</sup> The top-down model ensures a continuation of local leaders, helping to reassure the native population. The leaders remain the same while the policies differ but at least the entire social structure is not altered. By converting the local elites, Rome was creating its future provincial leaders and officials who could occupy important positions once they became accepted within the Roman political world. The conversion of local elites into Roman officials became prevalent in Gallia Narbonensis and Nemausus in particular where a gradual acceptance of the local elites in Rome allowed certain individuals to achieve the highest honors possible. Emphasizing the local elites in order to determine Nemausus' Romanization may be viewed as flawed since it only takes into account a very small percentage of the population but it is this elite group of individuals that needs to be transformed first and foremost in order to ensure a complete compliance within the Roman system. The local elites govern the towns and colonies and solve the small problems that may arise which gives Rome the opportunity to focus on larger issues. By empowering the local elites to govern within the Roman model, a certain level of consistency remained when many changes were taking place. Rome did not have to directly control every town that it conquered, which eased its bureaucratic burden. It is the local elites of Nemausus, the men, who became the equestrians and senators who will be discussed.

Evaluating the inscriptions of the leading citizens of Nemausus will provide first hand evidence as to how they were able to integrate within both the Roman political and military systems. Many of these men achieved the highest possible offices, an indication that the process

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<sup>47</sup> Martin Millett, "Romanization: historical issues and archaeological interpretation", in *The Early Roman Empire in the West*, ed. Thomas Blagg and Martin Millett, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1990), p.38.

of Romanization was now thorough and complete. It is this production of men with illustrious political and military careers paired with an overhaul of the bricks and mortar, or in this case, marble and stones, that proves the Romanization of Nemausus while also providing useful insight into how it was able to gain importance as the Roman Empire progressed during the first two centuries A.D.

## Chapter 4

### Nemausian Equestrians

During the period covered by this thesis, the senatorial order was the political class of Rome, the class or order whose members held the chief political offices of the state (consul, praetor, censor) and who were among the Emperor's closest advisors. Below the senators, however, was the business class, the official term for which was the equestrian order, whose members we call equestrians or simply, knights. Although the term equestrian in early Rome referred to the richest Romans, those who served as the cavalry of the state, by the second century B.C. it was the term used to describe the rising bourgeoisie, those involved in manufacturing, transportation and finance. The growth of this class in Rome was slow, but it was gradual and steady, and with its growth came increased responsibility. One way this is seen is in the military where knights came to be the ones who served as the junior officers in such positions as centurion or *primipilaris*, the latter of which is the senior centurion of a legion. Thereafter they were promoted to the positions of prefects, such as the *praefectus fabrum*, the prefect of the engineers, or the *praefectus alae*, the commander of a small cavalry unit. Besides military advancement, the equestrians made political gains, mostly outside of Rome in the *municipia* and colonies of Italy and the provinces. The local magistrates of those settlements, the *duoviri* or the *quattuorviri*, were equestrian in rank.

As the political power of the equestrians grew, many of the senatorial order saw them as a threat to their control of the state. As tensions increased, particularly with regard to the control of juries for trials of extortion and financial felonies, some senators took up the cause of the equestrian order; the heated debates that followed often led to violence in the city and throughout

the empire. One could argue that this conflict between the senators and equestrians and the ensuing violence was one of the chief reasons for the fall of the Roman Republic and the rise of the Imperial form of government.

Under the Empire, even in the early days under Augustus, the equestrians made even greater gains in their prestige and political power. This is not a surprising fact, for, although Augustus himself was a senator and a descendant of the *Iulii*, an ancient senatorial family, his father was originally equestrian before he was adlected into the senate, and most of Augustus' closest friends, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, C. Maecenas, Cornelius Gallus, came from the same social background. Realizing that he owed much to the equestrian order and knowing that many of the established senatorial families could not be trusted, Augustus with the help of his advisors, shaped his regime with the goal of placing knights in the highest administrative positions, especially the Prefecture of Egypt and later the Prefecture of the Praetorian Guard, the Emperor's personal legion, and that of the Grain Supply. Equestrians had the ability to accumulate great wealth, as a minimum of four hundred thousand sesterces was required to be adlected into the order, a number that can be compared to the one million sesterces required for the senatorial class. These figures are exorbitant when compared to the approximately one thousand sesterces a Roman legionary soldier would make for a year's service. Some equestrians who became extremely wealthy, even surpassing some senators in the amount of total wealth, in fact rejected adlection into the highest order because restrictions against owning commercial ships existed for that order. Senators subsisted on the income of *latifundia*, which were economically viable but did not present the same economic opportunity as did commercial shipping, one of the preferred moneymaking engines for the equestrian order.

Social mobility existed during the Principate but, as would be expected, the more prestigious the order the more difficult it was to be adlected within it.<sup>48</sup> Adlection into a higher, more prestigious body was a reward for service that one had completed for Rome. This is exemplified in the military where a life-long soldier would strive to reach the primipilate, as his promotion to the post facilitated an adlection into the equestrian order.<sup>49</sup>

The equestrian order also developed its own internal hierarchy, which became evident during the end of the Republic, as a result of the increasing adlections into the order.<sup>50</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”.<sup>51</sup>

Pedigree was therefore the most important factor within the order itself and allowed the already established equestrians to separate themselves from the new and not as prestigious families. The social stratification that existed within the equestrian order further accentuated the attitude of the established Roman elite towards the burgeoning *nouveaux riches* who in turn were trying to increase their influence and role within the administration of the empire. This inner hierarchy

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<sup>48</sup> Keith Hopkins, “Elite Mobility in the Roman Empire”, *Past and Present*, (1965), p.12. There were approximately 600 senators compared to the several tens of thousands of equestrians making it extremely difficult to become adlected within the highest order. Adlection within the senatorial order illustrated the political importance and impressive accomplishments that he had achieved.

<sup>49</sup> Brian Dobson, “The Significance of the Centurion and ‘Primipilaris’ in the Roman Army and Administration”, in *Roman Officers and Frontiers* by David J. Breeze and Brian Dobson, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), p.217. A promotion to the primipilate provided more than the required minimum to be adlected into the equestrian order. There were no more than 600 living person which would have held the title of *primipilaris* which is much more exclusive than solely being an equestrian.

<sup>50</sup> The three different classifications were: equites equo publico , equites alias tribune aerarii and equites si ex censu spectas.

<sup>51</sup> T.P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate: 139 B.C.-A.D.14*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p.69.

made it difficult for newly adlected equestrian families to attain the most prestigious appointments. According to Devijver, only four percent of equestrians would reach the order's highest offices.<sup>52</sup> This statistic holds true for Nemausian equestrians, as will be discovered below.

Equestrians evolved from solely being a cavalry order in times of war to becoming a merchant class that became an integral part in Rome's political and military administration during the Principate; without equestrian officials, Rome would not have had as successful a military or efficient a bureaucracy.

#### 4.1 Lucius Attius Lucanus:

The first equestrian to be discussed is an individual named Lucius Attius Lucanus who has two inscriptions that identify him and record his accomplishments. The stones that bore the inscriptions have disappeared and the copy that remains, mutilated and altered, renders part of the inscription incomplete and open to interpretation.<sup>53</sup> The inscriptions presented below follow the initial interpretations of Hirschfeld, with modifications added by Burnand.

1. L(UCIO) ATTIO L(UCIO) F(ILIO) VOL(TINIA) LUCANO SIGNIFERO  
CENTURI[ONI P(RIMO) P(ILO)] TRIBUNO COHORT[IS I CI]V[(IUM)  
ROM(ANORUM)] INGENUORUM

*To Lucius Attius Lucanus, the son of Lucius, of the Voltinia tribe, a standard bearer, a centurion, a first spear centurion, a tribune of the cohort I of native Roman citizens (CIL XII, 3177)*

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<sup>52</sup> Hubert Devijver, "Les Relations Sociales des Chevaliers Romains", in *L'Ordre Équestre: Histoire d'une Aristocratie*, p.241. This can also be seen in the senatorial order where only two consuls were elected per year and therefore not every member of the senatorial order would become a consul, which is why the consulship was the culmination of a senator's career.

<sup>53</sup> Burnand, n.27, p.713.

2. [? IIIIVIR] AUG(USTALIS) L(UCIUS) ATTIUS L(UCII) ATTII [? LUCANI]  
PRIMIPILARIS LIB(ERTUS) SIBI ET [L(UCIO) ATTIO] L(UCII) LIBERTO  
V(IVUS) F(ECIT)

[A ?sevir] Augustalis, Lucius Attius, freedman of the first spear Lucius Attius ?Lucanus,  
made [this] while alive for himself and for Lucius Attius a freedman of Lucius  
(CIL XII, 3178)

Attius is an old plebeian gens, confirmable since the second century B.C. in the Senate, which achieved prominence with Atia, the mother of Augustus.<sup>54</sup> Even though Atia's name only contains one 't' she is from the Attian gens as it can be spelt either with a single or double 't'.<sup>55</sup> Other Attii are found in Nemausus itself such as Titus Attius Quartio, Titus Attius Carpophorus, Titus Attius Ianuarius and Attia Philenis (ILGN, 426, 442).<sup>56</sup> Attius Lucanus' ancestors were either Italians who immigrated to Nemausus and became part of the local aristocracy or were native Gauls who became clients of an Attius and eventually took the name as a sign of respect to their patron.

L. Attius Lucanus' career is entirely military with no reference to any municipal service. He began as *signifer*, the carrier of the standard, which, as a symbol of the legion, was the rallying point during battle. According to David Breeze, there was a standard-bearer for every century in the Roman army and as standard-bearer his responsibilities included administrative duties, as he was the financial officer for that particular century and received greater pay than a

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<sup>54</sup> Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, vol.5 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p.329.

<sup>55</sup> PIR<sup>2</sup> uses the double 't' spelling when describing Atia's father, Marcus Attius Balbus where as the OCD uses the single 't' spelling.

<sup>56</sup> Ségolène Demougin, *Prosopographie des Chevaliers Romains Julio-Claudiens (43 av. J.-C.-70 ap. J.-C.)*, (Palais Farnèse : École Française de Rome, 1992), p.291. Other Attii are found in Nemausus but are either freedman or the inscription does not provide enough information to discuss. Such is the case for : CIL XII, 3199, 3435, 3436, 3437, 3438, 3439, 3441, 3442, 3446, 3781 and 3880.

regular soldier.<sup>57</sup> “The group of posts, the standard bearers, to which the *vexillarius* belonged, contained some of the oldest and most important posts in the army below the centurionate...”<sup>58</sup>

This illustrates the prestige that the post of *signifer* carried and is known from the time of the Republic through the Histories of Polybius (Polyb., II, 24, 6). The rank of *signifer* is a reasonable starting point for an equestrian military career.

After serving in this capacity, Lucanus was then promoted to centurion, leading approximately 80 men, and finally to *primipilus*, the so-called “first spear centurion”, the highest honour within a legion for an ordinary soldier, as he was the centurion of the first maniple of the first cohort and was first amongst centurions. With regard to this inscription, it needs to be added that while the reference to Lucanus being a *primipilus* stems from Hirschfeld’s reading of the text, one that is supported by Burnand, Domaszewski does not accept this word in the inscription. Hirschfeld and Burnand’s interpretation of the inscription is based, on the one hand, on Lucanus’ future military appointments that require the *primipilus* and, on the other hand, use the knowledge that CIL XII, 3178 provided in illustrating Lucanus’ completion of the office of *primipilus*.<sup>59</sup> The post of centurion would allow him to ascend the military career; it acts as a stepping-stone for his next appointment as tribune of a cohort. Although the name and number of the cohort were originally illegible on the stone, Hirschfeld proposed the *Cohors I Civium Romanorum Ingenuorum* because of other known inscriptions that corroborate his theory.<sup>60</sup> The cohort’s

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<sup>57</sup> The *signifer* would receive double pay during the Severan age according to the research of David J. Breeze, “Pay Grades and Ranks below the Centurionate”, *Journal of Roman Studies*, (1971), p.133.

<sup>58</sup> Breeze, n.57, p.135.

<sup>59</sup> Burnand, n.27, p.714. *Primipilus* and *primipilaris* can be used interchangeably as they represent the same military rank.

<sup>60</sup> Burnand, n.27, p.715. CIL V, 3936 shows the *Cohors I Civium Romanorum Ingenuorum* while CIL XIII, 8314, 8315 show the *Cohors VI Ingenuorum Civium Romanorum*.

name as the cohort of native Roman citizens ensured that the soldiers within it would not be confused as *peregrinii* because of the provincial origin of its soldiers.

Promotion from first spear centurion to the tribuneship of a cohort was a great achievement. A tribune of a cohort was considered one of the senior military posts in a legion, and therefore Attius Lucanus became one of a very select group of officers in the Roman army. This type of promotion of rank is attested through numerous other inscriptions and it also indicates that his career took place before changes brought forth by Claudius, who structured promotions in the Roman military so that a first spear centurion could not immediately be promoted as a tribune of a cohort.<sup>61</sup> As such, the chronology must be dated to before A.D. 41. Attius Lucanus' military career exemplifies the ascension that was possible in the Roman army as well as illustrates how a provincial was not excluded from any such promotions. His promotion to the rank of first-spear centurion also provided him with the social standing of an equestrian.

The second inscription is significant as it adds to our understanding of Attius Lucanus' social standing within Nemausus. His equestrian status provided him with the financial wherewithal to purchase slaves; once these slaves were freed, they could become active participants within the community. As a *sevir Augustalis*, his freedman's duty was to maintain the cult dedicated to the emperor, a significant honour for a freedman and in turn for Attius Lucanus, as the success of his freedman would be reflected back to him. Attius Lucanus' influence was on the battlefield as witnessed by his ascension to tribune of the first cohort of native Roman citizens. Even though he did not serve any civic offices, his status in Nemausus cannot be questioned as is illustrated through his freedman's significance.

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<sup>61</sup> Georges Lopuszanski, *La transformation du corps des officiers supérieurs dans l'armée romaine du Ier au IIIe siècle après J.-C.*, (Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, 1938), p.146.

## 4.2 Sextus Iulius Maximus:

Sextus Iulius Maximus only has one inscription that bears his name and accomplishments.

D(ECRETO) [D(ECURIONUM)] MEMOR[IAE] SEX(TI) IULII S[EX(TI) FIL(II)]  
VOL(TINIA) MAX[IMI] FLAMINIS ROMA[E ET] DIVI AUG(USTI) ITEM DR[USI]  
ET GERM(ANICI) CAES(ARIS) TR(IBUNI) [MIL(ITUM)] PRAEF(ECTI) FABR(UM)  
III [III VIR(I)] IUR(E) DIC(UNDO) NEMAUSENS[ES PUBLICE]

*The citizens of Nemausus have publicly [dedicated this] through a decree of the decurions, to the memory of Sextus Iulius Maximus the son of Sextus from the Voltinia tribe, a priest of Roma and of the divine Augustus, likewise of Drusus and Germanicus, military tribune, prefect of the workmen for a third time, a quattuorvir for the pronouncing of the law (CIL XII, 3180)*

The citizenship of Sextus Iulius Maximus' family most likely can be attributed to either Julius Caesar or Augustus, because of his membership to the gens *Iulia*. His ancestor would have been granted Roman citizenship by one of the two men as a reward for his service and loyalty during either the Gallic War of Caesar or the Civil War of Augustus. This grant of citizenship made Iulius Maximus a client of the *imperator* and was used to provide him with a support base that he could resort to if needed.<sup>62</sup> His praenomen, Sextus, is one of the limited number of names used by the Julian family, the other names being Gaius and Lucius. Eventually *gentes* would only use certain *praenomina* in order to separate their families from each other and create an air of continuity.

The citizens of Nemausus set up the inscription to this man as an honorary text, a common practice by towns to honour the achievements of its most influential members. The *cursus* of Iulius Maximus, as it is presented, is in descending order, with his last office completed

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<sup>62</sup> This can be seen in the struggle between Pompey and Caesar where Pompey fled to the East where he had previously spent time building a support base and knew he would be able to assemble a force against Caesar.

named first. The other possible way of presenting it was, obviously, in ascending order with the highest offices mentioned last. At the pinnacle of his career, Iulius Maximus became a priest of Roma and of the divine Augustus in Nemausus, this being a religious post of great importance. This priesthood was part of the Imperial cult, which began in 9 B.C. with the dedication of the cult of Augustus by Drusus in Lyon and which spread after Augustus' death in A.D. 14 (Livy, *Per.*, CXLII). The recognition of the Emperor as a living god helped to insure his position among the peoples of the Empire.

The text adds that Maximus was a priest to the cult of Drusus and Germanicus, princes during the reign of Tiberius. Drusus was Tiberius' son from his first marriage to Vipsania while Germanicus, who was the son of Drusus, the Emperor Tiberius' brother, was adopted by Tiberius in A.D. 4 on the order of Augustus. These two *principes* became extremely popular amongst the Roman people because of their charisma and their military victories against the Germanic tribes. With regard to the dating here, Germanicus died in A.D. 19, while Drusus died in A.D. 23, and it is this latter year of A.D. 23 that is most relevant in dating this inscription. The cult emerged shortly following their deaths and would have ended most likely shortly thereafter as Tiberius despised Germanicus' popularity and would not have promoted his nephew's provincial cult. This places the end of Iulius Maximus' career shortly after A.D. 23 and the bulk of his career during the reign of Augustus.

The *tribunus militum*, military tribune, was a senior officer within the legion in which there were only six posts available, which were reserved for equestrians. Military tribunes were men with military experience who had the ability to assume a leadership role within the legion. It is through the actions of Claudius that the *tribunus militum* along with the *praefectus cohortis* and the *praefectus equitum* were reserved for equestrians (Suet., *Claud.*, 25). Iulius Maximus was a

military tribune, but does not mention the legion for which he served, an oddity considering Roman soldiers' pride of *appartenance* to their specific legion and its accomplishments. Without the legion's name, it is impossible to know where in the Empire he served before returning to Nemausus to continue his civic career.<sup>63</sup> The post of military tribune became for many local provincial elites the culmination of their careers and would have been a great honour.<sup>64</sup> If the military tribuneship was his most prestigious office, it may signal his family's recent adlection into the order. Iulius Maximus, with most of his offices being completed in Nemausus, would have seen the military tribuneship as a great accomplishment, an indication of his recent introduction to the equestrian order.

The post of *praefectus fabrum* (prefect of the workmen) first appeared in the late Republican period as is known through several leading figures of that time.<sup>65</sup> The duties of the prefect are not well known but it is likely that they were decided by the individual who had chosen him and would have been wide ranging.<sup>66</sup> In the case of Iulius Maximus, his prefecture immediately preceded his military tribuneship, which, according to Dobson's research, may indicate that it was an honorary appointment.<sup>67</sup> This fact along with Iulius Maximus' lengthy municipal career suggests that his prefecture was sinecure, which can be described as an office

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<sup>63</sup> Being stationed as a military tribune along the *limes* would hold more prestige and could become a stepping stone for further ascension in one's *cursus* compared to a post in a senatorial province.

<sup>64</sup> Hubert Devijver, "De leeftijd van de ridderofficieren tijdens het Vroeg-Romeinse Keizerrijk", in *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, Hubert Devijver, (Amsterdam: Gieben Publisher, 1989), p.138.

<sup>65</sup> Brian Dobson, "The Praefectus Fabrum in the Early Principate", in *Roman Officers and Frontiers* by David J. Breeze and Brian Dobson, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), p.220. Varro, Caesar, Cicero, Pompey, M. Brutus and Antony are some of the leading figures attested by Dobson who held this particular office.

<sup>66</sup> Dobson, n.65, p.221.

<sup>67</sup> Dobson, n.65, p.221.

that involved minimal duties.<sup>68</sup> The interesting aspect of the case of Iulius Maximus is that his prefecture along with his military tribuneship occurred in the middle of all his municipal offices. In order to attain the highest local priesthoods, he had to gain recognition not only in the municipality but also in the Roman military. Without his prefecture and military tribuneship, Iulius Maximus would not have accomplished his priesthoods. In essence, Iulius Maximus' role as prefect of the workmen is unclear beyond the fact that he was a junior administrator who was appointed by a commander. The *praefectus fabrum* lost its military importance at the beginning of the Principate through the creation and the development of standardized military and political careers.<sup>69</sup>

For high-ranking provincials, their careers, it was hoped, would culminate in the quattuorvirship of their hometown. Quattuorvirs were the epitome of the local civic *cursus* and the office of the *quattuorviri iure dicundo* was usually found in the Italian municipalities or Latin colonies.<sup>70</sup> Iulius Maximus did not achieve the highest offices within the equestrian order, and it could thus be construed, that he was not influential and only one amongst tens of thousands. While his name is not known throughout the empire, Iulius Maximus was one of the leading men in Nemausus itself, as witnessed by his completion of all the highest local honours.

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<sup>68</sup> Dobson, n.65, p.221. Dobson explains that it is impossible to determine if the office was purely honorary or not but rather to attach probabilities based on the individuals career where a purely municipal career would most likely result in an honorary appointment of the office and a lengthy and distinguished military career would most likely result in the actual completion of the prefecture.

<sup>69</sup> Dobson, n.65, p.234.

<sup>70</sup> Sir John Edwin Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy: An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions*, (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1927), p.229.

### 4.3 Sextus Adgennius Macrinus:

This individual is remembered by an impressive monument bearing his engraved facial image and that of his wife. As part of the monument there are two inscriptions that bear his name and much information about his family. The two inscriptions are as follows:

1. D(IS) M(ANIBUS)  
LICINIAE L(UCII) F(ILIAE) FLAVILLAE FLAMINIC(AE) AUG(USTAE) SEX(TI)  
ADGENII MACRINI TRIB(UNI) LEG(IONIS) VI VIC(TRICIS) IIII VIR(I) IUR(E)  
DIC(UNDO) PONTIF(ICIS) PRAEF(ECTUS) FABR(UM)

*To the sacred spirits, of Licinia Flavilla, the daughter of Lucius, a priestess of Augustus; Sextus Adgennius Macrinus, a tribune of Legion VI Victrix, a quattuorvir for the pronouncing of the law, a priest, a prefect of the workmen (CIL XII, 3175)*

2. SEX(TUS) ADGENNIUS SOLUTUS ET ADGENNIA LICINILLA PARENTIBUS

*Sextus Adgennius Solutus and Adgennia Licinilla to their parents (CIL XII, 3368)*

Although they are presented as two separate inscriptions in the CIL they are from the same monument, as the second text (CIL XII, 3368) lacks any sense if interpreted by itself. It is clear that Sextus Adgennius Solutus and Adgennia Licinilla were the children of the couple named above.

Sextus Adgennius Macrinus' most interesting feature is the Celtic origin of his nomen. Burnand asserts that there are very few leading figures from either Gallia Narbonensis or Gallia Comata who used a Gallic nomen.<sup>71</sup> The name Adgennius is a compound name with a prefix, in this case '-ad', plus a substantive with the prefix governing the second element.<sup>72</sup> The 'ad-', when it is accompanied by a substantive, here '-genn', can be translated as 'to' instead of as an

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<sup>71</sup> Yves Burnand, *Primores Galliarum: III-Étude sociale 1.Les racines*, (Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 2007), vol.306, p.131.

<sup>72</sup> D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names: A Study of some Continental Celtic Formations*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p.205.

intensive prefix when it is accompanied by an adjective.<sup>73</sup> The ‘gen-, gen(n)-’ is a common Celtic name and is usually translated as ‘is born’ or ‘begets’ and can also mean ‘to give birth’.<sup>74</sup> “The local distribution of forms in –gen(n)- with the prefixes ‘ad-’ and ‘con-’ shows a notable concentration of examples in Southern Gaul. *Adgenn-* occurs most frequently in Narbonensis, although the personal name *Adgennonius* is attested in Italy and the personal name *Adgennus* in Germania Inferior”.<sup>75</sup> These facts therefore place Adgennius Macrinus’ ancestry as part of the native Celtic population and possibly of the local elites who came to be Romanized after the Volcae Arecomici had been subdued.<sup>76</sup> Local elites were permitted to remain in power once Rome had conquered them in order to provide a sense of continuity for the local population, but also because Rome was not interested in overseeing every single town that it conquered, preferring rather to instill its laws and customs. The fact that Adgennius Macrinus kept his Celtic name and was able to become an equestrian illustrates how a local, native, former barbarian was able to integrate himself within the new Roman political structure, a good example of Romanization.

Adgennius Macrinus’ career began as a *praefectus fabrum* and presumably after this he was appointed as a priest, a *pontifex*, in Nemausus. The priesthood that he served in is unknown as is where he was stationed as *praefectus fabrum*, which could indicate that he received the title without actually completing the duties of the office. Following this he became a *quattuorvir*, thus achieving the highest possible municipal office. He served as a military tribune for the *Legio VI Victrix*, which was stationed in Spain until A.D. 69, and then was moved to the Rhine from A.D.

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<sup>73</sup> Evans, n.72, p.129.

<sup>74</sup> Evans, n.72, p.203.

<sup>75</sup> Evans, n.72, p.204.

<sup>76</sup> The Volcae Arecomici were the Celtic tribe who had Nemausus as its capital and were defeated during Rome’s War of Annexation from 125-121 B.C. (see p.3).

71 to 120.<sup>77</sup> The legion was given the title of *Pia Fidelis* after it remained faithful to Domitian during the revolt of Lucius Antonius Saturninus in A.D. 89.<sup>78</sup> Adgennius Macrinus was a tribune on the Rhine before the revolt because of the missing title.

Licina Flavilla, the wife of Adgennius Macrinus, was a priestess of Augusta. The *Licinii* of Rome, a plebeian family, became an illustrious family during the Roman Republic due to the military and political achievements of the *Licinii Crassi* and the *Licinii Luculli*, two branches of the *Licinii*. Licinia Flavilla's father was Lucius Licinius but his career remains unknown. Her ancestors may have been of Italian descent or may have been local natives who became Romanized, but either option is viable due to a lack of evidence.

Licina Flavilla's profile is displayed alongside her husband's on the epitaph, and of note is her hairstyle, that is sculpted in the distinct Flavian style, which helps to date the inscription to the Flavian time period between the years of A.D. 71 to 89.<sup>79</sup> The *cippus* (tombstone) also serves as a reminder of Adgennius Macrinus' military offices. He is displayed with a spear on his left side along with his military uniform, which comprises a breastplate, shoulder pads and a cape on his left shoulder. Adgennius Macrinus is depicted as a *tribunus legionis* on the monument as he is dressed in his military garb. The spear on Adgennius Macrinus' right represents the *fasces*, which were symbols of the power of his office and an indication of his status.<sup>80</sup>

Describing Adgennius Macrinus and his wife, Licinia Flavilla, as a "power couple" of Nemausus may not be overstressing the extent of their influence; with her role as a priestess and his completion of municipal offices they must have been regarded as one of the leading families

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<sup>77</sup> Brill's New Pauly: *Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.7, p.366.

<sup>78</sup> Brill's New Pauly: *Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.7, p.366.

<sup>79</sup> Nancy Ramage and Andrew Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*, (New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, , 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2001), pp.172-173.

<sup>80</sup> Hubert Devijver, "Equestrian Officers and their Monuments", in *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army*, (1989), p.435.

of the provincial town. Their influence and social standing within Nemausus is further supported by the addition of a certain Sextus Adgennius Hermetis, a *sevir Augustalis*, whose inscription places him as a freedman of our equestrian (CIL XII, 3188).

#### 4.4 Gaius Aemilius Postumus:

Gaius Aemilius Postumus is another Nemausian equestrian known to us solely from a simple inscription.

C(AIO) AEMILIO C(AI) F(ILIO) VOLT(INIA) POSTUMO OMNIBUS  
HONORIB(US) IN COLONIA SUA FUNCTO TRIB(UNO) MIL(ITUM) LEG(IONIS)  
VI VICTR(ICIS) D(ECRETO) D(ECURIONUM)

*To Gaius Aemilius Postumus, the son of Gaius, of the Voltinia tribe, having completed all the public offices in his own colony, military tribune of Legion VI Victrix, [having been set up] by a decree of the Decurions (CIL XII, 3176)*

The family of the *Aemilii* is one of the six original Roman patrician families dating back to the beginning of the Roman Republic. It is one of the most illustrious names in Roman history because of the actions of members from both the *Aemilii Lepidi* and the *Aemilii Paulli*. We can presume that the ancestors of this C. Aemilius Postumus became attached to that great family and assumed their nomen when they received Roman citizenship. The name Postumus, when used as a praenomen, indicates that the individual was born after his father's death but in the case of Aemilius Postumus, his cognomen does not have any added significance.

He completed all the local offices of Nemausus, which are not actually named but grouped together under one term. This practice does save space, as it could be essential in certain

cases, but in other inscriptions all the offices are mentioned and therefore this is simply an alternative technique to express one's career.<sup>81</sup>

Aemilius Postumus became a military tribune of the *Legio VI Victrix*, the same legion as Adgennius Macrinus. He most likely served as a military tribune before completing all the public offices in Nemausus for two reasons: first he would have wanted to complete his military service while he was still young and athletic, and second he would have wanted the added distinction of a military tribuneship in order to attain the quattuorvirship. Both Adgennius Macrinus and Aemilius Postumus may be connected as they both served as military tribunes for the same legion during Vespasian's reign. Even if this connection can be established, it did not benefit Aemilius Postumus, as the military tribuneship was the culmination of his career. It is also possible that the *Legio VI Victrix* had a connection with Nemausus, and that it was easier for equestrians to become a military tribune for that legion. Aemilius Postumus' career places him as a leading figure in Nemausus, with power and influence comparable to that held by both Adgennius Macrinus and Iulius Maximus.

#### **4.5 Marcus Attius Paternus:**

The last equestrian to be examined is Marcus Attius Paternus; a single inscription describing his *cursus* was found at Nemausus but he is presumed to be from Colonia Iulia Augusta Apollinaris Reiorum (modern Riez and henceforth referred to by its modern name).<sup>82</sup> The case of Attius Paternus becomes more interesting because Riez is approximately 150 kilometres from Nemausus; in between the two are other prominent towns such as Avennio,

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<sup>81</sup> Another variant is to illustrate one's completion of the quattuorvirship, the highest municipal office, implying that he had completed the lower municipal offices.

<sup>82</sup> Rivet, n.4, p.243.

Arelate and Aquae Sextiae. If he wanted to move to a larger, more prominent town, the above-listed towns presented such opportunities, but he instead chose Nemausus, an indication of its status within Gallia Narbonensis.

MEMORIAE M(ARCI) ATTI(I) M(ARCI) FIL(II) VOLT(INIA) PATERNI EQUO  
PUBLIC(O) HONORATO ITEM DECURIONI COL(ONIAE) APOLLINARE  
REIURUM DECURIONI ORNAMENTARIO COL(ONIAE) AUG(USTAE)  
NEMAUSI ANNUM XXV AGENTI COELIA SEX(TI) FILIA PATERNA FILIO  
PIIS(S)IMO

*To the memory of Marcus Attius Paternus, the son of Marcus, from the Voltinia tribe, honoured with a horse at public expense likewise as decurion of the colony of Riez sacred to Apollo, having lived for twenty-five years as an honorary decurion of the colony of Augustus at Nemausus, Coelia Paterna the daughter of Sextus [did this] for her most devoted son (CIL XII, 3200)*

*Attii* is a plebeian *gens* that can be traced back historically in the Roman Senate to the second century B.C. The cognomen Paternus is very common within the Roman Empire especially in Gallia Narbonensis.<sup>83</sup> When translated as a Latin noun, ‘paternus’ can signify either ‘of one’s father’ or ‘ancestral’, meaning that his family was originally from Italy and moved to Gallia Narbonensis. Even though the cognomen Paternus is found almost entirely within the Gallic region of influence, which expanded from western Spain to Britain to the western Danubian area to Cisalpine Gaul, its etymology is not attested in Evans ‘ study on Gaulish personal names, an indication of its Italian origin. What is known about Attius Paternus’ family tree is that Coelia Paterna was his mother and was married to a Marcus Attius. Coelia Paterna’s father would have

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<sup>83</sup> Yves Burnand, *Primores Galliarum: Sénateurs et chevaliers romains originaires de Gaule de la fin de la République au IIIe siècle: I-Méthodologie*, (Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, vol.290, 2005), p.423. The cognomen Paternus is found 468 times throughout the Roman Empire and 114 times in Gallia Narbonensis (24.3%). The cognomen is also heavily attested in *Hispania* and *Gallia Comata* (102 and 77 times respectively).

presumably been Sextus Coelius Paternus and Attius Paternus took his cognomen from his mother's side while keeping the same nomen and praenomen as his father.

The honorary inscription of Attius Paternus offers clues into his life. It is believed that he was originally from Riez, but would have then moved to Nemausus. He is a decurion of both Riez and Nemausus although he is a proper decurion in Riez, but only an honorary one at Nemausus (*decurio ornamentarius*). His honorary decurion suggests that he did not fulfill the conditions to be a decurion of the highest degree in Nemausus and therefore would corroborate the theory that he moved to Nemausus later in his life.<sup>84</sup> It is assumed that he was given the status of Nemausian decurion because he had achieved the same rank in Riez.

Attius Paternus' connection to Riez also stems from the inscription CIL XII, 357, which states the *gens* Coelia and indicates a possible connection between Riez and Coelia Paterna, his mother. If his mother was from Riez and he had attained the rank of Decurion in that town then the question becomes: why did he move to Nemausus? A plausible answer is the natural pull to a larger, more important town where municipal civic offices offer greater prestige. Another alternative is that his father, Marcus Attius, was from Nemausus and that Attius Paternus wanted to establish himself in a greater political center while at the same time connecting himself to his father's birthplace.

The inscription does not indicate Attius Paternus' *cursus* beyond his admission to the equestrian order and his status as decurion in both provincial towns. He had been recently honored with the presentation of the knight's horse by the emperor, an *equo publico honorato*. This is an example of the social mobility that was possible within the Roman Empire. The inscription does indicate, however, that Paternus lived in Nemausus for twenty-five years after

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<sup>84</sup> Yves Burnand, *Primores Galliarum: II-Prosopographie*, (Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, vol.302, 2006) p.263.

moving away from Riez. Burnand believes that Paternus died at the young age of twenty-five on account of his lack of appointments and while this is possible, it is more likely that he lived past his twenty-fifth year, as he was a decurion in both Riez and Nemausus.

Other inscriptions bearing the careers of equestrians have been discovered at Nemausus but have remained unknown due to their condition or the lack of information that could link any individual with Nemausus. There is one exception to this statement: Gaius Fulvius Lupus Servilianus. He was a Nemausian equestrian who became adlected into the senatorial order, and his career will be discussed in the following chapter even though the majority of his appointments were in the equestrian *cursus*. As discussed previously, only the Voltinia tribe is mentioned, and due to the lack of other useful information, no further determination of the individuals' origin can be established. The other problem that arises is the fact that inscriptions found near Nemausus describe individuals who have no known connection with the town; they therefore cannot be used in a prosopographical study of the area.

#### **4.6 Conclusions:**

Although it is difficult to draw conclusions about the importance of Nemausus on the basis of the five equestrians studied here, their careers are representative of the careers of knights from other colonies, and conclusions regarding their role in Nemausus, Gallia Narbonensis, and the Roman Empire will be discussed below.

The equestrians from Nemausus are clearly not the most illustrious group in the Roman Empire because, as mentioned throughout this chapter, none of them achieved the highest available offices. Stratification within the equestrian order explains why Nemausian equestrian families were unable to attain these illustrious and prestigious offices. Provincial elites did not

have the same prestige as their Italian counterparts, and once adlected into the equestrian order would find it difficult, if not impossible, to be appointed to the highest offices within the order.<sup>85</sup> During the struggle of the orders the consulship was opened to the plebeian order, but still it remained very difficult for a plebeian to achieve this rank, as witnessed by the rarity of the term *novus homo*, which designated this achievement.

It has been established that Nemausian equestrians were not prominent men within the empire. This does not automatically translate into a lack of prominence within Nemausus itself and quite possibly Gallia Narbonensis. While senators were busy serving their posts throughout the empire, the equestrians remained in Nemausus and were its local leaders. While some equestrians may have desired to attain the highest prefectures in Rome, others were undoubtedly content with their roles in Nemausus as its chief magistrates.

The number of offices available to equestrians was very limited when compared to the body of individuals who would be vying for them (approximately 700 offices for the tens of thousands of equestrians). The argument that Nemausian equestrians, when compared to equestrians living in Rome, were in a disadvantageous position because of their provincial status may seem logical at first, but Nemausian senators have yet to be evaluated and this argument may unravel following their examination in the next chapter.

Nemausian equestrians did not have a significant impact throughout the Roman Empire in the early Principate as they only held minor offices such as the military tribune or the prefect of the workmen. The sons of Nemausian equestrians would be expected to further their family's name by attaining more illustrious appointments. At the moment, there is evidence for a possible

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<sup>85</sup> The stratification of the equestrian order was due in part to its expansion during the early Principate. Sons of equestrians would usually not begin their careers at the bottom of the food-chain and in turn it was easier for them to reach the highest offices.

familial connection between the equestrian Sextus Iulius Maximus and a Nemausian senator, Titus Iulius Maximus. The theory on their possible familial connection will be discussed in the following chapter. Besides this, Nemausian equestrians' sons either did not pursue a political career or their inscriptions remain unfound. This lack of continuity makes it difficult to provide a true determination of each individual equestrian's influence within the province and the Roman Empire. Besides Attius Lucanus, who became a senior military official, Nemausian equestrians did not reach the most prestigious offices within the order, such as the *praefectus vigiles* or the *praefectus Aegypti*. It is important to remember that producing illustrious equestrians does not make a provincial town one of the most important and influential within the Roman Empire. If Nemausus had many illustrious equestrians, it would help to conclude that it was an important town within the empire but equestrians alone cannot make Nemausus important; senators and connections to the imperial family can.

## Chapter 5

### Nemausian Senators

The senatorial class, as previously mentioned, was the most exclusive and prestigious order of Roman society. It is on account of the number of senators who attained the highest possible offices in the senatorial *cursus* from Nemausus that it became one of the most important towns during the early Principate. The senators will be evaluated individually and chronologically, beginning with Cn. Domitius Afer.

#### 5.1 Gnaeus Domitius Afer:

Gnaeus Domitius Afer is known to the modern world solely through ancient texts, as no epigraphical evidence attests to his existence. Although he became one of the most prominent senators of his day (pp.42-45), only one source makes a reference to his origin, that being Jerome who, writing in the late fourth-early fifth centuries A.D., stated that he was from Nemausus (Jer., *Chron.*, 2062). While that sole reference makes the case of his origin not very stable, there are two other facts that help to corroborate Jerome's assertion. The first is his name Gnaeus Domitius, as this would place him as a client of the Domitii Ahenobarbii, a prominent Roman family whose origin can be traced back to the early days of the Roman Republic. The *Ahenobarbii*'s relationship with Transalpine Gaul, later Gallia Narbonensis, began in 121 B.C. when Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus defeated the Allobroges and the Arverni, who were led by King Bituitus, an act that ensured the incorporation of the whole region into the Roman Empire. As a result Domitius Ahenobarbus and his family gradually acquired a sizable clientele who displayed their loyalty by adopting their patron's name. This practice was customary and is one

of the reasons why the nomen Iulius is prominent in Northern Gaul, after Julius Caesar's ten-year conquest of the region.<sup>86</sup> The second piece of evidence is Afer's relationship to Sextus Curvius whose Nemausian origin will be further discussed below.

### 5.1.1 Sextus Curvius:

Two pieces of evidence suggest a Nemausian origin for Sextus Curvius. One inscription that was found in Rome bears his name:

SEX(TO) CURVIO SEX(TO) F(ILIO) VOL(TINIA) TULLO

*Sextus Curvius Tullus, son of Sextus, of the Voltinia tribe (CIL VI, 16671)*

The Voltinia tribe is the only mention of Sextus Curvius' origin, a broad designation that cannot on its own establish him as Nemausian, as stated by Burnand.<sup>87</sup> Curvius' Nemausian origin is based on two facts. The first is the rarity of the nomen Curvius, which is identified only once throughout Gallia Narbonensis by an inscription found in Narbo Martius (CIL XII, 4756). The second is a connection between Sextus Curvius and Domitius Afer. Afer prosecuted Sextus Curvius and then adopted his two sons (Plin., *Ep.*, 8.18); Gnaeus Domitius Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Tullus (PIR<sup>2</sup> D 167) and Gnaeus Domitius Afer Curvius Lucanus (PIR<sup>2</sup> D 152) whose careers will be discussed shortly. Knowing the cost of adoption, he would not have carried through with it if a pre-existing relationship did not exist between the two families. This theory counters Burnand's statement that a lack of documentation must leave Curvius' origin as "très incertaine".<sup>88</sup> Alföldy, on the other hand, believes that Sextus Curvius is Nemausian and that his sons were also from the provincial town. He also believes that Sextus Curvius Silvinus, who was

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<sup>86</sup> The nomen *Iulius*' popularity is also due to Augustus' extended reign as well as the influence of his wife, Livia, after she was adopted into the Julian family following Augustus' death.

<sup>87</sup> Burnand, n.27, p.698.

<sup>88</sup> Burnand, n.27, p.698.

a Roman senator, was either the grandfather or uncle to the Domitii brothers.<sup>89</sup> Silvinus is known by an inscription found in Baetica, which describes his *cursus* (AE 1962, 287). The adoption of Sextus Curvius' sons by Domitius Afer points to his Nemausian origin, and when this fact is taken together with his name, Gnaeus Domitius, and his presence in Jerome's Chronicles, there is no reason to doubt that Domitius Afer was from Nemausus. The origin of Sextus Curvius and his two sons can also be established as Nemausian on the basis of the origin of his parents discussed above.

### **5.1.2 Domitius Afer's *Cursus*:**

Domitius Afer's was one of Rome's great orators (Quint., *Inst.*, 12.10.-12.11) and his offices and exploits in the courts are accounted for in different ancient texts; they begin with his praetorship in 25 (Tac., *Ann.*, 4.52). From this date it is possible to estimate that Afer became a senator around A.D. 15 (a period at the end of the reign of Augustus and at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius). Before becoming a senator, Afer probably was an equestrian in Nemausus and undeniably completed the necessary offices and duties in order to be adlected into the senate. Even though no evidence exists to support this claim, Afer did not become a senator or even become a renowned lawyer in Rome without having completed at the very least a local provincial career. His prosecutorial achievements were important to his rise in Nemausus as they gave him exposure and publicity so that he could complete the necessary local civic offices.

Following his praetorship Domitius Afer continued his legal career in 26 by prosecuting the great niece of Augustus, Claudia Pulchra, the former wife of Quinctilius Varus, who was

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<sup>89</sup> Géza Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses: Senatorische Reichsbeamte und Offiziere in den Spanischen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches von Augustu bis Diokletian*, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1969), p.183.

infamous because of the Teutoburg Forest massacre (PIR<sup>2</sup> 1116).<sup>90</sup> He accused and indicted her for unchastity and adultery with Furnius as well as attempting to poison Tiberius; both she and Furnius were condemned (Tac. *Ann.*, 4.52). In the following year, Domitius Afer tried to prosecute Claudia Pulchra's son, Quinctilius Varus, but was unsuccessful, as the senate opted to wait for the return of Tiberius to hear the case. This never materialized as the emperor remained in Capri until his death in 37 (Tac., *Ann.*, 4.66). Tacitus questions Domitius Afer's character by stating that he was poor, had not managed his finances properly and therefore, in order to continue his lavish lifestyle, he had prosecuted a rich and illustrious Roman (Tac., *Ann.*, 4.66).<sup>91</sup>

The next known major event in Domitius Afer's career is his encounter with Caligula in 39. As he had formerly accused Claudia Pulchra, a friend of Caligula's mother, the emperor wanted to confront him about this accusation. Caligula thought of himself as the best orator and knowing Domitius Afer's reputation, the emperor would have condemned Domitius Afer if he had upstaged him in his defense (Dio Cass., LIX, 19). Instead, Afer refrained from responding to Caligula's argument and instead praised the emperor's oratorical skills. Caligula, instead of condemning Afer, rewarded him with a suffect consulship that year (Dio Cass., LIX, 19). Domitius Afer thereupon became a Roman consul alongside the Emperor himself (Dio Cass., LIX, 20).

Ten years after that episode, Domitius Afer was appointed as the *curator aquarum*, a post that he held until his death in 59 (Frontin., *Aq.*, 102). As the overseer of Rome's water supply, an office considered as one of the highest that a senator could attain, Domitius Afer had to ensure that the fountains and baths within the city were operating smoothly, as well as safeguard against

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<sup>90</sup> Claudia Pulchra's cousin was Agrippina the Elder who was the granddaughter of Augustus.

<sup>91</sup> As will be made evident from Domitius Afer's will and the accumulated wealth of his adopted sons, Tacitus' statements appear misplaced.

any tampering with the aqueducts, for example, an individual diverting part of the water supply to accommodate his interests (Frontin., *Aq.*, 103). It was during Domitius Afer's time as *curator aquarum* that Claudius dedicated two new aqueducts to the city, most likely in 52, an important milestone in the Nemausian senator's tenure (Frontin., *Aq.*, 13). Afer served in his office until he died in the year A.D. 59. Although serving until death had been customary, after Afer died, this practice was changed.<sup>92</sup>

Besides being one of the foremost politicians and administrators, Domitius Afer was also recognized as one of Rome's premier orators of the early Roman Empire (Tac., *Ann.*, 14.19). Quintilian called Domitius Afer the *summus orator* of that time (Quint., *Inst.*, 12, 11, 3).<sup>93</sup> Even though Quintilian did not witness Domitius Afer during the prime of his career, he still praised his ability: "*Neque errant illa qualiacunque mala sed minora*" (And yet whatever [his faults], he spoke not badly but less well) (Quint., *Inst.*, 12, 11, 4). Quintilian does not question Domitius Afer's character but rather discusses only his quality as an orator. Pliny, on the other hand, describes Domitius Afer as one of the last great orators and prosecutors, and elect not to discuss any possible negative characteristics (Plin., *Ep.*, 2, 14).

Domitius Afer's name and reputation were founded both in the forum and within the confines of a basilica, which allowed him to become an influential member in the Roman political arena, as witnessed by his consulship in 39. He was desperate to acquire fame and fortune in Rome, as witnessed by his prosecution of Claudia Pulchra and his attempted prosecution of

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<sup>92</sup> R.H. Rodgers, "Curatores Aquarum", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Department of Classics Harvard University, vol.86, (1982), p.176. The pattern that Frontinus established in his work is reiterated by Rodgers to illustrate how *curatores aquarum* had occupied the office until their death, except for Didius Gallus, up to and including Domitius Afer. Extended appointments to the office of *curator aquarum* were not the general rule following Domitius Afer: short one to two year periods became the norm.

<sup>93</sup> Quintilian was born in 35 and Afer died in 59 therefore presenting a small window of opportunity for Quintilian to hear Afer in the courts.

Quinctilius Varus, but even if his character was questionable, his achievements speak for themselves, as he became a Roman senator and consul, which was not an easy task for a provincial senator. It was through continued dedication that Domitius Afer was able to achieve greatness and open the gates for future Nemausians in Rome because he placed Nemausus on the map during the early Roman Empire. Without Afer's willingness to persevere within the tough political world in Rome, further integration of Gallia Narbonensis would not have occurred.

### 5.1.3 Gnaeus Domitius Lucanus and Gnaeus Domitius Tullus:

After Domitius Afer died in 59, his wealth was bequeathed to his two adoptive sons as is known by inscriptions connecting them to Afer's belongings (CIL XV, 979-983).<sup>94</sup> With their inheritance, the brothers continued to live their lavish lifestyles while completing their careers throughout the empire. I include these two as Nemausians because of their adoptive father's origin. Two inscriptions describe their careers that are similar to each other:

1. CN(AEO) DOMITIO SEX(TI) F(ILIO) V[O]L[T](INIA) AFRO TITIO MARCELLO CURVIO LUCANO CO(N)S(ULI) PROCO(N)S(ULI) PROVINCIAE AFRICAE LEGATO EIUSDEM PROVINCIAE TU[LLI] FRATRIS SUI SEPTEMIRO EPULONUM [ITEM] PRAETORIO LEGATO PROVINCIAE AFR[IC]AE IMP(ERATORI) CAESAR(I) AUG(USTO) PRAEF(ECTO) AUXILIRUM OMNIUM ADVERSUS GERMANOS DONATO AB IMP(ERATORIBUS) VESPASIANO AUG(USTO) ET T(ITO) CAESAR(IS) AUG(USTI) F(ILIO) CORONIS MURALI VALLARI AURE[A] HASTIS PURIS III VEXILLIS III ADLECTO INTER PATRICIOS PRAETORI TR(IBUNO) PL(EBIS) QUAEST(ORI) PRO PRAETORE PROVINCIAE AFRIC[AE TR(IBUNO)] MIL(ITUM) LEG(IONIS) V ALAUD(AE) IIIIVIR(O) VIARUM CURANDAR(UM) PATRONO OPTIMO D(ECRETO) D(ECURIONUM)

*To Gnaeus Domitius Afer Titius Marcellus Curvius Lucanus, the son of Sextus, of the Voltinia tribe, consul, proconsul of the province of Africa, legate of the same province of his brother Tullus, a member of the board of seven in charge of feasts, also praetorian*

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<sup>94</sup> Sir Ronald Syme, *Tacitus*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), vol.1, p.449.

*legate of the province of Africa, Emperor Caesar Augustus, a prefect of all the auxiliaries against the Germanic tribes, having been awarded by the Emperors Vespasian Augustus and Titus, son of Caesar Augustus, the crown of the wall and to be the first soldier to scale the enemy wall with three golden headless spears and three standards, having been adlected into the patrician order as a praetor, plebeian tribune, quaestor pro praetor of the province of Africa, military tribune of the Legio V Alaudae, a quattuorvir of the city streets, for the best patron, by a decree of the decurions (CIL XI, 5210)*

2. [CN(AEO) DOMITIO SEX(TO) F(ILIO)..... CURVIO TULLO.....] FETIALI PRAEF(ECTO) AU[XILIOR(UM) OMNIUM] ADVERSUS GERMANOS- QUI CUM ESSET CANDIDATUS CAESAR(IS) PR(AETOR) DESIG(NATUS) MISSUS EST AB IMP(ERATORE) VESPASIANO AUG(USTO) LEGATUS PRO PRAETORE AD EXERCITUM QUI EST IN AFRICA ET APSENS INTER PRAETORIOS RELATUS- DONATO AB [IM]P(ERATORIBUS) VESPASIANO AUGUSTO ET TITO CAESARE AUG(USTI) F(ILIO) CORONIS MURALI VALLARI AURE[A] HASTIS PURIS III VEXILLIS III ADLECTO INTER PATRICIOS TR(IBUNO) PL(EBIS) QUAEST(ORI) CAESAR(IS) AUG(USTI) [T]R(IBUNO) MIL(ITUM) LEG(IONIS) V ALAUD(AE) XVIR(O) STLITIB(US) IUDICANDIS PATRONO OPTIMO D(ECRETO) D(ECURIONUM)

*To Gnaeus Domitius Curvius Tullus, the son of Sextus, fetial, a prefect of all the auxiliaries against the Germanic tribes who, when he was the candidate of Caesar, was sent as a praetor designate by Emperor Vespasian Augustus, propraetorian legate to the army which is in Africa and having been assigned in absence among the praetorians, having been awarded by the Emperor Vespasian Augustus and Titus, the son of Caesar Augustus the crown of the wall and to be the first soldier to scale the enemy wall with three golden headless spears and three standards, having been adlected into the patrician order, plebeian tribune, quaestor of Caesar Augustus, military tribune of the Legio V Alaudae, a member of ten of the civil courts, for the best patron, by a decree of the decurions (CIL XI, 5211)*

Both inscriptions were found at Fulginiae, modern Foligno, in Umbria, which is the neighbouring region to the north of Rome. Their proximity to Rome could be an indication of the brothers' *déracinement* from Nemausus, preferring a villa in the outskirts of Rome in order to be in touch with the political situation in Rome. All senators were required to own property in Italy, and the brothers' villa near Rome fulfilled that requirement, while at the same time contributed to their detachment from Nemausus. According to Eck and Thomasson, the careers of both brothers

began during the reign of Nero when Domitius Lucanus became a *quattuorvir viarum curandarum*, the supervisor of the city streets, and Domitius Tullus a *decimvir stlitibus iudicandis*, a member of a band of ten for the civil court, both minor offices at the beginning of a senatorial *cursus*.<sup>95</sup> Both brothers then became military tribunes for the *Legio V Alaudae*, whose title translates as ‘the Larks’, stationed on the Rhine before either being disbanded by Vespasian in 70 or succumbing to defeat in 85/86 on the Danube.<sup>96</sup> The legion was originally raised by Julius Caesar in Transalpine Gaul and provides another clue as to the brothers’ provincial origin.<sup>97</sup> Their rise continued with quaestorships followed by the plebeian tribuneship and finally adlection among the patricians in 73/74, when Vespasian and Titus were censors. Their careers continue to be linked to one another as they received *dona militaria*, military honours, as a result of their roles as *praefecti auxiliorum omnium*, prefects of all the auxiliary units, in the war against the Germans around 74 (PIR<sup>2</sup> D 152, PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1341). They received three crowns, three golden spear shafts and three standards, the expected number of decorations for a legate following a military campaign.<sup>98</sup> “Officers however were not normally rewarded for their courage, but for merely taking part in a campaign; even a civil war could bring them decorations in certain circumstances”.<sup>99</sup> Even with the honorary nature of the *dona militaria*, the brothers Domitii distinguished themselves during the campaign.

As to the year of their first consulship, Jones and Syme propose that both brothers were consul suffecti in c. A.D. 79 because, according to Jones: “With the usual interval of about

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<sup>95</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.4, p.647. Bengt E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani: Senatorische und ritterliche Amtsträger in den römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diokletian*, (Stockholm: Skrifter Utgivna Av Svenska Institutet I Rom, 1996), p.126.

<sup>96</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.7, p.365.

<sup>97</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.7, p.365.

<sup>98</sup> Yann Le Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army*, (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1994), p.62.

<sup>99</sup> Le Bohec, n.98.

thirteen ears, their consulates are better put to ca.79".<sup>100</sup> Groag and Stein, authors of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (PIR<sup>2</sup>), argue for a consulship during the reign of Domitian. Both arguments are possible as the brothers, who were friends of the Flavians, could have been consuls in A.D. 76/77, but they could have also been consuls during the reign of Domitian that dictates a shorter time period in between their consulship and proconsulship.

The proconsulships of both Domitius Lucanus and Tullus occurred during the reign of Domitian. Eck suggests the years A.D. 89/90 for Lucanus and A.D. 90/91 for Tullus. These dates allow for Lucanus' appointment as a legate of Africa during his younger brother's proconsulship. Found in Martial's writings is evidence for the death of Domitius Lucanus, the elder brother, around A.D. 93/94 (Mart., 9.51). Domitius Tullus' career did not stall following the death of his brother as he attained a second consulship in A.D. 98.<sup>101</sup>

Before his death in A.D. 108, Domitius Tullus adopted Domitia Lucilla, his niece, not out of kindness or respect for his brother, but rather as an act of deceit made in order to access her father's wealth (Plin., *Ep.*, 8.18). Following his death, an air of anticipation arose in Rome as its patricians awaited the auction of his abundant collection of statues, antiques and other valuables (Plin., *Ep.*, 8.18). Instead, Domitius Tullus rectified the injustice he had done to his niece and willed the majority of his estate to her and also to his wife and grandchildren (Plin., *Ep.*, 8.18). The will itself has been identified as the *Testamentum Dasumii*, CIL VI, 10229, which was previously assigned to Lucius Dasumius Hadrianus but, due to the discovery of a fragment in 1976, Syme properly identified Domitius Tullus as its author.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> C.P. Jones, "A New Commentary on the Letters of Pliny", *Phoenix*, vol.22, (1968), p.119. Syme, n.31, p.794.

<sup>101</sup> Syme, Ronald, *Roman Papers*, ed. Anthony R. Birley, vol.5, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p.480.

<sup>102</sup> Syme, n.101, pp.479-481.

Both Domitius Lucanus and Domitius Tullus increased Nemausus' prominence in the Roman Empire through their achievements. While Burnand does not place them as Nemausian, this author believes that both brothers were originally from the provincial town because of Sextus Curvius' Nemausian origin and their adoption by another Nemausian, Cn. Domitius Afer. Their political aspirations took them to Rome and they became disconnected from Nemausus. Their disconnection does not alter their origin but rather provides evidence about the possible *déracinement* that existed for provincial senators once they had achieved political success in Rome.

## 5.2 Titus Aurelius Fulvus:

According to the author of the biography of Antoninus Pius, the paternal grandfather of the emperor, Titus Aurelius Fulvus, was born in Nemausus (Scriptores Historiae Augustae, *Ant. Pius*, 1). As to when he was born, that can be calculated to the late 20's-early 30's A.D. by using his appointments as reference points. He became one of the premier members of the senatorial order and allowed both his son and grandson to follow in his footsteps, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

There are several inscriptions that bring to light Aurelius Fulvus' *cursus*. They will be presented in ascending order. The first inscription describes his lowest known office as the legate of Augustus in the *Legio III Gallica*.

NERO CLAUDIUS CAESAR AUG(USTUS) GERMANICUS IMP(ERATOR)  
 PONT(IFEX) MAX(IMUS) TRIB(UNICIA) POT(ESTATE) XI CO(N)S(UL) IIII  
 IMP(ERATOR) VIII PAT(ER) P(ATRIAE) CN(AEO) DOMITIO CORBULONE  
 LEG(ATO) AUG(USTO) PRO PR(AETORE) T(ITO) AURELIO FULVO LEG(ATO)  
 AUG(USTI) LEG(IONIS) III GAL(LICAE)

*Emperor Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, having*

*tribunician power for the 11<sup>th</sup> time, consul four times, held as Imperator nine times, father of the fatherland; For Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo, a Pro-praetorian legate of Augustus, for Titus Aurelius Fulvus, a legate of Augustus of the Legio III Gallica (CIL III, 6741)*

Two other inscriptions have been found (CIL III, 6742 and CIL III, 6742a), which are identical to the above-translated one and have not been included. They were all found at Ziata, modern Charput, in *Armenia Maior*, modern Turkey. Ziata was a fort that was built by the *Legio III Gallica* following Corbulo's orders. CIL III, 6741 is dated by using the titles and offices held by the emperor Nero who held tribunician power for the eleventh time in 63 and for the twelfth time the following year; thus the inscription can be dated to 64. The inclusion of Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo within the inscription improves Aurelius Fulvus' standing within Rome's elite corps of officers because of Corbulo's status as the leading Roman general in the campaign against the Parthians during Nero's reign.

Another aspect of the inscription is the mention of the *Legio III Gallica*. It was most likely raised by Julius Caesar in 48 B.C. and was later stationed in Syria.<sup>103</sup> The legion fought under Corbulo in Armenia and remained in Syria until the Emperor Elagabalus disbanded it in A.D. 218/219 (Tac., *Ann.*, 13.40; *Hist.*, 3.21).<sup>104</sup> On account of Corbulo's mandate in the East, which had granted him *maius imperium*, Aurelius Fulvus, as a legate of Augustus (commander) of the *Legio III Gallica*, was one of his top military aides and advisors. Aurelius Fulvus was able to use his post as *legatus Augusti* to further his senatorial career.

The significance of Aurelius Fulvus' role is strengthened by the fact that he was stationed in Syria instead of Crete or Africa. Syria, although it was not the most important military province in the empire (that distinction would go to the Danubian and Rhineland provinces), was

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<sup>103</sup> Brill's *New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.7, p.364.

<sup>104</sup> Sandys, n.70, p.237.

the most prestigious for three reasons, as suggested by Brian Campbell. Syria was the most civilized area of the “armed provinces” and there was a plenitude of administrative responsibilities as a result. Syria’s geographical location as one of the furthest provinces from Rome did not allow for constant communication with the emperor, and the legate would be expected to make vital decisions without consulting the emperor. The neighbouring Parthian Empire meant that he would also need to be diplomatic in order to deal with this formidable empire. All these reasons made Syria the most prestigious appointment within the Empire.<sup>105</sup> Syria’s added significance was evident when Vespasian successfully took control of the empire in 68 where he, as its governor, had control over a large imperial army along with all of its officers, which he used to defeat the other pretenders to the throne.<sup>106</sup>

Immediately following the death of Nero, the Roman Empire fell into a state of disarray and chaos. Aurelius Fulvus, still in charge of the *Legio III Gallica*, helped Vespasian ascend as Roman Emperor following Otho’s suicide.<sup>107</sup> Once Vespasian became Emperor, he rewarded those who had ensured his victory and this included appointing Titus Aurelius Fulvus to his first consulship. Although no epigraphical or literary evidence exists to specify the year he was consul, it can be deduced that it occurred between A.D. 70-74. This conclusion is based on the known dates of his future appointments as *legatus Augusti* from 75-78 and of his second

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<sup>105</sup> Brian Campbell, “Who were the ‘Viri Militares’?”, *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol.65, (1975), p.26.

<sup>106</sup> The importance of the Eastern Roman Empire was magnified by Diocletian who, after he divided the Empire into four separate entities and reorganized its administration, decided to become the Augusti of the Eastern empire because of its significance when compared to its western counterpart.

<sup>107</sup> The legions of Moesia and Pannonia came under the command of Antonius Primus who defeated Vitellian supporters at Bedriacum and continued unto Rome where he remained until Licinius Mucianus arrived and took command of Rome by order of Vespasian.

consulship in 85. It was also during this same period that Aurelius Fulvus was elevated to the rank of patrician, which cemented his role and status within the senatorial order.<sup>108</sup>

The next known office held by Aurelius Fulvus was as a *legatus Augusti* of Hispania Tarraconensis from 75 to 78 as illustrated by these inscriptions.

- 1.a OLOSSITAN[I] TITUS AURELIUS FULVUS LEGATUS AUGUSTI RUFUS  
LEGATUS AUGUSTI

*The Olossitani, Titus Aurelius Fulvus, a legate of Augustus, Rufus, a legate of Augustus*

- 1.b MATURUS PROQRATOR AUGUSTI CONSILIUM LEGATI LEGATI  
INDICETANORUM [ATVOCATI] INDICETA(NORUM)

*Maturus, the Procurator of Augustus, the advisor of the legate, the legates of the Indictani, the advocates of the Indictani (AE 1952, 122a)*

2. FULVUS LEGATUS AUGUSTI RUFUS LEGATUS AUGUSTI MATURUS  
PROQRATOR AUGUSTI LEGATI ATVOCATI IN[DI]CETANORU[M]

*Fulvus, a legate of Augustus, Rufus, a legate of Augustus, Maturus, a procurator of Augustus, the legates as the advocates of the Indictani (AE 1952, 122b)*

These inscriptions were found at Ampurias, in Hispania Tarraconensis, and describe a lawsuit between the Indictani and Olossitani, two local tribes, while also presenting Aurelius Fulvus as its governor (*legatus Augusti*). His governorship is most likely a result of his loyalty to Vespasian during the tumultuous year of the Four Emperors.

The inscriptions also reveal the chain of command in the province: Aurelius Fulvus as its governor, Rufus as the judicial legate and Maturus as the procurator, the financial officer. Aurelius Fulvus and Rufus were both senators whereas the office of *procurator provinciae* was part of the equestrian *cursus*. Rufus was second in command and his role was to assist Aurelius

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<sup>108</sup> Brian W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, (London: Routledge, 1992), p.52.

Fulvus with all matters within the province. According to Alföldy, Aurelius Fulvus' appointment as governor occurred from 75 to 78, and was a conventional appointment following his first consulship during the early Flavian dynasty.<sup>109</sup>

A few inscriptions have been found denoting Aurelius Fulvus' second consulship, alongside the Emperor Domitian.

1. [DOMITIANUS XI T(ITUS) AURELIUS FUL]VUS II  
[KALENDAS MARTIAS C(AIUS) RUTILIUS GALLICUS II L(UCIUS) VALERIUS  
MESS(ALINUS) II

*Domitian for the eleventh time, Titus Aurelius Fulvus for the second time  
The kalends of March, Gaius Rutilius Gallicus for a second time, Lucius Valerius  
Messalinus for a second time (AE 1940, 92)*

2. IMP(ERATOR) CAESAR DIVI VESPASIANI F(ILIUS) DOMITIANUS AUGUSTUS  
GERMANICUS PONTIFEX MAXIMUX TRIBUNIC(IA) POTESTAT(E) IIII  
IMP(ERATOR) VIII P(ATER) P(ATRIAE) CO(N)SUL XI A(NTE) D(IEM) VIII[I?]  
KAL(ENDAS) MART(IAS) IMP(ERATORE) CAESARE DOMITIANO AUG(USTO)  
GERMANICO XI T(ITO) AURELIO FULVO [II] CO(N)S(ULIBUS)

*The Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, son of the divine Vespasian,  
pontifex maximus, having tribunician power for the fourth time, held as imperator eight  
times, father of the fatherland, consul eleven times; before the ninth day on the kalends of  
March, the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus for an eleventh time and  
Titus Aurelius Fulvus for a second time as consuls (AE 1993, 1788)*

3. DIS MANIBUS GABINIAE FESTAE V(IXIT) A(NNIS) XVIII M(ENSIBUS) IIII  
D(IEBUS) X GABINIA SABINA MATER ET PLAUTIUS FORTUNATUS FILIAE  
PIISIMAE FECERUNT ET SIBI POSTERSIQ(UE) SUIS EXCESSIT X KALENDAS  
FEBRUARIAS IMP(ERATORE DOMITIANO XI T(ITO) AURELIO FULVO  
IT(ERUM) CO(N)S(ULIBUS)

*To the sacred spirits; to Gabinia Festa who lived 19 years, four months and ten days; the  
mother Gabinia Sabia and Plautius Fortunatus made [this] for their most pious daughter  
and for her and their descendants; she died on the tenth day of the kalends of February*

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<sup>109</sup> Alföldy, n.89, pp.19-21.

*when the Emperor Domitian for the eleventh time and Titus Aurelius Fulvus for the second time [were] consuls (AE 1975, 53)*

These denote Aurelius Fulvus' second consulship while it was Domitian's eleventh, and, on account of the records of the *Fasti*, it is possible to date this inscription to A.D. 85.<sup>110</sup> These inscriptions mark Aurelius Fulvus' consulship as being a consul ordinary, which was more prestigious than being a consul suffect.<sup>111</sup> Aurelius Fulvus, by achieving the consulship, especially as consul ordinary, placed his family's name in the historical annals as distinguished and influential.

Our Nemausian senator's second consulship may have come as a result of his previous close proximity to Corbulo whose daughter, Domitia Longina, married the emperor Domitian. This marriage is thought to be a gesture towards the general's former advisors and supporters as it provided the possibility that Corbulo's grandson could one day become Roman Emperor.<sup>112</sup> Aurelius Fulvus' appointments following the formation of the Flavian dynasty were undoubtedly influenced by not only his loyalty during the year of the Four Emperors but also by his previous relationship with Corbulo.

Aurelius Fulvus did not receive any offices or posts from his governorship until his second consulship, a seven year gap. A lack of appointments during the reign of Titus could further the statement that Titus had different supporters than his father but it is important to

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<sup>110</sup> Willy Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imperii Romani*, (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, 1909), p.16.

<sup>111</sup> Ordinary and suffect consuls had the same power but ordinary consuls would have the year named after them. Usually the ordinary consuls would resign from their office after serving for a few months in order to allow the consul suffects to take over and finish the year as consuls. A greater number of men were able to attain the consulship and as such this would create a larger pool from which governors and other officials could be chosen. This was especially crucial during the early Roman Empire when Rome expanded its borders and acquired a plethora of new provinces. Senatorial families established their political dominance by continually increasing the number of consulships they had attained.

<sup>112</sup> John Nicols, *Vespasian and the Partes Flavianaes*, (Weisbaden: Steiner Press, 1978), p.118.

remember that he was only emperor from 79 to 81, a brief period. Aurelius Fulvus had completed a three-year appointment as the governor of Hispania Tarraconensis in 78 and a brief interval between offices cannot be described as anomalous.

At some point late in his career, Aurelius Fulvus became *praefectus urbis*, prefect of the city of Rome. The position was instituted by Augustus in A.D. 13 with the function of serving as the emperor's deputy in Rome (Tac., *Ann.*, 6.11). The *praefectus urbis* had command over the *cohortes urbanae* (urban cohorts), the Roman police force. The office of the Prefect of the City was one of the senior military posts and was one of the most prestigious appointments for a senator. It was Aurelius Fulvus' last office and reaffirmed his status within the Emperor's court. The one question that remains unanswered is when he held the post. Two competing theories suggest either 92 or 97 but neither author provides sufficient evidence to substantiate his claims.<sup>113</sup> Aurelius Fulvus' died shortly thereafter in 100, when Nemausus began cementing its position as a leading town in the Roman Empire.<sup>114</sup>

Aurelius Fulvus' *cursus* began as a *legatus legionis* of the *Legio III Gallica* and he was then promoted as the *legatus Augusti* of Tarraconensis. From this position of influence he attained the consulship for a second time in 85 and became the prefect of the city, the crown jewel of his *cursus*. Questions arise regarding the gaps and missing offices in his *cursus honorum*. There is no mention of preliminary offices such as the military tribuneship or any of the offices of the *vigintiviri*. These offices would have been completed at the beginning of his career and may not have been included due to their lack of prestige. The year of his first consulship is unknown but this author suggests that it occurred in between 70-74 a conclusion based on the fact that

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<sup>113</sup> Syme, n.31, p.793. Bruno Stech, *Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum*, (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912), p.90.

<sup>114</sup> Syme, n.31, p.793.

Aurelius Fulvus was appointed as a *legatus Augusti* of Tarraconensis in 75 and that provincial appointments were usually granted to consuls immediately following their term. Jones places his first appointment to the *fasces* in 69 or 70 but cannot claim this with certitude, considering the multitude of possibilities that exist when examining the *Fasti* from 69 to 74.<sup>115</sup>

During the time that he flourished, Aurelius Fulvus was the most influential and prestigious native of Nemausus, and its leading citizen. Through his completion of the highest senatorial offices and along with his role in the takeover by Vespasian he became one of the highest and most influential men in the Roman Empire by the time of Domitian. “A senior consular of wide experience, [Titus Aurelius Fulvus] would have been an invaluable member of Domitian’s court.”<sup>116</sup> He becomes the personification of how Romanization had occurred in the provinces, completely transforming provincials into true Roman citizens. His status as a provincial did not hinder his progression through the military ranks. Aurelius Fulvus’ *cursus* illustrated the prestige and power that provincials were able to achieve during the early Roman Empire. He established a high standard for the next generation of Nemausian senators to attain in Rome’s innermost social circle.

### **5.2.1 Titus Aurelius Fulvus:**

Titus Aurelius Fulvus had a son, Titus Aurelius Fulvus, who also achieved the highest political honour, as he was consul in 89.<sup>117</sup> Beyond his consulship, his political career remains unknown as ancient authors do not describe his achievements and no inscription has been discovered outlining his *cursus*. It can be inferred that Aurelius Fulvus, having reached the consulship, would have completed a proper *cursus* consisting of at least a preliminary senatorial

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<sup>115</sup> Brian W. Jones, “Titus and Some Flavian Amici”, *Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 1975, p.460.

<sup>116</sup> Jones, n.115, p.52.

<sup>117</sup> Liebenam, n.110, p.17.

office, a quaestorship and a praetorship. His personal life, on the other hand, is recorded in the life of Antoninus Pius in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. He married Arria Fadilla, the daughter of Arrius Antoninus, a consul suffect in 69, who was, according to Crook, part of a group of elder statesmen who ran Rome during the reign of Nerva, and thus created a political alliance between the *Aurelii Fulvii* and the *Arrii Antoninii* (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 1).<sup>118</sup> The result of this marriage was the birth of the future emperor Antoninus Pius whose life will be examined at the end of this chapter. The younger Aurelius Fulvus died shortly after his consulship. His son was very young when this occurred and was subsequently raised by his grandparents.

### **5.2.2 The *Domitii Afri* and the *Aurelii Fulvii*:**

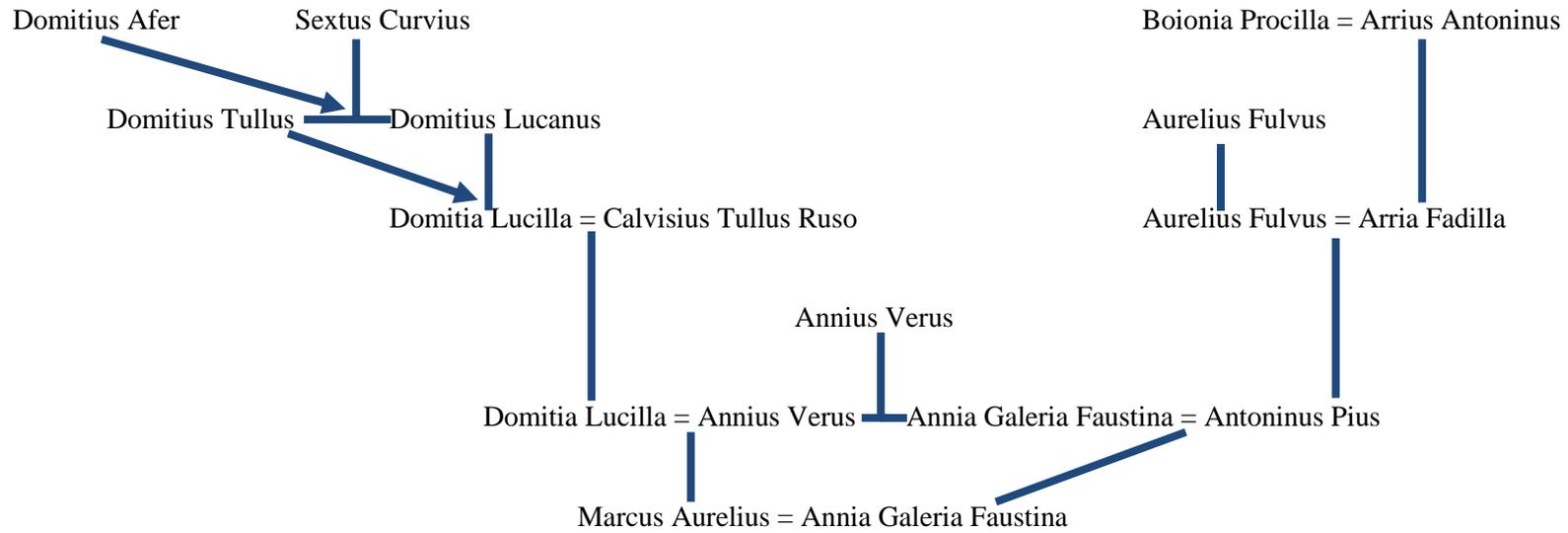
A stemma has been provided, based in part on Syme's *Roman Papers*, that connects both Domitius Afer's family with that of Aurelius Fulvus, and links the latter's descendants with the emperor Marcus Aurelius (p.58).<sup>119</sup> From this stemma it is possible to connect Marcus Annius Verus, father of Marcus Aurelius and husband of the younger Domitia Lucilla (great granddaughter of Domitius Afer), as the brother of Annia Galeria Faustina who married Antoninus Pius. This connects Aurelius Fulvus' grandson with Domitius Afer's great granddaughter's step-sister. The link connecting Domitius Afer and Aurelius Fulvus is rather distant in illustrating Nemausus' continued presence in the Imperial family. It is not to be viewed as an attempt by either family to ensure a provincial or Nemausian presence in Rome but instead as an example of the social status both families had continued to garner following the careers of

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<sup>118</sup> Ronald Syme, "More Narbonensian Senators", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, (1986), p.7. John Crook, *Consilium Principis: Imperial Councils and Counsellors from Augustus to Diocletian*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p.53.

<sup>119</sup> Syme, n.101, pp.544-545.

Domitius Afer and Aurelius Fulvus. Unmentioned in the life of Marcus Aurelius in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Domitius Afer became the maternal great-great-grandfather of the emperor, continuing a Nemausian connection to the imperial family during the late Antonine dynasty.



 : Adoption  
 : Blood line  
 = : Marriage

### 5.3 Aulus Marius Celsus:

Marius Celsus' Nemausian origin is debated since no inscriptions bear his name.

According to the author of *Brill's New Pauly*, Marius Celsus was a legate of the *Legio XV Apollinaris* in 63, fighting against the Parthians. He was then consul in A.D. 69 alongside Arrius Antoninus, the father of Arria Fadilla (AE 1993, 461). After his consulship, he was stationed in Syria as a consular legate during the early reign of Vespasian.<sup>120</sup>

There is one piece of evidence that attracts Aulus Marius Celsus to Nemausus:

POMPEIA TOUTODIVICIS F(ILIA) C(AIO) MARIO C(AIO) F(ILIO) VOL(TINIA)  
CELSO IIII VIR(O) POMPEIA TOUTODIVICIS F(ILIA) SIBI ET VIRO SUO

*Pompeia, the daughter of Toutodivix, for Gaius Marius Celsus, the son of Gaius, of the Voltinia tribe, a quattuorvir, Pompeia, the daughter of Toutodivix [did this] for herself and for her husband (CIL XII ,3252)*

This inscription was found in Nemausus and places Gaius Marius Celsus as a quattuorvir of Nemausus. 'Marius Celsus' is only attested once in all the inscriptions of Gallia Narbonensis and this fact allows this author to strongly suggest his Nemausian origin. Burnand opposes this view based on onomastic similarities.<sup>121</sup> As Burnand states, there are numerous *Marii* spread out in Gallia Narbonensis (thirty-six inscriptions in total in Arelate, Apta Julia, Vasio, Narbo Martius, Vienna and Nemausus), but Burnand's scope is too broad and fails to capitalize on the fact that only one inscription, in Nemausus, bears the cognomen *Celsus*.<sup>122</sup> Syme, in his work on Tacitus, also suggests Marius Celsus Nemausian origin based on the above inscription.<sup>123</sup> Marius Celsus' consulship with Arrius Antoninus will be discussed in an examination of the career of the latter.

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<sup>120</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.8, p.367.

<sup>121</sup> Burnand, n.27, pp.700-701.

<sup>122</sup> Burnand, n.27, pp.700-701.

<sup>123</sup> Syme, n.31, pp.592, 683.

#### 5.4 Gaius Fulvius Lupus Servilianus:

The inscription that identifies a figure named Gaius Fulvius Lupus Servilianus was found at Nemausus and, since the tribal affiliation is that of the Voltinia, we can presume he was from there. The content of the inscription is clear and easily dateable.

C(AIO) FULVIO C(AI) FIL(IO) VO[LT(INIA)] LUPO SERVILIAN(O) ADLECTO  
INTER PRAETOR[IOS] AB IMP(ERATORE) CAESARE AUG(USTO)  
VESPAS[IANO] PRAEFECTO ALAE LONGINIA[NAE] IIII VIR(O) AD AERARIUM  
PONTIFICI PRAEFECTO VIGI[LUM] IULIA D(ECIMI) FIL(IA) CONCES[SA] VIRO

*To Gaius Fulvius Lupus Servilianus, the son of Gaius, of the Voltinia tribe, having been adlected among the ex-praetors by the Emperor Caesar Augustus Vespasian, prefect of the Ala Longiniana, quattuorvir for the treasury, priest, prefect of the fire department, by Julia Concessa the daughter of Decimus, for her husband (CIL XII, 3166)*

Lupus Servilianus, it would seem, enjoyed a very interesting career. He achieved the highest municipal offices possible being a quattuorvir to the treasury, a *pontifex* as well as being a *praefectus vigilum*. The position of the prefect of the guards would have placed him in charge of the local militia and ensured the safety of Nemausus. This appointment is not to be confused with the *praefectus vigilum* in Rome because, according to the inscription, he had not completed a quattuorvirship or any illustrious office that would make him eligible for the *praefectus vigilum* in Rome.<sup>124</sup> The office is comparable to the office of *praefectus urbis* in Rome except on a much smaller scale. Nevertheless, it is one of the most prestigious local offices alongside the quattuorvirship and local *flamen dialis* (priest of Jupiter).

Lupus Servilianus, after being a quattuorvir of the treasury, was appointed as a prefect of the Longinianan wing. His position as *praefectus alae* was to command the cavalry wing that

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<sup>124</sup> The *praefectus vigiles* in Rome was one of the five highest prefectures in Rome that could be attained by an equestrian.

would accompany a legion. The prefect of the wing was the third position in the equestrian military career after the changes that were brought forth by Claudius, as previously discussed. The Longinianan wing, established at the end of Nero's reign, was placed on the *limes* of the Rhine.<sup>125</sup> While its movements during the year of the Four Emperors cannot be determined, it can be surmised that the Longinianan wing joined the pro-Vespasianic legions, alongside Aurelius Fulvus and the *Legio III Gallica*. Since he was *praefectus alae*, it allowed Lupus Servilianus to become adlected within the senatorial order and illustrated the prestige of this prefecture. A lack of appointments between these two offices is surprising because of the difference in responsibility and power a *praefectus alae* had when compared to a quattuorvir of the treasury or a prefect of the guards. The only qualification that could allow for such a high and prestigious appointment is his previous experience as *praefectus vigilum* where he would have commanded and managed militia. An appointment in the local municipality obviously did not carry the same importance when it is compared to other posts of the equestrian military *cursus*. He did not hold any other military posts neither as *tribunatus legionis* nor as *praefectus cohortis*.

The Longinianan Wing was stationed on the Rhine. The *limes* of the Roman Empire had expanded to the Rhine and the Danube during the reign of Augustus through the additions of the Pannonia, Noricum and Rhaetia.<sup>126</sup> The Rhine was one of Rome's most precarious borders because of the strength of the Germanic tribes that had previously wreaked havoc during the end second century B.C. and again in A.D.9 at the Teutoburg Forest.<sup>127</sup> Aemilius Postumus and

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<sup>125</sup> Burnand, n.84, p.283.

<sup>126</sup> Rome's policy on expansion wanted to provide Rome a large area of control that would protect Italy from invasion. It brought its border to easily defensible places such as the Rhine and the Danube.

<sup>127</sup> The Cimbri and Teutones had to be defeated by Marius after several Roman defeats and setbacks and led to Marius' run of five consecutive consulships in order to ensure that the Germanic tribes were defeated. Quinctilius Varus lost three legions in battle and crippled Rome's ability to conquer the Germanic tribes.

Adgennius Macrinus also served on the Rhine but even though a link between service on the Rhine and Nemausus is tempting, further evidence has to emerge to suggest such a pattern. The Rhine, as the most important border during the early Roman Empire, would naturally have a large number of legions serving on its borders, and it is expected that Nemausians were serving on the Rhine.<sup>128</sup>

At the end of his political career, Lupus Servilianus was adlected into the senatorial order. The year he was adlected is not stated in the text but can be surmised to be A.D. 73/74 when Vespasian and Titus, his son, were censors. As discussed above, Lupus Servilianus had completed the most prestigious and highest post of a *militia equestris*, and had nothing left to accomplish in the equestrian order and was thus promoted to the senate. This author believes that his adlection was a reward for his loyalty and service during the year of the Four Emperors. Vespasian, according to Tacitus, elevated his support base during his early reign as a reward for its loyalty but not necessarily on account of its merit (*Hist.*, 2.82).<sup>129</sup> As stated by Suetonius, the senate had been decimated at the end of Nero's reign and new men were needed to fill the vacancies (*Vesp.*, 9.2). The vacancies in the senate provided Vespasian the opportunity to reward his loyal supporters, such as Lupus Servilianus.

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<sup>128</sup> Brill's *New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.7, pp.359-362. At the end of the Augustus' reign there were eight legions stationed near the Rhine and seven near the Danube accounting for fifteen of Rome's twenty-five legions at the time. In contrast, at the beginning of the Severan dynasty there were four legions stationed near the Rhine and twelve near the Danube accounting for sixteen of the thirty-three legions in Rome's army. The Rhine did not hold the same importance as the Danube around A.D. 200 as witnessed by the decreased amount of legions present at its border.

<sup>129</sup> *Multos praefecturis et procurationibus, plerosque senatorii ordinis honore percoluit, egregios viros et mox summa adeptos.* (He distinguished many men with prefectures and procuratorships, and many with the honours of the senatorial order, eminent men who soon had reached the highest ranks.)

Houston, on the other hand, believes that the service and loyalty displayed in 69 cannot be viewed as a fundamental principle in Vespasian's policy of adlection.<sup>130</sup> These commanders were being asked to wait for three years before being rewarded with adlection, an extended period of time to wait, according to Houston. Loyalty displayed in 69 was taken into account when deciding whom to adlect but was not a deciding factor.<sup>131</sup> The adlection of Lupus Servilianus in 73/74 occurred partly because he had supported Vespasian's cause in 69. If he had joined Vitellius' side our Nemausian equestrian-turned-senator would not have enjoyed the same adlection. Lupus Servilianus' adlection in 73/74 was not entirely due to his actions in 69 but perhaps also came as a result of his status within the equestrian order. Waiting until 73/74 before being adlected was not punishment by Vespasian but rather illustrates the fragility of the Roman Empire at that time as Vespasian would have wanted to stabilize his position as Emperor before becoming censor and adlecting his support base within the senatorial order. Houston implies that this three-year period somehow denigrated the actions of men such as Lupus Servilianus. While rewarding his officers and supporters for their actions in 69 would have been important to Vespasian, adlecting equestrians into the senatorial order cannot have been his first priority as he attempted to establish himself as Emperor of the Roman Empire. Vespasian preferred to strengthen his position as emperor by defeating his political opponents and installing himself and his family as the new dynasty of the Roman Empire. Houston's conclusion should not be entirely discarded as he illustrates that actions during the year of the Four Emperors are not the only prerequisite for adlection but that an equestrian's role and previous offices must also be taken into consideration. His research and results concerning the adlection by Vespasian also provides a

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<sup>130</sup> George W. Houston, "Vespasian's Adlection of Men in Senatum", *American Journal of Philology*, vol.98, (1977), p.62.

<sup>131</sup> Houston, n.130, p.63.

useful summary of adlections during that period. Lupus Servilianus was adlected because of his previous service to Vespasian's cause, as he would have chosen individuals who had been loyal to him and who obviously had the necessary prerequisites to enter the senatorial order.

Once adlected into the senatorial order our Nemausian senator was not appointed to any of the order's offices. This could be due to his age, as he had already completed an equestrian *cursus* and may have wanted to retire from political and military life. He also was content with his adlection into this exclusive body and did not strive to accomplish the senatorial *cursus*. He instead provided his descendants with the opportunity to ascend the senatorial order, as he himself was now a senator. There are no known inscriptions that allude to Lupus Servilianus' descendants so no familial connections can be made. Even though Lupus Servilianus never completed a senatorial office, he is included within the senators of Nemausus because of his adlection into the order.

### **5.5 Lucius Aemilius Honoratus:**

Of two senators from Nemausus who, as new men, came to prominence during the reign of Trajan, Lucius Aemilius Honoratus will be covered first. Not recorded in any historical reference, he is remembered in two inscriptions, both of which were found in Nemausus itself.

1. L(UCIO) AEMILIO M(ARCI) F(ILIO) VOL(TINIA) HONORATO III VIR(O)  
CAPITALI Q(UAESTORI) PRO PR(AETORE) PROVINC(IAE) PONTI ET  
BITHYNIAE LEG(ATO) EIUSDEM PROVINC(IAE) AED(ILI) PLEB(IS)  
PR(AETORI) PRAEF(ECTO) FRUMENTI DANDI EX S(ENATUS) C(ONSULTO)  
SACERDOTI FETIALI PROCO(N)S(ULI) PROVINC(IAE) CRETAE ET  
CYRENARUM HIC HOS HONORES BENEFICIO OPTUMI PRINCIP(IS)  
MATURIUS QUAM PER ANNOS PERMITTI SOLET GESSIT

*To Lucius Aemilius Honoratus, the son of Marcus, from the Voltinia tribe, a triumvir of capital sentences, quaestor pro praetor of the province of Pontus and Bithynia, legate*

*of the same province, plebeian aedile, praetor, prefect for the distributing of food by a decree of the Senate, priest of the fetials, proconsul of the province of Crete and Cyrene, this man carried out these honours with the benefit of the best princeps earlier than is accustomed to be allowed, as determined by one's age (CIL XII, 3164)*

2. [L(UCIO) AEMILIO M(ARCI) F(ILIO) VOL(TINIA) HONORATO III VIR(O) CA]PITALI Q(UAESTORI) [PRO PR(AETORE) ITEM LEGATO PRO]VINCIAE PONTI E[T BITHYNIAE] AEDILI PLEB(IS) PRAETO[RI HIC HOS HON]ORES BENEFICIO O[PTUMI PRINCI]PIS MATURIUS QUA[M PER ANNOS PE]RMITTI SOLET GESSI[T] D(ECRETO) D(ECURIONUM)

*To Lucius Aemilius Honoratus, the son of Marcus, from the Voltinia tribe, a triumvir of capital sentences, quaestor pro praetore of the province of Pontus and Bithynia, legate of the same province, plebeian aedile, praetor, this man managed these honours with the benefit of the best princeps which he is accustomed to be allowed earlier than is determined by one's age by a decree of the decurions (CIL XII, 3165a)*

From this evidence, therefore, Aemilius Honoratus' career was very deliberate and followed a chronological approach as he ascended the offices properly, following the *cursus* to the letter. He began his senatorial career as a triumvir of capital offenses, meaning that he was a judge in one of the courts that dealt with capital offenses, that being a preliminary position in the senatorial *cursus* and held for only a year.<sup>132</sup> He then became a Roman financial officer when he was appointed as *quaestor pro praetore* of Pontus and Bithynia. A quaestor's main role was as a financial officer, but he could also assume military and judicial roles such as in the case of our subject. According to Kierdorf, he was a quaestor for a praetor and was his under-secretary, but if the praetor left then Aemilius Honoratus would be placed in command.<sup>133</sup> As a quaestor pro praetore, Aemilius Honoratus had *imperium* (power) to command an army even though he was only a quaestor, a noteworthy addition to his *cursus*.

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<sup>132</sup> Sandys, n.70, p.222.

<sup>133</sup> Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World, n.54, vol.12, p.37.

After serving as quaestor, he became a legate of the same province. Aemilius Honoratus had not been previously appointed to the office and was chosen, according to Eck, because the incoming governor either did not bring legates with him or the ones that he had selected had become sick or had died.<sup>134</sup> He was serving as the interim to the governor because if he had been appointed as Pontus and Bithynia's governor the title of *legatus Augusti* would be expected. Once the governor arrived, he became one of his assistants. Eck added that being promoted from quaestor to legate was uncommon but is nonetheless attested from Vespasian to the end of Trajan's reign, as only eight of seventy-eight legates were quaestors immediately preceding their promotion.<sup>135</sup>

Aemilius Honoratus then became a plebeian aedile and oversaw the public works and their maintenance as well as regulated public festivals. More specifically, he was in charge of plebeian religious festivals, whereas the curule aedile handled the other remaining public festivals. As an office, the aedileship did not hold great significance, as it was an optional step of the *cursus*.<sup>136</sup> The office's significance declined at the end of the Republican period and continued to lose its importance throughout the first two centuries A.D. with many of its functions being transferred to other offices such as that of the Praetorian Prefect, Prefect of the City of Rome and the Prefect of the Watchmen.<sup>137</sup> With many of its functions having been

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<sup>134</sup> Werner Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, (München, C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, (1970), p.45.

<sup>135</sup> Eck, n.134, pp.40-45.

<sup>136</sup> In order for an individual to become a praetor only the quaestorship was required and thus it did not have as much prestige as other posts. The aedileship along with the quaestorship were both considered minor offices in the *cursus*. Quaestors and aediles, during the Republican period, were elected by the Tribal Assembly, which the patrician class could not control. It did not want to allow the plebeians the power to elect the major and most prestigious magistracies (the praetors and consuls). The Centuriate Assembly elected these higher offices during the Republican period, the rich patrician class controlled it and could essentially place its own members in the highest available offices.

<sup>137</sup> Brill's *New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.1, p.169.

transferred to other offices, the plebeian aedileship became an undesirable office within the *cursus* and prompted Augustus to compel individuals to hold the office (Dio Cass., LV, 24).

Following his aedileship, Aemilius Honoratus became a praetor, an official who presided over court cases. Although the office did lose some of its grandeur, it remained important because it led to senior military and administrative appointments.<sup>138</sup> The praetorship was a necessary step for an individual before being appointed as a governor of a province or before being elected as consul. *Legati Augusti*, for the most part, took the military responsibility away from the praetors.

Aemilius Honoratus continued his political career by being appointed as the prefect for the distribution of food, an office that was created by Augustus in 22 B.C. (Suet., *Aug.*, 37). The prefecture was not a popular office, as illustrated by the short time period that officials were coerced to serve (three months compared to the customary year for the majority of offices).<sup>139</sup> According to Syme, Claudius saw this prefecture as a trivial office and abolished it, but Nerva restored it when he became emperor in A.D. 96.<sup>140</sup>

The priesthood of the *fetiales* was essential in Roman diplomacy as the priests from its collegium declared wars and made treaties. The collegium is accounted for since the beginnings of the city of Rome.<sup>141</sup> Aemilius Honoratus' election as a priest incorporates all different aspects of a Roman *cursus*: political, military and religious offices. Although not as prestigious as the flamine, being appointed as a priest of the *fetiales* illustrates the respect that Honoratus had

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<sup>138</sup> Brill's *New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.11, p.773. The praetorship was also the first time that *imperium* was granted to an official in the *cursus honorum* (this does not take into account the special circumstances of a quaestor pro praetore who also was granted *imperium*).

<sup>139</sup> Brill's *New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.11, p.755.

<sup>140</sup> Syme, Ronald, "Superior Suffect Consuls", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, (1985), p.240.

<sup>141</sup> Mary Beard, *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp.20-21.

garnered throughout his career. The priesthood of the *fetiales* was usually given at an early stage of a senator's career, whereas our provincial senator received it in between his praetorship and proconsulship, an indication of his rise to prominence during his career.<sup>142</sup>

The last and most prestigious office that Aemilius Honoratus held was the proconsulship of Crete and Cyrene. Even though he had not been a consul, he was allowed to hold a proconsulship, as he had been a praetor.<sup>143</sup> Crete and Cyrene was a senatorial province, which explains why he was a proconsul and not a *Legatus Augusti*. Aemilius Honoratus was among an elite group of men that attained a proconsulship but was unable to receive one of Rome's more prestigious provincial appointments. Never having attained the consulship may explain why he was appointed to Crete and Cyrene, a province that did not have a permanent legion from Augustus to Septimius Severus.<sup>144</sup> Aemilius Honoratus' career was prestigious and successful, as he attained the praetorship and was subsequently appointed as the proconsul of Crete and Cyrene. He was a Roman senator with an illustrious *cursus* but did not hold an influential presence within the imperial court. As Syme mentions, the proconsulship of Crete and Cyrene is not an auspicious sign for advancing your career, but what he fails to take into account is the possibility that Aemilius Honoratus did not desire a prestigious provincial appointment on the Rhine but rather preferred a peaceful Crete and Cyrene.<sup>145</sup> His appointment as proconsul should be regarded as a positive culmination of his career instead of as a disappointing finish.

Aemilius Honoratus had been honoured with these titles and offices earlier than it was normally permitted according to his age, '*maturius quam per annos permitti*', because Trajan, as

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<sup>142</sup> Sir Ronald Syme, "A Dozen Early Priesthoods", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, (1989), p.244.

<sup>143</sup> Sandys, n.70, p.113. Sandys uses the example of Lucius Burbuleius Optatus (CIL X, 6006) who was also proconsul before attaining the consulship.

<sup>144</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.7, pp.359-362.

<sup>145</sup> Syme, n.142, p.240.

emperor, had the power to bypass the established customs. As one possible reason for his accelerated promotion, Plotina, Trajan's wife, also from Nemausus as will be discussed later, may have pleaded Aemilius Honoratus' case to Trajan. It appears to be a clear case of favoritism and of knowing the right people; that is not to say that Aemilius Honoratus was not a capable magistrate, but he would not have received his appointments earlier than it was permitted according to his age. His close proximity to Plotina and consequently Trajan, may have allowed him to choose Crete and Cyrene as his appointment and then retire from public office once completed. Aemilius Honoratus was a Roman senator who became a proconsul, and while the progression of his career may have been founded on his connection to the wife of Trajan, he nevertheless added to the honour and prestige of his home colony.

## 5.6 Titus Iulius Maximus Manlianus:

The second senator from Nemausus who arose during the reign of Trajan was a man whose name in its simplest form was Titus Iulius Maximus Manlianus but as is evident from the inscriptions below, his full name was not a simple one, to say the least.<sup>146</sup>

1. T(ITO) IULIO SEX(TI) F(ILIO) VOLT(INIA) MAXIMO MA[NLIANO]  
 BROCCO SERVILIAN(O) QUADRON[IO VERO?] L(UCIO) SERVILIO  
 VATIAE CASSIO CAM[ARTI?] LEG(ATO) AUG(USTI) LEG(IONIS) IIII  
 FLAVIAE LEG(ATO) AUG(USTI) LEG(IONIS) I ADIUT[R(ICIS) LEG(ATO)  
 AUG(USTI)] IURIDICO HISP(ANIAE) CITERIOR(IS) TARRACONENS(IS)  
 PR(AETORI) A[ED(ILI) CUR(ULI)(?) Q(UAESTORI)] PROVINCIAE  
 HISP(ANIAE) ULTERIORIS BAETICAE DON[ATO IN] BELLO DACICO  
 CORONIS MURALII ET VALLARI H[ASTA PURA] VEXILLO TRIB(UNO)  
 MIL(ITUM) LEG(IONIS) V MACEDONIC(AE) SEVIRO [EQUITUM]  
 ROM(ANORUM) TURM(AE) I X VIRO STLITIBUS IUDIC[ANDIS]  
 CALAGURRITANI EX HISPANIA CITERIORE PATR[ONO]

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<sup>146</sup> Three inscriptions bear his name: CIL XII, 3167, CIL XVI, 164 and AE 1933, 30. CIL XVI, 164 and AE 1933, 30 do not introduce any appointments or offices and are thus not discussed in detail.

*To Titus Julius Maximus Manlianus Brocchus Servilianus Quadronius Verus Lucius Servilius Vatia Cassius Camars, the son of Sextus, of the Voltinia tribe, a legate of Augustus of Legio III Flavia, a legate of Augustus of Legio I Adiutrix, a legate of Augustus as a judge of Nearer Spain, Tarraconensis, praetor, curule aedile, quaestor of the province of Further Spain, Baetica, having been given in the Dacian war the crown of the wall and to be the first soldier to scale the enemy wall with a headless spear, a standard, a military tribune of legion V Macedonica, a sevir of a squadron of Roman equestrians for the first time, a decimvir of the civil courts, Calagurritani from Nearer Spain dedicated this to their patron (CIL XII, 3167)*

2. IMP(ERATOR) CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F(ILII) NERVA TRAIANUS  
 AUG(USTUS) GERM(ANICUS) DACICUS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS  
 TRIBUNIC(IA) POTESTAT(E) XIII IMP(ERATOR) VI CO(N)S(UL) V P(ATER)  
 P(ATRIAE) EQUITIBUS ET PEDITIBUS QUI MILITANT IN ALIS QUATTUOR  
 ET COHORTIBUS DECEM QUAE APPELLANTUR I FLAVIA AUG  
 BRITANNICA (...) ET SUNT IN PANNONIA INFERIORE SUB T(ITO) IULIO  
 MAXIMO MANLIANO (...) A(NTE) D(IEM) VI NON(AS) IUL(IAS) C(AIO)  
 ERUCIANO SILONE L(UCIO) CATILIO SEVERO CO(N)S(ULIBUS) (...)

*Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, the son of the divine Nerva, pontifex maximus, having tribunician power for the 14th time, held as imperator six times, consul five times, father of the fatherland, for the horsemen and foot soldiers who fought in the four wings and the ten cohorts which they named the [legio] Flavia I Augusta Britannica (...) and [the soldiers] are in Pannonia Inferior under Titus Julius Maximus Manlianus (...) before the sixth day of the nones of July, [when] Gaius Erucianus Silonis and Lucius Catilius Severus [were] consuls (...) (CIL XVI, 164)*

Maximus Manlianus' name with its eleven added *cognomina* is the most striking feature of the first inscription. They refer to his ancestors who included senators named: Brocchus Servilianus, Aulus Quadronius Verus, Lucius Servilius Vatia and Cassius Camars. According to the author of *Brill's New Pauly*, the Servilii were an old Roman patrician family whose name first appears in the fifth century B.C., and the branches of the Vatia and the Isaurici begin to appear in the third century B.C. According to Elvers, there was a Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus who was the grandson of Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, a great Roman general during the

Macedonian Wars.<sup>147</sup> Servilius Vatia Isauricus was a consul in 79 B.C. and adopted the epithet Isauricus following a military victory and triumph.<sup>148</sup> According to Bartels, there was another Publius Servilius Vatia who was consul during Caesar's Civil Wars and achieved a second consulship during Octavian's war against Marcus Antonius.<sup>149</sup> The last known Servilius Vatia, according to Eck, was a senator of praetorian rank who lived a secluded life during the reign of Tiberius.<sup>150</sup> The above-cited *Servilii Vatae* are possible ancestors of our Nemausian Maximus Manlianus and therefore he presents a Roman patrician origin. Another aspect of our senator's name is the presence of both Servilius and Servilianus, indicating that his ancestors were Servilii and then were adopted into a new family. According to Broughton, C. Servilius Brocchus was a military tribune in 49 B.C., but he rejects a connection to Maximus Manlianus on the basis of the order of his names when compared to our senator's.<sup>151</sup> Maximus Manlianus is a descendant from a Roman patrician family that had achieved the consulship during the Republican period.

The combination of Iulius and Maximus could lead one to establish a connection between this man and the earlier Sextus Iulius Maximus, also of Nemausus and discussed on pp.26-29. Chronologically, the end of our Nemausian equestrian's career occurred during the reign of Tiberius whereas our senator's career began during the late first century A.D., and along with the added evidence that Titus Iulius Maximus' father was called Sextus, it allows us to conclude or at least strongly suggest that there was a family relationship here, that Sextus Iulius Maximus was an ancestor (grandfather or great-grandfather) of this senator from the time of Trajan. We can safely put forward from all this evidence that the son or grandson of that Sextus Iulius was

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<sup>147</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.13, p.331

<sup>148</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.13, p.325.

<sup>149</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.13, p.330

<sup>150</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.13, p.333.

<sup>151</sup> T. Robert S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol.2, (New York: American Philological Association, 1952), p.264.

adlected into the Roman senate and that the subsequent generations, in order to improve their social standing or *dignitas* married into prominent Roman or Italian senatorial families. It is interesting that although this man's ancestors included patricians who had been in Rome since its founding, the individual and his family still maintained a strong tie to Nemausus.

Maximus Manlianus began his career as a member of the civil courts, a minor office, which acted as a stepping-stone for future offices in a senatorial *cursus*. Following this office, he became a sevir of one of the equestrian *turmae* (squadron of thirty cavalry). Assuming René Cagnat is correct, the position and title was purely honorary and is attested until the reign of Alexander Severus.<sup>152</sup>

As military tribune of the *Legio V Macedonica*, he would have been stationed in Moesia Inferior when it was divided into two separate provinces in A.D. 86.<sup>153</sup> Being a senator, Maximus Manlianus would have been a *tribunus militum laticlavus*, distinguished from the *tribunus militum angusticlavus* who were of equestrian rank. The office became reserved for ambitious elite young men who served their military post before continuing their political careers. As a military tribune, he was given the power to command troops ranging from praetorian cohorts to auxiliaries.<sup>154</sup> The significance of a *tribunus militum laticlavus* when compared to a *tribunus militum angusticlavus* is simple as there was only one of the former while there were five of the latter per legion.

Under Domitian, Rome engaged in a war against King Decebalus of Dacia, modern Romania, which prompted the division of the province of Moesia into Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior and led to a peace treaty that heavily favored the Dacians as Rome supplied them

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<sup>152</sup> René Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 1964), p.93.

<sup>153</sup> *Cambridge Ancient History*, eds. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin and Andrew Lintott, vol.7, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.365.

<sup>154</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.14, p.903.

with money and military equipment. They eventually would use it against the Romans during Trajan's Dacian wars (Dio Cass., LXVII, 6). The *dona militaria* were given as a result of this first war. Maximus Manlianus' military tribuneship occurred during Domitian's and not Trajan's war against the Dacians because he was the *legatus Augusti iuridico Hispaniae Tarraconensis* from 100-103 during Trajan's First Dacian War (101-102).

As military tribune, he received *dona militaria* for being the first soldier to reach the enemy walls. As tribune, he was eligible to receive at minimum a crown, a spear and a cavalry standard, which could increase to two crowns if he had distinguished himself during the campaign.<sup>155</sup> The number of *dona militaria* presented to soldiers varied depending on the Princeps until the mid-Flavian period when defined gradations were established.<sup>156</sup> Even though these decorations were given regardless of one's military prowess, they were nonetheless an honour to receive and would be viewed favorably when vying for future more prestigious appointments.

Following his military accomplishments, Maximus Manlianus completed a proper *cursus* by becoming the quaestor of Baetica, being elected as an aedile and finally becoming a praetor. It is as the *legatus Augusti iuridico Hispaniae Tarraconensis* that he would have been chosen as the patron of the Calagurritani, the native tribe that erected the inscription in his honour. As the judicial legate in Tarraconensis, his role was to administer all the legal matters as well as support the governor in an administrative role. The completion of Maximus Manlianus' offices just

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<sup>155</sup> Le Bohec, n.98, p.63.

<sup>156</sup> Valerie A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p.146. Hadrian was an exception as he was reserved in giving military awards to both soldiers and officers.

mentioned can be dated during the 90's A.D. because it is known that he was the *legatus Augusti iuridico* from A.D. 100-103.<sup>157</sup>

Maximus Manlianus was appointed as *legatus Augusti* of the *Legio I Adiutrix*, which, according to Campbell, since its inception by Nero, was moved from Spain to Mogontiacum, in Germany to its final destination, implemented by Domitian in 97, of Brigetia in Pannonia.<sup>158</sup> The legion was part of Trajan's Dacian campaigns and was given the title *Pia Fidelis*.<sup>159</sup> As the added title is not mentioned in the inscription, Maximus Manlianus was its legate before and during the Dacian campaigns. He then became a *legatus Augusti* of the *Legio III Flavia*, which was reestablished by Vespasian in 70 and was eventually moved to Moesia Superior around 85 where it was garrisoned at Singidunum until 102.<sup>160</sup> It also participated in Trajan's Dacian wars and remained in Dacia, at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (located next to the former Dacian capital of Sarmizegetusa), until being returned to its former garrison in Moesia Superior by Hadrian.<sup>161</sup>

According to Syme, Maximus Manlianus had command of both legions from 104-108 due to movement of the Danubian legions during the Second Dacian War and the ensuing formation of the new imperial province.<sup>162</sup> Difficulty lies in determining the movement of all thirteen legions that were present during the Dacian Wars and, in particular, where both the *Legio I Adiutrix* and the *Legio III Flavia* were during and after the campaigns in order to determine Maximus Manlianus' role. Syme proposes that the *Legio I Adiutrix* either stayed in Dacia after the wars or was returned to its previous garrison in Brigetia whereas the *Legio III Flavia* stayed

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<sup>157</sup> Alföldy, n.89, p.230.

<sup>158</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.7, p.358.

<sup>159</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.7, p.358.

<sup>160</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.7, pp.364-365.

<sup>161</sup> *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, n.54, vol.7, p.365.

<sup>162</sup> Sir Ronald Syme, "Governors of Pannonia Inferior", *Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, (1965), p.346.

in Dacia following the campaign.<sup>163</sup> Two competing theories exist regarding Maximus Manlianus' movements. As presented in the *Laureae Aquincenses*, Syme stated that Maximus Manlianus relinquished command of the *Legio I Adiutrix* in order to join Decimus Terentius Scaurianus, governor of the newly formed Dacian province, and command the *Legio III Flavia*.<sup>164</sup> According to Fitz, he took the *Legio III Flavia* with him back to Moesia Superior because the other legion, *Legio I Adiutrix*, was assigned to Dacia following the war.<sup>165</sup> Fitz's argument against Maximus Manlianus remaining in Dacia with Scaurianus is centered on his Narbonese origin, specifically Nemausian, and the concern this would have brought the emperor, to have two friends from the same provincial city as the top two officials at the helm of two or three legions in Dacia, as he feared a possible rebellion from them in order to gain power as had previously occurred. Neither theory can be conclusively proved and Maximus Manlianus' movements from 108 to 110 remain uncertain.

Following his legateships, Maximus Manlianus was appointed as the governor of Pannonia Inferior. He succeeded the future emperor Hadrian, who was the current governor, in 110, as illustrated in the second inscription, following Pannonia's division into two separate provinces.<sup>166</sup> He left his governorship in order to become a consul suffect in 112, thus attaining the highest office of the *cursus*. The end of Maximus Manlianus' career remains unknown, although Syme has proposed to identify the 'Maximus' in Dio Cassius as our Maximus Manlianus and would place his death in 116 while fighting against the Parthians in Mesopotamia

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<sup>163</sup> Syme, n.162.

<sup>164</sup> Sir Ronald Syme, "The First Garrison of Trajan's Dacia", *Dissertationes Pannonicae Ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Petro Pazmany Nominatae Budapestiensisi Provenientes: Laureae Aquincenses Memoriae Valentini Kuzsinszky Dicatae I*, (1938), pp.282-283.

<sup>165</sup> J. Fitz, "Legati Augusti pro praetore Pannoniae Inferioris", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol.11, (1963), p.248.

<sup>166</sup> As recorded in the *Fasti Consulares*, Gaius Erucianus Silonis and Lucius Catilius Severus were consul suffects in A.D. 110.

(Dio Cass., LXVIII, 30).<sup>167</sup> Syme's theory is based on the process of elimination whereby Maximus Manlianus is the only remaining consular senator whose name matches to Dio Cassius' description. This author agrees with Syme's theory by placing Maximus Manlianus' probable death in 116 and by basing this claim on the fact that consular senators with the name Maximus were few in number.<sup>168</sup>

Below is a timeline of Maximus Manlianus' career, beginning with his legateship in Tarraconensis:

A.D. 100-103	<i>Legatus Augusti Iuridico Hispaniae Tarraconensis</i>
A.D. 104-108	<i>Legatus Augusti Legio I Adiutrix</i> and <i>Legio III Flavia</i>
A.D. 108-110	Either in Moesia with <i>Legio III Flaviae</i> or in Dacia with Scavianus
A.D. 110-112	Governor of Pannonia Inferior
A.D. 112	Consul Suffect
A.D. 116	Probable death

While Maximus Manlianus stands out at first due to his eleven added cognomina, it is his double legateship of both the *Legio I Adiutrix* and the *Legio III Flavia*, labeled by Syme as 'anomalous', that is intriguing.<sup>169</sup> His double legateship, his governorship of Pannonia Inferior and his consulship place him within Trajan's inner circle of advisors. He was thus one of the Roman Empire's elite senators.

## 5.7 Lucius Pompeius and Pompeia Plotina:

Lucius Pompeius was the father of Pompeia Plotina, the wife of Trajan. We have no evidence at all of his life, it only being through the inscriptions of his daughter's freedmen that we can establish his name (CIL VI, 1878). His origin is assumed to be the same as his

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<sup>167</sup> Syme, n.31, p.650.

<sup>168</sup> Syme, n.162, p.347.

<sup>169</sup> Syme, n.162, p.347.

daughter's; the connection to Nemausus is based on Hadrian's dedication of a basilica to her, not just in Rome, but also in that colony, as recorded in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (SHA, Hadr., 12). While this fact is the only evidence that Pompeia Plotina and her father may have been Nemausians, Hadrian would not have randomly erected a basilica in a provincial town without reason shortly after her death. Nemausus was probably her hometown and further to that point, if she was from Nemausus, her parents must have also been from there. As to this Lucius Pompeius' rank, we again have no concrete evidence, but the fact that his daughter married the son of a Spanish senator allows this author to strongly suggest that he too was a senator. While little can be said about the influence of a man who is not recorded historically, it should be emphasized that as a member of a very select group whose daughter married a senator who later became an Emperor, his influence was probably substantial enough to be included as one of the more influential provincial senators.

While Lucius Pompeius' influence is not completely clear, his daughter's role in Rome is well known through the literary evidence of Dio Cassius, Pliny the Younger and the SHA. As the wife of not just the Emperor but also the Optimus Princeps, she was an integral member of the imperial family. Whether one claims that she greatly influenced policy or decisions or that she meddled in the affairs of the state, she is best known for helping to establish Hadrian as Trajan's successor.<sup>170</sup> The circumstances regarding his adoption by Trajan are suspicious, as the letter that was given to the senate stating Hadrian's adoption was signed by Plotina and not by the emperor himself (Dio Cass., LXIX, 1).<sup>171</sup> The author of the SHA describes Hadrian's ascension to the

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<sup>170</sup> There are three occasions where Plotina directly got involved with the affairs of the state. For more in depth discussion of these events see Burns, Jasper, "Great Imperial Women of Rome: Mothers and Wives of the Caesars", Routledge Press, London, 2007, pp.110-111.

<sup>171</sup> Plotina had previously signed letters for Trajan that were presented to the Senate but in this case suspicion arose because Neratius Priscus was thought to be Trajan's successor (SHA, Hadr., 4).

throne as an usurpation on account of Plotina's meddling and believes that Trajan had chosen Neratius Priscus, a famous jurist and member of Trajan's imperial council, as his successor (SHA, *Hadr.*, 4). It is important to note that Plotina had much to lose if Neratius Priscus had succeeded Trajan rather than Hadrian, as she had forged a strong relationship with Hadrian because he became a dependent of Trajan at the age of ten after his own father died.<sup>172</sup> This author believes that the SHA's characterization of Plotina's role in the succession of Trajan is too strongly worded because a persuasive case can be made that Trajan had chosen Hadrian as his successor and that Plotina did not interfere with the succession.

The relationship between Hadrian and Plotina is exemplified by Dio Cassius who states: “πολλὰ παρ’ ἐμοῦ αἰτήσασα οὐδενὸς ἀπέτυχεν” (Though she asked many things of me (Hadrian), she was rejected in no way) (LXIX, 10). Dio Cassius' statement demonstrates Hadrian's respect for Plotina while it also illustrates the power and influence that the empress had acquired following Trajan's death. The dedication by Hadrian of a basilica in Nemausus following her death in A.D. 122 is another example of their close relationship and respect.

Upon entering Rome, as empress, Plotina said: “τοιαύτη μέντοι ἐνταῦθα ἐσέρχομαι οἷα καὶ ἐξελεῖν βούλομαι.” (I enter here such a woman as I would wish to be when I depart) (Dio. Cass., LXVIII, 5). Dio Cassius believes that Plotina carried herself in such a manner that allowed her to fulfill this brave statement (LXVIII, 5). Although he does not allude to any specific examples he states that: “καὶ οὐ τῶ γε ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς διήγαγεν ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐπιγορίαν σχεῖν” (She conducted herself during the entire reign in such a manner as to incur criticism in no way) (Dio Cass., LXVIII, 5). Pliny, on the other hand, describes her modest attire and hairstyle as examples of her austere lifestyle (Plin., *Pan.*, 83). Even though

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<sup>172</sup> Trajan was Hadrian's uncle and along with Publius Acilius Attianus became his guardian.

Plotina became the most powerful woman in the Roman Empire, she refrained from flaunting a lavish lifestyle.

Nemausian senators in Rome perhaps felt her influence during the beginning of the second century A.D. While Plotina was empress Nemausus had its highest number of senators in Rome. These included: Lucius Aemilius Honoratus, Titus Iulius Maximus Manlianus, Domitius Tullus and the future emperor Antoninus Pius. This author suggests that she played a role in the success of these Nemausian senators, helping them advance their careers. The most obvious case is Aemilius Honoratus who was appointed earlier than was accustomed to according to the established laws. Trajan had the power to circumvent these laws and, at Plotina's urging, he obliged and appointed Aemilius Honoratus to the offices discussed above (pp.64-69). Maximus Manlianus was granted a dual legateship, Domitius Tullus received two consulships and Antoninus Pius climbed the senatorial ranks to reach the consulship in A.D. 120 while Plotina was the leading female figure in the Roman Empire. Plotina's role in their careers is inferred by the fact that all four Nemausian senators achieved the highest offices in the *cursus* during Trajan's reign. A correlation can be inferred between Plotina becoming empress and the abundance of influential Nemausian senators in Rome. Without Plotina, these Nemausian senators may not have attained the same level of prominence in their political and military careers.

## **5.8 Antoninus Pius**

Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus Pius was the grandson of our Nemausian senator Titus Aurelius Fulvus, twice consul and Prefect of the City. He was born at Lanuvium in Latium in A.D. 86, his parents being Titus Aurelius Fulvus, consul in A.D. 89, and Arria Fadilla,

the daughter of Arrius Antoninus (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 1). Both his paternal and maternal grandparents raised him as a result of his father's untimely death (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 1). He married Annia Galeria Faustina (Faustina the Elder) who was the daughter of Marcus Annus Verus, a Spanish senator from Ucubi (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 1; *Marc.*, 1).<sup>173</sup> She bore him two sons and two daughters, one of whom, Annia Galeria Faustina (Faustina the Younger), was betrothed to Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius' successor. Marcus Aurelius was the son of Marcus Annus Verus the Younger and Domitia Lucilla; she was the great-granddaughter of Domitius Afer (see stemma on p.58) (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 1).

Antoninus Pius' ascension as Roman Emperor was similar to that of Tiberius, as both men were initially passed over as successors but eventually became the *princeps* following untimely deaths.<sup>174</sup> Originally Hadrian had selected Lucius Aelius Verus as his successor but he died in A.D. 138 (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 4; *Hadr.*, 23). Being advanced in his years and with his health deteriorating, Hadrian wanted his succession to be predetermined, as he did not want a repeat of the events of A.D. 69 when Rome's generals fought for control of the empire. As a result, Hadrian, after having weighted his options carefully, offered Antoninus Pius the opportunity to become his adopted son and successor. Antoninus Pius was well qualified to become Emperor, as he was one of four men of consular rank chosen to govern Italy during the reign of Hadrian (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 3). He served his first consulship in A.D. 120 and then completed his proconsulship of Asia from A.D. 133-136, and afterwards was included in Hadrian's inner council as one of his trusted advisors (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 3).<sup>175</sup> Antoninus Pius' previous

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<sup>173</sup> The elder Marcus Annus Verus attained the consulship three times (COS 97, II 121, III 126), a rare feat for a senator and an illustration of his standing in Rome.

<sup>174</sup> Augustus finally chose Tiberius after the deaths of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa and his grandsons Lucius and Gaius Caesar.

<sup>175</sup> Liebenam, n.110, p.20.

accomplishments made him an ideal candidate for Hadrian who, when proposing to adopt him, allowed him time to decide if he wanted the responsibilities that came with such an honour (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 4). Antoninus Pius also had to take into account the fact that his adoption by Hadrian included the proviso that he would have to adopt Marcus Antoninus (henceforth referred to as Marcus Aurelius), his nephew, and Lucius Ceionius Commodus (henceforth referred to as Lucius Verus), the son of the above Lucius Aelius Verus as his successors (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 4). Antoninus Pius accepted the offer and following Hadrian's death in 138, he became sole ruler of the Roman Empire.

One of Antoninus Pius' first actions as emperor was to compel the senate to declare his adoptive father a *divus* and have him buried in his own mausoleum in Rome (known today as the Castel Sant' Angelo) (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 5). It was then that Antoninus Pius received the name that he is now remembered as: 'Pius' (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 5). While the author of the SHA provides five different reasons why Antoninus Pius received his surname, according to Birley, the most logical reason was due to his unremitting effort in having his adoptive father deified along with all of his acts ratified (including his own adoption) (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 2).<sup>176</sup> Antoninus Pius' loyalty to Hadrian is also illustrated by the fact that he did not remove any men who previously had been appointed by Hadrian. Three years into his reign, his wife, Annia Galeria Faustina, suddenly died and due to Antoninus Pius' established relationship with the senate, she was honoured with the title of Augusta (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 6). Six years later, in A.D. 147, Antoninus Pius would celebrate the 900<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Rome's foundation with pomp and splendour.

Small rebellions and revolts occurred frequently throughout Antoninus Pius' twenty-two year reign. His legate, Quintus Lollius Urbicus, defeated the Britons in the northern section of

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<sup>176</sup> Anthony R. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius: A Biography*, (New York: Routledge Press, 2000), p.54.

that province in A.D. 141 (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 5). Following Antoninus Pius' orders, he built another wall, one of turf, which was further north than Hadrian's Wall to fend off further disturbances (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 5).<sup>177</sup> In the northern coast of Africa, from Carthage to the Atlantic Ocean, marauders and brigands destabilized the region. Rome dispatched Titus Varius Clemens to defeat the brigands who had built a stronghold in Mauretania Tingitana (Paus., 8,43).<sup>178</sup> Near the end of his reign, revolts in Dacia were sternly defeated and provoked the reorganization of the province into three separate entities known as: Dacia Apulensis, Dacia Porolissensis and Dacia Malvensis.<sup>179</sup> As stated in the *SHA*, smaller rebellions also occurred in Egypt, Achaea and Judaea (*Ant. Pius*, 5). Many rebellions and revolts did take place during Antoninus Pius' reign but were not major uprisings that required the movement of legions and the emperor's presence on the frontier. The one blemish to Antoninus Pius' military policy is that he failed to strengthen and reinforce the northern frontier along the Danube and although serious rebellions were averted, it would be his successor, Marcus Aurelius, who would suffer the consequences.

Antoninus Pius' attachment to Nemausus can be seen in his improvement of the roads in Gallia Narbonensis.<sup>180</sup> Existing roads were improved and new roads were built in order to provide better communication with the province and also to allow a greater flow of goods, thus improving the area's economy. They were not built or improved with the Roman army as its main beneficiary because Roman legions already were stationed on the borders.

When Antoninus Pius felt that his end was near he called together his prefects and close friends and told them that Marcus Aurelius would be his successor (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 12).

Antoninus Pius had grown closer and closer to Marcus Aurelius as the years had passed, which

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<sup>177</sup> Septimius Severus would later replace the turf with stone making it a more defensible position.

<sup>178</sup> E.E. Bryant, *The Reign of Antoninus Pius*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), pp.69-71.

<sup>179</sup> Michael Grant, *The Antonines: The Roman Empire in Transition*, (London:Routledge Press, 1994), p.20.

<sup>180</sup> Bryant, n.178, pp.54-55.

was due in part to the fact that Marcus only left his side twice in a span of twenty-three years (SHA, *Marc.*, 7). Antoninus Pius died on March 7<sup>th</sup>, A.D. 161 at Lorium (Eutr., 8.8). Following his death, according to the author of the *SHA*: “*Decreti etiam sunt omnes honores qui optimis principibus ante delati sunt.*” (All the honours were decreed for him, which had been previously granted to the very best emperors) (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 12). The senate, without any opposition, deified Antoninus Pius, an indication of the relationship he had established with it (SHA, *Ant. Pius*, 12). As the second longest ruler of the Roman Empire, Antoninus Pius ensured that Rome’s borders were defended and allowed the empire to prosper under his watch.

The rise of Antoninus Pius as emperor of the Roman Empire allows this author to suggest an Italican-Nemausian nexus from the reigns of Trajan to Antoninus Pius, a sixty-five year period in which a provincial from those two towns occupied the most prestigious position. Trajan and Hadrian were both from Italica and Antoninus Pius’ ancestors were from Nemausus. The two towns are further connected to one another by Pompeia Plotina’s marriage to Trajan as this marriage united the two leading families of each town in order to form a stronger political presence in Rome. Syme has proposed a Hispano-Narbonensian nexus during the second century A.D. and while both provinces did become highly influential in Rome, this author believes that the scope of his argument can be narrowed further to include only Nemausus and Italica.<sup>181</sup> While other towns were influential, Italica and Nemausus controlled the highest position of the Roman Empire, an indication of their greater significance when compared to other provincial towns. From A.D. 98 until A.D. 180, Rome’s emperor can be connected to either Nemausus or Italica.

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<sup>181</sup> Syme, n.31, pp.603-606.

### 5.9 *Incertus*:

One senator remains to be discussed and is presented as an *incertus* due to his uncertain connection to Nemausus. Arrius Antoninus was mentioned briefly during the examination of Titus Aurelius Fulvus, as he was the father of his wife, Arria Fadilla. Arrius Antoninus married Boionia Procilla whose *gentilicium* is Celtic in origin and presents a connection to the province.<sup>182</sup> Together they had two daughters: Arria Fadilla and Arria Antonina. It is on account of his daughter's marriage to Titus Aurelius Fulvus (pp.55-56) that he is presumed to be Nemausian. According to Syme, provincials from Gallia Narbonensis preferred brides from the same city or region and he uses the marriages of Arria Fadilla and Aurelius Fulvus as well as Boionia Procilla and Arrius Antoninus as his evidence.<sup>183</sup>

Arrius Antoninus achieved his first consulship in A.D. 69, as a consul suffect, alongside Aulus Marius Celsus (p.60), as recorded in the *Fasti Consulares* and AE 1993, 461.<sup>184</sup> The year of his second consulship is uncertain. In the PIR<sup>2</sup>, Groag states that Antoninus was consul for a second time: "*fortasse imperante Nerva*" (probably during [the reign] of Nerva) and is supported by Syme who believes that Arrius Antoninus' second consulship occurred in A.D. 97.<sup>185</sup> Syme's theory is based on the discovery of a fragment of the *Fasti Ostienses* that clarifies some of the consular posts in A.D. 97 and provides a greater likelihood that Antoninus' second consulship was in that year.<sup>186</sup> Jones asserts that Antoninus was an *amicus* of both the Flavians and of Nerva but more importantly that he was a member of Nerva's inner council, Jones places him as a

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<sup>182</sup> Syme, n.31, p.792.

<sup>183</sup> Syme, n.101, p.21.

<sup>184</sup> Liebenam, n.110, p.14.

<sup>185</sup> Sir Ronald Syme, "The Consuls of A.D. 97: Addendum", *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol.44, (1954), p.82.

<sup>186</sup> Syme, n.185.

leading senator of that time period.<sup>187</sup> This author strongly suggests that Arrius Antoninus was a Nemausian on the basis of the three facts discussed above: his consulship alongside Marius Celsus in A.D. 69, his own marriage to Boionia Procilla, a native Celtic woman, and his daughter's marriage to Titus Aurelius Fulvus, consul in A.D. 89.

### **5.10 Conclusions:**

Nemausian senators, beginning with Domitius Afer, were able to forge identities for themselves in the fierce arena of Roman politics in the period from Tiberius until Antoninus Pius. Their appointment to the highest positions is even more surprising if one considers the nature in which Italian Roman senators resisted the inclusion by Claudius of Gauls from the *Tres Galliae* into the senatorial order in A.D. 47. Italian senators thought that their exclusive order would become diluted when provincial senators were added. Provincial senators would also challenge them for the candidacy of the highest offices.<sup>188</sup> The expansion of the senatorial order was necessary as the Roman Empire was constantly increasing its borders and therefore required a greater number of bureaucrats to administer them. Provincials clearly became the main beneficiaries of such expansion and it provided them with the opportunity to pursue the highest political offices.

Another reason why provincial senators, including Nemausus' own, were able to rise to prominence was because provincial senators were needed throughout the empire in order to ensure that Rome's expanded bureaucracy was instituted. Roman Emperors could not always

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<sup>187</sup> Jones, n.115, p.454.

<sup>188</sup> This fear and resentment from the Italian senatorial class was also present when Julius Caesar included Gauls in the senate once he had become *dictator perpetuus*.

trust the established senatorial order and therefore preferred to appoint provincial senators as its leading officers and bureaucrats.

Gnaeus Domitius Afer stands out among his fellow Nemausians, as he was first to reach the consulship. His rise is reminiscent of Cicero's ascent as orator and prosecutor to become a *novus homo* in 63 B.C. Being from Arpinum meant that Cicero had recently acquired his Roman citizenship as a result of the Social War (91-89 B.C.) and would have to break through against the established Roman senators who did not want their order diluted by newcomers. Domitius Afer, also having recently acquired Roman citizenship, fought against the provincial stereotype to become appointed as a consul in A.D. 39. Afer's adoption of Sextus Curvius' two sons continued his legacy to the time of Marcus Aurelius and beyond.

Titus Aurelius Fulvus' prominence is based not only on his two consulships and his Prefecture of the City but also on his family's leading role in Nemausus and in Rome. As discussed above, Aurelius Fulvus' son became consul in A.D. 85 and his grandson became Roman Emperor. It is on account of both his political career and the achievements of his descendants that Titus Aurelius Fulvus is considered to be the most prominent Nemausian. The Aurelii Fulvii present the closest example of a dominant family from Nemausus on account of the above-established relationships.

A determination of Gallia Narbonensis' leading town begins and ends with a comparison between Nemausus and Vienna. According to Burnand's research, Nemausus produced nine senators compared to Vienna's fifteen which, when put together, amounts to 62% of all the senators from Gallia Narbonensis.<sup>189</sup> The next leading town from Gallia Narbonensis is Arelate with four and then Forum Iulii with three. As illustrated in this chapter, this author believes that

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<sup>189</sup> Burnand, n.28, p.391.

Nemausus produced thirteen senators, four more than Burnand, only increasing the dichotomy between Nemausus and Vienna and the other towns in Gallia Narbonensis. Nemausus overpowers Vienna's influence because of its close ties to the imperial family from Trajan until Antoninus Pius. Vienna's influence is not diminished within Gallia Narbonensis and the Roman Empire but rather it illustrates the role that Nemausian senators attained during the reign of the Five Good Emperors. It is these political alliances that propel Nemausus ahead of Vienna and as one of the most important towns during the early Principate.

Nemausian senators' role in the Roman Empire has been exemplified throughout this chapter. As a group, they proved that provincial senators were capable of climbing the political ladder reaching the most prestigious offices. They were not backbenchers in the Curia as they voiced their opinions, but became leaders within the Roman senate and throughout the empire as generals and leaders of the Roman army. Even though they originated from a small provincial town in Gallia Narbonensis, Nemausian senators beginning with Domitius Afer and continuing for the next one hundred and twenty-five years until the death of Antoninus Pius left their mark on the Roman Empire, a distinguished achievement for a town of its provincial stature.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

The purpose of this essay was to examine the Romanization and rise in importance of Nemausus during the early Roman Empire through the investigation of its leading equestrians and senators in order to demonstrate that the once Gallic tribal capital became one of the most important towns within the empire. In order to show Nemausus' climb into the upper echelon of towns, its physical transformations into a true Roman town had to be illustrated through its building program. The political and religious transformations that followed by its conquest by Rome allowed Nemausus to begin producing Roman equestrians and senators. Gallia Narbonensis saw former Gallic tribal capitals rise to prominence during the Principate following Augustus' reorganization of the province, which facilitated its leading citizens' involvement in the Roman bureaucracy. Towns such as Vienna, capital of the Allobroges, Tolosa, capital of the Volcae Tectosages along with the Roman colonies of Narbo Martius, Aquae Sextiae and Arelate integrated within the administration of the Roman Empire. Nemausus, as its neighbours, was Romanized and achieved equal status with towns in the Italian peninsula.

Rivet states that: "Peaceful and fully organized, Narbonensis played little part in the recorded history of the first two centuries A.D."<sup>190</sup> In contrast to Rivet's view, this author believes that Gallia Narbonensis played a significant role in the "recorded history of the first two centuries" as evidenced by the provincial senators in Rome and the prominent roles that they would attain. Other provincial towns in Gallia Narbonensis also greatly impacted the political

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<sup>190</sup> Rivet, n.4, p.89.

world in Rome. These include Forum Iulii, Tolosa, Arelate and most prominently Vienna. As illustrated by Burnand, Gallia Narbonensis produced thirty-nine senators during the first two centuries A.D., a fact that indicates its political presence in Rome.<sup>191</sup>

After the reigns of the Five Good Emperors, Nemausus and Gallia Narbonensis' influence waned due to the origin of the next dynasty whose founding member, Septimius Severus, hailed from Leptis Magna, in modern Libya, and his wife, Julia Domna, from Syria. The strengthening of the borders on the Danube and in the East resulted in the Roman Army acquiring a greater political role. The influence of provincial towns in Gallia Narbonensis, such as Nemausus, diminished. Emperors during the third century, for the most part, distanced themselves from Gallia Narbonensis, Italy and Rome, preferring to stay with their armies, on the *limes* rather than establishing a working relationship with the senate, whose power and significance had diminished considerably by this time. To further exemplify Gallia Narbonensis' decline, there are no known senators who emerge from the province during the third century.<sup>192</sup>

One could ask how evaluating Nemausian senators and equestrians determine the town's importance? These individuals, leading figures, with the offices they attain, had an impact in the Roman military, the senate and even in the courts. It was a matter of combining their individual careers in order to understand their influence as a group. Through the examination of Nemausus' most prominent members, it can be concluded that the provincial town became an important settlement in Gallia Narbonensis and in the Western Roman Empire. It produced a leading Roman orator and great-great grandfather of Marcus Aurelius (Domitius Afer), the grandfather of Antoninus Pius and twice consul (Aurelius Fulvus), Antoninus Pius' father (Aurelius Fulvus),

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<sup>191</sup> Burnand, n.28, pp.387-394.

<sup>192</sup> Burnand, n.28, p.392. While Gallia Narbonensis did not produce any senators, five senators arose from Tres Galliae.

brothers who both became consuls (Domitius Tullus and Domitius Lucanus), a consul during the year of the Four Emperors (Marius Celsus), a proconsul of Crete and Cyrene (Aemilius Honoratus), a consul during Trajan's reign (Maximus Manlianus) and the wife of Trajan and adoptive mother of Hadrian (Pompeia Plotina). The most important aspect to take note of is Nemausus' connection to the imperial family during the dynasty of the Five Good Emperors when three of the five emperors had direct ties to Nemausus and a fourth, Marcus Aurelius, had an indirect tie to the settlement. Trajan and Hadrian are directly tied with Nemausus due to the former's marriage to Plotina and the latter's strong relationship with Plotina.

Evaluating Nemausus' equestrians and senators provide a snapshot of its transformation and importance within the empire. The elites of Nemausus were evaluated, as they are the ones who were able to involve themselves in the political arena. Studying the lives of local, native, plebeian families will not lead to determining Nemausus' political importance. No other methods exist to properly study a town's political significance other than to examine individual careers and to then form conclusions based on those results. In Nemausus' case, the results indicate its prominent role in Gallia Narbonensis and the Western Roman Empire.

As discussed briefly at the end of the previous chapter (pp.82-83), Nemausus formed a nexus with Italica during the end of the first century A.D. and the first half of the second century A.D., further narrowing Syme's theory of a Hispano-Narbonensian nexus. Both provinces produced influential senators during the early Principate. According to Griffin: "War, especially civil war, accelerates social change".<sup>193</sup> The civil wars fought by both Julius Caesar and Caesar Augustus undoubtedly accelerated the process of Romanization for provincials from Hispania and Gallia Narbonensis and also their ascension in the senatorial order. In Hispania, senatorial

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<sup>193</sup> Miriam Griffin, "The Elder Seneca and Spain", *Journal of Roman Studies* 62, (1972): 11.

families such as the Ulpia and Aelia from Italica, the Annii from Ucubi and the Annaei and Dasumii from Corduba became influential at this time whereas in Gallia Narbonensis, the Aurelii and the Domitii from Nemausus, the Valerii from Vienna and the Iulii from Forum Iulii were also influential. Individual Spanish senators were influential during the reign of the Julio-Claudians as witnessed by the role that both Lucius Annaeus Seneca and Sextus Afranius Burrus held during the reign of Nero. Gallia Narbonensis witnessed Decimus Valerius Asiaticus become its first provincial senator in Rome in A.D. 35 as well as saw the rise of the Nemausian orator and prosecutor Gnaeus Domitius Afer.

Following the civil wars during the year of the Four Emperors, Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania continued to produce illustrious senators. These senatorial families became allied to one another by intermarriage in order to create stronger political alliances. The intermarriage of provincial senators from Hispania and Gallia Narbonensis established the groundwork for provincial families to become appointed to the highest offices throughout the Roman Empire. An alliance was established between Nemausus and Italica by the marriage of Pompeia Plotina and Marcus Ulpius Traianus (Trajan). This marriage is the starting point for this author's proposed nexus, as it is on account of this political alliance that Trajan was able to acquire enough influence and power to become Roman Emperor. His marriage to Plotina was not the sole reason why he became Emperor, but his political alliance with Nemausus further placed him as a leading candidate to replace Nerva in A.D. 98. As seen throughout this thesis, Nemausus played a leading role in the history of the Roman Empire during the first two centuries A.D. Producing illustrious senators and a Roman Emperor, Nemausus, in this author's view, was certainly one of the Roman Empire's leading towns.



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