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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF EARLY ROMAN BAETICA

edited by
Simon Keay

with contributions by

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Cities as the basis for supra-provincial promotion: the *equites* of Baetica

Antonio Caballos Rufino

Several studies have analyzed the path followed by those Hispano-Romans who rose to positions of responsibility in managing public affairs of the Roman state. Usually, however, the main focus has been their public office and the rôle that they played at Rome, while their birthplace has mattered only to the extent that it provided a means of establishing their provincial origin. The provincial context of social mobility for state functionaries has generally remained obscure. Studies aimed specifically at analyzing those local factors which determined, made possible, or favoured access to the higher *ordines* and promotion in imperial Roman administration are rare.

The early Romanization, profound acculturation, and high degree of municipalisation of Baetica makes it an exceptional laboratory for studying the processes of promotion. We shall restrict ourselves here to the Early Empire and to those who possessed equestrian rank. There is good reason for this. Whereas senators have been discussed elsewhere,¹ there is still no monographic study of the *equites* of Baetica.² Unlike senators, who were required by the rules and commitments of public office and the administrative demands of the empire to sever ties with their communities of origin, the *equites*, who divided their time between provincial duties and the broader sweep of imperial duties, were under no such obligation.

It is common to explain the success and durability of the Roman social system as resulting from its extension to the provinces in a process of integration whereby many members of the ruling socio-economic élite of the state had their roots in the cities of the empire. This in turn was due to the way in which the Romans understood citizenship. While the imperial system not only esteemed local élites and respected their power, it also favoured the consolidation of their pre-eminence, and integrated them politically by a selective concession of Roman citizenship. Those members of the provincial aristocracies who were favoured with *civitas Romana*

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- 1 C. Castillo García, *Prosopographia Baetica* (Pamplona 1965); ead., "Städte und Personen der Baetica," *ANRW* II.3 (Berlin 1974) 601 ff.; ead., "Los senadores béticos. Relaciones familiares y sociales," *Tituli* 5 (Roma 1982) 465 ff.; ead., "Los senadores de la Bética: onomástica y parentesco," *Gerión* 2 (1984) 239 ff.; A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanorromanos y la romanización de Hispania (siglos I-III)*. I: *Prosopografía* (Écija 1990); id., "La romanización de las ciudades de la Bética y el surgimiento de senadores provinciales," *Revista de Estudios Andaluces* 6 (1986) 13-26; id., "Los senadores de origen hispano durante la República Romana," in J. González (ed.), *Estudios sobre Urso Colonia Iulia Genetiva* (Sevilla 1989) 233-79; id., "Introducción al estudio del origen local de los senadores béticos en el Alto Imperio," *Actas del II Congreso Andaluz de Estudios Clásicos* (Málaga 1988) I, 335-43; id., "Los miembros del Senado de época de Vespasiano originarios de la Provincia Hispania Ulterior Baetica," *Actas del I Coloquio de Historia Antigua en Andalucía* (Córdoba 1993) 499-516. Recently: W. Eck, "Italica, die bätischen Städte und ihr Beitrag zur römischen Reichsaristokratie," in A. Caballos and P. León (edd.), *Italica MMCC. Actas de las Jornadas del 2.200 aniversario de la fundación de Itálica* (Sevilla 1997) 65-86.
 - 2 Cf. A. Caballos, "Los caballeros romanos originarios de la Provincia Hispania Ulterior Bética. Catálogo prosopográfico," *Arqueólogos, historiadores y filólogos. Homenaje a Fernando Gascó* (Kolaios 4, Sevilla 1995) I, 289-343; id., *Los procesos de promoción supraprovincial y el desarrollo de la romanización: los equites de la Bética*, has yet to appear; while the important work of R. Wiegels, *Die römischen Senatoren und Ritter aus den hispanischen Provinzen bis Diokletian. Prosopographie und Herkunft* (Fribourg 1971), which dealt with all of the Spanish provinces, was never published. The following introductory piece is in press: A. Caballos, "Los caballeros romanos originarios de las provincias de Hispania. Un avance," in *Colloque International A.I.E.G.L. L'ordre équestre: histoire d'une aristocratie (II^e s. av. J.-C. - III^e s. ap. J.-C.)* (ColLEFR).

consolidated their primacy in their communities and at the same time strengthened their solidarity with the imperial system, becoming the provincial interlocutors of Roman power.

After obtaining citizenship, the upper socio-economic strata of provincial communities were potentially able to attain the highest supra-local ranks of the Roman hierarchy. Extension of citizenship was followed by the incorporation of some provincials in the upper *ordines*, usually the equestrian, which represented the culmination of a municipal career (*tu officiis municipalibus functus, honore sacerdotii in principibus tuae civitatis conspicuus, ordinis etiam equestris dignitate gradum provincialium supergressus*).³ The result was not unexpected; the equestrian order, like so many other areas of Roman life revitalized by Augustus, duly fulfilled its integrating function. By revitalizing the *ordo equester* and purifying its composition, Augustus aimed at safeguarding the normal development of the administration of public affairs from the judicial, military, economic, and administrative points of view. The incorporation of people from the provinces proved to be a suitable means of filling vacancies in the imperial bureaucracy. It also avoided having recourse to the old aristocracy, who might generate potential conflicts of authority with the imperial power and, on many occasions, were simply reluctant to accept the new system. The respectability of those who made up the *ordo equester* guaranteed the continuity of the senatorial order, and permitted the efficient recruitment of candidates to carry out the highest duties.⁴

However, it does not follow that the body of equestrian officers became, strictly speaking, an aristocracy in the imperial service. It is enough to recall the relatively small number of posts in the administration entrusted to the *equites*⁵ in contrast to their total number.⁶ Those who had served in the army or the judicial *decuriae* were normally re-incorporated into the élite of the urban communities of the empire. Only a minority could have risen to the position of procurator, and, amongst the military, only a third would have followed that route.⁷

The members of the equestrian order exhibited an apparent unity which was the result of having the same status, privileges, honours, the opportunity of filling specific posts, and to display some external symbols of exclusivity. However, one of their specific characteristics was an evident lack of internal homogeneity. The differences between individual members of the *ordo* were quite marked, and not only between the members of the imperial aristocracy (i.e., the prefects and procurators) and those who were part of the urban élites, but also between the different positions granted to equestrian officers in the state administration. In many cases, promotion to the *ordo equester* would not mean beginning a career in the service of the emperor but rather, as has been said elsewhere, it would serve to confirm the *dignitas* of a provincial notable. If reaching equestrian rank would be the normal destiny guaranteed by birth for some,⁸

3 Censorinus, *D.N.* 15.4 (A.D. 238), referring to Q. Caerellius (*PIR*² C 156; see also C 655).

4 Cass. Dio 52.25.6.

5 A total of up to 30 with Augustus, around 110 towards the middle of the 2nd c., and 188 in the 3rd c. (cf. F. Vittinghoff, "Gesellschaft," in W. Fischer, J. A. van Houste, H. Kellenbenz, I. Mießke and F. Vittinghoff (edd.), *Handbuch der europäischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, Bd.1, *Europäische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart 1990) §3, 223 f.).

6 Some 5000 *equites* took part in the *transvectio equitum* with Augustus, according to Dion. Hal. 6.13.4. G. Alföldy (*Römische Sozialgeschichte* [Wiesbaden 1975] 108) has calculated a total figure of some 20,000 *equites* for this same period.

7 H. Devijver, "La *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium*. Contribution à l'histoire sociale et économique du Principat," in T. Hackens and P. Marchetti (edd.), *Histoire économique de l'Antiquité. Bilans et contributions de savants belges présentés dans une réunion interuniversitaire à Anvers* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1987) 107-22.

8 Social origin as a primary factor in differentiation gave rise to expressions such as '*equestri loco*' and the like, which are a manifestation of the interest to become an *eques* on the part of their descendants. Amongst the higher echelon of equestrians, members of the administrative aristocracy, there existed the same kind of social behaviour as amongst the senators. Endogamy and a nexus between the *ordines* are

for others it represented an exceptional personal promotion, with most of these being content to attain the rank through lack of options in carrying out equestrian functions. The original lack of a general title for the *equites*⁹ is a tangible symptom of this lack of cohesion. The *ordo equester* did not have a representative institution, in the way that the senate did for the *clarissimi*; the senate instilled a group consciousness amongst its members, embodied functionality, and articulated the ideology in which all were participants and with which all felt solidarity.

The heterogeneity in the composition and internal structure of the equestrian order and its compartmentalisation into different social strata resulted as much from the expansion of the body of equestrian officers under the empire as from the allocation to it of a varied range of rôles. Furthermore, it was a dynamic social factor, permitting great fluidity in promotion and the strengthening of ruling groups throughout the empire.

The criteria on which promotion to the *ordo* was founded were clear. The essential basis of wealth lay in land, which provided an element of stability that supported Roman ideology, while birth and belonging to an old family were also valued. While their fortune and relationships allowed a small number of local aristocrats to leave the strictly municipal environment, social mobility never occurred on a spectacular scale; it was instead reserved for a limited group of fortunate individuals. Moreover, it was usually a gradual process, protracted over several generations.¹⁰ Nevertheless, because of the marked nature of the phenomenon over time, which led to a certain provincialization of the administration, the possibilities of promotion have, on occasion, been exaggerated.

A second key process in the development of the equestrian order, which is of particular interest to us here, concerns the opening up of their recruitment. This process will be analyzed briefly up to the time when, under the Flavians, the West was fully assimilated into the empire. From the time of the Gracchi in the 2nd c. B.C., membership in the *ordo* resulted from acquisition of high status, as measured by the origins, virtue and wealth of the individual. In order to become an *equus Romanus* it was necessary to be of good birth, lead a dignified life, and have sufficient wealth to be able to devote oneself to public affairs without reserve. From A.D. 23 the wearing of the gold ring — the *ius anulorum aureorum* — was exclusive to equestrians and legally regulated for those who could demonstrate an income of 400,000 sesterces, prove that their father and grandfather were both free-born, and that they had their right to sit in the first 14 rows of the theatre, reserved for the *equites equo publico*, a privilege which was explicit in the *Lex Iulia theatralis*.

The personal income figure gave an individual access to the official title of *equus Romanus e.p.*¹¹ but was not itself sufficient because it did not confer the *dignitas* of the rank. To accede to equestrian rank, granted personally and for life, there were other pre-requisites, such as being free-born and possessing suitable moral qualities. Therefore, neither an *equus* nor his immediate relatives could marry beneath themselves,¹² given that the extension of *dignitas* among

the result. The local context, on the other hand, would be the proper social ambit of the majority of the *equites*.

9 In contrast to the title *clarissimus* for members of the *ordo senatorius*.

10 The number of three generations is key to understanding the processes of promotion, and was so understood by the Romans themselves.

11 The simple title of *equus Romanus* was less technical and also more widely used. As Nicolet has commented ("La titulature des chevaliers romains à l'époque impériale. I. La Gaule Cisalpine [CIL V]," in *Hommages à M. Renard* [Coll. Latomus 58, 1969] 565), it was not only the earliest and most classic, but also the most prestigious.

12 The *dignitas* of the senators (and thus inclusion in the *ordo senatorius*) was inherited by later generations as far as the great-grandson, and from wives to their husbands (S. Demougin, *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens* [ColloFR 108, 1988] 560 f.).

equites was traced back to the grandparents and included collateral relatives.¹³ These requirements were also maintained throughout life, so that a publicly recorded offence or the loss of wealth appropriate to the rank meant the automatic loss of status unless the emperor intervened to restore the fortune.

In the final instance, promotion to the rank of *eques* depended on the imperial will, and meant passing through a rigorous mechanism of selection and control. Even though the imperial will was of key importance in gaining access to the citizenship, adlection or continued membership in the *ordines*, and other important appointments, this was not always exercised speedily nor did it always depend on the personal decision of the emperor. The initiative generally came from governors or other high provincial magistrates, from members of the senate, equestrian procurators, or prefects. These individuals all belonged to what can be described in the terminology of F. Kolb as 'Reichsaristokratie';¹⁴ to which, of course, should be added relatives of the emperor and influential individuals around him. This means that, in a system where the dynamics of power acted freely, personal recommendation was an essential element in all promotion. By finding himself in an environment different from that stated in the public documents of the official ideology, the prosopographer is on much more slippery ground. In principle, the criteria put forward for promotion would be to reward loyalty or specific achievements in the interests of the state, such as military successes, municipal benefaction, or political and financial favours. However, other promotions were not even based on arguments of this kind: they were merely the result of moral pressure exerted by intermediaries. It is here where honesty or ability were complemented by opportunism, resourcefulness, considerations, and all the other 'virtues' required in the game of politics.

The *equites* of Baetica

Both generally as well as in the specific case of Baetica, I have on more than one occasion dealt with the extensive problems caused by limited documentary evidence,¹⁵ and this is no less true for *equites* from this province. The first limitation concerns the total number of cases available for study. Of the 75 people of possible equestrian rank originating in Baetica who have been identified, only 39 will be considered in our analysis — those whose Baetican origin can be documented with a sufficient degree of probability.¹⁶ Obviously we are dealing with a low number compared to the many *Hispani* of equestrian rank who must have existed in antiquity but for whom no records remain. This may partially be the result of chance in the survival of documents. However, there was also an element of unpredictability in generating the epigraphic record, relating both to the personal desire of an *eques* to commemorate his membership of the *ordo equester* and to the generation of sufficient local interest for others to put up inscriptions in their honour. Nevertheless, the sample is large enough to give a coherent picture and to establish trends. There follows a list of known *equites* from the province of Baetica.

13 Neither with a freedwoman of a pimp, or with a procuress, actress or condemned woman (Ulp. 13.1-2; Dig. 23.2.23, 23.2.44.8; see Demougin (ibid.) 574.

14 According to the status groupings of Roman society: F. Kolb, "Sozialgeschichtliche Begriffe und antike Gesellschaft am Beispiel der Hohen Kaiserzeit," *Bericht über die 33. Versammlung deutscher Historiker in Würzburg 1980, Beiheft zu Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* (Stuttgart 1982) 131 f.

15 Apart from the works cited above (n.1), see A. Caballos, "La técnica prosopográfica en la Historia Antigua. Ante la pérdida de Sir Ronald Syme," *Velesia* 7 (1990) 181-99; id., "Problemática y perspectivas de la prosopografía de la provincia de la Bética," in C. González Román (ed.), *La sociedad de la Bética. Contribuciones para su estudio* (Granada 1994) 29-49.

16 Of the remainder, 16 cannot be definitely assigned a Baetican origin, while the equestrian status of 14 remains to be confirmed; there are 6 individuals whose status and category are not completely certain. See Caballos (supra n.2).

EQVITES FROM THE PROVINCE OF BAETICA
(*Equites Provinciae Hispaniae Vltterioris Baeticae orti*)¹⁷

1. CLODIUS TURRINUS
Sen., *Controv.* 10, pr. 16
2. CN. MANLIUS CN.F. PAP.
CIL II 1477 (Astigi)
3. T. MERCELLO PERSINUS MARIUS
CIL II 2226 (Corduba); A. U. Stylow, "Epigrafía romana y paleocristiana de Palma del Río. Córdoba," *Ariadna* 5 (1988) 119 f. and 150 = *Hispania Epigraphica* 2 (1990) 345 = AE 1988 no.739 («La Saetilla», municipal district of Palma del Río, Córdoba)
4. L. (?) ANNAEUS SENECA
Tac., *Ann.* 14.53.5
5. (C. ?) TURRANIUS GRACILIS
Plin., *NH* 3.3; 9.10.2; *IGRom* I 1295 (8 May 7 B.C., Island of Philae, Egypt); AE 1906 no.51 = *IGRom* I 1109 (8 Jan. 4 B.C., Mahemdieh, Egypt); *BGU* 1199.1 (4 June 4 B.C.); *BGU* 1198.1; *BGU* 1139.1 (3 Nov. 5 B.C.); *BGU* 1140.1 (14 Feb. 4 B.C.); *BGU* 1197.11; *PLondon* II 354.1 p.164; *POxy* 1434.15; Tac., *Ann.* 1.7; 11.31; Sen., *Brev. vit.* 20.3
6. ANNAEUS SERENUS
Sen., *Tranq.* 1.10; Tac., *Ann.* 13.13.1; Plin., *NH* 22.96; Sen., *Ep.* 63.14; Mart. 7.45.2, 8.81.11
7. CORNELIUS SENECCIO
Sen., *Ep.* 101.1-4
8. M. (L.?) ANNAEUS MELA
Tac., *Ann.* 16.17.1, 3-5; Suet., *Vita Luc.* p.1 (ed. Endt); Sen., *Controv.* 2, pr. 3
9. L. IUNIUS L.F. GAL. MODERATUS COLUMELLA
CIL IX 235 = *ILS* 2923 (Tarentum, Calabria); Colum., *RR* 10.185; *RR* 2.10.18
10. M. ACILIUS M.F. GAL. SILO
CIL II 1314 (Asido)
11. L. BAEBIUS L.F. SERG. BALBUS
CIL XIV 3515 (Castelmadama; also recorded in CIL VI 3507)
12. L. MANLIUS A.F. A.N. GAL. BOCCHUS
CIL II 2225 = CIL II²/7, 284 (Corduba)
13. D. IUNIUS GAL. MELINUS
CIL II 1955 (Cartima)
14. [..]IUS L.F. GAL. GALLUS
CIL II 5442 (Urso)
15. [L. ?] .. [MI?]NICIUS L.F. L.N. L. PRON. GAL. MENTO MAN.
CIL II 2149a = CIL II²/7, 125 = C. González Román and J. Mangas Manjarrés, *CILA* III.i 369 f., no.329 (from Lopera, not far from Porcuna)
16. IGNOTUS (CIL II 1086)
CIL II 1086 = *ILS* 2712
17. P. POSTUMIUS A.F. PAP. ACILIANUS
CIL II 2213 = *Eph. Epig.* 8.104 = E. Serrano and P. Atencia, *Inscripciones latinas del Museo de Málaga* (Málaga 1981) 18 f., no.11 = S. Dardaine, *ZPE* 91 (1992) 187 = *Hispania Epigraphica* 4 (1994) 279 = CIL II²/7, 285; *IGRom* III 928 (Rhossus, Syria); AE 1939 no.178 (Kheurbat el Bila'as, Syria)
18. P. ACILIUS ATTIANUS
AE 1903 no.325 = CIL XI 7248 = *ILS* 8999 (isle of Elba); CIL XI 2607 (Elba); CIL XIV 3039 (Praeneste); CIL XV 4174; CIL XV 3769; CIL XV 4334; CIL XV 4227;¹⁸ CIL XV 4299;¹⁹ SHA, *Hadr.* 1.4 (as 'Caelius Attianus'), 4.2, 5.5, 5.9, 8.7, 9.3-6, 15.2; Cass. Dio 69.1.2; Zonar. 11.23; Hephaistos of Thebes, *Apotelesmatica* 2.18.56 f.
19. M. CORNELIUS A.F., NOVA[N/T]IUS BAEBIUS BALBUS
CIL II 1614 (Igabrum)
20. Q. CORNELIUS
CIL II 2079 = *ILS* 2713 (Iliberris)

17 For the most complete prosopographic information, see Caballos 1995 (supra n.2). Here we confine ourselves to listing the best-certified Baetican *equites* in chronological order together with the relevant documentation. Subsequent reference will be made by the catalogue numbers.

18 This could also refer to Annius Attianus (cf. G. Chic, *Epigrafía anfórica de la Bética*. II. *Los rótulos pintados sobre ánforas olearias. Consideraciones sobre la annona* [Écija 1988] 91). I am grateful to W. Eck for this information.

19 Ibid.

21. P. FABIVS [...] / C. CLODIVS +[...]
A. U. Stylow, "Apuntes sobre el urbanismo de la Corduba romana," in W. Trillmich and P. Zanker (edd.), *Stadtbild und Ideologie. Die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit* (München 1990) 277 n.75; *CIL II*²/7, 281
22. IGNOTVS (*CIL II* 1979 and Lázaro no.25)
CIL II 1979 = R. Lázaro Pérez, *Inscripciones romanas de Almería* (Almería 1980) 40 no.2, 63 no.25
23. M. CASSIVS M.F. AGRIPPA
CIL II 2212 = *CIL II*²/7, 278 (Corduba)
24. [QUINTIVS?]S Q.F. Q.N. Q.PRON. Q.ABN. GAL. HISPAN[VS]
CIL II 2129 = *ILS* 1404 = C. González Román and J. Mangas, *CILA III.i*, 344 ff., no.299 = *CIL II*²/7, 97 (Obulco)
25. Q. RVTILIVS P.F. GAL. FLACCVS CORNELIVS
J. González Fernández, "Urso: ¿Tribu Sergia o Galeria?," *Estudios sobre Urso Colonia Iulia Genetiva* (Sevilla 1989) 133-36; G. Chic García, "Q. Rutilius Flaccus Cornelianus, un caballero romano en las tierras de Lora del Río," *Revista de Estudios Locales (Lora del Río, Sevilla)* 6 (1995) 7-11
26. M. CALPVRNIVS M.F. GAL. SENECA FABIVS TVRPIO SENTINATIVS
CIL II 1083 = J. González Fernández, *CILA II.i* 241 f., no.292 (Ilipa); *CIL II* 1178 = *ILS* 2736 = J. González, *CILA II.i* 38 ff., no.22 (Hispalis); *CIL II* 1267 = J. González, *CILA I* 148 f., no.81 (Ostur); *CIL XVI* 79 = X 7855 (Tortoli, Sardinia)
27. C. VALERIVS L.F. QUIR. FLORINVS
CIL XIV 2957 (Praeneste)
28. L. VALERIVS L.F. QUIR. PROCVLVS
CIL II 1970 = *ILS* 1341 (Malaca); *CIL II* 1971 (Malaca); *CIL VI* 1002, cf. 31222 = *ILS* 7269; *CIL XIV* 2957 (Praeneste); *BGU* 1038, 11-12,18,27 = M. 240 (prior to 12 May 144); *PMich.* 168 II,6 = *CPL* 153 = *AE* 1939 no.313 (10 June 144); *BGU* 1692,11 = *CPL* 152 (13 Sept. 144); *BGU* 1693, 10 = *CPL* 154 (prior to 17 May 145); *PMich.* 617,13 (where the name does not appear, *10.145); *W.* 27,10 (17 Nov. 145); *PRyl.* 84,8 (1 Aug. 146); *SB* 9360,8 (28 Aug. 146); *SB* 9871,6 (*145/146); *PSI* 1111,5 (145/146); *PCornell* 17,5 (10 March 147); *PHeid.* 75 b,8 = *SP* 312 (11 March 147); *BGU* 378, 5,11 and 28 (15-24 April 147); *POxy.* 171,4 (146/147); *PLondon III* 1159,4, p.112 = *W.* 415 (c. Jan.-Feb. between 144 and 147); *PMich.* 174,1 (c. Jan.-Feb. between 144 and 147); *BGU* 288,1 (10 March between 144 and 147); *POxy.* 1102,7 (17 Nov., between 144 and 147); *PRoss.-Georg.* II 20,1; *PRyl.* 678,12 (he was not yet prefect on 2 Sept. 150); *PThm.* 1 CLXXV, 16 (ex-prefect); *Daris* 26 A II,1 = *PMich.* 447 = *CPL* 121 (ex-prefect)
29. P. POSTVMIVS P.F. PAL. ACILIVS
CIL VII 367 = *RIB* 810 (Maryport); *CIL VII* 388 = *RIB* 833 (Maryport); *CIL VII* 400 = *EphEp* 7.976 = *RIB* 850 (Maryport); *ILS* 3009 = *EphEp* 3.93 = *RIB* 832 (Maryport)
30. C. ROCIVS ROCIVS
J. F. Rodríguez Neila, "Aportaciones epigráficas I," *Habis* 14 (1983) 162-69 = *AE* 1984 no.533 = *CIL II*²/7, 286 (Córdoba)
31. M. VALERIVS M.F. M.N. Q.PRON. GAL. PVLIVS
CIL II 2132 = *ILS* 6908 = *CIL II*²/7, 100 = C. González Román and J. Mangas Manjarrés, *CILA III.i*, p. 350 f., no.303 (honorary inscription from Obulco)
32. IGNOTVS (*AE* 1982 no.632)
C. Dubois, *Bulletin Hispanique* 3 (1901) 219 n.21; cf. L. A. Curchin, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 186, n.5 = *AE* 1982 no.632; L. A. Curchin, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 116, n.11 (Baria, Villaricos, Almería)
33. M. M<E>TTIVS M.F. GAL. MATERNVS
CIL II 1726 (Gades)
34. L. VIBIVS L.F. GAL. TVSCVS AVRELIVS RVFINVS
CIL II 1181 = J. González Fernández, *CILA II.i*, p. 42 f., no.24 (Hispalis)
35. IVNIVS BASSVS MILONIVS
CIL II 2222 = *CIL II*²/7, 283 (Corduba)
36. M'. ACILIVS QUIR. FRONTO
CIL II 2016 (Singilia Barba)
37. M. RVTILIVS COSINIVS M.F. CALVVS (?) (/ GALLVS ?)
A. Caballos Rufino, "Un nuevo procurator Augusti de la Bética," *II Congreso Peninsular de Historia Antiga* (Coimbra 1993) 715-40; id., "Los caballeros romanos..." (supra n.2) 333-36, no.37
38. C. VENAECIVS P.F. VOCONIVS
CIL II 2103 = *CIL II*²/7, 67 = C. González Román and J. Mangas Manjarrés, *CILA III.i*, p. 598 f., no.556 (Urgauo)
39. M. VIBIVS MATERNVS
CIL VI 1410 (referring expressly to L. Fabius Cilo).

For the abbreviations used above at no. 28, see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 262, 265-66, and 289 ff, and *ZPE* 38 (1980) 82. They include, for example, M = Wilcken and Mitteis, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (Berlin 1912); W = Wilcken in Chrestomathie; Daris = S. Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto* (Milan 1964); SP = Edgar and Hunt, *Select papyri* (London 1952-56); *PThm* 1 = Rotolo de Thmuis.

Having identified those individuals that the sources reveal as being beyond all doubt *equites* of Baetica, we shall undertake some comparative analysis.

Obvious though it may be, the basis of recruitment to the *equites* of Baetica was the municipal élite. This was a direct result of the fact that the urban community was the basic organizational element of territory in the Roman world, playing a key rôle in integrating and homogenizing Roman society. The urban community in the western empire had become the chief symbol of political and social development.

The military and political incorporation of the territories which made up Baetica had already been achieved by the end of the Republic. However, full ideological assimilation was limited to the areas nearest to the Baetis and its great urban centres like Corduba, Hispalis or Italica, to which should be added some coastal cities, heirs to strong Punic traditions, as well as the *coloniae* and *municipia* of Caesar, the so-called *propugnacula imperii*, which gradually brought about the cultural transformation of their spheres of influence. Yet the award of municipal status, which generally implied a greater degree of territorial Romanization than required for colonial deductions, was less widespread than *coloniae*.

During the Augustan era, the chronological starting point of our study, Baetica was undergoing a period of great urban expansion. The will to assimilate, the first requisite of the process of promotion, was growing, and began to appear in tangible form once the last embers of effective opposition were definitively extinguished.²⁰ The only possible route for promotion was by assuming Roman rules of behaviour and conforming to Roman ideological models. From Rome's point of view, the birth of this new era was evident in the definitive replacement of a system of extortion by an identification of Roman interests with the development of economic productivity of a non-exploitative kind. This required an exhaustive knowledge of the potential of the territory, as evident in the map of Agrippa at Rome. In Baetica, the foundation of the *colonia* of Astigi was a significant milestone in the desire for control and exploitation of the land. Progressive acculturation continued throughout the Julio-Claudian period. Yet except in rare cases, it had no effect on the set policy of new foundations. In this sense, the vitality of the Augustan era was a thing of the past, and was only ever recaptured during the Flavian period. Its success hinged upon the fulfilment of certain basic conditions, such as achieving a degree of wealth and economic development,²¹ apparent at the end of the Julio-Claudian period. The same can be said of the contemporary spiritual transformations.²²

The concession of Latin rights (*ius Latii*) by Vespasian had an immediate impact in the Domitianic foundations, and brought about a substantial change in the character of Roman Baetica which lasted until the middle of the 3rd c. The definitive triumph of urban life, based on its attraction and benefits, was clear. Although an equilibrium between urban and productive

20 As witnessed by, for example, the famous inscription in the Forum of Augustus (CIL VI 31267) which must be dated to after 2 B.C.: *Imp. Caesari / Augusto p.p. / Hispania Ulterior / Baetica quod / beneficio eius et / perpetua cura / provincia pacata / est. Auri p(ondo) C.* There is little need to cite other kinds of evidence, such as the request by provincials to erect a temple to Tiberius and Livia (Tac., *Ann.* 3.37.1; cf. R. Etienne, *Le culte impérial dans la Péninsule Ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* [Paris 1958] 415 f., and F. B. Marsh, *The reign of Tiberius* [Cambridge 1959²] 174 f.). These matters have been discussed recently in A. Caballos Rufino, "La revolución romana en la Provincia Bética (de las guerras civiles a la paz de Augusto)," *Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía* (Córdoba 1994) 149-57; id., "Un nuevo municipio Flavio en el *conventus Astigitanus*," *Chiron* 23 (1993) 157-69; A. Caballos, W. Eck and F. Fernández, "Nuevas aportaciones al análisis del S.C. de Cn. Pisone Patre," *Homenaje al Prof. Presedo Velo* (Sevilla 1993) 311-23.

21 In which context the regulation of the *annona* by Claudius does not seem inappropriate.

22 Archaeology provides evidence along these lines. One significant index is change in funerary ritual. For example, in the Carmona necropolis, one of the largest and best known in the region, the *hypogaea*, which are symptomatic of native traditions, disappear at the end of the 1st c. A.D.

rural sectors was achieved with the Flavians, this was upset by the further growth of town life, giving rise to well-known repercussions.

One should underline what the sources tell us about the requirements for underwriting upward social mobility. Different sources mention access to the senate. Some of these are of interest because of the spirit in which they are written and because of an ideology which can be extended to other processes of promotion.²³ The criteria of excellence for this kind of promotion are reiterated in surviving documents, of which the *tabula Banasitana*²⁴ is a good example.²⁵ Among the prior conditions cited²⁶ is one that candidates should be *et de primoribus esse popularium suorum, et nostris rebus prom[p]to obsequio fidissimum* — in other words, requirements both social and ideological-political. The system of promotion was pluralistic, making it impossible to try and extrapolate here a general rule for social advancement. However, examples will be given to provide a necessary framework, and to define the possibilities and limitations of promotion to equestrian rank. Meeting the legal requirements, for which sufficient wealth was a necessary prior condition, would bring about the high social status, ideological assimilation, political harmony, and absolute acceptance of the system, which formed its basis.

Rodríguez Neila has analysed the factors which helped to bring about promotion in urban communities, and which are also relevant to supra-provincial promotions.²⁷ It seems appropriate to outline them in order to characterize the personalities and local rôle played by the majority of the *equites*. Aside from economic considerations, personal prestige was a requirement. This was based upon popularity, eloquence, previous experience, honesty, efficiency and *liberalitas* in the management of public affairs and virtues.²⁸ Rodríguez Neila has made an extensive catalogue of the adjectives which define these qualities, distinguishing between those which define an individual's position in the society of a particular town (*virtus, dignitas, honos, gratia, fortis, egregius, frugi, eloquentia*), and those which define political action in the community (*amor-amator-adeffectio, liberalitas-munificentia-splendor*) and in the local *respublica* (*bonitas, honestas-pudor-verecundia, probitas, innocentia, integritas, aequitas, iustitia, benevolentia, industria, modestia* and *utilitas*). The other personal qualities which a candidate for promotion needed were popular support, a prestigious family lineage and a protective family, the *amicitia* and assistance of clients, alliances with other notables, and links to other prestigious people inside and outside the province. Finally, candidates needed the assistance of those with social and political influence, as well as proximity to the

23 This is the case of the *tabula Claudiana* from Lyon (CIL XIII 1668 = ILS 212 = FIRA I, 43, pp. 281-85); and the echo of it in Tac., *Ann.* 11.23. In col. II, 3-4 the requirements thought necessary for those who were to enter the assembly are evident: *omnem florem ubique coloniarum ac municipiorum, bonorum scilicet virorum et locupletium, in hac curia esse voluit*. These qualities have been summarized here as kindness, that is, political loyalty, and a high social esteem guaranteed by the possession of substantial means. In the same sense during the second decade of the 3rd c., Dio Cassius presented the advantages of horizontal permeability for the internal solidity of the Roman state, in that provincials were acquiring an ever greater percentage of responsibilities in the management of public affairs; he based his thesis on the arguments expressed in "Maecenas's speech" (52.19.3).

24 CRAI 1971, 468-90 = *AJPh* 93.2 (1972) 336-40 = *AE* 1971.534.

25 Of relevance here is the first of the documents of the *tabula*, the letter of Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus addressed to the governor of Mauritania Tingitana in 168-69, Coiiedius Maximus, in response to a petition from him agreeing to Roman citizenship for the *zegrensis* Iulianus, to his wife Ziddina and to his children.

26 In the sixth and seventh lines.

27 J. F. Rodríguez Neila, "Elogio público de un magistrado municipal romano," *Habis* 18-19 (1987-88) 407-35; id., "Elecciones municipales en las comunidades romanas," in C. González Román (ed.), *La Bética en su problemática histórica* I (Granada 1991) 237-75.

28 As Cicero said, for public management: *virtus, probitas, integritas in candidato, non linguae volubilitas, non ars, non scientia requiri solet* (Cic., *Planc.* 62).

circles of power in Rome.²⁹ This does not mean that the *equites* necessarily possessed all of the qualities described above. Appearance was the key element, and it is for good reason that the concept of *persona* at Rome alluded to the image that society had of a particular individual. It was the game of politics which ultimately determined the outcome. In a world where recommendation was the essential element necessary for promotion (after proven loyalty to the system), an individual's ability to earn support was as important as capability, honesty, or virtue.

With regard to the actual procedure of admission to equestrian rank, this decision was directly in the hands of the emperor. As there was no numerical limit to equestrian membership, he had greater flexibility in making appointments than he did to increase the number of senators. Demougin has observed that the process became increasingly fluid on account of progressive bureaucratisation in the managing of admission procedures and controlling of the *ordines*. This was a reality by Domitian's reign.

Leur recrutement et leur révision allaient être facilités pour l'empereur par la création des grands bureaux impériaux confiés à des chevaliers, particulièrement le service *a libellis et a censibus*, divisé plus tard en deux ressorts différents. Il enregistrait les demandes d'admission dans l'ordre équestre, disposait des preuves de la qualification censitaire, et transmettait les dossiers à l'empereur, seul maître de la décision finale.³⁰

Pliny the Younger is an invaluable source of knowledge about promotion, since he writes about several cases. One concerns an aspirant to the senatorial order from Hispania Tarraconensis, C. Licinius, C.f., Gal., Marinus Voconius Romanus. This man's friendship with Pliny generated 8 letters which provide valuable information about his promotional path.³¹ We shall concentrate here³² on those qualities which, in Pliny's eyes, would justify his promotion by the emperor:

1. Wealth requirements, following an increase in his capital through inheritance from his father and financial support from his mother.
2. The unconditional support of Pliny.
3. The possession of the appropriate ideological outlook and virtues typical of members of the *ordo*, amongst which *pietas* stands out.
4. An honourable background as a member of an illustrious family.
5. Romanus' closeness to members of the *domus imperatoria*, or at least the empress Plotina.

The second relevant document is *Ep.* 7.22, written to his friend Q. Pompeius Falco, governor of Judaea and legate of *leg. X Fretensis* in 105-8, suffect consul in 108, and proconsul of Asia in 132-34.³³ The aim of this recommendation was to support Cornelius Minicianus'³⁴ wish to obtain a *tribunatus legionis*. Although the text is much briefer than those referring to Licinius Marinus Voconius Romanus, it refers more specifically to the qualities needed for equestrian office. In adducing arguments to justify promotion, Pliny mentions characteristics related to personal qualities and virtues, specifically *dignitas* and *mores*. Both friendship and family relations are shown to be fundamental for the attainment of personal promotion. Cornelius was from a rich and honourable family,³⁵ with a high level of education which was reflected in his oratorical ability. He was also an upright judge and a faithful friend.³⁶

29 Seneca insists upon the *clarae et nobiles amicitiae* which gave rise to the personal promotion of Lucilius (Sen., *Ep.* 19.3).

30 Demougin (*supra* n.12) 188.

31 Plin., *Ep.* 1.5, 2.1, 3.13, 6.15, 6.33, 8.8, 9.7 and 9.28, with a chronology of the beginning of 97 (1.5) until possibly the years 106-8, the date of book 9 (A. N. Sherwin-White, *The letters of Pliny. A historical and social commentary* [Oxford 1966] 39-41).

32 Cf. Caballos 1990 (*supra* n.1) 397-401, no. Incertus 36.

33 For this individual, see Caballos 1990 (*supra* n.1) 255 ff., no. 142.

34 Devijver (*supra* n.7) C 240.

35 The text says *natus splendide*.

36 'Minus miraberis me tam instanter petisse ut in amicum meum conferres tribunatum, cum scieris quis ille

The *equites* of Baetica: promotion

Although these two individuals are valid as theoretical models for the process of promotion, what additional information can be gleaned from Baetica? We shall turn to some of the information from the above catalogue. The table synthesizes the chronological occurrence of equestrian officers from Baetica.³⁷

CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE EQUESTRIAN OFFICERS OF BAETICA

Period	Total no. individuals	Ref. No.	Period	No. individuals	Ref. No.
Augustus to Caligula	4	(1-4)	Hadrian and Antoninus Pius	3	(28-30)
Claudius and Nero	10	(5-14)	2nd c.	7	(31-37)
Flavians to Trajan	8	(15-22)	2nd c. or Severan	2	(38-39)
Trajan and Hadrian	5	(23-27)			

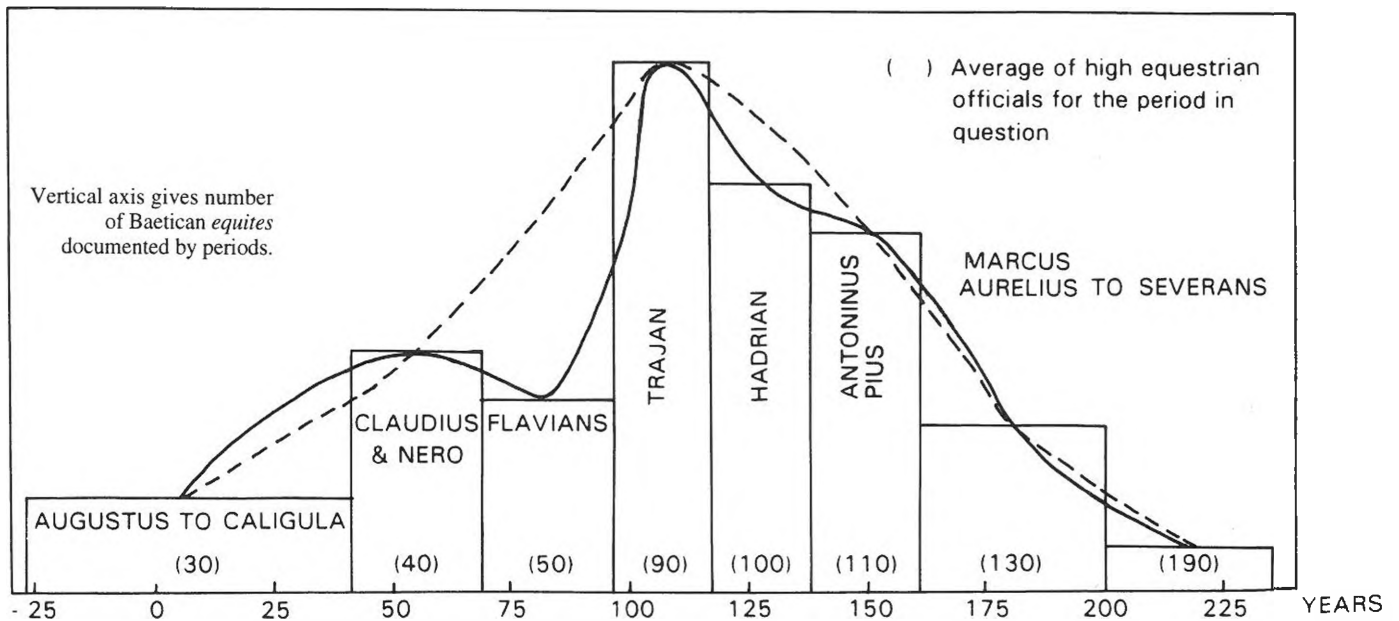


Fig. 1. Development of the number of Baetican *equites*.

These numbers and the graph (fig. 1) speak for themselves. The chronological distribution is similar to that for senators,³⁸ except for an earlier promotion for *equites* and a more abrupt and sudden drop in numbers. These differences are more notable than the apparent ones, and to make a viable comparison a significant corrective coefficient would have to be introduced.³⁹ The stable number of senators stands in contrast to the almost exponential growth in the number of

qualisque. Possum autem iam tibi et nomen indicare et describere ipsum, postquam polliceris. (2) Est Cornelius Minicianus, ornamentum regionis meae seu dignitate seu moribus. Natus splendide abundat facultatibus, amat studia, ut solent pauperes. Idem rectissimus iudex, fortissimus advocatus, amicus fidelissimus. (3) Accepisse te beneficium credes, cum propius inspexeris hominem omnibus honoribus, omnibus titulis (nihil volo elatius de modestissimo viro dicere) parem. Vale.' (Plin., *Ep.* 7.22).

37 The members of the *ordo equester*, unlike senators, were not legally obliged to carry out the functions specifically reserved for them. Consequently it is difficult to establish their chronology. In general terms, information from the *cursus* is chronologically significant only in the case of prefects and procurators, who were also members of the imperial aristocracy.

38 Regarding these, see Caballos 1986 (supra n.1) 13-26.

39 In fig. 1, for ease of reference, the average number of existing prefects and procurators for each period is recorded within brackets.

equestrian functionaries, which increases the value that the number of Baetican equestrians has with respect to the total for the period. Relating these tendencies to the economic development of the province allows conclusions to be drawn.

There is only one occasion, and even then it is indirect, when we have a statement about what the beneficiary felt with regard to his promotion to the *ordines*: it is the speech which Tacitus put into the mouth of Seneca when the latter saw his situation threatened on the death of Burrus and decided to request retirement from the emperor. Although one should allow for rhetorical licence in the historian's account, it is nevertheless informative of how Tacitus' circle felt about this type of rapid ascent and the routes which made it possible.⁴⁰

But greater information can be extracted from the documentation presented here. The following table comprises a list of criteria which played a key rôle in the promotion of Baetican *equites* listed above.⁴¹ The list includes only known information for each of the *equites*, and does not preclude them from possessing the other requirements, such as wealth, or the existence of other more profound and different motives, which remain unknown to the historian.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE PROMOTION OF BAETICAN *EQVITES*

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1 | Friend of the rhetor Seneca./ Probable appointment of his father to the equestrian order./ <i>Et pecuniam .. et dignitatem quam primam in provincia Hispania habuit./ Patre splendidissimo, avo divi Iuli (Caesar) hospite./</i> Famed rhetor at Rome. |
| 2 | <i>Tribunus cohortis praetoriae, praef. cohortium.</i> |
| 4 | His sister-in-law was married to a <i>praefectus Aegypti</i> . |
| 6 | Friendship (kinship?) with the philosopher Seneca./ Recommendation from Seneca./ Services to Nero: recompensed with the post of <i>praef. vigilum</i> . |
| 7 | Friendship (kinship?) with Seneca./ <i>Publicanus</i> ./ (Ancestor of the Antonine consul Q. Cornelius Senecio Annianus?). |
| 8 | Son of the rhetor Seneca./ Married to Acilia, daughter of the Cordovan orator Acilius Lucanus./ Family transferred to Rome./ <i>Eques Romanus dignitate senatoria</i> . |
| 9 | His uncle owned large estates near Gades./ Probable kinship to Moderatus of Gades./ Established in Rome./ <i>Trib. mil.</i> |
| 10 | <i>Praef. cohortis.</i> |
| 11 | <i>Tibur</i> ./ <i>Trib. mil.</i> (x 2). |
| 12 | <i>Trib. mil.</i> / A probable relative is documented at Rome. |
| 13 | <i>Eques Romanus ex civitate Cartimitana primus factus.</i> |
| 14 | <i>Praef. fabrorum(?)</i> . |
| 15 | <i>Praef. fabrum(?)</i> . |
| 16 | <i>Tres militiae</i> , with military decorations. |
| 17 | Start of his long career as <i>praef. coh.</i> |
| 18 | From the circle of the Ulpian and Aelii./ Estates in Baetica. |
| 19 | <i>Praef. fabrum + trib. mil.</i> |
| 20 | Ancestor of the Cornelii Anullini, linked to the Valerii Vegeti (Iliberris)./ <i>Iudex de V decuriis</i> + military posts. |
| 21 | <i>Praef. fabrum + praef. coh.</i> |
| 22 | <i>Praef. fabrum + praef. coh.</i> |
| 23 | Close relative of homonym (contemporary: beginning of 2nd c.?)./ <i>procos. Baeticae</i> in 128/9 and <i>cos. suff.</i> 130. |
| 24 | <i>Praef. coh./ Comes et adsessor</i> (x 2). |
| 25 | <i>Trib. mil.</i> |
| 26 | <i>P.p.</i> |
| 27 | Brother of a <i>procurator</i> with a long and prestigious career./ His brother dedicated a funerary inscription to him at Malaca./ Sister married to a prestigious <i>eques</i> with a long military and civil career ?/ <i>Praef. coh., trib. mil.</i> |

40 Tac., *Ann.* 14.53.

41 This is rather unusual, but is a compromise solution because of a lack of available space.

- 28 Sister married to a prestigious *equus* with a long military and civil career? / Begins his career in the military sphere, followed by many prestigious administrative posts.
- 29 *Praef. coh.*
- 30 Olive-oil producer? / Military career.
- 31 *Praef. fabrum(?)*.
- 33 *Trib. mil.*
- 34 *Praef. coh.*
- 35 *Praef. fabrum(?)*.
- 36 *Praef. fabrum.*
- 38 *Tres militiae.*
- 39 *A militiis: candidatus* of the *vir consularis* L. Fabius Cilo.

On only one occasion is the equestrian rank of the parent remembered; there is only a single mention of an individual's inclusion in the judicial *decurias*; and only exceptionally is education, especially oratorical ability, emphasized. However, lack of education is not significant, since this must have been a natural precondition for attaining promotion. If the sources were encouraged to record this piece of information only for those who achieved a grade of excellence, there is yet sufficient evidence for the rôle that cultural formation played amongst the high élite.⁴² On the other hand, the sources make it clear that both wealth and dignity or prestige in provincial communities acted as the letter of introduction for many *equites* from Baetica,⁴³ whilst holding office in local magistracies or provincial priesthoods proved the point for others.⁴⁴

Emigration to Rome had clearly acted as a springboard for a few,⁴⁵ whilst service in the army was the usual route for attaining supra-provincial office.⁴⁶ But the attainment of personal promotion was difficult without patrons. Links with powerful and prestigious people, proximity to the imperial court, having relatives or protectors in Rome or the support of higher magistrates shown, for example, by appointment to the *praefectura fabrum*, are signs of the rôle of patronage,⁴⁷ the effectiveness of which has been clearly stated.⁴⁸

A related case is that of [Quintiu?]'s Hispanus, who was twice *comes et adsector* of higher Roman magistrates.⁴⁹ The example provided by relatives of the Senecas or members of their circle who took advantage of this situation to raise themselves socially is also illustrative.⁵⁰ If the analysis is extended to include the relatives of those who enjoyed promotion and their statements of gratitude, as well as possible or actual protectors, the panorama becomes still more obvious.⁵¹ The fact that a much higher percentage of *equites* comes from Corduba, seat of the provincial administration and residence of high-ranking magistrates and civil officials, than from other towns in Baetica, is directly related to the effectiveness of patronage.

The *equites* of Baetica: places of origin

The study of the places of origin contributes to the analysis of promotion to supra-provincial social ranks and, by extension, to the Romanization of Baetica. Its importance to the period in

42 On this theme, see F. R. Stanley jr, "Roman education: observations on the Iberian experience," *REA* 93 (1991) 299-320.

43 For example, nos. 1, 7, 9, 13, 18 and 29.

44 Nos. 2-3, 10, 12, 14-15, 19, 22, 24, 31-32, 34-35.

45 For example, nos. 2, 8 and 9.

46 In a majority of cases: nos. 9-11, 16-17, 19-22, 24-30, 33-34, 38-39.

47 Nos. 1, 4, 6, 12, 14-15, 18-19, 21-24, 27-28, 31, 35-36 and 39.

48 M. Vibius Maternus (no. 39), *candidatus* of the consular L. Fabius Cilo.

49 No. 24.

50 Nos. 1, 6-8.

51 As an example, it is sufficient to mention the case of Acilia Plecusa (cf. no. 36).

question can be gauged by the fact that extending the adlection of equestrian officers to the provinces depended largely upon the will of the emperor. Thus the origins of *equites* have naturally aroused interest.⁵² The military officers of equestrian rank are adequately represented, and the results of analyzing them can be applied to the rest of the *ordo* without great difficulty. On the current evidence, it has been established that in the first stage,⁵³ to the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, Italians made up the overwhelming majority of the group (70%),⁵⁴ in contrast to 30% who had provincial origins. Amongst the provincials, 18% were from the West (6.3% from Hispania, 6% from Narbonensis, only 0.75% from Africa), and 11.9% were from the East (7.3% from Asia and Pisidia).

Subsequently, there was a significant departure from this pattern. Italy lost its dominance as the principal source of equestrians, and this became more pronounced with the passage of time. This was compensated by an increase from the western provinces, albeit with fluctuating percentages from each province. Italy largely lost its pre-eminence in the Flavian period, though some balance was maintained (45.5% of equestrians from Italy compared to 54.5% from the provinces). Amongst the provincials, those from the West comprised a clear majority (38.5%), with *Hispani* being dominant (17%), those from Narbonensis rising (9.8%), and Africans increasing though still a small minority (2.6%). Those from the East made up 16%, half coming from Asia and Pisidia but with other eastern regions contributing more than before.

Between Trajan and the Antonines, the proportion of equestrians from Italy fell to 37.3%. By contrast, those from the western provinces rose to 40%. Of these, 5.6% came from Narbonensis, 10% each from Africa and the Hispaniae. Those from the East made up 22.7%, with a more homogeneous distribution amongst the different regions (7.3% from Asia and Pisidia, 4.2% from Syria, 4.2% from Egypt). Between the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus the percentage of Italians continued to decline (32.4%), while equestrians from the provinces increased (67.6%). Those from the West continued to increase (46%), even though the distribution amongst different provinces was very different from earlier periods: Narbonensis and Hispaniae fell (2% and 3.6% respectively), while Africa was then dominant (23%). One should also note for the first time a small but significant percentage of equestrian officers from the Danubian provinces (11.5%). Those from the East maintained their share (21.6%, of which 5% from Syria and 5.8% from Asia). Finally, from Caracalla to Gallienus, the Italians fell to 21%, against 79% for provincials. A little over half of all known equestrians were from the West (55.8%), but Narbonensis had dropped to a mere 1% and Tarraconensis had fallen to 2.5% of these; Dacia was also minimal (2%). In contrast, the province of Africa achieved a higher percentage (23.85%) than the whole of the East (23.35%).

The above analysis suggests that imperial decisions about adlection to the *ordo equester* were not arbitrary. Policy of appointing of provincial *equites* was evidently the logical consequence of a long process, which relied upon the ideological assimilation which resulted from the advances of Romanization, a sign of which was municipalisation. Thus, in the words of Devijver:

A correlation between the urbanization of a territory and the supply of equestrian officers by that territory is therefore patently clear. It has been shown that it was indeed the municipal élite that as a result of its *paideia*, its wealth, its *liberalitas* not only served as the motor of Romanization, but also constituted the reservoir from which the *ordo equester* was replenished, particularly in the 1st and 2nd centuries.⁵⁵

52 H. Devijver, "The geographical origins of equestrian officers," *BullInstArchLon* 26 (1989) 107-26; id., "Equestrian officers from North Africa," *L'Africa romana* VIII (Sassari 1991) 127-201; Demougin (supra n.12) 503-52, only within the Julio-Claudian period.

53 This is based fundamentally on Devijver in *Africa romana* VIII.

54 From this point onwards the percentages refer to the total number of documented cases.

55 Devijver, *Africa romana* VIII, 183. The same thing is apparent to an even greater extent in the case of sena-

For Baetica I summarise in the form of tables the primary data from the catalogue of those *equites* for whom a Baetican origin seems beyond reasonable doubt. In the first, the origin of each of the equestrian officers is given (together with an indication of its degree of certainty), in chronological order:

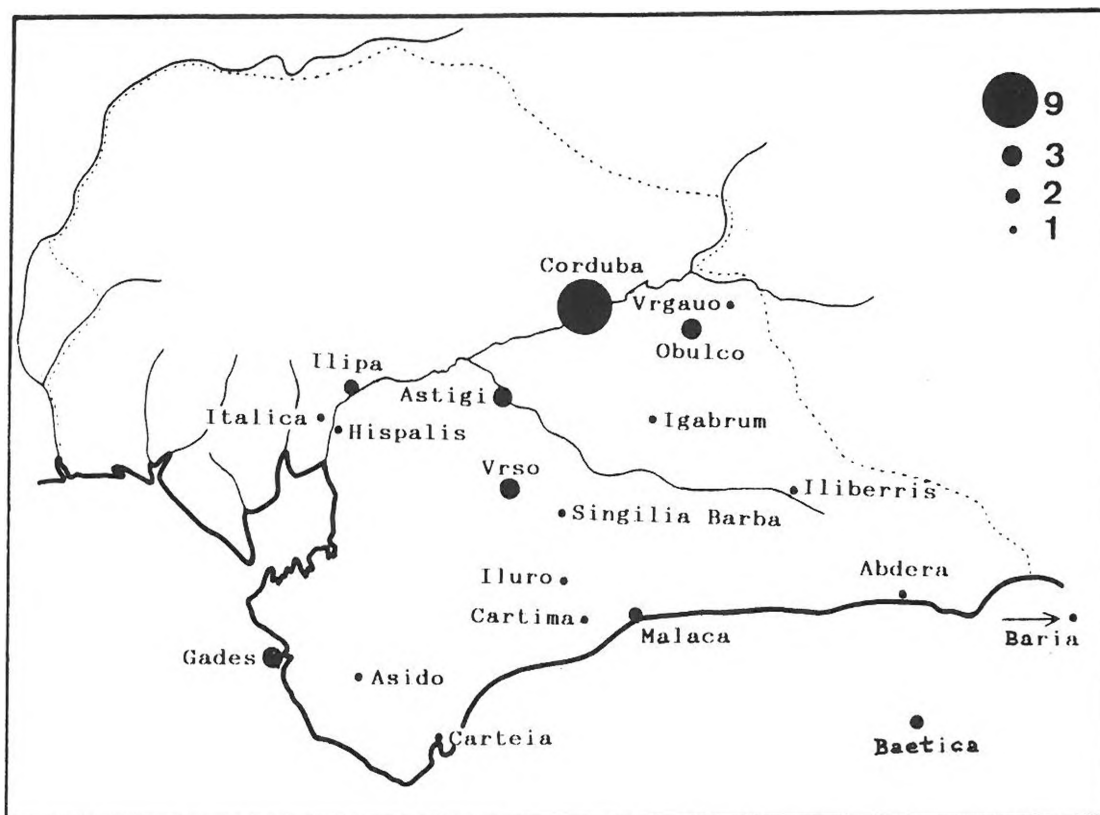


Fig. 2. Local distribution of Baetican *equites*.

ORIGIN AND CHRONOLOGY OF BAETICAN *EQVITES*

No.	Origin	Chronology
1	Hispania, Baetica?	Augustus
2	Astigi	Augustus-Tiberius
3	Corduba	beginning of 1st c. (paleography)
4	Corduba	Augustus-Caligula (58-53 B.C., +39?)
5	iuxta fretum Gaditanum (Gades?)	Augustus-Claudius
6	Corduba?	Nero (plausibly +62)
7	Carteia?	Tiberius-Nero (+ a little before Aug. 64)
8	Corduba	Claudius-Nero (+66)
9	Gades	Tiberius/Claudius-Nero
10	Asido	first part of 1st c. A.D.
11	Hispania?, Baetica?	1st c. A.D.
12	Corduba	first half of 1st c. A.D. (Devijver: prior to Claudius)
13	Cartima (<i>e.R. ex civitate Cartimitana primus factus</i>)	Claudius/Nero
14	Urso?	1st c. A.D. (paleography)

tors. See Caballos, "La romanización ..." (supra n.1).

15	Obulco	second half of 1st c. A.D.
16	Ilipa	Vespasian–Trajan
17	Astigi	(Vespasian?)/Domitian–Trajan
18	Italica	(born during the reign of Nero) career under Vespasian–Hadrian
19	Igabrum?	possibly transition 1st-2nd c. A.D. (or end of 2nd c.?)
20	Iliberris	end 1st/beginning 2nd c.
21	Corduba	end 1st/beginning 2nd c.
22	Abdera	first half of 2nd c.
23	Corduba	beginning of the 2nd c.
24	Obulco	(not prior to the Flavians) 2nd c.
25	Urso	between the Flavians and Hadrian (closer to the latter)
26	Baetica, Ilipa	possibly Trajan–Hadrian
27	Malaca	circa Trajan–Hadrian
28	Malaca?	Trajan–Antoninus Pius
29	Astigi (Corduba)	Antoninus Pius
30	Baetica, Corduba?	second half of the 2nd c. (documented in 149)
31	Obulco	mid 1st to end 2nd c. (paleography), and not prior to the Flavians (barred number)
32	Baria	1st or 2nd c. (paleography)
33	Gades	2nd c.
34	Hispalis	2nd c. (3 <i>cognomina</i>)
35	Corduba	mid or second half of the 2nd c.
36	Singilia Barba	second half of 2nd c.
37	Urso?	second half of the 2nd c.: Marcus Aurelius
38	Urgauo	2nd c. (typology) or later (lacking tribe)
39	Ilurensis (Iluro, Baetica?)	Septimius Severus (documented in 204)

The next table summarizes the previous data, but is arranged by place of origin, beginning with those towns from which a large number of people originate. Even when the complex casuistry cannot be included, or an accurate gradation in terms of the certainty of origin shown, at least two categories can be established: those whose place of origin is known with reasonable precision, and others whose adscription to a particular locality within the province is somewhat more doubtful. In some cases it is not possible to be more specific than to suggest that a Baetican origin was probable.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF *EQVITES* BY TOWN OF ORIGIN

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Certain</i>	<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Locality</i>	<i>Certain</i>	<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>Total</i>
Corduba	7	2	9	Cartima	1	-	1
Astigi	2	1	3	Hispalis	1	-	1
Gades	2	1	3	Iliberris	1	-	1
Urso	1	2	3	Italica	1	-	1
Obulco	1	2	3	Singilia Barba	1	-	1
Ilipa	1	1	2	Urgauo	1	-	1
Malaca	1	1	2	Carteia	-	1	1
Abdera	1	-	1	Igabrum	-	1	1
Asido	1	-	1	Iluro	-	1	1
Baria	1	-	1	Baetica	-	2	2
				TOTAL	26	13	39

The next table shows the chronological time-frame during which equestrian officers can be documented at each of the places of origin.

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Time-frame</i>
Corduba	beginning of 1st c. → middle or second half of 2nd c.
Astigi	Augustus–Tiberius → Antoninus Pius
Gades	(Augustus–Claudius) Tiberius/Claudius–Nero → 2nd c.
Urso	1st → second half of 2nd c., Marcus Aurelius
Obulco	second half 1st c. → Flavians to the end of 2nd c.

Ilipa	Vespasian–Trajan → Trajan–Hadrian
Malaca	c. Trajan–Hadrian → Trajan–Antoninus Pius
Carteia	Tiberius–Nero
Asido	first half of 1st c.
Cartima	Claudius/Nero (<i>e.R. ex civitate Cartimitana primus factus</i>)
Abdera	first half of 2nd c.
Italica	(born under Nero), career under Vespasian–Hadrian
Igabrum	transition 1st–2nd c.
Iliberris	end 1st–beginning 2nd c.
Baria	1st or 2nd c.
Hispalis	2nd c.
Singilia Barba	second half of 2nd c.
Urgavo	2nd c. or later
Iluro	Septimius Severus (documented in 204).

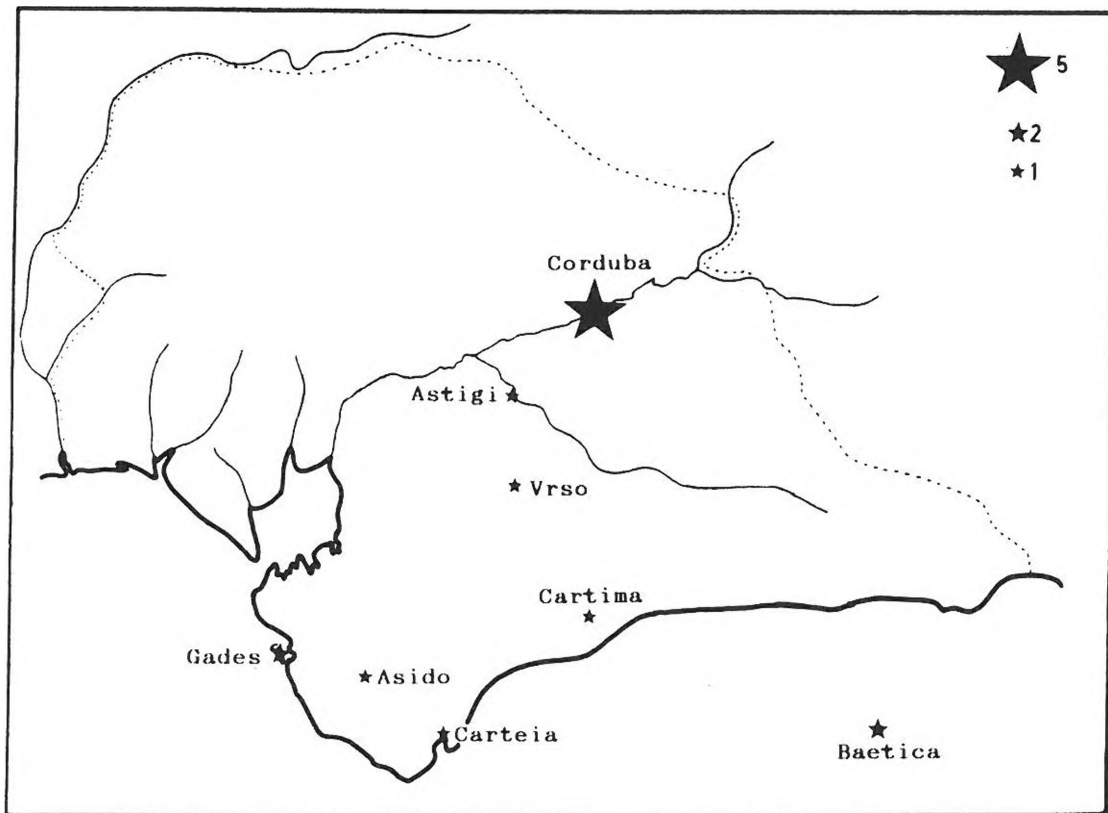


Fig. 3. The places of origin of Baetican knights during the Julio-Claudian period.

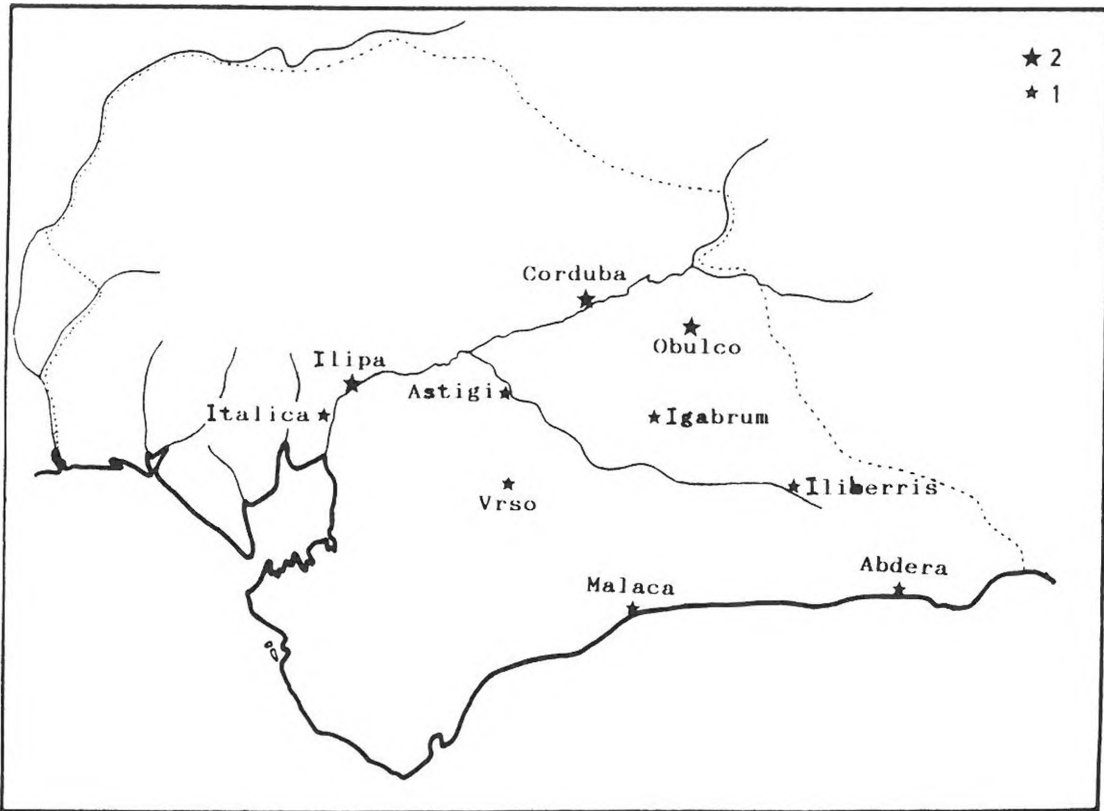


Fig. 4. The places of origin of Baetican knights between the Flavians and Hadrian.

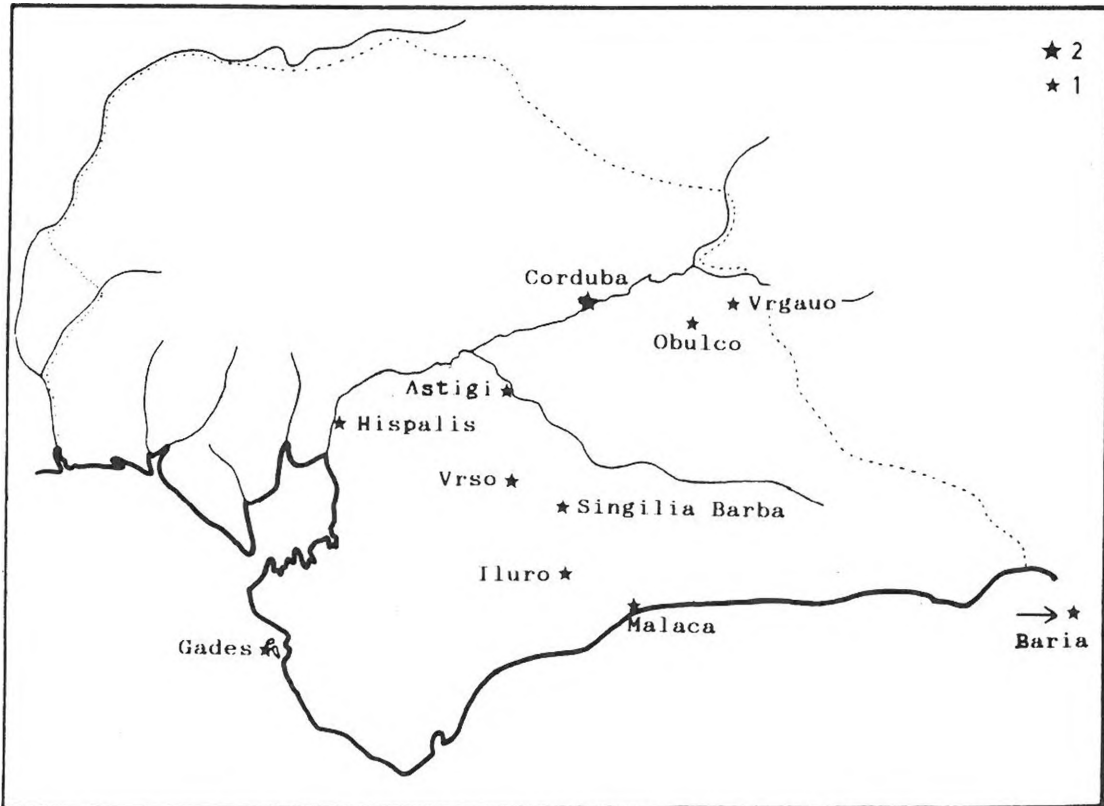


Fig. 5. The places of origin of Baetican knights between Hadrian and the end of the Severans.

Finally, one must provide details concerning the legal status of each community, the date when the municipal charter was granted, the normal voting tribe to which its citizens were assigned, and the rôle it played in the administration of the province.

Corduba	<i>Colonia iuris Latini</i> , M. Claudius Marcellus <i>Colonia Patricia Corduba</i> , c.R., Augustus ⁵⁶ <i>Sergia/ Galeria</i> Provincial capital and <i>conventus</i> capital.	Cartima	Flavian <i>municipium</i> <i>Quirina</i> (<i>eques</i> attached to the <i>Galeria</i> or citizenship prior to obtaining the privilege for the city).
Astigi	<i>Colonia</i> , Augustus <i>Papiria</i> <i>Conventus</i> capital.	Hispalis	Caesarian <i>colonia</i> <i>Sergia/ Galeria</i> <i>Conventus</i> capital.
Gades	<i>Civitas foederata; municipium c.R.</i> , Caesar <i>Galeria</i> <i>Conventus</i> capital.	Iliberris	<i>Municipium</i> , Caesar (/ Augustus) <i>Galeria</i> (<i>Sergia</i> with no indication of <i>origo</i>).
Urso	<i>Colonia Genetiva Iulia (Urbanorum)</i> , on Caesar's orders, formally in triumviral period <i>Sergia/ Galeria</i> .	Italica	<i>Vicus(?)</i> , <i>municipium</i> (before Caesar?) under Caesar (/ Augustus), <i>colonia</i> under Hadrian <i>Sergia</i> .
Obulco	<i>Municipium</i> , Caesar/Augustus <i>Galeria</i> .	Singilia Barba	Flavian <i>municipium</i> <i>Quirina</i> .
Ilipa	<i>Municipium</i> , Caesar <i>Galeria</i> .	Urgavo	<i>Municipium</i> , Caesar (/ Augustus) <i>Galeria</i> .
Malaca	<i>Municipium iuris Latini</i> , Domitian <i>Quirina</i> .	Carteia	<i>Colonia latina</i> (171 B.C.), <i>municipium civium Romanorum</i> (Augustus) <i>Sergia/ Galeria</i> .
Abdera	<i>Municipium</i> (Augustus).	Igabrum	Latin <i>municipium</i> , Flavian date.
Asido	<i>Municipium</i> , Augustan <i>colonia</i> <i>Galeria</i> .	Iluro	Latin <i>municipium</i> , Flavian date. <i>Quirina</i> .
Baria	<i>Municipium</i> , prior to the Flavians (?) <i>Galeria</i> .		

I do not believe that the distribution of origins for known equestrian officers from Baetica is merely accidental or only due to chance preservation of the evidence. To paraphrase Alföldy, "neunzehn Städte, neunzehn Welten."⁵⁷ In spite of this, there are common traits, such as the birth-places of equestrian officers: in all cases they are privileged communities. Their inhabitants attained equestrian rank after their cities of origin had gained the statute. Cartima is the one exception. But here the documentation assists in explaining the case, stating that *D. Iunius Melinus* was *eques Romanus ex civitate Cartimitana primus factus*.⁵⁸

The four *conventus* capitals are represented, as well as a long list of the most famous towns in the province. The order in terms of the number of known equestrians is also reasonable. Corduba, the capital, provides by far the most. Its society, more complex on account of its administrative position, should have been more 'cosmopolitan', open and permeable. The importance and prestige of the city, together with the opportunities of promotion which existed there, allowed the candidates to achieve the necessary qualifications. Its rôle as capital and seat of the governor and governmental bureaucracy would have facilitated the acquisition of the patronage necessary to obtain the gold ring. Next came Astigi and Gades, both capitals of

56 The historical problems in this respect have yet to be definitively resolved, from the initial foundation by M. Claudius Marcellus (preferably in 169/8 or in 152/1 B.C.), its possible status as *colonia iuris Latini*, the later creation of the *colonia Patricia Corduba* by Augustus and the corresponding military *deductiones* (see recently A. U. Stylow, *CIL* II²/7 61 f.; id., "De Corduba a Colonia Patricia. La fundación de la Corduba romana," in P. León (ed.), *Colonia Patricia Corduba* [Córdoba 1996] 77-85; id., "Apuntes sobre las tribus romanas en Hispania," *Veleia* 12 [1995] 105-23). The latter work contains references to most of the other communities on our list.

57 G. Alföldy, "Drei städtische Eliten im römischen Hispanien," *Gerión* 2 (1984) 193-238, esp. 218: "Drei Städte, drei Welten: Tarraco, Barcino und Saguntum".

58 No. 13.

conventus. Astigi, founded by Augustus, was later than the other three capitals in obtaining its statutory charter. It was a new town, and there is no evidence to show that it was ever the birth-place of a senator.⁵⁹ A large part of its territory would have been in the hands of people from other communities, many of them notables. Its late date, the origin of its inhabitants, and its functional character made it difficult for its citizens to succeed in being adlected into the senatorial order; they opted instead for equestrian rank.

Gades, an open city, a centre of attraction and usually the last Baetican stop for those whose destination was Rome, facilitated all sorts of contacts and relationships that favoured upward social mobility. The town had been the birth-place of equestrian officers and senators since the time of the Corneli Balbi. Its legendary wealth was based mostly on commercial activities. Whatever its meaning, the exceptionally high number of 500 *equites* mentioned by Strabo is surprising.⁶⁰

Leaving aside the cases of Italica and Hispalis, the remainder of the towns that were definite birth-places of equestrian officers comprise 1 colony, 4 Caesarian or Augustan municipalities, 1 more prior to Vespasian, and a further 5 which obtained their statute under the Flavians. The colony of Urso was certainly the origin of at least one equestrian officer, possibly another two. Obulco also accounts for three,⁶¹ but due to the difficulties of interpreting the *praefectura fabrum*, an equestrian rank for two of them cannot be guaranteed.⁶² Economic opportunities offered by Obulco would have made equestrian rank possible, and the prestigious local careers followed by these three would have fully justified it. The cases of Italica and Hispalis, however, each of which can claim only one equestrian officer, might appear strange. However, besides the vagaries of documented transmission, one could perhaps detect an historical explanation since these towns were the origin of a proportionally large number of senators: 19 from Italica, 12 from Hispalis.⁶³ The explanation is closely related to the methods of promotion for those individuals who had more opportunities and initiative. These changed with time and imply the possibility, when the correct conditions existed, of the senatorial career path. This was the paradigmatic case of Italica and, to a lesser extent, Hispalis: both centres constitute a single environmental and historical unit, with an ideal complementarity of function, quite different from the rival towns of Tarraco and Barcino.⁶⁴ Thus a high number of senators is not a surprise.

By ordering the *equites* chronologically, one can see that a correlation existed between urban class, the date of obtaining the charter which conceded equestrian status, and the antiquity of their family line.⁶⁵ This was a manifestation of an early and deeper assimilation of genuinely Roman traits. Leaving aside the case of Clodius Turrinus (whose origin cannot be establish-

59 A study and possible historical interpretation of this phenomenon can be found in A. Caballos Rufino, *Revista de Estudios Andaluces* 6 (1986), esp. 25 f.

60 On the relationship between Strabo's information and the low percentage of documented *equites* and traditional interpretations, see Demougin (supra n.12) 528 f., although she looks specifically at the case of Patavium mentioned by Strabo (3.5.3) together with Gades. I will shortly be dealing with this matter, analyzing the significance of the number and, especially, the specific interpretation and justification of the figure given by Strabo.

61 Nos.15, 24 and 31.

62 I refer specifically to nos. 15 and 31.

63 Caballos 1986 (supra n.1) 21 table 1.

64 Alföldy (supra n.57).

65 Confirmation is similarly noted for Tarraconensis: "... l'ordre d'importance des villes se reflète dans le contingent de chevaliers qu'elles fournissent" (G. Fabre, M. Mayer e I. Rodà, "Recrutement et promotion des 'élites municipales' dans le Nord-Est de l'*Hispania Citerior* sous le Haut Empire," *MEFRA* 102 [1990] 535). G. Alföldy (supra n.57) 193 f. makes a similar observation: "... so war etwa die Urbanisation in der Baetica noch erheblich weiter fortgeschritten ..., woraus sich wichtige Folgen für das Wirtschaftssystem, für die Soziale Differenzierung ... und für das kulturelle Niveau ergaben."

ed),⁶⁶ of the remaining 13 equestrian officers who probably belong to the Julio-Claudian period, seven (nos. 2-4, 8-10 and 12) and possibly another three (nos. 5-6 and 14) come from colonies. One hails from Carteia — a Latin colony since 171 B.C. even if it changed its statute to that of *municipium c.R.*, possibly in the time of Augustus;⁶⁷ another came as an exception from Cartima, while the origin of the remaining one is unknown. Those who probably date to the Flavian period come either from old municipalities or colonies. From Trajan onwards, individuals from Flavian municipalities were incorporated into the *ordo*.

There are two crucial questions related to the subject of origin. The first concerns the links between Baetican equestrian officers and their communities or their province of origin. The second aims to ascertain whether an appointment as *equus* was a consequence of breaking links with one's province, or whether it led to a severing of such links.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LINKS BETWEEN BAETICAN *EQUITES* AND THEIR PROVINCE AND TOWNS OF ORIGIN

- 1 *Et pecuniam ... et dignitatem quam primam in provincia Hispania habuit.*
- 2 Inscription from Astigi./ Exercised municipal posts in Astigi after his military career./ Died at Astigi.
- 3 Exercised municipal posts at Corduba./ Statue pedestal in Corduba erected by the *coloni et incolae*./ *Decreto decurionum* in Palma del Río with mention of the procuratorship.
- 4 The father-in-law was also from Baetica./ Remained in Corduba with his sons during the Civil Wars: *intra coloniam meam me continuit*./ Never lost connections with the *colonia* of his birth.
- 8 Married to a daughter of the Cordovan orator Acilius Lucanus./ His son was born at Corduba.
- 9 His uncle M. Columella cultivated estates near Gades./ Perhaps related to Moderatus of Gades.
- 10 Funerary inscription from Asido./ *Ilvir* at Asido.
- 11 Inscription from Tibur (1st c.).
- 12 Inscription erected by the *colonia* of Corduba./ Municipal posts at Corduba.
- 13 Inscription from Cartima./ His mother and friends dedicated a statue to him at Cartima./ *Equus Romanus ex civitate Cartimitana primus factus*./ A *sacerdos perpetua et prima in municipio Cartimitano* (daughter?/ sister?) was married to C. Fabius Fabianus.
- 14 Inscription from Urso (dedication by his grandson).
- 15 Inscription from Obulco./ Magistracies and priesthods at Obulco.
- 16 Inscription from Ilipa (*Ilvir Augustalis amico benemerenti*).
- 17 Inscription from Astigi./ Family links in the province.
- 18 Tutor to Hadrian./ Estates in Baetica./ (*Apotelesmatica*: wealth, sexual deviation, unpunished, euergetism for his *patria*)?
- 19 Inscription from Igabrum./ An aqueduct was built here at his expense./ *Flamen* of Baetica.
- 20 Funerary inscription from Iliberris (dedicated by the people of Iliberris, his father paid for it)/ Senatorial descendants in Iliberris.
- 21 Funerary inscription at Corduba.
- 22 Inscription from Abdera (donation of a *basilica cum hypaetro*)/ *Ilvir* in Abdera./ *Flamen*./ His mother was priestess at Abdera./ (senatorial relative from Baetica)?
- 23 Funerary inscription from Corduba (gesture by his brother).
- 24 Honorific inscription from Obulco./ Erected public buildings in Obulco./ Municipal posts at Obulco.
- 25 Inscription from Urso./ *Nutrix* at Urso.
- 26 Inscriptions from Ostur (dedication by his wife to Juno), Hispalis (gesture by the *ordo*) and Ilipa (only the name).

⁶⁶ No. 1.

⁶⁷ J. González, "Urso: ¿Tribu Sergia o Galeria?," *Estudios sobre Urso Colonia Iulia Genetiva* (Sevilla 1989) 142 f., put the chronology of this change in status back into the Claudian period. However, the mention of *Illiviri* is not a valid argument in the differentiation of status. Moreover, Claudian foundations ought to have been ascribed to the *Quirina* tribe, while the *Galeria* is documented at Carteia. The absence of the epithet *Claudia* also distinguishes it from Baelo.

- 28 Inscription from Malaca./ Gesture to his wife in Malaca./ Patron of Malaca (was *proc. prov. Baeticae*).
- 30 Olive-oil producer from the region of Astigi./ Honorific inscription and statue at Corduba.
- 31 Inscription erected by the *municipes et incolae* of Obulco.
- 32 Funerary inscription from Baria./ *Ilvir* in Baria./ *Flamen*.
- 33 Funerary inscription from Gades.
- 34 Funerary inscription *ab splendidissimo [ordine] Hispalensium*, his brother intervening./ *Nomen gentilicium* documented at Hispalis./ Municipal posts at Hispalis.
- 35 Honorific inscription from Corduba./ Municipal post at Corduba.
- 36 Inscription *decreto decurionum* at Singilia Barba./ Prestigious and well-known family of Singilia Barba.
- 37 Inscription from Italica (*proc. Aug. patrimonii*)/ *Nomen gentilicium* at Urso.
- 38 Rich dedication at Urgavo./ *Flamen*./ *Nomen gentilicium* in nearby Astigi.
- 39 *Candidatus* of L. Fabius Cilo.

The documentation in the above table allows one to analyze the nature of connections between *equites* and their province and town of origin. The first conclusion concerns the large number of cases where Baetican *equites* are documented by testimonies, mainly of an epigraphical kind, originating in the province itself. In only 10 cases these testimonies have a different origin.⁶⁸ Almost all belong to the Julio-Claudian period, when emigration to Rome was the best way of helping to ensure promotion to the *ordo*. One also notes a high number of people who held positions in the administration of their own community,⁶⁹ either as members of local or provincial élites, or as *flamines* of Baetica.⁷⁰ On a few occasions, religious posts are cited for female relatives.⁷¹ However, the mention of family members who practised some rôle or who at least are documented in the province does not end here: these relationships embrace practically all possible family connections.⁷²

In a few cases, we know the basis of wealth for Baetican *equites*, which should have more than covered the minimum sum required for admission to the *ordo*.⁷³ The properties held by Columella's uncle⁷⁴ in the region of Gades should be highlighted, as well as those in the region of Astigi which could have belonged to Acilius Attianus.⁷⁵ There is also C. Rocius Rocianus, who would have devoted himself to oil production.⁷⁶ Inscriptions provide evidence for many works carried out by these people in the province. M. Cornelius Nova[n/t]us Baebius Balbus⁷⁷ was responsible for an aqueduct, the *ignotus* of Abdera⁷⁸ for a *basilicam cum hypaethro epulo dato*, [Quintiu?]'s Hispanus⁷⁹ for buildings at Obulco, and C. Venaecius Voconianus⁸⁰ for dona-

68 Nos. 1, 4-9, 11, 18 and 39.

69 Nos. 2-3, 10, 12, 15, 22, 24, 31-32, 34-35.

70 Nos. 19, 22, 32? and 38.

71 Nos. 13 and 22.

72 Father-in-law (nos. 4 and 8), son (no. 8), grandson (no. 14), brother (no. 23), wife (no. 26), and other individuals whose family link is unknown, given that the information is derived exclusively from onomastics. The group of relationships even includes the mention of a *nutrix* (no. 25), the links being at times most imprecise (e.g., no. 39).

73 This could be the case with, for example, C. Venaecius Voconianus, who dedicated one gold statue to the goddess *Fortuna*, another to *Mercurius* in silver weighing 5 pounds, as well a *patera* of one pound and two silver bases of 5 pounds.

74 No. 9.

75 No. 18.

76 No. 30.

77 No. 19.

78 No. 22.

79 No. 24.

80 No. 38.

tions at Urgavo. The powerful L. Valerius Proculus,⁸¹ who had an extensive and prestigious equestrian career (rising to the top of the *cursus* as Prefect of the *annona* and Egypt) was chosen by the inhabitants of Malaca as their patron.

On five occasions, the sources make a special mention of individuals. Of Clodius Turrinus: *patre splendidissimo, avo divi Iuli hospite*; also, *et pecuniam ... et dignitatem quam primam in provincia Hispania habuit*.⁸² The case of (L.?) Annaeus Seneca and his family is exceptional because of the quantity of documentation.⁸³ L. Baebius Balbus⁸⁴ is documented on an inscription at Castelmadama near Tibur in Italy, a place later to have a large concentration of *Hispani*.⁸⁵ D. Iunius Melinus⁸⁶ was *eques Romanus ex civitate Cartimitana primus factus*, whilst Iunia D.f. Rustica, his daughter or sister, is mentioned as *sacerdos perpetua et prima in municipio Cartimitano*. There was also the case of P. Acilius Attianus, but what is known from his biography makes it unnecessary to repeat information extracted from analysis of the *Apotelesmatica* — his political career and the factors which link him to the Ulpia and Aelia, as well as the evidence of his wealth.⁸⁷

Funeral inscriptions confirm that at least 9 of the people listed in the catalogue died in the province, which would have been common, especially when administrative or military duties did not keep them away for a long period. On 12 occasions we have proof of homage paid to individuals by urban communities of the province.⁸⁸ In the case of T. Mercello Persinus Marius⁸⁹ two cities, Corduba and a site which may correspond to ancient Segida Augurina, decided to honour him.

The last matter to be discussed here concerns those cases where there is evidence of a break in the link between an equestrian official and the province. In contrast with senators, there were no legal obligations for *equites* to sever connections with their province of origin. Few would have done so at an early stage on account of their official obligations, but it could have happened, for example, when serving in the Praetorian Guard at Rome. Usually their service would have involved only short missions away from their home province. Only in the case of the most complete and prestigious careers in service of the state would this breaking of links have been nearly complete. In no case, however, did the loss of these ties prove permanent; instead, they acquired new forms of expression. It is here that the duality inherent in the membership of the *ordo equester* becomes evident. When one succeeded in carrying out high administrative responsibilities, usually from the second generation, it would have been understandable for ties with the homeland to weaken, often then taking on the form of patronage.⁹⁰

On the fringe of public life, those remaining factors which might indicate this loss of contact with the province are listed in the following table.

81 No. 28.

82 No. 1.

83 See, for example, O. Rossbach, *RE* 1, 2237.16 (1894); *PIR*² A 616; M. T. Griffin, "The Elder Seneca and Spain," *JRS* 62 (1972) 1-19; id., *Seneca. A philosopher in politics* (Oxford 1976); L. A. Sussmann, *The Elder Seneca* (Leiden 1978); J. Fairweather, *Seneca the Elder* (Cambridge 1981); P. León, *Séneca el viejo. Vida y obra* (Sevilla 1982); S. Demougin, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens* (Rome 1992) 282 f., no. 333.

84 No. 11.

85 R. Syme, "Spaniards at Tivoli," *Ancient Society* 13-14 (1982-83) 241 f.

86 No. 13.

87 On these questions see A. Caballos Rufino, "P. Acilius Attianus," *Habis* 15 (1984) 237-51; id., *Los senadores hispanorromanos* 1 (supra n.1) no. 5.

88 Nos. 3, 12-13, 20, 24, 26, 28, 30-31, 34-36.

89 No. 3.

90 In the paradigmatic case of the prestigious L. Valerius Proculus (no. 28).

REASONS FOR BREAKING TIES WITH BAETICA (APART FROM PUBLIC SERVICE)

- 1 Domicile at Rome.
- 4 Domicile at Rome (but: *coloniam meam* — Corduba —, to which he returned during the Civil War).
- 5 Domicile at Rome.
- 6 Domicile at Rome.
- 7 (*Publicanus*).
- 8 His son was born at Corduba; shortly afterwards he moved to Rome.
- 9 Estates in Italy./ Established at Rome.
- 11 Inscription at Castelmadama.
- 12 Member of his family probably established at Rome (however, the *colonia Patricia* dedicated an inscription to him at Corduba).
- 18 Installed at Rome./ Estates in Baetica, on the island of Elba, and at Praeneste.
- 19 Homage by the citizens of Hierapolis (Syria or Phrygia).
- 27 Funerary inscription at Praeneste (estates in the region?).
- 28 Dedicated an inscription to his brother (no.27) at Praeneste./ (Sister married to an *eques* from Ferentinum?).
- 39 Mentioned as «*Ilurensis*» on a Roman inscription.

At least two, L. Iunius Moderatus Columella⁹¹ and P. Acilius Attianus⁹² (and possibly others),⁹³ held property in Italy. It is important to emphasize the clear link that P. Acilius Attianus as well as the two brothers, C. Valerius Florinus⁹⁴ and L. Valerius Proculus⁹⁵ had with Praeneste (for no known reason). As a consequence of their positions, prestige, power and influence, these three would necessarily have extended their sphere of activities. Thus, if C. Valerius Florinus died outside Hispania, the Valeria L.f. Procula who was married to the illustrious T. Pontius Sabinus of Ferentinum would probably have been his sister. We need not rehearse the well-known career of Attianus.⁹⁶

Eight people had their domicile at Rome,⁹⁷ a figure which represents about 20% of all known equestrian officers from Baetica. These correspond to an early, Julio-Claudian date, except for P. Acilius Attianus, whose case may be justified in terms of the high rank that he achieved, and the later M. Vibius Maternus, who can be dated to the reign of Septimius Severus⁹⁸ and whose *origo* (*Ilurensis*) is recorded at Rome. During the Julio-Claudian period, the desire for promotion would have had a greater chance of success if an individual took the early step of emigrating to Rome, and would not necessarily have led to a severing of connections with communities in Baetica; the evidence points to the maintenance of these ties, the case of the Annaei being paradigmatic (but not unique) in our sources.⁹⁹

Epilogue

Despite an image of a province which runs the risk of being seen as homogeneous on account of almost universal access to the municipal rights, one must adopt a more tempered view. The extension of municipalisation, due particularly to the Flavians, does point to a high degree of integration and a generalization of certain social and ideological norms. However, it did not in any way erase differences and hierarchies amongst communities across the province. Indeed,

91 No. 9.

92 No. 18.

93 The Annaei of equestrian rank.

94 No. 27. He is mentioned there in a funerary inscription.

95 No. 28.

96 Cf. Caballos (supra n.87).

97 Nos. 1, 4-6, 8-9, 12, 18 and 39.

98 No. 39.

99 Of the first of them, Clodius Turrinus (no.1), it is said expressly: *et pecuniam ... et dignitatem quam primam in provincia Hispania habuit.*

the extensive homogenisation of urban status continued to mask substantial heterogeneity. The changing rôle played by each town in the province was determined not only by its statute and administrative character but also by its situation, antecedents, historical dynamics, wealth, antiquity, and prestige. My objective has been to understand how the rôle and image of each city in the province affected its inhabitants. To this end, I have concentrated on the subject of promotion, with *origo* as the key element, because it could favour, delay, or even prevent advancement.

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