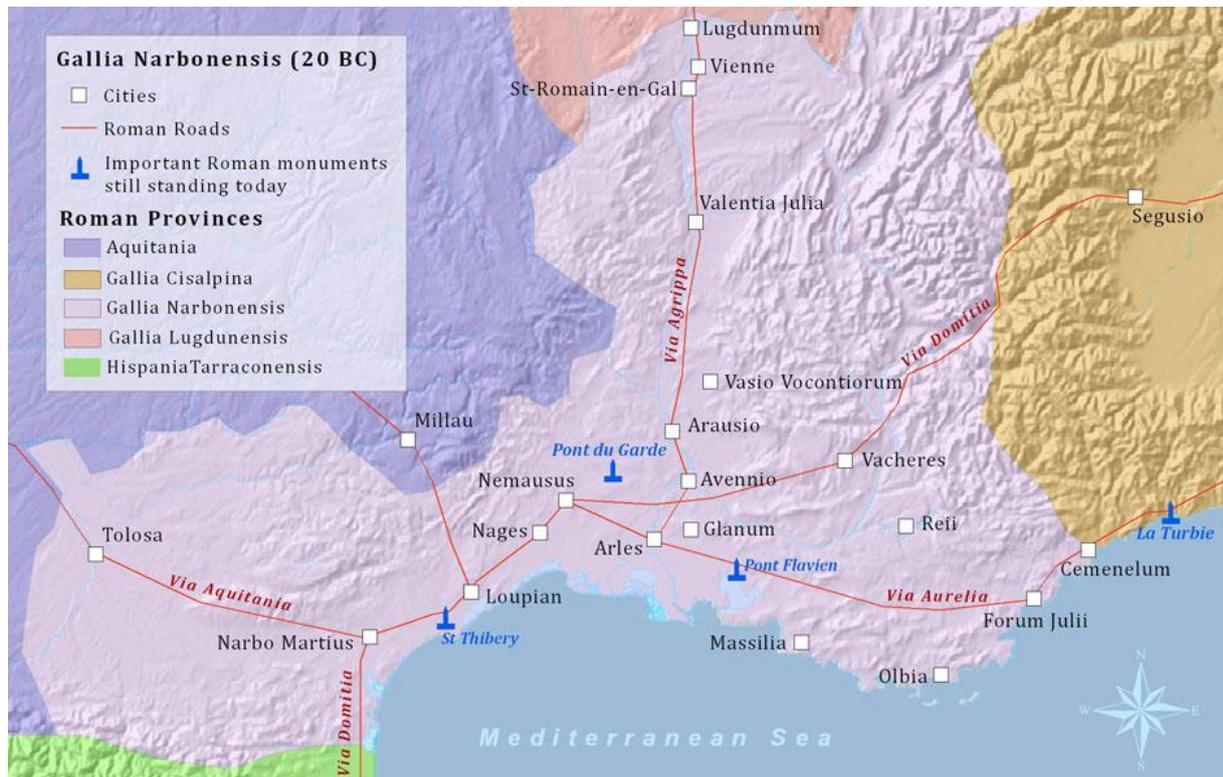


Representations of veterans in the imperial cult in Gallia Narbonensis, 46 BC-79 AD



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Introduction¹

‘I settled colonies of soldiers in Africa, Sicily, Macedonia, both Spains, Achaea, Asia, Syria, Gallia Narbonensis, Pisidia. Moreover, Italy has twenty-eight colonies founded under my auspices which have grown to be famous and populous during my lifetime.’²

The quote above comes from the *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, the works or deeds of the deified Augustus, published after his death in 14 AD. Much like the rest of the *Res Gestae*, the quote above contains a boasting and propaganda element: Augustus has settled soldiers in colonies all over the world and they have all become great and grew very large. This gives an insight into the image that Augustus wanted to portray about his deeds and himself. Although Augustus has settled veterans in many colonies, he was definitely not the first to do so, as the process of establishing veteran colonies already started around 100 BC.

To understand the importance of veteran colonies as a new type of colony however, first the history of colonies in the Roman world must be explained. During the period of the Roman republic, from 500 BC-133 BC, two types of colonies can be identified, namely Roman and Latin colonies. Roman colonies, *coloniae civium Romanorum*, were small towns often built near the sea. The citizens of these Roman colonies would retain their full Roman citizen rights, and the colonies had their own senates. Latin colonies, *coloniae Latinae*, were larger than Roman colonies and were of a military nature, almost like fortresses. The Roman colonies were to found near or in enemy territory. The citizens would lose their Roman citizen rights, as these colonies were considered independent states. Should the citizens return to Rome, they would get their Roman citizen rights back. The founding of colonies was carried out by the Senate and the consuls. To oversee the project of founding a colony, three magistrates were elected, the *triumviri coloniae deducandae*. Most of the colonists were volunteers. Colonies could be built on new places or colonists could be settled in recently conquered towns or villages. The native population was sometimes expelled, but could also remain where they were.³ The best work regarding veteran settlement is Edward Salmon’s *Roman colonization under the Republic*.⁴ Published in 1969, it describes the different types of

¹ For the image: Wikipedia, ‘The Roman Province of Gallia Narbonensis in 20 BC’ (6 January 2010 version) <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gallia_Narbonensis> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

² Frederick W. Shipley, ‘Velleius Paterculus and Res Gestae Divi Augusti’, *Res Gestae chapter 28* <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Augustus/Res_Gestae/5*.html> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

³ Hartmut Galsterer, ‘Coloniae’, *Coloniae* <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ru.idm.oclc.org/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/coloniae-e303060?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=coloniae> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

⁴ Edward Salmon, *Roman colonization under the Republic* (Cornell University Press, 1969).

colonies and it remains the most comprehensive and most recent English monograph on Roman Republican colonization to date. He states that colonies resembled Rome in the layout of the colony, such as street patterns and the placement of buildings, although this has been proven wrong in the last decades. His view on the policies behind colonization has also been proven wrong in the last decades, with scholars stating that changing political systems changed the nature of colonies and their use by adaptation rather than by policy.

One of the first Roman colonies outside of Italy was *colonia Narbo Martius*, established in 118 BC, modern day Narbonne, before it became a veteran colony in 46 BC. The number of Roman and Latin colonies decreased after 133 BC, and the Senate was not involved in founding veteran colonies. A few decades after 133 BC during the time of Marius and Sulla veteran colonies became common. Julius Caesar continued the process of Marius and Sulla in founding colonies for his veterans. The process of becoming a veteran colony was nothing more than a new name and receiving a settlement of veterans, as is the case for the five veteran colonies in Gallia Narbonensis.⁵ Most of the veterans came from the Gallic Wars, which Julius Caesar fought with multiple legions from 58-50 BC. Narbo Martius, already named before, became a veteran colony in 46 BC when it received veterans of the Legio X Equestris, the Tenth mounted legion. Arelate, modern day Arles, was a Gallic settlement when the Romans captured the town in 123 BC, but was not made a colony. However, Arelate was made a veteran colony in 46 BC with a settlement of veterans of the Sixth Legion, and was named *Colonia Iulia Paterna Arelatensium Sextanorum*, "the ancestral Julian colony of Arlate of the soldiers of the Sixth". Octavian,⁶ the adopted son of Julius Caesar upon his death in 44 BC, continued the practice of veteran colonies in establishing Forum Iulii, modern day Fréjus, Arausio, modern day Orange and Baeterrae, modern day Béziers. As the quote already portrayed, Augustus settled veterans in multiple provinces. Augustus' veterans came from legions which were involved in several years of civil war following Julius Caesar's death. Forum Iulii, Arausio and Baeterrae already existed as Gallic towns before they were refounded as *colonia* with the accompanying settlement of veterans in the period 40-28 BC. Veterans of the Eighth Legion settled at Forum Iulii, veterans of the Second Legion settled at Arausio and veterans of the Seventh Legion settled at Baeterrae.⁷

⁵ I am aware that Gallia Narbonensis only received its name during Augustus' time. During the time of Caesar the province of the Senate was called Gallia Transalpina.

⁶ The name Octavian will be used here because it is accurate, afterwards for consistency the name Augustus will be used, even in one or two cases when discussing events before 27 BC.

⁷ M. Gayraud, 'Narbonne aux trois premiers siècles après Jésus-Christ, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römische Welt* 3 (1975), 829-859, here 829-839; M. Christol, M. Clavel-Lévêque & R. Plana-Mallart (eds.), 'Béziers en sa province', *Cité et territoire*, (1995) 101-124, here 101-106; M. Christol, 'L'épigraphie et les débuts du culte

There are several reasons why veterans were settled in these colonies. One is that available land was getting scarce in Italy. The area of modern day Italy above the Rubicon river did not belong to the Roman republic until 42 BC. The amount of veterans Augustus wanted to settle however seemed too great to plant them all in this newly named province of Gallia Cisalpina. To hand them all a fixed amount of money instead of a piece of land would mean a strain on the finances of the Roman republic. Another reason would be that these colonies would act as some sort of buffer against incursions into Italy by Celtic tribes for example. They were all founded fairly close together and were easily accessible by sea.⁸

The settlement of veterans would mean that the veterans had a deepening loyalty to their general, as the general gave them land to settle on, as is the case for Marius and Sulla. This in turn would give the general more political power and status. For veteran settlement during the time of Augustus J.C. Mann's work *Legionary recruitment and veteran settlement during the Principate* from 1983 is invaluable.⁹ Although it does not discuss the entire province of Gaul, it has some useful chapters for Gallia Narbonensis by describing accurately per period and area which veterans have served in which legion, where they came from and where they eventually settled, based on inscriptions. Mann also advocates that the location of a settlement was decided mostly by the availability of land, rather than by strategic, economic, or cultural 'civilizing' reasons. Veteran settlement therefore ceased when no more land was available. This could have been the case for the Po valley. Since there was not enough land available there for all of his veterans, Augustus settled a part of them in Gallia Narbonensis.

The link between Augustus and his veterans can be further explained by looking at the imperial cult. In 27 BC Augustus gained a collection of powers granted to him for life by the Senate, although the governmental power rested with the Senate, the magistrates and the assemblies. One of these powers was the supreme military command. It is stated by some scholars, such as Duncan Fishwick and Ramsay MacMullen, that the loyalty of the Roman army was secured by the imperial cult.¹⁰ MacMullen considers the Roman army to be an extension of the Roman republic and so a way for the emperor to propagate the imperial cult.

impérial dans les colonies de vétérans en Narbonnaise', *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 32 (1999) 11-20, here 11-20.

⁸ Karl Galinsky, *The Cambridge companion to the age of Augustus* (Cambridge, 2005), 123.

⁹ J.C. Mann, *Legionary recruitment and veteran settlement during the Principate* (1983).

¹⁰ In the early years of Augustus' reign the term 'imperial cult' is problematic, since there was not yet a cult dedicated to the emperor, so it is better to note the term 'emperor worship'. During the course of Augustus' life the 'emperor worship' was expanded and regulated on a provincial level which resulted in more uniformity. For the sake of consistency however the term 'imperial cult' will be used throughout the thesis. The meaning of this becomes clear during the debate around the imperial cult, since there was no one uniform cult, but rather multiple aspects of the emperor that were worshipped, with regional differences.

The army formed the link between Augustus and the colonies through the imperial cult. Fishwick states that the army used the imperial cult to impose *Romanisation* upon the provincials.¹¹

The imperial cult has been understood as a unifying mechanism by unifying different groups such as soldiers/veterans and provincial inhabitants. The imperial cult can be described as a series of different cults sharing a common focus in the worship of the emperor, his family or predecessors, as there was no such thing as one unifying imperial cult. As these different cults would differ from each other, so can it be seen that these cults operated quite differently according to a variety of different local circumstances — the Roman status of the communities in which they were found, the pre-existing religious traditions of the area, and the degree of central Roman involvement in establishing the cult. To make it even more difficult, the imperial cult was incorporated in other religious forms as well, such as the incorporation of the emperor into the traditional cults of provincial communities and his association with other deities was often just as important as worship which focused specifically and solely on him.¹²

To understand the worship of the emperor and his family, certain terms need to be addressed. The difference between ‘divus’ and ‘deus’ is important. In this context, the term *divus* has the connotation of ‘god-like’, but not an actual god, a *deus*, such as Jupiter. This means that *divi*, so Julius Caesar, Augustus and further emperors, would and could be called upon to perform favors, although they were not expected to actually carry them out, what was expected of the *dei*, however.¹³ Augustus first attributed divine honors to Julius Caesar in 45 BC. In 44 BC a law, or *lex*, was made to appoint a priest, or *flamen*, to the cult of the divine Julius Caesar. It was not until 42 BC that Julius Caesar became a *divus*, by a procedure of the Senate. *Divus* and *deus* were alike, although after the consecration of Julius Caesar the term *divus* became exclusively used for members of the imperial family. The process of becoming a *divus* remained a part of the Senate, and Augustus was the first emperor to become *divus* after his death in 14 AD. Augustus received divine honors in his lifetime as well, although he carefully regulated why and how it was instituted. Divine honors for a living person was not done in the Roman republic. An example from Vienne shows that Augustus was worshipped

¹¹ Duncan Fishwick, *The imperial cult in the Latin West* (1987) 92-93, 130, 137, 165; Ramsay MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (Yale University Press, 1981) 110.

¹² M. Beard, J. North, S. Price, *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge, 1998) 318.

¹³ J. Rives, ‘Religion in the Roman empire’, *Experiencing Rome. Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, J. Huskinson (ed.) (2000) 267-268, here 267-268.

together with the personification of Rome, *Roma*¹⁴. During the first few emperors the Senate carefully reviewed the possible consecration of the emperor, but in the centuries that followed the consecration became a formality. In reviewing the imperial cult it can be seen that there are multiple aspects of the emperor that are attributed to him that are worshipped, of which the important ones were the *numen* and the *genius*. The *numen* can be described as ‘divine will’ or ‘divine nature’, and it is something that can be seen with Roman gods as well. The *genius* has quite a similar explanation as ‘divine will’, although it also harbors spirit and familial power.¹⁵ There were multiple *collegia* of priests dedicated to the emperor, of which the *seviri Augustalis*, freedmen, and *flamines Augustalis* were the most important ones.

It has been proposed that one of the ways in which the veterans, settled throughout the provinces, would become more integrated in Augustus’ power base, was through the imperial cult. Cults that revolved around the worship of the emperor can also be seen in the Roman army. In the Roman army the soldiers would also venerate the emperor’s *numen* and *genius*, next to other cults that revolved around *Virtus*, standards and banners. Multiple scholars have already attested that the Roman army and its veterans were often responsible for directly establishing imperial cult themselves, for their own religious needs.¹⁶

Duncan Fishwick and Ramsay MacMullen have already been named in arguing the link between the imperial cult and the Roman army. Duncan Fishwick has been especially influential with his work *The imperial cult in the Latin West* from 1987, and his work together with his views, are still very popular today. In *The imperial cult in the Latin West* he argues not only that the imperial cult was used as a tool of *Romanisation* to impose upon the provincials, but also that a direct link between the extent of *Romanisation* and the extent of the imperial cult can be seen and measured in a province.¹⁷ Ramsay MacMullen in his book *Paganism in the Roman Empire* from 1981 considers the Roman army to be an extension of the Roman republic and so a way for the emperor to propagate the imperial cult, next to

¹⁴ This term was used to venerate the living emperor directly. During the time of Augustus, divine honors for a living person were revolutionary. This is why Augustus associated himself with Roma. F. Jacques & J. Scheid, ‘Rome et l’integration de l’empire’, *L’antiquité classique* 61 (1992) 122.

¹⁵ M. Beard, J. North, S. Price, *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge, 1998), 318 & 352. For differences between *genius* and *numen*: Ittai Gradel, *Emperor worship* (Clarendon Press, 2004) 245 & 250; Duncan Fishwick, ‘Genius and Numen’, 365.

¹⁶ L. Kreitzer ‘Apotheosis of the Roman Emperor’, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 53 4 (1990) 210- 217; Duncan Fishwick ‘The Development of Provincial Ruler Worship in the Western Roman Empire’, *ANRW* (1978) 1209, 1251; J. Webster ‘Necessary Comparisons: A Post-Colonial Approach to Religious Syncretism in the Roman Provinces’, *World Archaeology* 28 3 (2011) 331; J. Webster, ‘Negotiated Syncretism: Romano-Celtic Religion’, in D.J. Mattingly (ed.) *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism. Power, Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire* (1997)

¹⁷ Fishwick, *imperial cult* 273. Duncan Fishwick, *The imperial cult in the Latin West* (1987) 92-93, 130, 137, 165; Ramsay MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (Yale University Press, 1981) 110.

arguing that military control was needed to gather loyalty with provincials.¹⁸

Romanisation is the process wherein local communities take on certain Roman aspects in their way of life, be it cultural, social or religious. The local differences can be seen in the cults that are part of the imperial cult. Duncan Fishwick and Ramsay MacMullen have already been named when talking about *Romanisation* and the army. In the past decade however some scholars have criticized Fishwick's view on the imperial cult and *Romanisation* and advocated for the theory of acculturation. In this theory, two cultures incorporate certain elements of each other and thereby becoming some sort of mixed culture. This is in contrast to *Romanisation*, wherein the Roman culture is imposed upon another culture.¹⁹ Greg Woolf in his work *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* has been especially important in this way, stressing the fact that it is difficult to understand acculturation within the provinces without first acknowledging that there were significant differences in provincial acculturation, although he focuses on the elite. He does not see the provincials becoming Roman per se by adopting Roman elements but by participating in the Roman environment they became different.²⁰ Some scholars have also argued that the Roman army and its veterans never actively sought to romanise provincials by way of the imperial cult.²¹

Given the importance of veteran colonies and the imperial cult for Augustus, combining these two would be advisable. The imperial cult on a provincial and municipal level has already been well researched by Fishwick and others. What has not been done before however is a study in analyzing the local differences between the colonies themselves.

The main question of this thesis is how the veterans were involved in the activities of the imperial cult. Upon leaving the army and settling in the *coloniae*, would the veterans have retained their dedication to the imperial cult? Buildings such as temples and statues are known to be made by the freedmen and *flamines*, priests, in the province, but can we see the same attestations of expressions by veterans? This not only gives insight into whether or not the

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 110.

¹⁹ Greg Woolf, 'The Roman Cultural Revolution in Gaul' in S. Keay and N. Terrenato (eds) *Italy and the West. Comparative Issues in Romanization* (Oxford, 2001) 178 ; J. Webster, 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces', *AJA* 105 (2001) 217-218 ; J. C. Barrett, 'Romanization: A Critical Comment' in D.J. Mattingly (ed.) *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism. Power, Discourse and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire* (1997) 60.

²⁰ Greg Woolf, 'Beyond Romans and Natives', *World Archaeology* 28 3 (1997) 339-350.

²¹ A. King, 'Animal Bones and the Dietary Identity of Military and Civilian Groups in Roman Britain, Germany and Gaul', in T.F.C. Blagg and A.C. King (eds) *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain. Cultural Relationships in a Frontier Province* (1984) 187 ; M. Millett, 'Coloniae and Romano-British Studies' in H. Hurst (ed.) *The Coloniae of Roman Britain: New Studies and a Review* (1999) 195 ; P. Southern, *The Roman Army. A Social and Institutional History* (Oxford, 2007) 84; J.B. Rives, 'Imperial cult and Native Tradition in Roman North Africa', *The Classical Journal* 96 4 (2001) 427.

imperial cult was used as a *Romanisation* tool and which Roman and non-Roman elements are accounted for but it will also give insight into the life of soldiers after they left the army and how offices in the imperial cult fitted into this life.

To research this, several smaller questions can be asked. What can be said about acculturation between the Roman and native cultures when looking at names, gods, offices and language, to give a few examples. Can non-Roman names and gods be deduced? If persons are known to belong to a family, is that family Roman or is it a local family that became powerful and wealthy by following a career in Roman offices? Did they want to express their Romanness in this regard? Can we see a general formula? Can we see differences in aspects of the imperial cult that are venerated? Roman soldiers venerated the *numen* and *genius* of the emperor for example, did they continue to venerate these aspects or are other aspects noted?

One way to look at remains is to use inscriptions, as inscriptions would tell something about the person's deeds in life. For veterans then, it would be to look at references at offices or other aspects of the imperial cult to see if the imperial cult was worth it putting on the inscriptions and was worth it to follow such a career after the army. Gallia Narbonensis was one of the oldest provinces in the empire with some of the first Roman colonies and a number of veteran colonies, as already described.²² How then are we to look at these inscriptions? These will be looked at by close reading of the selected corpus. As all instances that combine the imperial cult with veterans are listed, this will be a quantitative reading. Multiple databases will be searched to look at keywords such as 'veteranus', 'miles', or 'flamen', in multiple derivative forms, to see if inscriptions can be found that combine these elements of the Roman army with elements of the imperial cult. Together with the databases, the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum volume 12 will be used as well, because it is as far as is known the most complete corpus of inscriptions for the Latin world. If there are inscriptions related to veterans and the imperial cult apparent at other *coloniae* they will be used as well, although it is expected that most of the remaining material will come from the five veteran colonies.

A corpus has been made of inscriptions based on the criteria above and this results in 25 inscriptions in the databases that combine veterans with offices regarding the imperial cult, such as *flamen*. These 25 combine both these elements, although there are numerous other

²² E. Bickerman, 'Consecratio', *Le Culte des Souverains dans l'Empire Romain: sept exposés suivis de discussions* 19 (1973) 8-9; Fishwick compares the older provinces, such as in Narbonensis, Africa Proconsularis and parts of Hispaniae with Britannia, most of Gallia and the Rhine and Danube limes: 'wild, uncivilized territories where Romanization had yet to make its mark' (1987a, 93; 1987f, 273; 1987g, 284, 286-7). Fishwick advocates a conceptualisation of imperial cult that was wholly dependent upon Romanisation.

inscriptions which only refer to veterans or offices regarding the imperial cult. These inscriptions are difficult to interpret in terms of reconstruction and damages, which makes it hard to argue in favor of a combination between veterans and the imperial cult.

Before starting with the examination of the material, some notes should be made about the problems arising when working with ancient inscriptions. When using inscriptions, it is difficult to say what percentage has survived and how representative this will be. For the period of this thesis, roughly 100 BC-100 AD, certain studies have been carried out to map the distribution of the total amount of inscriptions available. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* has been deemed the authority and a total of 156000 are collected, although estimates are sometimes higher. In multiple provinces throughout the empire, such as north Africa, Spain, Danube lands and northwestern Europe, these inscriptions as means of the publishing of statements on stone was a characteristic activity within the Roman way of life. This has been described in Ramsay MacMullen's article *The epigraphic habit in the Roman empire*. In mapping the distribution of these inscriptions, it can be seen that there is a significant peak from about 150 AD until 200 AD and a decline right after. Even with the decline however, the amount of inscriptions is still higher than for the period of 100 BC-100 AD. This trend can also be seen in the inscriptions for Gallia Narbonensis regarding the imperial cult: in the period after 100 AD an increase in the inscriptions mentioning or related to the imperial cult is noticeable.²³

After this introduction the first chapter will be about analyzing the individual inscriptions, starting with an explanation behind the methods used for the databases. The second chapter will analyze the results from the inscriptions and will combine these with the career path for *nobiles* and *equites*.

²³ Ramsay Macmullen, 'The epigraphic habit in the Roman empire', *The American Journal of Philology* 103 3 (1982) 233-246.

Chapter 1 – Creating a corpus regarding veterans and the imperial cult

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the 25 inscriptions from the databases and the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. First the search method for the databases and the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum will be explained, after which the inscriptions will be individually analysed.

For this thesis inscriptions from the databases of *Trismegistos*, *Epigraphische Databank Heidelberg* and *Epigraphische Databank Clauss/Slauby* will be used together with inscriptions from the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum volume 12 during the period of 100 BC – 100 AD.²⁴ The Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum holds the most encompassing corpus of Latin inscriptions to date. Although this thesis does not cover the entire period from 100 BC – 100 AD, when working with databases it is necessary to hold a margin of error. To safely include inscriptions up until 79 AD, the parameters have been set for 100 AD, just to make sure that inscriptions which partly fall outside of the period until 79 AD will still be included. The same reason applies for the start of 100BC. The imperial cult after 79 AD was distinctly different/well established and veteran colonies were no longer much in use until about 100 AD. In reviewing these inscriptions, the names of legions and emperors will be used to date them properly or as accurately as possible.

The CIL provides an index in which inscriptions are grouped together according to where gods are mentioned, municipal/military/religious offices. For this thesis, the groups that relate to military offices and religious offices have been examined, to see if there were any inscriptions that would fit in both categories.

For *Trismegistos*, the method of search has been refined by looking at the province of Narbonensis, stone material and 100 BC-100 AD. This resulted in 11 colonies with 20 inscriptions.

For the *Epigraphische Database Heidelberg* almost the same method has been used. Via search the province was set to Narbonensis, and the period set to 100 BC-100 AD. It is even possible to search for the ancient find spot or the modern find spot, and even to look at what literature refers to the inscription. The *Epigraphische Database Heidelberg* contains 1404 inscriptions for Gallia Narbonensis. For the *Epigraphische Database Heidelberg*, 130 texts are attested for Gallia Narbonensis during the period 100 BC-100 AD. Of those 130,

²⁴ <http://www.Trismegistos.org/> [consulted on 8-8-2017] ; <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home?&lang=en> [consulted on 8-8-2017] ; http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi.php?s_sprache=en [consulted on 8-8-2017]

only 17 are referencing veterans and/or offices regarding the imperial cult.

For the *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby*, the search method has been to look at the province of Narbonensis from 100 BC-100 AD. It is also possible to enter keywords or look for specific places, and it is even possible to look for titles and/or offices, or as it is called on the database: 'inscription genus/personal status'. 162 texts are attested for Gallia Narbonensis during the period 100 BC-100 AD. Of those 162, only 8 are referencing veterans and/or offices regarding the imperial cult. Although it was possible to look at specific titles or offices in the *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby*, this has not been done, as the database with these parameters has been searched manually for any reference to veterans or the imperial cult, simply because of many variations and abbreviations in which words such as 'veteranus', 'legio' and 'miles' may appear. Because of reconstructions certain letters might have not or have been added, which would make looking up every possible variation of such words a painstakingly process. Instead, the list of inscriptions from 100 BC-100 AD has been manually checked for any reference to a legionary and/or religious office. Because of overlap between the databases, certain instances of inscriptions can be found in two or even all three databases. This resulted in 25 unique inscriptions. The search methods above resulted in 25 inscriptions from multiple colonies. First the five veteran colonies will be reviewed, in chronological order, after which the other colonies will be reviewed, in no particular order. The inscriptions will be reviewed as follows: after a brief introduction of the colony, an introduction on the inscription will be given, describing where and when it was found. The text and translation of the inscription will be given in an appendix at the end. Based on the databases and the offices, a dating of the inscription will be given and the offices of the person will be listed. The inscriptions will then be analysed for the following questions: what can be said about the military and imperial cult offices? What can be said about similarities and differences between inscriptions in a colony? Can Roman and non-Roman elements be deduced? Afterwards a small conclusion per colony will be given, together with a table pointing out the offices of the inscription number.

Table 1: Databases and inscriptions

Database	Total number of inscriptions, 100 BC-100 AD	Inscriptions referring to veterans and the imperial cult	Percentage of inscriptions referring to veterans and the imperial cult of the total
Trismegistos	20	2	10%
Epigraphische Database Heidelberg	130	17	13,08%
Epigraphische Databank Clauss/Slaby	162	8	4,94%

Table 2: List of inscriptions (Different chronological order for inscriptions 1-10, veteran colonies, and 11-25, non-veteran colonies)

Number	Place	Date	
1. CIL XII 4232	Baeterrae	30 BC-37 AD	
2. CIL XII 4230	Baeterrae	Before 14 AD	
3. CIL XII 4233	Baeterrae	After 14 AD	
4. -	Baeterrae	37-54 AD	
5. CIL XII 4371, 4372	Narbo Martius	1-50 AD	
6. CIL XII 4333	Narbo Martius	12 AD	
7. CIL XII 1373	Arausio	After 14 AD	
8. CIL XII 249	Forum Iulii	Augustan/Julio-Claudian dating	
9. CIL XII 392	Forum Iulii	14-79 AD	
10. -	Arelate	After 81 AD	
11. CIL XII 2234	Cularo	30 BC-14 AD	
12. CIL XII 2607	Geneva	30 BC-14 AD	
13. CIL XII 2458	Geneva	Before 14 AD	
14. CIL XII 2600	Geneva	Before 14 AD	
15. CIL XII 2608	Geneva	54-68 AD	
16. CIL XII 2676	Alba Helviorum	49 BC-79 AD	
17. CIL XII 370	Allebaece Reiorum Apollinarum	After 42 BC	
18. -	Allebaece Reiorum Apollinarum	39-70 AD	
19. CIL XII 1872	Vienna	Up until 19 AD	
20. -	Vienna	1-125 AD	
21. CIL XII 3180	Nemausus	11-20 AD	
22. CIL XII 3186	Nemausus	14-70 AD	
23. CIL XII 3207	Nemausus	24-45 AD	
24. CIL XII 3166	Nemausus	70-79 AD	
25. CIL XII 408	Massilia	75-99 AD	



25

²⁵ Original image from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Gaul-ancient-region-Europe> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

1.1 Baeterrae

Veterans of the Seventh Legion settled at Baeterrae in the years 36/35 BC. The citizens belonged to the voting tribe of the Pupinia.²⁶ The archaeological evidence is minimal due to the fact that big parts of the modern city occupy spaces of the ancient city. Part of the amphitheater and the place of the theatre have been reconstructed. There are no remains of a temple dedicated to the imperial cult, although it is mentioned once in a seventeenth century source. The source tells about two temples, one for the emperor and one for his wife.²⁷

1. CIL XII 4232

The inscription is part of a *cippus*, a square pillar in this case. Found in 1869 in Beziers in the wall of a house.²⁸

dating: probably during the early Julio-Claudian dynasty, 30 BC-37 AD. The province which was established under Claudius is not named, which would most likely place it before.

cursus: duumvir, augur, flamen ornamentis honorato, praefectus cohort I Raetia

This inscription mentions the office of *flamen* in lines 5 and 6, with the person, Caius Cassius, being an honorary *flamen*, or priest. What is also unusual is that the inscription mentions that Caius Cassius has executed the office twice: ‘bis flamonii ornamentis honorato’. His municipal career also includes the offices of *duumvir* and *augur*. *Duumviri* are magistrates for the government of the colony. *Auguri* would interpret the will of the gods by studying the flights of birds. As for his military career, he was a prefect for the first cohort from the tribe of the Raeti, which would occupy an area in the province of Raetia, the modern country of Switzerland. These auxiliary infantry regiments were first recruited under the Julio-Claudian dynasty.²⁹

²⁶ Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis*, 150.

²⁷ M. Clavel, *Béziers et son territoire dans l'Antiquité*, Parijs, Belles Lettres, 1970, p. 271-272 ; A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis*, p. 151-152.

²⁸ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

²⁹ Franz Schön, Raeti, Raetia, ‘Raeti, Raetia’ <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/ru.idm.oclc.org/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/raeti-raetia-e1018290?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=raetia> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

2. CIL XII 4230

The inscription was found in someone's house in Beziers, as it was part of the kitchen window. The house stands on the ancient place of the Capitol.³⁰

dating: the inscription has been inaccurately and incompletely dated by *Trismegistos* to 199 BC-799 AD. Because the inscription mentions 'flamini augusti' and not 'flamini divi augusti', this means that Augustus was still alive when the inscription was erected. The titles of the legions are not given which makes it harder to date than before 14 AD.

cursus: praefecto equitum, tribunum militum legio vii et legio xxii, praefectus castrorum, flamini augusti primo urbi iulia baeterrensis, praefecto pro iiviro

This inscription is important to date the start of the imperial cult in Baeterrae, as it mentions Lucius Aponius being the first *flamen* of Augustus. This is mentioned as 'primo urbi Iul(iae) Baeter(rae)', the first of the city of Baeterrae.³¹ The offices of camp commander, *praefectus castrorum*, and cavalry commander, *praefecto equitum*, in lines 2, 5 and 6 point to Lucius Aponius being of at least equestrian rank. With camp commander being the third highest rank in a legion, after legate and the senior military tribune, this did not mean that the office was only available to senators or persons with equestrian rank. Camp commanders were usually persons who served as chief centurions before. More on the career path of equestrians and patricians in chapter 2.

3. CIL XII 4233

This inscription is also part of a *cippus*, a square pillar in this case.³²

dating: 'flamen romae et divi augusti' is mentioned, which means that the inscription can be dated after the death of Augustus in 14 AD.

cursus: tribunus, flamen romae et divi augusti

The inscription has been translated as 'first priest of Roma and the deified Augustus' from

³⁰ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae* (1888)

³¹ Christol, 'Béziers en sa province', 110; Christol, 'L'épigraphie et les débuts du culte impérial dans les colonies de vétérans en Narbonnaise', 17.

³² Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae* (1888)

lines 2 and 3. The inscription mentions the person being a tribune, but no other clue is given as to what kind of tribune the person was. Due to the placement of the words on the inscription it seems unlikely that the person was a military tribune. As will be seen when discussing the other inscriptions however, military tribune would seem to fit more than tribune. The inscription seems to miss quite a bit of text, as only further in line 1 a part of the person's name is given.

4. Unknown where and when the inscription was found.

dating: the inscription mentions 'quaestori Tiberi', which would suggest a dating around 37-54 AD. Found in modern day Perpignan, close to Baeterrae.

cursus: quaestor, praetor, consul, septemvir, sodali Augustali fratri Arvali, legate

The inscription mentions Publius Memmius holding various municipal and military offices. The offices of praetor and consul would suggest that Publius Memmius would have been a senator. In lines 7, 8 and 9 the office of 'sodali Augustali fratri Arvali' is reconstructed. The *fratri Arvali* were a body of twelve priests of senatorial rank who offered to the god Dea Dia for bountiful harvests, further solidifying the point that Publius Memmius would have been of senatorial rank. The *sodales* were priests appointed by Tiberius in 14 AD to honor Augustus and his family.

Table 3: offices listed in the inscriptions for Baeterrae

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Legate	4		
Praetor	4		
Praefecto equitum	2		
Tribunus militus legio vii et legio xxii	2		
Praefectus castrorum	2		
Praefectus	2		
praefectus cohort I raetia	1		
Sodali augustali fratri arvali		4	
Flamini primo		2	
Flamen ornamentis honorato		1	
Flamen romae et divi augusti		3	
Quaestor			1, 4
Consul			4
Septemvir			4
Duumvir			1, 2
Augur			1
Tribunus			3

A variety of offices can be seen in the four inscriptions for Baeterrae, with the municipal offices of *duumvir* and *quaestor* appearing twice. These four inscriptions all mention different offices for the imperial cult. The first priest of the imperial cult has been identified in inscription 1, with subsequent inscriptions mentioning different offices for different time periods. Up until the time of Tiberius then, we can see that the deified Augustus had multiple priests, as seen in inscriptions 3 and 4. The variety of municipal offices suggest that these persons were also active in the government of the colony.

1.2 Narbo Martius

The Roman colony of Narbo Martius was founded in 118 BC as the first colony outside of Italy, after which it became a veteran colony in 46 BC for the veterans of The Tenth Equestrian Legion.³³ Although the forum does not exist anymore, it dated from the first century BC and contained two altars for Augustus. The altar for the *Pax Augusti* was dedicated to Augustus in 25 BC.³⁴ The *Ara Narbonensis* altar has been dedicated to Augustus in 11 AD and it explains the provincial charter for the imperial cult, as will be further explained in inscription number 2. From 11 AD two inscriptions dedicated to the *Lares Augusti* and to the *Numen Augusti* can be seen. Further evidence for the imperial cult can be seen in the three temples in Narbo Martius: a municipal temple, a temple for the Capitoline triad and a provincial temple. The municipal temple was dedicated to Roma and Augustus.³⁵ A connection has been made between this temple and the altar for the *numen* of Augustus.³⁶ The temple for the Capitoline triad has been dated to 121 AD, although Gayraud opts that the temple could also have been used for the imperial cult, for the living emperor and his predecessors. This can be attributed to emperor Hadrian.³⁷

5. CIL XII 4371, 4372

Inscription 4371 is part of a *cippus*, a small low pillar, square or round, square in this case and found in the city wall of Narbonne and it measures 58x105x30 cm. Inscription 4372 is the second part belonging to inscription 4371.³⁸

dating: found and written at Narbo Martius dated 1-50 AD by *Trismegistos*.

cursus: duumvir, praefectus, augur, tribunus militum, primipilus

Primipilus and military tribune from lines 5 and 6 point to a person of equestrian rank, probably before Claudius and his military reformations which separated equestrians with a primipilus rank from the persons who became of equestrian rank after obtaining the

³³ A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis in Roman times* (London, 1988) 131-132, 134.

³⁴ M. Gayraud, "Narbonne aux trios premiers siècles après Jésus-Christ", in: ANRW, 1975, vol. 3, p. 841 ; M. Gayraud, *Narbonne antique*, p. 356.

³⁵ D. Fishwick, *Imperial cult in the Latin West* (1987), p. 248-249.

³⁶ *Ibidem* 249-250.

³⁷ R. Bédon, P. Pinon, R. Chevallier, *Architecture et urbanisme en Gaule romaine*, Tome 1. L'architecture et les villes en Gaule romaine, Parijs, Errance, 1988, p. 142 ; M. Gayraud, *Narbonne antique*, p. 271 ; D. Fishwick, *ICLW* (1987), p. 253.

³⁸ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

primipilus. The offices, both municipal and military, are presented in an inverse order. It would make more sense to have the military offices first and then the municipal offices. This would result in *praefectus fabrum*, *primipilus*, *tribunus militum*, followed by *praefectus*, *duumvir*, *duumvir quinquennalis* and then *augur*. As will be further seen in chapter 2, the career path of which *primipilus* is a part, starts with *primipilus* before transitioning into *tribunes militum* and *praefectus fabrum*. Which is why ‘tribunus militum primipilus praefectus fabrum’ in lines 5,6 and 7 would be in the wrong order. In lines 8 and 9 ‘ex conlegio Honoris et Virtutis arbitrato’ is reconstructed. *Honos* and *Virtus* are attestations or personifications that were affiliated with the Roman army, representing honourable and virtuous conduct in situations of war. There was even a temple dedicated to Honor and Virtue in Rome.³⁹ Although not directly related to the imperial cult, *Honos* and *Virtus* were venerated in the Roman army. During the Roman empire, *Virtus* is sometimes connected to the *virtus* of the emperor, thereby a claim can be made that indirectly by worshipping *Virtus* soldiers would also be worshipping the emperor.⁴⁰ Because the beginning of the inscription is unclear, in the CIL ‘aedilis’ is added, which means he would have held the office of aedil. The office of aedil would fit here, since aedil was part of the *cursus honorum*.⁴¹

6. CIL XII 4333

Found in 1566, the inscription is made up of two parts, marble, measuring 110x58x29cm. For 150 years it laid in the archbishop’s palace before it was moved to the church of Saint Paul. In 1839 it was moved to a museum.⁴²

dating: dated 12 AD.

Here we have just one panel of an altar for the regulation of the imperial cult in Gallia Narbonensis, The inscription above contains the regulations of the cult, while another inscription of the same altar records the dedication and promise to maintain the monument. The inscription is far too long to go into every detail, but certain points need to be mentioned.

³⁹ David Wardle, ‘Virtus’, *Virtus* <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ru.idm.oclc.org/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/virtus-e12205670?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=virtus> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

⁴⁰ David Wardle, ‘Virtus’, *Virtus* <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ru.idm.oclc.org/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/virtus-e12205670?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.brill-s-new-pauly&s.q=virtus> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

⁴¹ M. Christol, S. Demougin, ‘La carrière d’un notable Narbonnais, au début du Ier s. après J.-C. (CIL, XII, 4371 et 4372)’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 49 (1982) 141-153.

⁴² Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

The inscription is dedicated to the divine will of Augustus by the plebs of Narbo for eternity: ‘numini augusti votum susceptum a plebe narbonensium in perpetuum’. A list of days is given on which ritual celebrations will be held, for example Augustus’ birthday. The altar was made because of an autonomous action from the inhabitants of the city and not in response to an official decree. Although there is no mentioning of a veteran or legionary in the inscription whatsoever, a part could give us a hint to a possible military background. For the cult, three *equites* and three freedmen are listed to make the offerings. The inscription mentions ‘tres *equites* Romani / a plebe et tres libertini’, which suggests that the *equites* are to be drawn from the populace rather than the local senatorial elite. *Equites* from the populace would still be able to have served in the army or to have held military offices. As the inscription is believed to be a copy from the second century, it indicates that the rituals and the cult were still active during the Antonine period. It is believed that this easy adoption of the cultic practice in Narbo Martius is evidence for how integrated the colony was. The altar shows loyalty to the emperor Augustus and devotion because the cult seemed to be active well into the second century. The organization of the cult shows that multiple social layers of the people were involved, including members of the equestrian class and freedmen.

Table 4: offices listed in the inscriptions for Narbo Martius

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Tribunus militum	5		
Praefectus	5		
Primipilus	5		
Augur			5
Duumvir			5

The inscriptions from Narbo Martius seem lacking, especially since one of the two is the provincial charter for the imperial cult. There are no inscriptions mentioning soldiers from the Tenth Legion combined with an office for the imperial cult. Inscription 5 does not even list an office for the imperial cult, although the point has been made that the emperor could have been venerated indirectly through the worship of *Virtus*. The provincial charter gives us insight into the imperial cult where the inscriptions might seem lacking. The fact that the charter was instituted already in 12 AD, means that Narbo Martius would have had persons who were affiliated with the imperial cult already. The example of the *numen* of the emperor

has already been given in the charter. There are inscriptions from Narbo Martius that mention military offices, such as standard-bearers, although no offices for the imperial cult are listed. Similarities between these and inscriptions from other veteran colonies can be seen in the military and municipal offices, as *tribunus militum*, *duumvir* and *augur* have been seen in Baeterrae too. Would it seem then that no more inscriptions mentioning military and imperial cult offices have been passed on through the centuries, or would it seem that men with military backgrounds do not form the base for the persons affiliated with the imperial cult in Narbo Martius? The fact that the inscription mentions the *numen* points to the direction that other groups such as freedmen would have to be looked at, as the *numen* is not mentioned in other inscriptions.

1.3 Arausio

Veterans from the Second Legion were settled in Arausio in 35 BC by Augustus after several years of civil war following the death of Julius Caesar. Next to a theatre, Arausio also has a triumphal arch dedicated to the veterans of the Second Legion and the Gallic Wars. It is dated to the time of Augustus, a few years later the arch was reconstructed under Tiberius, 27 AD. A possible connection to the imperial cult can be seen in a link between an *Augusteum* and the theatre.⁴³ The theatre played an important role in the first forms of the imperial cult and was the religious centre in Arausio. A temple stood in the vicinity of the theatre, which contained multiple features just like other similar sites throughout the western provinces.⁴⁴ It is not clear to whom the temple is dedicated, but it is assumed that it could have been an *Augusteum*, just like the one in Nemausus. The temple is dated to the second century AD.⁴⁵ There were some other temples, of which one was dedicated to the emperor Claudius, but the temples are nowadays buried under the centre of the modern city.⁴⁶

7. CIL XII 1373

Limestone block of a frieze, comprised of two parts measuring 52x164x69cm in total. Found

⁴³ A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis*, p. 272-273.

⁴⁴ P. Gros, "Théâtre et culte impérial en Gaule Narbonnaise et dans la Péninsule Ibérique", p. 385.

⁴⁵ R. Bédon, P. Pinon, R. Chevallier, *Architecture et urbanisme en Gaule romaine*, p. 162 ; M.-É. Bellet, *Orange antique: monuments et musée*, Paris, Ministère de la culture, de la communication, des grands travaux et du bicentenaire. Direction du patrimoine, 1991, p. 42-44

⁴⁶ M.-É. Bellet, *Orange antique: monuments et musée*, Paris, Ministère de la culture, de la communication, des grands travaux et du bicentenaire. Direction du patrimoine, 1991, p. 77

between the colonies Arausio and Vasio near modern day Gigondas and Raspaill.⁴⁷

dating: the inscription mentions ‘flamen divi augusti’, which means that the inscription can be dated after 14 AD, since ‘divi’ means that Augustus was deified, which occurred after his death.

cursus: praefectus fabrum, flamen divi augustus, pontifex

The inscriptions mentions a name in lines 3 and 4, ‘[---]lia Pompullina’, although it is unclear what the relationship is between her and the soldier. *Praefectus fabrum* indicates that the person held the military office of a prefect being in charge of artisans and engineers. The office for the imperial cult is ‘flamini divi Augusti’, priest of the deified Augustus. For Arausio, only three inscriptions are known that mention a *flamen*. Aside from this the person was also a pontiff, although further information is unknown. A pontiff was a member of a college of priests, and the office was usually an honor reserved for wealthy and powerful families. *Praefectus fabrum* indicates that the person probably would have been of equestrian or rank.

Table 5: offices listed in the inscriptions for Arausio

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Praefectus fabrum	7		
Flamen divi augusti		7	
pontifex			7

Only one inscription can be found for Arausio that combines a military office with an office of the imperial cult. Just as in Narbo Martius other inscriptions are known that mention military offices. To get more information about the development of the imperial cult in Arausio, other inscriptions can be looked at. Together with inscription 7, two other inscriptions are known that mention priests for the imperial cult. One mentions ‘flamini romae et augusti’ and one mentions ‘romae et divi augusti’. With these three combined it can be added that there was a priest of the living Augustus. As these three only mention Augustus, it is difficult to determine if the cult would have extended beyond Augustus. In the brief introduction for Arausio a temple from the second century is mentioned, just as temples to the emperor Claudius. To obtain further information about the imperial cult in Arausio other

⁴⁷ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

materials than inscriptions have to be looked at.⁴⁸

1.4 Forum Iulii

Veterans of the Eighth Legion were settled in Forum Iulii in 35 or 27 BC after the years of civil war, as is evident from the name, *Colonia Octavorum*. The citizens belonged to the voting district of the Aniensis.⁴⁹ Forum Iulii is only one of two places in Gallia Narbonensis, next to Narbo Martius, where the cult of the *numen* can be attested.⁵⁰

8. CIL XII 249

Part of an altar in Le Puget sur Argens, a town adjacent to modern day Fréjus.⁵¹

dating: augustan/julio-claudian dating. Because of the absence of the title of the legion, Keppie suggests an Augustan/Julio-Claudian dating.

cursus: miles leg viiii

While the inscription does not mention an office for the imperial cult, this inscription has been chosen because it mentions Jupiter Optimus Maximus in lines 1 and 2. Military offerings to Jupiter are common, although not in Gallia Narbonensis, where only two instances are to be found. The link between Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the army is part of Augustus' cultural revolution.⁵² The word 'ingenus' could mean freeborn or native.⁵³ The Ninth Hispanic Legion was involved in the Gallic Wars, 58-50 BC, although the title of the legion is missing in this inscription.

9. CIL XII 392

Found in 1614 on the grounds of the church for John the Baptist. The inscription is a marble tablet and made up of two parts, one measuring 69x90x10 cm and the other 75x0x10 cm.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Jean Gag ,  nn e 1940 (1941), *L'Ann e Epigraphique* 5-76; CIL XII 1236; CIL XII 1237.

⁴⁹ Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis*, 226.

⁵⁰ Duncan Fishwick ICLW 234.

⁵¹ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae* (1888)

⁵² Ian Haynes, *Blood of the provinces, The Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans* (Oxford, 2013) 206, 207, 214, 215

⁵³ Keppie, *Roman Army Papers* 234-236.

⁵⁴ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae* (1888)

dating: because the inscription mentions *divi augusti*, it can be dated to at least after the death of Augustus. Since the *ala Longiniana* was disbanded in the time of Vespasian, 69-79 AD, this gives another clue to a secure dating.

cursus: tribunus militum, praefectus alae longiniae, sacerdoti/flamen divi augusti

This inscription mentions the *ala Longiniana* in lines 6 and 7, a cavalry regiment of which the person was a prefect. This inscription is related to another inscription that mentions a *curator* for repairs to a temple of which the priest is named in this inscription.⁵⁵ Although we have seen the word ‘flamen’ being used several times before in other inscriptions, here we have the word ‘sacerdoti’ instead. For this explanation we have to turn to Vespasian, since he was the one who reorganized the provincial cult to include also the living emperor.⁵⁶ It can be said with great certainty that the person was of equestrian rank, since prefect for a cavalry regiment was supposed to be one of the senior offices for the equestrians.

Table 6: offices listed in the inscriptions for Forum Iulii

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Tribunus militum	9		
Praefectus Alae Longiniae	9		
Miles	8		
Sacerdotus/flamen divi augusti		9	

The situation for Forum Iulii is quite similar to the situation for Narbo Martius. Here too we have only two inscriptions, with one not directly referring to the imperial cult and with one directly referring to the imperial cult. There are no theaters, fora or temples to look at to see how the imperial cult would have developed itself in Forum Iulii. What can be said however is that inscription 9 points to the person being a priest of the deified Augustus in the time of Vespasian. Since Vespasian reorganized the provincial cult to include also the living emperor, it might be said that there would have been priests for emperors before Vespasian, especially Augustus. The dating of inscription 9 also says something about the emperors before Vespasian. Would ‘sacerdoti divi augusti’ have meant just a priest of the deified Augustus?

⁵⁵ M. Gayraud, *Narbonne antique: des origines à la fin du IIIe siècle* (1981) 388-390.

⁵⁶ Jean-Marie Pailler, ‘Domitien, ‘la « loi des Narbonnais » et le culte impérial dans les provinces sénatoriales d’Occident’, *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 22 (1989) 171-189.

This would seem off, since there is roughly a 55 year period between the death of Augustus and Vespasian. This would also mean that the emperors in between Augustus and Vespasian did not have priests, which does not match with other inscriptions in this thesis which do mention priests for other emperors. It could mean that with the reorganization of the provincial cult under Vespasian that ‘divi Augusti’ simply meant for all deified emperors. Does this mean that inscriptions that do mention priests for other emperors are simply not remaining or do these priests not have military backgrounds? With Narbo Martius being an important provincial centre, one would expect to find more related inscriptions in Narbo Martius than in Forum Iulii, although this is not the case. Duncan Fishwick even mentioned that Forum Iulii is the only colony next to Narbo Martius where the cult of the *numen* can be attested, although it seems not directly with persons with other military or imperial cult offices.

1.5 Arelate

The Legio VI Ferrata is known from its veterans who moved to Arelate after 45 BC. Veterans of the Second Legion also moved to Arelate during a later time.⁵⁷ The citizens belonged to the voting district of Terentia.⁵⁸ The base for the imperial cult outside of the inscriptions can be already found in Arelate in 25 BC, an altar on the forum dedicated to the *genius* of Augustus.⁵⁹ The altar could eventually have included a cult for the grandsons of Augustus, Lucius and Gaius Caesar, although that is debated.⁶⁰ It seems more likely that the altar was dedicated to include Roma and Augustus after the *genius*.⁶¹ An added part of the forum shows that there could have been a temple dedicated to *divus Augustus*.⁶² Another building with early signs of the imperial cult was the theatre, finished around 12 BC. The north side of the theatre contains multiple references, such as the depiction of bulls, usually offered to the *genius* of Augustus. Other signs include laurel trees and a crown of oak leaves on different altars in the theatre. These show similarities with the renewed cult of the *Lares* in Rome.⁶³

⁵⁷ CIL XII 677.

⁵⁸ CIL XII 692.

⁵⁹ P. Gros, “Un programme augustéen: le centre monumental de la colonie d’Arles”, in: JDAI, 1987, n° 102, p. 347.

⁶⁰ P. Gros, “Un programme augustéen: le centre monumental”, in: JDAI, p. 348-350 ; E. Rosso, L’image de l’empereur, p. 324-325.

⁶¹ M. Heijmans, J.-M. Rouquette & C. Sintès, Arles antique, Parijs, Monum, éditions du patrimoine, 2006, p. 59.

⁶² P. Gros, La Gaule Narbonnaise, p. 49-50 ; M. Heijmans, Arles antique, p. 66.

⁶³ M. Heijmans, Arles antique, p. 70-72 ; C. Carrier, “Sculptures augustéennes du théâtre d’Arles”, in: RAN, 2005, n° 38-39, p. 391

Lastly, two statues of Venus and a statue of Augustus, not only refer to the Legio VI Victrix, as one depicts a Venus Victrix, but also the dynasty between Caesar and Augustus, as the other statue depicts a Venus Genetrix, as Caesar traced his origins back to Venus.⁶⁴

10. Measurements and place of origin are unknown.

dating: the inscription mentions Marcus Pompeius being a *sodali Titiali*, which would place it after the emperor Titus, so after 81 AD. The *sodales Titiales* were revived during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, as these priests were first dedicated to one of the original Roman tribes even before the Roman republic.

cursum: quindecimviro sacris faciundis, sodali augstali, flaviali, titiali, consul, proconsul province Africa, curator aquarum, augustan legate, legate, tribune

This inscription is the second one to mention the *sodales*, the other one being inscription 4. The *sodales* were priests appointed by Tiberius in 14 AD to honor Augustus and his family. In lines 5, 6 and 7, ‘sodali Augustali, sodali Flaviali/Titiali’ has been reconstructed. This points to priests for other emperors of the Flavian dynasty and Titus, probably the latest emperor to die before the inscription was made. What can be said for certain is that lines 13 and 14 mention the office of *legatus Augusti*, which means that Marcus Pompeius was a senator, as all *legati Augusti* were senators. Most of them had previously held the office of consul or praetor. Being a *legatus Augusti* means that Marcus Pompeius was appointed by the emperor to be the governor of a province, in this case the province of Dalmatia. This in contrast with governors who were appointed by the Senate, which were called proconsuls. He held several other offices, such as curator for an aqueduct, legate and tribune for multiple legions, which are unknown. The dates at which Marcus Pompeius held certain offices have been reconstructed. He was consul in 45, proconsul of Africa from 53-56, governor of Dalmatia in 69, curator aquarum from 71-73, consul again under Vespasian in 74, *sodali Flaviali* in 79, *sodali Titiali* in 81 and third time consul in 83.

⁶⁴ C. Carrier, “Sculptures augustéennes du théâtre d’Arles”, in: RAN, p. 371 & 374, 375-377.

Table 7: offices listed in the inscription for Arelate

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Augustan legate	10		
Legate	10		
Proconsul province of Africa	10		
Sodali Augustali, Flaviali, Titiali		10	
Consul			10
Curator aquarum			10
Tribune			10
Quindecimviro sacris faciundis			10

The inscription from Arelate seem to confirm the argument made by ‘The Epigraphic habit’, namely that there were less inscriptions during the first century AD, while spiking towards the end of the second century AD. Together with Arausio, Arelate also only has one relevant inscription, less than the two from Forum Iulii and Narbo Martius. There is an inscription from 90 AD and three or more inscriptions are known to be dated after 100 AD. One of these is an inscription of a *flamen augustalis*. There are only two known inscriptions from Gallia Narbonensis that mention a *flamen augustalis*, one is from Arelate and the other comes from modern day Gap.⁶⁵ The *flamen augustalis* is supposed to be for the living emperor, which would mean that the title of the priest changed from *flamen augusti* to *flamen augustalis* from about 90 AD onwards. The *sodales* were twenty five in number and chosen by lot from the principal people of the city. Included in these twenty five were the emperor and his family. As is evident from the names, deified emperors were added to the scope of the cult duties of these priests, as seen by inscription 10 mentioning *Flaviali* and *Titiali* next to *Augustali*. A comparable order of priests for men of equestrian rank and freedmen were the *seviri Augustales*. The inscription paints a picture of several decades of the imperial cult in Arelate together with the theatre and forum. The theatre and forum refer multiple times to the *genius* of Augustus, next to possible sources for Roma and *divus Augustus*. This shows that the imperial cult was already established in Arelate during the time of Augustus and which

⁶⁵ CIL XII, 697 & CIL XII, 1529.

eventually grew, as it can be seen in the inscription that 55 years later the imperial cult was expanded to also include priests for Flavian emperors and Titus.

1.6 Cularo

During the Principate the settlement of Cularo, modern day Grenoble, belonged to the *vicus* of Vienna. A *vicus* is a very small administrative unit, although they had their own magistrates, as is evident from inscriptions that mention duumviri and quinquennali.

11. CIL XII 2234

Found near a Carmelite monastery in the suburb of Grenoble.⁶⁶

dating: the dating is not clear or definitive, and there is debate on whether or not there would have been a First Legion during the time of Augustus.⁶⁷ This would probably mean that the inscription could be dated after the time the legion got disbanded and so the title would be used to discern it from other/later First Legions.

cursus: legionary I germanica, aquilifer

The inscription mentions Sextus being an *aquilifer* for thirteen years, an office only seen once before. The inscription is unique in the way that it mentions the title of ‘Germanica’ for the First Legion. Although it can be seen that the person held a military office, other municipal offices are lacking. As is known from inscription 5 it was possible for people not of equestrian rank to eventually becoming of equestrian rank by holding certain military offices. It would seem then that certain municipal offices would be reserved for people with equestrian or patrician rank.

Table 8: offices listed in the inscription for Cularo

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Legionary I germanica	11		
Aquilifer		11	

⁶⁶ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

⁶⁷ J.E. Bogaers, J.K. Haalebos, ‘Opgravingen in de Romeinse legioensvestingen te Nijmegen, III (Canisius-college, Hoge Veld, 1975-1977)’, *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Te Leiden* 61 (1980) 166.

1.7 Geneva

The city of Geneva belonged to the region of Vienna and had the official nomination of *vicus*, which means that it was the lowest administrative unit in the Roman republic/empire. Before it became a *vicus* it was a Celtic *oppidum*, or fort, and in the first century BC it came under Roman rule and it became a *vicus*.

12. CIL XII 2607

Found in 1758 just to the north of Geneva between the modern day towns of Genthod and Pregny.⁶⁸

dating: the Legio VIII Augusta was raised in 59 BC or earlier, and restored by Caesar in 44 BC. The legion travelled to many places and the title of ‘Augusta’ suggests that the legion won a victory under Augustus. We do know that Forum Iulii received a settlement of veterans in 30 BC.

cursus: praefectus fabrum, tribunus militum, duumvir, triumvir locorum publicorum persequendorum, augur, pontifex duumvir, flamen, militum legionis viii augustae

Because the inscription only mentions Lucius Iulius being a *flamen* in the colony of Vienna, it cannot for certain be determined what he was a *flamen* for. The combination of *flamen* as part of his municipal career with his offices of military tribune and *praefectus fabrum* and a legionary, in this case of the Eighth Augustan Legion, is something that can be seen in multiple inscriptions, so for the thesis it is assumed that he was a *flamen* for the emperor or his family members.

13. CIL XII 2458

Fragment of a big block of stone originally part of a frieze in the door wall of the church for St. Innocent.⁶⁹

dating: the inscription only gives one clue as to the dating, namely ‘flamen romae et augusti’, which means that Augustus was still alive when the inscription was made, so the date can be set to before 14 AD.

⁶⁸ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae* (1888)

⁶⁹ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae* (1888)

cursus: praefectus fabrum, flamen romae et augusti, flamen marti

The only military office this anonymous person held was being a prefect of artisans. Aside from that, he also held municipal offices as *flamen romae et augusti* and *flamen Marti*, which means he was a priest of Roma and Augustus and a priest of Mars. The only other instance of *flamen Marti* will be discussed in inscription 14.

14. CIL XII 2600

Found in a church for Saint Peter in 1869.⁷⁰

dating: somewhat similar to the inscription above, as ‘flamen romae et augusti’ is mentioned, which means the inscription can be dated to the reign of Augustus, up until 14 AD.

cursus: quattuorvir, praefectus fabrum, flamen martis, flamen romae et augusti

This inscription is very similar to inscription 13 above. This inscription only adds the offices of *quattuorvir* and *tutor*. We can see that this person too held the municipal offices of *flamen romae et Augusti* and *flamen Martis*. Again no reference to the person having served in a legion.

15. CIL XII 2608

Found in 1575 in the city walls of Geneva.⁷¹

dating: the words ‘flamen augusti’ are somewhat peculiar to date, as ‘divi’ is not there which would make the dating to up until 14 AD, when Augustus was still alive, useful. The Legio VI received its title of ‘Victrix’ under Nero however, which would put the dating to 54-68 AD.

cursus: duumvir aerarium, triumvir locorum publicorum persecuendor, tribunus militum legio vi victrix, praefectus fabrum, flamen augusti, pontifex

Assuming the dating is 54-68 ‘augusti’ would then be used for Nero or a later emperor. The office of *duumvir aerarium* would point out that T. Iulius was in charge of money, as we have seen the other offices of military tribune, prefect of artisans and pontifex before.

⁷⁰ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

⁷¹ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

Table 9: offices listed in the inscriptions for Geneva

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Praefectus fabrum	12, 13, 14, 15		
Tribunus militum	12		
Militum legionis viii augustae	12		
Tribunus militum legio vi victrix	15		
Flamen romae et augusti		13, 14	
Flamen marti		13, 14	
Flamen		12	
Flamen augusti		15	
Quattorvir			14
Duumvir			12,
Triumvir locorum publicorum persequendorum			12
Augur			12
Pontifex			12, 15
Duumvir aerarium			15
Triumvir locorum publicorum persequendor			15

In the four inscriptions from Geneva, certain clusters of offices can be seen, especially regarding the military and the imperial cult. For the military offices, it can be seen that all four inscriptions mention the office of *praefectus fabrum*, with only *tribunus militum* and *militum legionis viii augustae* mentioned in inscription 12. For the imperial cult offices, it can be seen that two inscriptions mention two offices, namely *flamen romae et augusti* and *flamen marti* for inscriptions 13 and 14. Inscription number 12 does not mention who the priest was for, and number 15 was a priest of the living Augustus. The *flamen* in inscription 12 has been assumed to be either for Augustus or the deified Augustus, because of similarities in dating

and similarities in offices with the other three inscriptions. All four can be roughly dated to the period of Augustus and all four mention the office of *praefectus fabrum*. For inscription number 15 it can also be seen that it mentions a specific kind of *duumvir* and *triumvir*, namely *duumvir aerarium* and *triumvir locorum publicorum persequendor*. It is difficult to determine whether or not the imperial cult continued to exist after the time of Augustus in this way. Other material remains such as a theatre or forum do not exist so other materials have to be looked at in order to determine the state of the imperial cult after the time of Augustus.

1.8 Alba Helviorum

The city of Alba Helviorum, current day Alba-la-Romaine, was a Latin colony, as supported by multiple inscriptions that mention the office of quattorvir. The citizens belonged to the voting tribe of the Voltinia. A sanctuary devoted to the imperial cult had been built at around 10 AD, although it reached its height in the second century. A statue was found in the vicinity, although it cannot be dated to the Julio-Claudian period because of certain features.⁷²

16. CIL XII 2676

Measurements and where and when it was found is unknown.

dating: *Trismegistos* inaccurately dated the inscription as 199 BC-284 AD.

cursus: quattorvir, flam augusti, tribunus militum of the leg iii gallica, praefectus fabrum

The Third Gallic Legion was raised in 49 BC by Julius Caesar and the title of ‘Gallica’ suggests that the recruits were from Gaul originally. The problem of ‘flamen augusti’ has been seen before, and the rest of the inscription does not give a clue as to which emperor is referred to. For this thesis however it will be assumed that ‘flamen augusti’ refers to a living emperor, probably dated after Augustus. The rest of this inscription is very similar to a lot of the rest of the inscriptions, as it refers to *praefectus fabrum*, *quattorvir* and *tribunus militum*. Although only one inscription exists from Alba Helviorum that mentions a military and an imperial cult office, from other material remains it can be said that the imperial cult existed until the second century.

⁷² E. Rosso, L’image de l’empereur, p. 380-381.

Table 10: offices listed in the inscription for Alba Helviorum

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Tribunus militum legio ii gallica	16		
Praefectus fabrum	16		
Flamen augusti		16	
Quattorvir			16

1.9 Allebaece Reiorum Apollinarum

As can be deduced from the name, the city was home to members of the *Reii* tribe. After the Romans captured the town the name became *colonia Iulia Augusta Apollinaris Reiorum*. The citizens of the colony belonged to the voting tribe of the Voltinia.⁷³

17. CIL XII 370

Found in a street after digging.⁷⁴

dating: difficult to date, apart from the ‘flamini divi iuli’ which places it after 42 BC.

cursus: flamen, tribunus militum, legionary in an unknown legion

This inscription mentions a *flamen* from his own region. This inscription is a bit peculiar however, as the reconstruction does not conform with the fact that the cult of the deified Caesar does not appear in Gallia Narbonensis whatsoever.⁷⁵ The use of the words ‘sacerdotales’ and ‘sacerdoti’ would suggest a far later date, preferably around the time of Augustus.

18. The inscription was found and written at Allebaece Reiorum Apollinarum, modern day Riez.

dating: all three databases date the inscription 39-70 AD.

cursus: hastatus primus in the legion iiiii macedonicae

⁷³ Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis*, 243.

⁷⁴ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

⁷⁵ Christol, ‘L’*épigraphie et les débuts*’, 12-20.

Although this inscription makes no reference to the imperial cult whatsoever, it is still an interesting inscription because of ‘Reiunii’ and ‘hastatus primus’ in lines 1 and 3. ‘Hastatus primus’ would mean that Marcus Iulius was the third highest ranking centurion in a legion, below a *primuspilus*, of which we have used an inscription already, and the centurion in charge of headquarters.⁷⁶ The ‘Reiunii’ were local gods, probably from the area around Allebaece Reiorum Apollinarum. Local gods are not often named, although there is one other inscription referring to local gods within the context of the Roman army. Most of the other inscriptions revolve around Silvanus or the patron god of the city of Nemausus, for example. This would mean that these local gods were important enough for the legionary to incorporate them on the stone next to his accomplishments in the Roman army, suggesting that this local aspect was just as important as his other accomplishments, thereby retaining a part of his local culture and/or beliefs.

Table 11: offices listed in the inscriptions of Allebaece Reiorum Apollinarum

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Hastatus primus legio iiii macedonicae	18		
Tribunus militum	17		
Legionary in an unknown legion	17		
Flamen divi Iuli		17	
Sacerdotes/sacerdoti		17	

Only two inscriptions from Allebaece Reiorum Apollinarum referring to soldiers and the imperial cult, and they refer mostly to offices already seen before in other inscriptions. *Sacerdotes* and *sacerdoti* are referred to but it is not clear for whom they were. The dating for inscription 17 combined with *sacerdotes* and *sacerdoti* suggests a type of priest instituted around the time of Augustus or later. It has been assumed that *sacerdotes* and *sacerdoti* are related to Augustus or later emperors because the inscription mentions ‘tribunus militum’, a case we have seen in earlier inscriptions. What are we to make of these two inscriptions then, as they are the only ones to mention the local gods ‘Reiunii’ and the ‘flamen iuli’? Does this mean that these were inscriptions by individuals who had different tastes than the rest of the persons of which inscriptions are remaining? Or does it say that similar inscriptions simply

⁷⁶ Lesley Adkins, Roy A. Adkins, *Handbook to life in Ancient Rome* (Oxford) 64.

are not remaining anymore, being lost, destroyed or otherwise not there. For the ‘Reiunii’ however, it does not seem to be an inscription that stands alone, as there are other inscriptions that mention local gods, just not the Reiunii and not in a Roman military context.

1.10 Vienna

Not to be confused with modern day Vienna in Switzerland. It is difficult to determine when the town became a Roman colony. A first try by the Romans did not take hold and the colonists were kicked out by the *Allobroges*, a tribe which lived in the area for a long time already. In 43 BC Vienna became a Roman colony. The presence of duumviri instead of quattuorviri points to the status of the colony.⁷⁷ A similar temple as the Maison Carrée in Nemausus stood in Vienna. The temple was dedicated to the deified Augustus and Livia.⁷⁸ It has also been suggested that the temple at first was dedicated to Roma and Augustus and in a later period for the deified Augustus and Livia.⁷⁹ There was also an altar with portraits representing Augustus and Tiberius, both quite alike in features but also some differences in the crowns that they wear. It is suggested that these portraits symbolize the dynastic succession.⁸⁰ There was also a theatre with a statue that represented Antonia Minor, the mother of Claudius. During her life Antonia Minor had been priestess for the deified Augustus.⁸¹ Lastly, the base of a statue in honor of Germanicus had been found near the forum. It was probably related to the cult of Germanicus.

19. CIL XII 1872

Found in a field in the town of modern day Charavel, to the north of Vienna.⁸²

dating: for the dating of this inscription we cannot rely on the legion, as there were two Twentysecond legions, but both of them do not fully correspond to the timeline that is given by the text of ‘priest of the deified Augustus and Germanicus Caesar’. The inscription mentions ‘divi Augusti’ and ‘flamen Germanicus Caesar’, which means it would be dated after the death of Augustus but when Germanicus was still alive. No ‘divi’ is mentioned for

⁷⁷ A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis*, p. 305-306.

⁷⁸ A. Grenier, *Manuel d’archeologie. L’architecture*, p. 394 ; A. Pelletier, *Vienne antique: de la conquête romaine aux invasions alamanniques (IIe siècle avant – IIIe siècle après J.C.)*, Le Couteau – Roanne, Editions HORVATH, 1982, p. 445.

⁷⁹ A. Pelletier, *Vienne antique*, p. 449-451.

⁸⁰ E. Rosso, *L’image de l’empereur*, p. 297 ; *Ibid.*, p. 134-135.

⁸¹ A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis*, p. 309 ; E. Rosso, “Un portrait d’Antonia Minor au theater antique de Vienne (Isère)”, in: *RA*, 2000, 2, p. 323 & 325.

⁸² Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

Germanicus Caesar, so this places the inscription until 19 AD.

cursus: tribunus militum, quattuorvir, flamen divi augusti item flamen germanicus Caesar, praefectus fabrum

This inscription combines the priesthood of the deified Augustus with the priesthood for Germanicus Caesar, adopted son of Augustus. The first inscription to mention a priest of Germanicus Caesar. What is peculiar about this is that lines 7 and 8 state that he was a priest by decree of the local government: ‘decreto decurionem’.

20. A limestone block measuring 21x25x12 cm. Found on the location of a pagan necropolis in 1969.⁸³

dating: *Trismegistos* dates the inscription 1-125 AD. The inscription was found and written at Vienna. No other clues can be deduced.

cursus: signifer/imaginifer

The inscription can be reconstructed in two possible ways, namely with ‘imaginifer’ or with ‘signifer’. For the relevance of this thesis ‘imaginifer’ will be used, as this was an office related to the imperial cult and the office of ‘signifer’ was not, although it was updated during Augustus’ time.⁸⁴ Being an *imaginifer*, this anonymous person could be enlisted in a legion or in the auxiliaries, after which he joined the cavalry, because of ‘equ[---]’ in line 2. This reconstruction is only partial however, so further speculation is difficult. *Signifer* during the Roman empire was an encompassing term for all offices related to standard bearing, such as *imaginifer*, someone who would carry the image of the emperor in a cohort, or an *aquilifer*, someone who would carry the Legion’s eagle standard. The rank of *imaginifer* was added during the time of emperor Augustus when the imperial cult was established.⁸⁵

⁸³ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

⁸⁴ Yann Le Bohec, ‘Ensigns’, <<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ru.idm.oclc.org/entries/brill-s-new-paully/ensigns-e410600#>> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

⁸⁵ Yann Le Bohec, ‘Ensigns’, <<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ru.idm.oclc.org/entries/brill-s-new-paully/ensigns-e410600#>> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

Table 12: offices listed in the inscriptions of Vienna

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Tribunus militum	19		
Praefectus fabrum	19		
Signifer/imaginifer	20	20	
Flamen divi augusti item flamen germanicus Caesar		19	
Quattorvir			19

From these two inscriptions several new elements can be seen. The office of *signifier/imaginifer* in inscription 20 and a priest of Germanicus Caesar in inscription 19. The combination of the priesthood with the military offices of *tribunus militum* and *praefectus fabrum* is not new however. The inscriptions partly conform with the image of the imperial cult from other material remains. The brief introduction of Vienna mentions aspects of the cult related to Augustus, Livia, Germanicus and Tiberius. While references to Germanicus and Augustus have been seen in inscription 19, Tiberius and Livia are not mentioned. This would indicate that inscriptions mentioning Tiberius and military and imperial cult offices are not remaining or that there are none.

1.11 Nemausus

Nemausus was a Latin colony, governed by *quattorviri* and the citizens belonged to the voting tribe of the Voltinia. Although the capital was Narbo Martius, Nemausus was the second city of the province, with an important role in the minting of the coins for the legions in Gaul and Germania.⁸⁶ Nemausus was an important city and this can be seen in the archaeological remains regarding the imperial cult. There are five inscriptions referencing the *Lares Augusti*, although these do not refer to veterans whatsoever and will not be discussed. An inscription also mentions the *numinibus augustorum*, although it is difficult to determine which emperor is mentioned. Nemausus is also home to the Maison Carrée, a temple devoted to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, adopted sons of Augustus.⁸⁷ This is based on the reconstruction of bronze letters in the façade of the temple, although there it is debated which interpretation is the right

⁸⁶ A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis*, p. 163

⁸⁷ D. Darde, *Nîmes antique*, Parijs, Monum, éditions du patrimoine, 2005, p. 50.

one.⁸⁸ The completion of the temple is situated around 2-3 AD.⁸⁹ The temple housed images and statues of the persons whom the temple was dedicated to, together with other members of the imperial family, as was the custom for a temple of the imperial cult.⁹⁰ The imperial cult was also involved with local sanctuaries, as can be seen in the *Augusteum*, a sanctuary first dedicated to the local god Nemausus. The well next to this sanctuary received two inscriptions regarding Augustus in 25 BC. Further, an altar had been built next to the well, although it has been destroyed, it showed similarities to another altar for Roma and Augustus at Lugdunum from 12 BC, based on coins.⁹¹

21. CIL XII 3180

Found in 1810 in the amphitheatre.⁹²

dating: found and written at Nemausus, dated 11-20 AD, because the inscription mentions ‘divi’ for Augustus and not for Drusus and Germanicus, which means Augustus died but Drusus and Germanicus were alive when the inscription was made.

cursus: flamen Roma et divi Augusti item Drusi et Germanici Caesarum, tribunus militum, praefectus fabrum, three times quattuorvir

In the database *Trismegistos* it is reconstructed as ‘decreto decurionum’ in lines 1 and 2, although the CIL reconstructs ‘Dis manibus’. Holding on to the more recent *Trismegistos*, ‘Decreto decurionum’ is used. This would also fit in better with ‘iure dicundo Nemausenses’, written at Nemausus, in lines 13, 14 and 15.⁹³ The person’s voting tribe is mentioned in line 5, ‘Voltinia’. Inhabitants of different colonies were ascribed to voting tribes, in this case the Voltinia. The offices are listed, starting with *flaminis Romae et divi Augusti item Drusi et Germanici Caesarum*, followed by *tribunus militum*, *praefectus fabrum* and *quattuorvir*. Based on other inscriptions it seems more likely that the person held the offices of *tribunus militum*, *praefectus fabrum* and *quattuorvir* before he became priest.⁹⁴ Some argue that Sextus Iulius only got the office of priest after he got equestrian rank. Him being a *quattuorvir* and a priest of

⁸⁸ D. Darde, *Nîmes antique*, Parijs, Monum, éditions du patrimoine, 2005, p. 78 ; E. Espérandieu, *La Maison Carrée à Nîmes*, Parijs, Henri Laurens, 1929, p. 7-9 ; R. Amy, P. Gros, *La Maison Carrée de Nîmes*, Parijs, CNRS, 1979, p. 183-185 ; R. Bédon, P. Pinon, R. Chevallier, *Architecture et urbanisme en Gaule romaine*, p. 137 ; R. Amy, P. Gros, *La Maison Carrée*, p. 187 ; J.C. Anderson, “Anachronism in the Roman Architecture of Gaul: The Date of the Maison Carrée at Nîmes”, in: *JSAH*, 2001, 60, n° 1, p. 70.

⁸⁹ D. Darde, *Nîmes antique*, p. 78.

⁹⁰ D. Darde, *Nîmes antique*, p. 82.

⁹¹ D. Darde, *Nîmes antique*, p. 60, 64.

⁹² Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

⁹³ In the CIL *Dis manibus* is reconstructed.

⁹⁴ M. Christol, *Latomus*, 60, 2001, p. 613-630

Drusus and Germanicus would argue in favor of Sextus being of Nemausus originally. The name of Iulius Maximus is not unknown to Nemausus, although there are only two other references, namely his father and grandson.⁹⁵ Another great example is T. Iulius Maximus, one or two generations later but from the same family, born in about 70 AD, was a consul in 112 AD. In multiple generations, the family's capital builds up, which eventually leads to higher ranks for family members. The name especially is an example of multiple generations of marriages with the local elite, even with old Roman families, as suggested by Christol.⁹⁶ His descendant, T. Iulius Maximus from the second century is known from an inscription, CIL XII 3167.

22. CIL XII 3186

Found in 1864 in modern day Nimes when a mill was demolished.⁹⁷

dating: the dating is slightly problematic, as two legions can be reconstructed. The Fourth Flavian legion was raised by Vespasian in 70 AD. Going with 'flamen romae et augusti', however gives a better dating, as Augustus was worshipped alongside Roma during his lifetime, which would place it before 14 AD.

cursus: tribunus militum, flamen romae et augusti

This inscription mentions an anonymous person holding the office of military tribune and involved in the legion IIII or XVI, and being a *flamen Romae et Augusti*. It is not entirely clear which office the person held first. Similar earlier inscriptions note that the military office came before the priestly one. Apart from the fact that the inscription was found at Nemausus, the office of *flamen Romae et divi Augusti* exists in other colonies as well, which cannot give closure about where the person would have worked.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ M. Christol, 'L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-claudiens', *Publications de l'École française de Rome* 108 (1988) 92-93; Céline Chulsky, 'Notables nimois. Sénateurs, chevaliers et magistrats issus de la cite de Nimes à l'époque romaine' 129-132. Father and grandson are named in CIL XII 3167 ; D.B. Saddington, 'The Relationship between Holding Office in a Municipium or Colonia and the Militia Equestris in the Early Principate', *Athenaeum* 84 (1996) 167-168, 177.

⁹⁶ Christol, *l'ordre equestre*, 275; Marie-Jeanne Ouriachi, Laure Nuninger, 'Trajectoires des hommes et des établissements: contribution à la modélisation du système de peuplement antique en Languedoc oriental', *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 44 () 99-116.

⁹⁷ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

⁹⁸ *Ibidem* 122-123.

23. CIL XII 3207

Part of a *cippus*. Found in the wall of a house near modern day Nîmes.⁹⁹

dating: we can see that the person has been a *flamen romae et divi augusti item drusi et germanici caesarum*, which would mean that the inscription can be dated after the death of Augustus but when Drusus and Germanicus were still alive, which would make it 24-45 AD.

cursus: *flamen romae et divi augusti item drusi et germanici caesarum, pontifex, praefectus fabrum, quattuorvir*

This inscription shows a lot of similarities in offices with earlier inscriptions, as the *praefectus fabrum* is combined with the priesthood, in this case for the deified Augustus, Drusus and Germanicus Caesar. Multiple people with the name ‘Messor’ are known from Nemausus.¹⁰⁰

24. CIL XII 3166

Found in an old Augustin monastery, the inscription is part of the *cippus*, in this case a square, measuring 124x60 cm.¹⁰¹

dating: the inscription is inaccurately dated by *Trismegistos* to 70-284 AD. The inscription mentions Vespasian without the ‘divi’, which means that the emperor was alive when the inscription was made, which means that it can be dated to 70-79 AD.

cursus: *praefectus alae longinianaee, quattuorvir ad aerarium, pontifex, praefectus vigilum*

Certain new elements arise, such as *praefecto vigilum*, prefect of the *Vigiles*, the city guard in line 12 is new, just as the office of *quattuorvir* of the treasury. These two offices are known to belong to Nemausus. The voting tribe of Voltinia in line 2 and *pontifex* have already been seen before. In lines 9 and 10 ‘*praefecto alae Longinianaee*’ is reconstructed, meaning that Caius Fulvius would have been a cavalry commander. The name of ‘Fulvius’ is known in Nemausus.¹⁰² The office of *praefectus alae Longiniae* would point to the fact that he held equestrian rank. It is suggested that the name ‘Fulvius’ is adopted because of the family name of ‘Servilianus’. This would suggest that he originated from Servilia. Other inscriptions with

⁹⁹ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem* 132-134.

¹⁰¹ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

¹⁰² Chulsky, ‘Notables nimois’, 135-140.

the name ‘Fulvius’ are known from Nemausus.¹⁰³

Table 13: offices listed in the inscriptions of Nemausus

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Tribunus militum	21, 22		
Praefectus fabrum	21, 23		
Praefectus alae longinae	24		
Praefectus vigilum	24		
Flamen roma et divi augusti item drusi et germanici caesarum		21, 23	
Flamen romae et augusti		22	
Quattorvir three times			21
Quattorvir ad aerarium			24
Pontifex			23, 24
Quattorvir			23

Three of the four inscriptions mention an office for the imperial cult, with inscription 24 not mentioning one. This inscription has been included however because the offices that are listed are very similar to inscriptions that do mention offices for the imperial cult, such as *praefectus alae Longinae*, *quattorvir* and *pontifex*. It can be said then that it would have been possible for Caius Fulvius to become priest in the imperial cult. The inscription is also included because it is one of few of which inscriptions from probable family members is known, giving us insight into the careers of family members and the role of the family in the colony. The other three inscriptions conform with the introduction on Nemausus that there were buildings already for the imperial cult in the time of Augustus. Gaius and Lucius Caesar and the *numen* have not been found in the inscriptions however. All these remains tell us that the imperial cult was very active in the time of Augustus and a few decades afterwards for the adopted sons Germanicus and Drusus. Looking at the total amount of inscriptions that mention priests for Nemausus, it can be seen that there are less inscriptions of priests remaining than inscriptions of priestesses. The colonia of Nemausus has the highest amount of inscriptions mentioning *flamines* in Gallia Narbonensis. It is then at least curious to say that there are no more inscriptions from Nemausus regarding *flamines* and the imperial cult. This would mean

¹⁰³ Ibidem, 135-138.

that not all *flamines* from Nemausus had a military background or that those inscriptions have been lost to the ages.¹⁰⁴ Only eight provincial *flamen* are known, four of which were from Nemausus. The female priests, *flaminicae*, were involved with the emperors' wives. Some differences can be seen in those as well, as most of them mention *flaminica augusta*, for the emperor's wives, one for *diva augusta*, probably for Livia, the wife of Augustus, and some mention *flaminica perpetua*, meaning being a priestess for the duration of her life.¹⁰⁵

1.12 Massilia

The city of Massilia carried the title of *foedus*, which means that the city was semi-autonomous although they still had to pay taxes.¹⁰⁶ Aqua Sextiae was a Latin colony during the republic, which is evident in the fact that it had a voting tribe of the Voltinia. During the time of Augustus the colony gained the rights of a Roman colony, which is evident in the offices, which changed from *quattuorviri* to *duumviri*.

25. CIL XII 408

Found in the garden of a person living in St. Just, in the vicinity of Marseille and eventually given to a museum in Avignon in 1850.¹⁰⁷

dating: *Trismegistos* dates the inscription to 75-99 AD.

cursum: pontifex laurentinorum, ornamentis flaminatus coloniae aquensis, praefectus alae hispanae, procuratori Augusti, patron

The inscription mentions Lucius Dudistius Novanus being an honorary priest of the colony of Aquensis, modern day Aix-en-Provence, near modern day Marseille. Lines 5, 6 and 7: 'ornamentis flaminatus coloniae Aquensis'. The office of honorary priest would not be carried out, which can be supported by the fact that the inscription was found at Massilia and not in Aqua Sextiae. This would mean that he did not live in Aqua Sextiae but he lived in Massilia. What is curious is that the inscription mentions Lucius together with the voting tribe of the Voltinia, although the voting tribe of Quirina was more common around the area of

¹⁰⁴ CIL XII, 3190. 460 CIL XII, 3186.

¹⁰⁵ CIL XII, 2823, 3175, 3194, 3211, 3216, 3225, 3268, 3269, 3279, 3302; Jörg Rüpke, *The Religion of the Romans* (Cambridge, 2007) 225.

¹⁰⁶ A. Chastagnol, 'La Gaule Romaine et le droit latin', 116, 121-122, 127-128.

¹⁰⁷ Otto Hirschfeld, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae* (1888)

Marseille.¹⁰⁸ The office of honorary *flamen* has been seen once before in Baeterrae in inscription 1. It is not known why persons would acquire these honorary titles. Was it revolved around money or was it a status symbol? The *procuratori Augusti* were the chief financial officers in a province, although in this case it would mean that he was a governor of a small imperial province, in this case Alpis Cottia, mentioned in line 13: ‘Alpium cottian’.

Table 14: offices listed in the inscription of Massilia

	Military offices	Imperial cult offices	Municipal offices
Praefectus alae hispanae	25		
Procuratori augusti	25		
Ornamentis flaminatus coloniae aquensis		25	
Pontifex laurentinorum			25
Patron			25

This inscription is a tough one because of certain elements. First, *Trismegistos* dates the inscription to 75-99 AD, although this cannot be deduced from elements in the text itself. Second, it is mentioned that Lucius Dudistius was an honorary priest, but it is not mentioned for whom he was the priest. This makes it hard to more accurately date the inscription. This makes sense however when assuming that the priesthood was honorary and was not expected to be carried out. Third, it seems that Lucius was of equestrian rank, because of the office of *praefectus alae Hispanae* and the office of *procurator Augusti*, exclusively for equestrians.

¹⁰⁸ M. Clerc, ‘Aquae Sextiae. Histoire d’Aix-en-Provence dans l’antiquité’, 300.

Chapter 2 Inscriptions and the career path for *equites* and *nobiles*

How are we then to make sense of all these offices, military, imperial cult and municipal? The best possible solution seems to be the *cursus honorum*, the career path for Roman politicians. This path would be slightly different for members of the *nobiles* and the *equites*. The *cursus honorum* was instituted in the beginning of the Roman republic, in the beginning of the sixth century BC. From the third century BC, the path to becoming a Senator was more or less established in a general way: after a period of military service the offices that followed were quaestor, aedile, praetor and finally consul. In the year 180 BC a law was made to establish the minimum age required to perform the named offices. The minimum ages were then as follows: 30 for quaestor, 37 for aedile or tribune, 40 for praetor and 43 for consul. This resulted in equality of opportunity for the political class when competing for the highest office, the consulship. The rank of Senator gave status, next to the fact that it showed that these Roman magistrates had performed their duties in multiple branches of the Roman society, resulting in adequate age and experience. As already briefly expanded upon during the inscriptions, *quaestores* were financial administrators, *aediles* had to take care of the temples, organize games and the maintenance of public buildings. *Praetores* acted primarily as judges, although they could exercise some military functions when needed, and lastly the consuls who had military command and were at the head of the Senate. During the Roman empire, the *cursus honorum* was expanded with several new offices. The office of *vigintivir* was added, literally meaning ‘twenty men’. The minimum age to be elected was 18 and these men were in charge of road maintenance, minting coins and prisons. The next step would be military tribune at the age of 20 to acquire appropriate years of military experience. During the empire the minimum age for quaestor was lowered to 25, but it still followed after military service. The office of aedile would follow the office of quaestor, although the minimum age had been lowered to 27. The office of praetor during the empire would require a person to be 30 years instead of 40 during the Republic. To become a consul during the empire a person had to be at least 32 instead of the 43 during the Republic. While the minimum age for most offices had been lowered during the empire, the *cursus honorum* followed the same path as the one during the Republic. Due to the changing political system however during the empire, several offices were added although they were not part of the *cursus honorum*. A *praefectus* was a public official who would be appointed by the emperor for a specific period and a specific task with the most common tasks belonging to the military. The offices of *propraetor* and *proconsul* could be exercised after holding the office of *praetor* and *consul*, respectively.

A *propraetor* and a *proconsul* had the same powers as a *praetor* and *consul*, without officially being a *praetor* or *consul*. *Propraetors* and *proconsuls* would act as governors of provinces.¹⁰⁹

A similar form existed for the *equites*. While *aedile* would feature later on in a *nobiles*' career, for the *equites* the office of *aedile*, *duumvir* or *augur* were first on the ladder. After that they also had to serve in the military as officers for about ten years. Following that they could hold the senior administrative or military posts, with the highest possible offices being *praefectus annonae*, in charge of food supply, prefect of Egypt or praetorian prefect. The equestrian order lacks a similar name to *cursus honorum*, but there was a certain part that equestrians typically followed, which is called the *tres militiae*, or 'three services'. These are prefect of a cohort, followed by military tribune and eventually prefect of an auxiliary cavalry regiment, called an *ala*. Equestrians exclusively provided the prefects of the imperial army's auxiliary regiments and 5 out of 6 of the military tribunes in each legion. Augustus created senior administrative and military posts for the equestrians, although they ranked below the highest senatorial posts. Equestrians could also be governors of certain provinces, which is called a *procurator*. Other prefect offices include *praefectus praetorio*, commander of the Praetorian Guard, *praefectus classis*, admiral of an imperial fleet and the *praefectus annonae*, already named above. This is not to say that every person in the equestrian order followed this same path. Some could also remain in the army to serve as prefects for different regiments or some could be exempt of military service by serving as judges. It was also possible for *equites* to get into the Senate by holding the office of *quaestor*, which automatically included a spot in the Senate. To be eligible for this however the person had to be appointed by the emperor. Beginning with Augustus the *praefectus* generally held the rank of *equites*.¹¹⁰

Now to combine the results from the colonies with the above information from the career paths of the *nobiles* and *equites*. The offices of the *tres militiae* have to be looked at, so this means the prefect of a cohort, military tribune and prefect of an auxiliary cavalry regiment, called an *ala*. Equestrians exclusively provided the prefects of the imperial army's auxiliary regiments and 5 out of 6 of the military tribunes in each legion. The five veteran colonies will be looked at first before looking at the rest. The five veteran colonies contain ten inscriptions. The three best inscriptions from these ten that point to the direction of *equites* are inscription numbers 2, 5 and 8. Military tribune is mentioned in inscriptions number 2, 5 and 8, with 5 and 8 mentioning for which legions the person was a military tribune for, namely the Tenth for inscription number 5 and the Seventh and Twentysecond Legion for inscription

¹⁰⁹ The Cambridge ancient history 337-342; goldsworthy 60, 64, 65, 66

¹¹⁰ The Cambridge ancient history 337-342; goldsworthy 60, 64, 65, 66

number 8. Inscription number 8 also mentions the person being a *praefectus equitum* and a *praefectus castrorum*, respectively a cavalry and a camp commander. Inscription number 5 mentions the person being a *praefectus alae Longinae*, while inscription number 2 mentions the person being a praefectus. These three inscriptions already give great examples of the career path these persons followed while being *equites*. The person from inscription number 5 had to be an *equites*, since he was the commander of a cavalry regiment and those offices were reserved for *equites*. *Tribunus militum* and several ranks of *praefectus* point to a more than likely chance for the persons in inscriptions number 2 and 8 to have been *equites* as well, since most military tribunes were *equites* and prefects were generally *equites*. Another clear example of an *equites* comes from inscription number 9, which mentions the person being a prefect for the First Raetian cohort. An example of a career path typically for *equites* comes from inscription number 2, where it is called a ‘primipilar career’, usually started by holding a *primipilus*, followed by a military tribunate and culminating in the office of *praefectus castrorum*. In the case of inscription number 2 however, it can be seen that the person held the *primipilus*, military tribunate and not the *praefectus castrorum* but the *praefectus fabrum*. Some offices are also mentioned in which it is more difficult to determine the class of the person. *Legatus* and *legato pro praetore* are mentioned in inscriptions 6 and 7, which would point to men of consular rank, which would mean they were *nobiles*. These inscriptions also mention the persons being a *praetor*, inscription 7, and proconsul for the province of Africa, inscription 6. Based on these offices it would be far more likely for the persons to be *nobiles* than *equites*. Of these ten inscriptions only five inscriptions seem to point to the class origin of the person with multiple offices. The most likely result is that three *equites* and two *nobiles* are mentioned.

What is there to say then about the amount of clear examples that can be found only in these five veteran colonies? Comparing them with the rest of the inscriptions from other colonies and cities gives us a clearer picture. In the other 15 inscriptions, 7 mention a military tribune and 8 mention a *praefectus fabrum*, while 5 of those mention both a military tribune and a *praefectus fabrum*. Considering the points made above about military tribune, there is a reasonable chance that at least 5 of these 7 inscriptions are *equites*: 11, 16, 19, 20, 24. Other clear examples are quite similar to the ones seen from the five veteran colonies before: inscription 12 mentions a *praefectus alae Longinae* together with the office of *praefectus vigilum*. If the *praefectus alae Longinae* was not a clear indication already, the *praefectus vigilum* was instituted by Augustus as a purely equestrian office. Another prefect of a cavalry commander, thereby someone of equestrian order, can be found in inscription number 23, as

praefectus alae Hispaniae. *Procurator Augusti* is also mentioned and this is another clue to point out that the person was of equestrian rank, since the *procuratores* were always men of equestrian rank. What is important to note is that all these offices only appear once, just as the offices mentioned for the *equites* and *nobiles* in the first five colonies are only mentioned once, except for military tribune and *praefectus fabrum*. In total then, the two offices that are mentioned the most and combined the most are *tribunus militum* and *praefectus fabrum*, in total mentioned 10 and 9 times respectively. This makes sense, since the military tribunate was the basis for the *cursus honorum* and the career path for the *equites*, since they had to start with it. It also makes sense that the other offices are mentioned a lot less, since the person had to be old enough to acquire a certain office. It would be reasonable to assume then that the amount of offices mentioned in the inscriptions declines when the office is of higher rank than the one before. The variety in offices related to the *praefectus* can be explained by stating that a lot of these were created during the time of Augustus and most of them were exclusively for the *equites*, such as prefect for a cavalry regiment. What is curious however is that various *praefectus* offices are mentioned 7 times, with the *praefectus fabrum* mentioned the most with 9 times. Would this mean then that *praefectus fabrum* was one of the offices as the summum of the career of an *equites*? Looking at the *tres militiae* does not provide a clue, as the route from prefect of a cohort to military tribune to prefect of an auxiliary cavalry regiment is not represented clearly in the inscriptions, with both prefectures mentioned considerably less than the military tribunate. This can in part be explained by the fact that the military tribunate could also result in other career paths.

Table 15: total amount of military offices in the inscriptions

	Military offices	Amount of total inscriptions	% of total inscriptions
tribunus militum	2 (legio vii et legio xxii), 5, 9, 12, 15 (legio vi victrix), 16 (legio ii gallica), 17, 19, 21, 22	10	40
Praefectus fabrum	7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 23	9	36
Legate	4, 10	2	8
Praefectus alae longiniae	9, 24	2	8
Miles	8 (legio viiii), 12 (legio viiii augustae)	2	8
Praefecto equitum	2	1	4
Praefectus castrorum	2	1	4
Praefectus cohort I raetia	1	1	4
Praefectus vigilum	24	1	4
Legionary in an unknown legion	17	1	4
Legionary I germanica	11	1	4
Augustan legate	10	1	4
Proconsul province of Africa	10	1	4
Primipilus	5	1	4
Praefectus alae hispanae	25	1	4
Procuratori augusti	25	1	4
Praetor	4	1	4
Signifer/imaginifer	20	1	4
Aquilifer	11	1	4
Hastatus primus legio iii macedonicae	18	1	4

The career path can be tested too by looking at the municipal offices. There we can see that certain offices are mentioned more than others. In the five veteran colonies however this is not the case. One would expect the offices of *quattorvir* or *duumvir* to be abundantly mentioned, due to them being part of the career path, although this is not true. *Quattorviri* are not mentioned at all for the veteran colonies, although the *duumviri* are mentioned three times in inscriptions 2, 8 and 9. The office of *augur* is also part of the career path and is mentioned in two of the same inscriptions, namely 2 and 9. The rest of the inscriptions tell a different tale however, as the office of *quattorvir* is mentioned 4 times in inscriptions 11, 16, 18 and 24 and the office of *duumvir* is only mentioned once in inscription 19, together with the office of *augur*. What is surprising is that the office of *pontifex* is also mentioned 4 times for these 15 inscriptions, in number 12, 14, 19 and 20. For the first five colonies this is mentioned only once in inscription 2. It might be considered then that the office of *pontifex* could be held as an alternative to the offices of *duumvir*, *quattorvir* or *augur*. It is more difficult to determine how *septemvir* and *triumvir* would fit into the normal career path of the *nobiles* and *equites*. This is also supported by the amount of inscriptions they are featured in, as they are mixed throughout the 25 inscriptions. Inscription number 6 mentions *quindecimviro sacris faciundis* and *curator aquarum* for example, while inscription number 7 mentions *septemvir* and *quaestor* for example. While *quaestor* is part of the career path for *equites*, it is only mentioned once in total. Without the information of it being part of the career path it would be difficult to say something about the office since it only occurs in 1 out of 25 inscriptions. One would expect an office such as *quaestor* to appear more often than once. The same would be the case then for inscriptions 12, 19 and 20 for example. 12 mentions *quattorvir ad aerarium*, 19 mentions *triumvir* and 20 mentions *duumvir aerarium* and *triumvir locorum publicorum persequendor*. A case can be made that *duumvir aerarium* and *triumvir locorum publicorum persequendor* would be more specific than *duumvir* and *triumvir* and so they will appear less often, but the offices of *duumvir* and *triumvir* are mentioned 4 and 1 time, respectively. A similar case can also be made for inscription number 23, which mentions *pontifex Laurentinorum* and *patron*. Would certain offices have been more prestigious to be displayed on inscriptions rather than mentioning all of them? It seems that the career paths for *nobiles* and *equites* is not enough of an explanation to explain the similarities and differences in the amount of offices mentioned.

Table 16: total amount of municipal offices in the inscriptions

	Municipal offices	Amount of total inscriptions	% of total inscriptions
Pontifex	7, 12, 15, 23, 24	5	20
Quattorvir	14, 16, 19, 21, 23	5	20
Duumvir	1, 2, 5, 12	4	16
Augur	1, 5, 12	3	12
Consul	4, 10	2	8
Tribune	3, 10	2	8
Quaestor	1, 4	2	8
Quattorvir ad aerarium	24	1	4
Duumvir aerarium	15	1	4
Triumvir	12	1	4
triumvir locorum publicorum persequendor	15	1	4
quindecimviro sacris faciundis	10	1	4
Septemvir	4	1	4
Curator aquarum	10	1	4
Pontifex laurentinorum	25	1	4
Patron	25	1	4

A similar case can be made based on the imperial cult offices. These offices are spread throughout the inscriptions even more than is the case for municipal and military offices, although maybe not entirely the case for the veteran colonies. The significance of inscriptions 11 and 20 are hard to determine. These mention the offices of *aquilifer* and *signifier/imaginifer*. These inscriptions do not mention other military or municipal offices however, so it is difficult to connect them with the career path for *nobiles* and *equites*. The significance of these inscriptions is also hard to determine, since they only appear once. Inscriptions 6, 8 and 18 do not contain a direct reference to an office in the imperial cult, although they have been included for reasons already discussed. In the 10 inscriptions from the veteran colonies, 7 mention priests for Augustus. Only inscriptions 4 and 10 mention the person being a priest of others, namely the Flavian emperors and Titus. The other 5 inscriptions all refer to Roma, Augustus and the deified Augustus. Inscriptions 1 and 2 do not

directly refer to Augustus, but because of the dating and the use of words (first priest) have been attributed to Augustus. In the inscriptions for the remaining cities and colonies a more diverse pattern can be seen. Here we have considerably more inscriptions referencing Augustus directly, 9, while 3 of those also refer to a family member of Augustus. Two inscriptions are not clear however, although because of the dating they have been attributed to the time of Augustus, 12 and 17. Two inscriptions, 13 and 14, next to mentioning the person being a priest of Roma and Augustus also mentions the person being a priest of Mars, the only two in 25 to mention them. A priest of Germanicus Caesar has been mentioned once directly in inscription 19, while inscriptions 21 and 23 mention priests for Drusus and Germanicus Caesar. These three also mention the persons being priests for Augustus. Looking at all the imperial cult offices it can be seen that most of the mention Augustus, either alive or dead or combined with Roma. Three mention his adopted sons and two mention Flavian emperors and Titus. In the period between Augustus and Titus, roughly 55 years, a lot of emperors are not mentioned. Does this mean that the inscriptions that mention these emperors specifically are simply not there or does it mean that there are inscriptions that mention those just not combined with military offices. The other material remains from the brief introductions to the colonies, such as temples, theatres and for a, all seem to confirm the data from the inscriptions. Most of these buildings are connected to Augustus, while some of them are connected to Drusus and/or Germanicus Caesar, Tiberius and Claudius. The gap between emperors can also be seen, as some material remains in colonies are known to have existed in later centuries, thereby confirming that the imperial cult existed long after Augustus. When combining the offices of the imperial cult with the military offices, it can be seen that most of the priests have held the offices of *tribunus militum*, *praefectus fabrum* or both, namely inscriptions 2, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23. Inscriptions 2, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 23 can be combined with the municipal offices of *augur*, *duumvir*, *pontifex* or *quattorvir*. It seems that these inscriptions strongly show that the career path for *nobiles* and *equites* was needed in order to become priest of the emperor or his family.

Table 17: total amount of imperial cult offices in the inscriptions

	Imperial cult offices	Amount of total inscriptions	% of total inscriptions
Flamen romae et augusti	13, 14, 22	3	12
flamen romae et divi augusti item drusi et germanici caesarum	21, 23	2	8
Flamen marti	13, 14	2	8
Flamen	12, 17	2	8
Flamen augusti	15, 16	2	8
Sodali augustali flaviali titiali	4, 10	2	8
Flamen divi augusti	7	1	4
Flamini primo	2	1	4
Flamen ornamentis honorato	1	1	4
Flamen romae et divi augusti	3	1	4
Flamen divi augusti item flamen germanicus Caesar	19	1	4
Ornamentis flaminatus coloniae aquensis	25	1	4
Sacerdotus/flamen divi augusti	9	1	4
Signifer/imaginifer	20	1	4
Aquilifer	11	1	4

Conclusion

This thesis wanted to explore the role of veterans in establishing and maintaining the imperial cult throughout Gallia Narbonensis. This has been looked at by focusing on inscriptions. These have been analysed for the following aspects: the type of office, military, imperial cult and municipal, similarities and differences between inscriptions in a colony and Roman and non-Roman elements. These Roman and non-Roman elements can be divided into names, gods and language.

In terms of names, it was not always possible to conclude whether the person was a native or a Roman who came to live there. The best examples come from Nemausus, inscriptions 21 and 23, where it can be said whether or not the person was a native. This can be said because other inscriptions have been found that mention the family name. For some inscriptions the names could not be reconstructed and some inscriptions do not even mention a name, such as inscriptions 3, 5, 7 and 13. The problem with most inscriptions is that it is hard to discern patterns when names only appear once or do not even appear at all. This way it is very hard to determine whether or not the person was a native or to see the extent of the family.

The names of gods have been encountered twice, in inscription 8 and 18. Number 8 mentioned Jupiter Optimus Maximus and number 18 mentioned the Reiuini. As already pointed out when analysing these inscriptions, the link between these and the imperial cult is only indirect. The significance of these inscriptions is unclear, as each of them only appears once. The example of the local gods Reiuini only occurs once with the combination of a veteran. It is not known how many inscriptions regarding the Reiuini there are in total, since this seems to be the only one that has a connection to the Roman army. The person who mentioned the Reiuini in the inscription was a high ranking centurion in a legion, a *hastatus primus*. It seems unlikely that a native Roman would pay tribute to local Celtic gods by putting them on his inscription. It seems more likely that the person was a native Celt and had served in the Roman army, eventually gaining Roman citizenship. It is difficult however to draw conclusions based only on one such inscription, as similar inscriptions do not seem to exist. Can it be concluded then that this person was Roman or non-Roman? If he was a Roman he would have been aware of Jupiter as the highest god. If the person was a non-Roman he would have been made aware of it during his time in the army. It cannot therefore be conclusively said if the person was a Roman or a non-Roman.

A clue to determine whether a person is Roman or non-Roman is to look at the rank of the person. In chapter 2, the career path for the *nobiles* and *equites* has been compared with the offices listed in the inscriptions. Due to some offices being exclusively for *equites* or *nobiles*, it can be determined that five persons from the five veteran colonies were *equites* or *nobiles*. The other colonies seem to present another five *equites*. Sometimes the line between *equites* and *nobiles* can be tricky however. Certain offices were exclusively for *equites*, although it can also be seen that there are inscriptions that mention offices for both ranks. Does this mean that someone of *nobiles* rank held an equestrian office or does this mean that someone of *equites* rank eventually held a *nobiles* office by gaining a place in the Senate. Even without precisely knowing which rank a person belonged to, it seems more likely that persons of *equites* and *nobiles* rank would be Romans than Celts. It is not ruled out that provincials could eventually climb the ranks within the military to eventually hold high offices. If known, inscriptions from family members have to be analysed to determine if members of the family eventually could obtain the requirements to become equestrians. An example of this is given in inscription 21, where the grandson eventually gained the consulship.

The base of the career for *nobiles* and *equites* would be the offices of *praefectus fabrum* and *tribunus militum*, mentioned 9 and 10 times. 8 instances of *praefectus fabrum* and 7 instances of *tribunus militum* are mentioned in the inscriptions from the non-veteran colonies. It was expected that the majority of these were to be found in the veteran colonies however. This also seems to be the case for the municipal offices, where 4 out of 5 instances of *pontifex* are mentioned in the non-veteran colonies, and all 5 instances of *quattorvir* are mentioned in the non-veteran colonies. Most instances of *duumvir*, 3 out of 4, are mentioned in the veteran colonies however. The imperial cult offices are spread more evenly throughout Narbonensis, with 9 instances of priests mentioned for the non-veteran colonies and 6 instances of priests mentioned for the veteran colonies. The argument has been made at the end of chapter 2 that a certain career path was the prerequisite to eventually obtain the priesthood for the emperor. This career path most likely combines the offices, military, municipal and of the imperial cult shown in this paragraph, which results in 8 inscriptions.

There were soldiers who had an office of the imperial cult while in the army. These were the *imaginiferi* or bearers of the image of the emperor. This was an office introduced by Augustus. The inscription that mentions this, number 20, does not mention any other municipal or military offices. The same goes for inscriptions 8 and 11, mentioning soldiers. Because it is not mentioned that they held other high military offices such as *praefectus fabrum* or *tribunus militum*, it can be said that these soldiers did not belong to a senatorial

family or were of equestrian rank. It is unclear if these soldiers then could have obtained the municipal offices of *duumvir* or *quattorvir* for example, since these have all been found in combination with high military offices. This would also mean that such soldiers were not able to obtain offices such as priest of Augustus or his family, since that would have required a municipal career of several years, most of which include *duumvir*, *quattorvir*, *augur* or *pontifex*. What can be said then about these soldiers being Roman or not? It could be that these soldiers were Roman but that they simply did not want to pursue a municipal career. It could also be that these soldiers were Celtic and could not pursue such offices as they would not belong to a family of senators or *equites*.

The inscriptions also show that certain aspects of the emperor that were venerated by soldiers were not venerated in offices of the imperial cult after their life in the army. These aspects include the *numen* and *genius* of the emperor. There is only one inscription that mentions the *numen* and that is the provincial charter of Narbonensis. From the brief introductions for the colonies it is known that at least in Narbo Martius and Nemausus there were material remains that had a connection to the *genius* of the emperor. There are no inscriptions mentioning the *genius* of the emperor however. What are we to make of this then? Is it sufficient to say that all aspects of the emperor were venerated through the priests or that these aspects of the emperor were only used in the Roman army? This seems unlikely, as the provincial charter refers to the *numen* of the emperor, so this seems to point out that the *numen* of the emperor was not a specific element of the emperor that was venerated by the priests.

The introductions for the colonies also showed that there were gaps between the information from the inscriptions and other material remains. Examples from Vienna and Nemausus show that references to Germanicus Caesar and Tiberius can only be found in the material remains and not in the inscriptions. These also tell us something about the continuity of the imperial cult, since there are only two instances wherein priests for others than Augustus and his family are mentioned. Most of the inscriptions can be dated to the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period, of which 12 mention Augustus or the deified Augustus directly. This is confirmed by other materials from the colonies however, since all the introductions mention either Augustus, Drusus and Germanicus Caesar, Tiberius or Claudius. References to Tiberius and Claudius connected to the imperial cult are not found in the inscriptions. References to Drusus and Germanicus Caesar are found in 3 inscriptions.

The role of veterans in establishing and maintaining the imperial cult throughout Gallia Narbonensis must be sought in the priesthood for the emperor. The priesthood can come in several forms, such as priest of family members of the emperor or as honorary priest, which was not supposed to be carried out but functioned more as a status office. The priesthood can come in multiple forms, such as *flamen*, of which the most references are found in the inscriptions, or *sacerdotus* or *sodales*. The priests that belonged to the *sodales* were of senatorial rank. *Sacerdotus* seems to be a more general term to indicate that the person is a priest, and in this case for Augustus. *Sodali* would be more significant in this regard, since it refers not only to Augustus but also to the Flavian emperors and Titus. The *sodales* mentioned in inscriptions 4 and 10 are the only ones to mention other emperors beside Augustus and his adopted sons. It can be said then that the establishment of the imperial cult is well documented in these inscriptions but the maintenance or the continuity is mentioned only twice.

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Appendix

Number	Inscription	Latin	Translation	Dating
1 (Baeterrae)	CIL XII 4232	C(aius) cassio c(assius) filio Pupinia primo iiviro auguri q(uaestori) bis flamonii ornamentis honorato praefecto cohort I raet(ia)	‘Caius Cassius Primus, son of Cassius, of the voting tribe of Pupinia, duumvir, augur, two times quaestor, honorary priest, prefect of the first Raetian cohort’.	30 BC-37 AD
2	CIL XII 4230	L(ucio) Aponio praefecto equit(um) tribun(um) militum leg(io) vii et leg(io) xxii praefect(us) castrorum flamine aug(usti) primo urbi iul(iae) baeter(rensis) praefecto pro iiviro c caesaris augusti f st [-- -]vo patri ¹¹¹	‘Lucius Aponius, cavalry commander, military tribune of the Seventh Legion and camp commander of the Twentysecond Legion, first priest of Augustus in the city of Baeterrae, prefect for duumvir, [---][---]’.	Before 14 AD
3	CIL XII 4233	vero trib(unus) flam(ini) romae et divi aug(usti) prima	‘[---] tribune, first priest of Roma and the deified Augustus’.	After 14 AD
4	-	P(ublio) Memm[io P(ubli) f(ilio)] / Reg[ul]o / qu[a]esto[ri] Ti(beri)] / Caesar[is praet(ori)] / co(n)s(uli) [septemv]iro / epulo[n]um [s]odali / [August]ali frat(ri)	‘Publius Memmius Regulus, son of Publius, Tiberian quaestor, Caesarian praetor, consul, septemviro,	37-54 AD

¹¹¹ Trismegistos, CIL XII 4230, ‘CIL XII 4230’ <<http://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?tm=441196>>
[consulted on 8-8-2017]

		[Arv(ali)] / [legat]o Caes(aris) [Aug(usti)] / [pat]rono ¹¹²	sodali of Augustus and the Arval brothers, Caesar Augustan legate and patron’.	
5 (Narbo Martius)	CIL XII 4371, 4372	-----] / [duom]vir quinquenna[li]s duomvir / [iteru]m praefectus pro duoviro augur / [tribunu]s militum primipilus praefectus fabrum / [ex c]onlegio Honoris et Virtutis arbitrato / Zenonis lib(erti) ¹¹³	‘duumvir for one in five years, duumvir again, prefect for duumvir, augur, military tribune, primus pilus, prefect of artisans, of the legion of Honor and Virtus, freedman of Zeno’.	1-50 AD
6	CIL XII 4333	T(ito) Statilio Taur[o] / L(ucio) Cassio Longino / co(n)s(ulibus) X K(alendas) Octobr(es) / numini Augusti votum / susceptum a plebe Narbo/nensium in perpetuom / quod bonum faustum felixque sit Imp(eratori) Caesari / divi f(ilio) Augusto p(atri) p(atriae) pontifici maximo trib(unicia) potest(ate) / XXXIII coniugi liberis gentique eius senatui / populoque Romano et colonis incolisque / c(oloniae) I(uliae) P(aternae) N(arbonensis) M(artii) qui se numini eius in perpetuum / colendo obligaverunt plebs		12 AD

¹¹² <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD004990>

¹¹³ Trismegistos, CIL XII 4371, 4372 <<http://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?tm=213193>> [consulted on 8-8-2017].

		<p> Narbonen/sium aram Narbone in foro posuit ad / quam quot annis VIII K(alendas) Octobr(es) qua die / eum saeculi felicitas orbi terrarum / rectorem edidit tres equites Romani / a plebe et tres libertini hostias singu/las inmolent et colonis et incolis ad supplicandum numini eius thus et vinum / de suo ea die praestent et VIII K(alendas) Octobr(es) / thus et vinum prae/stent K(alendis) quoque Ianuar(iis) thus et vinum / colonis et incolis praestent VII quoq(ue) / Idus Ianuar(ias) qua die primum imperium / orbis terrarum auspicatus est thure / vino supplicent et hostias singul(as) in/molent et colonis incolisque thus vi/num ea die praestent et pridie K(alendas) Iunias quod ea die T(ito) Statilio / Tauro M(anio) Aemilio Lepido co(n)s(ulibus) iudicia / plebis decurionibus coniunxit hostias / singul(as) inmolent et thus et vinum ad / supplicandum numini eius colonis et / incolis praestent exque iis tribus equitibus Roman[is tribusve] / libertinis unu[s // [Pleb]s Narbone(n)sis </p>		
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		<p> a[ram] / numinis Augusti de[di]cavit [3] / [6] / [3] legibus iis q(uae) i(nfra) s(criptae) s(unt) numen Caesaris Aug(usti) p(atris) p(triae) quando tibi / hodie hanc aram dabo dedicabo/que his legibus hisque regioni/bus dabo dedicabo quas hic / hodie palam dixero uti infimum / solum huiusque arae titulorum/que est si quis tergere ornare / reficere volet quod beneficii / causa fiat ius fasque esto sive / quis hostia sacrum faxit qui / magmentum nec protollat id/circo tamen probe factum esto si / quis huic arae donum dare au/gereque volet liceto eademq(ue) / lex ei dono esto quae arae est / ceterae leges huic arae titulisq(ue) / eadem sunt quae sunt arae / Dianae in Aventino hisce legi/bus hisque regionibus sicuti / dixi hanc tibi aram pro Imp(eratore) / Caesare Aug(usto) p(atre) p(atriciae) pontifice maxi/mo tribunicia potestate XXXV coniuge liberis genteque eius / senatu populoque R(omano) colonis / incolisque col(oniae) Iul(iae) Patern(ae) Narb(onensis) Mart(ii) </p>	
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		qui se numini eius in per/petuum colendo obligaverunt / doque dedicoque uti sies volens / propitium ¹¹⁴		
7 (Arausio)	CIL XII 1373	praef(ectus) fabrum flamin(i) divi aug(usti) pontif(ex) [---]lia Pompullina ¹¹⁵	‘prefect of artisans, priest of the deified Augustus, pontiff ... [---]lia Pompullina’.	After 14 AD
8 (Forum Iulii)	CIL XII 249	I(upiter) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) Cassius / ingenus / mil(itus) leg(io) VIII / v(otum) s(olvens) l(ibens) m(erito) ¹¹⁶	‘Caius Cassius, freeborn/noble, soldier of the Ninth legion, to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, has fulfilled his vow willingly and deservedly.’	Augustan/Julio-Claudian dating (0)
9	CIL XII 392	----- Te]r(etina?) Ca[---] / om[n]i[bus] honoribus f]uncto in / colo[n]ia sua tribun]o militum / leg(ionis) X[--- praefecto] alae Longi/nian[ae sacerdoti?] templi divi / Aug(usti) [quod est Nar]bone in quod / offic[ium ab univ]ersa provin/cia [Narbon(ensi) prov]ectus est / et Iuli[ae ---]ae uxori ¹¹⁷	‘[---][---] performed with all the honors in his colony his military tribunate, of the Tenth Legion, prefect of the ‘alae Longinia’, priest of the temple of the deified Augustus in Narbonne, in that office from the whole province of Narbonensis he has advanced [---][---]’	14-79 AD
10 (Arelate)	-	[M(arco) Po]mp[ei]o f(ilio) Silv]ano	‘Marcus Pompeius	After 81 AD

¹¹⁴ P. Kneissl, ‘Entstehung und Bedeutung der Augustalität. Zur Inschrift der ara Narbonensis (CIL XII 4333)’ *Chiron* 10 (1980) 291-326, here 317-319.

¹¹⁵ Trismegistos, CIL XII 1373 <<http://www.trismegistos.org/text/438309>> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

¹¹⁶ Lawrence Keppie, *Legions and veterans: Roman Army Papers 1971-2000* (Stuttgart,2000) 237-238.

¹¹⁷ Epigraphische Database Heidelberg, CIL XII 392 <<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD048432&lang=en>> [consulted on 8-8-2017].

		S[taberio Flavino], \ XVviro s[acris faciun]dis, sodali A[ugustali, sodali Flaviali] \ Titiali, co(n)s(uli) d[esignat(o) III, proco(n)]s(uli) provinciae [Africae III, cur(atori) aquar(um), leg(ato) Aug(usti)] \ pro pr(aetore) provinciae Dalmatiae, leg(ato) legionis [...] \ et legionis [..., trib(uno) legionis...] Aug(ustae), [...]. ¹¹⁸	Silvanus, son of Staberius Flavinus, one of fifteen of the sacred rites, priest of augustus, the Flavians, Titus, consul three times, proconsul of the province of Africa three times, curator for an aqueduct, envoy of the emperor as acting praetor of the province of Dalmatia, legate of the legion ... and legion ..., tribune of the Augustan legion ...'	
11 (Cularo)	CIL XII 2234	Sex(tus) Sammio Volt(inia) Severo leg(io) prim(o) Germanic(o) qui eod cos quo mili coepti aquilifer factus est annos xiii aquilifer militavit factus c antis tio vetere ii m suil lio nerullino cos ex testament (Gratianopolis)	'Sextus Sammius Severus/Sextus Severus, son of Sammius, of the voting tribe of the Voltinia, of the First Germanic Legion, [---] aquilifer for thirteen years, [--] [---]'	30 BC-14 AD
12 (Geneva)	CIL XII 2607	L(ucius) Iul(ius) P(ublii) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) Brocchus Val(erius) / Bassus praef(ectus) fabr(um) bis trib(unus) / mil(itum) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) IIvir iur(e) d(icundo) / IIIvir loc(or)um	'Lucius Iulius Brocchus, son of Publius, of the voting tribe of the Voltinia, Valerius Bassus prefect of artisans two times/ two times military tribune	30 BC-14 AD

¹¹⁸ Epigraphische Database Heidelberg, < <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD004472> > [consulted on 8-8-2017]

		p(ublicorum) p(ersequendorum) augur pontif(ex) IIvir / et flamen in col(onia) Equestre vicanis / Genavensibus la[cuus dat].	of the Eighth Augustan Legion, duumvir written down, triumvir of public grounds, augur, pontiff, duumvir and priest in the colony of Geneva [---]’.	
13	CIL XII 2458	praef(ectus) fabr(um) flamen romae et augusti Flamen mart(i) templum cum omnibus ornamentis quoque	‘Prefect of artisans, priest of Roma and Augustus, priest of the temple of Mars with all of the ornaments’.	Before 14 AD
14	CIL XII 2600	L(ucius) Aemilio M(arco) fil(io) Vol(tinia) tutori iiiivir I d praef(ectus) fabrum flam(en) martis flam(en) romae et augusti L(ucius) aemilius l f tutor f	‘Lucius Aemilio, son of Marcus, of the voting tribe of the Voltinia, tutor, quattorvir, [---] prefect of artisans, priest of Mars and priest of Roma and Augustus, Lucius Aemilius [---] tutor [---]’.	Before 14 AD
15	CIL XII 2608	T. Iulius T. filio Corn. Valeriano patron colon(ia) iivir aer(arium) iii vir locor(um) p(ublicorum) persequendor trib milit leg vi victr(ix) praef(ectus) fabr(um) v flam(en) aug(usti) pontifici iulia t f vera patri optimo	T. Iulius Valerianus, son of T., of the voting tribe of Corn.? patron of the colony, duumvir [---], triumvir of public grounds, military tribune of the Sixth Legion Victrix, prefect of artisans, priest of Augustus, pontiff, [---]’.	54-68 AD
16 (Alba Helviorum)	CIL XII 2676	L(ucius) Valerio P(ublio) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) optato iiiivir flam(en) Aug(usti)	‘Lucius Valerius, son of Publius, of the voting tribe of the Voltinia,	49 BC-79 AD

		trib(unus) mil(ilitum) leg iii Gallic(a) praef(ectus) fabr(um) ¹¹⁹	as desired, quattorvir, priest of Augustus, military tribune of the Third Gallic Legion, prefect of artisans’.	
17 (Allebaece Reiorum Apollinaru m)	CIL XII 370	man venni et iulii adlecto inter sacerdotales omnibus honoribus functo flamini divi iuli sacerdoti nio iulio trib mil leg	‘Manus Vennus and Iulius [---] priests functioning with full honors, priest of the deified Julius, priest [---] , military tribune in the legion [---]]’.	After 42 BC
18	-	Reiunii[s] / M(arcus) Iul(ius) Iustus / hastatus prim(us) / leg(ionis) IIII Maced(onicae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) ¹²⁰	‘Marcus Iulius Iustus, hastatus primus, of the Macedonian Fourth Legion, for the Reiunii, has fulfilled his vow willingly and deservedly.’	39-70 AD
19 (Vienna)	CIL XII 1872	C(aius) Passerio P(ublio) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Afro trib(unus) milit(um) leg(io) xxii iiiiviro flam(ini) divi august(i) d(ecreto) d(ecurionem) flam(ini) Germ(anicus) Caes(ar) praef(ectus) fabr(um) iii M(arcus) Valerius Rufus p Tincius Pacatus L(ucius) Tincius tertius l tarius rufus sex valer venator valer crispinus sex	Caius Passerio Afro[---], son of Publius, of the voting tribe of the Voltinia, military tribune of the Twentysecond Legion, quattorvir, priest of the deified Augustus, by decree of the decurionem priest of Germanicus	

¹¹⁹ Trismegistos, CIL XII 2676 <<http://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?tm=439658>> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

¹²⁰ Epigraphische Database Heidelberg <<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD004146>> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

		calvisius quietus amici	Caesar, prefect of artisans three times, [---][---]	
20	-	-----]A[---] / [imagi]nif(er-), equ[---] / [---] eiusd(em) [---] / [---]C/G et V[---] ¹²¹		1-125 AD
21 (Nemausus)	CIL XII 3180	D(ecreto) [d(ecurionum)] / memor(iae) / Sex(ti) Iulii S[ex(ti) filii] / Volt(inia) Max[imi] / flaminis Rom[ae et] divi Aug(usti) item Dr[usi] / et Germ(anici) Caes(arum) tr(ibun) m[il(itum)] / praef(ecti) fabr(um) III IIIv[ir(i)] / iur(e) dic(undo) / Nemausens[es] ¹²²	'By the decree of the decurio, in memory of Sextus Iulius Maximus, son of Sextus of the voting tribe of Voltina, priest of Roma and the deified Augustus and for Drusus and Germanicus Caesar, military tribune, three times prefect of artisans, quattorvir, written at Nemausus'.	11-20 AD
22	CIL XII 3186	[---]us [---] [---] trib(unus) mi[l(itum)] leg(ionis) ---] [--- et leg(ionis) IIII ou XVI] Fla[ui]ae [---] [flamen] Roma[e et Augusti] [---]nnia[---].	'[---][---] military tribune of the [---] legion and Fourth/Sixteenth Flavian Legion, priest of Roma and Augustus, [---]'.	14-70 AD
23	CIL XII 3207	[Mani]bus [---] Ca]pito[n]is [flam(inis) Roma]e et diui Au[g(usti) item Drusi] [et Germa]nici Caesar[is] [III]uir(i) pon]tif(icis) praef(ecti) fab[rum] [---] Messor fil(ius/io)	'To the gods of death, Capito, priest of Roma and the deified augustus and Drusus and Germanicus Caesar, quattorvir, pontiff, prefect of	24-45 AD

¹²¹ Trismegistos <<http://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?tm=214234>> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

¹²² Epigraphische Database Heidelberg, CIL XII 3180 <<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD054511>> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

			artisans, Messor his son/for his son Messor.’	
24	CIL XII 3166	C(aio) Fulvio C(aio) fil(io) Vo[lt(inia)] Lupo Servilian[o] adlecto inter praetor[ios] ab imp(eratore) Caesare Aug(usto) Vespas[iano] praefecto alae Longinian[ae] IIIvir ad aerarium pontifici praefecto vigi[lum] Iulia D(ecimi) fil(ia) Concess[a] viro ¹²³	‘Caius Fulvius Servilianus, son of Caius Lupus, of the voting tribe of Voltinia, [---] of the emperor Caesar Augustus Vespasian, prefect of the alae Longinia, quattuorvir ad aerarium, pontiff, commander of the Vigiles, Iulia Concessa, daughter of Decimus’.	70-79 AD
25 (Massilia)	CIL XII 408	L(ucius) Dudistio L(ucio) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Novano pontiff Laurentinorum orn(amentis) flamen(atus) colon(iae) Aquens(is) exorn praef(ectus) alae Hispanae adiutori ad census provino sic Lugdunens proc(uratori) Aug(usti) Alpium cottian dudisti eglectus et aphonetus patron optumo ¹²⁴		75-99 AD

¹²³ Trismegistos, CIL XII 3166, <<http://www.trismegistos.org/text/440131>> [consulted on 8-8-2017]

¹²⁴ Trismegistos, CIL XII 408 <<http://www.trismegistos.org/text/437328>> [consulted on 8-8-2017]