

## ROMAN SENATORS FROM DALMATIA

The governing class of imperial Rome was subject to a steady and continuous transformation as different regions of Italy and different provinces in their turn contributed their best men to the Senate. Cicero had spoken of »tota Italia«: but it was not until the Dictatorship of Caesar that Italy, and in particular the peoples so recently in arms against Rome in the Bellum Italicum, came to be adequately represented in the Roman Senate — as witness C. Asinius Pollio, of a family dynastic among the Marrucini,<sup>1)</sup> and the Picene P. Ventidius who fought and defeated the Parthians with Poppaedius Silo the Marsian as his legate or quaestor.<sup>2)</sup> The Paeligni had to wait until Augustus when P. Ovidius Naso, spurning an official career, left to Q. Varius Geminus the honour of being the first Paelignian senator.<sup>3)</sup> Along with Italian partisans, the Dictator admitted several men from the provinces. The change went on when Dictatorship passed into Triumvirate and Principate. It was slowed down but not arrested by Augustus, for his rule is not a reaction but the consolidation of the gains of the Revolution and the orderly perpetuation of the revolutionary process.

A mass of evidence about the local and provincial origins of knights and senators in the Roman Empire has been made available through the tireless investigations of Groag and Stein in the encyclopaedia of Pauly-Wissowa, in the new *Prosopographia*, and elsewhere. There are other studies of great value.<sup>4)</sup> Stech compiled the list of the Flavio-Trajanic Senate: his work has recently been continued by Lambrechts for the period of the Antonines. Futher, Dessau and Lambrechts have drawn from the facts general conclusions about the stages in the transmutation of the Roman Senate. The evidence about provincial origins is all too often fragmentary, capricious and insecure; and it may be put to alarming uses, as when the Emperor Commodus in an authoritative work is described as a »Spanish visionary«.<sup>5)</sup> None the less, the value of these studies, when pursued in a sober and rational manner, is admitted and indeed paramount for the light that they throw upon the development of the hierarchy of government and the history of the Empire as a whole.

<sup>1)</sup> Pollio's grandfather, Herius Asinius, was the leader of the Marrucini, Livy, Per. 73, etc.

<sup>2)</sup> Dio 48, 41, 1. Ventidius, captured when an infant at Asculum and led in the triumph of Pompeius Strabo, is notorious and proverbial for the vicissitudes of his life. Poppaedius Silo is surely a member of the family that provided the Marsian general in the Bellum Italicum.

<sup>3)</sup> CIL IX 3305-6 = Dessau, ILS 932-932a.

<sup>4)</sup> H. Dessau, Die Herkunft der Offiziere u. Beamten des r. Kaiserreiches, Hermes XLIV (1910), 1 ff.; B. Stech, Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum, Klio Beiheft X (1912); P. Lambrechts, La composition du sénat romain de l'accession au trône d'Hadrien à la mort de Commode (117—92), 1936.

<sup>5)</sup> W. Weber, Cambridge Ancient History XI, 392.

But there is more than this. If one observes which provinces supply Rome with senators, in what proportions and at how early a date, a new source of information emerges concerning the provinces themselves, their social and economic structure and the character of their civilization. There was considerable immigration and settlement of Italians in Spain and in Gallia Narbonensis; but also in certain parts of those lands the native stocks had already reached a high level of culture and so were able to develop rapidly, producing good Romans. Narbo was an ancient Roman colony, established in 118 B. C.: but Narbo in its contribution of Roman senators is hopelessly out-distanced by Nemausus, a town which had grown out of the capital of a native tribe, the Volcae Arecomici, and by Vienna of the Allobroges.

The earliest provincial senators came from Spain and Narbonensis, nominees of Caesar the Dictator. Among them were two Spaniards, namely L. Decidius Saxa (probably a colonial Roman)<sup>6</sup>) who commanded an army in the campaign of Philippi and governed Syria for M. Antonius, and L. Cornelius Balbus the Younger from Gades, quaestor in 44 B. C.: the uncle of Balbus, subsequently promoted, became consul in 40 B. C. The names of Caesar's Narbonensian senators have not been recorded, but it is possible to guess what kind of persons they were.<sup>7</sup>) Spain sets the tune from the beginning. But the two Cornelii Balbi, who were not even Roman citizens by birth, are exceptional and portentous. Narbonensis soon forges ahead and displays two consuls in the reign of the Emperor Gaius, D. Valerius Asiaticus from Vienna and Cn. Domitius Afer from Nemausus. Spain, it is true, supplies the first provincial emperors, Trajan and Hadrian: but the grandfather of Pius came from Nemausus, and Narbonensis blends with Spain in the pedigree of the Antonine dynasty. The prominence of these provinces in the history — and in the literature — of the first century of the Empire and for a part of the second, before the ascension of the Africans and the Orientals, is striking, but intelligible and appropriate. It suggests comparison with other regions of the Empire. How then does Dalmatia stand in our period?

The relations of Dalmatia with the opposite coast of the Adriatic in early times were close and continuous, as both archaeology and linguistic research can demonstrate. It is well known that Illyrian languages were once spoken in Venetia, in Picenum and in south-eastern Italy. Further, the Dalmatian litoral became subject to Roman control at a quite early date. Penetration and settlement soon followed. During the Civil Wars organizations of Roman citizens are mentioned at Salonae and at Lissus,<sup>8</sup>) while Narona can supply inscriptions of this period.<sup>9</sup>) Dalmatia was

<sup>6</sup>) Cicero, Phil. 11, 12; 12, 37, etc. He is described by Cicero as a Celtiberian. Cf. however, R. Syme, Who was Decidius Saxa? JRS XXVII (1937), 127 ff.

<sup>7</sup>) Note, for example, two Narbonensian friends of Caesar, C. Valerius Proculus, homo honestissimus provinciae Galliae, the son of C. Valerius Caburus the chieftain of the Helvii (BG 1, 19, 47 and 53; 7, 65) and Pompeius Trogus, his confidential secretary, the son of a

Vocontian dynast who had served under Pompeius Magnus (Justin 43, 5, 11 f.).

<sup>8</sup>) Caesar, BC 3, 9; Bell. Al. 43 (Salonae); BC 3, 29 and 40 (Lissus).

<sup>9</sup>) CIL I<sup>2</sup>, 2288—2293 (2291 = ILS 7166; 2289 = ILS 3354); ILS 8893, of 36 B. C., from Tasovčići, nr. Narona. Other early Dalmatian inscr. are CIL I<sup>2</sup>, 2294 = ILS 5322 (Curictae); 2295 = ILS 3189, and 759 (Issa).

commonly administered in one *provincia* along with Gallia Cisalpina, as under the proconsulate of Julius Caesar. More than this, certain Liburnian communities as far down as Nedinum, Asseria and Varvaria are reckoned by Pliny in one part of his *Natural History* along with the Regio Decima of Italy;<sup>10</sup>) some of them possessed the *ius italicum*, others were *immunes*. Whatever the explanation — and the problem is very difficult — this is at least significant. Roman colonies of full citizen rights were established in Dalmatia, perhaps by Caesar the Dictator (for Colonia Julia Martia Salonae may well go back to him) and by Caesar's heir when Triumvir if not also when Princeps. But the peculiar problems of the Dalmatian colonies — among them their absence from the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* — do not concern us here. Roman and urban civilization had a distinguished history on this coast, perpetuated and recalled long afterwards by the empire and the monuments of Venice and by the imperial aspirations of Italy. All in all, Dalmatia like Narbonensis should have been designated as »Italia verius quam provincia«. <sup>11)</sup>

So one would have thought, expecting also to find numerous Roman senators from the towns of Dalmatia. One looks for them — there are hardly any, in the first two centuries of the Empire from Augustus down to Commodus.

Indeed, not a single senator from Dalmatia can be discovered before the second century. Borghesi, it is true, thought that L. Tarius Rufus (*Cos. suff.* 16 B. C.) might be one of them. But Borghesi has not been followed in this view.<sup>12)</sup> The Tarii Rufi attested in Dalmatia<sup>13)</sup> probably owe their citizenship to this man. Rufus owned large estates in Picenum<sup>14)</sup>, no distance away across the sea and may therefore have had commercial interests in Dalmatia; further, given his known military career (admiral at Actium and governor of Macedonia c. 17-16 B. C.),<sup>15)</sup> he may well have been proconsul of the province of Illyricum in the early years of Augustus' Principate.

Hirschfeld, Dessau and Stech all held the opinion that the distinguished jurist of the Flavio-Trajanic age, C. Octavius Tadius Tossianus L. Javolenus Priscus was of Dalmatian origin.<sup>16)</sup> This is far from certain. The man's nomenclature tells against it — Tadius is a central-Italian name, and forms in -*enus* like Javolenus are typical of Umbria, Picenum and the Sabine country. When such names are borne by provincials, they often justify the hypothesis of immigration from Italy. Might not Javolenus Priscus then belong to a family of Italian colonists domiciled in Dalmatia? The inscription which records his career, set up at Nedinum was dedicated by a personal friend — »P. Mutilius p. f. Cla. [C]rispinus t. p. i. amico carissimo«. <sup>17)</sup> But this is

<sup>10)</sup> Pliny, NH 3, 130 cf. 139; W. Kubitschek, *De Romanarum Tribuum Origine et Propagatione*, 82 ff.; A. v. Premerstein, *Bevorrechtete Gemeinden Liburniens in den Städtelisten des Plinius*, Strena Buliciana, 203 ff.

<sup>11)</sup> Pliny, NH 3, 31.

<sup>12)</sup> See E. Groag, P-W, s. v. L. Tarius Rufus, 2320 ff.

<sup>13)</sup> CIL III, 2877 (Nedinum) etc.

<sup>14)</sup> Pliny, NH 18, 37. Note amphora-

stamps bearing his name in the museums of Este and Zagreb, CIL V, 8112<sup>78</sup>; III, 12010<sup>90</sup>; cf. E. Groag, o. c., 2323.

<sup>15)</sup> Dio 50, 14, 1; 54, 20, 3 with Ritterling's emendation; L'ann. ép. 1936, 18 (Nr. Amphipolis).

<sup>16)</sup> Hirschfeld on CIL III, p. 9960; Dessau, *Hermes* XLIV (1910), 13; Stech, o. c., 30 and 170.

<sup>17)</sup> CIL, III, 2864 cf. p. 9960 = ILS 1015 add.

not enough. Nedinum is close to Burnum, the garrison of the legion IV Flavia felix<sup>18)</sup> which Javolenus commanded about A. D. 80; on this occasion he may well have made the acquaintance of his loyal friend to whom he owes his commemoration in a Dalmatian town.

The earliest Dalmatian senator is the illustrious military man Sex. Minicius Faustinus Cn. Julius Severus (*Cos. suff.* 127), whom Hadrian summoned from his governorship of Britain to suppress the insurrection of the Jews.<sup>19)</sup> The long *cursus honorum* of this man was discovered at Burnum;<sup>20)</sup> and there is also a fragment from the colony of Aequum (nr. Sinj).<sup>21)</sup> None of the official posts held by Minicius Faustinus had brought him to Dalmatia; it is a reasonable conjecture that Dalmatia was his province, Aequum the town of his origin.

Next comes another prominent personage in the Antonine hierarchy of administration, the consular Cn. Julius Verus (*Cos. suff. c.* 153) who governed in succession the great military provinces of Germania Inferior, Britain and Syria. His inscription was found at Aequum, in two fragments which Ritterling was the first to join.<sup>22)</sup> It is a dedication by his fellow-citizens, »Aequenses municipes«. The origin of Cn. Julius Verus is thus beyond doubt; and it is a fair inference that he was related in some way to Sex. Minicius Faustinus Cn. Julius Severus.

These two Dalmatians attained to power and glory in the Empire. The third incurred disgrace: his name was erased from his inscriptions. This man, a native of Risinium, was legate of Numidia in the year 167, and consul designate then or shortly afterwards.<sup>23)</sup> In this function he set up at Lambaesis a dedication to the Illyrian god Medaurus, the protecting deity of Risinium —

moenia qui Risinni Aeacia, qui colis arcem  
Delmatae, nostri publice lar populi,  
sancte Medaure domi e[t] sancte hic, . . . etc.<sup>24)</sup>

Three so far: it is not easy to identify any more. Daicovici has collected the evidence for owners of land in Dalmatia, senatorial in rank.<sup>25)</sup> They are not numerous, C. Raecius Rufus and M. Lusius Severus, of the second century, and C. Valerius Respectus Terentianus.<sup>26)</sup> To them should be added P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius (*Cos.* 137).<sup>27)</sup> But it does not follow that these people originated in Dalmatia — and indeed it is Daicovici's principle to discover immigrants.

<sup>18)</sup> CIL III, 14995, a signifer of the legion. For the date, observe that Javolenus' next post, the command of III Augusta, is fixed to A. D. 83, CIL VIII, 23165.

<sup>19)</sup> Dio 69, 13.

<sup>20)</sup> CIL III, 2830 = ILS 1056.

<sup>21)</sup> L'ann. ép. 1904, 9.

<sup>22)</sup> CIL III, 2732 + 8714 = ILS 1057 + 8974.

<sup>23)</sup> CIL VIII, 4208; 18496; 2581. On him see Pallu de Lasserat, *Fastes des provinces africaines sous la domination romaine I*, 379 ff. The cause of his subsequent disgrace is

unknown — he may have been a partisan of Avidius Cassius.

<sup>24)</sup> CIL VIII, 2581 = ILS 4881.

<sup>25)</sup> C. Daicovici, *Gli Italici nella provincia Dalmatia*, Eph. Dacorom. V (1932), 121.

<sup>26)</sup> C. Raecius Rufus, CIL III, 3116 (Arba); M. Lusius Severus, 1786 (Narona); C. Valerius Respectus Terentianus, 1989 f. (Salonae) the latter probably either second or early third century.

<sup>27)</sup> Note the following inscriptions from Salonae, CIL III, 2294; 2295; 2561; 9009; 13925, adduced by Groag, *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, s. v.

P. Lambrechts has recently compiled the list of the Senate under the Antonines.<sup>28)</sup> In addition to the three men from Dalmatia above recorded and unequivocally attested (Nos. 93, 423, and 829 in his book), he brings forward a fourth (n. 709), P. Coelius Apollinaris (*Cos.* 169). This man, however, is probably the son of the consul of 137, P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius: Goag has adduced good reasons for believing that the family comes from Baetica.<sup>29)</sup>

Yet there is probably a fourth senator after all. At Arba on November 8, 173, C. Raecius Leo, the freedman of the senator C. Raecius Rufus dedicated a fountain to the Nymphs:<sup>30)</sup> and a certain Raecius Rufus was *curator aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicorum* in Rome in the year 166.<sup>31)</sup> The ancestry of this man can be traced. Q. Raecius Rufus the *primus pilus* centurion decorated by Vespasian and Titus for the Jewish war, by Trajan for service in Dacia, married Trebia Procula;<sup>32)</sup> and her father was a municipal magistrate at Arba.<sup>33)</sup> The senator C. Raecius Rufus who owned property at Arba is therefore a descendant of that pair.

The historical evidence for matters such as these varies enormously in the vicissitudes of oblivion and survival; and general conclusions are hazardous and insecure. None the less, the paucity of Dalmatian senators finds independent confirmation, under two heads.

First, the Senate under the Empire is regularly and continuously recruited from the equestrian order. The Princeps confers upon the sons of the higher equestrian officials and procurators the *latus clavus*, the badge of eligibility for the senatorial career, almost as of right. When a certain region of the Empire is found to supply a large contribution of senators, enquiry will often discover a sufficient number of knights in important administrative posts one or two generations earlier. In the first century of the Empire this principle holds good for Spain and Narbonensis — and for Northern Italy, especially for that part of it, the Transpadana, which for so many reasons might aptly be designated as »provincia verius quam Italia«. For example, both grandfathers of Cn. Julius Agricola from Forum Julii, who entered the Senate under Nero, were imperial procurators.<sup>34)</sup> Now there is a remarkable lack of the higher knights in Dalmatia during our period. Dessau mentions only one, P. Atilius Aebutianus, presumably from Asseria,<sup>35)</sup> who was Prefect of the Guard under Commodus; and Arthur Stein in his comprehensive study of the equestrian order can add only one more, the imperial procurator M. Antonius Firmus, son of a magistrate of Salona.<sup>36)</sup>

Secondly, the argument from Latin literature of the early Empire. The record would be barren indeed if the western provinces were omitted. Even under Augustus,

<sup>28)</sup> La composition du sénat romain etc. (1936).

<sup>29)</sup> E. Goag, Zu neuen Inschriften, Jahreshfte XXIX (1935), Beiblatt, 195.

<sup>30)</sup> CIL III, 3116 = 3869.

<sup>31)</sup> CIL VI, 360.

<sup>32)</sup> CIL III, 2917 = ILS 2647. The name Raecius, common in Dalmatia, can be either of Italian (? Etruscan) or of Illyrian extraction,

cf. W. Schulze, Zur Gesch. lateinischer Eigennamen, 44 and 217.

<sup>33)</sup> CIL III, 2931.

<sup>34)</sup> Tacitus, Agr. 4.

<sup>35)</sup> ILS 9901, cf. PIR<sup>2</sup>, s. v.; H. Dessau, Hermes XLIV (1910), 13.

<sup>36)</sup> CIL III, 2075, cf. A. Stein, Der r. Ritterstand, 396.

Virgil and Livy — sons of the Transpadana — are provincial in a sense. The contribution of Spain, with the Seneca family, Martial and Quintilian and many lesser worthies, is splendid and portentous. Nor is Gallia Narbonensis without honour in oratory and in letters: Tacitus, if not a Transpadane, probably came from Narbonensis.<sup>37)</sup> Even Gallia Comata can supply distinguished speakers and professors of rhetoric. Dalmatia has no share in this abundance. There are no poets, orators or historians from the cities of Dalmatia.

It would be tempting to speculate about this singular scarcity of senators from a civilized and a Romanized portion of the Empire, even though it may not be possible to assess the reasons or establish valid and irrefragable conclusions. In the first place, the Roman province of Dalmatia, which extends inland from the Adriatic almost as far as the river Sava and includes the greater part of Bosnia, can be regarded as a single unit only in an administrative and fictitious sense. Though the basis of the population was Illyrian in race, geography imposed inevitable contrasts of history and civilization in antiquity just as today, as the traveller observes when he passes from the Mediterranean to Central Europe, from Split or Dubrovnik to Sarajevo. A failure to take these differences into account weakens considerably the force of Rostovtzeff's otherwise illuminating remarks about the condition of Dalmatia in the Roman period.<sup>38)</sup>

Two, or rather three, zones might plausibly be distinguished in the Roman province of Dalmatia. The wild interior behind the Dinaric Alps, a tangle of forest and mountain with intermittent upland plains, bleak and none too fertile, was occupied by the Iapodes of Croatia and the Lika and by the great Bosnian tribes with their numerous small clans, the Maezaei, the Ditiones and the Daesitiates. The Roman conquest of Bosnia was late and difficult. It was the work of the *Bellum Pannonicum* of 13—9 B. C.; and it had to be done again in A. D. 6—9, when the insurrection of the Pannonians and Dalmatians was suppressed. After that the native peoples were left in the charge of their own chieftains, at first under the control and supervision of Roman military officials. Change came slowly. The land was remote and backward; and the Roman government was not possessed by the passion of hasty innovations. Most, if not all, the tribal chieftains of Gallia Comata bear the gentile name Julius; but it was not until the Flavian period, so it appears, that the *principes* of the Iapodes received the Roman citizenship.<sup>39)</sup> Even in the second century the ruler of the Daesitiates prefers to call himself simply Valens the son of Varro<sup>40)</sup> — Varro is a native Illyrian name, Valens probably the Roman translation of another. This man was married to an Aelia Justa and is perhaps the parent of the Ulpia Procula, to whom he sets up the inscription, so he may well in fact have been in possession of the Roman franchise and a proper Roman nomenclature. The citizenship spread slowly —

<sup>37)</sup> M. L. Gordon, *The patria of Tacitus*, JRS XXVI (1936), 145 ff.

<sup>38)</sup> Soc. and Ec. History of the Roman Empire (1926), 221 ff.

<sup>39)</sup> CIL III, 14234, [T. Fl]avius [.]ditanus [civ. d]on. ab [imp.] Vespasiano Ca[.]sare

Aug., pra[e]positus et p[rin]cep[s] Iap[o]dum [v. s. l. m.].

<sup>40)</sup> *Novitates Musei Sarajevoensis* (1930), 8, Ulpiae T. f. [P]rocul[ae] an. XXII, Valens Varron. f. princeps Desitiati. et Aelia Iusta [S]ceno[barbi f.].

witness the large proportion of Aurelii in Bosnia. Likewise municipal institutions were a late introduction, superficial and imperfect in their working. The land was not suited for them. Bosnia would be no more likely to produce senators in the age of the Antonines than would Asturia or the tribal districts of Mauretania. The Illyrian and Balkan lands still lag far behind, of no name or moment in world-history. Their glorious age is the third century of the Christian era.

The rest of the province, however, the territories from the coast of the Adriatic up to the Dinaric Alps and the watershed between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, namely Dalmatia and the Hercegovina in the system of the Dual Monarchy, is in no sense a homogeneous region. There were Roman colonies here and *oppida civium Romanorum*; Romans settled further inland and there was even a regular colony at Aequum in the Sinjsko polje. None the less, at no great distance from the coast the Illyrian elements persisted, tenacious of name and costume and revealed by the native style of sculpture as well. This is especially evident for the interior of Hercegovina, near Konjica, eastwards towards Plevlje and south-eastwards down to Montenegro.<sup>41)</sup> Here and in Dalmatia many tribes were converted into *municipia*, mainly under the Flavian Emperors. Yet the process was incomplete. Municipal organization masked rather than transformed the tribe. Doclea can show the family of a *princeps civitatis Doclatium* with native names, perhaps but not certainly earlier than the establishment of the *municipium*. Again, native *principes* subsist in a Dalmatian *municipium* like Rider,<sup>43)</sup> which is only a dozen miles from the coast and from the Roman colony of Scardona. Rider is likewise conspicuous for the high proportion of Illyrian names among its population. This is no home of Roman senators. The Dinaric Alps might have appeared to be both a frontier and a barrier: yet the immediate hinterland of the coast of Dalmatia and Hercegovina is seen after all to be closely related to the Illyrian interior.

The four attested senators in the first two centuries of the Empire come from Aequum, a Roman veteran colony, from Risinium, an *oppidum civium Romanorum*, and from Arba, an island off the Liburnian coast which probably received municipal rights at an early date. Why are senators so rare and infrequent?

Accident or sentiment may often have determined the admission of provincials to the Senate. The Balbi from Gades, not even Roman citizens by birth, are clearly a phenomenon: they explain themselves and are not material for deductions. But the very existence of one such family might inspire emulation, in their own city and in others. Patronage again would certainly bring in relatives and friends; and local or provincial patriotism might be an added stimulus. These factors were probably operative both in Spain and in Narbonensis. Dalmatia produced no striking individuals in the early Empire; and there are no manifestations of a specifically Dalmatian patriotism.

The deeper cause may well turn out to be social and economic in character. First of all, economics. The Roman Senate by the middle of the second century had come

<sup>41)</sup> See the acute and convincing observations of C. Patsch, *Die Herzegovina einst u. jetzt* (1922), 93 ff.

<sup>42)</sup> ILS 9411, cf. Patsch, o. c., 93.

<sup>43)</sup> CIL III, 2774 = ILS 7164; 2776 = ILS 7165.

to be representative of the great land-owners of the whole empire, east as well as west. Already the primacy of the western provinces seems to have passed. The emergence of a great number of senators from the East and from Africa has been recently demonstrated by Lambrechts and brought into connection with the increasing prosperity of those regions. Much of the trade of the cities of the Dalmatian coast lay with Italy; and a decline in the prosperity of Italy may well have had its repercussions upon Dalmatia, at a time when that region should have been forging ahead and counting for something in the Empire. This is a large subject and beyond the scope of the present paper.

Yet it is likely enough that in any case Dalmatia could not show local magnates comparable to the aristocracies of Asia Minor, Spain, Gaul and Africa. There were wealthy men in the towns of Dalmatia, it is true, like M. Flavius Fronto of Doclea.<sup>44)</sup> The commercial element is strong in the colonies of the coast, with numerous freedmen, especially at Naronna.<sup>45)</sup> But, despite certain allegations ancient and modern,<sup>46)</sup> descendants of freedmen were not numerous in the Senate of imperial Rome. The profits of commerce and industry went into land, a secure and reputable form of investment. Yet there was probably not enough land available along the Dalmatian coast for the building-up of large estates and the formation of a landed aristocracy.

Enquiry might have been expected to show that the senators from the provinces were in the main the descendants of Roman colonists. That is not borne out by the facts. The study of the nomenclature of the senators from the western provinces indicates a high proportion of the native stock. Such at least appears to hold good for Gallia Narbonensis. It is not the colony of Narbo, but Nemausus and Vienna, originally native capitals, that supply the most senators. And their names are revealing, many Domitii, Valerii and Pompeii, suggesting the inference that they are descendants of native dynastic families who received the citizenship from Roman proconsuls in the last age of the Republic.<sup>47)</sup>

The geography and geology of the Dalmatian coast and hinterland militated against the existence of large estates. There are few today. Moreover, the Illyrian native chieftains were not feudal dynasts like the Celtic lords, but representatives of a more primitive, a more Balkan and a more »democratic« social structure; and Illyrians were fanatically conservative. The quest appears to lead us after all to pre-Roman Dalmatia, back to the Illyrians, where it may be left, for this is only a brief and tentative speculation about a vast and alarming subject.

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RONALD SYME

<sup>44)</sup> CIL III, 12695 = ILS 7159 and other inscriptions. On this man see Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Ec. History*, 553.

<sup>45)</sup> Among the very earliest (? of the Triumviral period) are CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2291 = III 1820 = ILS 7166 and CIL I<sup>2</sup> 2289 = III 1784 = ILS 3354. The same man, P. Annaeus Q. 1. Epicadus, occurs in both.

<sup>46)</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.* 13, 27, *et plurimis equitum, plerisque senatoribus non aliunde originem trahi.* The study of the composition of

the Senate of the early Principate does not bear out the assertion of this Tacitean speech.

<sup>47)</sup> Cf. R. Syme, *JRS*, XXVII (1937), 131, with reference to Caesar's Narbonensian friends C. Valerius Procillus and Pompeius Trogus. The poet C. Cornelius Cn. f. Gallus also appears to belong here, cf. *CQ* XXXII (1938), 39 ff. The first Narbonensian consuls are a Valerius and a Domitius, from towns originally native, Vienna and Nemausus. I hope to deal with this subject more fully elsewhere.