

# *Roman Generals and Spanish Peoples*

by

Ulysses Keith Vestal

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## I. Introduction

This paper provides an overview of three important Latin inscriptions, each of which provides evidence for the political and military convergence of Roman and Spanish peoples during the mid- to late Republic. Each inscription will be discussed fully and separately. An appendix provides the text and translation for each.<sup>1</sup> The first inscription, the decree of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, set up in the early second century,<sup>2</sup> stands separated by a century from the latter two. The second inscription, the two decrees of Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo, reveals the evolution of a higher level of commingling between Roman and Spanish interests that arose in the century following the decree of Aemilius Paulus. The third inscription, the *Tabula Contrebiensis*, demonstrates even further the intervention of Roman influence in Spanish affairs when we witness Gaius Valerius Flaccus enforcing disputes amongst various Spanish communities. In all three inscriptions the *imperator* (“general”) who is responsible for making the respective decree emphasizes his wielding of that power. Aemilius and Pompeius include the title in place of a cognomen after their patriarchal affiliation, while Flaccus places the title after his cognomen. We will discuss the implications of this act more fully below.

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<sup>1</sup> All translations in this paper are the work of the present author. As I have included the full text and translation, I tried to avoid repeating both in the main body of the paper. Full citations for each inscription are given in the Appendix. Other citations in this paper follow conventional procedure with one exception. I have not referred to Broughton’s *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* by the standard abbreviation. Instead I have cited it as a normal secondary source.

<sup>2</sup> All dates are B.C.

## II. Decree of L. Aemilius Paulus

The earliest Latin inscription found in Spain is a decree of Lucius Aemilius Paulus (see [plate 1](#) below), which was engraved on a bronze tablet.<sup>3</sup> The decree itself only contains a calendrical dating (19 January). Supplementary evidence informs us that Aemilius Paulus was proconsul in Spain in 190 and in 189.<sup>4</sup> Most scholars are inclined to accept 189 as the most plausible date for the recording of this inscription.<sup>5</sup> Its modern discovery is also linked in some obscurity. Its exact find-spot is unknown, having been unearthed in 1866 or 1867 outside of Cadiz. The inscription is now housed in the Louvre.<sup>6</sup> In size the inscription is not much larger than the breadth of an adult male hand.<sup>7</sup>

The decree of Aemilius Paulus records an injunction that the *Hastensium servei* (“slaves of the Hastenses”) are free. It adds that their town and property, which they previously had owned, are recognized by the Romans as being again their property, so long as (*dum*) the Roman People and Senate will it. The *Hastensium servei* were possibly indentured servants in a system arranged under the peninsula’s previous masters, the Carthaginians.<sup>8</sup> Romans broadly defined social status as either free or enslaved, and so Aemilius has clarified their position vis-à-vis Rome.

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<sup>3</sup> Gordon 1983: 82. Fortunately this inscription was found intact and in remarkable condition. The other two inscriptions discussed in this paper have not been so fortunate in their preservation.

<sup>4</sup> For the complete sources, see Broughton 1951: 357 and 362.

<sup>5</sup> For 189 as the probable date, see Broughton 1951: 362, Richardson 1986: 118, and Warmington 1940: 254. Pace Gordon 1983: 83, who argues for 190.

<sup>6</sup> Gordon 1983: 82.

<sup>7</sup> Its exact dimensions are 14.0-14.3 x 22.2-22.5 cm. x ca. 2-3 mm: Gordon 1983: 82. It is reproduced to scale in *CIL* 1<sup>2</sup>.614.

<sup>8</sup> Richardson 1986: 118.

The *dum* clause contains a rather severe ambiguity. It is uncertain whether *dum* in the sense of “so long as” or “until such a time as” is meant. If the latter, the decree is not legally-binding. The former suggests that the Roman People and Senate will validate the terms of Paulus’ decree so long as the former *Hastensium servei* continue to foster a good relationship with Rome. This solution is preferable as it implies an informal hegemonic relationship. Spain had only been a province since 218<sup>9</sup> and unlike Rome intervention in the Greek east, there were largely no precedents of diplomatic exchanges between Spanish communities and Rome.<sup>10</sup> *Ad hoc* diplomacy became more common in this region. In the present instance Paulus seems to have acted in such spirit, that is without prior or explicit permission from the Senate.

Orthographically, this inscription contains numerous archaic spellings typical of the period. Prominent among them is the diphthong “ei” where Classical Latin has only “i” or “e.”<sup>11</sup> Single consonants appear where Classical Latin demands double consonants.<sup>12</sup> *Inpeirator* stands out as an orthographic *hapax legomenon*. This likely authentic but unusual archaic spelling has fueled debate over the date and even authenticity of this inscription. Some maintain that *inpeirator* points either to a Imperial date (in which case this inscription is a copy) or possibly an example of an ancient forged decree.<sup>13</sup> The simple but hardly uncommon explanation of a simple spelling error is perhaps the origin of the form *inpeirator*.

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<sup>9</sup> Richardson 1986: 31.

<sup>10</sup> There are of course exceptions, but there are mostly problematic, i.e. the Ebro treaty.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. *decreivit* for *decrevit* and *leiberei* for *liberi*.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. *posedisent* for *possedissent* and *iouisit* for *iussit*, which also contains the diphthong “ou” which is supplanted by “u” in Classical Latin. Interestingly, *oppidumque* features the double consonant.

<sup>13</sup> Gordon 1983: 83.

Finally and hardly least, the title *inpeirator* (*imperator* in Classical Latin) deserves attention. Lucius Aemilius Paulus was given command of Farther Spain during his praetorship in 191.<sup>14</sup> The title *inpeirator* likely refers to Aemilius Paulus' grant of *imperium* rather than a title of acclamation given by his troops.<sup>15</sup> Also of special interest is the placement of this title. It resembles a cognomen. As we will see in the next inscription, a similar placement seems more consciously aware of its position.<sup>16</sup>

### III. Two Decrees of Cn. Pompeius Strabo

A glass-covered case in the Capitoline Museum now houses the bronze tablet (see [plate 2](#) below) which records the two decrees of Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo, father of a greater son, Cn. Pompeius Magnus, to a squadron of Spanish horsemen.<sup>17</sup> The inscription is cut on a sheet of no great dimensions (11" high by 20" wide).<sup>18</sup> Everything but the top right portion of the tablet was acquired in 1908 by the Italian scholar G. Gotti, who two years later acquired the aforementioned missing part.<sup>19</sup> A small section of the center top has never

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<sup>14</sup> A biographical sketch of Paulus is beyond the focus of this paper. It will suffice to mention that Paulus obtained the consulship in 182 and again in 168, during which time he defeated Perseus at Pydna and brought an end to the Third Macedonian war. Earlier in 171 Spanish representatives had selected him as a patron to help resolve their grievance against Roman governors. His command in Spain impressed at least part of the native population.

<sup>15</sup> Richardson 1986: 118 n.109, favors *inpeirator* as meaning "holder of imperium." Pace Gordon 1983: 83, withholds judgement.

<sup>16</sup> Gordon 1983: 83, draws attention to the placement of *inpeirator*. He does not, however, compare it with the title of Cn. Pompeius Strabo in *ILS* 8888.

<sup>17</sup> The late epigraphist, A. E. Gordon, seemed to intimate mild annoyance that this glass case obstructed measurements of letter sizes: Gordon 1983: 91.

<sup>18</sup> Ashby 1910: 158.

<sup>19</sup> Ashby 1910: 158; Stevenson: 1919: 95. Both these publications are notably absent from the short bibliography of Gordon 1983: 91.

been recovered. The original location of the inscription was in all likelihood Rome, perhaps even on the Capitoline hill.

As with the previously discussed inscription, the present text is distinguished by the absence of consular dating and affords only a calendrical date, November 17. Adding to the uncertainty of the date is the lack of a precise title for Pompeius. If he was consul at the time, the norm indicates that he would be described as such.<sup>20</sup> Thus, the precise date has been disputed, 90 or 89 being the years favoured.<sup>21</sup> The year 89 ultimately is more preferable. As pointed out by A. E. Gordon, Pompeius was a *legatus* of Rutilius Lupus in 90 and consul himself in 89. As already mentioned, the absence of some form or indication of his consulship argues against a date of 89.<sup>22</sup> The absence of his office, while unusual, is not unprecedented.<sup>23</sup> But more importantly as a *legatus* Pompeius would not be qualified to be declared as an *imperator*. This additional factor clinches the argument in favor of 89. As a consul there would be nothing unusual in the title of *imperator*. At the risk of creating a circular argument, it is worth stating perhaps that the title *imperator* also would indicate that Pompeius was certainly holding some form of *imperium*, which a *legatus* would not possess.

Turning to the orthography of the text itself, it presents few deviations from the rules of Classical Latin. A few archaic spellings remain—nothing unusual for this period.<sup>24</sup> The diphthong “ei” appears where Classical Latin require only “i:” *castreis* for *castris* and *civeis*

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<sup>20</sup> Ashby 1910: 159.

<sup>21</sup> Gordon 1983: 91, who notes that an extremely late date, which would view it as a copy made during the reign of Vespasian, is a doubtful premise at best. Context dictates that it must be 90 or 89. Pompeius perished of illness before November 88.

<sup>22</sup> Gordon 1983: 91, does not take a side.

<sup>23</sup> For this argument, see Stevenson 1919: 95-96, who points out that Ventidius in 38 B.C. is the first *legatus* known to have claimed the title of *Imperator*. There would be nothing striking in the hurly-burly of those later times for a subordinate to make such a claim.

<sup>24</sup> For archaic spellings that are maintained in the early first century and later, see Warmington 1940: vii-viii.

for *cives*. In both of its occurrences *caussa* contains the double consonant “ss.” Two unusual forms in the second decree of this inscription evince what is most likely an error in spelling: *paleris* for *phaleris*<sup>25</sup> and the completely blundered *faumentium* for *frumentum*. Of much greater significance than the debate over its date or the few inconsistencies in spelling is the nature of the first decree, which established a precedent for the extension of the citizenship.<sup>26</sup> The second decree merely provides a postscript that underscores Pompeius’ affectation for his Spanish cavalry.

The first decree awards Roman citizenship to a group of Spanish horsemen from Salduie,<sup>27</sup> who had evidently assisted Pompeius (*virtutis causa*) at his siege of Asculum during the so-called Social War (90/1-89/8). As consul in 89 Pompeius had granted to the Transpadanes the *ius Latinum*, under which election to local political office would lead to enfranchisement as a Roman citizen.<sup>28</sup> This action was a generous offer at the time, but even more charitable is his granting here of citizenship to 30 Spanish cavalrymen, who were of non-Italian stock and residency.<sup>29</sup> Strikingly similar to the decree of Paulus, Pompeius provides no cognomen, choosing to supplant it with the title *imperator*.<sup>30</sup>

In the present two decrees the title *imperator* does not confer on Pompeius the power to grant citizenship. The concluding phrase of the first clause, *ex lege Iulia*, informs the

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<sup>25</sup> But see Johnson et. al. 1961: 63 n. 5, stating that *paleria* may be a variant Latinization of Greek *phalera*.

<sup>26</sup> Gordon 1983: 91, rightfully acknowledges further areas of interest, such as the names of the thirty Spanish horsemen as well as the full listing of Pompeius’ *consilium*. The present paper declines to tackle the former area. Concerning the latter, certain members of the *consilium* will be discussed.

<sup>27</sup> The Salluenses inhabited the region around modern Zaragoza.

<sup>28</sup> For sources, see Broughton 1952: 32.

<sup>29</sup> Stevenson 1919: 98.

<sup>30</sup> See especially Stevenson 1919: 95, who notices that the title *imperator* is very likely connected to his triumph celebrated on 27 December 89 *de Asculaneis Peicentibus*. This observation further cements 89 as the year of the decrees.

reader that the *lex Julia* of 90, which primarily granted citizenship to all loyal Latins and Italians, has authorized the enfranchisement. The exact details of the *lex Julia* remain elusive. It must have contained a clause that empowered exceptional grants of enfranchisement, such as occurs here.<sup>31</sup> A condition of the *lex Julia* may have stipulated that exceptional grants of enfranchisement required the support of a *consilium*, which would explain its presence in the first decree. Fifty-seven members make up Pompeius' *consilium*. Members are listed according to their rank in descending list: the first five named are *legati*, the sixth person named is Pompeius' *quaestor*, while the following 16 individuals are *tribuni militum*. The names of thirty-three *equites* are then listed and finally the four *centuriones primipili* conclude the *consilium*.<sup>32</sup> I have selected five individuals for brief comments.<sup>33</sup>

Listed among the *legati* is L. Gellius Popicola, who would obtain the consulship in 72, the censorship in 70, and conclude his public service as a *legatus* of Cn. Pompeius Magnus during his famous campaign against the pirates in 67. His colleague in both offices, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, appears among the *tribuni militum*. Like Gellius, Lentulus was appointed by Pompeius as a *legatus* in 67.<sup>34</sup> M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 78), who rebelled against the largely Sullan government in 77, was another *tribunus militum*. His short-lived revolt was crushed by Cn. Pompeius Magnus. Among the 33 *equites* two individuals make an appearance, who do not require further commentary: Cn. Pompeius Magnus and L. Sergius Catilina.

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<sup>31</sup> Stevenson 1919: 99. For a succinct (but somewhat dated) overview of the *lex Julia*, see Scullard 1982: 67-68.

<sup>32</sup> I owe this reference to Criniti 1970. Unfortunately I am unable to provide a more specific reference as I failed to include the page numbers in my notes, and as I had obtained Criniti through inter-library loan, it is not readily available for reference.

<sup>33</sup> Criniti 1970 provides a full prosopography of all members.

<sup>34</sup> For both men, see Broughton 1952: 116, 126-7, and 148.



The second decree grants various awards as further distinctions to the valour (again, simply described as *virtutis causa*) of the *turma Salluitana*.<sup>35</sup> Pompeius' *consilium* is not mentioned here as it was completely within the rights of his *imperium* to make such a decree.<sup>36</sup> As in the first decree the title *imperator* appears as a cognomen.

#### IV. *Tabula Contrebiensis*

In December 1979, a Spanish professor, G. Fatas, obtained a badly damaged bronze tablet that illegal excavators had found with a metal detector in Zaragoza, Spain. The tablet, after undergoing various treatments to repair and preserve it as far as possible, is now housed in the Barcelona Museum. As with the previously discussed inscriptions, it is of relatively compact dimensions (20" x 4").<sup>37</sup> The language is unremarkable. The archaic forms which occur are typical of legal language of the period.<sup>38</sup> Unlike the decrees of Paulus and Pompeius, the legal implications of this inscription are highly complex—even beyond the controversies that have arisen from various illegibilities owing to its damaged state.

The *Tabula Contrebiensis*, so-called because of the primacy of the *Senatus Contreibeinsis* in the inscription, records the settlement of an arbitration between two parties. The Salluienses—the same people which contributed the celebrated *turma* of Cn. Pompeius Strabo's two decrees—are present as plaintiffs, who are seeking judgment concerning ownership and possible compensation on their behalf of various public and private properties through

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<sup>35</sup> For a brief discussion of the awards, see Ashby 1910: 159.

<sup>36</sup> Ashby 1910: 159.

<sup>37</sup> Fatas 1983: 12.

<sup>38</sup> Fatas 1983: 12-13.

which they intend to build a watercourse. The property in question belongs to the Sosinestani who are mentioned here for the first time.<sup>39</sup> The Sosinestani seem to be the dependents of the Allovonenses who are accorded the position of defendant in the litigation.<sup>40</sup> The *Senatus Contreibeinsis* are recognized as the judges in the suit.<sup>41</sup> The litigation consists of three *formulae*. First, the judges must decide whether or not the Sosinestani possessed the right to sell the public property in question. Proceeding as if a positive answer is reached in the first *formula*, the second *formula* examines the legality of the purchase of private land that the watercourse will cut through. The final *formula* again is based on the presumption that a positive decision of the former condition has been obtained. It establishes that if the channel cuts through private land, the owners must be compensated.<sup>42</sup> The verdict is then recorded in favor of the Salluenses on the condition that they compensate for any private land through their watercourse runs.<sup>43</sup> C. Valerius Flaccus' role in the arbitration is to supply a measure of guarantee that all parties will abide by the settlement. I will review the part of Valerius more fully in the final section of this discussion. The *Tabula Contrebiensis* concludes by giving the place and date of the settlement, supplying both calendrical and consular dates. Accordingly in this instance there are no disputes in date and we can confidently assign it to 87.

From a cultural standpoint this inscription demonstrates that the three Spanish communities involved in this dispute have reached a level of interstate sophistication that

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<sup>39</sup> Fatas 1983: 12.

<sup>40</sup> Birk et. al. 1984: 50.

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion of Contrebia, see Fatas 1983: 12.

<sup>42</sup> Richardson 1983: 38, argues that no *formula* is described here. Instead he contends that it simply is a *litis aestimatio*.

<sup>43</sup> It is unclear whether compensation would be due to the Sosinestani or the Allovonenses.

allows them to negotiate and settle disputes by an unbiased third party.<sup>44</sup> It also displays a developing system of proficiency in irrigational practices. The legal language given in the inscription is highly technical and rooted firmly in Roman concepts of public and private land.<sup>45</sup> The present author's unfamiliarity with the complexities of Roman legal procedure have dissuaded him from attempting an evaluation of the niceties involved in Roman law. Therefore, let us now consider the part of C. Valerius Flaccus.

In 93, Valerius held the consulship with M. Herennius as his colleague. He obtained both Spains as his province. As Valerius was also active in Gaul, it has been conjectured that Gaul was added to his command in 85.<sup>46</sup> As proconsul in 92, he campaigned successfully, killing some 10,000 Celtiberians. He destroyed the town of Belgeda after the people burned down the Senate-House along with the members of the Senate because their Senate had refused to join an anti-Roman movement. Valerius remained at his post from 92-81, first because of the Social War and later owing to the multifarious civil disturbances that emerged in 87 and lasted until Sulla crushed all opposition in 82.<sup>47</sup> The title *Imperator* that follows his cognomen in the *Tabula Contrebiensis* indicates that he had been so acclaimed by his troops on some previous occasion.<sup>48</sup> The placement of *Imperator* as a title after his cognomen follows typical procedure.<sup>49</sup>

The sophistication of the case as described in *Tabula Contrebiensis* surely stems from Valerius' own experience as *praetor urbanus*. During his praetorship at Rome, Valerius'

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<sup>44</sup> Fatas 1983: 16.

<sup>45</sup> Richardson 1983: 36-37.

<sup>46</sup> Broughton 1986: 211.

<sup>47</sup> Broughton 1986: 211; Cf. Badian 1958: 11-16, who adds that Valerius' brother, L. Valerius Flaccus, had replaced Marius as consul suffectus in 86. Following his death in that same year, his son fled to his uncle in Spain.

<sup>48</sup> Broughton 1986: 211.

<sup>49</sup> Fatas 1983: 17.

responsibilities would have included the drafting of similar documents.<sup>50</sup> Nonetheless, as mentioned earlier, Valerius' legal expertise is not the reason for his involvement in the arbitration. His previous campaigns had brutally crushed local Spanish forces. His title *Imperator* reminds the parties of the suit of his military success. As with Aemilius Paulus and (the second decree of) Pompeius Strabo, Valerius' *imperium* determines his authority to act independently of the Roman People and Senate.<sup>51</sup> The use of the title *Imperator*, while conventional now in Valerius' day, is hardly a perfunctory inclusion. It testifies to the might of Rome of which Valerius and his predecessors are her agents and gives enforcement to their decrees.

Polybius in the mid-second century was acutely aware of the lack of a third party strong enough to mediate and enforce disputes in the Greek world.<sup>52</sup> He would have appreciated the evolution of Roman intervention in Spain. We can observe through the three inscriptions of Aemilius, Pompeius, and Valerius an evolution from a tentative step involving serfs in 190 to the highly developed settlement that Valerius has developed. Throughout this period Roman culture and practices are held as distinctions and prizes to Spanish communities and thus cooperation with Rome promotes constant assimilation with her traditions.

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<sup>50</sup> Richardson 1986: 38.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Richardson 1986: 164-165.

<sup>52</sup> Pol. 15.20.

## V. Text and Translation

A. Decree of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, Gades. *CIL* 1<sup>2</sup>.614, *CIL* 2.5041, *ILS* 15, *ILLRP* 2: 514.

### Text<sup>53</sup>

L(ucius) Aemilius L(ucii) f(ilius) inpeirator decreivit |  
utei quei Hastensium servei |  
in Turri Lascutana habitarent |  
leiberei essent; agrum oppidumqu(e) |  
quod ea tempestate posedisent |  
item possidere habereque |  
iousit dum populus senatusque |  
Romanus vellet. Act(um) in castris |  
a(n)te d(iem) XII K(alendas) Febr(uarias).

### Translation

Lucius Aemilius, son of Lucius, Emperor, has decreed that those slaves of the Hastenses who were held in the Lascutian tower are free; the land and the town, which at that time they had possessed, likewise to possess and hold he ordered, so long as the Roman People and Senate desired. This was settled in camp on the twelfth day before the Kalends of February.

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<sup>53</sup> I have adopted the text as given in *ILS* 15.

B. Two Decrees of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, Rome. *CIL* 1<sup>2</sup>.709, *CIL* 6.37045, *ILS* 8888; *ILLRP* 2: 515, Criniti 1970: 16-26.

Text<sup>54</sup>

[C]n(aeus) Pompeius, Se[x(ti) f(ilius), Imperator,] | virtutis caussa, | equites Hispanos ceives  
[Romanos fecit in castr]eis apud Asculum a(n)te d(iem) XIV K(alendas) Dec(embres) | ex  
lege Iulia. In consili[o fuerant] | L(ucius) Gellius L(ucii) f(ilius) Tro(mentia); Cn[aeus]  
Octavius Q[uinti] f(ilius) [. . . ; M(arcus) Caecilius, - - f(ilius) . . . ; Ser(vius) Sulpic]ius C(aii)  
f(ilius) Ani(ensi); L(ucius) Iunius L(ucii) f(ilius) Galeria; Q. Minuci(us) | M(arci) f(ilius)  
Ter(entia); P(ublius) Attius P(ublii) f(ilius) Ouf(entia); M(arcus) Malolei(us) M[arci] f(ilius) . . . ;  
- - - , - - f, . . . ; M. Aem]ili(us) Q(uinti) f(ilius) Pal(atina); Cn(aeus) Cornelius Cn(aei) f(ilius)  
Pal(atina); T(itus) Anni(us) T(iti) f(ilius) | Ouf(entina); M(arcus) Aureli(us) M(arci) f(ilius)  
Vol(tinia); L(ucius) Volumni(us) L(ucii) f(ilius) Ani(ensi); L(ucius) [ - - - , - - f(ilius), . . . ;  
- - - - , - - ] f(ilius) Suc(cusana); T(itus) Pompei(us) T(itii) f(ilius) Cor(nelia); C(aius) Rabeiri(us)  
C(aii) f(ilius) Gal(eria); | D(ecimus) Aebut(us) D(ecimi) f(ilius) Cor(nelia); M(arcus)  
Teiedi(us) M(arci) f(ilius) Pol(lia); C(aius) Fundili(us) C(aii) f(ilius) ? Q[ui(rina)]; M(arcus)  
[M]aia[ni(us)], M(arci) [f(ilius) Se]r(gia)?; T(itus) Acili(us) T(iti) f(ilius) Vel(ina); Cn(aeus)  
Oppi(us) Cn(aei) f(ilius) Vel(ina); Q(uintus) Petilli(us) L(ucii) f(ilius) Vel(ina); | L(ucius)  
Terenti(us) A(uli) f(ilius) Vel(ina); T(itus) Terenti(us) A(uli) f(ilius) Vel(ina); L(ucius)  
Vetti(us) L(ucii) f(ilius) Vel(ina); C(aius) Fornasidi(us) C(aii) f(ilius) Pol(lia); Cn. Pompei(us)  
Cn(aei) f(ilius) Clu(stumina); Sex(tus) Pompei(us) S<e>x(ti) f(ilius) Clu(stumina); | M(arcus)  
<H>ostili(us) M(arci) f(ilius) Vel(ina); L(ucius) A<e>buti(us) L(ucii) f(ilius) Men(enia);  
Q(uintus) Hirtulei(us) L(ucii) f(ilius) S<e>r(gia); L(ucius) Iuni(us) Q(uinti) f(ilius) Lem(onia);

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<sup>54</sup> I have adopted the text of Criniti 1970: 16-26.

Q(uintus) Rosidi(us) Q(uinti) f(ilius) Qui(rina); C(aius) Tarquiti(us) L(ucii) f(ilius) Fal(erna);  
 Q(uintus) Marci(us) | L(ucii) f(ilius) Pap(iria); L(ucius) Opeimi(us) Q(uinti) f(ilius) Hor(atia);  
 L(ucius) Instei(us) L(ucii) f(ilius) Fal(erna); T(itus) Noni(us) T(iti) f(ilius) Vel(ina); C(aius)  
 Herius C(aii) f(ilius) Clu(stumina); L(ucius) Ponti(us) T(iti) f(ilius) Qui(rina); M(arcus)  
 Lucani(us) M(arci)f(ilius) | Hor(atia); L(ucius) Sergi(us) L(ucii) f(ilius) Tro(mentina);  
 P(ublius) Pedani(us) P(ublīi) f(ilius) A<i>m(ilia); C(aius) Laetori(us) C(aii) f(ilius) Vel(ina);  
 A(ulus) Fulvi(us) A(uli) f(ilius) Tro(mentina); Q(uintus) Ampudi(us) Q(uinti) f(ilius)  
 Aim(ilia); L(ucius) Minuci(us) L(ucii) f(ilius) Vel(ina); | Ti(berius) Veturi(us) T(iti) f(ilius)  
 Vel(ina); Cn(aeus) Busseni(us) Cn(aeii) f(ilius) Ste(latina); T(itus) Petroni(us) P(ublīi) f(ilius)  
 Fab(ia); M(anus) Octacili(us) M(anii) f(ilius) Pol(lia); L(ucius) Pullienus L(ucii) f(ilius)  
 Men(enia); M(anus) Aebut(i) M(anii) f(ilius) Po(lia); P(ublius) Salvienus | L(ucii) f(ilius)  
 Mai(cia); L(ucius) Otacili(us) L(ucii) f(ilius) Pup(inia). | Turma Salluitana. |

[Three columns of thirty names of the *Turma Salluitana* have been omitted.]

[Below and to the right of the *Turma Salluitana*]

Cn(aeus) Pompeius Sex(ti) f(ilius) Imperator, | virtutis caussa turmam | Salluitanam donavit  
 in | castris apud Asculum | cornuculo et patella, torque | armilla, palereis; et  
 f<r>umen<t>um | duplex.

## Translation

Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Sextus, Imperator, for the sake of their courage made these Spanish horsemen Roman citizens in his camp at Asculum on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of December in accordance with the Julian law. In his council were:

Lucius Gellius, son of Lucius, from the Tromentian tribe; Cn. Octavius, son of Quintus . . .; Marcus Caecilius, son of . . .; Servius Sulpicius, son of Gaius, from the Aniensian tribe; Lucius Iunius, son of Lucius, from the Galerian tribe; Quintus Minucius, son of Marcius, from the Terentian tribe; Publius Attius, son of Publius, from the Oufentian tribe; Marcus Maloleius, son of Marcus . . .; Marcus Aemilius, son of Quintus, from the Palatinian tribe; Gnaeus Cornelius, son of Gnaeus, from the Palatinian tribe; Titus Annius, son of Titus, from the Oufentian tribe; Marcus Aurelius, son of Marcus, from the Voltinian tribe; Lucius Volumnius, son of Lucius, from the Aniensian tribe; Lucius . . ., son of . . .; . . . son of . . . from the Succusanian tribe; Titus Pompeius, son of Titus, from the Cornelian tribe; Gaius Rabeirius, son of Gaius, from the Galerian tribe; Decimus Aebutius, son of Decimus, from the Cornelian tribe; Marcus Teiedius, son of Marcus, from the Pollian tribe; Gaius Fundilius, son of Gaius, from the Quirinan tribe; Marcus Maianius, son of Marcus, from the Sergian tribe; Titus Acilius, son of Titus, from the Velinan tribe; Gnaeus Oppius, son of Gnaeus, from the Velinan tribe; Quintus Petillius, son of Lucius, from the Velinan tribe; Titus Terentius, son of Aulus, from the Velinan tribe; Lucius Vettius, son of Lucius, from the Velinan tribe; Gaius Fornasidius, son of Gaius, from the Pollian tribe; Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Gnaeus, from the Clustumian tribe; Sextus Pompeius, son of Sextus, from the Clustumian tribe; Marcus Hostilius, son of Marcus, from the Velinan tribe; Lucius Aebutius, son of Lucius, from the Menenian tribe; Quintus Hirtuleius, son of Lucius, from the Sergian tribe; Lucius Iunius, son of Quintus, from the Lemonian tribe; Quintus Rosidius, son of Quintus, from the Quirinan tribe; Gaius Tarquitiuis, son of Lucius, from the Falernian tribe; Quintus Marcius, son of Lucius, from the Papirian tribe; Lucius Opeimius, son of Quintus, from the Horatian tribe; Lucius Insteius, son of Lucius, from the Falernian tribe; Titus Nonius, son of Titus, from the Velinan tribe; Gaius Herius, son of Gaius, from the Clustumian tribe; Lucius Pontius, son of Titus, from the Quirinan tribe; Marcus Lucanius, son of Marcus, from the Horatian tribe; Lucius Sergius, son of Lucius, from the Tromentinian tribe; Publius Pedanius, son of Publius, from the Aimilian tribe; Gaius Laetorius, son of Gaius, from the Velinan tribe; Aulus Fulvius, son of Aulus, from the Tromentinian tribe; Quintus Ampudius, son of Quintus, from the Aimilian tribe; Lucius Minucius, son of Lucius, from the Velinan tribe; Tiberius Veturius, son of Titus, from the Velinan tribe; Gnaeus Bussenius, son of Gnaeus, Stellatinian tribe; Titus Petronius, son of Publius, from the Fabian tribe; Manius Octacilius, son of Manius, from the Pollian tribe; Lucius Pullienus, son of Lucius, from the Menenian tribe; Manius Aebutius, son of Manius, from the Pollian tribe; Publius Salvienus, son of Lucius, from the Maician tribe; Lucius Otacilius, son of Lucius, from the Pupinian tribe.

The Salluitanian Squadron.

Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Sextus, Imperator. For the sake of their courage he presented the Salluitanian Squadron in his camp at Asculum with a horn medallion, a silver dish, a necklace, a bracelet, medals, and double rations of grain.



C. The *Tabula Contrebiensis* (AE 1983, 0602 = 1984, 0586)

Text

Senatus Contrebie[n]sis qui tum aderunt iudices sunt. Sei par[ret ag]rum quem Salluienses | [ab Sosinest]ane[is] emerunt rivi faciendi aquaive ducendae causa qua de re agitur Sosinestanos | [iure suo Sa]lluiensibus vendidisse inviteis Allavonensibus. Tum sei ita [p]arret eei iudices iudicent | eum agrum qua de re agitur Sosinestanos Salluiensibus iure suo vendidisse; sei non [parre]t iudicent | iure suo non vendidisse. Eidem qui supra scriptei sunt iudices sunt. Sei Sosinestana ceivitas esset, tum qua Salluienses | novissime publice depalarunt, qua de re agitur, sei intra eos palos Salluiensis rivom per agrum | publicum Sosinestanorum iure suo facere licere[t], aut sei per agrum preivatam Sosinestanorum, | qua rivom fieri oporteret, rivom iure suo Salluiensibus facere liceret, dum quanti is ager aestumatus | esset, qua rivom duceretur, Salluienses pecuniam solverent, tum, sei ita parret, eei iudices iudicent | Salluiensibus rivom iure suo facere licere, sei non parret, iudicent iure suo facere non licere.

Sei iudicarent Salluiensibus rivom facere licere, tum, quos magistratus Contrebiensis quinque | ex senatu suo dederit eorum arbitrato pro agro preivato q[u]a rivom ducetur Salluienses | publice pecuniam solvont. Iudicium addeixit C(aius) Valerius C(aii) f(ilius) Flaccus imperator. | Sententiam deixerunt: quod iudicium nostrum est, qua de re agitur secundum Salluienses iudicamus.

[Lines 16-20 have been omitted. They provide the names of the magistrates of Contrebia.]

[Ac]tum [C]ontrebiae Balaiscae eidibus Maieis, L(ucio) Cornelio Cn(aeo) Octavio consulibu[s].

Translation

Let [the members] of the Contrebian Senate who then are present be the judges. If it is proved that the land which the Salluienses bought from the Sosinestani for the cause of making an irrigation channel or for leading out water, which is the point in dispute that the Sosinestani by their own judgement had sold [the land] to the Salluienses, although the Allavonenses were unwilling. Then if in such a way it is proved let these judges judge that the Sosinestani by their own right had sold this land, which is the point in dispute, to the Salluienses; if it is not proved, let them judge that the Sosinestani had not sold it by their own right. Let those same individuals who have been written above be the judges. If this is the Sosinestanian community, then where the Salluienses most recently in a public capacity mark off with stakes, which is the point in dispute, if within those stakes it is permitted for the Salluienses by their own right to make a channel through the public land of the Sosinestani, or if through the private land of the Sosinestani, where it is necessary that a channel be made, it is permitted for the Salluienses by their right to make this channel, while the Salluienses discharge the money, however much this land is valued, where the channel is being led, then if in such a way it is proved, let these judges judge that it is permitted for the

Salluenses to make a channel by their own right, if it is not proved, let them judge that it is not permitted to make [a channel] by their own right.

If they judge that it is permitted for the Salluenses to make a channel, by their judgement-- five men from their own senate, whom a magistrate of Contrebian will have given, the Salluenses will pay money at public expense for the private land whither is lead the channel. Gaius Valerius son of Gaius Flaccus, Imperator, underwrote this judgement. They spoke this sentence: this is our judgement, over the point that is in dispute, we judge the Salluenses favourably.

[Lines 16-20 have been omitted. They provide the names of the magistrates of Contrebia.]

This was settled at Contrebia Balaisca on the Ides of May, while Lucius Cornelius [Cinna] and Cnaeus Octavius were consuls.

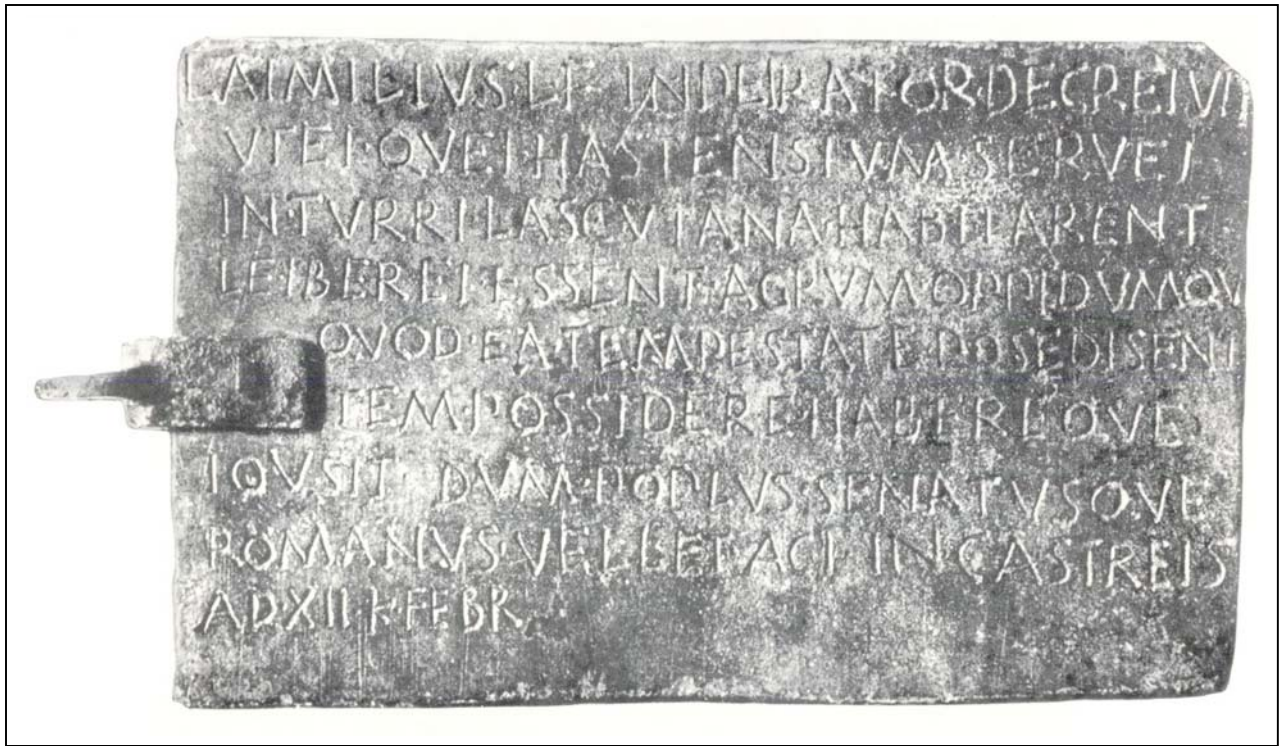


Plate 1: Decree of Lucius Aemilius Paulus.



Plate 2: Two Decrees of Cn. Pompeius Strabo

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