

JUAN GARCÍA GONZÁLEZ\* - BORJA MARTÍN CHACÓN\*\*

P. OTACILIUS ARRANES:  
FROM THE *TVRMA SALLVITANA* TO *CASINVM*\*\*\*

■ *Abstract*

This paper argues that P. Otacilius Arranes, an individual recorded in a Republican inscription from ancient Casinum (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3107), may plausibly be identified with the Iberian horseman *Arranes Arbiscar f.* mentioned in the Bronze of Ascoli (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 709). The establishment in the Italian town of this Spaniard, after receiving both the citizenship and the accompanying Roman onomastics, took place as a result of the veteran settlement programme that Sulla and his associates carried out in the aftermath of the Civil War.

*Keywords:* Bronze of Ascoli, *turma Salluitana*, Pompey, Casinum, Sulla's settlement of veterans.

*Introduction and description of the inscription*

The inscription *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3107 was found in Monte Cassino Abbey (Cassino, Lazio, Italy), having presumably been recovered during the reconstruction works of the acropolis that ensued after the destruction caused by the Second World War<sup>1</sup>. As a part of the collection of ancient and medieval epigraphy of Monte Cassino that originated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which mostly consists of inscriptions from Casinum and its surroundings, the inscription is displayed in one of the entrances to the Abbey, nowadays a closed access staircase known as "Lapidario".

Pantoni and Giannetti described this document as a local limestone slab that measured 0.27 m long, 0.42 m high and 0.033 m deep, with letters 5.5 cm high, reaching

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\* Newcastle University (UK); J.Garcia2@newcastle.ac.uk.

\*\* Universitat de Barcelona (España); investigador predoctoral en formació PREDOCS-UB; bmartinchacon@gmail.com.

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<sup>1</sup> A. PANTONI, A. GIANNETTI, *Iscrizioni latine e greche di Montecassino*, «Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Rendiconti», 26 (1971), pp. 429; 434.

the conclusion that the piece was originally from the ancient city of Casinum<sup>2</sup>. The inscription was only partially preserved on its left side, with a break extending from the middle of the upper half almost to the lower left-hand corner. Thanks to the preservation of the upper and lower edges, we can estimate the full height of the original object, while its length was between 50 and 60 cm long. Although the inscription is fragmentary and shows slight signs of weathering on the surface, particularly at the edges, the text is clearly readable, whilst the letters were repainted after the discovery of the document, a practice that is apparent in many other inscriptions in the Abbey. The preserved text reads as follows:

*P(ublius) Cael[ius ---] / P(ublius) Otac[ilius ---] / Arra[nes ---] / faciu[ndum] / coi[raverunt]*



Fig. 1. Picture of the inscription at the Abbey of Monte Cassino. Picture by Noelia Cases Mora.

Since its first publication, *P(ublius) Otac[ilius ---] / Arra[nes ---]* has been linked to *Arranes Arbiscar f(ilius)* from *Segia* (Ejea de los Caballeros, Zaragoza, Spain), one of the Iberian horsemen mentioned in the Bronze of Ascoli (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 709) who was granted the Roman citizenship by Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the year 89 BCE after the siege of Asculum. Pantoni and Giannetti considered that the two individuals in the inscription from Casinum had an onomastic construction that consisted of *praenomen-nomen-filiation*, without a *cognomen*<sup>3</sup>. In this vein, they argued that the name of the second subject was *P(ublius) Otac[ilius] / Arra[nes f.]*, i.e., the son of the Arranes of the Bronze of Ascoli, who, after becoming a Roman citizen, used his new status to establish himself at Casinum, where he served as a local magistrate and probably undertook the construction of an unknown building – *faciundum coirave-*

<sup>2</sup> PANTONI, GIANNETTI, *Iscrizioni latine* cit., p. 434.

<sup>3</sup> PANTONI, GIANNETTI, *Iscrizioni latine* cit., p. 434.

*runt*. It has often been assumed that the document was an official inscription erected by the local magistrates. While it is true that more than half of the inscriptions compiled in Appendix 1 are building inscriptions, the ambiguity of the text, the lack of references to any magistracy, and the unknown archaeological context of its finding do not warrant a definitive conclusion.

For many years the inscription remained unnoticed, and it was not until the early 1990s that scholars started to refer to Pantoni and Giannetti's argument, whether accepting that *P. Otacilius Arranes* was in fact the same individual as the Arranes of the Bronze of Ascoli, his son, or either one of them<sup>4</sup>. Some authors have shown scepticism regarding the identification: while Amela Valverde has pointed to the fragmentary state of the inscription as the reason that prevents the recognition of a likely link between the Arranes from the Bronze and *P. Otacilius* from Casinum, Le Roux has claimed that it is not possible to assert that these two characters were the same individual, since the inscription from Casinum lacks the *cognomen* and filiation<sup>5</sup>. In his recent study of several inscriptions from Casinum, Velaza recognised the possible link between the two Arranes, although he has also acknowledged the existence of other alternative possibilities for explaining the presence of Iberians at Casinum<sup>6</sup>.

### *Chronology of the inscription*

If the two Arranes are related, or are in fact the same individual, the Casinum inscription must date to the first half of the first c. BCE or to the first years of the second half of the same century. The analysis of the formula *faciu[ndum] coir[averunt]*, which probably refers to some kind of building project carried out by the two individuals, could provide an approximate chronology for the inscription.

The monophthongization of the formula /oi/ to /u/ seems to have occurred between the second and first cc. BCE<sup>7</sup>, with a coexistence of the expressions *coirare/-vit/-verunt*, *coerare/-vit/-verunt* and *curare/-vit/-verunt*<sup>8</sup>. It has been reported that the original

<sup>4</sup> Arranes: A. LINTOTT, *Citizenship*, in *A Companion to Ancient History*, edited by A. Erskine, Cichester 2009, p. 517. Son of Arranes: M.H. CRAWFORD, *The Roman Republic*, Cambridge 1993, p. 192; M.H. CRAWFORD, *Italy and Rome from Sulla to Augustus*, in *The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume X. The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C. – A.D. 69.*, edited by A.K. Bowman, E. Champlin, A. Lintott, Cambridge 2008, p. 432. Arranes or his son: A. LINTOTT, *The Romans in the Age of Augustus*, Malden 2010, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> L. AMELA VALVERDE, *La Turma Salluitana y su relación con la clientela Pompeyana*, «Veleia. Revista de prehistoria, historia antigua, arqueología y filología clásicas», 17 (2000), p. 82; L. AMELA VALVERDE, *Las clientelas de Pompeyo Magno en Hispania*, Barcelona 2002, p. 89; AMELA VALVERDE, *A vueltas con la Turma Salluitana y su relación con la clientela pompeyana*, «Hispania Antiqua. Revista de historia antigua», 45 (2021), p. 27; P. LE ROUX, *La péninsule ibérique aux époques romaines: (fin du III<sup>e</sup> s. av. n.è. - début du VI<sup>e</sup> s. de n.è.): (Fin du III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère - début du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère)*, Paris 2010, p. 351.

<sup>6</sup> J. VELAZA, *¿Dos iberos en Montecassino?*, in *Pro merito laborum. Miscellanea epigrafica per Gianfranco Paci*, a cura di S. Antolini, S.M. Marengo, Tivoli 2021, p. 653.

<sup>7</sup> Although this process from /oi/ to /u/ has been identified in initial syllables during the third century (ex: *oios > unus* "one"): J. CLARKSON, G. HORROCKS, *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language*, Oxford 2007, p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> About this process and several variations, see: R.G.G. COLEMAN, *Some remarks on Latin monophthongization*, «Cuadernos de Filología Clásica», 20 (1986-87), pp. 155-162; P. BALDI, *The Foundations of Latin*, Berlin-New York 2002, p. 248.

form *coirare* did not survive the first decade of the first c. BCE<sup>9</sup>, while *coerare* has traditionally been dated to the Late Republic, both in Italy and the provinces, particularly from the second c. BCE until the age of Augustus<sup>10</sup>; from the Imperial period onwards the form *curare* became predominant throughout, although some examples have been dated as early as the Sullan age<sup>11</sup>. The nature of such a process makes for ill-defined dating as the use of the different versions of this formula are subject to many variables and, therefore, these assessments need to be interpreted with caution. We have endeavoured to locate all the occurrences of the forms *coiravere/-vit/-verunt*<sup>12</sup>, summarized in figure 2 and appendix 1. Since dating these inscriptions is often an educated guess, these figures are given to present a tendency rather than a precise depiction.

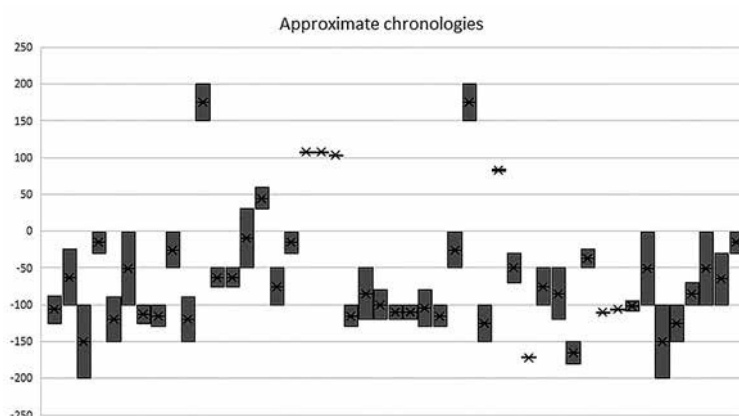


Fig. 2. Table with the datings of the forms *coiravere/-vit/-verunt*.

Notwithstanding the limitations of the palaeographic interpretations of the inscription<sup>13</sup>, its study may offer valuable insights on the chronology suggested by the formula *faciundum coiraverunt*. The inscription can be dated to the Late Republic or the reign of Augustus with a great degree of certainty, although from a strictly palaeographic point of view any more detailed chronological clarification must be approached with caution. First c. BCE inscriptions are strongly influenced by local epigraphic practices, which seems to be the case with this document, since the lettering of the inscription does not follow any known formal typology.

<sup>9</sup> M. LLORENS FORCADA, *La ciudad de Carthago Nova: las emisiones romanas*, Murcia 1994, p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> M. OLCINA, *El Tossal de Manises en época republicana*, in *Historia de la ciudad de Alicante. Edad antigua. Vol. I*, Alicante 1990, pp. 161-162.

<sup>11</sup> OLCINA, *El Tossal* cit., p. 161.

<sup>12</sup> From a total of 66 inscriptions, 46 (69,7%) have a reliable reconstruction and chronology and, consequently, have been considered in this study.

<sup>13</sup> Regarding the complex use of palaeography as a means for dating inscriptions, see: J.M. ABASCAL PALAZÓN, *El hábito epigráfico en Hispania entre Trajano y Adriano*, in *De Trajano a Adriano*. Roma matura, Roma mutans, a cura di A.F. Caballos Rufino, Sevilla 2018, pp. 275-296.

However, a comparison with other inscriptions from the same community may provide valuable insights. Since other inscriptions that are loosely dated to the Republican era suffer from the same difficulties when it comes to palaeographic identification, it is not possible to include this document in a chronological study based on the palaeographic traits of inscriptions from Casinum and its surroundings. Nevertheless, an unexpected finding was that the Cs in Otacilius Arranes' inscription, particularly visible in the C from line 4, are in fact quite similar to the relatively short and open C that is present in another inscription from Casinum, again in line 4, made with the same limestone and dated to the Late Republic or the Augustan age<sup>14</sup>. Other inscriptions in the same material prove that it was rather difficult to execute a clear ductus<sup>15</sup>, an issue that seems to have been addressed once the use of marble became more widespread around the second half of the first century BCE and the first decades of the first century CE, when the letters tended towards a Roman square capital design<sup>16</sup>. A possible explanation of this circumstance might be that between the second c. BCE and the first half of the first c. BCE local limestone was the main resource used for local inscriptions, a material that strongly influenced the local design of the letters and resulted in a heterogeneous collection of writing styles.

Therefore, the significant tendency outlined in figure 2 and appendix 1 regarding the formula *faciundum coiraverunt* suggests that the text of the inscription was made between the second half of the second c. BCE and the first c. BCE, while its palaeography and the material used imply that it was made in the first c. BCE. Together these results provide important insights that allow us to conclude that the document probably dates to the first half or the middle decades of the first c. BCE, thus revealing that a direct link between P. Otacilius Arranes from Casinum and the *Arranes Arbiscar f.* mentioned in the Bronze of Ascoli is indeed possible.

### *The cognomen Arra[nes]*

Crawford and Lintott, following the proposal of Pantoni and Giannetti, did not hesitate to reconstruct the cognomen *Arra[nes]* in the inscription from *Casinum* as that of the Iberian horseman from the Bronze of Ascoli, an interpretation that was mainly based on the fact that the element *arra-* is very uncommon in Roman onomastics<sup>17</sup>.

In fact, it is remarkable that so few Roman names started with *arra-*. First, the *nomen Arranius/-a* has been attested in northern Africa<sup>18</sup>, but since *Arra[nes]* has been

<sup>14</sup> H. SOLIN, *Nuovi iscrizioni di Cassino*, in *Le epigrafi della Valle di Comino: atti dell'undicesimo convegno epigrafico cominese: Sora-Atina, 30-31 maggio 2014*, a cura di H. Solin, San Donato Val di Comino 2015, pp. 116-117, num. 5.

<sup>15</sup> SOLIN, *Nuovi iscrizioni* cit., pp. 115-116, num. 4; SOLIN, *Nuovi iscrizioni* cit., pp. 116-117, num. 5; C. MOLLE, *Varia epigraphica dalla Valle del Liri*, in *Le epigrafi della Valle di Comino: atti del dodicesimo Convegno epigrafico cominese*, a cura di H. Solin, San Donato Val di Comino 2016, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> For example: *AEP* 1995, 261; *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2974; *CIL* X 5160a; *CIL* X 5186.

<sup>17</sup> PANTONI, GIANNETTI, *Iscrizioni latine* cit., p. 434; CRAWFORD, *The Roman* cit., p. 192; CRAWFORD, *Italy and Rome* cit., p. 432; A. LINTOTT, *Imperium Romanorum. Politics and administration*, London-New York 1993, p. 163; LINTOTT, *Citizenship* cit., p. 517; LINTOTT, *The Romans* cit., p. 103.

<sup>18</sup> Although the name *Arrani* apparently has an Italic origin, 33 of the 49 inscriptions with that *nomen*

explained as the indigenous name of the father or as the *cognomen* of *Otacilius*, the reconstruction *Arranius* can be automatically discarded. Secondly, there are several inscriptions with the particle *Arra-* besides *Arranes* as a *cognomen*; for instance, *Arraniana* (CIL VIII 15595) has been documented once as a *cognomen* originated from the *nomen* *Arranius/-a*<sup>19</sup>. Similarly, the name *C. Aemilius Arrator* (BCETH-1930/31-72) was found on an inscription from Africa proconsularis, which is one of the oldest epigraphic example from *Sicca Veneria* but has been dated to the first c. CE<sup>20</sup>. Finally, the word *arrae* (CIL V 8110, 314) is attested on a pottery fragment in northern Italy, but its identification as a personal name remains unknown.

Nevertheless, the rarity of references in the Roman world is compensated by the evidence provided by onomastic studies in the Iberian Peninsula. A considerable amount of literature has been devoted to this subject and, although local languages from the Iberian Peninsula have proven to be a challenge to translate and understand, onomastics have been relatively well identified. In his anthroponymic *Atlas of the Peninsula*, Untermann listed 11 names that started with *Ar(r)a-*, but the only *Arra-* was the *Arranes* from the Bronze of Ascoli<sup>21</sup>. Likewise, in his work on ancient Catalonia Moncunill identified many names starting with *ar-*, but none with *ara-* or *arra-*: a tendency that is also attested in other areas of the Iberian Peninsula<sup>22</sup>.

Unsurprisingly, the troublesome identification of the Latinized form of an indigenous name in its original language has led academic literature to an open debate. The Iberian name *Arranes* has been identified in an inscription in the Catalan Pyrenees (Bolvir, Girona) as *afam-*<sup>23</sup>, and although this reading is not entirely clear, in the latest edition of the inscription *añan-* has been corroborated as an Iberian element<sup>24</sup>. Other studies of La-

*Arranius/-a*\* have been documented in Africa, remarkably in the vicinity of *Ammadaera* and *Lambaesis*, related to the *legio III Augusta*: A.-F. BARONI, H. ROUGIER, *Des acteurs du commerce entre l'Afrique et Rome: les Africains d'Ostie et leurs réseaux sous le Haut-Empire*, in *Échanger en Méditerranée*, éd. par A.-F. Baroni, G. Bernard B. Le Teuff, C.R. Darasse, Rennes 2017, p. 180.

<sup>19</sup> I. KAJANTO, *The latin cognomina*, Helsinki 1966, p. 381.

<sup>20</sup> D. BERTRANDY, *Recherches sur les Aemili d'Afrique proconsulaire et de Numidie*, «Ancient Society», 25 (1994), pp. 194-195; Z. BEN ABDALLAH, L. LADJIMI SEBAI, *Index onomastique des inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*, Paris 1983, pp. 9; 24.

<sup>21</sup> J. UNTERMANN, *Elementos de un atlas antroponímico de la Hispania antigua*, Madrid 1965, pp. 60-61. This position has been restated in other publications: J. UNTERMANN, *Repertorio antroponímico ibérico*, «Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina», 17 (1987), p. 297; J. UNTERMANN, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum*, III.1, Wiesbaden 1990, p. 210.

<sup>22</sup> N. MONCUNILL, *Els noms personals ibèrics en l'epigrafia antiga de Catalunya*, Barcelona 2010, pp. 47-49; J.M. VALLEJO RUIZ, *Onomástica Paleohispánica*, I. *Antroponimia y teonimia*. 1. *Testimonios epigráficos latinos, celtiberos y lusitanos, y referencias literarias: Banco de Datos Hesperia de lenguas paleohispánicas (BDHESP) III*, Bilbao 2015, p. 278.

<sup>23</sup> M.I. PANOSA, *Novedades de epigrafía ibérica en Catalunya y algunos aspectos metodológicos*, in *Religión, lengua y cultura prerromanas de Hispania*, a cura di F. Villar, M.A. Fernández Álvarez, Salamanca 2001, p. 515: *ti-afambof-su*; J. RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS, *Nuevo Índice Crítico de formantes de compuestos de tipo onomástico iberos*, «Arqueoweb: Revista sobre Arqueología en Internet», 15.1 (2014), p. 110: *añamtaf-su – taf*. N. MONCUNILL (*Lèxic d'inscripcions ibèriques* (1991-2006), tesi doctoral, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2007, p. 304) read *tiarfamtaf-sur+++*, and said that Untermann identified the final three crosses as *barta*.

<sup>24</sup> J. FERRER I JANÉ, *La llengua i l'escriptura ibèrica a la Cerdanya*, «Ker», 4 (2010), p. 56. An assessment that had already been made by: H. SCHUCHARDT, *Iberische personennamen*, «Revista internacional de los estudios vascos», 3.3 (1909), pp. 243; 245.

tin inscriptions in the Iberian Peninsula or from Hispanic individuals abroad have identified several names with the radical Arra-: while *Arraedo* (CIL II 2826) has been recorded in a first c. CE inscription located in the ancient region of Celtiberia (San Esteban de Gormaz, Soria)<sup>25</sup>, the name *Arraceni* (CIL XIII 8317) has been found on the funerary inscription of a Lusitanian auxiliary in *Germania Inferior*<sup>26</sup>. In another study, Espinosa and Usero proposed that the anthroponym *Arancisis* (Hep 3, 1993, 363) was an Iberian name with the same formant as *Arranes*, a statement that has not been unanimously accepted<sup>27</sup>.

Furthermore, the remarkable presence in the very same city of Casinum of yet another Iberian individual, named *M'. Popidius M' et M. l. Beles*, deserves discussion in this context<sup>28</sup>. As one of the most stable features in the Iberian onomastic tradition, *Beles* has been documented in a wide area of the Iberian Peninsula in composition with other Iberian onomastic forms and, uniquely, under the standalone form *Beles* in the Bronze of Ascoli, as it has also been found in the inscription of Casinum. The Iberian ancestry of another citizen from Casinum, whose links to Hispania or perhaps to the horseman *Beles Umarbeles f.* in the Bronze are yet to be determined<sup>29</sup>, reinforces the identification of *P. Otacilius Arra-* as an Iberian individual named *Arranes*, who is arguably the *Arranes Arbiscar filius* of the Bronze of Ascoli.

Taken together, the parallels attested in the Roman world for the particle *Arra-* are either inconclusive or from a later period, while several names from the Iberian Peninsula did begin with ar-, ar(r)a- or ars- and are closely related to the Iberian name *Arranes*. Among the several Iberian names documented, the only one we know for certain to have belonged to this period and for whom we introduce what we consider a plausible explanation for his presence in Casinum is *Arranes*, an idea that is strongly reinforced by the presence of yet another Iberian in the same community in the first c. BCE<sup>30</sup>. As a consequence, *Arra[nes]* is the most compelling reconstruction for the *cognomen* mentioned in the inscription of Casinum, the very same name documented for one of the Iberian horsemen in the Bronze of Ascoli.

<sup>25</sup> L. ALBERTOS FIRMAT, *La onomástica personal primitiva de Hispania Tarraconense y Bética*, Salamanca 1966, p. 35; J.M. ABASCAL PALAZÓN, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania*, Murcia 1994, pp. 286-87. The inscription has been dated to the first century CE: S. CRESPO ORTIZ DE ZÁRATE, *Corpus de inscripciones sobre la esclavitud infantil en Hispania romana*, «Hispania Antiqua», 33-34 (2010), p. 69.

<sup>26</sup> ALBERTOS FIRMAT, *La onomástica* cit., p. 35; 280. M. PALOMAR LAPESA, *La onomástica personal pre-latina de la antigua Lusitani*, Salamanca 1957, p. 41 considered that the form \**Arr-ac-eni* came from the name *Arrageni*, which was made with the particle -gen-, frequently used as “son of” in Celtic onomastics.

<sup>27</sup> U. ESPINOSA, L.M. USERO, *Eine Hirtenkultur im Umbruch. Untersuchungen zu einer Gruppe von Inschriften aus dem conventus Caesaraugustanus (Hispania Citerior)*, «Chiron», 18 (1988), pp. 477-505; contra RODRÍGUEZ RAMOS, *Nuevo Índice* cit., p. 110.

<sup>28</sup> About the inscription, see: PANTONI, GIANNETTI, *Iscrizioni latine* cit., pp. 435-436; D. NONNIS, *Produzione e distribuzione nell'Italia repubblicana. Uno studio prosopografico*, Roma 2015, p. 155; MOLLE, *Varia epigraphica* cit., pp. 103-105; Iberian identification in: VELAZA, *¿Dos iberos?* cit., pp. 649-654.

<sup>29</sup> Apparently, the name of the horseman, *Beles*, which is usually combined with another element in Iberian onomastics, has not been abbreviated, since only the names of the fathers of the horsemen on the third column of the Bronze of Ascoli were shortened: I. SIMÓN CORNAGO, *Las abreviaturas de los nombres personales ibéricos en el bronce de Ascoli (CIL I 709)*, «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome», 130.1 (2018), pp. 41-48.

<sup>30</sup> The palaeography of the inscription places the document in the late Republican period or more likely during the reign of Augustus: VELAZA, *¿Dos iberos?* cit., p. 651.

*P. Otacilius Arranes and the Otacilii of the Bronze of Ascoli*

Another significant aspect of *P. Otacilius Arra-* is his *nomen Otacilius*, which happens to be uncommon in Roman onomastics, albeit a not altogether undistinguished one. In this regard, the fact that this individual had the same *nomen* as two members from the *consilium* of Strabo and a fellow *Ilerdensis* horseman, with all three appearing in the same document, is indeed outstanding. By asserting that this fact could not be a coincidence, several scholars have argued that the three *Ilerdenses* from the Bronze could have taken their names from members of Strabo's *consilium*<sup>31</sup>, an assessment that proves to be rather problematic since only one cavalryman (*Cn. Cornelius Nesille f.*) has the same *praenomen* and *nomen* as a member of the *consilium*. Indeed, the lack of variety is one of the main characteristics of Roman onomastics, so it is not surprising that we encounter some coincidences given the vast number of Roman names, up to 44 different *nomina*, documented in the Bronze of Ascoli. It may have been truly remarkable if one of the horsemen had a *nomen* such as *Bussenius* or *Fornasidius*, which have only been attested in Strabo's *consilium*, but a note of caution is due when we are dealing with some of the most common *praenomina* and *nomina* in the Roman world. Furthermore, it has not been explained why only the three horsemen from *Ilerda* decided to adopt their Roman names prior to the grant of citizenship<sup>32</sup>. These coincidences therefore need to be interpreted carefully.

If we accept that the Arranes from the Bronze is the same individual recorded in Casinum, it proves rather difficult to establish with any certainty why he chose the

<sup>31</sup> G.H. STEVENSON, *Cn. Pompeius Strabo and the Franchise Question*, «Journal of Roman Studies», 9 (1919), p. 100; A.N.S. SHERWIN-WHITE, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford 1973, p. 295; P. UTRILLA MIRANDA, *Gentes del convento jurídico Caesaraugustano según la epigrafía y la numismática*, «Cuadernos de Investigación, Geografía e Historia», 5.2 (1979), p. 111; S. SISANI, *Latinità non latina: lo ius Latii come strumento di integrazione delle comunità provinciali in età repubblicana*, «Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua», 36.2 (2018), pp. 343-344.

<sup>32</sup> See in this regard: N. CRINITI, *L'epigrafe di Asculum di Gn. Pompeo Strabone*, Milano 1970, pp. 190-191. From our perspective, the Latin onomastic of the *ilerdenses* must be explained through the Latin status that their community may have enjoyed. For the reasoning behind this position, see: E. PAIS, *Il decreto di Gn. Pompeo Strabone sulla cittadinanza romana dei cavalieri ispani*, in *Dalle guerre puniche a Cesare Augusto: indagini storiche, epigrafiche, giuridiche*, Roma 1918, pp. 169-226; H. GALSTERER, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der iberischen Halbinsel*, Berlin 1971, p. 11; H. GALSTERER, *La trasformazione delle antiche colonie latine e il nuovo ius Latii*, in *Pro Populo Arimense. Atti del Convegno Internazionale. Rimini antica. Una res publica fra terra e mare*, a cura di A. Calbi, G. Susini, Faenza 1995, pp. 79-94; E. GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, *Movilidad, onomástica e integración en Hispania en época republicana: algunas observaciones metodológicas*, in *Viajes y cambios de residencia en el mundo romano*, a cura di J.M. Iglesias, A. Ruiz, Santander 2011, pp. 51-52; E. GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, *Client relationships and the diffusion of Roman names in Hispania. A critical review*, in *Foreign clientelae in the Roman Empire: A Reconsideration*, edited by M. Jehne, F. Pina Polo, Stuttgart 2015, pp. 111-112; B. MARTÍN CHACÓN, *El Bronce de Áscoli y los ilerdenses: cuestiones onomásticas y estatus jurídico*, Madrid 2019, pp. 87-90. Other authors who have included *Ilerda* as one of the Latin colonies in Hispania during the Republican era: M. TORELLI, *Nuevos colonos, nuevas colonias: esbozo de un modelo*, in *Hispania romana: desde tierra de conquista a provincia del Imperio*, a cura di J. Arce Martínez, S. Ensoli, E. La Rocca, Madrid 1977, p. 101; J.M. ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Historia de España*, Madrid 1984, pp. 128, 364; SANTOS YANGUAS, *Comunidades indígenas y centros urbanos en Hispania en el proceso de conquista y organización de los territorios conquistados*, in *El proceso de municipalización en la Hispania romana*, a cura di L. Hernández, L. Sagredo, Valladolid 1998, pp. 15-16; J. MANGAS, *Leyes coloniales y municipales de la Hispania romana*, Madrid 2001, p. 13.



name *P. Otacilius* when he was promoted. He could have taken the name from a senior Roman officer under whom he served, with whom he may have established a bond of friendship or *clientela*, but to know whether that officer was in fact one of the *Otacilii* of Strabo's *consilium* is a question that still remains unsolved<sup>33</sup>. Although Arranes, as a new Roman citizen, had the free will to decide his new name<sup>34</sup>, the coincidence between his *nomen* *Otacilius* and that of the three other characters mentioned in the Bronze seems to be a remarkable correspondence, and a difficult one to ignore while addressing the identification. Along with the reconstruction of the *cognomen* *Arranes* that we have proposed for the individual mentioned in the inscription from Casinum, his *nomen* *Otacilius* stands out as another element supporting the identification between this individual and the Iberian horseman mentioned in the Bronze.

*P. Otacilius Arranes: the Iberian horseman from the Bronze of Ascoli or his descendant?*

Research into the subject has been mostly restricted to the primary link between *P. Otacilius Arranes* and *Arranes Arbiscar f(i)lius*, without providing an in-depth explanation that addresses the question as to whether *Otacilius Arranes* was indeed the same individual of the Bronze of Ascoli, i.e. *Arranes Arbiscar f(i)lius*, or his son. Pantoni and Giannetti<sup>35</sup>, by reconstructing *P(ublius) Otac[ilius] / Arra[nes f.]*<sup>36</sup>, concluded that *P. Otacilius* was the descendant of the horseman from the Bronze, a proposal that must be approached with caution.

As has been explained above, *Arranes Arbiscar f.* adopted a Roman name when he obtained the citizenship, probably becoming *P. Otacilius Arbiscar f. Arranes* as a

<sup>33</sup> Mouritsen's Digital Prosopography of the Roman Republic (last consultation 16/11/2021) attested 11 *Otacilii* during the Republican era: M'. Otacilius Crassus cos. 263, 246: T.R.S. BROUGHTON, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic. Vol. 1. 509 B.C. - 100 B.C.*, New York 1951, pp. 203-204; 216; T. Otacilius Crassus cos. 261: BROUGHTON *The Magistrates vol. I* cit., pp. 203-204; T. Otacilius Crassus pr. 217: BROUGHTON *The Magistrates vol. I* cit., p. 244; an Otacilius that served as legate in 90 BCE: T.R.S. BROUGHTON, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic. vol. II. 99 B.C. - 31 B.C.*, New York 1952, p. 27; M. Otacilius and L. Otacilius as members of Strabo's *consilium* in 89 BCE (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 709), M. Otacilius as a *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* after 77 BCE: BROUGHTON *The Magistrates vol. II* cit., p. 597; another Otacilius Crassus who served as praefectus in 48 BCE (Caes. *BC* 3.28-29); L. Otacilius Rufus as a possible *tribunus plebis* between 110-90 BCE (*AEp*, 1984, 176); a certain Cn. Otacilius Naso in the first c. BCE (*Cic. Fam.* 13.33); and finally an unidentified N. Otacilius (*Fest.* 174).

<sup>34</sup> G. ALFÖLDY (*Notes sur la relation entre le droit de cité et la nomenclature dans l'Empire romain*, «*Latomus*», 25 [1966], pp. 37-57) dismissed the onomastic relationship that was supposedly established between the beneficiary of Roman or Latin citizenship and his or her patron, stating that this was a possible practice, but that it was up to the new citizen to determine his or her new name. Other authors described the practice of adopting the onomastics of the patron as common, although they recognized that it was not a mechanical procedure: E. BADIEN, *Foreign Clientelae, 264-70 B.C.*, Oxford 1958, p. 255; G.L. GREGORI, *Brescia romana. Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale. II. Analisi dei documenti*, Roma 1999, p. 39. The reality is that we lack certainty about the process of composition of the *tria nomina* of former *peregrini* who became Roman citizens: M.C. DE LA ESCOSURA BALBÁS, *Epigrafía y onomástica en la colonia latina de Carthago Nova*, «*Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua*», 36.2 (2018), p. 435.

<sup>35</sup> PANTONI, GIANNETTI, *Iscrizioni latine* cit., p. 434.

<sup>36</sup> It must be noted that, if *Arranes* were a name subject to the third declension, as a patronymic it should have been reconstructed in genitive singular as *Arra[nis]*.

result. His descendants would have been named *P.* (or any other *praenomen*) *Otacilius P. f. Arranes*, and his filiation in either case would have never been *Arranes f.*, since the *praenomen* of his father as a citizen was a Roman one from 89 BCE onwards. Consequently, Pantoni and Giannetti's proposal would only make sense if the son of the horseman from the Bronze had become a Roman citizen and settled in Casinum before his father was granted citizenship in 89 BCE, something that seems to be quite improbable, and for which no evidence or explanation has been provided.

Although the hypothesis of the first editors of the inscription failed to provide an adequate context in which their reconstruction could work, the idea that the character from Casinum was the son of *Arranes Arbiscar f.* in the Bronze may be explained by another reconstruction. If his name was *P. Otacilius [P.f.] / Arranes*, it could be suggested that he had inherited the same onomastic formula as his father, perhaps only altering his *praenomen*, once he became a citizen. Although it is true that the internal structure and alignment of the inscription does not support this hypothesis, a problem which will be discussed in depth below, this reconstruction provides a comprehensive solution that may very well explain the connection between the two inscriptions.

Any proposal that links the inscription in Casinum to the one from Ascoli must revolve around two issues: a coherent historical explanation, and a reconstruction that corresponds to the morphology of the document. While the interpretation offered by the first editors of the document is probably the most likely one from an epigraphic perspective, it fails to associate the two documents, as was initially intended. Before proceeding to examine other hypotheses, we evaluated the document in order to rule out those possibilities that, although historically sensible, are not supported by the epigraphic reconstruction. In this regard, we suggest the following reading of the inscription:

*P. Cael[ius P.f.] / P. Otac[ilius] / Arra[nes] / faciu[ndum] / coi[raverunt]*



Fig. 3. Hypothetical reconstruction of the inscription, based on the preserved letters, their arrangement and the spaces between letters and lines.

The effectively unreachable location of the inscription in the Abbey of Monte Cassino, set at the top of one of the walls of the monumental access staircase, did not allow us to carry out a conventional autopsy, and prevented an assessment of the exact size of the piece; as a solution, we have used instead the digital measurements of the image editor for our estimates<sup>37</sup>. The employment of the formula *faciundum coiraverunt* proves to be quite revealing, as it allows the reckoning of the overall size of the document, which seems to have been vertically aligned to the centre. As can be seen in the picture shown above, the start of each line varied according to the stonecutter's perspective of its length: line 3 is slightly moved towards the centre of the inscription, while lines 4 and 5 are gradually positioned closer to the edge of the document. Further analysis of the space between letters on each line has shown that lines 1 and 2 have an approximate space of 0.2 pp, line 3 more than doubles this space up to 0.4-0.5 pp, and lines 4 and 5 decrease the space to an average of 0.3 pp. What is interesting about these calculations is that the use of the distinctive space between letters on each line and the reproduction of the missing letters based on the preserved ones significantly corroborate the idea that the text was vertically aligned.

According to this data, we can infer that the introduction of a filiation of a *peregrinus* Iberian father (e.g. *Arbiscar f.*) was not feasible in the second or in the third line, while a filiation to a Roman father at the end of the second line would have disrupted the outline of the inscription, thus disturbing the alignment that is carefully displayed in the rest of the document<sup>38</sup>. We consider the former option to be possible but unlikely, since it contravenes the other formal elements listed above. The stonecutter was able to introduce 10 letters and three interpunctuations in line 1 and 11 letters in line 5; yet he chose to start the word *Arranes* further to the right of the document, leaving a space that is almost double than that of the other lines between the letters in line 3; consequently, it can be agreed that *Arranes* was the only word inscribed in this line. Apparently, the stonecutter could have introduced a regular Roman filiation before the cognomen *Arranes*, better than at the end of line 2, but he was not ordered to do so. This invalidates the possibility that *Otacilius* was a descendant of the horseman mentioned in the Bronze. As a conclusion, the arrangement of the text supports the idea that *P. Otacilius Arranes* did not include his filiation: presumably, it was not a Roman one, which could have been featured in line 3 without issue, but an Iberian one, probably forcing the individual to choose between his filiation and his *cognomen* and opting for the latter.

Therefore, we acknowledge that the first individual, *P. Cael[ius]* probably had an onomastic structure formed by *praenomen-nomen-filiation*, a common formula that has been documented in other inscriptions from this same community in the first c.

<sup>37</sup> Using an old photograph as reference from H. SOLIN *L'epigrafia dei villaggi del Cassinate ed Aquinate*, in *L'epigrafia del villaggio*, a cura di A. Calbi, A. Donati, G. Poma, Faenza 1993, pp. 363-406, with a measuring ruler, we estimate that 0.22 photoshop points (pp) equal approximately 1 cm.

<sup>38</sup> We have considered the possibility that the Iberian name of the father was contracted in the Roman fashion [*Arbiscar filius*], but Iberian inscriptions do not seem to have developed a standardized system of abbreviations for their onomastics like that of the Romans: SIMÓN CORNAGO, *Las abreviaturas* cit., pp. 41-48.

BCE<sup>39</sup>. In this regard, *P. Otac[ilius] / Arra[nes]* was the same Iberian horseman from *Segia* granted Roman citizenship who appears in the Bronze of Ascoli under his Iberian name *Arranes Arbiscar f.*, and not his descendant.

The distinctive onomastic formula that we propose for *P. Otacilius* (*praenomen-nomen-cognomen*, without filiation) could be explained by a combination of several factors: the unique story of our individual, the rigid constraints of the Roman citizenship and, perhaps the most ordinary of all, the requirements of epigraphic work. After this review of the evidence, as well as the comparative samples offered by the epigraphical field, we can plausibly assert that *P. Otacilius Arranes* and *Arranes Arbiscar f.* were the same individual, and, consequently, that the Iberian horseman mentioned in the Bronze of Ascoli settled at Casinum after receiving both the Roman citizenship and the *tria nomina*.

#### *P. Otacilius Arranes and Sulla's veteran settlement*

Modern scholarship on the inscription of *P. Otacilius Arranes* from Casinum has usually posited that this individual, besides enjoying a high social and economic position in the town, at some point became a magistrate of the *municipium*, which obtained the status *optimo iure* during the first half of the first c. BCE<sup>40</sup>. Even if the rank of *P. Caelius* and *P. Otacilius Arranes* is not specifically registered in the inscription, we can advance different arguments in defence of this interpretation: first, the formula *faciundum coiraverunt* signalled probably the construction of a structure, likely a

<sup>39</sup> *AEp* 1995, 260; *CIL* I 2974; X 5159; 5203. Some inscriptions also had individuals with their *cognomen* (*CIL* X 5190; 5222; 5282; 6899), tribe (*CIL* X 5169) or even a reference to their grandfathers (*CIL* X 5243).

<sup>40</sup> CRAWFORD, *The Roman cit.*, p. 192; CRAWFORD, *Italy and Rome cit.*, p. 432; LINTOTT, *Imperium Romanorum cit.* p. 163; LINTOTT, *Citizenship cit.*, p. 517; LINTOTT, *The Romans cit.*, p. 103; P. LE ROUX, *La péninsule ibérique cit.*, p. 351. Originally a Samnite *oppidum*, Casinum fell under Roman influence around mid third century BCE (Liv. 10.39.1-7), probably in the year 268, becoming a *praefectura* and receiving the *civitas sine suffragio* (*CIL* X 5193, 5194). The *municipium* obtained the status of *optimo iure*, with a duoviral structure, at some point in the first half of the first c. BCE (Cic. *Planc.* 22; *CIL* X 5417; XI 5278; XIV 2827). On the institutional history of Casinum, see U. LAFFI, *Sull'organizzazione amministrativa dell'Italia dopo la guerra sociale*, in *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik. München* 1972, München 1973, pp. 41-49; SHERWIN-WHITE, *The Roman cit.*, pp. 207-208; M. HUMBERT, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio. L'organisation de la conquête jusqu'à la guerre sociale*, Roma 1973, pp. 244-250; F. SALERNO, *Un praefectus a Cassino*, in *Histoire, Espaces et marges de l'Antiquité*, 3. *Hommages à Monique Clavel-Lévêque*, a cura di M. Garrido-Hory, A. Gonzales, Besançon 2004, pp. 322-325; F. COARELLI, *Casinum appunti per una storia istituzionale*, in *Casinum Oppidum. Atti della Giornata di Studi su Cassino preromana e romana (Cassino, Biblioteca Comunale, 8 ottobre 2004)*, a cura di E. Polito, Cassino 2007, pp. 37-38; D. CIRONE, A. DE CRISTOFARO, *Cassino tra Volsci, Sanniti e Romani: nuovi dati dallo scavo in località Agnone*, in *Casinum oppidum. cit.*, pp. 43-72; S. SISANI, *Dalla praefectura al municipium: Lo sviluppo delle strutture amministrative romane in area medio-italica tra il I sec. a.C. e l'età imperiale*, «Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Rendiconti», 21 (2010), pp. 175; 183-184; S. SISANI, *Il duovirato nei municipia italici: contributo allo studio della fase finale del processo di municipalizzazione nell'Italia centrale e meridionale*, «Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua», 39.1 (2021), pp. 56-57; 64; S. SISANI *Tra autonomia e integrazione: diritti locali e giurisdizione prefettizia nelle comunità di cives sine suffragio*, «Dialogues d'histoire ancienne supplément», 23 (2021), pp. 138-139; H.

public building in Casinum, although other possibilities of interpretation cannot be discarded; secondly, two individuals were in charge of the building, entailing that probably a group organization commissioned the enterprise as signalled by the formula; and finally, both P. Caelius and P. Otacilius Arranes were in all likelihood foreigners in the town – Arranes would be the only magistrate recorded in the Republican period who bears a *cognomen* –<sup>41</sup> and their presence could be explained by an external interference in the municipal life of the *praefectura* of Casinum. According to this reading Arranes, after holding an annual office, entered the municipal *ordo*, although it is not clear whether he was a magistrate or ex-magistrate while in charge of the aedilician activity recorded in the inscription. However, one question emerges regarding the progression of Arranes: how did an Iberian, who had just received the citizenship, manage to reach such a prominent status in an Italian *municipium*? Even though other possibilities cannot be fully ruled out, we consider that the answer may be plausibly found in the settlement of veterans that Sulla and his collaborators implemented in the aftermath of the Civil War.

Inasmuch as P. Otacilius Arranes was settled in Italy between the 80s and the 70s BCE, it seems very likely that he remained in the Peninsula after receiving the Roman citizenship in 89 BCE. Due to the fraught context of the Civil War years, the possibility of a renovation of the patronage of Pompey the Great over some of the Hispanic horsemen of the *turma Salluitana* could be envisaged<sup>42</sup>, with the son of Strabo inheriting part of these Iberians as clients in a time, 87-83 BCE, when the acquirement of loyal ties had become an imperative necessity. Nevertheless, the fact that the cavalrymen were new citizens did not entail a priori any political, social or economic advantage in relative terms: the whole of Italy south of the Po had just been enfranchised. If the members of the *turma* expected some sort of reward after years

SOLIN, *Sulla storia costituzionale e amministrativa della Casinum romana*, in *Le epigrafi della Valle di Comino: atti del nono convegno epigrafico cominese*, a cura di H. Solin, San Donato Val di Comino 2013, pp. 107-111; SOLIN, *Sulle trasformazioni amministrative di Casinum*, in 'Voce concordi'. *Scritti per Claudio Zaccaria*, a cura di F. Mainardis, Aquileia 2016, pp. 674-677; MOLLE, *Varia Epigraphica* cit., pp. 105-110; F. CERRONE, A. GALLO, *Vicende istituzionali ed epigrafia a Casinum*, in *Epigrafia e territorio. Politica e società. Temi di antichità romane. X*, a cura di M. Chelotti, M. Silvestrini, Bari 2016, pp. 141-152; F. CERRONE, C. MOLLE, *Casinum: ricognizione epigrafica nella Villa Petrarcone*, «Sylloge Epigraphica Barcinonensis», 16 (2018), pp. 59-100. A colony was deducted in Casinum later on, possibly in the Triumviral period: *Lib. Col.* 231; *CIL* X 4860, 5197, 5198, 5796; E. PAIS, *Dalle guerre puniche a Cesare Augusto: indagini storiche, epigrafiche, giuridiche*, Roma 1918, pp. 369-373; E. GABBA, *Appiani Bellorum civilium liber quintus. Introduzione, testo critico e commento con traduzione e indici*, Firenze 1970, pp. 59-63; GABBA, *Esercito e società nella tarda Repubblica romana*, Firenze 1973, p. 464; COARELLI, *Casinum* cit., pp. 39-40; *contra* SOLIN, *Sulla storia* cit., pp. 111-117; SOLIN, *Sulle trasformazioni* cit., pp. 678-683; CERRONE, GALLO, *Vicende istituzionali* cit., p. 148; A. GALLO, *Prefetti del pretore e prefetture. L'organizzazione dell'agro romano in Italia (IV-I sec. a.C.)*, Bari 2018, pp. 216-217; 219; 228-229.

<sup>41</sup> E. BISPHAM, *From Asculum to Actium. The Municipalization of Italy from the Social War to Augustus*, Oxford 2007, p. 391; CERRONE, GALLO, *Vicende istituzionali* cit., pp. 149-158; SOLIN, *Sulle trasformazioni* cit., pp. 669-674.

<sup>42</sup> The inheritance of patronage was not automatic but required a renovation of the pact: P.A. BRUNT, *Clientela*, in *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays*, a cura di P.A. Brunt, Oxford 1988, pp. 387-397; C. EILERS, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, Oxford 2002, pp. 61-83; F. PINA POLO, *Generales y clientelas provinciales: ¿qué clientelas?*, in *Romanización, fronteras y etnias en la Roma antigua: el caso hispano*, a cura di G. Cruz Andreotti, J. Santos Yanguas, Vitoria 2012, pp. 77-78.

of service, they had to attach themselves to a member of the Roman elite who could ensure their interests, being Pompey the Great their most obvious candidate for the previous connections already established with his father. As a consequence, just like the majority of the legionaries who had fought under Pompeius Strabo's command in the Social War, Arranes probably established himself temporarily in the Picenum, where Pompey the Great raised his legions from the veterans of his father to join the Sullan camp in 83 BCE<sup>43</sup>.

After taking over the city of Rome by the end of 82 BCE, Sulla and his associates undertook the settlement of the 23 legions that had been loyal to their cause during the war. Although Sulla's veterans were probably prioritized, the high number of troops who became established, between 70,000 and 120,000 depending on the estimations, in all likelihood also included soldiers who had served under the leadership of other Sullan commanders such as Crassus, Metellus and Pompey<sup>44</sup>. This hypothesis, already advanced by Thein<sup>45</sup>, could be corroborated by an inscription from Alba Fucens attesting the presence of a group of African *milites* who, after following Caecilius Metellus Pius in Italy, settled in town, presumably as a result of a decision of Sulla<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> On Pompey's connections in Picenum and his levies in the area during the Civil War see App. *BC* 1.80; Cic. *Man.* 61; Liv. *Per.* 85; Dio. 107.1; Vell. Pat. 2.29.1; Cic. *Phil.* 5.44; *BAfr.* 22.5; Val. Max. 5.2.9; Plut. *Pomp.* 6; R. SYME, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1939, p. 28; M. GELZER, *Pompeius*, München 1949, pp. 35-37; J. VAN OOTEGHEM, *Pompée le Grand. Bâtitteur d'Empire*, Bruxelles 1954, pp. 33-36; 52-53; BADIAN, *Foreign Clientelae* cit., pp. 227-230; 268-269; P.A. BRUNT, *The Army and the Land in the Roman Revolution*, «The Journal of Roman Studies», 52.1-2 (1962), pp. 76-77; E. GRUEN, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, Berkeley 1974, pp. 376-378; A. KEAVENEY, *Young Pompey: 106-79 B.C.*, «L'antiquité classique», 51 (1982), p. 118; J. LEACH, *Pompey the Great*, New York 1978, pp. 13-15; 23-25; R. SEAGER, *Pompey the Great. A Political Biography*, Oxford 1979, pp. 20-21; 23; 26; P. GREENHALGH, *Pompey. The Roman Alexander*, London 1980, pp. 4-5; 13-15; G. BANDELLI, *La formazione delle clientele dal Piceno alla Cisalpina*, in *Italia e Hispania en la crisis de la República romana: actas del III Congreso Hispano-Italiano* (Toledo, 20-24 de septiembre de 1993), a cura di J. Mangas, Madrid 1998, pp. 57-61; P. SOUTHERN, *Pompey the Great*, Charleston 2002, pp. 21-22; AMELA VALVERDE, *Las clientelas* cit., pp. 50-53; K. CHRIST, *Pompeius: Der Feldherr Roms. Eine Biographie*, München 2004, pp. 25-30; J. NICOLS, *Civic Patronage in the Roman Empire*, Boston-Leiden 2014, pp. 62-65. Roldán Hervás has already proposed that Pompeius Strabo, by granting the citizenship to the *turma Salluitana*, probably aimed to secure the loyalty of trained soldiers in Italy rather than extending the influence of his family in the provinces of Hispania (J.M. ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *El Bronce de Ascoli en su contexto histórico*, in *Epigrafía hispánica de época romano-republicana*, Zaragoza 1986, pp. 127-128; 132-135; ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Los reclutamientos romanos en el Valle del Ebro*, in *Estudios en homenaje al Dr. Antonio Beltrán Martínez*, Zaragoza 1986, pp. 777-778; ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Los hispanos en el ejército romano de época republicana*, Salamanca 1991, pp. 46-47; J.M. ROLDÁN HERVÁS, F. WULFF ALONSO, Citerior y Ulterior. *Las provincias romanas de Hispania en época republicana*, Madrid 2001, pp. 205-207).

<sup>44</sup> Modern scholarship, while crediting the number of 23 legions and 120,000 soldiers given by Appian (*BC* 1.100, 104), has considered the figure of 47 legions provided by the *Periochae* (Liv. *Per.* 89) as a clear mistake. Authors such as J. KROMAYER (*Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung Italiens im II. Und I. Jahrhundert vor Chr.*, «Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum», 33 (1914), p. 160), P.A. BRUNT (*Italian Manpower 225 BC-AD 14*, Oxford 1971, p. 311) and H.-C. SCHNEIDER (*Das Problem der Veteranenversorgung in der späteren römischen Republik*, Bonn 1977, p. 142) have significantly reduced the number of veterans who became settled, with the first estimating 100,000 legionaries, the second 80,000 and the latter 70,000.

<sup>45</sup> A. THEIN, *Sulla's veteran policy*, in *Militärsiedlungen und Territorialherrschaft in der Antike*, a cura di F. Daubner, Berlin-New York 2011, pp. 93-94.

<sup>46</sup> CIL IX 3907 (add. pp. 1887-88) = ILLRP 146: *Herculei d(onum) [d(ederunt)] / milites African[ni] / [C]aecilianis / mag(ister) curavit / C(aius) Satorius C(aii) f(ilius)*. This hypothesis, proposed by E. GABBA (*Veterani di Metello Pio ad Alba Fucens?*, in *Homenaje a García Bellido 4*, Madrid 1979, pp.

The Sullan settlement of veterans, which took shape in two ways – viritane assignments of *ager publicus* and foundation of colonies – was conceived with three objectives: first, the extension across the Italian peninsula of ties attached to the Sullan elite, with the aim of securing the interests of the new rulers of Rome while rewarding the soldiers who had fought for the Sullan camp; secondly, the military control of Italy, in order to abort any rebellious attempt against the Sullan order by garrisoning communities and districts that had recently revolted in the Social and Civil wars; and finally, the punishment of individuals who had supported the Marian side, a process that was joined by the installation of loyal elites who replaced the disaffected municipal aristocracies<sup>47</sup>. As will be shown, the likely settlement of veterans in Casinum – a *praefectura* whose territory had the status of *ager Romanus* – through a series of viritane assignments – as there is no evidence of a colonial deduction in this period – was driven by the pursuit of the three aforementioned objectives.

The literary and epigraphical sources testify to the existence in Casinum and its adjacent territory of individuals closely tied to the elites that supported the Sullan model: while a freedman of C. Quinctius Valgus, who had economic interests in the area, has been recorded in a funerary inscription<sup>48</sup>, Varro states how a certain Ummidius, member of one of the most important families in Casinum, was *hospes* of L. Marcius Philippus, the *princeps senatus* in the 70s BCE who stood out as one of the main op-

61-63), has been generally accepted (F. COARELLI, *Lépide et Alba Fucens*, «Revue des Études Anciennes», 100.3-4 (1998), pp. 472-473; F. SANTANGELO, *Sulla, the Elites and the Empire*, Leiden, Boston 2007, p. 88); contra L. AMELA VALVERDE (*Veteranos en Alba Fucens* (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1815=ILLRP 146), «Sylloge epigraphica Barcinonensis», 6 (2008), pp. 25-37), who suggests that the veterans of Metellus were settled in the aftermath of the Sertorian War. Gabba's interpretation seems preferable, as it would be in conformity with the effect of Sulla's policies testified in Alba Fucens, which was not only affected by the proscriptions (Plut. *Sull.* 31.11-12), but has also given an inscription dedicated to the Dictator (ILLRP 355).

<sup>47</sup> On the objectives of Sulla's settlement of veterans see: App. *BC* 1.96. Discussions in E.T. SALMON, *Roman Colonization under the Roman Republic*, London 1969, pp. 129-130; BRUNT, *Italian Manpower* cit., pp. 300-312 (detailed account of the "garrisoning theory"); W.V. HARRIS, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford 1971, pp. 259-260; P. CASTRÉN, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus: Polity and Society in Roman Pompeii*, Roma 1975, p. 52; E. GABBA, *Republican Rome, the Army and the Allies*, Oxford 1976, pp. 44-48; SCHNEIDER, *Das Problem* cit., pp. 126-140; A. KEAVENEY, *Sulla, the Last Republican*, London-New York 1982, pp. 151-155; A. KEAVENEY, *Sulla and Italy*, «Critica Storica», 19 (1982), p. 543; A. KEAVENEY, *The Army in the Roman Revolution*, London-New York 2007, p. 61 (also the revival of the countryside); P.W. DE NEEVE, *Colonus: Private Farm-Tenancy in Roman Italy during the Late Republic and the Early Principate*, Amsterdam 1984, pp. 131; 134-135; W. BROADHEAD, *Colonization, Land Distribution, and Veteran Settlement*, in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, edited by P. Erdkamp, Oxford 2007, pp. 159-160; W. DALLHEIM, *Der Staatsstreich des Konsuls Sulla und die römische Italienpolitik der achtziger Jahre*, in *Colloquium aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstages von Alfred Heuss*, a cura di J. Bleicken, Kallmünz-Opf 1993, pp. 114-115. Special emphasis on the extension of ties connected to the Sullan elite besides admitting the aforementioned objectives: SANTANGELO, *Sulla* cit., pp. 67-99; 134-182; THEIN, *Sulla's veteran* cit. Kromayer's interpretation (*Die wirtschaftliche* cit., pp. 159-169) that regards Sulla as attempting to revitalize the Italian countryside has been plausibly rejected (BRUNT, *The Army* cit., pp. 83-84; BRUNT, *Italian Manpower* cit., pp. 301-312; GABBA, *Republican Rome* cit., pp. 46-47; SCHNEIDER, *Das Problem* cit., pp. 145-151). Sulla's veterans probably also received monetary payments as a reward (N. SPADAVECCHIA, *La retribuzione dei veterani di Sulla*, «Quaderni di Storia», 87-88 (2018), pp. 179-193).

<sup>48</sup> CIL X 5282 = CIL I<sup>2</sup> 1547 = ILLRP 565: [Heic est situs Q]ueinctius Gaius Protymus / [ameiceis su]mma qum laude probatus / [quoius ing]enium declarat pietatis alumnus / [Gaius Queinc]tius Valgus patronus.

ponents of Lepidus' reforms<sup>49</sup>. In addition, a lineage of *Licinii Crassi*, possibly close to the Sullan *dux* M. Licinius Crassus, prospered in Aquinum, 11 km west of Casinum<sup>50</sup>. Finally, P. Caelius, the individual mentioned in the same inscription as Arranes, could be associated with the *Publii Caelii* who resisted against Cinna in the siege of Placentia of 87 BCE and gave a praetor in 74 BCE<sup>51</sup>. Therefore, the settlement of P. Otacilius Arranes, as a client of Pompey, would be in keeping with the extension in Southern Latium of connections linked to the elites that had endorsed Sulla, as it can be seen in the examples of Valgus, Philippus, Crassus and the *Caelii*.

Regarding Sulla's aim of controlling Italy, Casinum, due to its strategic importance, probably fell under his plans to garrison certain areas of the Peninsula. Located on an elevated position next to the Via Latina with a panoramic view of the surroundings, Casinum, as the southernmost town in Latium, represented the first stronghold that an army marching towards Rome from the south had to face. After experiencing the general revolt of the Social War, which found an important endorsement throughout the Campanian region and consequently became one of the main targets of Sulla's settlements, Casinum probably stood out as a strategic fortress that had to be secured in the event of new uprisings in Southwest Italy. Casinum's tactical importance had already been proven during the Second Punic War when Hannibal aimed to take over the town for "he had been told by those who knew the country that if he occupied that pass he could keep the Romans from marching to the aid of their allies"<sup>52</sup>. These strategic contingencies associated with Cassino would be highlighted again in 1944 in the course of the Second World War, when the Germans concentrated their forces next to Monte Cassino to stop the march of the Allies towards Rome, resulting in a fierce battle that decided the fate of Italy. Due to its role of guarding Southern Latium, the Via Latina and the access to Campania, during the Sullan age Casinum may have conceivably received a reinforcement of veterans in order to secure the roots that connected Rome and the Southwest of Italy; the presence of P. Otacilius

<sup>49</sup> Varr. *Rust.* 3.3.9; cfr. Col. *Rust.* 8.16.3-4. *Ummidii* in Casinum in the Imperial period: *CIL* X 5183; *AEp* 1946, 174 = *AEp* 1992, 244 (Ummidia Quadratilla, matron who provided funds for a temple, a theatre and an amphitheatre); *CIL* X 5198 (Ummidius Secundus *decurio*).

<sup>50</sup> *AEp* 1991, 414; H. SOLIN, *Postille aquinati*, «Epigraphica», 50 (1991), pp. 250-251; H. SOLIN, *Aquino: iscrizioni romane inedite nel campanile di S. Maria della Libera*, in *Terra dei Volsci. Contributi* 1992. 1, Frosinone 1992, pp. 7-11: M(arcus) Licinius M(arcus) filius Ouf(entina) Cra[ssus pat(er)] / M(arco) Licinio M(arcus) filio Ouf(entina) Cra[sso filio] et] Plaediatiae C(aii) filiae Maxumae [uxsori] / testamento fieri iussit et] Plaediatia C(aii) filia Maxum(a) adit[um dedit]. Solin explains the onomastic coincidence between the *Crassi* from Rome and Aquinum as an example of imitation driven by personal choice instead of ties of clientele; different interpretation may be found in C. MOLLE (*Un laterizio bollato da Aquinum*, «Archeologia Classica», 56 [2005], pp. 494-495), who accepts the possibility of ties of patronage between the two families.

<sup>51</sup> Val. Max. 4.7.5; Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.130.

<sup>52</sup> Liv. 22.13.5: [Hannibal] *Ipse imperat duci ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opera ferendam sociis interclusurum* (trans. Loeb). Hannibal's intention to take over Casinum was frustrated due to a confusion regarding the route to be taken; later on in the war, the Carthaginian commander encamped before the walls of the town and ravaged its territory for two days (Liv. 26.9.2). On the strategic importance of Casinum during the Second Punic War, including a comparison with the Battle of Monte Cassino, see E.T. SALMON, *Hannibal's March on Rome*, «Phoenix», 11.4 (1957), pp. 159-160.



Arranes in the town would be well explainable in that context. Furthermore, the case of Casinum could be compared to those of other locations such as Aricia, Bouillae, Castrimoenium and Gabii, where we find the effects of Sulla's viritate assignments, as well as the construction of city walls, as part of a reorganization of the municipal network in Latium<sup>53</sup>.

The impact of Sulla's policies in Casinum can be traced more clearly by addressing how the proscriptions struck its population, probably affecting individuals who had supported the Marian camp. As Cicero stated, C. Quinctius Valgus, one of the closest associates of Sulla, possessed "those excellent and very fertile estates that he bought in a sequence in the territory of Casinum, as far as the eye could see, thanks to the proscription of his neighbours. Eventually, by combining numerous estates, he managed to create the impression of a single district"<sup>54</sup>. Valgus, who also acquired large estates in the *ager Hirpinus*, became one of the most important agents of Sulla, being responsible for arranging the plans of the Dictator in Campania and Samnium as we can infer from the inscriptions found in Aeclanum, where he is mentioned as *patronus municipii*, modern Frigento, where he helped to provide public works, and Pompeii, where he is attested as *duovir honoris causa*<sup>55</sup>. Since Casinum suffered severely in the Sullan proscriptions, with Quinctius Valgus acting as beneficiary of the lists, it should not seem surprising that these measures were accompanied by a series of viritate assignments. Thus, the settlement and political promotion of Arranes in the town would have followed Sulla's tendency to both punish and intervene in the municipal life of those towns which had opposed his rule<sup>56</sup>, an interpretation that would find

<sup>53</sup> *Lib. Col.* 230.1 (Aricia), 231.11 (Bovillae), 233.3 (Castrimoenium), 234.15 (Gabii); see E. HERMON, *La Lex Cornelia agraria dans le Liber Coloniarius I*, in *Actes du Colloque international (Besançon, 16-18 octobre 2003)*, Besançon 2006, pp. 38-41; 44; LAFFI, *Sull'organizzazione cit.*, pp. 41-44; BISPHAM, *From Asculum cit.*, pp. 191-192; F. SANTANGELO, *From Pompeii to Ameria: Patrimonies and institutions in the age of Sulla*, in *Gérer les territoires, les patrimoines et les crises. Le quotidien municipal 2*, éd. par C. Berrendonner, M. Cebeillac-Gervasoni, L. Lamoine, Clermont-Ferrand 2012, pp. 429-430; G. CHOUQUER, *Études sur le Liber coloniarius*, Paris 2020, p. 139. Mommsen's hypothesis (TH. MOMMSEN, *Die Italischen Bürgercolonien von Sulla bis Vespasian*, «Hermes», 18.2 [1883], pp. 174-175) of a process of colonization in these *municipia* in Latium has been plausibly rejected (SANTANGELO, *Sulla cit.*, pp. 156-157).

<sup>54</sup> Cic. *Agr.* 3.14: *denique eos fundos quos in agro Casinati optimos fructuosissimosque continuavit, cum usque eo vicinos proscriberet quoad angulos conformando ex multis praediis unam fundi regionem normamque perfecit*. Trans. SANTANGELO, *Sulla cit.*, p. 187 n. 17. Based on the activity of Valgus in Casinum, Coarelli has already envisaged the possibility of viritate assignments in the town and the surrounding area (F. COARELLI, *I magistrati di Casinum*, «Studi Cassinati», 11 [2011], p. 246).

<sup>55</sup> Valgus' possessions in the *ager Hirpinus*: Cic. *Agr.* 3.2.8. Valgus benefitting from the proscriptions was also noted in Cic. *Agr.* 3.1.3; patron of Aeclanum: *CIL* P 722 = *ILLRP* 523; public works: *ILLRP* 598; *duovir* in Pompeii: *CIL* P 1632-3 = *ILLRP* 645-6. On C. Quinctius Valgus see H. DESSAU, *C. Quinctius Valgus, der Erbauer des Amphitheaters zu Pompeii*, «Hermes», 18 [1883], pp. 620-623; HARRIS, *Rome in Etruria cit.*, pp. 267-268; P.B. HARVEY, *Socer Valgus, Valgii and C. Quinctius Valgus*, in *Classics and the Classical Tradition. Essays presented to Robert E. Dengler on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, edited by E.N. Borza, R.W. Carruba, University Park 1973, pp. 79-94; CASTRÉN, *Ordo Populusque cit.*, pp. 87-91; 212; R. SCUDERI, *Significato politico delle magistrature nella città italiche del I sec. a.C.*, «Athenaeum», 67 (1989), pp. 124-127; A. DRUMMOND, *Rullus and the Sullan Possessores*, «Klio», 82 (2000), pp. 138-139; 144-145; SANTANGELO, *Sulla cit.*, pp. 71-73; 161-163; *From Pompeii cit.*, pp. 421-422; A. KEAVENEY, *Paludes et Silvae: The Ruin of the Veteran*, in *Sulla: Politics and Reception*, edited by A. Eckert, A. Thein, Berlin-Boston 2019, pp. 91-92; 100.

<sup>56</sup> On Sulla's direct intervention in the municipal life of some Italian communities see SANTANGELO, *From Pompeii cit.*, pp. 418-431.

support in the activity of Quinctius Valgus, who was also one of the main supervisors of the application of Sulla's dispositions in Central and South Italy. Arranes, just like Valgus, probably profited from the land of Casinum, which Cicero singles out for its fertility<sup>57</sup>, and consequently achieved a position of relative wealth and prominence in the *municipium*.

As has been shown, the likely viritane assignment that P. Otacilius Arranes received could be framed within Sulla's settlement of soldiers in the aftermath of the Civil War. The town of Casinum, which was not only an important strategic location in the intersection between Latium and Campania, but was also affected by the proscriptions, probably received a reinforcement of veterans in the 80s BCE in order to garrison the area. Moreover, Otacilius Arranes, as a client of Pompey the Great, was probably rewarded for his years of service in the wars that had ravaged Italy for almost a decade, reaching a high status at Casinum probably as a result of his connections in Rome.

### Appendix 1

The following table has been drawn up with the epigraphic occurrences of the forms *coiravere/coiravit/coiraverunt* with a reliable chronology and reconstruction.

Reference	Text	Location	Type <sup>58</sup>	Approx. date
CIL III 7233	<i>reficiundam coiravit</i>	Delos	Honorific*	Late 2nd c. BCE to 88 BCE
CIL III 1784	<i>faciund(am) /coir(avit)</i>	Narona	<i>titulus sacer</i>	First three quarters of 1st c. BCE
CIL XI 7505	<i>faciunda coiravit</i>	Falerii Novi	Building	2nd c. BCE
CIL I <sup>2</sup> 3449	<i>faciun[dam]/ coiravit</i>	Carthago Nova	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Late 1st c. BCE
CIL X 5807	<i>facienda coiravit</i>	Alatri	Funerary/building?	Second half of 2nd c. BCE - first decade of 1st c. BCE
CIL I <sup>2</sup> 3112	<i>fa(ciundum) coiravit</i>	Castellonatorato	Funerary/ <i>titulus sacer</i> ?	1st c. BCE
AEp 1903, 341	<i>coir(avit)</i>	Praeneste	-	Late 2nd c. BCE
CIL VI 2219	<i>[fa]ciundu(m) coiravit</i>	Roma	Building	Last third of 2nd c. BCE
CIL XI 4222	<i>fac(iendum) coir(avit)</i>	Interamna Nahars	Building	Second half of 1st c. BCE

<sup>57</sup> Cic. Agr. 3.14: *fundos quos in agro Casinati optimos fructuosissimosque*. Cato the Elder also qualified the land of Casinum as *bona* (Cat. Agr. 136) and appraised its production of ropes and baskets (135).

<sup>58</sup> Based on F. BELTRÁN LLORIS, *Latin epigraphy: the main types of inscriptions*, in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, edited by C. Bruun, J. Edmondson, Oxford-New York 2015, pp. 89-110.

CIL V 8298	<i>coiravit</i> <sup>*</sup>	Aquileia	Building	Second half of 2nd c. BCE - first decade of 1st c. BCE
CIL F 2245	<i>coiraveru[nt]</i>	Delos	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Second half of 2nd c. CE
CIL IX 1140	<i>faciundum coiraverunt</i>	Aeclanum	Building	Second quarter of 1st c. BCE
CIL IX 1141	<i>[fa]ciun[dum] coirav[erunt]</i>	Aeclanum	Building	Second quarter of 1st c. BCE
CIL III 1820	<i>fac(iendam) coir(averunt)</i>	Narona	Building	Second half of 1st c. BCE - first third of 1st c. CE
CINar-02	<i>coiraverunt</i> <sup>*</sup>	Narona	Building	Second third of 1st c. CE
CIL XI 2630	<i>coiraverunt</i> <sup>*</sup>	Cosa	-	First half of 1st c. BCE
CIL II 3408	<i>coiraverunt</i> <sup>*</sup>	Carthago Nova	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Last third of 1st c. BCE
CIL X 3776	<i>coiraverunt</i>	Capua	Building	108 BCE
CIL X 3777	<i>coiraverunt</i> <sup>*</sup>	Capua	Building	108 BCE
CIL X 3780	<i>faciundum coiraverunt</i> <sup>*</sup>	Capua	Building	104 BCE
CIL F 1456	<i>coir(averunt)</i>	Praeneste	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Last third of 2nd c. BCE
CIL F 3068	<i>coiraverunt</i>	Praeneste	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Late 2nd c. BCE to first half of 1st c. BCE
CIL F 3072	<i>c]oiraverun[t]</i>	Praeneste	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Late 2nd c. BCE to early 1st c. BCE
CIL F 3077	<i>c]oir(averunt)</i>	Praeneste	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Late 2nd c. BCE
CIL F 1450	<i>coir(averunt)</i>	Praeneste	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Last third of 2nd c. BCE to early 1st c. BCE
CIL F 1451	<i>coi[rav(erunt)]</i>	Praeneste	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Last third of 2nd c. BCE
CIL F 1489	<i>coiraverunt</i> <sup>*</sup>	Tibur	Building? <sup>*</sup>	Second half 1st c. BCE
CIL III 3776	<i>f(aciendam) coir(averunt)</i>	Emona	Building	Second half 2nd c. CE
CIL III 3777	<i>f(aciundam) coir(averunt)</i>	Emona	Building	First and second third of 1st c. BCE
CIL VI 167	<i>coira/verunt</i>	Roma	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Second half 2nd c. BCE
CIL VI 30922	<i>coiraverunt</i> <sup>*</sup>	Roma	Honorific	85-81 BCE
CIL IX 7454	<i>coiraverunt</i> <sup>*</sup>	Pinna Vestina	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Second third of 1st c. BCE
CIL IX 4325	<i>coirave[ru]nt</i>	Reate	Building	171 BCE
CIL IX 7531	<i>fac(iendum) coir(averunt)</i>	Peltuinum	Building	First half of 1st c. BCE

MI-2016-21; <i>Ep.Rom</i> 2016_12_001	<i>faciundum/ coiraverunt</i>	Lilybaeum	Building	Late 2nd c. BCE - first half of 1st c. BCE
CIL V 840	<i>faciendum coira(verunt)</i>	Aquileia	<i>titulus sacer</i>	Early to half 2nd c. BCE
CIL I <sup>2</sup> 3188	<i>fa[ciund(um)]/ coiraver(e)</i>	Herdonia	Building	Third quarter of 1st c. BCE
CIL X 3775	<i>faciundu(m) coiravere</i>	Capua	Building	110 BCE
CIL X 3779	<i>faciundum coiravere</i>	Capua	Building	106 BCE
CIL X 3782	<i>faciendos coi[raver(e)]</i>	Capua	Building	108 BCE - 95 BCE
CIL I <sup>2</sup> 3046	<i>c[oirave[re]]</i>	Praeneste	<i>titulus sacer?</i>	Last third of 1st c. BCE
CIL IX 2802	<i>faciundum/ coirave[re]</i>	Pinna Vestina	Building	1st c. BCE
CIL IX 8158	<i>coiravere*</i>	Ager Aequicolanus	Building	2nd c. BCE
CIL XI 5390	<i>faciundum coiravere*</i>	Asisium	Building	Second half of 2nd c. BCE
CIL XI 4125	<i>coiravere*</i>	Narnia	Building*	First third of 1st c. BCE
CIL XI 6211	<i>coirave[re]</i>	Sena Gallica	Building?*	1st c. BCE