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The Clientele and Political Sympathies Over the Central Adriatic at the End of the Republic in the Context of Settlement Processes in Picenum and on *Ager Gallicus* in the Third Through the First Centuries BCE

Klientela i sympatie polityczne nad środkowym Adriatykiem u schyłku Republiki w kontekście procesów osadniczych w Picenum i na ager Gallicus w III–I w. p.n.e.

ABSTRACT

The factor that caused the *Ager Gallicus* and Picenum to undergo significant social, ethnic and cultural changes was the migrations that took place in the 3rd–1st BCE, when these areas became the domain of the Roman Republic. The settlers completely changed the ethnic landscape on the Adriatic Sea. In the 2nd and 1st BCE, we can see the active political involvement of the inhabitants of Picenum and *Ager Gallicus* on the side of the

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Populares and *Optimates*. The divisions in Roman society at this time caused perturbations resulting in the war with the allies and the civil wars. These resulted in severe destruction in cities, as well as a large loss of population that died in battles and purges carried out in the aftermath of the conflicts, and internal migrations related to fleeing the war and its aftermath and resulting from the policy of the great Roman chieftains to reward their soldiers for military service with land in Picenum and *Ager Gallicus*. Attention should also be drawn to the existence of very strong clientelist links with representatives of Roman families whose roots or connections originated in these areas. It was thanks to the clientele, not only from the Adriatic areas, that politicians could afford to realize their ambitions in Rome; in return for their support, their clients also had the chance to pursue their dreams and careers alongside their patrons.

Key words: Roman Republic, *ager Gallicus*, Picenum, clientele, colonization

STRESZCZENIE

Czynnikiem, który sprawił, że na terenie *ager Gallicus* i Picenum doszło do znaczących zmian społecznych, etnicznych i kulturowych były migracje, które miały miejsce w III–I w. p.n.e., kiedy obszary te stały się domeną Republiki Rzymskiej. Osadnicy zmienili całkowicie krajobraz etniczny nad Adriatykiem. W II i I w. możemy dostrzec aktywne zaangażowanie polityczne mieszkańców Picenum oraz *ager Gallicus* po stronie polityków popularów i optymatów. Podziały w społeczeństwie rzymskim w tym czasie spowodowały perturbacje, których wynikiem były wojna ze sprzymierzeńcami i wojny domowe. Ich skutkiem były poważne zniszczenia w miastach, a także ubytek ludności, która ginęła w walkach i czystkach prowadzonych po zakończeniu konfliktów, a także wewnętrzne migracje związane z ucieczką przed wojną i jej następstwami oraz wynikające z prowadzenia przez wielkich wodzów rzymskich polityki nagradzania swoich żołnierzy za służbę wojskową ziemią w Picenum i na *ager Gallicus*. Uwagę należy zwrócić także na istnienie bardzo silnych związków klienckich z przedstawicielami rodów rzymskich, których korzenie lub powiązania wywodziły się z tych terenów. To dzięki klienteli, nie tylko z obszarów nadadriatyckich politycy mogli sobie pozwolić na realizację ambicji w Rzymie, w zamian za poparcie ich klienci mieli także szansę na realizowanie marzeń i karier u boku swoich patronów.

Słowa kluczowe: Republika rzymska, *ager Gallicus*, Picenum, klientela, kolonizacja

The factor that caused *Ager Gallicus* to undergo significant social, ethnic and cultural transformations were migrations that took place in the period from the third through the first centuries BCE, when these areas became part the Roman Republic domain¹. Before major shifts in the population from the areas subordinated to Rome in the third and second centuries within the settlement campaign organized by the Republic and spontaneous migrations over the Adriatic, there had already been (among other, commercial) relations with such areas. The findings of ceramics characteristic of Latium, Campania and Etruria, as well as of other items,

¹ M. Piegoń, *Ager Gallicus. Polityka Republiki Rzymskiej wobec dawnych ziem senońskich nad Adriatykiem w III–I w. p.n.e.*, Kraków 2019, pp. 91–108.

allow us to point to the earliest phases of such relations, including colonisation of the areas by settlers sent over the Adriatic Sea².

The evolution of the settlement structure in Picenum and *Ager Gallicus* in the third and second centuries

Migration from the areas subjected to the Roman Republic over the Adriatic occurred according to two models. One involved sending organised groups of people by the Republic under the leadership of its officials (*tres vires coloniae deducendae*) to organise colonies on the lands conquered by Rome as a result of military operations and taken from the natives, which became public lands (*ager publicus*). The other consisted in placement of individual settlers on the public land without creating a settlement centre of colony type. The latter, however, did not mean resignation from establishing any formal settlement because, in order for the settler community to operate more efficiently in a given area (commercial exchange, dispute resolution, etc.) and due to the needs of the state that intended to execute its rights with respect to settlers (tax collection, soldier recruitment, enforcement of power), smaller centres were formed, such as *fora*, *conciliabula*, as well as smaller rural communities such as *vici* and districts – *pagi*. This is extremely important for the Roman settlement policy in the areas of Picenum and *Ager Gallicus* because it was here that, in 232, on the basis of the *lex Flaminia de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo*, tribune C. Flaminius Nepos brought thousands of individual settlers from central Italy, who not only became an important recruitment base for the constantly warring Republic, but also contributed to the development of a region significantly devastated as a result of Roman military campaigns in the 290s and the 280s. Furthermore, they completely changed the ethnic landscape, with great probability becoming the dominant group in the population of both these areas. It was the individual settlers brought by Flaminius, but also those who arrived over the Adriatic later, after the Second Punic War and in the time of the Gracchi, very often on their own initiative, migrating from other parts of Italy or within both these regions, who either themselves or through actions taken by Roman officials, for example upon the occasion of road construction, established smaller settlements such as *fora*, *conciliabula*, etc. Some of them transformed into larger structures over time, receiving the status of a colony or municipium in the second and the first centuries.

² M. Torelli, *Tota Italia. Essays in the Cultural Formation of Roman Italy*, Oxford 1999, pp. 191–210; R. Roth, *Trading identities? Regionalism and commerce in Mid-Republican Italy (third-early second century BC)*, in: *Creating Ethnicities & Identities in the Roman World*, eds. A. Gardner, E. Herring, K. Lomas, London 2013, pp. 93–111; M. Piegdóń, *Ager*, pp. 200–201, 222–223, 228, 247, 250–251.

While undertaking colonization campaigns, the Republic simultaneously solved its important social problems, such as supplying new citizens with land and developing previously fertile conquered areas.

The location of the colonies on the Adriatic coast in the third century: Castrum Novum (Giulianova), Sena Gallica (Senigallia), Hadria (Hatria), Ariminum (Rimini) and Firmum (Fermo), and later in the second century Pisaurum (Pesaro) and Potentia (Potenza), was not only a symbol of political and military Roman domination on the Adriatic coast of Italy. The republican elites were also well aware of the possibilities offered by the long-standing trade and economic ties between the inhabitants of Picenum and *Ager Gallicus* with areas located on the other side of the Adriatic and in northern Italy, which were not yet subordinated to Rome at the time. They also hoped for acquiring such ties due to expected profits. This is well demonstrated by archaeological evidence indicating that, already in the earliest period of the colonies functioning in Sena and Ariminum, trading was of utmost importance in the life of those settlements. In this context, it must be emphasized that almost all coastal centres on *Ager Gallicus* featured their own ports³.

The colonists not only made a living from agricultural products grown here, such as olives, grapes, cereals, fruit, as well as animal husbandry, but also from the trading with their products. The fertility of lands in Picenum and *Ager Gallicus* is confirmed by ancient writers: M. Porcius Cato the Elder, M. Terentius Varro, L. Iunius Moderatus Columella, as well as the works of modern archaeologists⁴. The product both regions were famous for was wine produced in the local vineyards, which were exceptionally fruitful here⁵. Wine produced here was also shipped outside Picenum and *Ager Gallicus*. The earliest evidence of wine trade by colonists is a fragment of a vessel from the second half of the third century found north of *Ager Gallicus* in Spina, which bears the Latin inscription "*Gallicos colonos*". The *guttus* from Spina not only confirms the wine trade that the population most likely conducted from Ariminum, but constitutes a piece of important evidence, apart from the few mentions by ancient

³ Cf. M. Piegdoń, *Ager*, pp. 197–257; idem, *Between coloniam deducere and adsignationes viritanae. Evolution of the settlement structure on the Ager Gallicus in the 3rd–2nd BCE*, "KLIO. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Polski i powszechnym" 2023, 67, 3, pp. 3–31.

⁴ F. Vermeulen, *From the Mountains to the Sea. The Roman Colonisation and Urbanisation of Central Adriatic Italy*, Leuven 2017, pp. 148–150.

⁵ Varro Terentius M., *De re rustica*, ed. H. Keil, Leipzig 1884 [hereinafter: Varro R.r.] 1.2.7: '[...] In eo agro aliquot fariam in singula iugero dena cullea vini fiunt [...]']

writers, that colonies existed in these former Celtic areas⁶. Another such example is a *dolium* discovered near the later *conciliabulum* in Ostra, dated to the third/second century BCE⁷. The Republic did not thus break the previously established economic ties but, owing to the acquisition of these areas, the Romans managed to further expand and intensify their relations with the Balkans and Greece. When those regions also came under Roman rule over time, they became part of a single political and economic state⁸.

While conducting their settlement activities after the conquest, the Romans not only focused on coastal areas, but were also interested in the interior. They appreciated the fertile lands along the rivers, over which small communities were formed even before the settlers arrived in large numbers in *Ager Gallicus* during the great settlement campaign which took place predominantly in 232. Some of them could have already been established in the 280s, and others in the period when the earliest colonies on the coast in Sena and Ariminum⁹ were founded. However, it was not until the assignment of land on the basis of the plebiscite of C. Flaminius from 232 that the interior was also populated by imported citizens and allies. Bringing thousands of people from central Italy was possible not only owing to the almost complete elimination of the Senons from these areas, but principally to protection of individual settlers against the threat posed by other independent Celtic groups from northern Italy, which was only made possible after the creation of the Latin colony in Ariminum

⁶ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1863-) [hereinafter: CIL] I² 2887b= *L'Année épigraphique* 1894 [hereinafter: AE] 1979, 292 E. Hermon, *Habiter et partager les terres avant les Gracques*, Rome 2001, pp. 263–264. Products from Ariminum: C. Ravara Montebelli, *Crustumium. Archeologia adriatica fra Cattolica e San Giovanni in Marignano*, Roma 2007, pp. 120–131. The most famous wine produced later on was *vinum Palmense*: Plinius Caecilius Maior C., *Historia naturalis*, vols. 2–6, ed. D. Detlefsen, Berlin 1904 [hereinafter: Plin. NH] XIV 8 76. Fragments of amphorae used for exporting wine from this region are also found in Noricum, Pannonia, Germania, Gaul, as well as in North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula: F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁷ G. Colonna, *Etruschi nell'ager Gallicus*, “Picus. Studi e ricerche sulle Marche nell'antichità” 1984, 4, pp. 95–105; E. Hermon, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁸ B. Amat Sabatini, *Genti celtiche e mare Adriatico*, in: *Pro populo arimense. Atti del convegno internazionale “Rimini antica. Una respublica fra terra e mare”*. Rimini, ottobre 1993, eds. A. Calbi, C. Susini, Faenza 1995, pp. 27–28; G. Paci, *Ricerche di storia e di epigrafia romana delle Marche*, Tored 2008, pp. 525–541; N. Čašule, “In Part a Roman Sea”. *Rome and the Adriatic in the Third Century BC*, in: *Imperialism, Cultural Politics, and Polybius*, eds. C. Smith, L.M. Yarrow, Oxford 2015, pp. 218–226; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 71, 93–95, 148–160.

⁹ M. Piegdóń, *Ager*, pp. 197–257.

in 268¹⁰ and the pacification of Picenum that year, which involved deportation of a major part of indigenous people¹¹. It was due to *lex Flaminia* that the new settlers occupied part of the fertile lands in the river valleys, where first small *conciliabula* like Ostra, Sentinum (Sassoferrato) and later Forum Sempronii (San Martino del Piano/Fossombrone) were created. Some of them could also settle on the coast, in small settlements that later transformed into colonies like Pisaurum, Aesis (Jesi) and Fanum (Fano)¹². The areas were developed by draining swampy areas, cutting

¹⁰ The settlement which, from the moment of its foundation was a sort of a *claustrum* with solid defensive walls but, above all, a large community (between eighteen and twenty-five thousand) of well-organized colonists Cf. M. Piegdoń, *Ager*, pp. 227–231.

¹¹ *Inscriptiones Italiae Academiae Italicae Consociatae Ediderunt*, Roma 1931– [hereinafter: *Inscr. Ital.*] XIII 1 p. 74: '[P. Semp]roniis P.f.P. [n. Sophus co(n)sul an. CDXCV]/ de Peicentibus [---], Ap. Claudius Ap. F. C. [n. Russus an. CDXXCV]/ co(n)sul de Peicen[tibu---]'; Varro R.r. 1.2.1; Livius Titus, *Ab urbe condita libri*, eds. J. Bayet et al., Paris 1947–1986 [hereinafter: Liv.] Per. 15; Dionysios, *Rhōmaikē archaiologia*, ed. E. Cary, (Loeb) 1937–1950 [hereinafter: Dion. Halic.] 20.17; Frontinus Iulius S., *Strategematon*, ed. C.E. Bennett, (Loeb) 1925 [hereinafter: Frontin. *Strateg.*] 1.12.3; Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana*, ed. R. Ellis, Oxford 1898 [hereinafter Vell. Pat.] 2.14; Plin. NH 33.44; Florus (Anneus L.), *Epitoma de Tito Livio (Tabella)*, ed. L. Agnes, Torino 1969 [hereinafter: Flor.] 1.14; *Eutropii Breviarium ab urbe condita*, ed. F.L. Müller, Stuttgart 1995 [hereinafter: Eutrop.] 2.16; Zonaras, *Epitomae Historiarum*, ed. L. Dindorf, Lipsiae 1869 [hereinafter: Zonar.] 8.7; T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. 1, New York 1951, pp. 199–200; U. Laffi, M. Pasquucci, E. Gabba, *Asculum*, vol. 1, Pisa 1975, p. 16; C. Delplace, *La romanisation du Picenum: l'exemple d'urbs Salvia*, Rome 1993, p. 4; E. Hermon, *op. cit.*, p. 257; G. Bandelli, *La colonizzazione medio-adriatico fino alla seconda guerra punica: questioni preliminari*, in: *Quaderni di archeologia nella Marche 11: La battaglia del Metauro tradizione e studi*, ed. M. Luni, Urbino 2002b, pp. 24–25; idem, *Considerazioni sulla romanizzazione del Piceno (III–I sec. A.C.)*, "Studi Maceratesi" 2007, 41, pp. 9–12; M. Luni, *Archeologia nelle Marche. Dalla preistoria all'età tardoantica*, Firenze 2004, pp. 74–75; A. Bertrand, *La religion publique des colonies dans l'Italie républicaine et impériale (Italie médio-adriatique, III^e S. AV. N.È.–II^e S. DE N.È.)*, Rome 2015, pp. 38–39; A. Raggi, *Le concessioni di cittadinanza viritim prima della Guerra Sociale*, in: *L'Italia centrale e la creazione di una 'koiné' culturale? I percorsi della 'romanizzazione'. E pluribus unum? L'Italie, de la diversité préromaine à l'unité augustéenne 2*, eds. M. Aberson et al., Bern–Berlin–Bruxelles–Frankfurt am Main–New York–Oxford 2016, pp. 85–89; M. Silani, *Città e territorio: la formazione della città romana nell'ager Gallicus*, Bologna 2017, p. 13–14; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹² The number of *viritim* brought here was not surprisingly great and can be compared to the number of colonists in a large Latin colony, such as Placentia or Cremona. However, this is just a number estimated by contemporary researchers (G. Bandelli, *La popolazione della Cisalpina dalle invasioni galliche alla guerra sociale*, in: *Demografia, sistemi agrari, regimi alimentari nel mondo antico. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Parma 17–19 ottobre 1997)*, ed. D. Vera, Bari 1999, p. 194) and it remains unknown whether the number referred to men only or whether it included women and children. W. Scheidel (*The Demography of Roman State Formation in Italy*, in: *Herrschaft ohne Integration? Rom und Italien in republikanischer zeit*,

down forests, building a system of canals and a network of new roads or transforming local routes into paved Roman roads. Over time, they connected the colonies on the Adriatic coast with Rome mainly by way of *via Flaminia* constructed just before Hannibal's invasion of Italy, in 223 or 220¹³. The entire process took many years and was interrupted by sudden events, such as Hannibal's invasion over the Adriatic in 217, which ravaged the areas handed over to the settlers some fifteen years earlier. It thus seems that the process of developing the lands over the Adriatic must have been resumed, particularly because some of the settlers were probably murdered by Carthaginian soldiers by order of their commander¹⁴. It is evident that these lands could not count on dynamic and peaceful development at the end of the third century.

The new settlers not only dealt with sustenance, but were also obliged to take actions assigned to them by the state. They paid taxes, built and provided maintenance for roads, acted as recruits, as evidenced by the fact that a large number of cohorts were gathered in these areas during the Second Punic War and, in Picenum alone, forces of one or even two legions¹⁵. This would not have been possible if not for the introduction

eds. M. Jehne, R. Pfeilschifter, *Studien zur Alten Geschichte*, vol. 4, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 207–226) estimates that in the period 338–263, the Republic sent between 60,000 and 80,000 male settlers, excluding women and children, to its colonies. The size of land parcelled among the colonists, according to modern estimates (S.T. Roselaar, *Public Land in the Roman Republic. A Social and Economic History of Ager Publicus in Italy, 396–89 B.C.*, Oxford 2010, p. 63), may have amounted to over two hundred thousand hectares (over eight hundred thousand iugera of land).

¹³ R. Laurence, *The Roads of Roman Italy. Mobility and Cultural Change*, London–New York 2011, p. 21; G. Bradley, *The nature of Roman strategy in Mid-Republican colonization and road building*, in: *Roman Republican Colonization. New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ancient History*, eds. T.D. Stek, J. Pelgrom, Rome 2014, pp. 60–72; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–73.

¹⁴ Polybios, *Historiai*, ed. W.R. Paton, Oxford 1922–1927 [hereinafter: Polyb.] 3.86–87; Liv. 22.9.1–2; Appianus Alexandrinus, *Romaika historie*, vol. 1, eds. P. Viereck, A. Roos, E. Gabba, Leipzig 1962 [hereinafter: App.] *Hann.* 12; E.T. Salmon, *Roman Colonisation under the Republic*, Lund 1969, p. 84; W.V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford 1971, pp. 133–134; G. Bradley, *Ancient Umbria. State, Culture, and Identity in Central Italy from the Iron Age to the Augustan Era*, Oxford 2000, p. 149; J. Lazenby, *Wojna Hannibala. Historia militarna drugiej punickiej*, transl. T. Ładoń, Oświęcim 2015, pp. 106–108.

¹⁵ Liv. 25.5; *Pap. Oxy.* 2088, II. 11–14: '[---] exque pagis milites conquirebantu[r tributum] / [e] pagis cogeatur [...]'; Dion. Hal. 4.15.1–4; Ploutarchos, *Βίοι παράλληλοι*, ed. B. Perrin, Oxford 1914–1926 [hereinafter: Plut.] *Num.* 16.4; M. Tarpin, *Vici et pagi dans l'occident romain*, Rome 2002, pp. 198–200; S. Sisani, *In pagis forisque et conciliabulis. Le strutture amministrative dei distretti rurali in Italia tra la media repubblica e l'età municipale*, *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei lincei*, Roma 2011, pp. 603–611; M. Silani, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–57; M. Piegdoń, *Ager*, p. 111, 161, 187.

of an efficient organization for the settler communities (*pagi*), who soon established small settlements such as *conciliabula* at *Ager Gallicus* (Suasa Senonum, Ostra, Pisaurum, Sentinum, Fanum, etc.) and in Picenum, owing to which the settlers not only could trade with their products, but it was probably possible to enforce obligations towards the Republic, such as payment of taxes and other levies, which were probably collected from time to time by officials appointed for this purpose, supported by the local magistrate originating from those centres. The settlers themselves could also count on state intervention in local conflicts and disputes. This was the function of the *fora* created at important road arteries, such as the Forum Sempronii in the former Celtic lands, where adjudication in a case was made possible. The organization of prefectures in some settlements periodically visited by the officials from Rome – *praefecti jure dicundo* – also contributed to greater state intervention. Certainly, such processes took a long time, but it seems that the foundations for such an administration could have existed even before the outbreak of the war against Hannibal, as evidenced by the efficient recruitment of legionnaires and the relatively regular supply of supplies during military operations¹⁶.

Nevertheless, in the case of the conquered Adriatic areas, in the third century we can see a gradual but continuous process involving reorganization of the structures created by the Republic for the settlers. New settlements were established, and the status of the already existing ones was changed, but also the internal infrastructure was developed (construction of roads, canals, river ports in the colonies of Sena Gallica, Ariminum and Pisaurum, defence system, etc.) so that the Roman authorities could effectively enforce the settlers' obligations towards Rome.

NEW SETTLEMENT INITIATIVES OF THE REPUBLIC OVER THE ADRIATIC AFTER THE SECOND PUNIC WAR AND INVESTMENTS IN THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE COLONIES IN PICENUM AND ON *AGER GALLICUS* IN THE SECOND CENTURY

After the end of the Second Punic War, there was an almost a century of peace in the area of Italy, which was undoubtedly needed to rebuild the damage after so many years of warfare, and which also allowed for

¹⁶ D.J. Gargola, *Lands, Laws, & Gods. Magistrates & Ceremony in the Regulation of Public Lands in Republican Rome*, Chapel Hill–London 1995, pp. 103, 109; E. Bispham, *From Asculum to Actium. The Municipalization of Italy from the Social War Augustus*, Oxford 2007, p. 12; S. Sisani, *In pagis*, pp. 603–611; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 97, 106–107; M. Piegdoń, *Between*, pp. 3–31.

further development of the previously established centres as well as foundation of new ones, populated by continuously arriving settlers. In the second century, Rome became increasingly engaged in military operations outside Italy. It meant that settlers from Picenum and *Ager Gallicus* could be recruited for war campaigns taking place in the Mediterranean, including on the other side of the Adriatic Sea, in Macedonia and Greece (Macedonian Wars and Achaean War), as well as the Balkans (including wars against Histria). Therefore, veterans appeared again in the Adriatic areas of Italy, probably joining those who settled there after the war against Hannibal¹⁷. It was a time of transformations in the process of Roman colonization, with new *coloniae civium Romanorum*, which were to replace the existing small *coloniae maritimae* and large Latin colonies. The process of moving away from the establishment of Latin colonies and founding the first *coloniae civium Romanorum* was, however, slow. For almost twenty years, both types of colonies were established simultaneously in Italy, and additional settlers were sent to the already existing Latin colonies after the war with Hannibal, to supplement the population depleted in battles against the Punic commander and the natives, as well as due to the difficulties the existing settlers faced in the demanding area¹⁸. It seems that the decisive factor in the new Roman colonization policy was the fact that the Roman authorities had preference for their own citizens sent in large numbers (usually two thousand people) to new colonies, to receive larger plots of land (up to ten iugera of land)¹⁹. It was the same with granting land to individual settlers: citizens could count on larger plots of land than the *socii* or the population with Latin status²⁰.

¹⁷ S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia della conquista. La romanizzazione dell'Umbria tra il IV sec. a.C e la guerra sociale*, Roma 2007, pp. 137–138; M. Silani, *op. cit.*, p. 64; M. Piegdoń, *Ager*, pp. 211–212.

¹⁸ U. Ewins, *The early Colonisation of Cisalpine Gaul*, "Papers of the British School at Rome" 1952, 20, p. 57; G. Luraschi, *Foedus Ius Latii Civitas – Aspetti costituzionali della romanizzazione in Transpadana*, Padova 1979, pp. 79–80; M. Piegdoń, *Galia Przedalpejska. Studia nad rzymską obecnością w północnej Italii w III–I w. p.n.e.*, Kraków 2009, pp. 140–141, 149; M. Tarpin, *Le coloniae lege Pompeia: una storia impossibile?*, in: *Trans...padum usque ad Alpes. Roma tra il Po e le Alpi: dalla romanizzazione alla romanità. Atti del convegno Venezia 13–15 maggio 2014*, ed. G. Cresci Marone, Roma 2015 (*Studi e ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina* 26), pp. 201–202.

¹⁹ In the Roman colony of Saturnia, the colonists received as much as ten iugera of land: Liv. 39.55. In the colonies of Mutina and Parma, the plots of land amounted to five iugera in Mutina and as many as eight in Parma, respectively: *CIL* XI 826; Plin. *NH* 2.240; 3.115; App. *BC* 16.73.298–301; Frontin. *Strateg.* 3.14.3–4; M. Piegdoń, *Galia*, pp. 144–146; S. Roselaar, *op. cit.*, p. 62. In total, over thirty thousand hectares of land were distributed among the colonists of *coloniae civium Romanorum*: *ibidem*, p. 63.

²⁰ An example here is formed by parcelling among individual settlers of *Ager Gallicus et Ligustinus* in northwest Italy, whereby Roman citizens could receive ten iugera of land, and

New *coloniae civium Romanorum* appeared at the beginning of the second century also on *Ager Gallicus* – Pisaurum, as well as in the south, in Picenum – Potentia. The information about founding both those civic colonies in 184 also testifies to the size of the subordinate area over the central Adriatic in the third century, meaning that despite the allocation of land to the colonists of five or six colonies, as well as individual settlement actions, there were still opportunities to found further centres. The project was to be supervised by the same triumvirs in both colonies: Q. Fabius Labeo, M. Fulvius Flaccus, and Q. Fulvius Nobilior. In 174, censors of Q. Fulvius Flaccus (triumvir's brother) and A. Postumius Albinus financially supported the authorities of several new colonies, including Potentia and Pisaurum, with their internal investments. In this case, we have a situation, very clearly presented by the ancient authors (T. Livius), of the involvement of major Roman officials and decision-makers in the local investments of the colonies, of which they were also the founders or, possibly, relatives of the founders²¹. This situation was not exceptional because the same Livius mentions that, at the same time, the same censors took similar actions in Auximum (Osimo) in Picenum and in other Roman colonies in Italy: Calatia, Sinuessa, and Fundia²².

those not having Roman citizenship – three iugera only: Liv. 42.4. According to contemporary estimates (S. Roselaar, *op. cit.*, p. 63), parcellation of land on the Apennine Peninsula after the Second Punic War may have covered over one hundred and eighty thousand hectares of land.

²¹ Liv. 41.27.11–12; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–24; P. Campagnolli, *La bassa valle del Foglia e il territorio di 'Pisaurum' in età romana*, Imola 1999, pp. 43–44; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia*, pp. 257–258; G. Bradley, *The nature*, pp. 60–72; M. Silani, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–82. Cf. Gellius Aulus, *Noctium Atticarum, libri XIX*, vols. 1–3, ed. J.C. Rolfe, Oxford 1927 [hereinafter: Gell. NA] 16.3.8: '[...] non enim veniunt extrinsecus in civitatem nec suis radicibus nituntur, sed ex civitate quasi propagatae sunt et iura institutaque omnia populi Romani, non sui arbitrii, habent [...]'

²² Investments in Auximum: Liv. 41.27.5–13; Plut. *Pomp.* 6; G.V. Gentili, *Auximum (Osimo). Regio V – Picenum*, Roma 1955, pp. 31, 56–62, 67; A.J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy. The Hannibalic War's Effects on Roman Life*, vol. 2, London 1965, p. 208, note 2; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 19; U. Laffi, *Colonie e municipi nello stato romano*, Roma 2007, pp. 22–27. Cf. M. Torelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 193–198. See also: CIL I² 719=XI 6331; *Gromatici veteres ex recensione Caroli Lachmanni* (*Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*), transl. G. Libertini, Istituto di Studi Atellani 2018 [hereinafter: *Liber coloniarum*] I 258 Lachmann; A.J. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 209, note 1; p. 241; E.T. Salmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 113, 115, 118; W.V. Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 150, note 6; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29; M. Luni, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–92; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia*, p. 56; G. Paci, *La politica colonaria di Roma nell'agro Gallico e nel Piceno nel II sec. a.C. e in particolare in età graccana*, in: *AdriAtlas et l'histoire de l'espace adriatique du VIe s. a.C. au VIIIe s. P.C. Actes du colloque international de Rome (4–6 novembre 2013)*, eds. Y. Marion, F. Tassaux, Bordeaux 2015, pp. 169–171; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–92.

Archaeological excavations currently undertaken at many centres in Picenum, namely in Firmum, Cupra Maritima (Cupra Marittima), Asculum (Ascoli Piceno), and in *Ager Gallicus*, indicate that, in the second century, other settlements also significantly invested in their infrastructure, including temples, public buildings, city walls, and the tendency was to gain increasingly greater momentum over time. These activities were later continued in Italy by the great Roman commanders in the first century, with their peak during the rule of Augustus²³. It can be suspected that the investment initiatives by officials and at the same time representatives of Roman houses testified to their great involvement in the affairs of local communities. At this point, we must also note the increasingly stronger attempts of the Republic to interfere in the internal affairs of subordinate allies and colonies in Italy observed in the period.

The involvement of the Roman elite in the local affairs of Roman citizens brought a positive effect in the increased financing for local initiatives, and even creation thereof, which was certainly preconditioned by the increased financial potential of the state and its citizens, principally the elite, who made their income from Rome's expansion policy in the Mediterranean²⁴. The competition among the representatives of the Roman aristocracy, who wished to be viewed in the best possible manner by citizens from the lower classes, particularly by their future voters, took place not only in Rome. After all, Roman citizens included the colonists and individual settlers living in various parts of Italy, wherever the Republic sent them, or wherever they themselves decided to migrate. They established civic communities there, created on the initiative of Roman officials who represented Roman houses at the same time. Therefore, the names of fora-type settlements consist of two parts, one of which was often *gentilicium* of the founder, for example Forum Sempronii at *Ager Gallicus*. This rule also applies to the names of roads constructed during the Republic period²⁵. The involvement of the Roman elite in the

²³ Examples of such activities by Augustus over the Adriatic include works on the renovation of *via Flaminia* or investments in Ariminum and Fanum. Cf. also below.

²⁴ Gell. NA 16.13.8; S. Sisani, *Fenomenologia*, p. 99; M. Silani, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19. The sources of senators' income and the separation of private income from public income is discussed in detail by: I. Shatzmann, *The Roman General's Authority over Booty*, "Historia" 1972, 20, pp. 206–223. Cf. A. Ziółkowski, *Historia Rzymu*, Poznań 2004, pp. 242–256; H. Beck, *From Poplicola to Augustus: Senatorial Houses in Roman Political Culture*, "Phoenix" 2009, 63, 3–4, pp. 361–384; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 315–355; J. Tan, *Power and Public Finance at Rome, 264–49 BCE*, Oxford 2017, pp. 3–39.

²⁵ U. Ewins, *The early*, pp. 57–58; A.J. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 670; P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.–A.D. 14*, Oxford 1971, p. 572; M. Piegdóń, *Galia*, pp. 156–159; S. Sisani, *In pagis*, pp. 571–572.

internal affairs of settlements outside Rome did not end with the names of the houses. As already mentioned, starting from the second century, smaller centres in Picenum and on *Ager Gallicus* also recorded investments supporting their urban development, the peak of which occurred in the last century of the Republic and the first centuries of the Empire²⁶. Such behaviours among the Roman elite were strongly affected by the Greek influence, as eurgatism played an important role in the life of the cities of Hellas, but it also spread in Italy.

The financial resources of the Roman aristocracy allowed for the development of great land properties because, in Italy, the elites principally invested their monies in land. For example, *Ager Gallicus* over the Adriatic was not only the place where small farms of individual settlers and colonists were established, but also the area where large estates were formed²⁷. The owners not only legally increased the area of their own estates, but also participated in the procedure of appropriation of *ager publicus*, which caused these areas to become the object of interest of the *tres vires agris iudicandis assignandis dandis* commission created in the times of the Gracchi brothers²⁸.

SETTLEMENT OVER THE ADRIATIC AT THE END OF THE REPUBLIC: POLITICAL SYMPATHIES AND CLIENT ASSOCIATIONS

From the second half of the 170s, there is practically no information about the individual award of plots of public land or sending poorer citizens to the colony until the introduction of the Agrarian and Colonization Act by the Gracchi brothers in the 130s and 120s BCE. The lack of distribution of public land by the state constituted a very important cause of the socio-economic and political crisis of the Republic, which

²⁶ Cf. *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, 2nd edition, Berolini 1954–1955 [hereinafter: ILS] 23 (*Lapis Pollae*) or ILS 54. See: P. Zanker, *August i potęga obrazów*, transl. L. Olszewski, Poznań 1999, pp. 21–34; M. Torelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–196. Examples of eurgatism in settlements on *Ager Gallicus* during the Imperial period: U. Agnati, *Per la storia romana della provincia di Pesaro e Urbino*, Roma 1999, pp. 174–176 (Pisaurum); pp. 291–293 (Forum Sempronii); pp. 399–402 (Fanum Fortunae). Generally, about the phenomenon of eurgatism in Picenum and on *Ager Gallicus*: F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–157.

²⁷ Otherwise, S. Roselaar, *op. cit.*, p. 56, who claims that large estates were not created in Picenum and on *Ager Gallicus*, but we still have evidence of the activities of the triumvirate commission, which also here distributed *ager publicus* pursuant to the Agrarian Act see M. Piegdoń, *Ager*, pp. 191–193.

²⁸ The work of the triumvirs' commission is attested by the inscription found in San Cesarea: G. Paci, *Ricerche*, pp. 301–308 and below.

it experienced from the last decades of the second century until the collapse of the republican system²⁹. Settlement and colonization initiatives from the Gracchi brothers' era resulted in the influx of new settlers to the Adriatic area, arriving both in Picenum and *Ager Gallicus*³⁰. The commission at *Ager Gallicus* was also to distribute the recovered public land among non-Roman citizens near the colonies of Sena Gallica, Pisaurum, and Fanum, and perhaps creating the Forum Sempronii. It is hard to say how numerous this group was, but the places listed by *Liber coloniarum* allow us to realize not only how much of the state-owned land was not entirely legitimately handed over into private hands, so that the commission operating under *lex Sempronia agraria* could transfer it to new settlers³¹. It seems that the latter could also have been important for later political events that followed the reforms of the Gracchi, and began a turbulent period in the history of the Roman Republic. Generally speaking, one can be tempted to state that some of them sympathised with them because of the plots of land given to them by the Gracchi brothers, and later also with the political option that continued their political activity: the Populares. Hence, at the turn of the second and first centuries, we can see the active political involvement of some of the inhabitants of Picenum, for example, a certain Equitius, who claimed to be the son of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, or Q. Attius Labienus, a relative of Caesar's future

²⁹ S. Roselaar, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–57, 149–153.

³⁰ Cf. below.

³¹ The best-known inscription from Picenum confirming the activities of this collegium was found in San Cesarea in 1735 A.D. – *CIL* I² 719=XI 6332: 'M(arcus) Terentius M(arcii) f(ilius) Varro Lucullus pro pr(aetore) terminos restituendos ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) coeravit qua P(ublius) L(icinius) Ap(pius) Claudius C(aius) Gracc(h)us IIIvir(i) a(gris) d(andis) a(dsignandis) i(udicandis) statuerunt'. *Liber coloniarum* as a source relating to the division of land in Picenum and on *Ager Gallicus*: C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 160–167, 186. Sena Gallica: *Liber coloniarum* 1.226.9–12; 1.258.10–12 Lachmann; Fanum Fortunae: Frontinus Iulius S., *De controversiis, De limitibus*, *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, in: *The Writings of Roman Land Surveyors*, Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary by B. Campbell, Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, London 2000 [hereinafter: Frontin. *De limit.*] 30.1; 30.2–4; *Liber coloniarum* 1.256.13–15 Lachmann; Sentinum: *Liber coloniarum* 1.258 Lachmann: '[...] ager eius limitibus maritimis et montanis lege triumvirale est assignatus. Et loca hereditaria populus eius accepit. Finitur sicuti consuetudo est regioni Piceni [...]'; Numana: *Liber coloniarum* 1.257.7–8 Lachmann: '[...] Nomatis. ager eius ea lege continetur qua et ager Ausimatis [...]'; Ancona and Auximum: *Liber coloniarum* 1.253.1–4 Lachmann: '[...] Anconitanus ager ea lege continetur qua et ager Ausimatis, limitibus Gracchanis in iugeribus [...]'. M. Luni, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–92; M. Destro, *Resti di divisione agrarie antiche nella valle del fiume Aspio. La centuriazione di Numana*, "Picus. Studi e ricerche sulle Marche nell'antichità" 2008, 28, pp. 146–157; G. Paci, *La politica*, pp. 169–170; M. Piegdóñ, *Ager*, pp. 120–121.

legate and a client of Pompey the Great, T. Attius Labienus on the side of politicians such as C. Marius and L. Appuleius Saturninus³². While studying the events in the second and the first centuries, a conclusion can be drawn that the *Populares* could enjoy greater sympathy also at *Ager Gallicus*. It is hard to say whether this was due to the fact that these areas had been occupied earlier, already in the third century, by settlers whose patrons included politicians, strongly referring to their origin from plebeian families and being *homines novi*, such as M' Curtius Dentatus and C. Flaminius Nepos, or rather due to the arrival, owing to the Gracchi brothers, of settlers who, in turn, could believe they should be grateful to the famous tribunes and continuators of their political concepts. Nevertheless, in the last century of the Republic, i.e. during the many civil wars that swept through the Adriatic lands, and especially through *Ager Gallicus*, in the eighties, the people in these areas rather supported Marius than Sulla and the Optimates. The residents had to pay for it with destruction of several settlements during the first civil war³³.

Attention should also be drawn to strong client relationships with the representatives of Roman houses, whose roots or connections originated in the areas of Picenum and *Ager Gallicus*. An excellent example here was *gens Pompeia*, with its greatest representatives: Cn. Pompeius Strabo and principally his son Cn. Pompeius, later called the Great. It was owing to their clientele, not only from the Adriatic areas, which made it possible for these politicians to pursue their ambitions in Rome and, in exchange for their support, their clients also had the opportunity to pursue their dreams and careers alongside their patrons³⁴. In the area of Picenum, those who grew rich on grapevines and local wine trading supported their

³² L. Equitius: *CIL* I² 196; Cicero Tullius M., *Pro C. Rabirio perduellionis reo*; *Pro P. Sestio oratio*, ed. C. Orellius, Turici 1826 [hereinafter: *Cic. Sest.*] *Sest.* 101; [hereinafter: *Cic. Rab.*] *Rab.* 7; Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem*, ed. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge 2000 (Loeb) [hereinafter: *Val. Max.*] 3.8.6; *App. BC* 13.32.141; *Flor.* 3.16; *Deviris illustribus urbis Romae, Les hommes illustres de la ville de Rome*, transl. M. Martin, Paris 2016 (Les Belles Lettres) [hereinafter: *Vir. Ill.*] 62; 73. Q. Attius Labienus: *Cic. Rab. perd.* 22; 426 Orosius Paulus, *Historia adversus paganos*, vols. 1–2, ed. A. Lippold, Milano 1976 [hereinafter: *Oros.*] 5.17.9. Cf. R. Borgognoni, *Moltiplicazione e trasformazione delle clientele picene nell'età di Mario e Silla: ipotesi ricostruttiva*, "Picus. Studi e ricerche sulle Marche nell'antichità" 2002, 22, pp. 24–31, 46–63; M. Piegdoń, *Ager*, pp. 119–125, 144–148. *Mariannorum satellites*: *Oros.* 6.2.9. Cf. *App. Mithr.* 59.243 (Nonius). A map showing hypothetical and real relations between individual centers in Picenum and important Roman politicians such as Marius, Sulla, or Pompeius Strabo is presented by R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p.19.

³³ Cf. M. Piegdoń, *Ager*, pp. 105–107, 123–124.

³⁴ R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–67; J. Nicols, *Civic Patronage in the Roman Empire*, Leiden–Boston 2014, pp. 62–63. Cf. below.

patrons in Rome. Their wealth and social status allowed them to pursue their own political careers, which also ensured that their hometowns benefited from the help of their powerful and influential compatriots in Rome. This made it possible to carry out investments in their hometowns, where they wanted to showcase to their compatriots (families, relatives, customers, etc.) the position and honours they enjoy in the City, as well as the financial potential that allowed them to carry out projects in their local homelands. In this context, one must mention here *gens Pompeia*, including the aforementioned *gens Attia* from Cingulum, who rebuilt the settlement, fitting it with complete urban infrastructure and defensive walls³⁵. Apart from the aforementioned *gens Attia*, Pompey's supporters who made their fortunes, among others, on the wine trade included L. Afranius, *the Oppii*, and the houses of the Fufius Geminus, as well as the Equite Terentius³⁶.

Most information about clients supporting Pompeius Strabo can be found in the inscription *CIL I²709=ILS 8888=ILLRP 515=FIRA I 17*, which gives the composition of *consilium* of the Roman commander. The decree issued on 17 November 89, i.e. during *bellum sociale*, granted Roman citizenship (*virtutis ergo*) to thirty allied cavalry soldiers from Spain (*turma Sallvitana*). The most interesting information therein is about the lower-ranking commanding officers from the army of the Roman commander³⁷. Among the almost sixty listed there, there are people whom we may attempt link to specific settlements from Picenum, as well as *Ager*

³⁵ Hirtius A., *Commentari de bello civili*, eds. H. Oppermann, H. Meusel, F. Kraner, Berlin 1959 [hereinafter: Hirtius BC] 1.15.12: '[...] Cingulo..., oppidum Labienus constituerant [...]'; Silius Italicus *Punica* 10.32–35: '[...] celsis Labienum Cingula saxa'; M. Torelli, *op. cit.*, p. 201; E. Bispham, *op. cit.*, pp. 240–244. Cf. below.

³⁶ C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 46; F. Vermuelen, *op. cit.*, p. 150. Cf. M. Torelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–205; S. Roselaar, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–160, 171–172. Earlier, however, Q. Attius Labienus supported the *Populares*! Cf. above.

³⁷ Cf. Vell. Pat. 2.20–21; Plut. *Pomp.* 4; App. BC 13.47; Oros. 5.12; 5.19.10; C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien: Historisches, Epigraphisches, Literatur geschichtliches aus vier Jahrhunderten Roms*, Leipzig 1922, p. 131; U. Ewins, *Enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul*, "Papers of the British School at Rome" 1955, 23, pp. 75–83; J. Suolahti, *The Junior Officers of the Roman Army in the Republican Period. A Study on Social Structure*, Helsinki 1955, pp. 138–140, 338–339; E. Badian, *Foreign*, p. 229; A. Krawczuk, *Virtutis ergo. Nadania obywatelstwa rzymskiego przez wodzów Republiki*, Kraków 1963, pp. 47–65; N. Criniti, *L'epigrafe di Asculum di Gn. Pompeo Strabone*, Milano 1970, passim; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–43; J. Dart, *The Social War, 91 to 88 BCE. A History of Italian Insurgency against the Roman Republic*, Surrey 2014, p. 176; A. Raggi, *op. cit.*, p. 92. The name of the formation comes from the place of origin of some of the riders of Salduba (present Zaragoza): A. Krawczuk, *Virtutis*, p. 63; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 181–202.

Gallicus, among other things, owing to the *tribus* names next to the names of the commanding officers to which they were entered. The following most probably originated from Picenum Cn. Oppius (Cornicinus), son of Cnaeus (tr. Velina), and T. Acilius, son of Titus (tr. Velina), both from the Roman colony of Potentia³⁸; Q. Petillius, son of Lucius (tr. Velina), and brothers L. and T. Terentius, sons of Aulus (tr. Velina), from the Latin colony of Firmum³⁹; M. Hostilius, son of Marcus (tr. Velina), and two brothers: T. and L. Nonius Asprenas?, sons of Titus (tr. Velina), as well as C. Laetorius, son of Caius (tr. Velina), and L. Minucius (Basilus), son of Lucius (tr. Velina), probably from Cupra Maritima⁴⁰; T. Veturius, son

³⁸ CIL I² 709 = ILS 8888 = *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae*, vols. 1–2, ed. A. Degrassi, Firenze 1957– [hereinafter: *ILLRP*] 515 = *Fontes Iuris Romanis antiquae*, ed. C.G. Bruns, Tubingae 1909 [hereinafter: *FIRA*] I 17. *Gens Oppia* at Picenum is well attested by epigraphic evidence. It appears in inscriptions originating from Potentia, but also in Auximum with various references during the Imperial period (with *cognomina* Bassus, Capito, Clemens, Pallans): CIL IX 5830–5832; 5839–5840; C. Cichorius, *op. cit.*, p. 160; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–125. Cf. L.R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic*, Roma 1960, p. 240; T.P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate, 139 B.C.–A.D. 14*, Oxford 1971, pp. 40–41, 247; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p. 40, note 55. *Gens Acilia* was an Equite family originating from Lazio and central Italy. In Picenum, it is also recorded in Septempeda: CIL IX 5587: ‘C. Acilius C.f. Candidus’: C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³⁹ CIL I² 709 = ILS 8888 = *ILLRP* 515 = *FIRA* I 17. Q. Petillius: C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 51; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p. 40, note 55. Petilius Rufus is also known from Septempeda, a duumvir from this settlement: CIL IX 5580–5584. Other: 5614. *Gens Terentia*: C. Cichorius, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 160; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–127; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 41; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53. Inscription CIL IX 5351 provides the name of the first quaestor of the colony, L. Terentius, son of Lucius. Cf. L. Polverini, *Fermo in età romana*, in: *Firmum Picenum I*, eds. L. Polverini et al., Pisa 1987, p. 51. This *gens* is known not only from Firmum, but also from Septempeda: R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p. 40, note 56.

⁴⁰ CIL I² 709 = ILS 8888 = *ILLRP* 515 = *FIRA* I 17. *Gens Nonia*: L.R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 237; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–154; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, pp. 244–245; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 50; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p. 40. The family appears in many Picenum centers: Trea (CIL IX 5659), Firmum, and Urbs Salvia (CIL IX 5536). *Gentilicium* Letorius is also known from Auximum (CIL IX 5873) and from Firmum (CIL IX 5372). See: Suetone, *Vies des Douze Césars*, vols. 1–3, par H. Ailloud, Paris 1931–1932 (4th edition 1967) [hereinafter: Suet.] Aug. 5; C. Cichorius, *op. cit.*, p. 175; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–166; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 49. The presence of *gens Minucia* vel *Minicia* in Cupra Maritima is also confirmed by other inscriptions: CIL I² 1917 = IX 5305 = ILS 5391 = *ILLRP* 577, which mentions the duumvir of Cupra, whose *gentilicium* appears in the Minucius version. The *gens* also appear in Falerio Picenus, Castrum Novum, and Asculum (CIL IX 5238). Cf. Cicero Tullius M., *De officiis*, ed. C. Orellius, Turici 1826 [hereinafter: Cic. *Off.*] *Off.* 3.18; Caesar Iulius C., *Commentari de bello Gallico*, ed. A. Klotz, Lipsiae 1952 [hereinafter: Caes. BG] 7.90; Plut. *Sull.* 9; App. *Mithr.* 50.201; C. Cichorius, *op. cit.*, p. 175; L.R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 235; C. Nicolet, *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine (312–43 av. J.-C.)*, vol. 1, *Définitions juridiques et structures sociales*, Paris 1966,

of Tiberius (tr. Velina), and T. Petronius, son of Titus (tr. Fabia), of Asculum⁴¹; L. Iunius, son of Quintus (tr. Lemonia), from Ancona, allied with Rome, or from the areas *Ager Gallicus*⁴² and finally *primipillus* P. Salvienus, son of Lucius (tr. Maecia), from the Latin colony of Hadria⁴³. The last representative of the Picenum mentioned in the inscription was L. Vettius (Aninianus), son of Lucius (tr. Velina) of Auximum⁴⁴.

There are indications that also suggest the presence of representatives of *gentes* from the area of *Ager Gallicus*. On the basis of the affiliation of individual commanding officers and their families to the tribus, it can possibly be interpreted that they could have been descendants of settlers from the former Senonian areas. Among the commanding officers surrounding Pompeius Strabo, those from the tribus, which we also know from the area of *Ager Gallicus*, i.e. Pollia, Lemonia and Galeria, are particularly noteworthy. Affiliation to the tribus Pollia was recorded for the mentioned in the inscription: M. Otacilius (Crassus?), son of Marcus, as well as a certain tribune M. Teiedius (son of Marcus), C. Fornassidius, son of Caius, and M. Aebutius, son of Marcus. If all the above-listed representatives of the families affiliated to the tribus Pollia indeed came from the area of *Ager Gallicus*, then they could have originated not only from such settlements as Forum Sempronii, Fanum Fortunae, Ostra, or Aesis, as Timothy P. Wiseman⁴⁵ believes, but also from other centres

p. 585; idem, *L'ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine, 312-43 av. J.-C.*, vol. 2, *Prosopographie des chevaliers Romains*, Paris 1974, pp. 955-956; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-169; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-242; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 49; E. Bispham, *op. cit.*, pp. 386-387, 389-390. See: R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p. 41, notes 57-59; R. Syme, *Rzymska Rewolucja*, transl. A.M. Baziór, Poznań 2009, p. 94, note 80.

⁴¹ CIL I² 709=ILS 8888=ILLRP 515=FIRA I 17. Cf. L.R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 265; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-172; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 41; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 53; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p. 41, note 60.

⁴² CIL I² 709=ILS 8888=ILLRP 515=FIRA I 17. Cf. C. Cichorius, *op. cit.*, p. 130; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 141; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 236; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 48; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p. 41, note 61; p. 43, note 64. See below.

⁴³ Cf. below.

⁴⁴ CIL I² 709=ILS 8888=ILLRP 515=FIRA I 17. See also Sallustius Crispus C., *Historiae*, ed. B. Maurenbrecher, (Teubner) 1891-1893 [her in after Sallust.] *Hist.* 1.55.17 (Maur.). Cf. CIL IX 5863 ("L. Vettius L.f. Aninianus") and CIL IX 1863; C. Cichorius, *op. cit.*, p. 161; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-131; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 53; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p. 41, note 61. The presence of this *gens* in other centers in Picenum is confirmed by inscriptions: from Firmum (CIL IX 5368), from Pausulae (CIL IX 5800), from Ricina (CIL IX 5783) and from the present Montesapientrangelo (CIL IX 5527).

⁴⁵ CIL I² 709=ILS 8888=ILLRP 515=FIRA I 17; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Cf. C. Cichorius, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-159; L.R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 253; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86, 117-119. *Gens Otacilia* originated from Maleventum/Beneventum and was originally

in *Ager Gallicus* because most of the settlers and colonists from these areas could be allocated to tribus Pollia⁴⁶. Inscription *CIL I² 709=ILS 8888=ILLRP 515=FIRA I 17* mentions another Otacilius, Lucius, son of Lucius, but was assigned to the tribus Pupinia, which did not appear in the area of *Ager Gallicus* and two of the *gens Aebutia*: Decimus and Lucius from the tribus, Cornelia and Maenenia, respectively, also not found in this area⁴⁷. On the other hand, the aforementioned L. Iunius, son of Quintus, was also attributed to Lemonia, while perhaps originating from the only centre where the population belonged to this tribus – Sentinum, but it could also have been Ancona in Picenum or even Bononia in Cisalpine Gaul⁴⁸. Affiliation with tribus Galeria was recorded for one of Pompeius Strabo's legates, L. Iunius Brutus Damasippus. The population of the Roman colony of Sena was assigned to this tribus in the former Senonian territories⁴⁹. In this regard, however, it is necessary to draw attention to two challenges that arise for researchers, it is hard to determine the region of origin of the people listed here on the basis of their affiliation. These could have been completely different areas of Italy, and the tribus Pollia, so widespread over the Adriatic, was also known from other regions.

However, it is hard not to notice that the later dictator L. Cornelius Sulla found supporters also among the residents of Picenum. They could include the clients of Pompeius Strabo, who competed with him in Rome,

entered as tribus Stellatina. The family probably came to tribus Pollia as a result of participation in a settlement campaign. Probably, the son of M. Otacilius Crassus took part in the civil war on the side of Pompey against Caesar (Hirtius *BC* 3.28–29). Cf. N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–176, 178–179 and below. M. Teiedius is often connected with Sex. Teiedius, senator reported by Asconius (Asconius, *In Ciceronis Orationes Commentarii*, ed. P. Iuntae Florentini, Florintae 1519 [hereinafter: Asc.] *Mil.* 28). His son could have been T. Teiedius the Pompeian: Plut. *Pomp.* 64. Most of the representatives of this family, however, did not belong to the tribus Pollia. Cf. *CIL XIV* 3615; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 119–120; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, pp. 264–265. M. Fornasidius known from inscription from Fanum Fortunae: *CIL XI* 6260; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–132. He probably participated in the civil war between the Populares and the Optimates: Licinianus Granius, *Epitomae?*, ed. M. Flemish, Leipzig 1904 [hereinafter: Gran. Licin.] 19.5. *Gens Aebutia* was also known from other regions of Italy, namely Umbria and Campania: N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 176–177.

⁴⁶ M. Piegdoń, *Ager*, pp. 275–280.

⁴⁷ *CIL I² 709=ILS 8888=ILLRP 515=FIRA I 17*; C. Cichorius, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–159; L.R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 253; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–86; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 41; C. Delp-lace, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 48.

⁴⁸ *CIL I² 709=ILS 8888=ILLRP 515=FIRA I 17*; C. Cichorius, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–159; L.R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 253; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–86, 141–142; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Cf. above

⁴⁹ *CIL I² 709=ILS 8888=ILLRP 515=FIRA I 17*; C. Cichorius, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–159; L.R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 253; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–86, 98–101; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–41.

but who turned to his side, although detailed circumstances of this change of patrons are unknown. Plutarch and Appian recorded that, during the occupation of Rome by Sulla, tribune Lucius Basileus (Basillus?), a figure also known from the famous decree of Pompeius Strabo as L. Minucius Basileus (Basilus) from Picenum, occupied Esquiline on the order of Sulla. We also hear about him on the occasion of the First Mithridatic War (88–85 BCE) because he served in Sulla's troops in Greece and Asia⁵⁰. The same was true of a certain Salvienus, whose presence in the army of the later dictator is noted by Plutarch in the biography of Sulla⁵¹ and a representative of the House of Vettius, L. Vettius Picens⁵². On the other hand, the most faithful of Sulla's commanding officers, L. Licinius Lucullus, was associated with another inhabitant of Picenum, namely (C.) Sornatius B(arba), who originated from the Roman colony of Castrum Novum. By the way, the family of Licinius Lucullus was also associated with the Adriatic region, as evidenced by an inscription from San Cesario near Fanum and Forum Sempronii on *Ager Gallicus*, which records the name of Lucius' brother, M. Terentius Varro Lucullus⁵³.

In this context, however, it is hard not to notice the situation when probably another member of Pompey Strabo's *consilium* from Asculum turned to the Populares. The sources describe a mysterious attempt to assassinate Pompeius Strabo and his son, which Plutarch of Chaeronea attributes to the leaders of the Populares. Contemporary researchers vary in their opinion regarding the assassination being ordered by the leaders

⁵⁰ Plut. *Sull.* 9; App. *Mithr.* 50.201. Cf. App. *BC* 13.58.258. See: *CIL* I² 709=ILS 8888=ILLRP 515=FIRA I 17 and above. Most probably, he was the uncle or father of the praetor from 45, L. Minucius Basileus: T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 40; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 49; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p. 46, note 77. Cf. T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. 2, New York 1952, p. 55.

⁵¹ Plut. *Sull.* 17.2; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p. 46, note 77. It is unclear whether these were the same L. Minucius and Salvienus who appear in the *consilium* of Cn. Pompeius Strabo (*CIL* I² 709=ILS 8888=ILLRP 515=FIRA I 17).

⁵² *CIL* I² 709=ILS 888=ILLRP 515; Sallust. *Hist.* 1.55.17 (Maur.); T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–43, 236, 241–242; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 45, 53; R. Syme, Rzymiska, p. 94, note 80.

⁵³ Sornatius' *gentilicium* appears on the inscription on an amphora from Castrum Novum (*CIL* IX 6080): '(C.) Sornatius (C.f. Vel. B...)'. C. Sornatius Barba was a legate in the army of L. Lucullus during the Third Mithridate War (74–68): Plut. *Lucull.* 17.1; 24.1; App. *Mithr.* 77. The presence of the name tribus Velina and the place where the inscription was found may point to Sornatius' Picentine roots. This family also appears on inscriptions found in Rome and Ostia (*CIL* VI 14627; 21650; 26627; XIV 4585a). See: T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, 262; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 45, note 80; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–61. An inscription referring to Lucius' brother Marcus, adopted by the family of Terentius Varro, was found in San Cesarea: *CIL* I² 719=XI 6332; G. Paci, *Ricerche*, pp. 301–308. Cf. above.

of the *Populares*, perceiving it rather as a mutiny of a group of soldiers. The assassination attempt could have rather been the result of internal unrest in the army, which had already been involved in one assassination of the consul of 88 BCE, Q. Pompeius Rufus⁵⁴. The unsuccessful attempt to kill Pompey's, the father and the son, was participated by a certain L. Terentius. This is not an anonymous figure. As already mentioned, he probably belonged to the staff of Pompeius Strabo from the period of the siege of Asculum (91–89 BCE). He came from Firmum, was the brother of T. Terentius, who was also present in the *consilium* and a companion of young Pompey. It cannot be ruled out that his actions could have been caused by personal misunderstandings with his patron Pompeius Strabo, who did not have an easy character, which could have provoked Terentius to take such actions.

It is worth pointing out here that client relations were characterized by significant fluctuations. Clients of one politician could quickly change their political sympathies in favour of the others. A significant example is formed by the representatives of the family of Minucius Basileus, originating from Picenum, who, in the first century, supported Pompey, Sulla, Caesar, and Antony.

The Sulla legislation also resulted in the appearance of new settlers, veterans of Sulla in various regions of Italy. Undoubtedly, this significantly affected the change of social structures in those regions where the settlement was the greatest, namely mainly in Etruria, Umbria, Campania, Lazio, and Samnium, but also the emergence of new local conflicts caused by the placement of a significant number of veterans. Sulla's policy initiated a later trend related to the settlement of large groups of veterans on Italian lands, which often involved taking the land away from previous owners, including settlers and colonists⁵⁵. In the case of Picenum, we only have a few examples of the placement of Sulla's veterans, namely in Hadria, Interamnium Praetuttiorum, and Septempeda. In Hadria, only one of the inscription points to the presence of a community of Sulla's veterans, containing two terms associated with the dictator, namely

⁵⁴ Plut. *Pomp.* 3.1–5; T.P. Hillman, *Cinna, Strabo's Army and Strabo's Death in 87 B.C.*, "L'Antiquité Classique" 1996, 65, pp. 81–89; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–48. On the other hand, the army of Sulla's competitor in the East, popular C. Flavius Fimbria, most probably also included those from Picenum ("Marianorum satelles"): Oros. 6.2.9; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–155; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, p. 49, note 88; p. 62, note 126.

⁵⁵ Cicero Tullius M., *In Catilinam orationes; Pro L. Murena oratio*, ed. C. Orellius, Turici 1826 [hereinafter: *Cic. Cat.*] *Cat.* 2.9.20; [hereinafter: *Mur.*] *Mur.* 24.49; *Liv. Per.* 77; *App. BC* 13.100.470; 104.489; P.A. Brunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 300–311; F. Santangelo, *Sulla, the Elites and Empire. A Study of Roman Policies in Italy and the Greek East*, Leiden–Boston 2007, pp. 147–191.

Venerius and *Felix*⁵⁶. On the other hand, the existence of the Sulla veterans' centre in Interamnia can be testified to by the rather ambiguous account of Florus⁵⁷. We have no other information about the establishment of further centres for Sulla's veterans⁵⁸. In the case of *Ager Gallicus* itself, we do not hear directly about the placement of Sulla's demobilized soldiers there, which seems strange due to the resistance of the inhabitants to its commanders. What we do know is that in the neighbouring areas between Ravenna and Bononia, veterans were ultimately settled. The scale of this settlement was not great because only Forum Cornelii (Imola) was established between Ravenna and Bononia and, according to the late-ancient author Prudentius, was to be founded by L. Cornelius Sulla⁵⁹.

On the one hand, terror introduced by Sulla in the form of proscriptions mainly affected the elites of individual ethnic groups favourable to the *Populares*. A few years earlier, the war against the allies (91–87 BCE) had already caused a serious decline in the elites, but also the dictator's penal settlement policy seriously weakened the local aristocracy. On the other hand, there was another dimension to the transformations occurring in Rome under Sulla's rule. The dictator's victory over the *Populares* in 82 BCE brought many benefits to those who sided with him in due time. The changes introduced by Sulla, consisting in increasing the number of senators, caused a slow influx of people from local communities with Roman citizenship, whose support for Sulla did not raise any doubts.

⁵⁶ CIL IX 5020: „Venerius col. I Felix”; A. Krawczuk, *Kolonizacja sullajska*, Wrocław 1960, p. 59. A similar situation took place in Pompeii: F. Santangelo, *Sulla, the Elites*, pp. 149, 158–171. The Senate gave Sulla the title – *Cornelius Sulla Imperator Felix*: Plut. *Sull.* 34; App. *BC* 13.97.

⁵⁷ Flor. 2.9; A. Krawczuk, *Kolonizacja*, pp. 59, 66–67; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–57; 60–61; F. Santangelo, *Sulla, the Elites*, p. 153; A. Bertrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 236–237.

⁵⁸ There are opinions, mainly of archaeologists, stating that, in Sulla's time, the walls were also built around the settlement in Septempeda: F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 126.

⁵⁹ Prudentius Clemens A., *Liber Peristephanon*, in: C. Gnifka, *Prudentiana*, vols. 1–3, Munich/Leipzig, 2000, 2001, 2003 [hereinafter: Prudent. *Peristephanon*] 9.1; U. Ewins, *The early*, p. 63; A. Krawczuk, *Kolonizacja*, pp. 78–79; P.A. Brunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 300–312, 573; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–47; F. Santangelo, *Sulla, the Elites*, p. 155; M. Piegdón, *Galia*, pp. 169–170. Some researchers (including C. Franceschelli, *Les distribution viritanes de 173 av. J.-C. dans l'ager Ligustinus et Gallicus*, in: *Gérer les territoire, les patrimoines et crises. Le quotidien municipal II*, eds. L. Lamoine, C. Berrendonner, M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Clermont-Ferrand 2012, pp. 103–114), however, believe that the Forum Cornelii was established just after Rome's conquest of the Celtic Boii territories in the first decades of the second century and was a result of the colonization of the areas between Bononia and Ariminum. At that time, such centers as the Forum Popilii, Faventia, and Claterna were to be established next to Forum Cornelii.

The process, however, was of greater importance, as it initiated a trend that increased in the following decades of the first century. In Rome, not only new senators favourable to the dictator appeared, but also their clients and supporters of his supporters. In the case of the Adriatic areas, i.e. Picenum and *Ager Gallicus*, several such figures can be pointed to who were present in the Roman Senate of the period, such as Q. Iunius of Ancona (?), probably brother of Lucius we find among the members of the *consilium* of Pompeius Strabo; M. Minucius Basilus from Cupra Maritima, related to L. Minucius Basileus (Basilus) who, during the war against the allies, served under the orders of Pompeius Strabo, and later in the army in Sulla, as well as L. Vettius Picens who took part in the proscriptions⁶⁰.

During the period when Pompey the Great became one of the most influential figures in Rome, people from Picenum whose relations with *gens Pompeia* had their roots at least from the time of his father's activity pursued their careers under the wings of this leader and politician. Among them were, the aforementioned L. Afranius of Cupra Maritima, consul of 60 BCE, and T. and Q. Attius Labienus of Cingulum (Titus was tribune in 63 BCE), as well as A. Gabinius (consul 58 BCE) and M. Lollius Palicanus (tribune of 71 BCE), who probably also originated from Picenum⁶¹. Undoubtedly, apart from the elites deriving from the Adriatic centres, it can be assumed that also a significant part of the legionaries who took part in Pompey's numerous military campaigns in the 70s (campaign against M. Aemilius Lepidus, war against Q. Sertorius in Spain)

⁶⁰ The number of new senators is given by: App. *BC* 13.59.267; 13.101.468; Eutrop. 5.9.2; Oros. 5.22.4. Cf. Liv. *Per.* 89.4; Plut. *Sull.* 22.1; *Rufi Festi Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani*, ed. W. Foerster, Vindobonae 1874 [hereinafter: Fest.] 304L. Cf. F.X. Ryan, *Rank and Participation in the Roman Senate*, Stuttgart 1998, p. 38; F. Santangelo, *Sulla and the Senate: A Reconsideration*, "Cahiers Glotz" 2006, 17, pp. 7–22. The best-known supporter of Sulla, however, was Vibius Popidius from Pompeii: *CIL* X 794.

⁶¹ Vell. Pat. 2.29.1; J. Nicols, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–63. L. Afranius: *ILS* 878;; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 210; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–46, 60, 159. The Attii Labienii: *CIL* IX 5922 (from Ancona); Hirtius *BC* 1.15.12; Italicus Silius Tiberius Catus Asconius, *Punica*, ed. J. Duff, London 1961 [her in after Silius Italicus] 10.32–35; R. Syme, *The Allegiance of Labienus*, "Journal of the Roman Studies" 1938, 28, pp. 113–125; E. Badian, *Caepio and Norbanus*, "Historia" 1957, 6, pp. 318–346; idem, *Foreign*, pp. 201–202; L.R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 223; C. Nicolet, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 921–922; U. Moscatelli, *Municipi romani della V Regio augustea. Problemi storici ed urbanistici del Piceno centro-settentrionale, III–I secolo a.C.*, "Picus. Studi e ricerche sulle Marche nell'antichità" 1985, 5, pp. 70–73; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 39–40, 48–49, 55; R. Borgognoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29. M. Lollius Palicanus: Sallust. *Hist.* 4.43 Maur.; Cic. *Att.* 1.1.1; 1.18.5; *Fam.* 9.22.4; *Brut.* 223; Val. Max. 3.8.3; and A. Gabinius: Suet. *Iul.* 50.1. Cf. T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, pp. 237–238; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 57. Cf. E. Badian, *Foreign*, pp. 245–248, 281–284; L.R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

and the 60s BCE (war against the pirates and with the king of Pontus, Mithridates VI Eupator) could have come from the Adriatic centres in Picenum and perhaps *Ager Gallicus*⁶². In the context of the measures against the supporters of M. Aemilius Lepidus in the period 78–77 BCE, such researchers as Timothy P. Wiseman hypothesise that a certain C. Geminus was commissioned by Pompey to assassinate M. Iunius Brutus, Lepidus' commander in Mutina. He could also originate from the former Roman colony on *Ager Gallicus* – Pisaurum⁶³.

Pompey's competitor was C. Iulius Caesar, whose military power and enormous wealth acquired during the conquest of Gaul gained him a significant clientele in the provinces, devoted allies across Italy and, above all, numerous supporters in Rome. Therefore, he strongly opposed the Optimates in Rome, who were hostile to him and who, after the collapse of the triumvirate, acquired Pompey and sought to take away the province from him and appoint successors. Caesar feared that if he became a private person, he would be tried before a tribunal and convicted. This is because the Optimates intended to sue him after his return from the province⁶⁴. Not wishing to lose his military and political base and the source of income, the commander, provoked by the actions of his political opponents, was ready to defend his possessions and so, in January 49 BCE, he crossed the administrative border of the province of Cisalpine Gaul with Italy. The fear of Caesar caused the escape of Pompey's supporters and the Optimates from many regions of Italy and their influx to Rome. Nevertheless, the latter tried to stop the march of the victor

⁶² Cf. Nicols, *op. cit.*, p. 62. During the battles with Q. Sertorius in Spain, Pompey had over thirty thousand soldiers, i.e. five or six legions: Oros. 5.23.9. The number of Pompey's troops resembles the number of legions he had at his disposal when he dealt with the Populares in Sicily and Africa. Furthermore, in 74, two more legions were sent to Spain: Sallust. *Hist.* 2.98 Maur.; App. *BC* 13.111.519; Plut. *Pomp.* 20. In the 50s of the first century, Pompey counted on the support of his clients from Picenum when he was attacked by C. Clodius: Cic. *Quint.* 2.3.4.

⁶³ CIL XII 553; 3598; Plut. *Pomp.* 2.4; 16.5; *Ant.* 59; 60. His connection with Pisaurum is, however, quite doubtful, since he is also connected with the city of Tibur, see: T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 233. Cf. CIL XI 6310; 6421.

⁶⁴ Cicero Tullius M., *Epistulae ad Atticum; Epistulae ad familiares; Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem*, ed. C. Orellius, Turici 1826 [hereinafter: Cic. *Att.*] *Att.* 5.20; 5.21; 6.1; [hereinafter: *Fam.*] *Fam.* 8.10; Liv. *Per.* 108–109; Vell. *Pat.* 2.48; Flor. 2.13; Val. Max. 9.1.6; Suet. *Iul.* 27–32; App. *BC* 14.23–34; Plut. *Caes.* 28–32; *Pomp.* 55–60; *Cat. Min.* 51; Kassios Diōn, *Ρωμαϊκά πράγματα*, ed. U.P. Boissevain, Berlin 1895–1931 [hereinafter: Cass. Dion] 40.58–66; Eutrop. 6.19; Oros. 6.15; K. Bringmann, *Historia republiki rzymskiej*, transl. A. Gierlińska, Poznań 2010, pp. 236–262.

over the Gauls in regions that seemed to be devoted to *gens Pompeia*⁶⁵. Therefore, it is extremely surprising that soldiers loyal to Pompey and the Senate, recruited mainly on the spot, and thus also in Picenum and *Ager Gallicus*, quickly turned to Caesar's side. On the other hand, the commanding officers who intended to resist him faced reluctance from the local population and the authorities of the centres over the Adriatic, which they were supposed to defend against Caesar, after the appearance of the troops of the commander in chief. Such events took place, among others, in Auximum, where the inhabitants and local officials simply expressed their neutrality in the conflict between the two politicians to the Pompey's commander, P. Attius Varus⁶⁶. It is the more surprising because these events took place in areas where Pompey the Great had a strong clientele. The related *gens Attia* originated from Auximum, and he could count on cooperation with *gens Irria* from Camerinum. These areas were the stronghold of Vibulius Rufus and L. Pupius, close and devoted to the leader, and Caesar's former commander, T. Attius Labienus in Cingulum, who turned to Pompey's side. The situation was similar also in the *prefectures* and settlements located further south, along *via Salaria Picena*, as well as Asculum and further Firmum, on which the Pompeii could count⁶⁷. This did not mean that he did not try to react to these changes in mood over the Adriatic Sea. A. Hirtius/Caesar clearly indicates that Pompey tried to maintain his position in Picenum by sending his faithful commanders there. One of them was Vibulius Rufus, who tried to bring order

⁶⁵ Lucan Anneus M., *Pharsalia*, wyd. I tłum. M. Brożek, Kraków 1994 [hereinafter: *Lucan Phars.*] 1.466; *Plut. Caes.* 34; *Cass. Dion* 41.7.

⁶⁶ Hirtius *BC* 1.13; V.A. Sirago, *La funzione del Piceno nella lotta fra Pompeo e Cesare*, "Picus. Studi e ricerche sulle Marche nell'antichità" 1985, 5, p. 139; J. Nicols, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–63. Cf. *Plut. Pomp.* 6. Auximum is the place of origin of a well-known inscription (*ILLRP* 382 = *ILS* 877) from this period, containing the following message: '[Cn. P]ompeio Cn. [f.] [Mag]no, imperatori consuli ter, [pa]trono publice'. Sympathies in this settlement were, however, divided, see below.

⁶⁷ Hirtius *BG* 8.52; *BC* 1.12; 1.15; *Cic. Att.* 7.12; 7.13; *Plut. Caes.* 34; *Pomp.* 64; *Suet. Iul.* 34; *Cass. Dio* 41.4; V.A. Sirago, *op. cit.*, pp. 140, 143–146; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, p. 108. Hirtius (*BC* 1.12.3) clearly emphasizes that Auximum was the station of three cohorts of Attius Varus, from the draft carried out by senators favorable to Pompey the Great, probably having their own clientele in Picenum or even originating from here. The situation was similar further south where, in Asculum, ten cohorts simply abandoned their commander, Pompey's supporter P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinter (consul of 57 BCE), and the troops of C. Lucilius Hirrus (Hirtius *BC* 1.15) had to withdraw from Camerinum. Caesar's conquest of the Firmum: Hirtius *BC* 1.16.1.

to the retreating Pompey's troops. On Pompey's side, there were also his supporters from *Ager Gallicus*, such as M. Otacilius or M. Teiedius⁶⁸.

These actions, however, could not stop the residents from turning to Caesar's side, perceived as the victor with better arguments. The inhabitants of *Ager Gallicus* and Picenum simply did not resist Caesar, even when Pompey's troops stationed in their towns. They opened their gates to Caesar's troops, and the Pompey's cohorts and their commanders either had to retreat or turn to the side of the conqueror of Gaul. One may be tempted to try to interpret this situation. In the former Senonian territories, there were strong sympathies for the Populares since the times of C. Marius⁶⁹, a relative of Caesar's. At Caesar's side, there were several people associated with Picenum, including P. Ventidius Bassus deriving from *Ventidii* from Auximum, who were hostile to Pompey, but also M. Satrius *vel* L. Minucius Basileus, from a family supporting various political options in the last century of the Republic, L. Nonius Asprenas, M. Coelius Rufus, M. Cusinius, Q. Numerius Rufus or T. Herennius, who became a senator due to Caesar's support⁷⁰. The victor of the Gauls probably settled his veterans in the areas adjacent to *Ager Gallicus* – perhaps the ninth legion in Picenum⁷¹.

After Caesar's death, the Adriatic territories, as well as the entire *Imperium Romanum*, became the object of rivalry between Roman leaders and politicians, who represented both the camp of the murdered dictator and his political opponents. During another civil war, which lasted several years with breaks, politicians and commanders fighting for domination

⁶⁸ Hirtius *BC* 3.28–29; Plut. *Pomp.* 64; N. Criniti, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–176. Cf. above.

⁶⁹ On the influence of the Populares and Marius in Picenum cf. above.

⁷⁰ R. Syme, *Rzymska*, p. 94, note 80; J. Nicols, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–65. P. Ventidius Bassus later supported M. Antony, cf. below. M. Satrius was adopted by Minucii Basilii: Cic. *Off.* 3.74: '[...] patronus agri Piceni et Sabini [...]'; R. Syme, *Rzymska*, p. 94, note 80. M. Satrius *vel* L. Minucius Basilus was one of the Caesar's assassins. Other Minucius Basilus found later in Antony's camp: Cicero Tullius M., *Philippicae orationes*, ed. C. Orellius, Turici 1826 [hereinafter: Cic. *Philipp.*] *Phillip.* 2.107; J. Nicols, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–67. Nonius Asprenas and his Picenian roots, cf. above. Picenian roots *gens Herennia*: L.R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–220; E.T. Salmon, *op. cit.*, p. 356; T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 235; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, p. 48, 146, 159; R. Syme, *Rzymska*, p. 93. M. Coelius Rufus: Cicero Tullius M., *Pro M. Coelio oratio*, ed. C. Orellius, Turici 1826 [hereinafter: Cic. *Cael.*] *Coel.* 3–5. M. Cusinius M.f. (tr. Velina): *CIL* XIV 2604=ILS 965. Q. Numerius Rufus: *CIL* I² 759. The *Herennii* supported both Caesar and then Octavian: Eutrop. 5.3.2 (T. Herennius); M. Herennius (*cos. suff.* 34 BCE) and M. Herennius Picent (*cos. suff.* in 1 BCE) Cf. T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 235; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 146, 159; R. Syme, *Rzymska*, p. 93, note 77; J. Nicols, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–66.

⁷¹ L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47–14 B.C.*, Rome 1983, pp. 50, 57–58.

over the Empire, such as C. Octavius, called Octavian, M. Antony, and M. Aemilius Lepidus, their supporters and their legions again treated the Italian lands as one of the fronts of operations during this conflict⁷². In Picenum and *Ager Gallicus*, there was a march of the armies of the commanders of both sides, as well as violent battles, particularly during the Perusine War (41–40 BCE), when Sentinum was destroyed by the commander Octavian Q. Salvidienus Rufus⁷³. Above all, however, these areas became a spoil of war and a reservoir of land that was to satisfy the great expectations of their legionaries regarding the land. They became a place of large-scale settlement of veterans⁷⁴. The colonization from this period also caused changes to the living situation of the existing inhabitants of the Adriatic areas, including the descendants of the former colonists from the third and second centuries. Not only did the number of people increase who were willing to acquire plots of land partially taken away from their previous owners, which aroused dissatisfaction and strong protests, and became the cause of a serious image crisis for Octavian. This is because, after the victory over the armies of M. Iunius Brutus and C. Cassius Longinus at Philippi in 42 BCE, he had the unrewarding task of meeting the expectations of his former soldiers and veteran colleagues from the triumvirate established in November 43 BCE⁷⁵. In the long run,

⁷² P.A. Brunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 234–264, 319–332.

⁷³ Before the outbreak of the Perusine War and during its course, the troops of commanders associated with Octavian and M. Antony (Q. Salvidienus Rufus on the side of Octavian and P. Ventidius Bassus, C. Asinius Pollio, L. Statius Murcus, Q. Fufius Calenus on Antony's side) repeatedly crossed the areas of northern and Adriatic Italy: R. Syme, *Rzymska*, pp. 207–216; M. Piegdoń, *Galia*, pp. 118–121. The destruction of Sentinum: App. BC 15.50; Cass. Dion 48.13 2–5; R. Syme, *Rzymska*, p. 213. It is also worth mentioning an earlier conflict, before Octavian, Antony, and M. Aemilius Lepidus formed the second triumvirate, when there were fights at Mutina happened in 43 BCE. At that time, the areas adjacent to *Ager Gallicus*, namely Ariminum, suffered the most: Cicero Tullius M., *Brutus*, ed. C. Orellius, Turici 1826 [hereinafter: Cic. *Brut.*] *Brut.* 1.3; *Fam.* 10.21; 11.13; *Liv. Per.* 119–120; *Vell. Pat.* 2.60–62; *Plut. Ant.* 17; *Cic.* 45; *Suet. Aug.* 11; 94; App. BC 15.33; 15.64–76; 15.80; 15.84; 15.85–96; Cass. Dion 46.36–38; 46.54–56; M. Piegdoń, *Galia*, pp. 118–121, 174–175, 209.

⁷⁴ L. Keppie, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–61; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–111.

⁷⁵ The Battle of Philippi and its consequences: App. BC 17.12.47. The Second Triumvirate: *CIL* I² 64 (*Fasti Colotiani*): '[...] III viri rei publicae constituendae ex ante diem V K Dec. ad pridie K. Ian. sextas [...]'] *Vell. Pat.* 2.65; *Plut. Ant.* 19; *Suet. Aug.* 12; App. BC 16.7.27; 17.2.4–7; K. Bringmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 295–304. The dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of Italy with Octavian's actions is reflected in the words of Virgil (Vergilius Maro P., *Bucolica*, *Georgica*, ed. L. Castiglioni, R. Sabbadini, Torino 1945 [hereinafter: Virg. *Bucol.*] 9.26–29): '[...] Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae [...]'. Cf. R. Syme, *Rzymska*, p. 219. The settlers were to be sent to the eighteen richest cities of Italy, cf. P.A. Brunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 326–332; L. Keppie, *op. cit.*, passim; E. Twarowska-Antczak, *Od lex Iulia municipalis do flawijskich*

the settlement of this period also meant other changes, such as the transformation of the legal status of the existing municipia into *coloniae Iuliae*. Some towns may have faced an uneasy coexistence of former settlers and colonists with veterans brought here, as was the case during Sulla's colonization⁷⁶. Such situations caused tensions and an increase in rebellious moods, which were used against Octavian by his political opponents, and proved to be among the reasons for the outbreak of the aforementioned Perusine War⁷⁷. Settlers/veterans in the areas of *Ager Gallicus* and Picenum had already been placed earlier by Octavian's main competitor M. Antony, who placed them, among others in Fanum Fortunae, but above all in Ancona at the end of the forties of the 1st century.

The settlement of veterans was carried out by Octavian in the *Ager Gallicus* centres also later, after the latter's victory over Antony in the battle of Actium in 31 BCE. Towns in the former Senonese lands that were affected by this practice included Pisaurum, Fanum Fortunae (VIII legion), Sena Gallica, and Ariminum. The new settlements were named after their founder (*coloniae Iuliae*) and future princeps⁷⁸. This great process also acted as a catalyst for transformation in urban planning, the infrastructure of many Adriatic centres, which were forced to invest in defensive walls due to the turbulent times of civil wars, which continued in Italy almost from the period of the war against the allies. However, investments in defence were only part of this construction phenomenon. A number of measures were also taken regarding the road infrastructure. Towns also gained various types of public buildings, such as baths, *tabernae*, exposed and decorated forums, but also theatres, amphitheatres, and temples. All this emphasized the wealth of the municipal elites and the authority of the ruler, who became the main initiator of such transformations, and who thus created his image. The process did not only bring benefits to those centres that were covered by the veterans' settlement, but also others, such

leges municipales. *Rozwój rzymskiej administracji municypalnej w okresie od Juliusza Cezara do Domicjana*, Poznań 2018, pp. 9–14. Number of veterans were resettled in the period from the Battle of Philippi to the Battle of Actium: P.A. Brunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 335–344, 409–415, 479–512.

⁷⁶ Cf. above.

⁷⁷ The Perusine War: R. Syme, *Rzymska*, pp. 209–216.

⁷⁸ After the victory at Actium, Augustus was to found twenty-eight colonies: *Res Gestae divi Augusti (Monumentum Ancyranum)*, ed. F.W. Shipley, Oxford 1924 [hereinafter: RG] 15.3; 28.2; Suet. *Aug.* 46; P.A. Brunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 294–300, 608–609; L. Keppie, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–81; E. Twarowska-Antczak, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–17. Foundations of the colonies in Pisaurum, Fanum Fortunae, Ariminum, and Sena in that period: M. Piegdóń, *Ager*, pp. 221–256.

as Suasa, Ostra, Forum Sempronii, and Sentinum, which was rebuilt after the terrible destruction suffered during the Perusine War⁷⁹.

Yet another feature of the final period of the Republic was the increasing presence in Rome of representatives of local Italian communities, who began to replace members of the former Roman houses who had died in fratricidal battles during the civil wars. One of the events in which many representatives of the Roman elite were to die, as well as many soldiers, was the Battle of Philippi fought in 42 BCE⁸⁰. Certainly, this process began much earlier, and it accelerated when Roman citizenship was granted to the inhabitants of Italy as a consequence of *bellum sociale*. In the 40s and the 30s BCE, however, it gained an increasing momentum. At the time, in the Senate of Rome and in other institutions of the City, representatives of the Adriatic lands appeared, such as another representative of Lollii and Herennii, who could have originated from Picenum, or a certain L. Tarius Rufus – the owner of a property in Picenum, mentioned by Pliny the Elder⁸¹.

The divisions in the Roman society in the final century of the Republic caused perturbations, which resulted in a war against the allies and in the civil wars. They resulted in serious devastation of towns across Italy, as well as a significant depletion of the population who died in battles and purges carried out after the end of conflicts (Sulla proscriptions and those from the period of the Second Triumvirate), as well as internal migrations in Italy related to the escape from the war and its consequences, and resulting from the great Roman commanders' policy of rewarding their soldiers for military service with land in Italy⁸². Consequences of the conflicts in the first century BCE included increased investments in the defence of towns across Italy, also in the areas of Picenum and *Ager Gallicus*. At the same time, the process of developing their internal infrastructure, initiated in the 3rd/2nd centuries, continued, involving the construction of temples, public and private buildings, the creation of regular town centres decorated with porticoes, and the construction-related innovations (known mainly

⁷⁹ F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–157.

⁸⁰ Vell. Pat. 2.71.2: '[...] non aliud bellum cruentius caede clarissimorum virorum fuit [...]'. The same can be said about the Battle of Pharsalus (48 BCE): Lucan *Phars.* 7.862: '[...] Romani bustum populi [...]'. Cf. R. Syme, *Rzymska*, pp. 207–209.

⁸¹ M. Lollius probably from Picenum: T.P. Wiseman, *op. cit.*, pp. 209, 283; C. Delplace, *op. cit.*, pp. 146; 159; R. Syme, *Rzymska*, pp. 364, 366. Cf. above. L. Tarius Rufus: Plin. *NH* 18.37; R. Syme, *Rzymska*, p. 366.

⁸² On the colonization of veterans in Italy during this period, see: P.A. Brunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 326–342; L. Keppie, *op. cit.*, passim; F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–111.

from the work of Vitruvius), but also involving embellishment⁸³, which is a testimony to the increasing financial potential of the local Roman houses getting richer, as well as political giants of that era, often such as *gens Pompeia*, who originated from the Adriatic areas. The close client relationships and origins translated to the increasing presence of compatriots in Rome, who also pursued their careers there, among others in the Senate, owing to the support of powerful patrons at least from the 80s of the first century BCE. Nevertheless, it was not only local connections that contributed to the success of the careers of people from the Adriatic areas, but also political sympathies, which reflected the divisions in Rome that had formed in the final century of the Republic of Rome.

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⁸³ Innovations in construction in the period of the first century BCE/AD and their examples with the ideology they reflected: M. Torelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 213–233; P. Zanker, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–161.

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