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CLUNIA, GALBA AND THE EVENTS OF 68–69

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## CLUNIA, GALBA AND THE EVENTS OF 68-69\*

It has long been supposed that Galba elevated Clunia (Peñalba de Castro, Burgos prov.) to colonial status in 68-9.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this brief contribution is to argue, on the basis of newly published inscriptions, for a Galban promotion which was not solely titular but accompanied by a veteran deductio or settlement.

Clunia's status as colony is certain from the reign of Hadrian on as is evidenced by CIL II 2780 (= EC 22), a dedication by the imperial freedman P. Aelius (?) to the Tutela of the 'coloni Clunienses' on behalf of the salus of Hadrian.<sup>2</sup> The second century geographer Ptolemy labels the community 'Klounia kolonia' (2,6,55). Sesterces of Galba from the Rome mint bear the reverse legend 'HISPANIA CLUNIA SUL SC' where 'SUL' - deriving from the nomen Sulpicius of Galba - seems to refer to the new colony's epithet 'SUL(picia)'. On the other hand, the epithet may be viewed as honorary with no necessary significance for Clunia's juridical status. Weighty authority can be cited for and against the proposition that Clunia owed its colonial status to Galba.<sup>3</sup> The cumulative evidence cited traditionally will not decide the issue.

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<sup>1</sup> M.I.Henderson, *JRS* 32 (1942), 3; R.Etienne, *Le culte impérial dans la Péninsule Ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Paris, 1958), 188; García y Bellido, 'colonias' 503-5; H.Jucker, 'Hispania Clunia Sul. Zu einem Sesterz des Kaiser Galba', *SM* 15 (1965), 96; Galsterer 35; B.Galsterer-Kroll, 'Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperium Romanum', *ES* 9 (1972), 73 and 112 no. 181; Mackie 16 n. 22; L.A.Curchin, *The Local Magistrates of Roman Spain* (Toronto, 1990), 34.

<sup>2</sup> 'Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Hadriani Aug(usti) T[utela]e colon(or)um Cluniensium [P. Aeli]us Au[g(usti)] I[bi]b(ertus)...' (Hübner's reading).

<sup>3</sup> Coinage: RIC I 254 nos. 469-73 = Mattingly, *BMC* I 356 nos. 252-54. Honorary epithet with no juridical content: Galsterer 35 n. 50. Galba elevates Clunia: above n. 1 and cf. also Le Roux 141. F.Vittinghoff, 'Die Entstehung von städtischen Gemeinwesen in der Nachbarschaft römischer Legionslager,' in *Legio VII Gemina* (León, 1970), 351; Brunet, IM 584 and P. de Palol, 'Clunia, cabeza de un convento juridico de la Hispania Citerior o Tarraconense', in *Historia de Burgos I. Edad Antigua* (Burgos, 1984), 399-400 leave the date of Clunia's advancement open.

Nevertheless, it remains the case that Clunia was of vital interest to Galba in the spring and summer of 68. Although some chronological obscurities remain, the main stages by which Galba, governor of Nearer Spain since 60, acceded to the purple are well known and need not be rehearsed fully here. After throwing off his allegiance at New Carthage to Nero in early April 68, and unsure perhaps of the intentions of Verginius Rufus - the vanquisher of Vindex in Gaul - and Clodius Macer in Africa, Galba, possibly by late May, retired to Clunia.<sup>4</sup> It was while at Clunia that Galba learned on June 16 not only of Nero's death but also that he had been designated princeps by the senate.<sup>5</sup>

Why did Galba retire to Clunia? Clunia was an ideal place in which to prepare war against Nero or even potential rivals such as Verginius Rufus. Its position was strategic uniting the heavily garrisoned northwestern Iberian peninsula and Duero valley with the east coast of Spain and fertile Ebro valley. It lay astride or near roads connecting southern Gaul with the western and southwestern Iberian peninsula.<sup>6</sup> The city commanded an extensive agricultural territory, was situated on a mesa more easily defensible than would be the coastal cities of Citerior and enjoyed a virtually limitless supply of water in the form of an aquifer percolating into limestone caverns directly beneath the city and easily accessible from the surface. Just as important, Clunia and surrounding regions were rich in manpower.<sup>7</sup>

García y Bellido suggested that Galba's elevation of Clunia to colony was not merely a titular one but also accompanied by a deductio of time-served soldiers. 'Legio VI Victrix'

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<sup>4</sup> For bibliography on the events of 68-9, in general, see F.Kleiner, *MM* 30 (1989), 239 n. 1, to which add G.Chilver, *JRS* 47 (1957), 29-35. For the problematic date of Galba's proclamation at New Carthage, see M.Raoss, 'La rivolta di Vindice ed il successo di Galba', *Epigraphica* 22 (1960), 53-4 n. 3. Verginius was the ostensibly pro-Neronian legate of Upper Germany on whom, see W.Eck, *Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen vom 1.-3. Jahrhundert* (Köln, 1985), 28-9 no. 12, R.Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958), 179 and 462 n. 8, and Raoss, 84-101. Galba feared Rufus as a potential rival: Brunt, 'Revolt' 542 and García y Bellido, 'Nacimiento' 318. Macer a legate of 'legio III Augusta'; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> II 276-7 no. 1170. For Galba's post-Vesontio retirement to Clunia in late May, see G.Chilver, *Historical Commentary on Tacitus' 'Histories' I and II* (Oxford, 1979), 8.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. 'Galb.' 7,1-3. Brunt, 'Revolt' 542 n. 3 for Icelus' notification of Galba on June 16.

<sup>6</sup> On Clunia's utility to Galba's cause and road links, see Le Roux 134. See also J.A.Abásolo, *Las vías romanas de Clunia* (Burgos, 1978) and C.García Merino, *Población y Poblamiento en Hispania romana. El Conventus Cluniensis* (Valladolid, 1975), 188, 191, 226 and 242 on Clunia's strategic location. The site occupies 130 hectares, making it one of the most extensive cities of the Roman west outside Rome: P. de Palol, *Guía de Clunia* (Valladolid, 1978), 21.

<sup>7</sup> Underground reservoir: EC p. 129. Legionary Clunienses include L. Sempronius Flavinus a miles of legio VIII who is designated '(H)ispani Galeria Clunia': Le Roux 188 no. 66 and *ibidem* for his possibly Neronian recruitment = RIB 256; L. Aelius L.(f.) Gal.Celer, Clun(ia) a miles of 'legio VII Gemina Felix' who may have been recruited by Galba: Le Roux 196-97 no. 90 = CIL II 5265; C. Aemilius Serenus a veteran of 'legio VII Gemina Felix' with origo 'Hispano, G(aleria) Clunia' recruited in the late first century, and who is attested at Thamugadi (Timgad): Le Roux 203 no. 113 and *ibidem* for his recruitment = AE 1934,36; 'L. Iul(ius) T.(f.) Galer(ia) Leuganus, Clunia' a veteran of 'legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix' at Apulum recruited in the Flavian era: so Le Roux 219 no. 167 ad loc. (= ILS 2477) and L. Valerius Paternus an optio of 'legio X Gemina' recruited in the 50s: AE 1908, 147 = Le Roux 182 no. 38 and *ibidem* for Paternus' origo and recruitment.

was identified as the likely source of settlers.<sup>8</sup> There now exist solid grounds for thinking that García y Bellido's theory is correct.

Epigraphic evidence points to a deductio at Clunia in the years 68-9. The following inscription is important evidence for the presence of time-served soldiers at Clunia as early as the final third of the first century AD:<sup>9</sup>

L(ucius) Assellius | Niger veteran(us) |  
 Aniensis Caeslaraugustanus | h(ic) [s(itus)]  
 e(st) | Publi(us) Canini(us) et | Optata  
 Publi<i> | Canini<i> liberta | d(e)  
 [s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum)] c(uraverunt)

The names of the commemorators and deceased in the nominative, Publius Caninius' lack of a cognomen, the 'h(ic) s(itus) e(st)' formula, lack of the 's(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)' formula, lack of the 'D.M.(s.)' formula, formula 'f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)' and the postpositive tribal designation put the epitaph in the period c. 70-120, i.e. in the years and decades immediately following the conjectured deductio of 68-9.<sup>10</sup> Niger's epitaph comes from a farm at San Juan del Monte of the Río Arandilla, situated 16 km southwest of Clunia. In brief, the veteran is attested in the kind of locality of the 'ager Cluniensis' suitable for the colonial assignation of veterans.

All the same, the inscription discussed above does not, by itself, prove that a veteran settlement occurred at Clunia in 68-9. Explicitly recorded veterans are found elsewhere in the Meseta such as a veteran Toletanus (from modern Tolédo) at Tritium Magallum (Tricio, La Rioja prov.), and a veteran duumvir at the Flavian municipality - ancient name unknown - at Lara de los Infantes (Burgos prov.).<sup>11</sup>

A second inscription is more probative evidence of a veteran deductio at Clunia. It consists of the lower portion of what seems to have been a funerary stele, and reads:

---] | veteres (hedera) f(ecerunt)

The editors date the fragment to the second century, though a later first century date cannot be excluded.<sup>12</sup> The inscription utilizes a 'hedera distinguens' as an interpunct between 'veteres' and 'f(ecerunt)'. The first dated use in Hispania of the 'hedera distinguens' comes in a posthumous dedication to Vespasian (termed 'Divus') erected at Munigua (Mulva, Sevilla prov.) soon after 79; the text was cut in conjunction with a dedication to Titus to

<sup>8</sup> García y Bellido, 'colonias' 504.

<sup>9</sup> EC 102 with photo = AE 1988, 806.

<sup>10</sup> Dating criteria: see E.W.Haley, *Migration and Economy in Roman Imperial Spain* (University of Barcelona Press, forthcoming), Appendix I. 'Veterani' in line 3 of EC 61 is the genitive of a personal name and does not refer to a time-served soldier as A.U.Stylov has kindly suggested to me (letter of 25.9.91).

<sup>11</sup> Toletanus: CIL II 2889 and 2890 (one and the same inscription). Lara de los Infantes: CIL II 2853 = G.Alföldy, ZPE 41 (1981) 249 no. 4.

<sup>12</sup> EC 103 with photo, and *ibidem* for the date = AE 1988, 807.

whose titulature 'Divus' was added posthumously.<sup>13</sup> The likely 'post quem' of the partially preserved inscription, therefore, is c. 70. The interest of the fragment lies in its reference to certain veteres. Who are they?

Comparative evidence links veteres with veterani in communities subjected to veteran settlement. The veteres or "ancient inhabitants" refer to the pre-existing dwellers of a double community formed by the addition of veterans and their descendants.<sup>14</sup>

Pompeii became a double community through the settlement of Sullan veterans among its population in the late 80s B.C.; there the pre-Sullan inhabitants are termed veteres. At Arretium (Arezzo) there were 'Arretini veteres, Arretini Fidentiores, Arretini Iulienses,' referring to the original inhabitants, Sullan veteran colonisers and triumviral settlers, respectively. Nola in Campania received Sullan veteran colonists and an inscription there attests a 'decurio adlectus ex veteribus', i.e. a town councillor from the pre-Sullan inhabitants. Pliny the Elder records 'Clusini veteres' and 'Clusini Novi' at Clusium (Chiusi) in Etruria. At Herculaneum certain veteres erected a statue of Volasennia C.f. Tertia, wife of M. Nonius Balbus, patron of Herculaneum; the dedicants may be veteres of Pompeii.<sup>15</sup>

In Spain 'Colonia Valentia' (Valencia) was a double community, and inscriptions there attest veteres and veterani. One curial, the aedile C. Iulius C.f. Gal. Niger, is described as a 'decurio Valentinorum Veteranorum.' Third century imperial dedications refer to 'Valentini veteres et veterani.' According to Galsterer, the double community at Valentia resulted from a deductio of the period from Marcus through the Severans. Such a late date is impossible: the sepulchral inscriptions from La Cenia - one of which names our aedile - date from the late first or early second century AD. The deductio in question, consequently, may have occurred under Augustus or even earlier.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the possible 'uterque senatus' at Pax Iulia (Beja) may be the result of a pre-Augustan, i.e. Caesarian veteran settlement.<sup>17</sup>

The evidence which does not point unequivocally to a military connection of the term 'veteres' is exiguous. Singili Barba (El Castellón, Málaga prov.) in Baetica yields up an inscription of the Flavian era or later recording honors to a sevir awarded by the 'ordo

<sup>13</sup> CIL II 1049 = AE 1972, 256 (hedera in line 3); dedication to Titus: CIL II 1050 = AE 1972, 258.

<sup>14</sup> On veteran settlement, in general, see Keppie and J.C.Mann, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement During the Principate* (London, 1983), who is silent on post-Augustan Spain.

<sup>15</sup> Pompeii: P.Castrén, 'Ordo Populusque Pompeianus' (Roma, 1975), 49-55; Keppie 102-3. Arretium: Pliny NH 3, 52 and cf. Brunt, IM 306. Nola: CIL X 1273, and cf. Brunt, IM 307. Clusium: Pliny NH 3, 52. Herculaneum: CIL X 1438, 1437 and ibidem for the veteres as originating in Pompeii.

<sup>16</sup> Double community at Valentia: Brunt, IM 250 and 591-92, who suggests an Augustan deductio. Galsterer 12 n. 44 for references to the imperial dedications and idem 54 for a late Antonine-Severan settlement. Niger: IRVal. 22.b. ll.2-4, and ibidem with A.García y Bellido, BRAH 169 (1972), 247-61 for the date and provenance in Valentia. Mackie 15 n. 17 and 229 suggests a division, as early as 60 BC, of the original community from the colony.

<sup>17</sup> CIL II 52 = J.D'Encarnação, *Inscrições Romanas do Conventus Pacensis* (Coimbra, 1984), 306-7 no. 233 (who reads '[...]utrique sen[...] in line 3), on which, see Galsterer 52 n. 9. R.Wiegels, *Die Tribusinschriften des römischen Hispanien* (Berlin, 1985) (hereafter Wiegels), 85 n. 6 suggests a possible triumviral foundation.

universus' and, subsequently, 'ordo Singiliensis vetus'. Mackie posits the amalgamation of existing communities to form the Flavian municipality of Singili, while Galsterer and Wiegels are agnostic on the matter.<sup>18</sup>

The case of Clunia seems clearer if only because archaeology as yet points to no amalgamation there of pre-existing communities either in 68-9 or under Tiberius when Clunia may have become a 'municipium iuris Latini'.<sup>19</sup> The foregoing considerations plus the unequivocal association of veteres and veterani elsewhere, in addition to independent evidence for a veteran presence at Clunia in Flavian or immediately post-Flavian times, make it likely that the veteres of Clunia have a military association.

What impact will a Galban deductio at Clunia have had on the local population? Le Roux posits Clunia's Galban elevation - but one avoiding a population transfer.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, pre-Flavian evidence shows that veteran deductions did involve dispossession and peasant relocation. Italian evidence, though, reveals that remnants of the original inhabitants sometimes remained on the land.<sup>21</sup> To be sure, the deductio need not have been on a massive scale: it may have simply involved several hundred ( $\pm$  400?) veterans or soldiers nearing discharge and, as in Italian instances, have left a substantial proportion of Clunia's peasantry in retention of their property.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, some of the 47 migrant Clunienses in Spanish epigraphy - and Clunienses attested 'extra civitatem' constitute by far the largest body of Spanish migrants - could have been dispossessed by a Galban colonial settlement at Clunia in 68-9.<sup>23</sup> Most migrant Clunienses are recorded in inscriptions of c. 50-100, but while chronological considerations might suggest a connection between Galba's deductio and migrant Clunienses, such a link remains conjectural.<sup>24</sup> Finally, the Galban dispensation at Clunia was evidently undisturbed,

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<sup>18</sup> CIL II 2026, on which Galsterer 54; Mackie 37-8 n. 22; Wiegels 58 n. 4 and *ibidem* for the problem of the toponym, after Hübner, CIL II p. 272. See R.Thouvenot, *Essai sur la province romaine de Bétique* (Paris, 1940), 212 n. 5 for a possible reorganisation entailing the annexation of pagi at Singili.

<sup>19</sup> For the persistence of an indigenous community - which may be the Arevacan Clunia - into the imperial period on the 'Alto del Cuerno', 1.5 km east of Clunia, see Palol. *Guia*. 17. Galsterer 35 and 70 n. 26 for Clunia's Tiberian municipalisation, though Wiegels 108 n. 14 suggests its possible Augustan enfranchisement.

<sup>20</sup> Le Roux 141.

<sup>21</sup> Dispossession: Brunt, *IM* 246; Mackie 230 and K.Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge, 1978), 1-74, esp. 66-70. Some natives remain: Keppie 102. For former owners remaining as tenants or laborers of coloni, see Brunt, *IM* 297.

<sup>22</sup> Y. Le Bohec, *La troisième Légion Auguste* (Paris, 1989), 544 suggests 200 veteran discharges per legion per annum, to which we might add an additional 200 discharged a year ahead of schedule as a minimum estimate of the number of Galban settlers at Clunia.

<sup>23</sup> The evidence for migrant Clunienses is collected in Haley, forthcoming (cf. n. 10 above).

<sup>24</sup> For dating criteria, see Haley at n. 14 above. In general the epitaphs lack the 'D.M.(s)' formula, the names of the deceased are generally in the nominative, frequently contain indigenous elements, lack the cognomen and utilize the relatively simple and early 'an(norum)' age formula.

and may even have been perpetuated if the colonial foundation of Flaviobriga (Castro Urdiales, Santander prov.) in AD 74 were accompanied by a veteran settlement.<sup>25</sup>

To sum up, Clunia played a central role in Galba's play for power in 68. The governor of nearer Spain seems deliberately to have selected the strategically situated and easily defensible location as a base of operations during the uncertainty of Nero's final months in power. Galba settled time-served soldiers at Clunia which was elevated by him to the rank of colony. Epigraphic evidence suggests a veteran presence at Clunia immediately after c. 70; the contemporaneous presence at Clunia of veteres entails, as does the designation in Italy, the presence of veterans and their descendants resulting from a colonial settlement. The veteran deductio at Clunia, although not necessarily a massive one, may have dislocated some Clunienses whose migration, on independent chronological grounds, can be shown to have occurred in the second half of the first century AD.

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<sup>25</sup> Flaviobriga: Pliny NH 4, 110 and Galsterer 48; García y Bellido, 'colonias' 505-8, followed by J.M.Solana Sainz, Flaviobriga (Castro Urdiales) (Santander, 1977), 8-9. Pliny enumerates twelve colonies of Citerior and names, besides Flaviobriga, ten Julian and Augustan ones (NH 3, 18-25). Henderson 3 suggests that the twelfth, unnamed one is Clunia and that Pliny's failure to mention Clunia's colonial status and inclusion of Flaviobriga derives from a) his reliance on an earlier formula (i.e. of Agrippa) and b) his supplementation of the formula with recent Vespasianic census documents citing Flaviobriga. Similarly, García y Bellido, 'Nacimiento' 319 explains Pliny's failure to mention Clunia as the result of an oversight.