

THE PROCURATOR AS CIVIC BENEFACTOR

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The largest private donations to a municipality recorded in the Latin West are probably those which appear in an inscription from Castulo in Hispania Tarraconensis.¹ The inscription, known only from a copy made in the sixteenth century, is very laconic; but its details are self-consistent, and its phraseology resembles that of another inscription from Castulo whose original survives. Huebner, who had to reject as forgeries many inscriptions from this town, accepted the text as genuine, and his judgement was endorsed by Dessau, who included it in his *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*.²

Castulo was an important inland town in the south of Hispania Tarraconensis, near the modern town of Linares, and adjacent to the border with Hispania Baetica. Its territory, which included the considerable tract of forest and upland known as the Saltus Castulonensis, was evidently very large.³ The boundaries extended northwards as far as the territory of Sisapo, a town some 90 miles away.⁴ An important part of Castulo's wealth came from silver and lead mines: Strabo refers to a 'silver mountain' near Castulo, and mentions lead-mining there.⁵ Polybius refers to silver mines at the town;⁶ and remains of large-scale Roman mine-workings survive at Castulo. A well-known stone relief depicting Roman miners and their tools was found near the town.⁷ Castulo was already, in Livy's words, an 'urbs . . . valida ac nobilis' in the late third century B.C., and Strabo, writing under Augustus, spoke of Castulo as 'a very powerful city of the Oretani'.⁸ The town was a Caesarian *municipium*.⁹

The gifts

The inscription reads as follows:

Q. TORIO. Q. F. CVLLEONI
 PROC. AVG. PROVINC. BAET
 QVOD. MVROS. VETVSTATE
 COLLAPSOS. D. S. P. REFECIT. SOLVM
 AD. BALINEVM. AEDIFICANDVM
 DEDIT. VIAM. QVAE. PER. CASTVL
 SALTVM. SISAPONEM. DVCIT
 ADSIDVIS. IMBTRIBVS. CORRVP
 TAM. MVNIVIT. SIGNA. VENE
 RIS. GENITRICIS. ET. CVPIDI (sic)
 NIS. AD. THEATRVM. POSVIT
 HSCENTIES. QVAE. ILLI. SVMMA
 PVBLICE. DEBEBATVR. ADDITO
 ETIAM. EPVLO. POPVLO. REMISIT
 MVNICIPES. CASTVLONENSES
 EDITIS. PER. BIDVVM. CIRCENS
 D D

¹ The abbreviation *ERE* used below refers to R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*, 1974.

Evidence for privately donated monuments is collected in the survey of public works in Spain by J. Mangas, *Hispania antiqua* [Vitoria] 1 (1971), 105-146. Three perpetual foundations from Spain were studied by R. Duncan-Jones in *Historia* 13 (1964), 199-208. For general studies of munificence in the West, cf. *ERE* 27-32, 63-237, and bibliography, p. 121, n. 3. For a list of gifts to towns by procurators in Italy and Africa, see n. 24 below.

² *CIL* II, 3270 = *ILS* 5513, first published by Benedictus Rhambertus, a Venetian scholar, in 1561. The tentative doubt cast on the inscription in *ERE* 31, n. 6 should be disregarded. For a range of gifts which has some similar features at another Spanish town, see *CIL* II, 1956 = *ILS* 5512 (from Cartima in Baetica; the donor was a 'sacerdos perpetua et prima'). The forgeries ascribed to Castulo appear as *CIL* II, 315*-343*. The parallel inscription from Castulo (*AE* 1958, 4) reads: *L. Cor(nel)io Marullo | quod ordo Castulon(ensis) | pro liberalitate Cor(neliae) | Marullinae matris | eius quod civitatem | Castulonensium sta[t]uis argenteis et epulo et circensib(us) decoras[et] statuam ei et filio su[o] posituram se decre[verat]*

Cor(nelia) Marulli|[n]a honore accepto | d[e] pec(unia) sua poni iussit | hoc donum illius | C. Cor(nelius) Bellicus heres | d(edit) d(edicavit) | edi[tis] circensib(us). This resembles the inscription of Culleo in the use of 'quod' and 'ille', the placing of 'epulum', and the placing of the second reference to circus games.

³ *RE*, s.v. Castulo; *CIL* II, pp. 440 ff.; A. Schulten, *Iberische Landeskunde*, 1955-7, 487-8, 492, 494; P. Spranger 'Zur Lokalisierung der Stadt Castulo und des Saltus Castulonensis', *Historia* 7 (1958), 95-112.

⁴ See p. 80 below.

⁵ Strabo 3, 2, 10-11. Strabo's mountain of silver is presumably identical with the 'intrusive outcrop' containing 'ore, principally argentiferous galena' about 5 miles north of Linares, in which Davies found remains of Roman and modern workings (O. Davies, *Roman mines in Europe*, 1935, 135).

⁶ Polybius 10, 38, 7.

⁷ See Davies (cited in n. 5); T. A. Rickard, *JRS* 18 (1928), 129-143, at pp. 139-140. A photograph of the relief appears in M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*,³ 1957, pl. XXXV, 1, p. 212, with bibliography.

⁸ Livy 24, 41, 7; Strabo 3, 3, 2.

The most notable of Culleo's gifts were two construction projects on the grand scale. The inscription lists first the re-building of the town walls, whose condition is described in picturesque but stereotyped terms as 'vetustate collapsos'. The gift of new town walls to Massalia (Marseilles) by the physician Crinas under Nero offers some indication of the expenditure that such an undertaking involved. Pliny the Elder says that the gift of these walls, together with other unspecified building works, cost nearly HS 10 million, which suggests that the walls themselves cost at least HS 5 or 6 million.¹⁰ The length of the walls of Massalia can be estimated from the remains, but there seems to be no published material on which to base a corresponding calculation for Castulo. A town of Castulo's importance might well have had a walled perimeter comparable to the 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ km of the walls of Massalia, which enclosed an area less than 33 hectares.¹¹ The inscription does not make clear that Culleo's restoration involved rebuilding *ab initio*. But a major reconstruction of the walls of a substantial town can hardly have cost less than several millions.

Culleo's second building gift was as large as, if not larger than, the first. The inscription states that he paved the road that led to Sisapo through the Saltus Castulonensis, after it had been damaged by heavy rains. Sisapo, renowned in Roman times as the Empire's chief supplier of cinnabar for colouring, evidently stood on the site of Almadén, important today as a source of mercury, which is produced from cinnabar.¹² The town lay more than 90 Roman miles to the north-west of Castulo, across rough hill country which included some forest. Modern work on Roman roads in Spain appears to ignore this road, but it is not clear how far archaeological investigations in the neighbourhood have been carried.¹³ Since Sisapo and Castulo were both important centres of mineral production, a road link between them may have served a useful economic purpose. Castulo in the south, some miles from the Guadalquivir, may well have been the outlet through which the export of cinnabar and mercury passed on its way to Italy. There would evidently have been shipments of silver from Castulo in any case.¹⁴ Mercury is potentially important as an adjunct to silver mining when the silver is extracted by amalgamation. The introduction of this process to Spanish America in the sixteenth century was to have important consequences for the production of silver there. But although the Romans were familiar with amalgamation as a means of purifying gold, there is no clear evidence for their using this technique in silver production.¹⁵ It is therefore uncertain whether trade with Sisapo would have had any advantage for the operation of the silver mines at Castulo, though the possibility cannot be excluded altogether.

The road-distance between Castulo and Sisapo is uncertain, but it is clear that the terrain could not have allowed the construction of a road between the two in anything approaching a straight line. Modern road connections offer some indication of possible routes. A northerly road connection from Linares to Almadén measures approximately 109 miles. A route

⁹ *CIL* II, 3278; Pliny, *NH* 3, 25. Cf. H. Galsterer, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Städtewesen auf der iberischen Halbinsel*, 1971, 70.

¹⁰ Pliny, *NH* 29, 9; *RE* 11, 1865.

¹¹ See M. Clerc, *Massalia*, 1927-9, 2, 281 ff. and pl. V; R. Busquet in F. Lot, *Recherches sur la population et la superficie des cités remontants à la période gallo-romaine* 1, 1945, 180-182; F. Benoit, *Gallia* 24 (1966), 1-20, at pp. 12-20. The wall was one block thick, measuring between 0.85 and 1.0 m (Clerc p. 285), thinner than most town walls in Gaul (A. Blanchet, *Les enceintes romaines de la Gaule*, 1907, 258). Its length is estimated at roughly 2,200 m by Lot (Lot 174), but appears from Clerc's plan to have been about 2,700 m. The enclosed area is estimated as 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ hectares (Busquet in Lot, 182). (Beloch's estimate of 75 hectares was based on a plan now obsolete: K. J. Beloch, *Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, 1886, 487-8, from E. Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule romaine* 2, 1878, pl. III.)

¹² Cicero, *Phil.* 2, 48; *CIL* x, 3964; Vitruvius 7, 9, 4; Pliny, *NH* 33, 118; 121. *Enciclopedia italiana*, s.v. Cinabro, Almadén; A. Schulten, op. cit. (n. 3)

515-6; *RE*, s.v. Sisapo. In the twelfth century the geographer Idrisi visited what were evidently the mines at Sisapo, and found mercury and cinnabar being extracted there for world-wide export by a labour force of 1,000 men (Edrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, trans. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, 1866, 265-6).

¹³ See e.g. A. Solari, *Bull. comm. arch. mun. Roma* 46 (1920), 213-228; C. E. Van Sickle, *Class. Phil.* 24 (1929), 77-88; *Atlas Nacional de España*, sheet 81, 1965; M. Conchado y Soriano, 'Estudio sobre vias Romanas entro el Tajo y el Guadalquivir' *Archivo español de Arqueología* 42 (1969), 124-158. See Addendum.

¹⁴ See Huebner, *RE* 3, 1779. For the regular sale of cinnabar from Sisapo at Rome in Pliny's time, see *NH* 33, 121.

¹⁵ Contra R. J. Forbes, *Studies in ancient technology*^a 8, 1971, 178, 240. For gold, see Pliny, *NH* 33, 99. For the use of amalgamation in Spanish mining in the Americas, cf. F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 1, 1972, 476. I am much indebted to Dr. M. Teich for his comments on this point.

further south measures roughly 118 miles.¹⁶ The average is 113½ miles, equal to 123–4 Roman miles. Some figures for the cost of road-building in Roman Italy point to expenditure of the order of HS 100,000 per Roman mile in a number of cases.¹⁷ At this rate, Culleo's outlay on the Castulo-Sisapo road would have amounted to about HS 12 million, a remarkable sum for a civic benefaction. But the road might have been narrower and less well built, and thus less costly, than a major road in Italy such as the Via Appia. Construction costs as such may also have been lower in Spain than in Italy.¹⁸

As well as reconstructing the town walls and the road to Sisapo, Culleo gave Castulo the land on which public baths were built; this indicates that he was the owner of substantial property in the town. The price of land in large towns could be quite high, even in the provinces: the site for a library, probably much smaller than the area ordinarily needed for public baths, cost HS 170,000 at Dyrrachium in the second century.¹⁹ Culleo also gave *signa* or metal statues of Venus Genetrix and Cupid, which stood in the theatre.²⁰ The cost of these would have been significant if they were made of silver rather than of bronze, as the princely scale of Culleo's gifts as a whole would suggest. The bigger silver statues in Spanish towns were often made from 100 pounds of metal.²¹ If workmanship accounted for three-fifths of the final cost,²² two such statues would have cost approximately HS 200,000.

The last entry in the list of Culleo's benefactions states that he remitted HS 10 million which the town owed him, and at the same time gave a public dinner for the citizens. This remission is the most striking feature of the inscription, and it has few parallels in the municipal epigraphy of the West. When remissions are referred to, they are normally remissions of tribute or other taxes, which were the preserve of the Emperor and the Senate.²³ It would not as a rule have been within the power of a procurator to write off government taxes, and even if it had been, Castulo did not belong to the province in which Culleo is known to have served as procurator.²⁴ Culleo's chain of large-scale benefactions at Castulo in fact shows him to have been acting in his private capacity as a benefactor (and thus no doubt a native) of the town; and his remission must be seen as one of these benefactions. Moreover, the sum of HS 10 million would appear too high to represent the tribute liabilities of a single town, even over an extended period.²⁵ But the amount appears even more inordinate if looked upon as a debt incurred by the town as part of its internal

¹⁶ From *Times Atlas of the World*, 1956; *Mapa topográfico de España en escala de 1:50,000*, 1875– ; *Spain 1:100,000* (War Office 1941–). The northerly route goes from Linares to Almadén via La Carolina, Las Correderas, Almuradiel, Viso del Marqués, San Lorenzo de Calatrava, Puertollano, Brazartortas and Almadenejos. The southerly route passes through Bailen, Andujar, Marmolejo, Villanueva de Cordoba, Pozoblanco, Alcaracejos and Santa Eufemia.

¹⁷ *ERE* 124–5 and 152–3. The most explicit figure refers to a re-building of 15.75 miles of the Via Appia in A.D. 123, which cost HS 108,950 per mile (*ILS* 5875).

¹⁸ cf. *ERE* 46, n. 3 and 345.

¹⁹ *CIL* III, 607. At Thamugadi in Numidia, the area of the library, about 675 m², was only one-third of the average area occupied by four sets of public baths at the same town (about 1,950 m²), and only one-sixth of the area of the largest of the baths (about 4,100 m²). E. Boeswillwald, R. Cagnat, A. Ballu, *Timgad, une cité africaine sous l'empire romain* 1905, 297–304 and 353, n. 1, with pl. XXVI (Grands thermes du Sud); pl. XXXIII (Grands thermes du Nord, the largest of the four); fig. 119, p. 259 (Petits thermes du Sud); fig. 137, p. 289 (Thermes de l'Est).

²⁰ Comparative evidence in *CIL* II, p. 1196.

²¹ cf. *CIL* II, 1040; 1267; 1278; 1473; 1474; 3265. This was not the maximum: there were also silver statues of 150 and 250 pounds (*CIL* II, 1471; 3424). For a further list, see Mangas (cited in n. 1). Pliny the Elder reports that a slave of Claudius who was *dispensator* in Hispania Citerior owned one silver dish weighing 500 pounds and 8 more dishes

each weighing 250 pounds (*NH* 33, 145). Such abundance is an obvious reflection of Spain's role as a silver producer. Neither Africa nor Italy could rival this wealth of unmined metal (see *ERE* 94 and 164–6).

²² cf. *ERE* 126.

²³ In the West, cf. *FIRA* 1, no. 70 (Volubilis); *AE* 1948, 109 (Banasa). In the East, Dittenberger *Syll.*³ 837 (Stratonicea); Strabo 485–6 (Gyaros); 657 (Cos); Tacitus, *Ann.* 2, 47 (Sardis and 11 other cities); 4, 13 (Cibyra, Aegium); 12, 58 (Apamea); 12, 63 (Byzantium).

²⁴ For Castulo as part of Tarraconensis, see n. 3 above. C. H. V. Sutherland's suggestion (*The Romans in Spain*, 1939, 140) that Culleo was acting anomalously at Castulo in his official capacity as procurator of Baetica seems to be superfluous; the remarkable range of gifts by Culleo very strongly implies that his links with the town were those of a native, not merely those of a visiting administrator. His tenure of office in an adjoining province was evidently no more than a coincidence.

For gifts by procurators to towns in Africa and Italy, see *ERE* 114, 116, 226, 236; R. Duncan-Jones *PBSR* 35 (1967), 147–188, nos. 3a, 4, 7, 9, 14, 17, 19, 20; *CIL* v, 328; 533; 534–5; 7370; ix, 3019; x, 5392–4; 6090; xi, 2707, 7285; *AE* 1957, 250.

²⁵ Hadrian's tax remission for the whole Empire with its thousands of cities (cf. *ERE* 245–6), which evidently covered debts accumulated over a long period, only amounted to HS 900 million in all (*ILS* 309; cf. R. Duncan-Jones, *PBSR* 32 (1964) 123–146, at 143, n. 116).

financial dealings. Although there is some small evidence for loans to towns by private individuals,²⁶ such explicit indications about the size of town revenues and town funds as we possess do not suggest the existence of assets or liabilities of this order at single towns.²⁷

We should consider the alternative possibility that Culleo's remission is part of an elliptical statement about the value of the gifts already referred to. There is virtually no other direct evidence for private funds being spent on road-building in Spain.²⁸ Thus in re-building a considerable stretch of road, Culleo was apparently taking on himself a financial responsibility which would normally have belonged to the city. In effect the city should have been placed in his debt to the extent of the road-cost. If this were acknowledged, his subsequent remission of the debt could perhaps be regarded as being separate from the task of initiating and organizing the road work itself.

While this conjecture would seem to imply the existence of a near-tautology in a short and tersely phrased text, the lack of a persuasive alternative suggests that it cannot be completely excluded. On this basis, the sum of HS 10 million would represent a valuation of one or perhaps both of the major building works that Culleo financed. The rebuilding of the walls is identified as having been carried out 'd(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)', and might therefore have been separate from what is referred to as the 'debt'. In fact, as already noted, HS 10 million would not be impossible as a valuation of the road work by itself. If the road was roughly 120 Roman miles long, the cost per mile would be HS 83,000, about one-quarter less than the cost of re-building a section of the Via Appia under Hadrian.²⁹

The alternative is that (in circumstances which remain mysterious) Culleo did lend to the town HS 10 million, repayment of which he later waived, making the loan into an outright gift.³⁰ On the view that the debt was in effect a fictitious transaction, representing the value of one or perhaps both of Culleo's building projects, his gifts to the town would have amounted to roughly HS 10–HS 15 million in all. If the debt is taken as referring to a real transaction, which was therefore distinct from the outlays on the walls and road, the total value of his gifts could be little short of HS 20 million, and might well exceed this figure.

The scale of Culleo's munificence is seen to be prodigious on either interpretation. It is difficult to find clear parallels in the West, where the only series of benefactions by one man that is clearly of the same order is the gifts of Crinas to Massalia under Nero, worth a little less than HS 10 million in all. Pliny implies that two other doctors, the Stertini, employed at court under Claudius, jointly spent a sum at least comparable to this on buildings at Naples.³¹ Pliny says that their generosity significantly depleted a fortune whose residue was HS 30 million, but he does not appear to know what sum they actually spent. The younger Pliny's gifts to Comum, Tifernum Tiberinum and Hispellum worth perhaps HS 5 million appear to be the next largest known in the West, though they fall well behind those of Culleo and Crinas.³² In the East (if Philostratus is a reliable guide to events well before his own time) the senator Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes contributed HS 16 million under Hadrian to the construction of an aqueduct at Alexandria Troas, for which HS 12 million had already been allotted from public funds.³³ His more celebrated son, the sophist Herodes Atticus, endowed a series of cities in Greece and one city in Italy with splendid public buildings, such as the theatre in Athens still used for public performances. Though

²⁶ For Spain see *CIL* II, 1573; 1957.

²⁷ cf. e.g. *ERE* 155 and n. 1. The HS 10 million allegedly spent on an unfinished theatre at Nicaea at a time when the town was also re-building its gymnasium may be an exception. But Pliny's information about the cost is unconfirmed hearsay about a building project whose financing appears, from the details given, to have been fairly complicated (*Ep.* 10, 39, 1–4; cf. *ERE* 77–8).

²⁸ The re-construction of a road by a magistrate in *Hispania antiqua epigraphica* 971 refers to Gaul, not to Spain.

²⁹ See n. 17.

³⁰ This hypothesis would perhaps make it necessary to assume that the town of Castulo was liable for payment of royalties from state-owned mines located on its territory, as well as for the usual *tributum* levied

on land and other property. Pliny mentions annual contract-payments to the state of HS 1,020,000 and HS 400,000 for two lead mines in Baetica in his day (*NH* 34, 165).

³¹ *NH* 29, 7–10. It is worth noticing that the most successful doctors combined almost uniquely high earning power with a relatively low social position which probably did not require really heavy personal expenditure. Nevertheless, it is only the accident that this passage in Pliny has survived which makes doctors account for two of the three biggest civic benefactions known in the West. Very few major benefactions by doctors are recorded in the abundant epigraphic evidence for gifts (cf. *ERE* 225, no. 461).

³² *ERE* pp. 31–2.

³³ Philostratus, *VS* 548–9.

no explicit details of what he spent survive, it is clear from the size of what remains that in aggregate his gifts must have cost much more than the sum that Culleo appears to have spent.³⁴ Another very large gift in the East donated by a private benefactor for an aqueduct at Aspendos in Pamphylia amounted to HS 8 million.³⁵

The donor

This handful of examples is enough to show that generosity towards the city on the scale shown by Culleo was not completely unheard of. But the great mass of civic benefactions whose details we know are completely dwarfed by gifts such as his. In Spain for example, the aggregate value of all other gifts of stated value falls considerably short of the sum named in Culleo's inscription.³⁶ But even the largest gifts do not necessarily show that the donor enriched the city at the price of impoverishing himself. There are cases where private fortunes were left to the city more or less intact;³⁷ but it is significant that most of the donors whose gifts are known to have compared in size with those of Culleo evidently bequeathed to their heirs larger sums than those which they gave away. Crinas, who spent almost HS 10 million on Massalia, left another HS 10 million to his heirs, while the Stertini, after beautifying Naples, still left their heirs HS 30 million. The younger Pliny's public gifts of about HS 5 million were probably no more than a quarter or a fifth of his resources.³⁸ And the many generousities of Herodes Atticus must indicate that his father bequeathed to him a sum much larger than the HS 16 million that the father had given to Alexandria Troas. Herodes' grandfather was said to have been worth HS 100 million.³⁹

Evidence such as this suggests that the man who gave away HS 15 million or more during his lifetime probably retained larger resources which would go to his family and relatives. On that basis, Culleo could have been worth at least HS 35 million before he undertook his generousities to Castulo. Private resources on this scale would have been notable at any city outside Rome. But it is especially interesting that they occur in one of the chief silver-mining districts of the Empire. Sextus Marius, said by Tacitus to have been the richest man in Spain under Tiberius, owed his wealth to gold and copper mines, apparently located at the massa Mariana in the Sierra Morena in southern Baetica.⁴⁰ Granted that Culleo came from a mining town, the most obvious explanation of his enormous wealth would be to suppose that he too was a mine-owner.

Culleo's public employment as procurator of Baetica, though worth HS 200,000 per year, does not appear in keeping with his wealth, which evidently exceeded that of many senators.⁴¹ It is possible that he belonged to a period when senatorial rank was not yet widely available to men from Tarraconensis.⁴² But even after senatorial recruitment from a

³⁴ P. Graindor, *Hérode Atticus*, 1930, 179 ff.

³⁵ *IGRR* 3, 804. The donor held municipal office, but nothing more. For the building, see J. B. Ward Perkins, *PBSR* 22 (1955), 115-123.

³⁶ The total of the other gifts whose monetary value is specified (excluding distributions of sportulae, because their cost depended on the number of recipients, which is not stated) is about HS 2 million.

³⁷ *ILS* 6729 (cf. 6723); 5163, ll. 23-4; *Digesta* 50, 2, 8 (Hermogenian). In the East: Pliny, *Ep.* 10, 110, 2; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 46, 3; cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 822D-F. The C. Attius Nepos who left to Luca a property valued at HS 2½ million, of which his heirs apparently reclaimed one-quarter under the Lex Falcidia, may be another case in point (*ERE* 236, no. 1197). A more explicit instance, where a man left his fortune to pay for an aqueduct at Cirta and his legal heirs eventually complained, occurs in the Digest (22, 6, 9, 5; cf. *ERE* 229, no. 645).

³⁸ *ERE* 31-2.

³⁹ Suetonius, *Vesp.* 13.

⁴⁰ *Ann.* 6, 19. Perhaps from Corduba, where one of his slaves was buried (*CIL* II, 2269). A *procurator montis Mariani*, and a *procurator massae Marianae*, both imperial freedmen, are attested (*CIL* II, 1179; XIV, 52). Cf. Davies (cited in n. 5), 9, n. 10.

Another immensely rich Spanish magnate whose property ultimately devolved to the Emperor (pre-

sumably by bequest rather than by expropriation) was the consul L. Mummius Niger Q. Valerius Vegetus Severinus Caucidius Tertullus. Vegetus's wealth enabled him to build a private aqueduct nearly six miles long to supply his villa near Viterbo (*ILS* 5771 and add.; *PIR*³ M 515); and the administration of the Spanish assets of his family occupied at least three equestrian procurators, whose periods of office Pflaum dates to A.D. 164, 180/192 and 193. In view of the length of time for which the 'kalendarium Vegetianum in Hispania' was evidently in existence, it was probably a going concern, rather than a series of assets which these officials were engaged in liquidating, as Pflaum suggested. Vegetus' family was connected with Iliberris, near Granada (*CIL* II, 2077); Vegetus was evidently related to the wife of Herodes Atticus (*PIR*³ M 515). For the identification of Vegetus, and the date at which the 'kalendarium' came into existence (probably in the early 160's), see H.G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres*, 1960-1, 637-8, 1049 and 400. See Addendum.

⁴¹ For the salary, Pflaum, op. cit. 1049. For senatorial fortunes, cf. *ERE* 4-5; 18; 242; 343-4.

⁴² For the recruitment of men from Tarraconensis into the Senate from the time of Galba onwards, see R. Syme, *Tacitus*, 1958, 592.

given province had become common, not all concentrations of large-scale wealth would necessarily have been recognized by promotion to the Senate. Some of the wealthy in the provinces as in Italy must for instance have preferred municipal *otium* to public employment.⁴³ The provincial who became a senator was faced with the need to uproot himself and go to live in distant parts. A local magistrate in Gaul declined the senatorial rank offered him by Hadrian; and an African senator had to be recalled to Rome by Claudius from the more congenial surroundings of his native Carthage.⁴⁴ And even the provincial who wished for senatorial rank might find that the ownership of wealth based on industry rather than on agriculture was an obstacle to promotion.⁴⁵ Thus Culleo's combination of equestrian rank with senatorial wealth, although suggestive, is not a sure pointer to an early date for his career.

But there may be an indication of an early date for Culleo's career in the lack of Spanish evidence for his name, which might place it before the period when epigraphic records become extensive.⁴⁶ Castulo was still building new baths in Culleo's time; and the fact that the town walls needed rebuilding need not point to a date late in the Principate, since the town was evidently fortified as early as the third century B.C.⁴⁷ The relatively austere wording of the inscription suggests that it is not later than the second century A.D. A date between A.D. 20 and A.D. 160 might be conjectured.⁴⁸ Detailed catalogues of municipal benefits such as this are found in Italy at least as early as the reign of Augustus.⁴⁹

Culleo's inscription vividly illustrates the willingness of a multi-millionaire to spend a large part of his wealth on the utilities and amenities of his native town. His gifts appear to outstrip by far those of other Spanish benefactors, as well as almost all other gifts in the West as a whole. Generosity on such a scale must have been comparatively rare. The existence of enormous economic disparities meant that a large part of the wealth of the Roman world was held in the form of substantial private fortunes. But there is little indication that most owners of large-scale wealth felt it proper to make public contributions on a scale commensurate with their resources. Many were already committed to the continuous heavy expenses of the senatorial existence,⁵⁰ and were drawn by it away from their native towns, the usual recipients of largesse.

Nevertheless, large-scale gifts may not have been quite as rare as the quantified evidence appears to show. Only a minority of inscriptions actually specify the value of the gifts to which they refer; and records of very large gifts especially are often silent about financial details, leaving the passer-by to draw his own conclusions from the size of the monuments on which they were inscribed. We know, mainly from archaeology, that a large number of Roman towns possessed amphitheatres and aqueducts.⁵¹ Although it was not unusual to finance important buildings by piecemeal subvention from a number of sources,⁵² some of

⁴³ 'Arrianus Maturus Altinatium est princeps . . . Caret ambitu; ideo se in equestri gradu tenuit, cum facile possit ascendere altissimum' Pliny, *Ep.* 3, 2, 2-4. Pliny also mentions 'Minicius Macrinus, equestris ordinis princeps, quia nihil altius voluit' (1, 14, 5). Like the Gaul referred to in n. 44, Macrinus refused adlection to the Senate.

⁴⁴ *ILS* 6998; Cassius Dio 60, 29, 2.

⁴⁵ Though the prejudice against industrialists in the Senate could overlook interests in brick and pottery manufacture (cf. H. Bloch, *I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana*, 1947, 337, and T. P. Wiseman, *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 16 (1963), 275-283).

⁴⁶ 'Torius' is rare and appears in no other Spanish inscription, it seems. We find elsewhere M. Torius Victor, a centurion in Egypt in A.D. 157, later legionary prefect at Mainz; a Tori(a) at Rome; Toria Agrippina at Pola; Toria Olympis at Verona; and L. Tori(us) L.l. Pamp(hilus) at Caere (*AE* 1958, 61; *CIL* vi, 8367; v, 240; 3395; xi, 3687). The cognate form 'Thorius' is better known, with 13 examples at Rome (*CIL* vi, index), and instances in Italy at Patavium, Verona, Carsioli, Puteoli, Ulubrae, Bovillae, Caere, Populonium and Lanuvium (*CIL* v,

3033; 3395; 3775; ix, 4070; x, 3006; 6493; 7316; xi, 3687, 7602; 7247; xiv, 2108, Cicero, *de fin.* 2, 63). The absence of record outside Italy suggests that Culleo's family might have been of Italian descent. Nevertheless, the degree of involvement in the affairs of the town shown in his gifts must imply that Culleo regarded Castulo as his *patria*. See Addendum.

⁴⁷ Livy 24, 41 ff.

⁴⁸ Pflaum, who does not discuss the inscription, dates it to the third century (Pflaum, *op. cit.* n. 40, 1049).

⁴⁹ *ILS* 5531; 6147, with R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 1960, 493-500. Cf. also *ILS* 6297 = *ILLRP* 667.

⁵⁰ cf. *ERE* 5 and 18, n. 5.

⁵¹ See *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, 1958-66, s.v. Acquedotto (G. Carettoni); Anfiteatro (with geographical list of amphitheatres by G. Forni).

⁵² cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 10, 39, 3 (referring to the theatre at Nicaea): 'huic theatro ex privatorum pollicitationibus multa debentur, ut basilicae circa, ut porticus supra caveam.' See also *ERE* 92-3; 114, no. 16; 140, n. 5; 160-2; 224, no. 443; 226, no. 493. For Spain, see *CIL* ii, 3364; 5166.

these buildings were certainly paid for by single individuals,⁵³ who, like Culleo, were willing to make heavy inroads on their own wealth for the public good.⁵⁴ While much ordinary generosity towards cities was inspired by the prospect of social acclaim or even by fear of retribution,⁵⁵ munificence of this order went beyond what was necessary to obtain mere public esteem. It may therefore suggest the existence of a genuine altruism.

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

⁵³ There are no privately given amphitheatres in Spain, where amphitheatres of any kind are few in comparison with the number known in Italy and Africa (see n. 51). Amphitheatres given by single private donors in Italy: *ILS* 5628; 5629; 2689; 6589; *AE* 1937, 64 and 1938, 110; 1957, 250; W. Eck *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, 1970, 97-8.

For private gifts of aqueducts or parts of aqueducts in Spain, see *CIL* II, 1614; 2343; 3240; 3280; 3361; 6145; 3663; 5961. The donor at Aurgi (Jaén) in Tarraconensis gave public baths and 37 hectares of woodland to provide them with fuel, as well as the aqueduct which supplied the baths (*CIL* II, 3361 = *ILS* 5688).

⁵⁴ Estimates from remains, using comparisons with buildings whose cost is known, should thus reveal some further large-scale donations like those of Culleo (cf. *ERE* 77 and n. 3).

⁵⁵ cf. Apuleius, *Apol.* 87; Suetonius, *Tib.* 37, 3; Plutarch, *Mor.* 822A. A donor at Oretum in Tarra-

conensis built a bridge for HS 80,000 'petente ordine et populo' (*ILS* 5901; cf. examples in W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, 1900, 248, n. 1).

ADDENDUM. R. Contreras de la Paz (in a discussion of the Culleo inscription in *Oretania* no. 20 (May-August 1965) 63-96, which was inaccessible when this article was written) offers suggestions about the route of the Castulo-Sisapo road. He dates the inscription to the first half of the first century A.D., and draws attention to L. Thorius Balbus, the legate of Metellus killed in Spain in 79 B.C., and to T. Torius, a legionary commander from Italica active in Spain in 48 B.C. (*RE* VIA, 345-6, nos. 3-4). The plan of the walls of Castulo that he reproduces from a nineteenth-century manuscript is tantalising, because it lacks a scale.

A fourth *procurator kalendarii Vegetiani*, who evidently belongs to the reign of Septimius Severus, appears in two inscriptions found at Italica in 1972 (A. M. Carto, *Habis* 4 (1973), 311-8).