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Renaming the *Augustalitas*: Evolution and New Terminology in the 1st Century AD

*The goal of this study is the analysis of the new terms created within the *seviratus Augustalis* during the 1st century AD, in an attempt to link the *Augustalitas* to the name of the following emperors and dynasties after the decease of Augustus. In accordance with that tendency, there are preserved examples of *seviri Iuliales*, *seviri Tiberiales*, *seviri Claudiales*, *seviri Neronienses*, *seviri Flaviales*, *seviri Titiales* and *seviri Nerviales*. They are essentially located in the Italian Peninsula, but their number is scarce in comparison with the better known titles *sevir Augustalis*, *Augustalis*, *magister Augustalis* and *sevir*. We will observe the epigraphic evidence of these terms, their territorial presence and duration and the main characteristics of their members. Through this inquiry it will be shown how the institution evolved in time and how it was partially transformed before its normalisation in the 2nd century.*

Keywords: Latin epigraphy, *seviri Augustales*, Roman freedmen, Early Roman Empire, Roman Italy.

I. Introduction to the *seviri Augustalis*

This study is focused on a particular kind of terminological isolation, referred to the limited geographic and temporal existence of some institutional terms, whose truncated expansion made them to become unusual and distant to the main tendencies. Specifically, the aim of the current analysis is the restricted presence of the less frequent terminology within the *seviratus Augustalis* or *Augustalitas*, together with the main reasons of this particular evolution.

The *seviratus Augustalis* was a Roman institution of semi-official nature, which flourished in many towns with the status of *coloniae* and *municipia*. It appeared in Italy in the end of the 1st century BC and spread along the Empire between the 1st and the 3rd century AD, becoming a typical institution of the provincial towns, mainly in the western and Latin part of the Roman Empire.

It was a collegial position, with six annual members and an association of former members with its own building and treasury. Its first term *sevir* refers to the number of members, meaning literally “six men”, in parallel with many other Roman bodies (*duumvir*, *quattuorvir*, *septemvir*, *decemvir*, *quindecimvir*, etc.). The term *Augustalis*, which derives from the title *Augustus*, shows a clear link with the emperor, and also with the Imperial Worship in the consensual opinion of researchers. As we will see, there were some attempts to substitute the second word of this title in accordance with the names of some emperors.

The *seviri Augustales* were appointed by the local ruling class of the *decuriones* and assumed some religious and civic functions, whose nature is under discussion.¹ They had a higher status than common citizens and were also known as the group of the *sevirales* or *Augustales*. One of the main features of this position was that its members were mostly wealthy freedmen whose wealth came from commercial and craft businesses in urban areas. This was their way to acquire official recognition, since the magistracies and priesthoods were forbidden for freedmen. In return, they had to fund many public donations, even more than other local magistracies reserved to freeborn persons or *ingenui*.²

¹The theories regarding the function played by the *seviri Augustales* are summarised by BARRÓN RUIZ DE LA CUESTA (2020: 189–212).

²This is a selection of the main general and recent studies about the Augustality: VON PREMERSTEIN (1895: 824–877); MOURLOT (1895); TAYLOR (1914: 231–253); NOCK (1934: 627–638); DUTHOY (1970: 88–98); *Id.* (1974: 134–154); *Id.* (1976: 143–214); *Id.* (1978: 1254–1309); OSTROW (1990: 364–379); ABRAMENKO (1993); MOURITSEN (2006: 237–248); LAIRD (2015); VANDEVOORDE (2015: 2–24); *Id.* (2017: 81–108); VAN HAEPEREN (2016: 127–155);

The sources about the *seviri Augustales* are basically epigraphic. Within the vast Roman literature, the sevirate is only mentioned in the story of the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius and in two brief allusions of two scholiasts of Horatius.³ The passage of Petronius contains rich and detailed information, but the parodic purpose of his work complicates the interpretation of the real characteristics of our institution. In contrast, there are about three thousand inscriptions related to the *seviri Augustales*. Around two thousands of them are located in Italy, and the other thousand belongs to the territories of the Roman provinces.

The chronological evolution of the *seviratus Augustalis* corresponds to the so-called “epigraphic habit”, an expression that defines the evolution of the whole production of inscriptions during the Roman Empire.⁴ The epigraphic habit shows a rising tendency in the 1st century AD, a peak in the 2nd century and a sharp decline in the 3rd century, due to transformations in the civic conscience and in the ways of public representation. Those changes were also related with a strong decrease in the number of freedmen, undermining the social basis of the institution, which happened to disappear in the same period when epigraphy declined. The *seviratus Augustalis* has a similar evolution, with a sudden decrease in the middle of the 3rd century, which led to its disappearance.⁵

About the variations of this institution, there were four writing forms for the numeric element of the word *sevir* (*IIIIIIvir*, *VIvir*, *sevir*, *sexvir*), and there were abbreviated and non-abbreviated ways to write

CORAZZA (2016); BEKAVAC – MILETIC (2019); BARRÓN RUIZ DE LA CUESTA (2020).

³ Petron. 27–78; Porph. *Hor. sat.* 2, 3, 281. Ps.-Acro *Hor. sat.* 2, 3, 281.

⁴ There are different classic studies on the epigraphic habit: MACMULLEN (1982: 233–246); MROZEK (1973: 113–118); MROZEK (1988: 61–64); MEYER (1990: 74–96). The general aspects of the so-called epigraphic habit have been questioned by later studies that propose a bigger variety and a fragmentation in regional tendencies: WOOLF (1996: 22–39); MOURITSEN (2005: 38–63).

⁵ For the debate about the decline of the *seviratus Augustalis* and its reasons, *vid.* BARRÓN RUIZ DE LA CUESTA (2020: 23–24).

the term *Augustalis* (*Aug/August/Augustal, Augustalis*), but they did not have any meaning in the content of the institution.

There is a bigger variety within the terminology of the Augustality, whose main forms *sevir Augustalis*, *Augustalis* and *sevir* comprise 95% of the cases.⁶ The related expressions *seviralis*, *ob honorem sevirus*, *seviratus* and *Augustalitas* are much less common, as well as the title *magister Augustalis*, with just fifty-four cases. Nevertheless, the focus of this study is on other infrequent terms, which consisted of different adaptations to emperors' names of the 1st century: *Tiberialis*, *Iulialis*, *Claudialis*, *Neroniensis*, *Flavialis*, *Titialis* and *Nervialis*. They were even fewer, and never replaced the title *Augustalis*, which prevailed in the 2nd century.

The reason of these customised titles may be related to the short tradition of the title *Augustus* in the 1st century and the wish of some emperors to adapt the institutions to themselves with personalised titles, or to a similar tendency promoted by local elites and institutions in order to please the new rulers. Moreover, we will see that a similar evolution can be observed with other positions like the *sodales Augustales*, which developed variants like *sodales Claudiales* or *sodales Flaviales Titiales*. Anyway, it may be argued that the creation of these new terms was unnecessarily chaotic and redundant, which supports the idea of a decentralised initiative instead of a suggestion of the imperial government.

⁶ The term *sevir*, when it is written without the complement *Augustalis*, can be confusing due to the existence of a position with similar name but not related to the Augustality, the so-called municipal *seviri*, especially numerous in northern Italy. Nonetheless, the distinction between both kinds of *seviri* is difficult to establish from the epigraphic evidences in a general way.

II. Distribution of the *seviri Augustales* and their minor variants

The presence of the evidences of *seviri Augustales* along the provinces and Italian regions of the Roman Empire is irregular. Their original area is Italy, which has the highest concentration of inscriptions. Each one of its eleven regions (Latium et Campania, Apulia et Calabria, Bruttium et Lucania, Samnium, Picenum, Umbria, Etruria, Aemilia, Liguria, Venetia et Histria and Transpadana) has hundreds of inscriptions about the Augustality. The institution spread from Italy to the imperial provinces, mainly to the European Latin-speaking ones, whereas there are only scarce examples of these epigraphs in the Eastern Greek-speaking part of the Empire.⁷ The majority of the provincial testimonies are located in the western Mediterranean area (Gallia Narbonensis, Hispania Citerior, Baetica, Lusitania, Africa Proconsularis) and the Illyrian and Balkan territories (Dalmatia, Pannoniae, Dacia, Moesiae, Macedonia), while other western provinces with important fluvial routes (Lugdunensis, Belgica, Germaniae) have a smaller amount of inscriptions but much bigger than in the eastern regions of the Roman Empire.

When we reduce the amount of inscriptions to those ones with the minor term *magister Augustalis*, we can appreciate huge differences in the number of cases and in their distribution. The imperial provinces are almost absent, with forty-eight out of fifty-four cases in the Italian Peninsula, concentrated in the centre and south of Italy.⁸ Nevertheless,

⁷ The testimonies located in the eastern part of the Roman Empire belong to Roman *coloniae* and *municipia*. This confirms the Latin character of the institution and its absence in the Greek speaking area of the Empire. It does not seem to have been a Greek term to express a similar role. OLIVER (1958: 472–496) proposed the *Gerusiae* as a social and economic equivalent to the *Augustales* in the Greek towns of the Roman Empire, but his inquiries have not been continued by later researchers.

⁸ In central Italy, there are ten testimonies of *magistri Augustales* in Etruria, eight in Latium et Campania, seven in Samnium and single cases in Picenum and Umbria. The southern regions include eight inscriptions in Apulia et Calabria and five in Bruttium et Lucania. The northern evidences are fewer, with three cases in Liguria, three in Ae-

the *magistri Augustales* are not the aim of this analysis, but they provide material enough for a richer study, due to the parallelisms with different Roman priesthoods that apparently inspired this new title, like the *magistri Mercuriales* or the *magistri Apollinares*. Despite appearing in some of the first cases of the *Augustalitas*, this title lost importance fast and finally disappeared in the 2nd century AD.

The rest of the minor variants of the *Augustalitas* have an even smaller presence, with only forty-one cases in total.⁹ More than half of them are located in northern Italy, and have been dated to the 1st century AD. Keeping in mind that we are including in this category seven different terms (*Tiberialis*, *Iulialis*, *Claudialis*, *Neroniensis*, *Flavialis*, *Titialis* and *Nervialis*), it seems clear that the implementation of each one of them was almost anecdotic. Nevertheless, a study of their variety and concrete locations must be done.

III. Analysis of the different minor terms

There is only one *sevir Iulialis* preserved, which is located in the Dalmatian town of Iader (n^o 1 of the corpus). In this inscription the word *Iulialis* takes the usual place of *Augustalis* as a complement of *sevir*. The early dating of this evidence has opened the option of a reference to Julius Caesar,¹⁰ but it could most likely allude to the ruling *gens Iulia* or to the

milvia, one in Transpadana and another one in Venetia et Histria. Outside Italy, there are three inscriptions in Sardinia, one in Dalmatia and two in Dacia.

⁹The distribution of these mentions to the minor terminologies is focused on northern Italy, which preserves nine inscriptions in Venetia et Histria, eight in Aemilia, four in Liguria and three in Transpadana. The centre of the peninsula has three testimonies in Picenum and one in Umbria, while the southern territories contain seven inscriptions in Apulia et Calabria. Finally, there are five provincial evidences in Dalmatia and one in Gallia Narbonensis.

¹⁰GIUNIO (2013: 173–193). This paper emphasises the relation of Iader with Julius Caesar and its support to him in the Civil War in order to propose the *seviri Iuliales* as a local *collegium* dedicated to the worship of *Divus Iulius*, which would have preceded

emperor Caligula.¹¹ Iader attests other nine epigraphic cases in relation to the *Augustalitas* dated from the 1st to the 3rd century AD, proving the short life of the particular denomination *sevir Iulialis*.¹² The brief reign of Caligula and his horrible posthumous reputation could explain the fast extinction of this title. Instead, a *collegium* devoted to Julius Caesar may have lasted longer, besides the complicated issue to accept its creation before the appearance of the *Augustalitas*.

There are three epigraphic cases of *seviri Tiberiales*, all of them in the town Asculum Picenum (n° 2–4). Such a concrete location of this term suggests a very short life of this variant, without further influence besides the local level. In two of these inscriptions the term *Tiberialis* appears together with *Augustalis*, proving the coexistence of both denominations. There are ten more testimonies of the *seviratus Augustalis* in the town.¹³ Therefore, the *seviri Tiberiales* appear as a temporary trend that was not imposed over the *seviri Augustales*. Anyway, the more common title in this location is *sevir*. The dating of the epigraphic proofs of Augustality basically belongs to the 1st century AD, so it is not possible to state if the epithet *Augustalis* endured longer than *Tiberialis* in Asculum Picenum or if both disappeared in favour of bared *seviri*. The presence of the epithet *Tiberialis* in a single town of the Roman Empire seems to indicate that its implementation was due to a local initiative. The elites from Asculum Picenum probably found the way to show their loyalty to the new emperor Tiberius modifying the term *Augustalis*, which was

the *seviri Augustales*.

¹¹ BEKAVAC–MILETIC (2019: 85–87). The authors propose that the *seviri Iuliales* referred to Tiberius or Caligula.

¹² The ten mentions to the sevirate and the Augustality in Iader are the following ones: AE 1953, 104 (*VIvir Iulialis*); AE 2014, 1027 (*IIIIIVir et Flavialis*); CIL III, 2921 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 2923 (*Augustalis*), 2925 (*VIvir? Augustalis*), 2928 (*sexvir*), 2929 (*IIIIIVir*), 15047 (*IIIIIVir*); ILJug II, 890 (*VIvir*); Lupa, 23131 (*Augustalis*).

¹³ The additional ten inscriptions related to the *Augustalitas* in Asculum Picenum are: AE 1946, 186 (*VIvir*); AE 1997, 475 (*VIvir*); CIL IX, 5188 (*sexvir*), 5190 (*sexvir*), 5192 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 5193 (*sexvir*), 5199 (*sexvir*), 5231 (*sexvir*), 5278 (*VIvir*); EE VIII, 216 (*sexvir*).

being used in other cities. In any case, this idea was not followed by other towns and the name *Augustalis* remained in most places after the decease of Augustus.

The *seviri Claudiales* are the most numerous of the alternative versions of the *seviri Augustales*, with twenty-three testimonies (nº 5–27). However, a first analysis of their distribution points out an extreme concentration due to their presence in just five Italian locations: Beneventum in Apulia (nº 5–11), Bononia (nº 12–15) and Regium Lepidum (nº 16–19) in Aemilia, Carreum Potentia (nº 20–21) in Liguria and Verona (nº 22–27) in Venetia. It can be concluded that the term *Claudialis* is mainly sited in northern Italy, apart from the inscriptions of Beneventum.

Beneventum comprises thirty-one inscriptions about the *Augustalitas*, including twenty-nine mentions to bare *Augustales*, seven mentions to *Augustales Claudiales* and an uncertain *sevir*.¹⁴ The local habit shows the predominance of the term *Augustalis*, which endured throughout the early imperial period. Conversely, the title *sevir* is nearly missing. Our catalogue of inscriptions (nº 5–11) proves that the term *Augustalis* was combined with the epithet *Claudialis* in a significant number of cases during the second half of the 1st century AD. Anyway, it must be pointed out that *Claudialis* never substituted the word *Augustalis* in Beneventum. Despite this temporary tendency from Claudius' reign, *Augustalis* always persisted as the main local terminology.

There are twenty epigraphic mentions to the sevirate and the Augustality in Bononia. Most of these cases refer to bare *seviri*. Apart from the four mentions to *seviri Claudiales* (nº 12–15), only two inscriptions

¹⁴The remaining twenty-four mentions to the Augustality in Beneventum are: AE 1968, 127 (*Augustalis*); AE 2013, 361 (*Augustalis*); CIL IX, 1618 (*Augustalis*), 1651 (*Augustalis*), 1662 (*Augustalis*) 1690 (*Augustalis*), 1691 (three *Augustales*), 1692 (*Augustalis*), 1693 (*Augustalis*), 1694 (two *Augustales*), 1695 (*Augustalis*), 1696 (*Augustalis*), 1697 (*Augustalis*), 1699 (*Augustalis*), 1700 (*Augustalis*), 1702 (*Augustalis*), 1703 (*Augustalis*), 1704 (two *Augustales*), 1706 (*sevir*), 1711 (*Augustalis*), 2128 (*Augustalis*), 2129 (*Augustalis*); RIGI 1924, 148a (*Augustalis*); *Samnium* 1960, 228 (*Augustalis*).

contain the word *Augustalis*,¹⁵ from which one (AE 1976, 207) probably belongs to Aminternum¹⁶. The second one (CIL XI, 6831) is recorded together with a bared *sevir* and could come from another town, even when it does not specify it. Therefore, the word *Augustalis* is practically absent in this locality. From the four evidences of *Claudiales*, three are recorded as *sevir et Claudalis* (n° 12–13 and 15), indicating the different nature of both titles, while only one is documented as *sevir Claudialis* (n° 14). Moreover, in one of the analysed inscriptions the *sevir et Claudialis* appears together with two bared *sevir* (n° 12), showing the coexistence of both terminologies. The late chronology of one of the inscriptions (n° 13) suggests that the designation *Claudialis* could have survived in Bononia as long as the term *sevir*, in spite of the dynastic changes in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

Regium Lepidum preserves eight inscriptions concerning the Augustality. Thus, the word *Claudialis* appears in half of the local cases, either alone (n° 17–18), as the title *sevir Claudialis* (n° 19) or in the form *sevir Augustalis Claudialis* (n° 16). The other four inscriptions mention two *sevir*, a *seviralis* and an *Augustalis* (from Cremona).¹⁷ Furthermore, one of those *Claudiales* (n° 18) is *amicus* of an alluded *sevir Augustalis*, showing that both versions were coetaneous. This is a surprising terminological variety considering the small amount of local inscriptions. Most of the epigraphic testimonies belong to the 1st century AD and the beginning of the 2nd, without any clear chronologic division according to the termi-

¹⁵ Bononia has other sixteen inscriptions linked to the *sevir Augustales*: AE 1945, 49 (IIIIIIvir); AE 1976, 203 (VIvir), 207 (IIIvir Augustalis); CIL XI, 717 (VIvir), 719 (VIvir), 740a (VIvir), 6825 (IIIIIIvir), 6826 (VIvir), 6827 (*sexvir*), 6828 (a VIvir and a IIIIIIIvir), 6830 (IIIIIIvir), 6831 (a IIIIIIIvir and a IIIIIIIvir Augustalis), 6832 (VIvir), 6833 (IIIIIIvir), 6834 (VIvir), 6839 (VIvir).

¹⁶ It includes the peculiar title *IIIvir Augustalis*. Out of sixteen global mentions to the position *IIIvir Augustalis*, thirteen are attested in Aminternum.

¹⁷ The other four inscriptions from Regium Lepidum are: AE 1985, 408 (*Augustalis Cremonae*); AE 1990, 354 (VIvir); CIL XI, 960 (IIIIIIvir), 972 (VIviralis).

nology. Thus, it is possible that these different titles lasted during both centuries contemporarily in Regium Lepidum, keeping a varied nomenclature for the *Augustalitas* even during the Antonine dynasty.

Carreum Potentia has five inscriptions related to the *seviri Augustales*.¹⁸ Besides the two analysed cases of *Augustalis Claudialis* (nº 20–21), which mix the original and the new epithet and skip the word *sevir*, there is a *sevir et Augustalis* and two mentions to *seviri Augustales*, one of whom has the position of *Minervalis* as well. The small amount of inscriptions and its heterogeneity complicate the understanding of how the terminology evolved, but the combination of the words *Augustalis* and *Claudialis* suggests that the second title could have been added to the nomenclature of the *Augustalitas* only during the rule of Claudius and Nero.

One of the most documented cities of the empire regarding the *seviratus Augustalis* is Verona. Its seventy-three inscriptions include forty-two *seviri Augustales*, twenty-nine *seviri*, six *Claudiales* (nº 22–27), a *sevir Augustalis et Neroniensis* (nº 28) and a *IIIvir Augustalis*.¹⁹ Within the

¹⁸ The other three inscriptions from Carreum Potentia are: CIL V, 7496 (*VIvir et Augustalis*), 7497 (*sexvir Augustalis, Minervalis*), 7498 (*VIvir Augustalis*).

¹⁹ Apart from the studied ones, Verona has sixty-six inscriptions mentioning the *seviri Augustales*: AE 1946, 166 (two *VIviri*); AE 1993, 785 (*IIIIIVir*); AE 2006, 478 (*VIvir*); AE 2007, 638 (*IIIIIVir*), 639 (*VIvir*), 640 (*VIvir Augustalis*); AE 2010, 569 (*VIvir Augustalis*); AE 2018, 736 (*VIvir Augustalis*); CIL V, 3233 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3272 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3281 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3292 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3295 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3299 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3312 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3229 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3239 (*VIvir*), 3305 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3352 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3354 (*IIIIIVir Augustalis*), 3380 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3383 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3384 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3385 (*IIIvir Augustalis*), 3386 (*VIvir*), 3389 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3390 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3392 (*IIIIIVir*), 3393 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3394 (*IIIIIVir*), 3395 (*VIvir*), 3397 (*IIIIIVir*), 3398 (*sexvir*), 3399 (*VIvir*), 3404 (*sexvir*), 3405 (two *VIviri Augustales*), 3406 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3407 (*sexvir*), 3409 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3410 (*VIvir*), 3414 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3415 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3421 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3422 (*IIIIIVir*), 3424 (*VIvir*), 3425 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3426 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3428 (*VIvir*), 3431 (*IIIIIVir*), 3435 (*VIvir*), 3436 (*VIvir*), 3437 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3439 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3440 (two *VIviri Augustales*), 3442 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 3443 (*IIIIIVir*), 3444 (*VIvir*), 4009 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 8847 (*IIIIIVir*), 8849 (*VIvir*); EpAnt 2019, 31 (*VIvir Augustalis*); Pais, 631 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 1254 (*VIvir Augustalis*); NSA 1965, 45 (*VIviri*); StudVer 2021, 125 (*VIvir Augustalis*); VitaVeronese

Claudiales there are three cases of *sevir Claudialis* (n° 22 and 24–25), two of *sevir Claudialis maior* (n° 23 and 26) and one of *sevir Claudialis et Augustalis* (n° 27). It indicates the synchronicity of *seviri Claudiales* and *seviri Augustales* as well as the development of a local hierarchy for the institution of the *seviri Claudiales*, even when they were a minority within the local Augustality. The forms *sevir* and *sevir Augustalis* have a common chronologic frame centred in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, while the *seviri Claudiales* are mainly focused on the second half of the 1st century AD. It seems that this terminology spread during the rule of Claudius or Nero and the following decades but without substituting the forms *sevir* and *sevir Augustalis*, which were more frequent and persisted much longer.

In general terms, we have observed the concentration of the version *Claudialis* in concrete towns of a well-defined geographic area (northern Italy). Its creation depended on the will of the ruling class from certain places, which had the aim to display its devotion to the emperor Claudius during his reign or after his deification by Nero. However, the majority of the towns did not follow this example and just kept the previous terminology. Within those exceptional places, the *seviri Claudiales* spread mainly during the second half of the 1st century AD, but in some cases (Bononia, Regium Lepidum) they remained longer as a local characteristic of the Augustality naming.

The form *Neroniensis* has only one inscription placed in Verona (n° 28). It shows a *sevir Augustalis et Neroniensis*, relating the title *Neroniensis* to the more common term *Augustalis*. As it has been already seen, this is a typical element of the analysed minor terminologies. In fact, half of them include the title *Augustalis*, together with the minority version, probably due to the previous tradition of this word and to make the new version more recognisable. In the case of the variant *Neroniensis*, its short survival can be explained by the sudden demise of Nero and

the subsequent dynastic change. Besides, the recently created version *Claudialis* was already appropriate during the rule of Nero as a sign of respect towards him and his deified predecessor. Finally, the word *Augustalis* was valid for every emperor as a reference to his official name *Augustus* and that is probably the main reason of its prevalence.

There are ten inscriptions with the title *sevir Flavialis* (nº 29–38). Their distribution is wider, with two cases outside Italy and a smaller concentration of the Italian testimonies. These attestations belong to eight different towns, from which only two are repeated: Aquae Statiellae (nº 30–31) and Laus Pompeia (nº 35–36). The remaining places are Tudur (nº 29), Brixia (nº 32), Camunni (nº 33), Augusta Taurinorum (nº 34), Iader (nº 37) and Carpenterate (nº 38). Despite the variety of locations, the proofs of the title *Flavialis* show a geographic homogeneity, considering that all these places are located in northern Italy and its surrounding provinces.

The Umbrian town of Tudur has three inscriptions related to the *Augustalitas*, without a preponderant terminology. Besides a *sexvir et Augustalis et Flavialis* (nº 29), there are a *sevir* and a reference to the *Augustales*.²⁰ Consequently, there are three coetaneous denominations, but it is not possible to establish their evolution with such a scarce number of evidences.

Aquae Statiellae comprises five inscriptions with chronologies between the end of 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD and without a clear dominance of the epithet *Augustalis* in comparison to *Flavialis*. Both inscriptions included in the current corpus (nº 30–31) combine these two terms in the form *sevir Augustalis Flavialis*. The remaining ones include two *seviri* and a *sevir et Augustalis*.²¹ The early dating of the *sevir et Augus-*

²⁰ These are the other two inscriptions in Tudur: CIL XI, 4658 (*VIvir*), 4663 (*Augustales*).

²¹ The other three inscriptions from Aquae Statiellae are: AE 2018, 718 (*VIvir et Augustalis*); CIL V, 7510 (*VIvir*); Pais, 967 (*VIvir*).

talis hints at the later addition of the epithet *Flavialis* to the local nomenclature of the Augustality in the last decades of the 1st century AD.

The abundantly attested city of Brixia preserves ninety inscriptions regarding the *Augustalitas*, with eighty mentions to *seviri Augustales* and twenty mentions to bared *seviri*.²² Consequently, the inscription mentioning a *sevir Flavialis* (n° 32) is an exceptional case, which has to be studied in the context of Cremona, the town where the *sevir Flavialis* held his position. Cremona preserves two inscriptions showing a *sevir* and two *seviri Augustales*.²³ These scarce testimonies evidence a terminological variety that cannot lead to any conclusion about the evolution of the term *Flavialis*.

²² Besides the analysed inscription, there are eighty-nine additional testimonies of the sevirate and the Augustality in Brixia: AE 1908, 221 (*VIvir Augustalis*); AE 1952, 135 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 136 (*VIvir Augustalis*); AE 1975, 435 (*VIvir Augustalis*); AE 1976, 257 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 258 (*VIvir Augustalis*); AE 1977, 302 (*VIvir*), 303 (*IIIIIVir Augustalis*); AE 1991, 823 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 824 (*VIvir*); AE 1995, 603 (*sevir?*); AE 1998, 594 (*IIIIIVir*); AE 1999, 734 (*sexvir Augustalis*); CIL V, 4130 (*VIvir*), 4193 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4203 (*VIviri* and *VIviri Augustales*), 4204 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4212 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4236 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4282 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4283 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4294 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4295 (*VIviri Augustales*), 4383 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4389 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4390 (*IIIIIVir Augustalis*), 4393 (*IIIIIVir Augustalis*), 4394 (*sexvir*), 4398 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4401 (*sexvir Augustalis*), 4403 (*IIIIIVir Augustalis*), 4405 (two *VIviri Augustales*), 4409 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4410 (*VIviri*), 4414 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4416 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4418 (*VIvir*), 4423 (*IIIIIVir Augustalis*), 4424 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4425 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4428 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4429 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4431 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4434 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4435 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4436 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4437 (*sexvir Augustalis*), 4438 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4439 (*sexvir Augustalis*), 4445 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4446 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4449 (three *VIviri Augustales*), 4453 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4457 (*IIIIIVir Augustalis*), 4461 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4463 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4464 (*VIvir*), 4465 (*IIIIIVir Augustalis*), 4467 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4473 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4474 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4477 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4479 (*IIIIIVir Augustalis*), 4480 (two *VIviri Augustales*), 4482 (*VIvir*), 4490 (three *VIviri Augustales*), 4491 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4492 (*VIvir*), 4496 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4497 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4685 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4834 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4876 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4877 (*VIvir*), 4887 (*VIvir*), 4896 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 4989 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 8885 (*IIIIIVir*); ILS, 6721 (*VIvir Augustalis*); InscrIt 10-5, 245 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 248 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 281 (*IIIIIVir*), 286 (*VIvir*), 544 (*VIvir*), 808 (two *VIviri Augustales*), 990 (*VIvir*), 1281 (*VIvir Augustalis*); Pais, 685 = 1271 (*IIIIIVir Augustalis?*), 1277 (*VIvir Augustalis*).

²³ The other two mentions concerning the *Augustalitas* in Cremona are: CIL V, 4096 (*sexvir*), 4122 (two *VIviri Augustales*).

Camunni has only one inscription (n° 33) in relation to the Augustality, which mentions a *sevir Flavialis*. The closest city attesting *seviri Augustales* is Brixia, where we have seen that the minor terminologies are almost absent, so there are not clues to investigate how this title evolved.

Apart from a reference to a *sevir et Flavialis* (n° 34), Augusta Taurinorum has twenty-six inscriptions related to the Augustality, including twelve mentions to *seviri*, six to *Augustales* and eight to *seviri Augustales*.²⁴ As in the previous towns, the title *Flavialis* seems to have been a brief local tendency during the Flavian dynasty that did not last long.

Laus Pompeia has sixteen inscriptions connected to the *Augustalitas*, containing seventeen mentions to *seviri* and a mention to a *sevir et Augustalis*, apart from the two analysed *seviri Flaviales* (n° 35–36). The local terminology of the sevirate and the Augustality attests the full predominance of the term *sevir*,²⁵ including two cases of *sevir iunior* and a *sevir senior* by influence of the neighbour city of Mediolanum. *Flavialis* was maybe added as a complement of *sevir* during the last third of the 1st century AD. This change did not prevail but even with that it has a bigger presence in Laus Pompeia than the title *Augustalis*.

In Iader there are ten evidences of the Augustality, containing a *sevir et Flavialis* (n° 37), a *sevir Iulialis* (n° 1), four *seviri*, two *Augustales* and two *seviri Augustales*.²⁶ As in the case of the *sevir Iulialis*, the form *Flavialis* does

²⁴ Augusta Taurinorum has other twenty-six inscriptions concerning the *Augustalitas*: AE 1988, 609 (*VIvir*); CIL V, 6905 = 7172 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 6917 (*VIvir*), 6952 (*Augustalis*), 7013 (*Augustalis*), 7014 (*Augustalis*), 7019 (*VIvir*), 7020 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 7023 (*Augustalis*), 7024 (*VIvir*), 7025 (*Augustalis*), 7026 (*sevir iunior*), 7027 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 7029 (*Augustalis*), 7030 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 7031 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 7033 (*VIvir*), 7035 (*VIvir*), 7036 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 7164 (*VIvir*), 7166 (*VIvir*), 7167 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 7168 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 7169 (*IIIIIVir*), 7170 (*VIvir*); ILS, 7614 (*VIvir Augustalis*).

²⁵ These are the remaining fourteen cases from Laus Pompeia: CIL V, 6347 (*VIvir*), 6348 (*VIvir*), 6349 (a *VIvir senior et Augustalis* and a *VIvir iunior*), 6351 (*VIvir iunior item VIvir Vercellae*), 6356 (*VIvir senior*), 6361 (*VIvir*), 6362 (*VIvir*), 6363 (*VIvir*), 6363 (two *VIviri*), 6367 (two *VIviri*), 6368 (*VIvir*), 6370 (*VIvir*), 6371 (*VIvir*), 6372 (*VIvir*).

²⁶ For the testimonies of the *seviratus Augustalis* in Iader, *vid.* footnote 12.

not seem to have lasted for a long time in comparison to the term *Augustalis*. The contemporary presence of very different titles shows the variability of the denominations for the *Augustalitas* in this Dalmatian town.

The *sevir Augustalis et Flavialis*²⁷ located in Carpentorate (n° 38) is the only testimony of the Augustality from this Roman *colonia* placed in Gallia Narbonensis. Besides, the inscription is dedicated to the *Genius* of the *seviri* from the town. The absence of other local cases impedes any terminological comparison. This epigraphic proof stands out as the only case of our catalogue situated outside Italy and Dalmatia.

Lastly, there are three inscriptions in the Dalmatian town of Narona with the form (*sevir*) *Augustalis Flavialis Titialis Nervialis* (n° 39–41), relating this title with three of the last emperors of the 1st century. Narona preserves thirty-seven inscriptions about the Augustality, with a strong predominance of bared *seviri*.²⁸ There are thirty-two cases of the term *sevir*, nine of them in the form *seviri MM*, usually read as *seviri magistri Mercuriales*²⁹. The *seviri Augustalis* have two mentions and there is an isolated testimony of *magister Augustalis*. Within the three inscriptions of our corpus, the nomenclature *Augustalis Flavialis Titialis Nervialis* is preceded by the word *sevir* in two of them (n° 39–40) but not in the last

²⁷ In our opinion, the interpretation *Flavia(lis)* seems more likely than reading *Flavia* as the *nomen* of a second offeror of the inscription.

²⁸ This are the mentions to the sevirate and the Augustality included in the remaining thirty-four inscriptions from Narona: AE 1932, 82 (*IIIIIIvir MM*); CIL III, 1770 (six *IIIIIIviri MM*), 1775 (four *IIIIIIviri MM*), 1792 (five *IIIIIIviri MM*), 1793 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1797 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1798 (*IIIIIIvir MM*), 1799 (*IIIIIIvir MM*), 1800 (four *IIIIIIviri MM*), 1801 (five *IIIIIIviri MM*), 1808 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1824 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1825 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1826 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1828 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1830 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1831 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1832 (*IIIIIIvir Augustalis*), 1833 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1834 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1836 (*IIIIIIvir Augustalis?*), 1837 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1851 (*magister Augustalis*), 1769 (*IIIIIIvir MM*), 8442 (a *IIIIIIvir* and a *VIvir*), 8443 (*IIIIIIvir*), 14223,1 (*IIIIIIvir*), 14625,1 (*IIIIIIvir*); CINar II, 117 (*IIIIIIvir Augustalis*); ILJug II, 654 (*IIIIIIvir*); ILJug III, 1887 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1888 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1889 (*IIIIIIvir*), 1890 (*IIIIIIvir*).

²⁹ The traditional interpretation *magister Mercurialis* is accepted by RODÀ DE LLANZA (2011: 191), but recently it has been suggested to read it as *municipibus municipii* in BEKAVAC–MILETIĆ (2019: 131).

one (nº 41), which includes a mention to the *collegium Augustalium*. Besides the strong majority of the bared *seviri*, there is a huge variability in relation to the term *Augustalis*. The two *seviri Augustales* and the three *Augustalis Flavialis Titialis Nervialis* are dated between the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, while the chronology of the *magister Augustalis* surprisingly belongs to the 2nd or even the 3rd one. The combination of four imperial epithets in the three cases of *Augustalis Flavialis Titialis Nervialis* is a particular characteristic only found in Narona.

The evidences of *Flaviales* respond to a process of terminological renovation similar to that one of the *Claudiales* and with a comparable extension and length. These testimonies are mainly in northern Italy and Dalmatia. Their appearance can be explained by local initiatives from different towns in an attempt to prove the adherence of the civic elites to the new Flavian dynasty. The inscriptions of *Flaviales* are dispersed in diverse towns with one or two cases each one. In consequence, it is not possible to analyse the evolution of this term within the local epigraphy, but the *Flaviales* most likely lasted approximately the same time that the Flavian emperors, from 69 to 96 AD. The isolated appearance of the terms *Titialis* and *Nervialis* possibly responds to similar factors that those ones for the *Claudiales* and *Flaviales*. The deification of Titus was promoted by his brother Domitianus, who even created a *collegium* of *sodales Flaviales Titiales*.³⁰ Nerva was also divinised after his death by the Senate under the rule of Traianus, but apparently the arrival of the Antonine dynasty with this emperor finished the evolution of all the analysed minor terminologies, which did not endure.

Before dealing with the common elements of these terminologies, it is pertinent to point out the exceptional case of an *Augustalis Ulpia*, in reference to the emperor Traianus (nº 42). It does not belong to those previously studied terms replacing the word *Augustalis*, but it coincides

³⁰ ESCÁMEZ DE VERA (2016); ESCÁMEZ DE VERA (2019: 326–343).

with them in the explicit allusion to a concrete emperor besides the general epithet *Augustus*. The inscription is located in Pisaurum, an Umbrian town with sixteen inscriptions in relation to the *seviri Augustales*, from which eleven mention *seviri Augustales*, six refer to *seviri* and three contain *Augustales*, including this *Augustalis Ulpia*.³¹

Anyway, this inscription, far from creating a new tendency adding the name of the emperor after the epithet *Augustalis*, is the only attested case of this type.³² During the 2nd century there was a drastic reduction in the terminological variety of the Augustality, deleting all the studied minor variants referred to concrete emperors and mostly the *magistri Augustales* as well.

IV. Common elements

The analysis of these forty-two inscriptions provides interesting data and common elements about the minor terminology of the *Augustalitas*. Firstly, most of these terms are dated to the 1st century AD, despite some cases lasting into the 2nd century. Their geographic frame is basically Italy, with some exceptions in Dalmatia (n° 1 and 38–41) and one case

³¹ Pisaurum contains fifteen more inscriptions about the *seviratus Augustalis*: AE 2005, 482 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 484 (*VIvir Augustalis*); CIL XI, 6306 (*VIviri et VIviri Augustales*), 6355 (*sexvir*), 6358 (*IIIIIVir Augustalis et Augustalis*), 6360 (*Augustales*), 6361 (*VIvir et VIvir Augustalis*), 6362 (*VIviri Augustales*), 6364 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 6368 (*sexvir*), 6369 (*VIviri Augustales*), 6373 (*VIvir et VIvir Augustalis*), 6379 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 6380 (*VIvir Augustalis*), 6381 (*sexvir*).

³² There is a second possible case in Aquileia from an inscription dated to the 3rd century AD, currently not preserved (CIL V, 1012): *C(ai) Valer(io) C(ai) f(ilio) / Vel(ina) Eusebeti / IIIIVir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) IIIIVir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) q(uin)q(uennali) / patron(o) Sept(imia) Aureli(ae) / Aug(ustae) IIIIVir(or)um patron(o) / coll(egii) cent(onariorum) et dend(rophorum) Aquil(eae) / ob insignem eius erga se / largition(em) et liberalita(tem) / suffrag(iis) univers(is) ex aere / coll(egii) fab(rum) / patron(o) dignissim(o) l(ocus) d(at)us d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. Its mention to the *seviratus* could be read *Sept(imiani) Aureli(ani) Aug(ustales) IIIIVir(i)*, relating the *Augustalitas* to the emperor Septimius Severus and his dynasty. Considering the uncommon nature of this title and the strange order of its words, it seems more adequate the interpretation *patron(o) Sept(imia) Aureli(ae) / Aug(ustae) IIIIVir(or)um*.

in Gallia Narbonensis (nº 37). Furthermore, they are in very concrete locations, with such a small territorial presence that is not possible to think about a general promotion of any of the studied terminologies by the imperial government. Their creation had to be the result of single initiatives in different towns without a further coordination. This fact confirms the prevailing theories about a decentralised promotion and spread of the *seviratus Augustalis* in all its versions, which helps to explain its numerous alternative titles.³³

We cannot talk about a spread of these terminologies, but better about local titles without any repercussion outside of these towns. They appear in only fifteen different towns, a very small presence even in comparison with the scarce *magistri Augustales*, which are preserved in thirty-four cities.

This phenomenon can be considered basically Italian, with some cases in neighbour provinces like Gallia Narbonensis and especially in Dalmatia, which contains all the inscriptions of *Iuliales*, *Titiales* and *Nerviales*.

Anyway, some external patterns can be recognised. There are plenty of testimonies about the imperial promotion of higher institutions with similar names. The emperors Nero and Titus created the *sodales Claudiales*³⁴ and the *sodales Flaviales*,³⁵ emulating the senatorial priesthood of the *sodales Augustales* but associating them to their respective dynasties with the new designation. This most probably inspired some local magistrates to change the name of the *Augustales* in their towns, so we can consider the new terminologies of the *Augustalitas* indirectly linked to the imperial promotion of *sodales Claudiales* and *sodales Flaviales* by Nero, Titus and Domitianus. Actually, 88% of these analysed minor terms correspond to *seviri Claudiales* and *Flaviales* (thirty-six cases out of forty-one). Neverthe-

³³ MOURITSEN (2006: 237–248).

³⁴ The creation of the *sodales Claudiales* must be related to the deification of Claudius in the beginning of Nero's reign: Tac. *Ann.* 12, 69, 4.

³⁵ ESCÁMEZ DE VERA (2019: 326–327).

less, the early case of the *seviri Tiberiales* shows that the local authorities could have the initiative without any example from the imperial government, so several cases of *seviri Claudiales* and *seviri Flaviales* may have appeared even before their homonymous *collegia* of *sodales*.

Therefore, it seems clear that there was a bigger variability of terminology during the first hundred years of the *Augustalitas*. The institution evolved in the 2nd century, consolidating its major terminologies (*sevir Augustalis*, *Augustalis*, *sevir*) from the reign of Traianus or Hadrianus, in spite of some late cases of *magistri Augustales*, *seviri Claudiales* and *seviri Flaviales*, which seem to confirm Mouritsen's theory about the decentralised organisation of the Augustality. Its homogenisation happened without a central order from the imperial house, but as a result of the progressive prevalence of the forms *Augustalis*, *sevir Augustalis* and *sevir*. Actually, during this century there were new high priesthoods named after emperors, like the *sodales Hadrianales* and the *sodales Antoniniani Veriani*, but we do not have any epigraphic or literary record about *seviri* with these imperial adjectives. Instead, the last exceptional case is that one of an *Augustalis Ulpia* (n° 42).

There are several reasons to explain why these minor terminologies did not succeed. An important factor was the popularity of Augustus and the term *Augustalis* or *sevir Augustalis*, together with the advantage of being the founding name of the institution, which preserved this epithet in an overwhelming majority of its testimonies. Every emperor adopted the title *Augustus*, so *Augustalis* was a very proper name for an institution related to the imperial figure. Moreover, the sharp end of the emperors Nero and Domitianus, as well as their subsequent bad reputation recorded in the literary sources, did not help to consolidate new titles linked to their families. Their reigns were the main beneficiaries of this minor terminology, but the actions against their memory after their death avoided the strengthening of these innovations. Instead, epigra-

phy makes clear that titles like *Claudialis* and *Flavialis* did not use to last long time, even when the *seviri Claudiales* spread more than the other analysed titles. *Augustalis* always prevailed as the main graphic symbol of the institution, and in fact many of the minor titles studied here appear in the inscriptions linked to the word *Augustalis* (twenty-one inscriptions, exactly half of the studied cases).

As a summary, I consider that the *seviri Augustales* and their different designations give an illustrative example of terminological isolation, as the epigraphic remains demonstrate. The terminology of *Augustalitas* was especially varied in the 1st century AD, when the arrival of new emperors to the throne stimulated spontaneous actions to change the titles of the *seviri Augustales* in some towns, creating the versions *Tiberialis*, *Iulialis*, *Claudialis*, *Neroniensis*, *Flavialis*, *Titialis* and *Nervialis* after the names of the emperors. This process was influenced by the new high priesthoods that the emperors Nero, Titus and Domitianus created after their respective predecessors Claudius, Vespasianus and Titus. Nonetheless, this tendency did not endure. Despite the creation of new customised titles for the Augustality in the 1st century, they coexisted with the original *seviri Augustales*. Eventually, the use of those new terms became clearly minor and redundant, leading to certain homogenisation of the terminology under the prevalence of the epithet *Augustalis*. Therefore, after a short existence in a small territory, these minor titles suffered their stagnation and disappearance during the 2nd century.

V. Epigraphic corpus

sevir Iulialis

1.- AE 1953, 104 (Iader, Dalmatia). Dating: 30 BC – 41 AD. Text: *L(ucio) Tettio / Epidiano ann(or)um / VII L(ucius) Tet[t]ius Sper/ches pater VIvir / Iul(i)alis vivos(!) posu(it) l(ocus) d(at)us d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.

sevir Tiberialis

2.- AE 1998, 418 (Asculum Picenum, Regio V: Picenum). Dating: 14–50 AD. Text: *Telonia Atala[n]te* / *L(ucio) Telonio Dicae[o]* / *Aug(ustali) VIvir(o) et Tibe[r(iali)] viro* / *Teloniae L(uci) f(iliae) Sabina[e]* / *filiae* / *L(ucio) Telonio Meleagro* / *Aug(ustali) VIvir(o) et Tibe[r(iali)] / fratri*.

3.- CIL IX, 6415 (Asculum Picenum, Regio V: Picenum). Dating: 14–37 AD. Text: *P(ublius) Caetrenus l(mulieris) l(ibertus) Faustus / sexvir Tib[e]rialis creatus a [---] / arbitrato* / *T(iti) Appusu[l]leni [---]*.

4.- EE VIII, 217 (Asculum Picenum, Regio V: Picenum). Dating: 50–100 AD. Text: *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Valerio col(oniae) l(iberto) / Vernae sexvir(o) / Aug(ustali) et Tib(eriali) / Ianuarius [c]ol(oniae) di[sp(ensator)] / qui fuerat [arc]arius(?) / eiu[s i]tem / Vibia Primil[l]a uxo[r] / [s]ib[i e]t po[ste]ris eorum*.

sevir Claudialis

5.- CIL IX, 1648 (Beneventum, Regio II: Apulia et Calabria). Dating: 41–80 AD. Text: *L(ucio) Lollio L(uci) f(ilio) Suavi / aedili praefecto fabr(um) / L(ucius) Lollius Orio pat(er) / Aug(ustalis) Claud(ialis) sibi et / Hirriae Tertullae / uxori*.

6.- CIL IX, 1689 (Beneventum, Regio II: Apulia et Calabria). Dating: 41–80 AD. Text: *D(is) M(anibus) / N(umerio) Afinio Tacito / Clau(diali) Aug(ustali) AFIN / [---]*.

7.- CIL IX, 1698 (Beneventum, Regio II: Apulia et Calabria). Dating: 41–80 AD. Text: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / M(arci) Serveni / Alexandri / Aug(ustalis) Claud(ialis) / Beneventi / vix(it) ann(os) XCVII / m(enses) II d(ies) XII Iunia / Capreola con/iugi bene merenti*.

8.- CIL IX, 1701 (Beneventum, Regio II: Apulia et Calabria). Dating: 100–150 AD. Text: *D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) Valerio Ti/cho Claud(iali) / Aug(ustali) Bene/venti Acili/a Thallia ma/rito karissimo / bene mer(enti) fec(it).*

9.- CIL IX, 1705 (Beneventum, Regio II: Apulia et Calabria). Dating: 70–130 AD. Text: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / A(ulo) Vibbio Ianurio / Claudiali Augustali / cur(atori) muneris diei un(i)/us Aulis Vibbis / Iustinus / Iustianus / Ianuarius / filis patri bene m(erenti) p(osuerunt).*

10.- ILS, 6500 (Beneventum, Regio II: Apulia et Calabria). Dating: 41–80 AD. Text: *C(aio) Iulio Cypaero / Aug(ustali) Claud(iali) / honorato bisellio / M(arcus) Rutilius Lupus / amico optimo.*

11.- NSA 1929, p. 221 (Beneventum, Regio II: Apulia et Calabria). Dating: 41–80 AD. Text: *C(aius) Canellius C(ai) l(ibertus) Ianuarius / August(a-lis) Claud(ialis) sibi et / Pomponiae L(uci) l(ibertae) Feliculae / contubernali et / C(aio) Canellio Alcimo lib(erto).*

12.- AE 1922, 82 (Bononia, Regio VIII: Aemilia). Dating: 41–100 AD. Text: *M(arco) Papuleio / M(arci) l(iberto) Pudenti IIIII/vir(o) et Claudiali / M(arco) Papuleio M(arci) l(iberto) / Primo IIIIIvir(o) / negotiatoribus / ferrariis / Faustus l(ibertus) IIIIIvir / in f(ronte) p(edes) XVI in a(gro) p(edes) XVI.*

13.- CIL XI, 696 (Bononia, Regio VIII: Aemilia). Dating: 100–230 AD. Text: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dol(icheno) / Q(uintus) Poplicius Modestinus / [Vlvi]r et Claud(ialis) cenatorium p(ecunia) s(ua) f(ecit) / [l(ocus)] d(a-tus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

14.- CIL XI, 714 (Bononia, Regio VIII: Aemilia). Dating: 41–130 AD. Text:

*M(arcus) Clodius / M(arci) l(ibertus) Sabinus / VIvir Claudial(is) / sibi et / Co-
erane lib(ertae) / Tyche / q(uo)q(uo)v(ersus) p(edes) XXII.*

15.- *CIL XI, 718 (Bononia, Regio VIII: Aemilia). Dating: 41–100 AD. Text:
[---]us / [---]don / [vestia]rius(?) / [Bononi]ensis(?) / [sex]vir / [et Clau]dial(is)
/ [sibi] v(ivus) p(osuit).*

16.- *AE 1946, 210 (Regium Lepidum, Regio VIII: Aemilia). Dating: 54–
130 AD. Text: C(aio) Pomponio / Rufi lib(erto) / Felici / VIvir(o) Aug(ustali) /
Claud(iali) / lanari(i) pect(inarii) / et carmin(atores) / ob merita eius / quod te-
stamento / suo legaverit / eius non sufficientib(us) / sibi dationes et / vestiarius
quoq(ue) / et si qui(s) defunctus / esset certa summa / funeraretur.*

17.- *CIL XI, 959 (Regium Lepidum, Regio VIII: Aemilia). Dating: 100–
150 AD. Text: D(is) M(anibus) / C(ai) Funda/ni Eucha/risti / Claudiali/s /
v(ivus) f(ecit).*

18.- *CIL XI, 971 (Regium Lepidum, Regio VIII: Aemilia). Dating: 54–100
AD. Text: T(ito) [A]tilio T(iti) l(iberto) Ni[---] l(iberto) ILO[---]I Clau/diali
L(ucius) Herennius / Ianuarius / VIvir Aug(ustalis) / amico opti/mo / [---].*

19.- *CIL XI, 974 (Regium Lepidum, Regio VIII: Aemilia). Dating: 54–
100 AD. Text: Satriae / \ (mulieris) l(ibertae) / Graphe // C(aius) Olniu[s] /
Priscu[s] / IIIIIvi[r] / [C]l[audialis?].*

20.- *CIL V, 7493 (Carreum Potentia, Regio IX: Liguria). Dating: 54–70
AD. Text: [Fon]ti(?) [Dia]nae Victoriae / T(itus) Sextius [---] f(ilius) B[asilis]-
cus Aug(ustalis) Claudialis / nomine suo et / Sextiae T(iti) l(ibertae) Irenes
uxoris et / T(iti) Sexti Fausti fili(i) et / Sextiae Marcellae filiae / solo suo inter
quattuor terminos / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).*

21.- CIL V, 7494 (Carreum Potentia, Regio IX: Liguria). Dating: 54–70 AD. Text: *Fonti(?) Dia[nae Victoriae] / T(itus) [Se]xtius T(iti) f(ilius) [Basili-
scus Aug(ustalis) Claudialis] / nomin[e suo et] / [Sex]tiae T(iti) l(ibertae) [Ire-
nes uxoris et] / T(iti) Sexti Marcellae filiae] / [solo suo inter quattuor terminos]
/ [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)]*.

22.- AE 1994, 714 (Verona, Regio X: Venetia et Histria). Dating: 41–100 AD. Text: *[L(ucio) Sergio ---] / [---] / [V]ir(o) Cl[aud]ial(i) / [gratui]to d(e-
creto) d(ecurionum) / [et Max]imai(?) f(iliae) / [Sergia S]evera / [et] / L(ucius)
Sergius [S]everus / filii / fece[r]unt*.

23.- CAVeneto 2, p. 215 (Verona, Regio X: Venetia et Histria). Dating: 100–150 AD. Text: *Turrania / Stratonis si/bi et C(aio) Samici/o Firmo marit(o) /
optimo V]ir(o) Cl[aud]ial(i) maior(i) coll(egii) / dendr(ophorum) coll(egii) cen-
t(onariorum) / nutritori et Sami/ci Viria[e ---]*.

24.- CIL V, 3430 (Verona, Regio X: Venetia et Histria). Dating: 41–100 AD. Text: *[---]sis[---] / [--- St]lani]o Polyclito / [patri sex]vir(o) Claud(iali) /
[---]riae Iucundae / matri / L(ucio) Stlanio Crescenti / fratri*.

25.- CIL V, 3433 (Verona, Regio X: Venetia et Histria). Dating: 41–100 AD. Text: *D(is) M(anibus) / Q(uinti) Tuticani Q(uinti) f(ili) Erotis / gram-
matici [L]atini / V]ir(i) Cl[aud]ialis ornam(entis) decu[r]ionalibus] honorato
Veron(ae) / et Variai(!) [Q(uinti)] Tuticani Feliciani / et suis*.

26.- CIL V, 3438 (Verona, Regio X: Venetia et Histria). Dating: 100–150 AD. Text: *C(aius) Veronius / Carpus / V]ir Cl[aud]ialis mai(or) / Veroniae /
Trofim(a)e sacer(doti) / Matris deum / Matri / Sanctissimae / et Veronio Primo*.

27.- CIL V, 4008 (Verona, Regio X: Venetia et Histria). Dating: 41–100 AD. Text: *L(ucius) Aufillenus / Ascanius / VIvir II / Cla(udialis) et Aug(ustalis) / sibi et / Catiae T(iti) f(iliae) / Rhodae / uxori.*

sevir Neroniensis

28.- CIL V 3429 (Verona, Regio X: Venetia et Histria). Dating: 54–68 AD. Text: *L(ucio) Stlanio / Homuncioni / IIIIIvir(o) Aug(ustali) et Neronien(si) // v(iva) f(ecit) / Stlania L(uci) l(iberta) / Cytheris / sibi et / [L(ucio)] Stlanio Homuncioni / [---]o sexviro p[atrono].*

sevir Flavialis

29.- CIL XI, 4639 (Tuder, Regio VI: Umbria). Dating: 70–100 AD. Text: *Pro salute / coloniae et ordinis / decurionum et populi / Tudertis Iovi Opt(imo) Max(imo) / Custodi Conservatori / quod is sceleratissimi servi / publici infando latrocinio / defixa monumentis ordinis / decurionum nomina / Numine suo eruit ac vindicavit et metu periculorum / coloniam civesque liberavit / L(ucius) Cancrus Clementis lib(ertus) / Primigenius / sexvir et Augustalis et Flavialis / primus omnium his honoribus / ab ordine donatus / votum solvit // C(aio) Vibio [---] / Iulio [---] co(n)ss(ulibus).*

30.- CIL V, 7509 (Aquae Statiellae, Regio IX: Liguria). Dating: 79–150 AD. Text: *Pollia M(arci) f(ilia) Marcella / M(arco) Pollio M(arci) l(iberto) Certo patri / Aufidiae T(iti) f(iliae) Titullae matri / L(ucio) et L(ucio) et T(ito) et Proculae Vibullis fili(i)s / L(ucio) Vibullio Montano viro / VIvir(o) Aug(ustali) Flaviali v(iva) f(ecit).*

31.- CIL V, 7511 (Aquae Statiellae, Regio IX: Liguria). Dating: 79–150 AD. Text: *C(aius) Valerius | (mulieris) l(ibertus) / Sceptus / VIvir Aug(ustalis) Flavialis / sibi et / Vettiae L(uci) f(iliae) Romulae uxori / v(ivus) f(ecit).*

32.- CIL V, 4399 (Brixia, Regio X: Venetia et Histria). Dating: 70–120 AD. Text: *Q(uinto) Caecilio / Telesphor(o) VI/vir(o) Flaviali / Cremon(ae) et munerar(io) / Calventia / Corneliana / marito optimo / et / sibi.*

33.- CIL V, 4968 (Camunni, Regio X: Venetia et Histria). Dating: 70–120 AD. Text: *P(ublius) Valerius / Crispinus / [I]IIIIvir Flavia[l(is)] / sibi et / Sextiae / Sexti fil(iae) / Secundae uxori et / P(ublio) Valerio Numisio f(ilio).*

34.- CIL V, 7018 (Augusta Taurinorum, Regio XI: Transpadana). Dating: 70–100 AD. Text: *V(ivus) f(ecit) / C(aius) Baburius / Melissus / VIvir et / [Fl]avialis / [sibi e]t suis.*

35.- CIL V, 6353 (Laus Pompeia, Regio XI: Transpadana). Dating: 70–100 AD. Text: *Mefiti / L(ucius) Caesius / Asiaticus / VIvir Flavialis / aram et mensas IIII / dedit l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

36.- CIL V, 6369 (Laus Pompeia, Regio XI: Transpadana). Dating: 70–100 AD. Text: *M(arci) Minici Faustini / M(arcus) Minicius Euth[y]cus / VIvi[r] Flaviali[s] / et Minicia Dynamis / filio / et M(arco) Minicio Eu[c]haristo / et Miniciae Thaidi matri.*

37.- CIL XII, 1159 (Carpentorate, Gallia Narbonensis). Dating: 70–120 AD. Text: *Genio / coloniae / IIIIIviri / L(ucius) Iulius Ianuarius / IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis) et Flavia(lis) / in hoc opus IIIIIviris / HS n(ummum) IIII mil(ibus) / d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) d(edit).*

38.- AE 2014, 1027 (Iader, Dalmatia). Dating: 70–120 AD. Text: *C(aius) Albucius C(ai) l(ibertus) Restitutus / IIIIIvir et Flavialis / dis Syris templum ampliavit et / a solo sua impensa fecit.*

sevir Flavialis Titialis Nervialis

39.- CIL III, 1768 (Narona, Dalmatia). Dating: 96–117 AD. Text: *Aesculapio / Aug(usto) sacr(um) / P(ublius) Servilius [---] / IIIIIvir [August(alis) Flav]/ialis [Titialis] / Nervialis testam[ento] / pon(i) iussit ex [HS ---] / et ob dedicationem / [---]*.

40.- CIL III, 1835 (Narona, Dalmatia). Dating: 96–117 AD. Text: *C(aio) Vibio Severo / IIIIIvir(o) annor(um) XXV / C(aius) Vibius Ingenus pater / IIIII(vir) Augustalis / Flavialis Titialis / Nervialis vivos fecit / et sibi et Vibiae Rhodope / uxori libertae vivae et / C(aio) Vibio Primigenio / IIIIIvir(o) liberto optimo*.

41.- CIL III, 14624,1 (Narona, Dalmatia). Dating: 96–117 AD. Text: *Iovi Au[g(usto)] / sacr(um) / colle[g(ium) Aug(ustalium)?] / L(ucius) Pub[licius] 3 / Diadu[menus] / Aug(ustalis) / F(lavialis) T(itialis) [N(ervialis) ---]*.

Augustalis Ulpii

42.- CIL XI, 6310 (Pisaurum, Regio VI: Umbria). Dating: 98–161 AD. Text: *Cultores Iovis Latii // M(arcus) Fremedius Severus et Blassia Vera patroni / in dedicatione dederunt pane(m) et vinu(m) et \ (denarios) s(emisses) / P(ublius) Seneka(!) Cornelius patronus aream d(onum) d(edit) / M(arcus) Fremedius Iustus et Iustinus / T(itus) Lurius Clemens / T(itus) Cossonius Severus / C(a- ius) Tedi- us Salutaris / L(ucius) [---] / L(ucius) Lurius [---] / C(aius) Geminus Bassus / C(aius) Vicrius Geminus / L(ucius) Suedius Sabinus / T(itus) Vibennius Severus / L(ucius) Manilius Severus / C(aius) Septimius Dexter / Vibia Carite / C(aius) Refr[iu]s [C]eler / Vicria Capria / C(aius) Septimius Verus / T(itus) Caesennius Clemens / Suedia Lea / L(ucius) [---] ius Dexter / [---]rius [---] / C(aius) [Fl]ami[nius(?) // [---] Secundus Mursi(us?) / P(ublius) Claren- nius Leo / M(arcus) Insteius Pudens Augustalis Ulpi(i) / T(itus) Suedius Proculus / C(aius) Insteius [---]s / C(aius) [---] / C(aius) V[---] / S[ex(tus?) ---] / S[ex(tus?) ---] / T(itus) [---] / C(aius) [---] / L(ucius) [---] / L(ucius) [---]*.

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Corpora abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année Epigraphique. Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'Antiquité romaine</i> . Paris 1888–.
CAVeneto	<i>Carta Archeologica del Veneto</i> . Modena 1988–.
CIL III	T. MOMMSEN: <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum III: Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae</i> . Berlin 1873.
CIL V	T. MOMMSEN: <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum V: Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae Latinae</i> . Berlin 1872–1877.
CIL IX	T. MOMMSEN: <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum IX: Inscriptiones Calabriae, Apuliae, Samnii, Piceni Latinae</i> . Berlin 1883.
CIL XI	E. BORMANN: <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XI: Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruriae, Umbriae Latinae</i> . Berlin 1888–1926.
CIL XII	O. HIRSCHFELD: <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XII. Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae</i> . Berlin 1888.
EE VIII	W. HENZEN: <i>Ephemeris Epigraphica. Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum Supplementum, VIII</i> . Berlin 1899.
ILS	H. DESSAU: <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (3 vols.). Berlin 1892–1916.
NSA	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità</i> . Roma 1876–.