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THE IMMUNES AND PRINCIPALES OF THE ROMAN ARMY

Thesis submitted in candidacy for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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CONTENTS

VOLUME I

ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION 1

THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE 6

CAREERS:

Introduction 12

The praetorian cohorts 19

The urban cohorts 70

The vigiles 80

The legions 102

The troops in the castra peregrina 144

The auxilia 147

The equites singulares Augusti 164

Key to Tables 3, 5, 7, 11, 13, 16, 22, 23 and 24 172

PROSOPOGRAPHY

1 - 63 The praetorian cohorts 173

64 - 67 The urban cohorts 240

68 - 102 The vigiles 247

103 - 187 The legions 263

188 - 190 The troops in the castra peregrina 321

191 - 227 The auxilia 324

228 - 232 The equites singulares Augusti 346

233 - 236 Miscellaneous 349

237 - 251 The evocati Augusti 352

VOLUME II

POSTS:

The praetorian cohorts	1
The urban cohorts	43
The <u>vigiles</u>	60
The legions	92
The troops in the <u>castra peregrina</u>	203
The <u>auxilia</u>	209
The <u>equites singulares Augusti</u>	267
The <u>numeri</u>	281
Provincial and other staffs	287
<u>Evocati Augusti</u>	334
APPENDIX I <u>Immunis</u> and <u>Principalis</u>	346
APPENDIX II The First Cohort of a Legion	354
ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	358.

THE IMMUNES AND PRINCIPALES OF THE ROMAN ARMY

David J. Breeze

ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the two groups of officers found in every branch of the Roman Army in both Rome and the provinces below the rank of centurion, the immunes and principales. The immunes were soldiers exempted from fatigues in return for carrying out special duties and the principales were soldiers who received extra pay in connection with their higher rank. The principales were the nearest equivalent in the Roman Army of the modern non-commissioned officer. The period covered is from Augustus to Diocletian.

In Volume I, following the introduction and a discussion of the nature of the available evidence, the career structure of these officers in each branch of the army is analysed. Special attention is paid to the duration of the career, the promotion prospects of the soldiers and the chronological development of the career structure, tracing its growth from the Republic onwards, its developed state in the second century and the changes in the third century resulting from the increased dichotomy between the fighting and the clerical branches of the army.

The known careers of individual soldiers in the army are also examined in detail.

In Volume II each post in the army is investigated in turn. An attempt is made to determine the number of soldiers holding each post, the history of the post is discussed, and wherever possible its relative status determined, its position in the career structure analysed and the promotion prospects of its holders considered.

Introduction

This study of the immunes and principales of the Roman army of the Principate sprang directly from my undergraduate dissertation on the recruiting of the legion II Adiutrix and the enthusiasm with which my tentative overtures as to the feasibility of this project were received by Dr. Brian Dobson my supervisor. I would like to acknowledge the advice and encouragement I have received from him at every stage, and the patient manner in which he answered even my simplest questions. I would also like to thank Professor Eric Birley and Dr. J. C. Mann for the help which they have so readily given and for the use of their time which they have always been prepared to place at my disposal.

This thesis deals with the immunes and principales of the army, that is all soldiers below the rank of centurion and decurion who held a permanent post. It is essentially divided into three mutually dependent parts dealing with the career pattern in each unit, the individual careers and the individual posts (no attempt has been made to discuss the duties of holders of these posts - this has been admirably done by R. W. Davies (Peace Time Routine in the Roman Army) and G. R. Watson (Roman Military Book-keeping.) Each part is itself broken down into sections concerned

with each type of unit in the army. In this way it is hoped the reader will be able to study, for example, the praetorian career, referring to the prosopography for the source material for the careers and the section on the posts for further details concerning a particular post, while also being able to compare the praetorian career with that of any other unit in the army. Not all units in the army are discussed in the first section on careers since some units furnish no relevant details, in fact no careers at all have survived of soldiers in the numeri so this type of unit does not appear in the prosopography. The third section is based upon Domaszewski's analysis of the posts in the army, with one major difference: there has been no attempt to construct the tables with which Domaszewski's discussion was illustrated. This is because these tables are felt to be misleading. In only a very few cases is the relative status of posts known; these are the more senior posts and there is no discernible division of rank among the immunes, who hold the majority of posts below the centurionate, Domaszewski in fact appears to have drawn more conclusions than the available evidence will really allow. An examination of the status of each post is, however, included within the commentary

on the post. The thesis is prefaced by a discussion of the nature of the available evidence while two aspects which need to be considered but which do not easily fit into any section are placed at the end in the Appendices.

The only complete study of the immunes and principales in all units of the army is to be found in the pages of Alfred von Domaszewski's epoch-making work Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres. Even so this study is not all-embracing. Domaszewski was mainly concerned with the individual posts and their relationship to each other and he paid but scant attention to the career structure and none to the individual careers except in so far as they have helped determine the relative status of certain posts. Nevertheless he laid down the framework of the cursus as he saw it, defining it as divided into three stages, the immunes, die taktischen Chargen and the senior administrative and staff posts. He made no attempt, however, to examine the career structures of each of the different units of the army. An article published in the same year as Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres on the Advancement of Officers in the Roman Army by G. H. Allen went some way to redress the balance. He listed all the careers recorded epigraphically which were known to him and also used them in drawing up

his table to illustrate the relative ranking of officers in the army. However, he made no attempt to draw any conclusions from these careers, all his discussion being concerned with the centurionate and the higher officers the principales only entering into this discussion when they were promoted to the centurionate. Both Domaszewski and Allen were to some extent basing their work upon the foundations laid down by P. Cauer in his article De Muneribus Militaribus Centurionatu Inferioribus published in 1881. Cauer listed all the soldiers holding posts below the centurionate in the legions and the garrison of Rome and all the surviving careers of these soldiers but he made no attempt to draw any conclusions from them.

The studies by Allen and Domaszewski between them included the main components for any new study of the immunes and principales - a study of individual posts in each type of unit, an examination of each career and, based on these two, a discussion of the career structure in each type of unit. But such an investigation has not been forthcoming. Several scholars in their works on the various units of the army have examined the different posts below the centurionate in those units but their conclusions have in every case been based upon Domaszewski's and none have attempted to discuss the career structure (these

works are listed in the bibliography). This latter problem was tackled by Erich Sander in a short and rather superficial article published in 1957. Unfortunately this scholar did not distinguish the different problems and different career structures of each type of unit but he did add a new dimension by approaching the subject chronologically

In view of the shortcomings of all previous studies of the immunes and principales it was felt that a new investigation was necessary, especially since the re-publishing of Domaszewski's Rangordnung in 1967, taking into account the new material, in the fore-front of which stands the Dura papyri, not available to earlier scholars. I feel that the conclusions reached, especially concerning the career structures, justify the choice of this topic.

The Nature of the Evidence

Inscriptions have been the main source material for this study but wherever possible they have been reinforced by papyri and to a lesser extent literature. These three sources provide evidence of varying degrees of usefulness. At the least they demonstrate the existence of a particular post, for example seplasiarius in a legion is recorded on one inscription (XIII 6778) and nuntius in a cohort receives mention upon^a papyrological document from Dura (P. Dura 26, 33.) Sometimes the reference may be dated, for example Polybius in his discussion of the army of his day mentions the optio, tessararius and signifer (VI 24; 25 and 35), and Tarruntenus Paternus' list of immunes is quoted in the Digest (50, 5, 7 (6).) Tombstones often give the length of service of the deceased, or at least his age. Other inscriptions - tombstones or honorific dedications - go further than this and actually give the career of particular soldiers. By collating a number of such careers the pattern of the whole career structure of the different units can be determined, at least in part. Occasionally a document or an inscription can add further

details, for example valuable information concerning the length of time posts were held is provided by two complete lists of the soldiers in the cohors V Vigilum in 205 and in 210. (VI 1057 and 1058), while vital facts connected with the stipendia of soldiers in the auxilia comes from two rosters of the cohors XX Palmyrenorum (P. Dura 100 and 101.) Similarly discharge lists in the praetorian cohorts and the legions add further details about the posts held by soldiers in those units, and indirectly their careers.

Inscriptions, literature and papyri all provide hints as to the rank of posts in the army, and in certain cases how many soldiers held one particular post. This in turn has a bearing upon promotion prospects.

This type of evidence, however, has grave disadvantages. Firstly, it is, of course, incomplete. There is no known manual stating the career of NCOs, when they can hope to reach a certain rank, their pay and so on; all this information has to be gleaned, as far as possible, from the above mentioned information. As a consequence any conclusions that can be reached are only of a

tentative nature. Furthermore there is a suggestion that the evidence is often misleading. This can be demonstrated by reference to the stipendia of soldiers. Often the average stipendia of holders of the lower posts will be weighted in favour of a larger number than was actually the case. This is simply because the older soldiers with more stipendia are more likely to die holding that post than the younger soldiers. Moreover the younger soldiers are likely to hold the post for but a short time before promotion while older soldiers holding it towards the end of their careers may stagnate in it for several years, and their chances of dying before further advancement are consequently much greater than their younger colleagues.

The problem of selection in careers is also very real. This is especially the case when the earlier stages of a career are being listed - usually by the soldier's heir. Some posts are omitted because they are unimportant. The cornicularius tribuni in the urban cohorts, for example, may have recorded every post he had held in the unit (cf. 65; numbers refer to the careers discussed in the prosopography), but the primuspilus may simply have his praetorian career summed up by reference to one post,

such as cornicularius praefecti praetorio, evocatus or beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. A primipilaris will usually make no mention of a career in the ranks. Hence it is often difficult to be sure whether the first post mentioned on an inscription is the first held by that soldier, or simply the first that he or his heirs considered worth mentioning. Although this is not so important when dealing with the senior posts it does increase the problems already present when dealing with the lower ranks. Being low-grade posts their holders would be poorer than principales and therefore less likely to erect inscriptions recording more than the minimum information. As a result very little is known of the career structure below the post of tesserarius in the legions, the auxilia and their associated units. The difference in pay results in another interesting phenomenon - much more is known of the career of the equites in both alae and cohortes equitatae than of the pedites in auxiliary cohorts.

Information may be of dubious value in another way. Inscriptions relating to III Augusta have provided a good deal of evidence as to the number of soldiers holding certain posts, in fact of the twenty posts which

which fall into this category it is possible in only five cases to cross check the numbers with those supplied by other legions and the numbers do not always agree. This is particularly the case in relation to the staff of the provincial governor. This throws considerable doubt upon the reliability of the rest of the evidence relating to the legion. Similarly with regard to auxiliary units much of the evidence is supplied by cohors XX Palmyrenorum, a unit with a unique table of organisation. Clearly all information must be treated with caution where it cannot be cross checked.

Changing fashions also create problems. In the first century only the posts in the century or turma of the senior staff posts are usually mentioned on inscriptions and these not always - often the deceased's rank was indicated by the relief on the tombstone. In the second century the naming of the rank becomes more common, as do inscriptions containing careers, until in the third century nearly every soldier appears to be an immunis or a principalis! But posts which are only attested in the third century may have had a long history behind them.

The earliest record of the post may therefore bear no relationship to the actual creation of the post.

Similarly the fact that ranks or posts are often omitted from tombstones in the first century does not necessarily mean that although soldiers had certain duties these duties did not carry a specific rank as E. Sander considered (Zur Rangordnung des römischen Heeres: die gradus ex Caliga p. 89f.) Moreover some ranks and their duties had been described 150 years earlier by Polybius, a further indictment of Sander's case. At the other end of the period the briefer careers of the later third century may be due to either another change in fashions or changes in the career structure itself or a combination of both which seems the most likely.

In summary the use of the small amount of evidence for the ranking, careers, promotion prospects and number of immunes and principales in all the units of the Roman army is fraught with difficulties.

C A R E E R S

Introduction

Many branches of the Roman army - the praetorian guard, the urban cohorts, the vigiles, the legions, the auxilia and the equites singulares Augusti - have produced a sufficient number of inscriptions to allow at least the outlines of the career structure of their immunes and principales to be observed, and in some cases in the guard and the legions - quite detailed conclusions to be made. Not surprisingly all the career patterns, as known, are different, This not only reflects the different organisation, requirements, functions, status and traditions of the units concerned but also the varying lengths of service of the soldiers in these units. The legionary cursus is organised differently than say the praetorian because there were more posts in the legion than in the praetorian guard, the cohort had no administrative function in the legion while it did in the guard, legionaries served for 25 years while praetorians for only 16, yet legionaries were promoted to the centurionate about the same time as the praetorians, the legion had a longer tradition than the guard and so on. These difficulties do not prevent the formulation of general

principles about the careers.

Soldiers below the rank of centurion fell into one of three classes in the second and early third centuries - the situation is not so clear in either the first century or the later third. These three classes^{all} made up of ordinary soldiers, immunes and principales (see Table 1). The immunis was a soldier who was exempt from normal fatigues in return for carrying out other duties but who received no extra pay and the principalis was a soldier who received more than the basic pay because he held a certain rank (see Appendix I where the relevant evidence is cited.) His pay was either one and a half times the basic pay (when he would be called a sesquiplicarius) or twice the basic pay (duplicarius.) There is no evidence for a fourth category - treble pay - or a 'triplicarius'.

In the main it would appear that only duplicarii were eligible for promotion to centurio or decurion. Sometimes soldiers would serve first as ordinary rankers then immunes, sesquiplicarii and finally duplicarii before promotion to the centurionate (as was usually the case in the praetorian cohorts), others simply as ordinary soldiers and duplicarii (as may have been fairly common

Table 1

rank	pay	post
ordinary soldier	basic pay	technicians, specialists, junior staff officers
<u>immunis</u>		
<u>principalis</u>	pay and a half (<u>sesquiplicarius</u>)	<u>tesserarius</u> and possibly <u>armorum custos</u>
	double pay (<u>duplicarius</u>)	<u>optio</u> , <u>signifer</u> , standard bearers, senior staff officers (some of whom may have been <u>equites</u>)

in the auxilia.) The line between the immunes and the principales seems to have been drawn just below the post of tesserarius (sesquiplicarius is the same post under a different title in the auxilia), all posts above the line being held by principales. However, only the tesserarius (or sesquiplicarius) - and probably the armorum custos in the legions and other posts of equivalent status if there were any - received pay and a half. All other principales from the rank of optio upwards received double pay. These duplicarii included the optio and the signifer, the holders of the senior staff posts, the standard bearers and the holders of various other senior posts. The immunes included the specialists, technicians and holders of junior staff posts.

There is some evidence that the system is rather more complicated than this. The equites received more pay than the pedites and were therefore presumably either sesquiplicarii or duplicarii (cf. G. R. Watson, The Pay of the Roman Army: the Auxiliary Forces, Historia VIII (1959) 372 - 378.) It is possible that certain posts were usually held by equites in addition to the posts in turnae and in cavalry corps which could only be held by equites. The

only posts which on present evidence appear to fall into this category are cornicularius consularis, one soldier receiving promotion to this post equestris(us) stipendis (64), cornicularius praefecti praetorio and cornicularius tribuni cohortis - all senior staff posts of the first echelon and all held by duplicarii. Effectively these soldiers therefore received treble pay (or even more) compared to the ordinary pedites. In each unit there may therefore have been five or more different rates of pay all presumably affecting rank. Unfortunately there is insufficient information to be able to say more but this complication does not appear to affect the basic classification. This division of the cursus is, however, different from that adopted by Domaszewski (p. 1 ff.) and followed by other scholars and it is therefore necessary to discuss this classification.

Domaszewski (pp. 1 - 6) considered that all posts fell into one of three great divisions - immunes, posts in the century or turma (the taktische Chargen) and the Beneficiar-chargen. The crucial stage was the taktische Chargen made up of the posts of tesserarius, optio and signifer or vexillarius. These posts formed one group and no other post was ever interposed between the holding of any two while the holding of at least one of the posts was the pre-

requisite for promotion from the immunes to the Beneficiarchargen (Domaszewski pp. 10, 24, 43.) The posts above those in the century or turma consisted of those on the staffs of senior officers such as beneficiarius praefecti praetorio, cornicularius legati legionis or speculator consularis together with such posts as aquilifer and imaginifer; those below, held by immunes, were all other posts. Domaszewski's divisions formed three stages on the cursus progression being from one to the other and finally to the centurionate. Sander (Zur Rangordnung des römischen Heeres: die Gradus ex Caliga 87 ff.) went even further and considered that all the posts in each group were of equal status.

Domaszewski, however, was generalising from the praetorian career structure. In the guard it is true the cursus fell into the three stages, but these divisions are not present at all in the legions and are blurred in the vigiles. In the legions Domaszewski was led astray by the post of optio ad spem ordinis. He considered (p. 42) that the holders of this post formed a special group superior to the optiones centuriae. This view has been criticised by Passerini (Legio 595) and his opinion that there was no

difference in function between the two posts, the sole difference being that the optiones ad spem ordinis were picked out for promotion to the centurionate, is accepted here. In that case the posts in the century do not form one unbroken and complete group held in succession - it was clearly possible to hold the post of optio at almost any time after being made a duplicarius, (which was the important promotion) either before or after signifer or before or after holding senior staff posts. Similarly in the legions all the staff posts did not rank either above or below the posts in the century, some ranked equally with them. The career of the immunes and principales in the vigiles contains some of these last characteristics of the legionary career, while the auxiliary cursor is even further removed from the praetorian in that promotion from immunis to centurion was not only possible but well attested! It is clear that Domaszewski's division of the careers into three stages lacks viability and once this is realised Sander's contention that all the posts in each division ranked equally also falls apart.

Domaszewski's classification of posts, however, still

stands and is useful as long as it is divorced from the career structure. Nevertheless it has disadvantages. The division of the staff posts into junior and senior posts by the posts in the century has less merit when the vision of three ~~s~~eparate stages to the cursus is ignored. Perhaps a better classification would be into specialists, posts in the century or turma, standard bearers, and staff posts, which could be subdivided if necessary into junior and senior posts. However, this modern terminology is merely useful jargon for the present-day student of the Roman army and loses its usefulness when it replaces the Roman terminology.

The Praetorian Cohorts

The praetorian cursus was considered by Domaszewski to be the model for the career structure of the whole army, but as has been suggested in the introduction it is in fact unique. The posts on the cursus fall into three clear groups - junior staff and specialised posts, the posts in the century and the senior staff posts - and in the main the soldiers progressed from one group to the next.

The backbone to the career below the posts in the century were the junior staff posts in ascending order, singularis tribuni, beneficiarius tribuni and singularis praefecti praetorio. Promotions were made from either of the senior of these posts usually to tesserarius, but occasionally to optio. The posts in the century - tesserarius, optio and signifer - formed one self-contained group and as Domaszewski pointed out correctly (p. 24) no other post intervened between any two of them. They were also an indispensable condition for further promotion.

The senior staff posts can be subdivided into two groups and there usually appears to have been no contact between them as far as the careers are concerned. They might be termed the general duties branch and the clerical

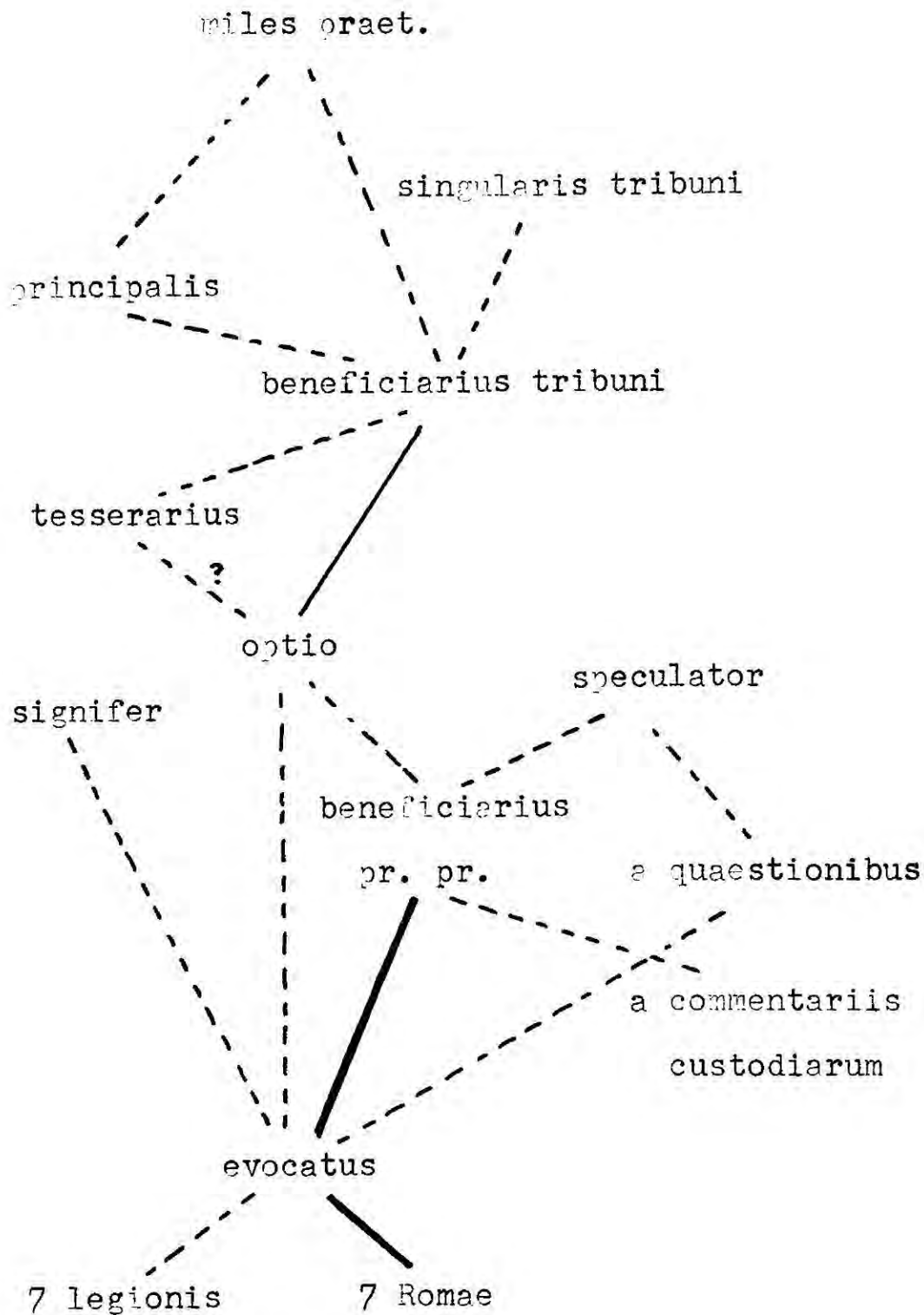
or administration branch. The former consisted solely of the post of beneficiarius praefecti praetorio and the latter the posts of fisci curator, cornicularius tribuni, cornicularius praefecti praetorio together with several additional posts in the third century such as laterculensis and ostiarius. In the second century no soldier was ever cornicularius of both officers, but after being fisci curator he was promoted to either one or the other. In every recorded instance the cornicularius praefecti praetorio was promoted directly to a centurionate, which was always in a legion, while the cornicularius tribuni and the beneficiarius praefecti praetorio both had to serve a term as evocatus Augusti first. This suggests that the cornicularius praefecti was promoted to a centurionate before the completion of his sixteen years' service. (see Table 5 for the typical career structure.)

The clearest evidence for the development of the praetorian cursus comes in the reign of Trajan. I have therefore used the beginning of his principate as a dividing point in this study. Although the careers before this date do not form a homogeneous group they certainly have characteristics which set them apart from those of the early years of the second century. It is not so easy,

however, to set a terminal date to this group of second century inscriptions. The career of the unknown of VI 32887 (39) and of Florus (40) clearly lie on the dividing line between the second and third century groups, but their salient features demand inclusion in the earlier category. On Tables 2, 4 and 6 I have listed the intelligible careers and on Tables 3, 5 and 7 these careers have been set out in diagrammatic form.

There appears to be little coherent pattern to the careers during ~~the~~ the first century, but this in part may reflect that fact that so few have survived and those that have are sparing in detail. (Tables 2 and 3 contain these careers.) In spite of these drawbacks the sequence of posts so clear in later inscriptions is already present.

The most noticeable divergence in the first century careers from those of a later date is to be found in the posts in the century. Five out of the ten careers record at least one of these posts being held and the only soldier who may hold two of them (10) - kensararius and optio - is possibly Trajanic in date. The other four only hold one of these posts - in three cases optio,



the fourth signifer. In fact optio is the most popular post, appearing in four of the careers, while the other two only in one each. This may reflect the early importance of the optio as second-in-command of the century and the oldest of the non-commissioned ranks (Polybius VI 24 2.)

There are only two posts attested below the posts in the century, singularis and beneficiarius tribuni. There is one clear promotion from the former to the latter, (4), and three from beneficiarius tribuni to posts in the century (4, 6 and 10.) Clearly the foundations of this stage of the career structure have been laid. But on the other hand there is no hint of the complications which are found later in the senior staff posts, in fact there is no reference at all to the clerical or administrative branch of the senior staff posts. One promotion from optio to beneficiarius praefecti praetorio is recorded (4), and a subsequent move to evocatus accords with later practice. Two promotions to evocatus are, however, surprising. These are from optio and signifer (5 and 8.) In all the known second century inscriptions this promotion only occurs once (20) and here the soldier in

question was a signifer. These promotions from the posts in the century to evocatus in the first century A.D. suggest that the career structure was still in its formative days.

Especially interesting in these first century careers is the appearance of the speculator and the a quaestionibus praefecti. The former is found on two inscriptions (2 and 7) and the latter on only one (7), but it is possible to hazard a guess at the relationship of these two to the other posts. A speculator (2) is promoted to beneficiarius praefecti praetorio and then to ab commentariis custodiarum, while another speculator receives promotion to a quaestionibus praefecti praetorio and thence to evocatus Augusti (7). The former sequence suggests that the speculator was on a par with the posts in the century since they were both promoted to beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. The post of a quaestionibus praefecti appears normally to have been held by an evocatus, and the wording suggests that this may well have been the case in this instance and therefore it would seem that the speculator was promoted to one of the senior staff posts if not higher. These two careers therefore tend to agree in suggesting that the speculator at this time was equal in rank to the holders of the posts in the century. Too much weight cannot be placed

upon this evidence since, as has already been noticed, soldiers in the first century A.D. took rather larger 'jumps' in their careers than was usual in the second century. However, it does receive support from an examination of, and comparison between, the stipendia of speculatores and the stipendia of holders of the posts in the century. The former usually had at least eight years of service and a tesserarius at least nine. This suggests that the speculator may be roughly equal in status to the tesserarius and possibly the other two posts in the century. Apart these two sources of information, the two careers and the stipendia, are of doubtful value, together they add strength to each other.

Unfortunately few inscriptions recording the later careers of praetorian principales have survived. One of the most interesting is that of Vettius Valens (1), who, during the first part of the first century, rose to a procuratorship, but none of the other soldiers known rose higher than the centurionate. Of the four evocati who were commissioned three (1, 4 and 7) went to a Rome centurionate, and one (5) to a legionary. No soldier held a commission in both types of unit. It is interesting to note that in the second century the probabilities

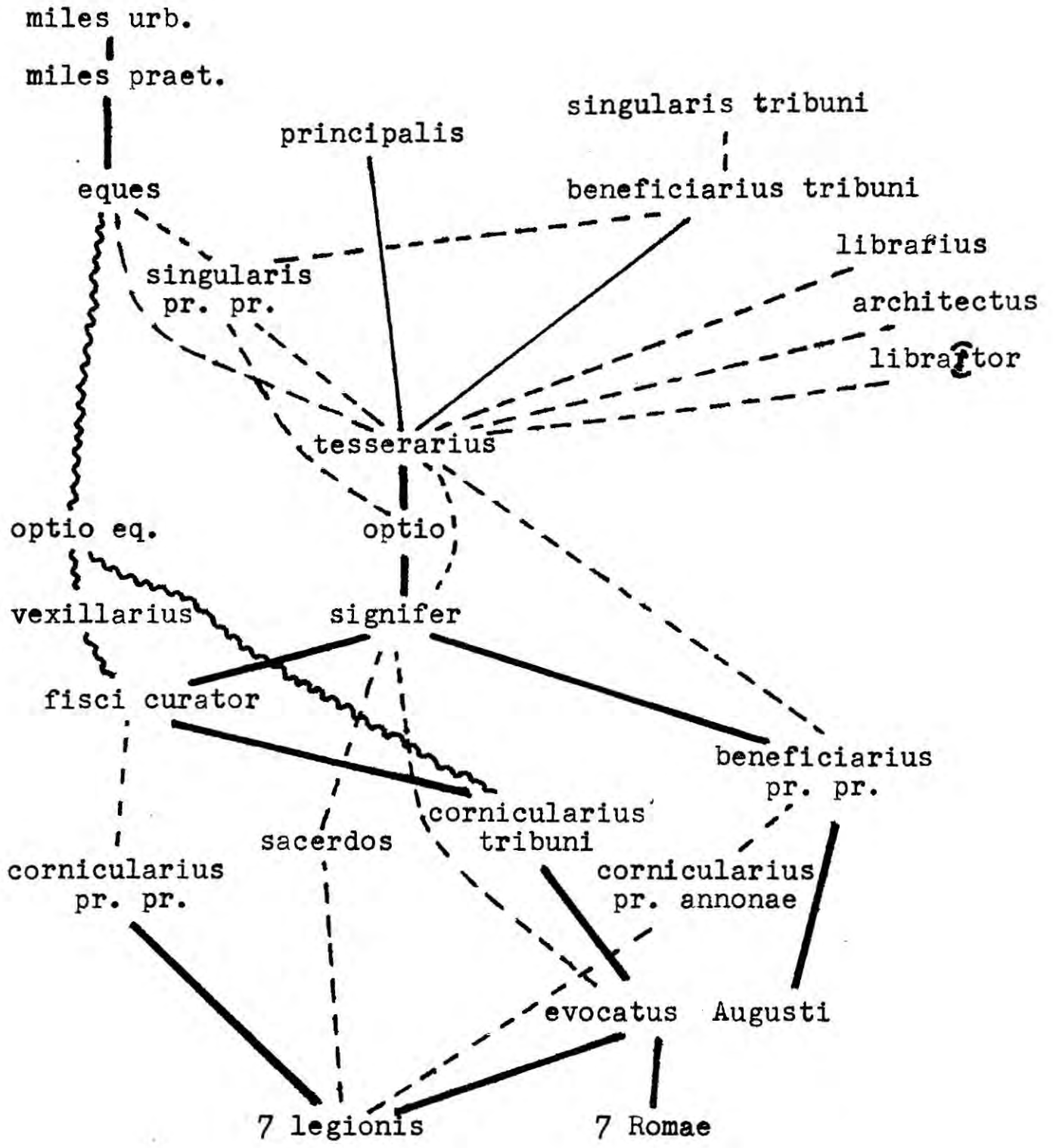
appear to have been in favour of a praetorian evocatus being commissioned in a legion rather than in Rome, in fact the figures, roughly 3 : 1, are exactly the reverse of those of the first century.

There are only two inscriptions out of the ten datable to the first century which bear much relationship to the Trajanic group. One of these inscriptions is fragmentary and is possibly as late as the reign of Trajan itself (10), while the other is only dated on stylistic grounds and in any case closes with the rank of optio (6). The other careers either contain large 'jumps' (4), are too sparing of detail (1, 5, 8 and 9) or contain posts not attested on later careers (2 and 7.) The group of six careers (11 - 16) inclusive assignable to the principate of Trajan, however, forms a homogeneous group. They strongly suggest that by this time the praetorian career structure had been regulated and stabilised, with anomalies ironed out. The only career (4) undoubtedly dated to the first part of the Flavian period is the very one which contains the most 'jumps', and while this is not proof in itself it does point to the period c. 86 to c. 105 as being that during which the systematising

was being carried out. Although it is known that Vespasian did enact some reforms in the guard his son Domitian added another cohort (Durry P. 81) and is recorded as being popular with the praetorian soldiers. This must reflect his interest in their welfare, and it is therefore tentatively suggested that it was he who was responsible for the regulating of the cursus. The evidence is so slight that it is impossible to be dogmatic, but what evidence there is does point in this direction. Thirty careers datable to the second century provide plenty of evidence to the praetorian cursus in these years. Perhaps this second century pattern could be regarded as the norm, with that of the first century, with its vague career structure, as developing towards it, and that of the third century with its dichotomy between the clerical and tactical branches, as a progression away from it. The principate of Trajan saw a sudden increase in the number of career inscriptions, perhaps as a result of the booty acquired by his soldiers in the Dacian and Parthian wars of these years. There are seven careers surviving of soldiers who had enlisted in the reign. The run of second century careers ends with the record of the achievements

of Florus in the early years of the third century (40). The thirty careers of this period provide about half the aggregate number of careers. I shall treat them as one section, analysing them as such. Tables 4 and 5 contain the relevant information used in this analysis.

These thirty careers fall into three groups. There is a nucleus of nine which provide primary evidence. These careers start with one of the posts in the century, if not before, and carry through to discharge as evocatus Augusti or promotion to centurion (11, 14, 15, 19, 26, 27, 28, ~~30~~ 29, 30.) The second group is made up of those careers which sum up service in the praetorian cohorts by reference to the last non-commissioned post held, which is usually beneficiarius praefecti or cornicularius praefecti (12, 13, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25 and 35.) Finally there are the unusual careers supplemented by the fragmentary (16, 20, 23, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39 and 40.) It will be observed that the nucleus of nine is less than one third of the total number of careers - and of these four only are securely dated (11, 14, 15 and 19.) Nevertheless the larger group of unusual careers in no way detracts from the conclusions



reached on the basis of the smaller nucleus, if anything they tend to give greater support to these conclusions.

The nine careers fall quite clearly into two groups. There are those soldiers who hold all three posts in a century and pass on to be beneficiarius praefecti praetorio and there are those who hold two posts in a century and then join the clerical or administrative branch of the senior staff posts - that is fisci curator and then either cornicularius trihuni or cornicularius praefecti praetorio. Four careers fall into the former category (14, 19, 28 and 30) and three into the latter (11, 15 and 26.) The other two careers differ in that the clerical posts were preceded by all three of the posts in the century (27 and 39.) In the main the principle seems to have been for all principales to hold the same number of posts, that is four, between the rank of tesserarius and the termination of their praetorian service. It does not appear to have mattered which of the posts in the century was omitted since each of the three careers misses a different post.

The officers of the equites do not fit so easily into this pattern. One officer (33) held a remarkably small number of posts: eques, optio equitum, cornicularius

tribuni, evocatus. Another, (34) - optio equitum, voxillarius equitum, fisci curator, evocatus, possibly preceded by service as eques - did not omit so many posts. These two careers, one omitting two of the other posts normally held as a principalis, and the other one, might be thought to demonstrate that the equites, and consequently their officers, were of a higher status than the pedites, and their officers. Though this might perhaps is the case, since equites were always of a higher standing than pedites, receiving, for example, more pay (Tacitus, Hist. 4, 19), it may also reflect their extra years of training (although no discentes equitum are attested in the praetorian cohorts as there are in the legions it is probable that they did exist.) In support of this the career of Sueto Marcellinus (23) may be cited: eques, tesserarius. The lack of a post between eques and a post in the century is not to be paralleled by any apparently direct promotion from miles to a post in the century. On the other hand one eques does appear to have had a normal career (11): eques, singularis praefecti, tesserarius, optio, fisci curator, cornicularius tribuni, evocatus rising to primuspilus. Yet this

career is not quite normal - singularis praefecti praetorio must have been an honoured and no doubt eagerly sought after post, and while promotion to primuspilus was not exceptional it does point to a better class of soldier. However, in his path through the posts in the century and the senior staff posts this soldier did have a normal career. In spite of this career the general point that the extra training required of an equus might shorten, relatively, his later career, does have some value.

The equites do not provide the only anomalies to the normal cursus described above, though the reason for their peculiarity can usually be explained. The career of Florus (40) has already received comment and further comment will not be out of place. He enlisted in legion XIII Gemina in 200. Five years later he was transferred into the guard, where promotion to principalis followed after an interval of four years. Another four years service saw promotion to tesserarius, then optio and signifer. In the usual course of events he would have served as beneficiarius praefecti praetorio, but instead he was appointed sacerdos. A further irregularity followed for on the completion of his military service, when he was still a sacerdos, he

received, not the evocatio as was usual, but immediate promotion to a centurionate. The reason behind this may have had more to do with his extra years' service in the legions, since he had eighteen stipendia in all instead of the normal sixteen, than any special quality needed by the holders of the rank of sacerdos. Nevertheless the career as a whole is not far removed from the normal pattern described above, and is interesting in that the abnormal post of sacerdos takes the place of that of beneficiarius praefecti praetorio with its vague duties. In fact this is the career that 'proves the rule.'

So few inscriptions record details of the earlier stages of careers that it is impossible to be as dogmatic about them as it is about the later stages, but it is possible to draw a number of conclusions. One long career demonstrates quite clearly the relationship of the junior staff posts to each other (15): singularis tribuni, beneficiarius tribuni, singularis praefecti praetorio, optio and so on. No other soldier is recorded in the second century as holding even two of the junior staff posts. Good quality soldiers may have been singled out for rapid advancement at an early age and this may be reflected in both the junior staff posts which they held and in the

senior staff posts, and in their relationship to each other.

Four careers only (15, 28, 29 and 30) are available for this study, and there appears to be no common element. The nearest that can be got to this is in the fact that three of the soldier record only one junior staff post and all three went on to hold all three of the posts in the century. However, there similarity ends for two of the soldiers were beneficiarii tribuni and yet after the posts in the century one took the clerical path and the other the general (29 and 28), while the singularis praefecti praetorio followed the path of the latter (30.) Octavius Secundus, who held all three of the junior staff posts before the posts in the century, as might be anticipated was only optio and tesserarius and therefore fisci curator and cornularius followed (15.) Neither did the two soldiers who were both singulares praefecti praetorio take the same route through the senior staff posts. In fact with only four careers on which to work all four were different and there therefore seems to be no pattern in the relationship between the junior and the senior staff posts.

Three of the 'supplementary' careers are more informative in that they clearly demonstrate that the cursus was not adhered to in blind obedience, but that the needs of each soldier were considered. If the restoration is correct a librarius (26) pursued the career which obviously suited his special attributes as a clerk. After holding the posts of tesserarius and signifer he took the clerical path and moreover became cornicularius praefecti praetorio.

The only two technicians, if such they may be called, who took up a professional military career both had an unusual sequence. An architectus became tesserarius, then beneficiarius praefecti praetorio and finally cornicularius praefecti annonae before receiving a commission (31.) No other holder of the rank of cornicularius praefecti annonae is attested, and the change from the tactical to the clerical side is unique. Moreover it was unusual for only one of the posts in the century to be held, in fact there are only two parallels, one an eques already discussed (33), and the other Aelius Aelianus, a librator, to be discussed below (32). It is obviously not possible to comment to any great advantage on a

unique career, but certain points may be noted. As an architectus Flavius Rufus would manifestly have been an educated man. It may therefore not have been thought necessary for him to hold more than one of the posts in the century to qualify him for further promotion. Although he had originally enlisted in the urban cohorts and had been transferred thence into the guard it is doubtful if this would have had anything to do with the aberrations in his career since other soldiers similarly transferred followed normal paths (15 and 16.) His wide experience as a miles urbanus and an architectus -and perhaps the nature of his tasks as beneficiarius - may have played their part in his assignment as cornicularius to the praefectus annonae, though it may simply be a result of his being the only man available at the time.

The career - librator, tesserarius and evocatus - of Aelius Aelianus (32) is also unusual and demands explanation. If he was retained as evocatus because of his special attributes as a librator, why was he a tesserarius? A more logical explanation would seem to be that, like Rufus the architectus, he decided to make a professional military career for himself in the guard, but never rose any higher

than tesserarius before the completion of his statutory sixteen years service, perhaps because of his late start. He received the evocatio, and possibly was in line for a commission, but if so he never received it because he died while still an evocatus.

This, however, is not the only holder of one of the posts in the century to become an evocatus without any intervening step. The other case is a signifer (20) and here nothing more is known of his career.

The knowledge of the position of the equus in the career structure depends on three inscriptions (11, 23 and 33.) In the first, which is also the earliest, the equus was promoted singularis praefecti praetorio and then followed a normal career; in the second after service as a miles and equus Sueto Marcellinus died a tesserarius; the final career, already mentioned, is that of Naevius Paullinus - equus, optio equitum, cornicularius tribuni, evocatus. The first is clearly the most useful since it places the equus below the singularis praefecti praetorio, yet it is clear from the other two inscriptions that it was not far below, in fact the equus may well have been equal to the beneficiarius tribuni in status, and as has been noted this officer may have been a principalis.

However, it is not clear whether these soldiers were promoted from eques to a more senior post, relinquishing their status as equites and becoming pedites, but receiving more pay, or whether they continued as equites receiving pay in that capacity and also as principales.

At the other end of the scale many holders of the senior staff posts were asked to stay on and some were promoted to centurion. Most of these served first for a term as evocatus Augusti, but it is noticeable that the cornicularius praefecti praetorio was always, in the surviving examples, promoted directly into the centurionate. There are four examples of this in the second century (13, 22, 26 and 35) and in the third (42, 52). No cornicularius praefecti praetorio breathes a hint of any service as an evocatus. (18 and 25, and in the third century 43, 45 and 63.) This may be taken to imply that this officer was usually promoted to the centurionate before the completion of his sixteen years, and that this promotion was usually automatic. It is interesting to note in this connection that there is no cornicularius praefecti praetorio mentioned on a laterculus, and though the abbreviation CORN appears twice this probably refers to the cornicen.

Even the cornicularius praefecti annonae fits into this pattern, passing directly to a centurionate (31.) The cornicularii tribuni and the beneficiarii praefecti praetorio on the other hand in all the recorded instances were allowed to complete their service and receive the evocatio before being advanced to the centurionate (11, 15, 29, 33 and 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 28, 30, 31 and 39.)

Five cornicularii praefecti praetorio record promotion to a centurionate. One of these in the third century does not specify to which unit he was appointed (42,) but the other four all receive centurionates in the legions (13, 22, 26 and 35.) The cornicularii tribuni and the beneficiarii praefecti praetorio vary, however, in the units to which they are sent, some being sent to legionary commands in the provinces, others remaining in Rome. One cornicularius tribuni (15) and four beneficiarii praefecti praetorio (12, 14, 17 and 19) received legionary centurionates, and one (11) and three (21, 28 and 30) respectively centurionates in Rome. In fact the above figures do not more than reflect the relative numbers of cornicularii tribuni and beneficiarii praefecti praetorio

receiving the evocatio in any one year. But when the praetorian evocati from all sources (that is including evocati who do no more than mention that they had previously served in the praetorian guard) are analysed the result is more interesting:

Centurionates held by praetorian evocati in the second century

In Rome	3 (21, 30, 34)
Rome followed by legionary	2 (11 and 28)
Legionary	7 (12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19 and 24)

Centurionates held by cornicularii praefecti praetorio in the second century

Legionary	4 (13, 22, 26 and 35)
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It was clearly more usual for a praetorian when commissioned to take up a centurionate in a legion rather than in one of the units stationed in Rome (in the first century the slight evidence would suggest that it was the other way round.) This was probably due to the fact that there were more centurionates available in the provinces than in Rome. Service in the two types of units was unusual, and when it did occur service in the legions

followed that in Rome. In only two examples in all the careers available in this process reversed; one is not certain, being the case of Florus (40), the vital words being restored, and in any case this part of his career can be placed in the second and third decades of the third century when changes in the centurions' careers were taking place; the other career is the later century oddity of Traianus Mucianus (54). The few third century careers do not affect the pattern of the centurionates as drawn above. Besides Traianus Mucianus there was only one other evocatus promoted to a centurionate in a named unit and this soldier served in both Rome and a legion in that order (47).

There is unfortunately insufficient evidence for a useful study of the careers of praetorian principales after the centurionate. A total of eight, however, did reach the rank of primuspilus and an analysis of these men will repay investigation. The results are set down in the adjoining table.

Holders of the senior staff posts attaining the rank of primuspilus in the second century

clerical branch	
<u>cornicularius praefecti</u>	3 out of a total of 6 careers (18, 22, 25)

cornicularius tribuni 2 out of a total of 4 careers
(11 and 15)

GENERAL DUTIES BRANCH
beneficiarius praefecti 3 out of a total of 9 careers
(12, 19, 21)

Holders of the senior staff posts attaining the rank
procurator in the second century

CLERICAL BRANCH
cornicularius praefecti 1 (22)

GENERAL DUTIES BRANCH
beneficiarius praefecti 1 (21)

The members of the administrative group of senior staff appointments would appear to have had a greater chance of reaching the primipilate than the beneficiarii praefecti, since five out of the ten careers recording them attest their success, compared to three out of a total of nine. In terms of percentages a half compared to a third. As might be expected the only soldier on the clerical side known to have become a procurator was a cornicularius praefecti, though one beneficiarius praefecti attained the same rank. At this stage there are far too few figures on which to base any conclusions, except to say that it would appear that the administrative group had the best chance of success in their later careers, which may lead to the suggestion that the better soldiers were usually chosen for these posts.

It would not be fair to leave this discussion of the later careers of praetorian principales without mention of the only first century primuspilus and procurator, Vettius Valens (1). Enlisting in about 29 he rose to be beneficiarius praefecti praetorio before receiving the evocatio and being promoted centurion. In its main characteristics this does not differ from those already described in the second century (cf. 21), it is only remarkable in its detail, unusual for a praetorian at that time.

The third century was manifestly a time of change. The career of Florus (40) was the last to record the holding of not just all three posts in the century, but any of them. His praetorian service lasted over the first two decades of the third century. He is the last known dated tesserarius in the guard, while the last known dateable optio and signifer are less than ten years later (VI 323.) In view of the fact that there was one tesserarius, one optio and one signifer in each century the total number of each attested is remarkably small (about twenty of each). It is therefore not suggested that these officers ceased to exist, but certainly they may have lost some of their

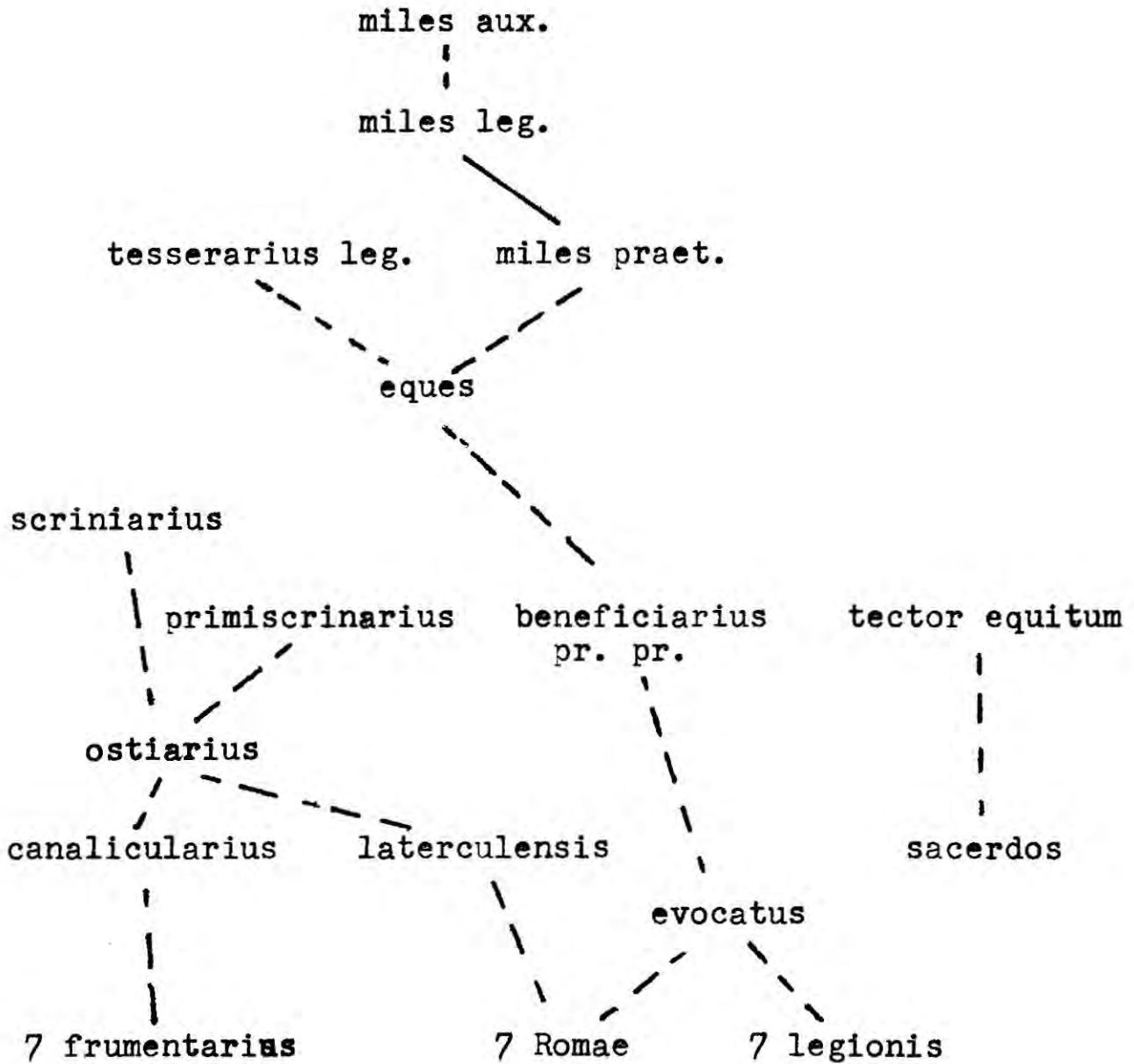
former status, if only relatively, and as a result receive less frequent mention on inscriptions. This is indeed unusual in a period when more and more immunes were testifying to their existence.

The main introduction in the third century is to be found in the posts of scrinarius, primiscrinus, ostiarius and laterculensis (41 and 52), though other ranks also make their appearance at this time - tector equitum (51), tabularius (58) and sacerdos (40 and 51). Of these the most remarkable are undoubtedly those which comprise the first group, mainly because they are all found on two career inscriptions, but also because they appear on other inscriptions (primiscrinus - AE 1947, 35, dated to 212 - 222; scriniarius AE 1949, 108 and a scriniis praefectorum - III 13201). Both the scriniarius and the primiscrinus were promoted to ostiarius, and while the former went thence to laterculensis the latter became a canalicularius, usually thought to be a variant spelling of cornicularius. Both these soldiers received commissions, one in the urban cohorts and the other in the frumentarii.

That these new posts were introduced by the reign of Severus Alexander at the latest is unequivocal. Iulius

THIRD CENTURY

Table 7



Victor, the laterculensis, was a centurion in the period 222 - 235, while a primiscripius recorded on another inscription (AE 1947, 35) held this rank sometime in the previous decade. They continue into the fourth century and by this time have taken over the position of the old-established posts (of A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire (Oxford 1964) pp 565 and 597.)

In the third century there are no detailed careers, except those quoted above. Most take the form of referring to praetorian service by the mention of their most senior post - cornicularius praefecti praetorio (42, 43, 45, 52, 62, 63), evocatus (44, 46, 47 and 54) or beneficiarius praefecti praetorio (48). However, there are a few inscriptions which record brief, but interesting, careers. Aelius Malchus (51) served as tector equitum before promotion to the post of antistes sacerdos templi Martis castrorum praetorium. Aurelius Augustianus (58) served for four years as exceptor to the governor of Moesia superior, presumably while remaining on the books of one of the legions of the province. He was then transferred into the praetorian guard where for five years he served as a tabularius before promotion to a centurionate.

This type of career - service in the legions, transfer into the guard, and later promotion to centurion - was not uncommon in the third century (39, 40, 48, 53, 54, 48 and VI 2673). In the second century the only comparable transfers were from the urban cohorts into the praetorian, and of the four examples the three dated cases are all Trajanic (14, 15, 16 - 31 is undated.) Vedennius Moderatus, it is true, in the first century was transferred from XVI Gallica into a praetorian cohort, but special circumstances were at play in his case. It is, however, under Severus that legionaries are first drafted into the guard in any numbers. The earliest attested case in the group of inscriptions under review was in 194 (39). These transfers were not confined to one year - eleven years after the unknown of VI 32887 Florus walked the same path (40), and during the century others followed. One of the most interesting of them was Traianus Mucianus, who, in the middle years of the century, moved from an auxiliary cohort to a legion to a praetorian cohort. His subsequent career was just as fascinating, and when the record of his career was cut he had attained the rank of ducenarius. This third century phenomenon of promotion into the guard from the

legions clearly springs from the action of Severus, and this emperor may also be at the root of the other changes in the career structure.

It has already been noticed that at the time that the posts in the century cease to be mentioned on inscriptions the new ranks of scriniarius, primiscrinus, ostiarius and laterculensis make their appearance. While there is insufficient evidence to make more than a suggestion that the two are connected this is a possibility. The career of Milius Victor (41) - scriniarius, ostiarius, latercalensis, centurion - is interesting and informative in this respect. His career had no connection with the older established posts, and even the one post which at first sight appears to be non-clerical - ostiarius - at least must have been administrative in function. Unlike specialists of an earlier age he gained no tactical or military experience in one of the posts in the century, in fact none of the posts specified on the inscription were military, they were all civil. The same is true of M. Aurelius Priscus (52) - all his known posts were administrative not military. M. Aurelius Augustianus (58) had a similar career - exceptor to the governor of Moesia superior, and then tabularius

in the guard. Only one career approaches the earlier system - that of T. Aelius Malchus (51) - and even these two posts, tector equitum and sacerdos, are unusual to say the least and only found in the third century. In that case there is no example of the classic second century career in which the soldier gained not only military experience but also administrative. This career structure would appear to die out in the early years of the third century and be replaced by 'specialist' careers, that of Iulius Victor being the archetype.

This was not a sudden change, its roots can be traced in the second century. The careers of Flavius Rufus (31) and the unknown possible librarius (26) have already been discussed, and in both cases it was considered that their specialist qualification played a part in their later careers. The librarius followed the clerical path and became fisci curator and cornicularius praefecti praetorio, and while Rufus did not do this he at least held the uniquely attested post of cornicularius praefecti annonae. Both careers look forward to the time when specialisation shall be taken to extremes.

This process may have been hurried by the introduction

of provincials into the praetorian cohorts by Severus, which probably resulted in a general lowering of educational standards. These men would be more useful in the purely military side of the army, while the more educated soldiers, who now may have been more rare, would have been concerned more with administration. Hence the necessity for a purely administrative or a purely military career. Those educated soldiers in the administration would also be more likely to record their careers on inscriptions, and thus give a built-in bias to the survival chances of the evidence. There is indeed no evidence that the posts in the century were ever abolished before the disbanding of the guard by Constantine.

The changes to the career structure outlined above may not be due to any positive action on the part of Septimius Severus, but simply the pressure of events partly caused by the transfer of legionaries into the guard. They must also be viewed against the general background of upheaval in the army and in administration following the death of Severus Alexander in 235. Reforms started in the early years of the third century may have received a fillip from the discords of the later third century.

Other changes in the third century concern promotion from the ranks to the centurionate or posts of equivalent status. Cornicularii praefecti praetorio and evocati continue to be promoted to the centurionate (42, 43, 46, 47, 50, 52, 54, 55, 57, 61), but some soldiers now bypassed evocatus, an unusual situation in the second century, and this presumably meant that they were promoted before the completion of their 16 years service. Such promotions are attested from laterculensis (this post may have been equivalent to cornicularius praefecti in status; 41), beneficiarius praefecti praetorio (48), tabularius (58 - this soldier had nine years service before his promotion) and sacerdos (40). But these four cases do not imply that in the third century the praetorian cohorts were unable to supply evocati as Domaszewski seems to have considered (p. 75). Durry, moreover, was able to cite a large number of third century praetorian evocati (p. 119 n. 7), effectively damning Domaszewski's suggestion.

In the third century there seems to have been some difficulty in filling all the places in the militiae equestres from the traditional sources. Hence two soldiers appear to be promoted directly from evocatus in the praetorian cohorts and from cornicularius praefecti

praetorio to the post of tribune of an auxiliary cohort (44 and 45). Two other evocati were also promoted to tribune of a cohort and it is probable that they both had served in the praetorian cohorts (247 and 248). Only one of these careers is dated and this is by the fact that the tribune commanded the cohors I praetoria Maximiniana, that is in the period 235 to 238. However, all the inscriptions are erected at the forts of Netherby, Bewcastle and Birdoswald and are so similar in style that they are probably similar in date. It therefore would seem that these promotions took place within the third or fourth decades of the third century. It is not certain that the promotions were direct - the tribune usually describes himself as ex evocato which could simply mean that he had at one stage of his career served as an evocatus - but the fact that the command of an auxiliary unit and the legionary and praetorian centurionates would seem to be of about equal status suggests that the promotions were direct. Later in the third century, on an inscription dated to about 286, Flavius Flavianus, praeses of Numidia, recorded that he was ex cornicul(ario) prae(fecti) praet(orio) (63). There seems to be no

reason why, on the analogy of the British inscriptions, this should not have been a direct promotion (44, 45, 247 and 248.) In this case the advancement may not have been due so much to the difficulty of finding equestrian officers to fill the vacant posts but also to the rising power of the praetorian prefect and the resulting advantages in patronage that he was able to exercise in favour of the members of his staff. It is clear that in the third century the openings for the praetorian soldiers were increasing. Not only does promotion to the centurionate seem to be rather easier to come by, but also advancement to the command of an auxiliary unit was possible in the changing conditions of this period.

It may be possible to try to determine the stipendia at which a soldier in the guard might have expected to reach a certain rank. There are many problems to this study. It would be wrong, for example, to assume that each post was held for the same length of time by every holder, obviously the more capable soldiers would receive quicker promotion than the less capable. It would also be falacious to expect that any one soldier would hold each post in his career for the same length of time. Even if, according to the rubric, he was expected to hold

each of the posts in the century for the same duration, other factors, such as the sudden death of a more senior officer, would enter into play, and these factors are impossible to determine. Moreover the inscriptions which do record the duration of a post may in fact be so detailed simply because the soldier in question had an unusual career. These are very real problems, nevertheless it will be worthwhile to review and assess the limited evidence available.

There are only four useful careers, though they may be supplemented by tombstones recording the stipendia and rank of soldiers and by discharge lists. It is unfortunate that the four careers do not always support each other. The most detailed career is that of Florus (40), but the fact that he had originally enlisted in a legion seriously detracts from its usefulness. His total length of service before being commissioned was over 16 years and perhaps nearer to 22. The first five of these, commencing in 200, were in legion XIII Gemina. Four years after his transfer into the guard he was made a principalis, and not until four years later was he promoted tesserarius. Thereafter he rose rapidly - optio in 214, signifer in 215, sacerdos in 217 and centurion perhaps in 218. The dates are

consular in form and he therefore may, in theory, have been tesserarius, for example, for anything from two days to two years. In fact the odds are that it was about a year, or a little over since he was signifer from 215 to 217. Since his total service was probably only two years over the sixteen normally served by members of the guard it might be expected that his promotion, once started, was rather quicker than usual, and that it started rather later than it normally would have done. From this it might be assumed that if he had enlisted in the guard in the first place he would have been promoted tesserarius after eleven years service and not thirteen, and so on.

Sextilius Marcianus (19) had a rather similar career - principalis after six years, then tesserarius, optio, signifer, beneficiarius praefecti praetorio and evocatus in his eighteenth year. No posts were mentioned between his being made a principalis and his promotion to tesserarius, but that does not mean to say that none were held. Consider Florus, and also in the first century the career of C. Lucilius Vindex who was a beneficiarius tribuni before his promotion to optio, and yet after being made a principalis. This would seem to suggest that tesserarius was not the lowest non-commissioned rank, but

that beneficiarius tribuni held this position (though on this see Appendix I). Hence if in this case two or three years are allowed between the promotion to principalis and being made a tesserarius, and it was four in the case of Florus, eight years are left for the holding of the four posts - tesserarius, optio, signifer and beneficiarius praefecti praetorio, that is about two years for each. On the other hand it is possible that Marcianus was promoted tesserarius shortly after being made a principalis, which would increase the duration of each of his subsequent posts.

Two inscriptions actually mention the length of time certain posts were held. One is the tombstone of Sueto Marcellinus (23). He was made as equus after only one year as munifex. Two years and nine months later he was promoted tesserarius, a post which he held to his death nearly three years later. This is in startling contrast to the last two careers - he was made a tesserarius with less than four years' service. It can only be observed that he was presumably a better soldier than the other two. Milius Festus (V 4371) also fits into the same pattern

as Marcellinus. He was promoted signifer with only seven years service, and remained as such until his demise five years later. It is surprising that Pestus was a signifer for so long, but the third century date of the career might help to explain this, though it must be admitted that Marcellinus' career is securely dated to the middle years of the second century.

The above four inscriptions fall into two groups. The career of Florus suggest that about eleven years service was normally needed before promotion to tesserarius could be expected, and that of Marcianus gives qualified support, while the other two careers imply that the number of stipendis need not be so high. It is instructive to note that in the latter two the duration of posts seems to have been longer. Obviously in the second century each post could not have been held for four years since that would entail immediate promotion to tesserarius on entry! In that case the lower estimate of two years, or a little under seems to be more reasonable. Known stipendia and laterculi would seem to agree with this.

Three stipendia are known for beneficiarii tribuni seven, eight and eighteen years. The age of another beneficiarius tribuni - 27 - fits in well with the former

two, as does that of a singularis tribuni - 24 years. No beneficiarii tribuni were mentioned on the discharge lists, though one soldier did have 18 stipendia. Not all soldiers would be successful and be advanced to the senior staff posts; some may not be promoted till late in their career, others may not live up to earlier expectations and may remain in the same post for years. This is a phenomenon of all standing armies, and not just peculiar to the Roman. As far as the rank under study at the moment is concerned the lower stipendis and age seem to point to the more usual time to hold this post.

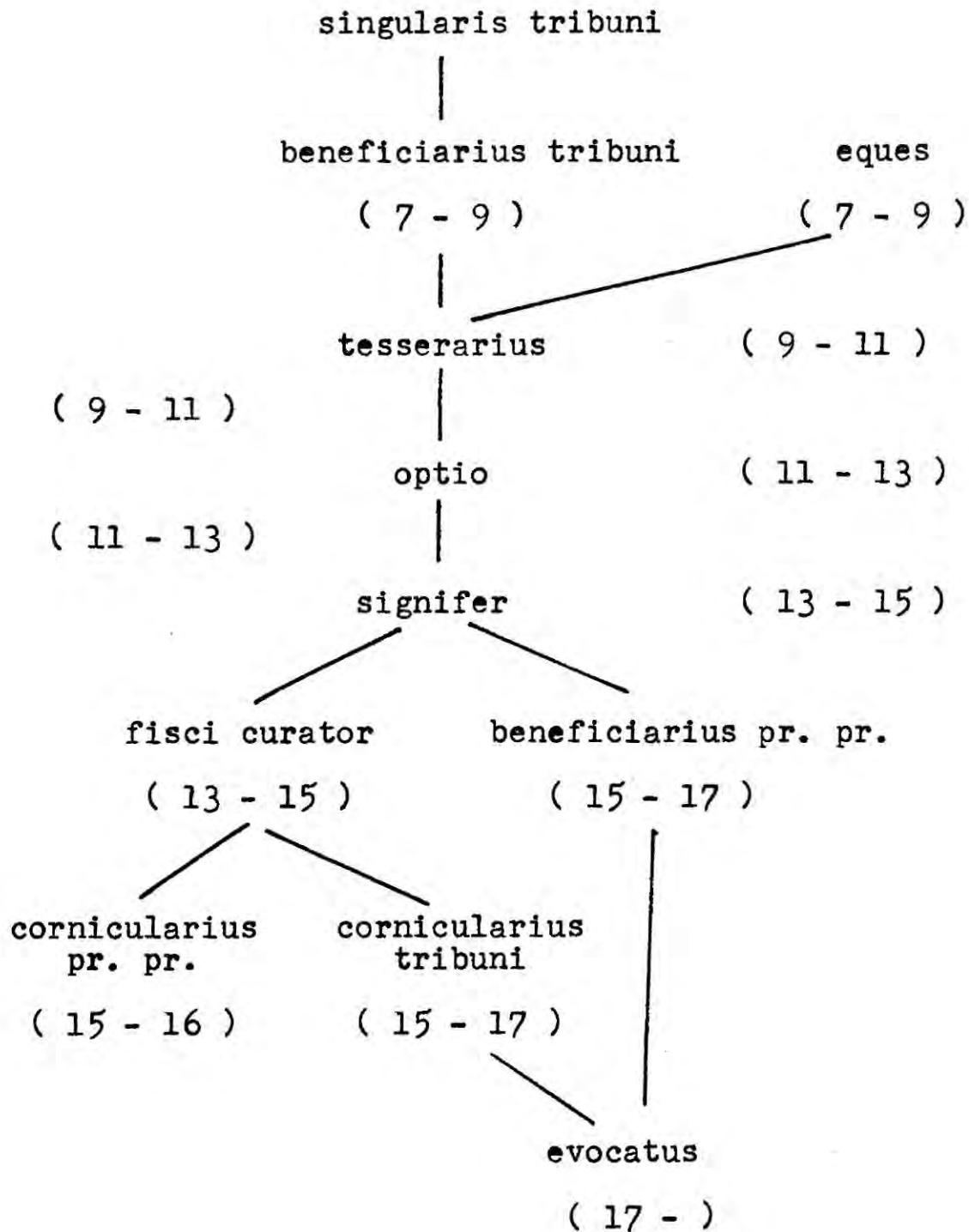
The discharge lists record no tesserarii, four optiones and seven or eight signiferi. Since there was the same number of these officers at any one time it is natural that there should be more officers of the higher grade than the lower retiring at any one time. Of these three ranks the optio is the better represented as far as stipendia are concerned. Four inscriptions record the length of service of optiones; eleven, twelve, fourteen and fifteen. Assuming an age of about twenty for enlistment two ages of optiones - 30 and 34 - agree with the above mentioned stipendia. The average length of service is therefore thirteen and that agrees well with the eleven for tesserarius and the

Table 8 - Stipendia and Ages

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Stipendia</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Date</u>
<u>sing. trib.</u>	38		24	early 3c
<u>bf. trib.</u>	AE 1921, 83	7	30	c. 200
	XI 1842	8	25	early 2c
	VI 2527		26	3c
	V 8274	18	38	1c - 2c
<u>tesserarius</u>	23	4 - 6		c. 160
	40	13		213
	VI 2705		35	late 1c - 2c
<u>optio</u>	VI 2747	11	28	2c
	6	12	30	2c
	40	14		214
	VI 2716	14	32	late 1c - early 3c
	III 7072	15		2c - 3c
	XI 1803		34	early 3c
	VI 2447		30	early 3c
<u>signifer</u>	40	15		215
	V 4371	7 - 12		late 2c - 3c
	VI 2578	19		late 1c
<u>fisci curator</u>	VI 2544	15	35	3c
<u>corn. trib.</u>	VI 2560		18	late 2c - early 3c
<u>corn. pr. pr.</u>	XI 5702	13		2c
	VI 2776		32	late 2c - 3c
<u>bf. pr. pr.</u>	VI 2644	12	44	late 2c - early 3c
	VI 32707	6 or 11		1c
	VI 2673	19	45	3c
		(14 in guard)		
	III 645		34	late 1c - early 3c

CALCULATED STIPENDIA

Table 9



suggestion that each post was held for something less than two years.

Other posts are less well served by the evidence. The only signifer recording his years of service had 19, while the sole fisci curator was 35 and had fifteen, which would agree with thirteen for the optiones. Since it is not known how many fisci curatores there were it is not possible to compare their numbers on laterculi to those for other officers.

It might be expected that a soldier who had reached the heights of being a cornicularius to the praetorian praefecti would in the normal course of affairs be made a centurion automatically. Certainly none of these officers are known to have been evocati, and they do not appear on the discharge lists. Similarly there is but one, beneficiarius praefecti praetorio recorded on a discharge list and another as a veteran. Once these senior posts - the final ones on the praetorian cursus - had been attained the evocatio if not a centurionate was usually the next step, hence the scarcity of these posts on the discharge lists.

The known stipendis and ages of these senior staff officers are singularly unhelpful. A cornicularius

tribuni in the third century was only eighteen, while a cornicularius praefecti was thirty-two, and another had only served for 13 years. This last is not unexpected if officers of this rank were promoted to the centurionate before the completion of their service. The beneficiarii praefecti vary too - one was aged 34, another 44 with 12 years service, while a third had 19 years service, though the first five had been spent in a legion.

The position of the eques in the career structure is reasonably certain. If it is accepted that the posts in the century and above are each held for a period of one and a half to two years then that of eques ought to be held roughly between six and eight stipendia. Twenty-one equites have recorded their stipendia on inscriptions which have survived, while another three or four are listed on discharge lists. The majority of stipendia are between 7 and 13; two are below - 1 (23) and 3, and three are above - 16, 16 and 17. The latter are clearly at retirement and as a result should be classed with those on laterculi. Ten of the sixteen stipendia fall between 7 and 10. As a whole the figures agree well with the calculated average length of service of equites, that is six to eight, and they might be taken to correct the calculated figures. Durry (p. 191) suggested that a praetorian would only be

made an equus after five years service, but the stipendia, and the calculated length of service both suggest that he underestimated this time.

The suggested average stipendia for each of the posts under discussion has been summed up in Table 9. Most of the evidence would seem to point to a soldier usually having about nine years service before he was promoted to one of the posts in the century (Durry suggested eight). Each of the succeeding posts would probably be held for about one and a half to two years, bringing him to retirement or the evocatio and/or a centurionate, after sixteen years service. If the post of beneficiarius tribuni was the lowest post that could be held as a principalis, then normally a soldier would have at least seven years service before he became a principalis.

That this system was flexible there can be no doubt, and VI 32638 and AE 1964, 120 demonstrate this very effectively (see Table 10). These two inscriptions appear to be part of a complete list of the members of one praetorian century whose names are recorded in the order of their enlistment (76 names have survived.) The earliest date on the stone is 168 and the latest 179. The inscription was therefore erected between 179 and 184,

Table 10

VI 32638 + AE 1964, 120 dated to 179 to 184

<u>Date of enlistment</u>	<u>Rank</u>
168	<u>optio (centuriae)</u>
170	<u>b(ene)f(iciarius) pr(aefecti)</u> <u>b(eneficiarius) tr(ibuni)</u> <u>sign(ifer centuriae)</u>
171	<u>sp(eculator)</u> <u>tub(icen)</u>
172	<u>sing(ularis pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio)</u>
173	<u>sp(eculator)</u> <u>buci(nator)</u> <u>eque(s)</u>
174	<u>eque(s)</u> <u>eque(s)</u>
175	<u>tub(icen)</u> <u>tub(icen)</u> <u>equ(es)</u> <u>b(eneficiarius) tr(ibuni)</u>
176	<u>ap(eculator)</u>
177	<u>cor(nicen?)</u> <u>equ(es)</u> <u>equ(es)</u>
178	<u>lib(rarius) tr(ibuni)</u>
179	<u>equ(es)</u>

probably nearer the latter than the former, and not necessarily just before the discharge of 180 as has been argued (EE IV 319-320.) In the section comprising soldiers who had enlisted in 170 there appear a beneficiarius praefecti praetorio (AE 1964, 120, a, 3), a signifer (AE 1964, 120, a, 7) and a beneficiarius tribuni (AE 1964, 120, a, 6), that is one of the senior staff officers, a holder of one of the posts in the century and a junior staff officer, soldiers whose stipendia on the hypothetical case set out above ought to differ by upwards of five years. One beneficiarius tribuni (VI 32638, b, 2) did in fact have five years less service than his colleague who had enlisted in 170. Similarly under 168 there appears an optio (AE 1964, 120, b, 2) who was clearly making slow progress compared to his hierarchical senior, but junior as far as length of service was concerned, the beneficiarius praefecti of 170. Surely nothing reveals at a glance the flexibility of the system of promotion better than this list. The hypothetical system outlined above concerning the stipendia of soldiers at each rank can do nothing more than suggest, all things being equal, which they are not, the stage at which a soldier might expect promotion, but it suffers the

disadvantage of all averages, namely that it is an average and it is possible that no soldier followed the course as it has been suggested.

The Urban Cohorts

The soldiers in the urban cohorts, unlike their colleagues in the praetorian cohorts, or in other units, served for twenty years. As a result it is not possible to make direct analogies from one career structure to the other. Moreover all the cohorts were not stationed in Rome. Cohors I urbana was at Lugudunum and cohors XIII at Carthage until they changed places, probably in the reign of Hadrian (cf Freis p. 30). The organisation of these two cohorts, though being broadly similar to that of their mother unit in Rome, must actually have been more complex, since in reality they were to all intents and purposes autonomous units. It is clear that care must therefore be taken in any comparison between the careers of officers in the cohorts in Rome and those in the other two cohorts.

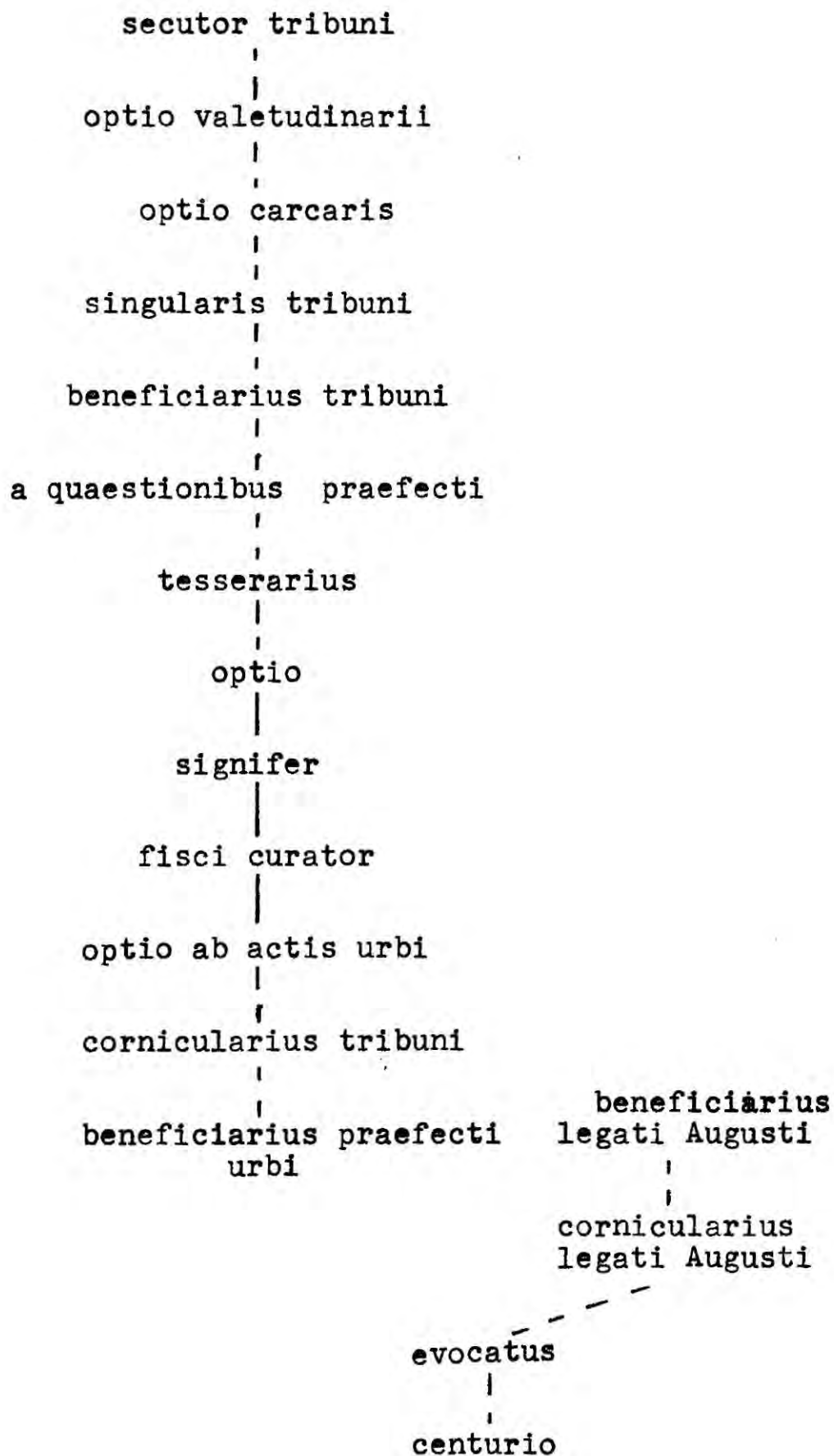
Cohorts I and XIII both supplied officers to the governors and procurators in whose provinces they were stationed. Hence a new element is introduced into the urban careers. It has already been pointed out that the praefectus annonae drew at least some of his staff at one time from the praetorian cohorts, but as far as can be ascertained the governor and procurator of Gallia Lugdunensis both drew their staffs from the urban cohorts as long as

there was one in the province. These officers may have had their own separate career structure, and at the least they must have had an influence on that of the cohort as a whole. What slight evidence there is points to the former actually being the case, at least in the first century.

In spite of these complications which must have existed little can be said of the urban career. This is simply because only three - or possibly four - careers have survived. Two of these relate to soldiers in the first cohort, and one to a soldier in Rome. One of the former category served on the staff of the governor of Lugdunensis and the other two follow a different pattern. The latter are the careers of Luccius Sabinus (65) of the first cohort and Vasidius Bellicus (66) of the tenth. The former is closely dated to the period 114 to 134, while the latter is only dated on stylistic grounds to the late first to second century. Furthermore, only five fragmentary discharge lists provide evidence concerning the immunes and principales in the urban cohorts, too little evidence unfortunately to be of much use in this survey.

Sabinus had a remarkable career, holding thirteen posts in only twenty years - secutor tribuni, optio valetudinarii, optio carceris, singularis tribuni, beneficiarius tribuni, a quaestionibus, tesserarius, optio,

Table 11



signifer, fisci curator, optio ab actis, cornicularius tribuni and beneficiarius praefecti urbis. In its broad outline it fits into the general pattern - junior staff posts, posts in the century and senior staff posts. Yet several posts, some known in other units, only appear on this one career. The post of optio valetudinarii is not found on another career in relation to 'professional' military posts (L. Caecilius Urbanus (136) was promoted from optio valetudinarii to curator operis armamentarii in a legion), while optio carceris and optio ab actis do not appear in any other career. The importance of the first two posts may be enhanced by the special police duties of the soldiers in the urban cohorts, while the latter post is possibly similar to the evocatus ab actis fori or evocatus in fori ab actis (cf. optio ab actis) - they certainly both fall into the group of senior staff posts. The career of Bellicus supports that of Sabinus regarding the position of this post since he also held it after the posts in the century and fisci curator. The quaestionarius does appear in other careers; in the legions it seems to be of the same status as the two higher posts in the century, while in the praetorian cohorts it is one of the senior staff posts. In the urban cohorts the post of a quaestionibus

is lower in status. It is interesting that both these two posts which do appear on the career structures of other units are both lower and not higher in status in the urban cohorts.

The secutor tribuni does appear in careers of NCOs in the vigiles and holds a similar position in both units. The post is also known in the legions.

The career of Bellicus has already been mentioned and in its four posts it agrees completely with that of Sabinus optio, signifer, fisci curator and optio ab actis urbi - except in the minor point that Sabinus may not have held the last post in the staff of the prefect of the urban cohorts. The appearance of this rank in the two careers is the only serious divergence from the praetorian career even in detail. The advancement from cornicularius tribuni to beneficiarius praefecti urbis though not paralleled exactly in the guard might be compared with the promotion from beneficiarius praefecti praetorio to cornicularius praefecti annonae. The rank of cornicularius tribuni would, on analogy with other units, be the most senior posts in the extra-mural cohorts, promotion thence being only possible to the staff of the prefect and, though it was not certain that the post of beneficiarius would have been held in the City, it probably was.

The paucity of the evidence will not permit of calculation concerning the length of time which each post was held. Although in its broad outlines the cursus is similar to that of the praetorians its peculiarities - as well as the differences between the two units still prevent direct analogies. The appearance of the post of optio ab actis, for example, in the careers of both Bellicus and Sabinus may only be a coincidence, but it may also have been normal practice for this post to be held. Neither is the remarkable career of Luccius Sabinus of much use since it is unique not only in the career itself, but also in its detail. However, he can hardly have held each post for much longer than a year, while in spite of his vast range of experience he did not become a centurion. In default of further evidence a guess might be hazarded that the duration of each post differed little from that pertaining in the praetorian cohorts. The four extra years spread over perhaps seven posts will have made only a little difference, while the initial stipendia required before a first appointment could be made was probably somewhat higher.

The cursus of M. Carinthius Macrinus (64) is a contrast to those two already discussed since his service as a

non-commissioned officer was spent on the staff of the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis. Macrinus enlisted in 73 and became an evocatus fifteen years later. In that time he served as beneficiarius and cornicularius to three governors of the province of Lugdunensis. His first appointment came only four years after his enlistment and lasted for six years, the duration of his service as cornicularius being five. This career - in the tenure of the two posts successively on the staff of the governor, their duration and the early promotion - is unusual. This may be due to the unusual position of the men of the urban cohort serving on the staff of the governor and procurator of the province, but another reason is possible. I have already suggested that Domitian may have been responsible for the stabilisation of the praetorian career, and it is possible that this career reflects the situation in the urban cohorts before a similar process was carried out. It is, of course, with the present paucity of evidence, impossible to do no more than indicate the direction this evidence appears to be pointing.

Although the surviving discharge lists for the urban cohorts are few in number, and the information they provide

little, yet they afford interesting contrasts between the promotion prospects of certain ranks in the urban cohorts and their counterparts in the praetorian. This can be summarised as follows:

<u>Rank</u>	Number on <u>laterculi</u>	
	<u>Praetorian Coh.</u>	<u>Urban Coh.</u>
<u>tesserarius</u>	0	2
<u>optio</u>	4	3
<u>signifer</u>	7 or 8	5
<u>fisci curator</u>	8	1
<u>cornicularius tribuni</u>	0	2
<u>cornicularius praefecti</u>	0	0
<u>beneficiarius praefecti</u>	1	3

It is unfortunately impossible to determine the promotion prospects of each post in comparison to other posts in the same unit because the number of soldiers holding the posts is unknown, even in the case of the holders of the posts in the century. However, the number of senior staff officers in the officium of the praetorian prefect were clearly in excess of those in the officium of the praefectus urbi or at the least roughly the same and therefore it is possible to compare posts in the two units

to advantage.

It would appear that the senior principales in the urban cohorts were not as well placed for promotion as their colleagues in the praetorian cohorts - the absence of a cornicularius praefecti from the lists may simply be due to the small number of these officers. This is to be expected since there is no known promotion of a soldier from the urban cohorts to the centurionate with the single exception of M. Caranthius Macrinus (64). The career of this soldier from one of the extra-mural cohorts is unique in another way since all the posts he is known to have held were on the staff of the governor of Lugdunensis. On present evidence promotion to the centurionate for soldiers in the urban cohorts pursuing a normal career would seem to be impossible.

The number of times the posts in the century are attested would seem to be proportionally about the same. As might be expected the higher the post the more times it appears on the discharge lists, that is the more senior the post and the older the man the less chance of promotion. So little is known of the post of fisci curator that it is impossible to reach any conclusions about the significance of its record on the laterculi.

In conclusion it can be said that the evidence for the urban career as a whole is most unsatisfactory. In the main it would appear that it is modelled on that of the praetorian guard, the main differences being that the soldiers in the urban cohorts served for four more years, while their status being inferior to that of the guard effectively cut down their chances of further promotion.

The Vigiles

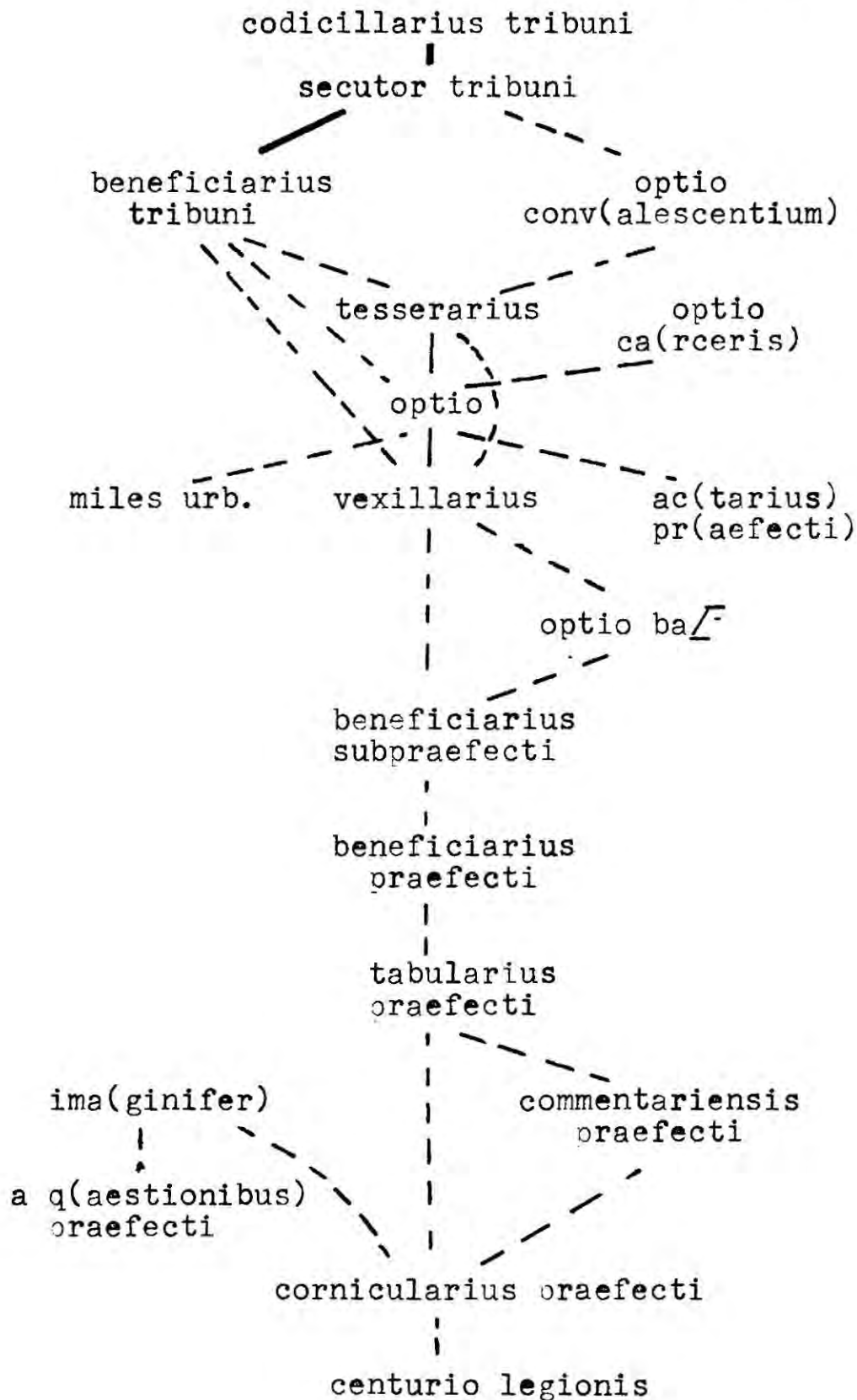
Although the framework of the career structure of the immunes and principales in the vigiles is provided by four careers (68, 71, 72 and 73) most of the important and unique evidence is provided by two lists of the soldiers of the fifth cohort dated to 205 and 210. These two inscriptions probably provide more problems than they actually solve. Nevertheless they furnish fascinating details concerning the advancement of immunes and principales in this unit which are not paralleled in any other unit in the army, with the possible exception of the cohors III palmyrenorum.

The career structure fits into the praetorian pattern, except that the lines of division between the three stages of the career structure are more blurred than in the guard. The lowest stage consists of the junior staff posts, usually on the staff of the tribune, that is the officer commanding a cohort; the second the posts in the century; and finally the senior staff posts, which are all, with the possible exception of optio ballistariorum, headquarters posts. However, since the post of actuarius praefecti appeared to have ranked equally with vexillarius, which is not unreasonable if the two posts, and those above, were held by soldiers receiving double pay. At the lower end of the

posts in the century the division between the junior staff posts and the posts in the century is not clear cut since the optio carceris appears to have ranked equally with the tesserarius. Nevertheless the main points made by Domaszewski (pp 10 - 11) in connection with the posts in the century, that they formed one group with no intervening post and were the prerequisite for further promotion, would appear to be true.

Three junior staff posts, on the staff of the tribune, are known and their relationship to each other understood (see Table 13.) These are, in ascending order - codicillarius, secutor and beneficiarius. (68, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79.) Promotion from beneficiarius to one of the posts in the century is well established, though the three surviving promotions are all to different posts! (68, 71, 82). The relationship of the posts in the century to each other is analogous to that in other units - tesserarius, optio and vexillarius - in ascending order. The only peculiarity is that there is no signifer, his place is taken by the vexillarius. Between the posts at cohort level and those in the century occur two other ranks. These are recorded on the lists as OPT COIV OP CA, OP CC and OPT C.

exactu tribuni
 librarius subpraefecti



The former has been restored plausibly as optio conualescentium and OP CA as optio carceris, (Domazsewski-Dobson, 12f.) The other two are probably abbreviations, of one or both of these. There is one advancement from secutor tribuni to optio conualescentium (81) and another from OP CO to tesserarius (83.) If OP CO has been restored correctly the optio conualescentium would appear to be equal in status to the beneficiarius tribuni. The optio carceris may be of the same ranking as either the beneficiarius tribuni or the tesserarius since he is promoted to optio centuriae (86.) However, it has been noted that the beneficiarius tribuni could be promoted to any of the three posts in the century and therefore the optio carceris could be, and is perhaps more likely to be, on a par with the beneficiarius and the optio conualescentium. Their position may be compared to that of the optio valetudinarii and the optio carceris in the career of Luccius Sabinus in the urban cohorts and like these two posts the importance of the optio conualescentium and the optio carceris may be increased by the special duties of the unit - in this case fire-fighting. This soldier held them between being secutor tribuni and singularis tribuni, a

rank which is not found in the vigiles, though in the urban cohorts it ranked lower than beneficiarius tribuni.

Most of the evidence for the relationship of the more senior posts comes from one career (73). This is unfortunately fragmentary and only commences with the rank of vexillarius. The succeeding sequence is: beneficiarius subpraefecti, beneficiarius praefecti, tabularius beneficiarius (praefecti), commentariensis praefecti, cornicularius (praefecti), emeritus. The relationship of tabularius and cornicularius praefecti is supported by evidence from the lists of the fifth cohort, which demonstrate the P. Decimus Macrinus held the former post in 205 and the latter in 210 (93). It is possible, though on the whole unlikely, that commentariensis was held in between. Two other careers, however, combine to suggest that a post could be held between vexillarius and beneficiarius subpraefecti (90 and 91). In the former P. Iulius Faustinus was a vexillarius in 205 and an optio ba in 210 while in the latter Ti. Claudius Speratianus was an optio b in 205 and a beneficiarius subpraefecti in 210. The promotion of the unknown soldier (73) to the posts of tabularius, commentariensis and cornicularius was probably unusual. There appear to have been about 35 beneficarii praefecti in the vigiles and a much smaller number of tabularii, commentarienses and cornicularii. Relatively few beneficarii would have had the opportunity

to hold one of these three senior posts, still less all three of them, while direct promotion from beneficiarius to the centurionate is unknown, though it may have existed - there are only two promotions of principales in the vigiles to the centurionate attested, and these are both cornicularii praefecti (69 and 70). In that case beneficiarius praefecti will probably have been the highest post attained by most soldiers in the vigiles with only a relatively small number advancing to the three - or four if AQPR is included - most senior staff posts, especially if they were all normally held in turn.

There are a number of other senior staff posts recorded which do not easily fit into the above pattern. There are the posts abbreviated IMA, IMC, AQPR, ACPR. There is no certainty what these should be expanded to read but it is difficult to envisage the first two not having something to do with the post of imaginifer. In the legions the imaginifer appears to have ranked immediately below the signifer, and have been a duplicarius. A promotion from ima(ginifer) to cor(nicularius) pr(aefecti) in the vigiles suggests that in this unit it was one of the senior staff posts also held by a duplicarius (94). There is a promotion from im(a)g(inifer) to a q(uaestionibus) pr(aefecti) also recorded (95) which

places the latter posts possible on a par with commentariensis praefecti since it was presumably below cornicularius in status. The imaginifer may therefore have been roughly equal to the beneficiarius or tabularius praefecti in the hierarchy. The ACPR may be an abbreviation for ac(tarius) pr(aefecti) and a promotion from optio to this post suggests that it is of the same status as vexillarius, or possibly slightly above - certainly held by a duplicarius. It is unfortunate that it is not possible to determine the position of these three posts more clearly in the career structure, or assess their importance in the cursus more satisfactorily, though they obviously had their own part to play.

The most senior post below the centurionate was cornicularius praefecti vigilum, and the two promotions from it to the centurionate have already been mentioned (69 and 70). The earlier advancement is remarkable in that the inscription specifically states that the cornicularius praefecti was the first soldier of that rank, and therefore presumably the first soldier from the vigiles, to be appointed centurion. That was in the period 138 to 141 (69). There is one later promotion to the centurionate recorded,

though the promotion may have become more common in the troubled years of the third century (70.) Both cornicularii praefecti vigilum were appointed to legionary centurionates as were all the known cornicularii praefecti praetorio, the cornicularius praefecti annonae and of course the cornicularii consulares, with the exception of the one case from the urban cohorts who is a special case.

It is not possible to speculate on the growth of the career structure of the immunes and principales in the Vigiles for the simple reason that there is insufficient evidence. Most of the material, unique to this unit, is supplied by the two lists of members of the fifth cohort. Only the two rosters of the cohors XX Palmyrenorum at Dura allow a comparable analysis to be made.

The two lists pose questions which are impossible to answer; for example, why were two thirds of the soldiers recorded in 205 missing from the ranks of the cohort five years later? Or what are the correct expansions of the abbreviations? In spite of these problems it is possible to base some calculations as to the duration of each post on the 29 immunes and principales recorded on both inscriptions.

Twenty-four of the twenty-nine soldiers who appear on both inscriptions holding a rank received promotion in those five years. (A further thirteen soldiers are listed on both inscriptions but are only accorded a rank in the latter year. It is easy to explain some omissions in the earlier year by recent promotions, but this is not possible in all cases, for example, M. Clodius Verecundus, cor(nicularius) s(ub)pr(aefecti) (VI 1057, 4, 12 = VI 1058, 7 1), and Q. Mulleus Saturninus b(ene)f(iciarius) pr(aefecti) (VI 1057 7, 72 = VI 1058, 5, 8). It is difficult to believe that this principalis received promotion directly from the ranks. Clearly this is another unsolved problem relating to these two inscriptions.) In most cases it was advancement to the next senior post, but one soldier, P. Decimius Primianus, was promoted from tesserarius to vexillarius and it is possible that he had held the rank of optio in between. This is by no means certain since in two other careers relating to the Vigiles one or two of the posts in the century were omitted (68 and 71) but the possibility must remain open. On the other hand of the five soldiers that were holding the same rank in both years two were bucinatores (97 and 98) and therefore are of no concern here while the rank of another is enigmatically abbreviated

as HO or HC (99). One of the remaining two is Mr. Pontius Diodorus (92) b(ene)f(iciarius) pr(aefecti) and it is not surprising to find a principalis of this rank serving for five years in the same post. The other case is not so simple. Iul. Boatius Rusticus (96) is recorded as HEMB in 205 and EMB in 210. Domaszewski considered this to be an abbreviation for em(eritus) b(ene)f(iciarius) and it is indeed difficult to see what else it could be expanded to read but at the same time neither the arguments employed by Domaszewski nor by Baillie Reynolds to prove that he was a beneficiarius tribuni are satisfactory - he is more likely to have been a beneficiarius praefecti retained for a specific reason. Four of these five posts are clearly those which might be expected to be held for a longer period than normal.

The fact that there are no definite cases of two promotions occurring in the five years between the erection of the two inscriptions and that only two soldiers, both probably senior principales that, held the same rank in both years points to the supposition that each post was held for a period of about three to four years. The average cannot have been less than three years without there being more than the one possible 'double' promotion

in the five years, and on the other hand it is unlikely to have been longer than four years or a little more since there are so few cases of soldiers remaining with the same rank for the five years. However, this is only an average and was not necessarily followed by every soldier.

Two deficiencies hamper any attempt to reconstruct an average career or even the broad lines of promotion. The first is that there are far fewer careers surviving of soldiers in the vigiles than say of praetorians or legionaries and of those that have survived there is not one which contains posts in all three major divisions of the career structure, that is junior staff posts, posts in the century and senior staff posts. Secondly there is no explicit proof as to how long the soldiers in the vigiles actually served. There are two main pieces of evidence which shed some light on this problem. A tombstone of a beneficiarius praefecti vigilum records that he died at the age of 44 after 22 years service (VI 2966). Also Augustus left legacies to each soldier in his army. The members of the praetorian cohorts, the urban cohorts and the vigiles, legions and citizen cohorts received different donatives. Since those for the praetorians

and the legionaries appear to be directly related to their pay and length of service, while the amount for the soldiers of the urban cohorts can be taken to agree with this, it is presumed that the soldiers in the vigiles had the same length of service and similar pay to the legionaries as they both received the same donative. There is, however, no evidence that the members of the auxiliary citizen cohorts received different pay from members of other auxiliary units. Nevertheless the scraps of evidence do support each other and point to the probability that the soldiers of the vigiles served for a period of twenty-five years. In spite of these difficulties there is sufficient evidence available to allow further important deductions to be made concerning the career of the soldiers in the vigiles.

The longest and most important career is unfortunately fragmentary and only begins with the post of vexillarius (73). The career is as follows: (vexill)ar(ius) b(eneficiarius) sub(praefecti), b(eneficiarius) pr(aefecti), tab(ularius) b(eneficiarius) (praefecti), comm(entariensis) pr(aefecti), cornic(ularius) (praefecti) and (eme)ritu(s). If each of these posts was held for an average of three

and a half years the soldier would have had only three years service when he was promoted vexillarius; this would clearly be unusual. This career therefore does not agree as regards the duration of each post, with the figures as culled from the two lists of the fifth cohort. The soldier must have held each post for less than the average of three to four years and probably also held more senior staff posts than was usual. Certainly one other soldier may have by-passed commentariensis (93), though equally optio ba appears elsewhere between vexillarius and beneficiarius subpraefecti (96 and 91). Domaszewski (p. 8) considered that tabularius in this case was an ad hoc appointment held while the soldier was still a beneficiarius praefecti and, while this would at least allow each post to be held rather longer, I have argued elsewhere that the post was probably established (see tabularius praefecti vigilum). However, this career was probably not average for another reason. The conclusion has been already reached that probably most beneficarii praefecti would have risen no higher in the hierarchy - that is the post acted as an efficiency bar - but would have retired with that rank. Hence the unknown soldier will not have had an average career since he held three

of the most senior staff posts in succession, though how this affected the length of time he held each post is not clear. He probably held the more senior posts for a shorter period than the more junior, though it is possible that he held all for less than the average of three to four years. As far as the career itself is concerned probably most soldiers promoted from the posts in the century will only have held two or possibly three of the senior staff posts before the completion of their service, while a select number will have been advanced to the more senior of the staff posts, and perhaps after the middle of the second century to the centurionate.

Turning now to the posts in the century. Only one of the three soldiers whose careers terminated with vexillarius or a post of equivalent status held all three of the posts in the century, while two soldiers recorded on the two lists of the fifth cohort also appear to have held only a maximum of two posts in the century. One soldier was promoted from beneficiarius tribuni to vexillarius (68), another from the same post to optio to ac(tarius) pr(aefecti) (87), both probably omitting one of the posts in the century. C. Virrius Lucundus (72) is the only soldier known to have held all three posts in

the century. This pattern of only one or two of the posts in the century being held has already been observed in the praetorian cohorts.

There are only two careers recording soldiers holding junior staff posts apart from those known in the fifth cohort. One soldier was promoted from secutor to beneficiarius tribuni to vexillarius (68) and another from beneficiarius tribuni to optio (71). These are not particularly instructive, but the lists of cohors V are. Three soldiers were advanced from codicillarius to secutor tribuni (74, 75 and 76) and three from the latter post to beneficiarius tribuni (77, 78 and 79). From this post one soldier was promoted to tesserarius (82), and another to optio convalescentium (81). The disadvantage of the evidence supplied by these two lists is that they only record two posts held by a soldier, not his whole career. Consequently a soldier promoted from codicillarius to secutor tribuni may then have been advanced to tesserarius or even optio. It is, however, unlikely that this was normal since there is no example on the lists of this actually happening. The other two careers both illustrate promotion from the most senior of the junior staff posts to one of the posts in the century. This

evidence therefore points to the probability that all three of the junior staff posts - codicillarius, secutor and beneficiarius tribuni were held in succession, though there would be many exceptions to this 'rule'.

To sum up: the average career, such as it has been possible to determine, consisted of the three junior posts on the staff of the tribune, two posts in a century and two senior staff posts - a total of seven. There were, of course, other posts which have not been mentioned in this discussion such as optio carceris and optio convalescentium and optio ba[but their numbers must have been small in relation to the other posts and they therefore had little effect on the 'average' career. With the paucity of the evidence it is not possible to determine whether there were different lines of promotion at any stage as in the praetorian cohorts.

The career will clearly have been spread over 25 years since promotion to the centurionate from the vigiles would appear to have been unusual. This is in broad agreement with the calculations for the duration of each post and the average number of posts held by each soldier. On the 'average' career each of the seven posts would be held for

about three to four years, a total of about 21 to 28 years. It would appear that most soldiers either held fewer than seven posts, or each for less than four years, or both. Promotion to the lowest post may have been made after a short time in the service - witness the recruits in the cohors XX Palmyrenorum who were appointed singulares in the year they enlisted - usually probably within four years. The average stipendia at subsequent promotions can therefore be easily calculated. These stipendia are set down in Table 14. It must be emphasised that they are no more ^{than} hypothetical however, it will be useful to compare these to those recorded on inscriptions.

Q. Iulius Galatus served for fourteen years (68.) He was promoted secutor tribuni after approximately seven years service, which agrees with the calculated stipendia. Two years later he was advanced to beneficiarius tribuni, a shorter period of time than the lists imply, and he held this post for only two years. The difference in stipendia may be due to Galatus himself and the desire of his ^{senior} officers to promote him as quickly as possible, though it may also be due to the fact that this career is different in date from the lists of the fifth cohort and therefore reflects a slightly different situation. Certainly however,

CALCULATED STIPENDIA

Table 14

codicillarius tribuni

(2 - 4)

|

secutor tribuni

(5 - 7)

|

beneficiarius tribuni

(8 - 10)

|

two posts in the century

(12 - 13) and (15 - 16)

|

two senior staff posts usually probably:

beneficiarius subpraefecti

(19)

|

beneficiarius praefecti

(22)

Galatus held his final post, vexillarius for three years, dying at the early age of 37. He held only one of the posts in the century, which supports the suggestion that his rapid advancement was due to his own attributes. Nevertheless the career is remarkable in that it agrees so closely with the calculated stipendia.

The career of C. Virrius Lucundus, on the other hand, does not conform so readily to the figures and ideas outlined above (72). He died after only six and a half years service, tesserarius, optio and vexillarius. Even if each post was held for two years he would have to have been promoted very soon after the completion of his initial training and a direct promotion to tesserarius, even in the third century to which this inscription may possibly be dated, would be a further peculiarity. There is little that can be done with this career except to draw attention to its existence and its unusual features. The only other stipendia recorded for the holder of one of the posts in the century is eleven years for a tesserarius (XI 3520.) A beneficiarius tribuni served for nine years (VI 3988). These two are mutually compatible and agree pretty closely with the calculated stipendia. At the other end of the

career a beneficiarius praefecti had 22 years service when he died (VI 2966), though one colleague was only 29 at his death (XIV 226.)

One further point remains to be discussed - Domaszewski considered that when a soldier was promoted from one of the junior staff posts to a post in the century he changed cohorts in order not to undermine his discipline. He cites as evidence for this the fact that many of the junior staff officers in VI 1057 do not appear in VI 1058, while many of the senior principales listed in VI 1058 do not appear in VI 1057, suggesting that they had served in another cohort as beneficiarius tribuni and had been transferred into the fifth cohort when they were advanced to one of the posts in the century. Although it is true that no soldier appears in the same century in both years as a junior staff officer and consequently the holder of one of the posts in a century one tesserarius of 210 had five years previously been a beneficiarius tribuni in a different century in the same cohort (82) while four others, tesserarii, optiones or vexillarii in 210, had been listed in different centuries in 205, but without any epithet (VI 1057, 3, 63 = VI 1058, 7, 4; VI 1057, 4, 17 = VI 1058, 5, 5; VI 1057, 5, 51 = VI

1058, 7, 5; VI 1057, 7, 60 = VI 1058, 4, 5). Similarly an optio conualescentium) and an optio ca(rceris) were both promoted to one of the posts in the century in the fifth cohort, though they did change centuries. There are, of course, a large number of immunes and principales who appear in only one of the two lists, for example 21 of the total of 22 beneficiarii tribuni on both lists appear on one only, but it should be emphasised that on both inscriptions taken together two-thirds of the men are different. In that case it would be surprising if all the immunes and principales appeared on both lists. In short the evidence does not support Domaszewski's argument and indeed the evidence from the praetorian cohorts actually suggests that the soldiers usually stayed within the same cohort throughout their career (e.g. 6 and 29). It is probable that the same happened in the vigiles though changes in century to fill vacancies may have been more usual.

The Legions

The organisation of the career structure of the legionary immunes and principales would undoubtedly be the most interesting of all the units in the army if sufficient information was available since the legion was the oldest unit in the army and had the most complicated internal organisation. Unfortunately however, very little evidence survives and only a tantalising glimpse may be made into this large and fascinating structure.

One of the main problems presented by the relative paucity of evidence concerns the hierarchy. The longest legionary career, that of Petronius Fortunatus (119), contains only four posts below the centurionate, a very poor showing when compared to the thirteen posts of C. Luccius Sabinus (65). Moreover the brevity of the careers should be measured against the plethora of posts in the legion and the complications of the internal organisation. There are over 150 different posts recorded in the legions, compared to only 61 in the praetorian cohorts. Undoubtedly many of these posts are due to the fact that there were so many different officia staffed by legionaries. Not only did the legate, the tribunus laticlavus, the praefectus castrorum, the tribuni

angusticlavi, the princeps and the other centurions each have their own staff but the legions provided soldiers for service at provincial level under the governor, the procurator and the tribunus sexmestris. Not only is the relationship of most of these posts to the career structure not known, but their relationship to each other often remains a mystery. Moreover the legions appeared to provide many other services unknown to the Rome garrison or the auxilia. These resulted in soldiers with the titles of carrarius, fabriciensis, gubernator, hydraularius, pollio and tignarius to name but a few.

The origin of the surviving information presents its own problems. Lambaesis, the home of III Augusta, has provided more inscriptions of legionaries than any other fortress or city in the empire. For example, for only twenty ranks are the number of soldiers holding that post known, but in every case the information is supplied by inscriptions relating to III Augusta. In five instances only is comparative evidence available from other legions and in three of these five cases it is not completely compatible (the three posts are cornicularius,

commentariensis and speculator all on the staff of the governor; the other two are cornicularius and actarius on the staff of the legate; the remaining fifteen posts are beneficiarius consularis, quaestionarius, beneficiarius sexmestris, haruspex, librarius legati, exactus legati, cerarius legati, beneficiarius tribuni laticlavi, cornicularius tribuni laticlavi, optio, optio valetudinarii, armorum custos, tubicen, cornicen and ensor). This arises through the special relationship between Numidia and Africa proconsularis. Tacitus (Histories 4, 48) records that when the control of III Augusta was removed from the proconsul and given to the legate the patronage was divided equally between the two. Hadrian, in a speech to the legion, remarked that it provided the proconsul of Africa with a cohort each year (VIII 18042). The appearance of only four speculatores on inscriptions listing part of the staff of the governor of Numidia, when there were normally ten in each governor's officium, therefore raises the question was this due to the division of patronage or other unknown causes? Whichever is the correct answer the staff of the governor of Numidia cannot be taken as typical, and indeed all the figures, where

they cannot be corroborated, must be treated with due care. So too must the evidence provided by every legion since while the organisation of the legions must in general have been the same local factors may have played a greater or lesser part.

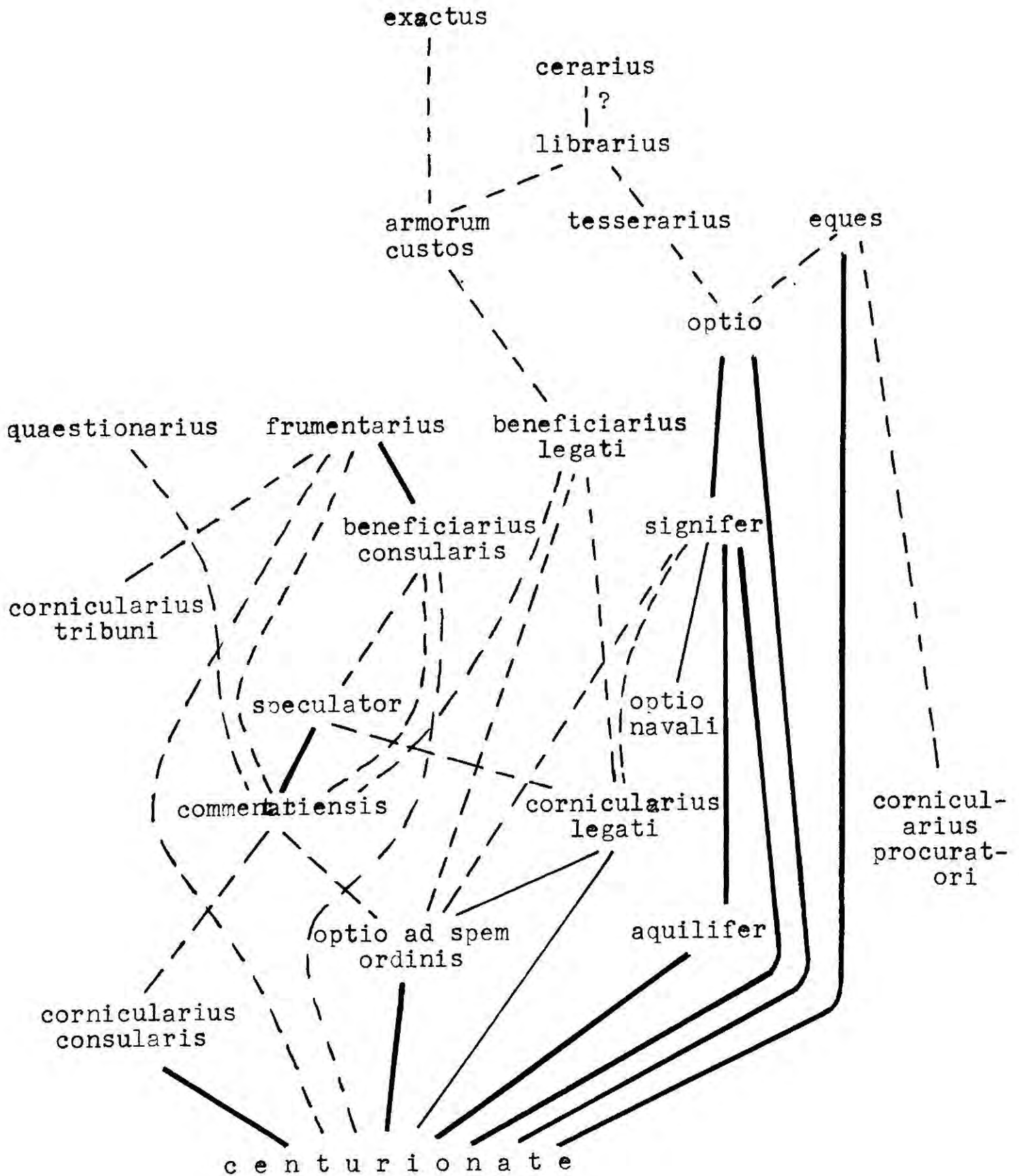
In spite of the relative paucity of evidence - or perhaps because of it - the legionary career structure appears to be very complicated. In fact this is not so, the main lines of the cursus follow closely the division of posts into those held by immunes, sesquiplicarii and duplicarii as discussed in the introduction - it is simply that there are more senior posts recorded in the legions than in other units.

The known careers have been set down in tabular form (Table 15) and also diagrammatically (Table 16). It will probably be more convenient to refer to the latter in the ensuing discussion, though the individual careers may be quickly consulted on the former table.

The posts in the century do not clearly form the linch-pin of the career structure in the legions as they did in the praetorian and urban cohorts and the vigiles. Although the three posts of tesserarius, optio and

Table 15

Table 16



signifer do appear in their normal order (119, cf. also 115, 160 and 161) it is also clear that promotion from signifer to optio was possible, sometimes with intervening posts (116) and sometimes without (156). This situation is arrived at when it is realised that the post of optio ad spem ordinis is no different in function from optio centuriae (Passerini, Legio 595). The posts would both appear to have been held by duplicarii and therefore fall within the same group. These posts will be discussed later, it is necessary first to consider the lower posts, their relationship to each other and to the posts held by duplicarii.

None of the posts usually considered to be junior staff posts are recorded in the legions in association with a career; the only posts attested in this context are the clerical posts - librarius, cerarius and exactus - an eques and armorum custodes. The last post has already been mentioned and its rank may now be discussed in more detail.

The evidence concerning the status of the post of armorum custos is drawn from a small number of careers. These may be summarised:

143. exactus, armorum custos.
 156. librarius, armorum custos, signifer.
 166. armorum custos?, beneficiarius legati.
 119. librarius, tesserarius, optio, signifer, centurion.

The career of Amandianus (156) clearly demonstrates the position of the armorum custos, between librarius legionis and signifer. A promotion from librarius to tesserarius suggests that the armorum custos may have been roughly equal in status to this post. The promotion from armorum custos to beneficiarius legati if correctly interpreted, would support this as the latter post is of roughly the same status as optio or signifer. In summary the post of armorum custos is almost certainly on a par with the two junior posts in the century, more probably the lower than the higher and was therefore probably held by a sesquiplicarius. It is impossible to say more of the position of the post in the career structure. The problem, for example, as to whether it was possible to hold the post instead of one or all of the posts in the century must remain open until more evidence materialises.

Two promotions of immunes to sesquiplicarii have already been noticed - that of Petronius Fortunatus from

librarius to tesserarius (119) and of Amandianus from librarius legionis to armorum custos (156) and in this connection one other should be considered, that of C. Iulius Crescentianus from exactus to armorum custos (143). These three promotions are all in fact from clerical posts to posts apparently held by sesquiplicarii - tesserarius and armorum custos. There is only one promotion known to by-pass this rank - that of an unknown soldier from eques to optio (130). However, the equites received more pay than the pedites and therefore presumably were sesquiplicarii or duplicarii. This promotion might be thought to demonstrate that they were sesquiplicarii, though this is not certain. In any case the soldier may have retained his status of eques while being an optio receiving pay as both an eques and an optio.

The relationship of the clerical posts to each other may be further clarified. A number of inscriptions demonstrate that the exacti ranked below the librarii on the staff of a legionary legate (139, VI 3401 and XIV 225). The career of L. Tonneius Martialis adds further details since he is recorded as a cerarius legionis, listed with the exacti legionis, and later was apparently promoted

to be a librarius legionis (139). The letters of Iulius Apollinaris provide further tantalising glimpses into this part of the legionary organisation (112). In a letter to his father he writes "I asked Claudius Severus the consularis to make me a librarius on his own staff, and he said, 'There is no vacancy, but meanwhile I shall make you a librarius legionis with hopes of advancement'". Clearly a librarius could - and would - be promoted from one staff to another. The same was no doubt true for all clerks and all other officials; indeed there must have been very many subtle distinctions in status such as this.

More information is known about the senior staff posts and the relationship of these posts to each other and to the posts in the century than about the posts held by immunes and this must now be considered. It is probable that all soldiers above the rank of optio were duplicarii, receiving the same pay and in theory of the same rank, though as the letters of Iulius Apollinaris reveal there must have been differences in status between the posts. It is these differences in status that will be discussed first - attention will be turned later to

the cursum. Firstly, however, it should be noted that there is no evidence for the assertion of Domaszewski (pp.71-72) that there was a fourth pay grade for senior principales. Not only is there no evidence for a 'triplicarius' but the fact that the post of optio could be held at any time while a duplicarius and that it was possible in theory to be promoted from any one of these posts to the centurionate actually militates against it.

There are a number of instructive promotions recorded which provide the backbone of the organisation of the senior staff posts (see Table 16). These promotions are from frumentarius to beneficiarius consularis (171, 172 and 173), beneficiarius consularis to speculator (144 and 180), speculator to commentariensis (151 and 179), commentariensis to cornicularius consularis (168) and cornicularius consularis to centurion (120, 145, 148, 157 and 168). The relationship of a number of other posts to these can be determined. The quaestionarius ranked below commentariensis because a soldier was promoted from the former to the latter (169), but two lists of the staff of the governor of Numidia further demonstrate that it was below the speculator, beneficiarius

consularis, candidati and ex frumentaris but above the beneficiarius sexmestris, a soldier whose rank is not known (VIII 2586, and AE 1917/8, 57). It may therefore have been on a par with frumentarius.

Two posts on the staff of the legionary legate appear on a number of careers - beneficiarius and cornicularius:

cornicularius legati

116. signifer, cornicularius (legati), optio spei,
centurion.

182. speculator, cornicularius legati, centurion.

167. cornicularius legati, optio spei.

151.) }
179.) } speculator, commentariensis.

124. beneficiarius legati, commentariensis, optio spei,
centurion.

The post was clearly senior to the posts in the century and appears to be of roughly the same status as the commentariensis since speculatores were promoted to both posts, and holders of both posts were themselves advanced to the rank of optio spei.

beneficiarius legati

166. armorum custos, beneficiarius legati.
156. -armorum custos, signifer -
116. signifer, cornicularius (legati) -
167. beneficiarius legati, cornicularius legati.
113. beneficiarius legati, optio spei,
centurion.
124. beneficiarius legati, commentariensis,
optio spei, centurion.

The two progressions, armorum custos, signifer, cornicularius legati and armorum custos, beneficiarius legati, cornicularius legati suggest that the two middle posts of each series are of about the same status. The promotion from beneficiarius legati to commentariensis supports this in that the promotion is equivalent to advancement to cornicularius legati. The beneficiarius legati is probably also equal in status to the frumentarius which ranked just below the beneficiarius consularis (171, 172 and 173) and which itself must have been a little senior to the beneficiarius legati. This would appear to place the posts of signifer, beneficiarius legati, frumentarius and

possibly quaestionarius on about the same level in the hierarchy, though for reasons which will be apparent later it is probable that the signifer slightly out-ranked the other three posts.

Three other posts also appear in careers. The aquilifer ranked below the centurionate, to which several aquiliferi were promoted (109, 121 and 126) yet above the post of signifer, which is the only recorded post previously held by aquiliferi (103 and 106). Probably the aquiliferi were usually chosen from the ranks of the signiferi, though in the early first century a soldier was appointed aquilifer in the same year he enlisted, presumably mainly because of his physique and character (104). There is one promotion known from frumentarius to cornicularius tribuni, a post which must have been below cornicularius legati in status (176). Finally two signiferi were advanced to the otherwise unattested post of optio navali or navaliorum (121 and 122).

An inscription erected at Traiana Trophaeum in the early second century provides some evidence concerning the status of officers who do not appear on careers (ILS 9107). The inscription contains a list of legionary officers,

almost certainly in hierarchical order. These officers were 5 signiferi, 3 imaginiferi, one actarius, one optio, 2 beneficiarii acil., one haruspex, and a tesserarius. The posts in the century are in correct order so there is no reason to suppose that the other posts are not. One haruspex is mentioned at the bottom of each list of the staff of the governor of Numidia, but in this case the haruspex may have been connected with the dedication of the inscriptions and so placed last, though it is interesting to note that he was roughly in the correct hierarchical position after the quaestionarius and beneficiarius sexmestris (VIII 2586 and AE 1917/8, 57).

The preceding discussion has merely demonstrated the relationship of certain of the posts in the legions where this is known, and is summarised on Table 17, but it now remains to discuss the legionary career itself.

There appears at first glance to be no order or pattern to the legionary career apart from that imposed by the hierarchy. Partly this may be due to the fact that no known single career contains more than four posts excluding the centurionate. However, it is clear from the large number of known permutations - no two careers

Table 17

	exactus	cerarius	
		librarius	
eques		tesserarius	
		haruspex	
	armorum custos	beneficiar- ius acil.	
		optio	
		actarius	
		imaginifer	
quaestionarius	frumentarius	beneficiarius	
		legati	
		signifer	
beneficiarius consularis	} cornicularius tribuni	optio navali	
speculator			
commentarien- sis	cornicularius legati		
cornicularius procuratoris	optio ad spem ordinis	aquilifer	
cornicularius consularis			

containing more than two posts are the same - that the officers did not necessarily move up to the next most senior post in the hierarchy when promoted. Consider in this respect the following promotions of senior staff officers:

116. signifer, cornicularius, optio spei, centurion.
113. beneficiarius legati, optio spei, centurion.
124. beneficiarius legati, commentariensis, optio spei, centurion.
167. beneficiarius legati, cornicularius legati, optio spei.
169. quaestionarius, commentariensis.
- 171.)
 172.) } frumentarius, beneficiarius consularis.
 173.) }
175. frumentarius, commentariensis.
176. frumentarius, cornicularius tribuni.
178. frumentarius, centurio frumentarius.
- 144.)
 180.) } beneficiarius consularis, speculator.
- 151.)
 179.) } speculator, commentariensis

182. speculator, cornicularius legati, centurion.

168. beneficiarius consularis, commentariensis,
cornicularius consularis, centurion.

There is no pattern discernible in the above promotions. This is undoubtedly due to the relatively small number of careers and their brevity but also in part to the fact that there was little distinction in status between many of the posts, hence it may not have mattered, for example, whether a speculator was promoted to commentariensis or to cornicularius legati. Soldiers when chosen for promotion may simply have been advanced wherever there was a vacancy.

Entry into the senior staff posts seems to have been from two sources, the posts in the century and the ranks. Two inscriptions provide evidence for the former:

116. signifer, cornicularius, optio spei, centurion.

105. tesserarius cornicularius (consularis?)

To these may be added another promotion:

166. armorum custos, beneficiarius legati.

In the Rome units progression from the posts in the century to the senior staff posts was normal but in the legions promotion to centurion was possible from some of the posts in the century, by-passing the senior staff posts altogether

while the equality in rank between the senior posts in the century and the junior senior staff posts makes any strict division between the two groups impossible.

It is possible that holders of the lower senior staff posts, quaestionarius, frumentarius and beneficiarius legati, were promoted directly from the ranks or from a post as immunis. The advancement of a beneficiarius legati from armorum custos is not strictly relevant here since the latter post is of about the same status as tesserarius, and should probably be considered as being one of the posts in the century. Three other soldiers also clearly fall into the same group:

176. - mil(iti) leg(ionis) VII Ge(m) p(iae) f(elicis) in Hispania, in ead(em) leg(ione) fact(o) fru(m)entario, prom(oto) cor(niculario) trib(uni) leg(ionis) I Min(erviae) p(iae) f(idelis), -
113. - mil(es) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae), b(ene)f(iciarius) lega(ti), opt(io) ad spe(m) ordin(is), (centurio) -
167. - mil(es) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), benefic(iarius) leg(ati), cornicularius leg(ati), optio coh(ortis) I -

These three careers contain no mention of any post below

frumentarius or beneficiarius legati, and the wording strongly suggests that no post had previously been held, or at least no post in the century or of equivalent status. In fact the later holding of the post of optio spei in two cases demonstrates that one of the posts in the century had not been omitted from the inscription optio centuriae and optio spei are never both found in the same career. It is possible that the soldiers could have held a post of immunis status and omitted to mention that on the inscriptions.

This post of optio ad spem ordinis holds a position unique to the legions, not being found in any other unit in the army. It was usually held immediately before promotion to a centurionate and the duties of the holder appear to be no different to those of an optio centuriae (see optio ad spem ordinis). It appears in a number of careers:

- 113. beneficiarius legati, optio ad spem ordinis, centurion.
- 114. optio ad ordine, centurion.
- 116. signifer, cornicularius, optio ad spem ordinis, centurion.

124. beneficiarius legati, a commentariisf., optio,
centurion.
156. librarius legionis, custos armorum, signifer, optio
o/cta/v/a? principis prioris, candidatus.
167. beneficiarius legati, cornicularius legati, optio
cohortis I.

These inscriptions all have two things in common, the post of optio or optio ad spem ordinis was held immediately before promotion to the centurionate and the post of optio had not previously been held. In three of the careers the soldiers' previous experience had all been on the staff of senior officers and in the other two cases where the post of signifer had been held no experience of command had been gained since the duties of this post were, in peace-time, mainly concerned with financial administration. It would therefore appear that the post of optio ad spem ordinis, or simply the post of optio, was held at this time by soldiers chosen for promotion to the centurionate in order to give them experience of command. It seems that in general it did not matter when the post of optio was held as long as the soldier had held the post and had learned from his experience. Thus some soldiers held it immediately before promotion to the centurionate, others

before being promoted to signifer and thence to the centurionate and others after holding some of the senior staff posts and in preparation for their promotion to the centurionate. The post therefore does not have one immovable place in the cursus, its relationship to the other posts being clear, as in the praetorian cursus.

It is possible now to turn to a larger field and study promotion to the centurionate in general. Direct promotion to the centurionate is known from the following posts, set down in Table 18.

Table 18a.

Promotion to a legionary centurionate

<u>eques</u>	107.
<u>optio</u>	140, 162, 163.
<u>signifer</u>	109, 119.
<u>aquilifer</u>	104, 121, 126.
<u>beneficiarius consularis</u>	174.
<u>cornicularius legati</u>	182
<u>cornicularius consularis</u>	120, 145, 168 and possibly 183.
<u>optio ad spem ordinis</u>	113, 114, 116, 124.
<u>Promotion to centurio frumentarius</u>	
<u>frumentarius</u>	178.

Promotion to an auxiliary centurionateeques 155.signifer 108.Promotion to decurioneques 118, 153, 154.optio 110.cornicularius consularis 157.

It was clearly possible to be advanced to the centurionate from a large number of posts, from eques to cornicularius consularis though with the possible exception of eques they were all held by duplicarii. Since there are such a large number of promotions known - 27 in all - arrangement in chronological order may reveal something of the trends in different periods.

Table 18b.

NUMBER	POST	CENTURIONATE	DATE
	<u>First century</u>		
107	<u>eques</u>	7 leg.	lc.
110	<u>optio</u>	<u>decurio cohortis?</u>	lc.
108	<u>signifer</u>	7 aux.	lc.
109	<u>signifer</u>	7 leg.	late lc
104	<u>aquilifer</u>	7 leg.	50

late first century to second century

118	<u>eques</u>	<u>decurio</u>	155
119	<u>signifer</u>	7 leg.	160s
113	<u>optio spei</u>	7 leg.	late 1c - early 2c
114	<u>optio spei</u>	7 leg.	late 1c - early 2c
116	<u>optio spei</u>	7 leg.	early 2c
124	<u>optio spei</u>	7 leg.	2c

late second century to third century

153	<u>eques</u>	dec. aux.	242
154	<u>eques</u>	dec. aux.	242
155	<u>eques</u>	7 aux.	242-4
140	<u>optio</u>	7 leg.	c. 200
162	<u>optio</u>	7 leg.	3c?
163	<u>optio</u>	7 leg.	late 2c-3c
121	<u>aquilifer</u>	7 leg.	191
126	<u>aquilifer</u>	7 leg.	late 2c
178	<u>frumentarius</u>	7 frum.	late 2c-3c
174	<u>beneficiarius consularis</u>	7 leg.	3c
182	<u>cornicularius legati</u>	7 leg.	2c-3c
183	<u>cornicularius (consularis?)</u>	7 leg.	2c-3c
120	<u>cornicularius consularis</u>	7 leg.	178-180
145	<u>cornicularius consularis</u>	7 leg.	213-217

157	<u>cornicularius consularis</u>	<u>decurio alae</u>	244-249
168	<u>cornicularius consularis</u>	7 leg.	2c-3c

In the first century promotion to the legionary centurionate is attested from the senior post in the century, signifer, the important post of aquilifer, and eques. The last promotion is probably more closely related to the republican system of advancement rather than the imperial. In later years equites continue to be promoted to the centurionate but never in a legion, always in auxiliary units. During the second century aquiliferi continue to be promoted to legionary centurionates and this in fact continues right up to the end of the century. The other advancements were from signifer and optio spei and, with one exception where the full career is not known (114), were all of soldiers with fairly wide experience both in administration and command. Towards the end of the century the pattern begins to change; there is one promotion from cornicularius consularis to a legionary centurionate followed by more in the third century, while similar advancements from beneficiarius consularis and cornicularius legati are also attested in the third century. Optiones

too are now advanced to similar posts from the very beginning of the third century, without any suggestion, at least in two of the cases (162 and 163), of them being optiones spei. It is possible to view these changes in the later second and third century as a lowering of standards for promotion to the legionary centurionate in that optiones were now eligible for advancement whereas previously only optiones spei, signiferi or aquiliferi are known to have been promoted, but it is not as simple as this. The changes are explained more satisfactorily if they are considered against the background of the whole army. The increasing dichotomy between the administrative and purely military branches of the army is reflected in the changes in the patterns of promotion to the legionary centurionate. The soldiers promoted in the third century no longer appear to have had the comprehensive training in administration and command that their predecessors had, they appear in fact to come from either one branch or the other, being holders of senior staff posts - cornicularius consularis, cornicularius legati and to a lesser extent beneficiarius consularis - or the post of optio. The latest reference to optio ad spem ordinis is

in 218 though it is interesting that the career of Amandianus (156), more akin to the second century pattern than the third, probably falls within the period 215 to 238 as if the earlier methods of training were not yet entirely scrapped. Nevertheless the admittedly slight evidence on the whole does point to changing patterns of careers leading to the centurionates in the third century, not so marked as the changes in the praetorian cohorts in the same period, but certainly present.

Another change in the third century found in both the praetorian cohorts and the legions was the possibility of advancement from principalis to the militia equestris. In the legions two beneficiarii consulares are known to have petitioned for admission to a post in the militia equestris (185 and 186).

These changes in promotion to the centurionate have also to be related to the changes in the careers of legionary principales. In the first century there is a great emphasis on the posts of eques, optio, signifer and aquilifer. The brief careers are of soldiers promoted from signifer to aquilifer and possibly to centurion (103 and 106), signifer to centurion (108 and 109), aquilifer to centurion (104), eques to centurion (107) or eques to optio to decurion

(110). The post of cornicularius is recorded once in a pre-Flavian career (105), and again under Trajan - together with signifer (116) -; beneficiarius appears first about the turn of the century (113). In fact the first century career is clearly based upon the old-established posts, those familiar to the reader of Polybius and Caesar. These posts continue to form part of the careers structure through the second century and, apparently with the exception of aquilifer, into the third - witness the career of Amandianus in the 220s and 230s (156). But the staff posts assume a greater importance; rare in the first century they appear to dominate the career structure in the third. At first entrance to the centurionate from the staff posts was via the post of optio ad spem ordinis - first appearing in the late first century (113) - but this becomes rarer in the third century and the post is last attested in 218 (or 235-8 if Amandianus held an equivalent rank (156)). Direct promotion to the centurionate from cornicularius consularis was possible from the 170s onwards, if not before, and from other staff posts in the third century when the system of giving prospective centurions all-round experience seems to break-down or be abandoned. It is clear that the 50 years from the death of Severus Alexander to the accession

of Diocletian were vital for the Roman army but the changes taking place in those years were laid upon the foundations of the preceding centuries.

* * *

Inscriptions, especially discharge lists, provide a certain amount of information concerning veterans from the legions. This information when compared to the total number of soldiers holding offices in the legions can throw valuable light upon the promotion prospects of principales. This information is set down in Table 19.

It is unfortunate that the information is such as to prevent any calculations in absolute terms of the promotion prospects of legionaries. It is not known how many signiferi, for example, were promoted to higher ranks each year. However, since in many cases the number of soldiers of a certain rank is known it is possible to compare the promotion prospects of posts relatively. For this reason the number of soldiers of each rank, where known, is included on Table 19.

The holders of the posts in the century provide the clearest insight into their promotion prospects. There were the same number of soldiers of each rank - one in each century - yet the numbers attested as veterans are strikingly different, 5 tesserarii, 19 optiones and 39 signiferi.

Table 19 : Veterans

The total number of soldiers holding a post in a legion is given before the name of the post and the total number of soldiers known to have retired at that rank is given below the post. The figures are extracted from the discussion on individual posts.

120 eques
29

60 armorum custos
29

60 tesserarius
5

60 optio
19

? frumentarius 20? beneficiarius 60 signifer
1 legati 12 39

30?+? beneficiarius
consularis 25

1 cornicularius 1 corniculariu
tribuni 3 praefecti 1

10 speculator
0

2? cornicularius 2 commentariensis 1 cornicularius
procuratoris 0 0 legati 0

? aquilifer
5

2 cornicularius
consularis 2

This suggests that many tesserarii could normally hope for further advancement, fewer optiones and even fewer signiferi. In other words the prospects for promotion for tesserarii were much greater, perhaps eight times as great, than those of the signiferi, as indeed might be expected. On the other hand the same was not true for the armorum custodes who were of roughly the same rank as the tesserarii and equalled them in strength. Their promotion prospects seem to be about five times worse than the tesserarii. This was undoubtedly connected with the nature of the post.

The beneficiarii legati would appear to be in a similar position to the signiferi since the relationship between the holders of the post and the veterans is about the same. The frumentarii are in a different position. Although it is not known how many soldiers of this rank there were the paucity of reference to them as veterans suggests that normally they could expect promotion to a higher rank. It is not possible to say whether the same was true for the quaestionarii since in general there are very few references to the post though there appear to be about four or five in each legion.

Unfortunately the number of beneficiarii consularis is not completely certain. The evidence from Lambaesis suggests

that there were 30 on the staff of the governor of Numidia but this may not have been usual. It does seem probable, however, that there were 30 or more beneficiarii on the staff of provincial governors. 25 soldiers of this rank are recorded holding the post on retirement. If there were only 30 beneficiarii consularis in each legion it would appear that the prospects of promotion for these officers were less than for the signiferi and the beneficiarii legati, and even if there were 60 beneficiarii, surely the maximum possible number, the prospects would only have been slightly better. This is probably connected with the position of the post on the hierarchy. There are, if the posts of optio spei and aquilifer (the known promotions to this post are from signifer) are omitted, at least six posts of more senior status in the legion, but the aggregate number of soldiers holding these posts is much less than the number of beneficiarii consularis - 10 speculatores, about 2 commentarienses, one cornicularius praefecti, one cornicularius tribuni, possibly 2 cornicularii procuratoris, about 2 cornicularii consularis, a maximum total of 18, though perhaps in practice less. Even the addition of optiones spei will not have increased this number much. Only one clear promotion from beneficiarius consularis to centurion is known, remarkable when the vast number of references to the post are considered. This can only mean

that this promotion was unusual. In that case, with promotion to higher posts of principalis status impeded by the small number of those posts and advancement to the centurionate unusual many beneficiarii consularis must have retired with that rank, in fact the post must have acted as an efficiency bar. The same was probably true of the post of signifer. Promotion to the centurionate was possible, though only three are known and one of these to an auxiliary centurionate, but there were still only 20 posts or thereabouts of principalis grade open to the signiferi. There are so many unknown factors, such as the length of time each post was held and the differences in the size of the staffs of provincial governors, that it is not possible to go further than this tentative suggestion.

The higher of the senior staff posts, that is those of higher status than beneficiarius consularis, fall into two groups, speculator and commentariensis forming one and the four cornicularii and possibly aquilifer the other. The latter posts are clearly at the very summit of the pre-centurionate hierarchy being promoted directly to the centurionate. Promotion between these posts is unknown, while it was possible to be promoted from speculator and commentariensis to posts in the senior group. It is not

surprising therefore to find that no speculatores or commentarienses are recorded on laterculi or as veterans. The complete lack of this evidence indeed suggests that soldiers of this rank could normally expect further promotion. The most senior principales could either be promoted to the centurionate, sometimes by way of the post of optio spei, or retire, examples of both being known. There is even a suggestion that it was more usual for the cornicularii tribuni to retire than to be promoted to the centurionate (see cornicularius tribuni laticlavi). Undoubtedly the promotion, or lack of it, would in part depend upon the length of service of the soldier in question.

Sander (Zur Rangordnung des römischen Heeres: die gradus ex Caliga 87 ff.) considered that within each of the three main divisions of immunes and principales all posts were of equal rank. Although the impracticability of this suggestion has already been discussed it nevertheless seems probable that all principales who were duplicarii were of equal rank. But the equality of ranking may have been no more than theoretical. The preceding discussion has clearly demonstrated that there were important distinctions to be made between posts of 'equal rank' - they were all not of the same status but had their own place in a hierarchy.

It is also clear, however, that the use of modern terminology is at fault; the word rank is misleading and should therefore be eschewed. All that can be said is that soldiers above the post of optio, it would appear, were principales receiving double pay but differed in status according to the post they held.

The problem of the length of service of legionaries necessary before promotion to the centurionate was possible has been considered by Baehr (p.4) and Forni (p.47). The former came to the conclusion between 10 and 15 years service was the norm before promotion to the centurionate, and the latter about 14 to 15. These scholars came to their conclusions as a result of studying the stipendia of legionaries when promoted to centurion or their ages. With the latter only an approximate age can be reached - Forni (pp.135-141) demonstrates enlistment between the ages of 13 and 36! - and therefore for the sake of exactness in the following table are included only the stipendia.

Table 20

Stipendia of legionaries upon promotion to the centurionate

a. In a legion.

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	DATE
119	4	160s
104	13	37-50
V 940 (cf. 163)	14	later 2c - 3c
140	14	c. 200
107	14	Tiberius-Claudius
XIII 1881	18	2c - 3c
124	>20	late 1c - early 2c
116	20	early 2c
237	23	Augustus-Tiberius
184	>24	3c

b. In an auxiliary unit.

155	12-14	230 - 242/4
153	25	267 - 242

It is clear that soldiers could be promoted to the centurionate at any time but the most common stage was between their thirteenth and twentieth stipendia, probably usually nearer to the beginning of this period than the end. When a soldier had reached his twentieth stipendia or over his chances of promotion to the centurionate were slim - the only soldiers known to have had more than twenty were

promoted in the very early principate or to an auxiliary unit in the mid-third century. Hence most of the known careers of legionary immunes and principales involving promotion to the centurionate must have been completed within a maximum of twenty years, that is before the promotion took place. It is interesting to examine the senior group of principales with this in mind.

cornicularius consularis

There are no known stipendia of soldiers of this rank, but promotions to the centurionate are attested as are retirements as cornicularius. Presumably if a cornicularius had reached this rank before his twentieth stipendia he would have a chance of promotion, if after his prospects would be slight. Perhaps some soldiers were content to hold this very senior post without trying for further promotion. Other cornicularii would be good at their job, but would not have made good centurions.

cornicularius procuratoris

No evidence.

cornicularius legati

Two stipendia are known - 14 and 17. It would clearly have been possible for these soldiers to have been promoted had they lived. The lack of veterans of this rank suggests

that usually these cornicularii were promoted to the centurionate, as indeed is attested.

cornicularius tribuni

Two stipendia are recorded for soldiers of this rank - 23 and 24. In addition another soldier retired after 26 years service and after holding the post of cornicularius tribuni for 16 years. Three cornicularii tribuni are recorded on laterculi or as veterans, while no promotion is attested from the post to any other rank. All this combines to suggest that the post was not usually held by soldiers wishing for further promotion, but rather by soldiers prepared to hold it for a number of years before retirement.

aquilifer

The stipendia of soldiers of this rank are 1, 15, 17, 18, 18 and 20. The first was promoted aquilifer in his first year of service in the early first century and demonstrates that qualities such as physique and an upright character must have played their part in his promotion, and in the promotion of other aquiliferi. The qualities needed by an aquilifer were not necessarily those needed by a centurion and therefore it is not surprising to find five aquiliferi attested on discharge lists or as veterans though two

soldiers of this rank were promoted to the centurionate. Probably many soldiers, usually apparently ex-signiferi, were pleased to hold the post in their last years of service, retiring honourably from what must have been one of the most prized ranks in the Roman army.

It can be seen that there was some element of choice in promotion to these higher grades. The soldier appointed cornicularius legati would probably have less than 20 years of service and if this was the case could count on promotion to the centurionate, though often after serving as optio spei. The soldier advanced to cornicularius tribuni, on the other hand, was often in his last years of service with no prospect of further promotion. The cornicularius consularis and the aquilifer were different again. Some soldiers were promoted to the two posts after about 14 years service and continued thence to the centurionate, while others were nearing the end of their service. It is interesting to note in respect to these two posts that in the second half of the second century the cornicularius consularis appears to take over the role of the aquilifer, promotion from the latter to the centurionate dying out and being replaced by promotion from the former.

These two types of careers, one aiming at promotion to the centurionate after about 14 to 20 years and the other merely at retirement after 25 years, make it difficult to calculate the amount of time which might be spent in one post. It is possible, for example, that the average duration of each post was four years, the soldiers not picked out for the centurionate simply starting their curtus later than the others. On the other hand it also seems probable that each post was not held for the same length of time by each soldier, while soldiers themselves may have petitioned for a centurionate presumably at any stage of their career as a duplicarius. Possibly most soldiers held three or four posts below the centurionate which might suggest an average duration of three to four years for each, though those not advanced to the centurionate may have held each post rather longer. Unfortunately there is little corroborative evidence for this. Petronius Fortunatus held the posts of librarius, tesserarius, optio and signifer in four years before being appointed centurion but this was clearly unusual (119). It was clearly possible to hold any post for much longer, witness the frumentarius apparently with 40 years service in the same post, the aquilifer with 13, a cornicularius tribuni with 16 and an optio with 10.

On the other hand two other optiones had served for only two years before their death. However, these variations in no way detract from the conclusions drawn about the average length of time each post was held.

* * *

It is now necessary to summarise the conclusions reached concerning the career of legionary immunes and principales.

Some soldiers held a post as an immunis at the beginning of their career, often perhaps as a clerk on the staff of a senior officer. Thence they could be promoted to one of the posts in the century, usually tesserarius, or possibly optio, or armorum custos. Other gregarii were undoubtedly promoted directly to these three posts. From optio or signifer it was possible to be promoted to a centurionate or to a senior staff post. The holders of the senior staff posts were not only drawn from the holders of the posts in the century, but also from immunes. After holding two, three or four of the senior staff posts, usually culminating in the post of optio ad spem ordinis, a procedure designed to increase the all-round experience of the prospective centurion, a soldier could be promoted into the centurionate. This promotion normally took place

between the fourteenth and the twentieth stipendia, perhaps normally after 14, 15 or 16 years service though exceptional soldiers could pass swiftly through the qualifying ranks. Many soldiers did not progress as far as the centurionate. Many were content with reaching the posts of signifer or beneficiarius consularis which acted as a kind of efficiency bar. Even those who advanced to the very highest grades in the legions, the cornicularii and the aquiliferi, were not always promoted to the centurionate. They were undoubtedly content with an honourable discharge from an honoured regiment and lived out their retirement in peace and quiet.

The Troops in the Castra Peregrina

There is so little surviving information concerning the soldiers stationed in the castra peregrina that it is impossible to determine the career structure, indeed it is impossible to do more than make one or two comments concerning the hierarchy and the career.

The bulk of the troops stationed at the castra peregrina were frumentarii, soldiers seconded from the legions for an unknown period. In all the known cases the frumentarii returned to their own legion and continued their career (171, 172, 173, 175 and AE 1917/8, 57), with the exception of one frumentarius who was appointed to a post in a different legion (176). There is no recorded case of a frumentarius being promoted to one of the other posts at the castra peregrina, nor do the inscriptions mentioning these officers even so much as hint at their previous careers, in fact the relationship between the two groups is completely unknown. In view of the fact that all the frumentarii are legionaries and no other origin is specified for the optiones or the canalicularii it is possible that these were also legionaries, perhaps promoted frumentarii. If this is the case not only the canalicularius and the exercitator militum frumentariorum but also the optio peregrinorum will have ranked above the frumentarius,

as might be expected.

There is a possible slight hint concerning the origin of these officers. An inscription of a praetorian soldier records that he was promoted from primiscripius castrorum praetorianorum to ostiarius praefectorum praetorianorum to canalicularius to centurio frumentario (52). It is probable that praefectorum praetorianorum should be understood following canalicularius, but since the career is in descending order it is possible that frumentario is omitted. If this is the case it would appear that the canalicularii of the castra peregrina - were drawn from the praetorian cohorts. However, this inscription is by no means free from ambiguity and therefore cannot be taken as unsupported evidence for this relationship. It seems safer to assume, until more evidence comes to light, that these principales were drawn from the ranks of the frumentarii, at least in the second century - the third century was a time of change and the relationship between the castra peregrina, the praetorian cohorts and the legions may well have undergone some alteration.

There is some evidence for promotion from the castra peregrina to the centurionate. An optio peregrinorum in

the later years of the second century was promoted navarchus in the Misene fleet and then to a legionary centurionate, rising eventually to praefectus castrorum (188). Another optio peregrinorum had clearly been promised a centurionate, but died before taking up his appointment (189). Most frumentarii appear to have returned to their parent legion, or occasionally another legion, and there they were promoted to the senior non-commissioned posts - beneficiarius consularis (171, 172 and 173), cornicularius tribuni (176) or commentariensis (175). They do not usually appear to have been promoted directly to the centurionate (122 and 177 are probably indirect). One frumentarius in the third century at the age of 40 was promoted centurio frumentarius (178). This indicates the fairly low-standing of the frumentarii, and emphasises their position below the optio militum frumentariorum.

Most of the information concerning the troops in the castra peregrina falls within the late second to third centuries, and the development of the body and their organisation is shrouded in mystery, which makes further study impossible at the present time.

The Auxilia

An organised auxiliary cursus is something that cannot be shown to exist. A number of careers relating to auxiliaries are known, but only four contain three or more posts, and with one enigmatic exception (220) none more than four (193, 194 and 196). The papyri and parchments from Dura, of which the most important are the two rosters of 219 and 222, which provide so much information concerning the posts, are practically useless when it comes to studying the cursus itself. The main advantage of the two rosters is that they illustrate the length of service of a number of principales, but they are so close together in date that very few soldiers were promoted in the intervening years. There is in fact even less information available for the auxilia than there was in dealing with the legions. Moreover there is a complication which was not present in the legions, that is the diversity in the size and status of the auxiliary units. There are six different sizes of unit: cohors quingenaria peditata, cohors quingenaria equitata, cohors milliaria peditata, cohors milliaria equitata, ala quingenaria and ala milliaria. Cavalry, as is common to most armies, had a higher status than infantry, while the troopers in alae

enjoyed a more senior status than those in cohortes equitatae (cf. Hadrian's speech VIII 2532 and 18042). This situation creates even more fragmentation of the evidence. As it happens, for obvious reasons, most of the information concerning the career structure is provided by the alae (194, 196, 197, 200 - 202, 215 - 217, 220), with the equites of the cohortes second, though this is mainly due to the evidence from Dura (198, 199, 207 - 209, 211 - 214, 220) and the pedites last (206, 210, 218 and 219). It will be best to discuss the careers pertaining to these three groups separately and then proceed to compare them. It is possible with the present paucity of the evidence only to study and compare the internal relationships of the posts; it is impossible to compare the position of posts in one type of unit to the same posts in other units.

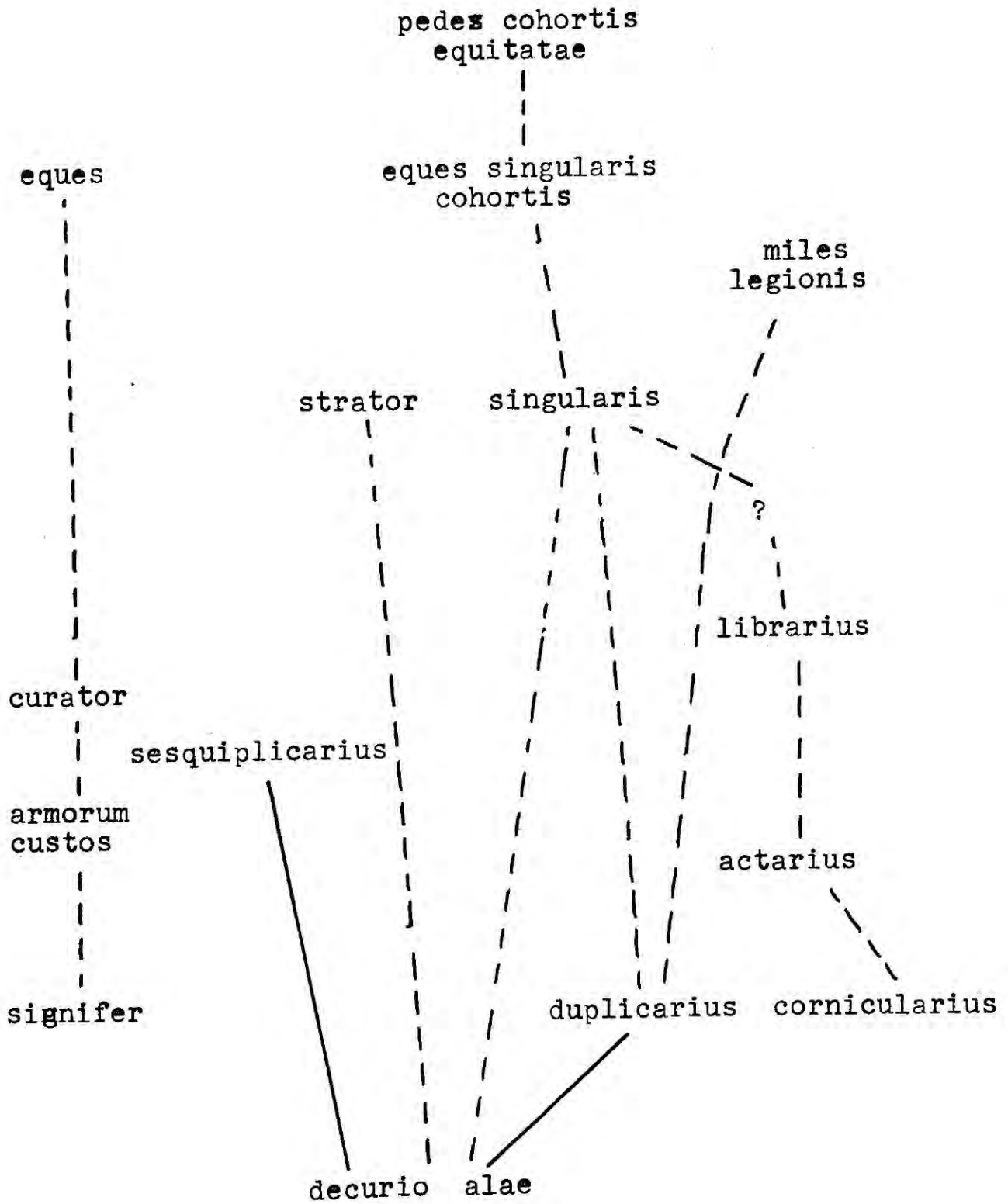
Alae (Table 21 and 22)

Most of the known career structure centres round three posts: singularis, duplicarius and decurion. There is only one known promotion to the first post, from eques singularis to a cohors equitata (220). This soldier was promoted thence to an unknown post, and then to librarius, actarius and cornicularius. Other singulares were advanced

Table 21

number	193	194	196	197	200	201	202	203	206	207	208	209	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223		
unit	cDe	ala	ala	ala	ala	ala	ala	c&e	c&e	c&e	c&e	c&e	ala	ala	ala	cD	cD	c-					
mil. leg.			x																				
pedes								x	x													x	
eques	x	x						x		x	x	x											
singularis				x	x				x									x	x	x	x		
stator																							x
strator cos.							x																
ad.corn.cos.																x							
ad. prin.																	x						
librarius																							x ⁺
actarius																x							x
cornicularius																							x
bf. cos.																	x						
curator		x																					
summus curator							x																
armorum custos		x																					
sesquiplicarius										x			x	x									
duplicarius			x		x						x												x
signifer		x										x											
vexillarius	x																						
decurio	x		x	x		x	x						x	x	x							x	x
7 legionis			x																				

⁺ This soldier held an unknown post between eques singularis and librarius.



to duplicarius (200) and decurion (197; cf. also 221 and 222). The only other promotion to duplicarius alae was from miles legionis in the later first century (196). However, this need not be a direct promotion from gregalis legionis to duplicarius since miles here may simply have been used to demonstrate service in the legions and not a rank or position though this is admittedly unlikely.

Promotions to alae decurio are attested from a number of posts:

<u>duplicarius</u>	(196 and 217)
<u>sesquiplicarius</u>	(215 and 216)
<u>singularis</u>	(197)
<u>strator</u>	(202)

These promotions illustrate the flexible nature of the auxiliary career. The advancements are not just from senior posts such as duplicarius which ranked directly below decurion, but also posts like singularis, which on the evidence of cohors XX Palmyrenorum could be held by the rawest of recruits, although these singulares were presumably men of experience. Undoubtedly their advancement - and that of the strator consularis - is in part due to the fact that they were serving on the staff of a provincial governor, who was in a position to make such promotions. Clearly

there was no need to hold a certain number of posts, as in the praetorian cohorts, nor apparently to gain experience of different duties as seems to have been the norm in the legions. Promotion to decurion in fact appears to have been possible from almost any post, though presumably usually only after gaining a certain amount of experience. This may simply reflect the importance of the equites.

One further career, which unfortunately does not actually connect directly with any other career, must be considered. Iulius Dexter (194) was promoted after being successively eques, curator turmae, armorum custos, signifer turmae. It is difficult to know whether the career of Dexter was normal or not since so little information is available. In the alae most of the surviving careers are of successful soldiers who became decurion - in 6 of the 10 careers the soldiers reached this rank, and a further two duplicarius. These soldiers stand out above most of the auxiliaries, who would not have even reached the rank of principalis, and also most of the principales who would not have been promoted to decurion or centurion. Hence it is probable that most principales would either have not risen further after their first promotion or only slowly have been advanced through the different posts. In that

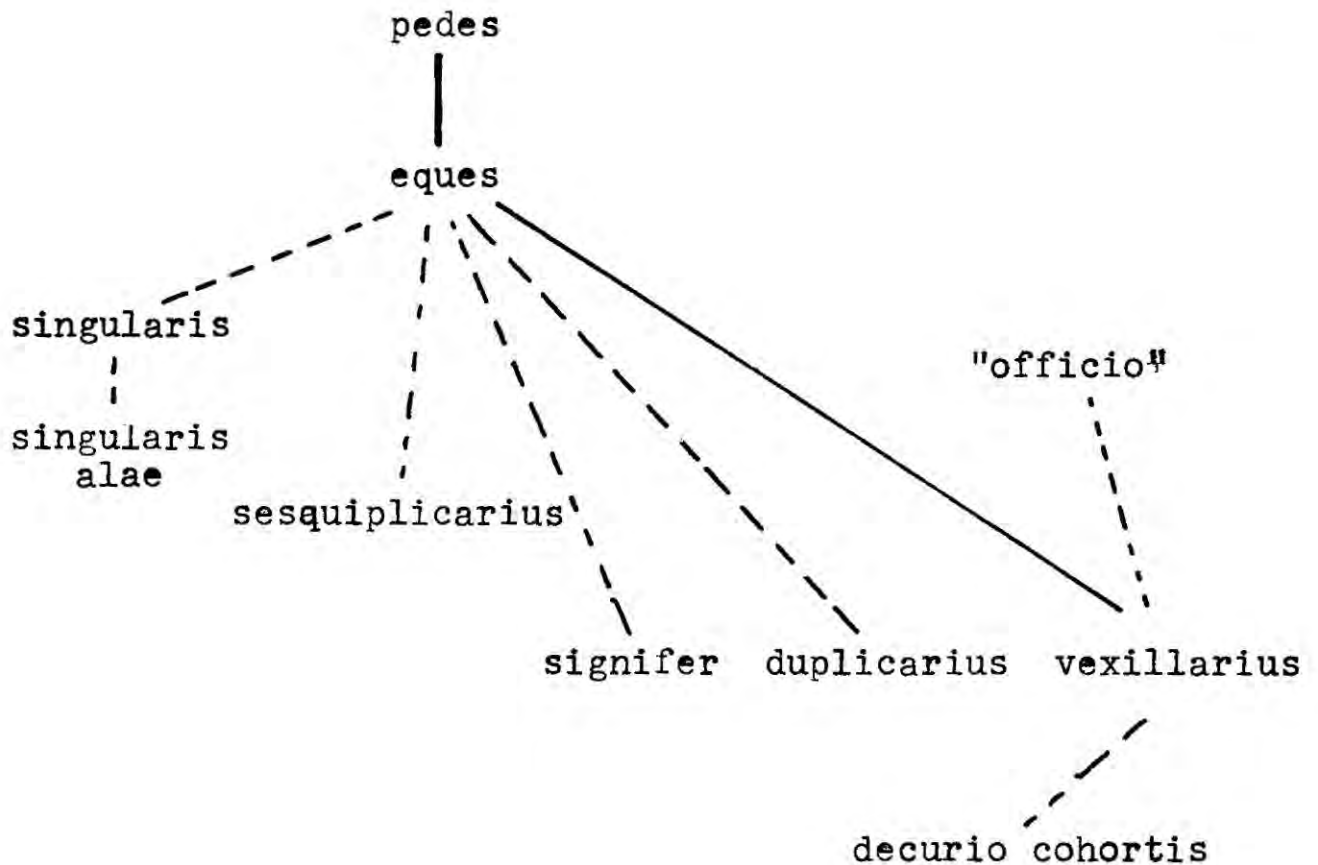
case it is probable that the career of Dexter is more usual than those of the decurions.

Equites in Cohortes (Tables 21 and 23)

Apart from one career all the information concerning promotions in the cohortes equitatae is from the two great rosters of cohors XX Palmyrenorum equitatae. These rosters only provide evidence for single advancements, and few of these. The main conclusion to be drawn from all these promotions is again related to the flexibility of the career structure. There are direct promotions from eques to four posts of principalis status: sesquiplicarius (207), duplicarius (208), signifer (209) and vexillarius (193 and 212). The three latter posts are all of duplicarius status and would seem to demonstrate that omission of sesquiplicarius at least was possibly fairly usual. The position of the vexillarius is complex since the post may have been of a temporary nature, but advancement to it from service in the officium, presumably as a clerk, is attested at Dura (211). The only known promotion to decurion is from vexillarius and is recorded on a career inscription (193). In this connection, however, should be noted a promotion to decurio cohortis from singularis consularis (222).

EQUITES IN COHORTES EQUITATAE

Table 23

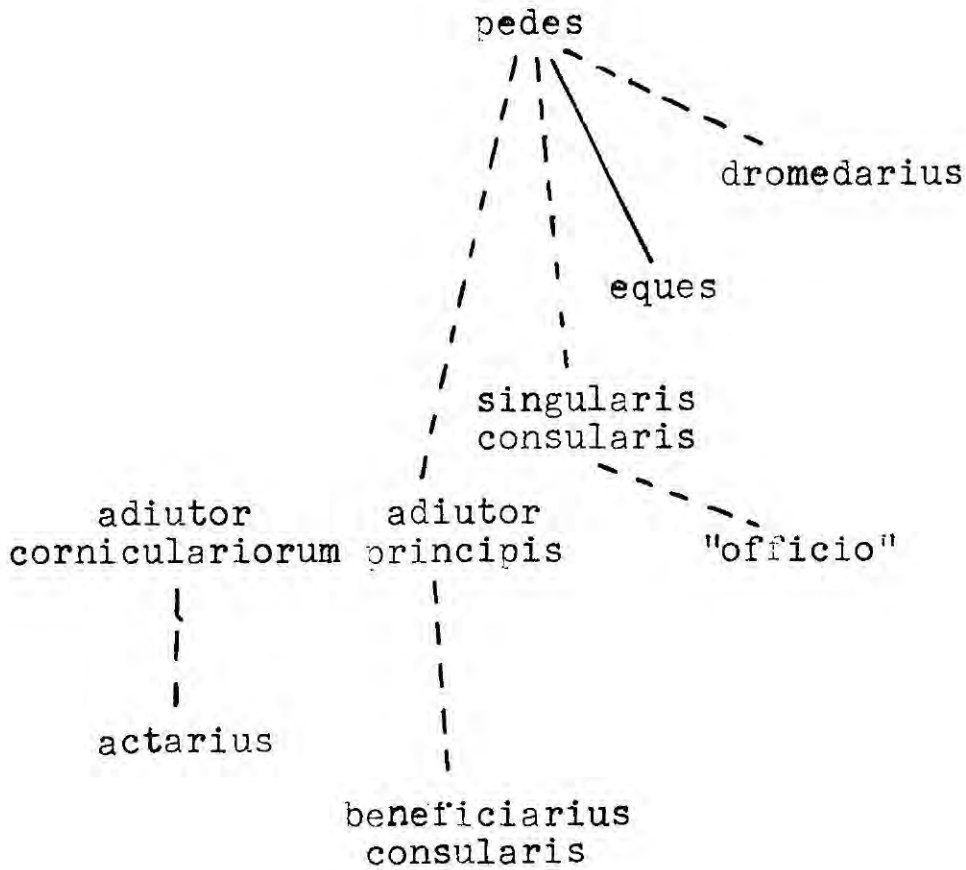


NB With the exception of one career (eques - vexillarius - decurion (193)) the material for this table is all provided by the two rosters of 219 and 222 relating to cohors XX Palmyrenorum milliaria equitata.

The paucity of the evidence concerning careers and promotions of soldiers in cohortes equitatae is to some extent balanced by the information supplied by the Dura rosters concerning the stipendia of soldiers. This will be dealt with below.

Pedites in cohortes (Tables 21 and 24).

Pedites were promoted, after at least initial training and often considerably longer, to the ranks of the equites and also of the dromedarii. Promotion from pedes to two other posts is attested: to singularis consularis (206) and to adiutor principis (219). The latter post must have been of roughly similar rank to adiutor corniculariorum (218) and possibly also to the clerk serving in the officium of XX Palmyrenorum, to which post one soldier was promoted after service as singularis consularis (210). This latter advancement can be paralleled in an ala where a soldier was promoted from singularis consularis to an unknown post and thence to librarius, actarius and cornicularius (220). The two adiutores were promoted to important positions: the adiutor principis became a beneficiarius of the governor of Dalmatia and the adiutor of the cornicularius of the governor of the same province an actarius. This advancement of a soldier through the same branch of a unit - in this

PEDITES IN COHORTES PEDITATAE AND EQUITATAE table 24

case the administration - is paralleled in the legions and other types of units. These few careers of pedites add little to the information concerning the career structure gleaned from the cavalry units.

In summary a few basic points may be made concerning the career structure common to all the types of auxiliary units:

1. Promotion to the post of decurion was possible from sesquiplicarius and duplicarius in a turma in an ala, and therefore possibly from any turma, vexillarius, and also singularis and strator consularis:

<u>duplicarius</u>	(196 and 217)
<u>vexillarius</u>	(193)
<u>sesquiplicarius</u>	(215 and 216)
<u>singularis</u>	(197, 221 and 222)
<u>strator</u>	(202)

Although there are no actual cases of promotion to decurion or centurion from signifer, cornicularius or actarius all these posts were held by duplicarii, as were the posts of optio and vexillarius, and there seems to be no reason why they should not have been advanced in the same way.

2. The most frequently attested post in careers is singularis consularis. The reason for this is two-fold;

firstly there were a large number of soldiers holding this post at any one time and secondly they were placed in a good position for promotion to decurion because they were on the staff of provincial governors and because they were probably fine soldiers being the cream of the army of the province (it may be noted that the number of promotions to decurion was probably small in relation to the total number of singulares). There are advancements attested from singularis consularis to the following posts:

decurion (197, 221 and 222)

duplicarius (200)

clerical duties (210 and 220)

stator (223)

Singulares appear to have been promoted directly from pedes (206) or eques (220) (cf. also Singularis Consularis).

3. As has already been discussed above the career structure was flexible. Hence it was possible to be promoted to singularis consularis a few months after enlisting while soldiers of the same rank were promoted from the post directly to decurion or centurion. However, the total body of information available is so small that it is impossible to speculate further. Probably there were conditions to be fulfilled before promotion to the command of a century or turma was possible, certainly in the legions

on occasions only the very minimal conditions were fulfilled, as the career of Petronius Fortunatus demonstrates (119), though perhaps the soldier's family or his civilian record were taken into account. The careers of Iulius Dexter (194) and Maximus (220) demonstrate that it was possible to have a long career in the auxilia, holding a number of posts, and that there was some logic in the order in which the posts were held. Probably many more soldiers followed the same paths, but only the more successful ones would record their previous careers, which so often were brief. The bias in the surviving evidence clearly prevents further conclusions to be reached concerning the nature of the auxiliary cursus.

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The two great Dura rosters provide useful evidence concerning the stipendia of principales and the length of time each post was held. These rosters, however, have drawbacks. Firstly they are incomplete, for example the stipendia of only one sesquiplicarius centuriae is known out of a possible 12. Secondly the rosters are close together in date, and consequently there are few promotions from one to the other. Thirdly the information that can be gleaned from the rosters relates to but one cohort and

moreover one in which there were special circumstances due to a war, and also with a unique table of organisation. It is necessary to consider the equites and the pedites separately.

Equites

Most equites in the cohort had over 14 years service, though a few had less - five is the lowest recorded stipendia for an eques. Not surprisingly most of the singulares also had over 14 years service, though three of the 17 had less - 7 was the lowest - and the clerks fitted into the same pattern, with the stipendia spread out from 14 to 24, with but one soldier with fewer than 14 stipendia, having 5. The years of service of the principales are listed below: (the figure in brackets refers to the total number of known soldiers on both rosters holding the post)

<u>sesquuplicarius</u> (6)	8 (2), 13, 15, 17-20, 27.
<u>duplicarius</u> (7)	12-15, 13(2), 16-19, 17, 18-21, 26.
<u>signifer</u> (3)	12-15, 18, 24.
<u>vexillarius</u> (10)	14, 17, 18(5), 19, 24(2).
<u>cornicularius</u> (1)	16-19.

Of the total of 27 principales listed 18, that is

two-thirds, had between 13 and 20 years of service, 5 had more and four less. As might be expected the sesquiplicarius had the lowest stipendia, while a duplicarius and a signifer also had less than 13 stipendia, but only just! This is probably due to the fact that the principales would be picked out at a fairly early stage as being promising material and therefore they would be made equites rather earlier than most of their fellows. Hence promotion to one of the posts in the century or turma - and it is interesting that only the holders of one of these posts have less than 14 stipendia - could come before many pedites had even been promoted equites. The few principales with over 20 years service may imply that most had already been promoted to decurion or centurion. Indeed the four equites whose stipendia is recorded on promotion to decurion all had less than 21, and one was even as low as 8 (216 - 8; 197 - less than 16; 222 less than 20; 215 - 21). It is difficult to know how long a post would be held, but it was clearly usually longer than three years since most soldiers held the same post in 219 and in 222.

Pedites

There is much less information available for the

pedites of the cohort than there is for the equites.

Apart from a transfer into a turma it was possible for the pedites to join the ranks of the dromedarii. It was normal for a dromedarius to have more than six years service, but it was possible to be transferred before the completion of one years service. It was also possible to be promoted clerk soon after enlistment, or singularis, though most singulares pedites had at least four years service. The stipendia of the principales are as follows:

<u>sesquuplicarius</u> (1)	15
<u>duplicarius</u> (5)	5-8, 12, 16-19, 21, 25.
<u>signifer</u> (2 or 3)	15? 17-20, 23-26.
<u>vexillarius</u> (1)	10
<u>actarius</u> (1)	16-19

The lowest stipendia of these principales, is for obvious reasons, below those of the equites; on the other hand seven of the eleven principales had between 12 and 21 years of service. It is possible, though by no means certain due to the extremely fragmentary state of the evidence, that the small number of principales with over 21 years of service are due to promotions to centurion or decurion. The situation in the pedites is not so clear as that in the equites but certainly the same basic principles are adhered to.

It is clear that most principales had at least 12 to 14 years of service. Probably promising centurions or decurions were picked out at an early stage and promoted fairly rapidly through the necessary qualifying posts - these are presumably the principales with only five to 12 stipendia - but they must have remained a minority not only in the unit as a whole but also in the ranks of the principales.

Equites Singulares Augusti

There is the minimum of information available in attempting to reconstruct the cursus of the soldiers in the equites singulares Augusti. Five careers relate to soldiers in the unit, all five being promoted to decurion. In four cases the post from which the soldiers were promoted is unknown (228, 229, 231 and 232) and in the third instance the soldier is advanced from tablifer, a post of uncertain status! However, unexpected help comes from the discharge lists of the years 133 to 145 (VI 31141 to 31152). The total number of soldiers holding four posts - signifer, duplicarius, sesquiplicarius and armorum custos - is known to be the same, and this information may be related to the number of times these soldiers appear on the discharge lists:

<u>signifer</u>	41
<u>duplicarius</u>	5
<u>sesquiplicarius</u>	0
<u>armorum custos</u>	20

For the relative ranking of these four posts other units have to be consulted. In the praetorian cohorts there is no doubt that in ascending order the posts in the century were: tesserarius, optio and signifer. There is

less evidence for the legions but the order is broadly speaking the same, with the added complication that the armorum custos appears to be roughly equal in status to the tesserarius. There is even less information available for the auxilia than for the legions, nevertheless the tesserarius clearly was a sesquiplicarius and ranked below the duplicarius and the signifer who were both duplicarii. The relationship between the latter two soldiers is not clear, nor is there a promotion attested from signifer to decurion, though this may simply reflect the lack of evidence. However, it is certain that what evidence there is in no way suggests that the relationship between these three posts is any different in the auxilia from that in the legions, or the praetorian cohorts for that matter. The same is true of the armorum custos. One career demonstrates that he ranked below the signifer but above the curator turmae. The rank of the latter post is not known, but it must have been held by a senior immunis, or a sesquiplicarius. This would seem to imply that the armorum custos was of a similar status in the auxilia to his counterpart in the legions. Since the members of the equites singulares Augusti were drawn from the auxilia there is no reason to suppose that their organisation was any different in its essentials from that of the other units of the auxilia. The question is

therefore, why are the totals for these particular four ranks of soldiers on the discharge lists so different?

Before any attempt is made to answer this question attention must be drawn to the nature of the evidence. These totals extracted from the discharge lists are only representative of the general situation in the unit, they being restricted to the years 133 to 145. Hence it is only true to say that in those 13 years there was no sesquiplicarius retired from the unit. As a consequence of this only tentative, general suggestions may be made concerning the cursus.

Domaszewski (p.51) made the point that since there are no sesquiplicarii mentioned on the discharge lists soldiers of this rank must have been regularly promoted to duplicarius and decurion: to these two promotions may be added the possibility of advancement to signifer. Similarly the small numbers of duplicarii presumably points to promotion of these soldiers to decurion and possibly also to signifer, though no actual promotion of either is known. The possibility of reaching the post of sesquiplicarius, and to a slightly less extent duplicarius, and not receiving further advancement would therefore seem slight.

It would appear, however, that many signiferi retired

as such. Over the 13 years 41 signiferi retired, that is an average of just over three each year. By analogy with the legions and the auxilia it would appear that a signifer would normally hold that post for an average of about 4 years, and if there were at least 18 turmae in the equites singulares Augusti at this time (Speidel pp.10-12) there would therefore be an average of 5 signiferi being promoted or retiring each year. These figures, approximate though they must be, seem to demonstrate that many signiferi, that is three out of five, would retire and in connection with this it is interesting that there are no known promotions in the auxilia from signifer to decurion. On the other hand there is little internal evidence in either the auxilia or the equites singulares Augusti for the immediate origins of the signiferi - only one inscription records promotion to the post, from armorum custos (194), though another may have been promoted directly from the ranks (209). There seems to be no reason why most signiferi previously had not served as duplicarius or sesquiplicarius, though against this it can be argued that in the auxilia there are two promotions each from duplicarius and from sesquiplicarius to decurion (196, 215, 216 and 217) and none from these posts to signifer, which can be taken to imply that most

duplicarii and sesquiplicarii were promoted directly to decurion by-passing signifer.

Since there seem to be the same number of armorum custodes as signiferi, duplicarii and sesquiplicarii it would appear that their promotion prospects were better than the first soldier, but not as good as the other two. In fact perhaps three or four out of every five armorum custodes would receive further advancement.

Since the total number of soldiers holding the other posts is not known it is difficult to evaluate the importance of their presence or absence on the discharge lists. Domaszewski (p.53) suggested that the absence of the vexillarii from the list suggests that they were usually promoted. In spite of the small number of vexillarii this seems probable and there is a parallel from the auxilia (193). On the other hand the situation is not so clear with the beneficarii tribuni. Domaszewski (p.51) considered that the absence of this post from the lists also demonstrated that the soldier was usually promoted to a higher rank. This argument is sound, especially considering the large number of beneficarii tribuni in the unit, but for the fact that there is no proof that it was intended that soldiers holding this post should be mentioned

on the list. It is conceivable, though perhaps unlikely, that the beneficiarii tribuni would not be specifically designated, as on the Dura rosters. Similarly the absence of curator might imply that this soldier was normally advanced to a higher post, but there is no evidence that the curatores were mentioned on any of the lists. Here again, however, it is probable that the curatores were usually promoted and therefore most failed to reach retirement with the rank.

In summary it would appear that the promotion prospects of the armorum custodes were fairly good, those of the sesquuplicarii and duplicarii excellent and those of the signiferi poor - the paucity of the evidence preventing any conclusions being reached concerning the other ranks. Finally it seems highly probable that these tentative conclusions about promotion prospects apply also to the armorum custodes and the holders of the posts in the century or turma in cohorts and alae of the auxilia.

Key to Tables 3, 5, 7, 11, 13, 16, 22, 23, 24.

- - - - -	One promotion
—————	Two promotions
—————	Three or more promotions
~~~~~	One promotion of an <u>equus</u> (only on Table 5)

PROSOPOGRAPHY

1. M. Vettius Valens XI 395 = ILS 2648 = P 32 = D 476

Ariminum

M(arco) Vettio M(arci) f(ilio) Ani(ensis) Valenti, mil(iti) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae), benef(iciario) praef(ecti) pr(aetorio), donis donato bello Britan(nico), torquibus, armillis, phaleris, evoc(ato) Aug(usti), corona aurea donat(o), (centurioni) coh(ortis) VI vig(ilum), (centurioni) stat(orum), (centurioni) coh(ortis) XVI urb(anae), (centurioni) c(o)h(ortis) II pr(aetoriae), exercitatori equit(um) speculatorum, princip(i) praetori leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), ex trec(enario), [p(rimo)p(ilo)] leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis), donis donato ob res prosper(e) gest(as) contra Astures, torq(uibus), phaler(is), arm(illis), trib(un)o coh(ortis) V vig(ilum), trib(un)o coh(ortis) XII urb(anae), trib(un)o coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae), [p(rimo)p(ilo) II] leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) Mart(iae) Victr(icis), proc(uratori) imp(eratoris) [Neron(is)] Caes(aris) Aug(usti) prov(inciae) Lusitan(iae), patron(o) coloniae, speculator(es) X h(onoris) c(ausa), C(aio) Luccio Telesino, C(aio) Suetonio Paulino co(n)s(ulibus). (A.D. 66)

Domaszewski-Dobson (p. 262) suggests H(ispaniae) c(iterioris); the expansion above is that suggested by Professor Eric Birley. The Domaszewski-Dobson suggestion has the merit that the speculatores ought to have come from the nearest legionary province, which was Hispania citerior. CIL restored h(oc) c(uraverunt). There is little to choose between any of these possibilities.

Dobson points out that since Aniensis is the tribe of Ariminum Valens was probably born there. He was decorated in Britain in 43, while a beneficiarius praefecti praetorio, that is probably in the last years of his praetorian service. In that case he will almost certainly have enlisted in the period 27 to 29, though since the career

structure was still rudimentary at this time he could have served longer in this post, and therefore have enlisted later. On the completion of his sixteen years service he was asked to stay on as an evocatus Augusti, and while holding this post he was decorated again. There followed four centurionates in Rome, and the post of cavalry drillmaster to the speculatores (not necessarily attached to the praetorian centurionate). Service in the legions, including the primipilate, then preceded the round of tribunates in Rome, the post of primuspilus iterum, and the procuratorship of Lusitania, considered by Pflaum to have been in the first echelon from the time of ^Vespasian on and therefore probably at this time also. Dobson calculates that he will probably have been 59 at this time.

There is little in the praetorian career of Valens to hold our attention. The post of beneficiarius praefecti praetorio is one of the highest ranks in the praetorian cohorts below centurion and it was usual to step from it to evocatus Augusti. As in many other inscriptions only the most important post held in the unit is recorded. The career is one of the half-dozen which have survived attesting promotion of principales to procuratorial posts, or higher, and it is the earliest.

## 2. Sex. Cetrius Severus XI 6343 add = ILS 2073 = D 144

Pisaurum

sic Sex(ti) Cetri Sev[er]li spec(ulatoris), beneficiari Getae,  
ab comentariis custodiaru[m].

Tac. Histories I, 31

..... pergunt etiam in castra praetorianorum tribuni  
Cetrius Severus .....

Lusius Geta was praetorian prefect from 48 to  
51 (PIR¹ II 308). Dobson accepts the suggestion advanced  
by CIL that the passage in Tacitus refers to the same man.  
He goes on to point out that his age in 69 would be between  
forty-nine and fifty-seven, assuming that he had enlisted  
at the age of twenty, and that this would agree with his  
conclusions concerning the age of the primipilares. The  
post of speculator is found on only one other career insc-  
ription, and that is also of first century date, though  
the speculator was promoted to a quaestionibus praefecti  
(7). On another inscription the post of ab commentariis  
custodiarum appears to be held by an evocatus (243), which  
agrees well with its position in the career of Severus,  
above the rank of beneficiarius praefecti praetorio.

## 3. C. Vedennius Moderatus VI 2725 = ILS 2034 Rome

sic C(aius) Vedennius C(ai) f(ilius) Qui(rina) Moderatus  
Antio, milit(avit) in leg(ione) XVI Gal(lica) a(nnis) X,  
tran(s)lat(us) in coh(ortem) IX pr(aetoriam), in qua mil-  
it(avit) ann(is) VIII, missus honesta mission(e), revoc(a-  
tus) ab imp(eratore), fact(us) evoc(atus) Aug(usti), arcit-  
ect(us) armament(arii) imp(eratoris), evoc(atus) ann(is)  
LXXIII, donis militarib(us) donat(us) bis ab divo Vesp(a-  
siano) et imp(eratore) Domitiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico) .....

XVI Gallica was disbanded in 70 and some of the soldiers may have been transferred into the guard; alternatively Moderatus could have been transferred by Vitellius. He is the earliest known transfer from the legions to the guard, but as in the 190s there was a special reason. He retired after eight years in the praetorian cohorts, but received the evocatio from Vespasian. While evocatus he held the post of architectus armamentarii imperatoris, though he may not have held this precise post for the twenty-three years he was an evocatus. He was probably asked to stay in the guard because of his specialist qualifications as an architectus. He was twice decorated, the second time by Domitian while an evocatus.

4. L. Tatinus Cnosus      AE 1933, 87      Philippi

L(ucio) Tatinio L(ucii) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Cnoso, militi cohortis IIII pr(aetoriae), singulari et benef(iciario) trib(uni), optioni, benef(iciario) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), evoc(ato) Aug(usti), donis donato torquibus, armillis, phaler(is), corona aurea ab imp(eratore) Domitiano Caes(are) Aug(usto) Germ(anico), (centurioni) coh(ortis) IV vigil(um), (centurioni) stator(um), (centurioni) coh(ortis) XI urb(a-nae), veterani qui sub eo in vigilib(us) militaver(unt) et honesta missione missi sunt.

He was probably decorated, as an evocatus, in Domitian's Dacian War of 85 to 89. He will therefore presumably have enlisted in the period 67 to 72, allowing for the fact that he could have been an evocatus for a year or two before the commencement of the war, and for the possibility that he may only have received evocatio at the end of it.



This career may be compared with the Trajanic careers (11, 14 and 15). Although the early part of the inscription, the promotion from singularis to beneficiarius tribuni, is usual, the jumps from there to optio and then to beneficiarius praefecti praetorio are not. The only other two clear examples of this phenomenon are of late second century date, and can be explained by the special factors pertaining to the two careers. In the career of Cnosus there appears to be no special factors, and I regard it as one of the key pre-Domitianic careers, illustrating the situation before the stabilisation of the career structure by that emperor, if indeed it was his work.

5. M. Coelius Clemens V 7160 = ILS 2086 Taurinis

sic M(arco) Coelio C(ai) f(ilio) G(am)il(ia) Clementi, mil(iti) c(o)hort(is) VI pr(aetoriae), optioni, evoc(ato) Aug(usti), centurioni leg(ionis) IIII Flav(iae) felic(is) Mys(iae) superior(is), aras parentib(us) suis et propinq(uis) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit), quod faciend(um) curavit C(aius) Petronius Firmus scrib(a) C(aius) Pompeius.

The description of legio IV Flavia as being in Moesia superior suggests that it had recently moved there, which happened in 86. Presumably Clemens had only reached the rank of optio when he completed his sixteen years service and was asked to stay on. This is unique, though there are two promotions from signifer to evocatus (8 and 20). It tends to imply that the stabilisation of the career structure may not have been complete at this time. The other possibility is that the career is selective, but optio

would be an unusual post to select, the most senior one usually being recorded, that is cornicularius or beneficiarius praefecti, which suggests that neither of these was held.

6. C. Lucilius Vindex IX 5809 = ILS 2078 Potentia

C(aius) Lucilius C(ai) f(ilius) Vel(ina) Vindex, miles c(o)hor(tis) VI praet(oriae), vixit ann(is) XXX, militavit annis XII, principalis, beneficiarius tribuni, deinde optio in centuria, hoc testamento fieri iussit honoris pietatis-que [causa e]t C(aio) Lucilio Secundo patri et Lore ..... ti matri et .....e aviae, ex HS MM praelegatus.

The lack of abbreviation suggests an early date, as does the use of the nominative.

Vindex served as a soldier in the sixth praetorian cohort, being promoted successively beneficiarius tribuni and optio. He died in the latter post after twelve years' service. This accords well with the other stipendia known for optiones - eleven, fourteen and fifteen - though of course there are four mentioned on the discharge lists (cf. the discussion of optio below).

This inscription is important also in that Vindex is specifically recorded as principalis. It is difficult to know whether this term is being used loosely, as so often seems to have happened, or exactly. Certainly the position of the word on the inscription suggests that the post of beneficiarius tribuni was of principalis status (though the term immunis may not yet have been introduced to describe lower class principales (see Appendix I)).

7. L. Trosius Maximus VI 2755 = ILS 2145 Rome

L(ucius) Tros i us L(ucii) f(ilius) Pup(inia) Maximus  
Tergeste, (centurio) coh(ortis) XI urb(anae), militavit  
(centurio) coh(ortis) II vig(illum), evoc(atus) Aug(usti),  
a quaestion(ibus) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), speculator  
Aug(usti) in coh(orte) X pr(aetoria), vixit) an(nis) LV,  
mil(itavit) an(nis) XXXIII, t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit),  
in fr(onte) p(edes) XII, in ag(ro) p(edes) XIII.

The use of the nominative points to an early date for the inscription. Domitian added cohors X towards the end of the first century, so the inscription cannot precede this date.

This is one of the two careers in which the post of speculator appears. The promotion to a quaestionibus praefecti praetorio is unique. It is not clear, though, whether this post was a separate post, coming between speculator and evocatus, or whether it was held by Maximus in his capacity as evocatus. The wording is similar on another inscription: Q. Gavius Q. f. Arn. Clemens Clusio evoc. Aug. A questionibus (sic) (XI 2108 = ILS 2146). These two inscriptions strongly suggest that this post was usually held by an evocatus.

His subsequent career was unexciting, consisting simply of two centurionates in Rome. He died at the age of fifty-five, with thirty-three years service. Maximus served for sixteen or seventeen years as evocatus and centurion in the vigiles and urban cohorts, making very slow progress. Upwards of twenty years service as evocatus is not unknown,

but this is usually by a specialist and promotion to the centurionate does not usually follow. On the other hand there is no suggestion that Maximus was not still serving.

8. C. Iulius Ingenuus VI 2578 = ILS 2143 Rome

C(aius) Iulius C(aio) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Ingenuus militavit (in) coh(orte) V pr(aetoria), signifer, stipendia militar(ia) XIX, evocat(iva) XII, vixit annis LX.

The use of the nominative and the lack of abbreviations combine to suggest an early date, probably in the first century.

Ingenuus had reached the rank of signifer when he completed his service, with nineteen stipendia. He then received the evocatio and remained for twelve years at that rank. This might imply that he was a specialist, but there is nothing in the career to support this. There is one parallel to the career: M. Atilius Successus, who reached retirement age as a signifer in 160 and stayed on as an evocatus (20).

9. L. Octavius Mareellinus V 3371 Verona

V(ivus) f(icit) - L(ucius) Octavius L(ucii) f(ilius) Pob(ilia) Marcellinus beneficiarius prae[f(ecti)] p[r(aetorio), e]vocatus, t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).

Again the use of the nominative is taken to imply a first century date. The promotion from beneficiarius praefecti praetorio to evocatus was usual and requires no comment.

10. A. Saufeius Emax III 2887 = ILS 9067 Corinium

A(ulus) Saufeius P(ublii) f(ilius) Ca[m(ilia) E]max (?)  
**Ansio**, miles co(hortis) VIII pr(aetoriae) (centuria)  
**Firmi Ter[tulli] (?)**, militavit annis [. . .] **beneficiarius**  
**t[ri]b(uni), tes]serarius, o[ptio] (?)**, donis do[natus ab]  
 imperat[ore .. . . .] no Cae[sare Aug(usto) tor]quibus . . .

line 4: co[rnicular.] (?) CIL

The emperor could be Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, and the inscription dated to the period 69 to 161. The nominative, the few abbreviations and the lack of dis manibus at the head of the inscription combine to suggest a date in the first century, though the style of the inscription is very similar to those set up by Trajan's veterans (cf. 10 and 14).

The soldier served in the ninth praetorian cohort. He was promoted to beneficiarius tribuni, and thence to tesserarius. The next appointment according to the Corpus was to cornicularius. However, there are difficulties in the way of this restoration, none of them strong enough individually to damn the restoration, but important in combination. Firstly the promotion would be unique. Even in the first century there is no other jump from such a junior post as tesserarius to cornicularius. It would be normally expected that one of the higher posts in the century would have been held first. The nearest parallel to such a promotion would be in the career of T. Flavius Rufus (31). He was advanced from tesserarius to beneficiarius praefecti

praetorio. But his career is unusual in that he started as an architectus, and was promoted from beneficiarius praefecti praetorio to cornicularius praefecti annonae. His jump, which was not as great as that of Saufeius Emax, could be explained by the peculiarities of his earlier career. There is no need to accept Durry's hypothesis that his rapid advancement was due to his decorations (p. 106); this would also be unique on the present state of evidence.

There is also no room on the stone for a qualification for cornicularius. This officer served on the staff of either the prefect or a tribune, and invariably recorded this fact on a career inscription, if not on every laterculus. This could only be included on the stone by drastic abbreviation of the two words, which is out of keeping with the rest of the inscription, and that particular line.

Finally, and what is most important, the C before the O on the transcript in the Corpus is only dotted in. Between all other words, except .no and Caes. on the penultimate line, there is a stop. There seems to be no reason why there is no stop between Iserarius and co[ and it is therefore suggested that the supposed C actually formed the stop and , perhaps with the aid of a scratch on the stone, has been misread.

Advancement from tesserarius to optio would be more normal, with the decorations coming probably while he was holding the latter post.

11. C. Arrius Clemens XI 5646 = ILS 2081 = D 55 Matilica

C(aio) Arrio C(aii) f(ilio) Cor(nelia) Clementi, militi coh(ortis) IX pr(aetoriae), equiti coh(ortis) eiusdem, donis donato ab imp(eratore) Traiano, torquibus, armillis, phaleris, ob bellum Dacicum, singulari praefectorum praet(orio), tesserario, optioni, fisci curator, cornicul(ario) tribuni, evocato Aug(usti), (centurioni) coh(ortis) I vigil(um), (centurioni) statorum, (centurioni) coh(ortis) XIIII urb(anae), (centurioni) coh(ortis) VII pr(aetoriae), trecenario, donis donato ab imp(eratore) Hadriano, hasta pura, corona aurea, (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), primipilari, II vir(o) quinquennali, patrono municipii, curator reipublicae, decur(ionis) et Aug(ustales) VII viri et municipes Matil(icae).

Clemens was presumably decorated by Hadrian in the Jewish War 132-135, since this is the only time Hadrian is known to have awarded decorations. The first decoration is not so easily dated. They were given either in the first Dacian War, 101-102, or in the second, 105-106. The difference of five years is not so great, indeed it is fortunate that the inscription can be dated so closely. If Clemens was promoted eques after seven years service, which was normally the lowest stipendia, he will have enlisted in the period 94-99.

After an initial period in the ninth praetorian cohort Clemens was appointed an eques. This may have come about the seventh stipendia (cf. discussion on equites cohortes praetoriae). It is not clear whether he remained

an equus, receiving pay as such, for the rest of his praetorian career. He was promoted next to singularis praefecti praetorio, serving under two prefects. There are only three careers of equites known, and the other two were both promoted to posts in the century (23 and 33). Similarly the post of singularis praefecti praetorio is only found on two other inscriptions, but in an analogous position (15 and 30). There can not have been many singulares praefecti and probably only the soldiers with the most promise held the post. Clemens' later career ought to reflect this .

Promotion into the posts in the century followed singularis praefecti. He was tesserarius and optio, and in accord with the usual practice, after holding only two of the posts in the century, he took the administrative path, being fisci curator and cornicularius tribuni. Again as was normal he passed thence to evocatus Augusti. If the above calculation is correct this will have been in the period 110-115. The round of centurionates in Rome followed, and he was decorated when trecenarius by Hadrian. This was in the years 132-135, that is between twenty and twenty-five years after his receiving the evocatio. This was a long time to spend in the Rome centurionates, but a legionary one was interposed between trecenarius and primuspilus, which was his last post. He will then, assuming



him to have twenty at enlistment, have been at least sixty. Although he did reach this high post his progress was slow, and as Dobson points out, although he was a praetorian no special preference was shown to him.

He retired to be honoured by his native city of Matilica with the posts of II vir quinquennalis, patron and curator.

12. C. Caesius Silvester      XI 5696 = D 124      Tuficum

Caesio C(ai) f(ilio) Ouf(entina) Silvestri, benef(iciario) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), evoc(ato) Aug(usti), (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) F(elicis), leg(ionis) III Gall(icae), leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae), leg(ionis) XXX Ulpiae V(ictricis), p(rimo)p(ilo), praef(ecto) castror(um) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) [F(elicis), dolnis dato bello Dacico b(aci), [to]rquibus, armillis, phale[ris], pontifici, curator[um] [viarum et pont(ium)] Umbr(iae) et Pice(ni) dato [ab imp(eratore) An]tonino Aug(usto) Pio, patrono municipi.

This man is recorded upon the following inscriptions: XI 5674, 5687, 5694, 5697-5701, 8051-8055; all except the first, which is at Attidium, are at Tuficum.

The decorations recorded at the end of his military career were presumably awarded when he was a praetorian soldier. He will therefore have been a contemporary of Clemens. It is quite usual to record only the most senior post held in the guard, as a way of summing up the entire career. After the post of beneficiarius praefecti praetorio he served for a time as evocatus Augusti before holding a series of legionary centurionates. In all he held five

centurionates before becoming primus pilus presumably in IV Flavia. His final military post was as praefectus castrorum of IV Flavia. He was one of a small number of praetorian principales who reached this rank, but unfortunately his career is too sketchily recorded to enable us to say if he was marked out at an early stage as being better than average. He was clearly a distinguished member of the city of Tuficium. Pflaum considers that the post of cucator was an extraordinary municipal one (cf. Carrières no. 6).

13. Q. Albius Felix                      XI 3108                      Falerii

Q(uinto) Albio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Hor(atio) Felici,  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis),  
corniculario pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), donis donato ab  
divo Traiano Aug(usto) torquibus, armillis, phaleris,  
bello Parthico et ab imp(eratore) Caesare Traiano  
Hadriano Aug(usto) hasta pura et corona aurea, Avillia  
Soteris mater filio optimo pientissimo l(ocus) d(atus)  
d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Felix was decorated in both Trajan's Parthian War of 114-117, when he was presumably in the guard, and in Hadrian's Jewish War of 132-135. His praetorian career is summed up by reference to his last, and most important, post, cornicularius praefecti praetorio. He did not serve for a time as evocatus, but like all other known cases he was promoted directly to a centurionate. Presumably he did not complete his sixteen years, but had a centurionate secured through his own excellence and the influence of the praetorian prefect before the completion of his statutory

military service. He held a legionary centurionate and not one in Rome, which accords with the other attested cases.

14. C. Oppius Bassus

D 331

Auximum

IX 5839 = ILS 2085

C(aio) Oppio C(ai) f(ilio) Vel(ina) Basso, p(atrono) c(oloniae), pr(aefecto) Auximo, (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) Fel(icis), evoc(ato) Aug(usti) ab actis fori, b(ene)f(iciario) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), signif(ero), option(i), tesse(rario) coh(ortis) II pr(aetoriae), mil(iti) coh(ortium) XIII et XIII urbanarum, coll(egium) cent(oniarorum) Auxim(i), patr(ono), ob merita eius. l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum). posita VI k(alendis) Iul(iis), L(ucio) Aelio Caesare II, P(ublio) Coelio Balbino co(n)s(ulibus). (137)

IX 5840 = ILS 2085

C(aio) Oppio C(ai) f(ilio) Vel(ina) Basso, p(rimo) p(ilo), p(atrono) c(oloniae), pr(aefecto) i(ure) d(icundo) Aux(imi), (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) Fel(icis) et leg(ionis) II Traianae Fort(is), evoc(ato) Aug(usti) ab actis fori, b(ene)f(iciario) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), mil(iti) coh(ortis) II pr(aetoriae) et coh(ortis) XIII et coh(ortis) XIII urb(anarum): omnibus officiis in caliga functo, centuriones leg(ionis) II Traianae Fortis optimo et dignissimo in cuius ded(icatione) cenam col(legio) ded(it). l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

In 137 Bassus was holding the first of his two legionary centurionates. He therefore probably enlisted in the latter half of the first decade of the second century.

In company with the two following soldiers he started his career in the urban cohorts, though in this case Bassus served in two cohorts. He was then transferred into the guard. Presumably, as with other soldiers similarly transferred, he was considered to be worthy of a career in the guard, and his later career justifies his transfer.

He held all three of the posts in the century, and as might be expected then he became beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. On the completion of his service, which was probably longer than the statutory sixteen years because of his service in the urban cohorts, he was made an evocatus Augusti. He held the special appointment as evocatus Augusti ab actis fori. Only one other holder of this post is known, a contemporary of Bassus, Nummius Constans, who was also an evocatus. Bassus was commissioned as a centurion in IV Flavia. He later moved to II Traiana, and it was his promotion to primuspilus that was the occasion for the second dedication. This could have been held either in II Traiana or in a legion unnamed because he had not yet received the posting.

This career, and that of Arrius Clemens (11), are typical in that they demonstrate clearly the two sides of the stabilised career structure at the beginning of the second century.

15. Octavius Secundus III 7334 = ILS 2080 = D 328 Serrae

....]us D(ecimi) f(ilius) Octav(ius) Se(c)undus Curib(us) Sab(atina), mil(es) coh(ortis) X urb(anae), trans[lat(us) in coh(ortem) VI pr(aetoriam), [s]ing(ularis) trib(uni), benef(iciarius) trib(uni), sing(ularis) pr(aefecti) [pr]aet(orio), optio in centur(ia), sign(ifer), [f]lis[cli] curat(or), cornicu[l(arius)] trib(uni), ev(ocatus) Aug(usti), (centurio) leg(ionis) X [F]retensis, donis don(at)us) ab divo Hadrian(o) ob bell(um) Iudaicum, corona aurea, tor[qu]ib(us), armillis, p[h]aler(is), et ab eodem promotus succes(sione) in leg(ionem) prim[am] [Il]ta[li]c(am), [p]rimipil(us) leg(ionis) eiusdem, adlectus decurio in colonis et or[n]am(entis) [I]viralib(us) [p]ro[mo]n(at)us) Actiae Nicopoli et Ulpia[...]

Secundus was decorated in Hadrian's Jewish War when he was holding his first centurionate. He will therefore have enlisted roughly within the period 112-117. He commenced his career in the urban cohorts and was transferred from cohors X urbana to cohors VI praetoria. He was promoted singularis tribuni, beneficiarius tribuni and singularis praefecti praetorio, a unique series of posts, though of course not unexpected. The holding of this latter post might suggest that Secundus was considered to be a good soldier, and destined for a successful career, as has already been suggested in the case of Arrius Clemens (11). Secundus held only two of the posts in the century, optio and signifer, and as was normal passed to the administrative side of the senior staff posts, being successively fisci curator and cornicularius tribuni. After service as evocatus Augusti he was posted as centurion to X Fretensis, stationed in Judaea. He was decorated in Hadrian's Jewish War while holding this post. He was later a primus pilus in I Italica. It is interesting to note that he rose as high as his fellow ex singulari praefecti praetorio Arrius Clemens.

16. C. Nummius Constans X 3733 = ILS 2083 = D 320 Atella

C(aio) Nummio C(ai) fil(io) Fal(eria) Constanti, p(rimo)-p(ilo) leg(ionis) II Traianae, centurion(i) II leg(ionis)

III Cyrenaica et VII Cl(udia), evocato in foro ab actis, militi coh(ortis) III praet(oriae) et X urb(anae), donis donato ab imp(eratore) Traiano, torquibus, armillis, phaleris, ob bellum Parthicum, item ab imp(eratore) Hadriano, corona aurea, torquibus, armillis, phaleris, ob bellum Iudaicum, heredes ex testamento.

Constans fits into the same group as Oppius Bassus and Octavius Secundus. He was transferred from the urban to the praetorian cohorts under Trajan, and was decorated by the same emperor, probably while still in the guard. On the completion of his service, which was probably more than the normal sixteen years, due to his period in the urban cohorts, he was made evocatus Augusti foro ab actis. The only other record of this post in the guard is in the contemporary career of Oppius Bassus (14) who also held it while evocatus. Constans served in two legions as centurion, before his death whilst still primuspilus of II Traiana. As a centurion he served in the Jewish War of 132-135, receiving decorations.

17. C. Ligustinus Disertus      XI 5960      Pitinum Mergens

C(aio) Ligustinio C(ai) f(ilio) Cl(audia) Diserto, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae, item (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), evocato Aug(usti), beneficiario praef(ecti) praet(orio), Eutyches lib(ertus) patrono optimo ob merita cuius dedicatione decurionib(us) et Plebei crus tu lum et mulsum dedit.

Eric Birley would like to date the transfer of Disertus from XX Valeria Victrix to IV Scythica in Syria to the Jewish War of Hadrian, when, as he points out, the

emperor sent against the insurgents the ablest of his generals, first of whom was Sex. Iulius Severus, governor of Britain (Promotions and Transfers in the Roman Army II: The Centurionate, Carnuntum Jahrbuch 1963/4, 29 f.).

Professor Birley suggests that the governor might have been ordered to take a battle-~~tried~~ contingent from the army of Britain with him. If there was warfare at the end of the reign in Britain the contingent would be needed back.

This is an attractive reason for the transfer from one end of the empire to another, and fits the date of the inscription, which is clearly second century.

Distertus' service in the guard is summed up by the mention of his final post beneficiarius praefecti praetorio, from which he was promoted to evocatus and then to a centurionate.

18. Ti. Claudius Firmus IX 5358 = ILS 1325 = D 151

Firmum Picenum

M(arco) Gavio M(arci) f(ilio) Palat(ina) Maximo,  
 praef(ecto) praet(orio), consularibus ornamentis ornato,  
 Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Firmus p(rimus)p(ilus) ex  
 cornicular(io) ~~ipsius~~. l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto)  
 d(ecurionum).

Maximus was praetorian prefect from 139 to 156. Dobson considered that Firmus probably rose within this period from cornicularius praefecti praetorio to primuspilus, and that the occasion for the erection of the inscription was the promotion to primuspilus, while

at the same time serving as a thank-offering to Maximus for using his influence. The promotion was, of course, not direct.

19. Sextilius Marcianus XIII 6728 Mogontiacum

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) Máximo), [Iul]noni Reginae, [For]tunae Minervae [... leg(ionis) ]XII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) [f(idelis) Com(modianae) (?), Commodo Aug(usto) VII et P]lertinae II [c]lo(n)s(ulibus). (192)

.... S]lexti[lius (?) ...] Marc[ianus (?)] domo (?)  
 V]ercell[is (?) ...]i ali[... qui est f]actus m[iles  
 in cohorte V]II (?)] pr(aetoriae) (?)] p[robatus (?)] imp(er-  
 atore) Anton]ino II[I co(n)s(ule) (140)], factus principalis  
 Eru[c]io Claro II et Cl[audio] Seve]ro co(n)s(ulibus) (146),  
 in coh(orte) s(upra) s(crypta) fa]ctu[s] t[esser(arius),  
 optio, sig]nif(er), b(ene)cf(iciarius) pr(aefecti) [pr(ae-  
 torio), factus in leg(ione) XX]II Pr(imigeniae) p(iae)  
 [f(idelis) evocatus (?)] B]arbar[o et Regulo c]o(n)s(ulibus)  
 (157), VI a[nn]o (?)] ab imperatore o]rdinib[us] adscriptus  
 in X pil(um) p[ri]orem ob virtutem (?) viritim [donis  
 donatus (centurio) leg(ionis) ann(is) XXIX (?)] meruit,  
 fuit (?) (centurio) leg(ionis) I [...], (centurio) leg(io-  
 nis) VIII Aug(ustae), [(centurio) leg(ionis) ... Ge]mina,  
 (centurio) l[eg(ionis) .....], (centurio) l[eg(ionis)  
 X[.....], (centurio) l[eg(ionis) I [.....], p(rimus)p(ilus) ...

This inscription is unfortunately heavily restored.

Particularly disturbing is the restoration of II PR P in one case to read V]II pr(aetoria) p[robatus] and in another to read XX]II Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) [f(idelis). However, Marcianus did serve for only seventeen years which would suit a praetorian rather than a legionary, while his career also is closer in form to the former rather than the latter. Six years after his enlistment in 140 he was promoted principalis. It is difficult to see what other alternative there is at this stage of the career, and ending in the same letter, to this restoration. For the



next promotion exa]ctu[s is, however, unwarranted, and fa]ctu[s is the obvious word. The post of optio may be restored with equanimity considering that Marcianus went on to be beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. He may not have been posted tesserarius immediately after being made a principalis, on the analogy of Florus (40) and also partly on that of Lucilius Vindex (6). His career up to this stage is not unusual - promotion to principalis after six years service, advancement through the posts in the century and promotion to beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. The next post, to which he was promoted in 157, ought to have been evocatus, and true to form Domaszewski restored that. If the rest of the restoration is correct this would appear to have been held in XXII Primigenia. The latter part of the inscription is far from clear and all that can be said is that he held a large number of centurionates before the dedication was erected in 192. The inscription is similar to the official primuspilus dedications and may be taken as evidence that Marcianus had reached that rank. He would then have been about 72 and would presumably have retired after his year of office.

20. M. Atilius Successus VI 32520 a, 2, 21 Rome

[coh(ors) II pr(aetoria)]

(centuria) Clementis

Torquato et Attico co(n)s(ulibus)

(143)

evoc(atus) ex signifero) M(arcus) Atilius, Successus Tiburi

This discharge list records the names of soldiers enlisting in 143 and 144 and can therefore be dated to the year 160. Successus was clearly still a signifer on the completion of his seventeen years service. Between that time and the cutting of the stone he was asked to stay on as an evocatus, a situation paralleled elsewhere (8).

21. L. Cominius Maximus XIV 3626 = ILS 2742 = P 189 = D 169

Tibertinum

sic D(is) m(anibus) L(ucii) Comini L(ucii) f(ilio) Maximi  
 domu Mantua, p(rimo)p(ilo) bis, procuratori M(arci) Antonini  
 Aug(usti), praef(ecto) leg(ionis) II Troianae fortis CC,  
 trib(un)o c(o)hor(tis) VII praetoriae, XIIII urbanae, III  
 vigul(um), centurio(ni) c(o)hortis I pr(aetoriae), X  
 urbanae, V vig(ilum), evocato Augustorum, beneficiar(io)  
 praef(ecti) praetori(o), vixit annis LXXXII dieb(us) XVIII,  
 Numitoria C(ai) f(ilia) Moschis coniux bene merenti heres.

Maximus enlisted in the period 144-153 since he was an evocatus under Marcus and Verus. His praetorian career was summarised by the post of beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. After the evocatio he held a round of centurionates in Rome and then became one of the two primipili known not to have held a legionary centurionate. He subsequently held the Rome tribunates, the prefecture of II Traiana, and the post of primuspilus bis. His final post was procuratorial, perhaps as Pflaum suggests, procurator patrimonii. He was not re-employed and died some years later at the age of 82. This is one of the most successful of all the praetorian careers but, like that of Sextilius Marcianus (19), it occurs in the age of the three Antonines who showed special favour to ex-praetorians

(cf. Dobson 56 ff.).

22.L. Petronius Sabinus P 197 = D 350

XI 6055 = ILS 2743

Urvinum Mataurense

L(ucio) Petronio L(ucii) f(ilio) Pup(inia) Sabino Foro  
**Brent(anorum)**, corn(iculario) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio),  
**Centurioni**] leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis) et IIII Fla(viae),  
 donis don(ato) ab imp(eratore) Marco Antonino in bello  
 German(ico) bis, hasta pura et coronis vallari et murali,  
 p(rimo)p(ilo) legion(is) III Cyreniacaе, curatoris statorum,  
 tribuni coh(ortis) ..... et provinciae Narbonensis.

IX 5898 = ILS 1386

Ancona

Petroniae Sabinae, filiae L(ucii) Petronii Sabini,  
 p(rimi)p(ili) bis, procurator(is) Aug(ustorum) stationis  
 hereditatum item provinciae Narbonensis, patroni coloniae,  
 decuriones.

Sabinus is also recorded on XI 6055a from  
 Urvinum Mataurense, which provides no further information.  
 His decorations in the period 169-175 place his service in  
 the praetorian cohorts in the 140s, 150s and 160s. He  
 finished his praetorian service in the most important post  
 in the army below centurion - cornicularius praefecti praet-  
orio. Promotion to a centurionate was all but automatic  
 before the completion of his sixteen years, and as was  
 usual he went to a legion. A distinguished career, adequately  
 discussed by both H.G. Pflaum and B. Dobson, followed,  
 ending with a ducenarian procuratorship. Although the  
 preference shown by the Antonines for praetorians has been  
 mentioned and could have been at work were Sabinus had been  
 a cornicularius praefecti praetorio and therefore may well  
 have reached the same heights in less favourable times.

## 23. Sueto Marcellinus XI 6350 = ILS 9066 Pisaurum

D(is) m(anibus) Sueto Marcellin(us) militavit años) VI m(enses) VIII, tes(serarius) an(nos) II m(enses) XI, eq(ues) an(nos) II m(enses) VIII d(ies) X, posuerunt fratres, curant(e) Salena Paulina mat(re), Sueto Crispin(us) et Sueto Paulin(us) ev(ocatus) Aug(usti), Sueto Aug(u)rin(us) m(iles) c(ohortis) IIII pr(aetoriae), Sueto Iustus.

Mommsen demonstrated in his discussion of this inscription in CIL that Sueto Paullinus is the same as the evocatus. C. Sueto Paullinus Pisauro recorded on a laterculus as enlisting in 144 and completing his service in 160 (VI 32520 a, 3, 57). The above inscription was probably erected shortly after this date; although some evocati did serve for upwards of twenty years this was unusual, a much shorter period seems to have been the norm. Marcellinus served for four months short of seven years and probably enlisted in or about 154.

In spite of its brevity this is one of the most interesting praetorian careers which has survived. After only one year's service as miles Marcellinus was made an equus. He served in this position for two years and nine months before advancement to tesserarius (it is not clear whether this post was held in connection with the equites or the pedites, in other words did Marcellinus relinquish his status as an equus when he became tesserarius?) He died while still holding this rank two years and eleven months later, after a total of six years and eight months service. His speedy promotion to equus is only matched by

one other soldier (VI 2695), who had served for three years before his promotion. No other tesserarius is known to have had so few stipendia. In fact this career is one of the most rapid on record, and was also much quicker than the average career postulated in the discussion of the praetorian career. Normally it would appear that tesserarii had at least eight or nine stipendia. The rapid promotion of Marcellinus must reflect his quality - if he had lived, and fulfilled his earlier promise, he must surely have had a brilliant career.

This inscription is interesting as far as epigraphic dating technique is concerned. But for the internal dating provided by C. Sueto Paullinus the inscription would surely be placed in the third century rather than the second. The abbreviation of the names - lack of filiation, tribe and origo - and the ranks and dates, the use of days, months and years all point to this. The difficulties encountered in dating inscriptions are clearly demonstrated here.

24. C. Annius Gallus                      XI 5935                      Tifernum Tiberinum

C(aius) Annius C(ai) f(ilius) Pom(ptina) Gallus domo Arretio, (centurio) leg(ionis) IIII Scyth(icae), militavit in pr(aetorio) an(nis) XVII, evoc(atus) an(nis) II, (centurio) in leg(ione) IIII Scythic(a) an(nis) XVIII, vixit an(nis) LX, meru(it) an(nis) XXXVIII, h(ic) s(itus) e(st), Atimetus l(ibertus) ex testamento f(e)c(it).

This inscription cannot be dated closer than the general period of the second century, though perhaps early in that century.

Gallus enlisted in the guard at the age of twenty-two and after seventeen years served as an evocatus for a further two before promotion to a centurionate in IV Scythica, stationed in Syria. He stayed in this legion for nineteen years before his death at the age of sixty. His career emphasises that all praetorians did not reach the heights of a procuratorship or even a primipilate, nor were all centurionates short.

25. P. Cleusius Proculus      Pais 1253 = D 164      Verona

P(ublius) Cleusius P(ubli) f(ilius) Pob(lilia) Proculus,  
p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audia) p(iae) f(idelis),  
ex corniculario pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) t(estamento)  
f(ieri) i(ussit).

Ritterling pointed out that the titles of VII Claudia were normally abbreviated to C.P.F. before Trajan, and only appear in the form above after that reign (RE XII 1628). The inscription on the other hand is clearly second century in date, and may be fairly early in that century, as the use of the nominative might suggest.

Proculus' centurionates were omitted, and only the two most important posts he held at each stage of his career were mentioned - cornicularius praefecti praetorio and primuspilus.

26. ....ninus      X 1763 add      Puteoli

....]C(ai) f(ilius) [....]ninus [mil(es)] c(o)hort(is)  
VI [pr(aetoriae) li]b(rarius)(?), tesser(arius),  
[signifler, fisci [cur(ator), co]rnicul(arius) [praef]ec(ti)  
praet(orio). [(centurio) l]legion[.....]e m[....]

Probably second century in date. The restoration of librarius is not entirely satisfactory but it is difficult to see what other post would have been recorded in this position. At any rate it would appear that only one post preceded the rank of tesserarius. Two posts in the century were held, and as could have been forecast the soldier joined the administrative branch of the senior staff posts, becoming fisci curator and then cornicularius praefecti praetorio. This career is unique in recording this latter post within the career of a principalis. The only other references to it in careers refer back to it as the last post held in the praetorian cohorts by the soldier concerned. The inscription under discussion clearly demonstrates that the same path was trod by both the cornicularius tribuni and the cornicularius praefecti. Only when the post of fisci curator was reached did the split come, those soldiers judged better - or with more influence - becoming cornicularii of the prefect, the others taking the lesser post of cornicularius to one of the tribunes. Durry assumed (p. 106) that the omission of the post of optio in this career was due to the soldier being decorated and therefore being advanced more rapidly. This is not the case; the real reason is to be found in analysis of all the praetorian careers, which shows that the omission is quite usual when the administrative posts are later held.

The soldier was promoted, presumably before the completion of his sixteen years since he was not a evocatus, to a legionary centurionate. This conforms to the usual pattern of cornicularii praefecti praetorio - no evocatio and no Rome centurionates.

27. VI 3661

Rome

.....]corn(iculario) trib(uni), fisci cur(atori), signifero, optione, tesserar(io), [.....

The lack of abbreviations implies a second century date for this inscription. Although the unit is not mentioned this type of career is only found in the praetorian cohorts and it is therefore safe to assume that the soldier was a member of this corps. The career is abnormal in that after all three of the posts in the century were held the soldier became fisci curator and cornicularius tribuni. Usually the post of beneficiarius praefecti praetorio would follow though there is a parallel to the above case (29).

28. Amblasius Secundus

XI 710 = D 32

Bononia

D(is) m(anibus) [...] Amblasi C(ai) f(ilio) M [...]cn  
Secund(i), mil(itis) coh(ortis) [... b(ene)f(iciarii)]  
tribuni), mil(itis) coh(ortis) I, tesserar(i), na.,  
[opt]ionis, sign(iferi) coh(ortis) eiusdem, [be]nef(iciari)  
praef(ecti) praet(orio), [e]voc(ati) Aug(usti), [(cent-  
urionis) coh(ortis)] I vigilum), (centurionis) coh(ortis)  
XIIII urb(anae), [(centurionis)] leg(ionis) V Ma(cedonicae),  
ex tr(ecenario) M A C E STRE [...] hici [...] Adiutricis  
p(iae) f(idelis), Hilara Cyrilla uxor marito optimo.



The style of the inscription, as B. Dobson has pointed out, strongly implies a second century date. The stone is now lost and the reading is not always as good as could be expected, while Domaszewski's restorations, as usual, are somewhat free in parts. Secundus' tribe was either Maecia or Menenia, the former only found outside Italy at Pelagonia which Domaszewski here restores. It would be safer to assume that the weight of the evidence is in favour of an Italian origin. Secundus after serving on the staff of a tribune, probably as a beneficiarius since that post is attested more often than singularis, was transferred into another cohort. The number of the original cohort is unfortunately on one of the missing parts of the stone. Since no transfers from one praetorian cohort to another are known from epigraphic sources it is usually assumed that the transfer was from an urban cohort. His rank on entering cohors I is not clear but mil. coh. I probably simply means that he was a member of the first cohort not that he was an ordinary gregarius. Secundus went on to hold all three of the posts in the century, and although no post appears to be interposed here, the letters NA in the third line are inexplicable. The usual post of beneficiarius praefecti praetorio was then held. On the completion of his service Secundus received the evocatio, and a number of centurionates

followed. Although the details of his later career are far from clear it should be noted that Secundus was unique, on present evidence, in going from an urban centurionate, which followed one in the vigiles, to a legionary. It was more usual for three centurionates in Rome to be held before transfer to the legions, and indeed the position of ex trecenario may imply that this post preceded the legionary centurionate and may have counted as a praetorian centurionate. Other legionary centurionates followed though the legions are not certain.

29. L.Pompeius Reburrus II 2610 = ILS 2079

Astures Augustani

L(ucio) Pompeio L(ucii) f(ilio) Pom(ptina) Reburro Fabro Gigurro Calubrigen[sil], pro[blato in coh(orte) VII pr(aetoriae), beneficiario tribuni, tesserario in (centuria), optioni in (centuria), signifero in (centuria), fisci curator, corn(iculario) trib(uni), evoc(ato) Aug(usti), L(ucius) Flavius Flaccinus h(eres) ex t(estamento).

The inscription is clearly early rather than late - the use of filiation and tribe, the lack of much abbreviation, and the fullness of detail all reveal that - however, the date cannot be pinned down any closer than to the late first or the second centuries.

Reburrus' first recorded appointment was as beneficiarius tribuni. He held all three of the posts in the century, recording clearly that they were all held in a century, and then proceeded to the two senior staff posts on the administrative side - fisci curator and

cornicularius tribuni. That the post of fisci curator was not in a century is manifestly demonstrated by this inscription since the three posts which were held in centuries are clearly distinguished. In that case the fisci curator must have been on the staff of the prefect or one of his tribunes, and more probably the former since the post is never qualified, as if it was associated with the whole unit rather than a part of it. Reburrus became an evocatus on the completion of his service and died while holding that post.

30. VI 2794

Rome

..... s]in[g(ularis) pr]aef(ecti), tesser(ario),  
optio[ni, si]gnif(eri), benefic(iario) pr[ae]f(ecti)  
p]r(aetorio), evoc(ato) Aug(usti), (centurioni)  
co[h(ortis) ...] vigilum) et statoru[m] .....

This inscription is presumably second century in date. The restoration of singularis praefecti is reasonably certain - no other post below tesserarius was on the staff of the prefect. After this position all three of the posts in the century were held, and in accordance with the usual practice the soldier became a beneficiarius of the prefect. After a time as evocatus Augusti he was appointed a centurion and started on the round in Rome.

31. T. Flavius Rufus

XI 20 = ILS 2082

Ravenna

T(itio) Flavio T(iti) f(ilio) Pup(inia) Rufo, militi  
coh(ortis) XII urb(anae) et coh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae),  
ordinato architec(to), tesserario in (centuria), b[en]ef-  
iciario) praefecti praetor(io), cornicular(io) praef(ecti)  
anno(nae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) et XI  
Cl(audia) et II Aug(ustae) et VII Gem(inae), Ulpiae

Pientissimae soror et Aelia Secundina heredes ex testamento faciend(um) curav(it).

The names of the two ladies imply that the inscription is post-Hadrianic, yet the lack of abbreviation and the presence of filiation and tribe suggest not too long after. The other three soldiers who were transferred from the urban to the praetorian cohorts were all Trajanic in date, but this career would seem to demonstrate that the transfer was not found only in that reign. The epithet ordinatus was taken by J. F. Gilliam (The ordinarii and ordinati of the Roman Army 145) to be merely a way of emphasising that the soldier was a military and not a civil architect. Professor Birley has pointed out to me that the word could here be a past-participle intended to mean that Rufus was appointed an architectus. Presumably Rufus was asked, or asked himself, to take up a 'professional' military career, rather than continue in his specialist post of architect. He was advanced to tesserarius, but holding neither of the other two posts in the century, was promoted thence to beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. It may have been considered that he had fulfilled the necessary qualifications in so far as he was clearly an educated man and did not require extra training as optio and signifer, or on the other hand he may have started on his praetorian cursus late in his

praetorian career, and in that case it may not have been thought necessary for him to hold every post in order to qualify him for a centurionate. However, he forms part of the very small group who hold only one of the posts in the century - indeed there is only one other second century example, L. Naevius Paullinus, who was optio equitum (33). After holding the post of beneficiarius praefecti praetorio Rufus did not proceed as was normal to the evocatio and a centurionate but was appointed cornicularius praefecti annonae. This is the sole record on this post. It is probable that praetorians were regularly appointed to it, but it would have been expected for them normally to have held one of the administrative posts in the guard rather than have been beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. It may have been thought that Rufus' varied experience in the urban cohorts as well as the praetorian, his holding of the post of architectus, and perhaps the nature of his tasks as beneficiarius, fitted him for this extra-praetorian post, though, of course, it may simply have been that he was the only man available at the time. Rufus was not an evocatus, but was directly advanced to a centurionate. This probably demonstrates that he was appointed before the completion of his sixteen years service, as seemsto have happened with the cornicularius praefecti praetorio also. Like these officers he did not serve in Rome but

held a legionary centurionate. This promotion together with the lack of evocatio suggests that the cornicularius praefecti annonae was of the same rank as the cornicularius praefecti praetorio. Rufus held centurionates in four different legions before his death.

This career demonstrates that although a career structure or cursus did exist it was flexible, being at this time neither stereotyped nor fossilised. A specialist who showed promise could take up a 'professional' military career and the regulations bent for his special circumstances. Clearly too soldiers could see service outside the guard if they, or their officers, desired.

32. C. Aelius Aelianus VI 2454 = ILS 2060 Rome

D(is) m(anibus) C(ai) Aeli C(aio) f(ili) Gal(eria)  
Aeliani Segobriga,] libratoris et tesserar[il co(ho-  
rtis) II pr(aetoriae), evocato Augus[ti], item libertis  
eius libertab[us] posterisque eorum t(estamento) f(ieri)  
i(ussit).

The style of the inscription - filiation and tribe, lack of over-much abbreviation - suggests a second century date.

Aelianus was enrolled in the second praetorian cohort in which he served as librator and tesserarius. On the completion of his statutory term of service he stayed on as an evocatus. Aelianus, like Flavius Rufus (31), may have started on a 'professional' military career, as opposed to a military career as a specialist, a surveyor. But in that case he either must

have started late in his praetorian career or have stayed for a long time as tesserarius. The former is more probable especially since he went on to receive the evocatio. Alternatively he could have stayed on as an evocatus lib-rator. This seems less likely since the holding of the post of tesserarius would then seem to be inexplicable. It is interesting to note that both Rufus and Aelianus served in specialist posts - architectus and librator - for which some education was needed. They are the only two specialists known to have had a 'professional' military career and this in itself may be a reflection of their education.

33. L. Naevius Paullinus VI 2440 = ILS 2077 Rome

dis manibus L(ucii) Naevi L(ucii) f(ili) Cam(iliae) Paullini, evoc(ati) Aug(usti), militavit in c(o)ho(rte) I pr(aetoria), eques, optio equitum, cornicular(ius) tribuni, militavit in caliga ann(is) XVI, evocatus fuit ann(is) III, L(ucius) Pessedius Agilis evoc(atus) Aug(usti) amico optimo fecit.

The style of the inscription clearly points to a second century context - lack of much abbreviation, absence of later terminology such as months and days, and the presence of filiation and tribe.

Paullinus was a member of the first praetorian cohort. In it he served as eques, optio equitum and cornicularius tribuni, and on the completion of his sixteen years service he was asked to stay on as an evocatus Augusti, a post which he held for three years, perhaps a reasonably average term of office. This career is of

special interest because of the posts omitted. Only one of the three posts in the century was held and he bypassed fisci curator; in fact he occupied only two of the four posts normally held. This may simply have no connection with his being an eques, and may be due to particular personal reasons not recorded on the stone by their very nature, but there is a strong attraction in linking this peculiarity with his service in the cavalry wing. It is unfortunate that there are not more careers on the praetorian cavalry surviving, but two careers do point to an abbreviated career for these officers (34 certainly and 23 possibly). This may reflect their status and pay which was higher than the pedites, enabling them to omit some subsequent posts, or their longer period of training which might cause them to start their professional military cursus later than the pedites. It would appear that an eques, who was at least a sesquiplicarius, would normally have had at least seven stipendia, and the shorter length of their career left may have caused them to forego holding certain posts. The full elucidation of this problem will have to await solution until more inscriptions relating to this class of officers have been found.

34. L. Laelius Fuscus VI 32709a = 37191 = ILS 9190 Rome

dis manibus L(ucii) Laeli Fusci (centurionis trecenarii) leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) p(iae) f(elicis), vix(it) ann(is) LXV, militavit an(nis) XXXXII, optio eq(uitum), vex(ill-arius) eq(uitum), fisci curator, evoc(atus), (centurio) in coh(orte) I vig(illum), (centurio) statorum, (centurio) coh(ortis) XIII urb(anae), (centurio) coh(ortis) I pr(aetoriae).



The original reading of the legionary titles was VII C. p. f., the titles of VII Claudia only used after Trajan according to Ritterling (RE XII 1628), but a later study of the stone suggested VII G. p. f., dated by Ritterling to the third century (RE XII 1642). G and C on inscriptions are so similar that it is possible that the legion could have been VII Claudia; moreover it is not impossible that these titles of VII Gemina could have been used in the later years of the second century. The career is so similar to that of Paullinus (33) that I would hesitate to place it after the Severan dynasty at the latest. Furthermore B. Dobson has suggested that a centurionate in the statores only appears to be found in first and second century inscriptions. This career has therefore been placed in chronological order following Paullinus, which it most resembles, with the proviso that it could be early third century in date.

Fuscus, a soldier for forty-two years, was, according to his tombstone, first appointed optio equitum. There is no need to suppose that this was his first appointment, at least he will presumably previously have served as eques, but it was considered the first worth recording. His cursus continued - vexillarius equitum, fisci curator, evocatus. The post of cornicularius, usually held between the latter two posts, is omitted.

This may simply be that the soldier had completed his term of service before he had reached the end of his cursus, on the other hand it may have some connection with his service as an egues, as possibly in the case of Paullinus. Fuscus was appointed centurion and went the round of the four in Rome. He ended his career at the age of sixty-five as a centurion in VII Claudia or VII Gemina. He spent a period of twenty-six years in these five appointments - that is an average of five years in each. His service as a praetorian would not seem to have won him any rapid advancement.

35. M. Titius Titianus      III 3846 = ILS 2652      Emona

M(arco) Titio M(arci) f(ilio) Cl(audiae) Ti(berio) Barbio Titiano, decurioni Emonae, (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Adiutric(is) item leg(ionis) X Fretens(is), hastato in coh(orte) I leg(ionis) II Traian(ae), ex corniculari(o) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), Lartia Vera filio piissimo. l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

The lack of radical abbreviation together with the presence of filiation and tribe argues for a second century date.

Titianus, a decurion of Emona, who had served as hastatus in II Traiana and had previously held a centurionate in II Adiutrix has recorded by his mother the fact that he had once held the important rank of cornicularius praefecti praetorio.

36. M. Troianius Marcellus VI 2754 = ILS 2059 Rome

M(arcus) Troianius M(arci) f(ilius) Marcellus Luc(o)  
Augusti, mil(es) coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) (centuria)  
Scipionis, men(sor) lib(rator), vix(it) an(nis) XXV  
m(enses) VIIII, mil(itavit) an(nis) V m(enses) VII,  
fac(iendum) c(uravit) L(ucius) Magius Adeianus et  
C(aius) Iulius Tiberinus amici.

line 3: men(sor et) lib(rator) ILS

The inscription is probably second century in date, though the use of the nominative might suggest early in that century.

Mensor and librator are the only reasonable expansions, though et need not be restored between them. The posts may have been held consecutively rather than simultaneously, Marcellus perhaps being advanced from mensor to librator, but his short length of service - five and a half years - is interesting in this respect. Possibly he entered the guard as a trained mensor.

37. Tenatius Primio AE 1947, 61 Verona

.. Tlenatio L(uci) f(ilio) [P]rimioni [m]illiti  
praetor(ianae) c(o)hort(is) IIII [ch]lorographiar(ib)  
[ite]m caelatori [fil]io piissimo mater.

The career is probably second century in date. Primio appears to have been promoted from chorographarius to caelator, both technical posts, and both otherwise unattested. The move, as in the case of Marcellus (36), may be thought of rather as a transfer than a promotion.

## 38. C. Coelius Anicetus X 410 = ILS 2071 Volcei

C(aio) Coelio Aniceto mil(iti) coh(ortis) II pr(aetoriae), sing(ulari) trib(uni), spe beneficiatus. Huic ordo sanctissimus decur(i)onum ob spem processus eius honorem decurionatus gratuitum obtulit. qui vixit ann(os) XXIIII m(enses) V d(ies) II, Coelia Prima mater filio dulcissimo simul Nymphicus Volc(eianorum) ark(arius) et sibi fecerunt.

The inscription is probably second century in date, though possibly early third. Anicetus served in the second praetorian cohort and died at the age of 24 with the rank of singularis tribuni. He clearly had hopes of advancement, perhaps promotion had already been promised. The next higher post, beneficiarius tribuni, would also be on the staff of the officer under whom he was now serving and possibly he had been promised promotion when a vacancy occurred. Anicetus was also a decurion of the city of Volcei.

## 39. VI 32887 = D 535 Rome

...] qui [e]o[epit] mil[itare] probatus in legione ....] Mamertino et Ru[fo] cons(ulibus) (182), factus tes[se]rarius in [legione eadem (?) tra]nslatus [in prae]to[rium Severo] Aug(usto) I[ulio] cons(ule) (194), ... .. coh(ortis) ... pr(aetoriae), factus [.....] factus b(ene)ficiarius [pr(aefectorum) pr(aetorio) .....] OLEVS evo[c(atus), (centurio),] et pri[mip(ilus) le]g(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) p(iae) [fid(elis), defunct]us Roma[e Pol]mpeiano et [Paeligni]ano cons(ulibus) (231), [vixit] ann(os) L[XX mense]s duo d(ie) uno [.....]

The inscription is in fragments some of which cannot be fitted into the above text. The soldier began to serve in a unit other than the praetorian guard in 182. It is not possible to say which type of unit this

was, but it was almost certainly a legion since the transfer occurred in the year - 194 - in which Severus reorganised the guard by transferring into it many of his loyal legionaries. He was a tesserarius when he was transferred and it would appear from the inscription that after a subsequent unknown promotion in the guard he was advanced to the position of beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. He was therefore probably transferred with the rank he was then holding and later promoted to either optio or signifer, since these are the only two posts which normally occur at this juncture. On the completion of his service, which may have been longer than sixteen years (cf. 40), he was made an evocatus. A centurion's commission followed and he was subsequently made a primuspilus. He died apparently in Rome in 231, possibly while still on the pay-roll. If that was the case he had served for forty-nine years. His age is not certain though Domaszewski restored it as seventy.

40. .... Florus IX 1609 Beneventum

...] f(ilius) Ulp(ia) Florus [Sarmiz]egethusa, mil(es) fac[tus in leg(ione) XII]I Gem(ina) [p(ia) f(idelis)] Severo et [Victorino co(n)s(ulibus)] (200), translatus in [coh(ortem) .. praetor(iam)] Antonino II co(n)s(ule) (205), [factus prin]cipalis in coh(orte) s(upra) s(cripta) [Pompeiano et Avit]o co(n)s(ulibus) (209), promo[tus tesserarius in] coh(orte) s(upra) s(cripta), Antonino III [et Balbino co(n)s(ulibus) (213), fac]tus optio in coh(orte) s(upra) s(cripta) [Messala et Sabi]no co(n)s(ulibus) (214), factus sig[nifer in coh(orte) s(upra) s(cripta) Lae]to et Caeriale co(n)s(ulibus) (215), [factus .. ... ab imp(eratore)] Antonino aedis sa[cerdos (vel) crae?] Praesente et Extr[ic]icato co(n)s(ulibus) (217), factus

[(centurio) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) Mo]gontiaci  
 ATVNO IIII [.....]to co(n)s(ulibus), traslat[us in  
 coh(ortem) ... praetor(iam) Gord]iano imp(eratore) Pio  
 et Pon[tiano co(n)s(ulibus) (238)], factus (centurio)  
 in] coh(orte) III praetor(ia) [Sabino et Ven]u[s]to  
 co(n)s(ulibus) (240), fact[us] .....

There are a number of problems concerning the restoration of parts of this inscription which I will discuss together with the career. In line two Domaszewski omitted any reference to the titles of XIII Gemina which CIL restored. This legion was the unit in which Florus enlisted in 200. He was a native of Sarmizegethusa and the legion, stationed at Apulum in Dacia, was the nearest to his home. Five years after his enlistment he was transferred into the praetorian guard.

In 209, four years later, he was made a principalis, and another four years after that he was promoted to a rank which was on that part of the stone now missing. Since in 214 he was promoted optio and in 215 signifer it may be presumed with a fair degree of certainty that the post of 213 was tesserarius. The post of beneficiarius tribuni, and therefore also singularis praefecti praetorio, may have been of principalis status (6; but see also Appendix I), but it is more likely that Florus held one or both of these posts between 209 and 213, rather than be promoted to one of them in 213. They are after all inferior to tesserarius and therefore more likely to be omitted if all two - or three - of them were held as seems to have been

the case. Promotion through the posts in the century was swift and each rank can only have been held for an average maximum of a little over one and a half years. In 217 Florus was again promoted. His new post clearly had some connection with the temple, though the precise title is not clear. The missing part of the line is most reasonably restored as factus ab imp(eratore)] Antonino aedis sa[cerdos. CIL suggested factus custos imp.] Antonino aedis sa[cræ while Domaszewski changed the custos to antistes on the analogy of the case of Aelius Malchus (51), and added ab, causing the new restoration to read: factus antistes ab imp.] Antonino aedis sa[cræ. There is in fact no need for a word between factus and ab. Factus ab imp. with spaces add up to 13 letters, while the restoration of factus prin. only a few lines before totals only 11. In default of an exact parallel it will be safer to say that Florus held a post of some capacity in the temple and the simplest restoration is that which assumes that he is a sa[cerdos. This post of sacerdos was held in place of beneficiarius praelecti praetorio since Florus appears to have held all three of the posts in the century, and it might therefore be expected that he would be advanced next to evocatus, but if the clever restoration of Domaszewski is correct the post must have

been centurion of XXII Primigenia stationed at Mogontiacum. The qualification of the name of the legion by its station is unusual, if not unique, at least before the fourth century, however, it is difficult to see any alternative to this restoration. The date of the promotion is even less clear. The stone reads ATVNO IIII.....TO COS. The second consul Domaszewski suggests must be Oclatinus Adventus, one of the only two consuls in the period 217 to 238 whose names are known to have ended in the letters TVS. Adventus was the colleague of Macrinus and then of Elagabalus in 218. It is possible that ATVNO IIII hides Antonino, the title of the latter emperor, yet the upper part of the stone is correct in all its details. In view of the lack of other evidence the suggestion of Domaszewski may be accepted, but with deep reservations. In that case Florus will have served for 18 years, 13 of them in the guard. His later career is by no means clear. Domaszewski suggested that he was translat[us in coh(ortem) .. praetoriam a Gord]iano imp(eratore) Pio et Pon[tiano co(n)s(ulibus factus (trecentarius) in] coh(orte) III pr(aetoriae) [Sabino et Venu]sto co(n)s(ulibus). Since the word translatus is not otherwise known to refer to transfers from one legion to another presumably Florus was transferred to Rome, and after transfer was promoted. Domaszewski in suggesting that he was made a trecentarius is at least



trying to conform to the wording of the inscription, but the transfer from a legion to the guard at this stage is unusual and direct analogies must be awaited before a more satisfactory restoration can be attempted. The consular dating is the only possible one in the period and must be accepted. In short, as far as the later part of the career is concerned, the restorations are far from satisfactory, and for the present discussion it is sufficient to note that after his service in the guard, which ended with the post of sa[cerdos], Florus was made a centurion and continued in that rank for at least another 22 years.

A cautionary note ought to be added. If it is accepted that Florus held a legionary centurionate and then one in the praetorian cohorts he will indeed have had an unusual career. Promotion from the Rome cohorts to the legions was infrequent, but there is only one other known promotion from the legions to Rome, and that is the peculiar case of Traianus Mucianus (54), dated later in the third century. This period was a time of change and it may not be surprising that adherence to the normal centurial cursus was not as strict as in an earlier age.

41. L. Iulius Victor                      AE 1949, 108                      Rome

L(ucio) Iulio L(uci) f(ilio) Pa(p(iria) Victori, (centurioni) coh(ortis) I urb(anae) Sever(ianae), laterculensi, ostiario, scriniario praef(ectorum) pr(aetorio) em(inentissimorum) v(irorum), innocentissimo vir[o] ob] **nimia**

mer[ita .....]iororum[.....] admirabilem benevolentiam erga singulos universosque) optimo civi Maracitani s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) d(ono) (?).

The centurionate is dated to 222-235 by the title Severiana. Enlistment in the praetorian cohorts will therefore probably have been roughly in the period 206-219. The first post recorded as being held by Victor is that of scriniarius praefectorum praetorio. The precise nature of this post is not known, but the holder was probably a principalis. Promotion to ostiarius and then to laterculensis followed. Seemingly without serving as an evocatus Victor was appointed a centurion, suggesting that the laterculensis was of equal status to the cornicularius praefecti praetorio. The inscription was erected while he was holding this centurionate, which was in the first urban cohort. This career is of special interest because it records these new posts, considered to be late third century or even fourth century introductions, on a dated inscription of the first two decades of the third century. Furthermore this is the first of the careers not to contain military or tactical posts as opposed to administrative. All three of the posts below centurion were on the latter side and the career marks an important step in the growth of specialisation in the army.

42. VI 1645 cf. pp. 654, 3163 = ILS 2773 = P 334 = D 533

Rome

.....] praef(ecto) ve[hicul(orum), proc(uratori)]  
 lud(i) ma[gni, proc(uratori)] Lusit(aniae), trib(un)o  
 p[raet(oriano)] Philipporum A[ug(ustorum)], p(rimi)  
 p(ilari), duci leg(ionum) Dac(iae), (centurioni),  
 corn(iculario) praef(ecti) praet(orio).

I have accepted the restoration and discussion of the career as advanced by H.-G. Pflaum in his Carrières. The inscription was erected in the lifetime of the Philips, that is 244-249, but the earlier part of the career can be dated no closer than the first decades of the third century since it is not known how long he served as centurion. His early career is abbreviated - service in the guard is summed up by the final post, cornicularius praefecti praetorio, and his centurionates by the centurial sign. He was presumably promoted before the completion of his sixteen years, and therefore was not an evocatus. His later career has been discussed by both Pflaum and Dobson, and it need only be mentioned here that he rose into the procuratorial grades, passing quickly through the necessary qualifying posts and staying, while in charge of the gladiatorial school and the Imperial post, in Rome, presumably in order to be close to the emperor. It is interesting to note that he had previously held the post of cornicularius praefecti praetorio, suggesting that his capabilities had been noticed at an early stage.

43. II 2664

Legio

[Iuliae Mameae Aug(ustae) matri Aug(usti)] n(ostri) et  
 castrorum [senatus] ac patriae [.....] f(ilius) Sabatina  
 [.....] leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) Sever(ianae)  
 [Alexandr(ianae)] p(iae) f(idelis) ex corni[c(ulario)  
 praef(ectorum) pr]aet(orio) em(inentissimorum) v(ironum)  
 [Maximo II et] Urbano co(n)s(ulibus) (234).

I have adopted the restoration suggested by Domaszewski and accepted by Domaszewski-Dobson, except for the restoration of p(rimus)p(ilus) in the third line. As Dobson has pointed out (Dobson: doubtful and rejected primipilares 31) this need not be a primuspilus although the inscription does resemble the official dedications of the primipilares - he could simply have been a centurion. However, he was promoted from cornicularius praefecti praetorio, recording this - and incidentally his service in the guard - as ex corniculario..... in the usual manner.

44. T. Flavius Maximianus

IX 3350

Pinna

T(iti) Flavio Maximiano ex maior(iario), **vivus** sibi posuit.

RIB 1896

Birdoswald

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [D(olicheno)] coh(ors) I  
 A[el(ia) Dac(orum)] c(ui) p(raeest) Flavi[us Ma]ximia[nus]  
 trib(unus) ex [evoc(ato) c(ohortis)] I pr(aetoriae)  
 Ma[ximin(ianae)]. (235-238)

VI 10983

Rome

d(is) m(anibus) Aeliae Silvinae coniugi b(ene)m(erenti),  
 vix(it) ann(is) XXX di(es) IV, fec(it) Fl(avius) Maxim-  
 ian(us).

The first two inscriptions probably refer to the same soldier, an assumption strengthened by the fact that maiorarius was a post usually held by an evocatus. The identification of the third is, however, not so certain. In the second inscription from Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall the restoration of evocatus is reasonable, especially considering the similar inscriptions from Netherby (247) and Bewcastle (45 and 248) which record tribunes ex evocato or ex corniculario praefecti praetorio. It is possible, though unlikely, that Maximianus was not recording a direct promotion, but merely the fact that he had once been an evocatus. However, it is probable that at this time direct promotions were made from the guard to auxiliary commands, especially in view of two inscriptions which record beneficiarii consularis, equestris militiae petitores (178 and 179). If these lowereofficers in the third century were in such a position surely it is possible that evocati were even better placed for direct commissions as auxiliary prefects. It is possible that this soldier was promoted from maiorarius to centurion, not holding the post of evocatus, though this is perhaps unlikely since usually maiorarius seems to have been held by an evocatus.

45. Q. Peltrarius Maximus RIB 989 Bewcastle

Deo sancto Cocidio - q(uintus) Peltrasi[us] Maximus  
trib(unus) ex corniculario praef(ectorum) pr[ae]torio  
em(inentissimorum) v(ironum), v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)  
m(erito).

The inscription is clearly third century in date and is part of the group of four similar stones from Bewcastle, Birdoswald and Netherby. As in the case of Flavius Maximianus (44) Peltrarius Maximus was probably recording a direct promotion. It is possible that he was simply recording that he had held the post of cornicularius to the praetorian prefect. This is unlikely since there seems to be no reason why the centurion ex evocato should make special mention of this post if **their** promotion was not direct.

46. Valerius Taurus VI 2662 = ILS 2147 Rome

d(is) m(anibus) Valerius Taurus miles co(ho)rtis VII  
sic pretorie, centurio, evocatus, qui visit annis XXXXVII,  
remisit filios duos geminos pisin(no)s an(niculos) et  
sic me(n)s(ium) VIII, (cum) co(m)pare sua vis(i)t bene,  
sic nationatu Panonius, uxor fecit benemerenti.

This inscription is most at home in the third century. After service in the seventh praetorian cohort Taurus was asked to stay on as an evocatus, and was later appointed centurion. He died at the age of forty-seven, and if he had enlisted at the age of twenty he may have served for some ten years as a centurion.

47. L. Arbustius Valentinus XIV 4007 = D 53 Piculea

d(is) m(anibus) L(ucio) Arbustio L(uci) f(ilio) Ann(iensi) Valentino Crem(ona), p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(av-  
iae) Fel(icis), evoc(ato) Aug(usti) ex coh(orte) IIII  
pr(aetoria), (centurioni) coh(ortis) II vig(illum), (cent-  
urioni) coh(ortis) XI urb(anae), (centurioni) coh(ortis)  
VII pr(aetoriae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Ge(minae),  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gemin(ae) p(iae) f(idelis),  
L(ucius) Arbustius Valens et C(aius) Arbustius Vitalis  
f(ecit).

Ritterling noted that the titles pia  
fidelis for VII Gemina are only found in the third century  
(RE XII 1637). After service in the guard Valentinus was  
promoted evocatus. After receiving his commission as a  
centurion he served in the Rome cohorts and then the  
legions - this was the usual way round. His final recorded  
post was as primuspilus.

48. XIII 6823

Mogontiacum

d(is) m(anibus) et bon(a)e memoriae. Quid stas et ....  
.... situs, mil(es) ann(os) XXIIII, probatus hic in  
leg(ione) VII Cl(audia), lectus in praetor(io), factus  
eq(ues), promot[us (centurio)], ex b(ene)f(iciario)  
praefectorum, natus provincia M[oes]sia superiore re[gi]o[n]e  
Scupi[ni?] a Da[r]dan[ia] me genuit, tenuit G[er]ma[n]ia  
colonom C O..... Ser(gia) Valens primus [he]res et cons-  
obrinus[.....]

lines 5 and 6: re[gi]o[n]e Scupi nat(ione) Da[r]dan[us],  
rus] me genuit, tenuit G[er]ma[n]ia, colonom co[n]dit  
Mommsen in CIL.

An obvious third century inscription. The  
soldier commenced his military career as a legionary. He  
was a native of Moesia superior and joined his local legion  
VII Claudia. He was transferred into the praetorian guard,

perhaps by Severus, who was supported by the Moesian legions, and made an eques. The only other post in the praetorian cohorts which he is recorded as holding is the post of beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. Presumably the intervening posts were omitted though it is possible that this was a direct promotion, especially if the career is of late third century date. Eques was probably singled out for mention because of the special status of the equites compared to the pedites. No mention of the post of evocatus is made, and it is presumed that it was therefore not held, though it may also have been omitted from the stone. The restoration of the centurial sign is reasonable, and this is the last post which he is recorded as holding. Since he was buried at Mogontiacum this centurionate was probably in the legion stationed at that place, that is XXII Primigenia, though since this was also the capital of the province of Germania superior he could have been a centurion of VIII Augusta on special duty at Mainz.

49. Aurelius Germanus XIII 6824 = AE 1940, 117 =

Nesselhauf 1938, 111a

Mogontiacum

d(is) m(anibus) Aur(elius) German[us] mil(es) coh(ortis)  
I pr[ae]t(oriae) (centuria) Casti, nat(ione) D[al]cus,  
lectus ex [leg(ione)] XIII, factus d[is]c[er]e[n]s  
armor(um), st[ip]endiorum] VI, mil(itavit) ann(os) VI..  
..... heres [et Aur(elius)(?)] Marce[llus com]mani-  
p[ulus et ci]v[es] b(ene)m(erenti) [f(ecerunt).]

line 3: d[is]gestor) armor(um) CIL AE



The inscription is clearly third century in date. Germanus was transferred from XIII Gemina into the praetorian guard, where he was made a discens armorum. There are no armorum custodes attested in the guard and it is possible that the post was an introduction by legionaries transferred by Severus. Evidence from the legions and the auxilia suggests that the post was either equal to tesserarius in status or only a little below it. It would appear that Germanus had served for only six years before his death.

50. Aurelius Iulianus VI 3419 Rome

d(is) m(anibus) Aur(elius) Iulianus evok(atus), ex b(e)n(e)f(iciario), salariar(ius) VIIII, c(o)hor(s) III, vix(it) ann(os) XXXXVIII, mil(itavit) an(nos) XXVIII, nat(ione) Dacia, Iulia Ursa patri b(ene)m(erenti) f(ecit).

The abbreviations and the nomenclature suggest a third century date. Iulianus as an evocatus must have been recording that his last post was beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. He served as an evocatus for nine years, surely more than was normal. His total length of service was twenty-eight years when he died at the age of forty-eight. He had therefore enlisted at the age of twenty and served for nineteen years with the colours.

51. T. Aelius Malchus VI 2556 = ILS 2090 Rome

d(is) m(anibus) T(ito) Ael(io) Malcho tectori eq(uitum) praetorian(orum) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae), qui et urb(anarum), item antistes sacerdos(um) tempi Martis castror(um) pr(aetoriorum), fecit ben(e)merenti coniugi dul(cissima) suo Roscia Sucessa cum que vixit ann(os) XL decessit annor(um) LXVI.

This inscription is typically third century in style. The career is unique, the posts of tector equitum and of antistes being otherwise unattested. Domszewski considered (p. 20) that the tectores were the successors of the speculatores. There seems to be no evidence to support this and B. Dobson has made an alternative suggestion to me, that is that they were the prototypes of the protectores. In view of the paucity of the evidence it is not really possible to do more than speculate about the post. Certainly it would appear to be a fairly important position since it appears to be connected to all the cavalry, at least in the third cohort, if not the whole unit. Malchus also had some connection through this post with the urban cohorts, though the term is ambiguous and it is consequently not possible to tell whether he was a tector of the praetorian and urban cavalry at the same time, or whether he moved from one to the other. The latter may be more probable, especially since he was presumably a principalis at the time, but further discussion of the post must await the discovery of parallels. From tector Malchus was promoted antistes sacerdos templi Martis

castrorum praetoriorum. Florus (40) was probably a sa[cerdos] and in his case the post was roughly equivalent to beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. It is possible that neither of the posts held by Málchus were of non-commissioned status, but that he was a supernumerary centurion with para-military duties, and his age of sixty-six, assuming that he was still serving at the time of his death, could be taken to support this view.

52. M. Aurelius Priscus ILG 107 = ILS. 9074 = D 99 Arelate

M(arco) Aur(elio) Prisco, p(rimo)p(ilo), v(iro) e(gregio), (centurioni) frumentario, canaliculario, ostiario praef(ectorum) praet(orianorum) em(inentissimorum) v(irorum), primiscrinio castrorum praet(orianorum), M(arcus) Iul(ius) Eutyches, eq(ues) R(omanus), ob merita erga se eius amico incomparabil(i), l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Two other inscriptions from Arelate (XII 677 and 862) could refer to this man but the names are common and they in any case add nothing to the above inscription. The inscription is third century in date, and may be compared to that recording the career of L. Iulius Victor (41). The lowest post mentioned in the career is primiscrinus castrorum praetorianorum, though this was presumably not the first post held. He was promoted ostiarius praefectorum praetorio and then canalicularius. Canalicularius is probably a variant spelling of cornicularius (cf. AE 1936, 56); less probable is the suggestion that it had some connection with

the castra peregrina, where it is also recorded (190 and VI 1110). It is interesting to note though in this connection that Priscus was advanced from canalicularius to centurio frumentarius, by-passing incidentally the post of evocatus. He was made a primuspilus, seemingly without holding any other centurionate. The career is typical of the third century - all the senior staff posts mentioned were on the administrative side (cf. 41), while the centurion's career was abnormal.

53. Aurelius Saturninus VI 2672 = ILS 2054 Rome

d(is) m(anibus) Aur(elio) Saturnino, eq(uiti) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae), (centuria) Verissimi, qui militavit in leg(ione) Secunda Italica tesserarius ann(os) VI, qui vixit an(nos) XXVIII, Aur(elius) Optatianus eq(ues) fratri benemerenti posuit.

II Italica was not raised until the 160s and the nomenclature is clearly demonstrative of a third century date. Saturninus served in II Italica, rising to the rank of tesserarius. It is not necessary to suppose that he held this rank for six years, the wording could mean that his total legionary service was six years. He was transferred into the praetorian cohorts where he served for an unknown, but probably short period of time considering his age of twenty-eight. He died an equus in the eighth praetorian cohort, and rather interestingly a member of the century of Verissimus. It is difficult to say whether Saturninus was promoted from tesserarius legionis to equus cohortis praetoriae, or whether

he had to serve for a period as a miles praetorianus, with of course the realisation that his promotion prospects were better. His pay as a praetorian miles was better than as a sesquiplicarius legionis (cf. P. A. Brunt, Pay and superannuation in the Roman Army, Papers of the British School at Rome XVIII (1950) 50 ff).

54. Traianus Mucianus      IGRR I 1496 = IGBR III 2 1570 =  
                                          ILS 9479 = D 522 Traiana Augusta, Moesia inf.

The restoration of this inscription as proposed by Domaszewski (pp. 185 ff.) has come under heavy fire (Domaszewski-Dobson LVIII f.) and I have therefore adopted the expedient used by Dr. B. Dobson in his doctoral dissertation of reproducing Domaszewski's drawing of the inscription. I have also accepted Dobson's suggestion of the date of the inscription, that is to the period Gallienus-Aurelian.

Mucianus began his military career as a soldier in the cohors I Concordia, a hitherto unknown auxiliary unit, though a cohors II Concordia, raised under Severus, has since been attested (AE 1934, 212). He was transferred into legion II Parthica, serving as part of the GHQ troops near to Rome. Thence he was promoted into the guard, serving as an eques. On the completion of his service he was made an evocatus, and then appointed centurion in XIII Gemina. He was centurio protector in all three of the Rome cohorts, princeps protector and

ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ ΜΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΝ ΔΟΥΚ  
 ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΩΡΤΗ ΑΚΟΝ  
 ΚΟΡΑ· ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΛΕΓ· Β· ΠΑΡ Θ· Ι· ΠΠ ΕΑ ΧΩΤ  
 Ζ· ΤΡ ΑΙΤΩΡ Η ΒΟΚΛΤ· Χ· ΠΡΟΤΗΚΤΟΡΑ·  
 ΛΕΓ· ΓΙ· ΓΕΜ > Χ· ΠΡΟΤ· ΒΙΓΟΥΛ· Χ ΤΡ/  
 ΤΗΚΤ· ΣΟΥΡ Β < ΚΑΙ· Χ· ΠΡΟΤ < ΧΩΤ· Ε· ΠΡ ΛΤ  
 ΑΙ ΠΡΙΝ ΚΙ ΠΑ ΠΡΟΤ· ΠΡΕΙΜΟΠ // ΕΚΤΩ

ΔΙ ΕΞ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ  
 ΑΡΧ· ΛΕΓ· Δ· ΦΛΑΒΣ  
 ΑΥΔ· ΚΑΙ· Δ· ΦΛΑΒ  
 ΤΡΙΒ· ΛΙ // ΟΥΡ  
 ΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΟ

ΘΕΡΟΗΝΩΝ ΚΙ  
 Τ· ΚΑΙ ΕΞ ΣΠΛΩΡΑΤ  
 ΔΟΥΚΗΝΑΡ· ΕΠΑ  
 ΤΡΑ ΞΑΝΤΑ ΕΝ ΜΕΣΟ  
 ΓΕΜ· ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟ  
 ΤΩ ΑΛΙΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥ  
 ΕΩΜΑΥΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ Ο  
 Γ Β ΤΡΑΙΑΝ· ΣΤΡ  
 Δ ΦΛΑΒ ΚΑΙ Β  
 Α Ξ Α Ν Τ Α Ε Ν Θ  
 ΚΑΙ Α Ρ Ξ Α

Η Π  
 ΣΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑ  
 ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΛΑΒΟΝΤΑ  
 ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΥΠΕΡΕΣΙΑΝ  
 ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΕΥΤΥ

primuspilus. The rest of his career is far from clear and need not concern us here, except to note that he held some tribunates, and at the time that the stone was erected was a ducenarius, though this may refer to his rank rather than his pay-grade. This career provides the only known case of a soldier passing through three different types of units - auxiliary cohort, legion and praetorian cohort. It is possible, and indeed probable from the wording of the inscription, that he was an eques for the duration of his praetorian service, though other posts may have been omitted and eques receive mention because of its special position in apposition to pedes. Since he had already seen service in two other units his time in the guard may have been comparatively short, only perhaps long enough to allow him to hold one post, and the eques did after all receive extra pay. Mucianus' capabilities may have been military rather than administrative, which may help to account for his being an eques and holding no administrative post, while his later career also reflects these qualities.

55. T. Vibius Rufinus

VI 627

Rome

Silvano s(acrum) - P(itius) Vibius Rufinus, coh(ortis) IIII [pr(aetoriae)], (centuria) LOG A L P O F C (or G), evo(catus) in leg(ione) XVI Fl(avia) f(irma), vo(tum) l(ibens) s(olvit) m(erito).

The drastic abbreviation and the nomenclature are suggestive of a third century date. Mommsen in the Corpus suggested that LOG was probably the name of

the centurion and that the second line should be expanded to read: a l(ibellis) p(raefecti), o(ptio) f(isci) c(ur-ator), evo(catus).. This is speculative in the extreme, there being no parallels for the expansions. F.C. is the normal abbreviation for fisci curator and this expansion may be accepted, but stronger supporting evidence is needed for the rest. This much is known: Rufinus was a soldier in the fourth praetorian cohort and held a number of posts in the guard, probably culminating in that of fisci curator. On the completion of his statutory term of service he was made an evocatus and was posted to legion XVI Flavia firma. This is one of the few clear cases of an evocatus from the praetorian guard being sent as such to a legion.

56. Aelius Emeritus

VI 2482

Rome

d(is) m(anibus) Ael(io) Emerito ev(o)[k(ato)] oriund(o) ex provincia Norica, qui vixit an(nis) XLI m(ensibus) V d(iebus) XXVIII, mil(itavit) an(nis) XIII in c(ohorte) III pr(aetoria), it(em) ev(o)[k(atus)] s(alariarius) m(ensibus) III, Pomp(onia) Marcia con(iux) (quae vixit) cum eo an(nis) XIII et Ael(ia) Saturnina soror h(e)r(e)-d(es) b(ene)m(erenti) f(aciendum) cur(averunt).

The date of the erection of this inscription is obviously somewhere in the third century. The abbreviation EVR is not known anywhere else but must stand for evocatus. The expansion of S on the third line is another matter. CIL advanced either s(ignifer) or [c(enturio)], Domaszewski s(alariarius). The latter is



usually only found in connection with evocati and would therefore seem to fit the present situation better. Emeritus, a Norican, was a soldier in the third praetorian century for only fourteen years before being made an evocatus. This is unusual, and as far as I know, unique.

He was only evocatus for a matter of three months before his death at the age of forty-one. It may be that his late enlistment - he would have been twenty-seven at the time - has something to do with his truncated praetorian career, though on the other hand he may have been a man ripe for promotion and in the changed third century system it may have been felt unnecessary to hold him back - after all cornicularii praefecti praetorio were promoted before the completion of their sixteen years.

57. C. Cornelius Florentinus VIII 2852 cf. p. 954 Lambaesis

C(aius) Cornelius Flor]entinus (centurio) leg(ionis) III  
Aug(ustae) (iterum) pi[ae] (iterum) vindicis.....]OIC[...  
..]a tabul. castr., evok(atus) e[.....]e[....]raet.,  
vixit a[nn(os).....

VIII 2851 supplies the name of the soldier - C. Cornelius Florentinus. Domaszewski has offered an expansion of the inscription, but it is not completely satisfactory. He disagreed with the Corpus in lines 1 and 2, restoring it to read: it(erum) pi[ae] it(erum) fid(elis) Valerianae Gallienae. I have adopted the Corpus reading which I consider to be more satisfactory. Domaszewski continued: cur]a(tor) tabul(arum) castr(orum),

e[vok(atus) leg(ionis) eiusdem beneficiarius praef(ectorum)]  
prae(torio). This is rather a free expansion, ignoring  
letters on the stone where they do not fit in. The last  
line probably reads: evok(atus) e[x benle[fic(iario)  
praef(ectorum) p]raet(orio). ...]raet[. clearly refers  
to praetorio, and the most frequently attested post  
previously held by an evocatus is beneficiarius praefecti  
praetorio - it cannot be cornicularius praefecti praetorio  
since these officers do not hold the rank of evocatus, but  
pass directly to a centurionate. The career is recorded  
in reverse order so that he was now a centurion, had  
previously served as an evocatus, and before that had been  
a beneficiarius of the praetorian prefect. That leaves the  
post of a tabul. castr. This is a hapax and the expansion  
is therefore far from certain. Domaszewski's suggestion  
of curator tabularii castrorum really ignores the evid-  
ence provided on the stone, and the title may simply have  
been a tabulario castrorum. There are parallels to this  
wording - a quaestionibus, a commentariis custodiarum, ab  
actis fori, curator ab indicibus. The position of the post  
on the career is ambiguous; it could have been held while  
Florentinus was either a centurion or an evocatus. The  
fact that the career is in descending order tends to  
support the latter suggestion, and the very nature of the  
post would fit it to be held by an evocatus rather than  
by a centurion, while the parallels quoted above were all

held by evocati. The post may be compared to that of eques sive tabularius in the career of M. Aurelius Augustianus (58). This soldier was promoted directly from that post to a centurionate. Tabularius would therefore be a fairly high ranking post as was the post of a tabulario castrorum, or whatever its precise title was. In fact they could both be variant titles of the same position, one perhaps the prototype of the other.

58. M. Aurelius Augustianus VI 2977 = ILS 2173 Rome

d(is) m(anibus) M(arco) Aur(elio) Augustiano, (centurio) coh(ortis) V vig(ilum), vix(it) an(nis) XXXIIII, provitus ann(is) XVII, exceptor presidi provinciae M(oesiae) s(uperiore) ann(is) IIII, lectus in praetoriae eques sive tabularius ann(is) V, factus (centurio) in Syria, vixit ann(is) VIII, Claudia Pacata coniux piisimo et Ulpus Marcellus nepos b(ene)m(erenti) fecerunt.

The style of the inscriptions and the nomenclature suggests a third century date. Augustianus enlisted at the age of seventeen and appears to have immediately been made an exceptor of the governor of Moesia superior. Since the governor's staff was drawn from the legions it is safe to assume that Augustianus had enlisted in one of the two legions of this province and was transferred to the governor's staff. The omission of the legion's name points to the changing situation in the third century when the administrative staff was becoming increasingly less aware of the realities of a soldier's life. After four years as an exceptor Augustianus was

promoted into the praetorian guard. In this corps he served for five years as an equus sive tabularius. Sive here means qui et (Vincent De-Vit, Lexicon totius Latinitatis, V) showing that the soldier served as an equus and as a tabularius at the same time. The former is probably not describing a post, but a rank or pay-grade. Augustianus will therefore probably have been a tabularius receiving the extra-pay of an equus. The rank of the tabularius is not known, since the post is otherwise unattested in the guard, but he was promoted directly to a centurionate so it cannot have been low grade - it was probably a senior staff post. After a total of only nine years service in the army Augustianus was promoted to a centurionate in Syria. No attempt was made to give soldiers comprehensive training now nor were praetorians apparently expected to serve out their sixteen years, or at least an approximation to them. All Augustianus' experience was in administration, and his early promotion was in contrast to the norm of the second century. He was made a centurion in Syria. This need not mean that his command was in Syria, but simply that the guard was fighting in Syria when he was promoted. The only centurionate mentioned on the stone was in the fifth cohort of the vigiles, but since reference to a legion had been omitted earlier in the career it should not be ruled out here also, though it

does seem more likely that he returned to Rome to take up his appointment. Augustianus served as a centurion for eight years, and died at the age of thirty-four after seventeen years service.

59. .... Celer III 385 Alexandria Troas  
 .....] Celer mil(es) c[ohortis .....] pr(aetoriae),  
 sic cornical[ar(ius) .....] benefici(arius) trib(uni),  
 VIRI[.....] KIDOMB[.....] fra[tri.....]

The reading of the inscription has been taken directly from its record in the Corpus ignoring both the Corpus and the Domaszewski restorations which are rather free. The date of the inscription is not clear. It could either be late second century or third, the career perhaps pointing to the earlier date. Celer was clearly a praetorian soldier, and his career is recorded in descending order. The lowest post mentioned appears to be beneficiarius tribuni. The fragmentary state of the stone prevents us from knowing what the next post(s) was, but he later became a cornicularius. There appears to be little room on the stone for more than one post, which points to a later rather than an earlier date.

60. .... Severus ILS 9065 Starigrad, Dalmatia  
 .....] C. M. Se[v]ero equiti ex singularibus ex c(o)h-  
 or(te) pr(aetoria) IX, stip(endia) II, vixit an(nis) XXX,  
 Ael(ia) Maxima mater filio infelicis(simus) b(ene)m(erenti)  
 et sivi viva fecit.

The inscription is probably third century in date, though possibly late second. At first

sight the inscription appears to be recording a member of the praetorian guard, an equus who had previously been a singularis and who died after only two years service. However, ex is here being used to mean an equus of the singulares, in fact Severus is an equus singularis. There is no other evidence for equites singulares as such in the praetorian guard, so Severus may have been a mounted singularis in the staff of the prefect or a tribune. Enlistment at twenty-eight was unusual.

61. P. Aelius Pacatus VI 533 = ILS 2088 Rome

Nemesi sanctae campestri pro salute dominorum n(ostorum) Aug(ustorum) P(ublius) Ael(ius) P(ublii) f(ilius) Aelia Pacatus Scupis, quod coh(ortis) doctor voverat, nunc campidoctor coh(ortis) I pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis) somnio admonitus posuit l(ibens) l(aetus).

The titles pia vindex are only found in connection with the praetorian cohorts in the third century (cf. Durry 87 n. 3). Pacatus was clearly promoted from doctor to campidoctor, probably directly. The wording of the inscription implies that there was one doctor and one campidoctor to each cohort though this might be misleading since soldiers are often described as being "of a cohort", that is a member of a cohort.

62. L. Septimius Marcellianus AE 1902, 77 Picenum

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) L(ucio) Sept(imio) Marcelliano, e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(iro), ex cornic(ulario) praef(ectorum) ..... duobus fratribus german(is) L(ucio) Sept(imio) Domitiano e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(iro) ex primip(ilaribus ?).

The nomina and praenomina of the two soldiers suggest a third century date. The earliest reference to e.m.v. is under Marcus and it usually refers to junior equestrian officers. There is no reason to suppose that Marcellianus was promoted directly from cornicularius praefecti praetorio to whatever equestrian post he held though it is possible. Domitianus makes no reference to his career below the primipilate and his original unit is therefore unknown.

63. Flavius Flavianus AE 1916, 18 cf. PIR² III 272 Djemila

Domitori hostium victoriosissimo principi nostro Aurel(io) Valerio Maximiano Aug(usto) - Fl(avius) Flavianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) Num(idiae) ex cornicul(ario) praef(ecti) praet(orio) e(minentissimorum) v(irorum) de votus numini eius.

Flavius Flavianus is also recorded on VIII 4325 and AE 1916, 21 neither of which add any further information to the above inscription. The erection of the stone is dated to about 286, and therefore falls right at the end of the period under study. Flavianus was governor of Numidia and had previously been cornicularius of the praetorian prefect.. The wording of the inscription does not imply that this was a direct promotion, though it is interesting to compare it to the wording on ILS 607, 2291 and 3091 which record the career of M. Aurelius Decimus - v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) N(umidiae) ex principe peregrinor(um). Decimus was probably promoted directly from the post of princeps peregrin-

orum to the governorship of Numidia. In that case why cannot the almost identical wording in the career of Flavianus mean the same? The praetorian prefect was a very important person and would be able to secure promotions for his protégés. This problem is impossible to answer, but there could well have been a change of meaning between the time of Claudius Firmus (18) and that of Flavius Flavianus some 150 years later.

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64. M. Caranthius Macrinus XII 2602 = ILS 2118 Geneva

M(arcus) Caranthius Macrinus centurio coh(ortis) primae urbanae, factus miles in ead(em) cohorte Domitiano II co(n)s(ule) (73), beneficiar(ius) Tettiani Sereni leg(ati) Aug(usti) Vespas(iano) X co(n)s(ule) (77), cornicular(ius) Corneli Gallicani leg(ati) Aug(usti) equestrib(us) stipendis Domit(iano) VIII co(n)s(ule) (83), item Minuci Rufi legati Aug(usti), evocatus Aug(usti) Domit(iano) XIII co(n)s(ule) (88), centurio imp(eratore) Nerva II co(n)s(ule) (90), t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit).

The inscription was erected between 96 and 98 since Nerva was described as imperator but not divus. Macrinus entered cohors I urbana in 73. After four years service he was promoted beneficiarius legati Augusti - presumably of Lugdunensis since this cohort was at that time stationed at Lugudunum. It is not necessary to assume that this is his first promotion. Other posts of less standing may have been omitted, though



if they were his service as an ordinary miles will have been very short. Six years later came promotion to the rank of cornicularius legati Augusti (Lugdunensis), and with it, it would seem, the rank of eques. Cornicularius ..... equestribus stipendis reveals unequivocally that this was merely a pay-grade. It would be pleasant to think that the receiving of this status was due to and completely bound up with his promotion to cornicularius, but it may in this case be purely coincidental. There is, however, other evidence. The cornicularius tribuni of the cohors XX Palmyrenorum was an eques, compared to the actarius of the same unit who was only a pedes. Similarly Domaszewski (p. 21) has pointed out that a relief on an inscription of a cornicularius praefecti praetorio demonstrates that this officer was mounted. As I have argued elsewhere the making of senior principales equites may have been a convenient way of paying them more. After five years service as cornicularius to two governors of Lugdunensis he had completed a total of fifteen years service and he was made an evocatus Augusti. Two years later he was appointed centurion in the same unit, I urbana, a post he still held at the time of his death six to eight years later.

Cohors I urbana was one of the two urban cohorts stationed outside Rome, and it is interesting to see that not only did this cohort provide the staff for

the governor of the province in which it was stationed, but also that a career solely within that staff was possible. It would appear that Macrinus, apart from the first four years of his military career, served only on the staff of the governor of Lugdunensis. This type of career is unusual and only paralleled in one other career, that of a legionary (168). This particular career may reflect the situation before the stabilisation of the career structure which may have happened about this time, that is under Domitian. The duration of each posts, which is probably longer than normal, and the omission of any of the posts in the century both point to this.

65. C. Luccius Sabinus IX 1617 = ILS 2117 Beneventum

C(aius) Luccius C(ai) fil(ius) Stell(atina) Sabinus Beneventi decurio, vivus sibi et Ofilliae Paratae uxori et Luccio Verecundo fratri posterisq(ue) suis fecit, militavit in coh(orte) I urb(ana), ad latus tribunor(um), fuit secutor, optio valetudi(nari), optio carcaris, singularis, benefic(iarius) tribuni, a quaestionib(us) factus per Annum Verum praef(ectum) urbis et tesserarius, optio, signif(er), fisci curator, optio ab act(is), cornicul(arius) trib(uni), benef(iciarius) Valeri Asiatici praef(ecti) urb(is), missus ab imp(eratore) Hadriano Aug(usto), Serviano III et Vibio Varo co(n)s(ulibus) (134), dec(reto) X k[all]endis Mai(i), Erucio Claro II co(n)s(ule) (146), in f(ronte) p(edes) XX in agr(o) p(edes) XX.

Sabinus retired in 134 and therefore probably enlisted in 114, or a year either side. This career is the most detailed of any soldier below the rank of centurion of all that have survived. It may be divided into three parts - the junior staff posts, the posts in

the century and the senior staff posts. But due to the fact that Sabinus was a member of the first urban cohort, stationed probably still at Lugudunum, the career may not accurately reflect the true urban career. Sabinus' early appointments were on the staff of the tribune of cohors I urbana - secutor, optio valetudinarii, optio carceris, singularis and beneficiarius. The first, fourth and fifth were probably normal posts found at the same position in all cohorts, but Sabinus may have held the two special posts at an earlier stage than was usual in the home unit due to the organisational differences. At any rate these two posts were also on the staff of the tribune, the commander of the cohort. The post of a quaestionibus followed. The wording of the inscription is not unambiguous, but it would seem that Sabinus was appointed to this post by Annius Verus, the prefect of the urban cohorts. This may imply, as Domaszewski thought, that Sabinus was transferred to Rome for the duration of this post. This may not have been the case - there were cohorts in Rome which could have provided men for this duty. However, if he stayed in Lugudunum, why the specific mention of Annius Verus? This may have been due to special circumstances but owing to the lack of an alternative source of evidence the reason must remain unknown for the present. This post was held between about 121 and about 125, which is when Verus is known to

have been praefectus urbis. We are on safe ground with the next three posts - tesserarius, optio and signifer. After these Sabinus was promoted fisci curator and then optio ab actis, the former almost certainly a normal appointment, as in the praetorian cohorts, and the latter possibly since it appears on one of the two other urban careers (66). The post of cornicularius tribuni followed and then his final appointment - beneficiarius Valeri Asiatici praefecti urbis. This appointment is surprising, and as before a transfer to Rome might not necessarily have been the case. The title may have been partly honorific, a device to allow men serving in the two provincial cohorts to reach one of the highest and most honourable ranks in the corps, while still remaining with their own cohorts. Sabinus retired in 135, and died twelve years later. This soldier held thirteen posts in his twenty years service. Allowing for a short initial training period each post can only have been held for a year to eighteen months. This is allowing that each post was held for the same length of time, which is not necessarily the case. However, by calculation when he was promoted tesserarius he probably had ten stipendia.

66. C. Vasidius Bellicus VIII 4874 = ILS 2116 = ILA1g I 1223

Thubersicum Numidarum

Fortunae reduci Aug(ustae) sacr(um), C(aius) Vasidius C(ai) fil(ius) Palat(ina) Bellicus, miles cohort(is) X urbanae, optio centuriae, signifer, fisci curator, optio ab actis urbi, veteranus Aug(usti), decurio aedil(is), praef(ectus), IIvir(um) i(ure) d(icundo), ob honorem aedilitatis inlatis rei p(ublicae) (sestertium) IIII (milibus) n(ummum) legitimis, amplius ex (sestertium) V (milibus) n(ummum) posuit idemq(ue) dedicavit.

The nomenclature, lack of abbreviation and general style of the inscription favour a late first to second century date. Bellicus, a native of **Tubursicum Numidarum**, was enrolled in the tenth urban cohort stationed in Rome. His first recorded post, though presumably earlier ones have been omitted, was that of optio centuriae. His subsequent career is exactly the same as that of Sabinus at this point (65) - signifer, fisci curator and optio ab actis urbi - with the exception that Sabinus was optio ab actis and Bellicus optio ab actis urbi. This is presumably because the latter held this post on the staff of the prefect, while the former was stationed in Lugudunum. Bellicus completed his military service while holding this last post and retired to take up an honourable civil career in his native city.

67. VI 2946

Rome

....]o L(ucii) fil(io) [....]ello L[....], militavit in  
co[hor]te ..... ev]oc(ato) ex sign[ifero anni]s IIII  
m(enses) III [d(iebus)] XVIII [....]o Hono[....]ius mil(es)  
[coh(ortis) ...] urb(anae) m[il(itavit) .....] m(enses)  
VI fec[.....] Iulia Mar[....]ilius prim[.....]p]oster-  
isqu[e.....] libertabu[sque.....]

The inscription is probably second century in date. Since the second soldier, who was probably

the heir of the first, was a member of one of the urban cohorts, it is probable that the deceased was also. The promotion from signifer to evocatus, however, is not otherwise recorded in the urban cohorts though there are similar promotions in the praetorian cohorts (8 and 20). It is possible that this soldier was also a praetorian since soldiers of the urban and praetorian cohorts are sometimes mentioned together on inscriptions in this way. The soldier served for three and a half years as an evocatus, an average time as far as the records go, but these probably err on the side of longevity since many evocati would wait only a matter of a few months before their promotion came through.

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68. Q. Iulius Galatus VI 2987 = ILS 2169 Rome

Q(uintus) Iulius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Galatus Thysdro, mil(es) coh(ortis) VI vigil(um) (centuriae) Lucani Augurini, milit(avit) ann(is) XIV, in eis secutor tribuni ann(is) II, beneficiarius eiusdem ann(is) II, vexillarius ann(is) III, vix(it) ann(is) XXXVIII t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit).

The lack of abbreviation, the use of the nominative, and the details of the posts together with the filiation and origo suggest a late first to second century date. Galatus was a soldier in the sixth cohort of vigiles, enlisting at the age of twenty-three. After seven years service, or a little less, he was promoted

secutor tribuni, a post which he held for two years. He was then advanced to the post of beneficiarius tribuni, which he also held for two years. With eleven stipendia his next appointment was to vexillarius. This was his final post and he died while still holding it three years later. He was then aged thirty-seven and had served for fourteen years. It is interesting to note that he held neither of the two lower posts in the century. Too little is known of the career structure in the vigiles for the reason for this to be ascertained with any degree of certainty, but it may have resulted from a desire to promote him quickly, or the lack of a vacancy as tesserarius or optio at the time when he was ready to be promoted. It certainly does not appear to have been usual to hold only one of the posts in the century.

69. Sex. Aetrius Ferox

Tuficum

XI 5693 = ILS 2666

Sex(to) Aetrio S[ex(ti) f(ilio)] Ouf(entina) Feroci, centurioni leg(ionis) II Traianae fortis, huic primo omnium ex cornicul[ar(io)] praef(ecti) [v]ligil(um), imp(erator) Caesar Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius p(ater) p(atris) ordinem Alexandriae dedit quod, per gradus militiae suae tam industriae se administraverit, dec(urionum) dec(reto) et consensu plebis ob merita eius hic dedicatione statucae municipibus et in clois utriusque sexus epulum et HS IIII n(umero)

XI 5694 = ILS 2666a

T(ito) Hoenio Severo M(arco) Peducaeo co(n)s(ulibus) VI k(alendas) Dec(embres) (141), decr[e]t(um) decur(ionum): quod C(aius) Cassius Silvester pr(imi)p(ilaris) v(erba) f(ecit), Aetrium Ferocem centur(ionem) leg(ionis)

II Traian(ae) fortis per incrementa gradus militiae suae tam singulis quam rei p(ublicae) n(ostrae) quotiens necesse fuit multum praestitisse, proxime quoque petitioni nostrae ab optimo maximoque principe Antonino Aug(usto) Pio vectigal viae silici stratae ita instituisse ut mature impetraretur, et impendis urbicis resp(ublica) beneficio eius relevaretur, et optimus imp(erator) n(oster) ex corniculario praer(ecti) vigillum primo et omnium ordinem Alexandriae dederit, debere non itaq(ue) ei statuum pedestrem secus merita eius decernere, q(uid) f(ieri) p(laceret), d(e) e(a) r(e) r(erente) L(ucio) Vario Firmo IIIIvir(o), censente C(aio) Cluvio Sabino, ita cens(uerunt): placere universis consensu plebis Aetrio Feroci (centurioni) secus merita eius statuum ubi ipse desideraverit quam primum poni. Cens(uerunt).

Aetrius Ferox was the first cornicularius praefecti vigillum, and in that case probably the first soldier from the vigiles, to be promoted to a legionary centurionate. The second inscription was erected in 141 when he was centurion in II Traiana, his only recorded legionary centurionate. He had been promoted within the previous three years. Only one other centurion records that he had previously been a soldier in the vigiles (70). It is interesting that, in keeping with the cornicularii praefecti praetorio and the cornicularius praefecti annonae he was appointed to a legion.

70. M. Caecilius Rurus

VI 414b

Rome

Item auxit [s]alvio imp(eratore) [L(ucio) Aur(elio) Commodo Ant(onino)] Pio Fel(ice) Aug(usto) n(ostro) M(arcus) Caecilius M(arci) f(ilius) Iul(ia) Rufus Concord(ia), (centurio) leg(ionis) III Cyrenaica, ex corniculario Aeti Iuliani praefecti vigillum, tetrastylum, nymphaeum, crateram cum columella et altarium cum columella marmorea et alia columella, item orbiculum cum columella et cetera ornavit I(ovi) Dolicheno) d(onum) d(edit). Dedicavit per Clodium Catullum praefectum vigillum, assistente Orbio Laetiano subpraefecto) et Castricio Honorato trib(un)o coh(ortis) II vigillum) praedie) kal(endas) Aug(ustas) Aprioniano et Bradua co(n)s(ulibus), curam) a(gente) Herculanio Liberale val[etudinario)]. (191)



Rufus was promoted directly from cornicularius praefecti vigilum to a centurionate. There is only one other similar promotion recorded and that soldier specifically states that he was the first soldier in the vigiles to be promoted to a centurionate in a legion (69). Both cornicularii therefore were appointed to legions as were the cornicularii praefecti praetorio and the cornicularius praefecti annonae.

71. C. Aecius Similis      X 3880 = ILS 2171      Capua

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) C(ai) Aeci Similis, beneficiarii tribuni, optio(nis) coh(ortis) V vi(glum), mil(itis) coh(ortis) XI urb(anae) (centuriae) Brutti .....

The inscription is probably second century in date. Similis was a member of the fifth cohort of vigiles, in which he served as beneficiarius tribuni and optio, before being transferred into an urban cohort - the only known example of such a promotion. He appears not to have retained his rank of optio, but dropped to be an ordinary miles. It is possible that this is not the case - miles here may be being used to demonstrate that he was a soldier in the eleventh urban cohort. Unfortunately the stone is fragmentary and nothing is known of his later career.

72. C. Virrius Lucundus      XI 1438 = ILS 2166      Pisa

C(aius) Virrius Lucundus, vexil(larius) coh(ortis) II vig(ilum), (centuriae) Viserti Latini, milit(avit) ann(os) VI men(ses) VII dies XVIII, in eis tesserar(ius), optio, vexillarius, vix(it) ann(os) XXVII, aram cum base sua t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit) arbitrato Luciliae Lacaenae et C(ai) Virri Lucundi f(ecit).

The lack of much abbreviation suggests a second century date for this inscription, but the lack of filiation and tribe and the presence of months and days might push it into the latter half of that century if not the beginning of the next. Lucundus, a soldier in the second cohort of vigiles, served as tesserarius, optio and vexillarius, though it is possible that earlier post(s) may be omitted. He enlisted at the age of twenty and died as a vexillarius after only six and a half years service. He can only have held each post for a maximum of two years, and in fact probably less than that. Such a rapid promotion is unusual.

73. VI 37295

Rome

..... fact(us) vexillar(ius), [fact(us)] b(eneficiarius)  
 sub[pr(aefecti), fa]ct(us) b(eneficiarius) pr(aefecti),  
 fact(us) tab(ularius) b(eneficiarius) [pr(aefecti),]  
 fact(us) comm(entariensis) pr(aefecti), fact(us)  
 cornic(ularius) [pr(aefecti) .....] eme]ritu[s].....

The abbreviations suggest a later second to early third century context. The post of beneficiarius subpraefecti is only found in the vigiles. The fragmentary stone records the highest post in the century - vexillarius. From this the soldier was promoted to beneficiarius of the subprefect and then of the prefect. His next appointment was tabularius beneficiarius praefecti. Domaszewski considered that this was not an established rank but a special post held by a beneficiarius. This is possible,

though doubtful. The next post was commentariensis, and his final one cornicularius, both on the staff of the prefect. His retirement seems to have been at this point. This is an extraordinary career - after the posts in the century five senior staff posts were held. The closest parallel to the career is that of C. Luccius Sabinus in the urban cohorts (65).

74 - VI 1057 and 1058 cf. p. 3078, VI 31234 Rome

102 VI 1058 = ILS 2157

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aur(elio) Antonino Pio Felici Aug(usto) trib(uniciae) pot(estatis) XIII, imp(eratori) II, con(suli) III, proco(n)s(uli). Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L(ucii) Septimi Severi PII Pertinacis Aug(usti) filio, devota numini et maiestati eius. Coh(ors) V vig(ilum) - there follows a list of the prefect, subprefect, tribune, seven centurions, two cornicularii praefecti and one cornicularius subpraefecti - dedicata Non(is) Iul(iis) Faustino et Rufino co(n)s(ulibus) (210), cum agente C(aio) Antonino Antullo (centurioni) et M(arco) Minucio Honorato vexill(ario) - this is followed by a list of four medici.

VI 1057 is dated to 205 and VI 1058 to 210. They are both a complete list of the centurions and soldiers of the cohors V vigilum in each year. The rank of each soldier is also given. Unfortunately the passage of time has not always been kind and some parts of the inscriptions are impossible to read. This in the main is not ~~not~~ very serious and it is consequently possible to compare the ranks of some twenty-nine specific soldiers in both years. Other soldiers are recorded as holding a post in one year and nothing in the other. This does not appear to be important, probably the post held by the

soldier at that time has been omitted by mistake, though it is possible that he was waiting for a new appointment. At any rate it is impossible to draw any conclusions from these omissions. Domaszewski was of the opinion that the soldiers were listed according to rank. This is substantially true, but not completely. 10 beneficarii praefecti are mentioned on the two inscriptions; 6 of these came above the holders of the posts in the century (VI 1057, 1, 1; 6, 1; VI 1058, 1, 1; 3, 2; 4, 3; 5, 1), one at the same level (VI 1057, 2, 4) and 3 below (VI 1057, 1, 57; 3, 24; VI 1058, 5, 8). On the other hand only one of the holders of a post in a century was listed at the wrong level, that is at too low a rank, out of 35 recorded on both inscriptions (VI 1057, 7, 15). With only one exception the beneficarii tribuni are placed below the posts in the century (VI 1057, 1, 3) but the correct order beneficiarius, secutor, codicillarius is not always adhered to (forexample, in the following 4 centuries VI 1057, 1, 3, 5, VI 1058, 2). Since on occasions the posts of a particular rank - where that rank is known - are found out of position in the lists care will have to be taken when attempting to use the position of any post on the lists as an indication of the rank of that post. For example, ACPR is found twice on the lists, once placed higher than the posts in the century (VI 1058, 3, 3) and another time lower (VI 1057,

2, 62). This does not help determine the rank of the post, but of the four holders of the post of AQPR on the two lists three are placed above the posts in the century (VI 1057, 3, 1; VI 1058, 4, 3; 5, 2) and only one below (VI 1057, 3, 70) demonstrating with reasonable certainty the status of the post. The lists in the main therefore appear to be based roughly upon seniority of rank, certainly they are not based upon order of enlistment. This can easily be demonstrated for soldiers in 205 in one century appear at a different position in the same century in 210; for example, the last of the three soldiers below changed his position relative to his contemporaries:

76 : VI 1057 (6) 48 - VI 1058 (4) 11 codicillarius to secutor

97 : VI 1057 (6) 24 - VI 1058 (4) 10 bucinator

100: VI 1057 (6) 11 - VI 1058 (4) 15 ABA to har(us)pex

The complications do not stop here for two-thirds of the soldiers in the inscription of 205 do not reappear in 210. This may be due to transfers or deaths or both, but the reasons are not clear nor are they of prime interest in this discussion.

Below I shall deal with each soldier who held posts in both years in rough ascending order of rank, with the odd cases at the end.. The order of centuries is not the same on both inscriptions and I therefore include a check list:

1 = 1

2 = 2

3 = 3

4 = 7

5 = 6

6 = 4

7 = 5

The number of the century in which the soldier served is given in brackets. I have also followed Domaszewski in referring to VI 1057 as A and VI 1058 as B, though elsewhere the inscriptions are both given their correct reference numbers. Hence A (1) 1 will refer to the first soldier in the first century in the list VI 1057, and so on.

74. L. Aufidius Gaet~~m~~licus

A (1) 108 c(odicillarius) tr(ibunus)

B (1) 13 s(ecutor) tr(ibunus)

A normal promotion on the staff of the tribune. Although the post of codicillarius is only attested on the lists no post appears to intervene between it and secutor and the promotion is therefore presumably direct.

## 75. C. Iulius Dignus

A (3) 62 c(odicillarius) tr(ibunus)

B (3) 8 s(ecutor) tr(ibunus)

The same promotion as in the previous case.

## 76. L. Papirius Festus

- A (6) 48 c(odicillarius) tr(ibunus)  
 B (4) 11 sec(utor) tr(ibunus)

The same promotion as the last two soldiers.

## 77. C. Audenius Iustus

- A (1) 73 s(ecutor) tr(ibunus)  
 B (1) 11 b(ene)f(iciarius) tr(ibunus)

This is a simple promotion for Iustus - to the next most senior post; there is no career known with an intervening post so the promotion was probably direct.

## 78. C. Vettius Primus

- A (3) 35 s(ecutor) t(ribunus)  
 B (3) 7 b(ene)f(iciarius) tr(ibunus)

The same promotion as in the last case.

## 79. L. Iulius Geminus

- A (4) 40 s(ecutor) tr(ibunus)  
 B (7) 7 b(ene)f(iciarius) tr(ibunus)

The same promotion as the last two soldiers.

## 80. C. Firmius Firmianus

- A (2) 36 se(cutor) tr(ibunus)  
 B (4) 8 opt(io) c..... (convalescentium or carceris?)

The two posts of optio convalescentium and optio carceris are the only two known to begin with C, and they are both about the same rank, that is equal to beneficiarius tribunus and/or tesserarius, so it is not

possible to determine to which Firmianus was promoted. It is interesting to note that he changed centuries when he was promoted - this only happened in three other cases, and two of them concerned the posts of optio conualescentium and optio carceris.

81. Q. Nutrius Paulinus

A (4) 44 s(ecutor) tr(ibuni)  
B (7) 10 opt(io) conv(alescentium)

This is the only surviving example of this promotion, assuming that the previous case (80) is not one. The promotion, together with that of M. Aurelius Eutuchianus (83), clearly fix the relative rank of the post of optio conualescentium, placing it equal to beneficiarius tribuni. Unlike Firmianus (80) Paulinus did not change centuries.

82. C. Valerius Raeticus

A (1) 3 b(ene)f(iciarius) tr(ibuni)  
B (4) 7 tes(serarius) (centuriae)

A normal promotion, but it is interesting that Raeticus changed centuries. There are unfortunately no other similar promotions on the lists to determine whether or not this was the usual procedure.

83. M. Aurelius Eutychianus

A (6) 13 op(tio) co(valescentium?)  
B (3) 6 t(esserarius) centuriae)

As has been noted in connection with the career of Nutrius Paulinus (81) this particular



promotion helps to fix the relative position of the post of optio conualescentium. Eutychianus was another soldier who changed centuries, which may be connected with his promotion into 'die taktischen Chargen'.

84. P. Decimus Primianus

A (3) 8 tes(serarius)  
B (3) 4 vex(illarius)

This is the only case amongst these twenty-nine soldiers where a post on the normal cursus has definitely been omitted. Primianus may either have been advanced directly from tesserarius to vexillarius or he may have been an optio in the intervening period of five years. It was unusual to hold all three of the posts in the century so the former alternative is the more likely to be correct.

85. L. Silicius Augustialis

A (6) 6 tes(serarius centuriae)  
B (4) 6 opt(io centuriae)

This is a normal promotion from tesserarius to the next most senior post optio.

86. L. Clodius Macrinus

A (2) 10 op(tio) ca(rceris?)  
B (3) 5 op(tio centuriae)

This is the only known case of such a promotion, and it involved a change of centuries which may be due to the entry into the group of the posts in the century. It tends to imply that the post of optio

carceris is equal to tesserarius, or beneficiarius tribuni, in rank. Their promotion may not have been direct or a post may have been omitted on the cursus.

87..L. Aurelius Donatus

A (3) 3 op(tio centuriae)  
B (3) 3 ac(tarius?) pr(aefecti)

Actarius is the most reasonable expansion of AC. Donatus was either promoted directly from optio to ac(tarius) or held a post - presumably vexillarius - between 205 and 210. In either case this promotion helps to determine the status of the ac(tarius).

88. C. Pomponius Felix

A (7) 15 op(tio centuriae)  
B (5) 3 vex(illarius)

This promotion from optio to the next higher ranking post, vexillarius, was probably quite usual.

89. M. Iulius Rufus

A (4) 7 vex(illarius)  
B (7) 3 vex(illarius centuriae)

Rufus was one of the few soldiers who held the same post on both inscriptions. This is one of the careers in which a post was probably held rather longer than the norm of three to four years.

90. P. Iulius Faustinus

A (6) 4 vex(illarius)  
B (4) 4 op(tio) ba.....

Faustinus was promoted from vexillarius to the post of optio ba..... The correct title of this post is uncertain.

91. Ti. Claudius Speratianus

A (4) 6 op(tio) b.....  
B (7) 2 b(ene)f(iciarius) s(ub)pr(aefecti)

This promotion and the career of Faustinus (90) determine the rank of the post of optio ba..... but cast no light upon the title of the post. Although it presumably had a fixed position on the cursus it was not held by every soldier (cf. 73).

92. M. Pontius Diodorus

A (3) 24 b(ene)f(iciarius) pr(aefecti)  
B (3) 2 b(ene)f(iciarius) pr(aefecti)

Diodorus was one of the few soldiers who was not promoted between 205 and 210, holding the post of beneficiarius praefecti for a little longer than was usual.

93. P. Decimius Macrinus

A (3) 5 tab(ularius)  
B (3) 1 cor(nicularius) pr(aefecti)

Macrinus was promoted from the post of tabularius, which he held in 205, to that of cornicularius praefecti in or before 210. The unknown of 73 held both of these posts but was a commentariensis praefecti in between. It is therefore not certain that Macrinus was promoted directly from tabularius to cornicularius, he may also have been a commentariensis.

## 94. C. Rasinius Ianuarius

A (6) 5 ima(ginifer)  
 B (4) 1 cor(nicularius) pr(aefecti)

The first post is almost certainly ima(ginifer). It is not clear whether this was a direct promotion to cornicularius praefecti or not. However, the promotion does demonstrate that the post of ima(ginifer) was held by a principalis, and probably a duplicarius.

## 95. C. Iulius Zoticus

A (6) 2 IMC  
 B (4) 3 AQ pr(aefecti)

The former post would probably be expanded to read im(a)g(inifer). AQ presents more difficulties but is probably an abbreviation for a quaestionibus praefecti. The soldier is evidently holding two senior posts of principalis status. Comparison with the previous promotion suggests that the post of AQPR is similar to cornicularius praefecti in status - presumably it ranked a little lower.

## 96. Iul. Boatius Rusticus

A (7) 5 <h>em(eritus) b(eneficiarius)  
 B (5) 6 em(eritus) b(eneficiarius)

Whatever the post was, and I accept here the Domaszewski expansion, Rusticus held it in both 205 and 210. He is perhaps more likely to be a beneficiarius praefecti rather than a beneficiarius tribuni.

## 97. M. Pompeius Felix

A (6) 24 bu(cinator)  
 B (4) 10 buc(inator)

As is to be expected this soldier was not promoted between 205 and 210 - he was a specialist not a career-man.

98. L. Modius Saturninus

A (7) 8 buc<c>(inator)  
 B (5) 9 buc(inator)

The same applies to this soldier as to Felix (97).

99. M. Ulpius Irenaeus

A (2) 87 HO  
 B (2) 4 HO

HO probably is the abbreviation for horrearius, which is below the tactical posts in rank, though h(aruspex) o(rdinarius) is a hypothetical alternative, though unlikely in view of a HAR being recorded (100). The fact that Irenaeus held the post for five years might be thought to point to it being a specialist post.

100. C. Caecilius Martialis

A (6) 11 ABA  
 B (4) 15 har(uspex)

ABA is probably connected with the optio ba..... But in that case why should the soldier be promoted to har(uspex)? With the present lack of knowledge this question is unanswerable.

101. T. Aelius Livianus

A (7) 34 ex(actus) tr(ibunus)  
 B (5) 7 l(ibrarius) s(ub)pr(aefecti)

This is an interesting promotion, from exactus tribuni to librarius subpraefecti. Record of movements between different clerical posts are rare. This may have been simply a promotion from one staff to that of a higher officer, but in the legions the exacti ranked lower than the librarii, while an EXTR is listed lower than a LIB in a century of the fifth cohort in 210. Livianus was therefore presumably promoted to a higher ranking clerkship within the more important staff.

102. M. Sattius Felix

A (4) 11 CPC  
 B (7) 15 cacus

Both these posts are otherwise unattested, and are probably of immunis status. The former could possibly refer to cacus if the P is in reality a misread or damaged A.

- - - - -

103. P. Tutilius

V 5832

Mediolanium

P(ublius) Tutilius P(ubli) f(ilius) O[uf(entina),] veteranus, sign[ifer,] aquilifer, leg(ionis) V[.....,] curator vete[ran(orum),] accepit ab impe[rat(ore)] praemia dupl[icia,] natus est A(ulo) Hirtio [A(ulo) f(ilio) G(aio)] Vibio Pansa co(n)s(ulibus) (43 B.C.), de[cessit] C(aio) Fufio Gemino L(ucio) Ru[bellio] Gemino co(n)s(ulibus) (29), sibi [et] P(ublio) Atecingi f(ilio) [et ....] Demincae [f(ilio) et ....] Andoblationi P(ubli) f(ilio) [et] Gnatae P(ubli) f(ilio) t(estamento) f(ecit) [i(ussit)].

This is the earliest career of any principalis that has survived. The lowest rank on the inscription is the post of signifer. From this Tutilius was promoted aquilifer. The position of the post curator veteranorum, before the mention of the fact that he received from the emperor a double donative on retiring, suggests that the post was a military appointment made while Tutilius was still a serving soldier. It is unfortunate that the inscription does not explicitly state the reasons for this soldier receiving praemia duplicia. It is possible that it was because he was an aquilifer, but on the other hand it may have had some connection with the post of curator veteranorum.

104. Sex. Sannius Severus XII 2234 = ILS 2342 Grenoble

Sex(to) Sannio Volt(inia) Severo, (centurioni) leg(ionis) prim(ae) Germanic(ae), qui [elo[~~d~~(em)] co(n)s(ule) quo milit(are) coepit aquilifer factus est, anno[s] XIII aquili[~~f~~er militavit, (centurio) factus C(aio) Antistio Vetere [III] M(arco) Suillio Nerullino co(n)s(ulibus), ex [te]sta[mento]. (50)

line 5: [et] ILS

Severus appears to have enlisted in 37 or 38 and in the same consulship he was made an aquilifer, a post which he then held for thirteen years. He was appointed to a centurionate in 50. This was a long time to remain an aquilifer, but this may be a peculiarity of the early principate or of this post. He may have been chosen to be an aquilifer because of his physique and his good character.

105. III 9908

Burnum

...] mil(es) leg(ionis) XI, [tesse]rar(ius), [....],  
corni[cular(ius)] leg(ati) Aug(usti) [.....]pio[....]

The presence of XI Claudia at Burnum demonstrates that this inscription belongs to the period before 60 (cf. RE XII 1692-3). The first rank recorded as held by this soldier is tesserarius. He then clearly held another post before he was appointed cornicularius legati Augusti. This official may be either the legate of the legion or the governor of Dalmatia. Domaszewski felt himself able to restore BF here. There appears to be little room on the stone for much more than two or three letters, but they could equally well be OPT. Domaszewski also somewhat freely restored PIO as [cent]rio. It is not possible to accept this without further supporting evidence. The inscription does show that the soldier in the first half of the first century held one of the posts in the century before proceeding to a senior staff appointment, thus gaining both military and administrative experience.

106. L. Sertorius Firmus

V 3375 = ILS 2339

Verona

L(ucius) Sertorius L(uci) f(ilius) Pob(lilia) Firmus,  
signif(er), aquil(ifer) leg(ionis) XI Claud(iae) piaae  
fidelis, missus curat(or) veter(anorum) leg(ionis)  
eiusdem, Domitiae L(uci) f(ilia) Priscaae uxori.

The lack of much abbreviation, the presence of filiation and tribe both point to an early date, while the post of curator veteranorum is not found



after the latter years of the first century. The terminus post quem is provided by the revolt of Scribonianus as a result of which XI Claudia received its titles. The first recorded, though not necessarily first held, post of Firmus was signifer. Thence he was promoted aquilifer. He then served for a period as curator veteranorum of the legion in which he had done his military service. This inscription, like many others, may only record the last and therefore most important posts held. This career may be compared to that of P. Tutilius (103) also belonging to this early period and containing exactly the same posts.

107. Q. Etuvius Capreolus      AE 1902, 41 = ILS 9090    Aquileia

Q(uintus) Etuvius Sex(ti) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) Capreolus  
domo Vienna, miles leg(ionis) IIII Scyt(hicae) ann(is)  
IIII, eques ann(is) X, cent(urio) ann(is) XXI, praef(ectus)  
coh(ortis) II Thrac(um) in Germ(ania) ann(is) V, vixit LV,  
t(estamento) f(ieri) I(ussit) arbitrato libertor(um)  
idemque heredum vivi fec(it) patrono et sibi, Ilus IIIIII  
vir, Erigonus, Secundus, Illyricus, Heracla.

The style of the inscription - nomenclature, lack of much abbreviation - implies a first century date. The origo of the soldier also points to an early date. In fact the period Tiberius-Claudius is usually suggested. Capreolus enlisted in IV Scythica. After four years as an ordinary soldier he was promoted eques. He held this position for ten years, then after a total of only fourteen years service he was appointed centurion. He remained at this rank for twenty-one years and then was made prefect of the cohors II Thracum, stat-

ioned in Germany. His military service ended five years later when he still held this post. He died at the age of sixty with forty stipendia to his credit. There seems to be no reason to suppose that he was not still prefect of the cohort at the time of his death, having enlisted at the age of twenty. The legionary career is very simple and perhaps is indicative of the career structure in this early period. It may help to push the career into the early first century. The fourteen stipendia of Capreolus demonstrate that a legionary did not have to wait for the completion of his statutory years of service before he could hope for a centurionate.

108. L. Campanius Verecundus      V 8185 = ILS 9172    nr. Rovigno

L(ucius) Campanius L(uci) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Verecundus, [ve]teran(us) leg(ionis) IIII Scy[th(icae), s]ignifer, (centurio) c(o)ho(rtis) [C]isipadensium, [tes]tamento fieri iussi[t].

The use of the nominative, the lack of abbreviation - even in stock phrases - both point to an early date, probably in the first century. Verecundus served in IV Scythica, reaching the rank of signifer. From this post he was promoted centurion of an auxiliary cohort. He is one of the few attested legionaries who held an auxiliary centurionate.

109. L. Attius Lucanus      D 67      Nemausus

XII 3177

L(ucio) Attio L(uci) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Lucano, signifero,

centuri[oni], tribuno cohort(is) V Ingenuorum.

XII 3178

IIIIIIvir (?) Aug(usti), L(ucius) Attius L(ucii) Attii  
 [Lucani (?)] primipilaris lib(ertus) sibi et ... L(ucii)  
 liberto v(ivus) f(ecit).

Kraft (Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau, 194 f.) disentangled the name of the unit mentioned on the first inscription and suggested that the stone should be dated to the second half of the first century. Lucanus was a signifer before his promotion to a centurionate. He subsequently rose to be tribune of cohors V Ingenuorum, and, if we take the two inscriptions to refer to the same man, which is far from certain, primus pilus. The origo of the soldier, Nemausus, tends to support the view that he was a legionary. However, cohors V Ingenuorum was a citizen cohort and it is therefore possible that he held all three posts in the cohort, though perhaps unlikely. If he is an auxiliary he is the only signifer known to have been promoted centurion.

110. T. Calidius Severus III 11213 = ILS 2596 Carnuntum

T(itus) Calidius P(ubli) Cam(ilia) Sever(us), eq(ues),  
 item optio, decur(io) coh(ortis) I Alpin(or)um, item  
 (centurio) leg(ionis) XV Apoll(inaris), annor(um) LVIII,  
 stip(endiorum) XXXIIII, h(ic) s(itus) e(st) - A(ulus)  
 Calidius fratri posuit.

The use of the nominative suggests an early date, while H.S.E. dies out during the principate of Hadrian having come into vogue under the Flavians. The

inscription therefore falls within the period, late first to early second century. The tribe Camilia is not found outside Italy and it would be extremely unusual to find an Italian Roman citizen in an auxiliary unit at this time. It is therefore possible that Severus commenced his military service as a legionary. In this capacity he will have served as an equus and optio before being promoted decurio of the cohors I Alpinorum stationed in Pannonia. It is unlikely that he was promoted from equus legionis to optio cohortis since this would have entailed a drop in pay (cf. G.R.Watson, The Pay of the Roman Army: the Auxiliary Forces, Historia VIII (1959) 377-378). In either case it does seem probable that his career started in the legions. After his decurionate he was promoted to a legionary centurionate in XV Apollinaris. This also strengthens the case for his being an ex-legionary since it is extremely rare for an auxiliary soldier to reach the heights of a legionary centurionate.

111. M. Valerius Crescens Nesselhauf 1938, 4 = AE 1932, 41

Augustorum Treverorum

Matronis - M(arcus) Val(erius) Crescens eques leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis), cornicularius P(ubli) Aburi Lucull*li* ...

Crescens, as equus of VI Victrix, was appointed cornicularius to Lucullus, a senior officer who is otherwise unattested. Augusta Treverorum was the seat of the procurator of Belgica and the two Germanies, while

the legate of the province had also established his residence there by the third century at the latest (cf. W. Meyers, L'Administration de la Province Romaine de Belgique, Brugge 1964, 49). VI Victrix was stationed in Lower Germany for some fifty years previous to its transfer to Britain, and undoubtedly the procurator and governor of Belgica would have drawn their staff from this province. The inscription can therefore be dated to this period. It does not have to be tied down to 71 to 89, the time of its stay at Vetera, as Meyers considered. In that case Crescens was probably cornicularius of the procurator, though it is not possible to be certain until the date of the transfer of the governor from Rheims to Trier is known. The mention of the fact that Crescens was an eques may not so much be recording his post in VI Victrix, but his status as a cornicularius and an eques, since it is possible that all cornicularii of senior officials were equites and not pedites.

112. Iulius Apollinaris

Bostra

P. Mich. VIII 465, 13 ff.

I give thanks to Serapis and Good Fortune that while everyone is toiling away the whole day through cutting stones, I as a principalis walk around doing nothing.

P. Mich. VIII 466 18 ff.

Iulius Apollinaris to Iulius Sabinus, his dearest father, very many greetings ..... while others ... all day long were cutting building stones and doing other things, I so far have suffered none of this; but indeed I asked Claudius

Severus, the consularis, to make me a librarius on his own staff, and he said, "There is no vacancy, but meanwhile I shall make you a librarius legionis with hopes of advancement". With this assignment therefore I went from the consularis of the legion to the cornicularius.

The first letter is dated to February 107 and the second to March of the same years, they being written by Iulius Apollinaris to his mother and father. The second letter demonstrates clearly the possibility of promotion from one staff to another while remaining at the same rank. This hope, open to Apollinaris, may be compared to the promotion of Aelius Livianus, a soldier in the vigiles, from exactus tribuni to librarius subpraefecti (101). The first letter has provided the most controversy since it implies that Apollinaris, a librarius legionis, is a principalis. It is possible that the word is not being used in a technical sense. G.R. Watson in the latest discussion (Immunis Librarius in Britain and Rome 49 f.) suggests that at this time it is possible that all posts below centurion were held by principales and only under Hadrian did the distinction between immunes and principales arise.

113. L. Valerius Proculus      III 12411      nr. Nedan, Moesia Inf.

d(is) m(anibus) L(ucius) Val(erius) L(uci) f(ilius)  
 Proculus, mil(es) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae), b(ene)f(ici-  
 iarius) lega(ti), opt(io) ab spe(m) ordin(is), (centurio)  
 leg(ionis) eiusd(em), d(onatus) tor(quibus), ar(millis),  
 pha(ler)is), bel(lo) Dac(ico), (centurio) leg(ionis) I  
 Ital(icae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), (cent-  
 urio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), (centurio)  
 leg(ionis) VIIII Hisp(anae), mis(sus) h(onesta) mis(sione),  
 vix(it) an(nis) LXXXV, h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

Proculus served as a soldier in legio V Macedonica. He was made a beneficiarius legati, and then optio ad spem ordinis. It is not clear whether or not beneficiarius legati was his first appointment. The low status of the post makes it possible, but at the same time he would have had little experience for a centurion. Clearly if he had held any post as immunis it is omitted, while beneficiarius legati is his first post of principalis status. The next appointment was presumably to provide him with some experience of command at century level, and place him in a position ready for a promotion when it arose. His first centurionate was also in V Macedonica, and while holding it he was decorated in Trajan's Dacian War. He served as centurion in four other legions before his retirement.

114. P. Enistalius Paternus            V 7872            Cremenum

Matronis Veditantibus - P(ublius) Enistalius P(ubli)  
f(ilius) Cl(audia) Paternus Cemelensis, optio ad ordinis,  
(centurio) leg(ionis) XXII Primigeniae piae fidelis  
l(ibens) m(erito).

The use of the nominative and the lack of much abbreviation are both indicative of an early date. However, dedications to the Matres tend to increase in the mid-second century and this and comparison with the inscription recording the career of Eniboudius Montanus (V 7865) dated to the principate of Marcus Aurelius, might suggest a date rather later in the second century. Paternus

may have dedicated this altar as an optio ad spem ordinis on learning of his promotion to centurion, though this is uncertain. At any rate the earlier part of his career is omitted and just the last post he held was mentioned.

115. L. Porcius Karus XII 2929 Vicetia

L(ucio) Porcio L(uci) f(ilio) Voltin(ia) Karo, militi leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), optioni signifero [.....

The lack of abbreviation is suggestive of an earlier rather than a later date. Karus, a soldier of II Augusta, was promoted from optio to signifer. An earlier appointment as an immunis may be omitted, but this is not certain.

116. M. Sabidius Maximus AE 1937, 101 Betz, Macedonia

M(arco) Sabidi[o M(arci) f(ilio)] Aem(ilia) Ma[ximo,] mil(iti) leg(ionis) XI C[laud(iae)], signif(ero), corni[cular(io)], optioni ad spe[m ordi]nis, (centurioni) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae), promo[to a] divo Hadrian[o in leg(ionem) III] Gall(ica)m, d(onis) d(onatus) ab eu[d(em) imp(eratore) ob victo]r(iam) Iudaic(am), torqui[bus, armil(lis), ph]aleris, coron[a] mur[ali, (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII Sc]ythicae item (centurioni) leg(ionis) I[... prom(oto)] ab imp(eratore) Antonino in l[eg(ionem) ..... ab eod(em)] imp(eratore) prom(oto) in leg(ionem) XIII Gem(inam), v(ixit) [a(nnis) ..... mil(itavit) st(ipendia)] (centurioni)ka XX continua XL [...

Maximus must have enlisted in the first decade of the first century to have been decorated in Hadrian's Jewish War while holding his first centurionate. He was a soldier in XI Claudia in which he served successively as signifer, cornicularius (legati) and optio ad spem ordinis before being made a centurion in the same



legion. Probably only the most senior posts below the centurionate are mentioned, but so little is known of the legionary career that it may have been possible to be promoted directly from being an ordinary soldier to signifer. He was presumably cornicularius to the legate since those serving on the staff of the governor appear to have been promoted directly to a centurionate without needing to hold the post of optio ad spem ordinis. It is worth noting that Maximus had already seen duty in the century before his promotion to this latter post, but not as optio. After twenty years service he was promoted to centurion and for another twenty years held centurionates in five different legions under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

117. Nonius Datus VIII 2728 + 18122 = ILS 5795 Lambaesis

.... Patentia. Virtus. Spem. ....

.....Varius Clemens Valerio Etrusco: 'et Salditana civitas splendissima et ego cum Salditanis togamus te, domine, uti Nonium Datum, veteranum leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), libratores, hateris veniat Saldas, ut quod relicum est ex opere eius perficiat'. There follows a discussion of the work of Datus in which occurs the following sentences:

Ergo ego, qui primus libram feceram, ductum at signaveram, fieri institueram secundum formam quam Petronio Celeri pro(curatori) dederam. -

Porci Vetustini ad Crispinum: 'Benignissime domine, fecisti et pro cetera humanitate ac benivolentia tua, quod misisti ad me Nonium Datum evocatum, uti tractare cum eo de operibus, quae curanda suscepit. -

C. Petronius Celer was procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis in about 137, L. Novius Crispinus was legatus legionis of III Augusta in 147/9 and Valerius Etruscus in 152. In 147/9 Datus was called an evocatus and

in 152 a veteranus and librator. Presumably when in about 137 he first went to Saldæ he was a librator in the legion, and on completing his service in the next ten years he was asked to stay on as a specialist surveyor and an evocatus. It is unlikely that Datus was a praetorian, transferred to III Augusta when an evocatus and therefore termed veteranus III Augustae. Datus' name militates against such a transfer. His cognomen is definitely African: a check of the index of the Corpus reveals 10 cases in Italy, four in volume III and ninety-two in volume VIII. In Dean's study too 23 out of the 24 Dati are Africans. Passerini has made a study of the origines of the praetorians (Le Coorti Pretorie 148 ff.), and he was unable to find any Africans in the guard in the first and second centuries. Clearly Datus was never a member of the guard, but a soldier in III Augusta. There is, however, a possibility, as Professor Birley has suggested to me, that evocatus is not being used in a technical sense. This may be the case, since the inscription is civil in character, but there seems to be nothing wrong with the other technical words, and since I have postulated elsewhere that some legionaries were asked to stay on as evocati it does not seem unreasonable to think of Nonius Datus as a librator, who in view of his capabilities received the evocatio and became one of the, probably few, legionary evocati.

118. Pomponius Herculanus

III 7449

Almus

T(iti) Flavi] Longini leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore),  
 vexillat(io) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) sub cura Fl(avi)  
 Maximi (centurionis) leg(ionis) eiusdem, Severo et Sab-  
 iniano co(n)s(ulibus) (155) -etc-  
 decurio Pompon[ius H]erculanus ex eq(uite) leg(ionis) XI  
 Cl(audiae).

The reference to Herculanus comes right at the end of the list of the 75 members of the vexillation. He was presumably decurion in an auxiliary unit since there are no decurions known in the legions, not even in connection with the equites legionis. This would appear to be a direct promotion from eques in XI Claudia to decurio, cohortis or alae.

119. Petronius Fortunatus

VIII 217 = p. 2353 = ILS 2658

## Mausoleum Petroniorum

.....] militavit L annis, IV in leg(ione) I Ital[lica],  
 librar(ius), tesser(arius), optio, signif(er), (centurio)  
 factus ex suffragio leg(ionis) eiu[sdem], militavit  
 (centurio) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), (centurio) leg(ionis)  
 VI F[erratae], (centurio) leg(ionis) I Min(ervae), (cent-  
 urio) leg(ionis) X Ge(minae), (centurio) leg(ionis) II  
 A[ug(ustae)], (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), (centu-  
 rio) leg(ionis) III Gall(icae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XXX  
 U[l]p(iae), (centurio) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis), (cent-  
 urio) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae), (centurio) leg(ionis)  
 XV Apol(linaris), (centurio) leg(ionis) II Par(thicae),  
 (centurio) leg(ionis) I Adiutricis), consecutus ob virtutem  
 in expeditionem Parthicam coronam muralem vallarem torques  
 et phaleras, agit in diem operis perfecti annos LXXX, sibi  
 et Claudiae Marciae Capitolinae coniugi karissimae, quae  
 agit in diem operis perfecti annos LXV, et M(arco) Petronio  
 Fortunato filio, militavit ann(os) VI, (centurio) leg(io-  
 nis) X[X]II Primig(eniae), (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(u-  
 stae), vixit ann(os) XXXV, cui Fortunatus et Marcia parentes  
 karissimo memoriam fecerunt.

The most recent discussion of this

career is by Eric Birley (Promotions and Transfers in the Roman Army II: The Centurionate, Carnuntum Jahrbuch 1963/64, 23). He points out that his service in II Parthica would imply that his decorations would best apply to the Parthian War of Marcus and Verus since they are of a form which appear to have been discontinued by Severus. In that case Fortunatus will have enlisted about 160 to be decorated while holding his second centurionate in VI Ferrata. He served for only four years in the ranks of I Italica, holding the posts of librarius, tesserarius, optio and signifer. The first was presumably on the staff of one of the senior officers, and the other three in the century. Professor Birley suggested that Fortunatus was an educated man, specially sent from Africa to Moesia inferior, a province which would need Latin speaking recruits from other provinces because there would be few good Latin speaking local recruits. In that case it might be expected that he would rise to a centurionate, but four years is an incredibly short time, without any known parallel. This is not, of course, to say that parallels did not exist, but the career does demonstrate that many soldiers must have served for far shorter than twenty-five years before being appointed to a centurionate. Fortunatus spent forty-six years in a total of thirteen legions, retiring sometime in the first decade of the third century. His son also went into the army, but received a direct commission as a

centurion.

120. G. Valerius Titus

XIII 6542

Oehringen

.....] P(ublio) Cor(nelio) An[ullin]o leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) [pr(aetore)] coh(ors) I Helve(tiorum) et Brit(ones) e[st n(umerus)] Aure(lianensis) sub cura G(aii) V[al(erii)] Titi (centurionis) leg(ionis) ex corn(iculario) [co(n)s(ularis)].

XIII 6543

Oehringen

.....] P(ublio) Corne(lio) [Anullin]o leg(ato) Aug(usti) p[ro] pr(aetore) coh(ors) I H]elve(tiorum) et Bri[t(ones) et num(erus) Aure(lianenses) sub] cura G(aii) [Valeri Titi (centurionis) leg(ionis)] ex cor[n(iculario) co(n)s(ularis)].

XIII 6598

Miltenburg

Fortunae Sacrum G(aius) Valer(ius) Quirina Titus (centurio) legionis ex corniculario co(n)s(ularis).

Cornelius Anullinus was governor of Germania superior between 178 and 180 (cf. PIR² II p. 308, 1322). Valerius Titus had risen through the ranks in a legion and after serving as cornicularius consularis was made a centurion. This is a fairly common promotion.

121. P. Ferrasius Avitus

XIII 6646

Stockstadt

I(ove) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolicheno in honor(em) d(omus) d(ivinae) - P(ublius) Ferrasius Cl(audia) Avitus Savaria, (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) p(iae) f(idelis) c(onstantis) C(ommodi), ex aquilifero leg(ionis) I Adiutricis, pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito), Aproniano et Bradua co(n)s(ularis). (191)

This is the latest dated example of a promotion from aquilifer legionis to centurion.

122. T. Albanus Primanus XIII 6714 = ILS 2435 Mogontiacum

I(ove) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Reginae - T(itus)  
 Albanus Primanus sig(nifer) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae)  
 p(iae) f(idelis), optio navali^{orum}, pro se et suis v(otum)  
 s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito), Materno et Bradua  
 co(n)s(ulibus). (185)

The order of posts on the inscription implies that Primanus, a soldier in XXII Primigenia, was a signifer before being an optio navali^{orum}. There seems to be no reason to doubt this and presumably optio navali^{orum} was a senior post held by a principalis, perhaps peculiar to this legion.

123. L. Septimius Bellus XIII 6712 Mogontiacum

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci - L(ucius) Sep-  
 timius Bellus sig(nifer) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae),  
 optio navali, v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito),  
 Saturnino et Gallo co(n)s(ulibus). (198)

This career may be compared with that of Albanus Primanus (122). Presumably posts before signifer were omitted, and after holding that post he was promoted to optio navali or navali^{orum}.

124. .... Peregrinus V 7004 Taurini

....]ovius L(uci) f(ilius) [.....]e Peregrinus [mil(es)  
 l]eg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis), [b(ene)-  
 f(iciarius)] legat(i), a comment(ariis) [.....]f., optio,  
 centurio [legi]onis eiusdem [oct]aus pilus prior [an]nor(-  
 um) XXXIX, stip(endiorum) XX, [t(estamento)] p(oni)  
 i(ussit).

The presence of filiation and tribe, the use of the nominative and the lack of much abbreviation is suggestive of an early date, perhaps even in the first

century. Peregrinus served in XXII Primigenia. His first post recorded on the inscription was on the staff of the legate, and was almost certainly beneficiarius, though this word is restored. It is unlikely that he was a cornicularius since there is no known promotion between cornicularius legati and commentariensis, his next post, and it is probable that these two posts ranked equally. There is in addition scarcely room on the stone for CORN, which, owing to the lack of abbreviation elsewhere, is probably the smallest abbreviation possible for cornicularius. He was advanced from this post to a comment(ariis) .....f. This latter word was restored by CIL as [prae]f(ecti) and by Domaszewski as leg(ati) pr(o) pr(aetore). Although there is more support for the former on the stone, though it must be admitted that the inscription is lost and we have to rely on manuscript readings, there is no evidence that in the legions any officer other than the provincial governors had commentarienses. The question as to what officer he was attached to must remain open, but it is unlikely that it was to anyone other than a governor. His next appointment was to optio. Although the post is not qualified, it was probably optio ad spem ordinis. A centurionate in the same legion followed, and while [oct]aus pilus prior, he died aged thirty-nine after twenty years service. He is one of the few soldiers who clearly record promotion

to centurion before the completion of their twenty-five years service.

125. C. Cornelius Magnus      ILJ 42      Scupi

C(aio) Cornelio C(ai) f(ilio) Fabia Magno Beryto, vixit annis LXXV, militavit annis XXI, in leg(ione) VII C(laudia) p(ia) f(ideli), beneficiarius et immunis, dec(urio) et IIvir col(oniae) Scupinorum, h(ic) s(itus) e(st). Publicia Secunda uxor ex testamento f(aciendum) c(uravit). h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).

The filiation and tribe, the lack of much abbreviation and the use of h.s.e. suggest a date towards the end of the first century or the beginning of the next. The post of beneficiarius legati, if of about the same standing as optio or signifer, ought to be held by a principalis. Since Magnus is described as an immunis he was probably a beneficiarius tribuni or praefecti. If he had been a principalis it is hardly likely that it would be recorded that he held a lower rank. Although a citizen of Berytus he settled within the province in which his legionary service had been performed, that is Upper Moesia. His twenty-one years service suggests that he may have been invalided out. It is hardly likely that he had completed his service since the inscription is later than 58 when VII Claudia moved to Moesia superior and therefore belongs to a time when twenty-five years was the norm.

126. XIII 6952      Mogontiacum

.....] P(ubli) f(ilius) [..... Aeq[ui]o (?) Dal[matiae (?)],  
aquilif(er) [leg(ionis) XXX U]lp(iae) Vict(ricis),  
[promot(us) (centurio) l]leg(ionis) XIII Ge(minae) [M(art-



iae) V(ictricis), (centurio) leg(ionis) XXI Gem(inae),  
 [(centurio) leg(ionis) XX]II Prim(igeniae) p(iae) f(id-  
 elis), [qui me]r(uit) stipendia XLV, [vixit] an(nis) LXX.

This inscription is probably dated to the second century. The soldier served in XXX Ulpia Victrix reaching the rank of aquilifer. Thence he was promoted to centurion and served in three different legions. He had a total of forty-five stipendia, and since he died at Moguntiacum, the station of his last centurionate in XXII Primigenia, he was presumably still a centurion - at seventy! If not he can hardly have been retired many years.

127. C. Mellonius Severus

VI 3351 = ILS 2366

Rome

d(is) m(anibus) T(iti) Flavi Fruendi fr(umentarii)  
 leg(ionis) VIII Augustae, M(arcus) Sabionius Cinna  
 et L(ucius) Flavius Tertius et C(aius) Mellonius Severus  
 fr(umentarii) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae), h(eredes)  
 f(aciendum) c(uravit).

XIII 6682

Moguntiacum

Genio (centuria), G(aius) Mellonius Severus (centurio)  
 leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigenia) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus)  
 l(ibens) m(erito).

The use of dis manibus with the genitive is usually early, often first century, and the fact that there are no imperial nomina among the soldiers on the first inscription might be taken to support this. The frumentarii are usually considered to have been created by Hadrian, but a Trajanic princeps peregrinorum

is attested (ILT 779). XXII Primigenia was stationed at Moguntiacum from 43 to 69 and again from the very end of the first century. The occurrence of frumentarii from VIII Augusta and XXII Primigenia on the same inscription might suggest that the two legions were stationed in the same province.. VIII Augusta was transferred to Upper Germany in 70 so they were both only together in the province from 98 to 99. The abbreviations, concise for the first century, would support a date in the second, though probably early in it. Severus was probably not promoted directly from frumentarius to centurion, but held some unknown post or posts in between.

128. M. Valerius Speratus III 12659 = ILS 7173 = AE 1901, 206

Viminacium

sic d(is) m(anibus) M(arcus) Val(erius) Speratus, vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) ex b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis), dec(urio) m(unicipii) A(elii) V(iminacii), praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Aquet(anorum), v(ixit) a(nnos) LV, o(biit) in Brit(annia), Lucia Afrodisia coniugi b(ene)m(erenti) et sibi vivae posuit.

line 3: dec(urio) m(unicipii) a(gens) v(ices) praef(ecti)  
CIL

line 4: coh(ortis) I Aq(uitanorum) vet(erana) CIL, ILS, AE

Professor Birley suggested the reading quoted above.

There is some evidence that

Viminacium became a colonia under Gordian III (RE VIII A 2 2175) and if this is the case the inscription will be earlier, probably later second century. Speratus served

in VII Claudia, stationed at Viminacium, rising to the rank of beneficiarius consularis before his retirement. He stayed at Viminacium and became decurion of the municipium; clearly as a veteran and a retired beneficiarius of the governor, whose residence was also at Viminacium, he was a valued member of the community. His later military career surely rests on these foundations. He did not receive a centurionate as a soldier in his position would have done, but he was made prefect of an auxiliary cohort stationed in Britain. One of the sources of these officers was the class of local government officials of which Speratus was a member. His career, although having little connection with the principales except to demonstrate their standing in civil affairs, does demonstrate the flexibility of the system.

129. P. Aelius Crescentianus VIII 2755 = ILS 2428 Lambaesis

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) P(ublio) Aelio P(ubli) f(ilio) Crescentiano, notario legati, in officio Iuvenalis praef(ecti) praetorio defuncto, vixit annis viginti duo et militavit an(nis) IIII, Aelia Processa mater filio innocenti.

Flavius Iuvenalis was praetorian prefect from probably 193 to about 200 (PIR² III 300). L. L. Howe suggests that this particular inscription may be dated to 193 since he was sole prefect (The Praetorian Prefect from Commodus to Diocletian, Chicago 1942, 69). This is not certain and it would be safer to place the

inscription within the brackets 193 to 197. Crescentianus was notarius legati, and since the inscription was erected at Lambaesis after service in Rome he clearly emanated from Africa. In that case he will have been on the staff of the commander of III Augusta, who was also the legate of Numidia. This post is otherwise unattested. Crescentianus died while holding an appointment in the officium of the praetorian prefect, presumably having been transferred directly from Lambaesis. He was only twenty-two when he died and had served for only four years. This points to the low status of the post of notarius.

130. VI 3409 cf. p. 3393

Rome

1

ATERANO · ET RV

IIII·MIL·FAC·EST DI

CTVS · EST AEQVES · XI

OPTIO · ANNI · XIII

NCTVS · EST · XVII

5

CTI · OPTIONI · PRI · M

PARTHICAE

Both Mommsen, in the Corpus, and Domaszewski have provided restorations of the inscription, of which there is probably over half missing. The

Domaszewski restoration, though not completely satisfactory is reasonable up to the last two lines:

..... in leg(ione) II Parth(ica) L]aterano et Ru[fino  
 co(n)s(ulibus) (197), ann(orum) XV]IIII mil(es)  
 fac(tus) est, di[scens equit(em) (annis) ..... fa]ctus  
 est, aequ(e) (anni) XI [factus est], optio anni XIII  
 [factus est, defun]ctus est (anni) XVII [.....]cti  
 optioni prim(i) [pili leg(ionis) II] Parthicae [.....

Mention of the legion in which he enlisted ought to be connected with the consular date, and it is difficult to see what else IIII, before mil(es) could be except part of his age at enlistment. The restoration of di[scens equit(em)], though perhaps not quite abbreviated like that, is fair. There is no evidence for a consular dating in the fifth line, though there are disadvantages to any other restoration. ...CTI could be the ending of [praefe]cti as Mommsen suggested but the context makes this unlikely; or it could be the ending of a cognomen; it surely cannot be Domaszewski's suggestion of defuncti. This must remain an unsolved problem. The optioni prim(i) [pili] could refer to the deceased, or the dedicator, though we would expect his name to be also at the head of the stone. The legion presumably was II Parthica, stationed just outside Rome. In reality little can be salvaged of the missing parts of the tombstone, and we must be content with the information provided by the extant part. The soldier probably enlisted in 197 in II Parthica. After eleven years service he was made

an equus, though he probably was a discens equitum before this. Two years later he was promoted to optio. He died after seventeen years service, probably while still an optio, a post which he will therefore have held for four years.

131 III 14479 = 7741  
- 135

Apulum

Pro salute Severi [et Antoinin[i A]ug(ustorum) et Getae Caesaris], sc(ho)lam specu(latoru)m [... impen]dio suo fecerunt et status sacris ornaverunt] iussi Muri Suri c(o)n(s)ularis) Dac(iarum)] III, n(om)ina) eor(um) in]fr(a) scrip[t(a) s(unt)].

131. Ulp(ius) Bacchius (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)

The date of the dedication, provided by the imperial titles, is 198 to 209. This is not necessarily a direct promotion for Bacchius from speculator to centurion, an advancement unattested. Domaszewski (p. 52) considered that all the promotions on this inscription were direct - this is not the case. XIII Gemina was stationed in Dacia and Bacchius probably continued his connection with the schola in that way, though at the same time it is possible that he, and the other dedicators, were promoted between paying for the inscription and its being cut.

132. Iulius Tacitus (centurio) leg(ionis) V M(acedonica) p(iae)

This legion was also stationed in Dacia, and therefore the discussion of the career of Ulp(ius) Bacchius is also relevant for this soldier (131).

133. Cla(dius) Claudianus (centurio) leg(ionis) V M(acedonica) p(iae).

This is a promotion, presumably indirect, from speculator to centurion. For further comment see 131 and 132.

134. [A]el(ius) Valerius corn(icularius)

Valerius had been a speculator on the staff of the governor of the three Dacias and was promoted, directly or indirectly, to the post of cornicularius, presumably on the same staff since his post is not qualified. No promotion from speculator to cornicularius is known, though this is not to say that it was not possible.

135. [An]t(onius) Val[.....] corn(icularius)

This is a promotion, directly or indirectly, from speculator to cornicularius. For a fuller discussion see Aelius Valerius (134).

136. L. Caecilius Urbanus VIII 2563 = ILS 2437 Lambaesis

Domui divinae Aug(ustorum), L(ucius) Caecilius) Urbanus opt(io) val(etudinarii), cur(ator) operi(s) arm(amentarii) posuit.

The inscription is dated to 209 to 211 by the fact that there are three Augusti. Urbanus was promoted from optio valetudinarii to curator operis armamentarii, the ranking of both posts being unknown. The latter post is otherwise unattested. Urbanus appears as an optio valetudinarii on another inscription (VIII 2553)

137. M. Firmidius Spectatus XI 1322 = ILS 2371 Luna

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) pro salute imp(eratoribus) L(uci) Septimi Severi et M(arci) Aur(eli) Antonini Aug(ustorum) // et Iul(iae) Aug(ustae) matr(is) cas(torum), sub cura Fl(avi) Muciani (centurionis) fr(umentari), M(arcus) Firmidius Spectatus fr(umentarius) leg(ionis) II Ital(icae) p(iae) f(idelis), optio consecravivit item dedicavit, III idus Apr(ilis) Sauro et Victor co(n)s(ularibus). (200)

Spectatus, frumentarius, dedicated this altar in the capacity of optio to Flavius Mucianus centurio frumentarius. Optio does not appear to be a military rank, but a religious one, and there is therefore no promotion involved.

138. Baebius Speratus

AE 1902, 147a = ILS 9097

Lambaesis

Imp(eratoribus) Caes(aribus) L(ucio) Septimio Severo Pio Pertinaci Arab(ico) Adiab(enico) et M(arco) Aurelio Antonino Britannico maximo Aug(ustis) et Iuliae Aug(ustae) matri Au(usti) n(ostri) et castr(orum), dedic(ante) Q(uinto) Anicio Fausto consulari, armorum custodes ob sollemnitatem decreverunt ex arca sua veteranis qui de eodem collegio dimittentur anulari(i) n(omine) singulis (denarios) millenos et quingenos, et qui ad uberiorum locum se transtulerint singulis (denarios) millenos. - there follow 63 names the sixteenth being:

Baebius Speratus.

(200).

AE 1899, 60 = ILS 9099

Lambaesis

Schola[m cu]m imaginibus [domus divinae ex larg]issimus stipendiis et liberalit[at]tib(us) quae in eos conferunt fecerunt officiales Aeli Saturnini praef(ecti) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis) [M(arcus) Baebius Speratus cornicul(arius) [item librari quor]um nomina subiecta sunt, [ob quam sollemnit]at[em] decreverunt anulari n(omine) veteranis suis [et iis quicunque pr]oficient singulis corniculario (sestertium) (quattuor) m(ilia) n(ummum) [nulla dila]tione facta numerari et libraris .....

VIII 17625 = ILS 2399

Vazaivi



Gradivo patri, Genio stat(ionis) Vazaivi et diis conservatoribus, M(arcus) Baebius Speratus cor(nicularius) prae(fecti) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis) vot(um) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo).

Baebius Speratus is recorded on the first inscription as an armorum custos, and on the other two as cornicularius praefecti legionis III Augustae. The first is dated to 200 and the other two are clearly third century because the legion has the titles pia vindex. The second inscription would not be out of place among the group of official dedications by members of III Augusta made at the turn of the century. Both Baebius and Speratus are, unfortunately, common names. There are twenty-one examples of Speratus in volume VIII of the Corpus and over twice that number of Baebii. Thus although the three inscriptions are roughly of the same period, it is possible that the Baebius Speratus the armorum custos is not the same as the Baebius Speratus the cornicularius, though in fact it is probable that they were.

39.L. Tonneius Martialis

Lambaesis

AE 1898, 108-9 = ILS 9100

Tabularium legionis cum imaginibus domus divinae ex largissimis stipendis et liberalitatibus, quae in eos conferunt, fecerunt L(ucius) Aemilius Cattianus cornicular(ius) et T(itius) Flavius Surus actarius item librar(ii) et exacti leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis) q(uorum) n(omina) subiecta sunt; [ob quam sollemnitatem decretum est ut si qui in locum corniculari legionis vel actari missi emeriti substitutus fuerit det ei in cuius locum substitutus est anulari nomine (denarios) (mille) item si qui in locum cuiusque librari substitutus fuerit det scamnari nomine collegis (denarios mille) et se ex eodem collegio

honestam missionem missus fuerit, accipiat ex collegis anulari nomine (denarios) (octingentos) - there follows a list of 22 librarii and 20 exacti and following the exacti:

L(ucius) Tonneius Martialis c(erarius)

VIII 2986

L(ucius) Tonneius Martialis cerar(ius) leg(ionis) se vivo sibi siusq(ue) fecit.

VIII 2985

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum), L(ucio) Tonneio Martiali vet(erano) vixit annis LXXXVIII, Tonneii Martialis lib(rarius) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) filius et Martialis nepos fecerunt.

The first inscription is probably dated to just before 200 by the appearance of Iulius Crescentianus (143); but the identification of this soldier is by no means certain. However, the style of the inscription is in keeping with the group of dedications made a few years either side of 200. Clearly the first two inscriptions refer to the same soldier, L. Tonneius Martialis, but the last is not so certain. Probably Martialis, the son and librarius, is the same man as in the other two inscriptions. It would perhaps be something of a coincidence to find father and son both clerks, though not impossible. If this identification is accepted then Martialis was probably promoted from cerarius to librarius. The librarii are higher ranking than the exacti and the cerarius is obviously connected with the latter by his position on the inscription.

140- VIII 2554 + 18048 + p. 954 = ILS 2445 add Lambaesis  
142.

Pro salute Aug(ustorum) optiones scholam suam cum statutis et imaginibus domus [di]vinae item diis conservatorib(us) eorum ex largissimis stipend[is] et liberalitatib(us), quae in eos conferunt, fecer(unt) curante L(ucio) Egnatio Myrone q(aestore); ob quam sollemnitatem decreverunt, uti collega proficiscens ad spem suam confirmandam accipiat (sestertium) VIII mil(ia) n(ummum) - there follows a list of 64 names, b 22 being:

140. (centurio) L(ucius) Cornelius Cato

cf. also VIII 2848 Lambaesis

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum), L(ucio) Cornelio Catoni (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), qui et caligatus stip(endiorum) XIII, M(arcus) Corneli(us) Cato et Aurassius filiatrum.

It is almost certain that these two inscriptions refer to the same soldier. The addition of the centurial sign in the former inscription suggests that promotion was made directly from optio to centurion, an assumption supported by the appearance of a L. Cornelius Cato as a centurion in the same legion. From the position of the sign, that is an addition, it would appear that Cato was actually promoted directly to centurion while the stone was being cut. Alternatively Cato, an ex optione, had retained his connections with the schola while a centurion, but this seems to be unlikely.

141. b 24

L(ucius) Aemilius Ca[tt]ianus cor(nicularius)

142. b 25

T(itus) Flavius Surus act(arius) leg(ionis)

These two should be discussed together.

It is strange that the cornicularius and the actarius of the legion should be placed together at the bottom of the main column. It would be surprising if they were both promoted from being optiones to these two posts together at the same time, especially since it does appear that the soldiers are listed by century (b 6, 8, 9, 10 and 11 all appear as optiones cohortis primae in VIII 18072 and b 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are therefore clearly the optiones of the first cohort when VIII 2554 was erected). In that case there are two possibilities; that the two are merely mentioned on the inscription in their official capacity, or that they had been optiones and had retained their connection with the schola and were added at the end. The latter is unlikely otherwise other soldiers might be expected to be listed and none are, while in favour of the former are the facts that the two are administrators and are placed on the main column of the inscription.

143. C. Iulius Crescentianus

AE 1898, 108-9 = ILS 9100

Lambaesis

For the text of this inscription, recording librarii and exacti, see the career of L. Tonneius Martialis (139). In the list of the latter no. 2:

C(aius) Iulius Creseentianus

AE 1902, 147a = ILS 9097

Lambaesis

For the text of this inscription, recording armorum custodes, see the career of Baebius Speratus (138). no. 13:

Iul(ius) Crescentianus

VIII 4522

Zarai

sic d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) memoriae et pietati, C(ai)  
Iuli Crescentiani, veterani leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae),  
vicxit annis LXXXVII et d(ies) XV, Iulia Vernac  
marita dedicavit.

The second inscription is securely dated to 200, and the first though undated is clearly of the same period. The tombstone may possibly refer to the same soldier. There are three other Iulii Crescentiani in volume VIII of the Corpus, but two of these have different praenomina, and the third is an equestrian. In that case these three inscriptions could refer to the same soldier. If this is accepted he was presumably promoted from exactus to armorum custos, the latter post perhaps equal to tesserarius in status. This helps to date AE 1898, 108-9 to a few years before 200.

144. C. Caecilius Felix

Lambaesis

AE 1917/8, 57

This is a fragmentary list of the members of the staff of the governor of Numidia.

line 6: b(ene)f(iciarii) co(n)s(ulares):

line 10: Caecilius Felix

VIII 2586 = ILS 2381

Qui imagines sacras aureas fecerunt: there follows a list of the members of the staff of the legate of Numidia.

line 9: speculatores

line 11: C(aius) Caecilius Felix Bisica

The first inscription can be dated to the period 200 to 210 and the second to about 214 to

216. The promotion from beneficiarius consularis to speculator has no known parallel, though it was probably quite a usual advancement.

145. C. Calventius Ianuarius

Lambaesis

VIII 2586 = ILS 2381

Qui imagines sacras aureas fecerunt: there follows a list of the members of the staff of the legate of Numidia.

line 3: cornicularii

line 5: C(aius) Calventius Ianuar(ius) Cas(tris)

VIII 2742

P(ublio) Iul(io) Iuniano Martialiano leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) e(minentissimo) v(iro) co(n)s(ularis) praesidi iustissimo et benignissimo, C(aius) Calventius Ianuarius (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) Alexandrianae.  
.....

The former inscription is dated to about 214 to 216 and the latter by the governorship of P. Iulius Iunianus Martialianus to about 227 to 230 (E..Birley, The Governors of Numidia, A.D. 193 - 268, JRS xl (1950) 64). Ianuarius is a common cognomen, and there are nine other Calventi in volume VIII. However, it is very possible that these two inscriptions do refer to the same man. Certainly after being a cornicularius in the first decade of the third century it would be possible to be a centurion in the same legion about twenty years later, though the case for the inscriptions referring to the same man is not proven.

146. M. Acutius Ingenus

Lambaesis

AE 1917/8, 57

This is a fragmentary list of the members of the staff of the governor of Numidia.

line 1 : speculat(ores)

line 2 : Acutius Ingenus

VIII 2618

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) cons(ervatori) Aug(ustorum) n(ostrorum) pien(tissimorum) fratrum totiusq(ue) domus divinae, M(arcus) **Acutius** Ingenus ex (centurione) leg(ionis) h(onesta) m(issione) m(issus). cultores veteran(orum) - there follows a list of veterans, their previous posts and their dates of discharge. (211-212)

The first inscription is dated to the first decade of the third century. The nomen Acutius appears seven times in the index of Volume VIII of the Corpus, while Ingenus is much too common to be of any use. Nevertheless the two inscriptions are of the same period, and the progression from speculator to centurion natural. If these two inscriptions do refer to the same soldier, as seems almost certain, he may well have held a post in between speculator and centurion, probably cornicularius, since direct promotion between these posts is unattested.

147. Aelius Triccianus D 17 PIR² I 271

Dio, 79, 13, 3, 4 (Loeb translation)

.... he (Macrinus) sent Agrippa to Dacia and Deccius Triccianus to Pannonia ..... Triccianus had served as a private soldier in the contingent from Pannonia, had once been door-keeper (θυρωρον) to the governor of that province, and was at this time commanding the Alban legion.

Dio, 80, 4, 3 (Loeb translation)

Triccianus, however, lost his life because of the Alban legion, which he had commanded with a firm hand during Macrinus' reign.

SHA Vita Caracalla 6.7.

Conscii caedis (Caracallae) fuerunt Nemesianus et frater eius Apollinaris Triccianusque, qui praefectus legionis secundae Parthicae militabet.

A complete list of other references to Triccianus is given in PIR² I 271, though the ones not quoted above are all on milestones and demonstrate that he was governor of Pannonia inferior. To these may be added AE 1953, 11. He was a soldier, and presumably a legionary since he was on the staff of the governor of one of the Pannonias. He is the only ostiarius attested in the legions, though there are some known in the praetorian cohorts. He rose to be commander of II Parthica at the death of Caracalla, and continued in the appointment during the reign of Macrinus. He was sent by this emperor to govern Pannonia inferior and the milestones, bearing the normal titles of a consular governor, imply that he had been given consular rank after adlection to the Senate.

148. Aurelius Titianus            XIII 6803            Moguntiacum

[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio Antonino Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto) Parthic(o) Max(imo) Brit(annico) Max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) ..... imp(eratori) II,] co(n)s(uli) IIII, [p(atrici) p(atriciae), pacat(ori) orbis (?)] procon(sulari) .... Aureli(us) Titian(us) [promo]tus (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII An[to]ninian(ae)



ex corn[icula(rio)], Paternius Avitus et [Anto]ni(us) Petianus cornic(ularii), [Anto]nius Attianus, Respec(tus) Ur]sinus, Constanti(us) Restitutus comm(entarienses) co(n)s(ularis), devotissimi numini [e]lius.

line 6: ex corn(iculario) [co(n)s(ularis)] Domaszewski

The imperial titles date the inscription to 213 to 217. The inscription records the three cornicularii and three commentarienses of the governor of Upper Germany. One of these cornicularii, Aurelius Titianus, is promoted to centurion, a normal advancement.

149. C. Iulius Quintianus

Lambaesis

VIII 18086

A list of soldiers in III Augusta.

c 3:

C(aius) Iulius Quintianus Cas(tris) d(i)s(cens) buc(in-  
atorem).

VIII 2564 = 18052 = ILS 470

Pro salute d(omini) n(ostri) imp(eratori) Caes(aris)  
M(arci) Aureli Antonini Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) pont(ifi-  
cis) max(imi) p(atris) p(atriae) trib(uniciae) pot(es-  
tatis) co(n)s(ularis) .... procons(ularis), divi Magni  
Antonini fil(ii), divi Pii Severi nepot(is), et I[ul]i]ae  
Maesae [Aug(ustae) avi]ae Aug(usti) n(ostri), matris  
castrorum et senatus, [et Iul]i]ae Soaem[ad]is Bassianae  
Aug(ustae), [matris] Augusti n(ostris), duplari leg(ionis)  
III Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis) Antoniniana[rum] devoti  
numini maiestatique eorum, regressi de expeditione  
felicissima Orientali.

b 11:

Iulius Quintianus buc(inator)

The second inscription is dated to the reign of Elagabalus (218 - 222) and the reference to the Eastern campaign places it to just before 220. The

two inscriptions probably refer to the same man, training for bucinator in the former and a bucinator in the latter. It is unusual to find evidence of a discens actually reaching the post he was learning.

150. C. Aemilius Demetrianus

Lambaesis

VIII 2564

For the text of this inscription, recording duplicarii of III Augusta c. 218-220, see the career of Iulius Quintianus (149).

c 15

Aemilius Demetrian(us) d(emplarius)

VIII 2568

A fragmentary laterculus.

no. 81

C(aius) Aemilius Demetrianus T(h)en(ae) d(iscens) s(igniferum ?)

VIII 2796

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) C(aio) Aemilio Demetriano aquilif(ero) vixit an(n)is XXXII, C(aius) Aemilius Emeritus pater filio pio fecit idemque dedicavit.

The first inscription is dated internally to the period 218 to 220 and the second to about the same time since P. Sittius Rogatus appears on both described as a duplicarius. There is no other man of this name in volume VIII of the Corpus, but both names are fairly common. Two of the inscriptions, however, are roughly contemporary and the third would not be out of place in the early third century. If they do refer to the same man, as seems probable, his career is as follows: he was made a duplicarius following Elagabalus'

Eastern campaign, implying that he was either a tesserarius or below, in fact he may have been a discens signiferum at this time, a post he is recorded as holding about the same time. His tombstone attests that he rose to be an aquilifer, and in that case he was probably promoted directly from signifer. He was only thirty-two when he died and had therefore probably served about twelve years, rather few stipendia for a soldier in this position.

151. Respectius Hilarianus XIII 1732 Lugudunum

deae Fortunae, Respectius Hilarianus specul(ator), comm(entariensis), aedem dedicavit idibus Febrar(is), Sabiniano et Seleuco co(n)s(ularibus). (221)

Hilarianus was promoted from speculator to commentariensis. The inscription was erected at Lugudunum, the capital of the province of Lugdunensis, and the soldier was therefore presumably serving on the staff of the governor of that province. In the third century his staff was supplied by the legions of the two Germanies.

152. T. Flavius Domitianus VI 36775 = ILS 484 Rome

Pro salute domini nostri imperator(is) Severi Alex[an]-  
dri Augusti et Iuliae Maesae et Iuliae Avitia[e] M[ameae]  
sanctissimarum Augustarum Genio sancto castror(um)  
peregrinorum - T(itus) Flavius Domitianus domo Nicomedia  
quod speculator leg(ionis) III Parth(icae) Severianae  
vovit hastatus leg(ionis) X Fretensis princeps peregrin-  
orum reddedit.

The inscription is dated to 222

to 223. When Domitianus was a speculator in III Parthica he made a vow which he fulfilled when he became a princeps peregrinorum. He held this latter post while being hastatus of X Fretensis (cf. P. K. Baillie-Reynolds, The Troops quartered in the Castra Peregrinorum, JRS xiii (1923) 172). Obviously he must have held many posts which merit no mention. There is no need to assume that his service as a speculator was carried out in the castra peregrina as Baillie-Reynolds considered (p. 178). The career is another example of the increased opportunities for transfers in the third century.

153. Aufidius Victorinus P. Mich. 164 = CPL 143 = Daris 27  
lines 1 - 3:

[Au]fidius Victorinus  
[P]raesente et [E]xtrica[to] c[ol](n)s(ularibus) (217)  
factus dec(urio) ex eq(uite) leg(ionis)  
.... v(iro) p(erfectissimo) tunc duce IIII Nonas Apriles  
Attico et Prae[te]xtato co(n)s(ularibus)!. (242)

The reading as given by Daris has been adopted here. Victorinus served his full twenty-five years, ending up as an equus legionis, before being promoted decurion in an auxiliary unit. This is the only instance known to me of a soldier completing his service before being appointed centurion or decurion.

154. .... Origines P. Mich. 164 = CPL 143 = Daris 27  
lines 13 - 15:

..... Origin[e]s  
 .....e co(n)s(ularibus) f[actus dec(urio)]  
 ex eq(uite) [leg(ionis)]  
 ...o.ris.....u.a.....le.a.....

This is the reading as given in Daris.

The soldier was promoted in the period 242 to 244, the earlier entries for the unit being 242, while the ala Gallica, mentioned in line 11, has the title Gordiana. All the promotions in this section are to decurion so it is reasonable to expect that this is also, while the restoration legionis is also in accord with the other entries. Unfortunately the date of enlistment of the soldier is lost.

155. .... lius Arpocraton P. Mich. 164 = CPL 143 = Daris 27  
 lines 16, 17, 21 and 22:

coh(ors) III Iturae[o]ru[m]  
 Ord(inati or -inarij)  
 .....lius A[r]pocra[t]ion  
 .s Agricola et Clementino c[on]s(ularibus) f[actus  
 ord(inarius or -inatus) [ex eq(uite) [leg(ionis)]]. (230)

The reading as given in Daris has been adopted. Arpocraton enlisted in 230 and rose to the rank of equus legionis. In 242 to 244, for the reasons given in the discussion of 154, he was promoted an ordinatus or ordinarius, that is a centurion in the cohors III Ituraeorum (cf. J. F. Gilliam, The ordinarii and ordinati of the Roman Army, TAPA 71 (1940), 139 ff.).

156. .... Amandianus III 11135 = ILS 4311 Carnuntum

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] Dolich(eno) pro sal(ute)  
 [imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)] C(ai) [Iul(ii) Ver(i)  
 M]ax[imini P(ii)] F(elicis) [invic(ti) Au]lg(usti) [...  
 ..]us[..... A]m[a]ndianus mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII  
 G(eminae) librari[uls numeris, cus(tos) arm(orum),  
 signif(er), optio o[cta]v[ia] (?) pr(incipis) pr(ioris),  
 candidatus, n[on]ini cum U[lp]io Amando [ve]t(erano) le[g(-  
 ionis)] s(upra) s(criptae) p[osuit ?].

If the restoration is correct, which is slightly suspect, the imperial titles give a date of 235 to 238 for this inscription. The soldier served as librarius of his unit, XIV Gemina. This ought to mean that he was librarius legionis, or legati. From this post he was promoted to be one of the custodes armorum, presumably in a century. Unless the order has been disturbed his next post was signifer, and thence he was promoted optio of the princeps prior of the eighth cohort. He was a candidatus, that he was waiting for a centurionate, when the inscription was erected. This may have been an established post, or a designation, his actual post being optio. The fact that so much information is given about the post of optio possibly tends to support the latter view. There is a similar promotion known from signifer to optio cohortis I (167) and also a promotion to optio, which may be optio ad spem ordinis, from commentariensis (124), excluding the two promotions from signifer to optio navaliuorum which are special cases (115 and 116).

157. C. Iulius Rogatianus AE 1917/8, 74 Lambaesis

M(arco) Aurelio Cominio Cassiano leg(ato) Aug(ustorum)  
pr(o) pr(aetore) c(larissimo) v(iro), C(aius) Iulius  
Rogatianus decur(io) al(ae) Fl(aviae) ex corniculario  
eius proventus ab eo.

Professor Birley has demonstrated that Cassianus was governor of Numidia in the period c. 244 - 249 (The Governors of Numidia, A.D. 193 - 268, JRS xl (1950) 65). Rogatianus was presumably a soldier in III Augusta since there is no evidence that the governor of Numidia drew his staff from any other source. The post of cornicularius consularis was the highest ranking post in a legion below the centurionate, and its holder was in a peculiarly good position for securing promotion since he was continually under the eye of the governor, the local source of patronage. Rogatianus was given a commission in an auxiliary unit, but as a decurion in an ala, the most senior type of auxiliary commission.

158. Aurelius Iustinus V 896 = ILS 2332 Aquileia

sic [Aurelius Iustinus equis e leg(ione) XI Cl(audia),  
sic provitu(s) annor[um] XVII et militavit munifex annis  
sic VII, equis annis IIII, militavit in co(ho)rt(e) statu  
posteriore ex pluris maicis derisus ipsius in ipso  
titulo XCI.

This inscription is clearly third century in date. Iustinus enlisted at the age of seventeen in XI Claudia and served for seven years before being promoted to equus. He appears to have been called

a munifex during these years, though whether this was an official description is uncertain. He was an eques for four years before his death.

159. XIII 6948

Mogontiacum

.....] leg(ionis) XVI, eq(ues) [..... ve]xsillar(ius),  
an(nis) XV, stip(endia) XV [.....

The date of this inscription is not clear, but it is probably second or third century. The soldier was an eques, later promoted, perhaps indirectly, to vexillarius. His age at his death was probably thirty-five, and he had served for between fifteen and nineteen years, probably nearer the former.

160. M. Ulpius Flavinus

III 1202

Apulum

D(is) m(anibus) M(arco) Ulp(io) M(arci) f(ilio) Flavino,  
optio(ni), signifero leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), [stip(-  
endiorum) XXV, vix(it) [a(nnis ?)] VL, Titia Maximila  
coni(ugi) pi(entissimo) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

The presence of filiation points to a second century date, though an early third one should not be ruled out. Flavinus served as optio and signifer in XIII Gemina stationed in Dacia. He may have held earlier posts which have been omitted. He served for twenty-five years, dying at the age of forty-five.

161. Aurelius Marius

III 1124

Apulum

deae Nemesi, Aurel(ius) Marius optio, signifer leg(ionis)  
XIII Gem(inae), cum Severia Secundina coniugi pro salute  
sua et Marianae Bonosae et Macriniani liberti..

The names suggest a late second or



third century inscription. Marin^us, as Flavinus (160), served in XIII Gemina in Dacia as an optio and signifer, though it is possible that earlier posts have been omitted.

162. III 14178

Cyaneae, Lycia

sic .....] pra[b]la[t]us in leg(ione) I Ad(iutrice), opt[io] et (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XV Apol(libaris), (centurio) le[g(ionis)] XXX [U(lpia)] V(ictricis), [(centurio)] leg(ionis) VII Trophim[.....]

This inscription probably dates to the third century. The soldier enlisted in I Adiutrix, in which he rose to be optio. He was appointed centurion, and served in at least four other legions in this capacity. He appears to have been commissioned from optio, but it is possible, though unlikely, that this was merely one of the posts he had held which was selected for mention in the career.

163. Valerius Longianus

V 942 = ILS 2670

Aquileia

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum), Val(erius) Longianus vixit annos XLV, militavit optio leg(ionis) XI Clau(diae) annos XV, centurio ord(inatus or -inarius) ann(os) VI, natus in M[oe]sila infer(iore) castell(o) Arbitanor(o).

The abbreviation of the name suggests a third century date. The wording of the inscription implies that Longianus served for fifteen years as optio before his promotion to centurion. This seems to be an excessive length of time, and probably therefore what is meant is that he served for fifteen years, reaching the

rank of optio before his promotion. He was a centurion for six years before his death at the age of forty-five. It is interesting to compare this inscription with that recording the career of Valerius Aulucentius in the same period (V 940): Val(erius) Aulucentius leg(ionis) XI Cl(audia) milita(vit) gregales ann(is) XIII et centurio ann(is) III, vixit ann(is) XL et men(sibus) V, fecit memoria frater. The order is similar to that on the tombstone of Longianus and may have helped to cause the ambiguity on the inscription. Valerius Longianus, a native of Lower Moesia, was a soldier in one of the two legions of that province, XI Claudia.

164. G. Iulius Bassianus      Nesselhauf 1938, 155      Bonn

Matronis Aufanis, G(aius) Iulius Bassianus (centurio) leg(ionis) I Minerviae p(iae) f(idelis) et VIII Aug(ustae), quod optio voverat v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Bassianus, when he was an optio, made a vow which he fulfilled when he became a centurion. The inscription was erected at Bonn, the station of I Minervia, presumably when Bassianus received news of his transfer to VIII Augusta, stationed in Upper Germany. It is less likely that he was centurion of VIII Augusta and then I Minerva.

165. P. Aelius Rufinus      III 1099 = ILS 2392      Apulum

Pro sal(ute) Aug(ustorum) Mart(i) conser(vatori), P(ublius) Ael(ius) Rufinus coadiutor officii rat(ionum) vovit, co[r]nic(ularius) prae[f(ecti)] kastr(or)um leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito).

The style of the inscription places it in the late second or third centuries. Rufinus, as a cornicularius of the praefectus castrorum, was fulfilling a vow he had made when a humble coadiutor of the officium of the prefect. He had presumably held other posts between these two, though if the inscription does belong to the third century they may have all been in the prefect's officium.

## 166. M. Valerius Flavus

II 4168

Tarraco

M(arco) Valerio Flavo [b(ene)]f(iciario) leg(ionis) VII G(eminae), ex arm[...]s., an(norum) LX, H(erennius ?) Val(ens ?) heres fac(iendum) c(uravit)

This is a manuscript reading and CIL notes that in line 1 S.F.LEG has been read and the soldier could therefore have been a speculator not a beneficiarius, though this is unlikely.

II 3587

Dianum

M(arco) Valerio Flavo [.....] leg(ionis) VII G(eminae), ex armenis an(norum) LXII, Val(erius ?) Hermes fac(iendum) cur(avit).

The two inscriptions presumably refer to the same soldier. The date is second or third century, and Flavus appears to have been a beneficiarius legati ex armenis. This earlier post may have been armorum custos inscribed wrongly on the stone or copied incorrectly on the manuscript or possibly a hitherto unknown post which may even have been held while the

soldier was a beneficiarius.

167. Mommius Cattianus                      AE 1951, 194                      Castelmadama

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) Mommius Cattianus mil(ēs)  
leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictribis), benefic(iarius)  
leg(atī), cornicularius leg(atī), optio coh(ortis) I,  
h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

This inscription is difficult to date - the lack of filiation and tribe suggests a late date, but the lack of abbreviation in his posts implies early rather than late. The appearance of d.m.s. and h.s.e. in Italy are no guide. It is best to leave the date of the inscription open rather than suggest what could only be an arbitrary date, though it does appear to be late rather than early. Cattianus was a soldier in XX Valeria Victrix. He was a beneficiarius of the legate, then cornicularius to the same officer. He was advanced thence to be an optio in the first cohort. This was undoubtedly to give him experience of century organisation before being promoted to the centurionate and must have been the equivalent of optio ad spem ordinis.

168. Flavius Maximus Sabinus              ILS 8880              Ituraea, Arabia

Φλ. Μαξιμος Σαβεινου β(ενε)φ(ικικριος) και κορομενταρχειος  
και κορνικουλαριος και (εκατονταρχος) γενομενος της  
γηερ(ονιας), το μνημα εκ των ιδιων εκωδορησεν  
συν θορδεχη γυναικι.

The date of this inscription falls within the second or third century. Sabinus served as

beneficiarius, commentariensis, cornicularius and centurion on the staff of the governor of Arabia. This is the only career we possess in which the senior staff posts were wholly within the confines of the one officium. There is, moreover, no hint of any duty at century level; Sabinus' experience appears to have been confined to administration, in which he stayed on receiving his commission.

169. Iulius Flavinus            II 4156 = ILS 2383            Tarraco

d(is) m(anibus) Iulio Flavino, com(mentariensi) l(egionis) VII G(eminae) f(elicis), quaestionario, amico carissimo Heren(n)ius Rogatus.

The abbreviations on the stone suggest a third century date. Flavinus was promoted from quaestionarius to commentariensis, an advancement otherwise unattested. The order of the posts is slightly unusual in that they are in descending order and not ascending. Flavinus was on the staff of the governor of Tarraconensis who, in spite of his province having only one legion, was not commander of the legion as well, the two headquarters being too far apart to make this practicable.

170. Q. Carinus [Am]abilis    VI 36776 = ILS 9080    Rome

G(enio) k(astroorum) p(eregrinorum), Q(uintus) Carinius [Am]abilis optio [... l]eg(ionis) II Ital(icae) [.....] (centurio ?) frumen(tarius) [.....]atus.

The inscription is probably either late second century or early third. Domaszewski in the

Corpus restored the inscription as follows: optio [p(rimi)-p(ili)] lleg(ionis) II Ital(icae), [frum(entarius)], (centurio) frumentarius, [(centurio) deput] atus. Dessau suggested a different reading: optio [p(rimi)p(ili)] lleg(ionis) II Ital(icae), [factus] (centurio) frumen(tarius), [et] (centurio) deput] atus. There is little support for either reading, even the centurial sign before the frumen(tarius) is suspect due to the break on the stone. P(rimi)p(ili) need not be restored, but simply in, though there is no need to restore a word here. There is equally no necessity for either frum(entarius) or factus on the next line, it could have read Italic(ae) or et even, though this is less satisfactory than an abbreviation for frumentarius. (Centurio) deputatus in the last line is also open to doubt. In summary all that can be said is that this soldier served as an optio in II Italica, and later probably as a centurio frumentarius, though it is possible that he may have been a simple frumentarius.

171. Cn. Fulvius Capratinus      II 4154 = ILS 2369      Tarraco

d(is) m(anibus) Cn(aeo) Fulv[io] Capratino ex p[rovi]ncia Baetic[a] Iulalicensi, probato in leg(ione) VI Ferrat(a), tra[n]s[lat]o frum(entario) in leg(ione) VII Gemina p(ia) I(elice), iacto [b(ene)ficiario] co(n)s(ularis), militavit ann(is) XXI, vixit XL, ful(vius) Cornelianus lib(ertus) pat(rono) be(ne) me(renti) rec(it).

The inscription is now unobtainable, but FACTORE has been read in the fourth line suggesting SE which is what usually precedes COS. The

lack of filiation and tribe implies a later rather than earlier date, and indeed Ritterling states that the legion VII Gemina did not use the title pia until the third century (RE XII 1642). Capratinus was a native of Italica in Baetica. When he enlisted he was sent to VI Ferrata, stationed at the opposite end of the Mediterranean. He was transferred, as a frumentarius, into VII Gemina in Tarraconensis. It is possible that his transfer was connected with his promotion to, or service as, frumentarius. He was advanced from this post to beneficiarius consularis. He was still holding this rank when he died after twenty-one years service at the age of forty. His tombstone was erected at the place of his last appointment - Tarraco, capital of the province in which his legion was stationed.

172. Postumius Carius VIII 17627 Vazaivi

.....] deo pa[tr]io sac(ro), Postumi[us] Clarius [e]x frumen[tal]rio, b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis), [v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nima).

This inscription is probably late second to third century in date. Carius dedicated the stone while a beneficiarius of the governor of Numidia at Vazaivi, one of the stationes of III Augusta. He had previously served as a frumentarius.

173. M. Ulpius Viator S. Spomenik 1931, 209 Mitrovitza - Sirmium

I[ovi] Op(t)imo sac(ro) ex viso M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Viator, b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) ex fru(mentario).

The abbreviations and lack of filiation and tribe suggest a third century date, though the later years of the second should not be ruled out. The promotion from frumentarius to beneficiarius consularis is not uncommon.

174. . . . . Saturninus VIII 17626 Vazaivi

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) [M]arti Vic[tor]i diis  
i[u]vantibus [ge]nioque stationis Vaza[iv]itanae  
. . . . . Saturninus [b(ene)f(iciarius)] leg(ionis)  
III Au[g(ustae) ex]pleta [s]tatione pr[o]motus ad  
[(centurionatum)] leg(ionis) II Italicae, v(otum)  
s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nima).

This inscription is best at home in a third century context. Though both beneficiarius and centurio are restored it is difficult to see what could replace them, the former because Saturninus was in command of the statio, a post usually occupied by a beneficiarius, and the latter because there is no room on the stone for anything else while change of legion below the rank of centurion is rare (cf. 171 and 177 but both changes of unit are connected with the post of frumentarius). It is probable that Saturninus was a beneficiarius of the governor since this official usually supplied the staff of stationes. This inscription therefore provides the only reasonably certain promotion from beneficiarius consularis directly to the centurionate (cf. 187).

175. Aurelius Secundinus Donatus XIII 1771 Lugudunum  
deo invicto Aur(elius) Secundinius Donatus frumentar(ius)



[le]g(ionis)(?) et comment(ariensis) v(otum) s(olvit)  
l(libens) m(erito).

The names and abbreviations suggest a third century date. Donatus was promoted from frumentarius to commentariensis, thereby presenting the only known example of this advancement. Even if legionis has not been restored correctly he presumably was a legionary and, since the inscription was erected at Lugudunum, clearly a member of one of the Rhineland legions, which in the third century provided the staff of the governor of Lugdunensis after the disgrace and disbanding of the urban cohort formerly stationed there.

176. Claudius Victor            XIII 8282            Colonia Agrippina

M(emoriae) aetern[ae Claudio Victo[ri mil(iti)] leg(ionis) VII Ge[m(inae) p(iae) f(elicis) in] Hispania, [in ead(em) leg(ione)] fact(o) fru[m(entario), prom(oto) cor(niculario)] trib(uni) leg(ionis) I [Min(erviae) p(iae) f(idelis)], sepulchr[um posuit mod[ius(?) ]imus avunc[ulo in] compara[bili .....]nici[.....]

Ritterling has pointed out that VII Gemina only used the title pia first in the third century. It is difficult to see any other restoration than promotus or factus cornicularius, since this would be the only post on the staff of the tribune of a higher status than frumentarius. Victor had enlisted in VII Gemina stationed in Tarraconensis. In this legion he rose to the rank of frumentarius. His subsequent transfer to I Minervia, whose camp was at Bonn, was probably

connected with the post of frumentarius. Although carried on the books of the legions in which they had enlisted frumentarii usually served in provinces other than those in which their legions were stationed. This would consequently be a favourable opportunity for transfers from one legion to another to be made. He probably held no other post than cornicularius tribuni in I Minervia before his death.

177. Tib. Claudius Demetrius PIR² II 847 = P 304 = D 150  
VI 36853 Rome

Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Demetrius quod mil(es) fr(umentarius) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) vovit (centurio) fecit.

V 7870 cf. Pais 1015 = ILS 6762 (cf. add. III o. CLXXXVII) Cemeneium

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) ceterisq(ue) diis deabusq(ue) immort(alibus) Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Demetrius dom(o) Nicomed(ia) v(ir) e(gregius), proc(urator) Aug(ustorum) n(ostrorum) item (ducenarius) episcepseos chorae inferioris.

H.-G. Pflaum and B. Dobson both consider that these two inscriptions refer to the same man; the same abbreviations are used for the nomen and praenomen, an origo at Nicomédia would be commensurate with service in XV Apollinaris stationed in Cappadocia, while Pflaum quotes similar careers as parallels. If indeed the frumentarius of XV Apollinaris and centurion is the same as the procurator and episcopus chorae inferioris this is one of the most successful of the

known careers of legionaries. Dobson, however, points out (pp. 317-319) that Demetrius' career falls into the castra peregrina type rather than the legionary. Direct promotion from frumentarius to centurion is uncommon and there is no need to consider this as such since Demetrius, as a centurion, is only fulfilling a vow he had made when a frumentarius - other posts may have intervened. Pflaum places the career in the reign of Commodus at the earliest and possibly later, that is in the third century.

178. T. Varronius Maro            III 2063 = ILS 2370            Salonae

sic T(itus) V[ar]ronius Maro frumen[t]arius leg(ionis) III  
Quirenarice qui cucurrit [f]rum(entarius) ann(is) XL et  
(centurio) frum(entarius) factus (est) modo, Firminus  
libertus eius posuit, locus concessus.

Maro was a frumentarius in the legion III Cyrenaica. His age rather than his length of service was forty years before his promotion to centurio frumentarius. The inscription probably belongs to the late second or third centuries.

179. Tib. Claudius Ianuarius            III 2015 = ILS 2379            Salonae

d(is) m(anibus) Tib(erio) Cl(audio) Ianuario, spec(ul-  
atori) leg(ionis) XIIII G(eminae), comm(entariensi)  
co(n)s(ularis) prov(inciae) Delm(atiae), stip(endiorum)  
XIII, Aebutia Ianuaria fil(iae) piissimo et Visellia  
Iulia marito.

Ianuarius was a speculator in XIV Gemina, one of the legions of Pannonia superior. From this post he was promoted commentariensis consularis, a not uncommon advancement. He was not, however, commen-

tariensis of the governor of Upper Pannonia but of the neighbouring province of Dalmatia. Dalmatia had no legions stationed within it from 70, and its governor drew his staff in part from the auxiliary garrison of the province, but also from the legions of adjacent provinces. Ianuarius may also have served as speculator on the staff of the same officer.

180. L. Gargilius Rufus

Tarraco

II 4145

d(is) m(anibus) L(ucio) Aufidio Felici b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) municipi, Gargilius Rufus speculator leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) f(elicis) benemerito.

II 4179

d(is) m(anibus) L(ucio) Gargilio Rufo com(mentariensi) ab actis civilib(us), homini optimo et honestissimo.

Although these two inscriptions do no more than demonstrate that Rufus held the two posts of speculator and commentariensis ab actis civilibus he was probably promoted from the first to the second directly, as was the case with other soldiers (e.g. 177). The post of commentariensis was connected with the judicial duties of governors and it is interesting to find this useful corroborative detail.

181. VIII 17635

Vazaivi

..... b(ene)f(iciarius) c]o(n)s(ularis) [ex]pleto tempore [factus corn]iculari[us] .....

The restoration of beneficiarius

is reasonable, especially considering the place of erection and the use of expleto. He appears to have been promoted to cornicularius though the title of the officer whom he would have served is unfortunately missing from the surviving portion of the stone.

182. Iulius Ingenus VIII 12128 = 702 cf. ILT 582 Chusira

Iulius Ingenus obit in Gallia morte. Coniunx patriae gremio mandat Virula corpus. Germaniae meruit specul-a[t]or et cornicul[ar]ius legionis. Initium vitis vitae fuit finis.

Ingenus was probably a native of Chusira, where his tombstone was erected. This may point to a date for the inscription earlier than the third century, before local recruiting became too entrenched. He served in one of the German legions and rose to be speculator and then cornicularius. He was made a centurion but an untimely death cheated him of the enjoyment of his new appointment.

183. XIII 1832

Lugdunum

.... leg(ionis) I]Minerviae qui militavit (centurio) ann(is) VII, ex cornicul(ario) vixit ann(is) XXXXV, posuit ei Appia mater miserrima [.....

It can safely be assumed that this soldier was a cornicularius in a legion, probably to a governor (cf. Domaszewski 31 and Passerini Legio 595). In the third century the Rhine legions provided the staff for the governor of Lugdunensis, and this centurion from I Minerviae may have had some connection with this

officer's staff. He had probably not served for twenty-five years before his promotion since he had been a centurion for seven years and was forty-five at the time of his death. If he had enlisted at the age of twenty (Forni, Reclutamento 135 ff.) he would have served for eighteen years before promotion.

184. Iulius                                    V 8278 = ILS 2333                                    Aquileia

Iulius centurio supernumerarius leg(ionis) XI Claudiae, stip(endiorum) XXIIII, annor(um) circiter XXXX, tiro probitus ann(os) XVI, postea profecit disces equitum, ordine factus mag(ister) equitum positus hic.

This inscription, erected at Aquileia, probably belongs to the later third century when that town appears to have been a legionary depot. Iulius enlisted at the age of sixteen and served as a discens equitum, eques, which is understood, and magister equitum. Ordine factus implies that this last post was held at the same time as the supernumerary centurionate, or at least while a centurion. It is otherwise unattested but probably had some connection with the training of the equites. He had twenty-four years service demonstrating that he had been commissioned before the completion of his statutory term of service..

185. C. Tauricius Verus                    Ber. R.G.K. 40: CIL XIII

Nachtrag, 221                    Colonia Agrippina

Ha[ve] Taurici. salv(u)s sis, homo bon[e], quoniam me salutasti Perlege et dicam tibi: C(aio) Tauricio Vero vet(erano) ex b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis), equestris

militiae petitori, Tauriciu[s Ver]ulus filius et heres et Iulia Ingenua coniu(n)x ex vo[lunta]te testamenti faciendum curaverunt. Heredes et amici: hic ego vos specto [.....]nte.

Nesselhauf and Lieb suggest a third century date for this inscription. Verus presumably served in one of the Rhine legions, retiring with the rank of beneficiarius consularis. As a veteran he petitioned for an equestrian military post, that is command of a cohort. This is not strictly comparable to the career of Valerius Speratus (128) since this soldier had retired and become a decurion of a municipium before his entry into the equestris militia.

186. Cassius Teimotheus ILS 8847 Philippopoli, Arabia

..... Ιουλι]ου Πρεισκου του Εξο[χωτ]ατου επάρχου  
Μεσοποταμίας υιον, Κασσιος Τειμοθεος απο β(ενε)φ(ικ-  
ιαριου) πετειτορ, τον αωρον μ(νημης) χ(αριου).

Although there is nothing to prove conclusively that this soldier, Teimotheus, was a legionary it is difficult to conceive of an auxiliary beneficiarius consularis petitioning for a post in the equestris militia. Moreover there was a legion stationed in Arabia, and he was probably a member of this.

187. .... Rufus AE 1932, 57 = IGLS IV 1804 Mourik

..... Στελλα κτειν]α Ρουφωι βενε[φικ(ιαριω) α]ντισ[τ(ρατηγου)]  
στατωι πρωτωι λεγιων[νος] } Σιδηρας, Κωωτος Ανατιος  
Γα[λλι (?) ]ων, [Ξ]τηλλα κτεινα, Πανλος, Πρε[ιμο]ππειλαριος  
λεγιωνος της αυτη[ς], ι<δ>ικω>α<δ>ελφ<ω>, μ<ημης  
ενε[κεν].

It is possible that Rufus was not a beneficiarius consularis, but that Paulus was recording his gratitude to the governor for using his influence to obtain for him a centurionate (for a parallel to this wording see Israel Exploration Journal xvi (1966) 258). This would, however, be a more unusual expansion than beneficiarius consularis and this is accepted here, though with some reservations. Rufus was presumably promoted from this post to a centurionate, and he rose to be hastatus of VI Ferrata, in which his brother was primuspilus.

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188. C. Sulgius Caecilianus            D 427

VIII 14854

Tuccabor

C(aio) Sulgio L(ucii) f(ilio) Pap(iria) Caeciliano, praef(ecto) leg(ionis) III Cyrenaicae, p(rimo(p(ilo) leg(ionis) XX Valeriae Victricis, praeposito reliquationi classis praetoriae Misenatium piae vindicis et thensauris domini[cis e]t bastagis copiarum devehendar(um), (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) et septimiae Geminae et primae Parthicae et XVI Fl(aviae) f(irmae) et XIII G(eminae) in provincia Dacia, a navarch(o) classis praetoriae Misenatium piae vindicis, optioni peregrinorum et exercitatori mil[itum] frumentarior(um), et Sulgiae [.....]ae, et Sulgio Apro L..... S]ulgio [.....] patri et [c]oiugi.

X 3342

Misenum

[D]ivi Magni Pii [Antonini f(ilius) Invic]tus Pius Felix et supe[r omnes principes, co]nlapsus a solo restit[uit, cur]ante Sulgio C[aeciliano].



The second inscription demonstrates the approximate date of the career, the emperor referred to being either Elagabalus or Severus Alexander since they were most likely to mention their relationship to Caracalla. The career is in descending order, hence his first post mentioned was in the castra peregrina. The two posts he held there were optio peregrinorum et exercitator militum frumentariorum. Baillie-Reynolds (Castra Peregrinorum 174) considered that Caecilianus was carrying out both functions at once. This is possible though not definite. From the post of optio Caecilianus was promoted navarchus in the Misene fleet and was then advanced to the legionary centurionate. After holding centurionates in five legions he rose to be primuspilus and finally praefectus castrorum. No mention is made of service in the legions prior to his first appointment in the castra peregrina though this seems to have been the normal method of entry. Perhaps in view of that it should be understood. However, the career as a whole should be placed in the castra peregrina group and not the legionary (Dobson, Principilares 317-319).

189. M. Orbius M.....

VI 3328

Rome

d(is) m(anibus) M(arcus) Orbius M(arci) f(ilius) Aquis  
 M[.....] Sex(tis), optio mil(itum) peregr(inorum),  
 m[il(itavit) an]nis XVII vix(it) an(nis) XXXV, re[stabant]  
 huic dies LI ut fieret (centurio) FEC (or FR ?) ....  
 M(arcus) Val(erius) Dionysius patro[no et] Suetonius  
 Taurus fr[.....] her(edes) faciend(um) cu[raverunt item]  
 Val(erius) Dionysius sib[ei et suis] posterisq(ue) eor(um).

On stylistic grounds this inscription probably is dated to the late second to early third centuries. Baillie-Reynolds (Castra Peregrinorum 173) demonstrated that although M. Orbius died while an optio peregrinorum the phrase re[stabant] huic dies LI ut fieret Z shows that he had been gazetted for a centurionate. He unfortunately died before he could take advantage of this promotion.

190. Aurelius Alexander VI 231 = ILS 2215 Rome

Genio sancto castrorum peregrinorum Aur(elius) Alexander canaliclarius quod peregre [c]onstitutus vovit aedil(is) castrorum [vo]ltum libens solvit.

The name of Alexander - Aurelius, which is also abbreviated, no praenomen, filiation, tribe or origo - suggests a third century date. When he was serving abroad, perhaps as a frumentarius, Alexander made a vow to the Genius which he fulfilled when he became an aedilis castrorum. His rank at the time was canalicularius, and his position as aedilis castrorum seems to be distinct from this. This latter post may have had non-military or para-military duties, possibly of a religious nature (cf. ILS 2178 referring to an aedile in a non-military capacity in the vigiles). His career prior to entering the castra peregrina is not mentioned, though if he was a frumentarius he would have been a legionary.

191. C. Iulius Macer XIII 1041 = ILS 2531 Mediolanum Santonum

C(aio) Iulio Ag[e]dil[us] f(ilio) . . . ] a Macro Sant(ono),  
 duplicario alae Atecorigianae, stipendis emeritis XXXII  
 aere incisso, evocat[us] gesatorum DC Raetorum castello  
 Ircavio, clup[us] coronis aenulis aureis donato a commil-  
 iton[us] - Iulia Matrona f(ilia), C(aius) Iul(ius)  
 Primulus l(ibertus), h(eredes) e(x) t(estamento).

line 1: Fabi]a ILS; Voltini]a (?) Kraft.

Macer, the son of Agedillus, was probably given the citizenship by Caesar or Augustus; Kraft (Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau, Bemm 1951, 141-142) suggests the latter. Certainly the inscription is early in date. Macer served as a duplicarius in the ala Atecorigiana and had 32 years service to his credit. He was then made an evocatus in charge of 550 Raetian spearmen at the castellum Ircavium. Evocatus is here being used in its loose Republican sense to mean any soldier asked to stay on or return to the colours; the post Macer was holding was clearly equivalent to that of prefect of an auxiliary cohort. Evocatus is only found in connection with an auxiliary soldier on one other inscription (X 6011).

192. Gemellus XIII 7705 with Zangemeister, Westd., Ztesch. xii 206

Brohl

Hercli Saxano - Gemellus im[ma]ginif(er) coh(ortis) [IIIIII  
 Asturum p(iae) f(idelis) D(omitiana) et vexil(larius)  
 coh(ortis) eiusdem v(otum) s(olvit) l(etus) l(ibens)  
 m(erito).

The erection of the inscription, when Gemellus was still serving, falls within the principate of

Domitian. The wording of the inscription suggests that Gemellus was an imaginifer and a vexillarius at the same time, though it is possible that et is being used not as a conjunction but to mean item. If that is the case one post will have been held before the other. Since he ~~was~~ specifically refers to himself as an imaginifer it is probable that he was holding that post when he dedicated the inscription, and if he was not also a vexillarius at the same time he will have held this post previously.

193. C. Valerius Proculus III 8762 = ILS 2594 Salernae

C(aius) Val(erius) .. f(ilius) Axinas Procul[us] eques  
coh(ortis) I [Al]lp(inorum), vex(illarius) equit[um]  
coh(ortis) I Belg(arum), dec(urio) equit(um) coh(ortis)  
eiusdem, hunc sepulchrum vivos paravi mihi et Apuleie  
Sabine uxori meae, lib(ertis) libertabusque - h(oc)  
m(onumentum) h(eredum) n(on) s(equetur).

The use of the nominative together with the lack of dis manibus or hic situs est suggests a first century date. A Valerius Proculus appears as a decurion on the tombstone of a soldier in I Belgarum which uses the formula h. s. e. a terminology which appears to die out in Hadrian's principate; it is therefore not unlikely that the two inscriptions refer to the same man (III 9739). Proculus served as an eques in the cohors I Alpinorum equitata. He was promoted vexillarius equitum, though possibly with intervening post(s), in the cohors I Belgarum and subsequently decurio in the same cohort. The change of unit while still a principalis is unusual. In this case it presumably implies

that I Alpinorum was stationed in the same province as I Belgarum, that is Dalmatia.

194. C. Iulius Dexter VIII 2094 = ILS 2518 = ILA1g I 3834

vicinia Theveste

Dis manibus C(aius) Iulius Dexter vet(erans) mil(itavit) in ala eq(ues), cur(ator) turmae, armor(um) custos, signifer tur(mae), milita(vit) annos XXVI, dismis(sus) emer(itus) honesta missione, duoviratu(m) egit in col(onia) sua Thelepte vixit annis LXXXV, hic crematus, Tutia Tertia marita Iuli Dextri vix(it) an(nis) LXX, hic cremata est.

The colonia of Thelepte was probably founded under Trajan (Toutain, Les Cites romaines de la Tunisie, 316-317). The style of the inscription argues for a date in the second century rather than the third.

Dexter served as an eques in an unnamed ala. He was promoted curator turmae, and from here was advanced to be armorum custos and finally signifer turmae. He then retired after 26 years service. His career as recorded on this inscription is one of the longest known of any auxiliary soldier, and is as long as many in the legions. In his retirement he became duumvir of Thelepte and a landowner, erecting this mausoleum on his property. He must have enjoyed many years of retirement since he was 85 at his death.

195. M. Ulpus Telesporus XI 3007 = ILS 2542 Viterbium

D(is) m(anibus) M(arco) Ulpio [Tele]sporo medico alar(um) Indianae et tertiae Astorum et salariario civitati[s] splendidissimae Ferentiensium, Ulpus Protog[e]nes lib(ertus) pat(rono) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).

Telesporus, if that is indeed his name, served as medicus to two alae before his retirement and appointment as medicus to the city of Ferentinum. It is probable that the alae were stationed in the same province when Telesporus was transferred. The ala Indiana was stationed in Germania inferior under the Flavians and Trajan; the ala III Asturum was in Hispania citerior at an early date (EE VIII 313), but by 88 it had been transferred to Mauretania Tingitania (XVI 159). It may have spent a period in Germania inferior in between, probably under the Flavians. This would have been a suitable occasion for the transfer of Telesporus. If this was the case he will have served in III Asturum first, being transferred into the ala Indiana from which unit he retired, probably in the early years of Trajan.

196. M. Annus Martialis VIII 2354 + p. 1693 = ILS 305 Timgad

Victoriae Parthicae Aug(ustae) sacr(um) ex testamento M(arci) Anni M(arci) f(ili) Quirina Martialis mil(itis) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), duplic(arii) alae Pann(oniorum), dec(urionis) al(ae) eiusdem, (centurionis) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) et XXX Ulpiae Victric(is), missi honesta missione ab imp(eratore) Traiano optimo Aug(usto) Germ(anico) Dac(ico) Parth(ico). sing(ulas) (sestertium) VIII XX p(opuli) Romani) min(us). Anni M(arci) lib(erti) Protus Hilarus Eros, adiectis a se (sestertium) III ponend(um) curaver(unt) idem(ue) dedicaver(unt) d(ono) d(ederunt).

Martialis was discharged by Trajan and died after the latter's Parthian victory. The retirement of Martialis can therefore be closely dated. However, the duration of his centurionates in III Augusta and XXX Ulpia Victrix and his decurionate in the ala Pannoniorum is not

known, and neither is his earlier service, so the date of his enlistment is uncertain.

This career in its change from legion to ala to legion is unusual, indeed unique. Martialis commenced his career as a soldier in III Augusta. He is simply called miles legionis, and it is possible, though unlikely, that he was an immunis or principalis, since miles here could be a general term describing his service in the legion. He was, in an otherwise unparalleled step, promoted into an ala in Numidia where he held the rank of duplicarius and then decurio (it is possible that 224 records a similar promotion). His next advancement was to a legionary centurionate. He returned firstly to his old legion III Augusta, and was thence transferred to XXX Ulpia Victrix in Germania inferior. He retired in the last year of Trajan's principate and returned to his home, which was apparently Timgad where this inscription was erected. Martialis is one of the few cases of a retired centurion.

197. M. Ulpus Super III 10257 = 3272 = ILS 2539

Dalya-Teutoburgium

M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Super dec(urio) alae praetoriae c(ivium)  
R(omanorum), ex s(ingulari) c(onsularis) alae I c(ivium)  
R(omanorum) an(norum) XXXII stip(endiorum) XVI h(ic) s(itus)  
e(st), M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Similis sesq(uiplicarius) alae I  
c(ivium) R(omanorum) frater et Ulpia Siscia soror fratri  
pientissimo iuventutiq(ue) eius parum sibi fru[n]itae], fac-  
ie[n]d]um c[u]r(averunt).

line 7: fru[gi] CIL.

The use of hic situs est suggests a date before the end of Hadrian's principate - probably the father of these three received the citizenship from Trajan, perhaps when he retired from the auxilia. Super, a decurion in the ala praetoria civium Romanorum, had previously served in the ala I civium Romanorum. S. c. is usually thought to be an abbreviation for singularis consularis, and there is no reason to think that this is not correct. The only other possibility appears to be strator consularis, a much more infrequently attested post in connection with the auxilia since most holders of the rank were legionaries. If this promotion is direct, and there is nothing to say that it is not, it is probably due to the proximity of the soldier to the governor, being a member of his staff, though it is interesting to note that the post appears to be below the posts in the century or turma in status. There do, however, appear to be parallels to the advancement ( 221 and 222 ). Super died at the age of 32 with 16 years service - his comparative youth of 16 at enlistment is worthy of note. His brother was a sesquialicarius in the same unit in which Super served as a s(ing)ularis) c(onsularis), suggesting that the family lived locally.

198 and BGU 696 ii 33 - 37

Egypt

199. Item facti [equites]

In turma Arte[midori]

Severo et [Stloga or Gabiniano co(n)s(ularibus)] (141 or 155)

Ision Petsireo

In turma S[alviano]

Glabr[ione et Homullo co(n)s(ulibus)]

(152)



This document is the pridianum of cohors I Lusitanorum equitata dated to 156. In that case one of the soldiers appointed egues will have had either one or 15 years service, probably the latter, and the other 4. It is clear from an analysis of the two rosters of XX Palmyrenorum that most equites in that unit had over 10 years service before they were promoted.

200. Ti. Ulpus Acutus XIII 8185 = ILS 4743 Colonia Agrippina  
 sic deae Hariasae hd - Ti(berius) Ulpus Acutus du[pl(licarius)]  
 al(ae) Sulp(iciae) sing(ularis) co(n)s(ularis), cives  
 Traianenses v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Crispino  
 et Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus). (187)

Acutus was promoted from singularis consularis to duplicarius in the ala Sulpicia c. R. Most of the inscriptions relating to this unit are found at Colonia Agrippina (XIII 8311 and 8312 which both record equites; the exception is XIII 1680 from Lugudunum, which records a praefectus of the unit) which suggests that the unit was stationed at that city or in its vicinity. Acutus was presumably a native of the colonia of Traiana Buetasiorum in Germania inferior (ILS).

201. L. Iulius Serenus

P. Hamb. 39, 10, 1 - 2

Αλις καπιτον υπεκευς ειλης Γαλικης τουρηης Οχτατιανι  
 Ειολιωβεν Σερηνω σουρω κουρκτορι Χαρικου- (179)

P. Hamb. 40 - 53

This is a series of tax returns of L. Iulius Serenus, formerly decurion of the ala veterana Gallica. P. Hamb. 54 is a

letter of Serenus, a former decurion, and is probably the same man. His praenomen is only mentioned in one return: 42, 4

-Λουκιος Ιουλιος Σεργνος απο (δεκαδαρ)χη -

It has usually been assumed that the summus curator and the ex decurione are the same man (e.g. J. Lesquier, L'Armée Romaine d'Égypté, Cairo 1918, 537). Iulius Serenus is a fairly common name - there are five others on P. Hamb. 39 (nos. 19, 32, 42, 46 and 83) - and so this supposition is open to question. However, summus curator is a high rank and advancement from it to decurion would not be unusual. In that case it may be assumed, with due caution, that these two ranks were held by Serenus.

202. Cornelius Primus VIII 9370 = ILS 1357a Caesarea,

Mauretania Caesariensis

C(aio) Octavio Pudenti Caesio Honorato proc(uratori)  
Aug(ustorum) a censibus - Cornelius Primus d[ec(urio)  
alale Thrac(um) ex [str]atore [elius praesidi innocentis-  
simo.

The inscription refers to three emperors, which ties it down to the years 209 - 211. It is possible that d[up(licarius)] should be restored on line 2 instead of d[ec(urio)]. The inscription is erected presumably not just to record this promotion of Primus, but also his thanks to the procurator for his help in securing this advancement. Promotion to duplicarius would probably have not been considered worth the expense of an inscription, while in

addition the procurator is more likely to have played a part in the advancement of one of his stratores to the post of decurion than to duplicarius. The generally accepted restoration is therefore probably correct, but must be treated with reservation.

203 - P. Dura 100 and 101

214. These two documents are complete rosters of cohors XX Palmyrenorum in 219 and 222, but unfortunately several entries are now illegible. The importance of the rosters is assessed in the discussion of the auxiliary career. Most soldiers held the same rank in 222 as they had done three years previously; these soldiers are not discussed below, but are considered in the sections on the career or the posts. In the ensuing cases only actual changes of rank are discussed. The soldiers are arranged in ascending hierarchical order with the name of the soldier followed by the reference number, the century or turma in which he was serving, his rank, and the date of his enlistment.

203. Aurelius Azizus

100 xxv 6	7 Mariani	212 - 214
101 xxxviii 18	T Demetri dispo(it)	214

Azizus was promoted from pedes to eques between 219 and 222. He had between 5 and 8 years service when the advancement was made. This may have been due to the unusual conditions of the time - most equites appeared to have served for 10 years or more - of the excellence of this particular soldier.

## 204. A. Abedsalmas Ierhaei

100	xiv	4	7	Antonini		214
101	xliv	14	7	Antonini	dromedarius	214
					ad op(inionem) stip(endii)	

This soldier was one of a number who must have been promoted from the centuries to serve as dromedarii between 219 and 222, though the fragmentary state of the documents prevents more than two names being known. All the dromedarii had previously been pedites in this unit and all continued, apparently, to be carried on the books of the centuries.

## 205. A. Macrinus Maximus

100	xviii	12	7	Castrici		212
101	xliv	7	7	Antonini	prior dromedarius	212

This pedes was promoted to dromedarius with between 7 and 10 years service, having enlisted two years before Abedsalmas Ierhaei who made the only other known such advance (204). There appear to have been quite a number of similar promotions in the same years though decay of the papyrus has destroyed much of the evidence. Like the other dromedarii this soldier continued to be carried on the books of a century.

## 206. Aurelius Domitius

100	xv	3	7	Antonini		215
101	xxx	15	7	Antonini	sin[g]ul(aris)	215

Domitius was promoted from pedes to singularis in the same century between 219 and 222. At the time of his advancement he had only 4 to 7 stipendia,

though this did not appear to be unusual for singulares.

207. Ulpus Gaianus

100 xl 23	T Octavi	214
101 xxxviii 28	T Octavi sesq(ui)licarius)	214

In the earlier entry Gaianus is called A[ul]rel . . . . s Gaia[n]us, but the year of enlistment and the turma is the same and there seems to be no reason to suppose that the two entries are not referring to the same soldier - the name Aurelius tends to be dropped from all the entries of 222. If this is the case, in the three years between 219 and 222 Gaianus was promoted from eques to sesquiplicarius. He had between 5 and 8 years service, a rather low total but which is paralleled for a sesquiplicarius turmae (101 xxxvi 20).

208. A. Aelius Licinius

100 xxxiii 17	T Zebida	209
101 xxxvi 18	T Demetri ad hord(eum) dupl(iciarius)	209

Licinius was promoted duplicarius between 219 and 222 in a different turma from that in which he had been serving as an eques. He may have held an intervening post, though if he had the maximum time allowable for this post - three years - was probably rather short for this cohort. The promotion is therefore perhaps more likely to be direct. He had between 10 and 13 stipendia at the time of his advancement.

## 209. A. Themarsus Zebida

100	xli	25	T Antonini	ad opinio(nem)	198
101	xli	13	T Antonini	sig(nifer)	198

In 219 Zebida does not appear to have held a post - ad opinionem was probably a duty or possibly an ad hoc position. Between the compiling of the two rosters he had been appointed signifer of the turma in which he was enrolled. He had at that time between 21 and 24 years of service.

## 210. Iulius Soemus

100	vii	10	7 Marci	sing[ul(aris)]	204
101	xii	24	7 Marci	[ol]fficio	204

Soemus, a singularis with 15 years service in 219, held a position in the officium three years later. The nature of his new position is not clear, but it was presumably a promotion.

## 211. A. Domitius Proculus

100	xl	12	T Octavi	offici[o]	204
101	xl	19	T Octavi	vexil(larius)	204

Presumably in 219 Proculus was some kind of clerk in the officium of the cohort. In the next three years he was promoted vexillarius, having between 15 and 18 stipendia.

## 212. A. Ulpus Silvanus

100	xl	1	T Octavi	Par[ithia]	203
101	xl	9	T Octavi	vex(illarius) ?	203

Silvanus appears to have been promoted to the post of vexillarius between the years 219 and 222, when he

had 16 to 19 stipendia. In 219 he was on duty in Parthia, apparently as an ordinary soldier. There were two vexillarii in the turma of Octavus in 222 (cf. 210), but it is possible that Silvanus was in some way attached to a century if the reading of Z is correct.

213. A. Zabathes Malchi

100	xxxix	16	T Octavi	Chafer Ay[ilr]	vex(illarius)	201
101	xxxix	19	T Octavi	ād'mamm		201

In 219 Malchi, an equus, was vexillarius of the detachment of the cohort stationed at Chafer Avira. In 222 no rank was attached to his name, only the enigmatic ad mamm, an annotation only attached to cavalrymen. It is possible that vexillarius was a temporary appointment as the editors of P. Dura suggested (Dura Final Report V Part I, 33) or Malchi had been demoted, or he was waiting for his next appointment. There is insufficient evidence for the reason to be known, but note 214 below.

214. A. Zebidas Eglā

100	xxxix	9	T Octavi	vex(illarius)	201
101	xxxix	14	T Octavi	Chafer A(vira)	201

Eglā in 219 was one of the four vexillarii in the turma of Octavus. He had 18 years service. Three years later he appears to have been an ordinary equus stationed at Chafer Avira. The implications of this are not clear, but note 213 above. It is a coincidence that both soldiers had 18 stipendia, but it would be an even greater coincidence if

they had both been demoted!

215. ....us Petosiris P. Mich 164 = CPL 143 = Daris 27  
lines 4 - 6

.....us Petosiris  
[G]riato [e]t Seleueo c[o](n)s(ularibus), [f]actus dec(urio)  
ex sesq(uipticario) alae (221)  
]br Attico et Praete[ri]tato co(n)s(ularibus) a Basileo  
p[raef]ecto Aeg(ypti) (242).

I have adopted the reading as given by Daris.

Petosiris enlisted in an unnamed auxiliary unit in 221 and by 242 had risen to the rank of sesquiplicarius of an ala. He was then promoted by the prefect of Egypt to the post of decurion of an ala. There is a similar promotion recorded on the same document (216) and also three promotions from eques legionis (153, 154 and 155).

216. Antonius Ammonianus P. Mich. 164 = CPL 143 = Daris 27  
lines 7 - 9

A]ntonius Ammonianus  
] Maximo et Urban[o] c[o](n)s(ulibus), factus dec(urio)  
ex sesq(uipticario) alae (234)  
a Basil]eo y(iro) p(erfectissimo) p[raef]ecto Ae]g(ypti)  
III kal(endas) Novembr[is] Attico et Pr[ae]textato co(n)s(ul-  
ibus) (242).

The reading given by Daris has been accepted here. Ammonianus enlisted in 234 in an unknown auxiliary unit and in the following eight years rose to the rank of sesquiplicarius alae. He was then advanced to the post of decurion in an ala. His few stipendia may be contrasted with his precursor on the document (215), who had 21 stipendia when promoted from the same post to the same rank, presumably in the same ala. There are also



three other advancements recorded on this document (153, 154 and 155).

217. ...lius Hierax P. Mich. 164 = CPL 143 = Daris 27  
lines 10 - 12

....lius Hierax  
cos factu]s d[e]l[et]o(urio) ex dup(licario) alae Gall(icae)  
Gor[d]ianae  
a Basileo praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti) ..] Deç(embres) A[tt]ico et  
Praetexta[to co(n)s(ularis)] (242).

The reading of the document as given by Daris has been accepted here. In 242 Hierax was advanced from the post of duplicarius in the ala veterana Gallica to decurion in an unnamed ala. Unfortunately his year of enlistment is missing from the remains of the papyrus. For other promotions on the same document see 153, 154, 155, 215 and 216.

218. L. Sulpicius Proculus AE 1904, 10 Gardun

Minervae Aug(ustae) s(acrum) - L(ucius) Sulpicius Proculus  
actarius coh(ortis) VIII Vol(untariorum) ex adiutore corn-  
iculariorum co(n)s(ularis) l(ibens) p(osuit).

Proculus was a soldier in one of the cohorts of citizen volunteers stationed in Dalmatia. He was promoted from the post of adiutor of the cornicularius of the consular governor of the province to actarius of his unit, the cohors VIII Voluntariorum. The lack of filiation, tribe and origo suggests that the inscription belongs to the second half of the second century or possibly a little later, but possibly not too much later since the phrase ex adiutore corniculariorum cos. is given in full.

219. P. Bennius Egregius III 12679 Doclea

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Epone regin(ae) genio loci -  
P(ublius) Bennius Egregius mil(es) coh(ortis) Vol(unt-  
ariorum) adiut(or)I princ(ipis), b(ene)f(iciarius)  
co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit).

The inscription is probably dated to the second half of the second century or the early third since the filiation, tribe and origo are omitted. Egregius was a soldier in a cohors Voluntariorum in Dalmatia. This was probably the cohors VIII Voluntariorum, the only one known to have been in this province. He was promoted from the post of adiutor principis to be beneficiarius of the provincial governor. Domaszewski (pp. 34 and 56) considered that his former post must have been on the staff of the princeps of a legion, ignoring the fact that there was probably no legion stationed in the province when the inscription was erected and the existence of a centurio princeps in the auxiliary cohorts. It is, however, unlikely that he was adiutor to the latter officer, but since he was later promoted beneficiarius consularis he was probably on the staff of the princeps praetorii. His subsequent promotion need be the occasion of no surprise since the auxilia did provide some staff for the governors of non-legionary provinces, and in any case this particular soldier was a member of a citizen cohort.

220. Maximus AE 1926, 74 = JRS 14 (1924) 74 Ak Kilisse, Pisidia

Κονδία[νος Μα]ξιμω υ[ιω] εστρατευσαμ[ην] ΦΥ ΕΙΣ Χωρ(την) αμ[ιλ(ιαριου)]  
 οτ χωρ(την) Τ[...]. ΠΕΞΟΣ ΕΙΤΑ ΙΠΠΕΥΣ] σινδ(λ)αρ.ς κα[τα] βαίνω εις  
 τη[ν κατω] Μυρια[ν] ΩΣΑΝΝ σινδ(λ)αρ(ος) ΕΙΤΑ ΕΙ[λη]ς α τεκτορων,  
 ΕΙΤΑ[.....] ΡΙΟΥΣ ΕΙΤΑ ΑΙΒΡΑΡ(ΙΟΣ) [ΕΙΤΑ] ΑΚΤΑΡ(ΙΟΣ)ΚΟΡΝΙΚ(ουλαριος)

line 1 [ου] (λο)φυ(λαξ)? JRS

line 2 χωρ(την) τυριων? JRS

line 4 ΑΠΕΚΤΟΡΩΝ JRS

This soldier had a remarkable career according to this record which can be dated no closer than the second or third centuries. Maximus was a soldier firstly in a cohort, possibly the cohors I miliaria or an unnamed cohort whose initial letter was T. JRS suggested that ΦΥ could be restored to read [ου] (λο)φυ(λαξ) . Since the opening word εστρατευσαμ[ην] is simply indicating that the subject of the inscription is a soldier, before proceeding to give his career, it would be surprising to see custos armorum mentioned here. Maximus was in the first place a pedes in the cohort. He was then promoted to be eques singularis in the same unit, presumably on the staff of the governor since the auxiliary commanders do not appear to have had singulares of their own. With this rank Maximus was transferred to Moesia inferior. He was placed in an ala, which is usually considered to have been the ala Atectorigiana. The wording of the inscription suggests that the transfer as eques singularis was more

important than the move from a cohort to an ala. It is therefore possible that the occasion for the transfer was a change of governors, the governor of Pisidia being transferred to Moesia inferior, and having taken a liking to Maximus taking him with him. Maximus was next promoted to a post, the final five letters of which are apparently ....ΠΙΟΥΣ. The original editors of the inscription suggested that Y could have been a stone-cutter's error, and if this was the case the post could have been tesserarius. Unfortunately this is improbable since the next promotion was to librarius; there is no example of a tesserarius being promoted to librarius in either the legions or the auxilia or for that matter in any unit of the army. After librarius Maximus was advanced to actarius. This post was on the staff of the prefect of the unit, and therefore his previous posting was probably to the same officium. This particular promotion is unique in both the legions and the auxilia. Maximus finally appears to have become a cornicularius, presumably also on the staff of the prefect of the ala. This is a remarkable career in many ways - the early service as equus singularis followed by a change of provinces, a move from a cohort to an ala and finally an administrative career in the ala.

## 221. Ianuarius Potens XIII 7032 Moguntiacum

Iuliae Privatae sive Florentiae coniugi inconparbili  
 Ianuarius Potens decurio alae I Scublor(um), sin(gularis)  
 co(n)s(ularis) dulcissimae ob merita eius f(aciendum)  
 c(uravit).

Iulia-Privata has a signum, which is more common in the fourth century than the third, though it is possible that the inscription falls into the earlier period. Her husband was a decurion in the ala I Scubulorum. The wording of the inscription may suggest that Potens had previously been a member of the singulares consulares, and was placing this information on the sarcophagus for prestige purposes, though it is also possible that he was a decurion in the singulares consularis.

## 222. Aurelius Secundinus III 3350 Alba Regia

Aur(elio) Secundino quond(am) dec(urioni) co(ho)rtis I  
 Ulp(iae) Pann(oniorum), ex sing(ulari), stip(endii) XX  
 vix(it) ann(is) XLIII, Aur(elia) Secundina fili[a] et  
 Aur(elius) [The]o[phil]us et Aur(elius) Exsuperatus  
 [f(ili)]i].

This inscription stylistically falls within the third century - the name Aurelius, together with the lack of praenomen, filiation, tribe and origo all point to this date. Secundinus died when a decurion in the cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum miliaria equitata which was stationed in Pannonia superior in the second century, but by this time had been transferred to Pannonia inferior. He had previously served as a singularis, probably of the governor of the province since the auxiliary commanders do not appear to have had any soldiers of this rank attached to their staffs,

and was probably an equus singularis since he was promoted to decurion. He had enlisted at the age of 23 and had only 20 years service when he died. Promotion to centurion or decurion before the completion of 25 years service must have been common.

223. Aurelius Valens            III 12356            Gaurem, Moesia inferior

D(is) m(anibus) Aurelio Valenti statori aequiti ex  
singul(ari), vixit annis XXXVIII; Coelia Max[im]a marito.

The inscription of Valens is obviously third century in date. The soldier, who died at the age of 28, was an equus stator. Ex here presumably implies that he had previously served as a singularis, probably an equus singularis, rather than that Valens was a stator of a unit of singulares. If this is the case the promotion is unique. A veteran of ala II Aravacorum is also attested at Gauren (III 12359), but the unit was probably not stationed here, but elsewhere in the province.

224. L. Antonius Pudens        II 2912        (Herrera, Tarraconensis)

L(ucius) Antonius M(arci) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Pudens  
[e]q(ues) dupl(icarius) d(omo) Lugug[no .....]h[.....]

The detail of the name, together with the nominative suggests an early date, perhaps in the later first century or the second century. Duplicarius is usually found in connection with auxiliary units so it is probable that Pudens was a member of a cohort or ala. He may have been promoted from equus though it is possible that he was a duplicarius in a turma. His origin of Lugudunum prompted

Domaszewski (p. 54) to suggest initial service as a legionary, though this is really not necessary. Moreover it is not certain that he was an auxiliary since it is possible that he was a legionary cavalryman rewarded for a gallant deed by double pay (the equites legionis may have received double pay and not pay and a half which would in validate this argument but not disprove that he was an equus duplicarius in a legion recording his pay grade; cf. 225).

225. Sallustius Saturninus VIII 20251 Satafis

Dis Mauris [con]servatoribus et geniis Satafis - Sallustius Saturninus b(ene)f(iciarius) dup(licarius) ex quaestionario, templum de suo exornavit v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo).

The lack of praenomen, filiation, tribe and origo suggests that the dedication should be placed in the late second to third centuries. Saturninus was a beneficiarius duplicarius, probably on the staff of the provincial governor, having previously served as a quaestorius on the same staff. It is not clear why the post of beneficiarius is coupled with duplicarius, unless only the beneficiarius of the governor was of this pay grade, the others being below. In that case the rank of Saturninus would be clear. There were no legions stationed in Caesar-iensis, but there is no evidence that the governor drew his staff from III Augusta; every known member of his staff was an auxiliary. In spite of the fact that this soldier had Roman names there is no reason to suppose that he was other than an auxiliary - auxiliaries in this period would be

Roman citizens anyway. However, since Saturninus does not mention his unit of origin on his dedication the inscription must be used with caution.

226. VIII 21056

Caesarea

.... III b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) municipi suo candidatus eius.

The inscription is probably later second century or third century in date. The beneficiarius consularis has been chosen as a candidate for a centurionate, presumably by a consular hailing from Caesarea. The inscription is from the equestrian province of Mauretania Caesariensis. The governor of the province seemed to draw his staff solely from the auxilia of the province since no legionaries are attested in his staff. In that case this unknown soldier may also have been an auxiliary - consular became the normal title for the provincial governors used on inscriptions. On the other hand it is possible that the soldier was a legionary from Caesarea erecting this stone in his home town.

227. T. Attonius Fortio

XIII 6575

Osterburken

..... T(itus) Attonius Fortio (centurio) ex cornic(ulario) et Placidius Placidinus (centurio).

The inscription probably falls within the period second half of the second century to third century in date. Osterburken was the station of the cohors III Aquitanorum at this time. It is therefore probable that Fortio - and Placidinus - were centurions of this unit. It is



fairly usual to find auxiliaries with the tria nomina, and even more usual to find the name of the unit omitted when an inscription is erected locally, while legionaries were perhaps more likely to state the officer whose cornicularii they were. However, it is possible that the two were legionaries and this inscription must therefore be used with care.

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228. P. Aelius Valens VI 31151 c 1 Rome

This is a dedication by veterans retired from the equites singulares Augusti in 143, the soldiers having enlisted in 118. At the head of the right-hand column is the following soldier:

P(ublius) Aelius Valens dec(urio) f(actus) ex n(umero)  
eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aug(usti).

Domaszewski (p. 51) suggested that since this man is at the head of the column he was a duplicarius, citing instances of duplicarii appearing at the head of a column of veterans of this unit (VI 31141 c 1, 31150 b 1), though omitting one case where the duplicarius is low down the list (VI 31147 b 19). Speidel (p. 49) was more cautious and suggested that the soldier was probably a sesquiduplicarius or a duplicarius. By analogy with other auxiliary units it would seem more probable that a decurion in the equites singulares Augusti had been promoted from one of these two

posts than from any other.

229. M. Aurelius Lucillus      II 4147      Tarraco

M(arco) Aur(elio) M(arci) f(ilio) Pap(iria) Lucil[us]  
Poetovion(e), ex singularib(us) imp(eratoris), (centur-  
ioni) leg(ionis) I Adiut(ricis), leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae),  
leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), leg(ionis) XIII Gem[inae],  
leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae), leg(ionis) VII Gem[inae]  
hast(ato) pr(iori) annor(um) LX stipendiorum XXXX, Ulpia  
Iuventina uxor et heres marito plentissimo et indulgent-  
issimo faciend(um) curavit.

Lucillus was a native of Poetovio and had the tribe of that city. Since Lucillus' father had the praenomen Marcus he could have been given the citizenship and settling down in Poetovio his son may have taken the tribe of that place. The inscription can therefore be dated probably to the early third century. Lucillus served in the equites singulares Augusti which were stationed in Rome. No post is mentioned and it is possible that decurio should be understood. He was appointed to a centurionate in I Adiutrix at Brigetio. Centurionates in five different legions followed before his death at the age of 60 while still serving. His rank after 40 years service was still only hastatus. His career, however, demonstrates the favoured position of the equites singulares as the body-guard of the emperor since no auxiliaryman is known to have been promoted to a legionary centurionate without first having served as decurion, which Lucillus does not appear to have done.

230. VI 31185

Rome

..... se ..... fac(tus) dec(urio) ex tablifero.

The post of tablifer is only known in connection with the equites singulares Augusti. This promotion does not help determine the position of the tablifer in the hierarchy of soldiers in the equites singulares Augusti, although Domaszewski (p. 51) considered that it did, since promotion to decurion seems possible from posts held by immunes in the auxilia as a whole (cf. 197, 202, 221 and 222). Domaszewski suggested that the tablifer carried the tabula of the unit. If this is correct the soldier will almost certainly have been a principalis, and promotion to decurion would therefore have been normal.

231 - VI 228

Rome

232. This is a list of soldiers in what appears to be a turma of the equites singulares Augusti in 205. Towards the end of the list are found the following soldiers:

231. Aurelius Ianuarius            lines 17 - 18

Aur(elius) Ianuarius) factus dec(urio) in provinc(ia)  
Syria Foinicia.

232. Aurelius Maximinus            lines 18 - 20

Aur(elius) Maximinus fact(us) dec(urio) in pro(vincia)  
Dalmatia.

These two soldiers were presumably members of the turma of equites singulares Augusti and were promoted decurion while the unit was serving in the province mentioned (cf. 58). The post of decurion may have been in the same

unit, though it is possible that they were in units in the named provinces.

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233. Claudius Marcus                      III 1783                      Narona

Deo) s(ancto) I(ovi) O(ptimi) M(aximi) aeterno sacrum -  
 Cla(udius) Marc(us) fac(tus) ex option[e] beneficia[r(ius)]  
 ..... RCIONI.....

The inscription is probably third century in date. Narona is in Dalmatia, a non-legionary province, and it is therefore possible that the soldier was an auxiliary and not a legionary. However, optio is more normally used in connection with the latter rather than the former so the converse could apply. Domaszewski (p. 205) restored cos., for which there is no evidence on the stone, after beneficiarius. It is probable that if the soldier was a legionary he was not promoted beneficiarius legati (or to any lower staff post) since that post seems to be about the same rank as optio, or perhaps a little higher, and therefore it is probable that his advancement was to the staff of the governor. The same may apply if he was an auxiliary. It may be noted that there is no parallel for this promotion.

234. Oclatinus Adventus                      Dio 79, 14                      P 247 = D 324

ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΕ ΟΥΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΗΤΙΩΝΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΔΟΥΕΝΤΩΝ ΕΝ  
 ΤΟΙΣ ΘΙΟΠΠΑΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΑΙΣ ΝΕΜΙΣΘΟΦΟΡΗΚΟΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ  
 ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΑΞΙΝ ΛΕΛΟΙΠΟΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΡΑΥΜΚΤΟΦΟΡΟΥΣ ΤΕΛΕΣΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ  
 ΠΡΟΚΡΙΤΟΝ ΑΠΘΕΙΧΘΕΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΥΣΙΝ  
 ΠΡΟΚΑΧΘΕΝΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΑΡΧΟΝ,  
 ΜΗΘΟΡΑΝ ΥΠΟ ΓΗΡΩΣ ΜΗΤ ΣΥΝΑΔΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙΝ ΥΠ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΑΣ  
 ΜΗΤΕ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ ΤΙ ΥΠ ΑΠΕΙΡΙΑΣ ΔΟΥΑΜΕΝΟΝ, ΑΠΕΦΗΝΕΝ.

For a complete list of references to Oclatinus Adventus  
 see Pflaum and Dobson.

Adventus started his career as a speculator. It is uncertain whether he held this post while member of the praetorian guard or on the staff of a provincial governor, though the latter is probably to be preferred. He was promoted to be centurio frumentarius and then princeps peregrinorum. A procuratorship followed and finally he became a senator, consul and prefect of the praetorian guard. He is thought to have been about 70 when made praetorian prefect. Adventus had an impressive career, one of those which must have acted as an incentive to many aspiring soldiers.

235. III 644

Philippi, Macedonia

.... Aemilius .... f. milit. tesse ..... nuc. praef. c....  
 .....  
 tesse[rarius ann..... cor]nuc. praef. c[oh. ann... CIL

The soldier clearly served as a tesserarius (the word may not have been written out in full) and at a later stage as a cornicularius of a prefect. This latter officer may have been a prefect of a cohort, but on the other hand he may have been a praefectus castorum. The former is

possible considering that no legions were stationed within Macedonia, but the soldier may have died while he was travelling, or he may have retired to this city. Again, the inscription does appear to be early in date and therefore probably refers to a legionary.

236. V 898

Aquileia

REIMOCA MILITAVIT IN  
 CLND MILIARENSE AN //  
 FACTUS BF TRIB ANNI //  
 INDE TRANSLATUS IN  
 L AV FACTUS SIGNIF AN  
 XII NATUS IN DARDAN  
 VICO ZATIDIS DEDIT NOM  
 EN MILITIE ANNOR XXIII  
 VIXIT ANIS LV AuR MAXIMI  
 ANUS NEPVS AVVNCVLO  
 MERENTI

[Au]re[li]us] Moca militavit in (cohorte) Claud(ia) miliarense an(nos) [VIII, flac[t]us b(ene)f(iciarius) trib(uni) ann(os) IIIII, inde translatus in l(egionem) Au(gustam) factus signif(er) an(nos) XII, natus in Dardan(ia) vico Zatidis, dedit nomen militie annor(um) XXIII, vixit an(n)is LV. A[u]r(elius) Maxi[m]ian[us] nepos avunculo merenti. CIL

The date is uncertain though it is probably third century or later. The restoration of the units is uncertain. It is clear that Moca was a soldier, probably originally in an auxiliary unit. There he appears to have served as a beneficiarius to the tribune. Only military cohorts were commanded by tribunes which agrees with the title of the unit in which he apparently served - CLND MILIARENSE. He was then transferred into another unit. CIL has credably restored this as legio Augusta, though the gross abbreviation makes the exact name uncertain. He app-

ears to have served for 12 years as signifer in this unit. He died at the age of 55 after 23 years service. If these figures are correct he enlisted at the late age of 32. The uncertainty of the reading - and expansion - of this inscription render it impossible for use as good evidence for careers.

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237. XIII 7556 = ILS 2649

Boudobriga

..... princeps II leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), an(nos)  
LXIII stip(endia) XLVI milit(aria) XVI, curatoria  
veteran(orum) IIII, evocativa III.

A career 16 years with the colours, four with the vexillarii and then evocatio must belong to the period of Augustus or Tiberius. Moreover the career clearly points to service in the legions - a praetorian would have been made an evocatus on the completion of his 16 years service. Domaszewski himself recognised that this soldier must have been a legionary (p. 75). The other known curatores veteranorum also appear to have been legionaries (103, 106 and also probably Pais 677). The soldier had 46 stipendia, 23 of which appear to have been spent as a centurion.

238. C. Statius Celsus

III 6359 add p. 1491 = ILS 2665

Risinium

C(aius) Statius C(aii) f(ilius) Serg(ia) Celsus evoc(atus) Aug(usti) donis donatus bis corona aurea torquibus phaleris armillis ob triumphos Belli Dacici ab imp(eratore) Caesare Nerva Traiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico) Dac(ico) Parthico optimo, (centurio) leg(ionis) VII Geminae in Hispania, t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit) et epulo dedicavit.

As an evocatus, who may have begun his career as a member of the praetorian or the urban cohorts, Celsus was decorated for his part in the Dacian war of Trajan. He was later promoted to a centurionate in VII Gemina stationed in Tarraconensis.

239. XI 2112

D 551

Clusium

.... prim(o)pilulo leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae), [(centurioni) leg(ionis) ..] ex (trecenario) et coh(ortis) X praef(ect)or(iae) et ...] urb(anae) et statorum et [... vig(illum), evoc(ato) Aug(usti), donis do[nato o]b bellum Dacic(um) to[rquibus] armillis phaler[is] coron[is] aurea et ab imp(eratore) Traiano Hadr[iano] Augusto hast[is] pura ....

This soldier was decorated first in Trajan's Dacian wars and again about 30 years later in Hadrian's Jewish war, possibly as a primuspilus, his last known post. His career is similar to those other evocati from the praetorian cohorts in this period (e.g. 11, and also 12, 13, 14 and 16).

240. L. Velius Prudens

XI 7093a

Tuder

[Imp(eratori) Caesari divi [Tra]iani Parthici fil(io), divi Nervae nep(oti) [Tra]iano Hadr[iano] Aug(usto) p[ro]ntif(ici) max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate) IIII, co(n)s(uli) [III] L(ucius) Velius L(uci) f(ilius) Clu(stumina) Prud[en]s] (centurio) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis) (trecenarius), [prin]ceps castror(um), (centurio) coh(ortis) X praetoriae, (centurio) coh(ortis) X urb(anae), (centurio) coh(ortis) IIII vig(illum), evo[c(atus)] A[ug(usti)], t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit). [L(ocus)] datus [d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)]. (120)



Prudens had a normal career in the centurionate with the exception of his holding the post of princeps castrorum, which was probably connected with the praetorian cohorts. He was therefore probably a praetorian by origin, an assumption reinforced by the fact that there are no known examples of legionary evocati holding any of the centurionates in Rome.

241. M. Tillius Rufus      X 5064 = ILS 2667 = D 439      Atina

M(arco) Tillio M(arci) f(ilio) Ter(entina) Rufo (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX Val(eriae) Vict(ricis) ex (trecenario) coh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis), principi castror(um), eq(uo) p(ublico) exor(nato) et donis donato ab imp(eratoribus) Severo et Antonino Aug(ustis) hasta pura corona aurea, (centurioni) coh(ortis) XII urb(anae) et I vig(ilum), evoc(ato) Aug(ustorum) divor(um) M(arci) Antonini et Commodi, patrono municipi, liberti, l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum), dedicavit ipse X kal(endis) Iun(iis), imp(eratore) Antonino III co(n)s(ule) et dedit sportulas dec(urionibus) HS XII n(ummum), plebi urb(is) HS VI n(ummum).  
(208)

This career is very similar to that of L. Velius Prudens (240), who also held the post of princeps castrorum, and for the same reason, that is the connection between the post of princeps castrorum and the praetorian guard, it is probable that Rufus had been a soldier in the guard.

242. X 3900      Capua

...] evo[~~ca~~(~~to~~) Aug(usti), (centurioni) coh(ortis) ... vig(ilum)], (centurioni) coh(ortis) X [urb(anae), (centurioni) coh(ortis) ... praet(oriae)], donis don[ato ... coronis] aureis anulum [.....

This soldier had a normal career, holding centurionates in the Rome units after serving as evocatus

Augusti. There is no known case of an evocatus from the legions proceeding to the Rome centurionates so it is probable that this man was a praetorian.

243. M. Apicius Tiro XI 19 = ILS 2664 = D 47 Ravenna

M(arco) Apicio T(iti) f(ilio) Cam(iliae) Tironi p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XXII Primig(eniae) p(iae) f(idelis), praef(ecto) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apollin(aris), evoc(ato) a comment(ariis) cust(odiarum) optioni evoc(ato) salar(iorum) curat(ori) ab indicib(us), patron(o) mun(icipi) Raven(nae), pontif(ici).

Tiro had a distinguished career rising to primuspilus and praefectus castrorum. However, the details of his early career are far from certain. The description of his service as evocatus have been expanded differently by Domaszewski, Dessau and the Corpus. To these a fourth may be added.

Domaszewski: - evoc(ato) a comment(ariis) cust(odiarum), optioni evoc(atorum) salar(iario), curat(ori) ab indicib(us) -

Dessau: - evoc(ato) a comment(ariis) cust(odiarum), optioni evoc(atorum), salar(iorum) curat(ori) ab indicib(us) -

CIL: - evoc(ato) a comment(ariis) cust(odiarum), optioni, evoc(ato) salar(iorum) curat(ori) ab indicib(us) -

Also possible is: - evoc(ato), a comment(ariis) cust(odiarum), optioni, evoc(ato) salar(iorum) curat(ori) ab indicib(us) -

Clearly the correct interpretation of these posts is uncertain and in default of further evidence will always remain so.

Nevertheless one or two points may be made. Firstly Domas-

zewski invented the post of optio evocatorum which is otherwise unattested though it may have existed (Domaszewski, and Durry following him, considered that VI 215 referred to this post but this is far from proven; cf. Passerini, Le Coorti Pretorie 77). Tiro may have held the post of a commentariis custodiarum while an evocatus (cf. AE 1934, 143) or before holding that post (cf. the position of commentariensis in the legions), though the former is the more probable. If the Corpus reading is accepted it would appear that the description of his time as an evocatus is divided by the post of optio. Promotion from optio to evocatus is not unknown (5) but it is certainly unusual. In fact it would appear preferable for all the posts to refer to his position as an evocatus. It is probable that Tiro was a praetorian since most evocati came from these cohorts.

244. M. Herennius Valens            III 13360            Cibalis

D(is) m(anibus) M(arco) Herennio Tromentina Valenti Salona, evocato leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) eiusd(em), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Adi(utricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Acol(linaris), (centurioni) leg(ionis) iteru(m), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Adi(utricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) coh(ortis) V hast(ati) post(erioris), stip(endia) LV vixit annis LXXXV, M(arcus) Herennius Helius libertus et heres patrono b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uravit) h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eres) n(on) s(equetur).

This career probably falls within the period from the death of Hadrian to the death of Severus Alexander. Before holding his seven centurionates Valens was an evocatus in XI Claudia. It is not known whether he

was posted from the praetorian cohorts, or whether he rose through the ranks of the legion. Certainly there were soldiers from Dalmatia - even from Salona - in the praetorian cohorts at this time (cf. Passerini, Le Coorti Pretorie 148).

245. Atilius Primus            III 11129 = ILS 4309            Carnuntum

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dolicheno - Atilius Primus (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) ex evocato leg(ionis) X G(eminae) p(iae) f(idelis) ex viso pro salute sua et suorum v(otum) s(olvit) l(aeto) l(ibens) m(erito), domo Sergia Marsis.

Primus served as evocatus in X Gemina and then centurion in XIV Gemina, both legions being stationed in the same province, Pannonia superior. His previous service is not known.

246. C. Cuspis Secundus        III 3470 = ILS 2453            Aquincum

Marti Aug(usti) sac(rum) - C(aius) Cusp(ius) Secundus exercitator leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) pro salute militu(m) et suae, quod evocatus vovit, centurio solvit l(ibens) m(erito).

Secundus fulfilled the vow he made as an evocatus when he became centurion - and presumably exercitator - of II Adiutrix. This inscription could be used as evidence to support the doctrine that the praetorian cohorts supplied officers to train the legions, but there is no evidence to suggest that Secundus was ever in the praetorian cohorts.

247. Paternius Maternus        RIB 966                            Netherby

Deo sancto Cocidio - Paternius Maternus tribunus coh(ortis) I Nervan(ae) ex evocato Palatino v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Maternus had been a member of one of the Rome cohorts as Palatino demonstrates and he was therefore probably an ex-praetorian. His promotion may well have been direct, and can be compared to others (44, 45 and 248). The career of T. Flavius Maximianus (44) can be dated to the 220s and 230s and that of Maternus may be roughly contemporary.

248. Auruncius Felicissimus                      RIB 988                      Bewcastle

Sancto Coccidio - Aurunc(ius) Felicissimus tribun(us) ex evocato v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

This career is probably of about the same date as that of T. Flavius Maximianus (44). On the basis of comparison with two other promotions from evocatus in the praetorian cohorts to command of an auxiliary cohort this soldier had also probably been a member of the guard (44, 45 and 247). The promotion may have been direct, though this is not completely certain.

249. Tullius Romulus

IRT 920

Bu-Ngem

Iovi Hammon(i) red(uci) Aug(usti) sacr(um) - Tullius Romulus (centurio) ex ma[i]oriaris prae[posit]us ve[x]illationi ....

VI 32640, 11

Rome

[Coh(ors) V]

]Tullius A(uli) f(ilius) Cl(audia) Romulus Savar(ia)

A centurion, Munatius Pius, on this laterculus (VI 32640, 12) is also mentioned on one of 209 suggesting the two are close in date (in date (XI 32533 b 27)).

VI 341 = XIV 2789

Gabi

Herculi sancto sacrum - Tullius Romulus vet(eranus) et  
Venilia Eutyches eius cum Tullio Romulo filio eq(uo)  
Romano) v(otum) s(olvit).

These three inscriptions may refer to the same man, the first two almost certainly do. The post of maiorarius always appears to have been held by an evocatus Augusti which suggests that the Romulus of the first inscription was an ex-praetorian, which in turn agrees with the information supplied by the second inscription. Promotion from evocatus to centurion was usual, though only one other promotion is known from the post of maiorarius, and that was to command of an auxiliary cohort (44).

250. C. Granus Proculus VI 32520 b 2 Rome

line 25: Avito et Maximo co(n)s(ulibus) (144)  
line 27: evoc(atus) leg(ionis) C(aius) Granus Proculus Luca

This laterculus records the praetorians who had enlisted in 143 and 144 and who therefore retired in 160. Proculus clearly was asked to continue on the completion of his service, but was posted to a legion as an evocatus legionis, as was another soldier in the same cohort (251).

251. L. Salvius Adiutor VI 32520 b 2 Rome

line 33: Torquato et Attico co(n)s(ulibus) (143)  
line 36: evoc(atus) l[eg(ionis)] L(ucius) Salvius Adiutor  
Vercell(is)

Adiutor was recruited in the year before his colleague Proculus who retired in the same year, 160 (250). Adiutor was asked to stay on as an evocatus and was posted to a legion.