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## *The primipilares of the Roman army*

Dobson, B.

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THE PRIMIPILARES OF THE ROMAN ARMY

VOLUME II

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PROSOPOGRAPHY OF PRIMIPILARES.INUS

1. ACCEPTIUS FAUSTINUS XIII 8272 Cologne.

Accept [io ..]Fausti[no..]viro, p(rimi)p(ilaris),  
duc[...]ex varis vi[ctoris honorato?].

ACCEPTIUS, found fifteen times in volume XIII of the Corpus, and once in volume III, is clearly a 'manufactured' nomen, i.e. it is not a genuine form but is a cognomen made into a nomen by altering the ending. Its possessor here may well be a native of Lower Germany. There are two possible interpretations of the words viro and duc-. The first word may be part of one of the honorific titles, e.g. egregio viro, and the second be read duc[i]. Alternatively, as Mr. Birley has suggested to me, viro may here equal 'husband', the inscription being set up by the widow, and the other word be duc[enario]. In view of the fragmentary nature of the text there is no way of determining the correct explanation, though it is to be noted that both interpretations would make a third century date probable.

2. ACUTIUS † IX 5805 Cluentum.

D(is) M(anibus). M(arco) Acutio p(rimi)p(ilaris) filio  
Acutiano, eq(uiti) R(omano), Laur(enti) Lavin(ati), qui  
vixit ann(is) XXX, me(n)s(ibus) VI, dieb(us) XXV.

sic Laecania Martina coniugi carissimo et pio [c]um filis  
cohered(ibus) suis ex testamento aelius benae merenti  
posuerunt.

The inscription is set up to the son of a primipilaris, a Roman knight, by his wife and children. The inscription itself is assignable by the enumeration of the years, months and days of the man's life-span to some time after 150 or even 200. The origin of the knight, and that of his father, cannot be determined, the nomen occurring frequently outside Italy.

3. L. AEBUTIVS CERTVS. AE 1937. 185 Aquincum.

Primuspilus of II Adiutrix. The inscription is a dedication to the genius of his century by his optio. The fragment bearing the words L. Aeb. from Nova Fabrateria (X 5598) might conceivably be the same man. AEBUTIVS is given as the most likely expansion of AEB.

4. AELIVS AELIANVS. (aa) ILS 9478 Limboni, Epirus.

(a) III 3529 Aquincum.

(b) VIII 21486 = ILS 4495 Zuccabor.

(aa) τῷ κρατίστῳ Αἰλίῳ Αἰλιανῷ, δουκὴ ἐκ π[ρο]τεκτόρων,  
ἐπιτροπῷ τῆς Ἠπείρου καὶ Παννονιῶν ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ  
τὴν Ἰταλίαν, κηνοσεῖτορι ἐπαρχείας Νωρικοῦ, τὸ συνέδριον  
φωτικησίῳ [v] τῷ εὐεργέτῃ ψηφ[ίσματι].

(a) D(is) M(anibus). Memoriae P(ublii) Ael(ii) Martialis  
a(uon)d(am) vet(erani) ex c(astode) a(rmorum) leg-  
(ionis) patris et Flaviae Agathes matris, Aelius



Aelianus, praefectus leg(ionis) s(upra)s(criptae),  
 protector Aug(usti), parentibus carissimis, regressus  
 ad lares patrios f(aciendum) c(uravit).

- (b) Diis patriis et Mauris conservatoribus Aelius  
 Aelianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praeses provinciae  
 Mauretaniae Caes(ariensis) ob prostratam gentem  
 Bavarum Mesegneitisium praedasque omnes ac  
 familias eorum abductas votum solvit.

The praefectus legionis, in inscription (a) was clearly a native of Aquincum. He was the son of a custos armorum of the legion stationed there. He had therefore a military background, but not the advantages of one whose father had been a primipilaris or at least a centurion. His own ability had brought him to the post of prefect of his 'home' legion, and the fact that he was protector Aug., and thus datable to the reign of Gallienus or later, suggests that he was probably in fact a ducenarian prefect, in command of the legion. The question of his identification with the man of inscription (aa), suggested in PIR<sup>2</sup> A 129, has been dealt with by M. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire, no. 357. Through his kindness I have seen the proofs of that work. The decisive argument he brings against the identification is the tenure by the men of inscription (aa) of the sexagenarian post of censitor Norici at the beginning of his career. The primuspilus never holds a procuratorship in this grade. A cautionary note should be added that it is unlikely that the prefects of the legions after Gallienus were still being recruited from the primipilares as such,

but the evidence suggests that they were still recruited from centurions, who had had purely military careers. I must disagree with M. Pflaum in his identification of the men of (b) and (aa), however. Surely it is more probable that the legionary prefect, in an important post and with considerable experience, was promoted to the governorship of Mauretania Caesariensis, rather than the man who had held relatively unimportant low-grade posts. If the case of Clementius Valerius Marcellinus is accepted that would provide a parallel. However, with names so common there can be no certainty.

5. P. AELIUS APOLLONIANUS. (a) CIG 2792 Aphrodisias, Caia.

(b) CIG 2793

(a) [Πόπλιον Αἰλίον Ἰ]λαριανόν, [ἰ]ππικόν, Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Ἀπολλων[ι]ανοῦ πραιμιπιλαρίου υἱόν, Ποπλίου Αἰλίου [Ἰ]λαριανοῦ ὑπατικοῦ ἐγκον[ο]ν, πολλῶν ὑπατικῶν καὶ συνκλητικῶν συγγεν[ῆ], Πόπλιος Αἰλῖος Ἀπολλωνιανὸς ὁ πατήρ.

(b) Πόπλιον Αἰλίον Ἰλαριανόν, ἰππικό[ν], Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Ἀπολλωνιανοῦ πραιμιπιλαρίου υἱόν, Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Ἰλαριανοῦ ὑπατικοῦ ἐγκονον, πολλῶν συν[κλη]πικῶν καὶ ὑπατικῶν συγγενῇ, Τιβερία Ἰουλία Ἀντωνία Λ[η]τ[ω]ίς, μητρ[ὸς] καὶ μάμμη[s?] συνκλητικῶν, τὸν γλυκ[ύ]τατον υἱόν.

The date is after the reign of Hadrian, probably some time after, as the grandfather, a consular, is

hardly likely to have been the first of his family to obtain the citizenship. His son was a primipilaris, and one of the latter's sons was a knight. The wife of the primipilaris describes herself as 'mother of senators'. This opens two possibilities, that there were other sons who had become senators, or she had been married before. Either would certainly explain why the knight is called a relative of many senators and consulars, and it is of course possible that the reason he was not a senator was that he died before he reached the requisite age. Why the son of a senator became a primipilaris is difficult to say, but it may be as Mr. Birley has suggested to me that he sought and obtained a direct commission as centurion before his father was elevated to the Senate.

6. M. AELIUS CAESONIANUS DIONYSIUS. IX 951 Aecae.

D(is) M(anibus). M(arco) Aeli(o) Caesoniano Dionysio, p(rimi)p(ilari), Amastriano, ex eq(uite) R(omano), ann(is) LXV, patrono incomparabili, Caesoniani Hyacinthus et Apulus b(ene)m(erenti) fecerunt.

The origin is Amastris, in Paphlagonia. The date is uncertain, though there is a suggestion of the third century.

7. AELIUS CLAUDIANUS. VI 32987 Rome.

Primipilaris, died at the age of seventy-five.

The date would seem to be late rather than early, e.g. the phrase qui vixit is used.

8. P. AELIUS CRISPINUS. AE 1942-3. 69 Bir-Selmoun, Algeria.

[T]ovi Optimo] Maximo Salutari, [P(ublius) Ae]lius Crispinus, domo Flavia Solva, procurator) Augustorum prov(inciae) Mauretaniae Caesariensis, proc(urator) hereditatium, proc(urator) XX her(editatium), procurat(or) Mauretaniae Tingitanae, proc(urator) Hispaniae Tarraconensis, p(rimus) p(ilus) II, votum.

This man dedicated to the genius of M.

Aurelius at Volubilis as procurator of Maurentania Tingitana. (VIII 21826, cf. AE 1941. 115). As he was subsequently procurator Augustorum of Mauretania Caesariensis this post must have been held under Marcus and Commodus. A man from Solva in Noricum could belong to any of the corps from which the primipilares were recruited, but the other evidence for recruiting under the last three Antonines makes it probable that he was either from the ranks of the praetorian guard or had been directly commissioned as a centurion ex equite Romano. After a first echelon ducenarian post as a procurator of a province he held first a procuratorial governorship, then two posts at Rome, like the governorship in the second ducenarian echelon, and then he returned to Africa to hold the third-echelon governorship of Mauretania Caesariensis. The career has thus elements of the normal primipilaris procuratorial career and the 'urban' career, without falling definitely into either category.

9. AE/LUS FRONTINUS. III 10492 ILS 2457 Aquincum.

He is recorded as restoring the legionary baths

on the governor's orders as prefect of II Adiutrix. The date is A.D. 268. On 30 June in the same year Aurelius Frontinus was prefect of the legion, and in 267 Clemetinus Valerius Marcellinus held the post. The former has the title a(gens) v(ice) l(egati), which indicates that the prefect was now the commander of the legion. This is so in the case of Aelius Frontinus, as is shown by the fact that the legate of the legion is not mentioned between the governor's name and his.

10. AELIUS GERMANUS IGRR III 1372 Gerasa, Arabia.

Primipilaris.

11. P. AELIUS LONGINUS. III 7784 Apulum.

Primipilaris. The praenomen and nomen are given as restored in the Corpus from the surviving letter LI. It is a probable restoration in view of the large numbers of P. Aelii in the Danube provinces.

12. AELIUS LUCILIANUS. VI 3552. Rome.

A primipilaris, he is commemorated by his wife, and his son, Aelius Flavianus, an eques Romanus.

13. P. AELIUS MARCELLUS. (a) XI 5215 ILA 2650 Fulginiae.  
(b) III 7795 Apulum.  
(c) III 1181 Apulum.  
(d) III 1182

(a) P(ublio) Aelio P(ublii) f(ilio) Papir(ia) Marcello, cent(urioni) frum(entario), subprincipi peregrinorum, sic adstato et principi et primipilo leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) pie fel(icis), adlecto ad munera praef(ectorum) leg(ionum) VII Clau(diae) et primae Adiutricis, v(iro) e(gregio), flamine luculari, Lauren(tii) Lavina(tii), patrono et decurioni colonie Apulesium, patrono civitat(ium) Forofla(minensium), Fulgina(tium), itemque Iguvinorum, splendidissimus ordo Foroflam(inensium) cuius dedicat(ione) decurionibus et liberis eorum

panem et vinum et (sestertios) XX n(ummum) item  
municipibus (sestertios) IIIIn(ummos) dedit.

(b) P(ublio) Aelio P(ubilii) f(ilio) P[a]p(iria)  
Marcello, v(iro) e(gregio), p(rimi)p(ilari)  
ex praef(ecto) leg(ionum) VII Cl(audiae) et I  
Adiut(ricis), s[ub]principe peregrinorum),  
(centurioni) frum[ent]ario,] sacer(doti)  
Lauren[ti, patr(ono) Colo]niae, patro[no rerum  
publi]car(um) [F]ul[ginat]um.]

(c) P(ublio) Ael(io) Antipatro Marcello, eq(uiti)  
R(omano), dec(urioni) col(oniae) Ap(uli), fil(io)  
sic P(ubilii) Ael(ii) Antipri a mil(itis), II vir(i)  
Li col(onae) s(upra)s(cryptae), et adoptivo P(ublio)  
Ael(io) Marcello, v(iro) e(gregio), ex praefecto  
legion(um) VII Claud(iae) et I Adiut(ricis).  
Dades et Filetus auctor(es).

(d) Publicae Aeliae Iulianae Marcellae s(plendissimae ?)  
filiae P(ublii) Ael(ii) Iuliani eq(uitis) R(omani),  
flam(inis) et II viral(is) col(oniae) Ap(uli) et  
adoptive P(ublii) Ael(ii) Marcellii v(iri) e(gregii)  
ex praef(ecto) leg(ionum) VII Cl(audiae) et I  
Adiut(ricis). Dades et Filetus auctores.

The inscription XI 5216 is a fragmentary version of

(a). Marcellus, as his tribe and the context of the  
inscriptions show, was a native of Apulum. The title  
Pia Felix for the legion VII Gēmina indicates a date  
under or after the reign of Severus (Ritterling, RE XII  
col. 1637). The career is typical of the third century,  
with its close connection with the castra peregrina.  
His first recorded post was as centurio frumentarius, and  
Li it is not improbable that he was directly commissioned as  
such, as both his brothers were equestrians and municipal  
magistrates. After being attached to the camp as a  
centurio frumentarius he was given a position on the

camp staff as deputy to the princeps peregrinorum, and then was transferred to a legion. In it he held the three major centurionates, and then became prefect of two legions in turn. It is not necessary to think with Steiner, História III, I 1954, p. 94, that the phrase used in the Italian inscriptions, adlectus ad munera praefectorum legionum VII Claudiae et primae Adiutricis, meant that he did not hold the position, but merely discharged the duties. The other inscriptions describe him as praefectus leg. etc. There seems to be nothing more in the phrase in question than emphasis on the honours gained. His honours are numerous from the municipalities. Note the distinguished priesthood of Laurens Lavinas. In his home town he was patron and decurion, though there his family may already have had claims to distinction. Several towns in Italy thought him worthy of a patronage. Like most primipilares he was wealthy. He must have rather outshone his two equestrian brothers. The tenure of more than one legionary prefecture appears to have been a practice of the third century.

14. AELIUS PATERNIANUS. III 3469 Aquincum.

He dedicated to Mars as prefect of II Adiutrix a.v.l. and vir egregius, in the year 284. His gognomen shows a preponderance in volume XIII of the Corpus ( 9 out of 13 examples). This in itself, however is not good

enough evidence of origin.

15. P.AELIUS PRIMIANUS. VIII 9045 = ILS 2766 Auzia, Maur,  
Caes.

P(ublio) Ael(io) P(ublii) f(ilio) Q(uirina) Primiano,  
eq(uiti) R(omano), trib(un) coh(ortis) IIII Syng(am)b-  
(rorum), a mil(itiis), primop(ilo), trib(un) coh(ortis)  
IIII vig(illum), ex dec(urione) a(lae) Thac(um),  
pr(ae)p(osito) vex(illationis) eq(uitum) Mauror(um),  
defensori prov(inciae) suae, dec(urioni) III col(oniarum)  
Auz(iensis) et Rusg(iensis) et Equiz(etensis). P(ublius)  
Aelius Primus dec(urio) col(oniae) Auz(iensis) prius morte  
preventus quam ded(it) pat(ri) piissimo. Aelia Audi  
f(ecit) fil(ia) pat(ri) d(e)d(icavit) XIII Kal(endos)  
Mar(tios) p(rovinciae) CCXVI.

The date is A.D. 255. The tribe and context indicate that he was a native of the town. The career is perhaps the most difficult to unravel of all primipilaris careers. The first post held by the rules ought to have been the decurionate of the ala. This is in fact suggested by the use of ex which normally is used to indicate the corps of recruitment or some post in the early career to which particular importance is attached. The ala was stationed <sup>in</sup> at his home province of Mauretania Caesariensis, and he was presumably given a direct commission as decurion. Mr. Birley has pointed out to me the importance of the decurions in a province garrisoned only by auxilia. The career continues in direct order with the tribunate of a cohort, also in his own province, after which he was given the title a mil(itiis) without being required to fulfil the other two militiae. Then presumably he applied for a direct commission as centurion, became primuspilus and



tribune of a cohort of vigiles, after which he retired. This is not of course a full explanation. In some ways it would be easier to conceive of the commission as centurion as following the decurionate, but the career as an equestrian officer becomes then very difficult to fit in. The decurionate of an ala is clearly deliberately placed out of position to make it conspicuous, and it <sup>gh</sup> out logically to be connected with the command of the vexillation. The phrase defensor provinciae would seem here to be used in the military rather than the legal sense, and if in fact as decurion or ¶as praepositus of forces stationed in his home province Primianus had been involved in fighting this would seem a sufficient reason for placing these posts in a conspicuous position. It should be noted that there may be other posts between the decurionate of the ala and the tribunate of the cohort, the ex not necessarily implying direct progression from one post to the other. The career is one of the latest examples of the post of primuspilus in a career inscription. There are obvious weaknesses in this conception of the career, but I offer it ~~as~~ an interim statement, attempting to establish some sort of relation between this strange career and the ones with which we are familiar.

16. AELIUS SATURNINUS. AE 1899. 60 = ILS 9099 Lambaesis.

Schola[m cu]m imaginibus sacris, [ex larg]issimis stipendiis et liberalit[a]tib(us) quae in eos conferunt,

fecerunt officiales Aeli Saturnini praef(ecti) leg(ionis)  
III Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis): [M. Ba]ebius Speratus  
cornicul(arius) [item librarii quor]um nomina subiecta  
sunt, [ob quam sollemnit] atem decreverunt anulari n...  
veteran[is] suis [et iis quicunque pr]oficient singulis  
corniculario HS IIII m(illiis) n(ummum) [nulla dila]tione  
facta numerari et libraris[.....HS...M(ilia) n(ummum)..]

I give the full inscription for its bearing on the  
officium of the prefect of the camp, though I do not  
intend to discuss the details. The titles of the legion  
give the date as after 193 (Ritterling RE XII 1500).

17. AELIUS TRICCIANUS.

Literary.

Dio 78 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  
to the governor of that province, and  
was at this time commanding the Alban  
legion.

Dio 80. 4. 3.

Triccianus, however, lost his life  
because of the Alban legion, which  
he had commanded with a firm hand  
during Macrinus' reign.

SHA Vita Carac. 6.7.  
(Loeb Edition)

conscii caedis (Caracallae) fuerunt  
Nemesianus et frater eius Apollinaris  
Triccianusque, qui praefectus legionis  
secunae Parthicae militabet.

Dio 78, 13, 1.

Nevertheless, though he was praised  
by some for this, and not without  
reason, yet he incurred on the part  
of sensible people a censure that  
fairly counter-balanced it, because  
he gave some the rank of ex-consuls and  
immediately appointed them to the  
governorships of provinces ....

His nomen Aelius is attested on numerous mile-stones,  
which show him to have been governor of Lower Pannania. A  
list of these is given in PIR<sup>2</sup> A 271, to which should be

added the two of AE 1953. ff. Deccius is presumably a textual corruption. His appointment was clearly due to the urgent need of Macrinus for reliable legates. Like the others in the passage last quoted above he had presumably been given consular rank after adlection into the Senate, for the milestones bear the normal titles of a consular governor, which suggests that the appointment was made according to the forms. A partial parallel for this form of increasing the supply of senators may be found in Vespasian's adlection of numerous equestrians into the Senate, though of course there was an acute shortage after 69 of senators due to the civil wars. Macrinus is the only emperor known to have<sup>h</sup> who had not previously been praetorian prefect, adlected into the senate as a primipilaris which is <sup>a</sup> rather interesting contrast with the equestrian ~~proper~~ order. Triccianus was by origin a soldier, presumably a legionary, since he served on the governor's staff. At the time of Caracalla's death he was commander of II Parthica, a key post in this period. He continued to hold it for some little time, as there is reference to him holding it under Macrinus, and Agrippa was sent first to Pannonia. Probably it was his harsh treatment that enabled the prefect of II Parthica in 218, whom I suspect to have been P. Valerius Comazon, to bring his legion over to Elagabalus at a crucial time.

18. P.AELIUS VALENS EE VIII 739 = ILS 511 Sardinia.

...Curante P(ublio) Aelio Valente proc(uratore) eorum,  
praef(ecto) prov(inciae) Sardiniae, e(gregio) v(iro).

The inscription comes from a Sardinian mile-stone, dated to 248. He is also attested on EE VIII 743, 762 and 772. An Aelius Valens was tribune in the equites singulares in 237 (XVI 146), and they are generally agreed to be one and the same (e.g. PIR<sup>2</sup> A 275). The promotion has not been rapid between the tribunate and the second echelon ~~decenarian~~ procuratorship, particularly considering the usual speed of careers of tribunes from that corps. Marcius Turbo, Tattius Maximus and Sex. Bala~~us~~ Pudens are cases in point. As the tribune of the equites singulares had been the pick of the Roman tribunes, the fact that this man took eleven years to reach a second-echelon procuratorship seems evidence for a decline in importance of the Roman tribunes vis-a-vis. the castra peregrina, so important in this period.

19. AELIUS VICTOR. XVI 144 = ILS 2009.

Tribune of the equites singulares in A.D. 230.

20. PAULLUS AEMILIUS D.f. X 3381 = ILS 2696 Capua.

Paullo Aemilio D(ecimi) f(ilio), primo pilo bis, praefecto equit(um), tribuno c(o)hort(is) III praetor(iae), Senecio lib(ertus).

Tac. a. 2,11.

Caesar...equitem vado praemittit, praefuere Stertinius et e numero primipilarium Aemilius (A.D.16).

Tac. a. 4,42.

nam postulato Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dictas, testis Aemilius e militaribus viris (A.D.25).

The identification is probable. An Aemilius with the rare praenomen Paullus so early in the Empire could only be Italian. The career is typically pre-Claudian. Primuspilus bis at this period refers to the tenure of the ordinary primipilate for two years, or possibly in two legions, and is related to Republican usage. It is quite distinct from the practice, from Claudius onwards, of indicating the tenure of the posts of primuspilus and primuspilus iter by p.p. bis or p.p. bis legionum etc.. After two years he holds a cavalry command, presumably that referred to in A.D. 16. At this time he was a member of the numerus primipilarium, the pool of these men who had held primipilates at Rome, from which they could be detached for service in the field. After the cavalry command he was a praetorian tribune, there being no regular approach to that post at this time. He had probably already held this post, though he was still at Rome, when he appeared as a witness in A.D. 25. Vir militaris is a term used often by Tacitus to designate primipilares, including men who had held the praetorian tribunate.

21. AEMILIUS IUNCUS.

VI 32995

Rome.

D(is) M(anibus). Aemilius Iuncus et Varius Karus  
p(rimi)p(ilares) fecerunt lib(ertis) libertabusq(ue)  
suis posterisq(ue) eorum.

This is a difficult inscription. The expansion of p.p., inserted above the second line of the stone, as

primi)p(ilaes) is forced upon us by the absence of a suitable alternative. A. Stein thinks Aemilius is connected "nescio qua ratione" with Aemilius Tuncus, procurator of Syria (PIR<sup>2</sup> A354), but I see no necessity to connect the two.

22. L. AEMILIUS MARCELLINUS. VIII 2598, 2758, 2682=AE 1939. 37  
Lambaesis.

AE 1939. 37.

...L(ucius) Aemilius Marcellinus  
p(rimi)p(ilaris) aedem cum porticibus  
sua pecunia fecit et praeterea ad  
exornandam eam columnas ornatas n(umero)  
sex secundum voluntatem L(ucii) Aemilii  
Salviani eg(regiae) m(emoriae) v(iri)  
fratris sui ob amorem civium posuit et  
~~ded~~cavit.

Li

The approximate dating of this primipilaris is given by the probable identification of his brother with the tribune of a military cohort in Britain some time between 205 and 208 (VII 986, 1003 ILS 2618). As his brother reached at least the second of the tres militiae it seems more probable that Marcellinus was a centurion ex equite Romano than that he began in the ranks of the guard or of the legion. That the two brothers apparently both settled at Lambaesis is not in itself conclusive evidence for their originating there, though the phrase ob amorem civium suggests it.

23. AEMILIUS PACENSIS

Literary.

Tac. h. 1.20.

exauctorati per eos dies tribuni, e  
praetorio Antonius Taurus et Antonius  
Naso, ex urbanis cohortibus Aemilius  
Pacensis, e vigilibus Iulius Fronto.

Tac. h.1, 87.

Summa expeditionis Antonio Novello, Suedio Clementi primipilaribus, Aemilio Pacensi cui ademptum a Galba tribunatum reddiderat (Otho), permissa.

/n

Tac. h. 2, 12.

Blasph<sup>ie</sup>batur coeptis fortuna, possessa per mare et navis maiore Italiae parte penitus usque ad initium maritimarum Alpium, quibus temptandis adgrediendaeque provinciae Narbonensi Suedium Clementem, Antonium Novellum, Aemilium Pacensem duces dederit. sed Pacensis per licentiam militum vinctus.

Tac. h. 3, 73.

pauci militum virorum, inter quos maxime insignes Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger Didius Scaeva, pugnam ausi obtruncantur.

There is little to be said that is not indicated above.

He was faced with the dilemma of 69, and chose first naturally Otho, the praetorian nomination, and then, having no love for Vitellius, Vespasian. As he was cashiered by Galba with L. Antonius Naso and Antonius Taurus his original and strongest loyalty may have been to Nero - see under them. That he was a man of ability is shown by his choice for the naval expedition and his inclusion among the men named as maxime insignes. His binding by the soldiers was probably due to his attempts to enforce discipline. Suedius clearly indulged the troops in this respect - see under him. The origin of Aemilius Pacensis is unknown, His gognomen I have not been able to parallel in a check of the indices of the Corpus.

24. L. AEMILIUS PATERNUS. II 4461 = ILS 2661. Aeso, Tarraconensis  
sic L(ucio) Aemilio (Lucii) fil(io) Gal(eria) Paternio, p(rimi)

p(ilari), praef(ecto) fabr(um), (centurioni) leg(ionis)  
 VII G(eminae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae),  
 (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae), [P.P.](centurioni)  
 leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae), (centurioni) coh(ortis)  
 XI[. urb(anae)], (centurioni) coh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae),  
 (trecentario) leg(ionis) II Au[g(ustae)] et p(rimo)p(ilo),  
 ter donis donat(o) ab Imp(eratore) Traiano, torquibus,  
 armillis, phaleris, corona vallari, bis in Dacia, semel in  
 Parthia, Atilia L(ucii) Fil(ia) Vera bene de se merito.

The man commemorated here is almost certainly a  
 Spaniard from his tribe and place of burial. He had  
 begun an equestrian career with the post of praefectus  
fabrum a post on a senatorial governor's staff, and then  
 had transferred to the centurionate with a direct  
 commission. There is no reason to regard this as a  
 degradation, quite the opposite. After a number of  
 legionary centurionates he was transferred to Rome where  
 he held posts in the urban and praetorian courts. It is  
 noted in the main body of the work that centurionates in  
 the three Rome corps seem to have been reserved for ex-  
 praetorians and men ex equite Romano. The same applies to  
 the post of trecentarius, normally a Rome post, though in  
 this case and at least one other held with a legion. After  
 this latter post he became primuspilus in the same legion.  
 This marks the end of his career. He probably owed his  
 commission to Trajan, himself from Spain. His decorations  
 in the Dacian wars could have been won with any of the  
 legions I Minervia, VII Claudia, or XIII Gemina. None of  
 these are known to have taken part in the Parthian war, so  
 I suggest tentatively that it was as a praetorian centurion



he was decorated in this war. Ten and more years in the centurionate is easily compatible with what we know of the primipilaris career. Though Paternus achieved no outstanding success, he was no doubt content to have reached the primipilate, goal of the centurion's ambition. It has been suggested that his wife, ~~Attilia~~ Vera, was the daughter of the primipilaris Atilius Verus, and as he died as a primuspilus in 70 it is just possible. Paternus himself was no doubt already in his thirties before he began his military career, and he probably was about fifty when he reached the primipilate, for his decorations, which only cover part of his career, were gained over a period of fourteen years (102-16). The suggestion of Mommsen EE IV p. 242, that a centurial sign has disappeared after CCC, is based on a view of the post of trecenarius which cannot be maintained in view of the parallel of Laelius Fuscus.

25. L. AEMILIUS RUFUS. XIV 4500 Ostia  
Tribune of the fourth cohort of vigiles in A.D. 168.
26. AESIUS - Suetonius, Caligula 35.  
Primipilaris. His son, Aesius Proculus, was executed by Caligula. The name is given by Schulze, p. 159 note 6, as ~~E~~<sup>T</sup>truscan, and in view of this, the rarity of the nomen and the early period, I have considered this man probably to be Italian.
27. L. ALFENUS AVITIANUS. II 3399 add. = ILS 367 Acci.  
Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L(ucio) Aurelio Vero Aug(usto),

Armen(iaco) Part(hico) Max(imo) Med(ico), p(ontifici)  
m(aximo), tr(ibunicae) p(otestatis) V, cos(uli) III,  
L(ucius) Alfenus Avitianus p(rimi) p(ilaris), tr(ibunus)  
coh(ortis) III vig(ilum), XII urb(anae) ....

The date is 167, the giving of the tribunicia potestas as V apparently being an error for VII. He is in all probability the grandfather of the L. Alfenus Avitianus who was frater arvalis in 218 and 231. (VI 2104 = ILS 5039, VI 2108). The further family ramifications of this senator may be pursued with PIR<sup>2</sup> A 519 as a basis.

28. AIFENUS FORTUNATUS VIII 2632 = ILS 3374 Lambaesis.

Prefect of the camp of the legion III Augusta, probably under Marcus and Verus.

29. ALFENUS VARUS. Literary.

IV Supp. I p. 338 n. XLV P(ublius) Alfenus Varus trecenarius  
sic Augus<sup>ti</sup>. (A.D. 53 or 54).

Tac. h. 2,29. tum Alfenus Varus praefectus castrorum,  
deflagrante paulatim seditione, addidit  
consilium, vetitis obire vigiliis  
centurionibus, omissa tubae sono, quo  
miles ad belli munia cietur.

Tac. h. 2,43. accessit recens auxilium, Varus Alfenus  
cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam  
navibus transvectam obpositae cohortes  
in ipso flumine trucidaverunt.

Tac. h. 3,36. Publilium Sabinum praetorii praefectum  
ob amicitiam Caecinae vinciri iubet  
(Vitellius), substituto in locum eius  
Alfeno Varo.

Tac. h. 3,55. Vitellius at e somno excitus Iulium  
Priscum et Alfenum Varum cum quattuordecem  
praetoriis cohortibus et omnibus equitum  
alis obsidere Appeninum iubet.

Tac. h. 3,61.

creba transfugia tribunorum centurionumque; nam gregarius miles induruerat pro Vitellio, donec Priscus et Alfenus desertis castris ad Vitellium regressi pudore proditiōis cunctos exolverent.

/a

Tac. h. 4,11.

Alfenus Varus ignaviae infamiaeque suae superfuit.

I have not included all the references to Alfenus Varus, just the highlights. His recorded career began as trecenarius, and the fact that he was prefect of the camp sixteen years later indicates that he had not been selected for the Rome tribunates, with prospects of further promotion. He had military ability, of course, as every man must who reached the primipilate, and he was the senior prefect of the camp of three legions. He distinguished himself as an advisor and as an auxiliary commander in the civil wars. His appointment as praetorian prefect, however, clearly was called forth by the peculiar circumstances of the period, and we can hardly be surprised that he cracked under the strain.

30. SEX. ALINNIUS FESTUS

(a) IX 4271  
(b) IX 5361

Amiternum.  
Firmum Picenum.

Primipilaris. His nomen is otherwise unknown to us. Schulze's comments on it and related forms on p. 70 of his work show that it was a rare Italian nomen, and it is reasonable to reckon it therefore as one of those which never spread beyond the confines of a small district. This man is therefore probably Italian.

31. ALLEDIUS SEVERUS.

Suet. Claud. 26,3.  
Tac. a. XII 7.

Both authors recount how this man followed the example of Claudius and married his niece, and had the privilege of the presence of the Emperor and his wife at his wedding. Suetonius calls him a primipilaris, Tacitus and eques Romanus. In my view this latter title is the right of a primipilaris, not an additional honour which he may or may not gain, but this example is not conclusive, as the other interpretation cannot be disproved from it. His nomen is rare, but ~~its~~ relative ALLIDTUS is represented outside Italy, so he is no more than a probable Italian.

32. AMBLASIUS SECUNDUS. XI 710 Bononia.

D(is) M(anibus)...Amblasi C(ai) f(ili) M...cn Secund(1),  
 mil(itis) coh(ortis) [...b(ene)f(iciarii)?] tr(ibunus),  
 mil(itis) coh(ortis) I, tessera(rii) na[...op]tionis,  
 sign(iferis) coh(ortis) eiusdem... be]nef(iciarii)  
 praef(ecti) praet(orio), mcc Aug(ust-) [...(centurionis)]  
 I vig(illum), (centurionis) coh(ortis) XIIII urb(anae),  
 [(centurionis) leg(ionis) V Ma(cedonicae) ex tr(ecenario)  
 m a c f stre...hic I Adiutricis p(iae) f(idelis), Hilara  
 Cyrilla uxor marito optimo.

The restoration of Maec. Pelagon. by Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 248, is daring by any standards, and doubly so when the Corpus reads CN SECUND etc.. The nomen is rare, and Italian, Schulze p. 153, and if we assume a tribe to be following the filiation, be it Maecia or Menenia, the only place outside Italy possible is Pelagonia. The odds thus seem to be heavily in favour of an Italian origin. The unspecified cohort in which Secundus began his career was probably urban, as he was only a miles in the first praetorian cohort, though he had been on the tribune's staff in the previous cohort.

In the praetorian guard he held Domaszewski's three 'taktische Chargen' (op. cit., pp. 2-3.), was posted to the prefect's staff, became evocatus, went the round at Rome, ~~omitting~~ the praetorian centurionate, was trecenarius, legionary centurion, primuspilus. He died with ~~that~~ rank, as the majority of primipilares did. The style of the inscription, with its fullness of detail, lack of over-much abbreviation, mention of filiation and probably of the tribe, suggests strongly a second century date.

33. AMULLIUS SERENUS. Literary.

Tac. h. 1,31. praeceptum Amullio Sereno et Domitio Sabino primipilaribus ut Germanicos milites e Libertatis atrio accerserent.

This was part of Galba's attempt to crush Otho. Its chief interest lies in the clear evidence for the primipilares in the Emperor's entourage, members of the numerus at Rome.

34. Q. ANATIUS PAULUS. AE 1932. 57 Mourik, Syria.

... [ΣΤΕΛΛΑΤΕΙΝ]Α ΡΟΥΦΩΙ, ΒΕΝΕ[ΦΙΚ] [Α]ΝΤΙΣ[ΤΡΑ],  
 ΣΤΑΤΩΙ ΠΡΩΤΩΙ ΔΕΓΙΩ[ΝΟΣ] ὧ ΣΙΔΗΡΑΣ,  
 ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΑΤΙΟΣ ΡΑ...Ω Ν ΤΗΛΛΑΤΕΙΝΑ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ,  
 ΠΡΕΙ[ΜΟ]ΠΕΙΔΑΡΙΟΣ ΔΕΓΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗ[Σ]  
 ΙΔ[ΙΩΙ] ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΕΝΕ[ΚΕΝ].

The nomen ANATIUS is omitted by Schulze. The origo is however clear, as the tribe Stellatina is not known outside Italy. It is notable that these two brothers had held two of the three major centurionates of VI Ferrata at

the same time. The brother had started in the ranks of the legions, as he had been beneficiarius consularis.

35. L. ANCHARIUS PROCULUS. VI 3553 Rome.

Primipilaris, dead. He gives his origo as Fanum Fortunae. There is nothing in the inscription to suggest a date later than the first two centuries A.D.

36. P. ANICIUS MAXIMUS. III 6809 = ILS 2696 Pisidian Antioch.

P(ublio) Anicio P(ublii) f(ilio) Ser(gia) Maximo, praefecto Cn(aei) Domiti Ahenobarbi, p(rimi)p(ili) leg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae), praef(ecti) castror(um) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) in Britannia, praef(ecto) ex[er]citu qui est in Aegypto, donato ab Imp(erator) donis militaribus ob expeditionem, honorato corona murali et hasta pura ob bellum Britannic(um), civitas Alexand(iae) quae est in Aegypto h(ono)ris c(ausa).

The tribe of Antioch is Sergia, and this coupled with the fact that the inscription is set up by an outside body in Antioch makes the origin of Maximus almost certainly in that colony. The prefecture of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was in all probability the post of praefectus p[ro] iiviris of Antioch, held on the latter's nomination. The honouring of a great man by offering him this post (which he generally held by deputy) was not uncommon, cf. C. Caristanus Fronto (JRS III p. 253, no. 1 = AE 1913. 235 and p. 254 no. 2 = AE 1914. 260). The nomination of Maximus was a great honour for him. This post must interrupt or precede the military career of Maximus, as Ahenobarbus died in 40, and the former was prefect of the camp in Britain in 43. I think the latter is more likely, and that from this important municipal post Maximus was

commissioned directly as centurion, he being in all probability already in his thirties. It should be noted however that L. Gerellanus Fronto held a similar prefecture on behalf of the emperor between his primipilate and his prefecture of the camp. There is no reason to suppose that Maximus was commissioned directly as primuspilus, and the fact that he was decorated by Gaius militates against it, for XII Fulminate was not as far as we know engaged in any of Caligula's campaigns. After his primipilate he was promoted directly to the prefecture of the camp of II Augusta, and he was with it in 43. He was again decorated, though not on the scale of later prefects of the camp. There follows the appointment that has given rise to so much debate, the post of praefectus exercitu qui est in Aegypto.

Let us consider the position of the prefect of the camp outside Egypt at this time. From the time of Claudius onwards the prefect of the camp is not mentioned on Latin inscriptions without the name of a legion i.e. from that time each legion has a prefect of the camp. Nevertheless in literature there still occur cases of multiple-legion camps where reference is made to a praefectus castrorum without a legion being specified. I have suggested in my chapter on the prefect of the camp that in such cases the senior of the prefects of the

camp present with their legions was given the supervision of the multi-legion camp. This clearly applies also in Egypt, and the official there continues to be known as prefect of the camp even when there is only one legion stationed there. We know with some certainty that this praefectus castrorum was in fact the commander of II Traiana when that legion was the only one in Egypt. What we do not know is the establishment of the legionary camp of Egypt when there was more than one legion there. Under Caligula the legions were commanded by ducenarian prefects, as we learn from the inscription of L. Cirpinus. This is the first and last record of them. As far as the praefectus castrorum in Egypt is concerned we know that in 70 he ranked above the procurator of Iudaea, from the case of Litternius Fronto, and in 79-80 he was definitely ducenarian in rank, as is shown by the case of T. Suedius Clemens. Maximus held the post of praefectus castrorum in Egypt after the post of prefect of the camp, and as until the third century it is abnormal to hold two prefectures of the camp in succession it is fair to assume that the prefecture of the camp in Egypt at the time it was held by Maximus was slightly superior in rank, and carried a salary of at least 100,000 sesterces. The details of its rise to ducenarian rank and its relations to the prefectures of the legions are unknown to us. On the



whole, then, I prefer to interpret the post held by Maximus as the prefecture of the multi-legionary camp at Alexandria, of a rank intermediate between that of the ordinary prefect of the camp and the ducenarian rank which this post later possessed. This discussion should of course be read in conjunction with that in the chapter of the prefect of the camp as the interpretation of this career depends on the interpretation of the history and development of the legionary commands in Egypt.

37. ANNIUS CALLIMACHUS III 10503 Aquincum.

Primipilaris.

38. ANSIUS PROCULUS. III 14356. 5b Carnuntum.  
= ILS 9104.

Primipilaris, presumably of XIV Gemina. He is mentioned by a man with the same nomen, Ansius Archelaus, who is performing his lustrum. His nomen is found thirteen times in Volume X of the Corpus, and once in volumes XI and XII. I feel justified therefore in regarding him as a probable Italian. E. Vorbeck, Militärinschriften aus Carnuntum, Vienna 1954, no. 36 gives the date of the inscription as second-century. On the other hand Domaszewski thought the lustrum to be a third-century phenomenon, (Rangordnung, p. 187), and this ~~is~~ evidence from context should weigh heavier than the at times deceptive evidence from lettering and style. I take the inscription then as third-century, with a

query attached.

39. ANT- PAU- III 6019. 2

Ant Pau pp

The letters are inscribed on a ring. The most likely interpretation is Ant(onii) Pau(li) p(rimi)p(ilaris).

40. ANTONIUS HONORATUS Literary.

Plutarch, Galba 14.  
(Loeb Translation)

But when it was evening the leading military tribune, Antonius Honoratus, calling together the soldiers under his command, reviled himself, and reviled them for changing about so often ~~in~~ so short a time.

Antonius Honoratus, a praetorian tribune, was the leader in defeating the scheme to proclaim Nymphidius Sabinus emperor.

41. ANTONIUS LUCIUS. AE 1935. 98 Brigetio.

He dedicated as primus pilus of I Adiutrix to the legion's genius and eagle. The text is reproduced in the appendix on official primuspilus inscriptions.

42. L. ANTONIUS NASO (a) ILS 9919 = III 14387 ff, fff, k  
(b) ILS 253 = III 6693  
(a) Heliopolis.  
(b) Pusa ad Olympon Bithynia.

(a) [L(ucio)] Antonio M(arc) f(ilio) Fab(ia) Nasoni, [(centurioni) le]g(ionis) III Cyrenaicae, [(centurioni) le]g(ionis) XIII Geminae, [honorat]o albata decursione ab Imp(eratore), [praefecto] civitatis Colaphianorum, [primo] pilo leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), trib(uno) leg(ionis) I Italic(ae), [trib(uno) coh(ortis)] IIII vigilum, trib(uno) coh(ortis) XV urba[n(ae)], trib(uno) coh(ortis)] XI urban(ae), trib(uno) coh(ortis) IX prae]t(oriae), donato] ab Imperatore [erased] co]ron(a) [walla]ri, corona au[rea], vexillis [duob]us, ha[stis] puris] duobus, [primopilo iterum le]g(ionis) XIV Gem(inae), [trib(uno) coh(ortis)] I praet(oriae), et

pra[ep]osito supra [vetera]nos Romae m[o]rantium  
 [pluriu]m exercituum, proc(uratori) Aug(usto)  
 [Po]nto et B[ithyn]iae..urel....ia.

(b) (The titles of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian for the year 78)...vias a novo munierunt per L(ucium) Antonium Nasonem proc(uratorem) eorum.

Tac. h. 1,20.

Exauctorati per eos dies tribuni,  
 e praetorio Antonius Taurus et  
 Antonius Naso..

The outlines of Naso's career are clear, thanks to Domaszewski's restoration (Philologus LXVI, p. 161 f.) The text I have given for the main inscription, however, is that arrived at by Mr. Birley, in a draft for his projected work, The Fasti of Roman Britain. Naso, from his tribe and the fact that he was commemorated at Heliopolis was in all probability a native of that place. He served as centurion in an Egyptian legion before he came to XIII Gemina at Poetovio, from which post he went to the prefecture of the Colaphiani, who, as Ritterling, RE XII 1713, pointed out, were not far from Poetovio. This post, falling probably under Nero, was a survival from the earlier career. His first primipilate followed, and after it another survival, a legionary tribunate. This gives us a fixed point for dating the career, for the legion is I Italica the creation of which was dated by Ritterling, RE XII 1407-8, to 67, This dating must <sup>in fact</sup> ~~not~~ be too late, for Naso had held a tribunate in the vigiles and two urban tribunes, and was a tribune in the guard, at the time of his cashiering by Galba in late 68. This is clearly much faster than the

year we have suggested as the normal length of tenure of these tribunes by men of promise. We must allow for the circumstances of the time, and Nero's need to find trustworthy men. The evidence cited in the chapter on geographical origins shows that the men from Heliopolis were favoured under Nero, and it seems probable that the dismissal of Naso was due to his loyalty to the Julio-Claudian house. Presumably the first part of the inscription ILS 9919 antedated the advent of Galba, and ended with dona, given by Nero. Otherwise it is difficult to see who the emperor could be whose name was erased, not omitted, as would have happened if Nero was already damned and dead. This hypothesis, that the inscription ended originally with the dona, and was set up while Nero lived, I have not been able to confirm by inspection of the stone, but some such explanation is clearly necessary of the naming followed by an erasure.

Naso's career resumes with the post of primispilus iter, given to him by Otho. He presumably lost this post under Vitellius. Vespasian then gave him a second praetorian tribunate, and with it the supervision of the future colonists of Reate. This was in 70, and in 78 we find him procurator of Pontus and Bithynia, a first-echelon ducenarian procuratorship. Thus the favour and high hopes of his early career have vanished,

for the primipilaris cannot afford to virtually waste ten years. It may well be, as H.G. Pflaum suggested in his thèse complémentaire, no. 36, that it had been Naso's loyalty to the Julio-Claudian house that caused his first dismissal, and thereafter he failed to gain similar favour because of his being obliged like so many other good soldiers to change loyalties constantly. The emperor who awarded him the privilege of the albata decursio was presumably Nero, whose name was omitted as it would be mentioned later in the inscription. The whole career is a most interesting example of the way a career could be affected for good or ill by a violent disturbance of the status quo.

43. ANTONIUS NOVELLUS                      Literary.

Tac. h. 1,87.              Summa expeditionis Antonio Novello,  
Suedio Clementi primipilaribus permissa..

Tac. h. 2,12.              Quibus (the maritime Alps) temptandis  
adgrediendaeque provinciae Narbonensi  
Suedium Clementem, Antonium Novellum,  
Aemilium Pacensem duces dederat...  
Antonio Novello nulla auctoritas.

The story of the contest for the effective leadership of Otho's naval expedition may be studied under Suedius Clemens. This is all we hear of the unfortunate Novellus, and we do not know whether his lack of authority was due to weakness of character, or his attempts to enforce discipline. He was one of the numerus of primipilares at Rome, so prominent in these wars.

44. M. ANTONIUS PROCULUS XIV 4388 Ostia.

Tribune of the sixth cohort of vigiles and  
praepositus vexillationis at Ostia in 211.

45. L. ANTONIUS SILO VI 38932 a Rome.

Primipilaris. He is identified with the dux  
sagittariorum, the Latin form of the title of the officer  
mentioned in Josephus, bell. Iud. 3, 486, in PIR<sup>2</sup> A 877  
add., but the names are not uncommon, e.g. there is an  
equestrian of the same names, II 4138 = ILS 2715. I am  
unwilling therefore to accept this identification.

46. Ti. ANTONIUS TAURUS AE 1939. 55 Helopólis.

Divo Vespasian [o] Aug(usto) Antonia[e] Ti(berii)  
f(iliae) Pacata et Priscilla ex testamento Antoni  
Tauri p(rimi)p(ilaris) pa[tris?]

Tac. h. 1,20. exauctorati per eos dies tribuni, e  
praetorio Antonius Taurus et Antonius  
Naso...

The reading of the inscription given above was  
arrived at by Mr. Birley in the light of pure reason,  
and has been confirmed by H. Seyrig, who obtained  
photographs of the stone from a member of the Lebanese  
department of antiquities which both Mr. Birley and I  
have seen. The main differences from the reading in  
L'année épigraphique are the recognition that the stone  
originally read, VESPASIANO, ANTONIAE, and that the  
expansion p(osuerunt)p(io) a(nimo) is discarded for  
the one given above. The case for the identification  
of the two Antonii Tauri is as follows. The period is

the same. The names are admittedly common, but the association with Heliopolis is significant in view of the number of primipilares from that city active under Nero, L. Antonius Naso, Gerellanus Fronto and his brother Gerellanus, C. Velius Rufus, and the unknown of III 143971. Further, the literary Antonius Taurus was cashiered at the same time as L. Antonius Naso, probably for similar reasons, and an Antonius Taurus, who like his fellows from Heliopolis, had been favoured by Nero, and was an object of suspicion therefore to Galba, was cashiered by him, and retired therefore to Heliopolis would fit in completely with the evidence. If the restoration p(rimi)p(ilaris) is accepted the identification becomes at least as easy to accept as the existence of two primipilares at the same time, one of whom was cashiered at the same time as a man from Heliopolis, the other of whom retired to Heliopolis to die. I have therefore included him as a probable native of Heliopolis in Part I.

47. M. APICIUS TIRO XI 19 ILS 2664 Ravenna.

M(arco) Apicio T(it)i f(ilio) Cam(ilia) Tironi,  
p(rimi)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(icipii) Raven(nae), pontif(ici).

As the personal tribe is the same as that of the town he was probably a native of Ravenna. The date is

probably second-century, the titles of XXII Primigenia dating from Domitian (Ritterling, RE XII 1820), and the details of the inscription suggesting a date earlier than the third century. Two points in this career call for special comment, the reversal of the normal position of primuspilus and prefect of a legion, and the peculiar collection of posts as the beginning of the career. Taking the latter point first, in order to treat the career in chronological order, it is clear that the explanation of Domaszewski (Rangordnung, p. 76) that these posts belong to the numerus evocatorum is difficult to substantiate, and does little to help us. It should be pointed out that he reads differently to the Corpus, namely; optioni evoc(atorum) salar(iario). The whole problem seems too complex to treat here, and it seems best to content ourselves with noting that the man was clearly an evocatus, the precise nature of the posts that he held and the corps in which he held them being matters for speculation. He then held one centurionate before the primipilate, which is an indication of the fact that he did not change his legion, but not a guide to the length of his service. The next post held should have been the primipilate, and on the whole I think it was. The order of the posts might be explained quite simply by the fact that there was a slight aberration. The ~~two~~ most important posts were given in direct order,



and the rest of the career in inverse. Domaszewski, op. cit., p. 120, thinks that the prefecture was held first, but while this is conceivable in abnormal cases I suggest my own explanation is preferable. The restoration by the Corpus of praepositus is of course to be rejected - this is to create a second abnormality to explain the first. The honours of patron and pontiff are typical of the recognition accorded to the primipilares in the second century by their home towns and towns with which they became connected. Often, as in this case, it is the man who has retired as primuspilus or as prefect of a legion who is honoured equally with the ~~man~~ who has won further promotion.

48. C. APIDIUS BASSUS XIV 3906 ILS 6544 Lunghezza.

Primuspilus of legion XI. The omission of the legion's cognomen suggests a date before 42, as the style of the inscription rules out the possibility of it being one of the late examples of the omission of the cognomen to which Ritterling refers in RE XII 1705. He has the tribe of Amiternum, where he was VIIIvir, so he was probably a native of that place. He died with the rank of primuspilus.

49. L. APONIUS - Espérandieu 558 Iulia Baeterra.  
(XII 4230 & 4241)

ii et leg(ionis) L(ucio) Aponio...praefect(o) equit(um), tribuno militum legionis ~~XXII~~, praefect(o) castrorum, flamine Aug(usti) primo urbi Iuliae Baeter(ensium), praefecto pro Iiviro C(ai) Caesaris Aug(usti) f(iliu) ...sto Boicnuo patri.. Corneliae Tertullae flaminicae C(olonia?) U(?) I(ulia) B(aeterrensium).

Tac. a. 1,20.

L. Aponius, eques Romanus, e cohorte Drusi.

The identification is sound. Aponius was almost certainly a Baeterran. Note his father's outlandish name. The question arises whether he was a primipilaris, as the part of the inscription where the rank would appear is defaced or missing, and the rest of the career is at first sight common to primipilares and equestrians at this period, except for the post of prefect of the camp. The title eques Romanus gives us no clue, cf. Alledius Severus, who is described as primipilaris and eques Romanus by two authors describing the same event. Once Aponius had held the primipilate he could be described as eques Romanus, and would be a useful man on the staff of Drusus. The most instructive parallel here is that of Arrius Salanus who quite clearly was an equestrian, and was prefect of the camp. The vital point of difference, as Mr. Birley has pointed out to me, is that Salanus has the normal sequence for an equestrian of this period who held more than the legionary tribunate of tribunus militum, praefectus equitum, whereas Aponius has the inverse order. Further, it is perhaps unlikely that Baeterra so early in its history would be producing equestrians, and there is no evidence that primuspilus was omitted, as in the Salanus inscription it definitely was. The rest of the career is typical of the

period before Claudius and requires no special comment here.

50. L. APPAEUS PUDENS. XI 6503 Sassina.

L(ucio) Appaeo L(ucii) f(ilio) Pup(inia) Pudenti,  
p(rimi)p(ilo), trib(un)o coh(ortis) XII urb(anae)  
et X praet(oriae), flamini Flav[iali], patron[o],  
plebs ur[bana].

6 The tribe of Sassina is Pupinia, making an origin there likely. The non-tenure of the tribunate of vigiles is unusual, but I have indicated in Part I that a certain amount of adjustment would be necessary within the Rome tribunates due to the variation in posts available from corps to corps. The date of the inscription is fixed by the mention of the tenth praetorian cohort to after Domitian or at latest after Trajan (Durry, Les cohortes prétoriennes, p. 13). There is nothing specifically suggesting a date as late as the third century.

51. AQUILIUS. Literary.

Tac. h. 4, 15.

simul excidiis castellorum imminebant, quae a praefectis cohortium incensa sunt, quia defendi nequibant. signa vexillaque et quod militum in superiorem insulae partem congregantur, duce Aquilio primipilari, nomen magis exercitus quam robur: quippe viribus cohortium abductis Vitellius e proximis Nerviorum Germanorumque pagis segnem numerum armis oneraverat.

The time is that of the Civilis rebellion. Here a primipilaris takes charge of a force consisting of the remnants of a number of auxiliary cohorts, and their

commanding officers. His presence is presumably to be explained by the fact that he was attached to the staff of this particular army, and he may himself have been temporarily in command of a cohort or of the complex of forts in this area, cf. Paccius Orfitus.

52. M. AQUILIUS FELIX. (a) X 6657 ILS 1387 Antium  
(b) AE 1945. 80 Cannes (Canusium)

(a) M(arco) Aquilio M(arci) f(ilio) Fabia Felici, a census equit(um) Roman(orum), praef(ecto) cl(assis) pr(aetoriae) Ravennat(ae), proc(uratori) patrim(onii) bis, proc(uratori) hered(itatium) patrim(onii) privat(i), proc(uratori) oper(um) p(ublicorum), praep(osito) vexillat(ionum), p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), (centurioni) fr(umentario), patron(o) col(oniae), ob mer(ita) eius, Antiat(enses) publ(ice).

(b) M(arco) Aquilio M(arci) f(ilio) Fabia Roma Felici, Proc(uratori) a censibus equitum Roman(orum), praef(ecto) clas(sis) pr(aetoriae) Ravennat(ae), proc(uratori) rat(ionis) patr(imonii), proc(uratori) oper(um)s) publ(icorum) et fiscal(ium) Urb(is) sacrae, proc(uratori) rat(ionis) patr(imonii) iterum, proc(uratori) rat(ionis) privat(ae) Aug(usti) n(ostri), praeposito vexillat(ionum) agentium in Ital(ia), pont(ifici) colon(iae) Lanuvinor(um), p(rimo)p(ilo) legion(is) XI Claudiae, patrono municipii.

Le SHA Did. Iul. 5,8. missus praeterea Aquilius centurio, notus caedibus senatoriis, qui Severum occideret.

L9 SHA Pesc. Niger 2,6 denique etiam Aquilium centurionem notum caedibus ducum miserat.

SHA V. Severi 5,8 cum iam ante misisset notos ducum interfectores quosdam, qui Severum occiderent.

Dio 73. 17,1 And he (Didius Iulianus) kept sending  
(Loeb translation) men against Severus to slay him by treachery. But Severus presently reached Italy, and took possession of Ravenna without striking a blow. Moreover, the men whom Iulianus kept sending against him, either to persuade him to turn back or else to block his

advance were going over to Severus' side;

L9

M. Quintus Felix was a native of Rome. A centurio frumentarius, already noted for his efficiency in liquidation, presumably under Commodus, he was sent by Iulianus in a bid to win by assassination. Clearly he was one of those who changed sides, as recorded by Dio. He received a primipilate, commanded forces in the advance into Italy, and was put in charge of the newly formed ratio privata (= hereditates patrimonii privati). From this centenarian post he was very shortly afterwards advanced into the ducenarian echelon, to the patrimonium (= ratio patrimonii), and in August of 193 he was addressed as procurator operum publicorum (ILS 5920). He then returned to the patrimonium, which suggests that the first tenure was short and interrupted by a temporary posting to the above procuratorship. Then he was given his one post outside Rome, the third ducenarian echelon post of prefect of the Ravenna fleet. He remained nevertheless in Italy. Finally he was given the post a censibus equitum Romanorum, which like H.G. Pflaum I consider to have been a special creation, not to be confused with the secretariat a censibus. Its rank would presumably be fourth-echelon. The questions raised by comparison of the two career inscriptions have been dealt with completely by J.H. Oliver in the American Journal of Philology, LXVII (1946), pp. 311-19, and by

H.G. Pflaum thèse complémentaire, no 225. The career is predominantly urban and financial. The personal estate of the emperor, the ratio privata, is first administered, then the Crown property, the patrimonium. After the Ravenna fleet, one of the two third-echelon posts that did not involve leaving Italy, he receives a special assignment. Also to be noted is that if proc. rat. privat. Aug. ., is to be taken literally, he had reached the highest recorded post in his career before the death of Severus. The maximum of eighteen years thus allowable for the career agrees with the figures for the length of other distinguished procuratorial careers. It is not surprising that two towns, Antium and Canusium, have made him their patron. In the case of Canusium it is not certain that AE 1945. 80 refers to it, but as the municipium (distinct from the colony of Antium) is unnamed presumably the stone was originally set up in it, and Canusium is conveniently near. If the position of it is chronological, the pontificate of Lanuvium was bestowed upon him while primuspilus. The career is one of the outstanding civil ones, comparable to those of Tl. Claudius Secundinus and Cn. Pompeius Homullus, and superior to that of P. Aelius Crispinus.

53. L. ARBUSTIUS VALENTINUS. XIV 4007 Ficuleia.

D(is) M(anibus) L(ucio) Arbustio (Lucii) fil(io)  
Ann(iensis) Valentino, Crem(ona), p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis)

IIII Fl(aviae) Fel(icis), evoc(ato) Aug(usti) ex  
 coh(orte) IIII pr(aetoria), (centurioni) coh(ortis)  
 II vig(illum), (centurioni) coh(ortis) XI urb(anae),  
 (centurioni) coh(ortis) VII pr(aetoriae), (centurioni)  
 leg(ionis) VII Gemin(ae) p(iae) f(idelis), L(ucius)  
 Arbustius Valens et C(aius) Arbustius Vitalis f(ilius).

The origin is given as Cremona. The date is third-century as shown by the titles of VII Gemina (Ritterling RE XII 1637). The fact that a centurionate in that legion is mentioned twice may indicate that the posts held were hastatus and princeps respectively.

54. SEX. ARNIUS GRATUS. VI 32997 Rome.

Primipilaris, dead.

55. C. ARRIUS CLEMENS. XI 5646 ILS 2081 Matilica.

C(aio) Arrio C(ai) f(ilio) Cor(nelia) Clementis militi  
 coh(ortis) IX pr(aetoriae), equiti coh(ortis) eiusdem,  
 donis donato ab Imp(eratore) Traiano, torquibus, armillis  
 phaleris, ob bellum Dacicum, singulari praefectorum  
 pr(aetorio), tesserario, [o]ptioni, fisci curator, i  
 cornicul(ar)io tribuni, evocato Aug(usti), (centurioni)  
 coh(ortis) I vigil(um), (centurioni) statorum, (centurioni)  
 coh(ortis) XIII urb(anae), (centurioni) coh(ortis) VII  
 pr(aetoriae), trecenarius, donis donato ab Imp(eratore)  
 Hadriano, hasta pura, corona aurea, (centurioni) leg(ionis)  
 III Aug(ustae), primipilari, II vir(o) quinquennali,  
 patrono municipii, curator republicae, decur(iones) et  
 Aug(ustales) V[iviri et] municipes Matil(icae).

Cornelia is the tribe of Matilica, and all the evidence points to Clemens being a native of that town. The inscription allows us to trace his career. Starting as a praetorian soldier, he became an eques, a rank attained according to M. Durry about five years after enlisting (Les cohortes prétoriennes, p. 191). As such he was decorated in Dacia. After a normal sequence of posts he was made an evocatus at the completion of his

sixteen years' service, and began the round of the Rome centurionates. As trecenarius he was decorated by Hadrian, presumably in the Jewish war, the only time as far as we know when he awarded them. This occurred 132-135. Clemens had then been serving between twenty-eight and thirty-three years from his last decoration, depending on which Dacian war he was decorated in. He had been serving for at least five years before the first decoration, so he was at least fifty-three as trecenarius, on an age of entry of twenty, and had served at least seventeen years as centurion. If he was nearing the completion of service when he was decorated for the first time he could have been a minimum age of sixty-four as trecenarius. This is however unlikely, in view of the number of posts held after the first decoration and before the evocatio, so the probability is that he was in his fifties as trecenarius. He then went to a legion as centurion before he was made primuspilus and as the legion is not mentioned it is possible that it was III Augusta. He then retired, to become IIVir quinquennalis, patron, and to be appointed curator of the city. A number of interesting points emerge from this career. It will be noted that this praetorian received no special preference, and that he spent quite a long time over his Rome centurionates. He came to the primipilate in his fifties or sixties. Upon retirement as such he was honoured by his city. The individual career thus is



determined by the individual's merit. The Rome centurionates need not carry a special advantage. The man who reaches the primipilate has done enough to satisfy himself and his fellow-citizens of his merit.

56. ARRIUS GERMANUS. iunior. X 1778 Puteoli.

D(is) M(anibus) Arriae Geminae bonae femine collactiae  
Arri Germani p(rimi)p(ilaris) iunioris Iulius Agrippa  
marit(us) b(ene) m(erent(i) f(ecit).

The inscription presupposes the existence of another and senior member of the family who had also reached the primipilate, and that is not unique, cf. the Fabii Longi.

57. ARRIUS GERMANUS senior. X 1778 Puteoli.

Primipilaris. See no. 56.

58. ARRIUS SALANUS. X 6101 ILS 6285 Formiae.

...Arrio Salano, praef(ecto) quinq(uennali) Ti(berii)  
Caesaris, praef(ecto) quinq(uennali) Neronis et Drus[i]  
Caesarum designato, tub(icini) sac(rorum) p(opuli)  
R(omani), aed(ili) III, ~~ite~~ regi, trib(un) milit(um)  
leg(ionis) III August(ae), leg(ionis) X Geminae, praef(ecto)  
equit(um), praef(ecto) castror(um), praef(ecto) fabr(um),  
Oppia uxor.

The career is typically pre-Claudian, with this important difference, the primipilate is not mentioned. While the possibility that it has been omitted must be considered, this is unlikely, as all our evidence suggests that this was only done when very high rank was achieved, which is not true here. Thus we are led to the conclusion that he was in fact an equestrian. In that case it is most probable, as the order of the inscription suggests, that he held his municipal and priestly appointments

before embarking on a military career, which he probably began in his thirties. After the normal starting-point for an equestrian in this period of the legionary tribunate he went on to ~~the~~ praefectus equitum, and then prefect of the camp, and praefectus fabrum. At this time when the prefecture of the camp is not yet established as a post in a legion, but an appointment from time to time for which any senior officer was qualified, there is nothing surprising about an equestrian obtaining it in one instance. The case may be compared of Iulius Pacatianus, who in the early days of the Parthian legions was made prefect of one. Neither entered the primipilaris career; they both occupied a post which was later to be reserved entirely for primipilares. Nevertheless as prefect of a camp Salanus earns a place here.

59. ARRIUS VARUS.

Literary.

Tac. a. 13,9.

quod postquam Corbuloni cognitum est, ire praefectum cohortis Arrium Varum et recipere obsides iubet.

Tac. h. 3,6.

Antonio vexillarios e cohortibus et partem equitum ad invadendam Italiam rapien~~ti~~ti comes fuit Arrius Varus, strenuus bello, quam gloriam et dux Corbulo et prosperae in Armenia res addiderant. idem secretis apud Neronem sermonibus ferebatur Corbulonis virtutes criminatus; unde infami gratia primum pilum adepto.

Tac. h. 3,16.

dum Antonius quidnam agend~~um~~um consultat, aviditate navandae operae Arrius Varus cum promptissimis equitum prorupit impulitque Vitellianos modica caede; nam plurium adcursu versa fortuna, et acerrimus quisque sequentium fugae

ultimus erat. nec sponte Antonii properatum...pavidus interim Varus turbae suorum miscetur intulitque formidinem.

Tac. h. 3,61.

Le

per eos cognitum est Interamniam proximis campis ~~per~~ presidio quadringentorum equitum ~~theri~~. missus extemplo Varus cum expedita manu paucos repugnantium interfecit; plures abiectis armis veniam petivere.

Tac h. 4,2.

praefectura praetorii penes Arrium Varum, summa potentiae in Primo Antonio.

Tac. h. 4,4.

adduntur Primo Antonio consularia; Cornelio Fusco et Arrio Varo praetoria insignia.

Tac. h. 4,11.

Mucianus urbem ingressus cuncta simul in se traxit. fracta Primi Antonii Varique potentia.

Tac. h. 4, 39.

sed ~~praecipuus~~ Muciano metus e Primo Antonio Varoque Arrio, quos recentis clarosque rerum fama ac militum studiis etiam populus favebat, quia in neminem ultra aciem saevierunt...et tertia legio familiaris Arrio Varo miles in Syriam remissa.

Tac. h. 4,68.

et Domitiani indomitae libidines timebantur, suspectis, uti diximus, Primo Antonio Varoque Arrio. Varus praetorianis vim atque arma retinebat: eum Mucianus pulsum loco, ne sine solacio ageret, annonae praefecit. utque Domitiani animum Varo ~~hau~~ alienum deleniret, Arrecinum Clementem..gratissimum Domitiano, praetorianis praeposuit.

The first question that arises is whether Varus was an equestrian or a centurion when he was prefect of a cohort. Both possibilities are present, as while the primipilate might seem a more appropriate award for a centurion than an equestrian, it must not be forgotten that for the equestrian also a primipilate might be a

worthwhile reward, particularly with the prospect of continuing in service. In view of the remark about III Gallica above, and that legion's operating under Corbulo, it seems not improbable that it was in that legion he held the primipilate (Ritterling, RE XII 1520). The probable date was 67, not long before Corbulo's suicide. In 69 he was presumably a primipilaris attached to the forces in Moesia. He was of considerable military ability, Tacitus indicated, though a trifle headstrong, as one of our extracts indicates. His praetorian prefecture is of course in a sense meaningless. He received it because there was ~~on~~ one in Rome to say him nay, and control of the praetorian cohorts was clearly necessary. His fortunes were bound up with those of Primus, the one asset that he did not share with him being the favour of Domitian, which Varus had gained in some way unknown to us. That he was a man to be reckoned with is shown by the fact that Mucianus thought it wise to give him the important office of praefectus annonae. Our judgement on Varus must be on some such lines as these. He was a very competent soldier, with a touch of unscrupulousness, and a good deal of ambition. His career, however, is irrelevant to our study of the primipilaris career except in so far as it shows the qualities a primipilaris might be expected to possess.

[Μονομ]άχων [Τ.] Ἀρ[τ]ουντίου Νεικομάχου Τεβερεινιανῶν υἱοῦ  
καὶ ἐγγόνου ἀρχιερέων Ἀσίας, ἀποχόνου πρεμιπιλαρίου, ὑπατικῶν  
~~καὶ~~ ἀνεψιῶν καὶ συγγενῶν, ἀρχιερέως πρώτου τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ  
Τυλλίας Οὐαλερίας ἀρχιερείας γυναίκος αὐτοῦ.

The main interest of this inscription lies in its connection of a primipilaris with one of the other sources of recruiting for the Imperial nobility, the chairmen of provincial councils. As there is no evidence how far removed <sup>from</sup> Tiberinianus his ancestor was, it cannot be assumed that the primipilaris was a native of Asia. Relationship to consulars is not uncommon among this priestly class, and there is no reason to connect these relations with the primipilaris.

61. L. ARTORIUS CASTUS. (a) III 12813 = ILS 2770 add.  
Epetium, Dalm.  
(b) III 14224 Narona, Dalm.

(a) D(is) M(anibus) L(ucius) Artori[us Ca]stus,  
(centurione) le[g(ionis)] III Gallicae, item  
[(centurione) le[g(ionis)] VI Ferratae, item  
(centurione) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis), [i]tem  
(centurione) leg(ionis) V M[a]c(edonicae) item  
p(rimus)p(ilus) eiusdem, praeposito classis Misenatium,  
[pr]aef(ecto) leg(ionis) VI Victricis, ~~daci~~ leg(ionum)  
sic [triu]m Britanici[n]iarum adversus Arm[or]icanos,  
proc(uratori) cenenario provinciae Lib[urn]iae iure  
gladii vivus ipse sibi et suis..[ex te]st(amento).

(b) L(ucius) Artorius Castus p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis)  
V M[a]c(edonicae), ] praefec[t]us leg(ionis) VI  
Victric(is)...

H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire, no. 196, has given us a new interpretation of the career of this man. Before we come to it the early career must be

dealt with. The tenure of four centurionates affords us no clue ~~as~~ to the duration of the career, as these changes of legion are not directly connected with promotion. The post of praepositus of the Misenum fleet is not I think of the whole fleet, for which one would expect a senior official, but rather something similar to the post held by Sulgius Caecilianus. Starr, Roman Imperial Navy, p. 38, is of a different opinion. There follows the normal post of primuspilus and then of prefect of a legion, and while prefect Castus is ~~given~~ the extraordinary post of dux of the three British legions. It has been normal to associate this with the third century, but H.G. Pflaum has brought into relation with this command the following passages, hic tamen Perennis ut tantum potuit, subito quod bello Brittanico militibus equestris loci viros praefecerat, amotis senatoribus, prodita re per legatos exercitus hostis appellatus lacerandusque militibus est deditus (SHA Vita Comm. 6,2), and, referring to rebellions in Britain, Germany and Dacia, quae omnia ista per duces sedata sunt (SHA Vita Comm. 13,6.) It was then presumably the three legionary legates of Britain who carried their complaint to Rome. Castus held one further appointment, the specially created post of procuratorial governor of Liburnia, cut off from the province of Dalmatia. The special nature of the post is emphasised by the grant of the ius gladii, c.f. Procurators, p. 120. Mr. Birley

has suggested to me that this post may precede the fall of Perennis and be due to his favour, but the passage quoted above implies so immediate a fall that with H.G. Pflaum I attribute the appointment to Cleander. Nevertheless, this post marks the end of the career of Castus, without our being able to determine whether this was due to advanced age or loss of favour. Further evidence for H.G. Pflaum's dating is to be found in the writing in full of cenenarius (sic). The origin has been suggested to be Epetium, but there is really no evidence beyond the fact that he was buried there.

62. C. ASINIUS SEVERUS. V 5820 Mediolanum.  
Primipilaris, dead.
63. G. ATEIUS PECULIARIS. XII 2526 Inter Augustam et Lacum  
 Lemannum.  
Primipilaris.
64. ATILIUS - VI 31154 Rome.  
 Tribune of the equites singulares in A.D. 189.
65. SEXTUS ATILIUS ROGATIANUS. EE VII 185 Carthage.  
 Sexto Atilio Rogatiano, p(rimi)p(ilaris), heredes eius,  
 curante P(ublio) Nonio Felice p(rimi)p(ilaris) e(gregio)  
 v(iro) socero eius.

The cognomen ROGATIANUS is so overwhelmingly African that a man with it buried at Carthage could hardly be other than African. His marriage of the daughter of another primipilaris is consonant with what we know of the social relationships of that class. The form e.v. instead of the more normal v.e. would suggest a date in the late second

century rather than in the third, an interesting point <sup>in</sup> ~~of~~ view of the predominance of Italian recruits among the primipilares of that period. A difficulty arises here in that we believe all primipilares to have been ipso facto equestrians, but Felix is an egregius vir and Rogatianus not. The answer seems to be, as suggested to me by H.G. Pflaum and E. Birley, that vir egregius implies tenure of a post of higher rank than the primipilate, cf. M. Aurelius Alexander (1).

66. ATILIUS VERUS. Literary.

3.22 L <sup>r</sup> ~~ipsam~~ aquilam Atilius Verus primi pili centurion~~i~~ cum hostium strage et ad extremum moriens servaverat.

The legion is VII Galbiana<sup>na</sup>. He is also attested as centurion of V Macedonica, and it has been suggested that it was his daughter who set up the inscription to L. Aemilius Paternus.

67. L. ATTIUS LUCANUS. (a) XII 3177 Nemausus.  
(b) XII 3178 "

(a) L(ucio) Attio L(ucii) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Lucano, signifero, centuri[oni], tribuno cohort(is) V Igenurorum.

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

The correct interpretation of the name of the unit mentioned in the inscription (a) we owe to Kraft, Zur Rekrutierung der Arden und Koh. am Rhein u. Donau, pp. 194-5. where he dates the inscription to the second half of the first century. If we take these two inscriptions to refer to the same man he must have held his tribunate of a cohort



before his primipilate, there being no room for it on the first stone. It is of course quite possible that two men, clearly related in some way, are involved. The tribe points to Nemausus as the family's home.

68. L. AUFELLIUS RUFUS. X 6641 ILS 6301 Cales.

L(ucio) Aufellio Rufo p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) VII  
C(laudiae p(iae) f(idelis), IIIIvir(o) quinq(ennali),  
flamini Divi Aug(usti), patrono municipi. Vicus Palatinus.

His rare nomen makes him a probable Italian. The inscription was set up after 42, as the legion has the cognomen Claudia, and probably before the end of the first century, from the form of abbreviation of the legionary cognomina, see Ritterling, RE XII, col. 1628. He is one of the first recorded cases of primipilares as town patrons, symptomatic of their ever-growing importance. The municipal honours imply that he had retired after his primipilate.

69. AUFIDIENUS RUFUS. Literary.

Tac. a. 1,20.

praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum  
castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo  
sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine  
per ludibrium rogitantes an tam immensa  
onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret.  
quippe Rufus diu manipularis dein centurio  
mox castris praefectus, antiquam duramque  
militiam revocabat, vetus operis ac labori  
et eo inmitior quia toleraverat.

This is one of the few cases where a primipilaris is known to have started in the ranks of the legions. While the guard is not excluded by the phrasing, a man who had started in the ranks of the praetorian guard would hardly

have been vetus operis ac laboris. Seeck's point that the phrasing indicates that it was unusual for a soldier to rise to the centurionate (Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt, Vol. II Anhang, p. 472) cannot stand in view of the evidence for the recruiting of the centurionate from the legions, - see W. Baehr, De Centurionibus Legionariis, and E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 104-24). Seeck's view is not supported by the text itself, the main emphasis lying on diu; Rufus had had to wait a long time for his commission, and the fact had soured him. The fact that the primipilate is not mentioned is not necessarily due to it never having been held; it may be included in the general term 'centurion'. Rufus was presumably the prefect of the three-legion camp, though he was absent from it at this time superintending the repair of roads and bridges.

70. AUFIDIUS FELIX. VIII 2759 Lambaesis.

A primipilaris, he died at the age of seventy five. The combination of names is common in III Augusta, Dean in his Cognomina listing seven Aufidii Felices, all in that legion. The names are common enough elsewhere, however, and I mention the point as of interest, not as proof of origin.

71. AUFIDIUS NUMITOR. AE 1890. 4 Viminacium.

Primuspilus of VII Claudia. As a soldier mentioned on the stone bears the nomen Aelius a date after 117 is probable.

72. SEX. AULIENUS SEX. F. ANI. X 4868 = ILS 2688 Venafrum.

Sex(to) Aulieno Sex(ti) f(ilio) Ani(ensis), primopil(o) II, tr(ibunus) mil(itum), praef(ecto) levis armat(urae), praef(ecto) castr(or)um Imp(eratoris) Caesar(is) Aug(usti) et Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti), prae(fecto) classis, praef(ecto) fabr(um), IIVir(o) Venafr(i), Foroiuli, fl(amin)i Augustali, Nedymus et Gamus lib(erti).

The man has held magistracies in two towns, Venafrum and Forum Iuli. As his tribe is Aniensis, it seems probable that he was a native of the latter. His recorded career begins with pp bis. At this period it is clear that this meant the holding of the post for two years or in two legions, and did not mean the tenure of the superior primipilate, described as pp iterum, e.g. in the case of L. Cirpinus. The career then follows a normal course. The post of praefectus levis armaturae seems to be the command of local levies in uncivilised frontier provinces. The linking of the prefecture of the camp with the names of the emperors can be explained in two ways. Either this is the full title of the prefect of the camp, or it means that Aulienus was prefect to both emperors when they were on campaign. I prefer the latter explanation as it gives a reason why only Aulienus and the unknown of XI 711 should use this titles of ~~the~~ the prefects of the camp that we know.

73. AURELIUS - XIII 6690 Mogontiacum.

Primuspilus of XXII Primigenia. The text of the inscription will be found in the appendix on official primuspilus dedications, and it is in fact the character

of the inscription that has led me to consider this man to be a primispilus.

74. M. AURELIUS ALEXANDER (i) VI 3554 = ILS 8233 Rome.

He terms himself primipilaris et vir egregius on his epitaph, and safeguards his tomb by imposing a large alienation fine, to be paid to the sacer fiscus<sup>1</sup>. The explanation of the first phrase seems to be that vir egregius implies the attainment of a higher rank than primipilaris - see Part I.

The second phrase allows the dating of the inscription to the time of Severus or later.

75. M. AURELIUS ALEXANDER (ii) III 4315 Brigetio.

Primipilaris. He commemorates his brother Valens, a centurion of I Adiutrix. The latter died at the age of fifty-two after thirty-two years' service, so it is not impossible that he was nearing his primipilate when death intervened. The phrases quondam and qui vixit suggest a third-century date.

76. M. AURELIUS ALEXANDER (iii) EE VII 887 Deva.

Prefect of the camp to the legion XX Valeria Victrix. He originated in Syria Commagene, and died at the age of seventy-two. He presumably owed his praenomen and nomen to the emperor M. Aurelius, and received them at earliest when he enlisted as a legionary, say in 161. In that case the inscription is at earliest c. 213, if he enlisted at the age of twenty, and this is a later case of the

expression praefectus castrorum legionis than 201, the last securely dated example of the expression.

77. AURELIUS ANTIOCHUS IGRR IV 595 Cadi, Asia.

Primipilaris. His wife gave him the Greek equivalent of the title vir egregius, and to herself that of matrona stolata. In view of the εἰδωμένον, the find-spot, and the language of the inscription, Antiochus was probably a native of Asia. The inscription appears to be third-century.

78. M. AURELIUS ANTONIUS. (a) IGRR III 55 Prusias, Bithynia  
(b) Ref. given below " "

(a) Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Μ(άρκον) Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνεῖνον, τὸν κράτιστον  
πρεμιπιλάριν καὶ ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, φιλόπατριν,  
ἀνδρείον, κόσμιον, φιλόξενον, ἀλθῇ ἰσότηρον, σπουδαῖον,  
πάσῃ ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένον, φύλῃ Ἀσιανῇ τὸν ἴδιον  
εὐεργέτην καὶ τῆς πατρίδος.

(b) [Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ]. Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνεῖνον, τὸν κράτιστον  
πρεμιπιλάριν, Τίτιος Οὐλπίου Αἰλιανὸς Παππιανὸς τὸν  
κηδέστην καὶ εὐεργέτην.

The second inscription was published by F.K. Dörner, Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien, Vienna 1952, pp.

17-18. The dedicator of it was ~~of Bithynia~~ <sup>Bithynian</sup> Arch and Pontarch and almost certainly native to Prusias, cf. PIR U 538,

As H.G. Pflaum has pointed out, thèse complémentaire 306, this is a case of a primipilaris holding a centenarian procuratorship after the first primipilate. He says further that this type of inscription is rare after the reign of

Caracalla, to which he dates this case. As the name is called ~~φίλος~~ <sup>α</sup>he is a native of Prusias.

79. AURELIUS APOLLINARIS. Literary.

SHA Vita Carac. 6,7. consilii caedis (Caracallae) fuerunt Nemesianus et frater eius Apollinaris.

Dio. 78,5.2. Accordingly, he (Macrinus) secured  
(Loeb translation) the services of two tribunes belonging to the Aurelian gens,.... and so formed his plot against Antonius.

Note that two brothers were praetorian tribunes at the same time.

80. P. AURELIUS CASSIANUS. III 11086 4393 Carnuntum.

Dianae Aug(ustae), P(ublius) Aur(elius) Cassianus, praef(ectus) leg(ionis) IIII Scy(thicae) et leg(ionis) XIIII G(eminae) Ant(onianae), et Aurel(ia) Lucilla coniunx eius, et Aurel(ius) Cassian(us) iunior f(ilius).

Prefect of two legions in succession under either Caracalla or Elagabalus. The tenure of successive legionary prefectures is only attested for the third century.

81. AURELIUS CATILLINUS. VI 32760 Rome.

Valerio Tito s(ub)p(raefecto), Aurelio Catullino p(rimi)p(ilare) cur(atore) coh(ortis). Cura agente P(ublio) Iulio Iustino (centurione).

Valerius Titus is identified from VI 3909 as sub-prefect in the vigiles. From the position of the name Catullinus in the inscription it is evident that he is acting as tribune. P.K. Baillie Reynolds has suggested in his book, The Vigiles of Imperial Rome, p. 37 note and p. 122, that a curator was appointed when the tribune was absent in charge of the vexillation at Ostia, and this

is not unlikely. Catullinus presumably belonged to the numerus at Rome, and was thus available for temporary appointment.

82. M. AURELIUS COCCEIUS FLORIANUS. III 14359. 26 Vindobona.

Primuspilus of X Gemina in the reign of Severus Alexander.

83. M. AURELIUS CRESCENS. (a) VIII 2753 18128  
(b) AE 1917-8. 51 Lambaesis.

Inscription (a) is assignable to 222 or shortly after, and is dedicated to the legate M. Ulpus Maximus by two centurions of III Augusta, one of whom is called Aurelius Crescens. Aurelius Crescens re-appears on inscription (b) as primuspilus of the same legion, dedicating to the L. Apronius Pius whose Numidian command is estimated to have come c. 224-7. (For these dates cf. E. Birley, 'The Governors of Numidia, A.D. 193-268', Journal of Roman Studies, XL, p. 63.)

84. AURELIUS FIRMINUS. III 10406 Aquincum.

sic Herculi Aug(usto), Aurelius Firminus pref(ectus) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) ex prot(ectore) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito), Imp(eratoribus) Diocletiano et Maximiano cos(ulibus).

The date is A.D. 290. Almost certainly by this time the ducenarian prefects of legions had ceased to be recruited from the ~~primipilares~~ primipilares. This man had in the past been protector, which in its development at this period seems to mean something like officer cadet, or junior staff officer.

85. T. AURELIUS FLAVIANUS. XI 6336 ILS 2769 Pisaurum.

T(ito) Aurelio Flaviano, p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) IIII Flaviae, item praeposito Umbr(iae) Piceni et Apul(iae), Aurelius Quietus et Aurelius Audax patri dulcissimo et Claudia Quieta coniunx cum quo annis XX bene vixit.

The post of praepositus Umbriae Piceni et Apuliae has been variously explained as an official in charge of the suppression<sup>S</sup> of banditry, by Mommsen, Röm. St. R. II<sup>3</sup> p. 1074 f., and as an official concerned in the administration of the Imperial estates, Hirschfeld, K.V.<sup>2</sup> p. 126/7. H.G. Pflaum, in his thèse complémentaire, no. 353, has declared for the Mommsen theory on the grounds that the word tractus used in one of the inscriptions of this office does not necessarily imply a connection with the Imperial domain; praepositus is not the title of a regular officer; a primipilaris held centenarian procuratorships after his first primipilate, while posts similar to those postulated by Hirschfeld, regional administration of the res privata, are only sexagenarian (Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 166 f.). Thus we return to the Mommsen thesis. M. Septimus also held this post, as did M. Antonius Vitellianus (ILS 2768) and A. Vitellius Felix Honoratus (ILS 9018 and Pflaum, t.c. 353).

86. T. AURELIUS FLAVINUS. III 14416 ILS 7178 Oescus.

T(ito) Aurelio T(iti) f(ilio) Papir(ia) Flavino, primipilari et principi ordinis col(oniae) Oesc(i), et bulgatae civitatu[m] Tyrannorum, Dionysiopol(is), Marcianopol(is), Tungror[um] et Aquincensium, patron[o] collegi fabr(um), honorat[o] a Divo Magno Antonino Aug(usto) HS L milia n(ummum) et XXV [et] gradum promotionis [ob]alacritatem virtu[tis] adv[er]sus hostes



Ca[rpos] et res propere et va[lide] ges]tas, Cl(audius)  
Nicom[edes] buleuta civitatis [Tyra]norum amico  
dign(issimo). L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

The promotion and money gift referred to may have taken place at any stage in the career up to the primipilate. It will be noted that in this case as in several others the award of dona or ~~their~~ equivalent was not enough to carry a man beyond the primipilate. The municipal importance of the ordinary primipilaris appears clearly, with the presidency of his own ordo (his tribe shows that he is a native of Oescus), and the decurionate in four other cities. He does <sup>not</sup> <sub>μ</sub> however, possess the patronage of his own city.

His military career may be reconstructed to some extent. Three, possibly all four of the first four towns mentioned are in his home province, Moesia Inferior. The decurionate of the Tungri, though, implies a term as centurion of XXX Ulpia in Germania Inferior, and that of Aquincum as term as centurion, or possibly primuspilus, with II Adiutrix.

The inscription is dated to the third century.

87. AURELIUS FLAV- RUFINUS. IGRR III 28 = ILS 8871 Apamae,  
Bithynia.

κ. [9.], Αὐρ. φλαβάνην 'Ρουφείνον, ἑκατόνταρχον δε[που]τᾶτον,  
πρεμ[ο]πειλάριον, χειλιάρχον οὐρβανικιανόν, Π. Αἰλία  
Κορν[η]λία Νεικαρέτη, τὸν ἄνδρα.

The inscription is typically third-century. The man is probably native, otherwise he would scarcely have found his way here. Centurio deputatus is a post on the staff at Rome, ranked by D<sup>m</sup>o~~las~~zeswki among the centurions attached to the castra peregrina, Rangordnung, p. 104. It leads directly to the primipilate. The promotion thence to the urban tribunate, omitting that of the vigiles, ~~is~~ is presumably one of the measures taken to prevent a bottle-neck in the Rome tribunates, where the number of posts available in each corps varied.

88. M. AURELIUS FORTINATUS VIII 2665 = ILS 584 Lambaesis.

Vir egregius, prefect of III Augusta. The date is some time 270 to 275. As indicated in Part I, at this period recruitment of these ducenarian prefects from primipilares had presumably ceased. His wife, Aelia ~~Optata~~, was of a senatorial family.

89. AURELIUS FRONTINUS AE 1944. 85 Aquincum.

Prefect of II Adiutrix on 30 June, 268. Unless the mason has made a mistake, ~~there~~ were three ducenarian prefects of this legion in a very short space of time, cf. Aelius Frontinus and Valerius Marcellinus.

90. M. AURELIUS GERMANUS XIII 6078 Mogontiacum.

This inscription resembles the official dedications of the primipili, and for this reason I have regarded Germanus as a probable primuspilus of XXII Primigenia.

The full text of the inscription appears in the appendix of such dedications.. His origin is stated as Emona, in Pannonia Superior, and Ritterling (RE XII 1820) is of the opinion that the partly erased Imperial cognomen of the legion refers to Severus Alexander.

91. M. AURELIUS HERACLIDES (?) Preisigke SB 5731.

This inscription, given in PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1522 under the three names above, seems to me to refer to an unknown, and I therefore discuss it among the unknowns at the end of the Prosopography, no.

92. M. AURELIUS IUSTUS (i) III 7591 = ILS 2295 Moes. Inf..

Primuspilus of I Italica. The text of his inscription is given in the appendix on official primuspilus dedications. The date is 224. His origin is stated to be Horreum Margense, in Moesia Superior. His only hint as to his career is that he was primuspilus ex trecenario, which I take to mean that he has been trecenarius previously without implying that he had been promoted direct to the primipilate. The salient points in the career are stated, that is all. This means that he had been either an evocatus from the guard or was a centurion by direct commission, the only men as far as we know to hold the post of trecenarius.

93. M. AURELIUS IUSTUS (ii) VIII 18222

*Civ. Lamb.*

Prefect of III Augusta, probably some time between 161, the accession of M. Aurelius, and 238, the erasure

of the name of the legion from his dedication. There is no necessity to equate him with the preceding man.

94. AURELIUS MARCIANUS VI 2487 Rome.

sic D(is) M(anibus), Aur(elio) Marciano, p(rimo)p(ilo), ex coh(orte) III pret(oria), qui vix(it) an(nos) LXX m(enses) IIII. Aur(elius) Salvianus f(ilius) et h(eres) pat(ri) dulcissimo, posuit.

This is rather a neat example of the use of ex. Here it refers to the praetorian cohort in which the man started his career. (It could of course refer to the cohort in which the man held a centurionate, but in this case he could hardly have failed to put in the centurial sign. Also there is the partial parallel of Arbustius Valentinus, evocatus ex cohorte III praetoria) The date of the inscription would seem to be third-century, with the frequent abbreviation, the phrase qui vixit, and the giving of years and months of the man's life-time.

95. AURELIUS MASCULUS. XIV 4397 = ILS 2158 Ostia.

Tribune of the sixth cohort of vigiles and praepositus vexillationis in 239. The identification of this man with M. Aurelius Masculus, ILS 1367, procurator of the Maritime Alps, accepted by most authorities, including A. Stein in PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1556, has been rejected by H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire, no. 329a & b. His argument is that this centenarian procuratorship cannot be part of the cursus of a man proceeding via

the Rome tribunes to pp bis. When he wrote this he was not aware of the discovery of the Marcius Turbo inscription that gives the post of praefectus vehiculorum as held between the first primipilate and ~~and~~ the tribunate of vigiles, but in any case this was an isolated instance, occasioned probably by Trajan's desire to keep Turbo in Rome. It cannot seriously weaken H.G. Pflaum's case, which is further strengthened by the fact that the procurator's inscription is suggestive of an earlier date than 239, and that the names in question are extremely common.

96. AURELIUS MAXIM- -IUS III 1646 = ILS 2292 Viminacium.

Genio leg(ionis) IIII F[1(aviae)] et D(ominorum)  
n(ostorum) Dioc[let]iani [et Maximiani] Aug(ustorum)  
[A]urel(ius) Maxim...ius ex praef(ecto) leg(ionis)  
eiusdem votum posu[it].

The date is between 284 and 305. At this period the ducenarian legionary prefects were no longer recruited from the primipilares, as far as we can tell.

97. AURELIUS NEMESIANUS Literary.

One of two brothers, both praetorian tribunes, involved in the plot against Caracalla. For the relevant texts see under Aurelius Apollinaris.

98. AURELIUS PISO AE 1952. 2 Aquincum.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), lustro Aur(elii) Pisonis  
p(rimi)p(ili) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis), Aur(elius)  
Donatus m(ensor?) m(iles) emeritus l(egionis?) .. em  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito), Severo et Quinto  
cos(ulibus).

The consular date is 235. The lustrum of the primuspilus seems to be connected with the territorium legionis, and to be the administration of the land belonging to the legion. The interpretation of the text between Donatus and v(otum) is doubtful.

99. M. AURELIUS PRISCUS (a) Esperandieu 107 ILS 9074 Arles.  
 (b) XII 677 "  
 (c) XII 862 "

(a) M(arco) Aur(elio) Prisco, p(rimi)p(ilari), v(iro) e(gregio), (centurioni) frumentario, canaliculario, ostiario praef(ectorum) praet(orio) em(inentissimorum) v(ironum), primiscrinio castrorum praet(oriorum), 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).

(b) M(arcus) Aur(elius) Difilus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae). M(arcus) Aur(elius) Priscus patri pientissimo pos(iuit).

(c) D(is) M(anibus) Pompei Materni qui vixit ann(is) XXVIII, m(ensibus) VIII, d(iebus) VII. G(aius Valerius Priscianus et Aurel(ius) Priscus amico incomp(arabili).

The date is probably third-century, and the man is probably a native of Arles. If the other two inscriptions do not refer to him (and the names are very common), they do attest a family using those names in the city. Priscus began as a praetorian soldier but when he was promoted from the post of canalicularius (= cornicularius) of the praetorian prefects to the centurionate it was to be a centurio frumentarius, in the castra peregrina, from which he reached the primipilate. This well illustrates the fact that the centurions of the castra peregrina were drawn from all possible sources of primipilares though there so <sup>o</sup>urn there left its mark upon them.

100. AURELIUS REGINUS VIII 2761 Lambaesis.

Prefect of III Augusta.

101. L. AURELIUS RUFUS X 3757 ILS 137 Acerrae.

L(ucius) Aurelius L(ucii) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Rufu[s],  
primopilaris l[eg(ionis)] XVI, militans st[rator in  
praetorio] Imp(eratoris) Caesaris.

The main part of the inscription is a dedication to the two Caesars, Gaius and Lucius, and therefore the inscription is not later than 2 A.D. The question arises, what is the post referred to? The only comparable case, that of Durmius Felix, does not help much. I feel that Domaszweski was on the right track when he diagnosed the case as that of a primipilaris serving on the Emperor's staff (Rangordnung, p. 116), but caution is necessary in deciding his exact function.

102. AURELIUS SABINIANUS III 8571 Salona.

Publio Balsamio Sabiniano c(larissimo) p(uero), trib(un)o laticl(avio), filio Aur(elii) Sabiniani v(iri) e(gregii), proc(uratoris) duc(enarii) prov(inciae) Dalmat(iae), trib(uni) protect(oris)...n Vigor Concordius Victorinianus patrono praestantissimo.

This is one of the last attested primipilaris procuatorial careers. One assumes that Sabinianus was a primipilaris, although he does not say so, as the fact that his son was a tribunus laticlavus, while he himself had been a tribunus protector, dates the career to the reign of Valerian, and Gallienus. The former post disappeared after the reign, the latter does not appear before it. As L. Petronius Taurus Volusianus was

a primuspilus, and a fair amount of his career took place in the reign, there is clearly a fair possibility that Sabinianus could have been a primipilaris. He reached the first echelon ducenarian procuratorship of Dalmatia, and as we have seen his son had begun a senatorial career when death cut him off. I agree with H.G. Pflaum, thèse complémentaire no. 351 and 351a, that the identification of this man <sup>with</sup> ~~of~~ IGRR I 1071, made in PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1599 is unlikely, the names being common, and the probability of a primipilaris procurator going to the post of assistant to the rationalis in Egypt not being great.

103. M. AURELIUS SABINUS VIII 2675 Lambaesis.

Prefect of III Augusta some time 235-8. His origo was Carnuntum.

104. AURELIUS SABINUS III 1191 Apulum.

Primipilaris.

105. AURELIUS SENEIO XIV 4509 Ostia.

Tribune of the fourth cohort of vigiles.

106. AURELIUS SINTUS XIII 8019 Bonn.

The cognomen is the conjectural restoration of Ritterling, RE XII 1432, from the SI...US of the Corpus. The man was ducenarian prefect of I Minervia in 295, and therefore almost certainly not a primipilaris.

107. AURELIUS SUPERINUS III 4289 = ILS 3656 Brigetio.



Prefect of I Adiutrix in A.D. 269. He is given the title a(gens) v(ice) l(egati), but in fact he was like his fellows the commander of the legion, not merely deputising for him. Probably recruiting of primipilares for these prefectures had already ceased - see Part I.

108. CLAUDIUS AURELIUS TIBERIUS (a) VI 32759 Rome  
(b) AE 1908. 274 Philippopolis.

(a) [...arc]ius Montan[us, cur(ator) coh(ortium)]  
vigilum Gordia[narum, Au]rel(ius) Tiberius, trib(unus)  
c[oh(ortis) .. vig(ilum)] G[o]rd[ianae..]

(b) [Τ]οὺς δεσπότας τῆς οἰκουμένης Μ(άρκου) 'Ιουλίου  
Φιλίππου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ [Τ]ὴν κυρίαν ἡμῶν Σεοῆραν  
Σε[βα]στὴν καὶ τὸν ἐξοχώτατον ἐπαρχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ  
πρατωρίου 'Ιούλιον [Π]ρεῖσκον, Κλ(αύδιος) Αὐρ(ήλιος)  
Τιβήριος, δο[υκηνάριος δι]καιοδότης τῆς λαμπρο[τάτης]  
'Αλεξαν]δρέων πόλεως ὑπ' αὐτῶν προαχθε[ίς].

Cl. Aurelius Tiberius, a native of Philippopolis, was tribune of vigiles in 241, and iuridicus ducenarius Alexandriae between 247 and 249. The latter post was classed by H.G. Pflaum in his first ducenarian echelon. As the inscription (b) is in gratitude for that post he must have spent all the intervening years in the Rome tribunates or as pp bis. H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire, no 333, has arrived at the conclusion that as the tribunates were only held for one year the other four years for which he allows were

spent as pp bis. Though I agree that for the brilliant man the Rome tribunates were normally a year or less in duration, I have also pointed out in the chapter on these tribunates that some must perforce have spent longer over them, and I doubt if we can allocate these four years exactly between tribunates and pp bis respectively. There is the further possibility that two first-echelon posts were held, though this is admittedly unusual. On the whole I think the most satisfactory explanation is that Tiberius had a slightly slow passage between his first primipilate and the procuratorships, without attempting to be more precise than the evidence allows.

109. M. AURELIUS VETERANUS. III 1560 = ILS 3845 Ad Mediam, Dacia.

Prefect of XIII Gemina some time 260-68. The date shows that he was a ducenarian prefect<sup>m</sup> and the probabilities are that he was not a primipilaris.

110. AURELIUS ZENON. V 808 Aquileia.

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae), Fl(avius) Exuperat(us) agens in lust(ro) Fl(avii) Sabini p(rimi)p(ili), Ael(ius) Severus agens lust(ro) Aur(elii) Flav(i) pr(incipis), signif(eri) leg(ionis) III p(iae) f(idelis).. Valer(ius) Valens signif(er) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) lust(ro) Aur(elii) Zenon(is) p(rimi)p(ili), v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

An imperial cognomen has been erased from the title of legion III. Domaszewski Rangoführung, p. 187, has restored that of the Philips by comparison with the inscription of Domitus Terentianus (see appendix of

Doubtful Primipilares), where a signifer named Valerius Valens appears on an inscription dated to 244 from Auileia. This is not an improbable identification. The lustrum primipilii has been discussed by Domaszewski in Archiv für Religionsw., 9, 149 ff..

111. C. BAEBIUS ATTICUS V 1838 ILS 1349 Iulium Carnicum

C(aio) Baebio P(ublili) f(ilio) Cla(udia) Attico, II vir(o) i(ure) [d(icundo)], primipil(o) leg(ionis) V Macedonic(ae), praef(ecto) civitatum Moesiae et Treballia[e, pr]aef(ecto) [ci]vitat(ium) in Alpib(us) Maritum(is), t[r(ribuno)] mil(itum) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae), primopil(o) iter, procurator(i) Ti(berii) Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici in Norico, civitas Saevatum et Lajancorum.

V 1839 is a more fragmentary version of the same text. Iulium Carnicum has the tribe Claudia, and everything indicates that Atticus was a native of that city. The career is in the transitional period under the reign of Claudius. The two posts as praefectus civitatum, military governorships in areas not sufficiently civilised to be organised as provinces, may have been held before the reign of Claudius, as they belong strictly to the Augustan system. He continued to the praetorian tribunate and the post of primuspilus iter, which came into existence under Claudius or possibly under Caligula. As remarked in Part I, clearly under Claudius it is normal for a primipilaris, if he reached a procuratorship at all, to do so via the praetorian tribunate and the post of primuspilus iter. The appearance of the two other Rome tribunates in procuratorial careers is at present only

attested under Nero. Atticus, after fulfilling the requirements mentioned, received the procuratorship of Noricum, a procuratorial governorship. Evidently the fact that primipilares were quite well equipped for this type of post was recognised, cf. T. Iulius Ustus, but in the absence of a hierarchy of posts and a regular approach there seems to have been little opening for the primipilares at this time.

112. CN. BAEBIUS CELSUS. XI 5274 Hispellum.

Cn(aeo) Baebio T(iti) f(ilio) Celso, prim(o) pil(o), praef(ecto) fabr(um), pontifici.

The career is early. It is one of the cases where the post of praefectus fabrum is held immediately after the primipilate, a warning against trying to construct a rigid hierarchy to fit the Augustan system, as that post normally is held after the prefecture of the camp, at the end of the career.

113. SEX. BAIUS PUDENS. (a) IX 4964 = ILS 1363 Cures  
(b) AE 1951.184 Rome  
(c) Not.di.Scav. 1928, p.385 Nr. Cures  
(d) AE 1948. 132  
(e) VI 31870 Rome.

(a) D(is) [M(anibus)] Sex(to) Bai[o...f(ilio)...Pudenti,] ..proc(uratori) Aug(usti)..item...Norici, Raetiae, Vindelici[iae, Maur]etaniae Caesar(iensis) et Septi[miae..]e M..ae, Baia P[udentilla? par]entib(us) dulciss(imis).

(b) Iovi Optimo Maxim[o], pro salute Imp(eratoris) n(ostri) T(iti) Ael(ii) [H]adr(iani) Anton(ini) Aug(usti) P(ii) p(atris) p(a[tr]iae) et Aur(elii) Caes(aris) et liber(or)um q(ue) eor(um) sub Ba[io] Pudente trib(un)o et (centurionibus) exer[c]it(atoribus) Ael(io) Sabino, [Ca?]ssio Lon[gi]n[o]..n..p..a R[oma]no, Fl(avio) [Mercu]riale, M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Honor[atianus] eq(ues)

sing(ularis) ipsius et[...da]obus frat(ribus) eius et  
 su...s...Adlectus Primus Ce[lsus] Acamazon Fortunatus  
 v(otum) s(oluerunt) l(aetiter) l(ibens) m(erito),  
 Presente et [R]ufino cos(ulibus) (A.D. 153)

(c) Sex(ti) Bai Pudentis p(rimi)p(ili) Bele...erus fec(it).

(aa) [vexilla]tio leg(ionis)? [muros] et port[as...a  
 fundame]ntis de[...trib(unicia) pot(estate) V]II cos(ule)  
 I[II..Baio P]udente.

(bb) ....Bai....Belg....Cl.Tingi....Pann....rut....

He is also mentioned as procurator of Mauretania<sup>a</sup>  
 Caesariensis on VIII 20834 = ILS 6885, 20835, 20961 and  
 21007. The identification of him with the Pudens of  
 inscription (aa) had been designated as uncertain by  
 H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire no. 173. He has  
 further rejected the identification of him with the unknown  
 of VI 21870 (inscription (bb)). The first is based on  
 the fact that the Imperial titles would not appear any-  
 where else than the head of a building inscription, even  
 if we had evidence for a legionary detachment in  
 Mauretania Caesariensis. H.G. Pflaum goes on to provide  
 an alternative restoration. The second is accorded more  
 space. His arguments fall into two categories. The  
 first are based on the original Pudens inscription, which  
 he argues to be in direct order because ppII must be  
 inserted at the beginning of the inscription and it would  
 be contrary to all practice for the highest procuratorial  
 post to follow it. He further demonstrates that<sup>m</sup> as far  
 as any differentiation may be made between the third

ducenarian echelon posts mentioned, it must be by the size of their garrisons, which again supports the career being in direct order as far as Noricum and the other two posts are concerned. Also he points out that the career on the Domaszewski hypothesis would be recorded only from the third ducenarian echelon, most unusual. He then turns his attention to the inscription (bb) and examines the possible restorations. We need only note for our purposes his analysis of the work of Domaszewski, who as he shows had to do violence to the text in order to produce his version, Rangordnung, p. 227. Having disposed of these two intruders, we may now study the career of Pudens. He held in 153 the tribunate of the equites singulares, which we know from the careers of Marcius Turbo and Tattius Maximus to have been a key post. H.G. Pflaum has put forward a case, as mentioned above, for the career being in direct order, which seems to be fully satisfactory, and we must assume that Pudens held a first-echelon ducenarian procuratorship after being ppII, given on the missing part of the stone, after which he was promoted directly to the third-echelon, which accords with a well-established practice of primipilares whose qualification were primarily military being allowed to pass over the second ducenarian echelon, which consisted mainly of urban financial posts. He then held Noricum, Raetia, and Maurentia Caesariensis

in turn. H.G. Pflaum admits that though Noricum was clearly inferior in garrison to the other two the evidence suggests that Raetia ranked above Maurentia Caesariensis, though the difference was only slight. As he remarks, however, it is easier to conceive that the Imperial administration might find it convenient to introduce a slight variation in order of command than to reverse the order of the inscription. Mauretania Caesariensis is the last post of Pudens, as we have his commemorative stone. On dating he is attested as procurator of Caesariensis in 167, 168 and 169, and his title proc. Aug. in one of the inscriptions from Rapidum suggests that his procuratorship continued after the death of Verus. As T. Desticius Severus was procurator of Raetia in 166, Pudens' procuratorship there must have ended in 165<sup>3</sup>166, at latest. In that case the procuratorial career of Pudens probably began under Pius. In twelve years he completed his service as tribune of the equites singulares, possibly held a praetorian tribunate, was primuspilus bis, and completed three terms as procurator. In eleven years Tattius Maximus went from the same tribunate to the prefecture of the vigiles. The difference in the two careers is not speed of appointment, but the fact that Pudens instead of the normal one post in the third ducenarian echelon held three. Two possible reasons might be advanced. The first is that Pudens after

*all was not suitable to be a p[re]f[ec]t. Yet he*

~~all that time~~ was selected for a post which only a small number of men could hold, perhaps one man out of the total number of men completing their primipilates over a period of three years, i.e. the tribunate of the equites singulares, and <sup>also</sup> ~~the point that this~~ would explain why he did not reach the prefectures, but not why he held three posts where most men held only one. The second explanation, to which I incline myself, is that circumstances unknown to us necessitated the presence of an exceptionally able governor <sup>in</sup> ~~at~~ these three provinces in turn. There is the senatorial parallel of M. Valerius Maximianus on an unpublished inscription from Numidia, who was called upon to command five legions in succession. It is an open question whether the death of Pudens prevented further promotion, or whether he had been allowed to retire. This much may be said. He served at least sixteen years after his tribunate, when ~~one~~ the earliest probable tenure of the first primipilate he would be in his forties. He would be about sixty at least when he completed his Maurentanian procuratorship, and as he still had a fourth echelon post to hold, and possibly a secretariat too, before he was eligible for a prefecture, the central government may have felt that retirement was the answer. The inscription (c) has been interpreted in the past by some as p(raefecti) p(raetorio), and Passerini, le coorti pretorie, pp. 309-10, has



included Pudens as such, because he could see no other possible interpretation. The expansion p(rimi)p(ilaris) is perfectly possible, whereas there is as far as I know no parallel for the title of the praetorian prefect being so abbreviated. The rare nomen BAIUS and the place of burial suggest an Italian origin, and specifically at Cures, which agrees with the recruiting pattern of this period. Whether he is related to the Bai- of VI 31870, whom H.G. Pflaum (loc. cit.) placed at the turn of the second and third centuries, is uncertain, for this man, who rose to the fourth ducenarian echelon, might be called Baienus and be related to Q. Baeinus Blassianus, ( I.I. x. iv. (1951) 37, identified with the prefect of Egypt of XIV 5341 by H.G. Pflaum).

114. M. BASSAEUS RUFUS

Numerous.

VI 31828 = ILS 1326. Rome.

M(arco) Bassaeo M(arci) f(ilio) St[el(latina)] Rufo, pr(aefecto) pr(aetorio) [Im]peratorum M(arci) Aureli Antonini et [L(ucii)] Aureli Veri et L(ucii) Aureli Commodi Aug(ustorum), [c]onsularibus ornamentis honorato, [e]t ob victoriam Germanicam et Sarmatic(am) [A]ntonini et Commodi Aug(ustorum), corona [m]urali, vallari, aurea, hastis puris IIII [to]rtidemque vexillis obsidionalibus [ab iisdem] donato, praef(ecto) ~~non~~ Aegypti, praef(ecto) vig(ilum)], proc(uratori) a rationibus, proc(uratori) Belg[icae et du]larum Germanicarum proc(uratori) regni [Nori]ci, proc(uratori) Asturiae et Calleciae, trib(uno) [coh(ortis)...] pr(aetoriae), trib(uno) coh(ortis) X urb(anae), trib(uno) coh(ortis) V vigil(um) p(rimo)p(ilo) bis. [Huic sen]atus auctoribus Imp(eratoribus) Antonino et [Comm]odo Aug(ustis) statuam armatam in foro [Divi Traia]ni et aliam civili amictu in templo [Divi Pii] tertiam lorica[m] in tem[plo Martis Ultoris] ? po]nendas censuit.

XIV 4500 Ostia A.D. 168.

L(ucio) Venuleio Apro[nia]no II, L(ucio) Sergio Paul[lo]  
 II cos(ulibus). M(arco) Bassaeo Rufo pr(aefecto)  
 vig(ilum)...titulus dedic(atus) VI Id(us) Mart(ias)  
 isdem cos(ulibus).

IX 2438. Saepinum.

Bassaeus Rufus et Macrinus Vindex mag(istatibus)  
~~Saep~~(inatibus)...Bassaeo Rufo et Macrino Vindici,  
 pr(aefectis) pr(aetorio) e(mentissimis) v(iris).

III 5171 Celeia.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo). Liciniu[s] Hilarus  
 [b(ene)f(iciarius) M(arci) B]assaei Rufi, [proc(uratoris)  
 Au]g(usti), v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

BGU 903 l. 16.

καὶ προ[σ]έθηκαν βασιλεῖον ῥούφου, τὸν λαμπρότατον  
 ἡγεμό[νεύσαν]τ(α) τῷ θ' [ἐτεί] ὅτε τὸν νομὸν διελογίετο.

PSI III 161 line 6.

κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέν [τὰ ε]πὶ τοῦ λαμπρότατου ἡ  
 ἐμό[νος] βασιλ[ε]αίου ῥούφου.  
 line 24 (έτους) θ' Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Ουρηου -- φαρμαῦθ

Dio 71.5.2.3

(Loeb Translation)

One of the prefects of Marcus was Bassaeus Rufus, who was a good man in other respects, but was uneducated because of his rustic origin and had been reared in poverty in his youth.

Avid. Cass. 14.8

Audisti praefectum praetorii nostri philosophi ante triduum quam fieret mendicum et pauperem, sed subito divitem factum. unde, quaeso, nisi de visceribus rei publicae provincialium fortunis?

The accounts of the lack of education of Rufus, and his poverty-stricken youth, combined with the fact that his tribe is not known outside Italy, suggest that he was an Italian, and a soldier of the praetorian guard, for his origo virtually rules out the possibility that he was a legionary, and his extreme poverty the possibility that he was a centurion ex equite Romano. He is the only praetorian prefect to whom we can assign an origin in the ranks of the praetorian guard with anything approaching certainty. ILS 1326 summarises a career no doubt similar to others that we have considered with the mention of the Rome tribunes, and the statement that he was pp.bis. After the first echelon ducenarian procuratorship of Asturia and Gallecia he passed over the second echelon to the third. This happened quite frequently, for there was only one post in this period in that echelon suitable for the primipilaris, the governorship of Mauretania Tingitana. In fact the second procuratorship held by Rufus was a procuratorial

governorship, but in the third echelon, that of Noricum. If Proc. Aug is the correct restoration of III 5171, as opposed to proc. Augg., this post was held under Antoninus Pius. In the fourth echelon one of the two great Gallic procuratorships was held, followed by the secretariat a rationibus. It was unusual for a primipilaris to hold a secretariat unless he had special qualifications, as was probably the case for Cn. Pompeius Homullus and Ti. Claudius Secundinus. As there is nothing in the career or ~~antecedents~~ of Rufus to suggest that he had any special aptitude for a secretariat, it seems best to suppose that he was only following the career that had become customary for future praetorian prefects, cf. Pflaum, Procurators, p.257. The three prefectures of the vigiles (held by primipilaris prefects more often than the annona), Egypt, and the praetorian guard, were reached successively in the years 168-9, the passage to the last being hastened by the sudden death of Furius Victorinus in A.D. 168. Rufus was decorated in 175, and as he was a prefect of Aurelius and Commodus, and was commemorated by them, his death occurred between 177 and 180. The timing of the career may be reconstructed to some degree. If the Norican post was under Antoninus Pius it must have been towards the end of the reign, if the whole career is not to be impossibly long. A period of twelve years might

be taken over two procuratorships, two primipilates, and three Rome tribunates. If the Norican command was completed by 161, in the next seven years he held the Gallic procuratorship, then the secretariat, and was prefect of the vigiles, which post he had left for Egypt before the end of 168 (cf. A. Stein, Präfecten von Ägypten, pp. 93-4). On the reckoning that the Norican post ended in 161 he had already served twelve plus eight years when he became praetorian prefect, and he died after a further eight to eleven years' service. It was stated in Part I that the first primipilate could hardly be held before the age of forty, so on a reckoning on that age for the first primipilate Rufus became praetorian prefect at the age of sixty, was decorated at the age of sixty-six, and died between the ages of sixty-eight and seventy. If it is felt that the close of the Norican command must be moved forward from 161 to leave more time for the later posts, his age must be made greater. These calculations of course are not meant to be taken rigidly. They arise from considerable discussion between Mr. Birley and myself as to the implications of the Norican command beginning at least in the reign of Pius. Even allowing for the necessarily arbitrary times allotted to the procuratorships of Asturia and Callicia, and of Noricum, there is sufficient evidence from the known dates and the estimated length

of service in the tribunes and primipilates to postulate a career about fifty years in length. For that career to be possible at all the merit of this man must have been spotted at latest in the centurionate, to be confirmed in his despatch to Rome, his rapid passing through the tribunes, and his further promotion to procuratorships. It is not impossible that his selection as a possible future praetorian prefect took place in the Rome tribunes. I do recommend to the reader the close study of this career, and other careers where evidence for timing is present, in order to increase the understanding of the system of selection and promotion. The primipilaris is peculiarly suitable for this, because as a man who was forty at least before he came to Rome for the tribunes he must be selected early and promoted quickly if he was to become a senior procurator or a prefect. While only a handful of all primipilares can have reached the height of the praetorian prefecture, we cannot withhold our admiration from the system that was capable of taking a man who had no particular advantages in the way of education, and making of him the second man in the Empire.

115

L. BETUTIUS FURIANUS.

(a) XI 385

Ariminum.

(b) 386 = ILS 6659

"

(c) 387 = ILS 6660

"

(d) AE 1945. 29

"

- (a) L(ucio) Betutio L(ucii) f(ilio) Pal(atina) Furiano, p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), II viro quinq(uennali), IIviro i(ure) d(icundo), III vir(o) aedili cur(iali), pontif(ici), flamine Divi Nervae, patrono colon(iae), colleg(ium) centonarior(um), amantissimo patriae. L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).
- (b) A similar inscription, the only difference being that it was set up by the colleg(ium) fabr(orum).
- (c) L(ucio) Betutio L(ucii) f(ilio) Pal(atina) Furiano, aedili, cui et cur(ialis) i(ure) d(icundo) et plebeia mendata est. Plebs urbana ex aere conlato ob honorem ab eo integre et sine ambitione administratum. L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).
- (d) L. Bet. pp. leg..

The phrase amantissimo patriae indicates that he was a native of Ariminum. His flamine dates the inscription to after 98, and in view of the style and wording of the inscription a second century date would seem more probable than a third century one. An interesting question arises in connection with his municipal career. Normally a primipilaris would hold the duovirate on completion of his military service, rarely posts lower in the municipal hierarchy. When therefore we have so complete a municipal career the suspicion arises that the man had been directly commissioned as a centurion, and risen to be a primuspilus, after his municipal career. In support of this is the fact that the third inscription, set up after his aedilate, makes no mention of his primipilate. Further the rank of II vir quinquennalis heads the municipal

career, which fits in better with a whole career drawn up in indirect order than with the idea that the military post is mentioned, and then the municipal career which follows that post chronologically is given in indirect order. On the hypothesis that the municipal career is later than the military it would more naturally be given in direct order of tenure. I feel therefore that there is a strong probability that this man, after a municipal career which reached the highest post tenable, was given a direct commission as centurion, and reached the primipilate. The fact that other centurionates are not mentioned may be due to the dedicators' desire to concentrate on his municipal honours, or to the fact that all his centurionates were held in the one legion. Direct commission as a primuspilus may I think be ruled out as impossible.

116. C. BICATIUS POTITUS. XII 2210 Gratianopolis.

Primipilaris. Holder, B 416, gives this nomen as Celtic, but no other examples are known, and in view of Holder's tendency to include anything and everything, the evidence is too slight to assign an origin to this man.

117. M. BLOSSIUS PUDENS. VI 3580 = ILS 2641 Rome.



Ln

M(arco) Blossio Q(uinti) f(ilio) An(iensi) Pudenti,  
 (centurioni) leg(ionis) V Magedonic(ae), donis  
 militaribus donato ab Imp(eratore) Vespasiano Aug(usto),  
 torquib(us), armillis, phaler(is), corona aurea, vix(it)  
 an(nis) XLIX sanctissime et prope diem consummationis  
 primi pili sui debitum. M(arcus) Blossius Olympicus  
 patrono optumo fecit item sibi et libertis et libertabus  
 suis posterisque eorum. Long(um) p(edes) XXX Lat  
 p(edes) XVII.

This is a most interesting inscription. The vital question is what consummatio primi pili means here, completion of term as primuspilus or completion of the term necessary to qualify for it. Here may be cited Suetonius, Caligula 44, Plerisque centurionum maturis iam et nonnullis ante paucissimos quam consummaturi essent dies primos pilos ademit. Here the meaning presumably is that Caligula deprived these men of their post as primuspilus, even in a few cases where their term of office had only a few days to run. It is interesting to note that this deprivation is said to have been on the score of age and infirmity. Nevertheless I think in the inscription before us the other possible meaning must be understood. There would be little point in informing us that Pudens was within a few days of the end of his primipilate, and no reason why he should not be called primuspilus in the inscription. On the other hand, if the death of Pudens took place a few days before he was due to be promoted to primuspilus that important point would hardly be neglected by a conscientious freedman. Clearly Pudens was told in advance of the date when his

promotion would become effective. His age is important and corresponds with the argument in Part I that the earliest probable age for the primipilate was forty, but this was strictly ~~for~~ the brilliant man, and the ordinary centurion, if he got it at all, might wait till the age of sixty or later. I have included him in a prosopography of primipilares, though he never reached the primipilate, as I feel like his biographer that a few days should not rob him of the privilege, particularly as it is such an important inscription. The distribution of the nomen BLOSSIUS/ does not rule out the places outside Italy with the tribe Aniensis, so I have not felt able to assign as origo to Pudens.

118. BRITTICIUS CRESCENS. III 14356. 5a = ILS 9104a Carnuntum.

Primuspilus of XIV Gemina. Vorbeck, Militärinschriften aus Carnuntum, no. 37, gives the date as second century, with a query. The nomen is so far unexplained. It may be a rare Italian derivative of BRITTIUS.

119. P. BRUTTIUS GRATUS. X 6229 Fundi.

P(ublius) Bruttius P(ublili) f(ilius) Vel(ina) Gratus, domo Aquileia, (centurio) c(o)hort(is) I praet(oriae), (primus) pil(us) leg(ionis) XIII...

Ritterling, RE XII 1744, has dated this inscription as probably first-century. The appearance of the inscription in the Corpus suggests that the promotion was direct from the praetorian centurionate to the primipilate. L. Ovinus Rufus was promoted direct to the primipilate

from primus ordo cohortium praet. under Augustus, and influenced by this Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 102, has postulated a primus ordo in each cohort, his only other evidence being his interpretation of the inscription IX 2983, see below, and he assumes that Gratus was a primus ordo in the first cohort. His case is not established, as his one certain example is not a primus ordo of one cohort, but of all the cohorts. Also there are other cases of ordinary praetorian centurions being promoted to the primipilate direct, as will be seen from a study of the relevant chapter on the Rome cohorts.

120. A. BUSIDIUS - IX 335 Canusium.

A(ulus) Busidius [s...]p(rimi)p(ili) (centurio) Militavit... quo natus est...splendidis equestris ...crementorum titul...filiis filiabusque n...exhibita industr[ia...]in exercitibus...A(ulus) Busidius A(uli) f(ilius)...Busidia A(uli) f(ilia)...

A. von Domaszewski has restored this inscription on p. 112 of his Rangordnung as;

A. Busidius [s...]p(rimi) p(ili) (centurio). militavit ann(os)...hic situs]quo natus est. Q(uem imp(erator) Augustus]splendidis(simae) equestris]militiae in-crementorum titul]is exornavit et]filiis filiabusque n]atisq(ue) eorum pro]exhibita industr[ia per gradus militiae]in exercitibus]suis civitatem dedit]

The parallels he gives are insufficient to support his restorations, and the inscription in fact must be considered incapable of interpretation at present. The expansion p(rimi)p(ili) (centurio) is possible, as there are other inscriptions where this phrase, so common in

literature, seems to have been used. The nomen is a rare Italian one, and it seems probable that he <sup>was</sup> Italian by origin.

121. L CAEDICIUS.

Literary.

Vell. Paterc. 2.120.4

L. etiam Caedicii praefectum  
castrorum eorumque, qui una  
circumdati Alisone immensis  
Germanorum copiis obsidebantur,  
laudanda virtus est.

Frontinus. strat IV.7.8

Caedicius primipilaris, qui in  
Germania post Varianum cladem  
obsessis nostris pro duce fuit,  
veritus, ne barbari ligna quae  
congesta erant vallo admovent et  
castra eius incenderent, simulata  
lignorum inopia, missis undique  
qui ea furarentur, effecit ut  
Germani universos truncos  
amolirentur.

R. Syme in Germania, vol. XVII, pp. 109-11, in a short discussion of the prefects of the camp in the army of Varus suggested that Caedicius was the third prefect of the camp of that army, which comprised three legions, two prefects (L. Eggius and Ceionius) being with the army in the field. He suggested, without definitely committing himself, that Aliso might be one of the winter camps of the legions, left defended by troops under the command of the prefect. The other possibility that he mentioned was, that it was defended by a vexillation, under the command of the prefect. While certainty is impossible, the phrasing of the second text suggests that the latter was the case, Caedicius being called a primipilaris because he was only

strictly prefect of the camp when the legion was in its winter quarters. This is highly speculative however. Clearly R. Syme has the correct solution as far as the three legions having separate winter camps is concerned, and the conclusions that he reaches in that article as to the position of the prefect of the camp in the Augustan period are eminently sound.

122. CAERELLIUS THRASEA Breccia, Iscr. Gr. e Lat., Thebes.  
p. 51, no. 69.

Prefect of the camp in Egypt in 151 or 152, i.e. the commander of II Traiana.

123. A CAESILIUS ACASTINUS. V 903 Aquileia.

A(ulo) Caesilio A(uli) f(ilio) Vel(ina) Acastino, p(rimi)p(ilari), IIII viro iure dic(undo) q(uennali) reip(ublicae) suae, amantissimo municip(um) et incol(arum) insolacium amissi optimi et [p]r[aestant]i[s]sim[i] f(ece)rant). L]ocus datus de [cret]o dec[ur]ion[um].

The origo is clearly Aquileia, of which the tribe is Velina. The date is probably second-century.

124. C. CAESIUS SILVESTER. Numerous Tuficum.

XI 5696 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 F(laviae) F(elicis), leg(ionis) III Gall(icae), leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae), leg(ionis) XXXVibiae V(ictricis), p(rimo) p(ilo) praef(ecto), castror(um) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) [F(elicis) do]nis dato bello Dacico bis, [to]-rquibus armillis, phale [ris, po]ntifici curator[i] viarum et pont(ium) Umbr(iae) et Pice(ni) dato [ab Imp(eratore) An]tonino Aug(usto) Pio, patrono municipi.

XI 5674 A fragmentary inscription bearing the same text. At Attidium.

XI 5674 C(aio) Caesio C(ai) f(ilio) Ouf(entina) Silvestri,  
p(rimi) p(ilaris), patr(ono) munic(ipi), curator  
viarum et pontium Umbriae et Piceni allecto ab  
optimo Imp(eratore) T(ito) Aeli[~~o~~] Antonino Aug(usto)  
Pio, p(atre) p(atriciae), Imp(eratore) II, liberti  
patrono optimo ac dignissimo. L(ocus) d(atus)  
d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

XI 5698 [...curatori viarum et p]ontium [Umbria]e et Piceni,  
[. . . IIII vir(o)]quinq(uennali), [pat]rono...

XI 5694 T(ito) Hoenio Severo, M(arco) Peducaeo Priscino  
= ILS 2666acos(ulibus). VI K(alendos) D(ecembros. Decr[e]t-  
(o) Decur(ionum). Quod C(aius) Caesius Silvester  
p(rimi)p(ilaris) v(erba) f(ecit)...

XI 5695  
= ILS 5612 C(aius) Caesius C(ai) f(ilius) Ouf(entina)  
Silvester p(rimi)p(ilaris) ponderarium s(olo)  
p(rivato) p(ecunia) s(ua) fecit et charistionem  
aureum pos(uit), stateram et pondera quae antea  
resp(ublica) emit, pro quibus Silvester pec(uniam)  
solvi iussit, mensuras liqueas aurea positas a  
Caesio Prisco in eodem contulit.

XI 5687 C(aius) Caesius C(ai) f(ilius) Ouf(entina)  
Silvester p(rimi) p(ilaris) aedem Veneris s(olo)  
p(rivato) p(ecunia) s(ua) f(ecit).

This man is also referred to in XI 5699-5701, the first of which his wife, Cesidia Eutich(e), set~~u~~ up, and is therefore probably commemorative, and in XI 8051-8055, all at Tuficum. His origo is Tuficum, as his tribe confirms. His career had commenced by the time of the Dacian wars, when he was decorated, and he was still active enough to be given the post of curator in A.D. 142 at earliest (the terminus post quem is given by the number of salutations of Pius as imperator (RE II 2502). This gives us a minimum of thirty-five years, and a minimum age at the time when he was curator of fifty-five. His decorations were presumably as a praetorian soldier. The career conforms to the general

pattern for men who were not chosen for the Rome tribunates. As a centurion he moved about a great deal, without those movements necessarily bearing any direct relation to promotion. As he does not mention a legion for his primipilate it seems reasonable to conclude that it was held, like his prefecture, in IV Flavia. The post of curator granted to Silvester by Antoninus Pius has been discussed by H.G. Pflaum in connection with L. Sibidienus Sabinus (XI 5675 & 5689) in his these complémentaire, no. 6, where he concluded that the post was merely an extraordinary municipal one, from the fact that it is only attested for two men, both natives of Tuficum, and it is not mentioned on XI 5675, from Attidium. He linked the favour gained by Aetius Ferox (ILS 5891) in 141, that Tuficum should be able to levy a toll to help pay for the maintenance of a road, with the appointment by Pius of Silvester to this municipal post, which was normally filled by the town itself. This explains why the appointment by Pius is so emphasised in the inscriptions as a peculiar honour. This appointment presumably meant that Pius had taken over the financial burden that had been falling on Tuficum. The non-mention of the post of IIII vir quinquennalis on XI 5697 ought to mean that in 142 at earliest, when Silvester was already curator, he had not yet held that magistracy. This raises the question, by what right did he propose the vote of thanks in 141? I do not know the answer, though

of course he was a patron of the town at that time. He is an excellent example of the wealthy primipilaris ~~and e.g.~~ his construction of a temple to Venus. He may not have been the first of his family to play the part in Tuficum, for Caesius Priscus was presumably a relation. Another possible relation is C. Caesius Verus (XI 6689. 52b cf. p. 1402). Silvester, in his municipal standing and his generosity to his citizens reminds us yet again that the primipilaris who went direct to the prefecture of the camp and then retired is a much more important person than we are sometimes disposed to think.

125. CAETRONIUS CUSPIANUS

XII 112 Axima, Alpes Graiae.

D(is) M(anibus) Caetronii...Cus [p]iani p(rimi)p(ilaris) proc(uratoris) Aug(usti), Aegnatia Priscilla coniugi karissimo.

CAETRONIUS is one of those nomina which did not become common outside Italy. There are twelve examples of it in volume V of the Corpus, fourteen in the other Italian volumes, and five scattered outside Italy. I regard this man therefore as probably Italian by origin. The procuratorship is of the Alpes Graiae, of centenarian rank, following the first primipilate. The question of its dating is difficult. On present dated evidence the practice of appointing primipilares to centenarian procuratorships is first attested under Trajan. H.G. Pflaum is of the opinion that the practice became rare after the reign of Caracalla. On this basis we could assign it tentatively to the second century.



Whether the wife was the daughter of Egnatius Priscus, procurator of Noricum, as suggested by A. Stein, PIR<sup>2</sup> E27, must remain a matter for speculation. Cuspius is dealt with by H.G. Pflaum in his these complémentaire, no. 148.

126. CAETRONIUS PISANUS Literary.

Tac.h.4,50 Festus Adrumeto, ubi speculabundus substiterat, ad legionem contendit praefectumque castrorum Caetronium Pisanum vinciri iussit proprias ob similitudines, sed Pisonis satellitem vocabat.

For CAETRONIUS as a nomen mainly confined to Italy see no. 125 above. The legion was III Augusta.

127. M. CALPURNIUS SENECA FABIVS TURPIO SENTINATIIVS

|     |            |                    |
|-----|------------|--------------------|
| (a) | II 1083    | Ilipa.             |
| (b) | 1178       | Hispalis.          |
|     | = ILS 2736 |                    |
| (c) | II 1267    | Sanlucar le Mayor. |

(a) M(arco) Calpur[nio M(arci) f(ilio) Gal(eria)]  
Senecae Fab[io Turpioni] Senti[natiano...]

(b) M(arco) Calpurnio M(arci) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Senecae Fabio Turpioni Sentinatiano, praef(ecto) classis Misensis, praef(ecto) classis praetoriae Ravennatis, proc(uratori) provinciae Lusitaniae et Vettoniae, p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) I Adiutricis, ordo c(olonorum) c(oloniae) R(omulensis). M(arcus) Calpurnius Seneca honore usus impensam remisit.

(c) Iunoni Reginae M(arcus) Calpurnius M(arci) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Seneca Fabius Turpio Sentinatianus, primuspilus legionis primae Adiutricis, procurator provinciae Lusitaniae et Vettoniae, praefectus classis praetoriae Ravennatis, ex argent[is] libris centum d(onum) d(edit). Succonia C(ai) f(ilia) Rustica uxor epulo dato utriusq(ue) sexus dedicat.

He is attested as prefect of the Misenum fleet in A.D. 134 (XVI 79). His origo is clearly in Baetica, and

is probably Hispalis. The naming of one primipilate with no indication as to whether it is the first or second is puzzling. In the past it has been taken generally to indicate the second primipilate, on the grounds that the ducenarian procuratorships follow. On the other hand, we have in Part I come to the conclusion that the post of primuspilus iterum in a legion must have involved the duties of the prefect of the camp, and one can hardly credit it that the simple phrase primuspilus legionis would be used to denote this post in an inscription. It is in fact very noticeable that the primipili bis make plain their rank. The tempting idea of an error on the stone, and that pp II legionis etc., was to have been written cannot stand in view of the fact that two separate stones bear the phrase primuspilus legionis. The answer, in fact, escapes us, and the only thing to be said is that it seems most probably that despite the peculiarity of the inscriptions, Seneca held both primipilates and the Rome tribunates.

The case for Seneca being a man ex equite Romano is as follows. His origo is in Baetica. M. Durry asserted that there were no praetorian recruits from Baetica (Les cohortes prétoriennes, p. 247, note 8), and Passerini in his study gave only one, Septimius Sabinianus. The evidence in this latter case is that the man was resident in Ossigi, his wife was a native of that place, and he is

called miles not veteranus, and therefore was still serving (Passerini, Le coorti pretorie, p. 156 and note 4, re II 2101-2). On the other hand, there is a group of men from Spain with direct commissions as centurions precisely under the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, clearly profiting by the fact that both emperors came from Spain. The odds thus seem to me to be heavily for Seneca to have been a man ex equite Romano rather than a praetorian or a legionary. Seneca proceeded to the ducenarian procuratorships, and commenced with the provincial procuratorship of Lusitanis and Vettonia in the first ducenarian echelon. He did not hold a post in the second echelon, there being little scope in that section for men whose talents were mainly military. In the third echelon he received, not the procuratorial governorship which so often fell to primipilares, but the command of the fleet at Ravenna. This was a special favour, as that fleet was stationed in Italy, and the even greater compliment followed of the command of the Misenum fleet, ranked in the fourth echelon, directly below the secretariats and the great prefectures. Whether Seneca proceeded further we do not know, and it has been pointed out in Part I that while apparently men who reached the third echelon might expect promotion to the fourth, there was no certainty beyond that. Promotion to the secretariats was rare for primipilares, and only the few who had been selected as an early stage as suitable and

promoted at the appropriate speed could hope to reach the great prefectures. As it stands the career is very distinguished. Of its speed we know nothing, but it seems probable from what we know of other careers that most of the procuratorial career at least lay under Hadrian, though the original grant of a centurion's commission must have been made under Trajan. He appears as no. 107 in H.G. Pflaum's these complémentaire.

128. C. CALPURNIUS SEPPIANUS XIII 6730 = ILS 4615 Mogontiacum  
Primuspilus of XXII Primigenia.

129. L. CALVISIUS SECUNDUS III 1092 Apulum.

Primuspilus of XIII Gemina some time between 183 and 185, he set up an official dedication, the text of which is given in the special appendix on such inscriptions. He is a native of Falerio, in Picenum.

130. L. CAMMIUS SECUNDINUS. {a} III 5328 Solva Noricum  
 {b} III 4660. 5 Vindobona.

(a) M(arco) Gavi[o] Maxim[o], praefec[to] praetor[io],  
 L(ucius) Cammiu[s] Secundi[nus], p(rimus)p(ilus)  
 praef(ectus) leg(ionis) X...proc(urator) Aug(usti)  
 amico.

(aa) Leg(io) XIII Gem(ina). Cam(mius) Secu(ndinus).

H.G. Pflaum in his these complémentaire, no. 108, has argued convincingly for this man being a centenarian procurator. The inscription was quite probably set up in 138, when Gavius attained the prefecture. Some time before 101 (Ritterling, RE XII 1716), he was a legionary in charge of making tiles. He reached the primipilate,

was primuspilus and prefect in the same legion, and was then promoted to a centenarian procuratorship, from which he had probably retired in 138. By that time he was at least in his late fifties. The other solution, proposed by A. Stein in Der Römische Ritterstand, p. 152, that he had been pp bis, prefect of the Egyptian legion XXII Deioterana, and then had become procurator of Noricum, is open to the following objections. The only other possible case where the post of primuspilus iter. is not clearly distinguished from the first primipilate is that of M. Calpurnius Seneca. Solva was not the seat of the governor of Noricum. The further point may be added that primipilares who hold ducenarian prefectures of legions tend to hold a second-echelon post at Rome before they pass to procuratorial governorships like Noricum. The solution offered by H.G. Pflaum thus seems to me to be the most natural and satisfactory.

On the question of the origo of Secundinus I must disagree with H.G. Pflaum, who thinks he was a Norican. Schulze, p. 31 noted CAMMIUS at Solva, i.e. our procurator, at Aquileia; Cammius Maximus, V 961; "sonst nirgends in Italien oder Gallien". To his list is to be added XIII 2700, C. Cammi Sim., from Augustodunum, and the Cammius Maximus who commanded cohors I Hispanorum at Maryport, in Cumberland, VII 383 with EE IX p. 569, VII 384, 385. This latter has been equated with the decurion of Aquileia by E. Birley, Egger

Festschrift (1952) I, p. 187-8. There is also the tile which appears as (aa) above. W. Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II p. 132 questions the expansion of the name Cammius Secundinus as being only one of a number of possibilities. Certainly if we accept the further suggestion of E. Birley, in the paper referred to above, that Secundinus was a younger brother of Maximus, who was prefect at Maryport in the time of Hadrian, we must prefer to see in him a centurion by direct commission rather than a man who had come up through the ranks, particularly as he was on that reading of his antecedents an Italian.

If I might summarise my own conclusions, which do not completely correspond to those of H.G. Pflaum or of E. Birley, I think that L. Cammius Secundinus was an Italian, younger brother in an equestrian family of Aquileia. He gained a direct commission as centurion, was primuspilus and prefect in the same legion, and became a centenarian procurator of some sort. The fact that he set the inscription up in Noricum indicates either that he was exercising some duties there, or that he had retired there.

131. Q. CARRINAS, C.F. POL. V 7600 Alba Pompeia.

Q(uintus) Carrinas C(ai) f(ilius) Pol(lia) primi pili (centurio?), aed(ilis) IIvir.

The fact that the cognomen is not given suggests a date before the reign of Claudius. The nomen is

Italian, and rare, The man may belong to Pollentia, in the same regio as Alba Pompeia, which has the tribe Pollia. I have suggested that centurio be understood, as primi pili is genitive, and the expression centurio primi pili is abundantly attested in literature.

132. CASPERIUS NIGER

Literary.

Tac.h.3.73. pauci militarium virorum, inter quos maxime insignes Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, Didius Scaeva, pugnam ausi obtruncantur.

Of these viri militares who were killed at the taking of the Capitol by the Vitellians, Cornelius Martialis and Aemilius Pacensis are known to have been primipilares, and Tacitus applies the term so often to primipilares, e.g. Paullus Aemilius, that I feel safe in concluding that in fact it is a term applied as far as we know almost exclusively to them. A centurion Casperius is twice mentioned in the Annals, (12, 45 and 15,5), but there is no evidence for identification. The evidence for CASPERIUS as a nomen almost exclusively confined to Italy (cf. Schulze, p. 270) is strong enough to make Italy the probable origin of Casperius Niger.

133. CASSIUS CHAEREA

Literary.

Tac.a.1.32 Cassius Chaerea, mox caede Gai Caesaris memoriam apud posteros adeptus, tum adulescens et animi ferox, inter obstantis et armatos ferro viam patefecit. (A.D. 14)

- Suet. Calig. 56,2 primas sibi partes Cassius Charea  
tribunus cohortis praetoriae depoposcit  
quem Gaius seniore*m* iam et mollem et  
effeminatum denotare omni probo  
consuerat.
- Suet., Claud. 11 tribunis mod<sup>o</sup> ac centurionibus paucis e  
coniuratorum in Gaium numero interemptis  
exempli simul causa et quod suam quoque  
caedem depoposcisse cognoverat.
- Dio. 59. 29.2. But the men who actually killed Gaius  
(Loeb Trans.) were those I have named. Chaerea was  
an old-fashioned sort of man to begin  
with, and he had his own special cause  
for resentment. For Gaius was in the  
habit of calling him a wench, though he  
was the hardiest of men.

The references to Chaerea are numerous, and I have only selected four. A full list is given in PIR<sup>2</sup> C 488. The interest of him for us apart from his tyrannicide is that he was a centurion in A.D. 14 and a praetorian tribune in 41. He is called adulescens in the first post and senior in the second. One or both of these must be an exaggeration. The fact that Dio denies that he was effeminate, and that Suetonius implies by the use of the word iam that his age in years was not sufficient to justify the term senior suggest that in fact he was at latest in his fifties. The point of the taunt of Gaius is that Chaerea was prematurely old and soft, and in this connection we must remember that Gaius was only twenty-nine. What did Tacitus mean by adulescens? At most it may imply an age below thirty, which in itself would mark him out among centurions, and a centurionate under thirty means almost certainly a direct commission, though an unusually promising legionary might just manage it.



W. Baehr in his dissertation, De Centurionibus Legionariis, estimated ten to fifteen years to reach the centurionate for legionaries. After quite a long sojourn in the centurionate, twenty or more of the twenty-seven years between the two references, Chaerea came to Rome as a man still in the prime of life. The authorities agree that Gaius was merely being malicious, and he chose the wrong man. Very interesting is the implication in Dio, cf 59,29, 5,6, that Chaerea had the interests of the state as well as his own injuries at heart. This comes out even more clearly in the case of Cornelius Sabinus, to whom no personal motives are imputed.

134. CASSIUS LIGUS XIV 6,13 14 add., 4380 Ostia.

Tribune of the fourth cohort of vigiles and praepositus vexillationis at Ostia in the year 194 or 195. He cannot be the same as the Cassius Ligurinus who was procurator metallorum or ferrariarum under Severus (III 8333), as it would be abnormal to have a centenarian procuratorship in a cursus that included the Rome tribunates. In any case a mistake has to be assumed by the cutter. On the question of relationship all that can be said is that as both are of the time of Severus the possibility of relationship does exist, but it cannot be presumed.

135. CASSIUS LONGINUS XIV 4509 Ostia.

Tribune of the seventh cohort of vigiles. P.K. Baillie

Reynolds in The Vigiles of Imperial Rome p. 124 has suggested that the prefect mentioned, Umbricius Aemilianus, may belong to the time of Marcus Aurelius, on the ground of the similarity of the inscription to others of that period from Ostia.

136. CASSIUS LONGUS Literary.

Tac.h.3,14 Haec singuli, haec universi, ut quemque dolor impulerat vociferantes, initio a quinta legione orto, repositis Vitellii imaginibus, vincla Caecinae iniciunt; Fabium Fabullum quintae legionis legatum et Cassium Longum praefectum castrorum duces deligunt.

The occasion is the abortive attempt of Caecina to swing his legions over to Vespasian. The fact that no legion is given for Longus might suggest that he was not attached to any particular one, but my own interpretation of the situation after Claudius is that he was the senior of the praefecti castrorum of the legions present, and therefore acting as prefect to the camp. Clearly he would make an experienced leader.

137. L. CASTRICIUS HONORATUS (i) II 1183 Hispalis, Baetica.

L(ucio) Castricio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Honorato, p(rimi)p(ilari) homini bono, scapharii Romul(iae) consist(entes), ob innocentiam et singularem iustitiam eius, d(e) S(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuerunt).

The services which Honoratus rendered to the shippers of the Baetis are uncertain. The fact that innocentia is mentioned, suggests that he was acting in some official capacity which concerned them. It has been suggested to me by Mr. Birley that ~~this~~ might be connected with the

confiscation of the estates, firms, and figlinae of southern Spain by Severus which H.M. Callender demonstrated in his paper, "Amphora stamps from Corbridge," Archaeologia Aeliana, 1949. This man would then be an Imperial official whose activities brought him into contact with the transporters of the goods of the confiscated properties. This is tempting, particularly as it would make the identification with the tribune of 191 below very probable, but it is too conjectural to be more than mentioned.

138. CASTRICIUS HONORATUS (ii) VI 414 = ILS 4315 b Rome. '

Tribune of the second cohort of vigiles in A.D. 191. The names are not in themselves uncommon enough to allow an identification with the man above, but see above for a possible case for them belonging to the same period.

139. CASTRICIUS PROCULUS III 6608 = ILS 2394 Alexandria.

Prefect of the camp at Alexandria at an uncertain date before the disappearance of XXII Deiotariana from Egypt, which is generally connected with the Jewish war of Hadrian, though Ritterling, RE XII 1794-5 has suggested that its destruction in that war would be easier to understand if it had left Egypt some years earlier. The identification of him with the procurator of Africa mentioned in XII 671 can now be rejected, as a new fragment of this inscription has been found, giving the name as Castricius Saturninus. The new fragment is

given by H.G. Pflaum in his these complémentaire, no. 52.

140. CATONIUS IUSTUS

Literary

Tac.a.1,29 orantibus rursum idem Blaesus et L. Aponius, eques Romanus e cohorte Drusi, Iustusque Catonius, primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. (A.D. 14)

Dio,60.18.3 For example she (Messalina) put out of the way at this time Catonius Iustus, commander of the praetorian guard, before he could carry out his intention of telling the emperor something about these doings (A.D.43)

The identification is reasonably certain. A.N. Sherwin-White has suggested that it was this mission to the emperor as representative of the Pannonian legions which first brought him to notice, ("Procurator Augusti," p. 17, note 47). He is called centurio primi ordinis, and it is unlikely that he had failed to hold the primipilate before we find him twenty-nine years later as a praetorian prefect. As he could hardly have reached the primi ordines before his early thirties he could be in his sixties as praetorian prefect. Even on this reckoning he must have reached the senior centurionates remarkably early. The route by which he reached the praetorian prefecture is unknown. As A.N. Sherwin-White pointed out (op.cit), the praetorian prefects of this period came from widely differing backgrounds. There was no procuratorial system, and therefore no hierarchy, and no regular cursus. In the circumstances patronage and good fortune must have played a greater part. A. Passerini, Le Coorti pretorie, p.279,

has suggested that the appointment of Iustus may have been when the prefect Rufrius Pollio accompanied Claudius to Britain. On the other hand, Dio recounts the events of the British campaign after the list of Messalina's crimes, as being contemporaneous with them. It seems preferable to suppose an earlier appointment, perhaps at the beginning of the reign. Clearly if a reliable man was wanted, a primipilaris owing everything to the Emperor was the safest of choices. The case of Iustus is clearly irrelevant to the question of the development of a regular career leading to the prefectures open to the best of the primipilares.

141. CEIONIUS Literary.

Vell. Paterc. 2,119.4 At e praefectis castrorum duobus quam clarum exemplum L. Eggius tam turpe Ceionius prodidit, qui, cum longe maximam partem absumpsisset acies, auctor deditionis supplicio quam proelio mori maluit.

The problem raised by the presence of two, and not either one or three prefects of the camp with this three-legion army has been dealt with by R. Syme in Germania, vol. XVI, pp. 109-111. Here we need only note the fact that the primipilares who acted as prefects of the winter camps went on campaign with the army.

142. M. CESTIUS P.F. CLA. X 7348 Thermae Himeraeae,  
Sicily.

M(arco) Cestio P(ublii) f(ilio) Cla(udia), primo pilo, praef(ecto) fabrum, trib(un)o mil(itum), IIvir(o), ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

The career is clearly early by its composition, and by the fact that the cognomen is absent. It belongs to the group of early careers which have the post of prefect of works early in the sequence. This post on an Imperial consular governor's staff seems to have lapsed after the reign of Claudius, the occurrence of the post in later equestrian careers referring to a staff appointment to the consular governor of a senatorial province.

143. C. CESTIUS SABINUS XI 6057 Urvinum Mataurense.

**Sic** C(aio) Cestio C(ai) f(ilio) Stell(atina) Sabino, trib(uno) coh(ortis) XIII urb(anae), p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) I Adiutricis p(iae) f(idelis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) ex trecenario, (centurioni) coh(ortis) XIIII urb(anae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Adiutric(is) pia(e) fid(elis) et leg(ionis) ~~VI~~ VI Claud(iae) p(iae) f(idelis), donis donat(o) ab Imp(eratore) Antonino Aug(usto) hasta pura, IIII vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo), patrono municip(ii), plebs urb(ana) et honore us(us).

Sabinus has the tribe of Urvinum, and is in all probability a native of that city. In any case the tribe is not known to have been given outside Italy. This origo at this period suggests that he began in the ranks of the praetorian guard, or received a direct commission ex equite Romano. The pattern of appointments in the centurionate is interesting, and I have pointed out in Part I that all the men who held legionary centurionates and then Rome centurionates of whom the origin is known are equestrians, without the body of evidence being large

enough to draw conclusions from what may well be merely a coincidence. The tenure of the thirteenth urban cohort, one of the two outside Rome, I regard as a special distinction, carrying with it dispensation from the tenure of tribunates in the vigiles or in the praetorian guard. In this connection the careers of Velius Rufus and Cn. Pompeius Proculus should be studied. The emperor Antoninus by whom he was decorated was almost certainly Antoninus Pius, and they must have been won in Mauretania with a vexillation of either VIII Augusta or I Adiutrix.

144. SEX. CETRIUS SEVERUS XI 6343 add. = ILS 2073 Pisaurum.

~~Sex~~  
**sic** Sex(ti) Cetri Sev[er]i, spec(ulatoris), beneficiari Getae ab comentaris custodiarum.

Tac.h.1,31 pergunt etiam in castra praetorianorum  
tribuni Cetrius Severus...

Geta was prefect from 48 to 51, so if Severus had reached the principales in about eight years, as suggested by M. Durry's table in his book, p.191, his age in A.D. 69 would be between forty-nine and fifty-seven (this last figure is based on his having entered at the age of twenty and in 48 being on the point of becoming evocatus). This accords with our conclusions on the age of primipilares as set out in Part I. The form CETRIUS is rare, so I have included this man as an Italian, with a query.

145. L.CINTASIUS CASIANUS. III 14147. 4 Syene.

Prefect of the camp in Egypt in an inscription dated to 162, i.e. ducenarian commander of II Traiana.

Holder, I, 1021, and Schulze, p. 354 differ on the origin of this rare nomen.

146. L. CIRPINIUS T.F. VEL. IX 5748 = ILS 2687 Ricina.

L(ucio) Cirpinio T(iti) f(ilio) Vel(ina), p(rimo)p(ilo) iter, praef(ecto) leg(ionis) XXII, IIvir(o) iterum quinq(uennali), municipes.

As the tribe of Ricina is Velina it is probable that Cirpinus was a native of that city. Absence of cognomen points to before the reign of Claudius.

Ritterling, RE XII 1795 suggested the time of Augustus or Tiberius. This is important, for this is the earliest instance of primuspilus iterum, which does not appear elsewhere except in careers extending into the reign of Claudius. If Ritterling is right, clearly the first concept of the post of primuspilus iterum emerged, as we would expect it to emerge, out of the necessity to supply the legions of Egypt with non-senatorial commanders. The post in this instance was presumably held at Rome, as no legion is mentioned. Ritterling takes it the the prefecture of the legion which must be XXII Deiotariana, was held before III Cyrenatca joined the former legion in the camp at Alexandria. This may be the reason for his dating of the inscription, as he



dated the move of III Cyrenaica to Alexandria to at latest the beginning of the reign of Caligula (op. cit., 1793). The precise position with regard ~~of~~ the command of the two legions of Egypt when they were in the same camp is not easy to elucidate, and I content myself with noting that this inscription is almost certainly from before the reign of Claudius, and shows clearly that at that time the post of primuspilus iter had come into existence and was serving as approach to a ducenarian post. H.G. Pflaum discusses L. Cirpinus in his thèse complémentaire, no. 3.

147. Q. CLAUDIUS CAPITO. AE 1938. 55 Philippi, Macedonia.

He died after being prefect of XIII Gemina, and was commemorated by his sons.

148. TI. CLAUDIUS CELER. AE 1942-3 39 Lambaesis.

Dis Manibus. Ti(berio) Claudio Celeri, p(rimi)p(ilari), trib(un)o coh(ortis) VI vigil(um), Ti(berius) Claudius Petroniu Lusitanicus p(rimi) p(ilaris) praef(ectus) leg(ionis) III A [ug(ustae)] fratri opt(imo).

This is an interesting, though not unparalleled case of two brothers who were primipilares, and went different ways after their respective primipilates, one to Rome, the other to the prefecture of a legion. It should be noticed that the omission of the legion here is because primipilaris is used to indicate the rank, not the post. In other cases, e.g. C. Caesius Silvester, where the phrase p.p. praef. leg. appears in a detailed career, I have interpreted it as meaning that the primipilate and

the prefecture were held in the same legion. There is nothing positive to say on date or origin.

149. TI. CLAUDIUS CELSUS III 6168 Troesmis.

Primuspilus of V Macedonica under Pius in 139 or later, as Pius has the title pater patriae.

150. TI. CLAUDIUS DEMETRIUS (a) VI 36853 Rome.  
(b) V 7870 = ILS 6762 Cemenelum.

(a) Tib(erius) Cl(audius) Demetrius, quod mil(es) fr(umentarius) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) vovit, (centurio) fecit.

(b) Iovi 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)  
**Sic** Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum) item (ducenarius) episcipseos chorae inferioris.

The identification of (a) and (b) can be accepted with confidence - see Dessau to (a) in volume VI of the Corpus, and H.G. Pflaum's discussion in his thèse complémentaire, no. 304. The career is typical of the period of Severus and Caracalla. Beginning in the important corps of the frumentarii, at first attached to a local legion, and then sent to the castra peregrina as centurio frumentarius, he must have gone to the centenarian procuratorship of the Maritime Alps after his first primipilate, cf. Iulius Honoratus. The ducenarian post of episcopus is explained by H.G. Pflaum, loc. cit., as the governorship of the territory of Nice, taken temporarily out of the hands of the municipality of Massilia to be

attached to the governorship of the Maritime Alps. The hypothesis of A. Stein is thus rejected, that he was an official in the Delta in Egypt (Charisteria für Rzach, p. 176f.), as the evidence is against this post being ducenarian. H.G. Pflaum further rejects any relationship to M. Cl. Demetrius, IGRR III 6, governor of Bithynia and Pontus, on the grounds that after the prohibition by M. Aurelius (Dio 71,31) of governors holding their native provinces a native of Nicomedia could not have governed Pontus and Bithynia. The date of the Demetrius with whom we are concerned is after the reign of Commodus, as the title ducenarius is abbreviated, and probably not later than the reign of Caracalla, as H.G. Pflaum is of the opinion that centenarian procuratorships were rarely held by primipilares after that time. The career is a further illustration of the importance of the castra peregrina.

151. TI. CLAUDIUS FIRMUS. IX 5358 = ILS 1325 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(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

As Ma~~x~~imus was in office for twenty years (SHA Vit. Ant. 8,7) it is perfectly feasible that Firmus had risen from cornicularius praefecti praetorio to primuspilus in that time. The occasion of the setting up of the

inscription was probably the promotion of Firmus to the primipilate, and it is probably a thank-offering to Maximus for using his influence on his behalf.

152. TI. CLAUDIUS ITALICUS. III 14155. 13 Caesarea, Palestine.

Primuspilus of X Fretensis.

153. TI. CLAUDIUS MARCELLINUS. VI 1056 = ILS 2156 Rome.

Tribune of the first cohort of vigiles in the year 205. The possible identification with the proc. Aug. a patromonio of the same names mentioned on VI 8501a = 1487 suggested in PIR<sup>2</sup> C921 is unlikely, the names being common and the two posts rare in the same career. A. Stein himself points out in the place cited that the procuratorial inscription is in very good lettering, The commonness of the names equally militates against any relationship being assumed.

154. TI. CLAUDIUS PETRONIUS LUSITANICUS AE 1942-3. 39 Lamabesis.

The inscription relating to this man is given under his brother, Ti. Claudius Celer. As prefect of III Augusta he commemorates Celer, who was a tribune in the vigiles.

155. CLAUDIUS PRISCUS. VIII 18295 Civitas Lamb..

Primuspilus of III Augusta before A.D. 238, as the number of the legion has been erased.

156. CLAUDIUS PROCULUS. XIV 4508 Ostia.

Tribune of the vigiles.

157. VALERIUS CLAUDIUS QUINTUS. III 4855 = ILS 2772 Virunum.

Memoriae Val(erii) Cl(audii) Quinti, p(rimi)p(ili) leg(ionis) II Ital(icae), duci leg(ionis) III Ital(icae), duci et praep(osito) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), viro innocentissimo, Iul(ius) Eutychianus et Iul(ius) Auxanon alumn(i).

The fact that he probably began his career in II Italica, at any rate held office in it, and that he returned to its headquarters to die suggests that he was a Norican. After the primipilate of the legion of his province, II Italica, he became dux of III Italica, in Raetia. Almost certainly this represented the command of the legion in time of war, replacing the normal commander, the governor of Raetia. The next command, that of dux et praepositus of III Augusta, has been linked by H.G. Pflaum, these complémentaire, no. 347, with the re-constitution of that legion by Valerian, on these grounds. The despatch of a man whose experience was on the Danube to Numidia seems unlikely. On the other hand that legion was re-constituted from its ex-soldiers in Raetia, (Aurelius Victor, de Caesaribus, 32), and Van Berchem, Armée de Dioclétien, p. 42, note 2, has argued that this must refer to a vexillation of the legion that had been sent to the Danube before 238, the year of the disbanding of the legion. This vexillation must have survived as a force. Quintus was then appointed to this force in Raetia at the time of its re-constitution as a legion in 253. The additional title praepositus is

explained by E. Birley as due to the force at the time lacking a regular commander. This explains the fact that the post primuspilus still appears in the career, as it is attested elsewhere as late as the reign of Valerian and Gallienus. I am fully indebted to H.G. Pflaum for this dating of Quintus.

158. TIB.CLAUDIUS SABINUS. VIII 7980 Rusicade, Numidia.

Primpipilaris.

159. TI. CLAUDIUS SECUNDINUS L. STATIUS MACEDO.

- |     |                    |           |
|-----|--------------------|-----------|
| (a) | V 867 = ILS 1339   | Aquileia. |
| (b) | AE 1934. 232(2)    | "         |
| (c) | XV 7740 = ILS 8686 | Rome.     |
| (d) | IGRR IV 869        | Colossae. |

- (a) Ti(berio) Claudio Ti(berii) f(ilio) Pal(atina) L(ucio) Statio Macedon [i], p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) f(elicis), trib(uno) coh(ortis) prim(ae) vig(ilum), trib(uno) coh(ortis) XI urban(ae), trib(uno) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae), p(rimo)p(ilo) iterum, praef(ecto) leg(ionis) II Tra(ianae) [f(ortis)], proc(uratori) XX her(editatum), proc(uratori) provin[c(iarum)] Lugdunensis et Aquitan[icae], a rationibus Aug(usti), praef(ecto) an[non(ae)], L(ucius) Saufleius Iulianu[s] amico optimo.
- (b) Ti(berio) Claudio Ti(berii) f(ilio) Pal(atina) Secundino L(ucio) Statio Macedoni, p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) f(elicis), trib(uno) coh(ortis) I vig(ilum), trib(uno) coh(ortis) XI urb(anae), trib(uno) coh(ortis) IX pr(aetoriae), p(rimo) p(ilo) iterum, praef(ecto) leg(ionis) II Traian(ae) f(ortis), proc(uratori) Aug(usti) XX her(editatum), proc(uratori) provinc(iarum) Lugdun(ensis) et Aquitan(icae), a rationib(us) Aug(usti), praef(ecto) annon(ae), flamini Divi Vespasiani, P(ublius) Cassius Fortunatus IIIIII vir et Aug(ustalis) amico. L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

- (c) Imp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) Pii sub cur(a)  
Cl(audii) Secundini ra[tion(alis) et] Anni Phlegontis  
Aug(usti) lib(erti) ex off(icina) Demetri liber[t]i.
- (d) Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσα[ρι] Τραιανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Σεβαστῶ  
Ὀλυμπιῶ, Δούκιος) Μακεδῶν χειλίσταρχο[s].

Although his tribe does not coincide with that of Aquileia, the fact that his children (see below) were resident there and that the Caesernii Statii Macedones, to whom he was almost certainly related (see below) were also connected with Aquileia, makes any other origo improbable. It seems probable that it was he who dedicated the inscription (d) above to Hadrian, probably in A.D. 129 (see H.G. Pflaum, thèse complémentaire, no. 109). He gives us no information as to his military origins, but I feel that with his distinguished relations he was more probably a man ex equite Romano, than an ex-praetorian. Passing over his career up to the post of primuspilus iterum, which post was presumably held at Rome as no legion is mentioned, the first post of which we need take particular note is the ducenarian prefecture of II Traiana. If A.D. 129 and the identification are correct, and they seem to be, this gives us a date at which this legion was definitely in Egypt, some time in the 130s. The next post is at Rome, and is of a specialist nature unusual among primipilaris procuratorships. It is notable that the few recorded careers with

*include a post more than one ducenarian post including a legionary prefecture seem*  
~~more than one ducenarian post~~ at Rome after the prefecture:

i.e. XIV 191, Cominius Maximus, and Licinius Hierocles.

In the first two cases there is restoration and interpretation, (see under them), and in the last the urban post is held before the prefecture. For these reasons I do not want to make more than suggestions as to the interpretation of these careers. The scarcity of urban posts in primipilaris careers however is such that it is legitimate to seek a reason for these posts, and there is one that would apply generally. The normal first-echelon post for a primipilaris is a provincial procuratorship. This would give him the necessary financial and administrative experience to hold a procuratorial governorship. The man who had held a ducenarian legionary prefecture needed that same experience. To appoint him to a first-echelon procuratorship would put him at a disadvantage vis-a-vis the man who had held such a post immediately after pp bis. On the other hand, he could not begin in the third-echelon of the ducenarian procuratorships, so a second-echelon post is the obvious solution. Thus Secundinus was procurator XX her.. Here special talent must have appeared if it had not already done so, for his next promotion is over the third echelon, where the procuratorial governorships were, to the great procuratorship of the two Gauls, in



~~in~~ the fourth echelon. The obvious comparison is with Cn. Pompeius Homullus, who from a first-echelon provincial procuratorship went directly to the same fourth echelon post. The latter, though, ran his course when the hierarchy was less well-developed, and there were no second-echelon urban posts, so his promotion need not be regarded as more spectacular than that of Secundinus. In each case the significant thing is the omission of a procuratorial governorship. Like Homullus, Secundinus went to the secretariat a rationibus. The only other primipilares to hold secretariats were Bassaeus Rufus, who did so I suspect because it had become customary for future praetorian prefects to do so, and Ulpianus, who seems to have been a censibus. We do not know his full career. This secretariat was reached by Secundinus after 143, his predecessors being known, and in 147 or later he reached the prefecture of the annona. Again this is suggestive, for in H.G. Pflaum's lists on p. 257 of his Procurators, Secundinus is the only man of career type I to reach this prefecture. Of other primipilares, Arrius Varus received it as a consolation in 70. This career from the post of procurator ~~XX~~ her. to the prefecture of the corn-supply is so clearly that of a man who was unusually well-qualified in finance and administration that I have considered him to have been

ex equite Romano, and I have suggested the same for Cn. Pompeius Homullus. There is a minimum of fourteen years between his praetorian tribunate and his secretariat, which fits in with the general picture as far as the length of primipilaris careers are concerned. The probabilities are that he was a primuspilus at forty and a prefect of the corn-supply in his sixties.

Probable sons were Ti. Claudius Rufus Statius Macedo, PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1002, a man who got as far as a laticlave tribunate at least, and the Ti, Claudius Ti, f. Pal. Secundinus who died at the age of nine, having already been given the equus publicus. He was probably related also to the Caesyernii Statii Quinctii Macedones, whose first known member was a procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis, whose sons were consuls, one probably and the other certainly under Pius (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 181-3). One sees what possibilities there were of powerful patronage for Secundinus. Secundinus himself was flamen of Vespasian at Aquileia, a post which with that of patron seems to have been considered the most appropriate recognition of leading citizens at this time.

160. CLAUDIUS SILVANUS AE 1913. 219 Mons Albanus.

...leg(io) II] Parthi(ca) P(ia) f(elix) f(idelis) aet(erna)  
devot(a) [num]ini maiestatique [eor]um, dedicante Cl(audio)  
[Sil]vano, praef(ecto) leg(ionis) s(upra)s(cryptae..[I]dus  
Febr(uarias), Fulvio Ae[mil]iano et Aelio Aquilino  
[cos(ulibus)] .

The date is A.D. 249.

161. TI. CLAUDIUS TERTULLINUS XI 6712. 120 Iulium Mancinium.

Primipilaris.

162. TI. CLAUDIUS VITALIS AE 1904. 70 Lambaesis.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et ceteris Dis Deabusq(ue),  
Ti(berius) Claudius Vitalis p(rimus)p(ilus), domo Interarmi  
Praetutis.

His legion is almost certainly III Augusta.

163. CLEMENTIUS VALERIUS MARCELLINUS

|     |                    |            |
|-----|--------------------|------------|
| (a) | III 3424 = ILS 545 | Aquincum.  |
| (b) | ILA 609            | Volubilis. |
| (c) | ILA 610            | "          |
| (d) | ILA 621            | "          |

(a) Genio Imp(eratoris) P(ublil) [Lic(inil) Gall]ieni,  
Invicti Aug(usti) Clementius Silvius v(ir) e(gregius)  
a(gens) v(ice) p(raesidis) et Val(erius) Marcellinus  
praef(ectus leg(ionis), prot(ector) Aug(usti) n(ostri),  
a(gens) v(ice) l(egati), municipes ex provincia Raetia  
s(olverunt) l(ibenter) l(aetiter) m(erito). Paterno  
et Archesilao cos(ulibus). (A.D. 267).

(b) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), Genio et Bonae Fortunae  
Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(elii) Probi  
Invicti Aug(usti) n(ostri), Clementius Val(erius)  
Marcellinus v(ir) p(erfectissimus), praeses  
p(rovinciae) M(auretaniae) T(ingitanae), conloquio  
~~ste~~ habito cum Iul(io) Nuffizi filio Iul(ii) Matif regis  
~~sic~~ g(entis) Baq(uatium) foederata paci aram statuit et  
dedicavit die VIII Kal(endis) Novembr(is), D(omine)  
n(ostro) Probo Aug(usto) et Paulino cos(ulibus).  
(A.D. 277).

(c) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Diis Deabusq(ue) [Immor]  
talibus et Genio Imp(eratoris) Ca[es(aris)] M(arci)  
Aureli[Pr]o[bi] Aug(usti) n(ostri), ob diutina pace  
~~sic~~ serva[ta] cum Iulio Nuffusi et nunc conloquio habito  
cum Iul(io) Mirzi fratre eiusdem Nuffusis r(egis)  
g(entis) Baquatum, Clement(ius) Val(erius)  
Marcellin[us], v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses)  
p(rovinciae) M(auretaniae) T(ingitanae), confirmata  
pac[e] ara[m] posuit et dedicavit Idibus April[ibus]  
Messala et Grato cos(ulibus) (13 April, 280).

(d) Sutroniae Valentine coniugi Clementi Val(erii) Marcellini v(iri) p(erfectissimi) p(raesidis) et patroni nostri, respublica Vol(ubilis) ex decreto ordinis posuit.

The identification of the man of (a) with the praeses by A. Stein in PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1143 is clearly correct, and it is also clear that some sort of relationship with the Clementius Silvinus of the first inscription is to be assumed. Probably Silvinus adopted the prefect of II Adiutrix, who took his nomen. The prefecture of the legion in this case is clearly its command, and the fact that Aelius and Aurelius Frontinus, who are attested as prefects of this legion in 268, do not call themselves a.v.l., though they are clearly ducenarian, suggests that the command of this legion by equestrians had become regular. Further, we know that Marcellinus had handed over the prefecture by 268, and the fact that we know three prefects in the course of two consular years suggests the tenure need not have been long. It is doubtful if at this time these prefects were still being recruited from the primipilares. The title protector Aug. which Marcellinus holds as prefect belongs to the stage of development of this title when it was given to certain senior officers. Ten years after his prefecture we find Marcellinus in a post that would in the second century have been in the second echelon of the ducenaria <sup>9</sup> procuratorships, the governorship of Mauretania Tingitana,

in which post he remained at least three years. One wonders where he had spent the intervening ten years, as in the second century promotion could have been direct from a ducenarian legionary prefecture to a second-echelon post, but we know so little of the changes that were affecting the whole procuratorial structure at this time that I hesitate to attempt an answer.

164. P. CLEUSIUS PROCULUS Pais 1253 Verona.

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

The tribe of Verona is Poblilia, and his origin there may be assumed. It is interesting to note that this is the only recorded case of the nomen CLEUSIUS in the Corpus and that it is thus in all probability one of the rare Italian names that never spread abroad from their original home. The word ex here does not imply direct promotion, but indicates the rank from which he was commissioned as centurion. There is no reason to think that he was promoted directly to the primipilate from the post of cornicularius. In dating the inscription we are assisted by the observation of Ritterling, RE XII 1628, that the normal abbreviation of the titles of the legion VII Claudia up to the reign of Trajan had been C.P.F., and that only in and after that reign does the form that we have here appear. The form of the inscription and the mention of tribe and filiation favour

the second century rather than the third.

165. CLODIUS HONORATUS VIII 2752 = ILS 5786 Castra Lamb..

Diocletianus et M aximianus Aug(usti), curante Aurelio Maximiano v(iro) p(erfectissimo), p(raeside) p(rovinciae) N(umidia) et Clodio Honorato v(iro) e(gregio), praef(ecto) leg(ionis) eiusd(em).

This is an excerpt from a longer inscription describing how an aqueduct was repaired. At this period in the closing years of the third century, it seems most unlikely that these ducenarian legionary prefects were still being recruited from the ranks of the primipilares. We note the separation of the governorship of Numidia from the command of III Augusta.

166. C. CLODIUS SATURNINUS III 3464 Aquincum.

Primuspilus of II Adiutrix, which came to Aquincum in the early years of the second century, cf. Ritterling, RE XII 1445-6. A centurion Clodius Saturninus is known at Jerusalem (III 14383b), but the names are common, and there is nothing further to connect the two.

167. M. COCCEIUS ROMANUS VIII 20869 Tipasa, Maur, Caes..

M(arco Cocceio Romano, eq(uiti) R(omano), p(rimi)p(ilari), ob insignem erga rem p(ublicam) amorem et defensionem quam patriae ac civibus suis exhibet, dec(uriones) col(oniae) Tip(asae), ex decreto ordinis p(ublice) d(edicatum).

The origo is manifest by the phrasing of the inscription. The terminus a quo is furnished by the date of Tipasa becoming a colony, which Kornemann in RE IV 560 regarded as being more probably in the second century than the third, and which Mr. Birley has suggested

to me was under Pius. The phrasing regarding defence of the fatherland is reminiscent of that used in the inscription of P. Aelius Primianus, and one wonders if there is a connection. On the other hand, defensio can signify simply the legal representation of the state, cf. RE IV Defensor civitatis, 2365 f., and this seems the more likely explanation. The employment of the double title, eq. R., p.p., is unusual, and is a problem if you accept the hypothesis that the primipilaris was ipso facto a Roman knight. My own feeling is that in these cases the title is the equivalent of primipilaris ex equite Romano, and serves equally to make clear that the man in question had been honoured with a direct commission, and was of an equestrian family in the first place.

168. M. COCCEIUS SEVERUS V 7159 Pedomontanea Incerta.

M(arco) Cocceio M(arci) F(ilio) Pol(lia) Severo,  
prim(o)pilo leg(ionis) VIII Hispaniae, praefecto  
leg(ionis) X Geminae, Cinnamus l(ibertus).

The dating of this inscription is possible within fairly narrow limits. The grant of citizenship by Nerva, probably on his entering a legion, about the age of twenty, with the tribe Pollia, that of the men born out of wedlock in cantonments, and our knowledge of forty as the approximate minimum age for a man to become primuspilus would bring his primipilate at earliest to

116. As Severus had been allowed to proceed to a legionary prefecture, it is unlikely that he had been outstanding enough to merit so early a primipilate, and perhaps 126 would be a more likely terminus post quem. The terminus ante quem is of course the destruction of IX Hispana. The latest survey of the evidence on this point, by E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 25-29, makes out a strong case for a later date for that legion's disappearance than is normally assigned to it, using this inscription as part of that evidence. His conclusion is that no firm dating is possible, apart from the fact that the legion had disappeared by the early years of Marcus Aurelius.

This inscription is presumably the earliest recorded example of the use of the phrase praefectus legionis for the post praefectus castrorum legionis on inscriptions, the legions of Egypt being of course excluded.

169. L. COMINIUS MAXIMUS XIV 3626 = ILS 2742 Tiburtinum.

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

The first post mentioned of this man is beneficiarius praefecti praetorio. After this post he was evocatus under Marcus and Verus. He then passed through the



Rome centurionates to his first primipilate. This is the only career where the primipilate was definitely reached without the tenure of one or more legionary centurionates. After the Rome tribunate he was primuspilus iterum and prefect of II Traiana. On the analogy of Ti. Claudius Secundinus I suspect the former post was held at Rome. The question then arises, to what is to be attached the procuratorship mentioned at the end of the career? H.G. Pflaum has suggested in his these complémentaire, no. 189, that this post was that of procurator patrimonii, and quotes as parallels ILS 1383 and 1402. If this is so, we have a further primipilaris who held an urban procuratorship. I have already noted under Ti. Claudius Secundinus that the holders of ducenary prefectures may have gone regularly to Rome posts. With regard to his age, he would be evocatus at earliest in 161, at the age of thirty-five. If the title proc. M. Antonini Aug. is exact, i.e. the sole reign of Aurelius is referred to, this gives us a maximum of fifteen years to complete his term in the centurionate, go the round at Rome, be prefect of a legion and a procurator. A very early primipilate would make this just possible, but leaves us with the problem of why this man, probably just in his fifties, was put on the shelf, to die at the age of eighty-two about 208. The

only reasonable explanation would seem to be that he had a breakdown in health. His wife, Numitoria Moschis, apparently married L. Graecius Constans after her husband's decease. (~~Ø. Cil~~ XIV 3628, cf. no. 237)

170. CORNELIUS ATROX VI 19698 Rome.

Primipilaris. A centurion of III Augusta called Atrox is recorded, AE 1927. 41, and in view of the extreme rarity of the cogonomen identification should be considered. On the other hand, the centurion is Flavian, whereas our inscription need not necessarily be so early.

171. L. CORNELIUS CASPERIANUS IGRR III 102 Amasia, Galatia.

Primipilaris. He is mentioned by two of his liberti<sup>1</sup>, and there is a possibility that his origo was here, as there is no other military connection. As there is no other evidence for origo, however, I have not taken this possibility into account in Part I.

172. P. CORNELIUS CICATRICULA. XI 6344 = ILS 2693 Pisaurum.

P(ublio) Cornelio P(ublil) f(ilio) Sab(atina) Cicatriculae, prim(o) pil(o) bis, praefect(o) equit(um), praef(ecto) clas(sis), praef(ecto) cohortium civium Romanor(um) quattuor in Hispan(ia), trib(un)o mil(itum), IIvir(o) et IIvir(o) quinq(uennali), pont(ifici), d(ecreto) d(ecurionum), public(e).

The contention even of so august a person as A. Stein, Ritterstand, p. 151, that this inscription must be dated to the beginning of the second century on account of the lettering, must be queried. The inscription has the

following characteristics of the pre-Claudian career, its relatively arbitrary order of appointments, the inclusion of pp.bis with the meaning of two consecutive ordinary primipilates, or a two year tenure of one, the name praef. equit. for praef. alae, praef. classis as part of the military career, the post praef. cohortium and commands with the units commanded unnamed, including a legionary tribunate. Therefore I will treat it as at latest of the reign of Claudius. The survivals noted in Part I in the reign of Nero are of posts associated with the pre-Claudian period, not of full careers of the pre-Claudian type. After the iteration of the ordinary primipilate comes the cavalry prefecture and that of a fleet. The post of praefectus cohortium follows, and it is here defined as consisting of four cohorts. This is not of course to imply that all such commands were of four cohorts, but it shows us the type of combined command that such a post might entail. There follows a tribunate. It has been suggested in view of the position of it that a praetorian rather than a legionary tribunate should be suspected, but in the only certain case where a praetorian tribunate is not named as such the description is trib. mil. cohort. primae, which allows no confusion with the legionary tribunate. Trib mil. had for long years had the connotation of legionary tribunate, and that is what we must understand here. Its position is unusual, but I

have shown in Part I that there are no rules for pre-Claudian careers.

173. CORNELIUS EGRILIANUS (a) III 103 Bostra, Arabia.  
(b) VIII 1858 Theveste.

(a) [Val]enti, alu[m]no sim[pli]cissim[o] Co[nsul]i Corn(elii)  
Egri[lian]i (i) (centurionis?) l[eg]ionis III  
Cyr(enaicae), Οὐαλεν[τι], θρεπτῶ [ἀ]πλουσ[τα]τω  
Κ[ο]ρ[ν]ηλίου Ἐγρίλιανου [ > λ ] ε γ. III Κυρ..

(b) [Test]amento C(ai) Corneli Egriliani, praef(ecti)  
leg(ionis) XIIII Geminae, quo testamento) ex  
(sesteriis) CCL mil(ibus) n(ummum) arcum cum statuīs  
[Iunonis e]t Minervae quae in foro fieri prae[cepit]  
pra[eter] alia (sestertios) CCL mil(ia) n(ummum) quae  
reip(ublicae) ita ut [certis diebus gy]mnasia populo  
publice in thermis prae[ferentur]. legavit datasque  
ad kapitol(ium) arg(enti) lib(ras) CLXX id est lances  
IIII.... [et a]uri lib(ras) XIIII id est pihal(as) III  
scyphos II [fieri iussit] quae om[nia diligenter]  
secundum voluntatem eius in con[ti]one recitata[m]  
Corneli Fortunatus et Quinta fratres et [heredes  
c]osignaverunt) et opus perfecerunt.

The cognomen is so rare that the identification is virtually certain. The fact that the will of a prefect of XIV Gemina was so munificent to the citizens of Theveste and in Numidia, that his bequests were carried out by his brothers, suggest strongly that he was native to the city. VIII 1859 records the dies gymnas which his will provided. The document is so remarkable a witness to the wealth of a prefect of a legion that I have given it in full. As his brothers also were heirs, his total assets must have been considerable. The date is after III Cyrenaica's transfer to Arabia in the 120's, RE XII 1509-10.

174. CORNELIUS MARTIALIS. Literary.

Tac.a.15.71. exuti dehinc tribunatu...Pompeius, Cornelius  
Martialis...

Tac.h.3.70. Corneliū Martialem e primipilaribus ad  
Vitellium misit Sabinus.

Tac.h.3.73. pauci militarium virorum, inter quos maxime  
insignes Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius  
Pacensis, Casperius Niger, Didius Scaeva  
pugnam ausi obtruncantur.

In PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1404 and 1405 A. Stein is not certain  
whether the two are identical, but it seems highly probable  
that Martialis had been able to regain his position at  
Rome, once Nero was out of the way. Possibly in the  
meantime he had been compulsorily retired. Note the  
clear correspondence of the two terms primipilares and  
viri militares.

175. CORNELIUS PAULLUS III 3478 Aquincum.

Primuspilus of II Adiutrix, which came to Aquincum in  
the early years of the second century, cf. Ritterling,  
RE XII 1445-6.

176. CORNELIUS SABINUS Literary.

Suet. Calig.58.2. Duplex dehinc fama est: alii tradunt  
adloquenti pueros a tergo Chaeream  
cervicem gladio caesim graviter  
percussisse praemissa voce: Hoc age!  
dehinc Corneliū Sabinum, alterum e  
coniuratis, tribunum ex adverso  
traiecissee pectus; alii Sabinum summota  
per consocios centuriones turba signum  
more militiae petisse et Gaio "Iovem"  
dante Chaeream exclamasse, "Accipe ratum"  
respicienti maxillam ictu discidissee.

Dio 59.29.1.  
(Loeb trans.)

As he continued to play the madman in every way, a plot was formed against him by Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus, though they were tribunes in the praetorian guard.

Dio 59.29.5.6.

For Chaerea and Sabinus, pained as they were by the disgraceful proceedings, nevertheless restrained themselves for five days. But when Gaius himself wished to dance and act a tragedy and for this purpose announced three more days of the entertainment, the followers of Chaerea could endure it no longer, but waiting merely till he went out of the theatre to see the boys of exalted birth whom he had summoned from Greece and Ionia ostensibly to sing the hymn composed in his honour, they intercepted him in a narrow passage and killed him.

Dio 59.30.3.

So these men (the consuls) together with the prefects and the followers of Sabinus and Chaerea were deliberating what should be done.

Dio 60.3.4.5.

He (Claudius) put Chaerea and some others to death, in spite of his pleasure at the death of Gaius...And soon after Chaerea's death Sabinus took his own life, not desiring to live after his comrade had been executed.

Jos.ant. 19. 273

It is notable that no other motive is assigned to Sabinus but the general one that Gaius was lowering the dignity of his office, and that Claudius was prepared to grant him his tribunate (Jos. XIX 5.6.) His suicide and the reason given for it confirm that he was a remarkable man,

177. CORNELIUS SATURNINUS VII 723 Littlechesters.

Corn(elius) Victor, s(ingularis) c(onsularis),  
mil(itavit) ann(is) XXVI, civ(is) Pann(onicus),  
fil(ius) Saturnini p(rimi)p(ilaris), vix(it) an(nis)  
LV d(iebus) XI, coniux procuravi.

The practice of giving the age of a person other than a child in years, months, and days, seems to date from the reign of Marcus Aurelius. There are indications of a third-century date, e.g. the post is strictly auxiliary that his son held. Notable is that the son of a primipilaris should not have reached the centurionate, and this may be due to a lack of talent on the part of Victor.

178. C. COSCONIUS SABINIANUS. III 7769 Apulum.

Primuspilus of XIII Gemina after 107, the end of the Dacian war, when that legion became part of the garrison of the new province (Ritterling, RE XII 1716-17).

179. Q. CRITTIUS C.F. COR.. X 5063 = ILS 2640 Atina.  
Q(uinto) Crittio C(ai) f(ilio) Cor(nelia), primipilari III

The absence of a cognomen would suggest a date before the reign of Claudius. The phrase can only mean that the primipilate was held three times, cf. IX 1630, and the Republican usage. This is not surprising, as the holding of the primipilate twice is common in this period. The nomen only appears once outside Italy, and our man is in all probability Italian.

180. L. CURIATIUS L.F. X 1262 Nola.

L(ucio) Curiatio L(ucii) f(ilio), fl(amin)i Divi  
~~Augusti~~ Augusti, prim(o) pil(o), trib(uno) milit(um) II,  
 sic praef(ecto) castra, praef(ecto) fabr(um), arbitr(atu)  
 Hyacinthi lib(erti)

The absence of a cognomen suggests a date before the reign of Claudius, and Augustus was dead when the inscription was set up. The career is typically pre-Claudian.

181. CURTILIUS C.F. AIM. X 5583 Fabrateria Nova.

Cu]rtilius C(ai) f(ilius) Aim(ilia), [pr]im(us)pil(us)  
 leg(ionis) VI, praef(ectus) c(o)h(ort(is), trib(unus)  
 mil(itum), praef(ectus) equit(um), praef(ectus)  
 [f]abr(um), IIvir q(uinquennalis), aug(ur)..funus  
 [p]ublice ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) Aquinatum,  
 arbitr(atu) [A]nterotis et Cosmi libert(or)um.

The tribe Aimilia is found in Italy, at three places in this particular region, and at three places in Macedonia. The circumstances of the inscription make an Italian origo a strong probability. In the career attention is drawn to the tenure of the prefecture of a cohort after the primipilate, and the municipal honours he received. The absence of a cognomen and the type of career point to a date before the reign of Claudius.

182. P. CUSSIUS PHOEBIANUS (a) EE VIII p.365, no.25 Emerita.  
 (b) AE 1903. 155 Rome.

(a) D(is) M(anibus) Lebisiniae Auges, P(ublius)  
 Cussius Phoebianus proc(urator) Aug(usti)  
 maritus, et M(arcus) Iulius Verianus filius.

(b) ...i Phoebiani trib(uni) coh(rtis) pr(imae)  
 vig(illum).



The identification of these two in PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1639 is sound, based as it is on the rarity of the cognomen. In the former inscription Huebner has described the lettering as typical of the end of the second century. The procuratorship of Lusitania and Vettonia is a first-echelon ducenarian post, and I am at a loss to explain H.G. Pflaum's statement in his thèse complémentaire, no. 218, that about ten years intervened between the two posts. Three would be nearer the mark, (if we allow for the other two Rome tribunates and the post of primuspilus iterum), if the man was intended for a procuratorial career, and not just rewarded with one procuratorship for long service, as seems to have happened in a number of cases where only one procuratorship was held.

183. L. DECRIUS LONGINUS AE 1913. 215. Agnano, nr, Naples

D(is) M(anibus). L(ucio) Decrio L(ucii) f(ilio) Ser(gia) Longino, praef(ecto) fabrum, (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) et VII Gemin(ae) bis et XXII Deiotarian(ae), p(rimo)p(ilo) legion(is) eiusdem, praef(ecto) castr(orum) leg(ionis) VIII Hispa(nae), L(ucius) Decrius L(ucii) f(ilius) Iulianus qui et Numisianus, princeps leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis), patri opt(imo) testamento fieri posuit.

Longinus served as centurion in VII Gemina. This was re-named in 70, having been originally created by Galba (Ritterling, RE XII 1629-30). The inscription itself was set up at earliest in the time of Trajan, for Ritterling, op. cit., col. 1705, notes that this



(b) T(ito) Desticio T(iti) f(ilio) Cla(udia) Severo,  
 p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae), subpraef(ecto)  
 vigil(um), proc(uratori) Aug(usti) prov(inciae)  
 Daciae Super(ioris), proc(uratori) prov(inciae)  
 Cappad(ociae) item Ponti Mediter(rani) et Armen(iae)  
 Minor(is) et Lycaoniae, proc(uratori) Augustor(um)  
 prov(inciae) Raetiae, procur(atori) prov(inciae)  
 Belgicae, flamine Divi Hadriani, pontifici, patrono  
 coloniae, M(arcus) Claudius P(ater)nus amico optimo.  
 L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

His procuratorship in Raetia is attested for A.D. 166 (XVI 121). Other fragments of inscriptions relating to him are V 1189 and 1877. He is in all probability a native of Concordia, Claudia being the tribe of that place. His procuratorial career began after his first primipilate with a centenarian procuratorship, the post of subprefect of the vigiles. He was then procurator of Dacia Superior, in the upper centenarian echelon. This post, as H.G. Pflaum has pointed out in his these complémentaire no. 167, must have been held before the division of that province in 159 (Premierstein, Wiener Eranos, 1909, pp. 257-266). He entered the ranks of the ducentarian procurators with the procuratorship of a group of provinces in Asia Minor. He then passed over the second echelon, as we should expect of a primipilaris, to govern Raetia. This post is termed in the second of our inscriptions proc. Augustor. prov. Raetiae., which raises an awkward problem. This command was still held in 166. The natural meaning to attach to the introduction of this expression at this point in the career is that this was the first post to which they made the appointment. Thus if we

take the most favourable view, that the procuratorship of Dacia Superior was held on the eve of the new division of the province, in 158, between that date and 166 were only held the procuratorship in Cappadocia, and the post in Raetia, to which latter post he succeeded in 161 or later. It thus seems likely that the fourth-echelon post of Belgica (and the two Germanies) which succeeded the procuratorial governorship of Raetia was rather a final honour than the preliminary to advance to secretariats or prefectures. Thus, while with the exception of the career of M. Aquilius Velix this is easily the most distinguished career of a man who went to centenarian procuratorships after his first primipilate, there are signs that his less favoured start affected the rate of his promotion. As far as one can see the man who went to the centenarian procuratorships in the second century had been rated lower than those who went to the Rome tribunates, and though clearly Desticius to a large extent belied that rating, he was not of the first quality as far as suitability for promotion to the secretariats and prefectures were concerned. Hence he was allowed to linger rather longer than usual in one or both of the two posts referred to above between the years 159-66. There can be little doubt that Severus was related in some way to the Concordian family of the Desticii Iubae, whose earliest known member to get into PIR<sup>2</sup> (C54, cf. 53-9) is

thought to be of about the time of Marcus Aurelius. The honours given to Severus were the most a town could offer, those of pontifex, patron, and flamen,

185. C. DIDIUS SATURNINUS(a) XI 7264=ILS 9194 Colonia Saturnia.  
(b)XI 2651 " "

(a) C(aio) Didio C(ai) f(ilio) Sab(atina) Saturnino, p(rimi)p(ilari), donato bello Par(thico) a Divo Vero, item bello Germanico a Divo M(arco), torq(uibus) et arm(illis), item Divis Severo et Magno Antonino, *It* coron(is) aurea, civica, et asta pura argen(lea) ob insignia eius in rem pu(blicam) merita, Saturninenses municipes patro(no). Cura agent C(aio) Mintio Urbo.

(aa) C(aio) Didio C(ai) [f(ilio) Sab(atina) Satur]nino, IIvir(o), ... seviri Au[gustales ...] et plebs u[r]bana ... dignis [simo...] posuer(unt) ... L(ocus) d(atus) [d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).]

This man has been identified with the praetorian centurion, Didius Saturninus, who is mentioned on VI 32523 and 32624. The former inscription has been dated by A. Passerini, Le coorti pretorie, p. 160, note 3, to A.D. 204. Saturninus is almost certainly a native of Colonia Saturnia, of which he has the tribe, and certainly an Italian, for the tribe was not granted outside Italy, to the best of our knowledge. An Italian primipilaris at this time could hardly be other than either a man ex equite Romano, or from the ranks of the praetorian guard. His early decorations are those of men serving in the ranks, so the second is more likely. Granted this, and that he was still serving at least as late as 198, the year of Caracalla's becoming Augustus with his father, the identification is very plausible. The career may then

be reconstructed as follows. About 166 he was decorated for the Parthian war, as a soldier in the ranks of the guard, and in the 170's, still probably a guardsman, by Marcus. Some time in the period 198-211 he was decorated again. He is not said to have passed the primipilate, so this decoration must have been as centurion or primuspilus. The decorations are notable, so the latter may well be the case. We thus have a minimum of thirty-two years for his military career, and on A. Passerini's identification with the praetorian centurion of 204 we have a minimum of thirty-eight years to reach the praetorian centurionate. The inscription would seem to have been set up in the lifetime of Saturninus, and as it is posterior to the death of Caracalla, he was at that time at least seventy-one years of age. There is a clear case for Saturninus having reached the primipilate in his sixties, and we have the parallels of M. Tillius Rufus and Sextilius Marcianus in this period. We are reminded that it is wrong to treat the man who reached the primipilate early as the successful man, and others as comparative failures. These men were chosen to serve the emperor as centurions, and the primipilate was their final reward, which raised them above the great majority of centurions who never received it. The duovirate mentioned on inscription (aa) raises a problem, as it is not mentioned on inscription (a). There are three possibilities. The first is that he had

received it at the time, but it was not mentioned. The second is that he received it later, but we have already seen that he was at least over seventy when inscription (a) was set up. There is an even more formidable objection. As he had served in the ranks of the guard he could hardly have held the senior magistracy of his town before beginning his military service. It must therefore have been held after he had retired, i.e. after his primipilate. Yet on the restoration of the stone the post of IIvir is mentioned directly after the cognomen, where the far more important fact that he was a primipilaris should have come, cf. the Caesius Silvester inscriptions. Therefore I incline to the third possibility, that another Didius Saturninus, probably a son, is here honoured. The implication of this career, together with others cited in Part I, is that for the praetorian also promotion beyond the primipilate was not easy to attain, even when the military career had earned decorations.

186. DIDIUS SCAEVA. Literary.

Tac.h.3.73. pauci militarium virorum, inter quos maxime insignes Cornelius Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, Didius Scaeva, pugnam ausi obtruncantur.

Vir militaris, killed at the taking of the Capitol in A.D. 70. As I have noted in the case of Casperius Niger, the use by Tacitus of the term vir militaris seems to justify the assumption that men so called are

primipilares.

187. C. DISIDENUS SECUNDUS XI 6504. 15 Sassina.

C(aio) Disideno C(ai) f(ilio) Pup(inia) Secundo,  
p(rimi)p(ilari), IIIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo), ex  
test(amento).

The fact that the tribe of Sassina is Pupinia makes that town the probable origo of Secundus. The wording of the inscription, particularly the mention of tribe and filiation, suggests the first two centuries rather than the third century. This is incidentally the only case of this nomen I have found in the Corpus, so it is probably one of those which did not spread beyond their own districts.

188. L. ? DOMITIUS IULIANUS (i) XIII 6752 Mogontiacum.

Primuspilus of XXII Primigenia. The text of this inscription will be found in the special appendix on the official primuspilus inscriptions, where the point is made that there is no evidence for the Domaszewski theory that the man who set it up was a tribunus laticlavus. All the evidence for this type of inscription suggests that the men who set them up were the primipili of the legions. His father was a primuspilus, and it is tempting to think that his primipilate was held also in XXII Primigenia, which would give special significance to his son's mention of him. The son was primuspilus of XXII Primigenia in the year 229.



189. DOMITIUS IULIANUS (ii) XIII 6752 Mogontiacum.

Primuspilus, possibly of XXII Primigenia. His primipilate can hardly have been less than twenty years previously to his son's in 229.

190. DOMITIUS POTENTINUS. VI 107 = ILS 537 Caerleon.

Imp(eratores) Valerianus et Gallienus Aug(usti) et Valerianus nobilissimus Caes(ar), cohorti VII centurias a solo restituerunt per Desticium Iubam v(irum) c(larissimum) legatum Aug(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore), et Vitulasium Laetinianum leg(atum) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), curante Domit(io) Potentino praef(ecto) leg(ionis) eiusdem.

This is one of the last cases of the prefect of the camp of the legion. The emperors date it to the period 253-59, and E. Birley in Appendix one of Askew, The Coinage of Roman Britain, dates the governorship of Iuba to 253 ? - 256 ?

191. DOMITIUS SABINUS. Literary.

Tac.h.1,31. Praeceptum Amullio Sereno et Domitio Sabino primipilaribus ut Germanicos milites e Liberalis atrio acceperent.

Sabinus was clearly one of the primipilares attached to the Imperial staff in Rome, available for a variety of tasks.

192. DURMIUS FELIX. VIII 7050 = ILS 1102 Cirta, Numidia.

D]urmius Felix, primi [pi]laris leg(ionis) III Cyrenaicae, [st]rator in Arabia maioris [te]mporis legationis eius, [h]on(oris) causa. D(ecreto) D(ecurionum).

The first part of the inscription, which I have note reproduced here, consists of the career of P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus, to whom it is dedicated. The

occasion of it is probably the latter's reaching of the consulate, which occurred about 167, cf. RE X 610-11. The post which Durmius had held under him would appear to have been centurio strator cf. Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 98 and II 4114, reproduced on p. 201 of that work. As in the case of II 4114 the post was held with the legionary one of hastatus, next but one to the primipilate, it is quite possible that he acted as strator for the greater part of the term of office of Marcianus, as stated on the stone, and reached the primipilate under him or shortly afterwards. No doubt he had earned considerable favour from Marcianus, and we are reminded of the opportunities a senior centurion had to gain the favour and support of influential senators.

193. L. EGGIUS

Literary.

Vell. 2.119.4. At e praefectis castrorum duobus quam clarum exemplum L. Eggius tam turpe Ceionius prodidit, qui, cum longe maximam partem absumpsisset acies, auctor deditionis supplicio quam proelio mori maluit.

Having acted as prefect of the camp to one of the three legions during the winter, Eggius accompanies the army on campaign. The nomen is apparently confined to Italy, and an Italian origo is probable.

194. MANLIUS ENNIUS

Literary.

Tac.a.1.38 At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium vexillarii discordium legionum et praesenti duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. iusserat id M' Ennius

castrorum praefectus bono magis exemplo quam concesso iure. deinde intumesciente motu profugus repertusque, postquam intutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur: non praefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, Tiberium imperatorem violari. simul exterritis qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, et si quis agmine decessisset, pro desertore fore clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos.

Dio 55,33,2 And one, Scenobardus, who had pretended he was going to change sides and with reference to this very matter had sent to Manius Ennius, the commander of the garrison in Siscia, as if he were ready to desert, became afraid that he might suffer harm beforehand...

The respective dates of the two episodes are A.D. 14 and 8. The identification is reasonably probable. As garrison-commander of Siscia Ennius might have been a centurion, primipilaris, or a prefect of the camp. In A.D. 14 we find him as prefect of the camp, in charge of vexillations of two or more legions. He was probably prefect of one of the winter camps, and as the legions were still in summer camp, cf. a.l.37, was free to be appointed to take charge of these vexillations. The case of Aufidienus Rufus or the unknown prefect of annals, XII, 38 may be compared.

195. FABIUS LONGUS (i) XIV 349 Ostia.

C(aio) Fabio Longi p(rimi)p(ilaris) f(ilio), Longi p(rimi)p(ilaris) n(epoti), Fabi Rufi pron(epoti), C(ai) Gratti abn(epoti), Vot(uria) Agrippae, praetori sacris Volka [ni fac(iundis)], dec(urionum) decr(eto) decurio [ni adlecto], aedili, II [viro]

The fact that the descendant of these two primipilares was by his tribe from Ostia suggests the

probability that they were too. To strengthen this is the fact that the tribe is the "superior" tribe of Ostia, and the more ancient, and the magistracies held suggest an ancient family. It was quite natural for the son also to enter his father's profession, and often, as here, he was able to attain to the primipilate also. The phrasing of the inscription suggests the first two centuries rather than the third.

196. FABIUS LONGUS (ii) XIV 349 Ostia.  
Primipilaris, son of a primipilaris. See above.

197. FABRICIUS - Literary.

Martial 1.93. Fabricio iunctus fido requiescit Aquinus  
 Qui prio Elysias gaudet adisse domos  
 Ara duplex primi testatur munera pili  
 Plus tamen est, titulo quod brevioris legis  
 Iunctus uterque sacro laudatae foedere vitae  
 Famaque quod raro novit, amicus erat.

As Martial's dates are 43-104, this man and his friend are to be assigned to the latter part of that period, both dying before Martial.

198. P. FANNIUS M.F. V 3366 = ILS 6704 Verona.  
 P(ublius) Fannius M(arci) f(ilius), prim(us) pil(us)  
 leg(ionis) VI... praef(ectus) equit(um)., IIIIvir  
 i(ure)d(icundo), Annia P(ublii) f(ilia) Avillia uxo [r].

The absence of a cognomen suggests a date before Claudius, and the presence in the career of the post praefectus equitum strengthens this.

199. FAVONIUS PRIOR AE 1909. 131 Bostra, Arabia.  
 sic. F(ines) M(arci) Her(enni) P(risci) iussu Avidi Cassi  
 cos(ularis) per Faonium Priorem praefectum.

There are two possible dates for this, depending on

whether you accept the view of Ritterling, RE XII 1512, that Cassius was in fact governor of Arabia, and is called consularis as being consul-designate, (he was consul in the 160's) or that of A. Stein, PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1402, who presumably thought that Cassius was mentioned in his capacity of governor of the whole of the East, in the period 171-75. There is little to choose between the two, though I favour the first myself, and it is not of great importance as far as we are concerned. The task of delimitation of territory is sometimes given to the prefect of the camp, and there is no other prefect so likely to have been given the task.

200. FLAVIUS I                      XIII 8269                      Cologne.

...C]arthaginens(is), pref(ectus) leg(ionis) III  
Aug(ustae). militavit an(nis) XLV, Fl(avius) Rufinus  
filius et h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

The length of service affords a clue to why so many primipilares die at seventy or more. For some the primipilate was not attained till sixty, and Juvenal's sarcasm was justified (Juvenal, XIV 196). An interesting point is what a prefect of III Augusta, whose home was Carthage, was doing in Cologne, with his son, though the latter might have only come to Cologne to bury his father. He may have taken a liking to the place in some previous post, or he may have accompanied some otherwise unattested vexillation of III Augusta there.

201. FLAVIUS ALBINUS AE 1939. 219 Pieria, Seleucia.

Primipilaris. His daughter married a trierarch of the Misenum fleet, which was not a particularly good match. The abbreviation of the nomen FLAVIUS to two letters suggests the third century, when a trierarch might reach the primipilate, cf. the unknown of X 3342a.

202. FLAVIUS ANTONINUS X 3348 = ILS 2847 Puteoli.

D(is) M(anibus).T(ito) Fl(avio) Antonino, p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) I Adiutri(cis), ex n(avarcho) princ(ipe) cl(assis), qui vix(it) ann(is) LXX, fili patri b(ene)m(erenti).

It has been argued, by Lothar Wickert in Die Flotte der Römischen Kaiserzeit, p. 115, that this man could have been commissioned as primuspilus of I Adiutrix at the time of its formation from naval personnel. Against this is the style of the inscription, with its abbreviation of the nomen Flavius and the naval posts mentioned, and the use of the phrase qui vixit, all of which suggests a third-century date, when, e.g. in the case of Sulgius Caecilianus, the recruitment of primipilares from the officers of the fleets is known. Chester G. Starr, The Roman Imperial Navy, pp. 42-3, dated this inscription to the late second or the third century by implication; as he remarks, it is unlikely that such promotion ever became common. The post of navarchus princeps classis is that of the senior naval officer of the fleet. As is pointed out in a number of

other cases, the expression ex in these cases implies "formerly", and not necessarily direct promotion from one post to the other.

203. FLAVIUS BASILIDES III 14149. 4. Bostra, Arabia.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Conser(vatori) Leg(ionis) III  
Cyr(enaicae), p(ro) S(alute) D(ominorum) n(ostorum),  
Fl(avius) Basilides T(h)es(salonica), p(rimus)p(ilus),  
v(otum) s(olvit).

Domaszewski's restoration of Thessalonica as the origo has an element of speculation in it, but I think we must accept it in default of a more convincing explanation. The inscription is given as showing a certain affinity to the official primuspilus dedications, but not definitely one of them, lacking any reference either to the eagle or to the legionary legate. The form of the inscription, and the violent abbreviation, suggest a third-century date.

204. T. FLAVIUS CARALITANUS. EE VIII 644 Velitra.

D(is) M(anibus), T(ito) Fl(avio) Caralitano p(rimi)p(ilari),  
Fl(avia) Evagria marito pientissimo.

This man has been identified with a praetorian centurion of the same nomen and cognomen, recorded on VI 210 = ILS 2103., in A.D. 208. The date is appropriate to the style of the inscription reproduced above, and the cognomen is extremely rare. It is recorded in X 7637, for a child of six at Carales, in Sardinia. This suggests a possible derivation, but the other example, X 1978, C. Iulius Caralitanus, is natione

Italicus, so we cannot argue origo from this cognomen.

205. X. FLAVIUS CLEMENS VI 32329 Rome.

line 28 ... Octavia Athenais Flavi Clementis, tr(ibuni).

A. Stein in PIR<sup>2</sup>F 242 has attempted to identify this man, who is presumably one of the Rome tribunes, with the procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis under Severus Alexander, P. Flavius Clemens, attested on milestones, VIII 10470, AE 1928.68, 1937.46, and 1938.50. H.G.

Pflaum has followed him in this in his thèse complémentaire no. 313. I am unwilling to accept this identification for these reasons. The names which the two have in common are not sufficiently rare; the twenty-year interval seems to me too long. If we take Clemens to be tribune of vigiles at the age of forty-one in 204, the most favourable reading possible, he must be about sixty when he is holding his procuratorship. In those years eighteen at least, and possible thirty-one, he held presumably two further tribunates, the post of primuspilus iterum, and two procuratorships at most, apart from the one he was holding under Severus Alexander. If he was primuspilus at forty, and he cannot have been much older if he was a procurator eighteen years later, he should have done better than that. Clearly special circumstances might be the answer, but when both special circumstances and the identification of two people with fairly common names must be postulated, I feel more



disposed to regard the identification as possible but unproven.

206. T. FLAVIUS CONSTANS VI 3555 Rome.

Primipilaris, dead.

207. T. FLAVIUS FIRMUS AE 1898. 11 Lambaesis.

For the text see the special appendix on official primuspilus dedications. He is primuspilus of III Augusta, and dedicates in A.D. 145, giving his origo as Salona, in Dalmatia. Of interest is the fact that a man with the same three names dedicated to Pius and M. Aurelius as Caesar, i.e. some time between 139 and 161, as prefect of the ala Noricorum.

208. FLAVIUS FLORIANUS ILS 4872 Aquileia.

Deo Beleno M(arcus) Flavius Florianus v(ir) e(gregius) a ducena(rio), quod princeps leg(ionis) vovit.

Belenus is the special deity of Aquileia, RE III 199-201, though its worship spread further. Two posts of the career are given, princeps of a legion, when the vow was made, and ducenarius. This latter is strictly a rank, which might be held as procurator or prefect commanding a legion. It is possible that the primipilate was never held, much depending on how late the inscription is. Its date is late third-century.

209. T. FLAVIUS GENIALIS

Literary.

Rome.

SHA Did. Iul. 3.1

Tunc Iulianus Flavium Genialem et Tullium Crispinum suffragio praetorianorum praefectos praetorii fecit.

SHA Did. Iul. 8.6

Brevi autem desertus est ab omnibus Iulianus et remansit in Palatio cum uno de praefectis suis Geniali et genero Repentino.

The identification of the prefect of Iulianus in 193 with the praetorian tribune attested in 185 on VI 214, made by A. Stein in PIR<sup>2</sup>F 277, is quite convincing. The time interval is so short that Genialis, if he had had any prospects at all of the praetorian prefecture before the choice of the soldiers fell on him, must have had a long way to go in normal circumstances. His prefecture was probably therefore a product of the abnormal circumstances prevailing, and need not be taken into account when we are discussing the normal path to the praetorian prefecture

210. FLAVIUS HERCULANUS

IGRR IV 266

Pitanae, Asia.

Φλ. Ἡρκουλανὸν πρεμποπειλάριον ἐξ ἐπάρχων λεγιῶνος ἑκτῆς Σιδηρᾶς, Φλ. Μαξιμίλλα τὸν γλυκύτατον ἄνδρα καὶ Φλαβιοῦ Φλ.] Ἡρκουλανὸς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἡράκλεια τὰ τέκνα τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀκολουθοῦ ἀξίας.

The inscription in Greek set up here by his family is suggestive of an origo here or in the neighbourhood. His name and the names of his children support this, and certainly there is no clear reason why a primipilaris should settle in a province which was never garrisoned



Although the corps to which these tribunes belonged is not named, it is probable that it was the praetorian guard, for the Pisonian conspiracy had its roots in that body.

213. T. FLAVIUS PRIAMUS VI 222 = ILS 2161 Rome  
Pap. Oxy. 3,578.

He is recorded as tribune of the fifth cohort of vigiles in the year 111, and as iuridicus in Egypt in the papyrus reference at an unknown date in the second century. The post of iuridicus is placed by H.G. Pflaum in the first echelon of ducenarian posts, Procurators, pp. 253-4, and he considers Priamus in his these complémentaire, no. 100.

214. FLAVIUS PROCLIANUS AE 1913. 145 Oum-ijd-Dunai, Syria

Nico Corniliana (sic) vixit annos XXXV, habuit patrim (sic) Maurum ex p. p., Fl(avius) Proclianus pri(mi)p(ilaris) coniug [i] piissimi memoriam (sic) fabricavit.

The question whether the phrase interpreted as ex praepositis in L'année épigraphique should in fact be read as ex primipilaribus is discussed under Maurus (~~Doubtful~~ Rejected Primipilares). The inscription can hardly be earlier than the third century.

215. M. FLAVIUS RAESIANUS XIV 4381 = ILS 2155 Ostia.  
XIV 4386 "  
XIV 4387 "

Tribune of the second cohort of vigiles and praepositus vexillationis in A.D. 207. I have not been able to trace another case of the cognomen.

216. FLAVIUS SABINUS

V 808

Aquileia.

Primuspilus of legio III p.f., whose lustrum is being performed by a signifer of that legion, See under Aurelius Zenon for the text of the inscription and a possible dating to the time of the Philips. It is to be noted that on the same inscription a signifer of the same legion is performing the lustrum of the princeps.

217. FLAVIUS STUDIOUSUS (a) VIII 18224 = ILS 2415 Lambaesis.  
(b) Pap. Oxy. VI p. 225 f.

(a) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno), p(ro) p(ro)cessu) Flavi Studiosi, Sabinus Ingenuus et Aurelius Sedatus sig(niferi) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), agentes cur(am) macelli, v(otum) l(ibentes) a(mimo) s(olverunt), cum azutoribus suis.

(b) Διοφ(άνης) στρα(τηγός) Ὀξ(υρυγίτου) κωμογραμματεῦσι τῶν ὑπογεγραμμ[ένων] κωμων. βιβλ(ιδίων) δοθέντ[ων] μοι ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείας θέωνος ὃ ἀνείλημπα[ι] ἀντίγρα(φον) ἐπιστολ(ῆς) γραφείσ(η-) ὑπὸ Φλαοῦιου Στουδιώσου τοῦ κρα(πίστου) διοκ(ητου) περὶ [ ]εωργ(ίας) δημοσίας γῆς ὡς οὐ προσκηκούσης αὐτῇ ἀντίγρα(φου) ἐπιστέλλεται ὑμῖν --- (ἔτους) η', Μασο(ρή) ἐπα(γομένων) ε' (A.D.-200)

The identification is clearly correct in view of the remarkable cognomen. The one question that arises in my mind, after considering H.G. Pflaum's treatment of this career in his these complémentaire, no. 232, is whether in fact we need consider this man to be a prefect of the camp, as he does. Surely it is equally likely if not more so, that it was the primuspilus of the legion who was honoured by these two signiferi,

presumably of the first cohort. After his principilate, the tribunates of the Rome cohorts, and the post of primuspilus iterum, or possibly a series of centenarian procuratorships, would form his path to the first echelon ducenarian post of diocesis in Egypt.

218. T. FLAVIUS VERGILIANUS III 6025 = ILS 2615 Assuan.

Sic Imp(eratori) Caesar(i) T(ito) Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug(usto) Pio, p(atri) p(atriciae). Coh(ors) I Fl(avia) Cil(icum) eq(uitata) basilicam fecit per C(aium) Avidium Heliodorum praef(ectum) Ag(ypti), et T(itum) Flavium Vergilianum praer(ectum) castr(orum), cura agente Statilio Tauro (centurione) leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae) f(ortis), curatore coh(ortis) eiusdem.

The date is between the assumption of the title pater patriae by Pius in Jan. 139 (RE II 2501), and the end of the governorship of Heliodorus in Egypt in August, 141 (A. Stein, Prefects of Egypt, p. 72 f..) This inscription is one of those quoted by Keyes to show that the ducenarian prefect of the camp in Egypt commanded auxiliaries. In actual fact all it shows that the man whom all other evidence leads us to equate with the ducenarian commander of II Traiana was mentioned on an auxiliary building inscription, The Domaszewski contention, repeated by Keyes, that there were praefecti castrorum who commanded auxiliary camps, is simply unproven.

219. T. FLAVIUS VICTOR. III 3426 Aquincum.

Hercul(i) Aug(usto) T(itus) Fl(avius) Victor a(gens) v(ice) l(egati) praef(ectus) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

The phrasing without any date leaves a doubt as to whether there is a genuine temporary post, or whether in fact this is the ducenarian prefect-commander of the legion, as we know him after Gallienus. In support of the latter view is the fact that the tribunus laticlavus is the legate's deputy, and only in the absence of both these people would the command fall on the praefectus castrorum, as it did on Poenius Postumus.

220. FLAVIUS XYSTUS VIII 2765 Lambaesis.

Fl(avii) Xysti ex p(rimo)p(ilo). Le(ge) et recede.

Mr. Hornshaw of this university, in an unpublished B.A. thesis on the centurions of III Augusta, remarked that the distribution of the cognomen suggested an Italian or colonial origo. On the other hand, the name appears similar to those borne by freedmen, in which case the presence of cases in Italy and elsewhere would not necessarily furnish any guide to their origo.

221. FRUTIVS ? - V 8285 Aquileia.

D(is) M(anibus)...occus...esti et...frutio...primipi...in f(ronte) p(edes) XXX, in a(ggere) XXX.

The stone is lost, the reading being from a manuscript source. Schulze has FRUTICIUS in his index and Holder gives FRUTONIUS (i1501). The reading is probably corrupt, though the fact that he was a primipilaris is clear.

222. L. FULLONIUS SEVERUS IX 1611 Beneventum.

Primuspilus of X Gemina. His tribe, Stellatina,

is not found outside Italy, and is that of Beneventum. The nomen FULLONIUS is only once found outside Italy in the indexes of the Corpus. The mention of filiation and of tribe might suggest a date earlier than the third century, particularly as the former reveals that his praenomen differed from his father's, but in Italy one cannot be completely certain, as such practices take a long time to die there.

223. C. FULVIUS LUNENSIS XI 3230 Nepet.  
Primipilaris, dead.

224. FURIUS FESTUS XV 7241  
 XV 7242 = ILS 8698 b Rome.

Tribune of the seventh praetorian cohort in the years 202 and 203. While this need not mean that he held the post for two years, as a year in office probably spread over ~~two~~ consular years, the possibility cannot be excluded.

225. T. GARGILIUS VENATOR VIII 14471 = ILS 2643 Bulla Regia.  
 [T(ito)] Gargilio T(iti) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Venatori,  
 p(rimo)p(ilo) praerogativo tempore facto [a] Divo Hadriano,  
 praef(ecto) ... cum...

The tribe of Bulla Regia is Quirina, and the nomen Gargilius is very common in Africa, so the origo is either here or in the numerous other towns in Africa that possessed this tribe. The meaning clearly is that Gargilius has been granted the primipilate earlier than was normal, and presupposes that there was some sort of



regulation about the minimum age. This at first makes it difficult to believe that legionis or castrorum legionis is to be restored after prefect, but the only other possibility that I can envisage is praefectus pro II viro, which would imply the end of his military career, if held after the primipilate. If held before, and the inscription thus in inverse order, it would imply a direct commission to the centurionate, with the primipilate the highest point reached at the time this inscription was set up, if indeed it is not a commemorative inscription, as it could well be. Probably it is simplest to understand a prefecture of the camp, and in this connection it is well to remember such inscriptions as that of L. Gavius Fronto, and the mass of evidence that points to the prefecture of the camp as a post of great importance and prestige. It may be that what Hadrian's favour amounted to was by granting an early primipilate making possible a retirement at an early age, laden with wealth.

226. M. GAVIUS FIRMS III 15208 =ILS 9082 Lauriacum.

The inscription is given in the special appendix on official primuspilus inscriptions. He was primuspilus of II Italica in A.D. 191. His home was Firmum, in Picenum. As this was the home of the great praetorian prefect of Pius, Gavius Maximus, the suggestion of A. Stein in PIR<sup>2</sup> G 104 that Firmus was related to him

is not improbable. With an Italina origo at this period he is either from the ranks of the praetorian guard, or has been directly commissioned as centurion ex equite Romano.

227. L. GAVIUS FRONTO Rev. des Etudes Grecs, 61 (1948)  
Attaleia, Pamphylia.

Λ. Γάουιον Λ. Γαιουίου Φρόντωνος υ[ιόν] Φρόντωνα,  
τριμοπειλάριον. λεγ. γ' Κυρηναϊκῆς καὶ στρατοπεδάρχην λεγ.  
ιε Απολλιναρίας, πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, πατέρα  
Δ. Γαυίου Αἰλιανοῦ, ταμίου καὶ ἀντιστρατήγου δήμου Ῥωμαίων,  
παππον Δ. Γαυίου Κλάρου, πλατυσήμου, ἱππῶ δημοσίᾳ  
τετειμημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τειμαῖς ἀριστείσις,  
ἐνχειρισθέντα ὑπὸ θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ τρισχειλίους οὐστράνους  
λεγεωνάριους ἰς τὸ κατοικίσαι Κυρήνην ... ἐπηγγελμένον αἰώνιον  
γυμνασιαρχίαν κατὰ πενταετίαν ... πρῶτον ἀρχιερεα πάντων  
τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐπὶ τετραετίαν ... καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην ἐκ τῶν  
ἰδίων σκηνικῶν ἀγώνων καὶ γυμνικῶν.

A. native of Attaleia, he mentions specifically that he was the first man of that city ever to become a prefect of the camp. He was given a task by Trajan, and his inscription was set up after the death of that emperor. The task, that of leading three thousand veterans to the colony of Cyrene, was probably carried out when he was a principilaris. It is interesting to speculate whether this deduction of veterans helped to spark the Jewish revolt of the later years of Trajan. His entry into the centurionate was almost certainly ex equite Romano, for I understand his mention of the

grant of the equus publicus to mean that he was an equestrian, cf. his relative M. Gavius Gallicus, of IGRR III 778, who uses a similar phrase. On his return from military service he was chairman of the provincial council. His son, L. Gavius Aelianus, became a quaestor, and his grandson, Gavius Clarus, was a friend of M. Cornelius Fronto, who recommended him to Lucius Verus as being a man of limited means who had been left practically nothing by his parents. Clarus had reached the rank of praetor. The letter concerning him, Loeb, Fronto II pp. 151, 155 is dated to 163, which accords with the rough dating of Gavius Fronto. Of course what seemed a small amount to Cornelius Fronto might be quite a reasonable fortune, but it is worth remembering that the climb of the social ladder by the descendants of primipilares might well be hindered by their failure to add to the original capital provided by their ancestors. The entry into the Senate in the first generation after Gavius Fronto both suggests that he may have been of an equestrian family, and emphasises the prestige which attached to a prefect of the camp, already reflected in the boast of the inscription. It seems most probable that the M. Gavius Gallicus from Apamea already referred to represents another branch of this family, and that he in turn is connected with the M. Gavi Squillae Gallicani who were consuls in 127 and

150 respectively, cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> G 113-14.

228. C. GAVIUS SILVANUS V 7003 = IL3 2701 Taurini.

C(aio) Gavio L(ucii) f(ilio) Stel(latina) Silvano,  
[p]rimipilari leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), [t]ribuno  
coh(ortis) II vigilum, [t]ribuno coh(ortis) XIII urban(ae)  
[tri]buno coh(ortis) XII praetor(iae), [d]onis donato a  
Divo Claud(io) bello Britannico, [to]rcuibus, armillis,  
phaleris, corona aurea, [p]atrono colon(iae). D(ecreto)  
d(ecurionum).

Tac.a.15.50. adscitae sunt super Subrium et Sulpicium,  
de quibus rettuli, militares manus Gavius  
**Silvanus** et Statius Proxumus, tribuni  
cohortium praetoriarum...

Tac.a.15.60. haec ferre Gavius Silvanus tribunus  
praetoriae cohortis et an dicta Natalis  
suaque responsa nosceret percontari Senecam  
iubetur...Illo propinqua vespera tribunus  
venit et villam globis militum saepisit;  
tum ipsi cum Pompeia Paulina uxore et amicis  
duobus epulanti mandata imperatoris edidit.

Tac.a.65.61. ubi haec a tribuno relata sunt Poppaea et  
Tigellino coram, quod erat saevienti principi  
intimum consiliorum, interrogat an Senecae  
voluntariam mortem pararet. tum tribunus  
nulla pavoris signa, nihil triste in verbis  
eius aut vultu deprensum confirmavit. ergo  
regredi et indicare mortem iubetur. tradit  
Fabius Rufus non eo quo venerat itinere  
reditum sed flexisse ad Faenium praefectum,  
et expositis Caesaris iussis an obtemperaret  
interrogavisse, monituque ab eo ut  
exequeretur, fatali omnium ignavia. nam et  
Silvanus inter coniuratos erat, augebatque  
scelera in quorum ultionem consenserat.  
voci tamen et aspectui pepercit intromisitque  
ad Senecam unum e centurionibus qui  
necessitatem ultimam denuntiaret.

Tac.a.15.71. e tribunis Gavius Silvanus quamvis absolutus  
sua manu cecidit.

The tribe Stellatina is confined to Italy, and is  
the tribe of Taurini. Silvanus served in the British  
war of 43. Ritterling, RE XII 1647, suggested that he

did so as a centurion, but it is tempting to suppose a similar time and speed of career to that of Vettuis Valens, in which case he would be decorated as a praetorian soldier, on the prefect's staff in all probability, and come to his praetorian tribunate slightly later than Valens. The latter was in his first procuratorship in 66, having held his praetorian tribunate and the post of primuspilus iterum. The fact that a crown was included in the decorations indicates a very senior praetorian soldier, perhaps even an evocatus. This would mean that Silvanus as a tribune would be in his fifties. The theory that he received these decorations as primuspilus is of course nonsense, postulating a period of twenty years in the tribunates. He is one of the earliest recorded primipilares to hold all three Rome tribunates, and one of the first to be a patron of a municipality. His tribunate of the thirteenth urban cohort, of course, is irrelevant to the question of the special position of this cohort as postulated in the case of C. Velius Rufus, for the position and numbering of the urban cohorts at this time is different from the later situation.

229. CLAUDIUS GEMELLIUS CLAUDIANUS Vollmer no. 374 Regensburg.

Prefect of III Italica, constituted under Marcus Aurelius. He died with that rank.

230. Q. GEMINIUS SABINUS. AE 1923. 28 = Inscr. de Tunisie  
778-9. Vicus Annaeus,  
Tunisia.

Q(uinto) Geminio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Arn(ensi) Sabino,  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gem(i)n(ae), (centurioni)  
leg(ionis) VI Fer(ratae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIV  
Marc(iae) Gem(inae) victr(icis), (centurioni) leg(ionis)  
X Gem(i)n(ae) p(iae) f(idelis), (centurioni) leg(ionis)  
III Aug(ustae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gem(i)n(ae),  
hast(ato) priori leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis), p(rimo)p(ilo)  
et principi peregrinor(um), d(onis) d(onato) ab  
Imp(eratore) Caes(are) Traiano Aug(usto) Germanico,  
corona vallari, torquibus et armillis et phaleris bello  
Germanico, praef(ecto) leg(ionis) X Fretensis, vicani  
vici Annaci quam idem Geminus Sabinus ab iis testamento  
suo fieri iussit posuerunt idemque dedicaverunt, anno  
mag(istratus) D(ecimi) Annaei Arn(ensis) Advenae.

779 is the same except for dd.pp. after the word  
dedicaverunt, instead of as above. There are some  
fragments of another inscription to this man, VIII 825=  
12232 = 23841.

There is a strong presumption in favour of the man  
being a native of this place. The fact that he lived  
and died there, the large number of towns with his tribe  
in Africa, and the fact that the magistrate mentioned  
had this tribe all point that way. His decoration  
in the German war of Trajan in 97-8, probably, from the  
decorations, specifically as a centurion, give us our  
only dating information. The most interesting thing  
about this career is the appearance of the post princeps  
peregrinorum, which is apparently held with the title  
of primuspilus after the post of hastatus. Under  
Severus the post of princeps peregrinorum ranked below

the primipilate, but this need not have been the case in the time of Trajan.

231. L. GENUCIUS PRISCUS III 14147. 2 = ILS 8907.

Prefect of the camp in Egypt in the year 99, i.e. ducentarian commander of the two-legion camp at Alexandria. His position is shown clearly by the fact that his name appears directly after that of the prefect of Egypt.

232. GERELLANUS - Literary.

Tac. a. 15, 69. Igitur non crimine, non accusatore existente quin speciem iudicis induere non poterat, ad vim conversus Gerellanium tribunum cum cohorte militum inmittit iubetque praevenire conatus consulis (Vestini).

The nomen GERELLANUS is clearly mainly restricted to Italy, and that would be the origo one would normally assign to this tribune. On the other hand there is at least a possibility that he was the brother of the man following, bearing in mind the number of men from Heliopolis attested as primipilares, and specifically as praetorian tribunes, at this time. He was presumably a praetorian tribune.

233. L. GERELLANUS FRONTO. (a) III 14387 h Heliopolis.  
(b) III 14387 g "

(a) L(ucio) Gerellano Sex(ti) f(ilio) Fab(ia) Frontoni, primipilo leg(ionis) X Freten(sis), praefecto castrorum leg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae), flamini Augusti, pontifici, praefect(o) Augusti, M(arcus) Antonius Sosinatus amico.

- (b) L(ucio) Gerellano Sex(ti) f(ilio) Fab(ia) Frontoni,  
 primopilo leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis), praef(ecto)  
 Neron(is) Claudii Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici, ⚡  
 L(ucius) Valerius T(iti) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Celer,  
 (centurio) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis).

The nomen, as remarked above, is mainly confined to Italy, but the tribe is that of Heliopolis, and clearly he is the descendant of a colonist. The inscription (b) is clearly the earlier, as it gives Nero's name, and does not mention the prefecture of the camp. The question arise when did he hold the prefecture of Nero, which is clearly the post of praefectus pro II viris of Heliopolis on the Emperor's behalf? It is possible that he held it in the period between his primipilate and prefecture of the camp, but we have no clear parallel, and I would have preferred to think, as in the case of P, Anicius Maximus, that this municipal post was held first, and that after it Fronto was given a direct comission as centurion, always a possibility for a municipal worthy. On the other hand, this would mean that his municipal post, comission, and career in the centurionate would have to be compressed into the years 54-68, and if a man had come so soon to the primipilate as that one would expect a promotion to the Rome tribunes rather than direct to a prefecture of a camp. The balance of probability thus favours the first explanation, and this needs to be taken into account in considering the career of P. Anicius Maximus.



234. GIGENNAUS VALENS. VII 18065 = ILS 2452 Castra Lambaesitana.

Satrius Crescens p.p.

Gigennaus Valens p.p.

The two names given head the list of the primi ordines, centurions, and evocatus of III Augusta who dedicated an inscription to Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 162. The name GIGENNAUS is not otherwise attested in the Corpus, but Schulze, p. 273, gives it as a form of an Etruscan root. The man is thus probably Italian (cf. E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p. 111). The significance of the inscription lies in its naming of two primipili in one legion, of apparently equal rank. That they were equal would seem to be proved by the other inscriptions relating to Satrius Crescens, who as the first-named ought to be the senior of the two, which show him to have been holding his first primipilate at this time. They presumably both commanded centuries, as did the two primipili of X Fretensis in A.D. 150 (XVI, app. 13, cf. under Pontienus Magnus). The possibility of there being two primipili in a legion apart from the primuspilus iterum is discussed in Part I.

235. GLITIUS BARBARUS

V 6969

Taurini.

[Ti(berio) C]laudio Drusi f(ilio) Caesari A[u]gusto  
 G[er]manico, pont(ifici) max(imo), tr[ib]unic(a) potest(ate)  
 VIII, imper(atori) [X]VI, consu[li], IIII, p(atri)  
 p(atriciae) [...G]litiu[s] T(iti) f(iliu[s]) Stel(latina)  
 sic Barbaru[s], prin(i) [p]ilaris, p[raef]ectus. [tribunus  
 militum, p[raef]ectus] fabr(um) T[iberii] [et] claudi Caes[aris]  
 Aug(usti) Germ(anici).]

The tribe Stellatina is not known to be that of any town outside Italy, and is the tribe of Taurini. The origo is therefore almost certain, The date is A.D. 49, and the career is typical of the period up to Claudius. The post of praefectus cohortis has been restored by the Corpus after the primipilate, but there is also the possibility of praefectus equitum, which sometimes occurs in this position. The post of prefect of works to Claudius presumably was held either when he was consul, or like the post of praef. castr. imp. etc., which occurs on a number of early inscriptions, <sup>was</sup> a post on the Emperor's staff on campaign. He was the father or grandfather of Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola, of Taurini, who held his laticlave tribunate after 67, since it was in I Italica, was quaestor of Vespasian, and rose to be cos. II in 103, and to be urban prefect. While the second nomen indicates a marriage or adoption that may have assisted the rise of the family, there is evidence here of the brilliant prospects open to talented descendants of primipilares.

236. T. GNORIUS ATILIANUS XI 3892 Capua.

Primipilaris, dead. The fact that one of his heirs describes himself as c.v. suggests a date after the reign of Hadrian, which is made more probable by the omission of filiation and tribe. The nomen is rare, but shows no particular concentration.

237. L. GRAECIUS CONSTANS XIV 3628 Ostia.

Tribune of the first praetorian cohort. He commemorates his wife, Numitoria Moschis, who is clearly the widow of L. Cominius Maximus. The latter died about 206, and his wife survived him, married **C**onstans, and bore him a son before her death. She was clearly much younger than Maximus, who was eighty, as she was not past child-bearing.

238. L. GRATTIUS EXSUPERIUS XV 7243 Rome.

Tribune of the sixth praetorian cohort, according to the Corpus about the end of the first century A.D..

239. HELIUS MONIUS VI 224 = ILS 2185 Rome.

Tribune of the equites singulares in A.D. 197.

240. HELVIDIUS - Literary.

Tac.h.4.5. Helvidius Priscus e municipio Cluviis, patre qui ordinem primi pili duxisset.

Priscus was praetor-elect in 70, and if we take him to have been the minimum age, thirty, his father's primipilate need not have been earlier than the reign of Claudius. Priscus himself and his son, who reached the consulship, perished by the hands of the Flavian dynasty. Notice how the descendants of a primipilaris can reach the Senate in the first generation.

241. M. HELVIUS RUFUS CIVICA XIV 3472 = ILS 2637 Varia, Latium.

M(arcus) Helvius M(arci) f(ilius) Cam(ilia) Rufus Civica, prim(us) pil(us), balneum municipibus et incolis dedit.

Tac.a.5.21 Quo proelio Rufus Helvius gregarius miles  
servati civis decus rettulit...Caesar addidit  
civicam coronam. (A.D. 20.)

Gellius (5,6.14) records the same incident, without adding anything new. As the tribe Camilia is not known to have been given to any town outside Italy Rufus is almost certainly an Italian. Dessau suggested in PIR<sup>1</sup> H 51 that his original home was Tiburtinum, which had the tribe Camilia. This is one of the few cases where promotion from the ranks of the legions is certain.

242. HERENNIUS PRISCUS X 1593 Puteoli.

Prinipilaris of II Traiana. The mention of filiation and tribe suggests the second century rather than the third, the legion ruling out the first century.

243. HOSTILIUS RUFUS Literary.

He was prefect of the camp in the army of Drusus in the year 11 B.C.. A swarm of bees settled on his tent, which is the reason his name has come down to us (Obsequens c. 72, Pliny, n.h. XI, 55. Dio 54,33,2). He is the earliest definitely-dated praefectus castrorum.

244. INSTEIUS CAPITO Literary.

Tac.a.13.39. minora (castella) Cornelio Flacco legato et Insteio Capitoni castrorum praefecto mandat... pari fortuna legatus et praefectus usi sunt, tribusque una die castellis expugnatis cetera terrore et alia sponte incolarum in deditionem veniebant. (A.D. 58).

The legate and the prefect of the camp were given the task of dealing with the minor forts while Corbulo

concentrated on Volandum. Note the prefect of the camp as taking an active part on campaign. Whether the centurion Insteius sent by Ummidius to receive hostages three years earlier (a.13,9) was this man is a matter for conjecture. Certainly he must have been a senior centurion to be given such a task, and it is perfectly possible for him to have done his year as primuspilus and become prefect of the camp in the interval.

245. A. INSTULEIUS TENAX      III 30 = ILS 8759a      Thebes.  
    AE 1923. 83     Ascalon.

On III~~30~~ he is attested as primipilaris of XII Fulminata, visiting the shrine of Memnon in A.D.65. On AE 1923. 83 he is the subject of a honorary inscription, as centurion of X Fretensis, by the ordo and people of Ascalon. This association with two legions of the East makes one wonder if he was himself from one of the colonies e.g. Heliopolis, but there is no definite evidence for it.

246. IULIUS C.F..     XII 261     Forum Iulii.

Iu]lio C(ai) f(ilio), primopil(o) [leg(ionis) VI] III  
 Hispan(ae). [praef(ecto) i(iure)] d(icundo) pro [II vir(is)],  
 II vir(o) [col]on(iae) priamum.

The source is manuscript, and to some extent violence has had to be done to it to make sense of it, particularly in the second line, where the manuscript gives III HISPAN D PRO. The necessary supplement praef.i.d. has had to be supposed though the manuscript gives no lacuna at that

point. If the manuscript is correct in making the primipilate follow directly the nomen, the absence of a cognomen thus implied would suggest a date before the reign of Claudius. E. Birley in Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p. 113, has given Forum Iulii as the origo which may be rated a possibility on his municipal posts and the fact that he was almost certainly a C. Iulius, but I have not felt that possibility to be enough to include him among my lists of certain and probable origins in Part I.

247. IULIUS AGRIPPA Digest XXXII 38,4.

This man, a primipilaris, provided in his will that neither his praedium suburbanum nor his domus maior should be mortgaged or alienated. This is a notable glimpse of the wealth of a primipilaris. His great-niece is called Iulia Donna, and the fact that the original author was Scaevola, who wrote under Marcus Aurelius, makes it possible that this is in fact the wife of Severus, though A. Stein disagrees, R.E. X 926, no. 565.

248. C. IULIUS ANTIGONUS VI 1059 Rome.

Tribune of the second cohort of vigiles in A.D. 210.

249. IULIUS BASSUS VII 96 Caerleon.

The reading given in the Catalogue of the inscribed and sculptured stones at Caerleon, p. 14 (National Museum of Wales 1935) is best. He was prefect of the camp of II Augusta, and thus to be dated between that legion's

coming to Caerleon in the late years of Vespasian and the last recorded use of the phrase praefectus castrorum in A.D. 201.

250. C. IULIUS CANDIDUS III 267 Ancyra, Galatia.

Primuspilus of XIII Gemina, dead. His burial here may indicate that he was a native of the place, but there is no real evidence for it.

251. G. IULIUS CANINUS III 3427 Aquincum.

Herculi Aug(usto) s(acrum), ob salutem et reditum d(omini) n(ostri) Imp(eratoris) S(everi) Al[e]x[andr]i P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti) et Iuliae Mamaeae Augustae matris Aug(usti) n(ostri) et castrorum, G(aius) Iulius Caninus pref(ectus) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) Se[verianae] ex trec[en]ario, v(otum) [s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(eroto).

The consular date for 253 also appears on the inscription. The expression ex trecenario need not imply more than that he had held that post, without necessarily having been promoted directly from it to the prefecture of the legion. Whether he had been a primuspilus first we cannot say. As he had been trecenarius he was probably either from the ranks of the praetorian guard, or a centurion commissioned ex equite Romano.

252. C. IULIUS CARIANUS III 750 Novae, Moes. Inf.

Libero Patri. C(aius) Iul(ius) Carianus, p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), ex equite Romano.

The cognomen is given by Holder, i supp. 1102, as Celtic, but in the absence of clear evidence from

distribution this does not give us his origo. The phrase ex equite Romano underlines the fact that the man had been of an equestrian family, perhaps had commenced an equestrian military career, before he was directly commissioned as centurion. There is no implication that he was commissioned directly as primusvilus, no hint that this type of career was unusual, no suggestion that he lost his equestrian rank by becoming a centurion. It is simply an example of changing fashions in terminology. In the first and second centuries the man who had been commissioned ex equite Romano indicated the fact, if at all, by the details of his career, e.g. T. Pontius Sabinus. The phrase ex equite Romano seems to be a third-century phenomenon.

253. IULIUS CELSUS. Literary.

Tac.a.6,9. Ni Celsus urbanae cohortis tribunus, tum inter indices Appium et Calvisium discrimini exemisset.

Tac.a.6,14. Et Iulius Celsus tribunus in vinclis laxatam catenam et circumdatam in diversum tendens suam ipse cervicem perfregit. (A.D. 33).

A. friend of Sejanus.

254. IULIUS CRESCENS.

The inscription bearing this man's name has been published by A.A. Aly, in "A Latin inscription from Nicopolis", Annals of the Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University, vol. III, 1955, pp. 113-46. He identified



this man, who appears as praefectus castrorum after the prefect of Egypt on a dedication by time-expired men of II Traiana in A.D. 157, with the primuspilus, Iulius Crescens, who is mentioned by the men of his century. This is at first sight a plausible identification. On the other hand, it is not forced upon us by the names, which are very common. In fact, eight centurions and ten veterans on the stone have the nomen IULIUS, and no-one would have regarded it as strange if any of them had had the cognomen CRESCENS. Secondly, it conflicts with all we know of the men who are called praefectus castrorum in Egypt to make them synonymous with the primuspilus. I will not go into the matter further here, as the question is discussed in Part I, together with all the other cases.

254a. IULIUS CRESCENS.

Primuspilus of II Traiana in A.D. 157. For discussion see above.

255. IULIUS CRISPUS                      Literary.

Dio 75,10. While he was engaged in this war he put to death two distinguished men. One was Julius Crispus, a tribune of the Pretorians; and the reason was that Crispus, vexed at the war's havoc, had casually quoted some verses of the poet Maro... And Severus made Valerius, the soldier who accused him, tribune in his place.

The other distinguished man was Laetus, the defender of Nisibis, whose rank we do not know, cf. RE XII 451

(A. Stein). This promotion, so different from the orderly progression with which we are more familiar, reminds us that with men so near to the emperor there was always the possibility of a radical break with normal rules of promotion.

256. T. IULIUS E - ? VI 2709 Rome.

Tribune of the ninth praetorian cohort.

257. C. IULIUS FLAVIANUS ? XIV 230 Ostia.

Tribune (?) of the fifth cohort of vigiles. His nomen appears on the stone as CIVIUS. It is to be noted that D.M. Pippidi, Histria, I, 1954, p. 533 published an inscription which showed a Iulius Flavianus to have been colleague to Comazon as praetorian prefect. There is at present nothing to connect him with our probable tribune.

258. IULIUS FRONTO (i) IGRR I 627 Troesmis.

He is mentioned as primipilaris on the tomb of his actor. The names are so common that there is really no reason to connect this man with the Iulius Fronto whose actor died at Pola (V 90), or the tribune that follows, or the prefect of the Misenum fleet in A.D. 129, XVI 74, except that the Misenum fleet did fall to primipilares, though by no means exclusively.

259. IULIUS FRONTO (ii) Literary.

Tac.h.1,20. exauctorati per eos dies tribuni e praetorio Antonius Taurus et Antonius Naso, ex urbanis cohortibus Aemilius Pacensis, e vigilibus Iulius Fronto.

Tac.h.2,26. vinctus praefectus castrorum Iulius Gratus, tanquam fratri apud Othonem militanti prodicionem ageret, cum fratrem eius Iulium Frontonem tribunum Othoniani sub eodem crimine vinxisset.

Here is an interesting case of brother primipilares, who have found themselves on different sides, more probably from the accident of their respective posts in 69, one at Rome and the other with one of the legions of Vitellius, than to any particular conviction on the questions involved. Their simultaneous arrest, in which there is a touch of comedy, suggests that neither was more than lukewarm in his loyalty. On the other hand, the dismissal of Fronto with Naso and Taurus suggests that he had shown distinct hostility to Galba, possibly, as seems the case with the other two, loyal to the memory of Nero. There is no need to suppose him to be the father of the Misenum prefect, as in PIR<sup>1</sup> I 218.

260. IULIUS GRATUS Literary.

Prefect of the camp in one of the legions of Vitellius. See above,

261. IULIUS HONORATUS (a) XII 7 Vintium, Alp. Marit..  
(b) XII 5430

(a) [Vintensium] Massiliensium curante ac dedicante Iul(io) Honorato, proc(uratore) Aug(usti) ex p(rimo)p(ilo), praesid(e) Alp(ium) Maritimarum.

(b) Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Antoninus Aug(ustus) [P(ius)] F(elix) Parthic(us) M(aximus) Brittanic(us) M(aximus), trib(unica) potestate, cos(ul) IIII, p(ater) p(atriciae), proc(onsul),

pont(es) viamq(ue) vetustate collabs(os) rest(ituit),  
curante Iulio Honorato, p(rocure)to(re) Aug(usti) ex  
primipilo. m(ilia) p(assuum) XI.

Similar to inscription (b) are XII 5431, 5432, and 5438, except for differences in mileage. The date is 213, from the omission of the title Germanicus Max.. He is one of those primipilares who received a centenarian procuratorship after their first primipilate, instead of proceeding to the Rome tribunates. See further H.G. Pflaum, thèse complémentaire, no. 299.

262. IULIUS ISIDORIANUS AE 1948. 145 Legio, Palestine.

**P**ro salute et incolumitate domini nostri Imp(eratoris)  
Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(elii) Antonini Aug(usti)  
praesentissimum Deum Mag(num) Sarapidem leg(ionis) VI  
Ferrat(ae) f(idelis) c(onstantis) Antoninianae Iulius  
Isidorianus p(rimus)p(ilus).

isii verev...ere...(moulure supérieure de l'autel)

This altar, for a description of which the reader is referred to L'année épigraphique, loc. cit., seems to be an official type of dedication, though not necessarily of the same type as those given in the special appendix. The emperor, if the restoration is correct, is Elagabalus.

263. TI. IULIUS ITALICUS X 4723 Ager Falernus.

Ti(berio) Iulio Ti(berii) f(ilio) Fal(erna) Italico,  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Macedon(icae), (centurioni)  
leg(ionis) XV Primigen(iae), (centurioni) XIII Gem(inae),  
p(rimo)p(ilo)...decuri...

The tribe Falerna is not known to have been the tribe of any place outside Italy, and in fact it was given its name by the Ager ~~F~~alernus, cf. RE VI 1972.

The approximate dating of the inscription is given by the fact that VII Claudia is still called VII Macedonica, and the fact that XV Primigenia was first raised about A.D. 39. (Ritterling, RE XII 1758). I would place the inscription in the time of Claudius, when the title VII Macedonica still occasionally appears, cf. X 1711.

264. IULIUS IULIANUS III 99 = ILS 2771 Bostra, Arabia.

Prefect of I Parthica under the Philips. His full title is vir egregius, ducenarius praefectus leg., and it is interesting to note that the use of the title vir egregius is one of the devices commonly used later by ducenarian legionary prefects. I am not clear myself on the whole answer to this question of use of titles, but it seems probable that the aim was to clearly differentiate the ducenarian prefectures.

265. C. IULIUS LEPIDUS II 4463 Aeso, Tarrac..

C(aio) Iulio Gal(eria) Lepido, Iesson(e), p(rimi)p(ilari), centur(ioni) leg(ionis) X [III] Gem(inae) p(iae) f(idelis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Adiut(ricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) X G(eminae) p(iae) f(idelis)...[(centurioni) leg(ionis)] XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), [p(rimi)p(ilo) leg(ionis) X Ge]m(inae) p(iae) f(idelis), adlecto in numerum decurion(um) ab ordine Barcinonensium, heredes ex testament(o), cura Agathopi, Trophimi, Polycarpi.

The restoration by Huebner in the Corpus of the last post mentioned as centurion of VII Gemina would mean, as the legion to be restored has the cognomina p(ia) f(idelis), a third-century date, cf Ritterling, RE XII 1642. E. Birley contests this restoration on the grounds

that the inscription requires the mention of the legion in which the primipilate was held, cf. the inscription of L. Aemilius Paternus, the spacing will not admit the number VII, and there is nothing in the inscription to suggest the third century. I have accepted his arguments, as the inscription is essentially the same as the other second-century inscriptions of primipilares from Spain. Any of the three main sources of primipilares could have produced this man, though it is worth recalling that we have a number of men from Spain ex equite Romano in the second century. The career finds its culmination in the primipilate, as the vast majority of primipilaris careers do.

266. IULIUS LUPUS

Literary.

Jos. ant. XIX 2.4.  
Whiston's trans.  
revised by Shillet  
1889.

(Chaerea) sent Iulius Lupus, one of the tribunes to kill Caius' wife and daughter. They proposed this office to Lupus, as a kinsman of Clemens, that he might be so far a partaker in the tyrannicide...

Jos. ant. XIX 4.5.

So Chaerea was led out to execution, and Lupus and many other Romans with him.

His tribunate was almost certainly in the guard. Notable is the fact that he was related to Caligula's praetorian prefect, M Arrecinus Clemens. His behaviour before his execution, as given at length in Josephus, does not show him in a very favourable light.

267. IULIUS MARTIALIS

Literary.

Tac. h. I 28 Stationem in castris agebat Iulius Martialis tribunus, is magnitudine subiti sceleris, an corrupta latius castra, et si contra tenderet, exitium metuens, praebuit plerisque suspicionem conscientiae.

Tac. h. 1, 82. Militum impetus ne foribus quidem Palatii coercitus quo minus convivium inrumperet, ostendi sibi Othonem expostulantes, vulnerato Iulio Martiale et Vitellio Saturnino praefecto legionis dum ruentibus obsistunt.

A praetorian tribune. The first incident is also recounted in Plutarch, Galba, 25. There is a centurion of these two names known (XIII 6858), but they are not particularly rare, so no connection need be assumed.

268. C. IULIUS MAXIMUS. AE 1932. 53. Novae, Moesia.

Prefect of the camp of I Italica, between its move to Novae in 69, RE XII 1410, and the last recorded use of the phrase praefectus castrorum in A.D. 201. The inscription looks late rather than early in the period.

269. C. IULIUS PACATIANUS XII 1856 = ILS 1353 Vienna.

C(aio) Iulio Pacatiano, [v(iro) e(gregio)], proc(uratori) Augustorum nostrorum, m[il]it[i]s equestribus perfuncto, proc(uratori) provinc(iae) O[s]tr[on]ae, praefecto legionis Parthicae, pr[o]c(uratori) Alpium Corittarum adlecto inter comit[es] Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum), procurator(i) pro legato provinc(iae) Mauretaniae Tingitanae, col[o]nia Aelia Aug(usta) Italica p[ro]p[ri]o merentissimo.

Other inscriptions relating to this man are III 865, cf. n. 1380, and VI 1642, cf p. 3163, 3811. He is included here to make our list of prefects of legions complete for the first three centuries, though he is an

equestrian. He has been fully treated by A. Stien in RE X 684 f., and will be re-considered by H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire, no. 229. The command of the Parthian legion, presumably the first in view of the omission of a numeral, is dated to the period 195-7. As far as we can tell, after Pacatianus these legions were commanded by primipilares until the primipilares ceased to supply legionary prefects.

270. IULIUS POLLIO (a) X 7863 Forum Trianum  
(b) X 7952 Turris Libscionis,  
Sardinia.

(a) ...Pol(lia) Pollio, [trib(unus) c]oh(ortis)  
XV urb(anae), trib(unus) ~~c~~oh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae).

sic. (b) xetf Pollioni lliope r [trib(unus) coh(ortis)] XV  
~~sic.~~ w rb(anae), [trib(unus) co]h(ortis) III pr(aetoriae),  
sic rovini idenio.

Tac. a. 13, 15.

Nero intellecta invidia odium intendit; urgentibusque Agrippinae minis, quia nullum crimen neque caedem fratris palam audebat, occulta ~~m~~ilitur pararique venenum iubet, ministro Pollione Iulio praetoriae cohortis tribuno, cuius cura attinebatur damnata veneficii nomine Locusta, multa scelerum fama....sed Nero lenti sceleris impatiens minitari tribuno, iubere supplicium veneficae.

Domaszewski's restoration of the post of primuspilus of VI Ferrata from the single R preceding the two tribunates in (b) is uncertain/ (Rangordnung, p. 246). The tribunate of vigiles was probably not held. The cohort XV urbana only existed from the time of Gaius to Vespasian, which fits in well with the identification of



the man of the inscriptions with the praetorian tribune of A.D. 55. This is the first recorded case since L. Ovinus Rufus of the urban and praetorian tribunates both being held. H.G. Pflaum overlooks the case of L. Ovinus Rufus in his these complémentaire, no. 29. He suggests that Pollio was Italian, but there are the two places outside Italy with this tribe, Forum Germani in the Maritime Alps, and Sinope, in Pontus and Bithynia, and the further possibility that he was castris, i.e. born in the cantonments of a legion. Such men received the tribe Pollia. Without any further pointers, while it may seem most probable that he was of Italian origin I do not feel justified in including him in the lists of men with known or probable origines in Part I. If the restoration of the procuratorship of Sardinia is correct, as seems most probable, Pollio went from the praetorian tribunate to a military governorship.

271. IULIUS PRISCUS

Literary.

Tac.h.2,92 Praeposuerat praetorianis Publilium Sabinum a praefectura cohortis, Iulium Priscum tum centurionem: Priscus Valentis, Sabinus Caecinae gratia pollebant; inter discordis Vitellio nihil auctoritas.

Tac.III 55 Vitellius ut e somno excitus Iulium Priscum et Alfenum Varum cum quattuordecim praetoriis cohortibus et omnibus equitum alis obsidere Appenninum iubet; secuta e classicis legio.

Tac. III 61 crebra transfugia tribunorum centurionumque; nam gregarius miles induerat pro Vitellio, donec Priscus et Alfenus desertis castris ad Vitellium regressi pudore proditoris cunctos exolverent.

Tac. IV 11 Iulius Priscus praetoriarum sub Vitellio cohortium praefectus se ipse interfecit, pudore magis quam necessitate.

This man has been identified by Ritterling, RE XII 1703, with the centurion Iulius Priscus mentioned on the tomb-stone of a soldier of XI Claudia, III 14999, from Burnum in Dalmatia, where the legion was stationed up to the year 69. Even the fact that the names are the same and the dating approximately the same does not demonstrate identity in this case, in my opinion, as the nomen and cognomen are common. I include Priscus here, though he is described as a centurion, for two reasons. First, the probability is that he was a senior centurion, and quite possibly Tacitus was using the general term centurion here for a centurio primi pili. Secondly, the primipilares represent the cream of the centurionate, and the fact that a centurion rose to praetorian prefect cannot be ignored in a treatment of them, in fact a study of centurions who proceeded further without holding the primipilate is the logical successor to this work. Priscus is typical of the prefects of 69, a protégé of a man who held the real power, like Arrius Varus, and appointed as a safe man to have in charge of the

praetorian cohorts. Unfortunately the very qualities that made it impossible for him to use the position for his own ends also made him unfitted for the responsibilities of that position. He lacked the experience and careful training of the primipilares who became praetorian prefects in the second century. The primipilares who were made praetorian prefects in the civil wars of 69-70, with the exception to some extent of Arrius Varus, tend therefore to be rather pathetic figures.

272. IULIUS PROCULUS VI 2869 = ILS 2114 Rome.

Tribune of the tenth urban cohort.

273. CN. IULIUS RUFUS III 13606 Chalcis, Syria.

Cn(aeus) Iulius/.f(ilius) Fab(ia) Rufus, p(rimi)p(ilaris), hic situs est. Vix(it) annis LXXXIV.

The fact that the praenomen is Gnaeus, not Gaius, is against an Imperial grant, and as the tribe Fabia is represented in Syria by Heliopolis and Berytus, both of whom provided primipilares, there seems a strong probability that Rufus belonged to one of the other. The mention of tribe and filiation suggests a date earlier than the third century.

274. IULIUS S - XIV 4389 Ostia.

Tribune of vigiles. The date may be some time 212-7, if Howe's estimate of the times between which Marcius Rustius Rufinus could have been praetorian prefect are correct, (The pretorian Prefect from Commodus to

Diocletian, app, 1. no. 24). In any case the centurions Candidianus and Romulus mentioned on the inscription may be identified with Aelius Candidianus, attested in 210 and 212 (VI 1059, 1063-4), and P. Aelius Romulus, attested in 210 (VI 1058).

275. SEXTUS IULIUS SEVERUS AE 1952. 98 Caesarea, Maur, Caes..

Sexto Iulio Bruti filio Quir(ina) Severo, eq(<sup>[u]</sup>nti)R(omano), p(rimi)p(ilari), patri piissimo atque indulg<sup>[enti]</sup>, Iulii Pompil<sup>[ius]</sup> et Bassinus equites Romani patron<sup>(o)</sup> i<sup>[n]</sup>comparabili.

The tribe is that of Caesarea. The date is uncertain. The question arises why the father is called primipilaris and eques Romanus, as we have postulated in Part I that all primipilates were ipso facto equestrians. My own feeling is that he is attempting to indicate the fact that he had been an eques Romanus before he became a primipilaris, i.e. that he was commissioned as centurion ex equite Romano. His two sons are equestrians. On the question of the interpretation of PATRON I the reading suggested by the editor of L'année épigraphique is Patroni despite the gap between the N and the I as preferable to H. Doisy's patrono incomparabili. While it may seem strange for sons to call their father patron, it may not be inappropriate if they have been advanced by his influence, so H. Doisy's reading may well be correct.

276. C. IULIUS TIBERINUS XII 3072 Nemausus.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitan)(o) et Nemauso,

C(aius) Iulius Tib(erii) fil(ius) Tiberinus, p(rimi)p(ilaris), domo Beryto, votum solvit.

The origo is Berytus, in Syria. There is nothing in the text to require a date later than the second century.

277. G. IULIUS VALENS III 10394 = ILS 3516 Aquincum.

Prefect of II Adiutrix in the third century, as an Imperial cognomen has been erased after the legion's name.

278. T. IULIUS USTUS (a) XV 7167 Rome.  
(b) III 14207.34 = ILS 231 Viae Thrac.

(a) T(iti) Iuli Usti, tr(ibuni) coh(ortis) VIIII pr(aetoriae).

(b) [Ner]o C[la]ud[Eu]s, Divi Claudii f(ilius), Germ(anici) Caesaris n(epos), Ti(borii) Caesaris Aug(usti) pron(epos), Divi Aug(usti) abn(epos), Caesar Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) pontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unica) pot(estate) VIII, imp(erator) VIII, cos(ul) IIII, p(ater) p(atriae), tabernae et praetoria per vias militares fieri iussit per T(itum) Iulium Ustum proc(uratorem) provinciae Thrac(iae).

The second inscription is dated to A.D. 61. The relationship in time of the two posts is uncertain. The importance of the identification lies in the fact that a primipilaris is put in charge of one of the new procuratorial provinces. There is no evidence in this period, however, for a systematic choice of primipilares with an eye to them holding these governorships, and the small number of posts available would militate against any such system. The assumption of H.G. Pflaum in his

these complémentaire, no. 31, that Ustus was Italian is unjustified, for it rests solely on the assumption that all Rome tribunes were Italians. This is not so - see the chapter on the Rome tribunates.

279. IUNIUS REBURRUS XIV 4503 Ostia.

Tribune of the third cohort of vigiles in A.D. 181. If he had been attested in Spain I would have had no hesitation in supposing him to have come from there, in view of the fact that forty-two of the sixty-six examples of REBURRUS in the Corpus come from the part of the Roman Empire. However, it does occur outside Spain, so in a case like this one can only note the strong possibility of a Spanish origin.

280. D. IUNIUS VERECUNDUS (a) VI 2647 Rome.  
(b) XIII 6840 Mogontiacum.

(a) Iuniae D(ecimi) f(iliae) Flaccillae, D(ecimus) Iunius D(ecimi) f(ilius) Verecundus, trib(unus) coh(ortis) VII pr(aetoriae) et Aurelia L(ucii) f(ilia) Flaccilla parentes filiae piissimae carissimae.

(b) Leg(io) I Ad(iutrix), (centuria) D(ecimi) Iuni Verecundi.

The identification is not improbable, If it is accepted we can note that the dates between which the second inscription is dated are 70 and 85-6 (Ritterling, RE XII 1384-7). The nomen and cognomen of his wife are of considerable interest, for we now know that an Aurelius Flaccus was procurator of Belgica about the year

80. (XII 671 with new fragment, given by H.G. Pflaum in his these complémentaire, no. 52). Further, there is a L. Aurelius Flaccus who is consul suffect in an uncertain year, Degrassi suggests c./142/4 in his Fasti Consulares. There is <sup>a</sup> possible link-up here, with daughter of the procurator marrying the primipilaris, the senator being a descendant of the procurator. The names are not perhaps rare enough to clinch it, but it is an interesting possibility.

281. LABERIUS GALLUS XI 2702 = ILS 7217 Volsinii.

Ap(pio) Claudio Iuliano II cos(ule), L(ucio) Bruttio Crispino, V Kal(endas) Feb(ruarias). (A.D. 225)

sic. In schola collegi fabrum civitatis Volsinensium quem coegerunt T. Sossius Hilarus et Caetennius Onesimus q(uin)q(uennales), ibi idem q(uin)q(uennales) verba fecer(unt): quanto amore quantaque adfectione Laberius Gallus p(rimi)p(ilaris) ✓(ir) e(gregius) erga collium n.agere instituerit beneficia eius iam dudum in nos conlata confirmant et ideo Anchariam Lupercam Uxorem eius filiam Anchari quondam Celeris b(onae) m(emoriae) v(iri) cuius proles et prosapia omnibus honoribus patriae n(ostreae) sincera fide functa est, in honorem eorum et pro morum eius castitatae et iam priscae consuetudinis sanctitatae patronam collegi n(ostri) cooptemus, statuam etiam ei aeream iuxta eundem Laberium Gallum maritum suum in schola collegi n(ostri) ponamus, q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret). U(niversi) i(ta) c(ensuerunt): recte et merito retulisse q(uin)q(uennales) n(ostros), ut Anchariam Lupercam honestam matronam sancte indolis et disciplinae caerimonis etiam praeditis feminam, in honorem Laberi Galli p(rimi)p(ilaris) e(gregii) v(iri) mariti eius, patroni collegi n(ostri), et in memoriam Anchari quondam Celeris patris eius, dignissimam patronam cooptemus statuamque ei aeream in schola collegi n(ostri) iuxta eundem Laberium Gallum maritum suum ponamus, ut eius erga nos pietas et nostra erga eam voluntas publica etiam visionem conspiciatur, tabulam quoque patrocinalem in domo eius adfigi.





the salt-manufacturers of Gallia Belgica? None of the offices attested for him have any connexion with that unarmed province, and the only possibility of a connection would seem to be in 70, when XIII Gemina was in the Rhineland. This in turn would mean that we would have to allocate the decorations for the Jewish war to the centurionate in XV Apollinaris rather than to the service in V Macedonica. These decorations were presumably given by Vespasian as emperor for service under him as legate, as Titus is not mentioned. All this is mere speculation of course, but it will have served its purpose if it has drawn attention to the fact that some explanation of the gratitude of the salinatores is necessary.

Probably a daughter or granddaughter of Lepidius Proculus is the Lepidia Procula of XI 415, who was sacerdos Divae Aug. et Divae Matidiae Aug..

283. LIBERALINIUS PROBINUS XIII 8~~26~~7b Cologne.

Praetorian tribune, dead. His nomen is a "manufactured" type, belonging to the Celtic area, and his burial here with his daughter suggests an origo in Cologne or its neighborhood. The use of the phrase quondam and the style of the inscription strongly suggest the third century, and in view of the non-mention of a cohort the possibility cannot be excluded that this was

a praetorian tribune of the Gallic emperors, cf.

Piavonius Victorinus.

284. Q LICINIUS ANCOTIUS PROCULUS III 13580 Coptus.

As prefect of the camp in Egypt in A.D. 90/1 he is mentioned on a building-inscription.

285. T. LICINIUS HIEROCLES (a) VIII 20996 = ILS 1356  
Caesarea, Maur. Caes..  
(b) VI 3410.

(a) [T(ito) Lic]inio Hierocleti, viro egregio,  
proc(uratori) Aug(usti) n(ostri), [pr]aesidi  
provinciae Mauretaniae Caesariensis, praesidi  
sic. provinciae Sardiniae, praefecto legionis secunde  
Parthicae Severianae Alexandrianae, vice legati,  
proc(uratori) hereditatum, tribuno cohortis  
sic. /ioctavae praetoriae piae vindici/s Severianae  
Alexandrianae, praeposito equitum itemque peditum  
iuniorum Maurorum iure gladii, tribuno cohortis  
undecimae urbanae Severianae Alexandrianae,  
primipilum bis, et Claudiae Nervianae coniugi eius  
et Liciniis Hierocleti, Hierocliae, Paulinae, et  
Axiae filiis eorum, m(arcus) Aelius Saturninus  
veteranus ex dec(urione) alario patronis dignissimis.  
(A.D. 227).

(b) ...legionis] II Parthic(ae) An[toninianae..  
hereditati]um, pp bis, de..

The governorship of Mauretania Caesariensis is dated to A.D. 227 by VIII 9354 = ILS 486, and AE 1917-8, 68. The identification with VI 3410 suggested by E. Birley is based on the fact that the holding of the procuratorship of inheritances before the ducenarian legionary prefecture is so unusual, having regard to their rank and nature, that it is a strain on our credulity to believe that two people held these two posts in that order. It may be objected that some other

restoration of the post ending in Um is possible, but I must confess I do not see what. The DE is left unexplained, but it must be remembered that the career below pp.bis need not have been mentioned, and the DE may well be the beginning of a phrase relating to the purpose of the inscription. Hierocles, it will be noted, did not hold a tribunate in the vigiles. As explained in Part I, the omission of one or more tribunates occurs at intervals throughout the first three centuries, and it is no doubt bound up with the problem of maintaining a steady flow of men through them when the number of vacancies varied from corps to corps. The next post after the normal urban tribunate is the command of a mixed regiment of Mauri, horse and foot. I agree with H.G. Pflaum, thèse complémentaire 316, that it must have been held outside Rome in view of the grant of the ius gladii, which may mean that the command was combined with the duty of governing conquered territory, cf. H.G. Pflaum's discussion of the problem of the ius gladii, Procurators, p. 117 f.. This means of course that the Domaszewski opinion that the post was in a corps of Mauri at Rome, Rangordnung, p. 164, is rejected. This opinion is based on the inscription of Traianus Mucianus and on the fact that the post is sandwiched between two posts that definitely are at

Rome. After this command he returned to Rome to hold a praetorian tribunate, held his second primipilate, either at Rome or in a legion, and then proceeded to the post of procurator hereditatium, a Rome post, in the second ducenarian echelon. From this post he went to the normally first-echelon post of prefect of II Parthica, still near Rome. Thus these two posts were held in the reverse order to normal. I have noted under Ti. Claudius Secundinus and Cominius Maximus the tendency for a second-echelon procuratorship at Rome to follow the ducenarian legionary prefectures, to give the financial and administrative experience that other primipilares learnt in their first posts as provincial procurators. Hierocles obtained the same combination of experience as his colleagues who were ducenarian legionary prefects, in reverse order, being particularly favoured in that both posts were at Rome, the prefecture of II Parthica being of peculiar importance, as a legionary command within Italy. It is a little surprising that he went after this excellent start to the governorship of Sardinia, though it might be argued that he still required some practical experience of provincial administration in this second-echelon governorship before his promotion to the third-echelon governorship of Mauretania Caesariensis. This was a senior procuratorial governorship, having a large

garrison, cf. Sex. Baius Pudens. On the question of the timing of the career I find it difficult to accept H.G. Pflaum's dating of the Mauri command to the Parthian war of Caracalla in A.D. 217. This only leaves nine years for a praetorian tribunate, the post of pp.bis, and three further posts. His placing of the command of the legion about 219 or later I agree with, as it would fit in with VI 3410, the emperor being Elagabalus rather than Caracalla. The Mauri command on the other hand I think must be dated earlier than 217. The origo of Hierocles is uncertain.

286. L. LICINIUS LICINIANUS X 3389 Capua.

Tribune of the first urban cohort. His daughter married an equestrian, P. Rapellius Kalendinus, a prefect of a cohort.

287. C. LITERNIUS FRONTO (a) Literary Alexandria  
(b) AE 1937, 236

Jos.bell. iud. 6.4.3. Six of his chief staff-officers were assembled, namely, Tiberius Alemander, the prefect of all the forces, Sextus Cerialis, Larcus Lepidus, and Titus Phrygius, the respective commanders of the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth legions; Fronto Haterius, prefect of the two legions from Alexandria, and Marcus Antonius Iulianus, procurator of Judaea.

(b) Α' Αυτοκρατορος Καισαρος Ούεσπασιανου Σεβαστου επι  
Γαιου Λιτερνιου Φρόντωνος έπαρχου Αιγυπτου

The correct reading of the date in inscription (b) by H.G. Pflaum and J. Schwartz, given in the former's review of Stein's Prefects of Egypt (Latomus, vol. X, fasc. 4, 1951, pp. 473-4), has cleared up the difficulties of the career of this man. The new reading is **(ε'τους) ια'**, which gives the dates between which the inscription falls as Aug. 29th., 78, and June 23rd., 79. There is now no difficulty in seeing Fronto in 70 as the praefectus castrorum of Egypt, who had led to the war a vexillation of 2000 troops, drawn from the legions of Egypt (Jos., op. cit., 5,44.) He ranks below the legates of the legions but above the procurator of Judaea. In 79-80 the rank of his post was definitely ducenarian, cf. T. Suedius Clemens, and it may have been so in 70. Certainly in a period of eight years he reached the prefecture of Egypt. Two factors must have played their part in this notable advance, the still rudimentary state of the hierarchy, and Fronto's part in the events of 69-70. It is to be remembered that it was the Egyptian legions which first declared for Vespasian, Tac.h., 2,79, and Fronto was the most important man in Egypt after the prefect. It was precisely in the reign of Vespasian himself, when the new dynasty was establishing itself, that Fronto was pushed up to the heights. The speed of promotion is

very notable, comparing with that of Ser. Sulpicius Similis and Q. Marcius Turbo.

288. A. LUC - S - XI 2109 Clusium.  
 A(ulus) Luc...Arn(ensis) S...p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis)...  
 leg(ionis) X...

The inscription has more problems than we can ever hope to solve without a parallel inscription or further fragment. The fact that the tribe is that of Clusium inclines us to put him down as a native of that place. The fact that the tribe is mentioned might hint at a date before the third century. The post in a legion other than primuspilus could be either centurion or prefect, with a slight prejudice in favour of the former.

289. Q. LUCILIUS GALLUS IX 3671 Marruvium.  
 Titiae Philete. Q(uintus) Lucilius Q(uinti) f(ilius)  
 Serg(ia) Gallus, p(rimi)p(ilaris), praef(ectus)  
 castr(orum), IIIIvir q(uin)q(uennalis), patronus  
 municipii, matri [optim]ae.

The fact that no legion is given for the post of prefect of the camp suggests a date at latest under the reign of Claudius. The tribe is that of Marruvium, and the indications are that he was a native. As far as the municipal honours are concerned it is interesting to note that if the date suggested is correct this must be among the earliest cases of a primipilaris receiving the patronage of a municipality.

290. P. LUCILIUS SUCCESSOR XIV 3545 = ILS 2642 Tiburtinum.

Herculi Invicto. P(ublius) Lucilius P(ublili) f(ilius) Ouf(entina) Successor Mediolan(o), quot votum fecerat centurio, p(rimus)p(ilus) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

The inscription with its filiation and tribe seems rather first or second century than third, though admittedly in Italy one cannot be sure. The origo is given.

291. M. MAESIUS GEMINUS III 6223 Moes. Inf..

Bono Eventui leg(ionis) I Ital(icae). M(arcus) Maesius Geminus Bononia, p(rimus)p(ilus) d(onum) d(edit), M[am(ertino)] et Rufo (consulibus).

The date is A.D. 182. The inscription is one of those that could be the official one or not. The lack of the legate's name and of the mention of the eagle influence me in excluding it from the special appendix on official primuspilus dedications.

292. C. MAGIUS PROCULUS VI 32998 Rome.

Primipilaris.

293. C. MANILIUS O- XI 2704 Volsinii.

C(aius) Manilius C(ai) f(ilius) Pom(ptina) O.. [p(rimus)p(ilus) bis leg(ionis)...] et legionis VI Ferrat(ae) trib(unus) c[oh(ortis)..vig(illum); trib(unus) coh(ortis)..urb(anae)], trib(unus) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae), praef(ectus) leg(ionis) d...is bybliothecam a solo [...ornata]mque libris et statu[s(.t)]tamento dedit.

He has the tribe of Volsinii, and is probably a native of that place. His career as restored is perfectly normal. The one difficulty lies in the



expansion of the D after praef. leg. H.G. Pflaum in his these complémentaire, no. 270, would explain it as ducenarius, quoting in support the case of L. Cominius Maximus. The phrase of the latter, though, is praef. leg. II Troianae fortis CC. I suppose that it is possible that a phrase praef. leg. ducenarius II Traianae could have appeared originally on the inscription of Manilius. It may be noted that so far we have no definite case of primus pilus iter-um of a legion preceding a ducenarian legionary prefecture. The other possibility that occurs to me is that as we have postulated that primus pilus iter-um of a legion is in fact the prefecture of the legion, with a higher salary, Manilius in a passion for accuracy put down his two primipilates, and then put in praef. leg. at the appropriate stage in the career, there being no need to give the legion as it must be VI Ferrata. The D would then be connected with some following phrase. The first possibility is by far the stronger, but I would like a parallel for the phrase proposed before accepting it. If the word ducenarius did appear on the stone the date would be Commodus or later. There is nothing on the rest of the stone to make it so late, though there is nothing to prevent it being so.

294. CN. MANLIUS CN. F. PAP. II 1477 Astigi, Baetica.

Cn(aeus) Manlius Cn(aei) f(ilius) Pa[p(iria)],  
trin(unus) cohortis praet(oriae), Praefect(us) cohortium,  
IIvir, praefectus iure dic(undo).

The fact that the tribe of Astigi is Papiria makes it probably that he was a native of that place.

Praefectus cohortium was a command of the pre-Claudian period, to which Manlius belonged, as is indicated by his lack of a cognomen. The fact that he does not mention a primipilate, though holding two posts associated as far as we know exclusively with primipilares, makes me suspect that we have here a case similar to that of Arrius Salanus, and only possible in this early period, where an equestrian is given posts otherwise normally entrusted to primipilares.

295. L. MANTENNIUS SABINUS. XIV 2955 Praeneste.

L(ucio) Mantennio L(ucii) f(ilio) Severo, L(ucii)  
Mantennii Sabini trib(uni) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae)  
et Flaviae T(iti) f(iliae) Procillae filio, T(itus)  
Flavius Germanus nepoti suo.

MANTENNIUS is a very rare nomen, so clearly A. Stein was right in identifying the praetorian tribune with the prefect of Egypt of A.D. 193-4 (Prefects of Egypt, pp. 105-7). In fact, the rarity of the nomen is a pointer to Sabinus having been Italian, (Schulze, p. 274). The T. Flavius Germanus who was father-in-law to Sabinus has been identified with the T. Flavius Germanus who had an urban procuratorial career, and who came from

Praeneste (XIV 2922 = ILS 1420 cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> A 278). He may well have been able to assist his son-in-law on his way to the top. The elder son of Sabinus, L. Mantennius Sabinus, was magister of the college of the sodales Augustales Claudiales in A.D. 214 for the third time, (XIV 2391) and consular legate of Lower Moesia in A.D. 229 (A. Stein, Legates of Moesia, p. 96).

296. Q. MANTIUS - VIII 16499 Theveste.

Primuspilus of III Augusta in late 85, or 86, and a native of Alba Pompeia. The inscription will be found in the special appendix on official primuspilus dedications. His full name is Q. Mantius Q. f. Cam. - Alba Pompeia, and as a Q. Manlius Q. f. Cam. Severus Alba Pompeia is attested on VI 2649 as a soldier of XXII Primigenia who was transferred to the praetorian guard and died, unless we can credit there being a Mantia gens and a Manlia gens in Alba Pompeia, both using the same praenomen, it seems there has been a mistake in one of the inscriptions. Our two men were probably related.

297. N. MARCIUS PLAETORIUS CELER. X 1202 Abella.

sic N(umerio) Marcio N(umerii) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Plaetorio Celeri, quaest(ori), II vir(o), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gemin(ae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XVI Fl(aviae) Firm(ae), donis donato a Divo Traiano bello Parthic(o) corona murali, torquibus, armillis, phalaris, (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Gall(icae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) M(artiae) Victr(icis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Adi(utricis) p(iae) f(idelis), p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) eiusd(em), praeposit(o) numeror(um) tendentium in Ponto Absaro, trib(un)o coh(ortis) III vig(ilum), patron(o)

colon(iae, d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

The tribe of Abella is Galeria, so that is probably his place of birth. The fact that the quaestorship and the duovirate of the town are given at the beginning of the inscription, quite separately from the reference to the patronage, suggests they were held before the military career. One would not in any case expect a tribune of vigiles or any other primipilaris to hold the post of quaestor or any other magistracy inferior to the duovirate after military service. The probability is then that Celer after holding the duovirate in his native town, about the age of thirty, was given a direct commission as centurion. He then made his way through a large number of centurionates to the primipilate, and after a temporary command began the round of the Rome tribunates. He was naturally a patron of the town,

298. CN. MARCIUS RUSTIUS RUFINUS.

IX 1582 = ILS 1343 (Beneventum) Cn(aeo) Marcio Cn(aei) filio Rustio [Rufino, praef(ecto) cohortium vigilum, praeposito annonae Imp(eratoris) L(ucii) Septimi Severi Pii Pertinac(is) e [M(arci) Aurelii Antonini Aug(ustorum), praef(ecto) classium praetoria [rum] Misenatium [et Ravennat(ium), trib(un)o cohortium primae praetoriae, XI urban(ae), VI vigil(um), prim(o) pil(o) legionum III Cyrenaicae, III Gall[icae, et Salinatoriae P(ublii) fil(iae) Augustinae ei[us...]

IX 1583 (Beneventum) D(is) M(anibus) [R]ustiae Sa[bi]nae, quae vixit ann(is) VII, mensibus XI, dieb(us) II, Cn(aeus) Marcius Rustius Rufin(us), pater, tr(ibunus) coh(ortis) VI vig(ilum), et Salinatoria Augustina, mater, filiae dulcissimae.

X 1127 (Abellinum) Cn(aeo) Mar[cio] Cn(aei) f(ilio)  
 Stel(latina) Rusti[o Rufino],  
 praef(ecto class(is) pr[ae]t(oriae) Misen(ensis)],  
 praef(ecto) class(is) Rav[enn(at)is], proc(uratori)]  
 Aug(usti) prov(inciae) Syria[e Coeles, trib(un)o]  
 coh(ortis) I praet(oriae), tri[b(un)o] coh(ortis) XI  
 ur[ban(ae)], trib(un)o coh(ortis) VI [vig(illum)],  
 dilect(atori) reg(ionis)] Transpadan(ae), p(rimo) [p(ilo)]  
 bis, ab Imp(eratore) Aug(usto) ordinib[us] adscripto ex  
 equite Roman[o], exercitato[ri] equit[um] speculatorum],  
 (centurioni) coh(ortis) I [pr(aetoriae)], (centurioni) ..  
 coh(ortis) .. urb(anae)], (centurioni) coh(ortis) ..  
 vig(illum), (centurioni) leg(ionis)] XV Ap[oll(in)aris].

XIV 4389 (Ostia) [Pro sal]ute et[er]na[le]tudine... Cn(aeo)]  
 Marcio Rustio Rufino, praef(ecto)  
 praet(orio)], c(larissimo) v(iro), [M(arco) A]urelio Va..?,  
 pr(aefecto) vig(illum)], [I]ulio S[... Ca]ndidiano,  
 (centurione), [I]ulio L[... P(ublio) Aelio R]omulo,  
 (centurione) Bl[...], Anti[...], corn(iculario)] trib(uni),  
 [S]alviu[s] ..], pr(idie) N(onas) [Apr(il)is]...a] edem  
 d[edicavit ...] fecit.

He also appears as prefect of vigiles on VI 1056 =  
 ILS 2156 (A.D. 205), AE 1946. 189 (A.D. 205), XIV 4381 =  
 ILS 2155 (A.D. 207), XIV 4386, and XIV 4387 (A.D. 207).  
 He was descended from the Marcii Rufini of Beneventum,  
 one of whom is attested on IX 1455, col. II, 17, 63 f.  
 III 19 = ILS 6509, in the year 101, as having considerable  
 landed property. An equestrian, he was commissioned  
ex equite Romano as a centurion in XV Apollinaris. If  
 we reckon his age about thirty, this should place his  
 commission in the closing years of M. Aurelius, as H.G.  
 Pflaum suggests in his thèse complémentaire no. 234.  
 This is necessary to make him still in his sixties in  
 207, and forty or more when he held his Rome ~~T~~ribunates.  
 After the round of the Rome centurionates, with the

additional task attached to his praetorian centurionate of drill-master of the cavalry either of the praetorian cohorts or of the speculatores, he was then promoted to the primipilate, in III Gallica. On his return to Rome he was tribune of vigiles, in A.D. 190, (XIV 4378), held the other two tribunates, and was pp iter-um in III Cyrenaica. H.G. Pflaum's placing of this as a replacement of an officer of Pescennius Niger by one of Severus in the year 193 is in accordance with the probable period of one year for each of the Rome tribunates. The later career demonstrates that Rufinus had the favour of Severus. He was then given the task of recruiting in the Transpadane region, probably for the war against Clodius Albinus, before beginning his procuratorial career with the newly-created first-echelon ducenarian post of Syria Coele. This was held between the division of Syria in 194 and the association of Caracalla as co-emperor in 198, as the title is proc. Aug.. Passing over the second echelon, a common practice in primipilaris procuratorial careers, he was given the two praetorian fleets in succession, in the third and fourth ducenarian echelons respectively, and then the task of provisioning the army. Again, H.G. Pflaum is probably correct in assuming that all three posts were held in the course of the Parthian war. By 205 Rufinus was prefect of the vigiles, in which post he remained

till at least 207. Wickert in his comment on XIV 4389, Howe in his Pretorian prefecture, App. 1a, no. 24, and H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire all agree that he was probably the praetorian prefect of whose name only Marcius survives. His prefecture is to be placed in the early part of the reign of Caracalla (Howe, loc. cit..) The career is very much that of the vir militaris, with only one procuratorship. It is a speedy career, though not by any means the fastest. He was a Beneventan, which demonstrates clearly that Severus was prepared to make use of Italians, if they were of the requisite quality. He and L. Petronius Taurus Volusianus are the only definite cases of directly-commissioned equestrians reaching the praetorian prefecture, but the total number of prefects of whom the original corps is known is so small that the possibility of others is definitely to be reckoned with.

299. P. MARCIUS SEXTIANUS III 11082 Brigetio.

Primuspilus of I Adiutrix in A.D. 207. The inscription will be found in the appendix on official primuspilus dedications. He was a native of Ephesus.

300. MARCIUS TITIANUS (a) IGRR III 472 Balbura, Lycia.  
(b) IGRR III 576 Pinara, Lycia.

(a) [B]αλβουρέων ἡ Βουλὴ κα[ι] ὁ δῆμος ἐ[τε]μ[η]σεν  
Τ. Μ[άρκιον] Κουρ[εῖ]να Δειοταριανὸν χειλία[ρ]χον  
λεγιῶνο[ς] κ]β' Πρεμιγενε[ί]ας, υἱὸν Μαρκίου Τιτιανῶ,  
ἐπάρχου σιπειρῶν, χειλίαρχου, λεγιῶνων β' πρέμιπειλίου,  
κτίστου τῆς πόλεως.

The origin of Titianus would seem to be Lycian. His career, beginning with prefect of a cohort, shows him to have been originally an equestrian, who applied for a direct commission into the centurionate after his first militia. The vague description is presumably meant to imply one or more of the three Rome tribunates, which, as he became primuspilus bis, he almost certainly had held. His son-in-law Licinnius Longus is attested to have held the municipal Imperial Priesthood at Oeno<sup>nda</sup> in 126, and then to have been Lyciarch in 127. Titianus had occupied the latter post at some time previously, under Trajan or in the first decade of Hadrian's reign. He was thus related to a noble family of Lycia, and had himself held the greatest provincial distinction. It is not surprising that his son entered the equestrian military service, and was honoured by a city of Lycia on account of the benefits conferred on it by his father.

301. Q. MARCIUS TURBO FRONTO PUBLICIUS SEVERUS

E. Frézouls, Syria, XXX, 1953, pp. 247-78 (Cyrrhus)

[Q(uinto) Marcio] C(ai) f(ilio) Turboni Publicio Severo, domo Epidauro, p(rimo)p(ilo) bis, praef(ecto) vehic(ulorum), trib(uno) coh(ortis) VII vigil(um), trib(uno) eq(uitum) singularium Aug(usti), trib(uno) pra[e]t(oriano), proc(uratori) ludi magni, praef(ecto) class[is] pr(aetoriae) Misensis, P(ublius) Va[l]erius P(ublii) f(ilius) Qu[i](rina) Va[l]ens o[b] m[er]itis.

III 14349. 2 (Aquincum). C(aius) Castricius Co[1](lina)] Victor Como, mil(es) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis), (centuria) M(arci) Turbonis, ann(or)um XXXVIII, h(ic) s(itus) e(st). L(ucius) Lucilius f(ilius) et h(eres) posuit p(atr) p(ientissimo).



III 1462 (Sarmizegetusa) = ILS 1324

Q(uinto) Marcio Turboni Frontoni Publicio Severo  
 praef(ecto) paret(orio) Imp(eratoris) Caesaris  
 Traiani Hadriani Augusti, p(atris) p(atriae).  
 Colon(ia) Ulp(ia) Traian(a) Aug(usta) [D]acica  
 Sarmizegetus(a).

XIV 4243 (Tiburinum).

[Q(uinto)] Marcio [C(ai) f(ilio) Trom(entina)]  
 Turb[oni Fro]ntoni Pub[licio Severo,...]praef(ecto)  
 classi[s, ? donis do[nato in bello Parth]ico.

XVI 60

Imp(erator) Caesar Divi N[ervae f(ilius) Nerva]  
 Trianus Optimu[s Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus)] Dacicus,  
 pontif(ex) ma[xim(us), tribu]nic(ia) potestat(e)  
 X[VIII], Imp(erator) VI, co[s(ul) VI, p(ater) p(atriae)],  
 iis qui naviga [verunt in qua]driere Ope et [militaverunt  
 in] classe p[er]petor[ia Misenensi...]sub Q(uinto) Marcio  
 Tu[rbone, quorum] nomina subs[cripta sunt; ipsis] liberi[s  
 posterisque eorum civitatem dedit]...(etc.).

SHA Hadr., 5.8.

Lusium Quietem, sublatiis gentibus Mauris quas regebat,  
 quia suspectus imperio fuerat, exarmavit, Marcio Turbone  
 Iudaeis compressis ad depr[imi]endum tumultum Mauretaniae  
 destinato.

Eusebius, h. eccl. IV, 2. (trans. Lawton & Oulton S.P.C.K. 1927)

For instance when the emperor was approaching the  
 eighteenth year (of his reign), another disturbance arose  
 on the part of the Jews, causing the destruction of very  
 large numbers of them. For in Alexandria and the rest  
 of Egypt, and in Cyrene as well, a violent spirit of  
 revolt, so to speak, fanned their passions into flame..  
 in the following year they began a war on no small scale..  
 ... But the Jews in Cyrene, though deprived of their  
 aid, continued to plunder the land of Egypt and devastate  
 its nomes, under the leadership of Lucuas. Against them  
 the emperor sent Marcius Turbo with a force of infantry  
 and a naval contingent, and with cavalry as well. And he  
 diligently prosecuted the war with them in many battles  
 and for no brief period, killing immense numbers of Jews,  
 not only those from Cyrene, but also of those from Egypt  
 who had come to the assistance of their king Lucuas.

SHA Hadr. 6,7.

Marcium Turbonem post Mauretanium  
praefecturae infulis ornatam Pannoniae  
Daciaeque ad tempus praefecit.

SHA Hadr. 7,3.

H

Unde statim Hadrianus....Roman venit,  
Dacia Turboni credita titulo Aegyptiacae  
praefecturae, quo plus auctoritatis  
habeat, ornato.

SHA Hadr. 9,4.

Cui (Attiano) cum successorem dare non  
posset, quia non petebat, id egit ut  
peteret, atque ubi primum petit, in  
Turbonem transtulit potestatem; cum  
quidem etiam Simili alteri praefecto  
Septicium Carum successorem dedit.

ILA 421 (Utica).

Q(uinto) M[ar]cio Turbon[i], praefecto  
praetorii, d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)  
p(ecunia) p(ublica).

SHA Hadr. 15,2,7.

(Hadrianus) tamen facile de amicis,  
quidquid insurrabatur, audivit, atque  
ideo prope cunctos vel amicissimos vel  
eos quos summis honoribus evexit, postea  
ut hostium loco habuit, ut Attianum et  
Nepotem et Septicium Clarum nam...  
Turbonem graviter insecutus est.

SHA Ael. Caes. 6,3.

"Per milies perdidimus, quod exercitui  
populoque dependimus; si quidem satis in  
caducum parietem incubuimus et qui non  
ipsam rem publicam sed nos ipsos  
sustentare vix possit", et haec quidem  
Hadrianus cum praefecto suo locutus est,  
quae cum prodisset praefectus ac per  
hoc Aelius Caesar in dies magis magisque  
sollicitudine, ut pote desperati hominis  
adgraveretur, praefecto suo Hadrianus,  
qui rem prodiderat, successorem dedit,  
volens videri quod verba tristia  
temperasset.

Fronto, Ad Plu., 3.  
(Loeb, I, p. 256)

Ut ceteros eius (Censorius Niger) amicos  
omittam, Turboni Marcio et Erucio erat  
familiarissimus, qui duo viri alter  
equestris alter senatorii ordinis  
primarii fuerunt.

Dio 69, 18.

(Loeb translation)

Other excellent men, also, came to  
light during this period, of whom the  
most distinguished were Turbo and

Similis, who, indeed, were honoured by statues. Turbo was a man of the greatest generalship and had become prefect, or commander of the Praetorians. He displayed neither effeminacy nor haughtiness in anything that he did, but lived like one of the multitude; among other things he spent the whole day near the palace and often he would go there even before midnight, when some of the others were just beginning to sleep... Turbo was never seen at home in the day-time, even when he was sick; and to Hadrian, who advised him to remain quiet, he replied: "The prefect ought to die on his feet".

SHA Hadr. 4,2.

qua quidem tempestate utebatur  
Hadrianus amicitia Sosii Papi et  
Platorii Nepotis ex senatorio ordine,  
ex equestri autem Attiani tutoris  
quondam sui, et Liviani et Turbonis.

The latest found inscription bearing on Turbo, given first above, has cleared away a lot of difficulties. He is clearly distinct from T. Flavius Priscus Gallonius Fronto Q. Marcius Turbo. His origo is given as Epidaurus, in Dalmatia. His first recorded post is as centurion of II Adiutrix at Aquincum, which cannot be earlier than the years 104-5 (Ritterling, RE XII 1445). The question of whether he was still with the legion in 107, when Hadrian was legate of Pannonia Inferior, or had been when Hadrian was tribune of the legion in 95, can be shelved, for though we know that Turbo had become a friend of Hadrian before he became emperor there is no compulsion to suppose the friendship ante-dated Turbo's coming to Rome. After his first primipilate he was praefectus vehiculorum, and

as H.G. Pflaum has suggested in his thèse complémentaire, no. 94, this may in fact have been an office in charge of military intelligence. In this connection he quotes Aurelius Victor, Caesares, H. 13,5: Noscendis ocius quae ubique e republica gerebantur, admota media publici cursus. This would help to explain why Turbo, who must have been selected early as a future prefect, was allowed to spend time in this centenarian procuratorship, which did not however take him away from the emperor. There followed the tribunate of the vigiles, and the very important tribunate of the equites singulares. This was, as we see from the parallel cases of Tattius Maximus and Baius Pudens, a very important office indeed, which although apparently ranking below the praetorian tribunate was in reality more important, for it brought the holder into more intimate contact with the emperor. The praetorian tribune took his turn at the Palatine, but the tribune of the singulares was in daily attendance. It was also held sometimes for longer periods than the other Rome tribunates, cf. Tattius Maximus, though in Turbo's case the time for the whole career is so short that it is unlikely that he held it long. As no cohort is given with the praetorian tribunate he may have been merely credited with the rank without exercising an actual command, as H.G. Pflaum suggests. After his second primipilate he passed over

the first echelon of procuratorships to the post of procurator ludi magni. I have pointed out in my remarks on Ti. Claudius Secundinus that the tenure of a second-echelon ducenarian procuratorship by a primipilaris requires explanation. In this case two things would seem to have influenced the appointment, the desire to keep Turbo at Rome, and the fact that it was not considered necessary for him to spend time learning the financial side of the procuratorial career. This second point emerges even more clearly when we consider the next promotion, which omits the third ducenarian echelon, with its procuratorial governorships, to take him to the prefecture of the Misenum fleet. He is attested in this post in a year that is either 113 or 114. He clearly went to the East with Trajan, indeed his promotion to the prefecture may well have been part of Trajan's preparations. On these grounds the restoration by Domaszewski of decorations in the Parthian war, in the inscription XIV 4243, must be reckoned extremely probable.

This is a convenient place to discuss the time question, as from now onwards Turbo's posts and times of taking them are relatively well-known. In eight years at the most he was pp., praef. vehic., trib. vig., trib. eq. sing., trib. praet., pp. bis, proc. ludi magni, praef. Misen.. The last named, as suggested by H.G. Pflaum, was probably not conferred till the time of Trajan's journey East.

Of the other posts only the prefecture of the Imperial Post, the tribunate of the equites singulares, and the procuratorships need be longer than a year. Even these could be short, for the following reasons: (a) Turbo never held a serious civil post till the praetorian prefecture; (b) the posts that he held were in the early stages of his career designed to keep him conveniently near the emperor, in the latter to make the best possible use of his military talents; (c) the time allotted to each post in the early stages must have been very arbitrary, the chief concern of the emperor not being the name of the particular post that Turbo was holding, but whether he was readily available, and progressing fast enough to be quickly qualified for the post of praetorian prefect, for which he had been marked out. Sulpicius Similis, who was in many respects similar to Turbo, had free and privileged access to Trajan while still a centurion and his career was also whirlwind.

The question of age and corps of origin now arises. Turbo was relieved of his prefecture towards the end of the reign of Hadrian, and he was a centurion, not yet primuspilus, in 104-5 at earliest, i.e. a gap of about thirty years. The centurionate was generally reached by praetorians at thirty-six or later, by legionaries between thirty and forty, by men commissioned as centurions ex

equite Romano, possibly rather earlier, in their early thirties. If we take it that he was primuspilus at the age of forty in 107, at forty-seven or forty-eight he would assume command of the Misenum fleet, at fifty-two he would be praetorian prefect, to lose his post in his late sixties. He could thus have been from all three possible sources of recruits. The attempt of E. Frézouls to demonstrate that he must have been ex equite Romano rests on too rigid an application of evidence relating to ex-legionaries and ex-praetorians who never rose to the heights to this case, where the man whatever his corps of origin clearly had to receive preferential promotion to make possible his career of twenty years as Imperial general and adviser.

Resuming the career in chronological order, Turbo was sent to deal with the Jews in Cyrenaica and Egypt, probably in view of the reference of Eusebius in the quoted text to a naval squadron, still with the establishment post of prefect of the Misenum fleet. Possibly he retained the same rank when sent by Hadrian after Trajan's death to put down the troubles in Mauretania in 117. On being despatched to take command of the forces in Pannonia and Dacia he did receive a fresh title. He needed a title to give him the authority and prestige of command legionary troops, and received the honorary title of prefect of Egypt. I agree

with H.G. Pflaum that there is no reason to insert Turbo's name into the Fasti of Egypt, as A. Stein, Prefects of Egypt, pp. 59-61, particularly as we can now clearly distinguish him from T. Flavius Priscus etc.. Finally, in A.D. 119 he was recalled to Rome and the praetorian prefecture, a useful illustration of the fact that there was no obligation on the emperor to select his prefects of the guard from the prefects of Egypt. In the latter years of Hadrian's reign he suffered like others from the suspicions of Hadrian's declining years. The character of Turbo as it is known to us was of the finest, and there can be little doubt that Trajan and Hadrian performed a great service to the Empire in bringing men like Turbo and Similis to the fore.

The task of enumerating the descendates of Turbo remains as a useful study of the possibilities open to descendants of so distinguished a primipilaris. T. Flavius Priscus Gallonius Fronto Q. Marcius Turbo may be mentioned first, as he is the person with whom Turbo himself has most often been confused. He rose to some unknown procuratorship after holding Mauretania Caesariensis, and was probably, as A. Stein suggests in PIR<sup>2</sup> F 344, the brother of T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo (PIR<sup>2</sup> F 305), who entered the senatorial from the equestrian order, and was consul about 145. The two were probably the natural sons of a veteran decurion of



an ala, T. Flavius Longinus, ILS 7141, and were adopted by Turbo, who probably lacked children of his own. Further descendants must have been C. Gallonius Fronto, legate of Thrace under Pius and C. Gallonius Q. Marcius Turbo and his father. These may be followed up in PIR<sup>2</sup>G 50-1.

302. C. MARIUS SECUNDUS VI 22178 Rome

Primipilaris. As his son gives his origo as Byllis, in Epirus, it is reasonably probable that his father also came from there.

303. MATIUS QUARTUS. (a) VIII 2768 - ILS 2450a Lambaesis.  
(b) VIII 2941 = ILS 2450 "

(a) D(is) M(anibus). Zosimo liberto. Matius Quartus, p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), benemerenti fecit.

(b) D(is) M(anibus). Cocceiae Marciae coniugi carissimae, et Mattiae Cocceianae fil(iae) dulcis(simae), Q(uintus) Mattius Quartus Ficino, princ(eps) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), faciend(um) curavit.

Apart from the inconsistency in the spelling of the nomen, which is not unknown, this identification is quite probable. The origo is presumably Ticinum, Ficinum being a mason's error.

304. C. MAXIMUS PAULINUS. XIII 8014 Bonn.

Prefect of the camp to I Minervia in A.D. 201, this being the latest dated instance of the title praefectus castrorum legionis as opposed to praefectus legionis.

305. CL. MAXIMUS SABINUS. VIII 2763 Lambaesis.

Primuspilus of III Augusta, he died at the age of

seventy-six. It is not clear whether he was still serving or not.

306. C. MEFFIUS SAXO. V 4373 ILS 2694 Brixia.

C(aio) Meffio C(ai) f(ilio) Cla(udia) Saxoni, primo pilo, praef(ecto) cohort(is), praef(ecto) fabr(um), pontific(i), quinquen(nali), cohors Carietum et Veniaesum.

Schulze, p. 426, described MEFFIUS as a nomen of Cisalpine Callic type. It is rare, and the fact that ten towns in the same region (X) as Brixia have the tribe Claudia seems to make the argument <sup>for Saxo</sup> ~~of~~ being a native of this region too strong to be resisted. The date is clearly in the early principate, probably before Claudius, in view of the posts held, and of the fact that the units are not named. This is of course only half-true of the cohort, as it names itself as the dedicating party.

307. L. MELLONIUS BLANDUS. VIII 2769 Lambaesis.

Prefect of the camp to III Augusta. He gave his origo as Cologne. The mention of tribe and filiation, and the retention of the title praefectus castrorum, so far not attested after 201, makes the date probably earlier than the third century. The nomen, which has its main concentration in volume XIII in the Corpus, is almost certainly of Celtic derivation.

308. MINICIUS IUSTUS. Literary.

Tac. h. 3,7.

Vulgata victoria, legiones septima Galbiana, tertia decima Germanica, cum Vedio Aquila legato, Patavium alacres

veniunt, ibi pauci dies ad requiem sumpti, et Minicius Iustus praefectus castorum legionis septimae, quia adductius quam civili bello imperitabat, subtractus militum irae ad Vespasianum missus est.

Pliny, ep. VII,  
11, 4.

Sunt mihi et cum marito eius (Corelliae) Minicio Iusto, optimo viro, vetera iura: fuerunt et cum filio maxima, adeo quidem, ut praetore me ludis meis praesederit.

Minicius Iustus is dealt with by A. Stein in RE XV 1827-8, whose conclusions I repeat. The games referred to were in 95, and the son probably the consul ord. of 88, L. Minicius Rufus, whose cognomen recalls his famous uncle. Pliny's friend Iustus is presumably the ..... nicius Iustus named in the will of Dasumius after Pliny and Tacitus (VI 10229, 19). His marriage to the sister of the very distinguished consular Q. Corellius Rufus is remarkable, and one wonders if his despatch to Vespasian had helped to make his fortune. He is further to be identified with the Minicius Iustus attested as princeps of an Egyptian legion, (PSI XIII 1307, col. ii 6).

309. M. MINICIUS MARCELLINUS. XIII 6679 Mogontiacum.

Primuspilus of XXII Primigenia. His origo was Lincoln, which was made a colony by the Flavians (Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p. 67, note 13.)

The fact that he gave filiation and tribe suggests a date earlier than the third century, as the habit was not likely to linger on the Rhine as in Britain, as it did

in Italy. The inscription is given in the appendix on official primuspilus dedications.

310. P. MINNIUS SALVIUS V 1892 = ILS 5371 Concordia.

P(ublius) Minnius P(ubl(i)i) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Salvius, primip(ilus), decur(io), grat(uito) ornamentis II viralibus, vias circa aedem Minervae lapide turbinato testamento sterni iussit.

Claudia is the tribe of Concordia, and the other indications favour this place as the origo of Salvius. The inscription suggests a ~~date~~ <sup>the</sup> earlier than ~~third~~ century.

311. C. MUCIUS SCAEVA AE1934. 61-2 Philippi.

61. C(aio) Mucio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Fab(ia) Scaevae, primopilo leg(ionis) VI Ferratae, praef(ecto) c(o)hort(is), ex testamento ipsius C(aius) Mucius C(ai) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Scaeva posuit.

62. P(ublio) Mucio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Vol(tinia), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae), ~~VI~~ vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) Philipp(i), ex testamento C(ai) Muci Q(uinti) f(iliu) Fab(ia) Scaevae, C(aius) Mucius C(ai) f(ilius) Scaeva posuit.

There is no direct evidence for Scæva being from this region, apart from his burial there by his son, but the Mucius whom he honoured through his will was a native of Philippi, by his tribe, and presumably in some way related to him. One wonders if in fact Scaeva was not ~~originally~~ from Heraclea Sentica, which had the tribe Fabia, and the Mucii of Philippi was a related branch. There is enough to warrant his origo being assigned to this region. The omission of the cognomen,

the fact that the cohort is unnamed, and that its command was ever held, suggest a date before or under the reign of Claudius.

311a. C. MUSANUS C.F. AE 1954.163 Lucus Feroniae.

C(aio) Musano C(ai) f(ilio), primo pilo bis, tr(ibuno) mil(itum), praefecto stratopedarci, II vir(o) quinquen(nali) ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ositum).

This very new inscription clearly comes from very early in our period. It is a normal career, such as we find before the reign of Claudius. The peculiarity about it is the phrase, praefectus stratopedarches, which ought to refer to the prefect of the camp in Egypt, retaining the old Ptolemaic title, at a period when the correct title of this post had not yet been decided. As I had to absorb this inscription into my work at a late stage I was not able to include a reference to it in my chapter on the prefect of the camp. It certainly looks as if it ought to belong to a time when the prefecture of the camp in Egypt had not yet acquired the distinctive characteristics of a later period.

312. L.NAEVIUS CAMPANUS. III 3468 = ILS 4014 Aquincum.

Prefect of the camp to IV Flavia. The stay of the legion at Aquincum was placed by Ritterling, RE XII 1544-45, some time in the second half of the second century, or at the turn of the century.

313. NERTIUS CELERINUS III 14356. 3a = ILS 9103 Carnuntum.

Primuspilus of XIIII Gemina in the year 205. As I

have not been able to find a nomen NERTIUS it is probable that the NERT should be interpreted as NERATIUS.

314. P. NONIUS FELIX VIII 12579 Carthage.

Sexto Atilio Rogatiano, pr(imi)p(ilari), heredes eius, curante P(ublio) Nonio Felice, pr(imi)p(ilare), e(gregio) v(iro), socero eius.

I have pointed out under Sex. Atilius Rogatianus the strong reasons for believing him to be a native of Africa. Once this is conceded a case appears for his father-in-law, for his names though common are particularly well-represented in Africa, he is the father-in-law of Rogatianus, and he is living at Carthage. The use of e.v. instead of v.e. suggests late second rather than third century.

315. C. NORBANUS QUADRATUS III 381 Alexandria Troas.

[Ti(berio) C]laudio Drusi [Germanica] fil(io) Neroni Germanico, [au]gur(i), sodali Augustal(i), sodal(i) Titio, cos(uli), [C(aius) N]orbanus C(ai) f(ilius) An(iensis) [Qu]adratus, prim(us) pil(us), [tri]b(unus) milit(um), praef(ectus) castr(orum), augur, II vir, [te]stamento poni iussit.

The dedication is datable to the period 37-41. As Alexandria Troas had the tribe Aniensis, Norbanus was probably a native. The career was typical of the early period, with its omission of units' names, and the inclusion of the legionary tribunate.

316. L. NUMERIUS ALBANUS VI 221 = ILS 2160 Rome.  
XVI 72

He is attested as tribune of the fifth cohort of vigiles in A.D. 113 (VI 221), and as prefect of the

Ravenna fleet in A.D. 127 (XVI 72). The period of years is valuable. I have pointed out in Part I that the normal time of usefulness for a primipilaris could scarcely exceed twenty-five years as a maximum, and to have reached the Ravenna fleet in fourteen years meant the possibility of reaching the fourth ducenarian echelon was open to him. Whether there was any chance of reaching the prefectures or not must remain an open question, though it is worth observing that of the prefects whose speed of advancement is known to us most were moving a great deal faster, e.g. Q. Marcius Turbo, Ser. Sulpicius Similis, C. Tattius Maximus, M. Bassaeus Rufus and Cn. Marcius Rustius Rufinus. He appears as no. 102 in H.G. Pflaum's thèse complémentaire.

317. A. NUMISIENUS GALLUS VI 3618 Rome.

A(ulo) Numisieno Gallo, trecenario, donis donato,  
primop(ilo) leg(ionis XIV Gem(inae), Numisienae  
Pannychidi, A(ulus) Numisienus Fadus parentib(us).

The nomen, apart from a case of NUMISENUS in volume IX of the Corpus, is only found on this inscription. In view of this and Schulze's remarks on it, p. 198, I have no hesitation in classing this man as a probable Italian. It seems that he married his own freedwoman. There is no necessity to suppose direct promotion from trecenarius to primuspilus. Fadus is only giving the two most important and interesting posts in his father's career.

318. NUMISIUS CLEMENS XVI 133.

Tribune of the thirteenth cohort of vigiles in  
A.D. 192.

319. NUMISIUS NATULUS AE 1904. 71 Lambaesis.

[Genio Castro~~rum~~ leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae)] Gallienae.  
Numisius Natulus p(rimus)p(ilus), ob apothecam  
consummatam, arma Libero patri posuit.

320. C. NUMMIUS CONSTANS X 3733 = ILS 2083 Atella.

C(aio) Nummio (Cai) fil(io) Fal(eria) Constanti,  
p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) II Traianae, centurion(i)  
II leg(ionis) III Cyrenaicae et VII Cla(udiae), 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.

As he had the tribe of Atella he was probably a  
native of that place. He began in the urban <sup>he</sup> courts,  
which brings in an interesting point. According to  
Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 16, note 6, promotion from  
urban to praetorian cohorts became permissible first  
under Trajan. It is clear from our inscription that  
from the time of Trajan the way to the primipilate was  
as open to men who had served in the urban cohorts as  
to those who began in the praetorian. There are other  
cases from this period, e.g. C. Oppius Bassus. The  
period of his career can be determined to some extent  
It must have lasted at least sixteen years, as he was  
evocatus, and at least that length of service is attested



by the lapse of time between his two lots of decorations. The fact that he died as a primuspilus suggests that it was unlikely that he was in line for further promotion. The second lot of decorations may have been gained as centurion of III Cyrenaica, or even as primuspilus of II Traiana, cf. Ritterling, RE XII, col. 1511 and 1488. The suggestion in the latter of those references that it is possible that Constans obtained his Jewish war decorations as a praetorian fails to take account of the fact that Hadrian was not generous with his decorations. I have pointed out in Part I the significance of the group to which Constans belongs of praetorians who served under Trajan and Hadrian but were not adjudged suitable for further promotion.

### 321. NYMPHIDIUS LUPUS

Literary.

Pliny, ep. X, 87.

Nymphidium Lupum, domine, primipilarem commitionem habui cum ipse tribunus essem, ille praefectus. Inde familiariter diligere coepit. Crevit postea caritas ipsa mutuae vetustate amicitiae. Itaque et quieti eius inieci manum et exegi, ut me in Bithynia consilio instrueret. Quod ille amicissime et otii et senectutis ratione postposita et iam fecit et facturum est. Quibus ex causis necessitudines eius inter meas numero, filium in primis, Nymphidium Lupum, iuvenem probum, industrium et egregio patre dignissimum, suffecturum indulgentiae tuae, sicut primis eius experimentis cognoscere potes, cum praefectus cohortis plenissimum testimonium meruerit Iuli Ferocis et Fusci Salinatoris, clarissimorum virorum. Meum gaudium, domine, meam gratulationem filii honores continebis.

A number of very interesting points emerge from this letter. Lupus was prefect of the camp at the time of Pliny's tribunate, about the year 81 (the suggestion of RE XVII, 1804-5 that Lupus was a prefect of an ala or a cohort can be discounted). This is consistent with the fact that in the years 111-3 he was in retirement and somewhat aged, provided that he did not receive the primipilate much later than fifty. His son was probably at least thirty. He had exercised the prefecture of a cohort, recently in view of what we know of the career of the two men whom Pliny gives as referees. For the letter of recommendation cf. H.G. Pflaum's discussion in his Procurators, p. 198 f.. Note that the title of rank of a man who had been prefect of the camp was primipilaris.

### 322. C. NYMPHIDIUS SABINUS

Tac. a. 15,72.

consularia insignia Nymphidio\*\*\* quia nunc primum oblatus est pauca repetam: nam et ipse pars Romanarum cladium erit. igitur matre libertina ortus quae corpus decorum inter servos libertosque principum vulgaverat, ex G. Caesare se genitum ferebat, quoniam forte quadam habitu procerus et torvo vultu erat, sive G. Caesar, scortorum quoque cupiens, etiam matri eius inludit \*\*\*

III 4269 = ILS 1322. (Brigetio) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)  
C(aius) Nymphidius Sabinus pr[ae]f(ectus)

The story of Nymphidius is told at such length in Plutarch, Galba, 2, 8-9, 11, 13-5. as to make it unnecessary to reproduce it here. He was the son of a freedwoman associated with the palace, and the fact that

his birth

he claimed to be Caligula's son puts <sup>his birth</sup> between 29 and 41. His service as prefect of an auxiliary unit, though of freed stock, can be paralleled in the period of Claudius and Nero, A. Stein, Ritterstand, p. 114. In Rome at the time of the Piso conspiracy, he rendered services which were rewarded with the ornamenta consularia and promotion to praetorian prefect. He is therefore supposed to have been a praetorian tribune, e.g. by A. Stein, R.E. XVII 1605-6, and this I have accepted in default of a better explanation. The range of possibility for the date of birth of Sabinus, which is determined by the necessity for his claim to be the son of Gaius to have been credible, shows that when he was tribune he must have been at oldest in his thirties. The promotion to the prefecture, the attempt to seize supreme power, and the death at the hands of the praetorians are part of the history of the years 65-8. They are not so interesting to us, for this man is irregular in everything that he does. What does matter to us is the fact that if he was a praetorian tribune his age and antecedents were different from any other we know, thus giving a renewed reminder that the will of the emperor was the deciding factor in the choice of the tribunes of the praetorian guard.

323. OCCIUS VALENS

VI 226

Rome.

Tribune of the equites singulares in A.D. 202, with Octavius Piso as his colleague.

324. M. OCLATINIUS ADVENTUS.

Dio 78. 14.  
(Loeb trans.)

Another thing for which many criticised him (Macrinus) was his elevation of Adventus. This man had first served in the mercenary force among the spies and scouts, and upon quitting that position had been made one of the couriers and appointed their leader, and still later had been advanced to a procuratorship; and now the emperor appointed him senator, fellow-consul, and prefect of the city, though he could neither see by reason of old age nor read for lack of education nor accomplish anything for want of experience. The reason for the advancement of Adventus was that he had made bold to say to the soldiers after the death of Caracallus: "The sovereignty belongs to me, since I am older than Macrinus; but since I am extremely old, I yield to him"... Hence it was not long until Macrinus assigned the oversight of the city to Macrinus Maximus in his stead; indeed, it looked as if he had made Adventus city prefect with the sole purpose of polluting the senate chamber, inasmuch as the man had not only served in the mercenary forces and had performed the various duties of executioners, scouts, and centurions, but had obtained the rule over the city prior to the performing of the duties of the consulship, that is, had become city prefect before being senator.

Codex Iust. 9, 51,1.

Imp(erator) Antoninus A(ugustus)  
cum salutatus ab Oclatinio Advento  
et Opellio Macrino praefectis praetori  
clarissimis viris, item amicis et principalibus officiorum  
et utriusque ordinis viris et prodisset et oblatus esset ei  
Iulianus Licinianus ab Aelio Ulpiano tum legato in insulam  
deportatus, Antoninus Augustus dixit.-

Dio 78. 13,1.

Nevertheless, though he was praised by some for this, and not without reason, yet he incurred on the part of sensible people a censure that fairly counter-balanced it, because he gave some the rank of ex-consuls and immediately appointed them to the governorship of provinces; and yet he himself refused to have the name of being 'consul for the second time' in the following year merely on the basis of the consular rank that he already had - a practice that had been begun by Severus and continued by his son. But though his course was most regular in this matter which affected both himself and Adventus....

SHA Vita Macr., 4,7.

dein cum esset praefectus praetorii  
collega ablegato, Antoninum Caracal-  
lum imperatorem suum interemit

tanta factione ut ab eo non videretur (dixerunt).

SHA Vit, Macr., 5,2. mandavit collegae dudum suo  
praefecto praetorio, ut munus suum  
curaret ac praecipue Antoninum  
honorabiliter sepeliret ducto funere regio...timuit autem  
collegam, ne et ipse imperare cuperet, sperantibus cunctis,  
quod, si unius numeri concessus accederet, neque ille  
recusaret.

DIO 79, 8.2. He (Elagabalus) entered his name on the  
list as consul in place of Macrinus,  
though he had not been elected to the  
office and had not entered upon it at all, as the term  
had already expired, and though at first in three letters  
he had referred to the year by the name of Adventus, as  
if Adventus had been sole consul.

Herodian 4, 12,1. Of his two prefects, one, Adventus, was  
very old, and quite without experience  
of political administration, but of good  
military reputation...

Herodian 4, 14.1-2. After the death of Caracalla, the  
[Paraphrase] army was at a loss to know what to do;  
two days were spent in seeking a  
suitable successor, and at first they  
chose Adventus, as a good soldier who had proved an  
excellent prefect of the guard, but he refused the offer  
on the plea of his age.

He is further attested as procurator in Britain some  
time 205-7 on VII 1003 = ILS 2618, and VII 1346, amended  
by E. Birley, Archaeologia Aeliana, XVI. 1939, pp. 240-3.  
In the year 218 he is attested as consul with Macrinus  
on the 14 March (VI 367 ILS 4322), and as consul with  
Elagabalus on the 13 August (VI 131 ILS 3253). He  
appears also with Elagabalus on VI 2009 ILS 466,  
VI 793 = XIV 2258 = ILS 505 refers to this year as OCLATINO  
ADVENTO COS, without mentioning either Macrinus or  
Elagabalus, and III 6161 couples Adventus with Elagabalus

and calls the former cos.bis.

The early career of this man is given to us by Dio. Speculator, probably in the guard at Rome, though possibly on a governor's staff, he was promoted to centurio frumentarius and then to princeps peregrinorum. These two posts, held at Rome, were of great importance at this time, and posts of confidence, as being held in the secret police. Promotion to the primipilate probably followed directly on the last post mentioned. The emphasis on age in the reference to him as prefect suggest that he did not progress rapidly in the early stages of his career. The next post known to us is the procuratorship in Britain, probably still ducenarian, between 205 and 207. He cannot well have succeeded to the praetorian prefecture in 212, as Rustius Rufinus must be inserted there, see Howe, App. Ia, no. 26. The precise date for the commencement of his prefecture is thus unknown, but it is to be noted that as the maximum time between the British post and the prefecture is twelve years his progress was not slow in the later stages of the career. Dio seems to imply he only held one procuratorship. He was clearly a good choice for praetorian prefect, a man of considerable military ability and experience, but lacking the qualifications to be a successful contender for the throne. H.G. Pflaum (t.c. 247) is clearly right in seeing in him the effective commander of the cohorts, Macrinus being concerned with

the judicial side of the prefect's duties. His renunciation of the Empire on account of age seems to have been sincere, and it is notable that the reaction of Macrinus was not an attempt to dispose of him. He relieved him of the guard, it is true, but Adventus may well have been due for retirement anyway. On the other hand, Macrinus gave him the supreme honour at his disposal, though the susceptibilities of the Senate were yielded to in the shortness of the tenure of the city prefecture. The question of whether Adventus was sent into retirement by Caracalla cannot be decided, for it depends on what even the Augustan History gives as hearsay. Certainly he seems to have been on the spot and in command at the time of Caracalla's murder. Adventus seems then to have been a typical p~~ri~~mipilaris prefect, quite possibly one of the best. It is to be noted that even Dio, whose ~~life~~ had been aroused by his intrusion into the senate house, does not criticise him as a prefect. His military ability is unquestioned, and the accusation of ignorance was levelled equally at Bassaeus Rufus. He survived two changes of emperor without losing his life or freedom. and without any accusation of having been untrue to either. In a troubled epoch he is not an unattractive figure.

325. OCLATIUS SACERDOS XIII 7996 Friesdorf.

sic [Bonae? Fortu]nae leg(ionis) [I M(inerviae)] Go[r]din[ae  
~~sic~~ p]ro salute et incolumita(te) [I]mp(eratoris) Caes(aris)

sic M(arci) Antoni G[or]din[i] [P]ii Felicis Aug(ust<sup>i</sup>), et  
 Sabiniae [Tr]anquillinae Aug(ustae), [Se]natus ac R[om]anae  
 totiu[s q]ue domus divinae eorum, Oc[cl]a[t]iu[s...  
 Sace]rdos [...ex tre]c(enario) p(rimus)p(ilus) le[g(ionis)  
 e]iu[sdem,cum mil]itibus.

The inscription is dated to between 238 and 244.

There are two main questions, is this an official inscription like those in the special appendix, and is the restoration of trecenarius justified? On the first the only reason for not supposing this to be an official inscription is the fact that the legate is not mentioned. This may in fact be a slightly different type of inscription, representing specifically the soldiers of the legion. The restoration of ex trec. is based on the fact that part of a C is to be seen on the remaining fragment, from which Domaszewski has restored the post. The restoration is not unlikely, cf. M. Aurelius Iustus for the phrase and word order.

326. L. OCTAVIUS BALBUS IX 3669 Marruvium.

L(ucius) Octavius N(umeri) f(ilius) Ser(gia) Balbus,  
 praef(ectus) fabr(um), praef(ectus) castror(um), prim(us)  
 pil(us), II vir.

The tribe is that of Marruvium. which makes Balbus a probable native of that place. The career is typical of the pre-Claudian period, with its inclusion of the post of praefectus fabrum.

327. OCTAVIUS PISO VI 226, VI 228 = ILS 2187 Rome.

Tribune of the equites singulares in the years 202 and 205. In view of the career of Tattius Maximus this probably



implies that he held the post continuously from at least 202 to at least 205. Whether his career followed so distinguished a course is doubtful, bearing in mind the case of Aelius Valens.

328. OCTAVIUS SECUNDUS. III 7334 = ILS 2080 Serrae, Macedoni

...us D(ecimi) f(ilius) Octavius Se[c]undus, Curib(us) Sab(inis), mil(es) coh(ortis) X urb(anae), trans[1]at(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]is[c]o curat(or), cornicu[l]arius] trib(uni), ev(ocatus) Aug(usti) (centurio) leg(ionis) X [F]retensis, donis don(atus) ab Divo Hadrian(o) ob bell(um) Iudaicum, corona aurea, tor[q]uib(us), armillis, p[h]aler(is), et ab eodem p[ri]motus succes(sione) in leg(ionem) prim[a]m [I]ta[li]c(am), [p]rimipil(us) leg(ionis) eiusdem, adlectus decurio in colonis et or[n]amentis [I]viralib(us) [or]n(atus) Actiae Nicopoli et Ulpia...

A native of Cures, his approximate dating is given by the fact that he was decorated by Hadrian as a centurion in the Jewish war. As he was evocatus, he served sixteen years as an urban and praetorian soldier. He belonged to the same groups as Nummius Constans. The naming of only three centurionates need not imply short service. He may well have remained in X Fretensis till he reached the rank of has[tatus] at which rank he was decorated, promoted to princeps in I Italica, and then to primuspilus in the same legion.

329. OLENNIUS Literary.

Tac. a. 4, 72. (r) Eodem anno Frisii, transhenanus populus, pacem exuere, nostra magis avaritia quam obsequii impatientes, tributim iis Drusus iusserat modicum pro angustia rerum, ut in usus militaris coria boum penderent, non intenta cuiusquam cura quae firmitudo, quae mensura,

donec Olennius e primipilaribus regendis Frisiis impositus terga urorum delegit quorum ad formam acciperentur, id aliis quoque nationibus apud Germanos difficilius tolerabatur, quis ingentium beluarum feraces saltus, modica domi armenta sunt. ac primo boves ipsos, mox agros, postremo corpora coniugum aut liberorum servitio tradebant. hinc ira et questus et postquam non subveniebatur, remedium ex bello. rapti qui tributo aderant milites et patibulo adfixi: Olennius infensos fuga praevenit receptus castello cui nomen Flevum.

The date is A.D. 28. Schulze, p. 73 derived this nomen from an Etruscan root, and it seems probable that our man was Italian. He was appointed to the post of prefect of the Frisii, like the praefecti civitatum with whom we are familiar, with a body of troops, and was given among other duties that of collecting the tribute. He was given this post e primipilaribus, which seems to refer here not to the main numerus at Rome, but to the primipilares attached to the staff of an army commander which Domaszewski, has rightly postulated, Rangordnung, p. 116.

330. M. OPPIUS

IX 798

Luceria.

M(arcus) Oppius, centur(io) leg(ionis) VI, p(rimus)p(ilus), trib(unus) leg(ionis) II, praef(ectus) castroꝛ(um).

The absence of a cognomen and the nature of the career indicate a date before the reign of Claudius. The apparent specification of the legions in which the man was centurion and tribune is so unusual that it seems possible that the numbers indicate not the legions but the number of times each post was held, cf. T. Iunius

Montanus, AE 1938. 173. I owe this suggestion to  
H.G. Pflaum.

331. C. OPPIUS BASSUS

(a) IX 5839 = ILS 2084      Auximum.  
(b) IX 5840 = ILS 2085      Auximum.

(a) 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) XIIII 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 cos(ulibus). (A.D. 137).

(b) 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) XIIII 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).

This must fall into the same period as the careers of Nummius Constans and Octavius Secundus. After a normal career through the ranks of the urban and praetorian cohorts, the years in the centurionate were spent in two legions. Probably he spent most of his time as centurion in IIII Flavia. While such he became patron of the colony, and was given leave for a year to act as praefectus pro II viris for some unknown person. It must have been during his centurionate, as he was only a ranker when he began his service, and he continued

his military service further after the first inscription. Later he was transferred to II Traiana, rose in that legion to the rank of princeps, and was then gazetted primuspilus. This moment was presumably chosen by the centurions of II Traiana to honour him. The legion in which the primipilate was to be held is not mentioned, either because it had not yet been assigned to him. or because it was II Traiana.

332. L. OPPIUS SECUNDUS III 14514 Viminacium.

L(ucius) Oppius T(iti) f(ilius) Cla(udia) Sec[un]dus, Varvar[ia], p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) [p(iae) f(idelis)], praef(ectus) k(astrorum) le[g(ionis)] VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis).

The origo is Varvaria, in the tenth region of Italy. The limiting dates are given by the fact that VII Claudia had come to Moesia in 56/7, Ritterling, RE XII 1619, and that the abbreviation of the legion's cognomina in the form C.P.F. does not appear later than the reign of Trajan (Ritterling, op, cit., 1628). Note that the posts of primuspilus and of prefect of the camp are clearly distinct.

333. L. ORANIUS IUSTUS IX 4686 Reate.

L(ucio) Oranio L(ucii) fil(io) Quir(ina) Iusto, p(rimi)p(ilari), praef(ecto) castror(um) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae), Laurenti Lavinati, sacer(doti), flamine Augustali, plebs Reatina patrono, quod is primus omnium HS C (milia) n(ummum) ad annonae comparationem municipibus suis dedit statuamque honore contentus sua pecunia posuit. L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum). Dedic(avit) Idib(us) ...L(ucio) Eggio Marul[lo, Cn(aeo)] Papiro Aeli[ano, cos(ulibus)], et ob dedicatio[nem uni]versae plebei sin[gulos] dena]rios ded[it]. (A.D. 184).

The tribe of Reate is Quirina, and everything points to Iustus being a native of that place. He has a rare nomen, and distinguished priesthoods, which may be due to his being in fact from a distinguished Reate family, in which case it is possible he received a direct commission as centurion. The only other possibility we need consider is that he was from the ranks of the praetorian guard. The importance of this man in his own town emerges very clearly.

334. M. OSCIUS DRUSUS III 14147. 3 = ILS 8910 Syene.

Prefect of the camp in Egypt under the prefect Heliodorus, the date being in all probability 138, as the inscription to Pius on which his name appears does not give the emperor the title Pater Patriae (Hüttl, Antoninus Pius, II, p. 16). The nomen OSCIUS was given by Schulze, p. 522, as relatively ancient, and this is the one example of it outside Italy, though the vast majority come from Rome. He is thus probably Italian.

335. OTACILIUS FUSCUS VI 2442 = ILS 2070 Rome.

Tribune of the first praetorian cohort, mentioned on the inscription by soldiers who give their tribe and filiation.

336. L. OVINIUS RUFUS X 4872 = ILS 2021 Venafrum.

L(ucius) Ovinus L(ucii) f(ilius) Ter(etina) Rufus,  
prim(us) ordo cohortium praet(oriarum) Divi Augusti,  
prim(us) pil(us) Leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), trib(unus)  
mil(itum) cohort(is) XI urb(anae), trib(unus) mil(itum)

coh(ortis)...III praet(oriae), praef(ectus) fabr(um),  
 II vir, L(ucio) Ovinio M(arci) f(ilio) Ter(etina) patri,  
 M(arco) Ovinio L(ucii) f(ilio) Ter(etina) Vopisco fratri,  
 Allidia L(ucii) f(iliae) Rufae matri, Pulliae Primae  
 uxori.

The tribe is that of Venafrum, and he was probably a native of that place. The primus ordo of the praetorian cohorts does not seem to have survived very long. The only other clear case of it also comes from the pre-Claudian period. The Domaszewski theory that there was one in every cohort lacks proof - see my comment on the unknown of IX 2983. The true Rome cursus was not yet established for the primipilaris, and the next case of two Rome tribunes held in succession comes from the reign of Nero, that of Iulius Pollio. Note how the post of prefect of works, at this time held on the staffs of governors controlling legions and of considerable importance, came after the praetorian tribunate in this instance, and closed the career.

337. L. PACC - ?      XI 5954b      Farneta.

sic Silvano Aug(usto). L(ucius) Paccelims primipil(us) ex  
 vot(o) susc(epit).

The name is irretrievably corrupt. There is little profit in seeking to connect him with Paccius Orfitus, as the Corpus.

338. M. PACCIUS MARCELLUS IX 1005 = ILS 2639      Ager Compsinus.

M(arco) Paccio C(ai) f(ilio) Gal(eria) Marcello, primipilari  
 leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae.

Galeria is the tribe of Compsa, so that is probably his native place. The filiation and tribe favour a date earlier than the third century, though in Italy the practice of giving them does continue into the third century to a greater extent than elsewhere.

339. PACCIUS ORFITUS

Literary.

Tac. a. 13, 36.

curam praesidiorum Paccio Orfito primi pili honore perfuncto mandat (Corbulo). is quamquam incautos barbaros et bene gerendae rei casum offerri scripserat tenere se munimentis et maiores copias opperiri iubetur. sed rupto imperio, postquam paucae e proximis castellis turmae advenerant pugnamque imperitia poscebant, congressus cum hoste funditur. et damno eius exterriti qui subsidium ferre debuerant sua quisque in castra trepida fuga rediere. quod graviter Corbulo accepit increpitumque Paccium et praefectos militesque tendere extra vallum iussit, inque ea contumelia dententi nec nisi precibus universi exercitus exoluti sunt.

Tac. a. 15, 12.

primum e percussis Paccium primi pili centurionem obvium habuit, dein plerosque militum; quos diversas fugas obtendentis redire ad signa et clementiam Paeti experiri monebat: se nisi victoribus immitem esse.

The first episode took place in the spring of 58, the second in the winter of 62 (RE Supp. III 398-403). In the first of these Paccius is described as having fulfilled his primipilate, and in charge of a number of auxiliary garrisons. These forces, as we learn in part of the first passage which I have not quoted, consisted of cohorts, and we note that their commanders were placed under the orders of Orfitus. Paccius was presumably a primipilaris attached to Corbulo's staff.

Four years later he is called primi pili centurio, which is more than a little surprising. Under Claudius the explanation would be simple, namely that he had returned to take another ordinary primipilate, iteration of the ordinary primipilate occurring in the early period. It is just possible that this is what occurred here, but it is not more than a possibility as it depends on the technical accuracy of Tacitus in his use of military terms.

340. P. PACILIUS ZENON LAETUS XIV 4002 = ILS 3815 Ficuleia.

<sup>Ln</sup>  
<sub>Li</sub> P(ublius) Pacil[ius...] Zenon Laetus, p(rimus)p(ilus) bis, aedil(is), praef(ectus) iur(e) dic(undo) et sacris faciundis, aedem Fortunae et Victoriae sua pec(unia) <sup>Lr</sup> ref(iciendam) communivit.

There is a very strong probability that a Pacilius who is active in Latium is an Italian, as, apart from three cases in volume VIII of the Corpus and four in volume III, <sup>e</sup>twenty-nine come from Italy, of which eight are from Volume XIV, and in addition there are eighteen in volume VI. It is doubtful whether this is a primuspilus iterum, or a primuspilus from the early period who had held the ordinary primipilate twice. The post of aedile would seem rather lower in rank than a primuspilus would expect to receive at the end of his career, but with the doubt already mentioned it would be unwise to say too much about this career.



341. C. PAESIDIUS MACEDO AE 1923. 40. Dyrrhachium.

Q(uinto) Paesidio C(ai) f(ilio) Aem(ilia) macedoni,  
 prim(o) pil(o) leg(ionis) IX Hisp(anae), praef(ecto)  
 castror(um) leg(ionis) IV Scythic(ae), trib(un)o  
 milit(um) leg(ionis) ~~eiusdem~~, auguri, flamine Neronis  
 Claudii Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici.

The tribe is that of Dyrrhachium, so he was probably a native of that place. His posts were those of the early career, and at some time, probably at the close of his career, he was flamen of Nero, which means the inscription was set up before 69. Notable is that the legionary tribunate, attested in the case of L. Antonius Naso as late as 67 in the career of a primipilaris, was held after the prefecture of the camp. This post in all other inscriptions where it occurs with the prefecture of the camp was held after the prefecture, and in the second century the prefect of the legion ranked above the tribuni angusticlavi in the legionary hierarchy - see Part I. This inscription indicates either just one more proof that it is useless to manufacture rules for the pre-Claudian period, or it may indicate a short-lived experiment by Claudius, making the legionary tribunate rank above the prefecture of the ala.

342. P. PALPELLIUS CLODIUS GUIRINALIS (a) V 533 Tergeste.  
 (b) Pais 474 Aquileia.  
 (c) Literary.

(a) P(ublius) Palpellius P(ubl(i)i) f(ilius) Maec(ia) Clodius  
 Guirinalis, p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis) XX, trib(unus)  
 milit(um) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis),  
 proc(urator) Aug(usti), praef(ectus) classis, dedit.

(b) P(ublio) Clo[di]o P(ubl(i)i) f(ilio) Qui[rinali],  
 pr[im]o pil(o) leg(ionis) XX], trib(un)o [mil(itum) leg(ionis)]

leg(ionis) VII] Cla[ud(iae) p(iae) f(idelis)] ,  
 procu[r(atori) Aug(usti)]...

Tac., a. 13, 30. Clodius Quirinalis, quod praefectus  
 remigum qui Ravennae haberentur velut  
 infimam nationum Italiam luxuria saevitiaque  
 afflicta visset, veneno damnationem anteit  
 (A.D. 57).

Mommsen has recognised as his father P. Clodius  
 Quirinalis, soldier of XV Apollinaris, V 540, and his  
 adoptive father was probably a P. Palpellius whose son  
 Sex Palpellius Hister was consul in 43 (V 30). This in-  
 clines me to believe that he was an Italian, from Istria.  
 The career shows the prefecture of the fleet in an inter-  
 mediary stage. Whereas formerly it had been part of the  
 military career, it is now classed as a procuratorship.  
 Nevertheless in this inscription it occupies a position  
 approximating to that it held in pre-Claudian careers. He  
 is discussed by H.G. Pflaum in his *thèse complémentaire*,  
 no. 28.

### 343. PAPINUS                      Literary.

Jos. ant. 19.1.6.      This matter sorely grieved Chaerea, as  
 (Trans. Shilleto)      having been the cause, as far as he  
                                  could be, of such miseries to human  
                                  beings as seemed worthy of consolation  
 to Caius himself, and he said to Clemens and to Papinius  
 (of whom Clemens was commander of the Praetorian body-  
 guard, and Papinius tribune)....

It seems fairly clear that a tribune at Rome,  
 approached by Chaerea as a possible conspirator, is most  
 likely to have been a tribune in one of the Rome corps,  
 and specifically in the praetorian guard.

344. PAPIRIUS SPORUS

VI 2861

Rome.

Papirio Sporo, p(rimi)p(ilari), fratri piissimo, tribuno coh(ortis) I urbanae Antoninianae, Papirius Socrates, v(ir) e(gregius).

The date is under Caracalla or Elagabalus. A probable son of Socrates was M. Aurelius Papirius Socrates, father of a senator, PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1568. On VI 37886 appears PAPIRIO SPORO PERATRI SACRATES V F.. These may or may not be connected with our man, but as only eight cases of the cognomen SPORUS appear in the indices of the Corpus (volume VI still lacks a cognomen index, however,) the second at least is interesting. The fact that the brother was vir egregius might suggest that Sporus began with a direct commission as centurion instead of in the ranks of the guard or of the legions.

345. SEX. PEDIUS LUSIANUS HIRRUTUS IX 3044 = ILS 2689 Interpromium

[S]ex(to) Pedio Sex(ti) f(ilio) An(iensi) Lusiano Hirruto, prim(o) pil(o) leg(ionis) XXI, pra[ef(ecto)] Raetis Vindolicis valli[s] [P]oeninae et levis armature(ae), IIII vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo), praef(ecto) Germanic[i] <sup>sic</sup> Caesaris quinquennalici [i]uris, ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) quinquen(nalici) iterum. Hic ampitheatrum d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit. M(arcus) Dullius) M(arci) f(ilius) Gallus.

The nomen PEDIUS with the exception of two cases in volume III of the Corpus is confined to Italy. There thus exists a strong probability that this man was an Italian, strengthened by the magistracies he held. His career, of which here only appear his primipilate and a prefecture of a semi-civilised region, was typical of the pre-Claudian period. The municipal posts were peculiarly

honourable in that he twice held the prefecture pro II viris, the first time on behalf of a member of the Imperial house and the second time by a special decision of the local senate, and in both cases it was in the year of internal census.

346. L. PESCENNIUS IUSTUS VI 32790 Rome.

D(is) M(anibus) L(ucii) Pescenni Iusti p(rimi)p(ilaris)  
l.a.v.a.o..

The case for the nomen PESCENNIUS being confined to Italy completely or predominantly is not as strong as others, but still impressive. There are 88 examples of it in the Corpus, distributed thus, Italy outside Rome 40, Rome 42, Rest of Empire 6. Iustus is thus a fairly probable Italian.

347. C. PETILIUS VENUSTUS V 748 = ILS 4871 Aquileia.

A praetorian tribune, dedicating to Apollo Belenus, the Aquileian deity.

348. P. PETRONIUS FELIX AE 1916. 94 = ILS 271 Thuburbo  
Maius.

.....po]nt (ifici) max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate)  
IIII...totiusq(ue) divin(ae) dom(us) eor(um), P(ublius)  
Petronius Felix p(rimi)p(ilaris) ex tribuno praetor(iano)  
et P(ublius) Petronius Felix Fuscus fil(ius) eius eq(ues)  
R(omanus) et P(ublius) Petronius Sev)...liberalitate sua  
f[ec]erunt d(ecreto) d(ecurionum); ob cuius operis  
dedicationem decurionibus denarios singulos et curis  
singulis denarios quinquagenos dederunt.

M. Merlin has suggested in his publication of the stone, Bulletin archéologique du Comité, 1916, p. 159 f., that the names erased were those of Severus Alexander and

Iulia Mamaea, dating the stone to 225. The phrase ex tribuno praetoriano indicates the rank reached before retirement, and in this form is typical of the third century. His son was an equestrian. The inscription comes from a portico in the summer baths of the city for which he and his relatives had paid.

349. Q. PETRONIUS MODESTUS V534 ILS 1379 Tergeste.

Q(uintus) Petronius C(ai) f(ilius) Pu[p(inia)] Modestus, p(rimus)p(ilus) bis leg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae) et leg(ionis) I Adiutric(is), trib(unus) mil(itum) coh(ortis) V vig(illum), tr(ibunus) coh(ortis) XII urb(anae), tr(ibunus) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae), pr[oc(urator)] Divi Nervae et Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Nervae Traiani Aug(usti) Germ(anici) provin[c(iae) Hi]spaniae Citer(ioris) Asturiae et Callaecarium, flamen Divi Claud[i, de]dit idemque dedicavit.

Corpus V 535 is a more fragmentary version of this text. Both are from Tergeste, which has the tribe Pupinia, so Modestus is most probably a native of that place. The career is regular, starting with the first primipilate, and giving the three Rome tribunates and the post of primuspilus iterum in a legion. After this normal career Modestus held a procuratorship. This post was placed by H.G. Pflaum in the first echelon of the ducenarian procuratorships, p. 226. The post was given to him by Nerva, and Trajan continued him in it after that emperor's death. He is discussed in H.G. Pflaum's thèse complémentaire, no. 63.

350. L. PETRONIUS SABINUS (a) XI 6055 = ILS 2743 Urvinum Mat.  
 (b) XI 6055a " "  
 (c) IX 5098 = ILS 1386 Ancona.

(a) 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 Cyreniacae,  
 curator statorum, tribuno coh(ortis) ....et provinciae  
 Marbonensis.

(b) D(is) M(anibus). L(ucio) Apuleio Alexandro, qui  
 vixit ann(is) VII, mense I, diebus IIII, L(ucius)  
 Petronius Sabinus, p(rimi)p(ilaris), l(iberto) et alumno.

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

Originating in Forum Brentanorum, enlisting as a  
 praetorian soldier, after rather less than sixteen years'  
 service he is commissioned as centurion from the post  
 of cornicularius to the praetorian prefect. It is not  
 necessary to think with H.G. Pflaum in his these  
complémentaire, no. 197, that the two centurionates  
 represent the two centurial grades immediately below the  
 primipilate. ~~These~~ merely inform us that he spent five to  
 ten years serving as centurion in two legions. Further, his  
 decorations in the German war do not necessarily imply  
 that he had been made an equestrian. The contention of  
 Domaszewski that the decorations are equestrian is not  
 supported by the evidence - see the appendix on the  
dona, and cf. Rangordnung, p. 21, 102. These decorations  
 are to be placed in the period 169-75. After his first  
 primipilate he held the post of curator statorum,  
 presumably a temporary post. It looks as if one or two

lines have been omitted in the reading of inscription (a) by Cyriac of Antona on which we are dependent, for the first procuratorship, pp bis, and the details of the Rome tribunates are all missing. His first procuratorship was, unusually for a primipilaris, that of procurator hereditatium, and his second that of Gallia Narbonensis. The former was normally a second echelon post, the latter normally in the first echelon. There is no obvious explanation for this reversal of the normal order of progression, and it may be best to think of it as a demotion. This would explain why, when he was a centurion still in at earliest 169, and he was procurator Augustorum, which ought to be Marcus and Commodus, 176-80, a very rapid rate of advancement, he was apparently allowed to retire.

351. L. PETRONIUS TAURUS VOLUSIANUS XI 1836 = ILS 1132 Arretium  
 L(ucio) P(etr)onio L(ucii) f(ilio) Sab(atina) Tauro Volusiano, v(iro) cos(ulari) ordinario, praef(ecto) praet(orio), em(entissimo) v(iro), praef(ecto) vigul(um), p(erfectissimo) v(iro), trib(un)o coh(ortis) primae praet(oriae), protect(ori) Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum), item trib(un)o coh(ortis) IIII praet(oriae), trib(un)o coh(ortis) XI urb(anae), trib(un)o coh(ortis) III v(ig)il(um), leg(ionum) X et XIII Gem(inarum) prov(inciae) Pannoniae Superiori(s), itim leg(ionis) Daciae, praeposito equitum singul(ari)or(um) Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum), p(rimo)p(il)l(um) leg(ionis) XXX Ulpiae, centurioni deputato, eq(uo) pub(lico) ex V dec(uri)s, Laur(enti) Lavin(ati), ordo Arretinorum patrono optimo.

His consulship in the year 261 is attested on ILS 7221, by SHA V. Gall. 1,2. and by Chronographus, anni CCLIIII, ed. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae historica,

auctorum antiquissimorum, IX p. 59. The same work, p. 65, gives him as prefect of the city in the years 267-8. He was an equestrian, and as his tribe is confined to Italy, an Italian, probably from Etruria. The theory that he was related to the emperors Gallienus and Valerian, put forward by Groag, RE XIX 1225, f., has no evidence for it except that they come from the same region, and that he was promoted to the top under them. Putting aside this and the connection with C. Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus, which as H.G. Pflaum points out in his thèse complémentaire, no. 347, is likewise unproven, we may now consider his career. He was commissioned direct as centurio deputatus from the V Æcuriae at Rome. This post appears to have been held at the castra peregrina at Rome, through which most of the primipilaris praetorian prefects of the third century passed. This post in his case led directly to the primipilate, after which he went to the post of praepositus to the equites singulares. This may have been a temporary post in Rome or the command of a detachment of these troops in the field; we know too little about the command of a detachment of this force to be able to give a direct answer. Who the Augusti nostri were in this case is a question to which an answer will be attempted later. The next command raises a problem. One must agree with Ritterling, RE XII 1743,



that Taurus commanded a field detachment of the two legions of Pannonia Superior, but what of the leg. Daciae? There were two legions in Dacia at this period, and Mr. Birley suggested to me that the simplest explanation is to suppose that legg. Daciae is meant, and that he held, before or after the command above, the command of a field detachment of the two legions of Dacia. This seems to me to be fully satisfactory. He held these posts presumably with the rank of tribune, though clearly such an independent command was far more important than the normal equestrian legionary tribunate. He then went the rounds as tribune at Rome, which is important, as showing this system still operating at this late date. After these three tribunates he held a further tribunate, marked out from the rest by the title protector Augg. nn.. This may be a special post, created to replace to some extent the procuratorships which are completely absent from this career. The next step is to the prefecture of vigiles. In judging this huge step in the promotion ladder we must remember that throughout the history of the primipilaris praetorian prefects there is case after case where the procuratorial career was drastically shortened or omitted. Men like Turbo, who never held a serious civil post, or Rustius Rufinus, who only held one procuratorship as did probably M. Oclatinus Adventus, had military

ability, and that was sufficient. He then became praetorian prefect, was in 261 consul ordinarius, and in 267-8 city prefect.

The question of the timing of the career has now to be faced. The time-schedule of Groag and H.G. Pflaum was based above all on the assumption that the praetorian prefecture and the consulate were held at the same time, and that Volusianus continued to hold that post till the end. Such a combination had only been held by Plautianus previously, but in times of crisis unusual measures were possible. It is the atmosphere of crisis of the reign of Valerian and Gallienus and then of Gallienus that is the strongest point in favour of the Groag-Pflaum position. In 261, the year after the capture of Valerian, is it likely that the colleague chosen by the emperor was a praetorian prefect on the point of vacating the most important post in the empire?

The timing on this basis would be as follows; tribunus coh. primae praet., protect. Augg. nn. is either to be dated to the first years of Valerian and Gallienus or the last years of the preceding emperors. The prefecture of vigiles and possibly the beginning of the praetorian prefecture is to be fitted in to the years 253-61. If Volusianus was appointed to the praetorian prefecture as part of the measures taken on the news of the capture of Valerian the tribunate and perhaps the

praetorian tribunate preceding it could have been held in this reign. The Rome tribunates probably did not last longer than a year each, the two or possibly three commands in the field could have been longer. If we want Volusianus to be still of use to Gallienus in the years 261-8, however, the first primipilate should not be earlier than about 241. This of course leaves the problem of praepositus Augg.nn.. To begin with this title is inaccurate, for the capture of Valerian left the empire with only one emperor. What has happened here is simply the prevailing tendency in inscriptions to put down the conditions prevailing at the time, e.g. T. Licinius Hierocles is described as prefect of II Parthica with the legionary cognomina appropriate for Severus Alexander, though he held the command under Elagabalus. To attempt to squeeze the posts between praepositus and the praetorian prefecture into the period 253-61 was a weakness of the Groag-Pflaum position, and an unnecessary one. On their main point, that the praetorian prefecture continued on till 268, the answer would seem to be that it is conceivable in the special circumstances of the time and the possibility certainly cannot be excluded. This case, with that of Traianus Mucianus, is the most important evidence we have on the primipilaris career at the period when it is last

recorded. It shows the Rome tribunates still held in order, the primipilate in its usual place. There is no primuspilus iterum. The significance of the move from praetorian tribune to prefect of vigiles is probably, as I have suggested, as a further example of the ability of the vir militaris to dispense with the procuratorial approach. The difference is that this time that dispensation was to become permanent.

Of descendants of Volusianus, the only probable one known is L. Publius Petronius Volusianus, patron of Puteoli (X 1706). He rose to be consul.

352. M. PIAVONIUS VICTORINUS XIII 3679 Trier.

Sic M(arcus) P(ublius) Victorinus tribunus pret[oria]norum p[...r]estituit.

He is included here for the sake of completeness, but it seems probable that he was in fact an officer of the guard of Postumus, though we do not know if this was the rank he held when he was made co-emperor in 266. His history may be studied conveniently in PIR<sup>2</sup>P 302. The extent to which he had a career resembling that of the primipilaris is a matter for speculation.

353. Q. PLOTIENUS SABINUS VI 222 = ILS 2161 Rome.

Tribune of the fifth cohort of vigiles in the year 156. Schulze gave the nomen PLOTIENUS as genuinely Italian, and as this is the only example in the Corpus it seems that he may be rated as probably Italian.

354. PLOTIUS FIRMUS

Literary.

- Tac.h. 1,46. Omnia deinde arbitrio militum acta; praetorii praefectos sibi ipsi legere, Plotium Firmum e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus praepositum, et incolumi adhuc Galbae partis Othonis sectum.
- Tac.h. 1,81. praefectos praetorii ad mitigandas militum iras statim miserat.
- Tac.h. 1,82. manipulatim adlocuti sunt Licinius Proculus et Plotius Firmus ex suo quisque ingenio mitius aut horridius.
- Tac. h. 2,56. qui periculum adstiterant, tendere manus, et proximi prensare genua, promptissimo Plotio Firmo. is praetorii praefectus identidem orabat ne fidissimum exercitum, ne optime meritos milites desereret: maiore animo tolerari adversa quam relinqui; fortis et strenuos etiam contra fortunam insistere spei, timidos et ignavos ad desperationem formidine properare.
- Tac.h. 2,49. ad gemitum morientis ingressi liberti servique et Plotius Firmus praetorii praefectus unum vulnus invenerunt.
- Plut. Otho 18,3. As for his soldiers, when Pollio, their (Loeb trans.) remaining prefect, ordered them to swear allegiance at once to Vitellius, they were incensed... When the soldiers learnt of this they consented to take the oaths, and joined the forces of Caecina, thus obtaining pardon.

The fact that Firmus had at one time been in the ranks inclines me to the opinion that he had in all probability passed through the primipilate, though it cannot be demonstrated. It is difficult to judge how he came to the position of prefect of vigiles, as we do not know if Nero or Galba appointed him. Appointments to prefectures were not subject to any clear principles

at this period, so even if Nero appointed him it does not follow that primipilares regularly reached this prefecture. His appointment to the praetorian prefecture was clearly irregular. He had for some reason support among the praetorians. He was clearly the man whom Plutarch meant, though he got the name wrong, and it is possible that he was able to use the decision of the soldiers to take the oath to Vitellius to win favour with the new emperor. If Groag is right in identifying him as the father or adoptive father of the suffect consul of A.D. 84, C. Tullius Capito Pomponianus Plotius Firmus, RE VII A 821, no. 24, it seems he must have survived the civil war period without falling into complete disgrace.

355. POENIUS POSTUMUS            Literary.

Tac.a. 14,37.    et Poenius Postumus praefectus castrorum secundae legionis, cognitisque quarta-decimanorum vicesimanorumque prosperis rebus, quia pari gloria legionem suam fraudaverat abnueratque contra ritum militiae iussa ducis, se ipse gladio transegit.

Poenius is clearly in command of the legion in the absence of the legate and of the tribunus laticlavus. His nomen is rare, and from Schulze, p. 89, it is clearly a good Italian nomen. I suspect him therefore to have been an Italian.

356. POM.....CORNELIANUS    XIV 4502            Ostia.

Tribune of vigiles in the year 175.

357. C. POMINIUS DECCIANUS III 13370 Aquincum.

Prefect of II Adiutrix. I have not been able to find another example of the nomen in the Corpus, it is not given by Schulze or Holder, and the suggestion of Mr. Birley that C. POMINIUS has been carved in error for P. COMINIUS has much to recommend it.

358. POMPEIUS - Literary.

Tac.a. 15,71. exuti ~~de~~ dehinc tribunatu \*\*Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepos, Staius Domitius, quasi principem non quidem odissent sed tamen existimarentur.

Though the corps to which these tribunes belonged is not given it is most likely to have been the praetorian guard, where the Pisonian conspiracy had its roots. There is a lacuna before Pompeius, probably the cognomen, as Tacitus quite often reverses names.

359. A. POMPEIUS ALEXANDER VI 1451 Rome.

A primipilaris, he honoured by his will L. Marius Maximus (RE XIV 1828 f.), under whom he served. Maximus is termed on the inscription praeses of Germania Inferior, which post he held after his consulate, placed by A. Degrassi, Fasti Consulari, in 198 or 199.

360. M. POMPEIUS ASPER XIV 2523 ILS 2662 Ager Tusculanus.

M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) Aspro, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apollinar(is), (centurioni) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae), primo(pilo) leg(ionis) III Cyren(aicae), praef(ecto) castro(rum) leg(ionis) XX Victr(icis), Atimetus lib(ertus) pullarius fecit et sibi et M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) Col(lina) Aspro filio suo et M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) Col(lina) Aspro filio minori et Cinciae Satruhinae uxori suae,

Lesquier, L'armée Romaine d'Égypte, p. 62, n.3 gave the date of this inscription as the beginning of the second century, which M. Durry, Les cohortes prétoriennes, p. 198, accepted. Hofmann, Röm. Militärgrabsteine der Donauländer (Sonderschr. des öst. arch. Inst., Wien, V, 1905, p.24) dated it to the time of Vespasian. I am not myself sufficiently qualified to judge between these two savants on what can only be a question of style. On the other hand, the inscription while useful for its illustration of points such as the mixing of Rome and legionary centurionates, direct promotion from praetorian centurion to primuspilus, and the promotion of ex-Rome centurions to the prefecture of the camp, has nothing startling to tell us. M. Durry has been able to make use of the decorations on the stone to draw conclusions regarding praetorian standards, op.cit., p. 198 f..

361. CN. POMPEIUS HOMULLUS GRACILIS CASSIANUS LONGINUS

VI 1626 = ILS 1385

Rome

Cn(aeo) Pompeio Se[x(ti)] f(ilio) Quir(ina) Homullo Aelio Gracili Cassiano Longino, p(rimo)p(ilo) bis leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) et leg(ionis) X Fretens(is), trib(un)o coh(ortis) III vig(illum), trib(un)o coh(ortis) X urb(anae), trib(un)o coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae), donis donato ab Imp(eratore) torq(uibus), phal(eris), armill(is), cor(ona) aur(ea), hast(a) pur(a), proc(uratori) Aug(usti) provinciae Britanniae, proc(uratori) Aug(usti) provinc(iarum) duarum Lugud(uni) et Aquit(an)iae, proc(uratori) Aug(usti) a rationibus, heredes.

H.G. Pflaum's suggestion in his thèse complémentaire



no. 89 that this man was related to the Spanish senator Aelius Gracilis, legate of Belgica in A.D. 55-56 is ingenious, and tempting, bearing in mind the success enjoyed by men from Spain who received direct commissions as centurions under Trajan and Hadrian. I suspect Homullus also to have been ex equite Romano. His career differed markedly from that of the normal primipilaris procurator though that difference in itself hardly proves he was from a particular source of recruits.

He had a normal career from his first to his second primipilate, in the course of which or while still in the centurionate he was decorated by an emperor whose memory had been condemned before the inscription was set up. The weight of probability is for Domitian, as H.G. Pflaum has demonstrated in his thèse complémentaire. The decorations are placed at the end of the purely military posts, not in conjunction with the post in which they were won. The crown and hasta pura would be appropriate for a senior centurion or primipilaris. He then assumed the first-echelon post of the procuratorship of Britain, from which he went to the fourth-echelon post of the two Gauls. The omission of a third-echelon procuratorial governorship can only mean, as is confirmed by his next appointment, that he

had shown special talent for the financial side, cf. Ti. Claudius Secundius. The reason why he did not hold a second echelon post at Rome, like the latter, to better equip him for financial specialisation, was the lack of suitable posts. Only the procuratorship vicesimae hereditatium, available first under Domitian, (H.G. Pflaum, Procurators, p.51 and p.236), could have been held by him at this period in the second echelon at Rome. After the procuratorship of the two Gauls there followed as in the case of Ti. Claudius Secundius the secretariat a rationibus, and as his memorial is at Rome it may be that further promotion was planned for him when he died. All of his procuratorships probably fell under Trajan. The career is notable, and is clearly distinct from those of the primipilares whose talents were purely military. This difference may as I have suggested be related to his social background, bearing in mind the close parallel of Ti. Claudius Secundius. The possible relationship to or adoption by Aelius Gracilis is also very important, bearing in mind the favour shown by Trajan to men from Spain who had accepted centurions' commissions ex equite Romano. The case is clearly unproven, but it can be said that it would accord very well with the career of Homullus if he were a man commissioned as centurion ex equite Romano.

362. POMPEIUS LONGINUS

Literary.

Tac.h. 1.31.

pergunt etiam in castra praetorianorum  
tribuni Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter,  
Pompeius Longinus, si incipiens adhuc  
et necdum adulta seditio melioribus  
consiliis flecteretur. tribunorum  
/r Subrium et Cetrium ad*o*ti milites minis,  
Longinum manibus coercerent exarmantque,  
quia non ordine militiae, sed e Galbae  
amicis, fidus principi suo et desciscenti-  
bus suspectior erat.

The phrase used concerning Longinus, non ordine militiae, sed e Galbae amicis, suggests that he was not a primipilaris, but had been given a tribunate by Galba, <sup>A</sup> *possible occasion for this was the dismissal of two praetorian tribunes*, (h. 1, 20). when he may well have preferred to fill the two vacancies with personal friends. This emphasises that favour is always to be taken into account in the estimation of reasons for promotion, and that the irregular is always possible, cf. the case of Nymphidius Sabinus above.

363. CN. POMPEIUS PROCULUS.

VI 1627

Rome.

Cn(aeo) Pompeio [P]roculo...g complurium, [primi]p(ilo)  
leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) F(elicis), [trib(uno)]  
coh(ortis) I urbanae, [pr]oc(uratori) Ponti et [Bit]hyniae.

The dating of the inscription is to between the raising of IV Flavia in A.D. 70 (Ritterling, RE XII 1549), and the end of the practice of abbreviating the cognomina of the legion in the form F.F., which is placed by Ritterling, op.cit., 1548, in the period Trajan-Hadrian. The inscription exists only in manuscript form, so that restoration is uncertain.

As given it raises the point whether in fact it is possible or necessary to restore with H.G. Pflaum, thèse complémentaire, no. 91, the praetorian and vigiles tribunates. In the case of C. Velius Rufus only the tribunate of the thirteenth urban cohort was held, not the other two tribunates nor pp. bis. C. Cestius Sabinus did not hold a tribunate of vigiles before the same tribunate. I have suggested in Part I on the basis of these three cases that the urban tribunates that were held outside Rome, such as I and XIII, being virtually independent commands, carried more prestige, were held for longer periods, cf. U. Velius Rufus, and absolved the holder from the necessity to hold a vigiles tribunate before and a praetorian tribunate after them. The post of primuspilus iterum was also apparently not obligatory. The procuratorship of Pontus and Bithynia was a normal first echelon ducenarian post. It is impossible for him to have been the same as the epistrategus of Thebes (PIR<sup>1</sup> P 484), for that post is classed by H.G. Pflaum, Procurators, p. 53 as sexagenarian, too junior for a primipilaris. With H.G. Pflaum I leave the question of the expansion of ,.G COMPLURIUM open. There is no convenient parallel to guide us.

364. POMPONIUS IULIANUS

XIV 2258 = ILS 505

Ostia.

Prefect of II Parthica in A.D. 244. While only R. is

preserved of his title on the stone, I feel the  
 prefect is far more likely to have set up the <sup>t</sup>stone  
 than a tribunus angusticlavus.

365. C. POMPULLIUS P. F. HOR. IX 996 Ager Compsinus.

C(aius) Pompullius P(ublii) f(ilius) Hor(atia),  
 prim(us)pil(us), trib(unus) mil(itum), praef(ectus)  
 equitum, Careia P(ublii) f(ilia) Gemella, uxor  
 arbit<sup>u</sup> Gemellae uxoris et Philodami l(iberti).

There are eleven POMPULLII in volume IX of the  
Corpus, a total of five in other Italian volumes, five  
 in volume VI, and one each in volumes III and XII. In  
 these circumstances it seems to me that this man, in  
 the volume with the heaviest concentration, ought to  
 be Italian. The nearest place with the tribe Horatia  
 is Venusia, and it should be noted that the tribe only  
 appears outside Italy in Africa, where so far no  
 POMPULLII have been found. There is no cognomen, and  
 this suggests a pre-Claudian date, which accords with  
 the tenure of the legionary tribunate and the prefecture  
 of cavalry, and the fact that the unit is not named in  
 each case.

366. PONTIENUS MAGNUS XVI äpp. 13.

One of two primipilii of Fretensis in A.D. 150.  
 E. Birley has pointed out, Roman Britain and the Roman  
 Army, p. 109, that the rare nomen (cf. Schulze, p. 212,  
 164) indicates a probable Italian. The importance of  
 the fact that two men are mentioned on the inscription

as primipili commanding centuries, and therefore presumably both holding their first primipilates, is discussed in Part I, in the chapter on the primuspilus and the primipilaris.

367. T. PONTINIUS XI 4368 Ameria.

[D(is)] M(ānibus). T(itus) Pontinius..primopil(us) leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae), [praef(ectus)] eq(uitum), trib(unus) c(o)hor(tis) V p[raet(oriae)].

The inscription XI 4555, also from Ameria, bears the words PON PIL, which may be connected with this man. The career is typical of the pre-Claudian period. D.M. is found in Italy as early as the time of Augustus.

368. C. PONTIUS CRESCENS XV 1580 Rome.

Tribune of the first praetorian cohort about the beginning of the second century, according to the Corpus.

369. T. PONTIUS MARCIANUS XIII 8620 Rome.

Primuspilus of XXX Ulpia Victrix in A.D. 243. (The consuls for that year were restored by Riese, Das Rheinische Germanien, no. 1355). Marcianus gave his origo, Carnuntum.

370. T. PONTIUS SABINUS X 5829 = ILS 2726 Ferentinum.

T(itus) Pontius T(iti) f(ilius) Pal(atina) Sabinus, praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Pann(oniorum) et Dalmat(orum) eq(uitatae) c(ivium) R(omanorum), trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Ferrat(ae), donis donatus expeditione Parthica a Divo Traiano, hasta pura, vexillo, corona murali, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XXII Primig(eniae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), primuspilus leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), praepositus vexillationibus milliaris tribus expeditione Britannica legionum VII Gemin(ae), VIII Aug(ustae), XXII Primig(eniae), trib(unus)

n coh(ortis) III vig(ilum), coh(ortis) XIIII urb(anae),  
 coh(ortis) II praet(oriae), p(rimus)p(ilus) bis,  
 proc(urator) provinc(iae) Narb(onensis), IIII vir  
 i(ure) d(icundo) quinq(uennalis), patron(us) municipi.  
 T(ito) Pontio T(iti) f(ilio) Pal(atina) Sabino,  
 p(rimo)p(ilo) II, proc(uratori) provinc(iae) Narb(onensis),  
 IIII vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) quinq(uennali), flamin(i)  
 et patrono) municipi, Valeria L(ucii) f(ilia) Procula  
 uxor. L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Although H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire, no. 91, has described Sabinus as a native of Ferentinum, there is no evidence for this other than the fact that he was a resident, and probably buried there. Beginning his career as an equestrian officer, he held two militaie before obtaining a transfer to the centurionate. It is clear that the latter was preferable if it could be obtained (by direct commission), cf. Pertinax, who tried for a direct commission as centurion, but had to be content with the prefecture of a cohort, SHA Pertinax, 1, 5.6. The matter is discussed fully in part I in the chapter on the primipilares recruited from the equestrian order. Previously to his transfer Sabinus had been decorated by Trajan in the Parthian war, and perhaps he had managed to obtain the centurionate as a reward for his gallantry. After holding centurionates in three legions, including the primipilate, he was put in charge of an expedition to Britain that E. Birley identifies with the second British war under Hadrian which he postulates for various reasons in the mid-130's, see

Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p. 29. A further point that he has made to me in this connection is that even supposing we allow the possibility of the first trouble in Britain under Hadrian referred to, the three posts which we must then suppose to have been held in the period 117-119 are so distant from each other that a considerable portion of that short period must have been spent in travelling, which does not make sense. After superintending the passage of these three thousand men to Britain he held the three Rome tribunates in turn, and was pp. bis, also at Rome, as no legion is mentioned in what is otherwise a very detailed description. The procuratorship of Gallia Narbonensis was then held, in the first ducenarian echelon. H.G. Pflaum has suggested (op. cit.) that as his wife was presumably the sister of the prefect of Egypt in the period 144-147, L. Valerius Proculus, Sabinus would be able by his help to rise higher. Two points arise here. In the first place, as it is the wife who set up the inscription, it seems not improbable that it is a memorial. The second point is fundamental, is the career in fact to be regarded as that of a distinguished man, with every prospect of rising higher? If we consider the career in the light of E. Birley's article on the age of equestrian officers, op. cit., pp. 133-35, the following possible



career appears. An officer like the majority first at thirty, after perhaps six years' service as an equestrian officer he was transferred to the centurionate. There after about fifteen years' service he became primuspilus at about the age of fifty. After a temporary post he went the round of the tribunates to receive a procuratorship about the age of fifty-four. He could have gone further on the basis of that re-construction, but that is the most favourable one, and one of the things we are fairly certain about in his career is that despite his service as an equestrian officer he had to serve about fifteen years in the centurionate. That does not suggest that he was selected as a promising future procurator and prefect. What then was the reason for his transfer to the centurionate, if it was not in the hopes of a better procuratorial career, as suggested by M. Durry? The answer is a much more prosaic but very real one, the quest for security. The equestrian officer could have his appointment and career terminated at a moment's notice. The centurionate offered a life-time career, with wealth in retirement. The argument is fully developed in Part I, in the chapter on the Primipilaris and the equestrian order. In it, I think, lies the key to the career of T. Pontius Sabinus.

371. P. PORCIUS FAUSTUS Pais 165 = ILS 4222 Aquileia.

Primuspilus of a unit described as VI Hispana.

Mommsen in his comment on the inscription in Pais has remarked that the figure is a mistake for IX. There is the other possibility that there was a short lived unit of the name and number given in the inscription in the third century. That the inscription belongs to that century is suggested by the fact that it concerns a signifer agens in lustro primipilii.

372. M. PORCIUS IUSTUS (a) VIII 2487 Lambaesis.  
(b) AE 1942-3. 37 Nr. Lamnaesis.

(a) Aesculapio Sancto, M(arcus) Porcius Iustus, praef(ectus) cast(rorum) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), d(onum) d(edit).  
Dedicata Idibus Novemb(ris), Imper(atore) Commodus III et Burro cos(ulibus). (Nov. 181).

(b) Silvano Sancto, M(arcus) Porcius Iustus praef(ectus) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) posuit. [Dedicata [Idi]b(us) Iania[riis], Bruttio Praesente II et Condiano cos(ulibus). (Janusry, 180).

The main importance of these two inscriptions is that they demonstrate clearly that praefectus castrorum legionis and praefectus legionis describe one and the same post. In the second century it seems to have been a matter of individual taste which title was used. Notice that in this case the prefecture of the legion was held for a period of longer than one year.

373. L. PRAECILIUS CLEMENS IULIANUS III 8753 Salona.

L(ucio) Praec(i)l(i)o L(ucii) f(ilio) Clementi Iuliano, pontif(ici), quinquenal(i) desig(nato), flamine, patrono coloniae, primipilari leg(ionis) V Macedonicae, praefecto castrorum leg(ionis) eiusdem, veterani qui militaver(unt) sub P. Mentino Regulo legato Augustali, et missi sunt Q(uinto) Eutetio Lusio Saturnino, M(arco) Seio Verano cos(ulibus), curam gerentib(us) Ti(berio) Claudio Celso,

516 Titi Aug Marcello. L(ocus) d(atus) p(ublice).

The reading is that of Glinbavaz, which has the merit of being intelligible. That of Zaccaria is not far from nonsense. E. Birley in Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p. 117, has suggested that he was a native of Salona, but the reason he gave, the setting up of the inscription at Salona, is not conclusive, for he might have settled in Salona upon his retirement. The date is between 36 and 43 A.D.. It is one of the earliest cases recorded of promotion direct from primuspilus to the prefecture of the camp, and also of the name of a legion being attached to the latter post. It is also one of the earliest cases I know where a primipilaris received the patronage of a city.

374. Q. PRECIUS PROCULUS (a) XI 6190 Ostra.  
(b) XI 6189 Ostra.

(a) Q(uinto) Precio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Pol(lia) Proculo equo publ(ico), auguri designat(um), municipes, quo honore accepto Q(uintus) Precius Hermes filio piissimo pec(unia) s(ua) f(ecit), cuius dedicatione viris et mulierib(us) epulum dedit. L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

(b) Graecinae Q(uinti) [f(iliae)] Paetinae, uxori optimae pientissima[e], Q(uintus) Precius Proculus, ob merita eius, p(rimus) p(ilus) bis.

If the Q. Precii Proculi of the two inscriptions are one and the same, we must suppose that Proculus was first granted the equus publicus by the emperor, his father having been a freedman as is evident by his cognomen, was elected augur, and then was commissioned

directly as a centurion, to rise eventually to be pp.bis. The tribe Pollia is that of Ostra, and that place clearly is the home of himself and his family. . If the two men are distinct, (a) ought to be the earlier in time, both because the inscription gives filiation and tribe, and because the family fortunes have clearly just risen above the freedman class. Then of course the man of (b) could still be ex equite Romano, as the family would presumably continue to be equestrian. If (b) were the earlier, one would have to suppose the son of a freedman of the family rose to be an equestrian. The simplest solution is clearly to identify the two, or failing that to make (a) the earlier inscription.

375. P. PROSIUS CELER AE 1931. 13 Bonn.

Matronis Aufaniabus P(ublius) Prosius Celer Tiano Sidicino, praef(ectus) cast(rorum) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae).

His origo was Teanum Sidicinum in Campania. Mr.

Birley has suggested to me that the presence of a prefect of VIII Augusta <sup>at Bonn ought to be connected with the absence of Minerva (A.D. 161 A.D. 167) A. vexillation</sup> may have been dispatched to

Bonn to maintain the fortress and fill the gap in the garrison. The case of IV Flavia at Aquincum may be compared, Ritterling, RE XII, 1544-45.

376. L. PUBLICIUS APRONIANUS IX 5842 Auximum.

D(is) M(anibus) L(ucii) Publici Apronian(i), p(rimi)p(ilaris), patroni municipi Ricinensium[...ae]diles, L(ucius) Publicius Florianus trib(unus) coh(ortis) VIIII.

There was a Publicius Apronianus who was hastatus of XXII Primigenia, II 4146, but he buried his wife at Tarraco, and is not specifically dated to the same period as this man, so there is no clear case for identification. The inscription is datable to about the year 193 by the fact that the son or brother who was connected with the erection of the monument is to be identified with the tribune who promoted the candidature of Iulianus for the empire, see no. 377.

377. L. PUBLICIUS FLORIANUS IX 5842 & Literary. Auximum.

SHA V. Did. Iul. 2,4. quo interfecto cum Sulpicianus imperator in castris appellari vellet, et Iulianus cum genero ad senatum venisset, quem indictum acceperat, cumque clausas valvas invenisset atque illic duos tribunos repperisset, Publicium Flowianum et Vectium Aprum, coeperunt cohortari tribuni, ut locum arriperet. quibus cum diceret iam alium imperatorem appellatum, retinentes eum ad praetoria castra duxerunt.

That the tribune if the ninth praetorian cohort given in the preceding case was the same as the tribune who urged Iulianus to bid for the empire is so probable that I have accepted it provisionally. It should be noted that the text of for example the Loeb edition gives the reading PUBLIUS for the nomen, but at least one manuscript has the reading PUBLICUS, and PUBLICIUS is clearly more than possible.

378. C. PUBLICIUS PROCULEIANUS AE 1948. 51 Delphi.

Γ. Ποοβλικίω Προκουλαγίανω 'Ραβωνήτῃ, πριμιπιλαρίω,  
ἐπιτρόπῳ Παιονίας καὶ Ἀχάϊας, ἡ ἱερὰ πόλις Δελφῶν ἀνέστησεν  
ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς).

C(aio) Publico C(ai) f(ilio) Cam(ilia) [Raven]na  
Proculeiano.

He also erected an inscription to his alumnus at  
Ravenna, XI 207. M. Daux, in the original edition of  
the inscription (Inscriptions de Delphes, BCH LXIII  
1939, p. 180) remarked that the expression ἡ ἱερὰ πόλις  
did not appear till the third century. The mention of  
filiation and tribe suggests a date in the early part  
of that century. After his first primipilate he was  
appointed successively to the procuratorship of one of  
the Pannonias and the procuratorship of Achaia, their  
rank being centenarian, as all procuratorships held  
directly after the first primipilate. For the detailed  
argument for Pannonia being meant, which was doubted by  
M. Daux, see H.G. Pflaum, thèse complémentaire, no. 285.

379. C. PUBLILIUS PRISCILLIANUS XIII 8035 Bonn.

Primuspilus of I Minervia in A.D. 222, he set up  
an official inscription to celebrate an Imperial  
victory. The text will be found in the special appendix  
on such inscriptions. He gives his origo as Septimia  
Siscia, in Pannonia Superior.

380. C. PURTISIUS ATINAS XI 624 Forum Livi.

Dis Manibus. C(aius) Purtisius C(ai) f(ilius)  
Stel(latina) Atinas, IIII vir quin(quennalis),

pr(aefectus) equi(tum), pr(aefectus fab(rum), pri(mus) pil(us) leg(ionis).

Two hastae, three crowns, three vexilla, and armilla are illustrated on the stone. The origo must be in Italy, given that we know of no grant of his tribe outside Italy. The career is of the pre-Claudian type, the most distinct thing about it being the tenure of the post of praefectus fabrum immediately after the primipilate and before the prefecture of cavalry. The phrase Dis Manibus appears quite early in Italy, so it affords no clue to date. The decorations are remarkable, particularly the vexilla. The distribution between the various appointments is uncertain. The hastae could have been gained as primuspilus or as prefect of cavalry. The crowns could have been gained in any post from senior centurion upwards. The vexilla are more difficult. After Claudius it appears that the praefectus equitum received two vexilla, and it is not impossible that this happened before his reign. Also it should be noted that the possibility of decoration as praefectus fabrum with a vexillum cannot be excluded, or the possibility of repeated decoration in a number of campaigns in any of the posts mentioned.

381 QUINTILIUS CAPITO AE 1933. 268 Pergamum.  
(Career of C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus).

οὗτος ἔτι στρατευόμενος ἐν Δακίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἐπαρχείαν διέπων  
 τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἦνενθ  
 βασταζόμενον ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν τεταγμένων ὑπὸ σημεία  
 ἑκατονταρχοῦ πρεμποτειλαρίου Κوينτιλίου Καπιτῶνος χεινομένης  
 αὐτῷ πρόπομπῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ παρεμβολὴν οὕτῳ  
 διαταξάμενος αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ μνήμα αὐτῷ  
 ἐκ τοῦ φύσκου κατεσκευάσθη.

A notable example of the kind of responsible and honorific task a[pr]imipilaris might be called on to perform. His title leaves in doubt whether he was in fact still primuspilus when he undertook it. The episode took place in A.D. 118.

382. C. QUINTILIUS PRISCUS

V930

Aquileia.

C(aio) Quintilio C(ai) f(ilio) Rom(ulia) Prisco,  
 p(rimi)p(ilari), trib(un) coh(ortis) I v(ig)ilum),  
 trib(un) coh(ortis) XII urb(anae), trib(un) coh(ortis)  
 VI praet(oriae), donis milit(aribus) don(ato) IIII, M(arcus)  
 sic Valerius Chrysantius IIIIII vir Aquileiae benemerenti,  
 L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

The tribe Romulia is not known to have been granted outside Italy, and is indeed only attested for Ateste and Sora. It is not unlikely that the former was the origo for this man. On the whole the mention of filiation and tribe, and the phrasing of the inscription, suggest a date earlier than the third century, though so late a date cannot be ruled out. Note that he had apparently no municipal honours, though the place for the inscription was conceded by vote of the ordo of



Aquilleia.

383. Q. RAECIUS RUFUS

III 2917 = ILS 2647

Iader.

Q(uinto) Raecio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Cl(audia) Rufo,  
p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae), trec(enario),  
donis donato ab Imp(eratore) Vespasian(o) et Tito  
Imp(eratore) bell(o) Iud(aico), ab (Imp(eratore)  
Trai(ano) bell(o) Dacic(o), princ(ipi) praet(orio), Trebia  
M(arci) f(ilia) Procula) marito, t(estamento) p(oni)  
i(ussit).

There are a number of Raecii in Dalmatia, but we at present know of no place in that province with the tribe Claudia, so the origin of Rufus remains doubtful. He clearly settled there, and R. Syme, in Œerta Hoffileriana, p. 229, has been able to demonstrate that his wife was the daughter of a magistrate of Arba (III 2931), and that the C. Raecius Rufus, a senator, who is attested as owning land in Arba in A.D. 173 (III 3869) was a descendant. Reverting to the inscription, it is clear that there has been a mistake in drawing it up. In effect there cannot be a thirty-year interval between trecenarius and princeps praetorii. It was presumably the intention to give the decorations at the end of the career, and the post of princeps praetorii had been accidentally omitted, or added as an after-thought. It normally preceded the primipilate, and was superior to trecenarius. It should be noted that the post has not yet been demonstrated for the praetorian guard, as an examination of A. von Domaszewski's references on p. 101 of the Rangordnung will show - see further the appendix

on the princeps praetorii. The post appears to have been the command of the soldiers on the governor's personal staff. It is notable that no legion is mentioned.

384. Q. REF- MANSUETUS III 14074, 14078. Carnuntum.

Primuspilus of XIV Gemina, after A.D. 150 according to E. Vorbeck, Militärinschriften aus Carnuntum no. 40. As far as the nomen is concerned, the forms REFIDIUS and REFRIUS are recorded by Schulze, and there is a REFANUS in volume XI. Holder, on the other hand, has no Celtic nomina beginning with REF, so probably this man bore one or another form of the root from which the three examples named are taken, and was quite probably Italian, or from an old colony.

385. A. RESIUS MAXIMUS (a) XI 1741 Volaterra.  
(b) III 15045.2 = ILS 5953a. Nr.  
Corinium, Dalmatia.

(a) Dis Manib(us) A(uli) Resi L(ucii) f(ilii) Sab(atina) Maximi, p(rimi)p(ilaris).

(b) Finis inter Neditas et Coriniensis directus mensuris actis iussu Meceni Gemini leg(ati), per A(ulum) Resium Maximum (centurionem) leg(ionis) XI principem posteriorem co(hortis) I et per D(ecium) Aebutium Liberalem (centurionem) eiusdem leg(ionis) astatum posteriorem c(o)hortis) I.

A fragment of (b) survives, the complete stone having been seen by Manutius, whose reading is given.

ILS 5953 records the same action with slight differences of texts. The editor of the Corpus restores the governor

as Ducenius Geminus, who was consul in A.D. 62, and prefect of the city in A.D. 69, the inscription falling between those limits. The tribe of Volaterra was Sabatina, so Maximus was probably a native.

386. L. RETONIUS LUCIUS III 11031 = AE 1944.116 Brigetio.

D(is) M(anibus). L(ucio) Retonio Lucio, q(uondam) p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) I A(diutricis), qui vix(it) ann(is) LXXVIII, stip(endia) LVIII. Retoni Romanus et Saturninus) et Lucilla filii f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

I have not been able to find the nomen elsewhere. Holder, ii 1179, gave it as Celtic. The most interesting thing is the large number of stipendia served. This should be considered in relation to the fact that with a few exceptions, each explicit, all primipilares whose age at death is known were quite aged, and Juvenal's reference to sixty as the probable age at which the primipilate would be reached (14. 197-8). The matter is considered in the chapter on the primuspilus and primipilaris in Part I. The phrases quondam and qui vixit suggest a third century date.

387. L. RUFELLIUS SEVERUS (a) XI 6224 Fanum Fortunae.  
(b) XI 6225 = ILS 5679 " "  
(c) V 698 = ILS 5889 Ager Tergestinus.

(a) L(ucio) Ruf[ellio..]Pol(lia) Se[vero...(centurioni) ...]et stator(um) et coh(ortis) VI [praet(oriae)...] primi pili II leg(ionis) [...et leg(ionis)...] trib(un)o coh(ortis) VII pr(aetoriae), bis ab Imperato]ribus donato coronis aureis II et coron(is) vallaribus, hasta pura, quinquenn(ali) et Claudii Caesaris Augusti Germanici quinquenn(ali) praefecto, Plebs urbana Vici Herculani quam bassim vetustate collapsam pec(unia) sua restituit.

(b) T(itus) Varius T(it)i f(ilius) Pol(lia) Rufinus Geganius Facundus Vibius Marcellinus, equo publ(ico) quinquennalic(ius), nomine suo et T(it)i Vari Longi filii sui balineum a L(ucio) Rufellio Severo, p(rimi) p(ilari), tri(buno), factum quod res publica a novo refecerat incendio ex maxima parte consumptum operibus ampliatis pec(unia) sua restituit.

(c) Hanc viam directam per Atium centurion(em) post sententiam dictam ab A(ulo) Plautio legato Ti(berii) Cl(audi) Caesaris Aug(usti) Germ(anici), et postea translatam a Rundictibus in fines C(ai) Laecani Bassi, restituit iussi Ti(berii) Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti) Germ(anici) Imperatoris L(ucius) Rufellius Severus primipilaris.

His tribe was that of Forum Fortunae, so that was presumably his origo. His career cannot have been much dissimilar to that of M. Vettius Valens up to the second primipilate, except that he did not hold an urban centurionate, as it does not appear between the centurionates of the statores and the praetorian guard. It is the earliest case I know of where pp. II refers to the holding of an ordinary primipilate and of the post of primuspilus iterum, the phrase meaning in the period before the reign of Claudius simply the iteration of the ordinary primipilate. It will be noted that primi pili is in the wrong case, unless the original was centurioni primi pili etc.. Both the legions in which a primipilate was held and that in which he was primuspilus iterum were mentioned in the position appropriate for the first primipilate, and the military career in fact ended at the post of primuspilus iterum. I doubt if more than one tribunate was held, there being parallels for only one

tribunate, the praetorian, being held in careers of this type under Claudius, cf. Maxumus and the unknown of X 1711. The dona are a normal accumulation for such a career. Notice his municipal position. The fact that he did not go on to be a procurator after having been primuspilus iterum is of extreme interest.

388. C. RUFIVS FESTVS XI 2698 Volsinii.

C(aio) Rufio C(ai) f(illio) Pom(ptina) Festo, p(rimi) p(ilari), trib(un)o cohort(is) V vig(illum), XII urb(anae), III pr(aetoriae), proc(uratori) provinciae Dalmatiae et Histriae, C(aius) Rufius) Festus Laelius Firmus, c(larissimus) v(ir), et Rufia C(ai) f(ilia) Procula, c(larissima) f(emina), patri pientissimo, L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

The tribe is that of Volsinii, which means that he was probably a native of that place. The date would seem to be second century, the terms clarissimus vir and clarissima femina involving a date after Hadrian, and the filiation and tribe suggesting second rather than third century. He omitted the post of primuspilus iterum to go straight to, first-echelon ducenarian procuratorship, after which he died. His son became a senator, and his daughter married one. Other senatorial Rufii are found on XI 2997. A fragmentary inscription to Ceres, XI 7272, at Volsinii, was probably put up by our procurator. He is dealt with by H.G. Pflaum in his these complémentaire no. 215.

389. SEX. RUFIVS VICTOR AE 1926. 125 Tibur.

Primuspilus of IV Scythica, dead.

390. SABIDIUS C.F. PAP IX 5712 = ILS 2644. Aequiculi.

..Sa]bidius C(ai) f(ilius) Pap(iria), prim(us)pil(us),  
 [...(centurio) le]g(ionis) V et leg(ionis) X et leg(ionis)  
 VI ita ut in [leg(ione)] X primum pil(um) duceret  
 eodem[que te]mpore princeps esset leg(ionis) VI,  
 praef(ectus) [q]u[inqu]ennalis)...Ca[es]ar(is) Divi  
 Aug(usti) et Ti(berii) Caesar(is) A[ug(usti), i]dem...a  
 ...don...cu...elia [C]n(aei) f(ilia) Pupilla uxor  
 [C]rispina neptis.

There are 41 SABIDII in Italy, 35 in Rome, and 6 in volume VIII of the Corpus. A primuspilus ~~from~~ Africa is unlikely at this period. As far as his career is concerned centurio, or the centurial sign, to be more precise, must be restored at the beginning of the career. Centurio primi pili should not be read, as it is explicitly stated that he was not primuspilus in legion VI. While princeps of that legion he was seconded to legio X with the acting rank of primuspilus, probably when these two legions were in the same camp. One would have expected the princeps of legio X to have been given the temporary post, but there were no doubt good reasons for its bestowal on Sabidius. He then went to legio V, probably as primuspilus, on which the giving to him of that title is based, not on the temporary posting. It is to be remembered that the inscription was set up by the widow, not necessarily skilled in military terminology, and it is not surprising if her attempt to find the right way to describe rather an unusual posting sounds peculiar to us. His active military career came to an end before the death of Augustus.

391. M. SABINIUS NEPOTIANUS (a) XIII 8016 Bonn.  
(b) XIII 7946 Iversheim.

(a) [Io]vi O(ptimo) M(aximo) et [He]rculi et [Sil]vano  
et [Ge]nio Domus M(arcus)...us Nepotianus, praef(ectus)  
cast(rorum), c[u]m Marcello et [Nep]otano [et] Festo  
filis. [Dedi]c(ata) XIII Kal(endis) Oct(obr)is  
[Imp(eratore) Commodus VI et S]eptimi[an]o cos(ulibus).  
(A.D. 190).

(b) [M(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) et Genio [vexil(lationis)  
leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) p(iae) f(idelis)...ec et c[...  
pro sal(ute)] Imp(eratoris)] M(arci) Aur(elii) Com[modi]  
Aug(usti) sub Cl[aud(io)] Apollon(are l)egato) leg(ionis)  
I M(inerviae), et Sa[bi]nio Nep[otian]o, pref(ecto)  
vexil(lationis), sub c[ura]m C[la]udii Val[entis]  
sig(niferi) leg(ionis) I[...I]mp(eratore) Commodus VI et  
Sep[ti]miano cos(ulibus).

Here the prefect of the camp commanded a vexillation,  
cf. the chapter on the prefect of the camp for similar  
cases. Note in inscription (a) the legion is not  
mentioned after praefectus castrorum as it was set up in  
a place associated with I Minervia.

392. P. SALLIENUS THALAMUS VII 100, 101, cf EE IX p. 529.  
Caerleon.

Prefect of II Augusta some time 197-209. He was a  
native of Hadria, in Picenum.

393. L. SALLUSTIUS PROCESSUS VI 25786 Rome.

Primipilaris, dead. PROCESSUS is one of the  
typically African past-participle cognomina, thirty-six  
of the forty-eight examples of it coming from Africa.  
SALLUSTIUS is a common nomen, of which there are  
numerous examples in Corpus VIII, so there exists a  
probability, not strong enough to include this man in  
the lists in Part I, that our primipilaris was from Africa.

394. C. SATRIUS CRESCENS (a) VIII 18065 = ILS 2452 Castra, Lamb  
(b) AE 1908. 10 = ILS 9188 Thibilis.  
(c) VIII 18317 Civ. Lamb.  
(d) VI 209 Rome.

(a) Satrius Crescens pp  
(b) Gigennaus Valens pp (A.D. 161).

(b) Divo Antonio C(aius) Satrius C(ai) f(ilius) Fab(ia)  
Crescens Roma, eq(uo) publ(ico), ex (trecentario)  
p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), dedicante  
D(ecimo) Fonteio Frontiniano.

(c). D(is) M(anibus). C(aio) Satrio Epicteto, lib(erto),  
C(aius) Satrius Crescens, (centurio) leg(ionis) III  
Aug(ustae), fedit).

(d) Gallicano et Vetere cos(ulibus), VII id(us)  
Ian(uarias), coh(ortis) I pr(aetoriae), (centuria)  
Satri. (A.D. 150).

Of the identifications (a), dated A.D. 161, and (b), the governor being dated to 160-62, are clearly the same, (d), dated A.D. 150, could be the same, and so could (c), but in this latter case the date is not known. On all these cf. E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p. 111. The points to notice are as follows. The possession of the equus publicus, as it is specifically mentioned by Crescens, must have been accomplished before the primipilate, and it seems possible that he was directly commissioned as a centurion ex equite Romano. He spent twelve years in the centurionate between his praetorian centurionate and his primipilate, which suggests a steady rather than a brilliant progress. In that time he was trecenarius and was a centurion in III Augusta, and



may have held other posts. His primipilate must fall in or about 162, as he is attested in that year, which means inscription (b) must fall about that time, as in my opinion the primipilate was only held for one year. The meaning of the fact that two primipili are mentioned on the first inscription is discussed in the chapter on the primuspilus and the primipilaris in Part I. Here the point may be made that Crescens was definitely not primuspilus iterum in 162 as a comparison of inscriptions (a) and (b) shows.

395. T. SATRIUS FUSCIANUS III 97 Bostra, Arabia.

Primuspilus of III Cyrenaica.

396. SATTONIUS IUCUNDUS VIII 2634 = ILS 2296 Lambaesis.

Primuspilus of III Augusta in A.D. 253. The text of the inscription is given in the special appendix. The nomen is Celtic, Holder ii 1378, and ten out of the thirteen cases of it come from the regions covered in volume XIII of the Corpus.

397. L. SATURIUS PICENS XI 1437 Pisa.

D(is) M(anibus). C(aius) Satur<sup>us</sup> L(ucii) Saturi Picentis, p(rimi)p(ilaris), f(ilius) Fabia Secundus, equo publico, ex V decuriis, praef(ectus) c(o)ho(rtis) II Astrurum, augur, patronus coloniae Asculanorum, vixit annis XIX dieb(us) XXVII. Pater fil(io) pientissimo fec(it).

The origo is clearly Asculum, which has the tribe Fabia. The status of the father is demonstrated by the fact that the son held his first equestrian militia at

the age of nineteen, and was priest and patron of Asculum. A. C. Satur<sup>f</sup>ius Picens set up a memorial to a C. Saturius Sic- and an Att- Saturia at Asculum (IX 5241), and a Saturia Picena dedicated to her son at Fundi (X 6260). Both of these may be connected with our primipilaris, the first one almost certainly.

398. P. SEIUS RUFUS VIII 2628 Lambaesis.

Prefect of III Augusta. He gives his origo as Teate, of the Marracuni (Regio IV). As he mentioned his filiation and tribe, a date before the third century is slightly more probable than a later. Also to be referred to him is the P IIUS RUFUS of AE 1942-3. 38, prefect of III Augusta.

399. P. SELIUS LAETUS P. Mich. III 159.

I have not seen the edition of the text given as the primary reference above, but only that in the Transactions of the American Philological Association, volume 55, 1924, pp. 21-35. The text concerns a dispute in law, for which Laetus, described as praefectus castrorum, appointed a centurion of III Cyrenaica as judge. The camp where the men involved in the dispute were stationed <sup>would</sup> appear to be at Babylon<sup>1</sup>. H.A. Sanders, editor of the document in the Transactions, assumed therefore that Laetus was the prefect of that camp. The date is under Claudius or

Nero. It is precisely this period in which the development of the office of praefectus castrorum in Egypt is most obscure. One can only express an opinion, that in view of the lack of evidence for ordinary praefecti castrorum in Egypt, and the fact that praefectus castrorum is the title par excellence of the high-ranking commander of the camp at Alexandria, that it is more likely that it was he who chose the judge for the case at Babylon.

400. L. SEMPRONIUS INGENUUS (a) VIII 2543 Lambaesis.  
(b) AE 1937. 113

(a) Imp(eratori) Caesari T(ito) Aelio Hadriano Antonino Aug(usto) Pio, pontifici maximo, trib(unica) potest(ate) XV, cos(uli) IV, p(atri) p(atriciae), dedicante M(arco) Valerio Etrusco, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore), L(ucius) Sempronius Ingenuus, primipilaris. (A.D. 152).

(b) ...et sunt in Dacia Perolisensi sub Sempronio Ingenuo proc(uratore).... (A.D. 164).

The first inscription resembles the official inscription of the primuspilus in every way but one. Ingenuus called himself primipilaris, and did not mention the legion. This is not the primuspilus iterum, as might be thought by those who do not accept the solution of that office <sup>which</sup> as I have suggested, for a man of that rank would not use the ambiguous title primipilaris. Thus we are thrown back on the solution that it was an old primuspilus, for even if the primuspilus of III Augusta called himself a primipilaris as does happen on inscriptions, he would have called

himself primipilaris legionis. It was thus a man who has completed his primipilate who asked his old commander to dedicate this inscription. It could scarcely be for reasons of gratitude that the inscription was set up, for the reason would then have been stated, so it was most probably, as H.G. Pflaum suggested in his thèse complémentaire no. 164, a politic gesture, calculated to attract the emperor's attention. Twelve years later he was procurator of a third-echelon ducenarian governorship, so he had been promoted at a good speed, though if we allow four years for three tribunates and the post of primuspilus iterum he could have held two procuratorships. It is far more probable that he had come up via the Rome tribunates than via centenarian procuratorships, which was clearly a second-best route. Like most who reached the third ducenarian echelon Ingenius had reasonable prospects of reaching the fourth echelon.

401. M. SEPTIMIUS -LIS                      AE 1911. 128                      Ancona.

M(arco) Septimio M(arci) [f(ilio)..]ii (centurioni) legionum...[X] Fret(ensis) II, pr(imae) Min(erviae) II, pri(mae) Parth(icae), III Ga[ll(icae), XXII] Prim(igeniae), p(rimo)p(ilo), praeposit[us] Umb[riae] Piceni et Ap[uliae], Col Ancon et c complurium [civitatum] heredes patr[ono].

The mention of I Parthica dates the inscription to ~~in~~ or after the time of Septimius Severus. The fact that II follows the mention of some legions presumably means that this man held these posts separated by centurionates in

other legions, and he prefers to summarise rather than detail all centurionates in their chronological order. After his primipilate he was given the task of supervising the anti-bandit operations in a sector of Italy, cf. the comment on T. Aurelius Flavianus.

402. L. SEPTIMIUS DOMITIANUS AE 1902. 77 Rocciano, Picenum.

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). L(ucio) Sept(imo) Marcelliano, e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(iro), ex cornic(ulario) praef(ectorum)...duobus fratris german(is) L(ucio) Sept(imio) Domitiano e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(iro) ex primip(ilaribus ?).

Although corniculariū praefecti praetorio sometimes passed through the primipilate, the fact that a primipilate was not mentioned for Marcellianus although it was for Domitianus suggests that he went direct to some equestrian post, cf. Q. Peltradius Maximus, tribune of an auxiliary cohort at Bewcastle, ILS 4721, ex corniculario praef. praetorio. Whether Domitianus, in whom we are chiefly interested, started in the guard, is an open question, but it is most probable that he started in the ranks, whether of the guard or of the legions. The date, bearing in mind the phrases used, and the nomina and praenomina of Severus, is third century.

403. SEPTIMIUS SATURNINUS AE 1940. 44 Aezani, Phrygia.

Imp(erator) Caesar Trianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus), p(ater) p(atriciae), cos(ul) III, trib(unica) pot(estate) XIII, fines Iovi C[rea]tori et civitati Aezanitarum datos [a]b Attalo et Prusia regibus restitu[e]bam, cura agente Septimio Saturnino primipilare, sicut Prusianus rex egerat

(Repeated in Greek).

The dating is to A.D. 128, and the task performed one assigned to senior centurions, etc..

404. L. SEPTIMIUS SEMPRONIANUS II 3724 Castulo, Tarraconensis.

Primusvillus of XIV Gemina. His retirement to Spain, where ten out of the sixteen SEMPRONIANI are found, suggests a probable origo, though not a case to take into account in the lists of Part I. There is no definite dating evidence. The father's praenomen was Quintus, so the slight possibility of citizenship from Severus is put out of the question.

405. T. SERVAEUS SABINUS (a) III 14298 Iconium, Lycaonia.  
(b) AE 1930. 109 Yali-Baiyat, Galatia.

(a) Tito Servaeo Sabino, p(rimi)p(ilari), donato omnibus donis, L(ucius) Servaeus Sabinus, (centurio) leg(ionis) VI Vict(ricis), patri suo fecit.

sic (b) Lucio Servaeo [Sa]bino, (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII Hispanae, (centurio) leg(ionis) III Au[g(ustae)], (centurioni) leg(ionis) VI Vic[tr]icis, statum ex testam[ento].

E. Birley in Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p.113 and pp. 116-17, has assigned father and son to this region. It is very probable. I cannot, however, agree that the father's primipilate cannot be much later than the time of Vespasian. The actual date of the disappearance of IX Hispana, as E. Birley has demonstrated, op.cit., pp. 25-29, is uncertain, though there is strong evidence that it was later than the traditional date, the end of Trajan or the beginning of Hadrian. If it disappeared about 130, and Sabinus was forty when L.

Servaeus Sabinus was born, his primipilate, about the age of fifty or more, could be in Trajan's reign. Of course, this is only a terminus ante quem. His father's rank would make it easy for his son to reach the centurionate, probably without having to go through the ranks.

406. C. SERVILIUS C.F. XI 1056 Parma.

C(aius) Ser[v]ilius C(ai) f(ilius), prim[ipi]lus, tribu[n(us) mil(itum)], praefe[c]tus castror[um], testamento] fierri iussit.

It is probable that he had no cognomen, and the career is of the pre-Claudian type.

407. C. SERVILIUS GALLATIANUS VI 1055 Rome.

Tribune of the fourth cohort of vigiles in A.D. 205.

408. SEXTILIUS MARCIANUS XIII 6728 Mogontiacum.

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo), [Iu]noni Reginae, [For]tunae Minervae [... leg(ionis) X] XII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) [f(idelis) Com(modianae)?, Commodus Aug(usto) VII et P]ertinace II [c]os(ulibus). (A.D. 192).

...S]exti[lius ? ...] Marc[ianus ? domo ? Ve]rceil[is ?,  
 ...]i ali[...qui est f]actus m[iles in cohorte V]II pr(aetoria  
 p[ro]bat[us] Imp(eratore) Anton[ino] II[I cos(ule) (A.D. 140),  
 factus principali]s Eru[c(io) Claro II et Cl(audio)  
 Seve]ro co[s(ulibus) (A.D. 146), militavit exa]ctus  
 t[esserarius optio, sig]nif(er), b(ene)f(iciarius) [pr(aefec  
 [pr(aetoria), factus in leg(ione) XX]II Pr(imigeniae)  
 p(iae) [f(idelis) evocatus B]arbar[o et Regulo c]os(ulibus)  
 (A.D. 157), VI anno ? ab Imperatore o]rdinib[us] adscriptus,  
 in X pil(um) p[r(iorem) ob v]irtutem] viritim [donis donatus ?  
 (centurio) leg(ionis) ann(is)][meruit, fuit] (centurio)  
 leg(ionis) I [...(centurio) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae),  
 [(centurio) leg(ionis)....Ge]mine, (centurio) l[eg(ionis)  
 ...](centurio) l[eg(ionis) X[...(centurio) l]eg(ionis)  
 I[...(primus)p(ilus)....].

It is unfortunate that the surviving fragment of

the stone is so small, as an inscription so largely restored loses some of its value as evidence. From our point of view one of the chief difficulties lies in the fact that the tenure of the primipilate is not specifically attested, and must be assumed from the general resemblance of the stone to the official dedications of the legion. There is thus a reasonable probability that he was a primuspilus. I do not intend to discuss the restoration in detail, but will confine myself to the time-table of the promotion. Taking twenty as a mean age for enlistment, he was a principalis at the age of twenty-six, and evocatus at the age of thirty-seven. At forty-two he received a centurion's commission, and only after thirty years' service as a centurion, at the age of seventy-two, did he become primuspilus. This career extended over the last three Antonines, who tended to favour praetorians, and is a reminder that a large number of primipilares received their primipilate late, and had no possibility of advancing further. If the restoration is correct his origo was Vercellae, in Regio XI.

409. C. SIBIDIENUS MAXIMUS (a) XI 5703 Tuficum  
(b) XI 8056 "

(a) C(aio) Sibidien[o] C(ai) f(ilio) Ou[f(entina)]  
Maximo, trib(uno) coh(ortis) II p[r(aetoriae)], L(acius)  
Sibidien[us..]

(b) [C(aio) Si]bidi[en]o C(ai) f(ilio) [Ouf(entina)]



Maxi]mo, [trib(uno) coh(ortis) I]I pr(aetoriae),  
[L(ucius) Sibidi]enus.

The tribe is that of Tuficum, and he is probably a native of that place. He was almost certainly related to the L. Sibidieni of the same place, of whom the father, Sabīnus, was trib. mil., curator viarum et pontium Umbriae et Piceni, procurator provinciae Africae. See A. Stein, RE IIA 2070. The date is most probably before the third century. The name of Maximus also appears on a fragment, XI 5704.

410. Q. SITTIUS FLACCUS XIV 2057 Porcigiliano, Latium.

Tribune of the second cohort of vigiles.

411. C. SORNATIUS C.F. VEL VI 3633 Rome.

Primuspilus of X Fretensis. The fact that he did not mention a cognomen suggests a date before the reign of Claudius. The nomen SORNATIUS is found nine times in the indices of the Corpus, all in Italy, though seven of them are in Rome. I think there is a case here for a probable origo in Italy.

412. L. SPERATIUS IUSTUS VI 1058 = ILS 2157 Rome.

Tribune of the fifth cohort of vigiles in A.D. 210. The other examples of the nomen come from Noricum, Narbonensis, and the area of volume XIII, so one suspects that it is "manufactured", and one would not expect Iustus to be an Italian.

413. Q. SPURENNIUS PRISCUS IV 3985 Pompeii.

Primipilaris. His nomen is rare, and Schulze, p. is satisfied of its Etruscan origin. On the other hand, the distribution with two in volume III, is not perfectly satisfactory, so though I reckon he was probably Italian, I have not included him in the lists in Part I. The date is before the eruption of A.D. 62.

414. L. SPURIUS MAXIMUS VI 1643 Rome.

Tribune of the fourth cohort of vigiles. If he is the Spurius Maximus referred to in X<sup>IV</sup> as egregius vir it would give us a point in dating, but it should be pointed out that neither Spurius nor Maximus are rare. The distribution of SPURIUS, 44 cases in Italy, 15 in Rome, is spoilt by 4 in volume III.

415. STAIUS Literary.

Tac. a. 4,27 Eadem aestate mota per Italiam servilis belli semina fors oppressit...missusque a Caesare propere Staius tribunus cum valida manu ducem ipsum et proximos audacia in urbem traxit.

As the only regular troops in Italy at this time, apart from the fleets, were the corps of the Rome garrison, it is clearly most probable that this man was a praetorian tribune, who was here given the task of escorting prisoners to Rome. The date is A.D. 24. There are 33 cases of STAIUS in volume X of the Corpus, 20 in volume IX, 14 in volume VI, there being a further five in Italy and three outside. The case for Italian origin for this man is thus very strong.

416. STATILIUS PRIUS XII 393 Toulon.

Primipilaris.

417. T. STATILIUS PROCULUS AE 1931. 12 Bonn.

Prefect of I Minervia.

418. T. STATILIUS SOLON (a) AE 1940. 188 Heracles ad Salbacum  
 (b) III 11034 Brigetio  
 (c) VII 568 Malton Chesters.  
 (d) See below Klaros.

(b) D(is) Manibus). Epaphrodite, alumno suo, [T(itus)] S[tatili]us Solo, p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) et Portumia Flora. (Greek follows).

(c) coh(ors) VI. (centuria) Statil(ii) Solonis.

(d) Τ(ίτος) ΣΤ(ατείλιος) Τ(ίτου) ΣΤ(ατειλίου) Ἀπολλιναρίου  
 υἱὸς Σόλων (παῖς ὑμνήσας).

The main problem is which can satisfactorily be identified with which. The key to the problem is inscription(a), but I have not reproduced it as so little of the actual inscription is directly relevant. It concerns a T. Statilius Apollin~~aris~~<sup>aris</sup>, procurator of Lycia, Pamph~~ylia~~<sup>ylia</sup>, and Cyprus, who had a son~~s~~, cognomen unknown, who was primuspilus and prefect of the camp. The date of this inscription has been fixed as the reign of Antoninus Pius by H.G. Pflaum on the basis <sup>at</sup> <sup>at</sup> that <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> no other time could this complex of provinces have existed, thèse complémentaire, no. 124. This makes it rather difficult for the singing boy of 120, inscription (d), (Th. Macridy, JCOI, 1912, p. 53, no. 25, l. 7) to have been a primuspilus and prefect of the camp by 161 at the latest. It is possible. He could not of course have been the centurion

engaged on building Hadrian's Wall! The primuspilus of I Adiutrix could be the son who was primuspilus and prefect of the camp. The possibilities may be summarised thus. There are at least two Statilii Solones, the singing boy of 120 and the centurion of 122+. There is a primuspilus of that name, who could be identified with either, and there is a primuspilus and prefect of the camp. who could be the same as the other primuspilus, and as the centurion, but hardly the same as the singing boy. Fortunately for our purpose we do not need to produce a final answer. For the moment let us assume that there was only one primuspilus, called T. Statilius Solon. He must have been a member of the famous family of doctors from Heraclea, and was in any case the son of a procurator. He must therefore have been ex equite Romano. The other possibility, that there were two primipili, we may keep in mind.

419. STATIUS DOMITIUS Literary.

Tac. a. 15,71. exuti dehinc tribunatu\*\* Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepos, Statius Domitus, quasi principem non quidem odissent sed tamen existimarentur.

As I have noted elsewhere, it is probable that the tribunes forfeited were praetorian.

420. T. STATIUS MARRAX Pais 1163 = ILS 2638 Aquileia.

T(itus) Statius P(ublii) f(ilius) Serg(ia) Marrax, prim(us)pil(us) leg(ionis) XIII Geminae, donatus

torquib(us), armill(is), phaleris, hasta pura bis,  
coron[is] aureis quin[que].

The outstanding feature of this career, which is normally dated to the time of Augustus, presumably on stylistic grounds, is the accumulation of dona. The hastae purae could be won by a primuspilus or a trece-narius, and probably by other very senior centurions. The number of crowns suggests a large number of campaigns as centurion. His origo is Superaequum, in the tribe of Sergia, where his name has been found on an inscription, IX 3312 = ILS 5773.

421. M. STATIUS PRISCIUS III 910 Potaissa, Dacia.

Principilaris, some time after the absorption of Dacia into the empire.

422. STATIUS PROXIMUS Literary.

Tac. a. 15,50. adscitae sunt super Subrium et Sulpicium de quibus rettuli, militares manus Gavius Silvanus et Statius Proximus tribuni cohortium praetoriarum, Maximus Scaurus et Venetus Paulus centuriones (A.D. 65).

Tac. a. 15,60. raptus in locum servilibus poenis sepositum manu statii tribuni trucidatur, plenus constantis silentii nec tribuno obiciens eandem conscientiam.

XIII 6959. M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) f(ilius) Voltinia Optatus Aquis Sextis, miles leg(ionis) XXII Primigeniae, (centuria) sic Q(uinti) Stati Proximi aeroru XI, testamento f(ieri) iuss(it).

The only other example of this cognomen known to me is the rather doubtful one of XII 1251. As Ritterling classes the man whose origo is given on the inscription

as belonging to the period Claudius-Nero, RE XII 1819, there is a very strong probability that the centurion and the tribune are one and the same.

423. SEX. SUBRIUS DEXTER

(a) Literary  
(b) X 8203, 8204 Sardinian milestones.

Tac. h. 1,31.

pergunt etiam in castra praetorianorum tribuni Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus, si incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta seditio melioribus consiliis flecteretur. tribunorum Subrium et Cetrium adorti milites minis...

(b) et restituit, Sex(to) Subrio Dextro, proc(uratori) et praef(ecto) Sardiniae. (Dated to A.D. 74).

The nomen is rare, and of Etruscan derivation, Schulze p. 237, so it seems probable that this man was an Italian by origin. The rarity of it also leads me to agree with PIR<sup>1</sup>S 683-4 that he was probably brother to Subrius Flavus. He had escaped apparently any consequences of his brother's activity, probably not being in Rome in 65, as he came to his praetorian tribunate four years after his brother. His career has not been so seriously disturbed as that of L. Antonius Naso by the events of 69-70, for he held a first echelon ducenarian procuratorship five years after his praetorian tribunate. He may have proceeded further, though that depends to a large extent on whether he had gained favour with Vespasian in the war years. ... Stein, in his article on Subrius Dexter in RE IV A 488, said that the senator who appears on an inscription from Patavium (V 2824) must in fact have been

called Subrius Dexter, and is possibly identical with the man of V 7447. This man must have been related to our procurator in some way. Subrius Dexter is discussed by H.G. Pflaum in his these complémentaire, no. 35.

424. SUBRIUS FLAVUS Literary.

Tac. a. 15,49. Initium coniurationi non a cupidine ipsius fuit: nec tamen facile memoraverim quis primus auctor, cuius instinctu concitum sit quod tam multi sumpserunt. promptissimos Subrium Flavum tribunum praetoriae cohortis et Sulpicium Asprum centurionem exstitisse constantia exitus docuit...

15,50. et cepisse impetum Subrius Flavus ferebatur in scaena canentem Neronem adgrediendi, aut cum ardente domo per noctem huc illuc cursaret incustoditus.

15,58. idem (Paenius Rufus) Subrio Flavio adsistenti adnuentique an inter ipsam cognitionem destringeret gladium caedemque patraret, rennuit infregitque impetum iam manum ad capulam referentis.

15,65. Fama fuit Subrium Flavum cum centurionibus occulto consilio, neque ignorante Seneca, destinavisse ut post occisum opera Pisonis Neronem, Piso quoque interficeretur, tradereturque imperium Senecae, quasi insontibus claritudine virtutum ad summum fastigium delecto. quin et verba Flavi vulgabantur, non referre dedecori sed citharoedus demoveretur et tragoedus succoderet, quia ut Nero cithara, ita Piso tragico ornatu canebat.

15,67. Mox eorundem indicio Subrius Flavus tribunus pervertitur, primo dissimilitudinem morum ad defensionem trahens, neque se armatum cum inermibus et effeminatis tantum facinus consociaturum; dein postquam urgebatur, confessionis gloriam amplexus. interrogatusque a Nerone quibus causis ad oblivionem sacramenti processisset "oderam te", inquit, "nec quisquam tibi fidelior militum fuit, dum amari meruisti. odisse coepi, postquam parricida matris et uxoris auriga et histrio et incendarius extitisti".

ss. ipsa rettuli verba, quia non, ut Senecae, vulgata erant, nec minus nosci decebat militaris viri sensus incompertos et validos. nihil in illa coniuratione gravius auribus Neronis accidisse constitit, quia ut faciendis sceleribus promptus, ita audiendi quae faceret insolens erat. poena Flavi Veianio Nigro tribuno mandatur. is proximo in agro

scroben effodi iussit, quam Flavius ut humilem et angustam increpans, circumstantibus militibus, "ne hoc quidem", inquit, "ex disciplina", admonitusque fortiter protendere cervicem, "utinam", ait, "tu tam fortiter ferias". et ille multum tremens, cum vix duobus ictibus caput amputavisset, saevitiam apud Neronem iactavit, sesqui-plaga interfectum a se dicendo.

The story of the words of Flavius was repeated by Dio, 62, 24. I have quoted very fully from Tacitus, as it is one of the few word-portraits of principilares we possess. Also it affords one answer to the question why did principilares, particularly Rome tribunes, engage in assassination plots? The reasons assigned to Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus may be compared. The relationships and probable origo of Flavius are the same as those of his brother, Subrius Dexter, above.

#### 425. T. SUEDIUS CLEMENTIS

Tac. h. 1, 87.

Otho lustrata urbe et expensis bello consiliis, quando Poeninae Cottiaeque Alpes et ceteri Galliarum aditus Vitellianis claudebantur, Narbonensem Galliam adgredi statuit classe valida et partibus fida, quod reliquos caesorum ad pontem Mulvium et saevitia Clusae in custodia habitos in numeros legionis composuerat, facta et ceteris spe honoratae in posterum militiae. addidit classi urbanas cohortis et plerosque e praetorianis, viris et robur exercitus atque ipsis ducibus consilium et custodes. summa expeditionis Antonio Novello, Suedio Clementi principilaribus, Aemilio Pacensi, cui ademptum a Galba tribunatum reddiderat, permessa.

Tac. h. 2, 12.

Blandiebatur coeptis fortuna, possessa per mare et navis maiore Italiae parte penitus usque ad initium maritimarum Alpium, quibus temptandis adgrediendaeque provinciae Narbonensi Suedium Clementem, Antonium Novellum, Aemilium Pacensem duces dederat. sed Pacensis per licentiam militum vinctus, Antonio Novello nulla auctoritas: Suedius Clemens ambitioso imperio regebat, ut adversus modestiam disciplinae corruptus, ita proeliorum avidus. non Italia adiri nec loca sedesque patriae videbantur: tamquam



externa litora et urbes hostium urere, vestare, rapere,  
eo atrocius quod nihil usquam provisum adversum metus.

III 33. T(itus) Suedius Clemens, praef(ectus)  
castoro(um), audi Memnone Idus Novembres  
anno II T(iti) Imp(eratoris) nostri).

X 1018 = ILS 5942. Ex auctoritate Imp(eratoris) Caesaris  
Vespasiani Aug(usti) loca publica a  
privatis possessa T(itus) Suedius Clemens  
tribunus, causis cognitis et mensuris factis, rei publicae  
Pompeianorum restituit (Pompeii).

AE 1929. 192. Q(uintus) Pompeius Q(uinti) f(ilius)  
Voltinia) Restitutus Aquis, m(iles)  
l(egionis) X G(eminae), (centuria) Suedi,  
an(nis) XXV, aer(or)um III, h(ic) s(itus) e(st). H(eres)  
ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit). (Carnuntum).

The activities of Clemens as a boundary-commissioner  
are further referred to in ILS 6438. The stay of X Gemina  
in Carnuntum has been narrowed down to the years 63-68,  
Ritterling RE XII 1680, and as SUEDIUS is not a very  
common nomen, 13 in the whole of the Corpus, there is a  
reasonable probability that the centurion mentioned was  
Suedius Clemens. He is further referred to as prefect  
of the camp in Egypt in A.D. 80 (P. Gen. at.1, recto,  
part 2). The career is clear. Probably a centurion of  
X Gemina in the early 60's, he had held his first  
primipilate when civil war brought him his command. As  
it is Otho that he supports the most natural explanation  
is that he had come to Rome after his primipilate to the  
numerus primipilarium, the pool of primipilares awaiting  
promotion and in the meantime available for a wide  
variety of temporary posts. He clearly received a  
praetorian tribunate from Vespasian, whom he probably

joined after the victory of Vitellius, but the fact that ten years after his first ~~p~~rimipilate he had only reached the ducenarian prefecture of the camp of Egypt, equivalent to the tenure of a first echelon ducenarian procuratorship, indicates that he did not enjoy unusual favour. Any chance of an outstanding career, as in the case of L. Antonius Naso, had been quashed by the events of civil war. As far as the prefecture of the camp in Egypt is concerned the fact that he had held a praetorian tribunate before it confirms the impression given by the rank of Litternius Fronto at the council over Jerusalem that this post was now definitely ducenarian. Of the thirteen cases of SUEIDIUS already referred to, eleven come from Italy, one is the inscription of Clemens to Memnon, and the other is <sup>the</sup> rather doubtful case of XIII 2590. I therefore feel justified in seeing in him a probable Italian, cf. also Schulze, p. 233.

426. C. SUICCIUS LA- XIII 3528 = ILS 7054 Augusta Viromanduorum

Mum(ini) Aug(usti), D[eo Vol]kano, civit(atu) Vi[romand-  
(u)forum], C(aius) Suiccus La[tinus?], sac(erdos) Rom(ae)  
et Au[g(usti), p(rius)p(ilus)?] praef(ectus) l(egionis)  
VIII, cu[rator] civitatis Sue[ssionum, in]quisitor  
Ga[lliarum, le]gatus [...]

The interpretation of this inscription is a matter of some difficulty. Indeed, the question arises whether the military prefecture is meant. In the present state of our knowledge, there is no other obvious possibility. What is clear is that the man in question was chairman

of the provincial council of the three Gauls, prefect of a legion, curator of a canton. It is not clear what the post of inquisitor Galliarum was. The term legatus ought to refer to some commission he undertook for the provincial council, rather than the senatorial meaning. The whole inscription is baffling, and I can offer no solution.

427. C. SULGIUS CAECILIANUS (a) VIII 14834 ILS 2764 Tuccabor.  
(b) X 3342 Misenum.

(a) 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 Misenum piae vindicis et thesauris domini [cis e]t bastagis copiarum devehendarum, (centurioni) leg(ionum) III Aug(ustae) et septimae 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 ex[er]c[itu]m mil[itariu]m frumentariu(m), et Sulgiae...ae, et Sulgio Apro... [S]ulgio..., patri et [c]onjugi.

(b) [D]ivi Magni Pii [Antonini f(ilius) Invic]tus Pius Felix et supe[rior]es principes, co[n]lapsam a solo restit[uta]m, cur[ante] Sulgio C[aeciliano].

The date is given approximately by the second inscription, the emperor referred to being Elagabalus or Severus Alexander, who were the most likely to mention their relationships to Caracalla. The origo is Tuccabor, as its tribe is Papiria. The career as recorded began in the important castra peregrina, with the post of optio peregrinorum, with the additional duty of training the frumentarii stationed there. Thence he was appointed navarchus, in charge of a naval station, and then was commissioned as centurion. It will be recalled that the only other recorded case of a navarchus becoming a

later stage primuspilus is that of P. Flavius Antoninus. On the command that he held before his primipilate it is difficult to say much. Chester G. Starr, in his Roman Imperial Navy, p. 38 and 192, stated that the praepositus reliquationis was in charge of the naval base in the absence of the prefect and most of the fleet. D. Van Berchem thought reliquatio equivalent to a vexillation, "Ebrudunum-Yverdon", Rev. D'Histoire Suisse, XVII, 1937, pp. 88-89. Neither can be said to have proved their interpretation the correct one. Also I cannot feel that the command is to be associated with the primipilate of XX Valeria Victrix. The career shows an interesting variation in experience before the primipilate.

428. S<sup>7</sup> SULPICIUS SIMILIS

Dio. 69. 19.  
Loeb Trans.

Similis was of more advanced years and rank than Turbo, and in character was second to none of the great men, in my opinion. This may be inferred even from incidents that are very trivial. For instance when Trajan once summoned him, while still a centurion, to enter his presence ahead of the prefects, he said "It is a shame Caesar, that you should be talking with a centurion while the prefects stand outside". Moreover, he assumed the command of the Praetorians reluctantly, and after assuming it resigned it. Having with difficulty secured his release, he spent the rest of his life, seven years, quietly in the country, and upon his tomb he caused this inscription to be placed, "Here lies Similis, who existed so-and-so many years, and lived seven."

Frag. Vat. 233. ...secundum litteras divi Traiani ad Sulpicium Similem exercean; quae omnia litteris praefecti annonae significanda sunt.

SHA V Hadr. 9.4.5. cui (Attiano) cum successorem dare non posset, quia non petebat, id egit ut

peteret, atque ubi primum petiit, in Turbonem transtulit potestatem; cum quidem etiam Simili alteri praefecto Septicius Clarus successorem dedit. Summotis his a praefectura, quibus debebat imperium....

VIII 24587 (Carthage) Simil is...fl amen P....bello  
Ra...p raef(ectus) Aeg ypti.

There are several references to him as prefect of Egypt in Papyri, for which the best source is A. Stein's Prefects of Egypt, pp. 53-55, where his dates in office are fixed as at least 29.8. 107 to 21.3. 112. He cannot have been much longer in office, as his predecessor, C. Vibius Maximus, is attested in office on 26.3.107, and his successor, M. Rutilius Lupus, is attested on 28.1.113.

The rapidity of the career is amazing. From Dio we learn that he was centurion under Trajan, at earliest then in 98. Like A. Stein, op.cit., p. 55, I take it that he may in fact have been a primipilaris then. I *doubt* if Dio would have called a primuspilus iterum at Rome a centurion. In a maximum of nine years Similis was prefect of Egypt, the only intervening post being that of praefectus annonae. Whether he had held procuratorships we do not know, though it is clearly possible that like Turbo, his follower by about ten years, he only held procuratorships if there was some special motive, such as keeping him close to the emperor, and most of these years may have been spent in the emperor's entourage or on campaign. In this latter case literature ~~literature~~

should have made some mention of the fact. Too much emphasis should not be placed on the brevity of the interval, for a man who was received before the praetorian prefects was already in factual possession of the Imperial favour, and the career could be compressed at the emperor's desire to make this man available for the great posts. Probably he was Trajan's man rather than Nerva's. Further, he was not a young man at the beginning of Trajan's reign, which supports the probability that he had already held the first primipilate, for twenty-one years later he was more than ready to retire. The tenure of the prefecture of the annona is interesting, the praetorian prefect from the primipilaris not holding it often; Arrius Varus received it as a consolation for the loss of the supreme prefecture, and Cn. Marcius Rustius Rufinus had a quite different post. Of other primipilares Ti. Claudius Secundinus received the prefecture of the annona, but that was in accordance with the distinct nature of the career. After a long stay in Egypt Similis was promoted to the prefecture of the guard, which post he was holding at the time of Hadrian's accession. RA may be a mistake for PA[RTHICO] on the Carthage inscription, for it is clearly most probable that Similis was on the spot in the Parthian war, and received decoration for it. He

assisted Hadrian to the throne, and obtained his release from him in A.D. 119 with some difficulty, dying seven years later. I imagine that he was well over sixty, perhaps past seventy, at the time of his death. The career of Similis is our strongest evidence that it was Trajan who started the real exploitation of the primipilaris in the upper strata of the administration of the empire.

429. G. SULPICIUS URSULUS AE 1935. 12 = AE 1926, 88 Ujo,  
Asturia.

**Sic** G(aio) Sulpicio Ursulo, praef(ecto) symmachariorum  
Asturum belli Dacici, (centurioni) leg(ionis) I  
Minerviae p(iae) f(idelis), (centurioni) coh(ortis)  
XII urb(anae), (centurioni) coh(ortis) IIII praetoriae,  
p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XIIIX, praef(ecto) leg(ionis)  
III Aug(ustae). G(aius) Sulp(icius) Afr pos(uit).

The career is clearly that of an equestrian who obtained a direct commission as centurion after commanding a volunteer unit, drawn from the region where this inscription is set up, where in all probability this man's origo is to be found, for the duration of a Dacian war. The style of the inscription, with omission of filiation and tribe, militates against the wars of Trajan. As far as third-century Dacian wars are concerned, it is worth noting that III Augusta is not called pia vindex, which title it received under Septimius Severus, (Ritterling, RE XII 1500), and the units have no Imperial cognomina. The Dacian war of Commodus seems on

balance the most probable. The rest of the career is normal. Quite often the man ex equite Romano began with a legionary centurionate to go on to Rome centurionates. The end of the career, the post of prefect of a legion, reminds us that the man who sought and obtained a direct commission as centurion need not have a procuratorship in mind, the odds against him obtaining one being great. To be a centurion was sufficient to ensure a career for life, and a comfortable retirement. The primipilate was the summit of such a man's ambition.

430. M. TANNONIUS BASSUS VI 2506

Rome.

Tribune of the third praetorian cohort. The nomen TANNONIUS is found nine times in volume X of the Corpus, five times in Volume IX, and fifty-one times in volume VIII. There are three other scattered cases. Clearly here we cannot determine whether this man was Italian or belonged to the large colony of TANONII in Africa. Probably any other location than Rome would have helped us to decide. I mention the details of this case, where no decision is possible, as an illustration of a type of pattern of distribution which is not uncommon.

431. M. TARQUITIUS SATURNINUS XI 3801 = ILS 2692

Veii.

M(arco) Tarquitio T(iti) f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Saturnin~~o~~,  
praef(ecto) cohort(is) scutatae, primo pilo leg(ionis)  
XXII, trib(un)o milit(um) leg(ionis) III, leg(ionis) XXII,  
Cn(aeus) Caesius Athictus, adlect(us) inter C vir(os),



statuam ex ruina templi Martis vexatam sua impensa refecit et in publicum restituit.

At a meeting of the centumviri of Veii in A.D. 26 (XI 3805 = ILS 6579) were present among others M. Tarquitiu Saturninus, and T. Tarquitiu Rufus, who may have been his son or otherwise related, the praenomen being in use in the family. The career is typical of the pre-Claudian period, with the prefecture of a cohort before the primipilate, and the tenure of legionary tribunes. Clearly centurions' appointments are to be supplied before the prefecture. The origo is Veii of which the tribe is Tromentina.

432. TATTIUS MAXIMUS

SHA Vita Pii. 8,6.

nam Gaviu Maximu, praefectus praetorii, usque ad vicesimum annum sub eo pervenit, vir severissimu: cui Tattiu Maximu successit, in cuius demortui locum duos praefectos substituit.

SHA Vita Pii. 10,6.

Praefectos suos et locupletavit et ornamentis consularibus donavit.

He is attested as tribune of the equites singulares in A.D. 142 (VI 31150), 143 (VI 31151) and 145 (VI 31152 = ILS 2163). In A.D. 156 he was prefect of vigiles (VI 222 = ILS 2161), he was praetorian prefect probably in 158, and died in office about 160. He has been identified with the C. Tattiu Maximu of IX 3303-463036a, from Superaequum. In any case there would be strong presumption that he came from Italy, there being 31

TATTII in Italian volumes of the Corpus, 15 at Rome, and 10 outside Italy, the only concentration outside Italy being five out of the ten in Africa. There is no reason to think that Alerius Maximus, tribune of the equites singulares in 139, is the same man with his nomen corrupted. As I have pointed out under Maximus (no. 509), it is far simpler to suppose that a single letter of the common nomina Valerius or Galerius has been omitted. This still leaves Tattius with a stay at Rome of at least three years, 142-45, which brings out the special nature and importance of the tribunate of the equites singulares, intimately connected with the emperor, and reserved for very promising men. In the second century it was also held notably by Baius Pudens and Marcius Turbo. This stay in one post did not hinder his rise to the top, for in eleven years he reached the prefecture of the vigiles, and about two years later became praetorian prefect, dying about 160, probably in his sixties. He is discussed in H.G. Pflaum's thèse complémentaire, no. 138.

433. TI. TELTONIUS MARCELLUS (a) VIII 2666 = ILS 4449 Lambaesis.  
(b) VIII 3974

(a) Frugifero Saturno Aug(usto) sac(rum). Ti(berius) Teltonius Marcellus, praef(ectus) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indiciae), v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibenter) a.

(b) L(ucio) Septim[io Getae Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)],  
 L(ucii) Sep[timi Severi Pii Pertin(acis)] Aug(usti)  
 A[rab(ici) Adiaben(ici) Parth(ici) Max(imi)] fil(io),  
 M(arci) [Aur(elii) Antonini Aug(usti) fratri],  
 n[obil(lissimo) Caes(ari), dedicante Q(uinto) Anicio  
 Faus]to lega[to Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)..] trib(uni)  
 Flavius Balbus l[atyclavius], Teltonius Marcellus,  
 [praef(ectus)..] Licinius Secund[us]...Urb[anus]...

He was prefect before the murder of Geta in 212.

A comparison of the two inscriptions above shows clearly that the prefect of the legion ranks next to the tribunus laticlavius, and in front of the tribuni angusticlavii. See further Ulpian Postumus, and the discussion in the chapter on the prefect of the camp in Part I.

434. Q. TERENTIUS FIRMUS VII 1345 Hexham.

Prefect of the camp of VI Victrix, a native of ~~Saena~~ (Sena Gallica), Regio VI. Mr. Birley has suggested to me he belongs to the time of M. Aurelius, without ruling out the early third century.

435. L. TERENTIUS RUFUS II 2424 Bracara Augusta, Tarrac.

L(ucio) Terentio M(arci) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Rufo, praef(ecto) coh(ortis) VI Britto(num), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) p(iae) f(idelis), don(is) don(ato) ab Imp(eratore) Traiano bel[l(o)] Dac(ico), p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XV Apol[l(inaris)], trib(un)o coh(ortis) II vig(ilum), d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

As the tribe of Bracara Augusta is Quirina, there is the usual strong probability that this place is in fact the origo of Rufus. The date is given by his decoration by Trajan in the Dacian war as centurion of

I Minervia. A Spanish equestrian, he ~~was~~ profited by some favour of the emperor to exchange the relative uncertainty of the equestrian military service for the long-term engagement as centurion. This point is elaborated in Part I. Our man in fact managed to reach the primipilate, and went on to the Rome tribunates, his further career being a matter for speculation. The fact that one legion only is mentioned in connection with the centurionate does not of course imply necessarily a short period in that grade, but simply that he was not transferred out of that legion during his rise to the primipilate. As Trajan is not called Divus it is possible that he reached the tribunate of vigiles, and was honoured by his townsfolk, while that emperor lived. A terminus post quem for the career is given by the fact that I Minervia was raised by Domitian as part of the preparations for the war of A.D. 83.

436. L. TERENTIUS VALENTINUS AE 1902. 207 Puteoli.

D(is) M(anibus) L(ucii) Terentii Valentini, p(rimi)p(ili) leg(ionis) I Adiutr(icis), praef(ecti) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), Iuliae Rufinae eius.

437. TIB. TETTIUS EUPHEMIANUS AE 1903. 283 Kapija.

Primuspilus of VII Claudia, dead.

438. C. TIFANUS CILO XI 4573 Carsulae.

C(aius) Tifanus C(ai) f(ilius) Clu(stumina) Cilo, pr(imi)p(ilaris), quinq(uennalis), augur, testamento fieri iussit de HS (miliis) I.. Augustalibus\.

The tribe is that of Carsulae, and the nomen TIFANUS is found seven times in this volume of the Coprus, and four times in volume VI, cf. Schulze, p. 374. The case for him being a netive is thus extremely strong. The career could belong to any period, though a date earlier than the third century is probable.

439. M. TILLIUS RUFUS (a) XIII 6762 <sup>2667</sup> Mogontiacum.  
(b) X 5064 ~~11567~~ Atina.

(a) [H]ono[ri Aquilae l]eg(ionis) XXII [Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) Antoni]nin(ae) M(arcius) Tillius M(arci)] f(ilius) Tere[tina Rufus A]tinae[...p(rimus) p(ilus)...ex] (trecentario) [...]r Avito, [leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) G(ermaniae) S(uperioris)], D(omino) n(ostro) Im[p(eratore Antonino) Au]g(usto) IIII et] Balbin[o II cos(ulibus)] (A.D. 213.)

(b) M(arco) Tillio M(arci) f(ilio) Ter(etina) Rufo, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX Val(eriae) Vict(ricis), ex (trecentario) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis), prin(cipi) castror(um), eq(uo) p(ublico) exor(nato) et donis donato ab Imp(eratoribus) Severo et Antinino Aug(ustis), hasta pura, corona aurea, (centurioni) coh(ortis) XII urb(anae) et I vig(illum), evoc(ato) Aug(ust)for(um) 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 cos(ule), et dedit sportulas, dec(urionibus) HS XII n(ummum), plebei urb(is) HS VI n(ummum). (A.D. 208).

The tribe is that of Atina, so he is presumably a native of that town. The first question is whether Domaszewski was right in identifying the subject of (b) with that of (a). He felt able to distinguish the filiation and tribe, followed by the name of the city, and the sign for trecentarius in the next fragment. Some of his restorations seem peculiar, for instance,

the writing out in full of the tribe, and the name of the city in the dative case. Nevertheless, the identification remains very <sup>probable</sup> popular, though not by any means certain. Rufus was an evocatus between 176 and 180, after sixteen years in the ranks of the guard. After centurionates in each of the two inferior Rome corps he was appointed to the post of princeps castorum, having been granted the equus publicus, and decorated with dona suitable to a senior centurion, some time in the period 198-208, at least eighteen years after his evocatio. The princeps castorum was a senior centurion of the praetorian guard, ranking immediately below trecenarius, cf. Rangordnung, p. 101, where it was suggested that he supervised the soldiers on the emperor's personal staff, on the analogy of the princeps praetorii on the governor's staff. Rufus was then trecenarius, in or attached to the third-praetorian cohort, and went to a legionary centurionate, not the post of princeps, as he did not reach the primipilate for another five years. Possibly it was the lowest post in the primi ordines, which meant that he was in striking distance of the primipilate, and probably occasioned the erection of the inscription. In 208, then, Rufus had served a minimum of twenty-eight years as evocatus and centurion, in addition to his sixteen years

in the ranks of the guard, so if he enlisted at twenty he was bordering on seventy when he reached the primipilate. That does not mean that his career was undistinguished. It merely reminds us that the primipilate is essentially the crown of the centurionate and the changes made by Augustus and his successors never disturbed seriously that position. Note how dangerous the argument is that the passage through the Rome centurionates was necessarily faster and more advantageous, for here a minimum of eighteen years was spent as evocatus and in five centurionates, four of them at Rome. Rufus was patron of his town before he reached the primipilate, which brings out the importance of the centurionate as a whole, and the raising of prestige that it brought.

440. P. TIMINIUS TERTULLUS VIII 2535                      Castra Lamb.,

Primuspilus of III Augusta in A.D. 154. He gives his origo as Rome. His nomen's distribution is interesting, there being six TIMINI in volume VIII of the Corpus, seven in Italian volumes, and thirty in Rome itself. The inscription is included among those in the appendix of official primuspilus dedications.

441. [TITECIUS] IX 3852                      Supinum vicus.

Primuspilus, and possibly tribunus militum as well. The name Titecius is restored by me as the neighbouring

plaques bear the names of members of that family, cf. IX 3851. As the gens appears to have the tribe Sergia, which is that of Supinum, it seems reasonable to suppose that the family is native to Supinum. The fact that the title tribunus militum is used without the unit being named suggests a date before the reign of Claudius.

442. C. TITIUS SIMILIS II 484 = ILS 1372 Emerita.

C(aio) Titio C(ai) f(ilio) Cl(audia) Simili Agrip[p]-  
inensi, proc(uratori) prov(inciae) Lusitaniae et  
Vettoniae et curator(i) reipublicae Emerit(ae), proc-  
(uratori) prov(inciae) M[y]siae Inferioris, eiusdem  
provinciae ius gladii, praeposito vexill(ationum)  
e[...r] Asiam, L[y]ciam, Pamph[y]liam et Phr[y]giam,  
primipilo leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) pia(vindictis),  
principi peregrin(or)um, centurioni frumentar(io),  
centurioni leg(ionis) X..

A native of Cologne, his period is given to us by the fact that III Augusta is called Pia Vindex, names bestowed upon it in A.D. 193, ceasing in 238 with the dissolution of the unit (Ritterling, RE XII 1500-01). The beginning of the career is lost, the first post recorded being a legionary centurionate, from which he went first as centurio frumentarius and then as princeps peregrinorum to the castra peregrina at Rome. In the period from Severus onwards a number of men reached the primipilate via this camp, and it reflects the importance of the intelligence service centred there. Similis proceeded directly to the primipilate after being head of



the permanent staff of the castra, and after it was given charge of a number of vexillations, operating apparently in Asia Minor. He then received a centenarian procuratorship, that of Moesia Inferior, and while holding it was called upon for a time to discharge the duties of the senatorial governor, H.G. Pflaum, Procurators, pp. 120-21. There followed a ducentenarian post in the first echelon, the procuratorship of Lusitania and Vettonia, to which was added the care of the finances of the capital, Emerita. His further progress, if any, is unknown to us, but in view of the fact that the men who went to centenarian procuratorships tended to be of inferior quality to those who went to the Rome tribunates, he is unlikely to have gone far. He is discussed by H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire. no. 330.

442a. M. TORIUS VICTOR (a) Germania, 31, 1953 Heft 1/2, pp. 60-61  
Mogontiacum.

(b) See below.

(a) Fortune sacr(um). M(arcus) Torius Victor, praepositus leg(ionis) XXII Pr[im]igeniae p(iae) f(idelis), v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

The inscription was edited by M. Abramic. It seemed to Mr. Birley and myself that the reading praepositus was inadmissible, and we consulted . His reply was that neither P nor F could have been the final letter of the word before leg.. He sent us a photograph and a

rubbing of the stone, from which it does not appear that they can be ruled out. Nevertheless his opinion, backed by Professor Kleinbach, cannot easily be set aside. But the appearance of the name of Torius Victor as a centurion of II Traiana on the new inscription published by Cairo University (see under Iulius Crescens) seems to me decisive for Victor having been prefect of XXII Primigena, in the absence of any feasible alternative.

443. P. TREBIUS ALBANUS V 7256 Segusio, Alpes Cottiae.

Tribune of the ninth praetorian cohort, dead. The fact that his filiation and tribe are given might suggest a date before the third century.

444. TREBIUS GERMANUS VI 224 = ILS 2185 Rome.

Tribune of the equites singulares, together with Helius Monimus, in A.D. 197.

445. L TREBIUS SECUNDUS III 8472 = ILS 5948 Dalmatia.

Prefect of the camp, he laid down boundaries at the behest of the governor, L. Volusius Saturninus, in A.D. 37/38. He may be the same as the L. Trebius Secundus mentioned on ILS 5761.

446. L. TREBONIUS SOSSIANUS (a) VI 423 = ILS 4287 Rome.  
(b) III 14149.5 = ILS 9005  
Philippopolis,  
Arabia.

le (a) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano) Conservatori Imperii D(omini) n(ostri) Gordiani P(ii) Fel(icis) Invicti Aug(usti), L(ucius) Trebonius Fab(ia) Sossianus colonia Heliopolis, (centurio) frum(entarius) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) G(ordianae), p(rimus)p(ilus).

(b) C(aio) Iul(io) Pri[s]co, v(iro) [e]m(entissimo),  
 fratr[i] et patru[o] D(ominorum) n(ostorum) Philipporum  
 Aug(ustorum) et praef(ecto) praet(orio) rect[o]riq[ue]  
 Orientis, Trbonius Sossianus p(rimi)p(ilari) domo  
 col(onia) Hel(iopoli), devotus numini maiestati [q(ue)]orum.

A native of Heliopolis, attested both under Gordian 238-44, and the Philips, 247-9, he probably put up the first inscription on his appointment as primuspilus. As so many others in this period he found the intelligence service of the Roman army a sure way to the primipilate.

447. SEX. TRUTTEDIUS CLEMENS. (a) VI 2698 Rome  
 (b) II 2643 Asturica Augusta.

(a) Sex(to) Truttedio Sex(ti) fil(io) Pol(lia) Maximiano  
 fuit ad superos menses VII, Truttedius Clemens, trib(unus)  
 coh(ortis) II vig(illum), et Marrinia Procula, filio  
 karissimo.

(b) D(is) M(anibus) Marrinae M(arci) f(iliae) Proculae,  
 coniugi sanctissimae castissimae, Truttedius Clemens,  
 proc(urator) Asturiae et Gallaeciae, Dalmatiae et  
 Hist[riae]...

H.G. Pflaum has commented on this man in his thèse complémentaire, no. 216. There he gave A.D. 106 as the terminus post quem for the procuratorship in Dalmatia, as previously, before the division of Pannonia, Pannonia and Dalmatia formed one financial unit. The reason for the transfer of Clemens, who has presumably had the normal primipilaris career via the Rome tribunates, from the first echelon ducenarian procuratorship of Lusitania and Vettonia to the post of the same rank in Dalmatia, is probably to be deduced from the stone he set up. H.G. Pflaum, following Domaszewski, suggests it was at his own

request. to get away from the place where he had lost his wife. The request was granted very quickly, as he mentions his new post on the stone that commemorates her. The nationality of Clemens is probably Italian, the inscription at Asturica being the only case in the Corpus of the nomen TRUTTEDIUS outside Italy, cf. Schulze, p. 305.

448. AUL. TULLIUS IUSTIANUS VIII 2737 Lambaesis.

Primuspilus of III Augusta some time between 226 and 235, as the man he honours, C. Fabius Fabianus etc., has had his legateship placed between those two dates, PIR<sup>2</sup>F 29, though that is dependent on the identification of the legate with the man of VIII 10990. In any case the inscription was set up under Severus Alexander.

449. TURRANIUS PRISCUS Literary.

Jos. bell. Iud., II 531. ...but his camp prefect  
(Loeb trans.) Tyrannius Priscus, with most of his  
cavalry commanders, bribed by Florus,  
diverted him from the attempt. (A.D.66).

op. cit. 544. At length, after numerous casualties,  
including Priscus, the commander of  
the sixth legion...

The Loeb editor seems guilty of a mis-translation here, for in the second extract Priscus is described as στρατάρχης, which would be an unusual word for the legate of the legion. One is inclined to suspect that he is referring again <sup>to</sup> Turranius Priscus, and therefore **does** not bother to give the nomen. Be that as it may, it is

interesting to note the prominence of the prefect of the camp at the council. It may be noted that as Cestius had only a vexillation of VI Ferrata with him (op. cit. 500), it would make more sense for the prefect of the camp to come with the vexillation than the legate, and there are parallels for the former.

450. TURULLIUS CERIALIS Literary.

Tac. h. 2,22. tradidere sese abeunti Turullius Cerialis cum compluribus classicis et Iulius Briganticus cum paucis equitum, hic praefectus alae in Batavia genitus, ille primipilaris et Caesinae haud alienus, quod ordines in Germania duxerat.

The nomen TURULLIUS is rare, there being seven cases of it in volume VI of the Corpus, one in volume IX, and one in volume II. Schulze refers to it on pp. 160a, 407, 444. There seems to be a reasonable probability that Cerialis was Italian, and I have included him, with a query, in my lists in Part I. He had been centurion or primuspilus in Germany.

451. TUSCENIUS FELIX X, p. 676.

Primuspilus bis, he laid down the boundary between the inhabitants of Ardeate and another state, the actual work being carried out by a praetorian soldier. The emperor was Pius. Of the seven TUSCENII in the Corpus there are three in Italy, two in Rome, and two in volume III, one being a soldier's wife and the other a Republican trader. I consider there is a reasonable probability

that Felix was an Italian. The fact that he was operating in Italy, and supervising a praetorian seems to strengthen the probability that some of the primipilii iterum, specifically those who give no legion with which the post was held, went to Rome for their period of office.

452. VALERIUS - (i)

IX 4678

Reate.

...p(rimus)p(ilus) praef(ectus) leg[(ionis)..trib(unus) coh(ortis)] XIIII urb(anae), trib(unus) c[oh(ortis)..pr(aetoriae),...pr(ocurator) prov(inciarum) Gallia]rum Lug(dunensis) et Aqu[itaniae], proc(urator) pro leg(ato) pro[v(inciae)...coniu]gi et Val(erio) Iuliano f(ilio).

(As amended by H.G. Pflaum)...p(rimus)p(ilus) praef(ectus) le[g(ionis)...trib(unus) coh(ortis)] XIIII urb(anae), trib(unus) c[oh(ortis)..pr(aetoriae), pp II, proc(urator) ...], proc(urator) pro leg(ato) pro[v(inciae)...proc(urator) provinc(iarum) Gallia]rum Lug(dunensis) et Aqu[itaniae)...coniu]gi et Val(erio) Iuliano f(ilio).

H.G. Pflaum in his discussion of this inscription in his thèse complémentaire, no. 143, came finally to the conclusion that the lines 3 and 4 must be reversed. His point may be made clear if I reproduce the actual text without expansion,

P P PRAEF LE  
XIIII URB TRIB C  
RUM LUG ET AQ  
PROC PRO LEG PRO  
CI ET VAL IULIANO F

As that text stands one must suppose that, almost immediately after the second primipilate that must be supplied, Valerius was promoted to the procuratorship of the two Gauls, ranked by H.G. Pflaum as a fourth-echelon

ducenarian post leading to the Rome secretariats and the great prefectures. After that post he went to a procuratorship which by its title procurator pro legato can only be a procuratorial governorship, ranked by H.G. Pflaum in the third ducenarian echelon. One extraordinary promotion may be possible, but such a promotion followed by a demotion requires us to consider whether in fact it is not simpler to suppose that there has been a mistake in the drawing up of the inscription, and this is not unprecedented, cf. P. Cominius Clemens (AE 1890. 151 and ILS 1412), and certain senatorial careers, e.g. that of Neratius Marcellus, ILS 1032. The career, if H.G. Pflaum's reversal of lines 3 and 4 is accepted, would be as follows. After unusually holding a prefecture of a legion after the first primipilate and then going on to the Rome tribunates and the post of primuspilus iterum, he held a first procuratorship in the first ducenarian echelon. Like most primipilares he passed over the second echelon, received a procuratorial governorship, and went on to the procuratorship of the two Gauls, which may well have closed his career. As has been said before, the man selected for a procuratorial governorship could expect to go on to the fourth echelon, but promotion beyond was only for the absolute cream who were destined for the prefectures.

I doubt whether the fact that Valerius and his family were resident at Reate is conclusive as far as his birth-place is concerned. With H.G. Pflaum I agree that the career could well be second-century, the title praefectus legionis and its inclusion in a career through the Rome tribunates being insufficient to make it third-century, as Domaszewski thought, Rangordnung, p. 120.

453. VALERIUS - (ii) Literary.

This man, a soldier, related to Severus the injudicious remark of Iulius Crispinus, a praetorian tribune, regarding the uselessness of the war, about A.D. 199, and upon the latter's execution he was made a tribune in his place. (Dio, 75, 10).

454. C. VALERIUS CLEMENS V 8007 = ILS 2544 Taurini.

C(aio) Valerio C(aii) f(ilio) Stell(atina) Clementi, primipilari, II vir(o) quinquennali, flamini Divi Aug(usti) perpetuo, patrono coloniae, decuriones alae Gaetulorum, quibus praefuit bello Iudaico sub Divo Vespasiano Aug(usti) patre, honoris causa. Hic ob dedicationem statuarum equestris et pedestris oleum plebei utrique sexui dedit.

Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 116, has described this man as praepositus of the ala, without any real justification, there being nothing in the inscription to suggest that he was anything else but prefect. The verb praeesse is normally used in diplomas to indicate the commander. In fact, we have before us one of these



cases of survival of posts in primipilaris careers normally associated with the pre-Claudian period to which I draw attention in Part I. It will be noted that the inscription is set up in the reign of Titus or Domitian, the former being the more likely, as one would not expect too great a lapse of time between the association of Clemens with the ala and this inscription by its officers. The municipal honours bestowed on this primipilaris are considerable. Note the typical generosity in return of the wealthy primipilaris. As Taurini has the tribe Stellatina, it is probably the birth-place of our man. There are numerous Valerii Clementes known, III 6787, 14433, 14356.5 and Pais 481, but none can be definitely connected with our man.

455. P. VALERIUS COMAZON

Literary.

Dio 80. 3, 5 ff.  
(Loeb trans.)

(Elagabalus put to death) in Cyprus, Claudius Attalus, because he had offended Comazon. Attalus had once been governor of Thrace, had been expelled from the senate by Severus during the war with Niger, but had been restored to it by Tarautas, and had at this time been assigned by the lot to Cyprus. He had incurred Comazon's ill will by having once sent him to the galleys for some wrongdoing of which he was guilty while serving in Thrace. Yet this Comazon, in spite of having such a character and a name derived from mimes and buffoonery, now commanded the Pretorians, though he had been tried in no position of responsibility or command whatever, except that over the camp; and he obtained the rank of consul; and later actually became consul, and also city prefect, and that not once only, but even a

second and a third time - a thing that had never before happened in the case of anybody else; hence this will be counted as one of the greatest violations of precedent. Attalus then was put to death on Comazon's account.

Dio 80, 21,1 And Fulvius, the city prefect, perished at the same time with him (Elagabalus). Comazon had succeeded Fulvius even as he had succeeded Fulvius' predecessor; for just as a mask used to be carried into the theatres to occupy the stage during the intervals in the acting, when it was left vacant by the comic actors, so Comazon was put in the vacant place of the men who had been city prefects in his day... Such was the fate of Tiberinus; and none of those who had helped him plan his uprising, and had gained great power in consequence, survived, either, save perhaps a single person.

Now that it is quite clear that Comazon is distinct from Gannys, see Howe, Pretorian Prefect, App. II B, and cf. Hirschfeld, V.B. 1st edition, p. 234, and Boissevain, Dio Cassius, III p. 481, it is possible to disentangle his career. He was serving under Attalus before A.D. 184/5, see PIR<sup>2</sup>C 795, with references. His career suffered a set-back then, but it is possible that, as H.G. Pflaum, thèse complémentaire, no. 290, suggests, he was able to make use of the fact that the chief who <sup>him was</sup> disgraced himself demoted by Severus. His only other post known to us is prefect of the camp, and H.G. Pflaum has suggested specifically that it was the dacenarian prefecture of II Parthica, and that in this capacity he was able to swing the legion over to Elagabalus (Dio, 78, 34 tells of the revolt of this legion). This is an ingenious and tempting theory, explaining his importance

in the new reign, and far better than the Besnier explanation (Hist. Rom. IV (1937), p. 79), that he was prefect of the camp of III Gallica. I had come to the same conclusion on the grounds that no other prefecture of a legion than a ducenarian could come into question. The promotion of Triccianus from the prefecture of II Parthica to consular rank in the previous reign had exemplified the importance of this post. The career becomes clear. In 218 he had been serving about thirty-five years at least, and was I suspect in his fifties, though he may have been in his sixties. I favour the former age range because Dio, who had been so hard on Adventus, does not refer to the age of Comazon. As the garrison of Thrace was auxiliary, it seems probable that he was serving as such, though presumably it is possible that he was a legionary, detached to serve on the staff of the praetorian governor. If his disgrace lasted till the advent of Severus he did remarkably well to reach the ducenarian prefecture. The point I have already made about his age suggests however that the demotion to the fleet occurred when he was in the first years of his military service. Thus when he was made praetorian prefect he was not too old to be efficient, and the charge of lack of experience is not important. He undoubtedly had considerable military experience: as for

procuratorial experience, a number of praetorian prefects, particularly those from the primipilares, had little or none. Of course in the case of Comazon it is unlikely that he had been marked out for the praetorian prefecture previously, but when he performed this service for Elagabalus as prefect of II Parthica he possessed enough experience to make the appointment not the absurdity that Dio suggests. The question of seniority **does** not arise, for in the choice of the prefect of the guard the emperor's preference was the deciding factor. Comazon was an experienced military man, and he had rendered signal service at the vital moment. That the choice was a good one is suggested by the fact that Severus Alexander apparently appointed him as city-prefect once more. His daughter, Publia Valeria Comasa, is attested, Lanciani, Le acq. et gli aguedotti di Roma, 219, no. 51; 238, no. 174. A descendant was presumably Valerius Comazon, consularis aedium sacrarum in A.D. 299, IG XIV 1028.

456. VALERIUS FESTUS AE 1903. 223 (Reverse) Redesieh, Egypt.

Prefect of the camp in Egypt under Commodus.

457. VALERIUS HERACLIA US V 5835 Mediolanium.

...]ani v(iri) [...], praef(ecti) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) Spaniae [...con]iugi kariss(imo), et Valerius Heraclini[anus] ...a H]erac[l]ia, [f]ili patri, pientiss(imo).

The cognomen is restored on the assumption that the son's is a development of the father's. Ritterling, RE

XII 1635, suggests dating this to the late third century.

458. VALERIUS HERCULANUS VI 228 ILS 2187 Rome.

Colleague of Octavius Piso as tribune of the equites singulares in A.D. 205.

459. Q. VALERIUS MATERNUS XI 7737 Careiae.

Primipilaris.

460. C. VALERIUS PANSA (a) V 6513 Novaria.  
(b) V 6514 "

(a) C(aius) Valerius C(ai)f(ilius)Claud(ia) Pansa, flamen Divorum Vespasiani Traiani Hadrian(i), pp.bis, trib(unus) coh(ortis) VIIII pr(aetoriae), proc(urator) provin(iae) Britanniae, balineum quod consumptum fuerat ampliatis solo et operibus intra biennium pecunia sua restituit et dedicavit, in quod opus legata quoque reip(ublicae) testamento Albuciae Candidae uxoris suae HS CC (milia nummum) consensu ordinis amplius erogavit.

(b) ...[flam(ini) D]ivi Traiani, [f]lamin(i) [Div(orum)] Vespas(iani) et [Tit]i, pat(rono), [e]q(uiti) R(omano), [et] Albuciae M(arci) [f]iliae C]andidae, [f]lamini[cae Div]ae Iuliae No[var]dae, flaminic(ae) [D]ivae Sabinae Ticini, civ....er...

The tribe Claudia is that of Novaria, and all the other evidence suggests that this in fact was Pansa's birth-place. As far as his dating is concerned the first inscription was set up after 138, and H.G. Pflaum has suggested in his thèse complémentaire no. 127, that as he was not flamen of Pius, and his wife was flaminica of Hadrian's wife, the most likely date was the reign of Pius. The career itself was quite normal, except that only one Rome tribunate is given. It may be merely for the sake of brevity, but it should be pointed out that

we have evidence for all three ~~R~~ome tribunates not being held - see the ~~C~~hapter on the Rome tribunates in Part I. On the antecedents of Pansa an interesting point arises in connection with inscription (b). No ducenarian procurator would be likely to be described as simply eques Romanus or pater equitis Romanis. On the other hand the flaminates etc. are most likely to have been acquired by Pansa when he had reached at least his first primipilate, or before he began his military service. If he was an eques Romanus and flamen of four emperors before he began his military career he could only have become a centurion by direct commission ex equite Romano. The date of the second inscription is after 136, as Sabina is described as Diva, so if the hypothesis is correct he reached the first echelon of the ducenarian procuratorships in a period at longest of twenty-five years (136-61). Such a career is conceivable, and while the evidence at first may seem slight, the application of the name eques Romanus to a primipilaris is so rare that an explanation must be given, which deals with the problem of when a man with the career given could hold the municipal office given in the second inscription, and still be described as eques Romanus or pater equitis Romani. If the latter expansion is the correct one, and the phrasing and order on the usual expansion seems peculiar, Pansa

would be a municipal worthy, not himself an equestrian, who received a direct commission as centurion. I suggest then, that there is a distinct possibility that Pansa was a centurion by direct commission.

461. VALERIUS PAULINUS Literary.

Tac h. 3,4. Namque circumiectas civitates procurator Valerius Paulinus, strenuus militiae et Vespasiano ante fortunam amicus, in verba eius adegerat; concitisque omnibus, qui exauctorati a Vitellio bellum sponte sumebant, Foriuliensem coloniam, claustra maris praesidio tuebatur, eo gravior auctor, quod Paulino patria Forum Iulii et honos apud praetorianos, quorum quondam tribunus fuerat, ipsique pagani favore municipali et futurae potentiae spe iuvare partis adnitebantur.

The career of Paulinus to 69 is given to us by the reference. While it is possible that there were some unusual posts <sup>in</sup> his career, as in the case of L. Antonius Naso, it is clear that his career may well have been as normal as that of M. Vettius Valens. He held a first-echelon ducenarian procuratorship, notably in his own province.

462. VALERIUS PRISCANUS VI 37983a Rome.

Tribune of the first cohort of vigiles.

463. VALERIUS PROCULINUS AE 1928.125 = XIV 4378 Ostia.

Tribune of the fourth cohort of vigiles in A.D. 175.

464. VALERIUS QUINTUS VI 32999 Rome.

Primipilaris, dead.

465. C. VALERIUS SECUNDUS AE 1925.133 Zidine, Dalmatia.

Prefect of the camp of XI Claudia. He gives his

origo as Altinum in Italy. The date is second century, fixed by the fact that the legion's cognomina are shortened to CL.P.F., a formula dated by Ritterling, RE XII, 1705, to the time of Trajan onwards, and that he is called praefectus castrorum legionis and gives his tribe and filiation, which, particularly the first, suggests second century rather than third.

466. VARIUS CRISPINUS Literary.

Tach. h. 1,80. Parvo interim initio, unde nihil timebaturę orta sedito prope urbi excidio fuit. septimam decimam cohortem a colonia Ostiensi in urbem acciri Otho iusserat; armandae eius cura Vario Crispino tribuno e praetorianis data. is quo magis vacuus quietis castris iussa exequeretur, vehicula cohortis incipiente nocte onerari aperto armamentario iubet. tempus in suspicionem, causa in crimen, adfectatio quietis in tumultum evaluit, et visa intertemulentos animam cupidinem sui movere. fremit miles et tribunos centurionesque proditiōis arguit, tamquam familiae senatorum ad perniciem Othonis armarentur, pars ignari et vino graves, pessimus quisque in occasionem praedarum, vulgus, ut mos est, cuiuscumque motus novi cupidum; et obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat. resistentem seditioni tribunum et severissimos centurionum obtruncant; rapta arma, nudati gladii; insidentes equis urbem ac Palatium petunt.

The main interest of this episode is, where is the tribune in command of the cohort, and why was he not given the task of arming the cohort and bringing it to Rome? Plutarch, Otho 3, records the same episode, adding that the number of centurions killed was two.

467. VARIUS KARUS VI 32995 Rome.

Primipilaris. See under Aemilius Iuncus.

468. VEIANIUS NIGER Literary.

Tac. a. 15, 67 poena Flavi Veianio Nigro tribuno mandatur.



The details of the behaviour of Niger at the execution of Subrius Flavus may be found under the latter. Clearly he is most likely to have been tribune in the praetorian guard. The distribution of his nomen, ten in volume IX of the Corpus, four in volume X, three in volume III, and two in volume VIII, is insufficient to decide on his origo in the absence of other evidence.

469. C. VELIUS RUFUS AE 1903. 368 - ILS 9200 Heliopolis.

C(aio) Velio Salvi f(ilio) Rufo, p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae), praef(ecto) vexillariorum leg(ionum) VIIII, I Adiut(ricis), II Adiut(ricis), II Aug(ustae), VIII Aug(ustae), VIIII Hisp(anae), XIII Gem(inae), XX Vic(tricis), XXI Rapac(is), trib(un)o coh(ortis) XIII urb(anae), duci exercitus Africi et Mauretanici ad nationes quae sunt in Mauretania comprimendas, donis donato ab Imp(eratore) Vespasiano et Imp(eratore) Tito bello Iudaico, corona vallari, torquibus, fa[le]ris, armillis; item donis donato corona murali, hastis duabus, vexillis duobus et bello Marcomannorum, Quadorum, Sarmatorum, adversus quos expeditionem fecit per regnum Deceballi regis Dacorum, corona vallari, hastis duabus, vexillis duobus; proc(uratori) Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici provinciae Pannoniae et Delmatiae, item proc(uratori) provinciae Raetiae ius gla[d]i. Hic missus in Parthiam Epiphanen et Gallicinum regis Antiochi filios ad Imp(eratorem) Vespasianum cum ampla manu tributariorum ~~Antiochi filios ad Imp(eratorem) Vespasianum cum ampla manu tributariorum~~ reduxit. M(arcus) Alfius M(arci) f(ilius) Fab(ia) O... C...iacus, aqu[i]l[i]fe[r], vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) [ob mer(ita)].

The setting up of the inscription at Heliopolis, the Oscan praenomen of the father, and the centurionates in the legions of the East, stated and implied, all suggest that Rufus was a descendant of one of the Augustan colonists of Heliopolis. The career recorded

opened with a centurionate in one of the legions engaged in the Jewish war under Titus. Still as centurion he brought back the sons of Antiochus in 72. H.G. Pflaum<sup>in</sup> his thèse complémentaire, no. 50, thought that he was primuspilus at the time, but there is a difficulty over timing, as will appear later. He then held his primipilate, some time later, probably, as the primipilate is one of one year's duration, shortly before he was put in command of a formidable force. This was composed of detachments from nine legions, XI Claudia being inadvertently omitted from the list, see Ritterling RE XII 1696. These were brought to the German war in 83. He was then appointed without holding a tribunate in the vigiles to the urban cohort at Carthage, which as I have suggested in Part I, on the basis of this and other inscriptions, was with the other cohorts outside Rome a virtually independent command. The holders of these commands were not required to hold the other two tribunates or the post of primus pilus iterum. Such a command was clearly longer than the year to which in all probability the Rome tribunates other than those of the Rome tribunates were limited, for as commander of the thirteenth urban cohort Rufus is attested up to about A.D. 89 at least. He was given an extraordinary command of the forces of Africa and Mauretania, cf. H.G. Pflaum's discussion, Procurators, pp. 127-28, and then took his

cohort to Europe for the Dacian war of 86, and the expedition against the Marcomanni, etc., of the years 88-89 (for evidence the unit went with him cf. ILS 2127). At some time later, presumably direct from the command of the cohort, he was appointed first to the procuratorship of Pannonia and Dalmatia, which was a first-echelon post, and then to the procuratorship of Raetia, with the ius gladii, as governor, which grant H.G. Pflaum suggested took place in A.D. 92, Procurators, pp. 119-20.

Let us now work out the time-table for the career. In 70 he was almost certainly a centurion. We must take him to have been still a centurion in 72 if we are not to make him primuspilus or primipilaris for eleven years. Primuspilus about 82, he went off with this large vexillation to the German war in 83. Ritterling has shown that this vexillation was still operating in 86, Jahreshefte VII, 1904, Beiblatt, col. 23 ff., but in that case Rufus could not still be in charge, for he would not then be able to be appointed to the Carthage cohort, act as dux, and then bring his cohort to Europe for the Dacian war in 86. He was decorated again with his cohort in 88-89, again on the Danube. He then before 96, Domitian's death, held his first procuratorship, and possibly his second should also be put before 96. In that case it seems best to suppose that he was not allowed

to return to Carthage, but was appointed to these two procuratorships in succession in the region where he had been fighting. A primipilate in 72 would make him approaching sixty at this time, while one about 82 would leave him approaching or past fifty, and we have shown cause above to prefer the latter date. He was urban tribune for about five years, I should say, not much more than the time he would have spent in Rome, and it is clear from the career of Tattius Maximus that such long stays in important positions could be made up for by speed later in the career. His future prospects, which may have been bright if he was only in his mid-forties at Domitian's death (on a primipilate at forty in A.D. 82), were ended in all probability by the accession of Nerva. Nevertheless he seems to have had descendants who had reached the senate, III 14387, 21c.

470. M. VERGILIUS GALLUS LUSIUS X 4862 = ILS 2690 Venafrum.

L<sup>o</sup> Lusius M(arci) f(ilia) Paullina Sex(ti) Vettuleni Cerialis sibi et M(arco) Vergilio M(arci) f(ilio) Ter(etina) Gallo Lusio patri, prim(o)pil(o) leg(ionis) XI, praef(ecto) cohort(is) Ubiorum peditum et equitum, donato hastis puris duabus et coronis aureis ab Divo Agg(usto) et Ti(berio) Caesare Aug(usto), praef(ecto) fabr(um) III, trib(un)o mil(itum) cohort(is) primae, id(olo) ad Aegyptum, II vir(o) iterum, pontif(ici), A(ulo) Lusio A(uli) f(ilio) Ter(etina) Gallo, fratri, trib(un)o mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXII Cyrenaicae, praef(ecto) equit(um)

The tribe of Venafrum was Terentia, so it is probable that Lusius was a native of that place. The inscription was set up in the life-time of Tiberius,

otherwise he also would have been called Divus. After his primipilate he was put in charge of a cohort, in which post he remained long enough to be decorated by two emperors. I think two separate occasions are to be supposed, on each of which he received a hasta and a crown, as against Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 137 note 11, who presumably thought he received double this amount on each occasion. He then served three years on the staff of an Imperial governor, was a praetorian tribune, and became idiologue in Egypt. A.N. Sherwin-White in his paper "Procurator Augusti", pp. 18-19, has pointed out that there was apparently no attempt at this period to choose men peculiarly gifted for the posts in the Egyptian administration. The appointment of Lusius may be regarded as essentially experimental, and not as evidence for a systematic use of primipilares for administrative posts at this period. It is to be noted that the approach to the praetorian tribunate has nothing in common with later practice. A. Lusius Gallus was clearly an equestrian, <sup>the</sup> ~~with~~ legionary tribunate, occasionally followed by the post of praefectus equitum, being the characteristic career of the equestrian at this period. He ought to be the son of M. Vergilius Gallus Lusius, but the filiation is wrong. The best solution seems to be that the original name of the idiologue was

A. Lusius Gallus, and that he was adopted by a M. Vergilius on the condition that he took the praenomen and nomen of his benefactor. The son, presumably born before this, retained his father's original three names.

471. VESPASIUS POLLIO            Literary.

Suet. Vesp. 1,3. Polla Nursiae honesto genere orta patrem habuit Vespasium Pollionem, ter tribunum militum praefectumque castrorum, fratrem senat~~is~~em praetoriae dignitatis.

Vespasian was born in A.D.9 (Suet., op. cit., 2,1) so his maternal grandfather's birth is dated between forty and eighty years before. If he held his prefecture of the camp about the age of fifty, it could be at earliest about 21 B.C., the beginning of the Principate. Our earliest evidence for the praefectus castrorum otherwise is the reference to Hostilius Rufus, 11 B.C.. The question arises whether Pollio was a primuspilus or not. It is difficult to give any answer when the career is so drastically summarised, but the family is clearly so notable that it is possible that Pollio, like Arrius Salanus, was an equestrian who happened to be appointed to the post of praefectus castrorum at a time when it was not restricted to primipilares. If this is so, and the omission of any reference to service as centurion or primuspilus suggests it, there is no difficulty in understanding the fact that Pollio's son was a senator and his daughter married an equestrian, who may himself have been a primipilaris, Suet., op. cit., 1,2, and had two

distinguished senatorial sons.

472. VETTIUS APER Literary.

SHA Did. Iul., 2,4. Quo (Pertinaci) interfecto, cum Sulpicianus imperator in castris appellari vellet et Iulianus cum genero ad senatum venisset, quem indictum acceperat cumque clausas ~~v~~alvas invenisset atque illic duos tribunos repperisset, Publium Florianum et Vectium Aprum, coeperunt cohortari tribuni, ut locum arriperet. quibus cum diceret iam alium imperatorem appellatum, retinentes eum ad praetoria castra duxerunt.

Some authorities give VETTIUM as the reading, but the nomen VECTIUS is attested.

473. M. VETTIUS HERENNIANUS AE 1940. 196 Apamea. Phrygia.

Ἡ ἱερωτάτη βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀπαμεων ἐτειμήσαν Γαίαν Ἰουλιαν Ματρῶναν σύνβιον Μ. Οὐεπτίου Ἐρεννιανού π π α π πρίγκιπος περεγρίνων.

The end of the inscription has been restored in L'année épigraphique as π(ρείμει)π(ίλου)(πρώτου)π(ρείμει)πρίγκιπος περεγρίνων. Mr. Birley has suggested to me as more probable π(ρείμει)π(ίλου) α. π. etc., (for the Latin, a(gentis) p(artes)). If this is correct, and it has the merit of intelligibility, it would give us a clue as to dating, for when the office of princeps peregrinorum meets us in the third century it is graded below the primipilate, and therefore there seems little possibility then of a primipilaris temporarily holding the post, as he would have to step down to do so. On the other hand, Geminus Sabinus was primuspilus et princeps peregrinorum, in which capacity he was decorated

by the emperor Trajan. Some time after Trajan the post was placed below the primipilate in the hierarchy, and as this date is unknown to us it seems safest to conclude that the inscription is of the second century, rather than of the third. There is some ground for suspecting his origo to have been here, but not enough to provide us with a definite case.

474. VETTIUS RUFINUS Literary.

Tribune of the sixth praetorian cohort in A.D. 141 (Scr. Gromatici, p. 244, 252).

475. C. VETTIUS SAL- AE 1894. 149 = I.I.XI 92 Great St. Bernard

Primuspilus of legio XV. If Ritterling is right in seeing XV Primigenia as the legion referred to, RE XII 1758, the date of the inscription must fall between the foundation of the legion in 39 and its end in 70 (op. cit., 1758-60).

476. M. VETTIUS VALENS XI 395 = ILS 2648 Ariminum.

M(arco) Vettio M(arci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) Valenti, mil(iti) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae), benef(iciario) praef(ecti) pr(aetorio), donis donato bello Britan(nico), torquibus, armillis, phaleris, evoc(ato) Augusti, corona aurea, donat(o), (centurioni) coh(ortis) VI vig(illum), (centurioni) stat(or)um, (centurioni) coh(ortis) XVI urb(anae), (centurioni) c(o)ho(r)tis 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, torqu(ibus), phaler(is), arm(illis), trib(un)o coh(ortis) V vig(illum), trib(un)o coh(ortis) XII urb(anae), trib(un)o coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae), [p(rimo)p(ilo) II] leg(ionis) XIII[I] Gem(inae) Mart(iae) Victr(icis), Proc(uratori) Imp(eratoris) [Neron(is)] Caesaris Aug(usti) prov(incia) Lusitan(iae), patron(o) coloniae, speculator(es) X h(oc) c(uraverunt), C(aio) Luccio Telesino, C(aio)



Suetonio Paulino cos(ulibus). (A.D. 66).

The tribe of Ariminum is Aniensis, and the probability is that this in fact was his place of birth. Two dates are given, his procuratorship in A.D. 66, and his decoration as a praetorian on the prefect's staff in 43. If M. Durry is right in <sup>6</sup>planning the accession to the principales after about seven years' service, Les cohortes prétoriennes, p. 191, and if we make the entry into the guard at twenty, Valens would be fifty at least when holding <sup>it</sup> the procuratorship, and he had been decorated in his sixteenth year of service, before his evocatio, he could have been fifty-nine. He was evocatus long enough to be decorated as such. He was then centurion in four bodies in Rome, to the last of which, the praetorian, was attached the duty of drilling the cavalry of the speculatores. We now come to the field of restoration. The restoration of primuspilus is clearly correct. On the other hand, there is no reason to restore a centurial sign after praetori, as Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 100 and note 1, as it is simplest to read the post as it stands, princeps praetori legionis XIII Geminae, held after the post of trecenarius, which presumably was held at Rome. After being princeps praetori, which presumably was the charge of the staff of the governor of Pannonia, carried on the books of the legion named, he proceeded to his first primipilate, which he probably held about the year 60,

though this depends on how long he had been procurator when the inscription was set up. There is no reason to suppose the Rome tribunates or the post of primuspilus iterum would last longer than one year each. As primuspilus he was decorated again, and it is interesting to note that his decorations were no more than those often given to a common soldier. He then did the round at Rome, was primuspilus iterum in a legion, and then went to a ducenarian procuratorship, which H.G. Pflaum placed in the first echelon throughout the period in which he felt able to allocate echelons to procuratorships, i.e. from Vespasian onwards. While the hierarchy was clearly rudimentary before Vespasian, if indeed it can be said to have existed at all, there is no reason to attach more intrinsic importance to the procuratorship of Lusitania and Vettonia than it had in later years. H.G. Pflaum suggested that Valens was sent to this province to counterbalance the youth of the governor, Otho. I am willing to concede that he may have been one of a number of procurators chosen in succession to keep an eye on Otho, but am reluctant to suppose that he came to the province at the same time as Otho, i.e. in A.D. 59. It seems rather a long time to have been a procurator. This does raise the question, at what point in the procuratorship was this inscription set up? As it was set up by ten speculatores, presumably on the governor's staff, the

most likely time would seem to be when Valens had been recently relieved. Two points arise from this career, and its use by M. Durry in Les cohortes prétoriennes, pp. 132-33. Valens was in his fifties when he completed this procuratorship, and his prospects of further promotion in this period, in the absence of a regular hierarchy, were not bright. Secondly, even this career, which is unlikely to have been continued beyond the first procuratorship, was far from typical for the ex-praetorian, as I have tried to demonstrate in the chapter on the primipilares from the Rome cohorts. Valens was presumably the father of M. Vettius Valens, XI 421, who was praef. quinquennalis of Trajan about 116/7, flamen, augur, and patron, and grandfather of M. Vettius Valens, XI 383, who had a respectable senatorial career leading to praetorian posts.

477. VETURIUS FELIX VI 8429 Rome.

Primipilaris, dead.

478. TIB. VETURIUS MAURETANUS III 6195 Troesmis.

Prefect of the camp of V Macedonica. He gave his origo as Fundi, in Regio I. The inscription is to be dated under Hadrian or Pius, from Ritterling, RE XII 1583, based on the length of the stay of the legion at Troesmis. A man from Latium at this time could only be an ex-praetorian or ex equite Romano.

479. SEX. VIBIUS GALLUS (a) III 13648 = IGRR III 1432 = ILS 2663  
(b) III 141487, 4, 5 = IGRR III 1433  
• ILS 4081

(c) IGRR III 1434.

(a) (Amastris). Sex(to) Vibio Gallo, trecenario, primipilari, praefecto castror(um) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), donis donato ab Imperatoribus honoris virtutisq(ue) causa, torquib(us), armillis, phaleris, coronis muralibus III, vallaer[i]bus II, aurea I, hastis puris V, vexillis II, Sex(tus) Vibius Cocceianus patrono bene merenti (In Greek also).

sic (b) (Amastris) Iovi Sarso. Sex(tus) Vibius Gallus,  
sic trecinarius, primipilaris, praef(ectus) kastror(um) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) G donis donatus ab Imperatorib(us) honoris virtutisq(ue) causa, torquibus armillis, phaleris, coronis muralib(us) III, vallarib(us) II aurea I, hastis puris V, vexillis II, d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) (In Greek also).

(c) [Ἀ]μαθῆ τύχη. Θεῶ [αἰ]ωνίῳ εὐχῇ[ν] Σεβ[ε]ρίου Οὐειβε[ι]ου  
Γάλλου, πραιμοπειλαρί[ο]υ, Εὐέλπ[ι]στος πραγματευτῆς.  
[εἶ]πος θορ', μηνὸς Δεῖο[υ] νεομηνία (A.D. 115)

The inscription raises a number of difficulties.

The first is concerning the origo of the man. The fact that he sets up a bi-lingual inscription in a place where he had freed<sup>men</sup> suggests that this place, clearly his home after retirement, was his birth-place also. Against this is the fact that he was a trecenarius, a post associated with the Rome centurionates, which ought to be more or less confined to Italians at this period. We do know however that men ex equito Romano also held these centurionates and the post of trecenarius, and on the whole that is the category in which I would place him. Some of his decorations could have been won as an equestrian officer, if like T. Pontius Sabānus he began

an equestrian career and switched to the centurionate.

Some of these decorations were undoubtedly won while serving in the wars of Domitian and Trajan while serving as prefect of the camp in XIII Gemina, (Rangord-nung, p. 136 says relief on III 13648 shows him as victor over Dacians) cf. Ritterling, RE XII 1716. The whole question of dona needs to be re-examined, and though I have attempted to discuss them in an appendix as far as the primipilate is concerned, I am conscious that discussion in so narrow a field is unsatisfactory. On the remaining details of the career, it is clear that it was drastically summarised. The corps of origin is not mentioned, which omission would be unusual if he were a praetorian, and some centurionates are omitted, including probably one between trecenarius and primuspilus. The legion in which the primipilate was held is not mentioned, though it is possible that it was held also in XIII Gemina.

480. P. VIBIUS MARIANUS VI 1636 = ILS 1361 Rome.

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) (Publii) Vibi P(ublii) f(ili) Mariani, e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(iri), proc(uratori) et praesidi prov(inciae) Sardiniae, p(rimo)p(ilo) bis, trib(un)o coh(ortium) X pr(aetoriae), XI urb(anae), III vig(illum), praef(ecto) leg(ionis) II Ital(icae), p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) III Gall(icae), (centurioni) frument(ario), oriundo ex Ital(ia), Iul(ia) Dertona, patri dulcissimo et Reginae Maxime matri karissimae, Vibia Maria Maxima c(larissima) f(emina) fil(ia) et her(es).

A native of Dertona, in Regio IX. His career is

given from the point where he became centurio frumentarius, and thus entered the castra peregrina. H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire, no. 263, has underlined the importance of his next promotion, direct to the primipilate instead of holding the intermediate post of princeps peregrinorum. It is not however unparalleled, cf. M. Aquilius Felix, and L Trebonius Sossianus. He may well be right in his suggestion that this occurred at the end of the war against Pescennius Niger, III Gallica needing a new and trustworthy primuspilus, and who better than a man from the secret police? After the prefecture of II Italica Marianus embarked on the Rome tribunates, instead of going to a centenarian procuratorship as others from the castra peregrina did. Having completed his three tribunates he was primuspilus iterum, not in a legion, as he had already been praefectus castrorum, and went to the province of Sardinia, which served in a number of cases as first ducenarian post at this period, cf. H.G. Pflaum, Procurators p. 276 ff. As Hirschfeld, KV<sup>2</sup>p. 373 and note 4, dated the resumption of Sardinia as an Imperial Province from the senate under Commodus, or Severus at latest, this would agree with H.G. Pflaum's tentative dating to the reign of Severus, in so far as making that reign the terminus post quem. Marianus died after his governorship of Sardinia. His daughter probably married a senator, as she was clarissima femina.

481. C. VIBIUS MARINUS (a) AE 1901. 195 Thamugadi.  
(b) Unpublished. "

(a)...Annio Armenio Donato, c(larissimo) p(uero), C(aius) Vibius Marinus, p(rimus)[p(ilus) leg(ionis) III A]ug(ustae), [ami]cus et munice[p]s patris eius.

(b) Arminiae Paulinae, c(larissimae) f(eminae), coniugi Annæ Flaviani proc(uratoris) (centenarii) tractus Karth(aginensis), C(aius) Vibius Marinus, (centurio) le[g(ionis)] III Aug(ustae), amicus et municeps mariti eius.

The text of (b), given by H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire, no. 202, text 2, has enabled the correction of the reading of (a), where the UG of the name of the legion had been read as V.C., cf. H.G. Pflaum's review of Barbieri, L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino, to p. 183, no. 880 (made in Révue de Philologie, 1955). We now know therefore that Marinus was a centurion and primuspilus of III Augusta, and that he was a native of Thamugadi, being a municeps of Annius Flavianus, who was clearly a native of that place, cf. H.G. Pflaum, thèse complémentaire, no. 202. The date is given by the fact that Flavianus took part in the second German war of M. Aurelius in 178-80, which with the other factors has led H.G. Pflaum to place his procuratorship at the end of the reign of Commodus or the beginning of the reign of Severus. None of the inscriptions referring to Flavianus, see H.G. Pflaum, loc.cit., refer to a further post, so the texts quoted may refer to a time when he had retired after holding the tractus Karthaginensis. The terminus ante quem is 238, as part of the name and number of the legion

has been erased in (b).

482. L. VIBRIUS PUNICUS XII 2455 Inter Augustam et Lacum Lemannum.

L(ucio) Vibrio A(uli) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Punico, praef(ecto) equitum, primopilo, trib(un)o mil(itum), praef(ecto) Corsicae, C(aius) Vibrius Punicus M. Octavianus patri.

It is probable that this man came from Gallia Narbonensis, as his tribe was Voltinia, and five out of the seven VIBRII in the Corpus come from that province. The career is typical of the period before Claudius, the terminus ante quem being provided by the making of Corsica a sexagenarian procuratorship under Nero (Procurator p. 43, with note 10, and thèse complémentaire, no. 48). The tenure of the prefecture of cavalry before the primipilate is ~~not~~ yet one more example of the flexibility of the Augustan system, and the unprofitableness of attempting to construct rigid hierarchies for that period. There followed a military tribunate and a prefecture which may be equated with the praefecti civitatum, military governors of semi-civilised areas. There is no need to suppose the tribunate to have been a praetorian one, for unless we suppose that Corsica was a more important prefecture than the others, the qualifications of a legionary tribune would be sufficient, cf. the table of careers of praefecti civitatum in the chapter on the procurators in Part I.

483. M. VINIUS PUDENS SABINIANUS XIII 6815 Mogontiacum.

The name is scarcely decipherable, and of the title



only praef(ectus) remains, but it seems best on balance to accept him as a prefect of XXII Primigenia.

464. VITELLIUS SATURNINUS Literary.

Tac. h. 1,82. Militum impetus ne foribus quidem Palatii coercitus quo minus convivium irrumperent ostendi sibi Othonem expostulantes, vulnerato Iulio Martiale tribuno et Vitellio Saturnino praefecto legionis, dum ruentibus obsistunt.

It is most probable that Saturninus was prefect of I Adiutrix, the legion on the spot. He may have been the grandfather of the senator P. Vitellius Saturninus, who was frater arvalis in A.D. 122.

485. M. ULPIUS APOLLINARIS AE 1910. 7. 84 Apulum.

Prefect of the camp of XIII Gemina. Ritterling, RE XII 1716, suggested that the date was Trajanic or not much later, though as he or his father probably received the citizenship on entry into the legions, at least twenty years previously, the reign of Trajan would seem to be ruled out.

486. M. ULPIUS CAIUS (a) III 1201 Apulum  
(b) III 1178 = ILS 1165 "

(a) Marco) Ulp(io) Caio, praefecto legionum IIII Flavia[e], et XIII Gem(inae).

The rest of the inscription, presumably bearing the legions' Imperial cognomina, has been erased. The inscription (b) records M. Ulpus Caius as centurion of III Italica, dedicating to L. Marius Perpetuus as governor of the three Dacias. This governorship was dated some time

between 211 and 222 by Miltner in RE XIV 1836. It seems clear that the fact that Caius set up an inscription to the governor of Dacia at a time when he himself was a centurion in the legion of Raetia implies a connection with Apulum, and though the other inscription may be ascribed to the time when he was prefect of XIII Gemina and so stationed at Apulum, the fact that two inscriptions from Apulum mention him, when still serving, in at least one case, suggests that that was in fact his birth-place. The tenure of two legionary prefectures in succession seems to be characteristic of the third century.

487. M. ULPIUS CONSTANTINUS VI 220 = ILS 2163 Rome.

Tribune of vigiles in A.D. 203.

488. ULPIUS FILINUS AE 1933. 157 Xanten.

Deae [Ise ?]nbucaege, Ulp(ius) Filinus, p(rimi)p(ilaris), tribun(us) [le](g(ionis) XXX U(lpia) v(ictoris) Severiane Alexandriane, aram cum ede sua a se [re]fecit, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito), Imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) Severo [Alexandro Aug(usto) cos(ule)]. (A.D. 222).

The reading seems peculiar, I have not been able to consult the original publication by A. Oxe. The reversion to the early practice of primipilares holding legionary tribunates, last attested in A.D. 67, in the case of L. Antonius Naso, is typical of the new flexibility so characteristic of the third century.

489. ULPIUS IULIANUS Literary.

Dio 78. 15. 1. But these were not the only acts for which (Loeb trans.) he met with well-deserved censure, he was also blamed for appointing as prefects Ulpian

Iulianus and Iulianus Nestor, men who possessed no excellence at all and had not been very widely tested in affairs, but had become quite notorious for knavery in Caracalla's reign, for, being in command of his couriers, they had been of great assistance to him in satisfying his unholy curiosity.

Dio 78, 4. 1-4. It seems that a seer in Africa had declared, in such a manner that it became noised abroad, that both Macrinus, the prefect, and his son, Diadumenianus, were destined to hold the Imperial power; and later this seer, being sent to Rome, had revealed this prophecy to Flavius Maternianus, who at this time commanded the soldiers in the city, and this man had at once written a letter to Antonius. But it happened that this letter was diverted to Antioch to the emperor's mother, Iulia, since she had been instructed to sort everything that arrived, and thus prevent a mass of unimportant letters being sent to him while he was in the enemy's country: whereas another letter, written by Ulpianus Iulianus, who was then in charge of the census, went by other couriers direct to Macrinus, informing him of the state of affairs. Thus the message to the emperor was delayed, while the despatch to Macrinus was read to him in good season.

SHA VIT. MACR. 10, 1-2. Haec ubi sunt Macrino apud Antiocham posito nuntiata, miratus audaciam muliebrem, simul etiam contemnens, Iulianum praefectum ad obsidendos eos cum legionibus misit quibus cum Antonius osteneretur, miro amore in eum omnibus inclinatis, occiso Iuliano praefecto ad eum omnes transierunt.

The meaning of the phrase τῶν ἀγγελιαφόρων ἡγουμένους has been disputed, but it seems best to take it with H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire, no. 288, to mean principes peregrinorum. The next post of Iulianus known to us is that of a censibus. There is no parallel for this post in a primipilaris career, for the post ~~as that~~ M. Aquilius Felix held was a special and unrelated one. Even more notable is that he was princeps peregrinorum

under Caracalla, which must have been after the death of Severus, and <sup>before</sup> the end of the former's reign, i.e. in about seven years, he had reached this important secretariat. Probably extraordinary favour is to be supposed. Nevertheless Iulianus was clearly a friend of Macrinus, and he fully earned his praetorian prefecture. In weighing Dio's criticism it must be remembered that in the last resort the praetorian prefect was the emperor's personal choice, and was too important a man to be selected primarily on considerations of seniority. The later career of Iulianus showed devotion to the cause of Macrinus, though the ancient historians were of the opinion that better military judgement on his part might have tipped the Elagabalus rebellion in the bud.

489. ULPIUS IULIUS VIII 2685 Lambaesis.

He gives his title as vir egregius prefectus leg. III Aug., i.e. he is a ducenarian legionary prefect of the period of Gallienus or later.

490. ULPIUS POSTUMUS VIII 18273 Civ. Lamb..

(Dedication to L. Novius Crispinus, in A.D. 150)... ilius Balbus, tr[ib(unus)]...Ulp[us] Postum[us] Cascellius C(ai) f(ilius)...Ulp[us]...Pompeius Pro...Cassius...

This is a dedication to the legate of the legion by the officers of the legion. On a similar inscription to Geta, VIII 18078, the first name, Flavius Balbus, is to be identified with the tribunus laticlavus Q. Flavius Balbus of AE 1898. 12, and the second, Teltonius Marellus,

with the prefect of III Augusta of that name, Ti. Teltonius Marcellus. A little reflection convinces us that Ulpus Postumus is the legion prefect also, but the resultant conclusions are so important that they are dealt with in the chapter on the prefect of the camp in Part I.

491. M. ULPIUS PROCULUS VI 1092 Rome.

Tribune of the first cohort of vigiles in A.D. 241.

492. L. UMBRICIUS CLEMENS XI 2594 add Tiburtinum.

sic D(is) M(anibus). C(aio) Umbricio L(ucii) f(ilio) Pome. Celeri Arretio, equiti coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae), (centuria) Comni, mil(itavit) ann(is) XVI, vix(it) ann(is) XL, L(ucius) Umbricius Clemens, p(rimi)p(ilaris) in solo suo merens posuit.

The presumption is that Celer was the son of Clemens, in which case he is one of the few cases we know of the son of a primipilaris failing to rise above the ranks in the course of his career. Of course it is possible that he was due for his evocatio, in which case the possibility of reaching the centurionate and eventually the primipilate was open to him at the time of his death. The origo of the primipilaris was presumably also Arretium, and the inscription, with its details of filiation and tribe, rather second century than third, though in Italy the custom of giving these details lingered longer than elsewhere in the Empire.

493. UMBRIUS - O XI 4767 Spoletium.

lucUS BONE DEE  
 DEDICATUS UT LICEAT  
 PER MASCULOS REM  
 UNDARI PERMIT POM-  
 COMMAGISTR ARA POSUIT  
 HEREN MAXIM UXSOR UMBRI ti  
 RONIS P P POSIT IN VACUO  
 SUO

The Corpus restored the name as UMBRONIS. I have not been able to find a cognomen UMBRO, though there is a rare nomen, cf. Schulze, p. 258, where he takes this to be an example of it. The cognomen UMBER requires a different form in the genitive. Furthermore, in lines 4-7 inclusive clearly two letters must be restored at the end of the line, and there is at least the possibility of letters missing at the beginning of lines 7-8. After discussion with Mr. Birley and M. Pflaum I have restored tentatively the name Umbrius Tiro, though as the cognomen is proposed merely as fitting the space I have not included it in the heading.

494. T. VOCONIUS A.F. III 14137 = ILS 8898 Alexandria.

T(ito) Longaeo Rufo, praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti), praef(ecto) praet(orio), ementissimo viro, T(itus) Voconius A.f., praef(ectus) leg(ionis) II Tra(ianae) fort(is) G(ermanicae).

The prefect of Egypt is dated from A.D. 183/4 to 185/ by A. Stein, Prefects of Egypt, pp. 100-101, and the inscription is clearly set up at the time of his appointment to the praetorian prefecture at the end of that period. Note that Voconius used the title praefectus legionis II Traianae in contradistinction to the habit, abundantly attested, of that prefect calling himself on inscriptions

from Egypt simply praef. castr.. The inscription may thus point to a change in custom in Egypt at this time. Of interest is the fact that the inscription clearly demonstrates that the cognomen Germanica was awarded to the legion before the time of Caracalla, cf. Ritterling, RE XII 1489. The question of the interpretation of the two letters after the nomen of our prefect is difficult. A. Stein has suggested, op. cit., p. 212, note 318, that rather than a filiation they represent an abbreviated cognomen e.g. Afer, but, as he himself remarks, such an abbreviation would be equally unusual. I take it provisionally to have been a filiation.

495. V. RIUS FLORUS XIV 4509 Ostia.

Tribune of the first cohort of vigiles.

496. -AQUINUS Literary

Mentioned with Fabricius as two primipilaris friends who were buried in the same tomb. See the former for the text (Martial 1, 93.)

497. - ARISTOMACHUS Literary.

SHA V. Elag. 14, 8. Antiochianus igitur e praefectis unus milites qui in hortos venerant sacramenti admonitione exoravit ne illum occiderent, quia nec multi venerant, et plerique cum vexillo, quod Aristomachus tribunus retinuerat, remanserant (A.D. 221).

The troops appear to have been praetorian, as the camp referred to in the context of our passage was presumably the praetorian one.

498. - BRYONIANUS LOLLIANUS SIGNO CTYSTIUS (a) IGRR III 810  
Side, Pamph.  
(b) IGRR III 811  
Side, Pamph.

(a) Κυρεινίαν Πάτραν, τὴν κρατίστην γυναῖκα Βρυωνιανοῦ Λολλιανοῦ  
τοῦ κρατ(ίστου) δουκηναρίου, ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων, πριμιπιλαρίου, κτίστου  
καὶ φιλοπάτριδος, ἐν πάσιν εὐεργέτου τῆς πατρίδος, θυγατέρα καὶ  
ἐγγόνην ὑπατικῶν, ἡ γερουσία τοῦ μεγάλου συνεργίου τὴν  
φιλόπατριν. Εὐτύχει, Πηγάσι.

(b) Βρυωνιανὸν Λολλιανὸν, τ[ὸν κρ(άτιστον)] δουκηνάριον,  
πριμιπιλά[ριον, ἀπὸ] ἐπιτρόπων, συγγενῆ ὑπατι[κῶν], κτίστιν  
καὶ φιλόπατριν, [ἡ φυλὴ] Μεγαλοπυλειτῶν.

Νηοῦ Νυμφάων σε παράσχεδον ἐσθήσα[ντο]  
ἡγεμόνες πολέων, κήστιε, τῶν [μεγάλων]  
τερπόμενον δειθροῖσι δειπτεῖς π[οταμοῖο]  
θεσπεσίη τ' ἡχῇ ὕδατος, ἀενάου  
ὑψηλῇ κραδίη γὰρ ἐδείμασ σοῖσι τέλεσο[ι]  
αὐτῶν ἐκ πηγῶν ὀλκὸν ἀπ[ε]ϊρέσιον

Εὐτύχει κήστι.

The origo is shown to be Side by the phrasing of  
the inscriptions. The date is clearly third-century.  
H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire, no. 356, dated  
it to the second half of that century, and he is probably



correct. His dating to some extent depends on the case he has stated for regarding the use of the term ducenarius after 267 as not meaning the possession of the ducenarian salary, but the membership of a superior grade to the viri egregii, cf. thèse complémentaire, no. 357. In other words, it is now a title of rank. On consideration this certainly seems to be true of the inscriptions relating to Lollianus, and particularly significant from the point of view of dating is the phrase ex procuratoribus, which, like ex primipilaribus is a later development than the phrases such as ex trecenario. The only point in favour of a rather earlier dating is that one would not expect to find a primipilaris still having this type of career in the second half of the third century, certainly not after the reign of Gallienus, to which period I would prefer to allocate this inscription. This is not to quarrel with H.G. Pflaum, as 267 is only the first clearly dated case of ducenarius in the sense of a rank, not a salary-grade. The practice may well have begun earlier. Note that the wife of Lollianus was a daughter and grand-daughter of consulars.

499. - CELER Literary.

Primipilaris. He is given in PIR<sup>2</sup>C 623 with the reference, Galen., 13, 1031, which I have been completely unable to trace.

500. - CRISPUS IX 3379 Aufinum.  
...Q(unti) f(ilio) Qui(rina) Crispo...Claud(inae) p(iae)

f(idelis), prim(o) pi[lo...

In the absence of any indications as to the order of the career, or the length of the lines, it is impossible to judge what the post in VII or XI Claudia was. There is a centurion Crispus attested in XI Claudia, ILS 92972 and 9272 a. but there is no means of demonstrating a connection.

501. - DONATUS III 875 = ILS 4345 Potaissa.

Prefect, possibly prefect-commander, of V Macedonica some time 253-59, he completed a half-built temple.

502. - DUBITATUS (?) XIII 6749 Mogontiacum.

Primuspilus of XXII Primigenia some time 231-35, as Catus Cementinius was the governor. The text is given in the appendix on official primuspilus dedications.

503. - URIUS GALLUS (i) X 6098 Formiae.

...urius C(ai) f(ilius) M(arci) n(epos) Aem(ilia) Gallus, [praef(ectus) levis armaturae, p(rimus)[p]ilus) leg(ionis) IX] Hispaniensis.

As Aemilia was the tribe of Formiae, Gallus was probably a native of that place. The post of praefectus levis armaturae indicates an early date, probably before the reign of Claudius. The post is generally associated with that of praefectus civitatum, and seems to be the command of native levies in frontier districts not yet organised in formam provinciae.

504. - GALLUS (ii) Literary.

Properius. 4.1.89. f. Dixi ego, quom geminos produceret

Arria notos/(illa dabat natis arma vetante  
 deo)/non posse ad patrios sua pila referre  
 Penates:/nempe meam firmant nunc duo  
 busta fidem./Quippe Lupercus, equi dum  
 saucia protegit ora,/heu sibi prolapso  
 non bene cavit equo;/Gallus et in  
 castris dum credita signa tuetur/,concidit  
 ante aquilae rostra oruenta suae.

In PIR<sup>2</sup> G 53 it is mentioned that Domaszewski,  
sitz. Ber. Heidelb., 1919, 2, 7 f., identified this man  
 with the primuspilus of V urbana, which lost its eagle  
 in the Lollius disaster of 16 B.C., Vell., 2, 97. 1 f..  
 There seems a certain confusion here, as Ritterling,  
 RE XII 1571, quotes Domaszewski in another context as  
 supposing the legion in question to be V Gallica. The  
 question arises as to whether in fact he was a  
primuspilus, and not merely the aquilifer, but the tone  
 of the passage and the fact that Atilius Verus died in  
 similar circumstances suggests it may well be the  
primuspilus of the legion who is in question. What  
 are we to make of his brother is not clear. The  
 phrasing of line three might suggest that both were  
primipili, but poets are notoriously unreliable in  
 military affairs, so we cannot do more than note the  
 possibility. After all, the poet refers to them later  
 in lines which I have not bothered to reproduce, as  
pueri, which for primipili would be rather odd.

505. Q. - GERMANUS

III 8754

Salona.

A primipilaris. His daughter is commemorated by

her husband in an inscription that has Christian phraseology, reddidit being used absolutely (Rossi, bull. Dalm., 8, p. 172). The daughter had married a beneficiarius consularis, well below her station. The inscription can hardly be earlier than the third century.

506. - HERPIDOPHOROS QUI ET EUTONEIOS IGRR 1628 Philadelphia.

Primipilaris. The fact that he has a temple, and is a ἱερεὺς, together with his name, suggests strongly that he originated here.

507. - IULIANUS NESTOR Literary.

Dio 78. 15, 1. But these were not the only acts for which (Loeb trans.) he met with well-deserved censure; he was also blamed for appointing as prefects Ulpus Iulianus and Iulianus Nestor, men who possessed no excellence at all and had not been widely tested in affairs, but had become quite notorious for knavery in Caracalla's reign, for, being in command of his couriers, they had been of great assistance to him in satisfying his unholy curiosity.

Dio 80. 3. While still in Syria he (Elagabalus) slew Nestor...(A.D. 218).

Of Nestor we know only that he was 'commander of the messengers' under Caracalla, and praetorian prefect to Macrinus. The precise office meant in the former case has been a matter of dispute, but I am inclined to agree with H.G. Pflaum, thèse complémentaire, no. 239, that principes peregrinorum is the answer, I have pointed out under Ulpus Iulianus that this post must have been held after the death of Severus. We do not know in the case of Iulianus Nestor anything of the posts he held in the period



of the lack of any evidence for a nomen ALERIIUS.

510. - MAXIMUS (a) AE 1914. 27 Ruscino.  
(b) AE 1914. 28

(a) ...M]axumo, [t]rib(uno) [c]oh(ortis) II praetoria[e],  
pr[æ]m]opilo bis, proc[u]r(atori) T[i(berii)] Claudi  
Caesaris Augusti Germanici, prae[f(ecto) legion]s ?  
bis iam...

(b) primo [coh(ortis)] V praet(oriae) e sene.

The best reading and restoration is that given by  
H.G. Pflaum in his thèse complémentaire, no. 12,  
reproduced here. The restoration of legion after praefectus  
following a procuratorship cannot be directly paralleled  
from this period, though in the third century there is  
the case of T. Licinius Hierocles. I also know of no  
case of the prefecture of a legion being held twice  
before the third century, the career of P. Anicius  
Maximus being in a different class. Possibly if we  
attribute the bis ~~into~~ to the missing phrase, and take one  
of the legions of Egypt to be meant, it would make sense.  
Praefectus classis seems impossible in view of the fact  
that a dunenarian procuratorship must be presumed, cf.  
Baebius Atticus. The final solution still eludes us, as  
there are clearly weaknesses in the one proposed. There  
is no room on the stone for more tribunates, and it seems  
best to conclude that only the praetorian was held, as in  
a number of cases from the reign of Claudius. The in-  
clusion of Maximus in H.G. Pflaum's list of procurators  
with known origins as coming from Ruscino, Procurators,

p. 172, is open to objection, for in fact there is no evidence to support this except that the inscriptions were found there. This at best can only suggest that that was his home at the time, without having certain bearing on the question of his birth-place. I have made no reference to (b), and I can make nothing of it, in fact there seems no real certainty that it is connected, though that was ~~the~~ opinion of the editor of the stone.

511. -S MEMOR VIII 2533 Castra Lamb..

Primuspilus of III Augusta in A.D. 129. His origo was Alba Pompeia, in Regio IX. The inscription will be found in the special appendix on official primuspilus dedications.

512. - OP<sup>T</sup>ATUS III 892 Potaissa, Dacia.

Prefect of V Macedonica. The date is after 167, as the legion is in Dacia (Ritterling, RE XII 1579), and possibly under Commodus, as the legion appears to carry the cognomen Constans (Ritterling, RE op. cit., 1580).

513. - PHILOCALOS QUI ET ESYCHIOS AE 1933.176 Kreft, nr. Bosr

Primipilaris, died at the age of seventy-one. The inscription is in Greek.

514. -POMPONIANUS XIV 4501 Ostia.

Tribune of the sixth cohort of vigiles in A.D. 169.

515. A. - PUDENS (i) Literary.

Martial, l. 31. Hos tibi, ~~Phoebe~~ <sup>Phoebe</sup>, vovet totos a vertice crin

Encolpus, domini centurionis amor,  
Grata Pudens meriti tulerit cum praemia pili

Martial, 6,58. Cernere Parrhasios dum te iuvat, Aule,  
triones  
Cominus et Getici sidera pigra poli,  
O quam paene tibi Stygias ego raptus ad  
undes  
Elysiae vidi nubila fusca plagae!  
Quamvis lassa, tuos quaerebant lumina vultus  
Atque erat in gelido plurimus ore Pudens.  
Si mihi lanificae ducunt non pulla sorores  
Stamina nec surdos vox habet ista deos  
L5 Sospite me sopes Latias reveheris ad urbes  
Et referes pili praemia clarus eques.

Martial, 7,97. Nosti si bene Caesium libelle  
Montanae decus Umbriae Sabinum  
Auli municipem mei Pudentis.

The origo is somewhere in Umbria. Though Martial does not state that he became primuspilus it seems probable that he did. The title of eques in the second extract could mean either that the primipilate would bring him automatically membership of the equestrian order, or that he was already an equestrian, i.e. that he had been commissioned centurion ex equite Romano. His dates were presumably similar to those of Martial himself, 43-101.

516. - PUDENS (ii) XIV 4500 Ostia.

Tribune of the seventh cohort of vigiles in A.D. 168.

517. - REBRICUS XIII 5487 Dibio, Germ. Sup..

Primipilaris. There are eight examples of the cognomen REBRICUS in volume XIII of the Corpus and as far as I can check none elsewhere in that work. It is clearly Celtic in origin, Holder ii 1088, and the origo of our



REBRICUS is to be sought probably in the locality where this inscription was found.

518. - RUFINUS XIV 4502 = ILS 2164 Ostia.

Tribune of vigiles in A.D. 175.

519. - SATURNINUS Literary.

Dio 76, 3. Accordingly he (Antoninus) got Euodus, his  
(Loeb trans.) tutor, to persuade a certain centurion, Saturninus, and two others of the same rank with him to bring him word that Plautianus had ordered ten specified centurions, these three being of the number, to kill both Severus and Antoninus; and they read a certain written communication, pretending that they had received it in connection with this very plot.<sup>6</sup> As for Saturninus and Euodus, they were honoured at the time, but later executed by Antoninus.

Ammianus Marcellinus 29, 17. Ut sub principibus Commodo et Severo nonnunquam accidebat, quorum summa  
/r vi salus creb<sup>o</sup> oppugnabatur; adeo ut post intestina pericula multa et varia, alter in amphotheatrali cavea, cum adfuturus spectaculis introiret, a Quintiano senatore illicitae cupidinis homine ad debilitatem paene pugione vulneraretur: alter inopinabili impetu, tempore aetatis extremo, a Saturnino centurione consilio Plautiani praefecti in cubiculo iacens confoderetur, ni tulisset suppetias filius adulescens.

Herodian, 3, 11, 12, gives a rather different version, too long to reproduce here, where he treats the plot of Plautianus as genuine, and calls Saturninus a praetorian tribune, adding the detail that he was from Syria. It seems to me that we must reckon with the possibility that the honour received by Saturninus included the grant of a tribunate and that Herodian mistakenly thought he was a tribune at the time of the plot. In this connection we note that Valerius, a common soldier, received a praetorian tribunate for informing on Iulius Crispus, who

had only quoted a line of poetry, so it is by no means inconceivable that Saturninus received a tribunate for 'saving' the emperor.

520. - SECUNDINUS

III 14370. 12

Prefect of III Italica, in fact its commander, in the late third century, the governor being termed praeses.

521. - SERENIANUS

VI 3069

Rome.

Tribune of vigiles in A.D. 221.

522. - TRAIANUS MUCIANUS

(a) IGRR I 1496 = ILS 9479

Traiana

Augusta, Moes. Inf.

ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝ ΜΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΝ ΔΟΥΚ  
 ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΩΡΤΗ Α ΚΟΝ  
 ΚΟΡΔ· ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΛΕΓ· Β' ΠΑΡΘ· ΙΠΠΕΑ ΧΩΡΤ  
 Ζ· ΤΡΑΙΤΩΡ ΣΗΒΟΚΑΤ· Ψ· ΠΡΟΤΗΚΤΟΡΑ'  
 ΛΕΓ· ΓΙ· ΓΕΜ' Ψ ΠΡΟΤ· ΒΙΓΟΝΛ· Ψ ΤΡ/  
 ΤΗΚΤ ΖΟΥΡΒ· ΚΑΙ· Ψ· ΠΡΟΤ· ΧΩΡΤ· Ε· ΠΡ· Τ  
 ΑΙ ΠΡΙΝΚΙΤΑ ΠΡΟΤ· ΠΡΕΙΜΟΠ /// ΕΚ· ΤΩΝ  
 ΔΙΕΞΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ Π  
 ΑΡΧ· ΛΕΓ· Δ· ΦΛΑΒΣ  
 ΑΝΔ· ΚΑΙ· Δ· ΦΛΑΒ  
 ΤΡΙΒ· ΛΙ' ΟΥΡ  
 ΣΤΡΑΤΕ / Ο

Α ΙΙ  
ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑ  
ΛΙΝ ΛΑΒΟΝΤΑ  
ΤΗΝ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑΝ  
ΙΣ ΕΥΤ

ΟΣ ΡΟΗΝΩΝ Κ<sup>κ</sup>  
Τ· ΚΑΙ ΕΦΣΠΛΩΡΑΤ  
ΔΟΥΚΗΝΑΡ· ΕΠΑ  
ΤΤΡΑΦΑΝΤΑ ΕΝ ΜΕΣΘ  
ΓΕΜ· ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟ  
Τ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥ  
Ε ΜΑΥΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ Ο  
Ι Β ΤΡΑΙΑΝ· ΣΤΡ  
Δ ΦΛΑΒ ΚΑΙ Β  
ΑΦΑΝΤΑ ΕΝ ΘΡ  
ΚΑΙ ΑΡΞΑ

I have preferred to reproduce the drawing of Domaszewski in the Rangordnung, p. 185, rather than the text with restoration and expansion, as it seems to me that in a problem of this kind the logical beginning is with what is on the stone. The first part is quite clear. Mucianus is called ducenarius, which in this context may refer to his rank rather than to his salary grade, cf. Bryonianus Lollianus. He began as a soldier in a cohort presumably auxiliary, became a soldier in II Parthica, and then an eques in the guard. After his evocatio he became centurio protector of XIII Gemina. This title is almost certainly due to the fact that all centurions were now protectores, cf. AE 1954. , and does not strengthen the Domaszewski argument for that legion being part of the Army in Italy. He was then centurio protector in all three of the Rome corps, and princeps protectorum. We know nothing of this last post, though we may presume that it was held at Rome. He was then primipilaris, the following phrase being uncertain. The next post distinguishable has been taken by Domaszewski to be EPARCHOS, but equally possible is CHILIARCHOS, as we know from the case of M. Ulpius Filinus that the legionary tribunate was again being held by primipilares in the third century. He may well have retained this rank while acting as commander of a combined force of the legions VII Claudia and IV Flavia, a similar one to

the two commanded by L. Petronius Taurus Volusianus. I am indebted here to Mr. Birley, for the reading CHILIARCHOS which he suggests is clearly the answer to the problem why the ordinary prefecture of the camp still survived in so late a career. In the second last line of the first fragment the reading is difficult, but clearly we cannot accept the unusual trib for tribune in a Greek inscription, or for that matter, the post of tribunus Liburnarum, which was invented to explain this inscription. The second fragment has a number of references to various corps of troops. There is nothing to show what post was held by Mucianus. The reference in the third line to a ducenarian prefecture is clear. Also clear is that he was STRATEGOS, without our being able to give a confident answer on the exact post referred to. Dux seems the best translation. The rest of the restorations and expansions of Domaszewski seem to me to belong properly to the field of speculation, and that is very difficult in view of our limited nature of the period and changes taking place in it. The date is clearly not before the middle of the third century, though the inscription does not need to be later than the reign of Gallienus or shortly after. It shows a primipilaris having a relatively normal career up to his first primipilate,

after which he apparently went on to a large number of military commands, without our being prepared to restore those commands on present evidence. Mucianus was clearly a ~~native~~ <sup>native</sup> of Traiana Augusta. There is no necessity to equate him with the praeses of Paetia under Diocletian, Aurelius Mucianus, III 5785.

There have been two important attempts to explain this inscription. That of Domaszewski I have not discussed in detail, for I do not feel that his restorations in the second fragment are more than speculative. On the second, that of Keyes, Rise of the Equites, pp. 41-44 it is to be noted that the main point to which he draws attention, the tenure of the prefecture of the camp immediately after the first primipilate, which he takes to indicate that the post continued to exist after Gallienus, is nullified by the fact that the post may be restored as tribune.

523. TROCUNDUS. III 6746 = ILS 639 Trapezus, Pontus.

The inscription is to Diocletian and Maximian by this prefect of I-Pontica. That legion is shown as stationed at Trapezus and commanded by a prefect in the Notitia. The name is said to be Isaurian by Dessau.

524. VIATOR IGRR III 1337 Inachi, Arabia.

Primipilaris.

525. UNKNOWN III 3126 Curicta insula, Dalm..

...trib(uni) coh(ortis) XI urb(anae), trib(uni) coh(ortis) VI praet(oriae) et protector(is) Aug(ustorum) n(ostorum), patroni splendissimae civitatis Curictarum, ob insignem eius benevolentiam statum poni sanxerunt fel(iciter).

The title protector dates from the reign of Valerian and Gallienus, or just possibly from the preceding one.

Three joint emperors are postulated by the form AUGGG.NNN.

At present we have no dated case of so normal a career as this after the reign of Gallienus.

526. UNKNOWN III 4037 Poetovio.

sic. Prestito Iovi S(acrum). ..., tribunus coh(ortis) X praet(oriae), cultor numinis ipsius, proficiscens ad opprimendam factionem Gallicanam iussu principis sui, aram istam posuit.

The man whose name has been erased here has been identified with C. Fulvius Plautianus, but this has been refuted, A. Stein, RE VIII 272. The date is the autumn of A.D. 196.

527. UNKNOWN. III 5341 Solva.

prim]o pil(o)...cidae...mae

Primuspilus seems the probable explanation.

528. UNKNOWN. III 5682 Lauriacum.

Primuspilus of II Italica.

529. UNKNOWN III 14260. 1 Vindobona.

...f(ilius) Aniensis [...Ari]mini, (centurio) leg(ionis) X G(eminae) p(iae) f(idelis) ...praefectus [castr(orum) l]eg(ionis) eiusdem. [Test(amento) fie]ri iussit. H(eres) f(aciundum) c(uravit).

The date is between the coming of X Gemina to Vindobona, placed by Ritterling, RE XII 1683, some time 107-17, and the end of the second century, as the mention of tribe and filiation, and the probable restoration of the title praefectus castrorum, suggest the second century rather than the third. Probably the career, or rather **the** three posts recorded of it, ran its course in only the one legion, as primuspilus or an abbreviation of it must be restored before praefectus, in which case the only legion named is X Gemina, in which our man was successively centurion, primuspilus, and praefectus castrorum. The only other possibility, that he was primuspilus and prefect of another legion, in which case p.p. leg. ... must be inserted before praefectus, is unlikely in view of the burial at Vindobona, station of X Gemina. He could have returned there as a retired prefect, but on the whole the tenure of all three posts in the same legion seems likeliest.

F ANIENSIS  
 ARIMINI 7 LEG X G P F  
 PRAEFFECTUS  
 LEG EIUDEM  
 FIERI IUSSIT H F C

530. UNKNOWN III 14387i = ILS 9198 Heliopolis.

...bello] Co[m]magenico, donis donato a [b I]mperatoribus,  
 corona aurea, tor[quibus], a[rmillis], phaleris, honorat(o)  
 albat(a) dec[u]r[sione] ab Imp(eratore), primipilo



leg(ionis) III G[a]ll(icae), honorato II viralib(us)  
ornament(is) decret(o) decur(ionum), L(arcus) Antonius  
Hoplonis l(ibertus) Hennunes, ob merita.

His decoration in the Commagene war of 72 gives us a starting-point as far as dating is concerned. The unnamed emperor from whom he received the abbata decursio ought to be Nero, whose memory had been condemned, and who had given the same to L. Antonius Naso. On the other hand, Vespasian and Titus are also unnamed, the Imp. could be expanded Imperatoribus, and this would make the order of the inscription more natural. On the whole I prefer this second interpretation, but neither can be ruled out. His name is unknown to us, but the fact that he was primuspilus of an Eastern legion, and was decorated in an Eastern war, suggests that he was another of the colonists from Heliopolis who had a successful military career under Nero, and in some cases under his successors. His name could have been M. Antonius Hoplo, if it was his own libertus who set up the inscription in his honour.

531. UNKNOWN

V 795a

Aquileia.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae), pr[o salute ... c]oniugis  
pient[issimi, ... (centurionis) coh(ortis)..ur]banae,  
(centurionis) coh(ortis) V [praet(oriae),...p(rimi)p(ili)  
le}g(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis), pra[ef(ecti)  
..}a Secundin(a).

There is a fair-sized fragment missing to the left of that which has been preserved. The date is probably later than the first century, in view of the way the cognomina

of XI Claudia have been abbreviated (Ritterling, RE XII 1705). The career as far as it is restorable is perfectly normal, and one would expect the subject of it to have been either an evocatus or a man ex equite Romano, the Rome centurionates in general only being held by these classes. The origin may well have been Italian, but it cannot be demonstrated.

532. UNKNOWN. V 8287 Aquileia.

Primipilaris.

533. UNKNOWN. VI 1645 = ILS 2773 Rome.

...praef(ecto)] veh[icul(orum), proc(uratori)] lud(i)  
ma[gni, proc(uratori)] Lusit(aniae), trib(unus)  
p[raet(orianus)] Philipporum A[ug(ustorum)], p(rimi)p(ilari),  
duci leg(ionum) Dac(iae), (centurioni), corn(iculario)  
praef(ecti) pr(aetorio).

H.G. Pflaum's treatment of this career in his these complémentaire, no. 334, is completely convincing. I shall note his hypotheses as I go through the career. Clearly an ex-praetorian, he was promoted from the post of cornicularius to the prefect to the centurionate. One of the advantages of having held this post was that a man could obtain the centurionate before the end of sixteen years. The career as centurion is summarised in one sign. He then became primuspilus, and dux of the two legions of Dacia, V Macedonica and XIII Gemina. This was presumably a combined field brigade of the type later

commanded by L. Petronius Taurus Volusianus, or Traianus Mucianus. He then went directly to the praetorian tribunate. H.G. Pflaum, on the basis of the hypothesis, first put forward by Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 187, that the unusual title tribuno praet. Philipporum Augg. must mean that he was given that post at their accession to the throne, has placed the commands as dux in the last years of Gordian III, and attributes it to the influence of Timesitheus. He is assuming that the main bodies of the legions are under the command of the dux, and the senatorial legates are replaced. Certainly dux seems to imply command of legions rather than vexillations of them, but I must confess the parallel with the two careers mentioned above seems to me to carry some weight.

We come to the problem of the procuratorial career. The inscription must have been set up in the life-time of the Philips, i.e. before 249. H.G. Pflaum has suggested that the fact that he only held one Rome tribunate shows favour gained by the bringing over of the Dacian legions, and this may be true, but I have shown in my chapter on the Rome tribunates that the omission of tribunates occurred at other times and for other causes. He was not primuspilus iterum, but passed directly to his first procuratorship in Lusitania, a first-echelon

ducenarian post. He then received the charge of the great gladiatorial school and of the Imperial post, both in the second echelon, and both at Rome. These posts are only otherwise encountered in the career of Q. Marcius Turbo, though then the Imperial post was centenarian in rank. It seems probable that the motive was the same in each case, to keep the man in question near the emperor, in Rome. The number of years available for these four posts, from the tribunate onwards, six in all, may seem very small, but our two termini are forced upon us by the title of the tribunate and the obvious fact that the Philips would not be mentioned on a stone set up after their death. The career is in fact a notable example of the compression of a series of posts, in rigid hierarchical order, into a few years, so the emperor might have a man available in a short space of time without breaking with the normal progression of posts, cf. Marcius Turbo.

534. UNKNOWN

VI 31871

Rome.

...proc(urator) XXXX] Galliar(um), praeposit(us)  
 v[exillat(ionum) per.] et Raet(iam) et Noric(um) bello  
 Germanico, praef(ectus) kastr(orum) leg(ionis) II  
 Tr(aianae) [f(ortis), p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis).. ,  
 (centurio) coh(ortis) .. p]raet(oriae), XII urb(anae),  
 [centurio) coh(ortis) .. v]ig(illum), evoc(atus) a  
 commentar(iis) cus]tod(iarum), d(onum) d(edit) l(ibens)  
 m(erito).

The restoration is as given by H.G. Pflaum in his these complémentaire, no. 195. The interpretation

a comm. custod. is the best that has been proposed. The rest follows automatically as far as the primipilate. The first difficulty is the prefecture of the camp of II Traiana here in the same position and apparently of the same rank as other prefectures of the camp. But we have seen in the chapter on the prefect of the camp that II Traiana when stationed in Egypt does not appear to have had a prefect of the camp similar to those of other legions. However, the post following, the command of vexillations in Raetia, Noricum, and some other region, can, on the comparison with the command of Q. Antistius Adventus (ILS 8977), be assigned to one of the German wars of Marcus Aurelius. The likeliest hypothesis would be then to suppose that a vexillation of II Traiana, or the whole legion, took part in the war. Ritterling rejected the evidence produced by Premerstein, Klio XIII, 74 f., for a vexillation of the legion in Illyricum in the 170's RE XII 1489, but we know that the legion took part in the wars of Commodus, see under T. Voconius, and it seems perfectly possible that it took part in the wars of Marcus. Once the legion was outside Egypt, there would be no obstacle to it having a normal establishment, with a normal prefect of the camp. This prefect would then be on the spot for the command of vexillations. After this

command he proceeded to a post which can only be the procuratorship of the fortieth in the Guls, and which on the career as recorded can only be centenarian. His further career if any is unknown. H.G. Hflaum in his these complémentaire has entered on a discussion of this career on the assumption that the praetorian who was nominated, "par exception", to the prefecture of the camp would normally precede to the Rome tribunes. This is however to lay too much stress on the corps of recruitment of the individual primipilaris. In fact, there are a number of examples of praetorians who have ended their career at the prefecture of the camp. It is also unproven that the primipilares who went to the Rome tribunes after being prefects of the camp, e.g. Valerius, and P. Vibius Marianus, were from the ranks of the praetorian guard.

535. UNKNOWN.

VI 32887

Rome.

...qui] coe[pit] mil[itare] probatus in leg(ione)...]  
 Mamertino et Rufo cos(ulibus)](182 A.D.), [factus  
 tes[er]arius in [leg(ione) eadem, translatus in  
 praeto[rium, Severo] Aug(usto) II cos(ule) (194 A.D.),  
 [mil(es) coh(ortis) ..praet(oriae)], [factus...factus  
 b(ene)f(iciarius) [pr(aefectorum) pr(aetorio)]...oleus  
 evo[c(atus), centurio] et pri[mip(ilus) le]g(ionis) VI  
 Vic(tricis) p(iae) f(idelis), [defunct]us Rom[ae],  
 Pompeiano et [Pa]lignia] no cons(ulibus) (231 A.D.),  
 [vi]xit ann(is) L[XX] mense]s duo, d(ie) uno.

There are a few fragments belonging to the same inscription, bearing references to a father and a sister,

both in the dative. Beginning his service at twenty-one, in a legion, at the age of thirty-three, having already reached the post of tesserarius, he was transferred to the guard by Severus as part of the general re-creation of that body. How long he had to wait for his evocatio is uncertain, but as he had held already one of the three "taktische Chargen" of Domaszewski in the legions it is unlikely that it was long delayed. He then served as centurion for an indeterminate length of time, if the restoration is correct in the same legion throughout. In view of the great age of some active primipilares, the most notable being L. Retonius Lucius, there is no need to suppose a retirement more than a few years previously, if at all.

536. UNKNOWN. VII 103 Caerleon.

Primuspilus of II Augusta in A.D. 244. The inscription is given in the special appendix of official primuspilus dedications.

537. -GUS. VIII 18278 Civ. Lamb..

...Ancyra...go ex Gal[ati]a, praefe[cto l]eg(ionis) III  
Au g(ustae)...

A connection with the Clodius Largus of VIII 9755, who was centurio praepositus, cannot be safely assumed.

538. -MINUS VIII 21055 Caesarea, Maur. Caes..

Primipilaris.

539. UNKNOWN IX 1630 Beneventum.

pri]m. pil. ter...

I suspect that this is an early inscription, recording the tenure of the primipilate three times, or for three years. It is clear that in the early period it was possible for the ordinary primipilate to be held for a period of two years, whether in one legion or in two is uncertain. The possible extension to three is attested by this inscription, and by that of Q. Crittius.

540. UNKNOWN. IX 2983 Pagus Urbanus

(centurio) co]h(ortis) VII pr(aetoriae), primus ordo  
pra[...praef(ectus) fa]br(um) Ti(berii) Caesaris Augusti  
a...r sunt vetustate conlaps. refecit.

The restoration of this inscription presents many difficulties, and I am conscious that I have not solved all of them.

H VII PR PRIMUS ORDO PR A  
PR TI CAESARIS AUGUSTI A  
R SUNT VETUSTATE CONLAPS  
REFECIT

I have rejected the restorations and interpretations of Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 239 and refs., for the following reasons. There is no justification in reading primus ordo as attached to the praetorian centurionate it follows. The only clear case of the post of primus ordo is that of L. Ovinus Rufus, who was primus ordo cohortium, not of one cohort alone, The argument based



on the inscription we are considering, that all praetorian centurions who go direct to the primipilate were primi ordines of their respective individual cohorts, op. cit., p. 102, thus is invalid. His next two restorations, pr[imus pilus...praef(ectus) statorum] pr(aetorianorum), do not account for the fact that there is an A at the end of the first line, and the fact there is no direct parallel for a praefectus statorum to the Emperor, though the prefect of Egypt had one, III 6589. Either there is a mistake in the reading, and the title praef. fabr. is to be restored, which would fit in with the Imperial title, cf. Glitius Barbarus, or pr. is an unusual abbreviation for praefectus, and the municipal prefecture is meant. For the restoration after primus ordo I am at a loss, though clearly the primipilate should follow directly, on the analogy of L. Ovinus Rufus.

541. UNKNOWN. IX 3672. Marruvium.  
 ... primusp]ilu[s] , tr(ibunus) mil(itum), praef(ectus) castr(orum).

The career is typically pre-Claudian.

542. -TIUS-. X 218 Grumentum.  
 ...tio L(ucii) f(ilio) Pom(ptina) [...prim]o pilo leg(ionis) XXI [... II vi]r(o) quinquiens., ...e Q(uinti) f(iliae) u[x]ori.

The fact that he had the same tribe as that of Grumentum makes it probable that he was a native. The

legion was XXI Rapax, which dates the inscription before the end of the legion under Domitian, Ritterling, RE XII, 1789-90. The form IIvir quinquens appears at Pompeii, ILS 6361a.

543. UNKNOWN X 1711 Puteoli.

... (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Macedonic(ae), pr[imipilo]  
leg(ionis) IIII Scythic(ae), trib(unus) coh(ortis)...  
pr(aetoriae), primipilo iter(um) leg(ionis) XVI Ga[ll(icae)],  
proc(uratori) Ti(berii) Claudi Caesaris Au[g(usti)],  
d(ecreto) [d(ecurionum)].

The career is transitional, all the elements of the career of the primuspilus iterum being present except the other two Rome tribunates. Notice that VII Claudia has still its old title given to it. The origo is uncertain though H.G. Pflaum gave it as Puteoli, Procurators, p. 171, and these complémentaire, no. 14.

544. UNKNOWN X 3342a Misenum.

...pro]reditu et vict[oria...]ae Aug(ustae), m(atris)  
c(astrorum) totiusq[ue domus divinae...]decur(io) Misenis  
et Te[ani ?...]uit, trierarc(hus), pris[us]... praef(ectus)  
leg(ionis) III Gallic(ae), praef(ectus) ...]Cl(audio)  
Severo et[...] (cos(ulibus).] (A.D. 235).

The nature of the inscription is clear. Of the two possible consular dates, 200 or 235, the former is the more likely. On the Domaszewski reading, Rangordnung p. 242, the most important thing to note is his reading of decurio equitum, which does not accord with the preserved part of the inscription, and his use of this reading to

prove a point, p. 106. I do not feel able to interpret the inscription myself, further than to note that a trierarch at some stage in his career presumably became primuspilus, and then probably held two legionary prefectures in succession, a practice that appears in the third century.

545. UNKNOWN X 8163 Nola.

Primuspilus of V Macedonica, dead.

546. UNKNOWN XI 711 Bononia.

...nius L(ucii) f(ilius) Le[m(onia), p(rimus)p(ilus),  
trib(unus)] mil(itum) IIII, [praef(ectus) equit(um)] III,  
praef(ectus) c[astr(or)um] Imp(eratoris) Caes[ar]is  
Augu[sti], praef(ectus) c[lassis], II v[ir quinquenn]alis,  
sic ponti[fex,...]m cryptan [...a sol]o peq(unia) sua d(onum)  
[d(edit)].

The restoration of praefectus equitum is according to parallel inscriptions. The emperor referred to, on the spacing worked out by the editor of the Corpus, can only be Augustus, or Tiberius, if Ti. replaces Imp.. The figures almost certainly refer to the numbers of years spent in each type of post. The expression praef. castr. Imp. appears also in the inscription of Sex. Aulienus. It presumably means that the man in question had served as prefect when the emperor was on campaign. His origo was presumably Bononia, as Lemonia was the tribe of that town.

547. UNKNOWN

XI 712 add.

Bononia.

D]enticol q. f. c.b...prim(us) pil(us), praef(ectus)  
 eq(uitum) [...II] vir i(ure) d(icundo) [...prim(us)] pil(us)  
 [II], trib(unus) mil(itum), praef(ectus) [...pr]aef(ectus)  
 fabrum, [II vir qu]inq(uennali) potest(ate), [...  
 port]icus de p(ecunia) s(ua) d(ederunt).

After studying this inscription and comparing it  
 with other pre-Claudian careers, I am satisfied that  
 there are two primipilares mentioned here.

ENTICOLQ F C B  
 PRIM PIL PRAEF EQ  
 VIR I D  
 PIL ii TRIB MIL PRAEF  
 AEF FABRUM  
 uINQ POTEST  
 ICUS DE P S D

The first one closes his career with the ordinary  
 duumvirate, having been primuspilus, praefectus.equitum,  
 and possibly having held one more post, as we must  
 suppose a large fragment missing with the names of the  
primipilares. The second had been primuspilus bis, i.e.  
 had had two terms as ordinary primuspilus, was then  
 military tribune, prefect of cavalry and/or prefect of  
 the camp, and praefectus fabrum. He had the higher  
 honour of the duovirate in a year of internal census.  
 They both gave money to the construction of some unknown  
 object. The precise relevance of the first line is  
 uncertain.

548. UNKNOWN

XI 712 add.

Bononia.

Discussed under 547.

549. UNKNOWN

XI 1059

Parma.

...praef(ecto) leg(ionis) XX Valer(iae) Victr(icis),  
 primop(ilo) leg(ionis) X Gemin(ae) piae fidel(is),  
 cent(urioni) leg(ionum) IIII Scythic(ae), XI Claud(iae),  
 XIIII Gem(inae), VII Gemin(ae), patr(ono) col(oniae)  
 Iul(iae) Aug(ustae) Parm(ae), patr(ono) municipiorum  
 Forodruent(i) et Foronovanor(um), patron(o) collegior(um)  
 fabr(orum) et cent(onariorum) et dendrophor(um)  
 Parmens(ium), coll(egium) cent(onariorum) merenti.

The origo was probably Parma, though I have not felt able to include him in the tables in the chapter on origines in Part I. The titles pia fidelis of X Gemina date the inscription to after A.D. 96, Ritterling, RE XII 1690. The career is normal. The probabilities of his rising above prefect of a legion are not great. The inscription is most probably second-century.

550. UNKNOWN

XI 1221

Placentia.

...Ser(gia), primipil(us) leg(ionis) XIV Gemin(ae),  
 IIvir Plac(entiae) et Soricis l(ibertus), in ag(gere)  
 p(edes) XXX.

If I am right in taking Ser. to be the tribe, the cognomen was omitted, which would suggest a date before the reign of Claudius.

551. UNKNOWN

XI 2112

Clusium.

...primopi]l(o) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae), [(centurioni)  
 leg(ionis)...] ex (trecenario), et coh(ortis) X  
 pra[et(oriae)], et ...]urb(anae) et statorum et [...  
 vig(ilum), e]voc(ato) Aug(usti), donis do[nato o]b bellum  
 Dacic(um) to[r]quibus, armillis, phaler[is, corona] aurea  
 et ab Imp(eratore) Traiano Hadr[iano] Augusto, hast[a  
 pura...

In the absence of name or tribe we can only note

the probability that he came from here. The career is similar to others of evocati in the Trajan-Hadrian period. The decorations postulate a service of at least thirty years, as the Jewish war is most probably the time of decoration by Hadrian, and that most probably, in view of the hasta pura, a senior decoration as primuspilus of X Ferrata. The decoration in the Dacian war, I suggest, was as evocatus, a crown being unlikely to be awarded to any other praetorian other rank, except possibly one of the very senior members of the praetorian prefect's staff. This would make him about sixty-six at the time of his second decoration, but there is abundant evidence that this was not an abnormal age for a primuspilus who had come up the hard way, without the talents which made for rapid promotion.

552. UNKNOWN

XI 3112

Falerii.

...C(ai) f(ilius) Volt(inia)...p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis)  
 VIIII H[isp(anae) ..]Hor(atia) Priscu[s, patr]oni  
 munic[ipi]...ntibus fal[iscis a]mpitheatr[um ...]  
 peq(unia) sua fec[erunt].

As he was primuspilus of IX Hispana we may provisionally give his terminus ante quem as A.D. 140, cf. E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 25-28. It has been suggested, op. cit., p. 113, that this man may be from Narbonensis, in view of his tribe,

but on the other hand, Lucus Ferronice, in the same region as Valerii, has the tribe Voltinia.

553. UNKNOWN

XI 5744

Sentinum.

...p]rov(inciae) [Belgicae et duarum G]erma[niarum,  
proc(urator) pro legato]provin(ciae) Maur(etaniae)  
Caes(ariensis), item Maur(etaniae) [Ting(itanae)],  
proc(urator) prov(inciae) [Hisp(aniae)] Ulteri(or)s  
[Baeticae], p(rimus)p(ilus) [II], praef(ectus) ala[e],  
item or(ae) in Lauret(ania) [Caes(ariensi.)].

The restorations are as given, with comment, by H.G. Pflaum, in his thèse complémentaire, no. 23. The vital question is the dating of the inscription. It is by far the most notable cursus before the time of Trajan as far as the primipilares are concerned. It shows a well-developed hierarchy of posts. On the other hand, it exhibits certain peculiarities. It contains the prefecture of an ala, and has no Rome tribunates. The first point to notice is that the title praefectus alae, as distinct from that of praefectus equitum, does not appear on any primipilaris pre-Claudian career. Secondly, the post of praefectus alae is attested for C. Valerius Clemens in the Jewish war of 67-69. Thirdly the career is too well-developed for a primipilaris to have if the prefecture is to be placed in the reign of Claudius. The fourth point arises from the omission of the Rome tribunates. In fact this is an argument for a later date, for even the Claudian and Neronian

primipilaris procuratorships were preceded by at least the praetorian tribunate, i.e. what we have here is not an undeveloped career of the time of Claudius, but a frankly irregular career by any standards, which may best be explained by the events of 69. In this case it may be that the unknown was not a primipilaris but an ordinary equestrian when he did Vespasian such signal service that he was given the opportunity to embark on a procuratorial career. The post of primuspilus iterum may have been held to make him senior enough to proceed direct to ducenarian procuratorships. It is to be noted that our only other case of a primipilaris holding more than one procuratorship before the reign of Trajan is C. Velius Rufus, who held his procuratorships under Domitian, so that, even allowing for the exceptional circumstances of his rise to favour, our inscription, relating a very full procuratorial career for a man at least nominally a primuspilus iterum, is of considerable significance.

The procuratorships began with a first-echelon post in Baetica. After the initial experience gained there two procuratorial governorships followed, situated in the second and third echelons respectively, experience in the junior naturally fitting one for the



senior. We may note these were the typical posts for the military man. There followed the fourth-echelon post of Belgica and the two Germanies, which could either be the crown of a career, or a final preparation for the secretariats and prefectures, depending on the merit of the individual. As the rest of the inscription is missing, it is impossible to say whether any further post was held. Such a career, even for a man who may not have been strictly a primipilaris, with that of C. Velius Rufus, points to the possibility of the Flavians having made more use of the primipilares in administration than a first glance at the evidence might suggest.

554. UNKNOWN

XII 4371

Narbo.

II v]ir quinquenna [lis col(oniae) I(uliae) P(aternae)  
N(arbonis) M(artii), praefectus pro duu[m]viro, tribunu]s  
militum, primipilus, praef(ectus)... co[n]legio honoris  
et virt[utis...arbitratu] Zenonis lib(erti).

The military career is typical of the period before Claudius, with the legionary tribunate. Either the prefecture of a cohort or of an ala could have been held before the primipilate.

555. UNKNOWN

XIII 3497

Ambiani, Belgica.

Primuspilus of VI Victrix. There is a reference to age at death where an age below fifty or below one hundred must be restored.

556. UNKNOWN XIII 6694 Mogontiacum.

Primuspilus of XXII Primigenia, in the year 209.  
The inscription will be found in the special appendix  
on official primuspilus dedications.

557. -RUS XIII 6923 Mogontiacum.

Primuspilus of XIV Gemina, the date being  
presumably not long after A.D. 70, as this is a building-  
inscription of the time of re-building at Mainz after  
the suppression of the rebellion, Ritterling, RE XII  
1733.

558. UNKNOWN XIV 191 Ostia.

...praef(ecto) class(is) praet(oriae) isen(ensis)] et  
Raven(nstis) [...proc(uratori) XX he]r(editatium),  
praef(ecto) [leg(ionis) II Traianae, p(rimo)p(ilo) II  
trib(uno) coh(ortis)] III pr(aetoriae), trib(uno)  
[coh(ortis)...urb(anae)...

The restorations are made to the following text.

ET RAVEN  
R PRAEF  
III PR TRIB

They are those of H.G. Pflaum in his thèse  
complémentaire, no. 241. Beginning at the bottom of  
the text, the expansion of the praetorian and urban  
tribunates is clear, and we could put in a tribunate in  
the vigiles and a first principate as well. The  
prefecture that follows can only be the ducenarian  
prefecture of II Traiana, if we exclude the third century,

and with it the ducenarian prefectures of the Parthian legions. After this Domaszewski, Hangordnung, p. 258, restored the procuratorship of Syria. H.G. Pflaum argued that this was not in accordance with the probable high rank of the procuratorship of Syria, Procurators, pp. 253-54, nor is the abbreviation of Syria to Syr. customary. He made the further point that in any case there can be no question of the next post above, the prefecture of the Ravenna fleet, following directly, as the spacing required a further post. He would restore the procuratorship XX hereditatium, which followed the prefecture of II Traiana in the career of Ti.Claudius Secundinus. It is interesting to note that urban posts occur in the careers of T. Licinius Hierocles, and if H.G. Pflaum is correct, of L. Cominius Maximus. The explanation seems to be that a man who went to a ducenarian legionary prefecture instead of a first-echelon ducenarian procuratorship could not expect to be promoted to the third ducenarian echelon. On the other hand, to have made him begin in the first echelon would disadvantage him enormously in comparison with a contemporary who had gone for example to Baetica for his first post. The solution was to appoint the ex-prefect to a second-echelon post in Rome, a rarity

otherwise in primipilaris careers. I would suggest that the further post postulated by H.G. Pflaum on spacing grounds was also in the second echelon, tenure of more than one post in this echelon being quite common, whereas in the third echelon it is unusual. After this unknown post he was prefect in turn of the two praetorian fleets, in the third and fourth echelons respectively, his further career, if any, being lost to us. The career is more reminiscent of the second century than the third.

559. UNKNOWN XIV 3634 Tibur.

Prefect of the camp of VI Victrix, dead. The title praef. castr. leg., as opposed to praef. leg. suggests a date not later than the early third century.

560. UNKNOWN XVI app. 13.

Unknown primuspilus of X Fretensis, who was commanding a century, along with another primuspilus Pontienus Magnus, in A.D. 150.

561. MUCIANUS Pais 1080. 48 Concordia.

Primuspilus of XIV Gemina. All that remains of his cognomen is UCIA. He has been called Mucianus, but as Lucianus is equally possible I have preferred to term him unknown.

562. UNKNOWN AE 1923. 12 Caerleon.

Primuspilus of II. Augusta. He may have been of

the tribe Sergia.

563. UNKNOWN AE 1928. 37 Aquae Flavianae,  
Algeria.

Optavi Dacos tenere caesos - tenui  
Optavi in sella pacis residere - sedi.  
Optavi in claros sequi triumphos - factum.  
Optavi primi comoda plena pili - habui.  
Optavi nudas videre nymphas - vidi.

The reference to a Dacian war may be ascribed to those of Trajan.

564. UNKNOWN AE 1932. 12 Bonn.

Primuspilus of I Minervia. H. Nesselhauf, "Neue Inschriften aus dem römischen Germanien", etc., in the 27th Report of the Römisch-Germanischen Kommission (1938), gave an improved reading.

565. -US AE 1932. 70

Primuspilus, mentioned in the Acts of the Secular Games of Severus.

566. UNKNOWN AE 1950.170 Buthrotum, Epirus.

...co po [...I] Ivir(o), II qui [nq(uennali), ...I] eg(ionis)  
V Macedoni [c(ae), ...aug]uri, patrono col(oniae)  
sic [...praef(ectus) v]ehiclor(um) et [...praef(ectus)]  
castr(or)um [...ordo] Orestarum...suo.

The inscription appears to be set up to A by B, praefectus vehiculorum, and C, praefectus castrorum. If, as appears from the way the inscription is set out, there is nothing missing to the right of the line referring to the prefect of the camp, the failure to mention

a legion would suggest a date before the reign of Claudius.

567. UNKNOWN AE 1954. 104 = AE 1952. 169 Arles.

D(ecreto) D(ecurionum), [ob] merita in r(em) p(ublicam),  
[T(ito) Iuli]o T(iti) f(ilio) Ter(entia), [prim]opilo  
bis, [tribu]no militum bis, [pr]aefecto [e]quitum bis,  
[pr]aefecto castrorum, [p]raefecto fabrum, praefecto  
navium, ex conlegio honoris et virtutis, Ilvir, bis,  
Augustali, flamine Romae et [Divi] Caes[aris].

As the names are restored, I have not felt able to regard this man otherwise than as an unknown. The career is typically pre-Claudian, and shows posts held in the order regarded by some as the hierarchical order of the period. Note the duplication of posts, and the title praefectus navium for the usual praefectus classis. The man, who by his tribe was probably a native of Arles, held the honour of the chairmanship of his provincial council.

568. UNKNOWN AE 1954. 135. Aïoun Sbiba, Algeria.

... ii protec[tor,...], item princip[i]la [ris] protectori,  
item centurio IIII FI(aviae) et protectori, item  
ce[nturi]o leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), item [dec(urio)]  
alae Parthoru[m].. item...

I have differed from the reading given in the reference above in restoring in the nominative case, and in restoring decurio for praepositus. The first I base on the appearance twice of centurio, the cases of protectori being apparently due to a tendency of the cutter of the stone to put two i's in item. This is

obscured by L'année épigraphique's setting-out of the inscription. In the original publication in Lybica, I. 1953. pp. 177-78, it will be seen that there is no gap between protectori and item.

The career is in inverse order, the terminus ante quem being the reign of Gallienus or just before, the first appearance of the protectores. The career as far as we have it begins with the decurionate of an ala in Mauretania. There had been at least one previous post. From this post he was commissioned as centurion in III Augusta, was transferred to IV Flavia, where he had the additional title protector, and became primipilaris, also with the title protector. There followed another post, with the same title attached, not improbably a tribunate, cf. Aurelius Sabinianus. The reason why a centurionate in III Augusta did not carry the title protector and one in IV Flavia did is not obvious. The question of the protectores requires examination, and in the limits of the present work <sup>I</sup> cannot attempt it.

569. UNKNOWN

EE VIII 478

Capua

...trib(uno) c]oh(ortis) I vigil(um), tr(ibuno)  
cohortiu[m..et.. pr(aetoriarum), praef(ecto) praet(orio),  
don(ato) coron(is) II] I<sup>A</sup> in Sy]ria utraque cu[m] iure  
gladii...

vallar(i),  
hastis puris IIII,  
III ...

H.G. Pflaum has discussed this career in his these  
complémentaire, no. 165. He has re-examined the work of

Domaszewski on this inscription in Philologus, 66 (1907), p. 171 f., and while he accepts the main points made by Domaszewski, he rejects the proposed identification with Plautianus. This point will emerge as we examine the career.

OH I VIGIL TR CCHORTIU  
I AUREA VALLARI MURA  
RIA UTRAQUE CU////

In the first line, after the tribunate of the vigiles, two praetorian tribunates must be restored, as there would be no reason to couple the urbane and praetorian tribunates, yet mention the tribunate of vigiles separately. The urban tribunate therefore ~~was~~ not held, but we saw in the chapter on the Rome tribunates that the omission of one or more of the three Rome tribunates is not unprecedented. In the second line three crowns are mentioned, which in an equestrian career can only be the decorations of a praetorian career, cf. M. Bassaeus Rufus. The promotion to this post can hardly have been other than direct from the praetorian tribunate. The promotion to this post can hardly have been other than direct from the praetorian tribunate, which is unusual, but may have been forced by circumstances of which we are ignorant. I have pointed out in more than one place that the praetorian prefects from the primipilares often had the bare minimum of training in the procuratorships. There followed what must have been



an extraordinary command in Syria, as it was cum iure gladii. H.G. Pflaum has been able to demonstrate that this does not mean that the prefect was Plautianus, as there were three Syrias by 194 (AE 1930. 141b, the first governor of Syria Phoenice). The two Syrias are clearly Syria and Syria Palaestina, which places our career between 135 and 194. H.G. Pflaum has tried to place it more exactly in the most obvious period for the occupation of the Syrias by a praetorian prefect, possibly commanding legionaries, (cum iure gladii), namely immediately after the suppression of Avidius Cassius, and specifically in the period in 175-76 when Marcus left the province for Egypt SHA Vit. Marci 26, 1-3. The decorations then would have been given at the end of 173, or in 174, and the prefect would be the unknown successor of Macrinus Vindex. This hypothesis of H.G. Pflaum is ingenious and tempting, though in the absence of further evidence it cannot be ranked higher than probable. I do not feel there is any definite indication that the man came from Capua, which H.G. Pflaum gave as his origo, Procurators, p. 182.

570. UNKNOWN EE IX 1275a Holt, Britain.

Prefect of XX Valeria Victrix.

571. UNKNOWN ILS 9197 Tarracina, Italy.

...et leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis), i...bello Mit[hradatico],  
prae[f(ecto)] cas[tr(orum)]...

The occasion is clearly the Bosphoran campaign under

Didius Gallus in the mid-forties (Tac. a. 12,15 cf. RE XV 2207). The interpretation of the career is not clear, in view of the difficulty of providing a satisfactory explanation of the word of which only the initial letter i had been preserved.

572. UNKNOWN

Preisigke Sammelbuch 5731 Koptos.

ΠΡΙΜΟΠΙΛΑΡ· ΛΕΓ· Ζ· ΓΕΜ-  
 ΧΕΙΛΙΑΡ<sup>x</sup> ΣΠΕΙΡ<sup>ης</sup> ....  
 ΧΕΙΛΙΑΡ<sup>x</sup> ΣΠΕΙΡ<sup>ης</sup> ...  
 ΧΕΙΛΙΑΡ<sup>x</sup> ΣΠΕΙΡ<sup>ης</sup> ...  
 ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ Μ ΑΥΡ ΗΙΑΝ

The reading of this stone in the above reference seemed to me so peculiar that I consulted the original reference, Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 11, p. 211. After examination of it I must differ from the editor and PIR<sup>2</sup>A 1522 in refusing to see in the name at the bottom of the inscription the name of the procurator. The only reading conceivable to me is procurator M. Aurel. An. etc.. if I may be allowed to use the Latin equivalents. The rest of the career is normal, the only thing of note being the apparent omission of a second primipilate. The exact nature of the procuratorship was presumably detailed on the missing part of the stone, though it need not have been, cf. L. Cominius Maximus.

573. UNKNOWN Literary.

Tac. a. 1.32. non tribunus ultra, non castrorum praefectus ius obtinuit: vigiliis, stationes, et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur.

The scene is the camp of the legions of Caecina, at the time of the mutiny after the death of Augustus.

574. UNKNOWN Literary.

Tac. a. 1.77. At theatri licentia proximo priore anno coepta, gravius tum erupuit, occisi non modo e plebe, sed militibus, et centurione, vulnerato tribuno praetoriae cohortis, *lr* dum probe in magistratus et dissensionem vulgi prohibent.

575. UNKNOWN Literary.

Tac. a. 12.22. in Lolliam mittitur tribunus, a quo ad mortem adigeretur.

The date is A.D. 49. This sort of mission is so often given to praetorian tribunes that there can be little doubt that such was the tribune mentioned here.

576. UNKNOWN Literary.

Tac. a. 12.38. praefectum castrorum et legionarias cohortis extruendis apud Siluras praesidiis relictas circumfundunt. ac ni cito nuntius ex castellis proximis subventum foret copiarum obsidio occidione obcubissent: praefectus tamen et octo centuriones ac promptissimus quisque e manipulis cecidere.

The date is A.D. 51. Note the prefect in charge of a vexillation.

577. UNKNOWN Literary.

Tac. h. 5.20. quibus obvenerant castra decimanorum, obpugnationem legionis arduam rati egressum militem et caedendis materiis operatum turbavere, occiso praefecto

castrorum et quinque primoribus centurionum  
paucisque militibus: ceteri se munimentis  
defendere.

Again it was the prefect who was in charge of the  
party out collecting wood. The legion was X Gemina and  
the time that of the Civilis rebellion.

578. UNKNOWN Literary.

Suet. Caligula 21. Destinaverat et Sami Polycratis  
regiam restituere, Miletu Didymeum  
peragere, in iugo Alium urbem condere,  
sed ante omnia Isthmum in Achaia perfodere,  
miseratque iam ad dimetiendum opus  
primipilarem.

579. UNKNOWN Literary.

SHA Vit. Pesc. Nig. 2.  
ad occidendum autem Nigrum primipilarem  
Iulianus miserat, stulte ad eum  
qui haberet exercitus et se tueri posset;  
proinde quasi qualis libet imperator a  
primipilari posset occidi.

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SUPPLEMENT TO PROSOPOGRAPHY

76a M. AURELIUS ANTINOUS. Mitteis. Chrest. 265

He is called primipilaris of the prefect of Egypt in A.D. 289. The document does not concern him directly. It is quite clear that the man we have here is one of the new primipilares that we have postulated after Gallienus, cf. Aurelius Capito, primipilaris, Pap. de Theadelphie, 4.4, the same as Aurelius Theodorus Capito, officialis, of the prefect of Egypt, op. cit. 8., in the years 306-7. As Antinous belongs to this period I shall abstain from further comment here, though the inscription is undoubtedly of importance as showing the new type of primipilaris operating before the close of the third century.

173a CORNELIUS FELIX. AE 1932. 70.

A number of tribunes are mentioned among the equestrians on the Acts of the Secular games of Severus. The only active tribunes in Rome of equestrian rank were those of the Rome cohorts. This man is one of them.

498a. - CAMPANUS. AE 1932. 70

See above.

565a - ATUS AE 1932. 70

See above.

49a. C. APPIUS ADIUTOR XI 5273 = ILS 2645 Hispellum.

D(is) M(anibus), C(aio) Appio C(ai) f(ilio) Lem(onia) Adiutori, principi leg(ionis) XXII Primigeniae, primipili, C(aius) Appius Eutyches lib(ertus)

The precise interpretation of this inscription is still uncertain. Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 90, took it that the two posts of princeps and primuspilus were meant, while Dessau in ILS read princeps praetorii as if it were one post. The Domaszewski interpretation seems the most reasonable, though clearly the case of primuspilus used remains puzzling. Is there perhaps a centurial sign to be understood, as possibly in the case of Q. Carrinas?

145a CICEREIUS ASCANIUS III 14996 Burnum, Dalmatia.

L(ucius) Cicereiu[s... F]idus Arim[ino...] Cicerei Laevi  
p...leg(ionis) XI... Cicerei Ascan[i...]ris leg(ionis)  
XI vi[vus fecit. ?

On the whole, I think that the restoration of primipilaris is forced by the lack of a probable alternative. There is however no compulsion to regard Laevus as a primipilaris, and I have relegated him to the Doubtful and Rejected Primipilares section. The legion was at Burnum till 69, and Ritterling places this inscription among the pre-Claudian group, presumably on the strength of the fact that the legion is not called Claudia, (RE XII 1691). It must be said, however, that the phrasing of the inscription does not suggest so early a date.

DOUBTFUL AND REJECTED PRIMIPILARES1. M. AF-

VI 32996

Rome

M. Af...primi...leg VI...coni...

The editor has suggested that this inscription is to be interpreted as PRIMINUS rather than as PRIMUSPILUS, but clearly a number of interpretations are possible.

2. M. AMBIVIVS TRAIENSIS

IX 5646

Trea

D(is) M(anibus). L(ucio) Ambivio Luperco et Numitoriae Cypare parentibus L(ucius Ambivius Traiensis f(ilius) p.p..

Clearly a phrase such as p(ius) p(osuit) or p(ro) p(ietate) must come equally into consideration with p(rimi) p(ilaris).

3. ATINIUS IUSTUS

XIII 6794

Mogontiacum

The inscription shows a tesserarius and a signifer agentes lustrum Atini Iusti. In view of the fact that the lustrum is also attested as carried out on behalf of the princeps (V 808 Aurelius Flavus) this man is certainly not a primuspilus.

4. P. CAETENNIUS -

III 2260.

Salona

D(is) [M(anibus)] P(ublio) Caete[nnio]primo...  
P(ublio) Caetennio Pudenti fil(io) P(ublius)  
Caetennius Fir...

Here it seems possible that the cognomen PRIMUS is to be understood rather than primuspilus.

5. T. CALVISIUS VERUS

XI 4579

Carsulae

T(ito) Calvisio T(iti) fil(io) [C]lu(stumina)  
 Vero, augur(i) quinq(uennali), IIII vir(o), aedil(i),  
 cur(atori) pec(uniae) frum(entarii), IIII q.p.  
 aer. p.p., patrono mun(icipi) et  
 VI vir(or)um August(alium), procur(atori) iuven(um),  
 collegius iuven(um) ob plurima beneficia et  
 munificentiam eius erga se collata. L(ocus)  
 d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Controversy rages about the interpretation  
 of the abbreviations after frum(entarii). Mommsen  
 read IIII (viro) q(uaestoriae) p(otestatis) aer(arii)  
p(ecuniae) p(ublicae). Schmidt suggested (quartum)  
q(uaestori) p(ublico) aer(arii) p(ecuniae) p(ublicae).  
 Finally, the editor of volume XI suggested q(uaestori)  
p(ecuniae) aer(arii), p(rimi) p(ilari). Ignoring the  
 question of the various solutions proposed, let us  
 consider this idea that after all these municipal posts  
 the fact that the man was a primipilaris was mentioned.  
 This seems most unlikely, as the fact that a man had  
 been a primipilaris is far more important than his  
 tenure of the municipal posts mentioned, and in fact  
 unless he was a centurion by direct commission he  
 would hardly have held a magistracy as junior as the  
 quaestorship.

6. CICEREIUS ICAVUS

III 14996

Burnum, Dalmatia

L(ucius) Cicereiu[s...F]idus Arim[ino..] Cicerei Laevi  
 p...leg(ionis) XI...Cicerei Ascan[i..]ris leg(ionis)XI  
 vi[us] fecit?



While primipilaris is not an improbable restoration I am not satisfied that it is the only one. The fact that it is the most probable in the case of Ascanius certainly does not oblige us to restore it for Laevus.

7. DOMITIUS TERENCEIANUS

Mercurio Aug(usto). Valerius Valens sig(nifer) et Domitius Zosimus act(or) in rat(ione) Domiti Terentiani moniti renovaverunt, II Peregrino et Aemiliano cos(ulibus). (A.D.244)

Domaszewski took it that this man was a primipilaris on a comparison with the inscription of Flavius Sabinus, Rangordnung, p. 187. The comparison, however, is not exact, and I cannot therefore regard him as other than a doubtful primipilaris.

8. FLAVIUS CORNELIANUS IGRR III 1317 Kréyé, Arabia

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἔκτισθη ἡ λίμνη ἔτους ρζ' ἐκ κοινῶν ἀναλωμάτων τῆς κώμης (δηναρίων) ἐ' μ(υριάδων), ἐκ προνοίας φλ(αβίου) Κορηλιανοῦ π.π..

The inscription is very late (294-5), and it seems easier to read praepositus rather than primipilaris.

9. FLAVIUS IUVENALIS (a) VIII 8065  
(b) VIII 2755  
(c) SHA V. Sev.6, Geta 2.

The references give us first (a) a centurion of III Augusta in A.D. 165, and secondly, in (b) and (c), a praetorian prefect of Didius Iulianus

and Septimius Severus. A. Stein in PIR F. 300 suggested that the former was father to the latter rather than the same, and this is perhaps the safer conclusion.

10. T. FLAVIUS PRAESENS VII 168 Chester

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Tanaro, T(itus) [F]l[av]ius  
Galeria Praesens, pri. leg(imis) XX V(aleriae)  
V(ictoricis), Commodo et Laterano cos(ulibus).

The date is A.D. 154. The Corpus gives the expansion pri(nceps), and certainly PRI would be an unusual abbreviation for Primuspilus.

11. FLAVIUS SABINUS Literary.

Suet., Vesp., 2 Huius filius, cognomine Sabinus, expers militiae - etsi quidam cum primipilarem, nonnulli, cum adhuc ordines duceret, sacramento solutum per causam valetudinis tradunt - publicum quadragesimae in Asia egit.

Clearly there can be no certainty concerning the military record of Vespasian's father.

12. FLAVIUS TRAIANUS<sup>A</sup> AE 1908. 235 Assouan, Egypt

Salvis d(ominis) n(ostris) Valentinano, Valente, et  
sic Gratiano, semper Augustos, Fl(avius) Mauricius,  
v(ir) c(larissimus), com(es) et dux, renovari iussit hunc  
locum. Fl(avius) Traianus p(rae)p(ositus) cum  
Theb(anis) mil(itibus) reparavit.

The date being between 367 and 375, when the primipilaris was as far as we can gather carrying out purely civil duties, praepositus is surely the correct interpretation.

13. C..IULIUS CUPITIANUS VII 887 Castlesteads  
 sic M[at]ribus omnium gentium templum olim vestustate  
 conlabu[m] (aius) Iulius) Cupitianus (centurio)  
 p.p. restituit.

E. Birley in Roman Britain and the Roman Army,  
 p. 127, pointed out that to expand p(rimus)p(ilus)  
 or p(rimi)p(ilaris) would produce a peculiar phrase,  
 not otherwise attested. It does appear in Greek  
 on the inscription of Quintilius Capito, but the  
 general point holds good that p(rae)p(ositus) is  
 the more likely. The phrase (centurio) primipili  
 one would hardly expect on an inscription as late  
 as this appears to be.

14. C. IULIUS S- VI 31306 Rome  
 Imp(eratori) Ca[esari] T(ito) Aelio Ha[driano]  
 Anto[nino] Aug(usto) Pio pontifici max(imo),  
 tribunicia [potest(ate)...], Imp(eratori) II,  
 co[s(uli)...], C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius)  
 Cl(audia) S...p.p. testamento.

While p(rimi)p(ilaris) is a not improbable  
 expansion, there remains sufficient possibility  
 that the p.p. forms part of some dedicatory phrase  
 for me to hesitate to put this man among the  
 certain primipilares.

15. C. IULIUS VERUS MAXIMINUS

A detailed argument concerning the  
 identification of the emperor Maximinus with the  
 man whose name Wilckens restored as Maximinus

(Wilkens Chrestom. 41) is given in RE X cols. 856-57.

While a prefect of II Traiana might just conceivably rise to the empire in three years, it does ~~not~~ seem to me that the restoration on which all depends is not certain enough for us to accept Maximinus as a ducenarian legionary, and therefore as a primipilaris.

16. SEX. LAECANIUS NAEVIUS LABEO. XV 7244 = ILS 8699 Rome.

The identification of this centurion of the ninth praetorian cohort with the prefect of Sardinia of A.D. 83 who was called Sex. Laecanius Labeo is uncertain, though there can be little doubt that they belonged to the same family.

17. L. MARCIUS SULLA. X 4871 Venafrum.

L(ucio) Marcio L(ucii) f(ilio) Ter(etina), sibi et...  
siae L(uciaae) l(ibertae) uxori et L(ucio) Marcio  
L(ucii) f(ilio) Sullae...il. leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae).

Prim(us) pil(us) has been restored, but it seems at least equally possible that the word was mil(es) or trib. mil.

18. OR- AVIUS AE 1951. 15 Lobith

Or(atius) Avius, o(ptio) b(alnearii), cen(turio) I  
m[il]l(itavit) le(gione) do(mitiana) X [a]nnos) tantos  
ex ius(su) D(ecimus) Va(lerius) do(natus) s(estertiis)  
X, op(tio) [eius posuit.

This is the interpretation given in L'année  
épigraphique, the dating <sup>being</sup> between A.D. 92 and 96. To  
put the thing into its true context I give the text

as it appears in that review.

OR AVIUS O B CEN IM  
L LE D O X  
IUS O V A  
DOS X OP

The interpretation is clearly imaginative.  
In particular I do not see how CEN IM can be  
cen(turio) p(rimipili), and I do not see how such  
an inscription, with, we are assured, numerous  
ligatures, could be of such a date. It is  
unfortunate that G. Forni has included this in  
his appendices, II Reclutamento etc., p. 153.

19. D. PRISCIUS PRIMUS AE 1951. 139 Lobith.  
7 D PRISCI PRIMI

This inscription, given out by the same man  
who produced no. 18, is explained by him as  
D. - Prisci, p(rimi(pili)), although there is a  
similar inscription, no. 138, which has 7 Unici  
Rebelli, which warns us of the possibility of  
two names being mentioned.

20. PULLAIENUS - Pais 969 Hasta.  
Pullaieno T(iti) f(ilio)...to centur. prim[...c]onleg.  
honori et [...ex] testamento [f]ratris.

Pais has attempted to expand prim(o)pilo,  
but it does seem possible that we have here

connected rather with the collegia than with the military centurionate.

21. SEMP. - II 2804 Clunia, Tarrac.  
SEMP COM SERANO PP N

The inscription is clearly corrupt, and the meaning a matter for speculation.

- 21a. T. STATILIUS - NUS BCH IX 1885, p. 341, no.24  
Nr. Apollonia  
ad Salbacum

This man from Caria, clearly a member of the family of the T. Statilii from Hieraclea, is attested as a prefect in 128-9. In La Carie, II p. 276, no. 151, L. and J. Robert have been able to show that he was not a prefect of the legion XXX Ulnia, but prefect of an auxiliary unit.

22. M. ULPIUS - AE 1944. 91 = III 10305 Intercisa,  
Pann. Inf..

Signum et ar] am Geni civib(us) R(omanis) [qui  
consistunt ad Intercisam e] t Vetusse(alinas),  
quae M(arcus) Ulp(ius) [...datis in tes] t(amento)  
HS X (milibus) n(ummum) fieri iusserat [...M(arcus)  
Ulp(ius) ...II vir ?] m(unicipi) Aq(uinci), d(ecurio)  
col(oniae) Murs(ae), sacerd(os) [pr(ovinciae)  
P(annoniae) Inf(erioris), p(rimus)p(ilus) le] g(ionis)  
XII Fulm(inatae), in memoriam [patris et honorem te]-  
rritori, ex HS XXXX (milibus) n(ummum) fec(it).

On examining these restorations it will be clear that much is taken for granted. As far as

we are concerned the most important point is that the fact that a primuspilus of XII Fulminata is involved is assumed, whereas clearly a number of possibilities are to be reckoned with.

23. VOLUMNIUS Bell. Iud. I, 535.

He was sent by Herod to Augustus to report on the conduct of the former's sons. He is called στρατοπεδάρχης, which quite often means prefect of the camp, but it seems doubtful whether he was such, being probably an officer in Herod's own army. He must surely be distinct from the procurator of Syria mentioned in 538.

24. APULEIUS AE 1929. 1112

111 7 Apulei pili  
112 Robin pii c m s

These come from the camp of the Rhine fleet in Cologne, and are marked on lance-heads. In the second example presumably the last three letters are the initials of the owner. What the pili or pii means I do not know, and I am certainly not sure that they refer to primipili.

25. ASPER AE 1907. 181 = 1908. 130 Miletopolis.

Legio VI F] errata, quae [hibernave] it in Armenia [Maiore sub C] n(aeo) Domitio [Corbulon] e leg(ato) [Neronis Caesari] s Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) Sulpicio] P(ublii) f(ilio) Sca(ptia) Asp[ro], [primipil]i co honor(is) caus [a. (The first part up to Corbulone appears or can be restored in Greek also).

It will be noted that there is no evidence for the nomen or for the rank of the man who is honoured.

26. CELER III 14767 Salona

[infeli] cissimo [.....Cel] eri primo .. vixit  
mec [...ann]is XXV Fili miii pater..

This might be a primuspilus but there is nothing in the inscription to compel this conclusion.

27. IUSTUS VI 1110 Rome

....Centuriones d] eputati et supernume [rarii  
et f] rumentari cum...et Iusto trib(unis)...

The dedication of this inscription is apparently to the wife of Gallienus, as there are references to him and the younger Valerian in the genitive. What the tribune was who is mentioned we do not know, and clearly the possibility that he belonged to one of the Rome corps cannot be discounted.

28. MARTIALIS III 10433 Aquincum

sic [Liberi et Li] berae, [pro salu] te Aug(usti)  
[et securi] tatis Impe [ri, ob h] onore [M]artialis  
[p.] p. [H]ermais c [on(iunx)].

Again here primipilaris could be the expansion, but there is nothing in the surviving part of the inscription to compel it.



29. MAURUS AE 1913. 145 Oum-ids-Dumal, Syria

...nico Corniliana vixit annos XXXV, habuit patrim  
sic Maurum ex pp., Fl. Proclianus pri(mi)p(ilaris)  
coniug[1] piissimi memoriam fabricavit.

It seems possible that ex primipilaribus might  
be read instead of ex praepositis, the suggestion  
given in L'année épigraphique.

30. ROBINUS AE 1929. 112

See under Apuleius.

- 30a. VIGILIANUS Bosra

vigilia i 7 pi pr

This appears in Publications of the Princeton  
University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria,  
1904-5, (1909), division III, section A, Southern  
Syria, p. 235. The editor suggests reading Vigilia  
n i 7 pi(li) pr(ioris), quoting III 6611, miles pil(i)  
prioris. The expression still seems unusual to me,  
and therefore I include it here.

31. UNKNOWN II 1664 Tarraco

[Iuliae Mammaeae Aug(ustae), matri Aug(usti)] n(ostri)  
et castrorum, [senatus ac patriae..] f(ilius) Sabatina...  
leg(ionis) VII G(eminiae) Sever(ianae) [Alexandrianae]  
p(iae) f(idelis), ex corni(culario) [praef(ectorum)  
pr] aet(orio) em(entissimorum) v(irorum), Maximo et  
Urbano cos(ulibus). (A.D. 234)

Though this inscription resembles in general  
form the official inscriptions of the Primpili there  
is nothing in it decisively against the dedicator  
being just a centurion.

32. UNKNOWN III 13589 Samaria

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) T(riano) Hadriano Aug(usto)  
p.p., Leg. X Fret(ensis), coh. I.

The interpretation suggested above seems  
better than that of the Corpus, p(rimus)p(ilus)  
leg. X Fr(etensis) et coh. I.

33. UNKNOWN V 536 Tergeste

...Pup(inia) Pro [...leg(ionis) XXI]I Primig(eniae)..  
pr]aef(ectus) Gaesa[torum et civitati]um Helvet[iarum]  
...leg(ionis)] V Mace d(onicae)

It has been presumed that this man was  
primuspilus of one or other of the legions mentioned,  
because he was praefectus civitatum. I do not feel  
that the inscriptions we possess justify us in  
the assumption that the primipilate would follow  
such a prefecture in every case.

34. UNKNOWN I.L. Alg. 562=VII 16910 Henchir Bu Atfan

Vic[t]or A[g]ri[pp]ianus, eq. R., fl. [pp., sace]rdos  
dei Li[ber]i Patris, filius... patris eqq. RR. et  
Iuliae Cel[sinae S]enioris, fl. [pp., filiae..] viri  
militaris, n[e]poti... Domiti Victor[is..] pi una  
cu[m..] Felice Victori[a]no nepote... sua[pec. fec.  
idemque dd?

This is the only example I have come across of  
the expression vir Militaris in an inscription.  
For this reason I have not included him directly  
in the primipilares, though on the use of the term  
in literature there is clearly a very strong case  
for his being a primipilaris. If so we should

have a beautiful case of the inter-marriage  
of equestrian and primipilaris families.

35. UNKNOWN VIII 25588 Bulla Regia  
D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) p.p. fil. vixit anis pius  
LVIIII h(iē) s(itus) e(st).

Perhaps the most convincing explanation  
of this apparently complete inscription is that  
it was a sample, or an exercise for an apprentice  
mason, not a genuine tombstone.

36. UNKNOWN XIII 6819 Mogontiacum  
...leg(ionis) XXII P]r(imigeniae) p(iae)  
f(idelis)... l f Hippi dyan...a Cybira.

Domaszewski reads this as a case of a tribune  
son of a primuspilus, Rangordnung, p.256, but  
his restorations are so conjectural that I have not  
felt bound to accept them.

37. UNKNOWN XIV 4492 Ostia  
...man...p.p.de...cor...ex c...

A fragmentary text, not necessarily  
connected with a primipilaris at all.

38. UNKNOWN AE 1923. 36 Mogontiacum  
sic Genio Loci, Eventu Bono, Fortunae Conservatrici,  
/// T(itus) Vindelicius Tertinus, m(iles)  
l(egionis) XXII P(rimigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis),  
s. cos. sac. f. l. s. c. lib. primi 7 l eius,  
Imp(eratore) Anton(ino) II et Geta C(aesare).  
(A.D. 205)

This inscription has been interpreted

by Neeb,

Germania, 1922, pp. 83-84, as s(trator) cos(ularis),  
sac(erdos) f(ani), l(ibens) s(olvit) c(um) lib(erto)  
primi(pili) l(egionis) eius. A better reading,  
 which takes into account the centurial sign before  
 the l(egionis) which I have shown above, and which  
 Neeb admitted to be present, is that of Ritterling,  
 in the same volume, p. 126, s(trator) cos(ularis)  
sac(ellum) f(ecit) l(ibens), s(ub) c(ura) Lib. Primi  
(centurionis) l(egionis) eius.

39. UNKNOWN

AE 1949, 201

Aquincum

Marti Gradivo, quem apud leg(ionem) VII C~~l~~(audiam)  
 tempore quo ad eradendum nomen saevissimae dominationis  
 missus cum vexillationes Moesiae Inferioris voltus  
 h(ostium) p(ublicorum) [de vexillis et can]tabris <sup>ultro</sup>  
~~ultro~~ [facta prima] in acie constitutus [implorave]rat,  
 Clodius Celsinus [p(rimi)p(ilaris)dat, quod commil]  
 ito voverat.

nollent,  
 im]prospere  
 [coercebat],  
 sione [facta etc.

The text, which differs slightly from that in  
L'année épigraphique, is that produced by R. Egger,  
 who discussed the inscription in Serta Hoffileriana,  
 pp. 219-24, with an illustration of the stone. He  
 it was who suggested the possibility of p(rimi)p(ilaris),  
 but I do not feel that his attempt to exclude any other  
 possibility was successful.

40. UNKNOWN

Esperandieu 640 Castel-Roussillon.

There are a number of fragments, one of which  
 refers to ...rimo...ntus At present nothing intelligible  
 can be made out of them, and clearly their place is here.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

This is not intended to be exhaustive, but to give a classified list of the essential reading for a student of the primipilares. The works whose titles appear in capitals are of primary importance.

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### III. Etymology, and other evidence bearing on geographical origins.

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| A. Holder     | ALT+CELTISCHE SPRACHSCHATZ                   |
| W. Schulze    | ZUR GESCHICHTE RÖMISCHER EIGENNAMEN          |
| W. Kubitschek | IMPERIUM ROMANUM TRIBUTIM DESCRIPTUM<br>1889 |

(I have not had the actual work available to me for much of the time, so have relied on an abstract of the conclusions made by Mr. Birley. Hence I have been unable to insert exact references in the Prosopography, but where I give a tribe as that of a particular place I am basing myself on Kubitschek's lists).

E. Birley "The origins of equestrian officers:  
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Classique, IX 1940, pp. 13-23)
- G.-Ch. Picard & H. Le Bonniec "Du Nombre et des Titres  
 des centurions légionnaires"  
 (Revue de Philologie, XI  
 1937, pp. 112-24)

#### V. Special works

##### (i) The Praetorian cohorts

- M. Durry LES COHORTES PRETORIENNES (Paris 1938)
- A. Passerini Lecorti pretorie (Rome 1939)

##### (ii) The Prefect of the Camp

- Cl. W. Keyes THE RISE OF THE EQUITES IN THE THIRD  
 CENTURY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE  
 (Princeton 1915)
- G. Lopuszanski "LE TRANSFORMATION DU CORPS DES  
 OFFICIERS SUPERIEURS DANS L'ARMEE  
 ROMAINE DU I<sup>er</sup> AU III<sup>e</sup> SIECLE APRES

J. & C. "(Ecole Franc. de Rome, Melanges  
d'Arch. et d'Histoire, 1938 pp. 131-83)

G. Wilmanns

"DE PRAEFECTO CASTRORUM ET DE PRAEFECTO  
LEGIONIS" (EE I 1872, pp. 81-105).

(iii) The Procurators

H.G. Pflaum

LES PROCURATEURS EQUESTRES SOUS LE  
HAUT EMPIRE ROMAIN (Paris 1950)

LES CARRIERES PROCURATORIENNES

(This work through the kindness of  
M. Pflaum has been made available to  
me in proof. I have referred to it  
throughout the book as the thèse  
complémentaire, its original title.

A.N. Sherwin-White

"PROCURATOR AUGUSTI", Papers of the  
British School at Rome, 1939, pp. 11-26

H. Zwicky

~~11-26~~ Zur Verwendung des Militars in  
der Verwaltung der romischen  
Kaiserzeit (1944)



## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1. De Centurionibus Romanorum.
2. Die Rangordnung des Römischen Heeres.
3. Les cohortes prétoriennes, pp. 3, 132-46.
4. Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 118-21.
5. This will shortly be published under the title, Les carrières procuratoriennes.

### HISTORICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. De Centurionibus Romanorum, pp. 1-3
2. Op. cit., pp. 4-6.
3. Op. cit., pp. 6-9.
4. Op. cit., pp. 9-12.
5. Op. cit., pp. 20-21, 32.
6. Op. cit., pp. 12-15.
7. Op. cit., pp. 17-19.
8. Op. cit., pp. 20-22.
9. Op. cit., pp. 22-25
10. Op. cit., p. 24.
11. Op. cit., p. 24.
12. Op. cit., pp. 25-29.
13. Op, cit., p. 28.
14. Op. cit., pp. 29-35.
15. Op. cit., pp. 36-37.
16. Op. cit., pp. 41-45.

17. Op. cit., pp. 45-48.
18. De praefecto castrorum et praefecto legionis, pp. 88-89.
19. Op. cit., pp. 89-90.
20. Op. cit., pp. 90-91.
21. Op. cit., pp. 91-95.
22. Op. cit., pp. 101-103.
23. De Centurionibus Legionariis, pp. 7-11.
24. Op. cit. pp. 12-14.
25. Op. cit. pp. 14-18.
26. Rangordnung, p. 83.
27. Op. cit., p. 90.
28. Op. cit., pp. 112-115.
29. Op. cit., p. 103.
30. Op, cit., p. 112.
31. Op. cit., p. 113.
32. Op. cit., p. 114.
33. Op. cit., p. 115.
34. Op. cit., pp. 118-119.
35. Op. cit., p. 119.
36. Op. cit., p. 120.
37. Op. cit. pp. 120-122.
38. Die Rangordnung der Römischen Centurionen, pp. 39-40.
39. Op. cit., pp. 47-48.
40. Op. cit., p. 50.
41. De Centurionibus Romanorum, pp. 16-17.
42. The Rise of the Equites, p. 20.

43. Op. cit., pp. 21-23.
44. Op. cit., p. 24.
45. Op. cit., p. 25.
46. Op. cit., pp. 26-28.
47. Op. cit., pp. 28-41 and note B.
48. Op. cit., p. 38.
49. Der Römische Ritterstand, pp. 135-71.
50. Op. cit., pp. 135-71.
51. "Du nombre et des titres des centurions légionnaires sous le haut empire".
52. "La transformation du corps des officiers supérieurs dans l'armée romaine," p. 140.
53. Op. cit., pp. 144-45.
54. Op. cit., p. 148.
55. Op. cit., p. 160.
56. Op. cit., pp. 165-66.
57. Les cohortes prétoriennes, p. 22.
58. Op. cit., pp. 132-46.
59. Op. cit., p. 133.
60. Op. cit. p. 139.
61. Op. cit., p. 140.
62. Op. cit., pp. 141-43.
64. Op. cit., pp. 144-45.
65. "The Origins of Legionary Centurions", Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 104-24.

66. Zur Verwendung des Militärs in der Verwaltung der römischen Kaiserzeit, p. 52.
67. Op. cit., pp. 52-53.
68. Op. cit., p. 64.
69. Op. cit., p. 64.
70. Op. cit., p. 68.
71. Op. cit., pp. 70-71.
72. Op. cit., pp. 90-93.
73. Les procurateurs équestres, p. 179.
74. Op. cit., p. 219.
75. Op. cit., pp. 187-88, 261-62.
76. Op. cit., pp. 237-38.
77. Op. cit., p. 213.

#### THE REPUBLICAN PRIMIPILATE

1. Livy 10. 35. 16 Dicta consulis legati tribuniq[ue] et omnes turmae equitum et centuriones primorum ordinum approbavere.  
 Livy 44. 33. 4 Iussis deinde militibus expedire arma ipse cum tribunis primisque ordinibus ad contemplan-  
 dos transitus processit.
2. Dio. Halicarnensis, 9. 10. 2.
3. Livy 8. 41 Additum legi ne quis ubi tribunus militum fuisset, postea ordinum ductor esset. Id propter P. Salonium ab coniuratis postulatum est, qui alternis prope annis et tribunus militum et primus centurio erat, quem nunc primi

pili appellant.

4. Livy 8. 13.

5. Livy 8. 3-19.

6. Livy 25. 19.9.

7. bell. gall., 1. 41. 3 Deinde reliquae legiones cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centuriones egerunt uti Caesari satisfacerent.

8. bell. gall., 5. 28. 3. (legati) ad consilium rem deferunt... L. Aurunculeius compluresque tribuni militum et primorum ordinum centuriones ... existimabant.

bell. gall., 5.37 Sabinus quos in praesentia tribunos militum circum se habebat et primorum ordinum centuriones se sequi iubet.

bell. gall., 6.7.8. Labienus nocte tribunis militum primisque ordinibus convocatis quid sui sit consilii proponit.

Orosius 6.8.5. cumque iam castra inrumperentur, Pacuvii primipilaris et Voluseni tribuni consilio cuncti Romani portis eruperunt.

bell. gall., 3.5.2. Publius Sextius Baculus, primi pili centurio, l.. item Gaius Volusenus, tribunus militum...ad Galbam adcurrunt atque unam esse spem salutis docent.

9. bell. gall., 3.53  
Lucan 1.358
10. bell. gall., 5.35.6
11. bell. gall., 5.35.7.
12. bell. civ., 3.91.
13. bell. civ., 1.13.
14. bell. civ. 3. 104
15. Lucan 1. 597
16. X 5713 = ILS 2226 L(ucio) Firmio L(ucii) f(ilio), prim(o)  
pil(o), tr(ibunus) mil(itum), IIII vir(o)  
i(ure) d(icundo) colonia deducta prim(o)  
pontifici, legio IIII Sorana honoris et  
sic virtutis causa (Sora)
17. X 6011 = ILS 2490.
18. bell. civ. 3.53 quem (Scaevam) Caesar...donatum milibus  
CC collaudatumque ab octavis ordinibus  
ad primipilum se traducere pronuntiavit.  
(Cf. Suetonius, Div. Iul., 68.4).
19. G.L. Cheesman, The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army,  
Oxford, 1914, pp. 23-25.
20. Livy, 2.27.6.
21. Orosius 5.21.3 tunc Sylla auctore L. Fursidio primipilare  
infamem illam tabulam proscriptionis  
induxit.
22. G.L. Cheesman, The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army,  
pp. 90-93.

### THE AUGUSTAN PRIMIPILATE

1. Rangordnung, p. 113.
2. Op. cit., p. 119.
3. H.G. Pflaum, Procurators, p. 20.
4. Op. cit., pp. 196-7.
5. Roman Britain and the Roman Army, p. 139.
6. The Rise of the Equites, pp. 19-20, and H. Zwicky, Zur Verwendung des Militärs, pp. 52-53. Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 113, is more cautious.

### THE DEVELOPING PRIMIPILATE

1. The Rise of the Equites, p. 20.
2. Suetonius, Divus Claudius, 25. 1.
3. The oldest evidence for the presence of the legion in Egypt is the decree in honour of one of its centurions, XI 5694, dated A.D. 141.
4. W. Baehr, De Denturionibus Legionariis.  
E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 104-24.
5. Il Reclutamento etc., App. A, tab. IV, pp. 152-56.
6. Thèse complémentaire, no. 105 bis.
7. Thèse complémentaire, no. 216
8. Procurators, pp. 182-83.
9. Procurators, p. 285.

### THE ORIGINES OF PRIMIPILARES

1. Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 25-28, gives reasons why the early destruction of IX Hispana cannot be accepted as certain.

### THE PRIMPILARIS AND THE REGIONS

1. Il Reclutamento, etc., App. A, Tab. IV, pp. 152-53.
2. W. Baehr, De Centurionibus Legionariis.
3. Les cohortes prétoriennes, p. 139.
4. Die Rangordnung der römischer Centurionen, p. 36, 43 47. I think he is in error in thinking that the centurial sign cannot include the posts of hastatus and princeps, and he is still seeing in each post as centurion a promotion.
5. Revue de Philologie, XI, 1937, pp. 113-34.
6. Rangordnung, pp. 90-97.

### THE PRIMPILARIS AND THE ROET COHORTS

1. ... Durr, Les cohortes prétoriennes, p. 139.  
Domaszewski, Rangordnung, p. 103.
2. Op. cit., p. 103.
3. Op. cit., p. 103.
4. Op. cit., pp. 1-3.
5. The interpretation of the career is uncertain, cf. Prosopography.
6. Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 104-24.
7. Les cohortes prétoriennes, pp. 132-33.  
Praetoriae cohortes, RE XXII 2, 1618.
8. Les cohortes prétoriennes, pp. 135-35.
9. Die Rangordnung der römischen Centurionen, pp. 25-26.
10. Rangordnung, pp. 99 f..
11. Le coorti pretorie, p. 89 f..
12. Rangordnung, p. 101, with texts. The restorations should be carefully studied.



13. Op. cit., p. 90, and note 12. Cf. p. 102.
14. Les cohortes prétoriennes, pp. 111-42.
15. Rangordnung, p. 90.
16. Les cohortes prétoriennes, p. 135.
17. Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 122-23.

#### THE PRINIPILARIS AND THE EQUESTRIAN ORDER

1. Les cohortes prétoriennes, p. 142.
2. Zur Verwendung des Militärs, etc., p. 90.
3. Mitteis-Wilcken, I ii no. 464, [hisq]ue observatis deposita administratione supra dicta propriis [atten]de (A.D. 344). A prefect of an ala is relieved of his post.

Dig. 29.1.20 Tribunus militum si intra dies certos quam successor eius in castra venerat, maniens in castris codicillos fecerit et ibi decesserit, quoniam desinit militis loco haberi postquam successor eius in castra venit, ideo communi iure civium Romanorum codicilli eius aestimandi sunt.

4. ILS 2654-56.
5. De Centurionibus Romanorum, pp. 40-41.
6. Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 139-40.
7. De Centurionibus Legionariis, p. 4.
8. Zur Verwendung des Militärs, etc., pp. 90-92.
9. De Centurionibus Romanorum, pp. 41-42.
10. Statius, Silvae, ed. Frère, Budé, 1944, 5.1.95 f..

Pandere quis centum valeat frenare maniplos

Inter missus eques, quis praecepisse cohorti,

Quem deceat clari praestantior ordo tribuni,

Quisnam frenigeræ signum dare dignior alae...

11. De Centurionibus Romanorum, p. 40.

12. In this connection for legionaries the lists of G. Forni, Il Reclutamento, etc., pp. 159-212, may be consulted for legionaries, and for praetorians those of A. Passerini, Le coorti pretorie, p. 148 f., and the remarks of H. Durry, Les cohortes prétoriennes, pp. 239-51 and p. 247 note 8.

13. De Centurionibus Legionariis.

Roman Britain and the Roman Army, pp. 104-24.

#### THE PRIMUSPILUS AND THE PRIMIPILARIS

1. As he was reputed to be the son of Caligula, his birth can hardly have been earlier than A.D. 29 at the outside. See Prosopography.

2. De Centurionibus Legionariis, p. 4.

3. Optio primipili

III 4293, VI 3409, VI 36676, VIII 18072, AE 1937. 135.

Centuria primipili

III 14359, 26a, VIII 12590, EE IX 1064, AE 1925. 63, AE 1937. 135.

4. There are no clear cases of this, but cf Tac., h., 3.3.

5. Rangordnung, pp. 116-17.

6. Op. cit., p. 117.

#### THE PREFECTS OF THE CA P AND OF THE LEGIONS

1. Rangordnung, pp. 113-15.

2. Lopuszanski, Mémoires d'arch. et d'histoire, 1933, p. 147.

3. De praefecto castrorum et de praefecto legionis, p. 103.

4. The Rise of the Equites, pp. 21-23.

5. Rangordnung, p. 120.
6. The Rise of the Equites, pp. 38-39.
7. Vegetius, 2. 10.
8. Vegetius, 2. 9.
9. Vegetius, 2. 11.
10. L'armée romaine d'Egypte, p. 115 f..
11. Transactions of the American Philological Association, vol. 55, 1924, pp. 29-30, 32.
12. Zeitschr. Savigny-Stift. Röm.Abt. XXXVI, 1926, p. 276 f..
13. Lopuszanski, pp. 150-51.
14. Rangordnung, p. 121.
15. Lopuszanski, pp. 143-50.
16. Procurators, p. 237

#### THE ROMAN TRIBUNATES

1. Statius, Silvae, ed. Frère, Budé, 1944, 5.1.95 f..
2. The Vigiles of Imperial Rome, p. 37 note 1, and p. 112.
3. Equites Singulares Augusti, an unpublished B.A. thesis of the University of Durham.
4. Tac.h. 1.31. I have suggested in the Prosopography that he may have been given a tribunate by Galba at the time when the latter cashiered several tribunes.
5. Cf. Herodian 5.11 and Dio 76.3.6. and see Prosopography.
6. Procurators, pp. 253-54.

#### PRIMUM PILEUS LITERUM

1. See chapter on the Republican primipilate .

2. Ritterling, RE XII, 1705-6.
3. Ritterling, RE XII, 1506-7
4. See Prosopography.
5. Bangordnung, p. 92, cf. p. 112 f..

#### THE PRILIPILARIS PROCURATOR

1. "Procurator Augusti", pp. 11-20.
2. Op. cit., pp. 18-9.
3. Op. cit., p. 17, note 47.
4. Op. cit., pp. 20-21.
5. Procurators, pp. 222-24, cf. pp. 256-55.
6. Op. cit., pp. 127-28.
7. Op. cit., pp. 119-20
8. Op. cit., p. 219.
9. Thèse complémentaire, no. 108.
10. Postulated by E. Birley, accepted by H. G. Pflaum, these complémentaire, no. 118.
11. Procurators, p. 257.
12. Procurators, p. 245.
13. Prefects of Egypt, pp. 106-7.
14. Thèse complémentaire, no. 135.
15. Procurators, p. 244.
16. Procurators, pp. 120-21.
17. Thèse complémentaire, no. 506.
18. Op. cit., no. 337.
- 18a. Procurators, pp. 256-37. and 253-54.

19. The Pretorian Prefect, etc., p. 90. My statement in the text is incorrect, as Howe does not actually make this point.
20. Procurators, p. 237.

INDEX OF ROME TRIBUNES

## VIGILES

## COHORS I

|                          |             |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Ti. Claudius Marcellinus | 205 A.D.    |
| Ti. Claudius Secundinus  | c. 127 A.D. |
| P. Cussius Phoebianus    |             |
| C. Quintilius Priscus    |             |
| Valerius Priscianus      |             |
| M. Ulpius Proculus       | 241 A.D.    |
| V.rius Florus            |             |
| EE VIII 478              |             |

## COHORS II

|                         |                |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| Castricius Honoratus    | 191 A.D.       |
| M. Flavius Raesianus    | 207 A.D.       |
| C. Gavius Silvanus      | c. 63 A.D.     |
| C. Iulius Antigonos     | 210 A.D.       |
| Q. Sittius Flaccus      |                |
| L. Terentius Rufus      | Trajan-Hadrian |
| Sex. Truttedius Clemens |                |

## COHORS III

|                                |                 |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| L. Alfenus Avitianus           | c. 116 A.D.     |
| L. Cominius Maximus            | M. Aurelius     |
| Iunius Reburus                 | 181 A.D.        |
| N. Marcius Plaetorius Celer    | Hadrian         |
| L. Petronius Taurus Volusianus | c. 250 A.D. ?   |
| Cn. Pompeius Homullus          | Domitian-Trajan |
| T. Pontius Sabinus             | Antoninus Pius  |

## COHORS IV

|                          |             |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| P. Aelius Primianus      | c. 255 A.D. |
| L. Aemilius Rufus        | 165 A.D.    |
| L. Antonius Naso         | c. 66 A.D.  |
| Aurelius Senecio         |             |
| Cassius Ligus            | 195 A.D. ?  |
| C. Servilius Gallatianus | 205 A.D.    |
| L. Spurius Maximus       |             |
| Valerius Proculinus      | 175 A.D.    |
| P. Vibius Marianus       |             |

~~COHORS V~~~~M. Bassaeus Rufus~~~~Antoninus Pius~~

## COHORS V

|                       |                               |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| M. Bassaeus Rufus     | Antoninus Pius                |
| T. Flavius Primus     | 111 A.D.                      |
| C. Iulius Flavianus   |                               |
| L. Numerius Albanus   | 113 A.D.                      |
| Q. Petronius Modestus | Domitian-Nerva                |
| Q. Plotienus Sabinus  | 156 A.D.                      |
| C. Rufius Festus      |                               |
| L. Speratius Iustus   | 210 A.D.                      |
| M. Vettius Valens     | Between 60 and <u>63</u> A.D. |

## COHORS VI

|                            |          |
|----------------------------|----------|
| M. Antonius Proculus       | 211 A.D. |
| Aurelius Masculus          | 239 A.D. |
| Ti. Claudius Celer         |          |
| Cn. Marcus Rustius Rufinus | 190 A.D. |
| - Pomponianus              |          |

## COHORS VII

|                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| Cassius Longinus | M. Aurelius              |
| Q. Marcius Turbo | between 104 and 114 A.D. |
| - Pudens (ii)    | 168 A.D.                 |

## COHORT UNKNOWN

|                        |             |
|------------------------|-------------|
| Cl. Aurelius Tiberius  |             |
| Claudius Proculus      |             |
| Iulius Fronto          | 69 A.D.     |
| Iulius S-              | 205-7 A.D.? |
| C. Manilius O-         |             |
| Pom- Cornelianus       | 175 A.D.    |
| M. Ulpius Constantinus | 203 A.D.    |
| - Rufinus              | 175 A.D.    |
| - Serenianus           | 221 A.D.    |

## URBAN

## COHORS I

|                        |               |
|------------------------|---------------|
| L. Licinius Licinianus |               |
| Papirius Sporus        | 219-222 A.D.? |
| Cn. Pompeius Proculus  |               |

## COHORS X

|                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| M. Bassaeus Rufus | Antoninus Pius |
|-------------------|----------------|

## EQUITES SINGULARES

|                     |                          |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| P. Aelius Valens    | 237 A.D.                 |
| Aelius Victor       | 230 A.D.                 |
| Atilius -           | 189 A.D.                 |
| Sex. Baius Pudens   | 153 A.D.                 |
| Helius Monimus      | 197 A.D.                 |
| Q. Marcius Turbo    | between 104 and 114 A.D. |
| Occius Valens       | 202 A.D.                 |
| Octavius Piso       | 202, 205 A.D.            |
| Tattius Maximus     | 142, 143, 145 A.D.       |
| Trebius Germanus    | 197 A.D.                 |
| Valerius Herculanus | 205 A.D.                 |
| .alerius Maximus    | 139 A.D.                 |

## PRAETORIAN

## COHORS I

|                                |               |
|--------------------------------|---------------|
| L. Antonius Naso               | 70 A.D.       |
| L. Graecius Constans           | c. 192 A.D.   |
| Cn. Marcius Rustius Rufinus    | c. 192 A.D.   |
| Octacilius Fuscus              |               |
| L. Petronius Taurus Volusianus | c. 253 A.D. ? |
| C. Pontius Crescens            |               |
| M. Vergilius Gallus Lusius     | Tiberius      |

## COHORS II

|                       |                  |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| T. Pontius Sabinus    | Antoninus Pius ? |
| C. Sibidienus Maximus |                  |
| - Maxumus             | Claudius ?       |

## COHORS III

|                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| L. Mantennius Sabinus |                        |
| C. Rufius Festus      |                        |
| M. Tannonius Bassus   |                        |
| M. Vettius Valens     | between 63 and 65 A.D. |

## COHORS IV

|                                |               |
|--------------------------------|---------------|
| Paullus Aemilius               | Tiberius      |
| Julius Pollio                  | c. 54 A.D.    |
| L. Petronius Taurus Volusianus | c. 252 A.D. ? |

## COHORS V

|                       |                 |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| C. Manilius O-        |                 |
| Q. Petronius Modestus | Domitian-Nerva  |
| Cn. Pompeius Homullus | Domitian-Trajan |



T. Pontinius

COHORS VI

L. Gratttius Exsuperius  
C. Quintilius Friscus  
Vettius Rufinus  
III 3126

141 A.D.  
Valerian and  
Gallienus ?

COHORS VII

L. Cominius Maximus  
Furius Festus  
D. Iunius Verecundus  
L. Rufellius Severus

M. Aurelius  
202, 203 A.D.  
  
Claudius ?

COHORS VIII

C. Baebius Atticus  
Ti. Claudius Secundinus  
T. Licinius Hierocles

Claudius ?  
129 A.D.  
Caracalla-Elagabalus

COHORS IX

L. Antonius Naso  
T. Iulius E-  
T. Iulius Ustus  
L. Publicius Proculeianus  
P. Trebius Albanus

between 66 and 68 A.D.  
  
Claudius-Nero

COHORS X

L. Appaeus Pudens  
C. Valerius Pansa  
P. Vibius Marianus  
III 4037

Antoninus Pius ?  
  
196 A.D.

COHORS XII

C. Gavius Silvanus

65 A.D.

COHORT UNKNOWN

Antonius Honoratus  
Ti. Antonius Taurus  
Aurelius Apollinaris  
Aurelius Nemesianus  
Aurelius Sabinianus ?  
M. Bassaeus Rufus

68 A.D.  
68 A.D.  
217 A.D.  
217 A.D.  
Gallienus  
Antoninus Pius-M.  
Aurelius

Iulius Proculus  
Cn. Pompeius Homullus

Domitian-Trajan

# COHORS XI

L. Antonius Naso  
Ti. Claudius Secundinus  
T. Licinius Hierocles  
Cn. Marcius Rustius Rufinus  
L. Ovinius Rufus  
L. Petronius Taurus Volusianus  
P. Vibius Marianus  
III 3126

between 66 and 68 A.D.  
c. 127 A.D.  
Caracalla  
c. 191 A.D.  
Augustus-Tiberius  
c. 251 A.D. ?  
Valerian/Gallienus

# COHORS XII

L. Alfenus Avitianus  
L. Appaeus Pudens  
Q. Petronius Modestus  
C. Quintilius Friscus  
C. Rufius Festus  
M. Vettius Valens

c. 167 A.D.  
Domitian-Nerva  
between 60 and 63

# COHORS XIII

C. Cestius Sabinus  
C. Gavius Silvanus  
Numisius Clemens  
C. Velius Rufus

Antoninus Pius  
c. 64 A.D.  
192 A.D.  
Domitian

# COHORS XIV

L. Cominius Maximus  
T. Pontius Sabinus

M. Aurelius  
Antoninus Pius ?

# COHORS XV

L. Antonius Naso  
Iulius Pollio

between 66 and 68 A.D.  
c. 54 A.D.

# COHORT UNKNOWN

Aemilius Pacensis  
Aurelius Flav- Rufinus  
Iulius Celsus  
C. Manilius O-  
XIV 191 ?  
SB 5731 ?

69 A.D.  
32 A.D.  
M. Aurelius ?

|      |                                  |                          |
|------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
|      | Cassius Chaerea                  | 41 A.D.                  |
| Sex. | Cetorius Severus                 | 69 A.D.                  |
|      | Cornelius Martialis              | 65 A.D.                  |
|      | Cornelius Sabinus                | 41 A.D.                  |
| T.   | Flavius Genialis                 | 185 A.D.                 |
|      | Flavius Nepos                    | 65 A.D.                  |
|      | Gerellanus                       | 65 A.D.                  |
|      | Iulius Crispus                   | c. 199 A.D.              |
|      | Iulius Lupus                     | 41 A.D.                  |
|      | Iulius Martialis                 | 69 A.D.                  |
|      | Liberalinius Probinus (Gallic?)  |                          |
| Cn.  | Manlius                          | Augustus-Tiberius        |
|      | Q. Marcius Turbo                 | between 104 and 114 A.D. |
|      | C. Nymphidius Sabinus            | 65 A.D.                  |
|      | L. Ovinus Rufus                  | Tiberius                 |
|      | Papinius -                       | 41 A.D.                  |
|      | C. Petilius Venustus             |                          |
|      | P. Petronius Felix               |                          |
|      | M. Plavonius Victorinus (Gallic) |                          |
|      | Pompeius -                       | 65 A.D.                  |
|      | Pompeius Longinus                | 69 A.D.                  |
|      | Staius                           | 24 A.D.                  |
|      | Staius Domitius                  | 65 A.D.                  |
|      | Staius Proxumus                  | 65 A.D.                  |
| Sex. | Subrius Dexter                   | 69 A.D.                  |
|      | Subrius Flavius                  | 65 A.D.                  |
| T.   | Suedius Clemens                  | Vespasian                |
|      | Valerius - (ii)                  | c. 199 A.D.              |
|      | Valerius Paulinus                | 69 A.D.                  |
|      | Varius Crispinus                 | 69 A.D.                  |
|      | Veianus Niger                    | 65 A.D.                  |
|      | Vettius Aper                     | 193 A.D.                 |
|      | - Aristomachus                   | 221 A.D.                 |
|      | VI 1645                          | Philips                  |
|      | X 1711                           | Claudius                 |
|      | EE VIII 478                      |                          |
|      | SB 5731                          | M. Aurelius ?            |
|      | Literary, no. 574                |                          |
|      | Literary, no. 575                |                          |

## ROME TRIBUNES OF UNCERTAIN CORPS

|                 |          |
|-----------------|----------|
| Cornelius Felix | 204 A.D. |
| Flavius Clemens | 204 A.D. |
| Marcus Titianus |          |
| - Campanus      | 204 A.D. |
| - - -atus       | 204 A.D. |

INDEX OF COGNOMINA.

ACASTINUS: CAESILIUS  
 ADIUTOR: APPIUS  
 ADVENTUS: OCLATINIUS  
 AELIANUS: AELIUS  
 AGRIPPA: IULIUS  
 ALBANUS: NUMERIUS, TREBIUS  
 ALBINUS: FLAVIUS  
 ALEXANDER: AURELIUS; POMPEIUS  
 ANTIGONUSE: IULIUS  
 ANTINOUS: AURELIUS  
 ANTIOCHUS: AURELIUS  
 ANTONINUS: AURELIUS, FLAVIUS  
 APER: VETTIUS  
 APOLLINARIS: AURELIUS, STATILIUS, ULPIUS  
 APOLLONIANUS: AELIUS  
 APRONIANUS: PUBLICIUS  
 AQUINUS: -  
 ARISTOMACHUS: -  
 ASCANIUS: CICEREIUS  
 ASPER: POMPEIUS  
 ATILIANUS: GNORIUS  
 ATINAS: PURTISIUS  
 ATROX: CORNELIUS  
 ATTICUS: BAEBIUS  
 AVITIANUS: ALFENUS  
  
 BALBUS: OCTAVIUS  
 BARBARUS: GLITIUS  
 BASILIDES: FLAVIUS  
 BASSUS: APIDIUS, IULIUS, OPPIUS, TANNONIUS  
 BLANDUS: MELLONIUS  
 BRYONIANUS: -  
  
 CAECILIANUS: SULGIUS  
 CAESIONIANUS: AELIUS  
 CAIUS: ULPIUS  
 CALLIMACHUS: ANIUS  
 CAMPANUS: NAEVIUS, -  
 CANDIDUS: IULIUS  
 CANNUS: IULIUS  
 CAPITO: CLAUDIUS, INSTEIUS, QUINTILIUS  
 CARALITANUS: FLAVIUS  
 CARTAGUS: IULIUS  
 CASIUS: CINTASIUS  
 CASPERIANUS: CORNELIUS  
 CASSIANUS: AURELIUS  
 CASTUS: ARTORIUS  
 CATULLINUS: AURELIUS  
 CELER: CLAUDIUS, MARCIUS PLAETORIUS, PROSIUS, -  
 CELERINUS: NERTIUS

CELSUS: BAEBIUS, CLAUDIUS, IULIUS  
 CERIALIS: TURULLIUS  
 CERTUS: AEBUTIUS  
 CHAEREA: CASSIUS  
 CICATRICULA: CORNELIUS  
 CILO: TIFANUS  
 CIVICA: HELVIUS RUFUS  
 CLAUDIANUS: AELIUS, CLAUDIUS GEMELLIUS  
 CLEMENS: ARRIUS, FLAVIUS, NUMISIUS, PRAECILIUS, SUEDIUS,  
 TRUTTEDIUS, VALERIUS, UMBRICIUS  
 COMAZON: VALERIUS  
 CONSTANS: FLAVIUS, GRAECIUS, NUMMIUS  
 CONSTANTINUS: ULPIUS  
 CORNELIANUS: FLAVIUS, POM-  
 CRESCENS: AURELIUS, BRITTIUS, IULIUS, PONTIUS, SATRIUS.  
 CRISPINUS: AELIUS, VARIUS  
 CRISPUS: IULIUS -  
 CUSPIANUS: CAETRONIUS

DECCIANUS: POMINIUS  
 DEMETRIUS: CLAUDIUS  
 DEXTER: SUBRIUS  
 DIONYSIUS: AELIUS CAESONIANUS  
 DOMITIANUS: SEPTIMIUS  
 DOMITIUS: STATIUS  
 DONATUS: -  
 DRUSUS: OSCIUS  
 DUBITATUS: -

EGRILIANUS: CORNELIUS  
 EUPHEMIANUS: TETTIUS

FAUSTINUS: ACCEPTIUS  
 FAUSTUS: PORCIUS  
 FELIX: AQUILIUS, AUFIDIUS, CORNELIUS, DURMIUS, NONIUS, PETRONIUS,  
 TUSCENIUS, VALERIUS, VETURIUS  
 FESTUS: ALINNIUS, FURIUS, RUFIOUS, VALERIUS  
 FILINUS: ULPIUS  
 FIRMINUS: AURELIUS  
 FIRMUS: CLAUDIUS, FLAVIUS, GAVIUS, PLOTIUS, TERENTIUS, VALERIUS.  
 FLACCUS: SITTIUS  
 FLAVIANUS: AURELIUS, IULIUS  
 FLAVINUS: AURELIUS  
 FLAVUS: SUBRIUS  
 FLORIANUS: AURELIUS, COCCEIUS, FLAVIUS, PUBLICIUS  
 FLORUS: V. RIUS  
 FORTUNATUS: ALFENUS, AURELIUS  
 FRONTINUS: AELIUS, AURELIUS  
 FRONTO: GAVIUS, GERELLANUS, IULIUS, LITERNIUS, MARCIUS TURBO  
 FURIANUS: BETTIUS  
 FUSCIANUS: SATRIUS  
 FUSUCS: OTACILIUS

GALLATIANUS: SERVILIUS

GALLUS: LABERIUS, LUCILIUS, NUMISIENUS, VERGILIUS, VIBIUS,  
-URIUS, -

GEMINUS: MAESIUS

GENIALIS: FLAVIUS

GERMANUS: AELIUS, ARRIUS, AURELIUS, TREBIUS, -

GRATUS: ARRIUS, BRUTTIUS, IULIUS

HERACLIANUS: VALERIUS

HERCULANUS: FLAVIUS, VALERIUS

HERENNIANUS: VETTIUS

10 HERPIDOPHORES: -

HIEROCLES: LICINIUS

HIRRUTUS: PEDIUS LUSIANUS

HOMULLUS: POMPEIUS

HONORATUS: ANTONIUS, CASTRICIUS, CLODIUS, IULIUS

INGENUUS: SEMPRONIUS

ISIDORIANUS: IULIUS

ITALICUS: CLAUDIUS, IULIUS

IUCUNDUS: SATTONIUS

IULIANUS: DOMITIUS, IULIUS, POMPONIUS, PRAECILIUS CLEMENS,  
ULPIUS, -

IULIUS: ULPIUS

IUNCUS: AEMIULIUS

IUSTANUS: TULLIUS

IUSTUS: ATINIUS, AURELIUS, CATONIUS, MINICIUS, ORANIUS,  
PESCENNIUS, PORCIUS, SPERATIUS

IUVENALIS: -

KARUS: VARIUS

LA-: SUICCIUS

LAETUS: PACILIUS ZENON, SFLIUS

LEPIDUS: IULIUS

LICINIANUS: LICINIUS

LIGUS: CASSIUS

LOLLIANUS: BRYONIANUS

LONGINUS: AELIUS, CASSIUS, DECRIUS? POMPEIUS

LONGUS: CASSIUS, FABIUS

LUCANUS: ATTIVS

LUCILIANUS: AELIUS

LUCIUS: ANTONIUS, RETONIUS

LUNENSIS: FULVIUS

LUPUS: IULIUS, NUMERIUS, NYMPHIDIUS

LUSIANUS: PEDIUS HIRRUTUS

LUSITANICUS: CLAUDIUS PETRONIUS

LUSIUS: VERGILIUS GALLUS

MACEDO: PAESODIUS

MAGNUS: PONTIENUS

MANSUETUS: REFIDIUS

MARCELLINUS: AEMILIUS, AURELIUS, CLAUDIUS, CLEMENTIUS VALERIUS,  
MINICIUS

MARCELLUS: AELIUS, PACCIUS, TELTONIUS  
 MARCIANUS: AURELIUS, PONTIUS, SEXTILIUS  
 MARIANUS: VIBIUS  
 MARINUS: VIBIUS  
 MARRAX: STATIUS  
 MARTIALIS: CORNELIUS  
 MASULUS: AURELIUS  
 MATERNUS: VALERIUS  
 MAURETIANUS: VETURIUS  
 MAXIM-: AURELIUS  
 MAXIMINUS: IULIUS  
 MAXIMUS: ANICIUS, COMINIUS, FLAVIUS, IULIUS, RESIUS, SIBIDIENUS,  
 SPURIUS, TATTIUS, .ALERIUS  
 MAXUMUS: -  
 MEMOR:  
 LODESTUS: PETRONIUS  
 MONIMUS: HELIUS  
 MUCIANUS: TRAIANUS  
  
 NASO: ANTONIUS  
 NATULUS: NUMISIUS  
 NEMESIANUS: AURELIUS  
 NEPOS: FLAVIUS  
 NEPOTIANUS: SABINIUS  
 NESTOR: IULIANUS  
 NIGER: CASPERIUS, VEIANIUS  
 NOVELLUS: ANTONIUS  
 NUMITOR: AUFIDIUS  
  
 O-: MANILIUS  
 OPTATUS: -  
 ORFITUS: PACCIUS  
  
 PACATIANUS: IULIUS  
 PACENSIS: AEMILIUS  
 PANSA: VALERIUS  
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 PATERNUS: AEMILIUS  
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 PISO: AURELIUS, OCTAVIUS  
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 POMPONIANUS: -  
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 PRISCINUS: STATIUS  
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 PROCLIANUS: FLAVIUS  
 PROCULEIANUS: PUBLICIUS  
 PROCULINUS: VALERIUS  
 PROCULUS: ANCHARIUS, ANSIUS, ANTONIUS, CASTRICIUS, CLAUDIUS,  
 CLEUSIUS, IULIUS, LEPIDIUS, LICINIUS ANCOIUS,  
 MAGIUS, POMPEIUS, PRECIUS, STATILIUS, ULPIUS  
 PROXUMUS: STATIUS  
 PUDENS: APPAEUS, BAIUS, BLOSSIUS, VINIUS, -  
 PUNICUS: VIBRIUS

QUADRATUS: NORBANUS  
 QUARTUS: MATTIUS  
 QUINTUS: CLAUDIUS, VALERIUS  
 QUIRINALIS: PALPELLIUS CLODIUS

RAESIANUS: FLAVIUS  
 REBRICUS: -  
 REBURRUS: IUNIUS  
 REGINUS: AURELIUS  
 ROGATIANUS: ATILIUS  
 ROMANUS: COCCEIUS, VETTIUS  
 RUFINUS: AUR. FLAV -, MARCIUS RUSTIUS? VETTIUS, -  
 RUFUS: AEMILIUS, AUFELLIUS, AUFIDIENUS, AURELIUS, BASSAEUS,  
 HELVIUS, HOSTILIUS, IULIUS, OVINIUS, RAECIUS, SEIUS,  
 TERENCEIUS, TILLIUS, VELIUS

S-: IULIUS, LUC-  
 SABINIANUS: AURELIUS, COSCONIUS, VINIUS PUDENS  
 SABINUS: AURELIUS, CESTIUS, CLAUDIUS, CORNELIUS, DOMITIUS,  
 FLAVIUS, GEMINIUS, MANTENNIUS, MAXIUS, NYMPHIDIUS,  
 PETRONIUS, PLOTENUS, PONTIUS, SERVAEUS.

SACERDOS: OCLATIUS  
 SAL-: VETTIUS  
 SALANUS: ARRIUS  
 SALVIUS: MINNIUS

SATURNINUS: AELIUS, CLODIUS, CORNELIUS, DIDIUS, SEPTIMUS,  
 TARQUITIUS, VITELLIUS, -

SAXO: MEFFIUS

SCAEVA: DIDIUS, MUCIUS

SECUNDIUS: CAMMIUS, CLAUDIUS, -

SECUNDUS: AMBLASIUS, CALVISIUS, DISIDENUS, MARIUS, OCTAVIUS,  
 OPIUS, TREBIUS, VALERIUS

SEMPRONIANUS: SEPTIMIUS

SENECA: CALPURNIUS

SENECIO: AURELIUS

SENTINATIANUS: CALPURNIUS SENECA ETC.



SEPPIANUS: CALPURNIUS  
 SERAPIO: AURELIUS  
 SERENIANUS: -  
 SERENUS: AMULLIUS  
 SEVERUS: ALLEDIUS, ASINIUS, CETRIUS, COCCEIUS, DESTICIUS,  
 FULLONIUS, IULIUS, MARCIUS TURBO ETC., RUFELLIUS  
 SEXTIANUS: MARCIUS  
 SILO: ANTONIUS  
 SILVANUS: CLAUDIUS, GAVIUS  
 SILVESTER: CAESIUS  
 SIMILIS: SULPICIUS, TITIUS  
 SINTUS: AURELIUS  
 SOLON: STATILIUS  
 SOSSIANUS: TREBONIUS  
 SPORUS: PAPIRIUS  
 STUDIOSUS: FLAVIUS  
 SUCCESSOR: LUCILIUS  
 SULLA: MARCIUS  
 SUPERINUS: AURELIUS

TAURUS: ANTONIUS, PETRONIUS  
 TENAX: INSTULMIUS  
 TERTULLINUS: CLAUDIUS  
 TERTULLUS: TIMINIUS  
 THALAMUS: SALLEENUS  
 THIUMPO: VALERIUS  
 THRASEA: CAERELLIUS  
 TIBERIUS: CL. AUREL.  
 TIBERINUS: IULIUS  
 TIRO: APICIUS  
 TITIANUS: MARCIUS  
 TITUS: VALERIUS  
 TRAIANUS: -  
 TRICCIANUS: AELIUS  
 TROCUNDUS: -  
 TURBO: CALPURNIUS SENECA ETC  
 TURBO: MARCIUS

VALENS: AELIUS, GIGENNAUS, IULIUS, OCCIUS, VETTIUS  
 VALENTINUS: ARBUSTIUS, TERENTIUS  
 VARUS: ALFENUS, ARRIUS  
 VENATOR: GARGILIUS  
 VENUSIUS: PETILIUS  
 VERECUNDUS: IUNIUS  
 VERGILIANUS: FLAVIUS  
 VERUS: ATILIUS, IULIUS  
 VETERANUS: AURELIUS  
 VIATOR: -  
 VIBIANUS: CLAUDIUS  
 VICTOR: AELIUS, FLAVIUS, RUFTUS, TORIUS  
 VICTORINUS: PIAVONIUS  
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 VOLUSIANUS: PETRONIUS TAURUS  
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