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THE DONA MILITARIA OF THE ROMAN ARMY

by

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Thesis presented in candidacy for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, 1972

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ABSTRACT.

The last comprehensive study of dona militaria was that of Steiner in 1906 (Bonner Jahrbücher, 114/5), since when the amount of epigraphic evidence on the subject has increased by over fifty per-cent, casting doubts upon some of the hypotheses put forward by Steiner and largely accepted since his time. The object of the present study is to trace the developments of the system of award from its origins in the Republic till its disappearance or radical transformation in the Severan period. In the Republic each decoration had a specific meaning and was awarded with regard only to the nature of the deed it rewarded; much of this meaning was lost in the Principate when types of award received depended largely on rank. However, the system never became as hidebound and impersonal as has hitherto been believed, for although rules appear to have existed as to the types of award for which each rank was eligible, the quantity and combination thereof remained flexible, giving ample scope for the recognition of individual merit. The evidence for the Republic is largely literary and the information it yields deals more with the nature of the awards than with details of the recipient; the evidence for the Principate is almost wholly epigraphic, being concerned with specific awards to specific people. The treatment of the two periods differs, therefore, the one being approached from the standpoint of the decoration itself, the other from the standpoint of the recipient. Working from the specific to the general a detailed prosopographical study has been made of each individual case in order to determine what rules lay behind the granting of dona and the scale on which they were given, whether the practice changed over the years, who was eligible to be decorated and in what type of campaign.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

During the three years that this thesis has been in preparation I have received much advice, encouragement and practical assistance from a variety of different people whose kindness it is my pleasure to acknowledge. A scholarship from the British School at Rome provided me with the means and the opportunity to spend my final year's research abroad, visiting museums and libraries in Italy and Germany, to see at first hand much of the epigraphic material on which this work is based. I am grateful to the authorities of the National and Capitoline Museums in Rome, the Vatican Museum, the Museo Maffeiano Verona and the Landesmuseum Bonn for access to their stores and reserve collections, to Prof. G. Barbieri and the Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica for permission to use the files of the Dizionario Epigrafico, and to Prof. Dr. Hans Schönberger for accommodation at the Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Frankfurt. Mr. T. Middlemass, photographic technician in the Department of Archaeology at Durham, produced most of the illustrations from photographs provided by a number of different sources which are acknowledged individually in the Catalogue of Illustrations. I owe much, too, to Professor Eric Birley, Dr. John Mann and Dr. David Breeze for their unfailing advice on matters connected with the roman army, and to Mr. John Rainbird for assistance with the Greek texts. My biggest single debt however is to my supervisor, Dr. Brian Dobson, whose advice, encouragement and friendly criticism has always been so freely and willingly given; for his guidance I remain deeply indebted.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.

A.E. = Année Epigraphique

Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses = G. Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses. Senatorische Reichsbeamte und Offiziere in den spanischen Provinzen des römischen Reiches von Augustus bis Diokletian (1969)

Alföldy, Hilfstruppen = G. Alföldy, Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior, Ep. Stud. 6 (1968)

G. Alföldy, Ein hispanische Offizier in Niedergermanien. Madriider Mitteilungen 6 (1965) 105ff.

Alföldy, Legionslegaten = G. Alföldy, Die Legionslegaten der römischen Rheinarmeen. Ep. Stud. 3 (1967).

G. Alföldy, Zur Beurteilung der Militardiplome der Auxiliarsoldaten. Historia 17 (1968) 215ff.

Atti Lincei = Atti della Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei, Rendiconti. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche.

M. Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions (the Near East), 200 B.C. - A.D. 1100 Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine IX (1940) suppl.

BACTH = Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques.

Ber. R.G.K. = Berichte der Römisch-germanischen Kommission des Deutsch. archeologischen Instituts, Berlin.

BGU = Aegyptische Urkunden aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden (1895-1937).

BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire

A. Birley, The Invasion of Italy in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Festschrift Rudolf Laur-Belart (1968) 214ff.

A. Birley, Marcus Aurelius (London 1966).

E. Birley, Alae and Cohortes Milliariae. Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata (1966).

E. Birley, Promotions and Transfers in the Roman Army. II: The Centurionate. Carn. Jb. 1963/4, 21ff.

- Birley RBRA = E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army (Kendal 1953).
- B.Jb. = Bonner Jahrbücher des rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn.
- Breeze, Immunes and Principales = D.J. Breeze, The Immunes and Principales of the Roman Army. (unpublished Durham Ph.D thesis, 1970).
- A. Büttner, Untersuchungen über Ursprung und Entwicklung von Auszeichnungen im römische Heer. B.Jb. 1957, 127ff.
- Carn. Jb. = Carnuntum Jahrbuch.
- Cichorius = C. Cichorius, Die Reliefs der Trabassäule (Berlin 1896-1900)
- Cichorius, Ala = C. Cichorius, Ala. R.E. I, 1224ff.
- Cichorius, Cohors = C. Cichorius, Cohors. R.E. IV, 231 ff.
- CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
- CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
- CRAI = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris.
- D. = H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (Berlin 1892-1916).
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- Durry = M. Durry, Les Cohortes Prétoriennes. Bibliothèques des Écoles français, Athènes et Rome 146 (Paris 1938).
- E.E. = Ephemeris Epigraphica.
- Ep. Stud. = Epigraphische Studien. Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher.
- Festus = Festus de Verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome. Teubner edition (1913) ed. W.M. Lindsay (referred to as L).
- Fitz, Pann. Inf. = J. Fitz. Legati Augusti pro praetore Pannoniae Inferioris. Acta Antiqua Academia Scientiarum Hungaricae 11 (1963) 245ff.
- J. Fitz, Réorganisation militaire au Debut des Guerres Marcomanes. Hommages à Marcel Renard II (1969) 262ff.
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- IBR = F. Vollmer, Inscriptiones Baivarum Sive Romanae Inscriptiones provinciae Raetiae adiectis aliquot Noricis Italicsque (1915).
- IG = Inscriptiones Graecae.
- IGLS = Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie (1929 -).
- IGR = Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinetes. ed R. Cagnat. (1901-1921).
- ILA = R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, L. Chatelain, Inscriptions Latines d'Afrique (1923).
- ILAlg = St. Gsell and H.-G. Pflaum, Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie (1922-1958).
- ILG = Inscriptions Latines de Gaule, M. Espérandieu (1929).
- ILT = A. Merlin, Inscriptions Latines de la Tunisie (1944).
- ILTG = P. Wuilleumier, Inscriptions Latines des Trois Gaules (1963).

- Inscr. Cret. = Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae curavit M. Guarducci (1932-1950)
- Inscr. Ital. = Inscriptiones Italiae (1936-)
- IRT = J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward-Perkins, The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania.
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- Jahreshefte = Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.
- Josephus, b.J. = Josephus, Jewish War.
- JRS = Journal of Roman Studies.
- Kraft = F. Kraft, Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau (Bern 1951).
- Livy = Livy, Ab Urbe Condita.
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H.-G.Pflaum, Legats impériaux à l'Intérieur de Provinces senatoriales. Hommages à A. Grenier (1962) 1232ff.

PIR = Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. 1,II, III ed. H. Dessau

E. Klebs and P.von Rohden (Berlin 1896-1898).

PIR² = Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec I, II, III, second edition. (Berlin 1933-)

Pliny Ep. = Pliny, Epistulae.

Pliny NH = Pliny, Naturalis Historia.

PSI = Publicazioni della Società italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto (1912 -).

A. Radnóti, Zur Auszeichnung 'torquata' und 'bis torquata' der Auxiliartruppen. Germania 39 (1961) 458ff.

A. Radnóti and L. Barkoczi, The Distributions of Troops in Pannonia Inferior during the 2nd century A.D. Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 1, (1951) 191ff.

RE = Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

RIB = R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, The Roman Inscriptions of Britain Vol. 1, Inscriptions on Stone (Oxford 1965).

RIC = H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham, The Roman Imperial Coinage.

Ritterling, Legio = E. Ritterling, Legio, RE XII, 1211ff.

E. Ritterling, Zu den Germanenkriegen Domitiens am Rhein und Donau. Jahreshefte VII (1904) Beiblatt 28ff.

Sallust, bell.Iug. = Sallust, Bellum Iugurthinum.

Saxer, Vexillationen = R. Saxer, Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian. Ep. Stud. 1 (1967).

Schober = A. Schober, Die römischen Grabsteine von Noricum und Pannonien. Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien, Vol. X (1923).

St. or Steiner = P. Steiner, Die Dona Militaria. B.Jb. 114/5 (1906) 1ff.

SHA = Scriptores Historiae Augustae.

Stein-Ritterling = E. Stein and E. Ritterling, Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im Römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat (Wien 1932).

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Tac.ann. = Tacitus, Annals

Tac.hist. = Tacitus, Histories.

Thomasson = B.E. Thomasson, Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diocletianus (1960)

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Val.Max.= Valerius Maximus, Factorum ac Dictorum Memorabilium libri IX.

Vell. Pat.= Velleius Paterculus, Historiae Romanae.

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INTRODUCTION.

The last comprehensive study of the dona militaria of the Roman army was that of P. Steiner in 1906.¹ Steiner, taking stock of all the major work that had been done on the subject up to his time, examined the nature and origins of the decorations themselves and endeavoured to work out the scales of award which developed in the Principate, his conclusions on this latter topic being based on a study of the 182 inscriptions of which he had knowledge, which he lists but does not ~~se~~ discuss in any detail. Some of Steiner's conclusions, as for example those concerned with the dona of the militia equestris, are very sound though their value is somewhat reduced by the failure to present, in any detail, the reasoning on which they are based. Other conclusions, notably those regarding the evocati, are suspect, a fact which together with a fifty per cent increase in relevant epigraphic evidence in the past sixty years, warrants a fresh look at the whole topic of the dona militaria.

Domaszewski, whose Rangordnung appeared in 1908², just two years after the Steiner paper, was concerned, as regards dona, solely with the scales of award in the period from Augustus to Severus; he was evidently aware of the work of Steiner, for he cited it in a footnote, but although the conclusions of the two scholars differ in some important respects, no attempt was made to reconcile or discuss these differences. B. Dobson, editing the second edition of the Rangordnung (which was published in 1967)³, drew attention to some of the major discrepancies in Domaszewski's thesis, citing a number of texts which had been published in the intervening years, but the scope of Dobson's commentary was not sufficiently wide to allow any considerable discussion of the problems of the dona.⁴

The question of the origin and development of the decorations themselves, dealt with in some detail by Steiner, but left wholly untouched by Domaszewski,

has been taken up in recent years by A. Büttner⁵ and so has been largely omitted from the present thesis, apart from a short review of each type of award available.

Certain limited aspects of military decorations have been touched on by other scholars. Durry reviewed the dona of the praetorian guard⁶, but he had nothing new to say, relying totally on the conclusions of Steiner and a short study of the dona of the evocati by Mommsen⁷. Pflaum, analysing the careers of the procurators⁸, had reason to date and discuss the dona which these procurators won in the militia equestris, but apart from one section specifically concerned with the problem of whether or not the procurators themselves were eligible to win decorations⁹, his comments though individually of great value are only incidental to his main theme and are therefore not collected together and studied as a whole. Equestrian dona have also been the subject of two recent articles by T. Nagy¹⁰, whose concern was largely with the Trajanic and Antonine period, the periods for which the evidence is greatest in quantity if not in quality. Nagy, like Domaszewski, puts forward a very rigid scale of award, in this case a two-fold one, which he implies is valid also for the senatorial order, an hypothesis which he does not fully develop in either of the articles yet published.

The conclusions of these various scholars will be discussed in the relevant chapters.

The present work is divided into two sections. Part I comprises a consideration of the nature of the decorations themselves and the conditions under which they were awarded to the various sections of the army when first introduced, an examination in some detail of the principles underlying the scales of award which developed in the Principate, and of such practical problems as when were the dona presented, who awarded them and why. Part II is a prosopography which includes, with just one exception¹¹, only epigraphically

attested cases of dona; the literary examples are altogether too imprecise to warrant inclusion in a section whose main function is to provide the detailed case histories and statistical information on which many of the conclusions regarding imperial dona are based.

The literary evidence, which is largely concerned with the republican period, though less precise about specific examples of award, provides reasonably full information about the nature of the decorations themselves and, linked with the evidence of sculpture, about what they actually looked like, and when and how the presentations were made. It is very rarely that there is any overlap in the information provided by the literary and epigraphic evidence (and on the few occasions where there is, the one is largely consistent with the other) but the reliability of the literary material must be viewed with some suspicion particularly with regard to date, there being a real danger that the historians of the late Republic and early Empire were being somewhat anachronistic, transferring back to very early days conditions which prevailed, if not ⁱⁿ their own lifetimes, at least within living memory.

The literary evidence, which is of paramount importance for the Republic but plays a minimal part in the period from Augustus to Severus, takes up again, albeit in a much reduced fashion, in the post-Severan period where this study of military decorations effectively ends, for the little information which we have of the dona from Caracalla onwards points to a system which bears little resemblance to what had gone before and virtually ceases to be a system of military decorations as such.

The collection of photographs and drawings of inscribed stones which depict military decorations, cannot claim to be exhaustive, but includes all those stones which are still extant and which the present writer has succeeded in locating, plus a few which survive only in manuscript records. Much assistance with the photographic material, ^{has been received} from museum directors throughout the Roman Empire, and due acknowledgement has been made in the catalogue which precedes the illustrations.

INTRODUCTION.

Notes.

1. P. Steiner, Die Dona Militaria, B.Jb. 114-5 (1906) 1ff.
2. A.v. Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres, B.Jb. 117 (1908) 1ff.
3. A. V. Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (ed.B. Dobson). Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher (1967). Hereafter referred to as Rangordnung².
4. Rangordnung², XVIII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXVI, LVII.
5. A. Büttner, Untersuchungen über Ursprung und Entwicklung von Auszeichnungen im römischen Heer. B.Jb. (1957) 127ff.
6. M. Durry, Les Cohortes Prétoriennes (1938) 231ff.
7. T. Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften VIII, 451, 459.
8. H.-G. Pflaum, Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Equestres (1960)
9. H.-G. Pflaum, Les Procurateurs Équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain (1950) 141ff.
10. T. Nagy, Die Auszeichnungen des P. Besius Betuinianus und das Problem der Dona Militaria zu Trajans Zeitalter. Acta Antiqua 16 (1968) 289ff
Les Dona Militaria de M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex.
Hommages à Marcel Renard (1969) 536 ff.
11. The one exception is the case of M. Helvius Rufus (Nr.163) whose dona are given in detail by Tacitus, but who is attested epigraphically with the cognomen Civica taken in commemoration of the corona civica which he won.

PART I.

CHAPTER 1

TYPES OF MILITARY DECORATION.

The origin and development of military decorations were studied at some length by Steiner¹ and have been the subject of a more recent article by Büttner²; the aims of the present section are therefore limited in their scope. Leaving out of account the pre-Roman antecedents of the dona, an attempt has been made to collect the main literary texts dealing with each type of decoration, to show how that award could be won in the Republic, the way in which practice differed in the Principate and what the decoration itself actually looked like; here reference should be made to the figures at the end of the text.

The earliest writer to deal in any detail with military decorations is Polybius whose Histories (written in the mid-second century B.C.) contain a section on ways of encouraging young soldiers to face danger³; slightly earlier than this is the allusion in Caelilius Statius (fl. 179 B.C.) to an iligna corona⁴. However, the majority of authors who are concerned with the dona of the Republic were writing many years after the events they record and there is always the danger that they may be anachronistic. A case in point is that of Siccius Dentatus, a renowned (and perhaps legendary) warrior of the fifth century B.C. whose fabulous dona, listed by Verrius (chez Festus)⁵, Dionysius Halicarnassus⁶, Valerius Maximus⁷, Pliny⁸ and Aulus Gellius⁹, are reputed to have included coronae civicae, obsidionalis, murales, aureae, hastae, torques, armillae and phalerae, at a date (545 B.C.) when it is highly doubtful if the system of award was nearly so sophisticated as is implied by the great variety of decorations won, and when precious metals for the making of these decorations would certainly not have been available in any quantity.

Bearing in mind, therefore, that many of the people and events may be mythical, the literary record is still of great value for the light it throws on republican practice regarding the award of dona, though not perhaps at the

exact dates of which it purports to speak.

CORONA NAVALIS, CLASSICA OR ROSTRATA.

According to Aulus Gellius¹⁰ the corona navalis was originally awarded to the first man to board an enemy ship in a sea battle; a similar opinion is expressed by Festus¹¹. There is, however, no example in either literature or epigraphy of a crown being awarded for such an exploit. From the republican period we know of two occasions on which a crown was awarded in connection with a naval battle, but on both of these occasions the recipient was the commander, Varro in 67 B.C. and Agrippa in 36 B.C.¹² Pliny is the only author to attest Varro's having won it, for Seneca believed that Agrippa was the only recipient of the naval crown¹³, and Livy that Agrippa was the first^{to} be awarded it¹⁴. It has been suggested that corona navalis and the corona rostrata are different from one another, the former, as described by Gellius, being awarded to the first man to board an enemy ship, the latter, superior in dignity, being given to a commander who destroyed a whole fleet. This hypothesis is not borne out by the evidence. Pliny, who describes the crowns of Varro and Agrippa as coronae rostratae¹⁵, refers elsewhere to the corona rostrata as one of the types of crown given to soldiers¹⁶. Livy describes Agrippa's crown as navalis¹⁷ as does Seneca¹⁸, while Velleius Paterculus calls it a corona classica¹⁹. The three terms appear to be interchangeable, the term rostrata being simply a more descriptive way of referring to a crown which was decorated with the beaks of ships or rostra. Gellius describes the corona navalis as 'navium rostris insignita'²⁰; Virgil, speaking of Agrippa's crown, writes 'cui belli insigne superbum tempora navalia fulgent rostrata corona'²¹ while Dio calls it a gold crown decorated with ships' beaks²². This reference to the crown being made of gold is consistent with the evidence of Gellius:

'et muralis autem et castrensis et navalis fieri ex auro solent'²³. A corona navalis is depicted on coins of M. Agrippa (fig. 1a)²⁴.

The term corona rostrata is not attested at all in the imperial period when the crown is described as either classica or navalis with no distinction whatever made between the two. Had the corona rostrata been a more elevated type of crown it is surely this which would have survived as the decoration of the senators. Perhaps because of the extreme rarity with which it appears to have been awarded during the Republic, the naval crown became characteristic of the consular: in no instance, except possibly the case of Valerius Festus (Nr.9) is it ever awarded to a man of lower rank, and it is the corona navalis which is the one crown omitted from the dona of the praetorian prefect which, in all other respects, are identical to those of the consular governor or comes.

Any connection which the award originally had with sea battles was thus soon lost, though the naval origins of the crown were stressed as late as A.D. 44 when Claudius set up a corona navalis along with a corona civica on the gable of his palace in commemoration, according to Suetonius, of his victory over Oceanus²⁵.

CORONA MURALIS (στέρφανος πυργωτός)

The earliest mention of a corona muralis is contained in a passage of Polybius which refers to a gold crown being awarded to the first man to mount the wall at the assault of an enemy city²⁶. Although the crown is not called specifically a mural crown, the allusion is clearly to the same award which Gellius describes²⁷: muralis est corona qua donatur ab imperatore qui primus murum subiit inque oppidum hostium per vim ascendit; idcirco quasi muri pinnis decorata est. Et muralis autem et castrensis et navalis fieri ex auro solent: Servius, the fourth century commentator on Virgil, was also aware of the original

significance of the corona muralis though it had ceased to be awarded in the traditional manner long before his time; 'muralis dabatur ei qui prior murum ascendisset!'²⁸ The mural crown was evidently a much coveted award, and Livy records a unique example of open contest for a military decoration when two soldiers, a centurion and a marine, both claimed to have been the first over the wall in the siege of New Carthage (210 B.C.)²⁹ It is unlikely that the corona muralis was awarded very frequently, for few can have been first to scale an enemy wall and have lived to enjoy the distinction which their courage had earned.

In the Principate the mural crown lost its traditional meaning and came to form part of the set combinations of award presented to officers of the rank of centurion and above. It appears however to have retained some significance, for while the corona vallaris was commonly awarded to centurions the muralis was awarded but rarely, suggesting that it was, perhaps, rather harder to earn³⁰.

The Greek equivalent of the corona muralis was the στέφανος πύργωτος. This is most clearly illustrated on the bilingual inscriptions relating to Sex. Vibius Gallus (Nr.210) which give the Greek and Latin equivalents for all the types of military decorations involved: thus coronis muralibus III Vallaribus II becomes στ. πύργωτος γ, τεῖχωτος β . Hence IGR's translation of the στ. τε[ι]χικός won by Ti. Claudius Heras, as a corona muralis is suspect (Nr.72), as is Dessau's rendering of the στ. τεῖχῆρης of A. Pomponius Augurinus (Nr.94) likewise as corona muralis; in both cases the vallaris should be substituted.

Aulus Gellius describes the mural crown as muri pinnis decorata³¹ which accords with the description of Silius Italicus of a murali(s) cinctus turrita corona.³² This turreted crown is depicted on a number of military inscriptions,

notably that of Vibius Gallus (Fig.3), where it is clearly labelled as a mural crown and carefully distinguished from the corona vallaris by being curved in outline where the latter is straight. Taking this difference in outline as a criterion by which to distinguish the otherwise very similar types, the crown won by Sulpicius Celsus becomes a corona muralis as stated in the Corpus³³, and not a vallaris as in the original publication³⁴ (fig.4), while the crowns depicted on the fragmentary Text III 11667 (fig.5a) are also murales.

CORONA VALLARIS or CORONA CASTRENSIS (στειφανος τειχιωτος or τειχικος)

The corona castrensis is described by Aulus Gellius³⁵ as the crown awarded to the first man to fight his way into an enemy camp, and this is evidently the same sort of crown referred to by Valerius Maximus³⁶ as a corona vallaris; vallarem coronam ei se servare dixisset a quo castra erant oppressa.

According to Gellius this crown was made of gold and insigne valli habent,³⁷ a description which is consistent with that of Festus; castrensi corona donabatur qui primus hostium castra pugnando introisset, cui insigne erat ex auro vallum.³⁸

The best known pictorial representation of a corona vallaris appears on the tombstone of Sex. Vibius Gallus (fig.3) where it looks, to all intents and purposes, more like a wall than the ramparts of a camp; it differs from the mural crown only^{by}, being square rather than round in section, and must have borne a greater resemblance to a good Roman turf-built rampart than to the enemy camps which the Romans will have met in the field. Guichard³⁹ believed the corona vallaris to be ornamented with the palisades used in forming an entrenchment, but his reconstruction, based on this surmise, is purely conjectural, taking no account of the Gallus stone, of the existence of which he was apparently unaware. A number of coronae vallares are also shown decorating praetorian standards⁴⁰.

In the Principate the corona vallaris lost its original significance and, like the corona muralis, became part of the standard awards made to officers of the rank of centurion and above. It is the type of crown most commonly awarded to the centurion, the corona muralis being awarded very rarely; this perhaps reflects the relative value placed upon the two crowns in the republican period. The Greek term for this crown is most clearly illustrated by the Gallus stone⁴¹.

CORONA AUREA (στέφανος χρυσεός)

Gold crowns without any more specific designation were used as military decorations to reward a variety of different exploits not covered by the other crowns of more limited type. T. Manlius and M. Valerius were awarded the corona aurea for fighting and slaying an enemy in single combat⁴², while the son of Calpurnius Piso was nominated for the honour by his father because he had fought with great courage in several encounters during the Slave War in Sicily⁴³. As with all other types of crown in the republican period, the corona aurea was awarded regardless of the rank of the recipient and there are literary records of its having been won by ordinary soldiers, tribunes and generals, and on one occasion by an admiral⁴⁴.

Because of its lack of precise meaning the gold crown was easily assimilated into the imperial scheme of dona, where it appears to have remained the lowest of the types of crown available. It was the corona aurea which was awarded to evocati⁴⁵, when full centurions received, on the majority of occasions, a vallaris, or, rarely, a muralis.

A corona aurea is depicted on the tombstone of Sex. Vibius Gallus, where it has the appearance of a wreath tied at the back with ribbons. (fig.3). The resemblance between this crown and those of C. Allius Oriens (fig.6) suggests that these too are aureae, as probably also are those of P.urtisius Atinas (fig.7a) Gavius Celer (Fig.8) and Leuconius Cilo (Fig.9).

CORONA CIVICA or QUERCEA (ΓΡΕΥΑΝΟΣ ΔΡΥΙΝΟΣ)

The corona civica was regarded by the Romans as the second^{most} prestigious of all the military crowns and stringent conditions were imposed upon the would-be recipient: these conditions are described in some detail by Aulus Gellius and by Pliny⁴⁶. The narratives of these two authors agree in all particulars though the latter gives much the fuller account. The corona civica was awarded to the man who saved the life of a Roman citizen and held, for the best of the day, the place where the exploit took place. Further, the person rescued must himself admit the fact, witnesses to the deed being of no value in establishing worthiness for the award. Auxiliaries were not eligible for this decoration which could be won only by citizen troops, while the honour involved was equal whether the man rescued be a ranker or a general. Great prestige was attached to the award; according to Pliny, the man who won it could wear it for the rest of his life; when he appeared at the games he had the right to sit by the senators who would rise at his entrance. Moreover, the recipient, his father and paternal grandfather were exempted from all public duties. The earliest reference to a civic crown, here called a crown of oak, comes in a passage of Caecilius Statius; the passage is fragmentary and the context lost⁴⁷. Polybius describes a crown, to which he gives no specific name, which is perhaps the prototype of the corona civica from which it differs in a number of important respects⁴⁸. Polybius speaks of a crown given by any citizen or ally (i.e. non-citizen) to a man who had saved his life; the award, if not made freely, was made under compulsion and for the rest of his life the rescued had to reverence his rescuer as a father. This father-son relationship between rescuer and rescued is mentioned also by Cicero when speaking specifically of the corona civica⁴⁹ and the reluctance of men to take on the great burden of being under the same obligation to a stranger that they owe to a parent.

Unlike the other types of crown to which reference has been made, the corona civica appears never to have lost its original meaning and been assimilated into set schemes of imperial dona. The literary records of civic crowns being won in the traditional republican manner goes as late as A.D. 50 when M. Ostorius was decorated for saving the life of a Roman citizen during the revolt of the Iceni in Britain⁵⁰, and the system was evidently still unchanged at the time of Corbulo's march into Armenia in A.D. 62 in connection with which Tacitus speaks of the winning of crowns for the saving of citizen lives⁵¹. This is the latest literary reference to the corona civica (except where used as an imperial emblem; infra p. 9) though the very latest allusion to it dates over a century later to the Severan/period when C. Didius Saturninus (Nr.153) won a corona aurea civica. G.R. Watson⁵² suggests that this is a new type of award introduced by Severus and open, not to all ranks as was the old corona civica, but to centurions. This is doubtful. It seems unlikely that a new type of award would be introduced at a period when the whole practice of giving dona was on the wane, and even if it were it would surely not be called by more or less the same name as another type of award, the tradition of which was still alive at the time. The fact that no corona civica is attested in the period from Vespasian to Severus can be explained quite plausibly by lack of evidence, for most of what we do know about civic crowns comes from the literary record which is by no means at its best in the post-Tacitean period. Further, a great deal of the late first and second century fighting on the borders of the Empire was done by auxiliary troops who, as non-citizens, were not eligible for the corona civica. The decorations of Didius Saturninus are best explained as comprising two crowns, a corona civica and a corona aurea.

The corona civica is well attested as having been made of oak leaves; unlike the muralis, vallar, classica and aurea it had no intrinsic value whatever - no

price could be put on the life of a Roman citizen - its value lay entirely in what it signified. According to Pliny⁵³ the leaves of any oak-bearing tree could be used, though originally it was made of the holm oak (illex)⁵⁴; it is a corona iligna to which Caecilius Statius alludes. Later, preference was given to the winter or Italian oak (aesculus) or whatever tree was growing in the particular locality. Plutarch considers the reason for the use of the oak; he puts forward three suggestions⁵⁵. Firstly, it is easy to find an abundance of oak-leaves everywhere on campaign; secondly, the oak is sacred to Jupiter and Juno who are regarded as guardians of the City (therefore fittingly bestowed on one who saved the life of a citizen); thirdly, because of the Arcadians, early colonists of Rome, who were called acorn eaters in an oracle of Apollo⁵⁶. Doubtless all this speculation on the part of the ancient authors contains much that is pure myth, much that is legend about something, the truth of which had already in Plutarch's day become lost in the mists of time.

A corona civica is depicted on the tombstone of M.Caelius (fig.10); the leaves are very clearly of oak with the acorns still attached. It is probable that the crown won by Sertorius Festus (fig.11) is a civica, though in this case the point is not so clear. Civic crowns appear also on a number of coins from the time of Augustus onwards, bearing the legend ob cives servatos (fig.1b). As Dio records⁵⁷, Augustus was granted the right to hang the crown of oak over his residence to symbolize his being victor over his enemies and saviour of the citizens; this same honour was voted to subsequent emperors who, likewise, used the motif on their coins. The honour awarded to Augustus is duly recorded in the Monumentum Ancyranum, in the Greek text of which we find the Greek equivalent of corona civica; $\sigma\tau. \delta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ⁵⁸.

Soldiers who received the corona civica:

8th C. B.C. Hostus Hostilius

Pliny, XVI. 11

5th C. B.C. C. Marius Coriolanus

Plut. Cor. III.2.

5th. C. B.C.	Siccus Dentatus (x14)	numerous (supra p.1)
4th. C. B.C.	M. Manlius Capitolinus (x8)	Livy VI.xx.7; Pliny VII.103.
"	Publius Decius.	Pliny XVI.11
3rd. C. B.C.	Scipio Africanus.	Val. Max. V.iv.2.
2nd C. B.C.	Aemilius Lepidus.	Val. Max. III.i.1.
"	Spurius Ligustinus (x6)	Livy XLIII.xxxiv.11
1st C. B.C.	C. Iulius Caesar.	Suet. <u>Caes.</u> 2.
1st C. A.D.	M. Caelius.	CIL XIII 8648 = D.2244
1st C. A.D.	Q. Sertorius Festus.	CIL V 3374.
"	M. Helvius Rufus.	Tac. <u>ann</u> III.21
"	M. Ostorius.	Tac. <u>ann</u> XII.31; XVI.15
Late 2nd.	C. Didius Saturninus.	CIL XI 7264 = D. 9194.

CORONA OBSIDIONALIS or GRAMINEA.

The corona obsidionalis was the most highly esteemed of all the Roman military crowns and like the corona civica, it had no intrinsic value. The fullest account of the corona obsidionalis is that of Pliny⁵⁹. It was awarded to ^{the} man who was responsible for relieving a siege, thus saving the life, not just of one citizen as was the case with the corona civica, but of numerous citizens, of a whole town or army⁶⁰. It was conferred by all those who had been rescued upon him who had rescued them. The crown was made from the grass or from whatever other plants grew on the site where the besieged had been beleaguered; the reason for this was symbolic; namque summum apud antiquos signum victoriae erat herbam porrigere victos, hoc est terra et altrice ipsa humo, et humatione etiam cedere⁶¹. Because of the herbage from which it was made the corona obsidionalis was also known as the corona graminea⁶².

The siege crown was the oldest of the military crowns and the hardest to win; thus the fabulous dona of Siccus Dentatus which comprised a total of twenty-six crowns (in addition to torques armillae, phalerae and hastae) included only one corona obsidionalis. The last known occasion on which it was awarded (excluding the doubtless spurious cases in the Augustan history)

was in the Social war of 91-88 B.C., and Pliny, listing all those whom he knew to have won the crown, stated that nobody else up to his time had received the distinction. It certainly was never interpolated into the schematic imperial system of donna, but there is no evidence whether or not it continued unchanged, hard to win and therefore rarely awarded and recorded, or whether it died out altogether.

There are no certain representations of the corona obsidionalis to show just what it looked like. It is possible that the inscription relating to C. Vibius Macer (fig.12) may show one, since the crown depicted there bears no resemblance to any other type of crown known.

Pliny records, further, that a corona obsidionalis was voted to Augustus, the corona civica being deemed an inadequate honour for an emperor. However this is not borne out by any other writers, and while the civic crown appears frequently on Augustan coins, the siege crown appears not at all.

Soldiers who received the corona obsidionalis.

5th. C. B.C.	L. Siccus Dentatus	numerous (supra p.1.)
4th. C. B.C.	P. Decius Mus.	Livy XXXVII.1-2; Pliny XXII.v.
3rd. C. B.C.	M. Calpurnius Flamma	Pliny XXII.11.
"	Q. Fabius Maximus	Aulus Gellius V.vi.
2nd. C. B.C.	Scipio Aemilianus.	Vell.Pat.I.xii.4; Pliny XXII.13
"	Cn. Petreius.	Pliny XXII.11
1st C. B.C.	Sulla.	Pliny XXII.12

CORONA TRIUMPHALIS.

(a) Corona laurea: worn by a triumphing general; 'laurus triumphis proprie dicatur'⁶³, the laurel being a bringer of peace, the harbinger of rejoicing and victory⁶⁴. According to Livy not only the triumphing general but his soldiers too were crowned with laurel⁶⁵, and this is consistent with the scenes portrayed in sculpture of triumphal processions of the imperial period, for example on the Arch of Titus and on a panel from an arch commemorating the triumph of Marcus, both in Rome⁶⁶.

(b) Corona aurea triumphalis; Pliny describes how a crown of gold was held over the head of a triumphing general by a slave⁶⁷; both Aulus Gellius and Festus indicate that the gold crown superseded the laurel⁶⁸. The scenes depicting the triumphs of Titus and Marcus both show a winged victory hovering behind the emperors, performing, perhaps, the function of the slave.

CORONA OVALIS OR MURTEA.

The corona ovalis was worn by a general celebrating an ovatio or minor triumph. The crown was made of myrtle, the shrub sacred to Venus, for as Plutarch explains⁶⁹, a minor triumph was awarded traditionally to a general who had brought about peace by discussion, persuasion and argument, rather than by bloodshed. Aulus Gellius adds that an ovatio was also awarded in place of a full triumph if the war had not been declared in due form, if the enemy was deemed unworthy, or surrender swift and bloodless: cui facultati aptam esse Veneris frondem crediderunt, quod non Martius sed quasi Veneris quidam triumphus foret⁷⁰.

CORONA OLEAGINA (στέφανος ἑλαιῖνος).

According to Gellius⁷¹ the olive crown was awarded to those who, though not participating in person on a campaign, had nevertheless been instrumental in bringing about a triumph. Apparently it could also be awarded to soldiers, for Dio records that Augustus awarded olive crowns to the men who had been victorious in the battle of A.D. 36 in which Agrippa defeated Sextus Pompeius⁷².

ORNAMENTA TRIUMPHALIA⁷³

In the Principate the celebration of a triumph became the prerogative of the Emperor and imperial family; triumphant generals received in lieu of a full triumph the ornamenta triumphalia, triumphal honours which presumably comprised the tunica palmata, toga picta, eagle sceptre and laurel crown and branch, all

the trappings of a triumph. The practice was instituted by Augustus⁷⁴, the first person to enjoy the honour Tiberius⁷⁵.

VEXILLUM (ὄσηξιλλος)

It is not clear when the vexillum first came to be used as a military decoration: it is attested comparatively rarely in the literature relating to the Republican period, and is not included in Polybius' list of decorations. The vexillum must have been introduced some time in the Republic for it is mentioned by Sallust in connection with Marius and the Jugurthine war, when Marius includes a Vexillum among the dona he had won⁷⁶. Reference to a vexillum is also made by Silius Italicus in the Punica⁷⁷, but it is possible that Italicus is here being anachronistic for while the second Punic war dates to the late third century B.C., Italicus was writing at the end of the first century A.D. Sallust, on the other hand, himself dates to the republican period; he was writing within about sixty years of the events he records and is dealing with^a specific well-known historical figure. It is thus safest to regard the late second century B.C. as the first trustworthy reference to a vexillum as a military decoration. The next one dates to 31 B.C. when Agrippa was awarded a vexillum caeruleu^um in recognition of his^u naval victory at the battle of Actium⁷⁸.

In the Principate the vexillum became one of the standard decorations for officers, though here its earliest datable appearance is Neronian (L. Nonius Asprenas, Nr.29); it is not attested among the dona of either equestrians or senators in the period up to and including Claudius though the evidence, as regards the equestrians at least, is relatively plentiful⁷⁹. At no time during the Empire does the vexillum appear to have been awarded

to an officer of lesser rank than praefectus castrorum; it is possible that a primus pilus could win one, but evidence is lacking⁸⁰.

The vexillum awarded to Agrippa was blue in colour, and therefore, presumably, made of fabric as was the normal flag. However, Josephus, describing the distributions of dona by Titus after the siege of Jerusalem, speaks of silver vexilla,⁸¹ which is consistent with the evidence of inscriptions⁸². Two vexilla are depicted on the stone relating to Sex. Vibius Gallus (Fig.3) and one on that of Sulpicius Celsus (fig.4) though it is not clear whether this latter example is a military decoration or a standard.

HASTA PURA. (δόρυ καθαρόν)

The earliest reference to the hasta as a military decoration is by Polybius⁸³, who states that it was awarded to a man who had wounded an enemy not in ordinary battle or at the storming of a city but only when single combat has been entered into voluntarily in circumstances when danger could, if desired, have been avoided. It is not known if these conditions continued for long to be imposed - Festus is rather vague about the terms; Romani fortes viros saepe hasta donarunt⁸⁴ - but certainly in the Principate it had lost its original significance and was included in the awards made commonly to officers of rank of senior centurion and above, and rarely (only one case is attested), to men of lesser rank⁸⁵. Helvius Rufus (Nr.163), the one miles gregarius to win a hasta, received it in recognition of an exploit in which he saved the life of a Roman citizen, subsequently being presented with a corona civica. It is interesting to speculate whether perhaps Helvius Rufus won the hasta for fulfilling the conditions expounded by Polybius, that is he had killed in single combat the man who threatened the life of the citizen whom he rescued, though it is very probable that by this date (A.D.18) the traditional significance of the award ~~he~~ had been lost.

Hastae are depicted on the funerary reliefs of Purisius Atinas (fig.7a) and Vibius Gallus (fig.3); in each case they resemble normal spears in size and form. However, a passage in Servius' commentary on the Aeneid⁸⁶ - pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta id est sine ferro - has given rise to the belief that the hasta pura had no head. In support of this theory have been adduced two coins of M. Arrius Secundus, on which are depicted spears with blunt ends, and which are clearly, from their context, military decorations (fig.2b,c)⁸⁷. It is possible that poor workmanship may account for the appearance of the spears on the coins, and that the passage in Servius alludes not to spears without metal (i.e. without heads) but to spears without iron (i.e. made of some other sort of metal). This, however is rather to force the evidence. It is possible that at some stage in its history the form of the decoration altered radically. The coins of Arrius Secundus date to c. 43 B.C.; the earliest known representation of a hasta pura with a head, that on a stone relating to Vivius Macer (fig.12), cannot date to many years later, while the Purisius Atinas stone (fig.7a) is certainly pre-Claudian.

TORQUES (ΓΥΡΕΤΤΟΣ)

The barbarian peoples, Medes, Persians and Celts, with whom Rome came into contact during her years of expansion, all used the torques as an ornament and symbol of rank⁸⁸, and it is probably through contact with these peoples that there grew up the Roman practice of awarding the torques as a military decoration. It was a short step, as Steiner points out⁸⁹, from taking the torques from a slain barbarian⁹⁰ as booty to producing their own for distribution as military awards.

There is no evidence that the torques was ever awarded for any specific deed of bravery; it was one of the awards of the more general type. It is well attested throughout the Principate when it was won by those of the rank of centurion and below.

The Roman soldier did not wear his torques around his neck as did the barbarian peoples, but fastened at the top of the chest below the shoulders; they were normally, though not invariably, awarded in pairs. This is illustrated by the tombstones of M. Caelius, Q. Sertorius Festus and Cn. Musius (figs. 10, 11, 13). There was no single standard pattern for the military torques; the terminals of some were simple knobs (figs. 10, 14, 15, 16), others rosettes (fig. 7b), yet others, snakes' heads (figs. 17, 18). The inscription relating to C. Julius Aetor (Nr. 164) mentions a torques maior, a reference perhaps to one of the grander types. The fabric from which the torques was made was silver or gold; Pliny⁹¹ distinguishes between the silver torques of the citizen and the gold one given to non-Romans, but this distinction is of doubtful validity. In the Principate at least, non-citizens did not receive military decorations⁹², and the author of the de bello Hispaniensi records the grant of five gold torques to the prefect of the turma Cassiana⁹³; similarly, the torques to which Josephus refers are of gold⁹⁴. Though auxiliaries as individuals could not win donna, the auxilia as units could; torques were used in this context as is apparent from the naming of the units honoured with the title torquata or bis torquata.⁹⁵ The torques probably decorated the standard of the unit concerned.

Vegetius, listing the principales of the antiqua legio, refers to torquati simplares and torquati duplares,⁹⁶ which implies some connection between rank and the winning of the torques, a case analogous, perhaps, to that of the cornicularius and the corniculum in the republican period⁹⁷.

ARMILLAE or CALBEA

Armillae autem proprie virorum sunt, conlatae victoriae causa militibus ab armorum virtute.⁹⁸ Armillae as military decorations are well attested in the inscriptions of the Principate when they were awarded, frequently in combination with torques and phalerae, to milites, and (with the addition of a crown) to evocati and centurions. References to armillae in the republican

period are much less common. Livy mentions them in a context dated to 293 B.C. when they were awarded to commanding officers and men alike⁹⁹.

In 89 B.C. they were included in the dona awarded to the turma Salluitana,¹⁰⁰ and in 47 B.C. were given to an eques.¹⁰¹ Siccus Dentatus is said, by the majority of writers who refer to him, to have won 160 armillae.¹⁰²

The term calbeum for armilla is attested by Festus¹⁰³; Calbeos armillas dicebant quibus triumphantes utebantur et quibus ob virtutem milites donabantur. Zonaras too mentions that armillae were won by triumphing generals¹⁰⁴, but this fact is not borne out by the evidence of reliefs.

According to Pliny¹⁰⁵ armillae were awarded only to citizens, a statement which is incapable of verification since there is a dearth of evidence for the Republic and certainly in the Principate no non-citizen could win any decoration. However, armillae were certainly awarded to non-citizen units as a whole, as is attested by the title armillata borne by the ala Siliana.¹⁰⁶

There appears to have been no single standard pattern for military armillae; reliefs show them as broad and flat (fig.10), spiral (fig.8) snake-like (fig. 7b,15,18) and plain rings (figs. 6,19,20,21). Where the fabric from which the decorations were made is specified it is either silver or gold.¹⁰⁷

PHALERAE (φάλαρα)

The term phalera was used in the ancient world to designate a number of different things from the badge of rank of a magistrate¹⁰⁸, to the ornaments on a helmet¹⁰⁹, pendant ornaments on a horse's harness¹¹⁰, and decorated and embossed discs worn on the chest. It is this last category which is of particular concern in the context of dona, and to a certain extent the penultimate one also. The earliest reference to phalerae as military decorations comes in Polybius¹¹¹ who states that they were awarded to cavalry, while the equivalent award for infantry was the patella (φιάλη).¹¹²

The difference between the phalera and the patella is not clear but the

fact that only cavalry received phalerae suggests that, at this early date, the phalerae used as a military decoration were horsetrappings. How long this distinction persisted is not clear, but in 89 B.C. cavalry were getting both phalerae and patellae¹¹³ and by the Principate phalerae were being awarded to both foot and horse soldiers and the patella had completely disappeared. None of the other literary allusions to phalerae makes it clear whether the recipient is infantry or cavalry.¹¹⁴

Phalerae are illustrated on a number of funerary monuments. Some, such as those of M. Caelius, Q. Sertorius Festus, C. Marius, M. Pompeius Asper and Lucius (fig.s 10,11,22,19,23), were finely decorated with rosettes and the heads of animals and gods in high relief; others were plain discs with a central boss, for example those of Cn. Musius, Vibius Macer, Q. Cornelius, M. Petronius Classicus and the unknown of XIII 7556. (figs.13,12,20,24,25). Thus, phalerae, like torques and armillae were not of a single standard design. The significance of the different types is not clear, and the variations certainly do not coincide with the variations of rank; Cn.Marius was no more than an eques when he received his highly decorated discs, while Cn. Musius was probably an aquilifer and M. Petronius Classicus and Vibius Macer centurions when they received their relatively plain decorations.

Phalerae were normally, though not invariably, awarded in sets of nine, though Sertorius Festus has only seven and M. Caelius only five. Only one complete set of phalerae has, to date, been found, and this at Lauersfort near Krefeld. The set is composed of nine circular and one crescent shaped piece, all beautifully worked in high relief with the heads of gods and animals. They are made of bronze with silver plating (fig.31).¹¹⁵ It is possible that a set of bronze plaques found at Newstead are the backing plates for phalerae; whatever they were, the owner, Domitius Atticus, evidently valued them, for he scratched his name on the back.¹¹⁶ According to literary descriptions, phalerae were normally made of gold or silver. Suetonius records that Augustus

rewarded valour with phalerae and torques of silver and gold, and
precious metal must still have been in use in A.D. 69 when the soldiers
supporting the cause of Vitellius, instead of giving money, handed over
their phalerae.¹¹⁸

TORQUES, ARMILLAE ET PHALERAE.

The practice of combiningⁱⁿ within a single award torques armillae and
phalerae, so well attested in the inscriptions of the Principate, clearly
has its antecedents in the republican period. The earliest example of
such a combination is the award made to the Turma Salluitana (Nr.119)
in 89 B.C. This is followed in the period of Caesar's Gallic Wars
by the text relating to C. Canuleius (Nr.144) who, as a legionary evocatus,
won torques, armillae, phalerae and a corona aurea, precisely the same
scale of award as was invariably received by the praetorian evocatus of
the Principate. Thus, the dona of the Empire, though considerably more
schematic than those of the Republic, presented nothing revolutionary;
rather, practices which had already been developing were stabilized and the
system as it affected the common soldier appears simply to have been
reduced in its scope by the exclusion of the majority of types of crown.
from the dona of all below the rank of centurion (or, with respect to
the praetorian guard, below the rank of evocatus).

PATELLA (πίδαλη)

Polybius¹¹⁹, listing the different types of military decorations,
gives πίδαλη as the award made to the infantryman who killed an enemy.
It is probably to be equated with the patellae awarded in 89 B.C. to the

men of the turma Salluitana (in addition to cornucula, torques, armillae,
phalerae and frumentum duplex) . The most plausible interpretation of the

of the patella is that given by Jahn¹²¹ who believed it to be a simple embossed disc; since the men of the turma Salluitana received both phalerae and patellae it is clear that these were still at that time two distinct types of award.

There are no further references to patellae as military decorations, a fact which suggests that the distinction between the patella and the phalera was subsequently lost and the term phalera came to apply to all types, plain or embossed.

CORNICULUM.

With the one exception of the award made in 89 B.C. to the turma Salluitana¹²³, the corniculum as a military decoration is attested only in literature and belongs largely, if not exclusively, to the republican period. It is first attested in a passage of Livy, in the context of an event of the year 293 B.C., when Papirius Cursor awarded cornicula and gold armillae to his cavalry after the battle of Aquilonia¹²⁴. Two further literary allusions refer to events of the second and first centuries B.C.¹²⁵ One other passage may be relevant, and that is a fragment from Fronto which belongs to an account of Trajan's Parthian wars¹²⁶;

Multos militum imperator suo quemque nomine proprio atque castrensi ioculari appellabat. Pigros.....vel corniculovel vel aereo vel partimcuiusque.....herede usu militari pensiones hostium spoliis feroces, quas saepe victor et triumphos celebrans viris legatis invidisset. The extract is too fragmentary at the relevant point for any certainty, but the whole context does suggest that the corniculum where referred to is a military decoration. Doubt, however, arises from the fact that no inscription of the Principate includes cornicula

among the dona recorded.

The precise nature of the corniculum is not known but it was possibly some type of helmet decoration; this would be consistent with a passage in Pliny which refers to a hunter who used to carry his ravens into the forest insidentes corniculo umerisque¹²⁷. Buttner, however, argues that what is meant is a small spear.¹²⁸

It has been suggested that the term cornicularius, which came to designate a particular military post, was originally the title used of the men who had won a corniculum. The suggestion is incapable of either proof or disproof.

CATENA.

Livy gives the only example of the use of the CATENA as a military decoration, awarded, in this case, to a cavalryman in combination with FIBULAE which, likewise, are not attested elsewhere as dona.¹²⁹

TYPES OF MILITARY DECORATION

Notes.

1. Steiner 5-47
2. A. Büttner, Untersuchungen über Ursprung und Entwicklung von Auszeichnungen im römischen Heer. B.Jb. 1957, 127ff.
3. Polybius VI. 39
4. Caecilius Statius, ex incertis fabulis 250 (Loeb edition).
5. Festus p. 200; Teubner edition, ed. W.M. Lindsay (hereafter referred to as L).
6. Dionysius Halicarnassus X.37
7. Valerius Maximus III. 2.25
8. Pliny N.H. VII 102
9. Aulus Gellius II. 11
10. Aulus Gellius V. 6
11. Festus p. 157 L
12. Pliny N.H. XVI. 6
13. Seneca, de Beneficiis III. xxxii.4
14. Livy Perioch. CXXIX
15. Pliny N.H. XVI.6
16. Pliny N.H. XXII 6-7
17. Livy, Perioch. CXXIX
18. Seneca, de Beneficiis III. xxxii. 4
19. Vell. Pat. II ~~lxxx~~. 3
20. Aulus Gellius V. 6
21. Virgil, Aenead VIII. 684
22. Dio. XLIX.14
23. Aulus Gellius V.6
24. RICI p.77, Nrs. 170, 172, + 20 Pl.II
25. Suetonius, Claudius 17
26. Polybius VI.39
27. Aulus Gellius V. 6

28. Servius, ad Aen. VI 772
29. Livy XXVI. xlviii. 5-14
30. infra p. 71f.
31. Aulus Gellius V. 6
32. Silius Italicus, Punica XIII 364-5
33. CIL VI 32934
34. Not. Scav. 1884, 81
35. Aulus Gellius, V. 6
36. Val. Max. I. viii.6
37. Aulus Gellius V.6
38. Festus p.49 L
39. Guichard, de Antiquis Triumphis 266.
40. cf. A. v. Domaszewski, Die Fahnen im römischen Heere 56ff
41. supra p. 4
42. Livy VII. x.14; VII. xxvi.19
43. Val. Max. IV. iii.10; Pliny XXXIII 38
44. Livy X. xliv.3; VII. x.14; VII.xxvi.19; XXVI.xlviii.5
45. infra p. 88
46. Aulus Gellius V.6; Pliny^{VI}/6-14
47. Caecilius Statius, ex incertis fabulis 250
48. Polybius VI.39
49. Cicero, pro Planicio XXX.72
50. Tac. ann XII.31; XVI.15
51. Tac. ann XV.12
52. G.R. Watson, The Roman Soldier: 116 + fn. 352
53. Pliny XVI.55
54. cf. Festus p. 37 L; erat ilignae
55. Plutarch, Coriolanus III.3; Quaestiones Romanae 92
56. cf. Herodotus I. 66
57. Dio LIII.16
58. Monumentum Ancyranum Gk. 17.24

59. Pliny XXII.6-14
60. cf. Festus p. 209 L; Civica corona singularis salutis signum erat; obsidionalis universorum civium servatorum.
61. Pliny XXII. 8 ; cf. Servius, ad. Aen. VIII 128
62. Pliny XXII. 8 ; Livy VII. xxxvii. 2; cf. Festus p. 86 L corona graminea in re militari maximae est honorationis.
63. Pliny XV. 127
64. Pliny XV. 133
65. Livy XLV, xxxviii.12
66. cf. D. Strong, Roman Imperial Sculpture (1961), plates 59, 93
67. Pliny XXXIII.11; cf. Juvenal Satire X.41
68. Aulus Gellius V.6; Festus p. 504 L
69. Plutarch, Marcellus XXII
70. Aulus Gellius V. 6; cf. Festus p. 213 L. Ovalis corona est murtea quam habebant, qui ovantes introibant, cum bella non erant indicta, aut sanguine confecta.
71. Aulus Gellius V.6
72. Dio XLIX.14
73. cf. A.E. Gordon, Quintus Veranius, Consul A.D. 49. University of California publications in Classical Archaeology Vol.2, Nr.5 Appendix II, Triumphant Honors and Statues, and other Official Honorary Statues set up in Rome, during the Empire (citing earlier works on the ornamenta triumphalia).
74. Dio LIV. 12. 1-2
75. Dio LIV. 31,4; Suetonius, Tiberius 9.2
76. Sallust, bell. Iug. LXXXV. 29
77. Silius Italicus, Punica XV. 261
78. Dio LI.21,3; Suetonius, Augustus 25.3
79. infra p. 53
80. infra p. 76
81. Josephus b.J. VII.15
82. Nrs. 19,36,37,47,65,82,106.
83. Polybius VI.39
84. Festus p. 90 L
85. infra p. 82

86. Servius, ad Aen. VI 760.
87. E.A. Sydenham, The Coinage of the Roman Republic (1952) Nrs. 1083. 1084 .
88. Daremberg-Saglio, Torques; Büttner 133ff.
89. Steiner 5.
90. cf. Livy VII. x. 14; T. Manlius receives the title Torquatus, for taking the torques from a Gaul whom he had slain (cf. fig. 2a).
91. Pliny XXXIII. 37-8.
92. infra p. 75-76, 107.
93. Bell. Hisp. 26 .
94. Josephus b.J., VII.15 .
95. infra p. 107.
96. Vegetius II.7.
97. infra p. 20 .
98. Isid. Orig. 19 XXXI.11 .
99. Livy X. xliv 3-4 .
100. D. 8888 (Nr.119).
101. Val. Max. VIII.xiv. 5.
102. Varro chez Fulgentius 5 gives 140; Verrius chez Festus p. 208 L gives nil; Dionysius Halicarnassus X. 37 gives 60; Val Max. III.ii.25, Pliny VII. 102, Gellius II.11 give 160.
103. Festus p. 41 L.
104. Zonaras, VII 21.
105. Pliny XXXIII.37.
106. infra p. 113 .
107. Gold: Festus p. 23 L; Val. Max.VIII. xiv.5; CIL XII 2230 = D. 2313
Silver: Val. Max. VIII.xiv.5; Livy A.U.C. X. xliv.5.
108. Florus I.5.
109. Homer Iliad, XVI.106.
110. Xenophon, Hellenica IV.1. 39; Virgil, Aenead V. 310.
111. Polybius VI.39.
112. infra p. 19.

113. D. 8888 (Nr. 119).
114. Sallust. Bell. Jug. LXXXV.29; Cicero In Verrem III. 185; Silius Italicus, Punica XV 254-262; Suetonius, Augustus 25; Tac. ann XII. 36; Tac. hist. I. 57.14;
115. O. Jahn, Die Lauresforter Phalerae (1860).
116. J. Curle, A. Roman Frontier Post and its People, the Fort of Newstead (1911) 174ff. and Pl. XXXI.
117. Suetonius, Augustus 25.
118. Tac. hist. I. 57.14.
119. Polybius VI.39.
120. D. 8888 (Nr. 119).
121. O. Jahn, Die Lauersforter Phalerae p.2.
122. Steiner suggests (p.11f) that the patellae are, in fact, shields.
123. D. 8888 (Nr. 119).
124. Livy. X. xliv.5.
125. Aurelius Victor, Liber de Viris Illustribus 72.3; Suetonius, de Grammaticis 9.
126. Fronto (Loeb ed.) Vol II, p 205.
127. Pliny X. 124.
128. Büttner, B.Jb. 1957, 177ff.
129. Livy. XXXIX.xxxi.18

CHAPTER 2.

THE AWARDING OF DONA.

I. Who Awarded Decorations?

A. The Republic

It is clear from the literary evidence that the person responsible for the awarding of dona in the republican period was the imperator, the victorious general commanding the army concerned. The evidence is entirely consistent on this point and a few examples will suffice. Polybius describes how the general calls an assembly of the troops, praises the men and distributes the awards¹. Livy records how Marcus Manlius had, on forty occasions, been decorated ab imperatoribus², and how it was Scipio who had to decide between rival claimants for a corona muralis and bestowed the award on both³. Caesar is shown on a number of occasions decorating his troops⁴, while Valerius Maximus states that Calpurnius Piso, having just delivered Sicily from the Slave war, distributed awards to his troops imperatorio more⁵. Finally, an inscription dating to the year 89 B.C., records the grant of Roman citizenship and dona militaria to equites of the turma Salluitana, by Cn. Pompeius, imperator.⁶

The only exceptions to this rule concern the triumphal, civic and siege crowns. The triumphal crown and everything concerned with the triumph, was the responsibility of the Senate to bestow upon the triumphant general if it deemed him worthy. The corona civica was, originally at least, bestowed by the man whose life had been saved. This is made very clear by Polybius⁷ who stresses how pressure should be brought to bear by the consuls upon any man who failed to make the award of his own free will.⁸ However, this practice did not survive the Republic, for by the time of Caesar at least it had fallen to the general to make the award; Suetonius records how Caesar, having saved the life of a fellow soldier while serving in Asia, was presented with the corona civica, not by the soldier concerned but by M. Thermus, governor of Asia.⁹ The third type of award not awarded by the general was the corona

obsidionalis, which was presented by the persons whose lives had been saved by the relief of the siege. Thus, according to Pliny¹⁰, it differs from all other types of award (though not so radically from the corona civica); ceteras omnes singuli et duces ipsi imperatoresque militibus aut aliquando collegis dedere, decrevit in triumphis senatus cura belli solutus et populus otiosus, graminea numquam nisi in desperatione supreme contigit, nulli nisi ab universo exercitu servato decreta. Ceteras imperatores dedere, hanc solam miles imperatori.

B. The Empire

In theory the rules governing the granting of dona during the principate were the same as those which had applied during the Republic. It was still the imperator, the victorious general, who was responsible for the distribution of awards, but in practice this almost invariably meant the emperor, or a member of the imperial family, for it was the emperor alone who possessed imperium in all but senatorial provinces, the provincial governors being only his legates with delegated responsibility. Thus, in theory, proconsuls of senatorial provinces should also have been able to give military decorations; and so it was in practice, as is shown by the episode relating to Helvius Rufus who clearly received his torques and hasta from the governor and not the emperor¹¹. However, apart from this single isolated case there is no other attested example of such an award, due perhaps to the senatorial governors' loss of responsibility for dona, but more likely to the fact that the bulk of the fighting in the empire was carried on in the area of imperial provinces, by legati Augusti pro praetore. The legions were bound to be where the trouble was, and where the legions were the emperor had command. Indeed, on one occasion under Marcus when trouble did arise in a senatorial province, Hispania Ulterior Baetica, this province became temporarily imperial¹², so had any military decorations been won in the encounter it would again no doubt have been the emperor and not the

proconsular governor who awarded them. There is one possible case of decorations received in this campaign, that of P. Aelius Romanus (Nr.121), but the inscription makes no mention of the awarding authority.

Hence, to all intents and purposes, it is only the emperor and his family who appear as granting dona during the Principate though, according to Suetonius, this was not so under Augustus and Tiberius. Suetonius records that Augustus held those of his generals who had celebrated triumphs ineligible for decorations because they themselves had the right to award decorations¹³, and again that Tiberius was led to rebuke some of his consulars who commanded armies because they had referred to him matters concerning dona, as though they did not have the right to bestow them themselves¹⁴. The statement concerning Augustus is borne out by inscriptions recording Tiberius awarding dona before he became emperor¹⁵, and that concerning Tiberius by the texts which record Germanicus awarding dona to Fabricius Tuscus (Nr.79); and Apronius, proconsul of Africa at the time of the war against Tacfarinas, decorating Helvius Rufus (Nr.163). Suetonius' statement regarding the right of proconsuls to award dona implies that he found it strange and from this it may be inferred that the practice was no longer in force in his day. It is unlikely that this right was ever formally withdrawn but once the last legion had passed into imperial control there will have been little or no opportunity for senatorial generals to fight under their own auspices. The changes which came over the system were not a matter of conscious policy but were purely pragmatic.

The awards made by the Emperor included the corona civica for, as in the later Republic, it was no longer granted by the party whose life had been saved. This is made explicit in the case of Helvius Rufus who received most of his decorations from the proconsul but Caesar addidit civicam coronam¹⁶; it is Tacitus again who records how Corbulo, exhorting his disheartened soldiers, urges upon them how honourable it would be to win the corona civica imperatoria manu¹⁷. There is no record of the corona obsidionalis ever having been won in the imperial period, so the question who awarded it does not arise.

The triumph was still the prerogative of the Senate to grant, but it was now only the emperor who was eligible to be honoured in this manner, for he alone was imperator and his generals were fighting not as independent commanders but under his auspices. Suetonius records that Augustus allowed his generals to celebrate full triumphs¹⁸, but it is evident that this concession did not survive his death. The ornamenta triumphalia, the governors' substitute for a full triumph, is attested as having been granted by emperor and by Senate, sometimes individually, sometimes the latter endorsing the will of the former¹⁹.

Although the emperor became the source of most military honours, it is clear that since he was not always on the scene of battle, and even when he was could not be everywhere at the same time, he would have to rely heavily upon his commanders and their under-officers to put forward the recommendations that would eventually lead to award. Not only the officers, but the mentoo appear to have had some say in the matter, for just as they could nominate their colleagues for promotion to the centurionate, so too they could put forward those whom they deemed worthy of receiving military decorations. This is made explicit in the case of T. Camilius Lavenus (Nr.143) whose award was sanctioned by the emperor after it had been voted by the army; ex voluntate imp. Hadriani Aug. torquibus et armillis aureis suffragio legionis honorati. In this case the ultimate authority remains the emperor; it is thus a very different matter from the wholly unofficial decorations which were both voted and awarded by the men themselves.

C. Unofficial dona.

In addition to military decorations awarded by properly constituted authorities, there are a number of examples of decorations awarded by the armies themselves, both to commanders and to men. The practice is attested only in the first half of the first century A.D., and perhaps gave way to the sort of thing of which there is evidence in the inscription relating to

Camulius Lavenus, that is, the men making recommendations for official awards. In all the cases of unofficial dona the decorations themselves are rather irregular.

- i Q. Cornelius Valerianus (Nr.77) was honoured by the army in which he served as praefectus vexillationum, doubtless on the occasion of the bellum Mithridaticum in A.D. 45. The record of his dona is fragmentary, but they appear to have comprised statua, imagines, coronae and clipea.
- ii C. Iulius Macer (Nr.166) had served as duplicarius of the ala Aetorigiana and evocatus of the Raeti Gaesati when he was presented by his comrades with a shield, crowns and gold rings. The exact context for the award is unknown, but it belongs to the very early years of the first century A.D.
- iii ----. Numenius (Nr.215) was honoured by the army in which he served with a gold crown and other awards, the record of which is missing. The inscription is fragmentary and yields no further information.

II. When were Decorations Awarded?

Both literary and epigraphic evidence point to the fact that there was more than one occasion connected with each war when dona were distributed. For example, M. Vettius Valens (Nr.209) was decorated twice in the course of the bellum Britannicum of Claudius and M. Valerius Maximianus (Nr.104) and C. Aufidius Victorinus (Nr.4) twice in the German wars of Marcus and Verus.

Certainly one occasion for the distribution of awards was the triumph. Suetonius records how, in 45B.C., Augustus received military decorations at Caesar's African triumph²⁰, Militaribus donis triumpho Caesaris Africano donatus est - and how Claudius, on the occasion of the British triumph in A.D. 44, gave Posides his eunuch a hasta pura, along with soldiers who had served in the field²¹. A third reference to the granting of dona at a triumph comes in Velleius Paterculus who tells how his brother was decorated by Tiberius on the occasion of the Dalmatian triumph²².

Not all the campaigns in which dona were awarded were concluded with a triumph, and on these occasions it would appear that the distribution of awards took place before the units of the campaigning army split up to return to their

their several places of garrison. There are numerous literary records of the presentation of dona on the battlefield, immediately on the conclusion of a successful battle. Polybius describes how, after a battle, the general calls an assembly of the troops, brings forward those whom he deems to have shown conspicuous valour, publicly praises them and distributes awards. Such was the practice in the mid-^{second} century B.C. , but it does not appear to have changed over the years, for Josephus' description of the ceremony which took place the day following ^{the} capitulation of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 is the same in all particulars ²³ . Titus called an assembly, had the officers call out the name of every man who, in the course of the war, had performed any outstanding exploit, publicly praised them and distributed the dona. Livy alludes to similar scenes ²⁴ , as do Valerius Maximus ²⁵ and Ammianus Marcellinus ²⁶ . This same practice is attested epigraphically in the case of M. Valerius Maximianus (Nr.104) ab imp. Antonino Aug. coram laudato et equo et phaleris et armis donato.

Thus, in theory the number of times within a single war in which a man could be decorated is limited only by the number of successful encounters in which he participated. However the inscriptions of the principate give evidence of no more than two awards to any one person within a single campaign and in the overwhelming majority of cases the soldier received but one set of decorations in each war, though the dating evidence is never sufficiently precise to ascertain whether this one set was presented on the battlefield or at the triumph.

A notable divergence from normal practice is presented in the early Flavian period, when the censorship of Vespasian and Titus appears to have been used as an opportunity to reward Flavian supporters with a variety of different honours including military decorations. ²⁷

Another interesting situation arises in the case of the Parthian war of Trajan, for the emperor who prosecuted the war had died before its conclusion. Some of the dona had, no doubt, been awarded on the field of

battle, others must have awaited the successful conclusion of the war. Trajan was given a posthumous triumph ob bellum Parthicum and there seems no reason to doubt that dona would be distributed as normal on this rather abnormal occasion. All the decorations recorded epigraphically as having been won in this war are described as being given ab. imp. Traiano, a divo Traiano^a (or some such variant), though it is obvious that they cannot all have been given by the emperor in person. This need present no problem for although most of the dona of the imperial period are recorded as having been given by the emperor this does not necessarily mean by the emperor in person but merely by imperial sanction, through his deputies. Such an interpretation is consistent with the fact that, contrary to Ritterling's belief,²⁸ dona were awarded for campaigns in which the emperor took no part and for which there was no triumph. When would the emperor have had the change to present the award personally on such occasions?

III. Decorations awarded for Campaigns in which the Emperor did not Participate and Triumph.

It was in discussion of the career of Velius Rufus²⁸ that Ritterling put forward the suggestion that from the time of Domitian onwards dona were not awarded for campaigns in which the emperor did not himself participate and triumph. This hypothesis, much repeated since Ritterling's time, requires re-examination, for there are a number of exceptions, some certain, some not so certain, to this rule.

A. Nerva; Bellum Suebicum.

There is only one example of military decorations being awarded during the brief reign of Nerva, and that is the case of Q. Attius Priscus (Nr. 63) decorated ab imp. Nerva Caesare Aug. Germ. Bello Suebic. It is clear from the account of the reign in the epitome of Dio, that the emperor Nerva was too old and infirm to do active campaigning and that he did not, therefore, participate

in the Suebic war which was prosecuted by the future emperor Trajan, then governor of Germania Superior. It was during the course of this campaign that Nerva adopted Trajan and appointed him Caesar.²⁹ It is impossible to ascertain whether Priscus received his decorations before or after this adoption took place, that is before or after there was at least a representative of the imperial house in Germany. However, in view of the fact that the dona were awarded by Nerva alone and not by Nerva plus Trajan, it is probable that the award pre-dated the adoption. Certainly in the Parthian war of Marcus and Verus, in which Verus alone went east, the dona are generally awarded by Marcus and Verus, in one case by Verus alone but never Marcus alone.

B. Domitian/Nerva/Trajan; Bellum Britannicum.

The emperor in whose reign fell the bellum Britannicum in which C. Julius Karus (Nr.83) was decorated is not named, but it is clear from the known details of Karus' career that the war dates to the period late Domitian to early Trajan. Certainly the literary sources for this period are defective, but there is no indication in the works of Tacitus, the epitome of Dio, the letters of Pliny nor in the numismatic evidence to suggest that any emperor went to Britain at this time.

C. Hadrian; Bella Britannica.

The emperor Hadrian visited Britain in A.D. 122, but the terms in which his biographer records the visit do not suggest that he was concerned with active campaigning.³⁰ Certainly there was trouble on the northern frontier at the time of Hadrian's accession (Britanni teneri sub Romana dicione non poterant³¹), but it appears that the actual fighting was largely over by the time of Hadrian's visit and the decision to build a wall across the Tyne-Solway isthmus as an attempt to solve the frontier problem. There is some evidence, too, for campaigning in Britain in the

late 120's³², at a time when Hadrian was travelling in the eastern parts of the empire.

There are no certain examples of dona being awarded in these Hadrianic wars, but there are a number of possibilities. One is the unknown of XIV 2110 (Nr.112 and infra.p.36). The known timing of the career of Q. Fuficius Cornutus (Nr.19) indicates the receipt of military decorations in the late 120's or early 130's. The number of the legion concerned is no longer extant and the name of the campaign was not specified but the British war of the late 120's would, from the point of view of chronology, fit nicely (though, equally, the bellum Iudaicum may be the war in question). The third possible case of Hadrianic dona in Britain is that of Q. Albius Felix (Nr.124) centurion of XX Valeria Victrix, decorated by Hadrian in an unspecified campaign. These dona are generally attributed to the bellum Iudaicum to which a vexillation of XX V.V. is believed to have been sent, accompanying the governor Julius Severus who was transferred east from Britain to settle the Jewish problem. Such an explanation of the decorations is rather unnecessary since there was campaigning in Britain which could quite adequately account for the award. Moreover, the suggestion that XX Valeria Victrix sent a vexillation to the East rests largely on the assumption that the dona of Albius Felix cannot have been won in Britain.

D. Antoninus Pius;

Pius' biographer in the Augustan history states explicitly that the emperor did not conduct his wars in person³³ - per legatos suos plurima bella gessit - so that in whatever campaign Cestius Sabinus (Nr. 146) was decorated, and this is not clear, it cannot have been oneⁱⁿ which Pius himself participated.

E. Marcus Aurelius; Bellum Maurorum.

P. Aelius Romanus (Nr.121) received military decorations from an unnamed emperor for his activities against the Mazices in Spain. The most

likely occasion for this disturbance was the reign of Marcus, when the Augustan history records trouble with the Moors in the early 170's³⁴. The rebellion was put down by the imperial legates without the personal intervention of the emperor who was, at that time, campaigning in Germany - cum Mauri Hispanias prope omnes vastarent, res per legatos bene gestae sunt.³⁵

F. ? ; Bellum Britannicum.

The unknown of XIV 2110 (Nr.112) was decorated in a British war which must date to the reign of Domitian or later, since the man in question subsequently held the post of praefectus vehiculorum, a post which is not attested until the time of Trajan and was possibly created by Nerva³⁶. The only British war in the post-Flavian period in which an emperor is known to have participated is that of Severus in A.D. 208-211. Certainly it cannot be proved that the career in question does not belong to this period, but an earlier date, referring to one of the British wars of the second century, is equally likely.

Such, then are the cases of decorations in campaigns in which the emperor did not participate. There is no evidence that a triumph was celebrated in connection with any of these wars; nor, indeed were triumphs celebrated for all the other campaigns in which dona were awarded and in which the emperor took part.³⁷ Suetonius, for example, indicates that no triumph followed Domitian's campaign against the Sarmatians³⁸, and there is no evidence for a triumph following Hadrian's Suebo-Sarmatian war.

THE AWARDING OF DONA.

Notes.

1. Polybius VI.39
2. Livy VI. xx.7
3. Livy XXVI. xlviii.13-14
4. Bell. Afri. 86 ; Bell. Hisp. 26; Bell.Civ.III 53-6
5. Val. Max. IV. iii.10
6. D. 8888 (Nr.119)
7. Polybius VI.39
8. supra p. 7
9. Suetonius, Julius Caesar 2.
10. Pliny XXII 7
11. Tac. ann. III. 21
12. SHA v. Marci XXI.1; XXI.9, 11; v. Severi II.4
13. Suetonius, Augustus 25.
14. Suetonius, Tiberius 32.
15. Nrs. 105,129,164,213.
16. Tac. ann. III.21
17. Tac. ann. XV.12
18. Suetonius, Augustus 38
19. cf. A.E. Gordon, Quintus Veranius, consul A.D. 49 University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology Vol II, Nr.5 (1952). Appendix II. Lists all examples known to the author of soldiers receiving ornamenta triumphalia or triumphal statues.
20. Suetonius, Augustus 8.
21. Suetonius, Claudius 28.
22. Vell. Pat. II cxv. 1
23. Josephus b.J. VII.10-15
24. Livy VII xxvi.10; VII.xxxvii.1-2; X.xliv.3-5; XXXIX.xcxi.18.
25. Val. Max. LVIII.6
26. Ammianus XXIV.4.24.

27. Nrs. 22,23
28. E. Ritterling, Zu den Germanenkriegen Domitiens am Rhein und Donau. Jahreshefte VII (1904) Beiblatt 28ff. esp. 30, fn.10. Infra 33-36
29. Dio LXVIII. 3-4.
30. SHA, v. Hadriani XI.2; XII. 1.
31. SHA, v. Hadriani V.2
32. E. Birley, Britain after Agricola. The end of the Ninth Legion RBRA 20ff.
33. SHA v. Pii V.4.
34. SHA v. Marci XXI.1; XXII.11; v. Severi II.4.
35. SHA v. Marci XXI.1
36. Pflaum, Carr. 211, 296.
37. cf. Appendix I, Campaigns in which dona were awarded.
38. Suetonius, Domitianus - 6

CHAPTER 3.

SENATORIAL DONA.

The evidence regarding the senatorial scale of dona, like that of the equestrian, belongs largely to the Flavian period and beyond, so that the practice in the early Principate must remain something of a mystery. In the later period it is clear that size of award was determined in large part by the rank of the recipient, attaining, under normal conditions, a maximum of four coronae, hastae and vexilla for the ex-consul. The consular scale fluctuated little, if at all: in just one case, that of L. Catilius Severus (Nr.10) three coronae are recorded instead of four and here it may be suspected that the corona aurea has been omitted in error, for what fluctuations there were in senatorial dona came (with the exception of those of the Hadrianic period) in the number of vexilla and hastae, the number of coronae remaining constant. Once the scale of award was established the corona classica became the characteristic award of the consular; with just one possible (and explicable) exception in the case of Valerius Festus (Nr.9) it is never awarded below the consulate and it is noteworthy that the praetorian prefect, though he received only marginally less than the consular, being awarded four hastae and four vexilla, received only three coronae and the one which was omitted was the classica. Likewise, a centurion, primus pilus or equestrian might be awarded a corona muralis, vallaris or aurea but never a corona classica. Below the consulate the variety of award was greater but again, once the scale had developed, a maximum appears to have been established; in the case of commanders of praetorian rank, three coronae, hastae and vexilla, and two of each for the tribune.

Steiner believed that senatorial dona had ~~been~~ taken on the form in which they are familiarly known by the ¹ Vespasianic period¹, however, this is not true

of the early Vespasianic dona, the granting of which was inextricably bound up with the rewarding of loyal Flavian supporters for the part they had played in the events of the Civil War and which are complicated by numbers of extraordinary commands and the appointing of officers to posts which, in the strict order of things, they were not qualified to hold.

I Julio-Claudian Period.

A. Claudius.

Of the three examples of Claudian senatorial dona, one gives no detail of scale, one is fragmentary and the other records the decorations in full. Coedius Candidus (Nr.15) was tribune of a legion when he received three coronae and one hasta, while the ignotus of V 7165 (Nr.44) was probably a comes of consular rank when awarded at least three coronae (including a classica) and an indeterminate number of hastae and vexilla. This last case is too fragmentary to yield any useful information, and the case of Coedius Candidus conforms to later practice only in the exclusion of the corona classica from the dona of an officer below consular rank.

B. Nero.

The one example of Neronian dona, that of Nonius Asprenas (Nr.29), is on an exceedingly generous scale comprising five coronae, eight hastae and four vexilla awarded to a man who held only the rank of quaestor (the omission of the corona classica from among the crowns is notable). The size of the award is doubtless to be explained by the fact that it was won not in regular battle but in the suppression of civil conflict (it appears to be connected with the suppression of the Pisonian conspiracy); normally a purely civil official such as Nonius Asprenas would have had no opportunity for the winning of military decorations.

There is just one possible parallel to so generous an award and that is connected with the Civil war of A.D. 69 (Nr.45).

II Flavian Period.

A. Vespasian and Titus.

The dona of the early Flavian period are inextricably bound up with the politics of the Civil war, a fact which is amply illustrated by the many anomalies among the decorations. It is to the year 69 that the single example of the award of a corona classica to a non-consular is to be dated; this is the case of Valerius Festus (Nr.9) whose four coronae, four hastae and four vexilla should belong to his legateship of III Augusta when he dealt with the trouble with the Garamantes. However, the emperor concerned is not named and it is possible the award was delayed until after the triumph of Vespasian and that its generous size is connected with the somewhat dubious role which Festus played in the events of 69². Similarly, Antistius Rusticus was only a legionary tribune when he received dona on a scale which would later be associated with a legionary legate; his command certainly dates to 69 when, as tribune of II Augusta, in addition to being involved in campaigning in Britain, he will doubtless have been instrumental in bringing over II Augusta to the Flavian cause. Neither Larcius Lepidus (Nr.26) nor Firmus (Nr.40) had been praetor when appointed to legionary commands, irregular promotions which were due to the Civil war and which explain the irregular dona which they were awarded, both ostensibly for service in the bellum Iudaicum. Lepidus received three coronae but only two hastae and two vexilla, Firmus three coronae, three hastae but no vexilla. The unknown of VIII 13536 (Nr.45) also participated in the Jewish war, winning dona which included at least two coronae murales and aureae and an indeterminate number of the other types of awards. There may be two separate occasions of decorations here, but, equally, it may be simply one occasion of a magnitude abnormal

under ordinary conditions but not out of place in the context to which it belongs; indeed, it provides the closest analogy to the case of Nonius Asprenas (Nr.29 and supra p. 40). The single hasta awarded to Glitius Gallus (Nr.22) is odd both in the size of the award and in that it makes no pretence of having been won in regular battle. Gallus served neither as tribune nor legate of a legion, nor does he appear ever to have governed a province; the decoration dates to the censorship of Vespasian and Titus, an unusual occasion for a military award and one which can be explained in no other way than an open reward for a loyal Flavian supporter.

It is clear that the Vespasianic period must be considered somewhat apart when tracing the development of senatorial dona, for there are circumstances to be taken into account the like of which occur rarely during the period under review. Yet, bearing in mind the extraordinary conditions which applied, the dona of the early Flavian period are much more closely akin to later dona in the proportions in which coronae, hastae and vexilla were combined than is the single Claudian example of senatorial dona. Indeed, the award received by Cn. Domitius Lucanus (Nr.16) as praefectus auxiliorum omnium is on the scale which is henceforth to constitute the standard award of the praetorian, and Lucanus was of praetorian rank when he won it. His brother Tullus (Nr.17) received the same reward though he had not yet been praetor, but this need be no more than a concession to the fact that it would be grossly inequitable to give two men dissimilar awards for doing precisely the same job, simply because they were of unequal status. Indeed it points to the main weakness of a system of award based on rank not merit and explains and justifies the need for just that flexibility which was built into all grades of the structure.

B Domitian.

A clearly recognizable hierarchical scale of award emerges under Domitian; of the four cases which give in detail the dona of senators of this period one is consular, one praetorian and two tribunician. Funisulanus Vettonianus(Nr.20) held his third consular governorship when he received four coronae, four hastae .

and four vexilla; Baebius Italicus (Nr. 5) commanding a legion, received three coronae, three hastae and an indeterminate number of vexilla. The tribunician awards illustrate some flexibility. T. Julius Maximus Manlianus (Nr.24), as tribunus laticlavus, received two coronae, (probably) two hastae and one vexillum, while L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer (Nr. 36), commanding a vexillation subsequent to his legionary tribunate, received one vexillum in excess of this.

III Trajanic Period.

The picture which emerges under Trajan does not differ at all from that of the Domitianic period. The consulars Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola (Nr.21) and Sosius Senecio (Nr.38) each received fourfold decoration, the latter on two occasions, while the fragmentary texts relating to the ignoti of XII 3169 (Nr.50) and A.E. 1964, 192 (Nr. 53) each include four hastae and thus, by implication, four coronae and four vexilla, for in only one case (with the exception of the atypical Hadrianic dona) does the number of coronae fall below that of the hastae and vexilla. Hence, ^{it} is reasonable to suggest that the stone mason who cut the inscription relating to L. Catilius Severus (Nr.10) omitted in error the corona aurea. Two Trajanic legionary legates specify their dona; L. Minicius Natalis received three coronae, three hastae and an indeterminate number of vexilla; the ignotus of IGLS I 234 (Nr.54) received three hastae, two vexilla and an indeterminate number of coronae; the former was holding his second praetorian appointment, the text relating to the latter is too fragmentary to draw any firm conclusions, but as the command held was a legionary one it may well have been his first. Evidence is lacking for the tribunate but there is no reason to believe that there would have been any variation from the pattern attested under Domitian.

IV Hadrianic Period.

Senatorial dona in the Hadrianic period split into two distinct classes;

the early ones, dating to the Suebo-Sarmatian war, continue the tradition established in the Flavian period; Caesennius Sospes (Nr.7), as legatus legionis, received the normal three-fold decoration of the praetorian, Satrius Sep () (Nr.3) the normal two-fold decoration of the laticlave tribune. Later Hadrianic dona differ radically not only from those that preceded them but from one another; there is no recognizable scale at all, no hierarchical concept and no internal consistency. Lollius Urbicus (Nr.2) as imperial legate of praetorian rank, received one corona and one hasta, the same award as was being made to senior centurions at this same period; and it is probably less than that won by Fuficius Cornutus (Nr.19) as laticlave tribune³, and certainly less than^{the} total awarded to the tribune C. Iulius Thraso Alexander (Nr.25) whose two hastae, one vexillum and indeterminate number of coronae, could approximate more to the pre and early Hadrianic type grant.

This contrast between early and late Hadrianic dona became apparent only with the redating of the Sospes inscription (Nr.7) to the Hadrianic period⁴; hitherto its attribution to the Suebo-Sarmatian war of Domitian had seemed to be confirmed by the comparative generosity of the awards involved, and similar considerations had led to a similar dating for the career of Satrius Sep () (Nr. 37). The contrast is a striking one; there is no evidence of it in equestrian dona, perhaps because there are no early Hadrianic examples - the two known Hadrianic decorated equestrians belong to the bellum Iudaicum^d and both received small awards. There are no contrasts in the dona of the rankers and more junior officers, for here Hadrianic practice did not differ to any extent from what had preceded it. The reasons for this change of policy with regard to senatorial dona are obscure; it may be part of the more general concern which Hadrian had with military reform or, since only the upper orders appear, on present evidence, to be involved, it may be a symptom of that mistrust which came over the emperor in his later years with regard to the senate.

V Antonine Period.

A. Antoninus Pius.

There is no example of the awarding of senatorial dona under Pius.

B. Marcus, Verus and Commodus.

This period saw a return to a set scale of award of the pre- and early Hadrianic standard. The only apparent anomaly is the case of Claudius Fronto (Nr.12) who was only of praetorian rank when he fought in the Parthian war, yet received the dona of a consular. It is, however, probable that he had been raised to the consulate prior to the Parthian triumph in A.D. 166 and so received the award fitted to his present and not his past status. There are four further examples of consular dona from the Antonine period, all of comites of Marcus, Verus, and Commodus in the Parthian and German wars. In all cases the record of the dona is fragmentary but in all cases where restoration is possible four coronae fit best with, presumably, four hastae and four vexilla. The two officers of praetorian status decorated at this period each received the three coronae due to their rank, though their awards differed from one another in the number of hastae. Antistius Adventus (Nr.2) as legatus legionis received three hastae and two vexilla while C. Vettius Sabinianus (Nr.39) as governor of a one legion praetorian province received two hastae and two vexilla. Domaszewski professed to find the case of Antistius Adventus unintelligible⁵ as indeed it would be in the completely inflexible system which he put forward (He did not know of the inscription relating to Vettius Sabinianus). The one Antonine example of the dona of a tribune (Nr.57) is incomplete, but includes the normal two coronae and two vexilla.

VI Severan Period.

There are two cases of senatorial dona in the Severan period, Claudius

Gallus (Nr.13) and the unknown of A.E. 1922,38, (Nr.51) but neither gives any detail of the award received.

VII Conclusion.

During the period under review the senatorial cursus, unlike that of the equestrians, did not undergo any radical modifications, so that the system of dona, once established, had little need of review. As a result the scale of award remained remarkably constant; the two coronae of the tribune, the three of the ex-praetor and the four of the consular were maintained unchanged, and the internal flexibility of the system exhibited itself in the varying combinations of hastae and vexilla.

The foregoing survey has taken stock only of dated texts, but there is nothing in the undated material which in any way invalidates the conclusions drawn. The one anomalous inscription of the ignotus of V 36 (Nr.43) may well belong to an early period before the development of a set scale; it is too fragmentary to date with any confidence (though Domaszewski believed it to be pre-Claudian and thus the earliest reference to senatorial dona⁶) or to reconstruct in full the dona to which it refers.

With the sole exception of the inscription relating to Flavius Aetius (Nr.18 and infra p. 131) evidence for senatorial dona ceases in the Severan period. The failure of the two Severan texts to give any detail of the award received makes it impossible, on present evidence, to determine whether or not the system continued unchanged until its disappearance, or whether some devolution had set in. Certainly changes were coming about under Caracalla if not already under Severus, but the nature and extent of these will be dealt with elsewhere⁷.

TABLE 1. THE DONA OF SENATORIAL OFFICERS.

The material is divided chronologically and subdivided according to the status of the recipient at the time he actually earned the dona. Where this differs from the presumed status when the decoration was conferred the higher status is mentioned in parentheses.

CORONA HASTA VEXILLUM.

I Julio-Claudian period.

A. Claudius

Tribunus

L. Coiedius Candidus	trib.leg.	3	1	-
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Consular

V 7165	comes	3+	?	?
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B. Nero

Ex-tribunus

L. Nonius Asprenas		5	8	4
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I Flavian period

A. Vespasian

Tribunus

L. Antistius Rusticus	trib.leg.	3	3	3
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Ex-tribunus

Cn. Domitius Tullus	praef.aux.	3	3	3
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A. Larcus Lepidus	leg. leg.	3	2	2
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-. Firmus.	trib.leg.vice.leg.	3	3	-
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Ex-praetor

Cn. Domitius Lucanus	praef.aux.	3	3 or 2	3 or 2
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M. Hirrius Fronto	?	2+	?	?
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Valerius Festus.	leg.leg.(cos.)	4	4	4
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		CORONA	HASTA	VEXILLUM.
VIII 12536	[leg.leg.]	5[?	?	?
<u>No military posts: status indeterminate</u>				
P. Glitius Gallus		-	1	-
B.Domitian				
<u>Tribunus</u>				
T. Iulius Maximus	trib.leg.	2	[2]	1
L. Roscius Celar	trib.vex.	2	2	2
<u>Ex-praetor</u>				
P. Baebius Italicus	leg.leg.	3	2	3 or 2
<u>Consular</u>				
L. Funisulanus Vettonianus	leg.prov.	4	4	4
III <u>Trajanic period</u>				
<u>Ex-praetor</u>				
L. Minicius Natalis	leg.leg.	3	3	?
I GLS I 123	[leg.leg.]	?	3	2
<u>Consular</u>				
L. Catilius Severus	leg.prov.	[4]	?	4
Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola	leg.prov.	4	4	4
Q. Sosius Senecio	comes	4	4	4
"	comes	4	4	4
XII 3169	[leg.prov.]	?	4	?
A.E. 1964, 192	?	?	4	?

IV Hadrianic period.

Tribunus

		CORONA	HASTA	VEXILL
<u>Tribunus</u>				
Q. Fuficius Cornutus	trib.leg.	1+	?	1
- . Satrius Sep[]tus	trib.leg.	2	2	2
C. Iul. Thraso Alexander	[trib.leg.]	?	2	1

Ex-praetor

L. Caesennius Sospes.	leg.leg.	3	3	3
Q. Lollius Urbicus	leg.imp.	1	1	-
XI 6339	leg.leg.	2	1	-

V. ⁿAntonine period.

A. Antoninus Pius

B. Marcus, Verus, Commodus

Tribunus

IRT 552	trib.leg.	2	?	1+
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Ex-praetor

Q. Antistius Adventus	leg.leg.	3	3	2
M. Claudius Fronto	leg.leg/leg. exerc.aux.(cos.)	4	4	4
C. Vettius Sabinianus	leg.prov.	3	2	2

Consular

M. Pontius Laelianus	comes	4	?	?
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VI Severan

VII Undated

Tribunus

V 36	trib.leg.	?	1	?
VIII 25422	trib.leg.	?	2	?
A.E. 1930, 79	[trib.leg.]	?	2	1

Consular

II 3788	[leg.prov.]	2+	?	?
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SENATORIAL DONA.

Notes.

1. Steiner p.88
2. cf. Tac. hist.II, 98, IV, 49-50
3. The size of the award made to Cornutus is impossible to determine with any certainty; in date it could belong to the bellum Iudaicum, the senatorial awards for which were small, or slightly earlier, to the bellum Britannicum of the late 120's.
4. H. -G. Pflaum, La Chronologie de la Carrière de L. Caesennius Sospes, Historia II, (1953-4), 431-446
5. Rangordnung² 184+ fn 11
6. Rangordnung² 184+ fn 6
7. infra p.129 , Post-Severan Dona

CHAPTER 4.

THE DONA OF THE MILITIA EQUESTRIS.

The evolution of the equestrian career structure during the first half of the first century A.D., and its modification in the early years of the second, carried with it the development of a system of military decorations whose scale of award was matched to some extent to the grades of the equestrian hierarchy. It is thus apparent that the changes and modifications within the equestrian militiae should be reflected in the decorations received. But does this in fact occur?

Steiner, in his short section on die dona militaria der höheren Offiziere¹ made no attempt to analyse in detail, specific cases of equestrian dona, but simply set out a table of his conclusions, showing what reward might, in general, be expected at any given rank. Steiner's classification is as follows:

(i) 1 hasta pura + 1 corona (aurea, vallaris or muralis) to equestrian officers who had not proceeded beyond the military tribunate.

(ii) 1 hasta pura + 1 corona + 1 vexillum to equestrian officers who had not advanced beyond praefectus alae.

(iii) 2 hastae purae + 2 coronae + 2 vexilla to senators up to the rank of praetor.

Category (iii) is concerned with tribuni militum laticlavii and is therefore largely irrelevant in the present context except that Steiner includes in this category the case of M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex (Nr86), whom he took to be a senator at the time he was decorated (he was an equestrian adlected into the senate after he was decorated), and whom he does not therefore discuss in the detail warranted by the dona, which are abnormally high for an equestrian.

Steiner's categories make no chronological distinctions in scale of award, but classes (i) and (ii) are sufficiently broad to cover any minor, though not major, modifications which there may have been in the system.

Domaszewski's section on the subject of equestrian dona is rather more

ambitious in its scope than is that of Steiner, making a chronological distinction between pre- and post-Claudian practice².

A. Pre-Claudian.

1 hasta pura + 1 corona awarded to the tribunus militum,
angusticlavus and to the praefectus equitum.

With the development of the equestrian cursus the praefectura cohortis becomes the first step on the equestrian ladder and it takes over the lowest scale of decoration: accordingly, the dona awarded to men in their second and third militiae has to be augmented. A vexillum is added to the decorations of the military tribune, and the cavalry prefect receives the tribune's awards in duplicate.

B. From the Claudian reform.

(i) 1 hasta pura + 1 corona awarded to praefectus cohortis

(ii) 1 hasta pura + 1 corona + 1 vexillum awarded to tribunus militum angusticlavus and tribunus cohortis.

(iii) 2 hastae purae + 2 coronae + 2 vexilla awarded to praefectus equitum.

This scheme is a very rigid one to which there are now more exceptions than were indicated by Domaszewski, who weakened his argument by allowing no latitude for variation of award within a single grade, but simply pointed to a reduction of award under Hadrian and to one case of low dona, under Marcus. (Cominius Clemens, Nr.74). Domaszewski made no attempt to relate his conclusions to those of Steiner nor to discuss the disparities between them.

The most recent attempt to work out the system of award to equestrians is that of Tibor Nagy³; his concern, however, is largely with the Trajanic and Antonine periods and his theories will be discussed below under the relevant sections.

I The Julio- Claudian and Civil War periods.

In the pre-Claudian period there was no proper career structure for the equestrian. Of those posts which later formed the equestrian cursus, only one,

that of tribunus militum, was available in the Republic. The commands of auxiliary units were added to this, but they also were not, at first, reserved solely for equestrians, being held, up to the Flavian period, by native princes, centurions and primipilares as well as by equestrians. Nor was there in this early period any set order in which the posts had to be held. The prefecture of a quingenary cohort could precede the military tribunate, as later became standard practice, but, equally, it could follow it. Likewise the prefecture of an ala could come before or after the tribunate. During the period in question all auxiliary units appear to have been quingenary, military alae and cohortes not emerging until the Flavian period⁴; there is thus, at first, no hierarchical concept whereby the commander of a military unit must, by virtue of the greater number of men under his command, and his greater responsibility, be regarded as superior to the man who commanded only a quingenary unit.

Since the equestrian career structure was only just emerging at this period it is hardly surprising that we do not find a developed hierarchy of decorations to be awarded to the holders of these posts. The volume of epigraphic evidence on this point is not large but what there is is consistent, a similar award of one corona and one hasta being received by men in a variety of different posts.

A. Pre-Claudian

- . Cornelius N...	trib.mil.	cor. aur. + hast. pur.
C. Fabricius Tuscus	praef. alae.	cor. aur. + hast. pur.
L. Laetilius Rufus.	trib. mil.	cor. val. + hast. pur.

B. Claudian

C. Iulius Camillus	evoc/trib.mil.	cor. aur. + hast. pur
C. Stertinius Xenphon	trib.mil.	cor. aur. + hast. pur.

cf. also:

P. Anicius Maximus	praef. castr.	cor. aur. + hast. pur.
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To these can be added another probably Claudian case:

M. Stlaccius Coranus ?? cor. mur. + hast. pur.

Included in list B. is the case of P. Anicius Maximus who was decorated as praefectus castrorum during Claudius' British campaign. He himself never held any appointments in the equestrian militia but is included here to illustrate the dona of the camp prefect at a time when this post, though normally held by primipilares (as later became the case, exclusively), could be held by an equestrian: witness the cases of Arrius Salanus (X 6101 = D. 6285) and Vespasius Pollio (Sustonium, Vespasianus 1,3).

These lists include two of the posts which later came to make up the tres militiae, and in each case the award is one crown and one hasta; the praefectus cohortis is not represented but on the above evidence there is no reason to doubt that he too would have received the same scale of award. This assumption would seem to be borne out by the case of M. Vergilius Gallus Lusius (Nr.105), who received dona comprising two hastae and two coronae. This is twice as large an award as can confidently be assigned to the military tribune and cavalry prefect at the same period and must surely represent two occasions of decoration. Admittedly, there is always the possibility of deviation from the more normal scale of award - as becomes apparent from a study of the dona of each and every grade of soldier the system was far from inflexible - but the weight of evidence in this particular case is certainly on the side of repeated decoration. The award was made ab divo Aug. et Ti. Caesare Aug. and it is worthy of note that on no other inscription are these two linked as being jointly responsible for a single award.⁵ The first decoration might, therefore, have been as senior centurion or primus pilus, the second as praefectus cohortis, one from Augustus, the other from Tiberius. Alternatively both awards may have been won within the duration of a single command.

Another probable case of repeated decoration on this same scale is that of

C. Purtilius Atinas (Nr.97). The decorations are not listed in the text of the inscription but are sculpted on the stone. Two crowns and two hastae are among the dona which remain (the bottom half of the stone is broken away), and the extant portion of the text mentions posts as praefectus equitum and primus pilus; decoration in each of these posts with one corona and one hasta would, on analogy with the cases quoted above, best account for the awards. However the possibility cannot be ruled out that similar decorations could be won by a senior centurion; such an award is first attested in the Domitianic period (Nr.186) but not before, though this may be due to no more significant a fact than lack of evidence.⁶

One striking omission from the dona so far discussed is the vexillum, the implication being that at this period it formed no part of the dona of the militia equestris. And yet a vexillum has been restored to appear among the awards received by Ti. Claudius Balbillus (Nr.71) who is commemorated on a fragmentary inscription from Ephesus. In the original publication of the two fragments by J. Keil⁷ the dona are given as [corona-----et hasta] pura [et vexillo ---], the spacing implying that more than one crown should be restored. Pflaum (Carr. Nr.15) suggests [corona murali et vexillo et hasta] pura [-----]. The awards were won in the bellum Britannicum of Claudius with Balbillus holding the post of tribunus militum, at a period when the inclusion of a vexillum is clearly an anachronism. One possible restoration, omitting the vexillum, is given in the prosopography (Nr.71).

The evidence regarding equestrian dona in the period from the death of Claudius to the accession of Vespasian is very slight, consisting of only one inconclusive inscription (or two if one follows Steiner in dating the corona and hasta of M. Stlaccius Coranus to the reign of Nero). Sex. Caesius Propertianus received the hasta pura corona aurea from an emperor unspecified, in a campaign unspecified, during the Civil War period. Unfortunately it is not at all clear what post Propertianus held when he was decorated, though

Domaszewski, dating the evolution of the system of equestrian dona to the reign of Claudius, believed that the omission of the vexillum pointed to the praefectura cohortis. The evidence is equivocal; of these examples which Domaszewski quotes in support of his theory, the earliest is from the age of Nerva; none of the Claudian inscriptions themselves support an evolved system of decoration and this single immediately post-Claudian example could be interpreted to support decoration as praefectus cohortis under the new order or as either prefect or tribune under the old order.

Moreover, Suetonius tells us (Claudius 25) that Claudius attempted to establish the order of posts as praefectus cohortis quingenariae, praefectus equitum alae quingenariae and then tribunus legionis, so that any graduated scale of dona that might have been initiated would have to be reversed when the order of the second and third posts was reversed.⁸

PRE-FLAVIAN EQUESTRIAN DONA

- (i) In all cases the award is 1 corona + 1 hasta
- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| P. Anicius Maximus. | Claudian. | praef. castr. |
| -- Cornelius N -- . | pre-Cl. | trib. mil. |
| C. Fabricius Tuscus. | Tiberian. | praef. alae |
| Sex. Caesius Propertianus. | Nero/Vitell. | pf. coh. /trib. mil. |
| C. Iulius Camillus. | Claudian. | evoc/ trib. mil. |
| L. Laetilius Rufus. | pre-Cl. | trib. mil. |
| C. Purtisius Atinas. | pre-Cl. | P.P. |
| -- | pre-Cl. | pf. alae |
| C. Stertinius Xenophon. | Claudian. | trib. mil. |
| M. Stlaccius Coranus. | Cl/Nero. | pf. coh/tr. mil/pf. alae. |
| M. Vergilius Gallus Lusius. | Augustan. | P.P. |
| -- | Tiberian. | pf. coh. |
- (ii) Scale of dona uncertain
- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Ti. Claudius Balbillus. | Claudian. | trib. mil. |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|

II. Flavian and Nervan Periods.

The quantity of epigraphic evidence for this period is, again, very small. There are two cases of decoration by Vespasian, two by Domitian and one by Nerva. The two Domitianic ones are of no value whatever for the present purpose; the inscription relating to Ti. Claudius Alpinus (Nr.70) does not specify what dona were won, while the other, that of Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito (Nr.90), though it gives the awards as hasta pura corona vallaris does not state in which units the man served, so that it is impossible even to begin to work out in which post he was decorated.

The single inscription from the reign of Nerva is straightforward. Q. Attius Priscus (Nr.63) received corona aurea hasta pura vexillum as tribune of I Adiutrix. Clearly then, by the end of the first century the vexillum had come to be included in the decorations awarded to the equestrian. If this did not happen under Claudius it must date to some time in the Flavian period. Evidence for Domitian is lacking; that for Vespasian is not conclusive. C. Minicius Italus (Nr.88) received corona aurea hasta pura as prefect of quingenary cohort; as this is the lowest post in the militia equestris it would not be expected that Italus should necessarily receive the vexillum even if it were available to equestrians at the time. The vital inscription, therefore, is that of Pompeius Faventinus (Nr.93), the reading of which dubious, the stone lost. The text, which is preserved in a sixteenth century manuscript, is incompletely and inaccurately rendered; it is clear that dona are being mentioned at the end of an equestrian military career and that one crown and one hasta are included, but the vital following words are obscure: corona aurea hasta pur[] ----/I---IVN Imp.divus Vespasianus. The restoration suggested by Alföldy,⁹ hasta pur[] a vexil/lo ab] imp.div[] o] Vespasiano, is clearly possible but cannot be proven.

Once the tres militiae had developed as a set career structure one would expect some system of graduated awards to come into being; this development

was certainly under way in the Claudian period, while the establishment of military cohorts under the Flavians expanded considerably the number of posts in the secunda militia ; by the Flavian period, too, the commands which made up the equestrian career structure had become reserved almost exclusively for equestrians. Domaszewski believed that Claudius expanded the dona to include the vexillum, and yet of the six Claudian and immediately pre-Flavian inscriptions not one can be shown with any certainty to include a vexillum; Vespasian rather than Claudius would appear to be the innovator, though even if one accepts the Alföldy restoration of the career of Pompeius Faventinus it is still not clear exactly where and how the vexillum was interpolated into the scheme of things, for ~~the~~ Faventinus could have been decorated in any one of the three equestrian grades in which he served. It has recently been suggested¹¹ that the inscription relating to C. Iulius Karus (Nr.83) may date to the reigns of Domitian or Nerva (though an equally strong case can be made out for its being Trajanic). The dona which Karus won as praefectus cohortis consist of three coronae and one hasta, a scale of award unparalleled in this or any other period. Though the award is anomalous it serves to illustrate the internal flexibility of the system to which it belongs.

III Trajanic Period.

The volume of evidence for the Trajanic period is considerably in excess of that for the periods which precede or follow it. There is a total of fourteen career inscriptions of which eight list the dona received.

L. Aburnius Tuscianus.	cor. aur. vall. + vex.
Aemilius Iuncus.	cor. vall.+ vex.
A. Atinius Paternus.	...
P. Besius Betuinianus.	cor.mur. + cor. vall. + hast. + vex.
C. Caelius Martialis.	...
L. Calidius Camidienus.	...
C. Nummius Verus.	...

L. Paconius Proculus
A. Pomponius Augurinus etc.	cor. vall. + hast. + vex.
T. Pontius Sabinus.	cor. mur. + hast. + vex.
P. Prifernius Paetus etc.	cor. mur. + hast. + vex.
M. Vettius Latro.	cor. mur. + hast. + vex.
XII 5899.	...
A.E. 1961, 364 = 1965, 348.	[-----]cor. mur.

Of these inscriptions two are perfectly straightforward as regards both scale and attribution of dona, the awards being listed in full immediately after the post in which they were won. ~~This British war has been~~ T. Pontius Sabinus, (Nr.95) received one crown, one hasta and a vexillum as tribune of VI Ferrata in the Parthian war and M. Vettius Latro (Nr.106) received similar awards as prefect of a quingenary cohort during the Dacian wars. The remaining inscriptions present a variety of problems. It is apparent that L. Aburnius Tuscianus (Nr.59) was decorated as tribune of VI Ferrata, receiving, according to the Greek text $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\phi\acute{o}\rho\omega\ \delta\acute{o}\rho\alpha\tau\iota\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}\ \chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\tau\omicron\ \tau\eta\ \chi\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ this phrase has been variously interpreted to mean that he received a corona vallaris made of gold or a corona vallaris plus a corona aurea. Either is a possibility so that this inscription cannot be used with confidence as evidence for any particular scale of equestrian award. The hasta and corona won by Aemilius Iuncus (Nr. 60) are mentioned at the end of the military part of the career and it is not at all clear at which stage they were won, for all the commands were undertaken in the east and all the units in question are either known to have or could have taken part in the Parthian war. The problem of the dona of P. Besius Betuinianus (Nr.65) is a complex one; it has been the subject of a recent article by Tibor Nagy which discusses it within the context of Trajanic dona as a whole;¹² the theory enunciated therein is, however, by no means entirely satisfactory. The total of two coronae, two hastae and one vexillum is far in excess of any other single award given at

any period to a man in any of the first three militiae, and it would not be going beyond the evidence to see these dona as a total for two campaigns rather than as a single award as Nagy believes to be the case. One decoration as praefectus cohortis and one as praefectus equitum, the first with one crown and one hasta, the second with one crown, one hasta and one vexillum (the same as that received by the only other praefectus equitum known to have been decorated at this period, (Nr.96)), would account perfectly satisfactorily for the dona in question.

The inscription relating to A. Pomponius Augurinus T. Prifernius Paetus (Nr.94) is clear in its listing of the dona and in their attribution to a specific post; what is not so clear is the exact nature of this specific post. The Greek text gives the command in question as ἑπάρχος σπείρης ἁ χειλώνδρου, a title which has given rise to considerable conjecture as to whether or not there has been an error in the cutting of the inscription - and if so, whether the ἑπάρχος or the σπείρης is incorrect - or whether the cohort in question, though milliary, did have a prefect and not a tribune in charge. The latter explanation is, on balance the more plausible.

The dona awarded to P. Prifernius Paetus Memmius Apollinaris (Nr.96) are listed at the end of the military career. They may or may not be linked to the prefecture of the ala I Asturum which they follow. However, on a consideration of the known dating and probable timing of the career, decoration as praefectus alae is certainly the most likely interpretation. One crown, one hasta, and one vexillum were received.

Thus the total evidence for this period, though comparatively considerable in quantity is not high in quality, providing little evidence for a consistent and complex system such as those enunciated by Domaszewski and Nagy.

TRAJANIC EQUESTRIAN DONA.

(Cases where there exists reasonable certainty as to the scale of award and to the post in which the award was received are recorded in capitals).

	CORONA mur. vall.aur	HASTA	VEXILLUM.
1. Decorated as <u>praefectus cohortis D.</u>			
Aemilius Iu ⁿ cus.	x	x	
P. Besius Betuinianus.	x	x	
M. VETTIUS LATRO.	x	x	x
2. (a) Decorated as <u>tribunus angusticlavius.</u>			
L. Aburnius Tuscianus.	x ?	x	x
T. PONTIUS SABINUS.	x	x	x
(b) Decorated as <u>praefectus cohortis M.</u>			
A. POMPONIUS AUGURNUS etc.	x	x	x
3. Decorated as <u>praefectus alae D.</u>			
P. Besius Betuinianus.	x	x	x
P. PRIFERNIUS PAETUS.	x	x	x

Vettius Latro, as prefect of a quingenary cohort, was awarded the same dona as T. Pontius Sabinus won as angusticlave tribune, which is, again, the same as P. Prifernius Paetus won as prefect of a quingenary ala; from this it would seem that there was ^{as} a rule very little difference in the basic scale of award to the various ranks in the equestrian militia. Such a picture differs radically from that painted by Nagy, whose article¹³, discussing more fully the question of equestrian dona than did either Steiner or Domaszewski, deserves to be examined in detail.

Nagy argues for a two fold system of award, with a higher and a lower scale of decoration to each grade of the equestrian militia. His conclusions, set out in tabular form, are as follows:-

	corona	hasta	vexillum.
Praefectus cohortis D.	lower scale	1	1
	upper scale		1
Tribunus Ang./coh.	lower scale.	1	1
	upper scale	2	1

Praefectus alae.	lower scale.	2	1	1
	upper scale.	2	2	1

In this scheme the upper scale for the prima militia equals the lower scale for the secunda militia and the upper scale for the secunda equals the lower scale for the tertia. The evidence put forward concerns only the first two grades, the scale for the third being built up from what is deduced for the first and second. The conclusions are based, primarily, on five inscriptions.

Prima Militia

(a) Aemilius Iuncus was awarded one crown and one hasta as prefect of a quingenary cohort; this assumption is probably correct but cannot be proven. Nagy's argument is a circular one, for he presumes that the decoration is as praefectus cohortis because the scale is low, and that the scale is low because the decoration is as praefectus cohortis.

(b) M. Vettius Matro was awarded one crown, one hasta and one vexillum as praefectus cohortis D. This case is clear.

Secunda Militia

(a) A. Pomponius Augurinus received one crown, one hasta and one vexillum as praefectus cohortis M. Similar awards went to T. Pontius Sabinus as legionary tribune. Both of these cases are acceptable.

(b) The evidence for the higher scale rests entirely on the ambiguous Tuscianus inscription,¹⁴ which gives the awards as $\sigma\tau\epsilon\varphi\alpha\nu\bar{\omega}\ \chi\rho\upsilon\sigma[\bar{\omega}\ \tau\bar{\omega}]\chi\iota\kappa\bar{\omega}$ plus a hasta and a vexillum; Nagy infers that two separate crowns were awarded.

Tertia Militia.

No examples of decoration in the third grade is quoted. The twofold scheme is pushed to its logical conclusion to prove the scale for the praefectus alae, and hence to show that P. Besius Betuinuanus could have received his total dona on one occasion, and that as praefectus alae. No mention is made of P. Priferminus Paetus; according to the Nagy scheme his decorations must have been received in either the first or the second militia. If he was tribune when decorated the occasion must have been the second Dacian war in which case the

subsequent career must have been exceedingly swift, certainly swifter than Nagy will allow as being possible for P. Besius Betuinianus. Decoration as praefectus cohortis in the first Dacian war requires similarly fast promotion, in the second war, even more so. Indeed, the careers of Paetus and Betuinianus show a similarity of development. Both were somewhere in the midst of their military careers at the time of the Dacian wars and both had undertaken four procuratorial appointments by a date pre-114, probably a couple of years before. If one accepts decoration as praefectus alae with one crown, one hasta and one vexillum as being possible in the case of Paetus it must be admitted possible for P. Besius Betuinianus.

The idea of a twofold scheme certainly accounts neatly for certain variations in award but it loses credibility when there are nearly as many exceptions to the rule as there ^{are} cases in support of it. Certainly there were limits above and below which it appears unusual to have gone, but within these limits there must have been considerable flexibility giving the opportunity in some measure to relate the scale of award to the merit as well as to the rank of the recipient. It is possible that the text relating to C. Iulius Karus (Nr.83) belongs to this period though as noted above (p.58) a case can be made out for its belonging to the reigns of Domitian or Nerva; however, the decorations recorded in this inscription, three crowns and a hasta awarded to a praefectus cohortis, are clearly anomalous to whatever period they may belong and serve well to illustrate the adaptability of the whole system.

IV Hadrianic period.

It is normally accepted that Hadrian was most ungenerous in his awarding of decorations, a reaction perhaps after the prodigality of the Trajanic era. Though this belief is to some extent a myth - as will be seen Hadrian was as generous, if not more generous, in the dona awarded to centurions - it is true that the two examples of Hadrianic dona to equestrians are both small.

75	Sex. Cornelius Dexter	Hasta pura + vex.	praef.alae
100	M. Staius Priscus.	vex.	trib. mil.

If there had been a fully graduated system of award at this period it is interesting to speculate upon what the praefectus cohortis would have received. The evidence, slight as it is, regarding Hadrianic dona in general points to a system which took cognizance^{more} of individual merit than the rank.

V The Antonine Period.

A. Antonius Pius.

There is no case of the award of equestrian dona by Antoninus Pius.

B. Marcus, Verus and Commodus.

There are ten texts relating to the Parthian and Danubian wars of Marcus, Verus and Commodus, and of these ten, four make no mention of the scale of the dona, and of the six that do, one is concerned with the decorations of a praetorian prefect.

C. Annius Flavianus.	...
L. Aurelius Nicomedes.	cor.mur. + hast. + vex.
P. Cominius Clemens.	cor.mur. + hast.
T. Furius Victorinus.	cor.mur.vall. [aur.] + hast.[III]+ vex.[IIII]
C. Iulius Corinthianus.	cor.mur. + hast. + vex.
L. Iulius Vehilius Gratus.	...
M. Macrinus Avitus.	cor.mur.vall. + hast.II + vex.II
Ti. Plautius Felix Ferruntianus.	...
M. Rossius Vitulus.	...
M. Valerius Maximianus.	equus et phalerae et armae.

Furius Victorinus (Nr.80) was decorated as praefectus praetorio but the scale of his dona is now incomplete. It can, however, be restored on analogy with the career of M. Bassaeus Rufus (Nr.137), a primipilaris, who rose to the praetorian prefecture and was decorated as such with three crowns, four hastae and four vexilla, just one crown less than the dona of the consular legate. Domaszewski

and after him, Pflaum, believed that the three crowns awarded to the unknown of E.E. VIII 478 (Nr. 232) form part of the dona of a praetorian prefect, but B. Dobson has suggested, more plausibly, that they belong rather to a collection of decorations accumulated over a period of active military service.¹⁵

Valerius Maximianus (Nr.104) was decorated on four occasions during a long and distinguished military career, but on only one of these four occasions are the dona listed and only then, apparently, because they were something out of the ordinary, equus et phalerae et armae.¹⁶

There are two examples of decoration in the secunda militia; C.Iulius Corinthianus (Nr.82) received one crown, one hasta and one vexillum when tribune of military cohort with, in addition, a vexillation of Dacians under his command. This is one vexillum in excess of the probable award to Cominius Clemens (Nr.74) as legionary tribune. Only the left half of the text relating to Clemens is extant; the structure of the career itself can be confidently restored from another inscription relating to the same man, though this second inscription makes no mention of the dona.

L. Aurelius Nicomedes held, (Nr.64) as praefectus vehiculorum, an extraordinary command, restored as being concerned with the provisioning of troops, a responsibility normally shouldered by men in the second grade of the equestrian militia. In this post he received dona on a scale which would be quite normal for a man in the militia secunda, indeed the same dona as C. Iulius Corinthianus received as tribunus cohortis in the same campaign. The decorations are not what might be expected for a man in a centenarian procuratorial post, the explanation being, perhaps, as Pflaum suggests, that the special appointment and the concomitant dona have been kept low to avoid jealousies against a man who had never served in the equestrian militiae and had risen to the procuratorship through personal contact with the imperial household.

The dona of M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex (Nr.86) are discussed by

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T. Nagy, who contends that the awards which had hitherto been accepted as having been won as praefectus alae are too high for a man of such a rank and must have been won by Vindex as procurator of Dacia Malvensis. Here, as in his discussion of Trajanic dona, Nagy bases his conclusions on a rigid two-fold system, though one on a slightly lower scale. The weakest link in his argument is his failure to take account of the fact that ⁱⁿ the Antonine period there were four grades in the militia equestri~~s~~ and that Vindex, as prefect of the ala Contariorum, was in the highest of them, the only attested case of dona to the prefect of an ala milliaria. He received decorations on the scale appropriate to a laticlave tribune, a rank which Nagy deems to be considerably above the cavalry prefecture. Would Vindex, as prefect of a military ala, be expected to receive so much less? Direct evidence is lacking: comparison between one branch of the military service and another and relative seniority of the ranks thereof, can be misleading and is not wholly satisfactory, but it is worthy of note that an equestrian adlected into the senate was normally adlected inter praetorios. Vindex himself, after serving in only one procuratorial post, and that immediately subsequent to his prefecture, was made a senator and given, as his first senatorial military command, the governorship of the imperial province of Moesia Superior.

The total evidence for the equestrian grades in the Antonine period is slight:

<u>Prima militia</u>	...	
<u>Secunda militia</u>		
P. Cominius Clemens.	trib.mil.	1 cor. + 1 hast.
C. Iulius Corinthianus.	trib.coh. + vexillatio	1 cor. + 1 hast. + 1 vex.
<u>Tertia militia</u>	...	
<u>Quarta militia</u>		
M. Macrinus Avitus.	praef. alae.	2 cor. + 2 hast. + 2 vex.

VI Severan Period.

There are no examples of the decoration of equestrian officers in the Severan period. The evidence for all branches of the service at this period is very slight and it is clear that dona as a reward for military service, were going out of fashion and perhaps in the case of equestrians had already gone.

VII Conclusion.

No mention of undated texts has been made in this survey of equestrian military decorations. Although these are of value in building up an overall picture of the scale of award to individual ranks they have no place in a chronological survey and have been omitted in the present section since none is in any way inconsistent with the evidence of the dated texts. Each is discussed in detail in the prosopography.

It is apparent that apart from the pre-Flavian and Hadrianic periods there was little radical variation in imperial policy as regards the awarding of dona to equestrians, though the addition of a fourth militia under Hadrian somewhat extended the scope. Trajan may have been prodigal with his awards, but only in the number distributed and not to any great degree in the scale of each. Indeed, the preponderance of Trajanic examples may in part be explained by the overall number of Trajanic inscriptions, which is, in general, high in proportion to those of other periods.

Broad categories such as those put forward by Steiner are evidently of much greater validity than the attempts at greater precision made by Domaszewski and Nagy; indeed, Steiner's first two categories continue to stand.

- (a) 1 corona + 1 hasta to a man who has not passed the second grade of the militia.
- (b) 1 corona + 1 hasta + 1 vexillum to an equestrian of any grade up to and including praefectus alae.

These are minimum awards; a maximum is impossible to determine, if indeed there was one (the example of C. Iulius Karus would suggest that there was not). The two crowns, two hastae and two vexilla of Vindex are the largest single award recorded. A flexible system allowed considerations other than those of rank to determine the award made; it permitted the emperor to reward favourites, to exercise diplomacy and to acknowledge the particular prowess of individuals in a way which would not otherwise have been possible.

VIII The Dona of Procurator-governors.

The subject of procuratorial dona has been dealt with very adequately by Pflaum¹⁸, and since no fresh evidence has come to light since his survey it will suffice here to summarise the conclusions which he set forth.

Pflaum concludes that a procurator governor was eligible to win military decorations when participating within the limits of his own province as commander of his own troops. In this context Pflaum cites the case of M. Antonius Iulianus, procurator of Judea, who took part, along with the other military commanders, in the council of war held by Titus before Jerusalem.¹⁹ Since he attended this council Iulianus must have been commanding the troops within his province and must surely have been eligible to win decorations even if he did not in fact receive any.

At present Pflaum's argument, though logical and convincing, remains incapable of proof for there is no certain example, either literary or epigraphic, of a procurator who received decorations; neither Carcopino's attribution of dona to P. Besius Betuinianus as procurator of Mauretania Tingitana (Nr.65)²⁰ nor Nagy's case for M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex's dona having been won as procurator of Dacia Malvensis (Nr.86)²¹ is acceptable.

Table 2. Decorations of equestrian officers.

		mil.eq.	CORONA	HASTA	VEX.
pre 54	P. Anicius Maximus.		1	1	
	- . Cornelius N ..		1	1	
	C. Fabricius Tuscus.		1	1	
	C. Iulius Camillus.		1	1	
	L. Laetilius Rufus.		1	1	
	C. Stertinius Xenophon.		1	1	
	M. Stlaccius Coranus (?).		1	1	
54-69	Sex. Caesius Propertianus.	1/2	1	1	
69-96	C. Minicius Italus.	1	1	1	
	Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito.	1/2	1	1	
	Q. Attius Priscus.	2	1	1	1
	Pompeius Faventinus.	?	1	1	[1]
96-117	M. Vettius Latro.	1	1	1	1
	Aemilius Iuncus,	1/2	1	1	
	T. Pontius Sabinus.	2	1	1	1
	L. Aburnius Tuscianus.	2	1/2	1	1
	A. Pomponius Augurinus.	2	1	1	1
	P. Priferminus Paetus.	3	1	1	1
117-138	M. Stadius Priscus.	2			1
	Sex. Cornelius Dexter.	3		1	1
138-194	P. Cominius Clemens.	2	1	1	
	C. Iulius Cornthianus.	2	1	1	1
	M. Macrinus Avitus.	4	2	2	2

(P. Besius Betuinianus has been omitted as being contentious as has C. Iulius Karus).

THE DONA OF MILITIA EQUESTRIS.

Notes.

1. Steiner 82-85.
2. Rangordnung² 137-139.
3. T. Nagy, Die Auszeichnungen des P. Besius Betuinianus und das Problem der Dona Militaria zu Trajans Zeitalter, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 16 (1968) 289-295. Les dona militaria de M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex, in Hommages à M. Renard. (1968) 536-546.
4. E. Birley, Alae and cohortes milliariae, in Corolla Memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata, 1967, 54-67.
5. There are not a large number of inscriptions of this period which do name the emperor concerned: Augustus is named in no other case, Tiberius in five. Germanicus is also named on one occasion.
6. infra p. 73.
7. H. Keil, Forschungen in Ephesos III (1923), p 128 Nr.42.
8. cf. H. Devijver, Suétone, Claude, 25 et les Milices Équestres. Ancient Society 1 (1970) 69f.
9. G. Alföldy, Ein hispanischer Offizier in Niedergermanien, in Madriider Mitteilungen, 6 (1965) 105-115.
10. E. Birley has calculated that there were, in the mid-second century, from 40 to 50 posts as tribunus cohortis, in addition to 141 as tribunus legionis; cf. Alae and cohortes milliariae, in Corolla Memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata, (1967) 61.
11. M.G. Jarrett and J.C. Mann, Britain from Agricola to Gallienus, B.Jb 170 (1970), 181.
12. infra p. 61f.
13. T. Nagy, Die Auszeichnungen des P. Besius Betuinianus und das Problem der Dona Militaria zu Trajans Zeitalter, Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 16, 1968, pp 289-295.
14. Nr.59 and supra p. 59.
15. B. Dobson, Primipilaren Ep.Stud. 10. (forthcoming) Nr. 165.
16. Pflaum (Carr.181 bis) suggests that these are the spolia opima secunda alluded to by Varro (chez Festus p. 204 L).
17. T. Nagy, Les dona militaria de M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex, in Hommages à M. Renard. (1968) 536-546.
18. Pflaum Proc. 141-146.
19. Josephus B.Iud. VI 4.3.
20. J. Carcopino, Hesperis XVII, 1933, p.13 = Le Maroc Antique, 1941, p.179.
21. T. Nagy o.c. fn.3.

CHAPTER 5.

THE DONA OF THE CENTURION AND PRIMIPILARIS.

A. CENTURIO AND DECURIO.

(i) The legions & praetorian guard.

It is generally accepted that the standard decoration of the centurion consisted of torques, armillae and phalerae plus a crown which might be an aurea, muralis or vallarıs but never a corona classica. The majority of cases of centurial dona are on this scale, but not all; there was a certain amount of variety within the system.

Direct evidence regarding the dona of the centurion in the Julio-Claudian period is entirely lacking. There are certainly inscriptions of this date relating to centurions, but either the award is not specified or it is given as a total for the whole career, no career details are given or else the dona are shown in relief with no indication as to what rank was held by the recipient at the time the award was made. It is possible that Gavius Silvanus (Nr.160) was a centurion when he was awarded torques, armillae, phalerae and a corona aurea by Claudius, but in view of the evidence regarding the dona of the evocati it seems preferable to include him in this category.¹ M. Caelius (Nr.141) had reached the rank of centurion by the time he was killed in the Varus disaster, but there is no indication as to what rank he held when decorated. The relief of the tombstone (Fig.10) shows him wearing torques, armillae, phalerae and a crown, but the crown is the corona civica which could have been won at any stage of his career. He may well have had another crown but since he could hardly be shown wearing both at once he would presumably wear the more honourable. The same is true of Q.Sertorius Festus (Nr.194 and Fig.11) who is depicted wearing torques, phalerae, though no armillae, and a corona. The crown in this case also is probably the corona civica, though this is not immediately clear from the sculpture, the execution of which is inferior in quality to that of the Caelius stone.

Part, at least of the collection of dona recorded by T. Staius Marrax (Nr.197) must have been won as centurion. By the time he had reached the primipilate he had amassed torques, armillae, phalerae, two hastae and five coronae. Allowing for one award as primus pilus and one in the ranks, it would appear that three or four of the crowns belong to decorations received during the centurionate. One of the hastae also perhaps belongs to the centurionate. The combination of a corona and a hasta as an award to a centurion is well attested from the Domitianic period onwards, but although the practice probably began before this time there is no sure evidence for it. One each of the hastae and coronae awarded to C. Purisius Atinas (Nr.97 and supra p. 54-5) may have been won as senior centurion but, equally, they may belong to the primipilate. The number of crowns included among the decorations of this period suggest that in the early Empire, as in the Republic, a corona could be awarded on its own, in contrast with later practice when it appears invariably in combination with other types of award. Some of the crowns of Rufellius Severus perhaps belong to his time in the centurionate.

It is clear that by the time of Claudius the dona of the evocatus had already taken on the form which it was to retain (infra p. 88f.) and it is probable that the basic decoration of the centurion was likewise assuming by this period the form in which it is well attested from the time of Vespasian onwards.

There are four inscriptions from the Vespasianic period which list, in detail, the dona of a centurion; in each case the scale of award is torques, armillae, phalerae and a crown. In two cases the crown is a corona aurea (Blossius Pudens Nr.140 and the unknown of III 143 87ⁱ Nr.221) and in the other two a corona vallaris (Lepidius Proculus Nr.169 and Velius Rufus Nr.207).

The picture is less consistent under Domitian. There are two cases of torques, armillae, phalerae and corona vallaris. (Aconius Statura Nr.120 and Cominus Severus Nr.151). However, presuming that it is correct to divide the dona of Cn. Pompeius Homullus (Nr.186) into two separate awards, the first

of these consisted of only torques, armillae and phalerae. Since Homullus was most probably ex.eq.R. the lowest rank at which these awards could have been won is that of centurion; even this is in excess of the torques and armillae awarded on three occasions to Q. Vilanius Nepos (Nr.212) serving as centurion in cohors XIII urbana. At the other end of the scale, Pompeius Homullus' second award, also received from Domitian, comprised a hasta plus a corona. A similar award was made to the unknown of XI 1602 (Nr.226), though it is not certain in this case that the man was still in the centurionate, for he may already have advanced to the primipilate prior to being decorated.

Of the seven Trajanic centurions who specify the dona they were awarded, five received torques, armillae, phalerae and a corona vallaris. One of these, Aemilius Paternus (Nr.122), received this same decoration on three occasions, another, Claudius Vitalis (Nr.149), on two. One centurion received, in lieu of the corona vallaris, a corona muralis (Geminius Sabinus Nr.162) and the last, Valerius Proc lus (Nr.205), received no crown at all.

Hadrian, reputedly parsimonious in his awarding of military decorations, was no less generous than his predecessors with his dona to centurions. Of the four relevant examples none falls below the norm of torques, armillae, phalerae and a crown. Two of the awards are on this standard scale, one, Octavius Secundus (Nr.180), receiving a corona aurea, the other, Sabidius Maximus (Nr.192), a corona muralis. The other two awards both comprise corona aurea and a hasta pura, being given in one ⁱⁿstance to a trecenarius, C. Arrius Clemens (Nr.131), and in the other to a legionary centurion, Q. Albius Felix (Nr.124).

The Antonine period seems to have witnessed a trend towards more generous awards to centurions. Petronius Sabinus (Nr.184) twice received from Marcus two crowns and a hasta. Another centurion, who certainly belongs to this period, P. Aelius Romanus (Nr.121) does not specify what decorations he received. It is most probable that M. Petronius Fortunatus (Nr.183) received his dona from

Marcus, for he, like Sabinus, received two crowns, a scale of award attested in no other period than the Antonine. If not Antonine, Fortunatus' dona must be Severan, but this is unlikely, for the scale of award at this time appears to have been considerably more moderate. The evidence is slight, for there is no case of the decoration of a legionary centurion by Severus, but on the basis of the hasta pura and corona aurea awarded to Didius Saturninus, probably as primus pilus and the similar award received by Tillius Rufus as princeps castrorum, the dona of the centurion should be back on precisely that scale which is attested from Vespasian through to Hadrian. The 'traditional' scale of award appears to have been retained in the case of the ignotus of V 546 (Nr.222). Though not specifically dated this inscription best fits the Antonine period; it records dona comprising torques, armillae, phalerae and a crown of unknown type.

As Domaszewski pointed out³ the same scale of award was received by all centurions from the decimi to the secundi ordines; indeed this is no more than one would expect if one accepts the conclusions of Wegeleben⁴ that all centurions in cohorts II to X were equal in rank, though different in seniority. The move into the first cohort did involve promotion and it is therefore among the primi ordines that a higher scale of dona might be expected. It cannot be proved that Albius Felix was in cohors I when he was decorated, but such an hypothesis would be the most satisfactory explanation for his generous dona, which comprised a corona aurea and a hasta. The position is clearer in the case of Petronius Sabinus; he was decorated by Marcus c. 175 in the German War, and had risen to primus pilus and then to two procuratorial posts before the death of the emperor five years later. He must have been a senior centurion at the time of his award of two crowns and a hasta. Certainly, those praetorian centurions who received the higher scale of award held senior posts: Arrius Clemens was trecenarius, Tillius Rufus, princeps castrorum. It cannot be proved in all cases that the recipient of the higher scale of award was a senior centurion, but, conversely, neither can it be proved that any of the

centurions who did not receive the higher scale were in the primi ordines.

The major part of the material concerning the centurionate relates to legionary centurions, there being few attested cases of the decoration of praetorian centurions. The few cases there are, however, serve to indicate that the praetorian received no preferential treatment; his dona were on precisely the same scale as those of the legionary. The case of Aemilius Paternus is instructive (Nr.122). He was decorated twice by Trajan as a legionary centurion, transferred into the praetorian guard and was again decorated; the scale of award on each of these three occasions is identical. The more senior praetorian centurions, the trecenarius and princeps castrorum, received dona on a par with that awarded to the primi ordines of the legions.

The dona of the decurion are completely unattested.

(ii) The auxilia.

There is no example of the decoration of an auxiliary centurion, but one certain and two possible cases of decurions having received dona. The certain case is that of Ti. Claudius Maximus (Nr.148), decorated by Trajan in the Parthian war; the two possibilities are T. Flavius Capito (Nr.155) and -. Rufinus (Nr.216), both dating to the Flavian period, both decorated at some stage in a career which ended as decurion of an auxiliary unit. In no case is the scale of award clear, the Maximus stone depicting just two armillae and two torques (although Maximus was decorated on three occasions), the extant portion of the Rufinus stone, three phalerae and one torques.

By far the greatest number of auxiliary centurions and decurions were recruited from the ranks of auxilia, that is from non-citizens, and it is doubtless this fact which accounts for the dearth of decorations, for there is no single proven example of dona being awarded to a non-citizen. A strong case can be made out for all three of the soldiers concerned here being citizens. Ti. Claudius Maximus certainly originated in the ranks of the legions,

and so perhaps also did -. Rufinus, whose tombstone was erected by his friend and heir, who was a legionary centurion. T. Flavius Capito may well have been made a citizen prior to his being decorated, for he belongs to a period when citizenship was awarded to serving soldiers rather than to discharged ones.⁵

B. PRIMUS PILUS.

The evidence regarding the dona of the primus pilus is slight, there being only one case in which both rank and scale of award are certain, Doubts have even been raised about this one case. The inscription in question relates to M. Vettius Valens (Nr.209) who, as primus pilus of VI Victrix, was awarded torques, armillae and phalerae following a campaign against the Astures. It is clear that this award, falling below that of the evocatus of the same period, is atypical. The paltry nature of the award led Domaszewski⁶ to suggest that a crown had been omitted in error by the stone-mason; even if this were so the decorations are still on a lower scale than that which Domaszewski himself attributed to the primus pilus. But such an hypothesis is unnecessary, presupposing as it does a completely rigid system of award. Clearly, the system was not rigid; witness the absence of a crown from among the dona of the centurions Cn. Pompeius Homullus and L. Valerius Proclus, and the lack of either crown or phalerae by Q. Vilanius Nepos. For whatever reason, perhaps the minor nature of the encounter in which he distinguished himself, Valens' award fell below what might be expected for the primus pilus and as such is of little value in attempting to establish the more normal scale of decoration.

It is suggested above (p. 54-5) that M. Vergilius Gallus Lusius and C. Purpurnus Atinas may each have been awarded corona aurea et hasta pura as primus pilus. Similar awards were received by two other soldiers, of a somewhat later period, who may well have held, at the time, the rank of primus pilus. The unknown of XI 1602 (Nr.226) was decorated by either

Domitian or Titus when he held the rank of either centurion or above. Didius Saturninus was very likely primus pilus by the time he received the crown and hasta from Severus and Caracalla; again, one cannot be certain, though the timing of his career would better fit if these final awards were received in the primipilate. The fragmentary inscription XI 2112 (Nr.227) probably relates to the decorations of a primus pilus but the text is broken away and the scale of decoration uncertain; it included a hasta. Likewise, the two crowns and (at least) one hasta recorded in X 5712 (Nr. 241) may constitute the dona of a primus pilus but the text is too fragmentary for any certainty.

In all other relevant cases where the dona are listed they form part of awards given as totals earned over a whole career (*infra* p. 79f.); yet in these cases, although decoration as primus pilus may be suspected, it cannot be proven. Domaszewski believed that Statius Marrax was decorated twice and Vibius Gallus three times, as primus pilus - each time with a corona and a hasta. Granted that the primipilate was held for one year only,⁷ multiple decoration on this scale is not possible. It would be unusual for any one man to be decorated more than once as primus pilus.

In none of the inscriptions which either possibly or certainly relate to the dona of primipilares is any mention ever made of a vexillum. Much of this evidence relates to the pre-Claudian period before the development of separate equestrian and centurion career structures; at this period there is little doubt that the dona of the primuspilus was the same as that of the praefectus castrorum and of the equestrian officer, one corona and one hasta. What is not so clear is whether or not it subsequently changed; there is certainly no evidence that it did. This being so the dona of the primus pilus was the same as the dona of the senior centurions, of whom indeed he was one, albeit the most senior.

C. PRAEFECTUS CASTRORUM.

There is only one inscription attesting the dona of the praefectus castrorum, that relating to P. Anicius Maximus (Nr.126) decorated by Claudius with corona muralis and hasta pura. There is no evidence as to whether or not this scale of award remained constant, but it seems likely that, with the development of the primipilaris career, the dona of the prefect would be augmented to bring it above the level of that awarded to the primus pilus, and on to a scale more suited to the third in command of a legion, inferior to the tribunus laticlavius but superior to the angusticlavii. One can only guess in what way it might have been augmented, perhaps by the addition of a vexillum and a hasta, for the scale had risen to include two vexilla and two hastae by the rank of trib.coh.urb. (Velius Rufus). The two vexilla won by Vibius Gallus should belong to a rank higher than primus pilus, and he never rose beyond praefectus castrorum.

D. TRIBUNUS COHORTIS XIII URBANAE.

The urban tribunes in Rome would have had little or no opportunity to distinguish themselves in battle, except perhaps in the battles of civil war. However, the position of the tribune of the cohors XIII urbana, stationed at Carthage, was somewhat different.⁸ There is one example of the dona of an urban tribune, C. Velius Rufus (Nr.207), who was twice decorated by Domitian with one corona, two hastae and two vexilla.

E. TRIBUNUS COHORTIS PRAETORIAE.

The one example of the decorations of a praetorian tribune, those of L. Antonius Naso (Nr.128), probably by Nero, is on a scale which, predictably, is just marginally above the award of the urban tribune: two crowns, two hastae and two vexilla. This is the same scale of award as that received by the laticlave tribune once the senatorial scale became stabilized.

F. PRIMUS PILUS BIS.

There is, unfortunately, no attested example of the dona of the primus pilus bis: it is interesting to speculate whether he would have received the same award as the praefectus castrorum, which, in practical terms, he was⁹, or whether his enhanced status would have given him enhanced rewards.

G. PRAEFECTUS PRAETORIO.

There are two cases of decorations being received by praetorian prefects: in one the record of the dona is fragmentary, but what remains is consistent with the scale attested in the other. Both cases date to the Antonine period. M. Bassaeus^{Rufus} (Nr.137), a primipilaris, received from Marcus and Commodus, three coronae, four hastae and four vexilla. The number of hastae and vexilla awarded to Furius Victorinus (Nr.80 & supra p.64), an equestrian, is lacking, but is best restored as four in each case. In both of these inscriptions the vexilla are described as obsidionalia, a term not attested elsewhere in this context. The more normal use of the term is in the corona obsidionalis, a type of crown not attested at all in the epigraphy or literature of the principate. Domaszewski's explanation of the epithet is that the vexillum obsidionale is^a different and more exalted type of vexillum, recalling that in the Republic the corona obsidionalis was the most prestigious type of crown that could be won.¹⁰ There is, however, no other indication whatever of there having been different grades of vexilla, and the term obsidionale used in these two cases would serve to emphasize the enhanced status of the recipient rather than of the award itself. The scale of dona is only one crown less than that of a consular governor, a fact which underlines the importance of the post of praetorian prefect, the highest ranking and most influential of all equestrian officials.

H. COLLECTIONS OF DONA.

The problem of defining the dona of the centurion and primipilaris, particularly of the latter, is aggravated by the practice of recording decorations en bloc at the end of a military career, giving no indication how many times awards were made, what rank was held at the time, or precisely how much was given on each occasion. It is a practice which also appears, though to a much lesser extent, in equestrian careers. There are seven relevant examples:-

	highest military post		total dona.
C. Allius Oriens.	7	cor. 3:	t.a.p.
Cn. Pomp. Homullus.	tr. pr.	cor. 1: hast 1:	t.a.p.
L. Rufellius Severus.	p.p.II	cor. 4: hast 1	
T. Stadius Marrax.	p.p.	cor. 5: hast 2:	t.a.p.
Sex. Vibius Gallus.	pf. cast.	cor. 6: hast 5:	t.a.p. : vex 2.
C. Vibius Macer.	?	cor. 1: hast 2:	t.a.p.
E.E. VIII 478.	tr. pr.	cor 3: [.....]]

Rufellius Severus's awards are specified as being a total for two campaigns; in all other cases an indeterminate number are involved. Allius Oriens' three crowns must represent multiple decoration in the centurionate, for he never rose any higher. Although Pompeius Homullus' military career took him to the rank of praetorian tribune, it is probable that the dona belong to two separate awards won as centurion (supra p.72-3). Stadius Marrax and Rufellius Severus belong, as does Allius Oriens, to the pre-Claudian period, and it is notable that in each of these three cases a large number of coronae is included in the dona. It would appear that in the early Empire the crown was used as a self-standing award in a way which bears greater similarities to the practice of the Republic than to that of the later Empire. Marrax's five crowns point to multiple decoration in the centurionate, the two hastae to awards won as senior centurion and/or primus pilus. The one further early

example, that of Vibius Macer, must remain something of a mystery, for no detail whatever is given of any military posts held. The total absence of vexilla from these early careers indicates that this award as yet played no part in the dona of the primipilaris, just as it was not till the Flavian period that it came to be included in the dona of the militia equestris. The earliest inscription to mention vexilla in connection with the dona of a primipilaris is that of Velius Rufus (Nr.207), whose two decorations as urban tribune date to the reign of Domitian; it would appear that any major changes that there were in the system date to the Vespasianic period, as was also probably the case with equestrian dona. What is not so clear is at what level the vexillum came to be interpolated into the scheme of things. The lowest ranking officer to include the vexillum among his dona is Vibius Gallus (Nr.210) who never passed the rank of praefectus castrorum. There is, to date, no evidence of a vexillum ever having been awarded to a primus pilus. Vibius Gallus received, in addition to six coronae, five hastae, torques, armillae and phalerae, two vexilla. It is just conceivable that one of these may date to a period spent in the militia equestris prior to receiving his centurion's commission but equestrian origin cannot be proven. Both vexilla may well belong to the prefecture of XIII Gemina in which Gallus could have been serving at the time of its participation in the Dacian wars of Trajan. It is, of course, impossible to tie down the dona of Gallus with any certainty; there are too many possible combinations. The torques, armillae phalerae must belong to a centurionate or below; awards as praefectus castrorum would account for the vexilla and some of the crowns and hastae, while the remaining awards could be satisfactorily assigned to the period spent as trecenarius, senior legionary centurion and primus pilus. Granted that Vibius Gallus could have amassed a total of six crowns by the time he reached the prefecture of the camp, the unknown of E.E. VIII 478 should have had no trouble at all in collecting three by the time he had been promoted to a

praetorian tribunate.

I. THE AWARD OF THE HASTA PURA TO NON-EQUESTRIANS.

Domaszewski, discussing the dona of the militia equestris, put forward the view that the hasta pura was the distinctive award of the equestrian who, alone, could receive it¹¹. In order to uphold this theory Domaszewski had to award the equus publicus to a number of soldiers for whom there is, otherwise, no evidence whatever of equestrian status. There are, to date, six relevant examples.

- Nr. 124 : Q. Albius Felix : he received a hasta pura and a corona aurea from Hadrian, though he never rose beyond the rank of centurion.
- Nr. 131 : C. Arrius Clemens : as trecenarius he received a hasta pura and corona aurea from Hadrian.
- Nr. 163 : M. Helvius Rufus : as miles gregarius he received torques, hasta and a corona civica during the war against Tacfarinas under Tiberius.
- Nr. 184 : L. Petronius Sabinus : as centurion he was decorated twice in Marcus' German war; bis hasta pura et coronis vallari et murali.
- Nr. 197 : T. Statius Marrax : he records only one post held, that of primus pilus which is presumably the highest to which he rose; the dona which he won during his career comprised torques, armillae, phalerae, two hastae and five coronae aureae.
- Nr. 201 : M. Tillius Rufus; decorated by Severus and Caracalla - equo publico exornatus et donis donatus hasta pura corona aurea.

Tillius Rufus clearly did receive equestrian status at the time he was decorated, for he states so explicitly. The implication is that the grant of the equus publicus is something out of the ordinary, over and above the normal military decoration (cf. the case of Gavius Fronto (Nr.159) who, similarly, received the equus publicus in combination with the other dona unspecified). Had the grant of equestrian status been inextricably bound up with the award of the hasta pura, Rufus would have had no need to mention it. The hasta was evidently characteristic of the senior centurionate

as well as of the primipilate and equestrian militiae. There is, in addition, one example of the award of the hasta to a miles gregarius; this is the case of Helvius Rufus, recorded by Tacitus (Annals, III.21). It could be argued that Tacitus's record of this sort of detailed information, on an event which occurred years before he wrote it, is unlikely to be accurate. However, we know that part at least of Tacitus's information regarding Rufus was accurate; he tells how Rufus was awarded the corona civica, a fact which seems to be borne out by an inscription, doubtless referring to the same man at a later stage in his career, which calls him M. Helvius Rufus Civica (XIV 3472). If part of the information is accurate there is no apparent reason why all of it should not be. Further, it is unlikely that Tacitus would attribute a hasta pura to a miles gregarius if it was an accepted truth that a hasta was never awarded to a soldier of lesser status than primipilaris.

Steiner, too, discussed the problem whether or not a centurion could receive a hasta.¹² He concluded that it was possible if the centurion in question had originated in the ranks of the praetorian guard. This hypothesis too falls on the strength of the case of Helvius Rufus, which he did not quote, and who was certainly from the ranks of the legion.

J. TYPES OF CORONA.

It is noted below¹³ that the characteristic dona of the evocatus are torques, armillae, phalerae and a corona aurea; no other crown but the aurea was ever given to the evocatus though this crown was not reserved exclusively for him, there being four cases of a similar combination of awards to legionary centurions.¹⁴ Domaszewski sought to explain the granting of the aurea to the evocatus on the grounds that it was originally the lowest in value of the crowns¹⁵, while Steiner suggested that in the post-Augustan period the corona muralis was the most valuable award, it being bestowed very rarely

and only on those who had brilliant careers (though in most cases the brilliant career followed rather than preceded the award, being a result of rather than the reason for the award of the muralis).¹⁶ Indeed, the significance of the various crowns as awarded during the Principate remains obscure. In the Republic when dona were awarded with little regard to the rank of the recipient each decoration had a specific meaning. With the standardisation of dona much of this original meaning was lost, but it is worth considering whether all meaning was lost, for it seems inconceivable that the various types of crown were awarded in a haphazard fashion. Certainly the type of crown awarded to a centurion had nothing to do with the types of centurionate he held, Rome or legionary. The one praetorian centurion who received a crown from Trajan got a vallaris, in common with five legionary centurions; the one man to whom Trajan gave a corona muralis was a legionary while all other legionary centurions received vallares. Nor did origin have any bearing on the matter; the directly commissioned man did not receive a different type of crown from the man who had risen from the ranks of the praetorian guard or the legions. Length of service prior to decoration was, likewise, immaterial. The only possible explanation is that the crowns, while not of equal value and significance, were awarded with due consideration to the merit and not the rank of the recipient. As Steiner suggested, the rarity with which the corona muralis was awarded suggests that it was far the most difficult to win. Certainly the practice of awarding military decorations during the Principate was a very depersonalised one when compared with the same practice during the Republic. Rank played a major part in determining the type and quantity of awards received, but within the broad general outlines laid down by the book, merit does not appear to have gone unnoticed and unrewarded, being reflected, at least as far as the centurionate is concerned, in the type of crown awarded, or, on occasions, the complete absence of any crown.

TABLE 3. Centurions and Primpilares.

A. Centuriones.

69-96	M. Blossius Pudens.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. aur.
	L. Lepidius Proculus.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. val.
	C. Velius Rufus.	7 leg. ?	t.a.p., cor. val.
	III 14387 ⁱ .	7 leg. ?	t.a.p., cor. aur.
	L. Aconius Statura.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. val.
	T. Cominius Severus.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. val.
	Cn. Pompeius Homullus.	?	t.a.p.
	"-	?	cor. aur., hp.
	Q. Vilanius Nepos.	7 urb.	t.a.
96-117	L. Aconius Statura.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. val.
	L. Aemilius Paternus.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. val.
	"-	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. val.
	"-	7 pr.	t.a.p., cor. val.
	Ti. Claudius Vitalis.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. val.
	"-	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. val.
	Q. Geminus Sabinus.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. val.
	N. Marcius Celer.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. mur.
	L. Valerius Proculus.	7 leg.	t.a.p.
	<u>Epigraph.</u> XXII, 29.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. val.
117-138	Q. Albius Felix.	7 leg.	cor. aur., hp.
	C. Arrius Clemens.	CCC	cor. aur., hp.
	- Octavius Secundus.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. aur.
	M. Sabidius Maximus.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. mur.
138-193	L. Petronius Sabinus.	7 leg.	cor. mur., val., hp.
	"-	7 leg.	cor. mur., val., hp.
	M. Petronius Fortunatus.	7 leg.	t.p., cor. mur., val.
	V. 546.		t.a.p., cor.
193+	M. Tillius Rufus.	princ. cast.	cor. aur., hp.
Date uncertain;			
	T. Cassius Secundus.	7 leg.	t.a.p., cor. mur.
	C. Gavius Celer.	7 leg.	t.a., cor. aur.
	M. Pompeius Asper.	7 leg.	t.a.p.

B. Primipili.

Nero M. Vettius Valens. t.a.p.

(decoration probably as primus pilus).

Aug. C. Purtilius Atinas. cor. aur., hp.
Aug. M. Vergilius Gallus Luscius. cor. aur., hp.
Dom. XI 1602. cor. aur., hp.
Hadr. XI 2112. [.....], hp.
Sev. C. Didius Saturninus. cor. aur., hp.

C. Praefecti Castrorum.

Claud. P. Anicius Maximus. cor. mur., hp.

D. Tribunus cohortis XIII urbanae.

Dom. C. Velius Rufus. cor. mur., hp 2, vex.2
-"- cor. mur., hp 2, vex.2

E. Tribunus cohortis praetoriae.

Nero ? L. Antonius Naso. cor. aur., val., hp.2, vex.2

F. Primus Pilus bis.

-

G. Praefecti praetorio.

Marc. M. Bassaeus Rufus. cor.aur.,val., mur., hp.4,vex.4.
Marc. T. Furius Victorinus. cor.aur.,val., mur., hp[4]vex.[4]

THE DONA OF THE CENTURION AND PRIMIPILARIS.

Notes.

1. Infra p. 90
2. E. Birley, Promotions and transfers in the Roman Army; II, The Centurionate. Carn.Jb. 1963/4 (1965), 23.
3. Rangordnung² 110
4. T. Wegeleben, Die Rangordnung der römischen Centurionen.(Berlin, 1913)
5. G. Alföldy, Zur Beurteilung der Militardiplome der Auxiliarsoldaten. Historia 17 (1968) 215f.
6. Rangordnung² 110
7. B. Dobson, Primipilares 161-2
8. B. Dobson, o.c., 205-7
9. B. Dobson, o.c. 230-233
10. Pliny, N.H. XXII.iv.
11. Rangordnung² 117,137.
12. Steiner 81-82.
13. Infra p. 88f.
14. cf. Nrs. 140,158,180,221.
15. Rangordnung² p. 110; Domaszewski goes on to argue that the relationship between the corona aurea and the other types of crown altered under Augustus, though the passage which he quotes in support of this hypothesis (SHA v. Augusti 25) will not bear the interpretation which he places upon it.
16. Steiner.79.

CHAPTER 6.

THE DONA OF THE EVOCATI.

The evocati occupied a position in the military hierarchy somewhere between that of the principalis and centurio. Dio (LV.24.8) describes them in the following terms: "these last named (i.e. evocati) Augustus began to make a practice of employing from the time when he called again into service against Antony, the troops who had served with his father, and he maintained them afterwards; they constitute even now a special corps, and carry rods, like centurions" (VI 3416 shows a relief of an evocatus, carrying a vitis). It might therefore be expected that the dona of the evocati would be on a scale somewhere between those of the milites and the centurions.

Steiner believed the corona aurea to be the characteristic decoration of the evocatus, though he presupposed for its award the possession of torques, armillae and phalerae¹. He suggested that the mention of the t.a.p. was suppressed in those cases where a higher award, such as the hasta pura, was subsequently added. On this basis he included in his list of decorated evocati (p. 75) the inscriptions relating to C. Arrius Clemens (Nr.131) and M. Tillius Rufus (Nr.201), both of whom received corona aurea plus hasta pura, but neither of whom received them as evocatus.

A similar line was taken by Mommsen² who believed that in no case could it be shown that an evocatus received torques, armillae and phalerae in addition to the corona aurea, the reason being that they were not, in all respects, true soldiers. Durry, in his section on the dona of the praetorians, followed Mommsen's argument without any further discussion³.

In every case where the dona of an evocatus is known for certain they include a corona aurea, though it is far from clear that in each of these cases the crown constituted an award in itself, separate from the torques, armillae and phalerae, as Mommsen believed. The case relating to M. Vettius

Valens (Nr.209) is of particular interest, Valens took part in the Claudian invasion of Britain, serving as beneficiarius praefecti praetorio; he was decorated in this capacity with the torques, armillae and phalerae which were the standard award of the miles, immunis and principalis. However, before the war was over, Valens had completed his sixteen years service and was evocated. Subsequently a corona aurea was added to his decorations. It is possible that a similar sequence of events occurred in the case of L. Pellartius Celer Iulius Montanus (Nr.181). He received military decorations from Titus for service in the Jewish war, at which time he was already evocatus, unless, as in the case of Valens, he was made evocatus in the course of the campaign. This latter hypothesis might help to explain the unusual wording of the text - donis donatum et corona aurea - which suggests that the corona aurea is something additional to dona already given. Both these cases are consistent with the Mommsen scheme, in that only the crown is the specific award of the evocatus; however, these examples are unusual in that evocatio came in the course of a campaign for which decorations had already been given. The evidence regarding soldiers who did not receive promotion in the course of a campaign does not support the Mommsen hypothesis. L. Tatinius Cnosus (Nr.198) was decorated as evocatus by Domitian; evoc.Aug.donis donato torquibus armillis phaler. corona aurea ab imp. Domitiano Caes.Aug.Germ. There is nothing whatever in the phrasing of the text to imply that this collection of dona constitutes a total for two campaigns, one fought as miles praet., one as evocatus. The unknown of XI 2112 (Nr.227) does not appear to have fought in more than one campaign in order to earn the torques, armillae, phalerae and corona aurea. C. Staius Celsus (Nr.196) is known to have been decorated on two separate occasions, but the wording of the inscription implies that on each occasion he won torques, armillae, phalerae and a corona aurea, rather than, as Mommsen believed, the dona of the miles

in the first war, the crown of the evocatus in the second (donis donato bis corona aurea torquibus phaleris armillis ob triumphos belli Dacici).

There are another two possible, though not certain, examples of a similar award to evocati. C. Gavius Silvanus (Nr.160) was decorated by Claudius in the bellum Britannicum. The dona are listed at the end of the career, not linked to any particular post. It has been suggested⁴ that they belong to the most junior post mentioned on the inscription, that is the post of primus pilus of VIII Augusta. This is clearly impossible. Gavius Silvanus was praetorian tribune in A.D. 65 (Tac. ann XV 50), so he could not possibly have held the primipilate as early as 43/44. He must therefore have been decorated in some previous, unspecified post, the inclusion of a crown rules out decoration in the ranks and although he may have been promoted from the ranks of the legions it is equally possible that he began service in the praetorian guard; it is perfectly consistent with the evidence to suggest that the award was won as evocatus. The possibility that Silvanus was already a centurion in 43/44 cannot be ruled out, though the frequency with which the gold crown was awarded to evocati and the rarity with which it was awarded to centurions favours decoration as evocatus. This attribution is reinforced by the similarity in timing between this career and that of Vettius Valens.

A similar argument can be put forward in the case of C. Nummius Constans (Nr.179). Here again the dona are listed at the end of the career record. In 114/7 Constans was serving in the ranks of the praetorian guard, so by the time of Hadrian's Jewish wars, 18 to 21 years later, he must have been either efocatus or centurion. An indeterminate number of years could be spent as evocatus, so his rank when decorated by Hadrian cannot be proven; however, the fact that the crown which he received was the corona aurea suggests, as in the case of Gavius Silvanus, that he may well have been evocatus.

Thus, the dona of the praetorian evocatus are completely consistent, and, as far as the evidence goes, which is no later than Hadrian, do not change over the years. It is, moreover, interesting to note that a legionary evocatus of the Republican period (C. Canuleius, Nr.144) also received torques, armillae, phalerae and a crown. Although in this case the type of crown is not specified, there is no reason to doubt that it would have been other than the corona aurea.

Although the decorations of the evocati are regular within themselves, it does not appear to be the case that the corona aurea was characteristic of the evocatus alone. There are a few cases, albeit not many, of a centurion receiving a similar award. Octavius Secundus (Nr.180) was serving as centurion of X Fretensis when he was decorated by Hadrian in the bellum Iudaicum. M. Blossius Pudens (Nr.140) appears to have held the rank of centurion of V. Macedonica when he was decorated by Vespasian. Thirdly, the unknown of III 14387¹ (Nr.221) was certainly decorated when in the centurionate. The crown which is depicted above the inscription relating to C. Gavius Celer, a legionary centurion (Nr.158), would appear to be a corona aurea; this gives a total of four centurions with dona similar to that of the evocatus. These last two cases are the only ones, apart from the republican legionary evocatus, in which the corona aurea, torques, armillae and phalerae, are attested as being awarded to a man who was neither evocatus nor ex evocato.

To summarize, the characteristic award of the evocatus comprised torques, armillae, phalerae and a corona aurea; there is no single proven case of deviation from this scale. On rare occasions a similar award is attested for legionary centurions, though there is, to date, no example of this particular combination of decorations being given to a centurion in the Rome cohorts.

TABLE 4.

DONA OF THE EVOCATI.

A. Praetorian evocati.

L. Pellartius Celer	Titus.	donis don. et cor. aur.
C. Staius Celsus.	Traj.	t.a.p. + cor. aur.
-"-	Traj.	t.a.p. + cor. aur.
L. Tatinius Cnosus.	Dom.	t.a.p. + cor. aur.
M. Vettius Valens.	Cl.	t.a.p. (as bf.pr.pr.) + cor. aur.
XI 2112.	Traj.	t.a.p. + cor. aur.

B. Legionary evocatus.

C. Canuleius.	Repub.	t.a.p. + cor. (aur. ?)
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C. Evocati or 7 leg.

C. Gavius Silvanus.	Claud.	t.a.p. + cor. aur.
C. Nummius Constans.	Had.	t.a.p. + cor. aur.

D. 7 leg.

M. Blossius Pudens.	Vesp.	t.a.p. + cor. aur.
C. Gavius Celer.	?	t.a. + cor. aur.
-. Octavius Secundus.	Had.	t.a.p. + cor. aur.
III 14387. ⁱ	Vesp.	t.a.p. + cor. aur.

THE DONA OF THE EVOCATI

Notes

1. Steiner. 77-78.
2. T. Mommsen; Gesammelte Schriften, Vol. VIII, 451, 459.
3. M. Durry; Les Cohortes prétoriennes, 121 n.4.
4. This suggestion was made most recently by S. Frere, Britannia, 65 n.2, who uses it as evidence for the participation of VIII Augusta in the Claudian invasion of Britain.

CHAPTER 7.

THE DONA OF THE MILITES IMMUNES AND PRINCIPALES.

During the Republic the range of decorations which might be won by the man in the ranks was wide; though there were certain awards, as for example the corona obsidionalis and corona navalis, which would rarely be available to him, he could, in theory, win precisely the same awards as he did his officers. Pliny, Livy and Valerius Maximus contain many examples of the simple miles receiving coronae murales, vallares and aureae in addition to torques, armillae and phalerae. During the Principate only these three lesser awards were generally available to the miles, there being only two known exceptions to this rule, the hasta awarded to Helvius Rufus by L. Apronius, governor of Africa, in A.D. 18, and the corona depicted on the stone relating to L. Leuconius Cilo (fig.9) which dates about a decade earlier. The corona civica, however, did continue to be awarded regardless of rank, but is attested rarely; Q. Sertorius Festus (Nr.194) is the last known ranker to have received it, probably in the Dalmation War, of A.D. 6-9.

The three awards which became characteristic of the man in the ranks, were often, though by no means invariably, awarded in combination. Twenty of the thirty-five awards recorded in full attest all three types together. In nine awards the phalerae are missing,¹ in three the armillae were omitted, in one the torques. Two awards comprise solely torques, and one, armillae alone. The omission of one or other type of decoration appears to bear no relation to rank or post held (cf. Table 5); Steiner sought to explain the absence of phalerae in some of the awards by appealing to the passage in Polybius² which states that the γούρπη was the award of the equus while the infantryman received instead a φάλη. Polybius, however, was describing the situation as he saw it in the second century B.C., a time when practices varied

greatly from those of the Principate when, to quote but two examples, Q. Cornelius (Nr.152) and the unknown of III 8438 (Nr.218) received phalerae when apparently serving as simple miles. The epigraphic evidence for the imperial period is in many ways difficult to use and often ambiguous.

Very few of the inscriptions recording the dona of the milites give any considerable detail of the career record; this is particularly true of the pre-Claudian material which accounts for seventy-five per-cent of the total evidence. These early inscriptions record, in the vast majority of cases, just one post, and that presumably the highest held, with the result that there is no way of knowing whether this post or another was held at the time the decorations were won. Secondly, it is very rarely that the name of the battle or awarding emperor is given; thus the campaign in question must be worked out from the known movements of the unit concerned and whatever dating evidence is provided by the format of the inscription itself. In many cases, therefore, it is impossible to date the dona with any precision or certainty, for the Julio-Claudian period was one of considerable movement of troops from one trouble-spot to another. For example, many of the units which moved into Illyricum for the wars of A.D. 6-9 were transferred at the conclusion of this campaign to the Rhine front, where replacements were needed for the troops lost with Varus in the Teutoburger forests, and where there was sporadic fighting throughout the Julio-Claudian period.

The third major difficulty with the evidence is the method of recording the scale of dona received. Instead of listing the decorations in the text they are, in many cases, carved in relief on the stone. This raises the problem as to how far these reliefs are true representations of the precise scale of dona won, and how much artistic licence has been taken

in order best to fit the sculptures into the space available. The unreliability of sculpted dona is highlighted in three cases. Ti. Claudius Maximus (Nr.148 and fig.15) is known from the text of the inscription concerned to have won decorations on three occasions, yet the sculpture shows only two torques and two armillae. This can in no way represent the sum total of decorations received. Speidel, publishing the inscription,³ suggests that further awards were shown on that part of the stone now missing, but this seems rather unlikely in view of the dimensions of the extant portion.⁴ In the other two cases dona are recorded both in the text and in relief, and in neither case do text and relief tally. The list of dona won by Sex. Vibius Gallus (Nr.210 and fig.3) includes torques, armillae and phalerae, the sculpture does not; the text relating to Antonius Quadratus credits him with torques and armillae, the relief shows torques, armillae and phalerae (Nr.129 and fig.14). The omission of Gallus' minor dona are probably due to shortage of space on the stone every inch of whose surface is covered in lettering or sculpture; the failure of the Quadratus text to record phalerae need be no more than a stone-mason's error, but the fact of these three discrepancies in three out of four cases where the text can be cross-checked against the relief⁵ clearly indicates the need for caution in the many remaining cases where there is no such cross-check. Moreover the standard of sculpture is not always sufficiently high nor the condition of the stone sufficiently good for there to be no doubt as to what is being portrayed. The corona worn by Sertorius Festus (Nr.194 and fig.11) is normally taken to be a corona civica though the leaves of which it is composed bear little resemblance to oak leaves (unlike that of M. Caelius, fig.10, where there is no doubt whatever). The ring at top centre of the lorica of Q. Cornelius (fig.20) was interpreted by Steiner as a corona⁶, though its form and size (it is half as large as the

torques and the same size as the phalerae) appear, to the present writer at least, to be those of an armilla.

There is a total of thirty-one inscriptions relating to thirty-five separate awards, which give in full, either textually or pictorially, the scale of dona awarded. Another four are broken, with the possibility that the missing portion included further dona than those that remain on the extant portion. The rest of the inscriptions relating to the men in the ranks give no details at all of the scale of award or are too obscure to be of any help.

A. Legionaries.

The bulk of the evidence for legionary dona belongs to the pre-Claudian period, predominately to the time of the German and Illyrican campaigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Table 5A illustrates the variation of award which could be made, and it is evident that the possible permutations of the three basic decorations were many and varied. Not only could one or two types be omitted, but the number of awards of each class was not constant. The evidence on this last point comes entirely from reliefs since ^{no} text gives the number of torques, armillae and phalerae. The most common combination was two armillae, two torques, and nine phalerae, but Sertorius Festus has no armillae (fig.11), Cn. Musius (fig.13) and Q. Cornelius (fig.20) one each. C. Iulius Aetor (Nr.164) received only one torques (described as a torques maior) as, at a later period, did C. Titurnius Quartio (Nr.202 and fig.21). M. Caelius (fig.10) wears only five phalerae, Sertorius Festus (fig.11), seven. The Lauersforter phalerae (fig.31) comprised nine circular discs and one crescent shaped piece⁷, while the set of bronze plates from Newstead, believed to ^{be} the backing-plates for phalerae, include eight circular and one kidney-shaped piece.⁸ There appears to be no consistent pattern of

award to the various grades involved (milites, equites, signiferi and aquiliferi are specifically attested) which suggests that the precise formulation of the dona was not strictly regulated by the rank of the recipient.

The evidence of the post-Claudian period is very slight; there are three cases from the Domitianic period, two attesting torques, armillae and phalerae, the third the enigmatic case of Ti. Claudius Maximus (Nr. 148). Trajan, so prolific with his awards to senators, equestrians and centurions, is entirely unrepresented, while there is one example each from the Hadrianic and Antonine or Severan period. Four further texts from this period give no indication of the scale of award received. This dearth of inscriptions from the late first and second centuries makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the evolution of the system, but one fact which does emerge is that phalerae ceased to be awarded to the men in the ranks sometime after Domitian. Two out of three Domitianic cases include phalerae, but neither of the later inscriptions does: the absence of phalerae from both these inscriptions might be considered to be purely coincidence were it not for the fact that the post-Trajanic praetorian miles likewise received only torques and armillae. (*infra* p. 100). Since there is no difference between the dona of the legionary and the praetorian at that period for which there is evidence, there is no apparent reason why the two should have differed at times when evidence is lacking; this being so, the dona of the legionary, like that of the praetorian, should have been stabilized by the Claudian period, remaining, until the loss of the phalerae, at torques armillae and phalerae, though in what quantity each was given there is no knowing.

The shortage of decorated legionaries in the second century, a period of continual warfare in both east and west of the empire, is very striking; the explanation certainly cannot be lack of opportunity. Either soldiers

were decorated and failed, for whatever reason, to record the fact on their tombstones, or else it was becoming virtually impossible for a man in the ranks to win distinction. The former alternative is the more plausible. In A.D. 195 soldiers of VII Claudia, from Viminacium in Moesia Superior, set up an inscription in honour of Severus, Caracalla and Geta⁹; the men dedicating the inscription were those who had been recruited in A.D. 169, and of these a number describe themselves as d.d., best interpreted as donis donatus. Many of the names are partly or wholly missing, but out of 150 the relevant part of whose names are extant, ten are d.d. This figure of one in fifteen suggests that decorations were still being awarded in fair numbers to men in the ranks. There remains, therefore, the problem of why so few tombstones of the second century record dona won in the ranks, one possible explanation being simply in the expense of erecting ornately carved and wordy stones; indeed, the men in the ranks rarely went in for very expansive inscriptions. It is notable that the inscriptions relating to the praetorians are, in general, considerably more detailed than those of the poorer paid legionaries and that the majority of praetorians known to have been decorated in the ranks had risen to higher posts, one to senior centurion, five to primus pilus and beyond, by the time the inscription was erected, in four cases at the expense of the municipia of which they were patrons.

B. Praetorians.

The dona of the praetorian soldier appear not to have differed from those of his legionary counterpart. The great bulk of material from the early first century which provides the larger percentage of evidence for the legions is not available for the guard, the first relevant inscription

for which belongs to the year 43 and the Claudian invasion of Britain. (Nr.209). The evidence regarding the scale of dona from the Claudian to the Trajanic period is largely consistent; in all cases the award comprised torques, armillae and phalerae, though the number of each is indeterminate. The single exception is the inscription relating to Q. Avaenius Paser (Nr.134 and fig.26) whose decorations are not mentioned in the text but are depicted in relief; they comprise merely two armillae. However the sculpture as a whole is poorly executed and it is doubtful just how much reliance should be placed upon it, particularly in view of its inconsistency with the textual information regarding all other decorated praetorian rankers.¹⁰ Some time in the post-Trajanic period phalerae were dropped from the dona of the praetorian, as of the legionary; Didius Saturninus twice received an award comprising only torques and armillae, once from Verus and once from Marcus. The innovator was perhaps Hadrian.

It would appear, further, that the praetorian cohorts, like auxiliary units, could be honoured as a unit besides individual awards being made to individuals within that unit. Although there is no evidence for titles being taken similar to the torquata and armillata of the auxilia, reliefs showing praetorian standards portray them decorated with coronae of varying types and number. The stone relating to M. Pompeius Asper (fig.19)¹¹ illustrates the point.

C. Auxiliaries.

The only example of the individual decoration of a soldier in the auxilia concerns a man who has been transferred from the legions. The reason for this is doubtless, as Domaszewski pointed out, that dona were

never awarded to non-citizens¹². There is one case, dating to 89 B.C. of the decoration en masse of an auxiliary unit, the turma Salluitana (Nr.119); however, on this occasion the giving of dona was accompanied by the grant of citizenship; it is not an example of the awarding of decorations to non-citizens. This practice of honouring a unit as a whole continued into the Principate when there is evidence for a dozen alae and cohortes which describe themselves as torquata or armillata (*infra* p.107f). Another way in which the services of auxiliaries could be acknowledged was by the premature granting of citizenship; XVI 160 attests such a grant to the cohors I Brittonum milliaria in A.D. 106. There is also the possibility that discharge could be granted before the completion of the statutory twenty-five years; the evidence on this point, however, is only the evidence of analogy for the men who are known to have enjoyed this privilege were from the fleet and not from the auxilia. (XVI 17).

D. Conclusion.

The epigraphic evidence relating to the award of the traditional type of dona to the men in the ranks of the legions, guard and auxilia goes no later than the Severan period (perhaps no later than the Antonine, depending on the dating of the career of C. Titurnius Quartio, Nr.202). In view of the overall dearth of ~~some~~ inscriptions relating^{to} the decorations of this class of soldier, this date would have little significance were it not for the fact that evidence for the better documented grades also ends at this period. Quite what happened in the post-Severan period is a matter of contention; Steiner, Domaszewski and the other earlier scholars

who discussed the problem are agreed that dona ceased to be awarded under Severus; Degrassi and Büttner, on the other hand, have suggested that the system remained unchanged though epigraphically unrecorded. The problem is reviewed fully below (in the section on post-Severan dona¹³), but it is worth mentioningⁱⁿ the present context the career of Aurelius Iovinus (Nr.133) which should belong to the period following the proliferation of M. Aurelii as a result of the Constitutio Antoniniana. Iovinus describes himself as a miles torquatus et duplarius, a title which recalls the torquati duplares included among the principales of the antiqua legio of Vegetius.¹⁴ Clearly some change had come over the traditional system of award.

TABLE 5. MILITES, IMMUNES AND PRINCIPALES.

The number in brackets indicates the total number of soldiers below the rank of centurion attested epigraphically as having been decorated at each given period. Details are given only of those cases where the size of the award is known.

A. LEGIONARIES.	DONA IN TEXT	DONA IN RELIEF	POST	SCALE OF AWARD.		
				T.	A.	P.
<u>Augustus - Gaius (23)</u>						
M. Aemilius Soterias.	x		eq.	x	x	x
L. Antonius Quadratus.	x	x	sig.	1	1	?
L. Antonius Quadratus.	x	x	sig.	1	1	?
L. Blattius Vetus.		x	?		2	9
M. Caelius.		x	?	2	2	5
L. Coelius.	x		mil.sig.	x	x	x
Q. Cornelius.		x	mil.	2	1	9
M. Fraxsanias.	x		eq.	x	x	x
L. Gellius Varus.		x	sig.	2	2	x
M. Helvius Rufus.	x		mil.	2 + hasta		
C. Iulius Aetor.	x		?	1		
C. Iulius []lus.	x		vet.	x	x	
L. Leuconius Cilo.		x	vet.		2 + corona	
C. Marius.		x	eq.	4	2	9
Cn. Musius.		x	aquil.	2	1	9
Q. Sertorius Festus.		x	?	2	1	7
C. Vettius.		x	eq.	2	2	9
M. Vireius Celer.	x		?	x	x	x
A. Volsonius Paulus.		x	vet.	2		
III 8438.	x	x	mil.	2	2	x
(Record of <u>dona</u> incomplete)						
- . Lucius.		x	?	[2]	?	7+
L. Refidius Bassus.		x	?	?	?	[9]
XIII 7556.		x	mil.	2	?	9
<u>Claudius (0)</u>						
<u>Nero - Galba (0)</u>						
<u>Vespasian (0)</u>						
<u>Domitian (3)</u>						
Ti. Claudius Maximus		x	vex.eq.	x	x	
P. Medius Valens.	x		sig.	x	x	x
VI 37298.	x		?	x	x	x
<u>Nerva (0)</u>						
<u>Trajan (0)</u>						
<u>Hadrian (1)</u>						

	DONA IN TEXT	DONA IN RELIEF	POST	SCALE OF AWARD		
				T.	A.	P.
T. Camilius Lavenus.	x		emer.	x	x	
<u>Marcus/Severus</u> (2)						
C. Titurnius Quartio.	x	x	eq.	1	2	
<u>Post-Severan</u> (1)						
<u>Undated</u> (4)						
M. Petronius Classicus.		x	?	2		5+

TABLE 5

B PRAETORIANS

	DONA IN TEXT	DONA IN RELIEF	POST	SCALE OF AWARD		
				T.	A.	P.
<u>Augustus -Gaius</u> (0)						
<u>Claudius</u> (1)						
M. Vettius Valens.	x		bf.pr.pr.	x	x	x
<u>Nero - Vitellius</u> (0)						
<u>Vespasian</u> (1)						
<u>Domitian</u> (0)						
<u>Nerva</u> (0)						
<u>Trajan</u> (4)						
Q. Albius Felix.	x		corn.pr.pr.	x	x	x
C. Arrius Clemens.	x		eq.	x	x	x
C. Caesius Silvester.	x		mil.	x	x	x
"	x		mil.	x	x	x
C. Nummius Constans.	x		mil.	x	x	x
<u>Hadrian</u> (0)						
<u>Marcus/Verus</u> (10)						
C. Didius Saturninus.	x		mil.	x	x	
"	x		mil.	x	x	
<u>Severus.</u> (0)						
<u>Undated</u> (4)						
L. Avaenius Paser.		x	mil.			x

C. AUXILIARIES.

Trajan (1)

Ti.Cl. Maximus. x expl. x x

All Other Periods (0)

THE DONA OF THE MILITES, IMMUNES AND PRINCIPALES

Notes

1. Included in this number are the two awards received by Antonius Quadratus; phalerae are omitted in the text but shown in the relief.
2. Polybius, VI, 39
3. JRS LX (1970) 149.
4. Height 2.64m; width at top .83m; width at base .90m.
5. The only case where text and relief tally is that of C. Titurnius Quartio (Nr.202 and fig.21).
6. Steiner p. 78.
7. O. Jahn, Die Laußesforter Phalerae. Herausgegeben vom Vorstande des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden in den Rheinlanden (1890).
8. J. Curle, A Roman Frontier-post and its People. The Fort of Newstead. (1911) 174ff and Pl. XXXI.
9. Nr.118; III 14507.
10. P. Coussin to Durry in a letter of 1928; "La barbare de ce relief ne me permet pas d'en dire davantage". i.e. about the weapons.
11. cf. Domaszewski, Die Fahnen im römischen Heere. Abhandlungen des Archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminares der Universität Wien, Heft V (1885) 56ff.
12. Rangordnung² 68.
13. infra p. 129.
14. Vegetius II,7.

CHAPTER 8.

ALAE AND COHORTES TORQUATAE AND ARMILLATAE.

It has been noted above, in the discussion of the dona of the milites, immunes and principales that, with the exception of one man transferred from the legions, there is not a single proven case of decorations being awarded to a soldier in the ranks of the auxilia. Further, on those very rare occasions on which an auxiliary centurion or decurion was decorated, it can be shown that the man involved was certainly, or very probably, a Roman citizen. Thus, Domaszewski's observation that dona were never awarded to non-citizens still holds good¹. The reasons for this difference in the treatment of non-citizen and citizen are obscure and can only be guessed at, but whatever the explanation this apparent failure to reward the auxiliary stands out as something of an anomaly in an army whose prowess and discipline were maintained to a great extent by the scrupulous punishment of the offender and reward of the diligent. It is apparent, however, that the valour of the auxiliary did not go completely unrecognized; he was honoured but in a different manner from his legionary counterpart, decorations and rewards being given to the units as a whole rather than to the individual soldiers therein.

Firstly, there is ample evidence for block grants of Roman citizenship to auxiliary units, giving the enhanced status, privileges and liabilities of the Roman citizen to the soldiers before they had completed the statutory twenty five years service. The units so honoured bore the title c (ivium) R (omanorum). A large number of units were distinguished in this way during the Principate. It is evident that this method of rewarding auxiliaries would have no further validity after the Constitutio Antoniniana of Caracalla, but this is also the time at which dona in general

ceased to be awarded. What little evidence there is concerning the legions at this period suggests that money payments were substituted, and it is possible that similar treatment was meted out to the auxilia.

A further method of acknowledging the valour of an auxiliary unit was the granting of honorary titles, one type of which is of particular interest in connection with the present study, appertaining directly to military decorations; torquata, bis torquata, or, rarely, armillata. Precisely what this meant in practical terms is not clear, though it is possible that it was signalized by the addition of a torques or armilla to the standard of the unit so honoured. An analogy to this is the decoration of praetorian standards with crowns of varying types (fig.19) which may also represent battle honours won (though in the case of the praetorians no honorific title appears to have been granted). A rather more tangible benefit such as additional pay and rations was perhaps also bestowed upon the men concerned. There is, to date, evidence for only eleven units having been decorated in this manner, six alae and five cohorts. Of these, all earned the torques on either one or two occasions, and just one was, in addition, armillata.

A. ALAE.

1. Ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria c.R., bis torquata.

(a) III 6748 = E.E. V 41 (Amasea).

I (ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [.....]g sac=(rum) [.....al] a I
Flavia [Au]g(usta) Brittan[n(ica)] (milliaria)] c(ivium)
R(omanorum) bis to[rq]uata o[b v]i[rtute]m cui [praeest
.....]us Bon [.....

(b) A.E. 1908, 23.

Q(uinto) Statio Q(uinti) f(ilio) [.....] praef(ecto) alae
I] Brit(annicae) tor(quatae), tr[ib(uno) coh(ortis)....
Gal]loru[m e]q(uitatae) c(ivium) [R(omanorum)....

(c) A.E. 1914, 241 cf. Cagnat, BACTH, 1914, April.

D(is) M(anibus) sacr(um) Elius Publius veteranus, militavit
ala Britannica bis torquatus, p(ius) v(ixit) a(nnis) LV
Limpidia fecit u(xor) P(ientissima) et.....s(it) t(erra)
t(ibi) l(evis), v(otum) s(olvit) a(nimo) [l(ibens) b(ene)
q(uiescat)]

This unit was decorated on two separate occasions, being torquata when commanded by Q. Staius, and bis torquata on both the other relevant texts. Cagnat, commenting on text (c), believed that the phrase bis torquatus applied to the veteran and not to the unit; such an appellation for a soldier is not unparalleled (cf. Nr. 133) but on analogy with text (a) it is more plausible that the stone mason cut bis torquatus in error for bis torquata. There is no evidence on which to date the first award made to the unit. The second occasion appears to have been the Parthian war of Trajan, 114/7. All the military diplomas which mention the ala Britannica (and there are ten, dating from A.D. 102 to 167) place it in Pannonia Inferior; one of them (XVI 61, A.D. 114) informs us that at the time the grant was made the ala Britannica was absent from Pannonia - ala I Flavia Aug. Bretannic. (milliaria) missa in expeditionem. The expeditio is not named, but in view of the date it can only be the expeditio Parthica. This is consistent with the find-spot of inscription (a) at Amasea and of A.E. 1908, 273 at Apamaea, this latter being the tombstone of an eques of the ala who died on active service (he records only eight stipendia). If the second decoration was in the Parthian war, it is feasible, though not capable of proof, that the first was in one of the Dadian wars: a unit stationed in Pannonia Inferior was in a position, geographically at least, to have taken part in the fighting in Dacia. Radnóti and Barkóczi, discussing the distribution of troops in Pannonia in the second century, expressed the opinion that it

did not participate in the first war.² This supposition is based on the fact that the unit appears among those listed on a Pannonian diploma of A.D. 102 (XVI 47): why this fact should exclude the possibility of participation in the campaigning of that year^{and} the next, is not made clear. If their assumption is that a unit which is discharging men cannot be on active service, it is a fallacious one. Witness the case of XVI 61, quoted above, where the same ala is discharging men who are campaigning in the east; moreover the diploma XVI 47 attests the grant of conubium and citizenship to men qui militant, not qui militaverunt. The inscription relating to the veteran at Tipasa must belong to the Mauretanian expedition of Antoninus Pius, in which units from Pannonia Inferior, including this one, are known to have participated (XVI 99, 1st August, 150. This diploma records the discharge of men on campaign).

2. Ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana c.R., invicta, bis torquata.

XI 6033

(Pitinum Pisaurense)

C(aio) Caesidio C(ai) f(ilio) Clu(stumina) Dextro, eq(uo)
pub(lico), praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Lingonum equitat(ae),
trib(un) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Italic(ae), praef(ecto)
equit(um) alae Classianae invictae bis torquatae
c(ivium) R(onamorum) --

Of all the records relating to the ala Classiana only this one refers to decorations, and this to decoration in duplicate. The movements of the unit are not certain but it appears to have been in the east in A.D. 54 (if it is the unit referred to in XVI 3). By A.D. 105 (XVI 51) it had moved to Britain, where it is again attested in A.D. 122 (XVI 69). The tombstone of two decurions of the unit, found at Cologne (XIII 8306 = D.2534) and Kalkar (XIII 8668) suggest a period of garrison in Germania Inferior. G. Alföldy dates this to after the period spent in Britain³, Stein-Ritterling and Kraft to before⁴. Caesidius Dexter is not otherwise known and probably belongs to the late first or early second centuries.

Thus the possible period of decoration is wide open, covering campaigning in Germany under Vespasian and Domitian and trouble in Britain in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. The absence of the epithet torquata from the unit's titles in the diplomas of A.D. 105 and 122 is not significant for dating purposes, there being no certainty that it would be recorded if held; of all the diplomas relating to the ala Britannica not one credits it with its titles.

3. Ala Moesica felix torquata.

(a) VI 3538 = 2729 add. (Rome)

Tito Staberio T(iti) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Secundo praef(ecto)
coh(ortis) Chalciden(orum) in Africa, tribuno militum
leg(ionis) VII Geminae felicis in Germania, praef(ecto)
alae Moesicae felicis torquatae, Staberia mater inpena sua.

(b) Festschrift Lau-Belart 129 (Augusta Raurica, Belg).

[..... praef(ectus) alae] Moes[icae felicis torqu]atae,
[praefect]us vex[illationis.....praef(ectus) a]lae
His[paniae.....

T. Staberius Secundus is named as commander of the ala Moesica on a diploma for A.D. 78 (XVI 23), which records grants made to units in Germania Inferior under the governorship of Rutilius Gallicus. Gallicus is known to have campaigned against the Bructeri in A.D. 77/78 and it is possibly at this time that the ala Moesica distinguished itself. A decurion of this unit, commemorated on an inscription from Deutz, received military decorations, perhaps at this same period (Nr.216). The fragmentary and undatable inscription from Augusta Raurica is probably also to be attributed to this same unit (cf. H. Lieb, *Truppen in Augst, Festschrift Rudolf Laur-Belart* (Basel, 1968) 129-132.)

4. Ala Petriana milliaria cR. bis torquata.

(a) RIB 957 = VII 929 (Carlisle, Britannia).

[.....]Luca, praef(ecto) alae Augustae Petrianae
torq(uatae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) d(edit) d(edicavit),

(b) XI 5669 = D.2728 add. (Attidium, regio VI)

C(aio) Camurio C(ai) f(ilio) Lem(onia) Clementi, praef(ecto)
fabr(um) IIII, praef(ecto) i(ure) d(icundo) imp(eratoris)
Caes(aris) Traiani Aug(usti), praef(ecto) coh(ortis) VII
Raet(orum) equit(atae), trib(un) mil(itum) coh(ortis) II
Ulpiae Petraeor(um) milliari(iae) equit(atae), praef(ecto)
alae Petrianae milliari(iae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) bis torquatae,
proc(uratori) Aug(usti) ad Miniciam, proc(uratori)
Aug(usti) epistrategiae septem nomor(um) et Arsinoitae
Treenses patron(o) ob merita eius decr(eto) dec(urionum)
publice.

The career of the unknown prefect from Luca is undated, apart from the fact that it belongs to the period after the transfer of the ala Petriana from Germany to Britain which (if the restoration of the ala in XVI 43 is correct) took place before A.D.98. C. Camurius Clemens commanded the unit some time late in the reign of Trajan or early under Hadrian. He was praefectus iure dicundo of Trajan, and

the post he held in the militia secunda was the tribunate of cohors II Ulpia Petraeorum which was raised by Trajan after the annexation of Arabia in A.D. 106. This gives a terminus post quem for the command of the ala Petriana; a terminus ante quem is provided by the date of the creation of the militia quarta by Hadrian, for Clemens commanded the unit as a third and not a fourth equestrian military appointment. It is possible that the ala distinguished itself in the troubles in Britain in the Trajanic and early Hadrianic periods. Radnóti, discussing the decorations of the unit, believed the second award to have been won during the Jewish war ~~is~~ of Hadrian, there being, he believed, no other possible occasion⁵. Certainly, as he points out, the unit is not specifically attested in Britain between the years 124 and 135 (XVI 70, 82), but this is due more probably to lack of evidence for the period than to the absence of the unit.

5. Ala Siliana c.R. bis torquata bis armillata.

(a) IBR 85 = III 5775 (Abudiacum, Raetia).

[Claudius P]aternus Cleme[ntianus] proc(urator)
Au[g(usti) provinciar(um) Iudaeae Sard(iniae) Africae
et Norici], praef(ectus) eq(uitum) alae Silia[nae]
torquatae c(ivium) R(omanorum), trib(unus) [militum]
leg(ionis) [XI Claud(iae), praef(ectus) coh(ortis)]
Cla]ssicae [.....] fecit.

(b) IBR 86 = III 5776 = D 1369 (Abudiacum, Raetia).

Cl(audius) Paternus Clementia[n]us proc(urator)
Aug(usti) provincia[rum] Iudaeae Sar[diniae] Africae
et[Norici], praef(ectus) eq(uitum) [alae] Silianae
t[orquatae] c(ivium) R(omanorum)], trib(unus) milit[um]
leg(ionis) XI C[laudia]e]. praef(ectus) coh(ortis)
I Classic(ae)]

Readings of (a) and (b) revised by K. Kraft, Münchener Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte VII, 1964 p. 77f. Nr. 5 pl. 49

(c) A.E. 1939, 81 = ILT 720 (Thuburbo Maius, Africa Procons.)

M(arco) Vettio C(ai) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Latroni
.... praef(ecto) alae Silian(ae) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
torquatae armillat(ae),...

For the full career cf. Prosopography Nr.106

(d) A.E. 1930, 92 = JRS XVIII (1928) p. 148 (Gerasa, Arabia)

[L(ucio) Valerio L(ucii) fil(io)] Poblilia Firmo trib(uno)
coh(ortis) XXVI vol(untariorum), trib(uno) mil(itum)
leg(ionis) X (Geminae) p(iae) f(idelis), praef(ecto)
alae Silianae bis torquatae bis armillatae, proc(uratori)
[Aug(usti) prov(inciae)..

The titles awarded to the ala Siliana are recorded variously as torquata (a) and (b), torquata et armillata (c) and bis torquata bis armillata (d). Pflaum, discussing the careers of the three prefects concerned, expresses the opinion that the differing forms of the titles do not necessarily have any chronological significance and that L. Valerius Firmus was the earliest of the three, followed by Latro and then Clementianus⁶. There is, however, nothing in any of the careers to prevent this order from being inverted. It is true that the use of the titles torquata and armillata was sporadic, not scrupulously adhered to, but it would appear reasonable to assume that if a title was used at all in full career records such as those of Clementianus, Latro and Firmus it would be used correctly. Pflaum's hypothesis assumes that two out of the three used it incorrectly. Of the three careers, the most closely datable is that of M. Vettius Latro, who, as prefect of the cohors I Alpinorum, was decorated by Trajan in the first Dacian war. His command of the ala Siliana should fall, therefore, about the years 106/8. Clementianus' prefecture should come not long before this date, Firmus' not long after. The ala Siliana is known to have been garrisoned in A.D. 78, in Germania Inferior (XVI 23). By A.D. 84 it had moved to Pannonia where it remained until some time after A.D. 110 (XVI, 30

It is attested in Dacia Porolissensis from A.D. 133 to 164 (A.E. 1962, 255; XVI 185). In A.D. 98 it is attested for the first time with the titles c.R. which it probably won at some stage in Domitian's Danubian wars: the first torques may also belong to this period, if not to the earlier Flavian campaigns on the Rhine. The second award doubtless dates to one of the Dacian wars of Trajan. The third decoration is impossible to date with any certainty but the Suebo-Sarmatian war of Hadrian, A.D. 118, would fit, chronologically and geographically. The ala Siliana is unique in that it is the only auxiliary unit known to have borne the title armillata.

6. Ala Gallorum Tauriana, cR., torquata victrix.

(a) A.E. 1939, 60 (Heliopolis, Syria)

Sex(to) Attio L(ucii) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Suburano
Aemiliano praef(ecto) fabr(um), praef(ecto) alae Taurianae
torquatae, adiutori Vibi Crispi, leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro
pr(aetore) in censibus accipiendis Hispaniae citerioris,
adiut(ori) Iuli Ursi praef(ecto) annonae, eiusdem in
praefect(ura) Aegypti-

(for dating of this career cf. Pflaum Carr.56).

(b) XVI 165 (A.D. 114/7)

[.....(ala) Gallor(um) Taurian(a) tor]quata victrix c(ivium)
R(omanorum).....in Mau[retania] Tingitana sub L. Seio
Avito.....

(c) XVI 169 (Nov. 18th., 122)

.....(ala) Gallor(um) Taurian(a) [c(ivium) R(omanorum)
tor(quata) victr(ix)] in Mauretania Tingitan(a)
sub Caecilio Reddito.....

The earliest record of the ala Tauriana as torquata is the career of Sex. Attius Suburanus who was prefect of the unit in the mid 70's. The title is not given on all the diplomas relating to the unit, which span the years A.D. 88 to 157 (XVI 159, 165, 166, 169, 170, 173, 181, 182), but is attested

only on those of A.D. 114/7 and 122. It is thus not possible to indicate with any certainty the campaign in which the award was won. At the time of the civil wars of A.D. 69 the ala Tauriana was stationed in Lyons, where it was brought over to the cause of Vitellius (Tac. hist I. 59): it was withdrawn from Lyons (Tac. hist I. 64) and is not attested again until it appears in Mauretania Tingitana in A.D. 88. It could in the intervening years have participated in the Flavian campaigns on the Rhine, but evidence is entirely lacking.

B. COHORTS

1. Cohors I Breucorum c.R. Valeria Victrix bis torquata.

IBR 276 = III 5918^a, 11931 (Pfunz, Raetia)

[Imp(eratori) C] aes(ari) divi H[adriani fi]l(io)
T. Ael(io) Had(riano) A[nt]onino Aug(usto) P[ro]p[ri]o
c[oh]o[rs] I Breucor(um)....V(aleria) v(ictrix)
bis to[r]quat(a) ob v[irt]utem] appella[ta]...

The same titles are probably to be restored in the fragmentary texts of IBR 277 = III 11932 (Pfunz) and IBR 333 (Eining).

All records of this unit, beginning with a diploma of A.D. 107 (XVI 55), place it in Raetia to which it was, perhaps, moved from Germania Inferior.[?] Of all the references to the unit only one certainly attributes to it the titles bis torquata, which could have been earned in any two campaigns on the Rhine and/or Danube up to and including Hadrian's expedition against the Suebi and Sarmatae.

2. Cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata p. f., c.R.

(a) XVI 160 (August 11th., 106)

.....peditibus et equitibus qui militant in cohorte
I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata p(ia) f(ideli)
civium Romanorum quae est in Dacia sub D. Terentio

Scauriano, quorum nomina subscripta sunt, pie et fideliter expeditione Dacica functis, ante emerita stipendia civitatem Romanam dedit,

(b) XVI 163 (July 2nd., 110)

.....(cohors) I Brittonum (milliaria) Ulpia torquata
C(ivium) R(omanorum).....in Dacia sub. D.[Ter]entio
Scauriano.....coh(ortis) I Britton(um) (milliariae)
Ulpiae torquat(ae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) cui preest M.
Aemilius Bassus, ex peditate M. Ulpio Sacca f(ilio)
Longinoq; Belgo, et Vitali f(ilio) eius.

Cohors I Brittonum is known to have distinguished itself in the second Dacian war, and it is doubtless in this campaign that the battle honours reflected in the titles Ulpia torquata pia fidelis c.R. were won. The commander of the unit in A.D.110 was M. Aemilius Bassus, whose career record is known (D. 9506); it is interesting to note that this career inscription does not attribute to the cohors I Brittonum any of the titles which it is known from the diploma evidence to have borne during Bassus' period of command, and which had been so recently earned (it is called simply coh. pr. Brittonum). This failure to record the full titles indicates clearly the unreliability of the epigraphic evidence in attempting to pin down the date when titles of this sort were won.

3. Cohors I Lepidiana bis torquata

A.E. 1908,22. (Melik Chérif, on the Euphrates).

Dedication to Septimius Severus by:-

.....co[h(ors) I L]ep(idiana) eq[ui]tata c(ivium)
[R(omanorum)] bis torq(uata)

The cohors Lepidiana is attested (untitled) in Pannonia in A.D. 80 (XVI 26) and, thereafter, in Moesia Inferior (XVI 45, A.D. 99; XVI 58, pre-114). The unit then moved east, probably for Trajan's Parthian war, being attested in Armenia in the Notitia Dignitatum (not. Dig. Or. XXXVIII.35)

and in Asia by the tombstone of an optio of the unit probably from Smyrna (III12251 = D. 2590). The cohort doubtless participated in the Parthian wars of Marcus and Severus, and the appellation torquata could belong to either of these or to some earlier campaign.

4. Cohors VIII Raetorum c.R. equitata torquata.

A.E. 1960, 375 (Inlaceni, Dacia)

Imp(eratori) [Ca]es(ari) divi Traia[ni P]arthici fil(io)
d[iv]i Nervae nepoti Traian(o) Hadriano Au[g(usto)]
pontifici ma[xi]mo, trib(uniciae) potes[t(at)is] XIII,
co(n)s(uli) III, p(atri) p(atriciae), coh(ors) VIII
Raetorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) eq(uitata) tor(quata)

A.D. 129

Of the ten diplomas relating to this unit none attributes to it the title tōrquata; the diploma evidence spans the years A.D. 80 (XVI 26) to A.D. 144 (XVI 90), and attests the presence of the unit in Pannonia from June 80 until November 102 (XVI 26,30,31,47), in Moesia Superior in 103/7 (XVI 47), and in Dacia from February 110 until February 144 (XVI 57, 163, 90). A terminus ante quem for the earning of the title torquata is provided by the Hadrianic inscription from Inlaceni, A.D. 129. The title c.R. is first attested for the unit in A.D. 103/7, and it is probable that it was won in the Dacian wars of Trajan: it may be conjectured that the cohort was torquata at the same time, though a unit which spent its entire life, as far as is known, on the Danubian front would have plenty of opportunities to distinguish itself in action.

5. Cohors III Thracum c.R. equitata bis torquata.

Ber. R.G.K. 37. 38, Nr. 81 (Gnotzheim).

[Imp(eratori) Cae]s(ari) T.Ael(io) Hadr(iano) Antonino
[Aug(usto) Pio] trib(unicia) p(otestate) VII,co(n)s(uli)
III, pontif(ici) max(imo), [coh(ors) II]I Thr(acum)
c(ivium) R(omanorum) eq(uitata) bis torqua(ta)

A.D. 144

All records relating to this unit, the earliest of which dates ~~A.D. 144~~ to A.D. 107 (XVI 55), place it in Raetia. On one, of the year A.D. 144, it is bis torquata, on none torquata. The occasions on which it distinguished itself can only be surmised.

CONCLUSION

The practice of decorating auxiliary units appears to have begun in the Flavian period, precisely at the time when the auxilia were beginning to play an increasingly large and important role in the offensive and defensive wars of the empire. The extensive campaigning of the late first and early second centuries gave ample opportunity, notably to those units stationed on the Danubian front, for decoration in duplicate, the appellation bis Torquata being one which, as Radnóti has pointed out, appears, on present evidence, to have been restricted to the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods. This restriction would appear to be more a question of opportunity (or lack of it) than of conscious policy.

There is no way of telling how long a unit would have continued to bear this type of honorary title. It is known, for example, that the title c.R. continued to be used long after the discharge of the men who had profited from the grant of citizenship. The relative paucity of records of units torquata and armillata suggests that these titles were very soon dropped; certainly they were used sporadically and inconsistently. Most of the records date, as far as it is possible to judge, to a period quite soon after the award was won, though in the case of the ala Britannica the gap between the presumed date of award and the last attestation is over thirty years, and in the case of the

ala Tauriana not far off fifty years.

There is^a very noticeable and wholly inexplicable gap after the Hadrianic period. During the reign of Antoninus Pius there was little campaigning and therefore little opportunity for decoration (there is only one case of personal decoration at this time) but the late Antonine period saw a renewal of activity in both east and west: yet this period is wholly unrepresented by decorated alae and cohorts. The only possible example is the isolated Severan record of the cohors Lepidiana. Another method of rewarding the auxilia had apparently been substituted.

TABLE 6. ALAE AND COHORTS TORQUATAE AND ARMILLATAE.

Unit.	Title	Suggested date
Ala Tauriana	torquata	pre-75
Ala Moesica	torquata	pre-78
Ala Siliana	torquata	late Flavian
	torq.et arm.	Trajan: bell. Dac.
	bis torq. et bis arm.	Hadrian: bell. Sarm.
Ala I Brittonum.	torquata	Trajan: bell. Dac.
	bis torquata	Trajan: bell. Parth.
Ala Classiana.	torquata	(late 1st C
	bis torquata) early 2nd. C
Ala Petriana	torquata	(Trajan to Hadrian
	bis torquata) in Britain.
Cohors I Brittonum.	torquata	Trajan: bell. Dac.
Cohors VIII Raetorum	torquata	pre-129
Cohors I Breucorum	torquata	(Trajan
	bis torquata) to Hadrian
Cohors III Thracum	torquata	(Trajan
	bis torquata) to Hadrian
Cohors Lepidiana	torquata	(Antonine
	bis torquata) Severan

ALAE AND COHORTES TORQUATAE AND ARMILLATAE.

Notes.

1. Rangordnung² 68.
2. A. Radnóti - L. Barkóczi, The Distribution of troops in Pannonia Inferior during the 2nd Century A.D. . Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 1, 1951, 195.
3. G. Alföldy, Hilfstruppen 18 .
4. Stein-Ritterling, 127; Kraft 148 .
5. A. Radnóti, Torquata and bis Torquata. Germania 1961, 459.
6. Pflaum, Carr. Nrs. 150 bis, 104 add, 86 .
7. Stein-Ritterling 173 f.
8. A. Radnóti, o.c. n.5, 460-461.

CHAPTER 9.

DONA AND PROMOTION.

Specific examples of promotion given as a direct and immediate result of decoration are few; they are limited to three literary and three epigraphic references. Caesar narrates how, in the battles against Pompey at Dyrrhacium, the outstanding gallantry of the centurion Scaeva was rewarded with promotion to the primipilate¹. Flavus, brother of the German warrior Arminius, lists as his rewards for valour, torques, a corona, other unspecified dona and increased pay, this last probably, though by no means certainly, being the result of promotion². Thirdly Josephus records that Titus, having distributed dona among the men who had distinguished themselves in the siege of Jerusalem, proceeded to promote each to a higher rank.³ Ti. Claudius Maximus (Nr.148) was promoted from duplicarius to decurio alae by Trajan quod cepisset Decebalu (m) (m) et caput eius pertulisset ei Rannistore. The equestrian officer M. Valerius Maximianus (Nr.104) was honoured by Marcus for a very similar deed; quod manu sua ducem Naristarum Valaonem interemisset; Maximus was promoted from the tertia to the quarta militia. Finally T. Aurelius Flavinus (Nr.132) received promotion (though from which to which rank is not clear) ob alacritatem virtutis adversus hostes Cennos et resprospere et valide gestas.

For the rest, the information regarding the link between rewards and promotion is much less explicit. Caesar speaks of men who take up arms in the hope of prizes and promotion⁴, and Josephus records how Titus, haranguing his army, promises that those who fight well will be promoted above their present equals⁵.

The term duplicarius as defined by Varro,⁶ writing in the mid-first century B.C., was applied to a soldier who, on account of his valour, received double rations. This is not to be confused with the same term

as used in the Principate when it took on a somewhat different meaning, as designating those legionary principales who received twice the basic pay, and was the title given to the second in command of the turma in an auxiliary ala because he too presumably received twice basic pay. By this time the link between the term duplicarius and the reward for valour as described by Varro has been lost; conversely in Varro's time when the duplicarius was someone who had been honoured for services in battle, the only reward which was involved was increased rations, and there is no question of promotion to the higher rank which would bring increased pay. Similarly, although the cornicularius of the Republic may have been a soldier who had won a corniculum, no such connotations are attached to the cornicularii of the Empire.

Another problem of terminology arises from Vegetius' inclusion of torquati simplares and torquati duplares among the principales of the antiqua legio. He describes them in the following terms; torquati duplares, torquati simplares; torques aureus solidus virtutis praemium fuit, quam qui meruisset praeter laudem interdum duplas consequebatur annonas. This allusion to double rations recalls Varro's definition of a duplicarius, but in this case the man who won the torques and received the extra grain is specifically attested as being a principalis, being listed with the signiferi, tesserarii, beneficiarii and the like, all of whom held specific posts. However, the torquati simplares and duplares appear to have been included not because they fulfilled as a particular function which was paid on the scale of the duplicarius but because they had won a military award which, similarly, lifted them above the basic pay-scale. To this extent, therefore, promotion is implicit in their title⁸. Vegetius, however, was writing at a period after the virtual disappearance of the dona proper, when what little evidence there is points to the replacement of decorations as such by money payments and promotion. Certainly at this time the

torquati simplares and duplares must have formed a reasonably numerous body to warrant inclusion in Vegetius' list. Promotion became a substitute for and not so much an accompaniment to normal military decorations.

It would appear that in the Severan period and before immediate promotion following swiftly upon and as a direct result of a specific act of bravery was rare, certainly rare enough to be worth special mention in those cases where it did occur. However, it is clear from the epigraphic evidence that a large proportion of men and officers who, on one or more occasion during their service, won dona did also have distinguished career records. It is worth considering whether this is fortuitous or whether decoration could affect, for better, the promotion prospects of those honoured. The answer to this question would appear to differ from one class of soldier to another. It is clear, for example, that the future of a senator could be influenced by many things other than military prowess, and one must leave entirely out of account those patricians who followed 'senatorial' rather than 'imperial' careers, never holding a military command or entering a province containing a legion. However, even those senators who served as tribuni and legati legionum and governed provinces containing up to three legions, though they had plenty of chance to display military prowess, were still of necessity involved with the politics which could determine their rise and fall. Initial grading began with the vigintivirate before embarking on active service so that if a man proceeded to do well as tribune and legate and also keep the favour which ensured a smooth passage through the magisterial appointments, he would continue to rise regardless of whether he was ever decorated in battle; dona might serve to confirm an opinion of ability in a senator but it is doubtful if they ever had much influence on promotion.

The position was in no way the same with the militia equestris where competition was keen and military ability played a major part in determining promotion prospects. Patronage alone might obtain an initial appointment but it could not ensure a steady rise; this would rest with the man himself, for since the number of posts in each grade was not the same there was an efficiency bar. It has been estimated⁹ that in the mid-second century the number of posts in each grade of the militia equestris was as follows:- prima militia, 270; secunda militia, 181-191 (40-50 tribuni cohortium and 141 tribuni angusticlavii); tertia militia 90; quarta militia, a maximum of 10. Thus, less than four per-cent of those who embarked upon an equestrian military career could hope to command an ala milliaria, and only nine times as many to command a quingenary ala. It is a striking fact that of the eight careers detailed by E. Birley¹⁰ of men who attained the militia quarta, four were decorated during their career. Further, the vast majority of all the decorated equestrians completed at least the tres militiae, a notable fact when only one third of the total entrants could have done so. Of the thirty-eight decorated equestrians of whose careers there is reasonably complete information, only four failed to reach the third grade. Of the remaining thirty-four eleven retired or died after the tres militiae and the rest went straight on to procuratorial careers, except five who became prefects of milliary alae; of these five, four had distinguished procuratorial careers, one rose to be praetorian prefect and two were subsequently adlected into the senate. Pflaum, in that part of his discussion of procuratorial careers dealing with the Flavian and Trajanic periods, noted how well represented were decorated equestrians in certain categories of procurator. "Il s'agit souvent d'officiers ayant mérité des décorations militaires.....Le courage devant l'ennemi a

ainsi été récompensé ultérieurement par un avancement prioritaire."¹¹

All this must be more than pure coincidence; at the very least it would appear that, all other things being equal, the decorated man would be given preference. Though the receiving of military rewards in itself would not be sufficient to ensure promotion, the courage and spirit that it represented was; further, it was the emperor who awarded the dona and he also who was ultimately responsible for equestrian appointments. the man who sought advancement did well to draw attention to himself through distinguished conduct.

The same is true of all other officers and men in the ranks. Of the decorated 'other ranks' just under thirty-six per cent rose to the centurionate. Over fifty per-cent of the decorated centurions rose to the primipilate and beyond. True, these men did not become primus pilus any younger than did their undecorated colleagues (the age range, from about fifty to seventy-two, with an average of fifty-seven, is much the same as that for the primipilate as a whole), but if the career was not made swifter it appears to have¹² been made smoother and surer; a fifty per-cent advancement to the primipilate is very high compared with the average of about thirty per-cent.¹³ Further, there are just three known examples of the¹⁴ advancement of centurions to equestrian rank. L. Aconius Statura(Nr.120), L. Gavius Fronto (Nr.159) and M. Tillius Rufus (Nr.201) and in each case this advancement is coupled with military decorations.

The man who has been decorated is likely to succeed because he is the sort of man whose qualities are needed in an army; he is the sort of man who might well succeed in any case, but when a post fell vacant, the inclusion of dona in his references would doubtless stand him in good stead.

DONA AND PROMOTION

Notes

1. Caesar, de Bello Civili III.53.
2. Tac. ann. II.9.
3. Josephus b.J. VII. 15.
4. Caesar, de Bello Civili I.3
5. Josephus, b.J. VI.53.
6. Varro, de Lingua Latina V.90.
7. Vegetius, II.7.
8. cf. infra 129.
9. E. Birley, Alae and Cohortes Milliariae, Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata (1966) 54 ff.
10. E. Birley o.c. 58.
11. Pflaum, procs. 218.
12. B. Dobson, Prinipilaren. Chapter on Primuspilus and Prinipilaris.
13. B. Dobson, Prinipilaren. Chapter on the approach to the prinipilate.
14. This point was first made by B. Dobson in "The Centurionate and Social Mobility during the Principate". Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'Antiquité Classique (Caen 1969, pb. 1970) 102.

CHAPTER 10.

POST-SEVERAN DONA.

In the foregoing discussion it has been tacitly assumed that the system of awarding military decorations gradually petered out and came to an end in the Severan period. Certainly it is at this time that the epigraphic evidence for dona dwindles, changes its nature and dies out, a reflection of earlier practice remaining in the torquati duplares and torquati simplares of Vegetius' antiqua legio. However, there are in the post-Severan period, a number of literary and one epigraphic reference to dona which deserve consideration.

The Augustan History lives of Probus and Aurelian contain four references to military decorations; on two occasions the dona are just mentioned in passing¹, and on two, detailed lists are given^{of} awards won. The combination of awards is most bizarre.

SHA v. Aureliani XIII, 3-4.

Cape igitur tibi pro rebus gestis tuis coronas murales quattuor, coronas vallares quinque, coronas navales duas, coronas civicas duas, hastas puras decem, vexilla bicolora quattuor, tunicas russas ducales quattuor, pallia proconsularia due, togam praetextatam, tunicam palmatam, togam pictam, subarmalem profundum, sellam eburatam.

SHA v. Probi V, 1-3

Cum bello Sarmatico iam tribunus transmisso Danuvio multa fortiter fecisset, publice in contione donatus est hastis puris quattuor, coronis vallaribus duabus, corona civica una, vexillis quattuor, armillas aureis duabus, torque aureo uno, patera sacrificiali quinquelibri una.

Domaszewski suggested that these references to dona spring from a study of inscriptions, since the information they contain could never have been obtained from texts². Neither would this sort of information ever have come from inscriptions, certainly not in the form in which it is represented in the Augustan history. Such

collections of dona are unprecedented, unparalleled and entirely unconvincing: the awards of the miles, the officer and triumphing general are muddled together, with a few extra honours put in to give the collection added sparkle. It is therefore more likely to be based on a misunderstanding of the written or oral tradition of what dona had been like, and what they were presumed still to have been like in the middle to late third century. For example, the vexilla bicolora of Aurelian could be a reflection of the vexillum caeruleum of Agrippa, attested in the pages of Suetonius and Dio³. As evidence for the existence or non-existence of military decorations in the age of Aurelian these two passages are worthless.

Of greater value is the work of Ammianus Marcellinus who is altogether more reliable and who, writing in that last quarter of the fourth century, was very close to the events of A.D. 363 in connection with which he mentions military decorations. Coronae obsidionales, navales, civicae and castrenses are all listed as having been awarded to men who performed heroic deeds and fought valiantly: no mention is made of distinction of rank among the recipients and it is obvious that the differing types of crown were being awarded with scant regard for their original (republican) meaning or even for the significance which they had in the Principate. Indeed, the very award of the siege crown, albeit not as it was meant to be awarded, smacks of antiquarianism, a harking back to republican days, for the corona obsidionalis is not known to have been awarded since the first century B.C. ; this impression is strengthened by the phrase which Ammianus uses to describe the commendation of the award winners: it was done veterum more, words which suggest a revival and not a continuity of practice. A similar impression is created by a passage in Procopius which is the latest recorded example of the granting

of military decorations of a recognizable Roman pattern. In his 'History of the Goths' Procopius records that Belisarius awarded torques and armillae to his soldiers: but he does not record it as if it were a normal commonplace event in battle. The reference appears in a passage which describes the unusually good treatment which Belisarius meted out to his army⁴. "When any had met with misfortune in battle he used to console them by large presents of money for the wounds they had received, and to those who had distinguished themselves he presented bracelets and necklaces to wear as prizes, and when a soldier had lost in battle horse or bow or anything else whatsoever, another was straightway provided in its place by Belisarius".

One other trustworthy reference to post-Severan dona appears in an inscription relating to Aetius (Nr.18)⁵. Unfortunately no detail is given of the nature of the award (donis militarib. ornato) so that it is not possible to ascertain whether it was composed of the traditional coronae, hastae, and vexilla, or whether what is referred to is a different kind of award as, for example, a financial reward.

Thus it is clear therefore that dona were not, as Domaszewski believed, discontinued completely in the Severan period⁶. But, conversely, it is equally doubtful that they remained in fairly normal use as Büttner suggests. In her discussion of dona after Severus⁷ Büttner bases her case for the continuation of traditional type decoration partially on the scanty literary and even scantier epigraphic evidence, and partly on the evidence of art. With regard to this latter type of material, it is distinctly dubious whether all the representations of badges and necklaces to which reference is made, are in fact military decorations. To take but one of Büttner's examples, the torques worn by the soldiers who form the bodyguard to Justinian,

depicted on the sixth century mosaic from the church of S. Vitale in Ravenna,⁸ can in no way be shown to have any affinity to the torques awarded as military decorations in the Republic and Principate, for the soldiers in question are entirely 'un-Roman' in dress and appearance.

It is inconceivable that the post-Severan emperors should have ceased to bestow tangible rewards upon their soldiers, but the sudden fall-off in epigraphic allusions to dona is not consistent with the theory that traditional decoration continued unabated. This is the argument ex silentio which Büttner condemns in Domaszewski, but it is a silence which cannot be ignored; it does not correspond to a gap in epigraphic evidence as a whole and must, therefore, have some significance.

Domaszewski attempted to explain the demise of the dona in terms of his belief in the barbarisierung of the Roman army which he deemed to be accelerated under Severus: thus the Roman soldier no longer possessed the necessary honos and virtus to win military awards⁹. This theory is neither satisfactory nor historically accurate, though it is quite possible that the influx of provincials into the army did have some connection with the change in the system of award, though not quite in the manner in which Domaszewski believed. The fact that this change followed closely upon the constitutio Antoniniana would seem to be not without significance. Hitherto military decorations had been awarded only to the legions and to the few citizens who served in the auxilia. All non-citizens troops appear to have been excluded from the honour. With the spread of citizenship to all free-born males the auxiliary soldiers should, in theory, have become eligible for decorations, and since it is they who will have borne the brunt of

much of the warfare this will have at least doubled the number of possible candidates for decoration. It was perhaps therefore deemed necessary to make radical alterations to the system of award rather than to extend the existing one. Caracalla was in financial straits and if the dona were not to suffer, as did the coinage, from a serious debasement of the metals from which they were made the cost could have been enormous. As late, perhaps, as the British war of A.D. 207 Severus and Caracalla were together awarding dona of the traditional type (Nr.153); by A.D. 213 and the campaign against the Cenni, Caracalla was granting promotion and money payments (Nr.132) Promotion as a military award is perhaps implicit in the title of the otherwise rather enigmatic torquati simplares and torquati duplares whom Vegetius includes in his list of principales. Traditional dona virtually disappear, their sporadic revival being due to no more than antiquarianism.

POST-SEVERAN DONA.

Notes.

1. SHA v. Probi, VI.1; XII.6
2. Domaszewski, Die Personennamen bei den Scriptoribus Historiae Augustae, 33-4.
3. Suetonius, Augustus 25.3; Dio LI.21
4. Hist. Goth. III.1.8 (Loeb translation).
5. cf. A. Degrassi, L'Iscrizione in onore di Aezio e l'Atrium Liberatis, Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma LXXII(1946-8) 33ff.
6. Rangordnung², 69. Domaszewski explains the return of the torques alluded to by Vegetius as the effect of barbarian influence; he did not believe in continuity of award.
7. Buttner, Untersuchungen über Ursprung und Entwicklung von Auszeichnungen im römischen Heer. B.Jb. 1957, 172ff.
8. The mosaic is illustrated in G. Bovini, Mosaici di Ravenna, Tav.29.
9. Domaszewski, Die Religion des römischen Heeres. Westd. Zeitschr. XIV, 1895, 43 ff; Rangordnung² 184.

CONCLUSION.

The overriding impression created by the study of Roman military decorations is the complete adaptability of the system of award. Throughout its history, which extends from the Republic into the first two centuries of the Empire, the practice remained open to change and is seen to undergo modifications, some of a minor, some of a more major nature, but all purely pragmatic, responding to changes in the current political and military situation.

As Polybius indicated, the rewarding of outstanding courage was a very effective way of encouraging young soldiers to perform in battle, deeds beyond the line of duty. It is doubtless this principle which led the authorities to establish a regular system of award as a supplement to and ultimately a substitute for the rewards of booty. The man responsible for this distribution of awards was, naturally enough, the victorious general under whose command the battle had been fought and won. This principle, once established, was firmly adhered to and, with the setting up of the Empire, led to a situation in which the emperor alone was responsible for the granting of military decorations. The links in the chain of circumstances which led to the emperor's assumption of sole responsibility are all perfectly logical, a response to the development of his constitutional position and not an arbitrary act designed to deprive the other proconsuls of one element of their authority. As long as proconsuls continued to command legionary armies in their own provinciae they too could award decorations, but once the last legion passed from a senatorial province the last vestige of senatorial responsibility for dona passed with it, for now it was from imperial provinces with imperial armies under imperial auspices that all battles were fought; the legati Augusti pro praetore who led these armies were

only the Emperor's deputies. The emperor alone assumed the guise of the republican imperator. The difficulties of the situation in the Augustan period when things were in a state of flux is illustrated by the case of Crassus who claimed the right of a victorious general to deposit spolia opima in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol; this honour was reserved for generals fighting under their own auspices. Crassus, it was argued, was fighting under the auspices of Octavian and therefore, although he was allowed to celebrate a triumph, the title of imperator was withheld. A precedent for future action was established and by the early years of the first century the ornamenta triumphalia had become the imperial legates' substitute for the full triumph. No longer could they triumph, no longer award military decorations.

Changes came about, too, in the awards themselves. The number of different types of decoration multiplied over the years, the simple scheme set out by Polybius contrasting strongly with the complex situation attested by Livy and Pliny. Each type of award was designed to reward a particular brave deed the nature of which is, in the case of various of the crowns, indicated by the name of the award; e.g. corona muralis, vallarlis or civica. Some of these such as the corona obsidionalis and the corniculum appear not to have survived the Republic, another, the corona civica, remained unchanged in meaning and conditions of award, while yet others were retained but lost their original significance. The reasons for these changes would appear to lie in the growing complexity of military organization, the development of definite career structures and hierarchies of command. Awards came to be related to some extent to rank as well as to the nature of the deed being rewarded, and so the traditional decorations were grouped together into a number of standard but not inflexible combinations, such as the torques armillae and phalerae

of the ranker, the hasta and corona of the primus ordo, the four coronae, hastae and vexilla of the consular. As has been indicated in some detail in the appropriate chapters these combinations were flexible; they could be and were adapted to meet particular situations, to highlight outstanding valour, to conform to the prejudices of a particular emperor or to keep abreast of military developments as, for example, when the scale of the equestrian dona was amended following the establishment of the militia quarta. Certain other nuances may be detected also. The standard award of the centurion was torques, armillae, phalerae and a corona, but the crown was not of a standard type and was related in some way to the nature of the deed rewarded. Witness too the reservation of the corona classica for the consular, the corona aurea, the least of the types of crown, alone being awarded to the evocatus, no longer a ranker, not yet a centurion.

As the system had been adapted to changing circumstance so it was brought to an end when it ceased to serve a useful purpose or to be a practical proposition. At no time do dona appear to have been awarded to non-citizen troops (as indicated in Chapter 8 these had their own types of reward) and it would appear to the present writer at least to be no coincidence that the whole complex system of award was largely discontinued at precisely that time when the Constitutio Antoniniana gave citizenship to all free born males, thus making the auxilia and the numeri into citizen troops. The spread of citizenship through the granting of civitas Romana to discharged auxiliaries and their

children must have meant that in practice many of the 'non-citizen' units contained an ever increasing number of citizens, but with the Constitutio Antoniniana the position became clear. Subsequently all soldiers and officers in legions, auxilia and numeri would be eligible to receive military decorations, a formidable number of men. Changes, the nature of which are not fully recorded or properly understood, came about as a result.

Little has been said in this survey of actual examples of donna. The present work is concerned mainly with the problems of how, when and why decorations were awarded and so the question of the nature of the awards themselves has been dealt with only in sufficient depth to make the rest of the content intelligible. Clearly, the building up of a corpus of military decorations is most desirable, there being, to date, very few well authenticated examples. No coronae, hastae or vexilla are known, and many of the artefacts which appear in the museums of the Empire as military phalerae are, on the analogy of the phalerae depicted on inscriptions, no such thing. The precious metals from which, according to our literary and epigraphic sources, these decorations were fashioned make it very unlikely that many of them will have survived, and even if they did how does one distinguish a Roman military torques or armilla from the native example which may well have been its prototype? The problem is one which will be answered only by extensive research into the metalwork collections in museums throughout the Roman Empire, particularly in the 'military' provinces and in Italy.

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APPENDIX I: IMPERIAL CAMPAIGNS IN WHICH DONA WERE AWARDED:
THE MEN AND UNITS INVOLVED.

1. AUGUSTUS - TIBERIUS.

Cantabrian campaign: 26-25 B.C.

Leg. IV Macedonica. L. Blattius Vetus. 7

Augustan campaign in Africa: ?

Leg. XXII. L. Laetilius Rufus. trib.ang.

Bellum Illyricum: A.D. 6-9

Leg. VII Claudia. M. Vireius Celer.
 Leg. VIII Augusta. M. Petronius Classicus. 7 or below.
 " C. Vettius. eques.
 Leg. XI Claudia. M. Vergilius Gallus Lusius. p.p.
 " Q. Sertorius Festus. 7 or below.
 " M. Fraxsanias. eques.
 Leg. XIII Gemina. III 8438. miles.
 Leg. XX Val. Vic. L. Antonius Quadratus. sign. or below.
 ? C. Iulius Aetor.

Bellum Germanicum: A.D. 9

Coh. Ubiorum eq. M. Vergilius Gallus Lusius. praef.

Bellum Germanicum A.D. 14-16

Ala Praetoria. C. Fabricius Tuscus. praef.

Bellum Germanicum: date unknown

Leg. XVIII (pre A.D.9) M. Caelius. 7 or below.
 Leg. XX Val. Vic. L. Antonius Quadratus. miles.

Bellum Africum: campaign v. Tacfarinas: A.D. 18-20

Leg. ? M. Helvius Rufus. miles.
 ? C. Iulius []lus. miles.

Campaign uncertain.

Leg. VIII Hispana. L. Coelius. sign.

Leg. VIII Hispana.	M. Aemilius Soterias.	miles.
Leg. XIII Gemina.	L. Gellius Varus (d.d.2)	miles.
Leg. XIII Gemina.	XIII 7556	
Leg. XIII Gemina et al.	T. Staius Marrax.	p.p. and below.
Leg. ?	-. Cornelius N[trib.ang.
"	Sex. Decius.	trib.ang.
Aux.?	C. Iulius Macer.	dupl.or evoc.
?	C. Purisius Atinas.	
?	C. Vibius Macer.	

2. GAIUS

Bellum Germanicum: A.D. 41.

?	P. Anicius Maximus.	senior 7
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3. PRE-CLAUDIAN OR CLAUDIAN.

Bellum Germanicum: Date unknown.

Leg. I Germanica.	C. Marius.	eques.
"	A. Volsonius Paulus.	miles.
"	-. Lucius.	
Leg. XVI Gallica.	Q. Cornelius.	miles.
"	L. Refidius Bassus.	
Leg. XXI Rapax.	L. Leuconius Cilo.	miles.

Campaign uncertain.

Leg. V. Macedonica (?).	A. Baebius [].	
Leg. XIII Gemina.	C. Allius Oriens.	7
"	P. Baebius.	eques.
Leg. XIII Gemina.	Cn. Musius.	up to aquil.
?	L. Rufellius Severus.	up to tr.coh.pr.

4. CLAUDIUS.

4. CLAUDIUS.

Bellum Germanicum A.D. 41.

Leg. V. Alaudae. IX 3380 trib.lat.

Bellum Britannicum: A.D. 43-44.

Leg. II Augusta. P. Anicius Maximus. praef.castr.

Leg. XX Val. Vic. Ti. Claudius Balbillus. trib.ang.

Leg. ? C. Stertinius Xenophon. trib.ang.

Coh. Praetoria • C. Gavius Silvanus. evoc.

" C. Iulius Camillus. evoc.

" M. Vettius Valens. bf.pr.pr./evoc

--- V 7165 comes.

Bellum Mithridaticum A.D. 45.

Leg. VIII Augusta. L. Coedius. trib.lat.

Vexx. Aux. Q. Cornelius Valerianus. praep.

Campaign unknown.

Leg. ? ILG 419

Coh. ? Ti. Robilius Flaccus. praef.

? M. Stlaccius Coranus. mil.eq.

5. NERO.

Campaign v. Astures.

Leg. VI Victrix. M. Vettius Valens. p.p.

Pisonian conspiracy: A.D. 65

--- L. Nonius Aspreas.

Revolt of Vindex: A.D. 68.

Coh. Praetoria. L. Antonius Naso. trib.

6. VITELLIUS.

Campaign v. Garamantes: A.D. 69

Leg. III Augusta.	Valerius Festus.	leg.
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7. CIVIL WAR: A.D. 69.

Award made by Vitellius:

Leg. IIII Macedonica.	Sex. Caesius Propertianus.	trib.ang.
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Award made by Vespasian:

Leg. II Augusta.	L. Antistius Rusticus.	trib.lat.
---	P. Glitius Gallus.	
---	M. Hirrius Fronto.	

(The awards received by Valerius Festus, Larcus Lepidus and -. Firmus, though ostensibly for deeds connected with the Garamantian and Jewish campaigns, were affected by the events of the Civil War)

8. VESPASIAN AND TITUS.

Bellum Iudaicum: A.D. 66-70

Leg. IV Scythica.	-. Firmus.	trib.lat.vice.leg.
Leg. V Macedonica.	M. Blossius Pudens.	7
Leg. X Fretensis.	A. Larcus Lepidus.	leg.
Leg. V. Mac. or XV Ap.	VIII 12536.	leg.
"	L. Lepidius Proculus.	7
Leg. ?	C. Velius Rufus.	7
Coh. Praetoria.	L. Pellartius Celer.	mil.pr./evoc.
Leg. or coh. praetoria.	C. Flaminius Marcellus.	7
"	Q. Raecius Rufus.	
?	Ti. Claudius Heras.	mil.eq.
?	X 5712.	

Bellum Commagenicum: A.D. 72.

[Leg. VI Victrix].

III 14387ⁱ. 7

"

A.E. 1942/3, 33. 7

Bellum Germanicum: A.D. 73-74

Aux. omn.

Cn. Domitius Lucanus. praef.

Aux. omn.

Cn. Domitius Tullus. praef.

Bellum Germanicum: A.D. 77-78

Ala Moesica.

-. Rufinus. decurio.

Coh. II Varcianorum.

C. Minicius Italus. praef.

Bellum Germanicum: date unknown

-. Pompeius Faventinus. mil.eq.

A.E. 1942/3, 33.*

(* The German war in this case could be one of Domitian's)

Campaign unknown.

Coh. Praetoria.

C. Vedennius Moderatus. mil./evoc.

Ala Pannoniorum.

T. Flavius Capito. decurio.

9. DOMITIAN.

Bellum Germanicum A.D. 83.

Vex. leg. VIII Hispanae.

L. Roscius Aelianus. trib.lat.

Leg. XIII Gemina.

P. Baebius Italicus. leg.

Bellum Dacicum: A.D. 86-89

Leg. II Adiutrix.

T. Cominius Severus. 7

Leg. IV Flavia.

P. Tadius Valens. sign.

Leg. V. Macedonica.

T. Tullius Maximus Manlianus. trib.lat.

Leg. V. Mac. or XV Ap.

M. Iulius Avitus. 7

Leg. VII Claudia.

Ti. Claudius Maximus. up to vex. eq.

Coh. XIII Urbana.	Q. Vilanius Nepos.	7
---	L. Funisulanus Vettonianus.	leg. prov. Moes. Sup.

Bellum Germanicum: A.D. 89

Leg. ?	M. Iulius Avitus.	7
Coh. XIII Urbana.	Q. Vilanius Nepos.	7

Bellum Germanicum: A.D. 83 or 89

?	Ti. Claudius Alpinus.	mil. eq.
?	VI 37298	miles.

Bellum Marcommanorum, Quadorum, Sarmatarum: A.D. 92.

Leg. I Minervia.	C. Bruttius Praesens.	trib. lat.
Leg. XI Claudia.	L. Aconius Statura.	7
Coh. XIII Urbana.	C. Velius Rufus.	trib.

Campaign uncertain.

Coh. Praetoria.	L. Tatinius Cnosus.	evoc.
"	C. Vedennius Moderatus.	evoc.
Coh. XIII Urbana.	C. Velius Rufus.	trib.
Leg. ?	XI 1602.	senior 7 or p.p.
?	L. Gavius Fronto.	7
?	Cn. Octavius Titinius Capito.	mil. eq.
?	Cn. Pompeius Homullus (d.d.2).	7
?	Inschr. von Olympia 357.	mil. eq.

10. NERVA.

Bellum Suebicum: A.D. 97

Leg. I Adiutrix.	Q. Attius Priscus.	trib. ang.
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11. TRAJAN

Bellum Germanicum: A.D. 97-98

Leg. ? Q. Geminius Sabinus. 7

Bellum Dacicum I: A.D. 101-102

Leg. I Italica. Ti. Claudius Vitalis. 7

Leg. V Macedonica. Q. Pompeius Falco. leg.

Leg. VII Claudia. L. Minicius Natalis. leg.

Leg. V. Mac. or VII Cl. L. Aconius Statura. 7

Leg. ? L. Aemilius Paternus. 7

Coh. Praetoria. C. Caesius Silvester. 7

" C. Stadius Celsus. evoc.

Ala I Asturum. P. Prifernius Paetus. praef.

Coh. I milliaria. A. Pomponius Augurinus. praef.

Coh. I Raetorum. P. Besius Betuinianus. praef.

? XII 5899.

--- Q. Glitius Atilius Agr. leg. prov. Pann.

--- Q. Sosius Senecio. leg. prov.

--- P. Aelius Hadrianus. comes.

Bellum Dacicum II: A.D. 105-106.

Leg. I Minervia. P. Aelius Hadrianus. leg.

" Ti. Claudius Vitalis. 7

Leg. XIII Gemina. C. Caelius Martialis. trib. ang.

Leg. ? E. Aemilius Paternus. 7

Coh. Praetoria. C. Caesius Silvester. 7

" C. Stadius Celsus. evoc.

Ala Dardanorum. P. Besius Betuinianus. praef.

Ala II Pannoniorum. Ti. Claudius Maximus. dupl.

? XII 5899.

---	Q. Sosius Senecio	leg. prov.
---	XII 3169	leg. prov.

Bellum Dacicum I or II

Leg. I Minervia	L. Terentius Rufus	7
"	Epigraphica LXII, p.29	7
Leg. V Macedonica	L. Valerius Proclus	7
Coh. Praetoria	C. Arrius Clemens	eq.
"	XI 2112	evoc.
Leg. or coh. praet.	Q. Raecius Rufus	princ. praet. or below
Coh. I Alpinorum eq.	M. Vettius Latio	praef.
?	A.E. 1965, 348	mil. eq.
---	C. Cilnius Proculus	leg. prov. or comes
---	A.E. 1964, 192	leg. prov. or comes
?	Not. Scav. 1953, p.276	

Bellum Dacicum: Domitian or Trajan

Coh. Praetoria	Sex. Aquillius Severus	7
Ala II Pannoniorum ?	IGR I 824	mil. eq.

Bellum Parthicum: A.D. 114-117

Leg. II Traiana	IGLS I 234	leg.
Leg. IV Scythica	- . Claudius Maximus	trib. lat.
Leg. VI Ferrata	C. Bruttius Praesens	leg.
"	L. Aburnius Iuscianus	trib. ang.
"	T. Pontius Sabinus	trib. ang.
Leg. X Fretensis	A. Atinius Paternus	trib. ang.
Leg. XVI Flavia	M. Marcus Plaetorius	7
Coh. Praetoria	L. Aemilius Paternus	7
"	Q. Alpius Felix	miles
"	C. Nummius Constans	miles

leg. or coh. pr.	M. Iulius Maximus	
Ala II Pannoniorum.	Ti. Claudius Maximus.	decurio.
Coh. I Pannoniorum.	-. Aemilius Iuncus.	praef.
equites Moes. Inf.	L. Paconius Proculus.	praef.
---	L. Catilius Severus.	leg. prov. Capp.
---	III 14387 ^d	leg. prov. or comes.

Bellum Britannicum.

Coh. II Asturum.	C. Iulius Karus.	praef.
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(This dating is not certain; the dona may belong to a British war late in Domitian's reign or under Nerva.)

Campaign unknown.

?	L. Calidius Camidienus.	mil. eq.
?	C. Nummius Verus.	mil. eq.
?	<u>Atti Lincei</u> 1969, p. 12.	

12. DOMITIAN TO TRAJAN.

Campaigns various.

numerous: leg. and coh. pr.	Sex. Vibius Gallus.	up to praef. castr.
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13. HADRIAN.

Bellum Suebicum et Sarmatarum: A.D. 118.

Leg. II Adiutrix.	-. Satrius Sep[]tus.	trib. lat.
Leg. XIII Gemina.	L. Caesennius Sospes.	leg.

Bellum Britannicum: late 120's ?

leg. ?	Q. Fuficius Cornutus.	trib. lat.
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(this dating is not certain; the dona may belong to the Bellum Iudaicum).

Bellum Iudaicum: A.D. 132-135

Leg. III Cyrenaica.	C. Popilius Carus Pedo.	trib. lat.
Leg. III Cyr. or coh. pr.	C. Nummius Constans.	evoc. or ?
Leg. III Gallica.	M. Staius Priscus.	trib. ang.

Leg. III Gallica.	M. Sabidius Maximus.	7
"	T. Camulius Lavenus.	miles.
Leg. IV Scythica.	C. Iulius Thraso Alexand.	trib. lat.
Leg. X Fretensis.	AI 6339.	leg.
"	- Octavius Secundus.	7
Coh. Praetoria.	C. Arrius Clemens.	CCC
Ala I Aug. Gem. Colon.	Sex. Cornelius Dexter.	praef.
---	Q. Lollius Urbicus.	leg. imp.

Campaign unknown

Leg. XX Val. Vict.	Q. Albius Felix.*	7
?	Q. Marcus Turbo.**	up to praef.praet.
?	XI 2112.	senior 7 or p.p.
?	XIV 4469.	
?	Not. Scav. 1933, p.497.	

* These decorations belong to either the bellum Iudaicum or a bellum britannicum.

** The decorations could belong to any stage in the career which spanned the years Domitian to Hadrian.

14. ANTONINUS PIUS.

Campaign unknown

Leg. ?	C. Cestius Sabinus.	7 or p.p.
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15. MARCUS, VERUS COMMODUS.

bellum Parthicum: A.D. 162-166.

Leg. I Minervia.	M. Claudius Fronto.	leg.
Leg. II Adiutrix.	P. Cominius Clemens.	trib. ang.
Leg. III Gallica.	C. Titurnius Quartio ***	eques

*** Possibly belongs to the Parthian war of Severus and Caracalla.

Leg. VI Ferr. or I ¹ Ad.	Q. Antistius adventus.	leg.
"	IR# 552.	trib. lat.
Leg. ?	M. Petronius fortunatus.	senior 7
Coh. Praetoria.	T. Furius victorinus.	praef.
"	C. Didius saturninus.	miles.
Leg. or Coh. Pr.	v 546.	7
Ala Thracum.	L. Iulius Vehilius Gratus	praef.
Vexill. Dacor.	C. Iulius Corinthianus.	trib.
---	M. Valerius Maximianus.	praep. orae.
---	L. Aurelius Nicomedes.	praef. cur. copiar.
---	M. Pontius Laelianus.	comes.

Bellum Germanicum: A.D. 166-175.

Leg. I Adiutrix.	C. Caesonius Macer Ruf.	trib. lat.
Leg. IIII Flavia.	L. Petronius Sabinus (x2)	7
Coh. Praetoria.	M. Bassaeus Rufus.	praef.
"	C. Didius Saturninus.	miles.
Ala I Aravacorum.	M. Valerius Maximianus.	praef.
Ala Contariorum.	M. Macrinus Avitus.	praef.
"	M. Valerius Maximianus.	praef.
Coh. Maurorum.	M. Clodius Faustus Sec.	
Vexx. ?	L. Iulius Vehilius Gratus.	praep. vexx.
---	C. Vellius Sabinianus.	leg. prov. Pann. Inf.
---	C. Aufidius Victorinus (x2)	comes.
---	Q. Pompeius Sossius Priscus.	comes.
---	T. Pomponius Proculus.	comes.

Campaign v. Mauri: c. 172.

Leg. ?	P. Aelius Romanus.	7
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Bellum Germanicum II: A.D. 175-180.

Leg. II Adiutrix.	M. Valerius Maximianus.	leg.
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Leg. III Augusta.	L. Murrius Fronto.	miles.
"	Ti. Plautius Felix Ferr.	praep. vex.
Leg. III Italica.	C. Annius Flavianus.	trib.ang.
Leg. XIII Gemina.	L. Ragonius Urinatus.	leg.
Leg. ?	<u>Atti Lincei</u> 1969, p.10.	trib.lat.
---	M. Rossius Vitulus.	praep.gentis Onsorum.
---	T. Pomponius Proculus V.P.	comes.

Bellum Germanicum: I or II.

Leg. VII Claudia. III 14507.

Campaign unknown.

Cohortes Praetoriae. numerous (cf. Nr. 118^b)** milites.
XIV 4475^a.
E.E. VIII 478*. up to trib.praet.

** Bellum Parthicum or Bellum Germanicum I

* Multiple decorations won in the period Trajan to Commodus.

16. SEVERUS AND CARACALLA.

Bellum Parthicum II: A.D. 197.

Vex. legg, IIII Germ. Claudius Gallus. praep.
Coh. Praetoria. M. Tillius Rufus. princ. castr.

Bellum Britannicum: A.D. 207-211.

C. Didius Saturninus. senior 7 or p.p.

Campaign v. Genni: A.D. 213.

T. Aurelius Flavinus. below p.p.

Campaign unknown.

Leg. II Parthica. ?
A.E. 1922, 38 (d.d.2).

17. POST-SEVERAN.

Campaign unknown.

(a) 3rd century.

Leg. XIII Gem.

Aurelius Iovinus.

mil.

(b) 5th century.

-

Flavius Aetius.

magister militum.

APPENDIX II. THE TERMINOLOGY OF DOMITIAN'S GERMAN
AND SARMATIAN WARS.

The term bellum Germanicum is used of more than one campaign of the Domitianic period, and hence a certain amount of confusion has arisen as to the attribution of a number of inscriptions. Failing fresh evidence it is unlikely that the problem will ever completely be solved, but a review of the status quo may serve in some way to clarify the situation.

A.D. 83.

In A.D. 83 Domitian undertook his first war against the Germans, necessitated, according to Frontinus, by the fact that they were in arms - Germanos qui in armis erant.¹ This is the same campaign as that from which according to Dio, the emperor returned without seeing active fighting anywhere, revelling nevertheless in the honours bestowed upon him by the Senate.² This same hostile attitude is taken up by Suetonius who stated that the campaigning was uncalled for³, and by Tacitus who regarded the triumph as a false one; inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum.⁴ Tacitus is here contrasting the events leading up to the German triumph with the activities of Agricola in Britain whose victory at Mons Graupius fell shortly after the conclusion of the German war. In the period June 82 to September 84 Domitian received four imperial salutations (though not all of these can be attributed to the German campaign), and took the title Germanicus. Imperator Caesar Augustus Germanicus eo bello quo victis hostibus cognomen Germanici meruit.⁵ This title first appears on coins of late A.D. 83⁶ and is used consistently from the following year, while the legend Germania capta first appears on a sestertius of A.D. 85⁷. This is the German war mentioned in the career of Baebius Italicus (Nr.5) who was decorated as legatus legionis before moving to a praetorian governorship in which he is attested in A.D. 85. This too is the

expeditio Germanica to which L. Roscius Aelianus (Nr.36) took a detachment of IX Hispana.

A.D. 89

In A.D. 89 L. Antonius Saturninus, supported by the four legions of Upper Germany, the province of which he was governor, revolted against the emperor⁸. Dio records that the rebellion was quickly put down by L. Maximus, governor of Lower Germany⁹, who must be the same as the Appius Maximus described, in an inscription from Rome¹⁰, as confector belli Germanici. A campaign ensued against the Chatti with whom Saturninus had allied himself, and on its successful conclusion a triumph was celebrated de Chattis: this is perhaps the occasion to which Tacitus alludes when he speaks of foreign and civil wars being waged simultaneously¹¹. Saturninus had chosen to revolt at a time when the emperor was preoccupied with the war against the Dacians which had been resumed. In 88 Tettius Iulianus had won a victory over the Dacians at Tapae and peace overtures were being made. Early the following year came the revolt of Saturninus and the suppression of him and his allies, followed by a campaign against the Quadi and Marcomanni embarked upon, according to Dio, in retribution for their failure to assist Domitian against the Dacians¹². Dio is the only source of this campaign, which he dismisses as a failure. Domitian came to terms with his enemies and celebrated a double triumph de Chattis Dacisque. Now the suppression of Saturninus and the following campaign against his allies is clearly called a bellum Germanicum in the inscription relating to Appius Maximus, while the expedition of the same year against the Quadi and Marcomanni is nowhere called by a specific title; however, since it followed from the main action against the Dacians, it could come under the general term bellum Dacicum. Thus the bellum Germanicum

mentioned in the career of Vilanius Nepos (Nr.212) must refer to activity triggered off by the revolt of Saturninus, for it is clearly sandwiched between two Dacian wars; donis donatus a Domitiano ob bellum Dacicum item ab eodem ob bellum Germanicum item torquib. armillis ob bellum Dacicum. It is presumably to this same German war which should be attributed the second set of dona received by M. Iulius Avitus (Nr.165).

A.D. 92

Unrest on the middle and upper Danube continued until in 92 Domitian launched a final campaign against his Germanic and Sarmatian enemies, a war whose immediate provocation was the massacre of a legion with its commander (presumably XXI Rapax).¹³ Suetonius calls the enemy on this occasion the Sarmatae,¹⁴ Tacitus refers to the Suebi and Sarmatae¹⁵, Martial speaks only of the Sarmatians¹⁶ and Statius of Marco~~Amanni~~ and Sarmatians.¹⁷ The war seems to lack an 'official' title, as a result of which it is alluded to epigraphically by a variety of different names which cannot be shown with any certainty to refer to the same campaign. Until Pflaum redated the career of Caesennius Sospes to the Hadrianic period, the war was confidently known as the bellum Suebicum et Sarmatarum, and all other texts which called it anything else were attributed to one or other of the earlier skirmishes in the region of the upper Rhine and Danube. Now that the bellum Suebicum and Sarmatarum of the Sospes inscription (Nr.7) - and presumably also of Satrius Sep----(Nr.37) - can confidently be put down as the Hadrianic war of A.D. 118, the Domitianic war of 92 lacks a title, opening up the whole question of the attribution of certain other texts relating to the Domitianic wars. The relevant

careers are those of L. Aconius Statura (Nr.120) decorated ob bellum Germa, et Sarmatic., C. Bruttius Praesens (Nr.6) ob bellum Marcomannicum and C. Velius Rufus bellum Marcomannorum, Quadrum Sarmatarum (Nr.207), all three hitherto firmly dated to the retributory campaign of A.D. 89 attested by Dio, against the Quadi and Marcomanni. There is, however, nothing in any of these three careers to date them at all precisely within the period 89-92; Velius Rufus made his expedition across the kingdom of Decebalus, which suggests that by this time peace had ^{been} made with the Dacian king; expeditionem fecit per regnum Decebali regis Dacorum.

However, for Rufus still to be tribune of cohors XIII urbana in 92 means that his command lasted about seven years, a rather long period though perhaps not excessive in view of the abnormal circumstances which had resulted in the transfer of the cohort from its garrison in Carthage to participate in the Rhine and Danube wars. Indeed it is quite possible that the cohort returned to Carthage and Rufus stayed on on the Danube front holding an extraordinary command but retaining the title of tribunus cohortis.¹⁸ The explanation perhaps is that hostilities of one sort and another continued throughout the period between the triumphs of 89 and the final campaign in 92; the literary record is incomplete but it is evident that these were years of unrest and quite possibly of active campaigning. The expeditio of Velius Rufus, the bellum Marcommannicum of Bruttius Praesens and the German and Sarmatian war of Aconius Statura could belong at any time from the triumph over the Chatti and Dacii to the presentation of the wreath to Jupiter Capitolinus which signified the conclusion, for the present, of hostilities between Rome and her Germanic and Sarmatian neighbours.¹⁹

NOTES; APPENDIX II.

1. Frontinus, Strategmata I.1.8
2. Dio LXVII, 4. 1-2
3. Suetonius, Domitianus 6.
4. Tac. Agricola 39
5. Frontinus, Strategmata II.11.7
6. RIC II, Domitian p. 158, Nr.39.
7. RIC II, Domitian p. 186, Nr.252.
8. Suetonius, Domitianus 6; Martial, Epigrams IV.11
9. Dio LXVII, 11
10. VI 1347 = D. 1006
11. Tac. Hist I. 2
12. Dio LXVII, 7.1
13. Ritterling, Legio RE XII, 1789 f.
14. Suetonius, Domitianus 6.1
15. Tac. hist.I.2
16. Martial, Epigrams VII.2; VII.6; VIII.11; IX.101
17. Statius, Silvae III.3. 170; IV.7.49.
18. I owe this suggestion to Dr. B. Dobson.
19. Suetonius, Domitianus 6.1

APPENDIX III : MULTIPLE DECORATION.

A. SENATORS

2.	C. Bruttius Praesens	Dom. Traj.	Bell.Marc. bell.Par.	tr.lat. leg.leg.
2.	P. Aelius Hadrianus.	Traj. Traj.	bell.Dac.I bell.Dac.II	comes. leg.leg.
2.	Q. Sosius Senecio.	Traj. Traj.	bell.Dac.I bell.Dac.II	leg.prov. leg.prov.
2.	C. Aufidius Victorinus.	M/V M/V	bell.Ger.I bell.Ger.I	comes. comes.
2.	T. Pomponius Proculus.	M/V M/C	bell.Ger.I bell.Ger.II	comes. comes.
2.	A.E. 1922, 38.	Sev. Sev.	? ?	tr.lat.+ tri.lat.+

B. EQUESTRIANS.

3.	C. Purpurius Atticus.	Aug./Ti. Ti.? Aug.?	? bell.Ill.? bell.Ger.?	? pf.eq. p.p. or senior 7
2.	M. Vergilius Gallus L.	Ti. Aug.	bell.Ill. bell.Ger.	p.p. pf.coh.
2?	P. Besius Betuinianus.	Traj. Traj.	bell.Dac.I bell.Dac.II	pf.coh. pf.alae D.
2.	XII 5899	Traj. Traj.	bell.Dac.I bell.Dac.II	? ?
2.	L. Iulius Vehilius G.	M/V M/C	bell.Par. Bell.Ger.I	tr.coh. pf.vexx.
4.	M. Valerius Maximianus.	M/V Marcus. Marcus. Comm.	bell.Par. bell.Ger.I bell.Ger.I bell.Ger.II	praep.orae. pf.alae D. pf.alae M. leg.leg.

C MILITES TO PRIMIPILARES.

?	C. Vibius Macer.	Rep?	?	?
2.	Q. Annaeus Balbus.	Rep. Rep.	? ?	mil. mil.
?	C. Allius Oriens.	pre-Cl.	?	up to 7.
?	T. Stadius Maximus.	pre-Cl.	?	up to p.p.
2.	L. Gellius Varus.	pre-Cl.	?	up to sign.
2.	L. Antonius Quadratus.	Ti. Ti.	bell.Ill.? Bell.Ger.?	mil. mil.

2.	L. Rufellius Severus.	Aug./Cl.	?	7+
		Aug./Cl.	?	7+
2.	P. Anicius Maximus.	Gaius.	bell.Ger.	senior 7
		Cl.	bell.Br.	pf.castr.
3.	M. Vettius Valens.	Cl.	bell.Br.	bf.pr.pr.
		Cl.	bell.Br.	evoc.
		Nero.	bell.Ast.	p.p.
2?	L. Pellertius Celer.	Titus.	bell.Iud.	mil.
		Titus.	bell.Iud.	evoc.
2.	A.E. 1942-3, 33.	Vesp.	bell.Comm.	senior 7 or p.p.
		?	bell.Ger.	senior 7 or p.p.
3.	C. Velius Rufus.	Vesp.	bell.Iud.	7
		Dom.	?	tr. urb.
		Dom.	bell.Marc.	tr. urb.
2.	Q. Raecius Rufus.	Vesp.	bell.Iud.	mil.
		Traj.	bell.Dac.	senior 7 or p.p.
2.	M. Iulius Avitus.	Dom.	bell.Dac.	7
		Dom.	bell.Ger.II	7
2.	Cn. Pompeius Homullus.	Dom.	?	7
		Dom.	?	7
3.	Q. Vilanius Nepos.	Dom.	bell.Dac.I	7
		Dom.	bell.Ger.II	7
		Dom.	bell.Dac.II	7
2.	L. Aconius Statura.	Dom.	bell.Ger.	7
		Traj.	bell.Dac.I	7
3.	Ti. Claudius Maximus.	Dom.	bell.Dac.	mil.
		Traj.	bell.Dac.II	expl.alae.
		Traj.	bell.Par.	dec.alae.
?	Sex. Vibius Gallus.	Dom/Traj	?	up to pf.castr.
4.	C. Quintilius Priscus.	Dom/Traj	?	up to tr.praet.
3.	L. Aemilius Paternus.	Traj.	bell.Dac.I	7
		Traj.	bell.Dac.II	7
		Traj.	bell.Par.	7
2.	C. Caesius Silvester.	Traj.	bell.Dac.I.	mil.
		Traj.	bell.Dac.II	mil.
2.	Ti. Claudius Vitalis.	Traj.	bell.Dac.I	7
		Traj.	bell.Dac.II	7
2.	C. Stadius Celsus.	Traj.	bell.Dac.I	evoc.
		Traj.	bell.Dac.II	evod.
2.	Q. Albius Felix.	Traj.	bell.Par.	corn.pr.pr.
		Had.	bell.Iud./Br.	senior 7
2.	C. Arrius Clemens.	Traj.	bell.Dac.	eques.
		Had.	bell.Iud.	trec.
2.	C. Nummius Constans.	Traj.	bell.Par.	mil.
		Had.	bell.Iud.	evoc/7
2.	XI 2112.	Traj.	bell.Dac.	evod.
		Had.	bell.Iud.?	senior 7 or p.p.

2.	L. Petronius Sabinus.	Marcus.	bell.Ger.I	?
		Marcus.	bell.Ger.I	?
?	E.E. VIII 478.	mid. 2C.	?	up to tr.pr.
3.	C. Didius Saturninus.	Verus.	bell.Par.	mil.
		Marcus.	bell.Ger.I	mil.
		Sev/Car.	bell.Par/Br.	senior ? or p.p.
3.	L. Upturius Agrippa.	?	?	up to ?

cf. also:-

T. Valerius Germanus; the inscription has been read variously as
donis II don. or donis M. don.

VIII 12536.

; possibly alludes to two occasions of decoration.

CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Fig. 1a

British Museum Catalogue of Republican Coinage p. 432 Nr. 3511

Reverse; L. TORQVAT. III VIR; a torques.

Fig. 1b

British Museum Catalogue of Republican Coinage p. 568 Nr. 4209

Reverse; a hasta between a wreath and a set of phalerae.

Fig. 1c

British Museum Catalogue of Republican Coinage p. 568 Nr. 4210

Reverse; a hasta between a wreath and a set of phalerae.

Fig. 2a

British Museum Catalogue of Imperial Coinage Vol. I p. 23 Nr. 110

Reverse; M. AGRIPPA PLATORINUS III VIR; Head of Agrippa wearing a corona muralis rostrata.

Fig. 2b

British Museum Catalogue of Imperial Coinage Vol. I p.57 Nr. 314

Reverse; OB CIVIS SERVATOS; a corona civica.

Fig. 3a and 3b.

SEX. VIBIVS GALLVS Nr. 210

Reference; III 13648 = D. 2663 = IGR III 1432.

Findspot; Amastris, Pontus.

Present Location; Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.

Comment; Photographs by courtesy of the Istanbul
Archaeological Museum.

Fig. 4

Q. SVLPICIVS CELSVS Nr. 103
Reference; VI 32934
Findspot; Rome.
Present Location; Palazzo dei Conservatori, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

Fig. 5a

TI. CLAVDIVS IVNIANVS Nr. 147
Reference; III 11667 + Carinthia I, Vol. 2 (1933) 175f.
Findspot; Allersdorf, vallis Lavantina, Noricum.
Present Location; Stift St. Paul in Lavanttal (Austria).
Comment; Drawing from original by F. Jantsch, Carinthia o.c.

Fig. 5b

UNKNOWN Nr. 218
Reference; III 8438
Findspot; Naronia, Dalmatia.
Present Location; Lost.
Comment; Drawing from a squeeze of the inscription illustrated by Steiner, Pl. II.4.

Fig. 6

C ALLIVS ORIENS Nr. 125
Reference; XIII 5206
Findspot; Vindonissa, Germania Superior.
Present Location; Vindonissa Museum, Brugg, Switzerland.
Comment; Copyright of photograph owned by Vindonissa museum. Photograph by E. Schulz, Basel.

Fig. 11

Q. SERTORIUS FESTVS Nr. 194
Reference; V 3374
Findspot; Verona, regio X.
Present Location; Museo Maffeiano, Verona.
Comment; Photograph by courtesy of the Direzione dei Musei e Gallerie d'Arte, Verona.

Fig. 12

C. VIBIVS MACER Nr. 211
Reference; A.E. 1891, 15 • E.E. VIII, 172
Findspot; Villa Vallelunga, Latium.
Present Location; Unknown.
Comment; Drawing from an original in A.E. o.c.

Fig. 13

CN. MVSIVS Nr. 176
Reference; XIII 6901
Findspot; Mogontiacum, Germania Superior.
Present Location; Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz.

 (inventory Nr. S.128)

Fig. 14

L. ANTONIVS QVADRATUS Nr. 129
Reference; V 4365 = D. 2272
Findspot; Brixia, regio X.
Present Location; Museo Archeologico, Brescia.
Comment; Photograph by courtesy of Prof. Albino Garzetti from the collection of the Unione Accademia Nazionale for the preparation of the fascicule Brixia of the Inscriptiones Italiae (in which the inscription will appear as Nr. 171). The inaccurate restoration of the right side of the stone was probably added in 1933.

Fig. 19

M. POMPEIVS ASPER. Nr. 185
Reference; XIV 2523 = D. 2662.
Findspot; Ager Tusculanus.
Present Location; Villa Albani, Rome.
Comment; Photograph by J. Sampson of a cast of the inscription in the Museo della civiltà Romana, Rome. It is not permitted to photograph the original.

Fig.20

Q. CORNELIVS. Nr. 152
Reference; XIII 6938
Findspot; Mogontiacum, Germania Superior.
Present Location; Städtisches Museum, Wiesbaden.
Comment; Photograph by Foto-Lohmann, Wiesbaden.

Fig. 21

C. TITVRNIVS QVARTIO Nr. 202
Reference; D. 9492 = ILA 434
Findspot; Mateur, Africa
Present Location; Musée du Bardo, Tunis.
Comment; Photograph by courtesy of the Direction des Musées Nationaux, le Bardo, Tunis.

Fig. 22

C. MARIVS Nr. 174
Reference; XIII 8059
Findspot; Bonna, Germania Inferior
Present Location; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (Inventory Nr.A 1388)
Comment; Photograph by courtesy of the Landesmuseum, Bonn.

Fig. 23

-. LVCIVS Nr. 171
Reference; XIII 8061
Findspot; Bonna, Germania Inferior.
Present Location; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (Inventory Nr. A 1389).
Comment; Photograph by courtesy of the Landesmuseum, Bonn.

Fig. 24

M. PETRONIUS CLASSICUS. Nr. 182
Reference; III 4060
Findspot; Poetovio, Pannonia Superior.
Present Location; Mestni Muzej, Ptuj, Yugoslavia.

Fig. 25

UNKNOWN. Nr. 228
Reference; XIII 7556 = D.2649 add.
Findspot; Baudobriga, Germania Superior.
Present Location; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, (Inventory Nr.D 74).
Comment; Photograph by courtesy of the Landesmuseum, Bonn.

Fig. 26

L. AVAENIVS PASER. Nr. 134
Reference; Not. Scav. 1926, 169 = AE 1927, 108
Findspot; Murlo, regio VII.
Present Location; Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.

Fig. 27

L. BLATTIVS VETVS. Nr. 139
Reference; AE 1893, 119
Findspot; Ateste, regio X.
Present Location; Museo Nazionale Atestine, Este.
Comment; Photograph from the archivio fotografico of the
Soprintendenza alle Antichità delle Venezie-Padova.

Fig. 28

L. REFIDIVS BASSVS. Nr. 190
Reference; XIII 11837
Findspot; Mogontiacum, Germania Superior.
Present Location; Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz (Inventory
Nr. S.30).
Comment; Photo by courtesy of the Landesmuseum, Mainz.

Fig. 29a

RVFINVS Nr. 216
Reference; XIII 8503
Findspot; Divitia, Germania Inferior.
Present Location; Lost.
Comment; Drawing after Schannat-Bärsch, Eiflia Illustrata
I, Taf. X.35

Fig. 29b

L. GELLIVS VARVS. Nr. 161
Reference; V 5586
Findspot; infra Lacum Verbanum, regio XI.
Present Location; Lost.
Comment; Drawing from the original by Ianus Gruterus,
Inscriptionum Romanorum Corpus Absolutissimum
(1616) II. 1 p. MXXX Nr.9.

Fig. 30a and 30b

Reference; B.Jb. 114/5, 454-459
Findspot; Athens.
Present Location; Church of the Panaghia Gorgeopikoos, Athens.
(both stones are built into the facade)
Comment; Photograph by Andrew Stewart, British School of
Archaeology, Athens.

Fig. 31

LAUERSFORTER PHALERAE.

Reference; O. Jahn, Die Lauersforter Phalerae (1860)
Findspot; Lauersfort.
Present Location; Eight of the phalerae are housed in the Archaeological Museum, East Berlin, one in the Landesmuseum, Bonn.

Fig. 32

UNKNOWN Nr. 229 and 229^{add}
Reference; A.E. 1915, 112= Epigraphaites Makedonias I, 1915
Findspot; Caritza, Macedonia (from Castro, the colonia Diensis).
Present Location; Unknown (? museum in Caritza).

a



b



Fig. 1



a



b



c

Fig. 2

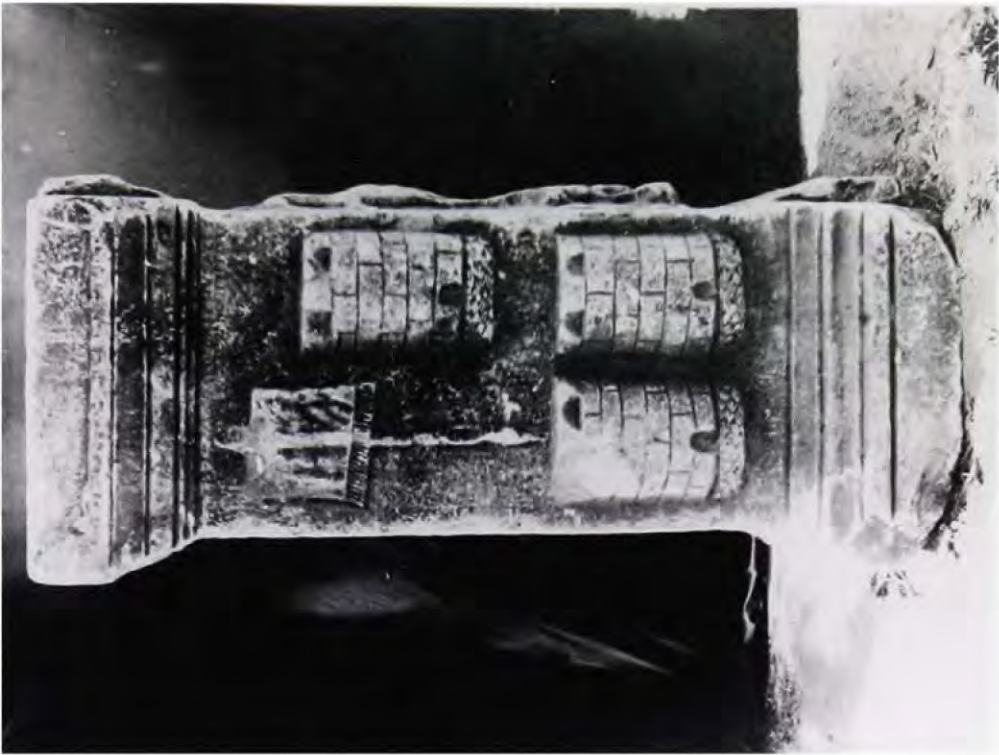
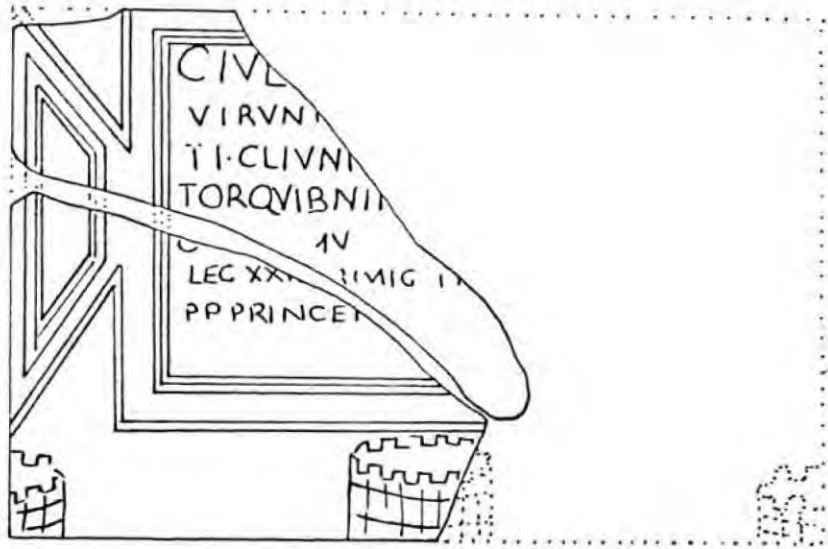


Fig. 5



Fig. 4



a



b

Fig. 5



Fig. 6



a



b

Fig. 7



Fig. 3



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

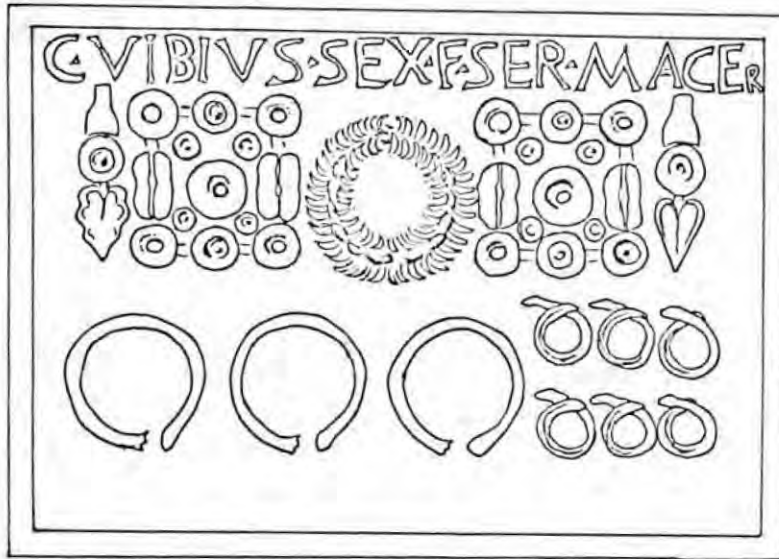


Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



TITUS CLAVDIVS
MAXIMVS VET
ERANVS P. C. MILITAVIT
EQUITIBVS LEG. VIC. P. F. FA
CTVS QVESTOR EQVIT
SINGVLARIS DEC. AT. ILLI
CIONISENSIS DE VIVENIL
IARI EQVITVM ITEM
BELLO DACICO OBVI TV
T. DONI DONATVS ABIM
P. DOMITIVS FACTVS SV. PL
A. IV. T. ROM. ANO IN L. SEC
D. AN. IN OR. SAC. Q. VO. ET FA
CTVS XI. P. IN TORIN BELLO DA
CICO ET. SV. RT. V. TE. BIS. DOMI
DONATVS BELLO DACICO ET
P. ARTH. S. ON. IN. E. O. E. FACTVS
DEC. V. IN AL. NE. DE. Q. V. D.
G. F. S. S. E. T. DE. CEP. AL. V. E. T. C. P.
ENS. F. E. T. V. L. I. S. S. E. I. E. P. R. A. N. I. S. T.
R. O. M. I. S. S. V. S. V. O. L. V. N. T. A. R. I. V. S.
P. T. I. N. I. S. S. I. O. N. E. T. E. I. L. F. E. T. A. S.
P. N. O. C. O. N. V. L. I. S.

Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17

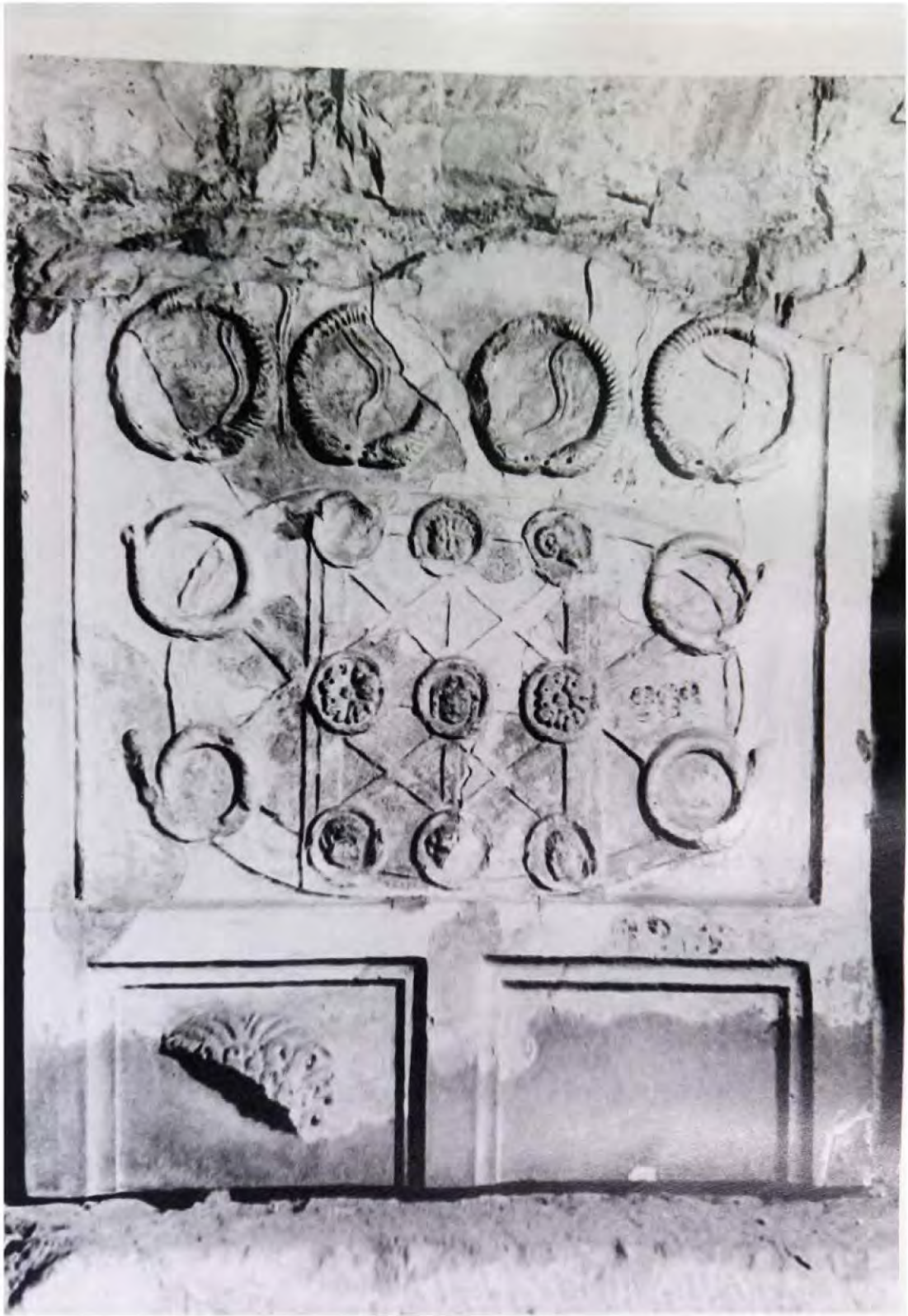


Fig. 13



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

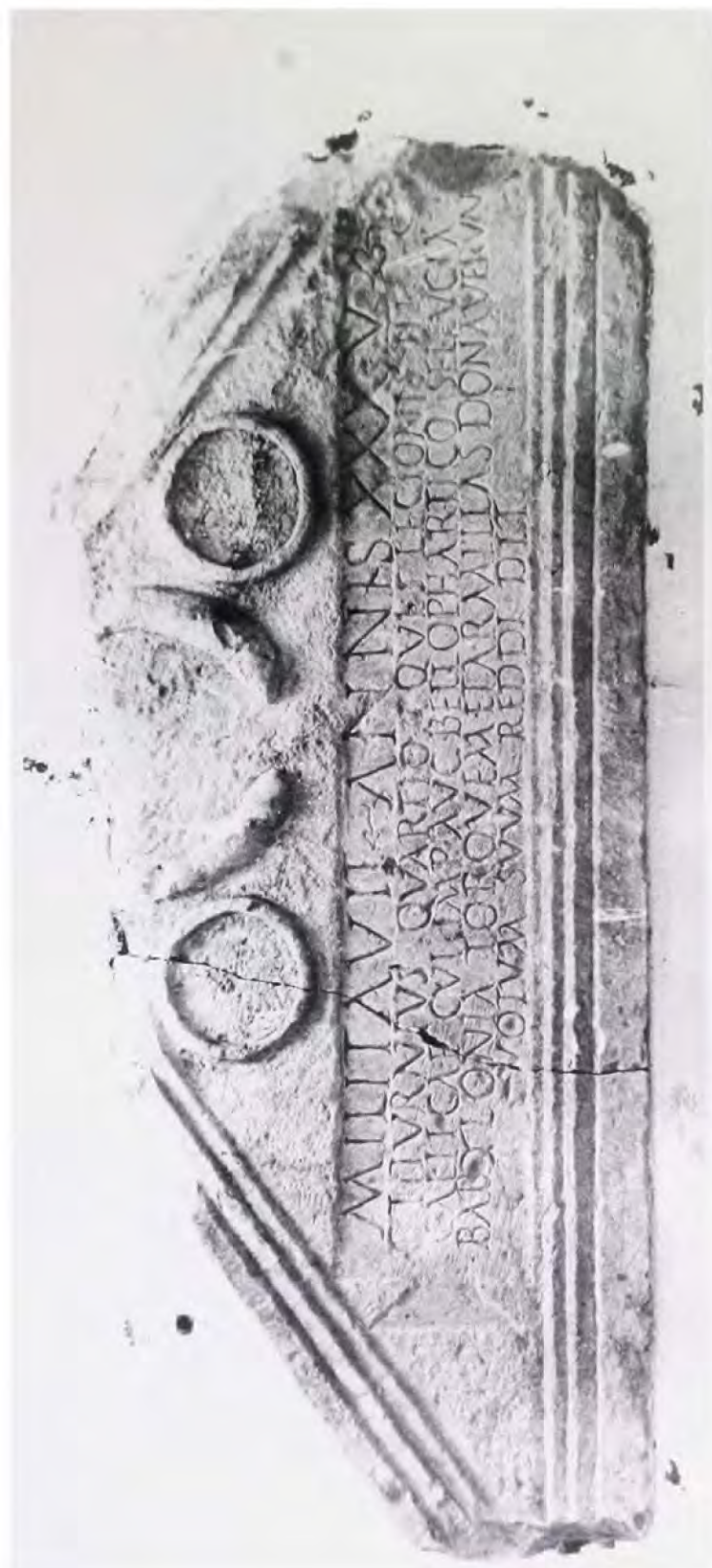


Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



fig. 24

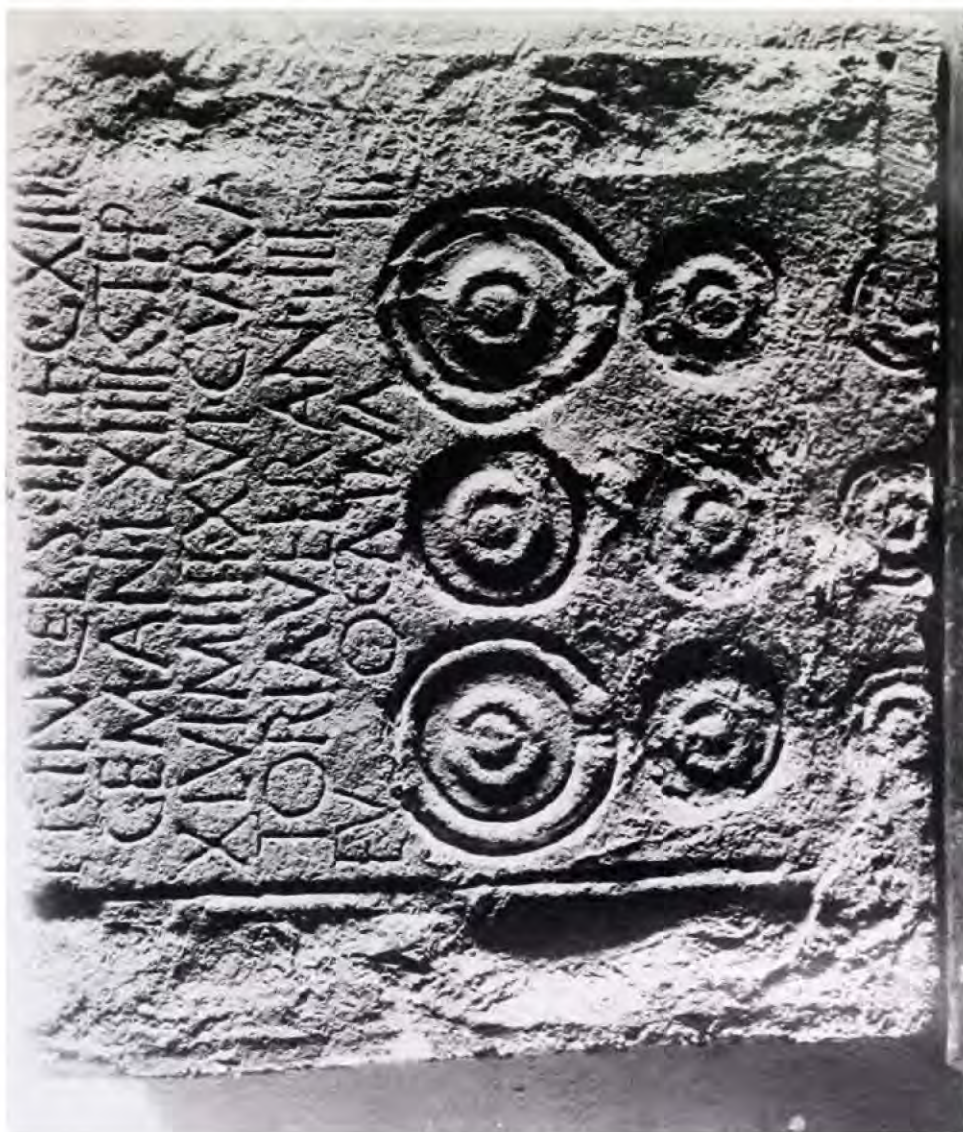


Fig. 25





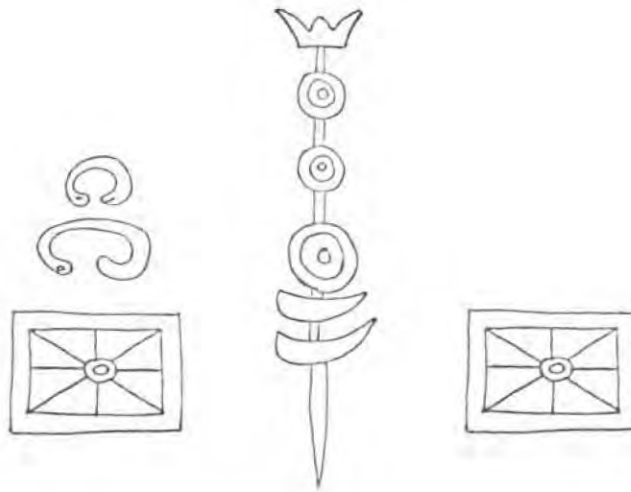
Fig. 27



Fig. 28



a



b

Fig. 29



a



b

Fig. 30



fig. 31

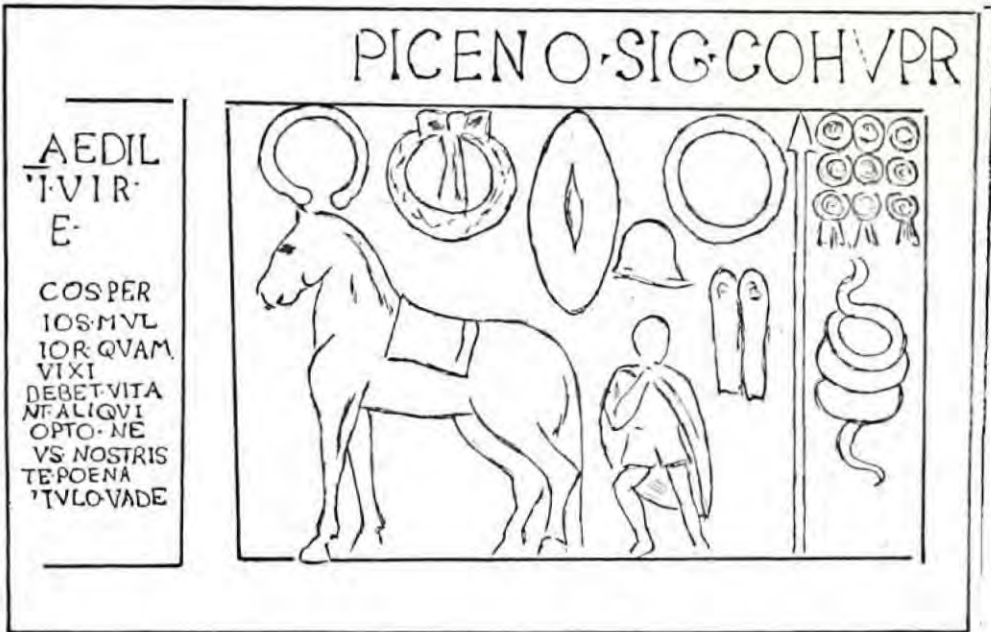


fig. 32