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VOLUME II

P O S T S

POSTS

The posts in each unit are arranged in staffs or groups. The officia are themselves arranged in descending order of importance and after these are placed the other posts organised into groups, for example, religious staff, hospital and medical staff. The contents of this section are as follows:

	<u>Page</u>
The praetorian cohorts	
The <u>speculatores</u>	1
The staff of the praetorian prefect	7
The staff of the tribune	17
The staff of the centurion	20
Other staff posts	21
The posts in the century	23
The <u>equites</u>	26
Training staff	31
Religious staff	32
Hospital and medical staff	34
Musical staff	35
Armoury staff	37
Building and Maintenance staff	38
Miscellaneous	41
The urban cohorts	43
The cohorts stationed in Rome	44
The staff of the prefect	44

The staff of the tribune	47
The Standard bearers	49
The posts in the century	50
Religious staff	52
Hospital and medical staff	53
Musical staff	53
Prison staff	53
The cohort stationed at Lugudunum	54
The staff of the governor of Lugdunensis	54
The staff of the procurator of Lugdunensis and Aquitania	55
The staff of the tribune	55
Other staff posts	56
The posts in the century	56
Hospital and medical staff	57
Prison staff	57
The <u>equites</u>	57
The cohort stationed at Carthage	58
The staff of the proconsul of Africa	58
The staff of the tribune	58
Other staff posts	58
The posts in the century	59
Miscellaneous	59
The <u>vigiles</u>	60
The staff of the prefect	60
The staff of the sub-prefect	71

The staff of the tribune	73
The staff of the centurion	78
The Standard bearers	79
The posts in the century	80
Religious staff	81
Hospital and medical staff	82
Musical staff	84
Prison staff	86
Specialist fire-fighting staff	86
Miscellaneous	90
The legions	92
The staff of the praetorian prefect	92
The staff of the provincial governor	92
Religious staff	114
The staff of the procurator	115
The staff of a <u>praepositus</u> of a vexillation	117
The staff of the legionary legate	119
The staff of the <u>tribunus laticlavus</u>	128
The staff of the <u>praefectus castrorum</u>	132
The staff of the <u>tribunus angusticlavus</u>	135
The staff of the <u>tribunus sexmestris</u>	137
The staff of the <u>princeps</u>	138
The administrative staff of the century	140
Other staff posts	142
The standard bearers	144
The posts in the century	147

The <u>equites</u>	159
Training staff	166
Religious staff	166
Hospital and medical staff	167
Musical staff	172
Armoury staff	176
Building and maintenance staff	180
Leather workers	189
Naval staff	190
Soldiers concerned with animals	191
Prison staff	194
Transport staff	195
Miscellaneous	195
The troops in the <u>castra peregrina</u>	203
The <u>auxilia</u>	209
The staff of the provincial governor	213
Clerical staff	214
The staff of the princeps	222
The staff of the procurator	223
The staff of the unit commander	223
The standard bearers	233
The posts in the century or <u>turma</u>	237
The <u>equites</u>	249
The <u>dromedarii</u>	254
Religious staff	256
Hospital and medical staff	257

Musical staff	259
Armoury staff	262
Building and maintenance staff	263
Transport staff	264
Miscellaneous	264
The <u>equites singulares Augusti</u>	267
The staff of the tribune	267
The standard bearers	270
The posts in the <u>turma</u>	271
Training staff	274
Religious staff	255
Hospital and medical staff	276
Musical staff	276
Armoury staff	277
Building and maintenance staff	280
Miscellaneous	280
The <u>numeri</u>	281
The staff of the prefect	281
Clerical staff	281
The standard bearers	282
The posts in the century or <u>turma</u>	283
Hospital and medical staff	284
Armoury staff	285
Miscellaneous	285
The staff of provincial governors	287

Aegyptus	287
Africa	288
Arabia	288
Asia	291
Bithynia and Pontus	291
Britannia	291
Britannia superior	292
Britannia inferior	293
Cappadocia	293
Dacia	293
Dalmatia	295
Galatia	301
Gallia Belgica	301
Gallia Lugdunensis	302
Germania inferior	303
Germania superior	306
Hispania citerior	308
Lusitania	309
Lycia	310
Mauretania caesariensis	310
Mauretania Tingitana	312
Mesopotamia	312
Moesia inferior	313
Moesia superior	314
Noricum	315

Numidia	316
Pannonia inferior	319
Pannonia superior	322
Raetia	324
Sardinia	325
Syria Coele	325
Syria Phoenicia	326
Thrace	327
The staff of provincial procurators	328
Arabia	328
Bithynia and Pontus	329
Dacia	329
Gallia Belgica et duarum Germaniarum	329
Gallia Lugdunensis et Aquitanica	330
Gallia Narbonensis	331
Hispania citerior	331
Moesia inferior	332
Moesia superior	332
Noricum	332
Pannonia inferior	332
Pannonia superior	333
The staff of the <u>praefectus orae Ponticae</u>	333
The staff of the <u>praefectus annonae</u>	333
The staff of the <u>procurator annonae Ostiae</u>	334
<u>Evocati Augusti</u>	334

The Praetorian Cohorts

Speculator

This body of men has been discussed by Domaszewski (p.20 and Religion, 91 ff), Durry (p.108 ff), Passerini (p.70 ff) and Lammert (RE III, A, 2, 1583). Their rank organisation and numbers are of main interest here, but a summary of the state of evidence concerning their function and history may not be out of place in that it may shed some light on the aspects pertinent to this study.

Lammert points out that the speculatores were originally scouts in the army, sent out individually, in contrast to the exploratores who worked in a body. The term came to mean a spy sent openly. A coin of Marcus Antonius features a galley, with the legend C(o)hortis Speculatorum. Tacitus and Suetonius, however, use the word to mean the emperor's bodyguard (e.g. Hist. I, 24, 25, 27, 31 and 35; Suetonius Claudius, 35), and this meaning appears to prevail throughout the principate as far as the guard is concerned, though the speculatores consularis clearly had other functions. In that way Domaszewski (p.20) may be right when he calls the speculatores the elite of the guard.

That the speculatores in some way did form a body

apart is clearly demonstrated by XVI 21, which is dated to 76 - ... nomina speculatorum qui in praetorio meo militaverunt item militum qui in cohortibus novem praetoriis et quattuor urbanis subieci... The stipendia of speculatores support this - seventeen of the eighteen that are known, all dated to the second and third centuries, are between eight and twenty, only one is below this, a soldier who had only four stipendia (see table below). Speculatores were clearly not raw recruits but soldiers with some experience, equal to that of the men holding any of the posts in the century or the senior staff posts. Added support comes from careers. The speculatores are unfortunately only mentioned in two careers (2 and 7). In the first career, which is Claudian in date, a speculator is promoted beneficiarius praefecti praetorio, and in the second one advanced to a quaestionibus praefecti, probably in the late first century or early second. These are two important posts, the latter normally held by an evocatus as is probably the case here. Bearing in mind the fact that the praetorian cursus was still very flexible under Claudius these two careers suggest that the post of speculator was equal in status to the lower of the senior staff posts, or the more important of the posts in the century. The speculatores seem to have no position in the praetorian cursus in post-Domitianic days, which also

supports the view that they formed a special group. The equites, who in some ways might be in a similar position, appear on three careers in the second and third centuries. In this period a large number of speculatores appear on the discharge lists, large that is when compared to other officers. There are 42 speculatores, three equites, seven signiferi, seven tubicines, for example. This might imply that speculatores were not automatically promoted to the centurionate, as were most beneficiarii praefecti or cornicularii, it may also reflect their larger numbers. Although the latter possibility must be taken into consideration it is nonetheless clear that many speculatores were not promoted to the centurionate, which demonstrates that they were not among the top rank of praetorians. The evidence, then, such as it is, supports the views of Domaszewski and other scholars that the speculatores formed in some way a special body within the praetorian cohorts.

The laterculi show that the speculatores were divided among the cohorts and carried on the books of the centuries. This is the situation on the earliest laterculus which records soldiers enlisting in 119 and 120 (VI 32515, a, 2, 26; 35; 36; 3, 32; 34; e, 2, 6; 20; 28). Domaszewski, basing his argument on chance words of Tacitus suggested that there were about 300 speculatores (Religion

p.92). He considered that Tacitus implied that there were twenty-four speculatores in each of the twelve city cohorts, that is a total of 288, which he turned into the round number of 300. Passerini (p.70, n. 6) has argued convincingly against this. Tacitus (Hist. 1, 27) says that twenty-three speculatores (to which Domaszewski presumably added the one mentioned in Hist. 1, 35 to make a total of twenty-four in one cohort) proclaimed Otho emperor: Piso addressed the cohort that was then on duty at the Palace (Hist. 1, 29) and Tacitus gives the distinct impression that the speculatores who had proclaimed Otho were part of this cohort (Hist. 1, 31 - dilapsis speculatoribus cetera cohors...), though it is possible that the two groups of speculatores were unconnected and not in the same cohort. Domaszewski suggested that since the cohorts took turns to be on duty at the Palatine there would therefore need to be the same number of speculatores in each cohort. Passerini has pointed out that Tacitus cannot be relied upon for exactness in military terminology and there is no need to regard the twenty-four speculatores as being an integral part of the cohort then on duty at the palace - the speculatores could have been drawn from all the cohorts and have a guard rota different from that of the cohorts. Passerini is undoubtedly correct in this and he also points out that Otho was worried by the few men

who proclaimed him (Hist. 1, 27) as if there were more speculatores on duty at that time. In short the passages in Tacitus do not prove that each cohort had twenty-four speculatores, all they do prove is that there were at least that number of speculatores in the whole of the guard at the time of those disturbances. Finally in this connection it could be noted that Domaszewski's other suggestion that the centurio trecenarius was in charge of the 300 speculatores has also been discredited (Passerini 70, n. 6).

The latest dated inscription of a praetorian speculator is in 227 (VI 32543, 25) though other third century inscriptions are known (cf. the list of stipendia). Considering the paucity of later third century inscriptions generally there is no reason to suppose that the speculatores were disbanded before the disbanding of the cohorts by Constantine.

There would appear to be both pedites speculatores and equites speculatores. The latter are only mentioned twice, on inscriptions recording exercitatores equitum speculatores (I and X 1127), no individual eques speculator is attested.

The speculatores had their own NCOs:

optio

tesserarius

A short passage in Tacitus demonstrates the existence of these two posts:

Hist. 1, 25: a quo Barbium Proculum tesserarium speculatorum et Veturium optionem eorundem - No other principales are attested.

Age and stipendia of speculatores

<u>Reference</u>	<u>STIPENDIA</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>DATE</u>
VI 32716b	4	21	2c - 3c
VI 32716a		22	3c
V 2832		26	2c
X 684		26	3c
IX 40 8	8	26	3c
VI 2722	8	27	2c
XI 5388	9	28	1c
VI 3891	9	30	2c
V 45	10	28	1c - 2c
AE 1900, 2	10		late 2c - 3c
VI 2552	11	33	late 2c - 3c
VI 2586	12	30	late 2c - 3c
VI 2561		33	3c
VI 2607	13	22	2c !!
VI 2668	14	30	2c
AE 1931, 91	15	34	2c
VI 3899	16	35	2c - 3c
VI 2660	16	36	2c
V 6597	16		2c
VI 2734	17	37	late 2c - 3c
VI 37237	19		2c?
VI 2777	20	45	2c - 3c

42 speculatores are also recorded on the discharge lists:
 VI 32515, a, 2, 26; 35; 36; 3, 32; 34; e, 6; 20; 28;
 VI 32516, 18; 19; VI 32518, b, 10; 11; VI 32519, a, 2, 10;
 3, 1; 6; VI 32520, a, 2, 3; 7; 26; 28; 31; 52; 59; 3, 3; 6;
 10; 11; 24; 49; 4, 11; 22; 5, 2; b, 6; 26; 39; 45;
 VI32522, a, 2, 2; 15; 3, 6; b, 2, 7; 19; 21; 25.

Staff of the praetorian prefect

cornicularius

This was the most senior post in the praetorian cohorts, and its holder was head of the officium praefecti praetorio. It is not known how many there were at any one time, but there were two or more on the staff of the praefectus vigilum and usually three on a provincial governor's staff so there were probably about three. No cornicularius praefecti is known to have served as an evocatus, which implies that they were generally promoted before the completion of their sixteen years service and that a centurionate was more or less automatic. This is supported by the omission of cornicularii from the discharge lists. The post is only recorded on one full career, when it was held after fisci curator (26). There are, however, a number of promotions from the post to the centurionate (13, 18, 22, 25, 26, 35, 42, 43, 45 and 52). With one exception - a soldier who was promoted centurio frumentarius in the third century (52) - all cornicularii praefecti were posted to centurionates in the legions,

wherever the unit is mentioned. Some senior officials, such as primipilares (18 and 25), commanders of auxiliary units (45) and even praesides (63), make special mention of their having been cornicularius praefecti, thereby demonstrating its importance and prestige value.

Domaszewski (p.21) suggested that the cornicularius praefecti was an eques on the basis of VI 2776 which is the tombstone of cornicularius praefecti, with a relief of an eques above it. This accords well with the status of other cornicularii, e.g. consularis and tribuni cohortis.

It might be expected that most cornicularii praefecti would have between fourteen and sixteen stipendia to their credit; the only recorded stipendia is thirteen (XI 5702). In the third century canalicularius appears as an alternative for cornicularius (49).

beneficiarius

This was one of the most important of the senior staff posts, probably ranking immediately below the cornicularius praefecti. It was the sole post on one of the two branches of the senior staff posts, and its holders had usually held all three of the posts in the century (14, 19, 28 and 30), the only exceptions being either pre-Domitianic (2 and 4), third century (48) or special cases (31). Beneficiarii served a time as evocati before promotion

to the centurionate (e.g. 1, 4, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 28, 30 and 39). In the second century the only beneficiarius known to have by-passed evocatus was a special case (31) though there is a further example in the third century (48). Only one is mentioned on a discharge list (VI 32523, b, II, 19) and no beneficiarii praefecti are recorded as veterans so it would seem that further promotion was the norm. Beneficiarii praefecti were promoted after the rank of evocatus to centurionates in either Rome (e.g. 1, 4, 21, 30) or the legions (e.g. 12, 14, 17, 19) without any apparent underlying reasons. Domaszewski suggested (p.21) that in the third century when the evocati lost their importance in the filling of the centurionate that beneficiarii praefecti were promoted directly to the centurionate without being evocati. He can only quote one career in support of this (48), while the other third century beneficiarii praefecti were promoted to evocatus (50, 57), although only one received a centurionate (57). In short there is insufficient evidence from which to generalise. The number of beneficiarii is not known, but probably exceeded sixty, the number possibly allotted to a provincial governor. Domaszewski considered that the beneficiarii praefecti were mounted, at least in the third century. He bases this on the career of the unknown of 48, who had simply been an equus before his

promotion to beneficiarius praefecti, and the career of M. Aurelius Augustianus, whose post of tabularius Domaszewski thought was held by a beneficiarius on special duty (58). The only evidence for this latter assumption comes by analogy and is unacceptable. Domaszewski's suggestion is therefore also unacceptable as Durry pointed out (p.112, n. 10, though I disagree with some of his reasoning), and it moreover tacitly accepted that once a soldier had been an eques he was always an eques, a view for which the evidence is lacking. Most beneficarii praefecti would normally probably have between fifteen and seventeen stipendia to their credit, though the stipendia attested do not fit into this pattern: 19 (though his first five years had been spent in a legion - VI 2673), 13 (VI 2644) and probably 11 (VI 32707). Since the praetorians went on campaign with the emperor, or other members of the imperial household, it is not surprising to find one praetorian soldier described as Drusi Caesaris benefic(iarius) (IX 4121). Under Tiberius, Domaszewski noted, Germanicus had two praetorian cohorts on the Rhine so undoubtedly Drusus had one or more. This soldier, Crispinus, had eighteen years service when he retired, and the post of beneficiarius Drusi was probably his last.

maiorarius

All the known holders of the post of maiorarius

praefecti praetorio were evocati and this post has therefore been discussed with the evocati.

a quaestionibus

The post of a quaestionibus praefecti is only recorded on one inscription (7), which appears to date to the later first century. The inscription is not entirely unambiguous - evoc. Aug. a quaestion. pr. pr. speculator Aug. It is usually assumed after comparing this inscription to XI 2108, which reads evoc. Aug. a quaestionibus, that there should be no comma between the posts of evocatus Augusti and a quaestionibus. If this is indeed the case the post of a quaestionibus praefecti will normally be held by an evocatus. XI 2108 is dated to the first or second centuries and there is no later evidence for this post, though that is not to say that it did not exist.

a commentariis custodiarum

This post also is only recorded in the guard on one inscription. Cetrius Severus (2) had the following career: spec., beneficiari Getae, ab commentariis custodiaru/m. Domaszewski suggested (p.21) that he held this latter post while a beneficiarius of the praefect Geta. There is really no support for this. The position of the post in the career demonstrates its high rank among other NCOs, and on two other inscriptions the post is held

9) by an evocatus though no unit is mentioned: (243) and AE 1934, 143. The post of a commentar. custod. appears on another inscription from Rome, but again no unit is mentioned (VI 33054). In the early first century this post may have been held by a high ranking principalis and was later normally held by an evocatus.

laterculensis

Another post only attested on one inscription (41), the career of Iulius Victor - (centurioni) coh(ortis) I urb(anae) Sever(ianae), laterculensi, ostiario, scriniario praef(ectorum) pr(aetorio). It seems to have been about the same rank as cornicularius praefecti since another soldier was promoted from ostiarius to canalicularius to centurio frumentarius (52). In that case the direct advancement to a centurionate need not surprise us. The inscription mentioning the post can be dated to the period 222-235, therefore its introduction into the guard is earlier than has sometimes been supposed.

ostiarius

This post is recorded on two inscriptions, both careers (41 and 52). There were promotions from ostiarius to laterculensis (41) and to canalicularius (52). In the one career (52) the soldier was promoted from primiscrinius castrorum praetorianorum to ostiarius, and

in the other (41) from scriniarius praefectorum. The officer may well have been of about the same rank as fisci curator or possibly signifer. The career of Iulius Victor (41) is dated to the first three decades of the third century, the other inscription is unfortunately undated.

primiscrinus

AE 1947, 35 is the tombstone of M. Ulpus Romanus, miles praetorianus, [p]rimoscrinius praefectorum, who died at the age of thirty-five. The inscription was set up at Brigetio by Romanus' father, M. Ulpus Celerinus, sal(ariarius) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutrix) p(ia) f(idelis) interpres Dacorum. Celerinus is recorded on another inscription at the same place, III 10988 - salariarius leg(ionis) I Adi(utrix) p(ia) f(idelis) Antoni(niana). This dedication therefore falls within the decade 212-222. Since Celerinus is described in similar ways on the two inscriptions they are probably not far removed in date. The introduction of the post of primiscrinus, and therefore presumably scriniarius also falls within the early years of the third century at the latest. M. Aurelius Priscus (52) is the only other attested holder of this rank. His career - primiscrinus castrorum praetorianorum, ostiarius, canalicularius and centurio frumentarius demonstrates that

the primiscrinarius was one of the lesser of the senior staff posts.

tabularius

There is only one mention of this post in connection with the praetorian cohorts, and that is on the career of Aurelius Augustianus (58). He served for four years as exceptor presidi provincies Moesiae superioris before his transfer into the guard where he was equus sive tabularius ann(is) V. His next promotion was to a centurionate. Allowing for the troubled state of affairs in the third century causing early promotions it does seem that the post of tabularius was of fairly high standing to allow Augustianus to be promoted from it to a centurionate. Sive probably means here qui et (Vincent De-Vit: Lexicon totius Latinitatis, V), that is Augustianus was an equus and a tabularius at the same time, which rather suggests that he was made an equus as a method of increasing his pay, as probably happened in the case of the cornicularii. This may have been a special case, however, and all tabularii need not have been equites. At any rate the post seems to have fallen within the group of senior staff posts, and may have been a third century introduction. Domaszewski (p.21) arguing by the analogy provided by the post of tabularius in the vigiles suggests that this was an ad hoc appointment and that Augustianus was in reality a

beneficiarius praefecti. Augustianus does not describe himself as such, and the status and position of the tabularius in the vigiles is not clear, so it is hardly fair to argue by analogy.

scriniarius

This post is attested on three inscriptions:

(39): (centurioni) cohortis I urb(anae) Sever(ianae) laterculensi, ostiario, scriniario praef(ectorum) pr(raetorio) (222-235).

AE 1933, 248: Fronto mil(es) coh(ortis) I praet(oriae) scriniarius praef(ectorum) praetor(io). (222-235).

III 13201: Ael(ius) Aelianus eq(ues) praet(orianus), Ulp(ius) Liciniaus a scr(iniis) praef(ecti).

Two of the three inscriptions clearly belong to the first third of the third century. The rank of this post is not known, though it may have been a senior staff post.

adiutor commentariorum

A post only recorded on one inscription:

d.m. M. Fl. Flaviano vet(erano) Aug(usti) n(ostri), qui militavit coh(orte) XIII urb(anae) (centuria) Iuliani annis XXII adiutor commentariorum at scrini(a) praef(ectorum) qui vicit annis LII mensibus XI d(iebus) XVIII - (VI

37246 = ILS 9076). Presumably this soldier from one of the urban cohorts was an adiutor to the commentarienses

of the praetorian prefects. In spite of his twenty-two years service and his age he was presumably still a low ranking soldier, equal to, or more probably below, the librarii and exacti. This particular inscription is almost certainly third century in date, though the adiutores may have been introduced earlier into the guard.

singularis

This was the most senior rank below the posts in the century. Two soldiers were promoted from it to tesserarius (11 and 30), and a third to optio (15). One soldier had previously served as singularis and beneficiarius to a tribune (15), and another as an eques (11). It may be conjectured that most singulares praefecti would have seven to eleven stipendia. It is not known how many singulares there were at any one time.

strator

VI 3408 = ILS 2420: d.m. M. Ulp. Silvano stra(tore)
pr(aefectorum) pr(aetorio) c(larissimorum) v(irorum) ex
leg(ione) II P(arthica) p(ia) f(elice) f(ideli) a(eterna) -
 This inscription is third century in date and shows that in this case at least the praetorian prefect could draw some of his staff from the GHQ troops, II Parthica. This is the only record of a strator attached to the staff of the praetorian prefect which suggests that possibly the prefect had none until the third century. He is probably caligatus

since it would probably be specifically mentioned if he was a centurio strator.

The praetorian prefect would have had other soldiers on his staff, such as the librarii and exacti. Librarii and exacti are attested in the guard, but they omit to specify the officium to which they are attached, and they have consequently been dealt with later with other administrative staff.

Staff of the tribune

cornicularius

The holder of this post was at the head of the officium of the tribune. There is no evidence for numbers, but each tribune probably had no more than one cornicularius. The post formed one of the three posts in the clerical group of senior staff posts. There are promotions to the post from fiscicurator (11, 15, 27 and 29) and in one case from optio equitum (33). Advancement from it was in every case to evocatus (11, 15, 29 and 33). The only two cornicularii tribuni known to have been promoted to the centurionate both reached the rank of primuspilus (11 and 15). There are no cornicularii recorded on laterculi, which might suggest that promotion to at least evocatus was almost automatic. Usually this officer might be expected to have fifteen to seventeen years of service to his credit, though one third century, possibly late third century, cornicularius was only eighteen

years of age (VI 2560 = ILS 2068).

beneficiarius

There are two promotions to this post from singularis tribuni (4 and 15); other careers do not mention any posts below beneficiarius tribuni (6, 10 and 29). One inscription states that the beneficiarius tribuni was already a principalis (6), though this may not be technical terminology or may refer to the situation before the introduction of the term immunis (see Appendix I). Beneficiarii were promoted directly to posts in the century - two to tesserarius (11 and 30), two to optio (4 and 6) - or to singularis praefecti praetorio (15). Since this is one of the lower posts, actually helping to form the group of posts collectively termed junior staff posts, it might be expected that there would be a greater range of stipendia for its holders than in the case of one of the senior staff posts, and that is indeed the case.

Reference	Stipendia	Age	Date
XI 1842	8	25	second century
VI 2527		26	third century
AE 1921, 83	7	30	c. 200
V8274	18	38	early first century

The range points to the fact that this is one of the posts which the soldiers with a good career ahead would pass quickly, while others might rise no further and stay in the post for

many years, or receive promotion to it shortly before their retirement. On the praetorian cursus it might be expected that it would be held by soldiers with between seven and eleven stipendia. It is not known how many beneficiarii were attached to each tribune. A tribunus laticlavus had twelve and it is possible that numbers may have been similar. singularis

This was the lowest post on the praetorian cursus, and the only promotions to it are therefore from miles, unless more menial posts have been omitted (4 and 15). Singulares tribuni were promoted to beneficiarius tribuni (4 and 15). The tombstone of Coelius Anicetus (38) records that he was - sing(ulari) trib(uni) spe beneficiatus - . His age was twenty-four, which is what one might expect from a soldier of this rank. It is not known how many singulares each tribune had.

secutor

VI 2659 = ILS 2067 d.m. M. Sil(ius) Romulianus
mil(es) coh(ortis) VII pr(aetoriae) (centuria) Victoris,
secutor trib(uni) vixit ann(os) XXVII nil(itavit) ann(os) VII...

This is the only record of this post. The inscription is probably third century in date, though this does not mean that the post is a third century introduction. His age of twenty-seven would suggest that the post is only of minor importance.

librarius

A post attested on two inscriptions: VI 2638
d.m. Aur. Zinama libra(rius) tri/b̄(uni), mi/lex cohor(tis)
VII pr(a)eto(riae).... dated to the third century; and a
laterculus recording a librarius tribuni who enlisted in
 178 (VI 32638, b, 18). The number of librarii is unknown.

Staff of the centurion

There is no staff recorded in connection with the
 centurion but the following post is attested:

adiutor signorum

Two inscriptions bear witness to the existence of
 this post:

VI 32670 (= ILS 9068): M. Aur. Gaio mil. coh. II pr. 7
Iuliani, sig. adiut. -

and another from Rome commonly, and probably correctly,
 believed to refer to a praetorian though there is no unit
 mentioned:

VI 3472 (= ILS 2348): d.m.s. Longini Victoris vet. Aug. n.
qui vixit ann. XXXV dies XIII mil. ann. XVIII duplicarius,
aiutor signorum, natus Pannoniae superiorae. -

The first inscription clearly records a third century
adiutor signorum in one of the praetorian cohorts. The
 second probably dates to the very end of the second century
 or the early years of the third. It is not clear why this
 soldier was a duplicarius.

Other Staff Posts

fisci curator

The staff this soldier served on is not known. The post formed one of the group of three clerical or administrative senior staff posts. There are promotions to it from the posts in the century - one from optio (11), four from signifer (15, 26, 27 and 29) and one from vexillarius (34). Four of these six fisci curatores had only held two of the posts in the century (11, 15, 26 and 34), and when the situation is compared to that of the beneficiarii praefecti praetorio, who usually held all three, it would seem that this is the more usual state of affairs for the fisci curatores. There were promotions to cornicularius tribuni (11, 15, 27 and 29), cornicularius praefecti (26) and in one unusual case to evocatus (34). After holding this post it would appear that the better soldiers were promoted cornicularii praefecti and the others cornicularii tribuni. Domaszewski (p.24) considered that there were fisci curatores for both the infantry and the cavalry, but Durry (p.110) and Basserini (p.75) both disagreed, and are clearly right, working from the evidence available. Domaszewski argued that the career of Laelius Fuscus (34) optio equitum, vexillarius, fisci curator, evocatus demonstrated the existence of a fisci curator for the equites. The inscription in no way proves this. At least eight soldiers

holding this post are recorded on the discharge lists (VI 32515, a, 2, 27; 31; c, 2, 2; e, 2, 9; VI 32520, a, 2, 40; 4, 41; b, 2, 2; VI 32527, 4). The number of soldiers holding this post is not known, but since there were four attested on one laterculus there were clearly more than this. Since they were promoted cornicularii, ~~and~~ it is possible that both ranks were held for the same length of time by soldiers on the cursus, and that there were at least an equal number of each. On the other hand since two are attested as being in the same century if they did not serve on the staff of the prefect there must have been two or more on the staff of each tribune. This may indeed have been the case, especially since so many appear to have not been promoted, but retired as fisci curator. The evidence is very slight but I would tentatively suggest that there were at least eighteen fisci curatores. VI 2544 records a fisci curator who died at the age of thirty-five with fifteen years service, which is what one might expect for a soldier of his rank. A fisci curator on the praetorian cursus might normally have fourteen or fifteen stipendia.

librarius

These men must have served in the officium of both the prefect and the tribune, though they are only attested in the latter. One librarius is recorded without mention of an officium (26).

exactus

One third century inscription records a possible exactus: VI 2 - M. Aurelius Venustus veter. Augg. nn. ex. (in latere) coh. IIII pr. This could be restored as either exactus or exceptor. Since the inscription is third century Venustus may possibly have been an exceptor, but this rank is unattested in the guard.

adiutor corniculariorum

This is only attested once: VI 2659 = ILS 2067: d.m. M. Sil. Romulianus mil. coh. VII pr. (centuria) Victoris, secutor trib., vixit ann. XXVII, mil. ann VII, Vettonius Proculus adiutor cornicul(ariorum) contubernal(i) benemerenti. Domaszewski suggested that since Proculus was in the same contubernium as Romulianus he also was on the staff of the tribune (p.22). This does not follow. Speculation is hardly profitable; probably by the third century all cornicularii had adiutores.

The posts in the century

Three posts - signifer, optio and tesserarius - form a self-contained group. These are all posts in a century - there was one of each in each century (cf 29). To them are promoted soldiers who had held junior staff posts (4, 6, 10, 11, 15, 28, 29 and 30) or technical posts (26, 31 and 32) and soldiers who had held one or more of the posts in the century were promoted to one of the senior staff posts. In

general two or three of the posts in the century were held by a soldier in his cursus, though it does not appear to have mattered which two, if that number was held. A soldier who had held all three was normally promoted beneficiarius praefecti praetorio (14, 19, 28 and 30) and one who had held two fisci curator and on to cornicularius (11, 15, 26), though it was possible to hold the three posts in the century and be promoted, into the administrative senior staff posts - fisci curator and cornicularius (27 and 29). In the second century it was virtually unknown for a pedes to hold only one of the posts in the century in his career (31). It was unusual too in the second century, though not unknown, for soldiers holding one of the posts in the century at their retirement to be kept on as evocati.

signifer

This was the senior of the three posts, and one soldier holding it at the time of his discharge received the evocatio (20). There are seven or eight signiferi recorded on the discharge lists (VI 32520, a, 2, 13; 3, 44; 61; 4, 6; 46; b, 2, 37; VI 32519, a, 5, 8; and also possible VI 2400, 2, 2). Two inscriptions record the length of service of signiferi. V 4371: - militavit an. XII, promotu/s/ VII - . This signifer was promoted to the post after seven years service and remained there for another five presumably. Florus (40) also records his stipendia. After five years service in a

legion he was transferred into the guard and ten years later promoted signifer, a post he held for about two years. He probably held the post later than was usual because of his previous service in a legion. Elsewhere (cf. Table 9) the conclusion has been reached that signiferi would normally have between eleven and fifteen stipendia, and would hold the post for little over a year, though there were, as above, exceptions to this. The latest dated reference to this post is in 221 or 222 (VI 323).

optio

A number of stipendia of optiones are known:

Reference	Stipendia	Age	Date
VI 2747	11	28	2c
(6)	12	30	1c
(40)	13		early 3c
VI 2716	14	32	2c - early 3c
VI 2447		30	late 2c - early 3c
III 7072	15		late 2c - 3c
XI 1803		34	3c

These form a fairly homogeneous group, having between eleven and fifteen stipendia, eleven and fourteen being the brackets considered most suitable for the soldiers on the cursus (cf. Table 9). There are, of course, a number of optiones on the discharge lists - four - fewer than the

number of signiferi (VI 32520 a, 5, 52; b, 42; VI 32523, a, 20; VI 32527, 1). Florus, (40) records that he held the post for a year, or a little over, and we may regard this as the norm, though there would be many exceptions.

The latest dated reference to this post is 221 or 222 (VI 323).

tesserarius

This is the lowest of the three posts. Marcellinus (23) after just less than four years service was promoted from egues to this post, but it would appear more usual to have rather more stipendia; Florus (40) had thirteen, though he had served originally in the legions, Marcianus (19) had at least six, and another soldier (VI 2705) was aged thirty-five. Nine to twelve stipendia may well have been the norm (cf. discussion above), though Durry suggested eight (p.19).

There are no tesserarii recorded on the discharge lists demonstrating that most of the soldiers held this post at a much younger age and were promoted from it before retirement. Marcellinus held the post for nearly three years, but his was an unusual career (23) and something over one year was probably more normal.

The latest dated reference to this post is in the career of Florus (40) that is in 213.

The Equites

vexillarius

This is only recorded on one inscription (34) which records promotion to the post from optio equitum, and from the post to fisci curator, evocatus and then a centurionate. The post was clearly comparable to signifer, but was probably more important since the equites generally were more important than pedites. This may explain the omission by this soldier of one of the senior staff posts normally held.

optio

This is attested on two career inscriptions (33 and 34) and also independently: VI 100: - optio equit. coh. VIII
pr. 7 Iuli - . The inscription is dated to 157 and demonstrates in unmistakable language that this officer was not in a turma but a century. In one of the careers (33) the soldier was promoted from eques to optio equitum and then on to fisci curator, and evocatus; in the other (34) the optio equitum is promoted successively vexillarius, cornicularius tribuni, evocatus and centurion. The post of optio equitum is analogous to optio, but probably more important, since, as noted above the equites were more important than pedites. This is re-inforced by the omission of posts in the later part of the cursus. The number of optiones equitum is also unknown.

eques

A statement by Tacitus implies that the equites

praetoriani were organised into turmae, (Ann. 12, 56) - ... praetoriarum cohortium manipuli turmaeque..., yet they were clearly carried on the books of the centuries as the laterculi demonstrate (VI 32515, a, 2, 14; 3, 30; e, 2, 16; VI 32536, c, 2, 25; d, 2, 26; VI 32638, a, 20; 24; 25; b, 1; 11; 12; 27; VI 32624, c, 23; AE 1933, 95, 10). Domaszewski considered (p.23) that although they were on the strength of the centuries they worked together in turmae. This is the only way of reconciling the two pieces of evidence; though it does seem unlikely. The equites, however, must have had some organisation for when they were drawn up for battle, and Tacitus may simply have been lax in his description of this. It should be noted that the optio equitum, and therefore presumably the other principales connected with the equites were also carried on the books of the centuries. VI 32638 and AE 1964, 120 which appear to be part of a list of the men in one century - there are 76 names extant - bear the names of seven equites. It has been argued from this (Domaszewski p.23 and Durry, 99) that there would therefore be about fifteen equites in the whole of the century, and about 100 in the cohort. It is unfortunately not possible to calculate in this way, since the equites would be dispersed in a random fashion throughout the centuries. The table of ages and stipendia shows that most equites would have at least seven years service. This should be compared with the figure of

five years service, given by Durry (p.191).

Reference	Stipendia	Age	Date
III 8765		18	late 2c - 3c
III 3265		19 $\frac{2}{3}$	3c
(22)	1		late 2c
VI 2695	3	20	late 2c - 3c
AE 1923, 80	7	27	2c
VI 2591	7		late 2c - 3c
ILJ 332	8	25	3c
VI 2519	8	25	late 2c - 3c
III 5222		25	2c
x 1958		25	2c
VI 2556	8	26	late 2c - 3c
VI 2744		26	2c
VI 2572	8	28	late 2c - 3c
(50)		28	3c
III 5642	9	27	late 2c - 3c
VI 2678	9	27	late 2c - 3c
V 918	10	28	2c
VI 2751	12	30	2c
VI 2704		30	3c
VI 2679	12	35	2c
VI 2765	13	31	later 2c
IX 650	13	31	late 2c - 3c
III 6704	13	32	3c
VI 2439	13	33	2c

XI 2594	16	40	2c
VI 2601	17	35	3c
XI 2594	16	40	2c

There are also three equites recorded on the discharge lists:

VI 32515, a, 2, 14; 3, 30; e, 2, 16.

There are promotions from eques to singularis praefecti (11), beneficiarius tribuni (33) and tesserarius (23).

It is not clear, however, whether these soldiers relinquished their position as equites on promotion to these posts and became pedites, or whether they retained their status as equites for the rest of their career.

tector

Aelius Malchus (51) had an unusual career in the third century: - tectori eq. praetorian. coh. III pr., qui et urb., item antistes sacerdot. temp. Martis castor. pr. -

The post of tector in this inscription is probably lower than the centurionate in rank. There is nothing to support Domaszewski's suggestion that the tectores were the successors of the speculatores, and Dr. Dobson has suggested to me that they were the prototypes of the protectores. Little is known about this body of men and a new study of them is urgently required. Another third century inscription possibly recording a tector is usually restored to read pro/tector VI 2773 - Aur. Muci/anus pro/tector aeq. /.. prae/torianorum -

eques singularis

This post is uniquely attested in the praetorian cohorts on a third century inscription: 60:7C. M. Se/v/ero equiti ex singularibus, ex c(o)hor(te) pr(aetoria) IX, stip(endia) II, vixit an(nis) XXX -. The soldier may have been singularis on the staff of the prefect or tribune, or possibly a member of a body called the equites singulares and only introduced into the praetorian cohorts in the third century. It is possible that the singulares of the prefect came to be known by this title, in fact in all probability he was a singularis of the prefect.

Training staff

Some of these officers - such as the exercitatores - were clearly evocatus (for example III 10378 and VI 31122) or centurions (for example VI 2464), but others were of lower status.

campidoctor

This post is recorded on a number of inscriptions (VI 533, 2658, 2697 - 36847 may relate to the guard - and on a laterculus VI 32536, d, 1, 27). One soldier, who died as a campidoctor, at the age of sixty, had thirty-five years service to his credit - the first ten in a legion and the rest in the guard (VI 2697). He was a native of Pannonia and may have been transferred by Severus. Another campidoctor

had previously served as a doctor: - quod coh. doctor voverat, nunc campidoctor coh. I pr. p.v. - (61). The wording of this inscription tends to imply that there might be one campidoctor and one doctor to each cohort. None of the inscriptions appear to be earlier than the third century though that is not to say that the post was not in existence in an earlier period.

doctor

The promotion from doctor to campidoctor and the possibility that there was one doctor to each cohort has already been discussed under "campidoctor". One other inscription records the existence of this post - V 6886. These two inscriptions are both third century in date, though the post could have been in existence earlier.

doctor sagittariorum

Domaszewski (p.26) suggested that T. Flavius Expeditus, a doctor sagittariorum (VI 3595), was a member of the guard, though he does point out that since there is no unit mentioned on the inscription this is uncertain.

Religious staff

sacerdos

The only two holders of this post are both recorded on career inscriptions. Aelius Malchus in the third century (51) held the post after being tector equitum praetorianorum.

His title appears to have been antistes sacerdos templi Martis castrorum pr(aetorium). The rank of both these posts is not beyond doubt, though they are probably below the centurionate in rank. The fragmentary tombstone of Florus recording his career in the early years of the third century (40) states that he was - aedis sacrae.....

Presumably a post connected with the temple must be restored here and antistes has been suggested. In that case his post may have been antistes aedis sacrae. These are both third century and there is no evidence of the post being in existence in an earlier epoch, but on the other hand there is nothing to say that it was a Severan introduction as Domaszewski tried to argue (pp.22-23).

haruspex

Pais 39: L. Pontius L. f. Vel. Rufus veteris, mil. cho. VII prae. anis XIIX isde. harispex - . The inscription can with only slight hesitation be dated to the first century, and is the only mention of this post in the guard. The following three posts may be connected with the religious staff -

victimarius

VI 32533 b, 24 - VICT - is the only mention of this post. The laterculus is dated 209.

custos vivari

VI 130: - venatores immun. cum custode vivari, Pont.

Verus mil. coh. VI pr., Campianus Verax mil. coh. VI pr.,
Fuscus Crescentio ord. custos vivari coh. p/r/aett. et urbb. -

The dedication has the consular date 241. The inscription implies that there was only one custos vivari in the whole of the praetorian and urban cohorts. Gilliam considered that the qualification ordinarius or ordinatus probably only emphasised the fact that he was a soldier and not a civilian (cf. J.F. Gilliam, The Ordinarii and Ordinati of the Roman Army, p.147), though it is possible that the term is being used here to demonstrate that he was a centurion and not an ordinary soldier.

venator

The dedication quoted above under custos vivari also mentions two venatores immunes, the full complement so it would seem for the praetorian and urban cohorts. The inscriptions ~~are~~^{is} dated to 241, and there is no other record of their existence.

Hospital and Medical staff

medicus

This officer is well attested from the first century through to the third (VI 20 - dated to 82, VI 212 - dated to 181, VI 2594, AE 1952, 143, AE 1955, 74). The status of the medici is not easy to determine, they may even have been equal to centurions as in a modern army, but there is no supporting evidence from the guard. That they were somehow classed apart from ordinary soldiers is demonstrated

by VI 212 - item evocati et milites quorum nomina et medicus coh. - The same inscription appears to demonstrate that there was one medicus in each cohort.

medicus chirurgus

Only attested once - AE 1945, 62: - medico chir(urgo) coh. IIII praet. - .

medicus clinicus

The existence of this post is based on one inscription VI 2532: - medicus clinicus coh. IIII pr. - .

Medicus veterinarius

VI 37194: - medico coh. I pr. veterinario - This is the sole record of this post.

optio valetudinarii

This post is not attested, but on the analogy of other units probably did exist in the guard.

Musical staff

bucinator

Two tombstones of bucinatores have survived (VI 2545 and 32715); five appear on the discharge lists (VI 32515 a, 2, 33; 32520 b, 2, 41; 32522 b, 1, 17; and also possibly AE 1933, 95, 14), and one on another laterculus (VI 32638 a, 19).

cornicen

Tombstones of three holders of this post are known (VI 2627, 2752 and probably 2724). Twelve cornicines are

recorded on laterculi (discharge lists: VI 32516, 20; 32519 a, 2, 4; 32520 a, 2, 4; 57; 61; 4, 43; 32527 c; other laterculi 32536 c, 2, 22; d, 1, 8; 32564 c, 8 (COAN); 32638 b, 7; 32640 b, 11).

tubicen

Twice attested on tombstones (VI 2570 and 2711) in the third century, and twelve times on laterculi (discharge lists: VI 32515 a, 2, 30; 32516, 14; 32520 a, 3, 45; 4, 17; 39; 5, 3; b, 2, 23; other laterculi: 32533 b, 1, 31; 32536 d, 1, 6; 32638 a, 5; 30; 32).

Domaszewski (p.24) suggested that there was one tubicen and one cornicen in each manipule, and the fact that three tubicines appear in one century on one list (VI 32638) and two cornicines in one century on another (VI 32520) led him to suggest that the speculatores and the equites had their own musicians. There is really no other evidence to support this, nor the supposition that the musicians were divided between the maniples. There may simply have been a number of each type of musician appointed to each cohort, or, slightly less probably, they could all have been kept on the headquarters staff. Durry (p.100f) pointed out that proportionally on the laterculi there was one bucinator to every three cornicines or tubicines. Although it is probably not possible to be so exact the laterculi do point to there being at least twice as many cornicines or tubicines than bucinatores, and this is the

only valid assumption that it is possible to make concerning the numbers of these soldiers.

Armoury staff

armamentarius

VI 32579: -ar/mamenta/r̄ius coh. ... p/raetoriae 7 -

It is difficult to see what other restoration could be proposed here, though the post is not otherwise attested.

discens armorum

XIII 6824 = AE 1940, 117 = Nesselhauf 1938, 111a:

d.m. Aur. German/us/ mil. coh. I pr/aet/ 7 Casti, nat.

D/a/cus, lectus ex /leg./ XIII, factus d/is/<c>e<n>s armor.,

st/ip./ VI, mil. ann. VI - CIL and AE read d/is/ges(tor)

armor(um), but the more reasonable reading of Nesselhauf has

been accepted here. The third century inscription records a soldier of the thirteenth legion promoted into the praetorian cohorts and made a discens armorum. This is the only reference, either epigraphic or literary, to the post of armorum custos in the guard, which is presumably what Germanus was apprenticed to.

armatura

VI 2699: d.m. Aur. Victori mil. armatur. coh. VIIII

pr. natione Besus /q./ vicxi an. XXXV milita. an. an: XVIII -

Armatura was presumably a post, apparently permanent and not ad hoc. In the Notitia Dignitatum these are recorded as

separate units, and this inscription, which is clearly third century at least, could be an early reference to this. On the other hand it may have some connection with VI 31122: -/ev/oc. Aug., exerci/tator ar/maturar(um) voto /po/sui ob triumph. /Au/gustorum, /sign/um aereum trophae/is insign]e dedi (denariorum quingentorum) /scholae ar/matu/rarum praetorian/orum. The restoration of the reference to the schola is suspect, but this soldier certainly was an exercitator armaturarum. There was a military exercise known as the armatura, which also complicates the situation, and though possibly having no connection with the first inscription, may have some with the discens armatura.

discens armatura

VI 37215 (= ILS 9070): Senio Marcello mil. coh. VI pr. 7 Procul. disc. armat. - Presumably this post is related to the armatura. The inscription is clearly third century, and possibly a little later.

Building and Maintenance staff

architectus

The earliest mention of this post is under the Falvians. 3: - milit. in legi. XVI Gal. a. X, tranlat. in coh. IX pr., in qua milit. ann. VIII missus honesta mission., revoc. ab imp., fact. evoc. Aug., architect. armament. imp., evoc. ann. XXIII - The soldier was apparently architectus armamentarii

imperatoris for the whole of his twenty-three years as an evocatus. Other architecti are known who are not evocati: X 1757: -veterano coh. II pr., architecto Augustor., -, and XI 630: -mil. coh. III pr., architect. Aug., - Both are probably second century, and the epithet Augusti or Augustorum is interesting, comparable to the title of Vedennius Moderatus (3). It would appear that the praetorian cohorts supplied the architecti for the emperors' building programmes. One architectus, however, does not include this epithet - Flavius Rufus (31), an ordinatus architectus. Though Gilliam (The Ordinarii and Ordinati of the Roman Army, 147) considers that the ordinatus does no more than emphasise the fact that he was a military and not civilian architectus, E. Birley has suggested in conversation that the word simply means that he was appointed an architectus. Rufus is unusual because after holding the post of architectus he became tesserarius, beneficiarius praefecti praetorio, cornicularius praefecti annonae and then centurion. It would appear that he had decided, or it had been suggested to him, to take up a military career, rather than a career in the praetorian cohorts as a specialist, who could rise no further in status. Architecti were obviously educated men and not all specialists would be in a position to do this.

librator

36: M. Troianus M. f. Marcellus Luc. Aug., mil. coh.

X pr. 7 Scipionis men(sor) lib(rator), vix. an XXV m. VI III, mil. an. V m. VII - It is difficult to see what else could be restored in the place of ensor and librator, though the posts could have been held in succession rather than simultaneously as Dessau suggested. The post appears on one other inscription - the career of Aelius Aelianus (32) a librator, promoted successively tesserarius and evocatus in the second century. The post was clearly below the posts in the century and presumably its holder was an immunis.

ensor

This post is attested rather more frequently than librator. Troianius Marcellus (36), a ensor and a librator has been discussed above. VI 2518 records a ensor aged twenty-nine, who died probably in the later second century or early third, and VI 2692 (= ILS 2058) records another. MES on a laterculus, recording soldiers enlisting in 143 and 144, is probably an abbreviation for ensor (VI 32520, a, 2, 56; 3, 51; 4, 51), though there is nothing to support the suggestion of Domaszewski that MO on the same laterculus can be expanded to read m(ensor) o(rdinatus) (VI 32520, b, 21; 35). It is, however, difficult to see what else this abbreviation could be expanded to read. The only other two posts yet known beginning with M are marsus, which is not attested in the Guard, and medicus, an office which does

not appear on laterculi, an omission perhaps due to the fragmentary state of the evidence, or the peculiar nature of the post itself.

discens mensorem

VI 32526 b: -et Noni/ō P/roculo disc. mens -

This appears at the head of the inscription, after mention of a signifer.

Miscellaneous

caelator

AE 1947, 61; /T/enatio L. f. /P/rimioni /mi/liti
praetor. chort. IIII /ch/orographiar. /ite/m caelatori
/fil/io piissimo mater.

This is the only record of this post. Primio appears to have been promoted from chorographarius to caelator.

chorographarius

The only mention of this post is on the inscription discussed under caelator above.

stationarius

III 7136 = ILS 2052: T. Valerius T.f. Secundus miles
cohortis VII praetoriae centuriae Severi domo Liguriaae,
militavit annis VIII stationarius Ephesi, vixit annos XXVI
menses VI. A second century praetorian stationarius.

Another stationarius, probably about the same period or a little later, served - and died - in Africa. VIII 25438 =

ILS 9072: d.m.s. Tufienius Speratus mil. coh. VI pr.
stationarius ripae Uticensis, vix. ann. XXV, militavit

annis XV Cf. also ILS 9073: -Aelius Dubitatus mil. coh. VIII
praet. 7 Etrii, annis VIII /g/essi stationem Ven. /R/usic. -
curator

V 2837 = ILS 2022: C. R/e/nnius P.f. Rufus, missus
est praetorio divi Aug., curator et.... The post of curator
 is probably not military in character but civil.

lanciarus

VI 2878: d.m. Val. Ursinus ml. lanciarus nat.
Italus qui vix. ann. XXVII stupendiorum IIII, Val. Vitalis
mil. cho. e(iusdem?) pre. commanulio benemerent. fecit
memoria. Ursinus is presumably an immunis, and a member of
 one branch of the guard - the lanciarum. Suetonius (Claudius
 35) mentions speculatores carrying lances, while in the
 Notitia Dignitatum there are units of lanciarum mentioned.

The Urban Cohorts

Not all the urban cohorts were stationed in Rome. Two were posted at Lyons and Carthage, though the cohort at the former city was disbanded under Severus. These two cohorts were probably to all intents and purposes autonomous units and the tribune of each probably had officers on his staff who in Rome would have been on the staff of the prefect. For that reason, in spite of the paucity of the evidence, the two cohorts, I and XIII, have been dealt with separately. Some principales and immunes are found in one cohort and not in the other. It is possible to argue by analogy that they must have occurred in the other cohort. This is not completely satisfactory since local requirements could have produced some differences. The cohort stationed at Lugudunum provided the staff for both the governor and the procurator of Lugdunensis. The position is not so clear in Africa. III Augusta provided the proconsul of Africa with one cohort, at least in the time of Hadrian (VIII 2532 and 18042), from which he probably drew his staff, while the procurator may have used the same source. On the other hand it has been argued that the urban cohort provided some beneficiarii for the proconsul, though perhaps in a different period. The precise situation must remain uncertain until further evidence comes to light.

Cohorts stationed in Rome

Staff of the prefect

cornicularius

VI 1340 records a cornicularius praefecti urbi in the year 126. Domaszewski (p.17) argued that a soldier who appears on one of the laterculi (VI 32526, a, 2, 1) of the urban cohorts promoted directly to centurion of a legion must be a cornicularius praefecti on the assumption that only cornicularii of the prefect could be advanced directly to the centurionate. This is probable, though not proven. There are no other corniculari recorded on the discharge lists. The number of cornicularii is unknown, but Freis (p.72) points out that the prefect was more important than a provincial governor who usually had three and the praefectus vigilum who had two or more. In that case there may have been three or more. Special conditions, however, may have affected the numbers rather than the status of the officers concerned, and consequently this evidence by analogy may be a false guide.

commentariensis

VI 8402 - d.m.s. Cas. Gaetulicus vixit annis XI, comm. praef. urbis. This undated inscription is the only mention of this post. Freis (p.72) considers that since neither a cohort nor the unit is specifically mentioned the inscription must be later than the time of Constantine when the military

and civil duties of the prefect ^{were} was divided. This is possible, though there is really no support for the view. The position of the rank is determined by reference to the staff of the provincial governor where the commentariensis is placed on lists directly after the cornicularius. There may have been the same number of commentarienses as cornicularii on the analogy of the staff of the governor, though this is uncertain.

beneficiarius

This post is attested on a number of inscriptions - VI 2895, VI 32658, on one discharge list (VI 37184, a, 13) and twice on another (VI 32519, a, 3, 13; 15). The career of Sabinus demonstrates that the post was of higher status than cornicularius tribuni (65). Only one beneficiarius praefecti appears on a praetorian discharge list, compared to the three on urban, which may suggest that the promotion prospects of the beneficiarii in the urban cohorts were not as good as those of their colleagues in the guard. The number of beneficiarii is unknown. There is no need to assume with Freis (p.73) that since two beneficiarii were retired from the same century at the same time that there were two in each century making 48 in the whole unit because they would not be divided equally between the centuries (VI 32519, a, 3, 13; 15). Similarly comparison between this calculated figure of 48 and Baillie Reynolds' hypothetical, and suspect,

figure of 35 for the praefectus vigilum and the possible, though unproved, figure of 60 for a provincial governor is of doubtful value. The number, nevertheless, would have been large.

optio ab actis urbi

This post is attested on two career inscriptions (65 and 66). In the first the post is held between fisci curator and cornicularius tribuni and in the second immediately after fisci curator. The post is also recorded on two laterculi:

VI 32519, a, 3, 17; OPT AB AC

VI 32526, a, 1, 11: OPT ABA.

Optio ab actis urbi may perhaps be compared to the post ab actis fori in the officium of the praetorian prefect, which always appears to have been held by an evocatus. The post of optio ab actis urbi was a senior staff post, perhaps roughly the equal in status of the post held by an evocatus in a unit with a shorter length of service.

a quaestionibus

VI 2880: - mil. coh. X urb. 7 Festi, a q. praef. urbis, vix. an. XXVIII militavit ann. X -

This is the only mention of the post in Rome though it is found in one of the cohorts stationed outside the city (65). In this career the post follows beneficiarius tribuni, and precedes the posts in the century. The exact wording of the

inscription is - a quaestionib. factus per Annium Verum praef. urbis - . There was therefore clearly some connection with the prefect, though the post was possibly not held in Rome (it is possible that the soldier did hold the post in Rome - perhaps promising men in the cohorts stationed outside Rome were given a tour of duty in the capital). The low stipendia - ten - of the only other holder suggests that he too might have held the post before holding any of the posts in the century. In the guard the post was held by a duplicarius and the same is probably the case in the legions, though the holder may have been a sesquuplicarius. In the urban cohorts the post appears to be of lower status, being held below the posts in the century, but since it appears only in a career of a soldier in one of the cohorts stationed outside Rome it may be that its presumed status is a reflection of this fact, and that the post ranked higher when held in Rome.

Staff of the tribune

cornicularius

This rank is attested in Rome - VI 2896 = ILS 2114, AE 1957, 230 and thrice on discharge lists (VI 32521, a, 3, 14; VI 32526, a, 3, 12; VI 37184, b, 1). It is interesting that no cornicularii tribuni are recorded on praetorian discharge lists and it would appear that the prospects of promotion for cornicularii in the urban cohorts were not as

good as their colleagues' in the praetorian. The post is recorded in one of the cohorts at Carthage or Lugudunum (65). It was held by the soldier between optio ab actis and beneficiarius praefecti. In the praetorian guard promotion from cornicularius tribuni to beneficiarius praefecti is unknown, though the peculiarities of the organisation of the urban cohorts may have resulted in different ranking and modifications to the cursus. Freis (p.73) is stating the case a little too strongly when he says that because the post appears in a discharge list the cornicularius tribuni cannot be promoted to evocatus.

beneficiarius

This post is recorded on a discharge list recording soldiers enlisting in 147 (VI 32521, a, 3, 13) and also on a tombstone:

VI 2909: - benef. tribuni, qui vixit annis XXV -

It is safe to assume, by analogy with the praetorian cohorts, that this post was below the posts in the century in status and this is borne out by the youth of the soldier recorded on the tombstone and the position of the post in the career of Sabinus (65) when it was held after singularis tribuni, but before a quaestionibus and tesserarius.

singularis

VI 2914 = ILS 2113 : -mil. coh. XII urb. 7 Naevi sing. trib. mil. ann. VI vix. ann. XXIV - AE 1912, 27 and 28 record

the same soldier, singularis tribuni, in the period 212-222. The low status of the post suggested by the first inscription is confirmed by the career of Sabinus (65) in which the post is held after optio carceris, and before beneficiarius tribuni, and by analogy with the praetorian cohorts. There is no supporting evidence for the statement of Domaszewski (p.18) that the singulares were mounted. Equites and pedites singulares are known in other units.

secutor

VI 2931 = ILS 2112 : -mil. coh. XIV urb. 7 Perennis stipendiorum IIII secutor tribuni vix. ann. XX m. VI dieb. XX h.III - The four stipendia of this soldier suggest that the post is of a low status, as is made clear again by the career of Sabinus (65), this being the first recorded post he held. From it he was promoted to optio valetudenari.

Standard Bearers

imaginifer

VI 218 = ILS 2107 : -imagines dominorum nn. et aediculam et aram de suo fecerunt - (202) (in postica) - T. Tussanius /Resti/ tutus Tuder i/m. coh.7 XII urb. 7 Vernas/i aedu/licam vetustate v/exatam/ .. plictis columni/s ...et/ ornamentis cum /ara? et/ signo Victoriae..... The restoration of the rank of Restitutus is commonly agreed to be i/m(aginifer)7 and there is no reason to doubt this. In that case this is the only imaginifer recorded in either the

praetorian or the urban cohorts though the post is found in the vigiles, and it is possible that it is a third century introduction, perhaps emanating from the transfer of legionaries in the last decade of the second century. As Freis (p.74) points out there is nothing to support the suggestion that IMFCPR (VI 32526 a, 1, 28) is in any way connected with the post of imaginifer.

Other staff posts

fisci curator

VI 2917 : -mil. coh. XII urb., f.c., vixit ann. XL -;
 VI 32526 a, 5, 24. These two inscriptions record the existence of the post in the Rome cohorts. It appears in two careers (65 and 66). In both these careers the post was held between signifer and optio ab actis. There is no evidence to support the assertion of Freis (p.72) that there was one fisci curator in each century.

The posts in the century

signifer

The careers of Sabinus and Bellicus (65 and 66) demonstrate that this was the senior post in the century. Both soldiers were promoted to fisci curator. A signifer, possibly in the urban cohorts, less likely in the praetorian, was promoted to evocatus (67). Five signiferi are recorded on discharge lists, compared to three optiones and two tesserarii (VI 32526, a, 2, 15; 46; 4, 42; 5, 25; i, 3, 9).

This merely demonstrates that the post was more senior than the other two. Another signifer died after serving for 18 years and having lived 36 (X 6443). There was presumably one signifer in each century.

optio

Sabinus held the post between tesserarius and signifer (65) while Bellicus was promoted from optio to signifer (66). Three optiones are recorded on discharge lists, more than the tesserarii, but less than the signiferi, which might be expected (VI 32519, a, 3, 19; VI 32526, a, 4, 8; i, 2, 1). There was presumably one optio in each century.

tesserarius

This was clearly the lowest post in the century, held after the junior staff posts - a quaestionibus and beneficiarius tribuni in the case of Sabinus (65) - and before optio (65). The tombstone of one tesserarius is known:

VI 2886: - thess. mil. coh. XI /urb/ 7 Sabini, vix. an. XX
.. mil. an. XV m. VIII -

This length of service was perhaps higher than most tesserarii. Only two are recorded on discharge lists, compared to three optiones and five signiferi (VI 32526, a, 1, 29; i, 2, 12). These figures are in keeping with the post being the lowest of those in the century. It is to be presumed that there was one tesserarius in each century.

Religious staffharuspex

VI 2166 = ILS 4954 : - mil. co. XIII urb. 7

Terentiani, arespici ordinato -. This is the only haruspex attested in the urban cohorts, though it was presumably an established post, as it appears to have been in the praetorian guard.

The following posts may be connected with the religious staff:

victimarius

VI 32522 d, 2, 8 - VI. This is a laterculus and victimarius would have been the normal expansion. The soldier enlisted in the period 149 - 152.

custos vivari

This post is recorded on an inscription which has already been mentioned in connection with the praetorian guard:

VI 130: Fuscus Crescentio ord. custos vivari coh.

p/r/aett. et urbb

There the possibility was considered that this custos vivari was not merely a soldier differentiating himself from civilian custodes vivari but rather a centurion emphasising his status by the word ord(inarius or inatus). The soldier would appear to have served as custos vivari to all urban and praetorian cohorts simultaneously.

Hospital and Medical Staffmedicus

AE 1917/8, 118 is the tombstone of a medicus of cohors XIV. Each cohort probably therefore had its own medicus, if not a plurality.

optio valetudinarii

This post is not attested in Rome, but since it is recorded in one of the other cohorts (65) it may have existed in Rome also. The urban cohorts however may have shared a hospital with the other troops in the city. In one career the post was held between secutor tribuni and optio carceris, though the post may not have been of the same status in Rome as it was at Lugudunum (65).

Musical Staff

There were probably tubicines, cornicines and bucinatores in the urban cohorts, but there is only record of one of these:

cornicen

VI 32522 d, 3, 8: CORN.

The soldier had enlisted in 150 and is more likely to be a cornicen than a cornicularius.

Prison Staffoptio carceris

VI 531 = ILS 3739: - optio karc. chor. XII urb.

Gordiana - This is the only record of this officer in Rome. Sabinus (65) held the post after optio valetudinarii and before singularis tribuni, but the rank of the post in one of

the cohorts outside Rome may have differed from that in the cohorts within the city itself.

Cohort stationed at Lugudunum

Staff of the governor of Lugdunensis

cornicularius

This post is recorded on a first century career (64). It was held after beneficiarius legati Augusti, and for a period of five years. Macrinus was promoted evocatus and thence centurion. He also appears to have been made an eques at the same time he was promoted cornicularius. This was probably common to all cornicularii of the governor of Lugdunensis. It is not known how many cornicularii this governor had in his officium, but the normal number was two or three.

beneficiarius

This post was held by Macrinus (64) before he was promoted cornicularius. Unfortunately no previous post is mentioned on the inscription, though one was probably held. He was promoted to the post with only four years of service. It is not known how many beneficiarii the governor of Lugdunensis had, though it possibly may have been over 30, if the calculations from the staff of III Augusta are correct.

The governor presumably had other officers on his staff provided by the urban cohort.

Staff of the procurator of Lugdunensis and Aquitania
cornicularius

XIII 1810 mentions this post on an inscription dated to about 170, but the home unit of the officer is not recorded. Since as far as is known the rest of the staff of the procurator in this period was provided by the cohort at Lugudunum the cornicularius doubtless belongs to the same unit. ILTG 231, which is unfortunately undated, records a cor/n...p/roc. Aug... but the officer may have been provided by a legion in the third century.

beneficiarius

AE 1935, 16: -b. proc. emerito ex coh. XIII urbana -
This is the only record of this post.

exactus

XIII 1822 : d.m. et memoriae aeternae Pompeio Felici exacta procuratoris, qui vixit ann. LX - This inscription may be second century in date, and appears to record an exactus of the procurator. He would at this time have been a member of the urban cohort. In the third century exacti were provided by the Rhine legions (XIII 1847).

Staff of the tribune

cornicularius

Sabinus (65) held the post between optio ab actis and beneficiarius praefecti, though by that time the cohort may have been transferred to Carthage. The tribune of this

cohort may have needed to retain a larger staff than his counterparts in Rome, and therefore there may have been more cornicularii tribuni in Lugudunum than on the staff of each tribune at home.

beneficiarius

The only mention of this post at Lugudunum was in the career of Sabinus (65). He held the post after singularis tribuni and before tesserarius.

singularis tribuni

Again this post only appears at Lugudunum in the career of Sabinus (65). It follows optio carcaris and precedes beneficiarius tribuni.

secutor

The first post held by Sabinus (65), before optio valetudinarii.

Other staff posts

optio ab actis

Held by Sabinus (65) after fisci curator and before cornicularius tribuni, but possibly not in Rome since he was optio ab actis not optio ab actis urbi as was Bellicus (66).

fisci curator

This post was held by Sabinus (65) after signifer and before optio ab actis.

Posts in the century

signifer

XIII 1857, and also the career of Sabinus (65). He

was promoted from it to fisci curator.

optio

tesserarius

Both these posts were held by Sabinus (65) in the normal order.

Hospital and Medical staff

medicus castrensis

XIII 1833 = ILS 2126: -Bononius Gordus medicus castrensis. This might be taken to imply that there was only one medicus in the camp of cohort XIII at Lugudunum, but it is possible that each medicus called himself medicus castrensis, or that this was the senior medicus.

optio valetudinarii

This post is only recorded at Lugudunum in the career of Sabinus (65). He held it after secutor tribuni and before optio carcaris.

Prison staff

optio carcaris

XIII 1833 = ILS 2126: - optionis karceris ex cohort. XIII urban -, Sabinus (65) held the post after optio valetudinarii and before singularis tribuni.

The Equites

eques

This post is only attested on one inscription in the whole of the urban cohorts - AE 1916, 3 = ILAfr 164: eq. coh. I urbanae. The inscription belongs to the pre-Hadrianic period. The term is also found on the inscription recording the career

of Marcinus (64), though it is probably recording a pay-grade only, since he was promoted cornicularius of the governor at the same time.

Cohort stationed at Carthage

Staff of the proconsul of Africa

beneficiarius

AE 1961, 224: -bf. anno Acili Glabrionis procos.
c. v. C. Lutius Priscus Foro Livi et L. Octavius Severus
Brixello aram posuerunt l. a. The governorship of Glabrio dates the inscription to the period 164 - 168. Marec in his discussion of this inscription (Libyca 8, '1959, 134) points out that both these soldiers are Italians and since in this period there are very few Italians in III Augusta (Forni, p.220-221) they are probably members of the cohors I urbana. This is possible, though more concrete evidence would be required before it can be accepted unequivocally that the proconsul drew some of his staff from the urban cohort.

Staff of the tribune

Only one member of this officium is attested though the tribune probably had a similar staff to his counterpart in Lugdunum.

singularis

AE 1912, 27 and 28 both refer to a singularis tribuni in the period 218 to 222.

Other staff posts

fisci curator

VIII 4679 contains the only record of this post.

Posts in the centurysigniferoptiotesserarius

These three posts presumably existed, though no record has survived.

Miscellaneousstationarius

AE 1954, 53: -mil. cohortis I urbanae /77 Kapitonis stationarius -. This is the only record of this post, but compare VIII 5230: -miles cohortis XIIII (?) ur. 7 Silani a/g/eng supra ripa(m) Hippone re/g. -

The VigilesStaff of the prefectcornicularius

Two cornicularii praefecti are named on the front of VI 1058. These both appear in the list of cohors V vigilum recorded elsewhere on the inscription, and presumably only their high rank merits their specific mention on the face of the stone. It is not clear how many cornicularii there were altogether, certainly this inscription proves neither that there were two in each cohort (Domaszewski p.7) nor that there were two in the whole unit (Baillie Reynolds, p.77), only that there were at least two. A provincial governor had two or three, but the amount of paper-work needed to be done by the officium of the praefectus vigilum would surely dictate the number of cornicularii he would need. One promotion is known from commentariensis praefecti to cornicularius, but one cornicularius praefecti records specifically that he was the first to be promoted from this post to a legionary centurionate, under Antoninus Pius (69). There is a similar promotion known later in the second century (70). They share with the cornicularii praefecti praetorio, the cornicularius praefecti annonae and with one exception (64) the cornicularii consulares the distinction of direct promotion to a legionary centurionate.

commentariensis

This is only attested on one inscription, which records

the career of an unknown soldier (73). It is held between tabularius beneficiarius and cornicularius praefecti. There was possibly the same number of commentarienses as cornicularius praefecti since provincial governors usually had equal numbers of both officers.

tabularius

This post is found in the same career as commentariensis (73). It was held after beneficiarius praefecti and before commentariensis. The full title of the post in the case of this soldier appears to have been tabularius beneficiarius /praefecti/. This caused Domaszewski (p.8) to state that he considered the post to be an ad hoc appointment of a beneficiarius praefecti, rather than a permanent post. Tabularii are found, however, both in the praetorian cohorts and the legions and there is no need to think of the post as anything other than permanent, though the very nature of the available evidence forbids a definite statement either way. The post also appears in VI 1057. A soldier (93) was promoted from tabularius to cornicularius praefecti between 205 and 210. The fact that the post appears as tabularius on VI 1057 tends to militate against the view of Domaszewski.

beneficiarius

The anonymous of VI 37295 (73) was promoted from beneficiarius subpraefecti to beneficiarius praefecti and thence to tabularius, thus determining the rank of the post

of beneficiarius praefecti. No other career inscription records the post, but the status of the rank as suggested in the above inscription agrees well with analogous posts in other units. M. Pontius Diodorus held the post from 205 to 210 (92) but there is no other evidence for the length of time this post will have been held, except that there is no reason to think that the duration was different from the three to four years postulated elsewhere for each of the posts on the career. It has been argued above that not many soldiers would be promoted beyond this post, though of course men would be needed to fill the higher staff posts. The calculated stipendia for the beneficiarius praefecti is 22 to 25, but the better soldiers intended for the more senior staff posts - and later the centurionate - would presumably have been beneficiarii earlier. There is only one recorded figure for stipendia for a beneficiarius praefecti, Percennius Reginus died at the age of 44 with 22 years service (VI 2966). Sextilius Iulianus is a different case, however; he died at the age of 29 as a beneficiarius praefecti (XIV 226). Assuming that he could have enlisted at the young age of sixteen he would still only have thirteen stipendia at his death, and we must therefore presume that his was a quicker promotion.

Domaszewski (p.8) and Baillie Reynolds (p.129) both agree, on the basis of VI 1057, 1058 and 1059, that there were

35 beneficariii praefecti vigilum. The first two inscriptions record that there were five beneficariii praefecti in cohors V vigilum in 205 (1, 1; 1, 57; 2, 4; 3, 24; 6, 1) and five in the same cohort in 210 (1, 1; 3, 2; 4, 2; 5, 1; 5, 8). VI 1059, an inscription erected in 210, mentions the seven centurions, the cornicularius tribuni, five beneficariii praefecti and four medici in cohors II vigilum. On three separate occasions it is recorded that there were five beneficariii praefecti in each of the three cohorts. However, it does not follow that there were five beneficariii praefecti in every cohort. If that was the case whenever a vacancy occurred in the ranks of these officers a soldier would have to be appointed from the cohort in which the vacancy occurred or a soldier transferred from another cohort to maintain equal numbers. That this, which must have reduced efficiency and played havoc with the promotion system, should have happened seems unlikely, and we may therefore presume that as far as possible the number of beneficariii praefecti in each cohort was kept about equal, and that therefore the total number of beneficariii would be about 35, but not necessarily exactly that number.

Baillie Reynolds (p.70 ff) pointed out that Domaszewski's argument concerning the number of beneficariii praefecti was not always straightforward and logical. For example he suggested that the tabularius and the pr(inceps) pr(aefecti)

(see below) were ad hoc appointments held by beneficiarii, and yet he failed to include them amongst his calculations of the number of beneficiarii, presumably because they would alter the theory of five per cohort. It is not necessary to assume that either the tabularius or the pr(inceps) pr(aefecti) were beneficiarii with special appointments. On the other hand Baillie Reynolds omits to challenge Domaszewski's view on the emeriti. As I have argued elsewhere it is not necessary to assume that these em(eriti) b(eneficiarii) were beneficiarii tribuni, in fact if the officer under whom the beneficiarii served is not mentioned then it might be presumed that it is the most senior officer concerned. If this is accepted the number of beneficiarii praefecti would then be increased in cohort V to six in each year.

PR PR

This post was held by the first soldier listed in the fourth century of cohort V in 205 (VI 1057, 4, 1). Assuming that the stone has been read correctly the soldier presumably was on the staff of the prefect, and Domaszewski (p.9) accordingly restored the post as pr(inceps) pr(aefecti), remarking that the princeps was usually the head of the tabularium, that is in a legion, and producing evidence from de rei militari (II. 8) to support his claim, though the princeps mentioned by Vegetius was a centurion. Domaszewski considered that the soldier was a beneficiarius praefecti on special duties, while

he was at the head of the list because he was the oldest principalis. Baillie Reynolds (pp.80-81) rightly challenges Domaszewski's arguments. Since Vegetius' princeps was a centurion there is no parallel to be drawn. He also notes that if he was a beneficiarius the total number of those officers would be in excess of five, and he completes his comments on the post by saying "in face of the lack of evidence nothing definite can be said about it". While this is undoubtedly true two points could be made. Firstly it is difficult to see any logical order for the soldiers on the two lists. Those appearing in 205 and 210 do not necessarily appear in the same relative position, a position therefore determined neither by year of recruitment or by rank, so Domaszewski's argument based on seniority will not do. Secondly it is difficult to conceive of a pr(inceps) pr(aefecti) in the ranks of the NCOs rather than the centurions. On the other hand no other restoration seems feasible and so the situation must rest.

AQP

AQP appears twice on VI 1057 (3, 1 and 3, 70), AQPR twice on VI 1058 (4, 3 and 5, 2). This might be taken to suggest, as Domaszewski and Baillie Reynolds following him considered, that the abbreviations refer to the same post. Although this is a strong possibility it should be borne in mind that since P and PR presumably refer to the prefect of the vigiles these officers will be spread throughout the

cohorts and there will only be an equal number in any two cohorts at any one time by coincidence. There is, for example, no AQP or AQPR mentioned on the list of the first cohort (VI 1056) though two abbreviations AQ do appear (1, 2 and 4, 6). The abbreviation can nowhere be fitted into a career, nor is Domaszewski's discussion of the rank of the post satisfactory. He considered that it was below the beneficiarius praefecti but over the vexillarius. He further argued that since there were two holders of this post at any one time and only one actarius the latter accordingly ranked higher than the former. This assumption can be countered by taking into consideration two facts. Firstly seniority had nothing to do with the number of officers of a certain rank - there were many more beneficariii praefecti than actarii, who ranked lower! Secondly Domaszewski was basing his calculations upon one cohort while the officers under investigation could be found in any cohort since they were staff officers of the unit not the cohort. Similarly his argument based upon the position of the post in the two laterculi of the fifth cohort is not watertight. He quotes two references (VI 1058, 4, 3 and 5, 2) in support of his thesis ignoring one (VI 1057, 3, 70) which does not. Extensive study of these two lists has led me to the conclusion that a theory based on the position of any post in either list has to be treated with care. In the main the position of

posts in the list, where they can be compared to outside controls, are about 66 to 75 per cent correct. On this basis since three out of the four AQP or AQPR are above the posts in the century it may be accepted that this was the rank of the post. There is one promotion to this post, and that is from im(a)g(inifer) (95); there was also a promotion from ima(ginifer) to cornicularius praefecti (94) suggesting that the post of AQPR was one of the higher of the senior staff posts. The expansion of the abbreviations presents a different problem. Domaszewski, following Kellerman, proposed a quaestionibus praefecti. There is no other expansion known or that comes into consideration (aquarius!! aquilifer!!). The a quaestionibus praefecti praetorio is one of the more senior of the senior staff officers, as the AQPR also appears to be, though in the officium of a provincial governor the status of the post of quaestionarius does seem to be a little lower. On the present evidence it seems reasonable to accept a q(uaestionibus) pr(aefecti) as the best expansion.

AC PR

This abbreviation appears once in VI 1057 (2, 62) and in VI 1058 (3, 3). Domaszewski proposed the expansion ac(tarius) pr(aefecti) (p.9), and this is more acceptable than Kellerman's a c(ommentaris) pr(aefecti). This post is otherwise unattested in the vigiles, but this need be no barrier considering the paucity of evidence for the actarius

in the legions. On the other hand it is a unique restoration for this unit, and must remain to some extent speculative until more evidence materialises.

Although Domaszewski's expansion may be accepted, albeit with reservations, the rest of his discussion is rather less than acceptable. He says that the rank is under the beneficiarius praefecti and over the vexillarius, quoting one example (VI 1058 3, 3) which supports this statement but also overlooking another example (VI 1057 2, 62) which does not! On the other hand he does point out that there is a promotion from optio to ac(tarius) (87). Evidence by analogy with the legions concerning the status of the actarius is difficult not only because the expansion is not certain but also because the organisation of the two were different. Domaszewski, however, argues that the actarius in the vigiles is below the beneficiarius subpraefecti because the actarius legate legionis is below the beneficiarius praefecti castrorum. Not only is this analogy not permissible for the reasons quoted above, but also the analogy rests on the expansion of ...ef... to read beneficiarius praef(ecti) (AE 1895, 204)! I have argued that the actarius may have been between the optio and the signifer in status in the legions and this agrees with the evidence from the vigiles in that the ac(tarius) pr(aefecti) ranks higher than the optio, but it is impossible to determine its exact status. Similarly all that can be said is that there was one ac(tarius) pr(aefecti) in the fifth cohort in

205 and one in the same cohort in 210. It may have been coincidence that there was only one in the whole unit and that in both years he was in the same cohort as Domaszewski considered to have been the case, but equally, or indeed more probably, there may have been a plurality of actarii. In the legions there was one actarius as there was one cornicularius, but if in the vigiles there were at least two of the latter officers, there may have been an equal number of the former, if the expansion is correct.

librarius

There is no librarius recorded on the staff of the prefect, but both the subprefect and the tribunes had on their staffs a number of these clerks so it is probable that the prefect did also. Domaszewski (p.9) considered that the librarius i...d..., perhaps the librarius instrumentorum depositorum of ~~T~~abruntenus Paternus, was on the staff of the prefect since he appears on an inscription after a beneficiarius praefecti and before five holders of posts in the century (VI 220), but it is equally possible that the clerk had some connection with the distribution of grain and so was mentioned in this position. It could even be argued that he was not a member of the vigiles, but was on the staff of the office which distributed the free grain. Although this latter suggestion is unlikely, the clerk can hardly have been senior in rank to the posts in the century, and certainly not on the basis of this inscription. In that case the librarius i...d..

may have had nothing to do with the staff of the prefect. One lib(rarius) (VI 1058, 3, 9) could conceivably have been on the staff of the prefect.

exactus

EXPR is recorded on VI 1056 (2, 69), VI 1058 (7, 9) and VI 32748, a laterculus. Domaszewski (p.12) suggested that it was an abbreviation of ex(actus) pr(aefecti) and this is more acceptable than ex(ceptor). The exacti ranked below the librarii on the staff of a provincial governor, and perhaps also on the staff of the prefect of the vigiles.

exceptor

Domaszewski (p.13) considered that the EXC on VI 1058 6, 3, was an abbreviation for exceptor. The addition of C he understood to be to differentiate the exactus from the exceptor. It is doubtful whether it is possible to make such distinctions. Nor is Domaszewski consistent in his argument. Although there is something to be said for his taking LLB to refer to the librarius tribuni this cannot be said of his discussion of the EMB (see under beneficiarius tribuni below). In both cases it suited his case that the soldiers were on the staff of the tribune, though no mention was made of this on the inscription, yet now he maintains that the EXC must be on the staff of the prefect. All that can be said is that EXC probably stands for exactus, not exceptor, and since no senior official is mentioned he was probably on

the staff of the prefect.

Other staff

There is no evidence to suggest that there were any singulares, secutores, codicillarii etc. on the staff of the prefect of the vigiles, but the low status of these immunes, if they had existed, would undoubtedly have resulted in a paucity of epigraphic evidence.

Staff of the sub-prefect

cornicularius

A soldier of this rank appears on the list of the fifth cohort in 210 (VI 1058, 7, 1). He also is named on the front of the inscription after the cornicularii praefecti and the centurions. The three cornicularii are only mentioned on the front of the stone because they happen to be members of this cohort - there are none of these senior cornicularii in the first cohort in 205 (VI 1056) and accordingly they receive no mention on the front of the inscription. The mention of a single cornicularius subpraefecti in this position therefore does not mean that there was only one in the whole of the vigiles, as Baillie Reynolds considered (p.129) but only that there was one in this cohort. The sub-prefect, however, would have had less cornicularii than the prefect, but since the numerical strength of his adjutants is not known it can simply be noted that there was probably a small number, perhaps one or two, on the staff of the sub-prefect.

beneficiarius

The career of the unknown of VI 37295 reveals that this post was held between vexillarius and beneficiarius praefecti (73). This is supported by the evidence provided by VI 221 - probably in hierarchical order - which demonstrates that the post was of higher standing than the posts in the century, though it may be noted in passing that the use of principalis on the same inscription is probably non-technical. Baillie Reynolds (p.129) argued that there was one beneficiarius subpraefecti in each cohort making a total of seven in all. This was based on the fact that each list of the fifth cohort produced one officer of this rank (VI 1057, 2, 1 and VI 1058, 7, 2). He conveniently ignored the list of the first cohort in which two officers appear (VI 1056, 2, 1 and 6, 8). Since these soldiers were on the staff of an officer of the whole unit there would not of necessity be the same number in each cohort, thus it is not possible to say how many beneficiarii subpraefecti there were at any one time. I have argued above that the number of beneficiarii praefecti would have been about 35, and all that can be said concerning the number of beneficiarii of the sub-prefect is that it would not have exceeded 35 nor have fallen below 10 since a tribune had that many.

librarius

This rank is attested on VI 1058, 5, 7; LIB SPR. This soldier, T. Aelius Livianus, was an EX TR five years

previously (VI 1057, 7, 34 cf. 101). The librarii of a provincial governor seem to be of a higher rank than the exacti of the same official, which is in broad agreement with this promotion though Livianus moved into the staff of a higher ranking officer with the advancement. The post is recorded on another inscription, VI 221, dated to 113;

LIB VR SPR. The expansion of this is not certain, Mommsen suggested urbanus causing Baillie Reynolds to suggest that we should look for a similar clerk at Ostia, but at least the soldier was a librarius on the staff of the subprefect. The number of librarii is not known, but there is nothing to support Baillie Reynolds' assumption that there was only one. One was recorded in a century in 113 and one in a cohort in 210, there could have been any number in the other centuries or cohorts.

Other staff

Since there are only two cases known of the librarius it is possible that there were other soldiers on the staff of the subprefect - exacti, secutores or codicillarii.

Staff of the tribune

cornicularius

One cornicularius tribuni appears on the front of VI 1059 together with the tribune, the seven centurions, the five beneficiarii praefecti and the four medici of the second

cohort of vigiles. This would suggest that there was only one cornicularius in this and therefore every cohort.

VI 1057 supports this in mentioning only one (5, 1), while the record is lost from the more damaged inscription of 210 (VI 1058). A cornicularius is mentioned in connection with a vexillation of cohors VI vigilum, probably consisting of four centuries, in 239 (XIV 4397). The exact position of this post is not known since it does not appear on any career inscription, but on the basis of analogy with the praetorian cohorts it was one of the higher of the senior staff posts.

beneficiarius

The rank of this post, above the secutor tribuni and below the tesserarius, is clear from a study of VI 1057 and 1058 (77, 78, 79 and 82) and other career inscriptions (68 and 71). In a list of "principales" in a century of vigiles in 113 the post follows immediately after the beneficiarius of the sub-prefect and the holders of the posts in the century, though principalis is probably not being used in a technical sense. Four soldiers of this rank are mentioned on the fragmentary list of the soldiers of the first cohort in 205 (VI 1056 1, 5; 2, 5; 2, 9; 3, 9), ten on the list of the fifth cohort in 205 (VI 1057 1, 3; 2, 7; 2, 13; 3, 13; 4, 18; 4, 19; 5, 2; 5, 81; 6, 9; 6, 18), and five on the damaged list of the same cohort in 210 (1, 11; 2, 7; 7, 6; 7, 7; 7, 8). This

evidence might be taken to support a maximum numerical strength of ten beneficariii for each tribune, the others in the two cohorts being on the missing parts of the stones. This number is in general accord with the 35 or thereabouts for a prefect, and the 12 for a tribunus laticlavus legionis. Domaszewski in his discussion of this rank is clearly obsessed by this latter analogy. In order to increase the number of beneficariii tribuni to 12 he argues that the HEMB is a beneficarius tribuni (VI 1057, 7, 5 = EMB VI 1058, 5, 6(96)), and implies that the EMR was the same (VI 1057, 2, 6) though he cannot summon any strong evidence to support this. The emeritus beneficarius, if indeed that is the correct expansion, does not specify the officer under whom he served, and since there are three possibilities it could be argued that the one most likely to be understood was the most senior not the most junior. The tribunes would therefore appear to have had about 10 beneficariii each not 12 - the analogy with the staff of the tribunus laticlavus as so often happens is not complete. The calculated length of time this post would be held is three to four years, though the only soldier who records duration of his service as a beneficarius tribuni held it for two years (68). The soldier had nine stipendia when he was promoted to the post, which accords well with the calculated stipendia of a beneficarius tribuni.

secutor

The position of the rank is clearly demonstrated by a

career inscription and by the promotions of the soldiers of the fifth cohort. Soldiers were advanced to the post from codicillarius (74, 75 and 76) and from it to beneficiarius tribuni (68, 77, 78 and 79), optio convalescentium (81) and optio c[(80). VI 221, dated to 113, records that the post was held by a principalis, but the word is probably being used in a non-technical sense. Galatus held the post for the two years following his seventh stipendium, but the average duration of the post, at least in the early third century, appears to have been three to four years (68). There are 14 secutores tribuni on VI 1058 (1, 13; 2, 1; 2, 3; 3, 8; 4, 11; 4, 12; 5, 10; 5, 11; 5, 12; 6, 2; 6, 3; 7, 11; 7, 12; 7, 13), and 13 on VI 1057 (1, 15; 1, 50; 1, 73; 2, 36; 2, 72; 2, 107; 3, 11; 3, 35; 4, 40; 4, 43; 5, 44; 6, 19; 7, 13); to the latter can probably be added VI 1057, 7, 11 S.., making a total of 14. This would appear to be the number of soldiers of this rank on the staff of each tribune.

codicillarius

The position of this post below secutor tribuni is demonstrated by VI 1057 and 1058. There are three promotions from the former to the latter (74, 75 and 76). The post was the lowest known on the cursus of the soldiers in the vigiles, and soldiers may well have been promoted to it after only a very few years' service, perhaps three or four. There seem to have been eleven codicillarii tribuni in each cohort

since that number appear on both lists of the fifth cohort sometimes without the epithet tribuni, though they are all presumably on the staff of this officer (VI 1057, 1, 42; 1, 65; 1, 108; 3, 62; 3, 69; 5, 27; 5, 60; 5, 86; 6, 39; 6, 48; 7, 21; VI 1058, 1, 54; 2, 2; 2, 5; 2, 6; 3, 10; 3, 11; 4, 13; 4, 14; 5, 14; 6, 4; 7, 19). This post is not attested other than on the above two inscriptions and on the list of the first cohort in 205 (VI 1056).

librarius

One librarius tribuni is recorded in the fifth cohort in 205 (VI 1057, 1, 10) and the lib(rarius) of 210 could be a soldier of the same rank (VI 1058, 3, 9). In that case it would appear that each tribune had one librarius only. A further clerk of this rank is recorded on VI 221, but in this case he was described as being lib(rarius) coh(ortis). Once again it should be pointed out that this soldier though described as a principalis could, owing to non-technical use of the term, actually have been an immunis (see Appendix I).

EXCTR

EXCTR appears on VI 1058, 3, 12; EXCT on VI 1057, 7, 34; EXC on VI 1058, 6, 3 is possibly another abbreviation for the same post. Domaszewski suggested exceptor rather than exactus because of the different abbreviations EX and EXC. However, note the different abbreviations of secutor tribuni (ST, STR, SET, SETR, SECTR). This would seem to imply that

a differential expansion on the basis of one letter cannot be accepted unequivocally, after all the C would be the obvious third letter in either words. Since exceptores and exacti are unattested except on these lists the problem must remain unsolved, but as the exacti are more numerous than the exceptores on the staffs of other officials this soldier ought to be an exactus. The exceptores appear to be late introductions, though exactly how late it is not possible to say. There only seems to have been one exactus, as there was only one librarius, on the staff of the tribune.

adiutor

XIV 4378, dated to 190, mentions in the last lineadiut. coh. V Hip. re. This could refer to an established post of adiutor cohortis. Adiut. appears alone, without qualification, on an inscription of 203 (VI 220), though this probably refers to an adiutor centurionis who is also attested.

Staff of the centurion

adiutor

This post is recorded on four inscriptions, all datable to the first three decades of the third century - VI 3069 dated to 221; VI 3078 to the same year, though the title is partly restored on the analogy of the previous inscription; VI 3076 to 226/9; VI 220 dated to 203 also contains an adiut(or) and since the inscription is dedicated in part to

the genius of the century and appears to contain only the men of one century the adiutor may have been an official of that century. The date of the introduction of this post is unknown, but certainly the post of adiutor is not a Severan innovation in the vigiles since an adiutor cohortis is attested in the year 190 (XIV 4378).

Standard bearers

IMC and IMA

On VI 1057 the IMA appears once (6, 5) and the IMC twice (1, 2; 6, 2). The only one to appear on VI 1058 is the IMC (1, 3). IM is found on VI 1056, 4, 5). Domaszewski put forward im(aginifer) A(ugusti) and im(aginifer) C(aesaris) as the expansion suggesting that in the reign of Severus the images of the one Augustus and the two Caesars would have to be carried. However he ignores the fact that Caracalla was made Augustus in 198 and Geta in 209. Hence there should be two IMAs in 205 and no IMCs in 210, though on the stones there are two IMCs in 205 and also one in 210! The expansions are therefore probably simply ima(ginifer) and im(a)g(inifer), a supposition supported by the fact that the im(aginifer) without any qualification appears on the list of the first cohort of 205. The total number of soldiers holding this post is unknown, but is in excess of three. The rank of the post is more certain. C. Rasinius Ianuarius was an ima(ginifer) in 205 and a cornicularius praefecti in 210 (94), while C. Iulius Zoticus

was an im(a)g(inifer) in 205 and an AQPR in 210. The post would therefore appear to be of equal rank to the senior staff posts.

The posts in the century

In the vigiles, as in the other units of the Roman Imperial army, the three posts forming the tactical posts of the posts in the century form a compact group with no other position interposing itself between any two of them. The signifer is not found in the vigiles, but his place is taken by the vexillarius; the three posts are therefore in ascending order, tesserarius, optio and vexillarius. The position of the three, above the junior staff posts and below the senior staff posts, is amply clear from a study of VI 1057 and 1058. It would probably have been unusual to hold all three of the posts. In the fifth cohort between 205 and 210 there are advancements from tesserarius to optio (85) and to vexillarius (84) and from optio to vexillarius (88); there is also one soldier who was a vexillarius in both years (89). Galatus held the post of vexillarius for three years (68), though Lucundus (72) with six and a half years' service and the posts of tesserarius, optio and vexillarius to his credit could have held none for very long. Although it is undoubtedly true that the posts in the century were the prerequisite for advancement to the higher ranks as Domaszewski points out this is not well demonstrated by the careers of the soldiers

in the vigiles, which only demonstrate hierarchical order as he also maintains. There was clearly one each in every century (e.g. VI 220, VI 221).

vexillarius

The most senior of the posts in the century, in status immediately above optio (72 and 88) and below beneficiarius subpraefecti (73) and optio ba[(90). There were also promotions to this post from beneficiarius tribuni (68) and tesserarius (84).

optio

This post was between tesserarius and vexillarius in the hierarchy (72, 85 and 88). There were also promotions from beneficiarius tribuni (71) and optio ca(rcaris?) (86) to optio and promotion from that post to ac(tarius?) praefecti (87). The earliest dated reference to the post is the second century (VI 221 - A.D. 113), but the last is under the reign of Gordian III (VI 3038).

tesserarius

This was the junior of the three posts in the century. There were promotions to it from beneficiarius tribuni (82) and optio cdnvalescentium?) (83), and advancement from it to optio (72 and 85) and to vexillarius (84).

Religious staff

haruspex

HAR appears twice on VI 1058 (2, 7 and 4, 15), and it

is difficult to see what else the abbreviation could stand for. Domaszewski (p.14) observes correctly that since there are no haruspices on the list of the same cohort in 205 these officers were attached to the staff of the prefect, as they were attached to the staff of the legate in a legion. The number of haruspices is unknown, though it is in the plural.

victimarius

VIC (VI 1056, 3, 11); VIC (VI 1057, 3, 4); VICT (VI 1058, 3, 14). These presumably all refer to the victimarius. It is impossible to say whether it is coincidence that there was one in each cohort in each year and there were in reality only a few in the whole unit spread over the cohorts, or whether it was a reflection of the true situation and there was one victimarius in every cohort. This post is otherwise unattested.

Hospital and Medical staff

medicus

There are four medici set apart on the inscription of the fifth cohort of 210 and also four in a similar position on the inscription of the second cohort of the same year (VI 1058 and 1059). It may therefore be that each cohort contained four medici though there may be an element of coincidence involved. Their rank, however, is not clear. The only other soldiers appearing on the front face of these inscriptions are the prefect, sub-prefect, tribune, centurions, and those senior principales - cornicularii or beneficiarii

of the prefect - who happen to be in the cohort. These principales are also recorded in the lists of the soldiers in each century of the cohort. The medici are not. This would suggest that they are not soldiers of immunis or principalis rank. But does it follow that they are therefore officers of a rank comparable to or higher than the centurion? Comparison with modern army practice is dangerous, the medici may hardly have been considered soldiers at all by their contemporaries, but if they did have a rank the limited evidence certainly suggests that they were of a similar standing to the centurions.

optio convalescentium

This post is abbreviated to OPCO (VI 1057, 6, 13), or OPCONV (VI 1058, 7, 10). There is only one clear reference to the post in each year but this may be due either to accident or design - OPC (VI 1057, 3, 18) and OPT (VI 1058, 1, 12; 4, 8; 4, 9) are found on the two inscriptions and are presumably abbreviations of optio convalescentium or optio carcaris. Domaszewski's expansion of the abbreviations is acceptable, the post being the equivalent in the vigiles of the optio valetudinarii found in other units. The post appears in two careers (81 and 83). One soldier was a secutor tribuni in 205 and an optio convalescentium in the same cohort in 210, the other was an optio convalescentium in 205 and a tesserarius in 210. This clearly places the

post on a par with the beneficiarius tribuni. The promotion of the optio carcaris to optio between 205 and 210 (86) might suggest that this post is higher than the optio conualescentium, but the soldier could have omitted a post in his career or held the post in between the two years (cf. 84). To draw an analogy from the urban cohorts, as does Domaszewski, when the post of optio conualescentium does not exist in that unit, is not acceptable.

Musical staff

There is only one musician attested in the vigiles though others may have existed.

bucinator

VI 221 records a buc. in 7. Domaszewski took this to mean that there was one bucinator in each century. The inscription almost certainly implies this since the tactical posts are all qualified by the centurial sign, as the posts on the staff of the tribune are distinguished in their own way. On the two lists of the fifth cohort not every century had a bucinator, and one had two, so he therefore argued that the system had been changed in the intervening hundred years and the bucinatores were no longer attached to the century, but to the cohort, there probably being 5 in each. In support of this he could have cited VI 1056 on which not a single bucinator appears, unless VC (2, 6) has lost the first letter -B. The evidence from VI 1057 and 1058 is as

follows. There are two bucinatores in 205 in the first century (1, 56; 94) and one each in three other centuries (4, 51; 6, 24; 7, 8). It is possible the SV (5, 12) and //C (7, 12) hide two more. In the more damaged list of 210 there are only three bucinatores (4, 10; 5, 9; 7, 14).

There are a number of possibilities regarding the number and distribution of the bucinatores. The first is that there was one in each century but for some reason, perhaps damage on the stone, some centuries do not appear to have a bucinator. The two in the first century of 205 could be explained by the possibility that one soldier was due to retire and he was training his replacement. This is perhaps the least likely of all the suggestions. The second is that there was a number of bucinatores attached to each cohort. There is no evidence to support this, except perhaps the abbreviation BVCC, which could possibly be expanded to read buc(inator) (cohortis) (VI 1057, 7, 8). If the bucinatores were attached to the cohorts there were perhaps 5 in each as Domaszewski suggested. The final possibility is that they were not divided among the centuries or cohorts but carried out their duties at unit level. In support of this it could be argued that VI 1057 and 1058 both contain the correct number of bucinatores present at that time and none have subsequently disappeared from the stone, though this is doubtful, while the first four centuries of the first cohort contained no

bucinatores (VI 1056). The evidence is clearly far from satisfactory and the problem must rest until more materialises.

Prison staff

optio carcaris

OPCA (VI 1057, 2, 10) is the only clear example of this rank appearing on the long lists of 205 and 210. Domaszewski suggested that OPC (VI 1057, 3, 18) and OPTC (VI 1058, 1, 12; 4, 7; 4, 8) refer to the same post. This is uncertain in view of the existence of the post of optio conualescentium. The number of soldiers holding this post at any one time is not known, but they were probably on the staff of the prefect rather than the tribune. The career of L. Clodius Macrinus (86) illustrates the rank of the post. He was an optio ca(rcaris) in 205 and an optio centuriae in 210. He may have omitted one or two posts in his career, or alternatively held one between those two dates. The post therefore either tanks equally with beneficiarius tribuni - and there optio conualescentium - or with tesserarius.

carcerarius

The abbreviation KARC is found on the list of the fifth cohort in 205 (VI 1057, 7, 4). He may have had some connection with the prison.

Specialist fire-fighting staff

sifonarius

The siponar(ius) is known (VI 2994) and the abbreviation SIF occurs twice on both lists of the fifth cohort (VI 1057,

5, 8; 5, 24; VI 1058 6, 5; 6, 6). SVP appearing on one inscription (VI 32748) and SV on another (VI 1057 5, 12) may be abbreviations of the same post. The post also is found on a fourth century inscription abbreviated to sifona(rius) (VI 31075 dated to 362). The fact that there were two sifonarii in the fifth cohort in both years might suggest that there were two in each cohort in the vigiles, making 14 in all. This may indeed be possible, though the accident of survival should not be ruled out, but see the discussion of uncinarius below.

uncinarius

This post is abbreviated to VNC in VI 1057 (7, 2; 7, 12) and VNC COH in VI 1058 (7, 16; 7, 17). The post also appears on the inscription of 362 (VI 31075). The reference to unc(inarius) coh(ortis) implies that each cohort had its own uncinarii and the fact that there were two in 205 and also in 210 suggests that each cohort had 2, that is that there was an aggregate of 14 in the unit. It might therefore be fairly argued that there ought to be two sifonarii in each cohort bearing in mind the fact that uncinarius cohortis is abbreviated in one year VNC and the other VNC COH. The sifonarii may therefore have been attached to the cohort but omit mention of this on the inscription. This supposition receives slight support from the fact that in each year both holders of these two posts were in the same century, though the century containing the sifonarii is different from that containing the uncinarii. This is unusual but possibly is

more than a coincidence and indicates that each cohort had two uncinarii and two sifonarii with the two holders of each post carried together on the books of one century.

falcarius

This post is only found on the fourth century inscription recording a number of soldiers in the vigiles. It is abbreviated to falc(arius) (VI 31075, dated to 362). The post may have existed in the principate, though of course it is possible that it is a fourth century creation.

aquarius

AQO (VI 1057, 2, 8) AQV (VI 1057, 6, 12) AQA (VI 1058, 5, 13). Domaszewski followed Kellerman in presuming that these were aquarii. However, it is possible that they are an alternative abbreviation for a quaestionibus praefecti. This problem is insoluble until more evidence materialises. VI 1056, 1, 2, records the abbreviation AQ which could stand for either post.

emitularius

The last phrase of VI 3057 and VI 3076 appear to refer to a post of this title, though the two inscriptions are unusual and should be treated with care. Domaszewski suggested that the EMC in the fifth cohort in 210 (VI 1058, 7, 18) probably refers to an em(itularius) c(ohortis) and the -MI in 205 (VI 1057, 4, 3) the same post, ē/mi(tularius). These expansions are far from certain, and in fact all the inscriptions

referring to this post ought to be handled with reservation.

OPBA

OPTB (VI 1057, 7, 1), OPB (VI 1057, 4, 6), OB (VI 1057, 3, 39) and OPBA (VI 1058, 4, 4) all presumably are different abbreviations of the same post. P. Iulius Faustus was vexillarius in 205 and an OP BA in 210 (90) while Ti. Claudius Speratianus was an OP B in 205 and a beneficiarius sub-praefecti five years later (91). The rank of the post is therefore securely fixed. The number of soldiers holding this post at any one time, however, is not clear. Domaszewski (p.10) suggested that there were three in each cohort on the strength of the three found on the list of the fifth cohort of 205, but the different number in 210 may be due to the fact that these soldiers were spread throughout all the cohorts and not attached to each cohort or to the accident of survival. The expansion of the post is not certain either. Baillie Reynolds discusses this problem (p.83), pointing out that there are three derivations: from balteus (Henzen), balneum (Kellerman) and from ballista (de Rossi) - Domaszewski favoured the latter. Baillie Reynolds, wisely, did not commit himself to any of these suggestions, merely commenting that on the basis of VI 31075 "the title obviously refers to some kind of engine used by the Vigiles, but more than that one cannot say". No further evidence has come to light since these words were written in 1926 and the situation

therefore remains the same.

ABAL

ABAL (VI 1057, 1, 11; VI 1058, 1, 14; 3, 13), ABA (VI 1057, 6, 11), and AB (VI 1057, 5, 15) all presumably refer to the same post. This post is usually expanded to read a balneis but there is no reason to suppose that the post is not connected with the OP BA, the expansion of which is uncertain. The ABAL is probably a member of the staff of the OP BA. The staff on which the OP BA served is not certain and the fact that there were two ABAL in 210 and three in 205 sheds no light on this. C. Caecilius Martialis, an ABA in 205, was an har(uspex) in 210. Since the rank of the latter official is not known, however, the position of the ABAL is in no way clarified. He is in fact probably an immunis.

Miscellaneous

OPA

This abbreviation appears in VI 1057, 1, 21. The usually accepted restoration is op(tio) a(rmamentat[i]) though no parallel can be cited. The rank of the post is similarly unknown.

horrearius

The abbreviation hor. leg. is found on the list of soldiers in a century described as principales, though the term is probably not being used technically (VI 22~~1~~). It is difficult to see what expansion could be suggested other than hor(rearius), though leg. remains a mystery. HO

describes M. Ulpius Irenaeus in both 205 and 210 (99).
 Domaszewski (p.14) suggested that this was the same post,
 and there is no reason to doubt this.

cacus

CACVS is attested on VI 1058, 7, 15, but this is a
 unique reference to this post. The soldier (102) had been
 described as a CPC, also a unique post, five years previously.

CPC

The only record of this is on the career of M. Sattius
 Felix (102) who held this post in 205 and that of cacus in
 210. It is possible that the two signs refer to the same
 post, the P being a misread A.

There are a number of abbreviations for which it is
 not possible to suggest an expansion. These are:

PRE C - VI 1058, 1, 2
P B R - VI 1056, 4, 1
C O - VI 1056, 4, 2
SN - VI 1056, 4, 98

Similarly the correct expansion of a number of abbreviations
 on the lists on the first and fifth cohort are not certain
 since there are alternate possibilities, for example OC
 (VI 1056, 1, 7; 3, 2; 4, 18) could be either optio carcaris
 or optio convalescentium.

The Legions

Staff of the praetorian prefect

In addition to drawing his staff from the praetorian cohorts, and possibly on occasions the urban cohorts also, the praetorian prefect appears to have tapped another source, namely II Parthica, for one soldier on his staff was a member of that unit.

strator

VI 3408 = ILS 2420: d.m. M. Ulp. Silvano stra. pr.
pr. cc. vv. ex leg. II P. p. f. f. a -

The inscription is third century in date and it is possible that the prefect had no stratores until this date since none are attested in the praetorian cohorts.

Staff of the provincial governor

The correct title of the officium appears to have been the praetorium, with the princeps praetorii at its head (IGRR I 629, IGRR III 1230, AE 1933, 57 and P. Oxy. 1637, 10).

Since most provincial governors were consulars their staff officers were usually referred as being of the consular, thus cornicularius consularis or immunis consularis, even when the governor was not a consular.

cornicularius

The cornicularius consularis was the most senior

principalis in the legions and stood at the head of the officium (II 4122, III 4452, 7794, VIII 2586, XIII 6803). There is only one promotion known to this post, that is from commentariensis (168), though a number from it to the centurionate are attested. These centurionates were usually held in legions (120, 145, 148 and 168), though the auxilia was also possible (157); there is no promotion recorded to centurionate in one of the units in Rome. After serving as cornicularius consularis advancement to a centurionate was not, however, automatic; III 8752 records a veteran of I Adiutrix ex corn. cos. and XIII 1860 a veteran of VIII Augusta ex cornuc. praesidis provinciae Lugdunensis. Since the size of the provinces, their garrisons and the rank of provincial governors varied it might be expected that the number of cornicularii varied proportionally. This does indeed appear to have been the case, though only six provinces, with one possible addition, have produced evidence for the number of cornicularii. These are set down in chronological order below.

PROVINCE	NO. OF LEGIONS	NO. OF CORNICULARII	REFERENCE	DATE
Thrace	0	3	III 7394	161-164
Hispania citerior	1	2	II 4122	198-209
Dacia	2	2(+)	III 14479	198-209
Pannonia sup.	3	3	III 4452	212
Numidia	1	2	VIII 2586	214-216

Germania sup.	2	3	XIII 6803	213-217
Galatia	0	2	III 6754	3c

Three provinces had two cornicularii, three three, and one two or more. The reason for the difference cannot be chronological for Thrace had three cornicularii in the 160s and Hispania citerior two forty years later. Nor do the number of legions seem to have any bearing since Thrace with no legions had three cornicularii, Hispania citerior with one had two, Germania superior with two legions had three, and Pannonia superior with three legions also had three cornicularii. With the exception of Numidia where the size of the officium of the governor appears to be subject to its own rules the frontier provinces each had three cornicularii - Pannonia superior, Germania superior, Dacia possibly, and also Thrace a troubled area - while the more settled provinces - Hispania citerior and Galatia had only two. This is one possible reason for the difference in the size of staff, though in fact the reason may simply be that there was no fixed rule as regards the number of cornicularii and the size of the officium, the governor being able to determine himself the numbers of staff necessary, which might vary with the amount of work to be done. Domaszewski (p.29 ff) suggested that the norm was three cornicularii and that in the cases where there were only two special local factors were at play. This will not do since the numbers are divided so equally between three

provinces with three and three provinces with two; it could be argued the other way that the norm was two. Finally there is the possibility that the staffs of the provinces with two cornicularii were under strength. This is difficult to accept because of the figures; if only one province had two cornicularii this suggestion might be accepted, but the figures are in fact 50 per cent. In conclusion it may simply be said that there appears to be no reason why some provinces should have two cornicularii and others three.

Other provinces had cornicularii provided by the legions: Aegyptus (AE 1955, 238 dated to 158), Arabia (ILS 8880), Belgica (XIII 11350), Dalmatia (III 2052 and AE 1904, 10), Lugdunensis in the third century (XIII 1860), Moesia inferior (III 7542 dated to 155), Pannonia inferior (III 3543) and Syria (IGRR III 1008 dated to 195) have all provided evidence, though undoubtedly the staffs of most of the other provincial governors were furnished by the legions.

Domaszewski suggested that the cornicularius consularis was an eques. Most of his evidence rests upon the inscription recording the career of M. Caranthius Macrinus (64), a member of the urban cohort stationed at Lugudunum who was promoted cornicular(ius) equestrib(us) stipendis. There is nothing to say that this is not an isolated case, the intention being to reward Macrinus for reasons other than his appointment to cornicularius, and in any case he was

not a legionary. Similarly the career of Etuvius Capreolus (107) is clearly irrelevant to the discussion since cornicularius is nowhere mentioned in the career, while in the early period, to which the inscription belongs, direct promotion could not be ruled out. Finally the reference of Suetonius (de Grammaticis 9: L. Orbillius primo opparaturam magistratibus fecit; deinde in Macedonia corniculo, ~~max~~ eques meruit) to L. Orbillius has no bearing upon the discussion since the writer might not be using correct military terminology, though the comment might be taken as slightly supporting the contention of Domaszewski. However, elsewhere he points out that the tombstone of a cornicularius praefecti praetorio has on it an effigy of the soldier showing him mounted, while from evidence not available to him the cornicularius of the tribune of the twentieth cohort of Palmyrenes was also an eques in contrast to the actarius who was not. The evidence shows that at least some types of cornicularii were equites, while there is no record of a cornicularius being a pedes. Therefore it can be said that the slight evidence such as there is suggests that the cornicularius consularis was probably usually an eques.

The dated inscriptions recording this post all fall within the seventy years from 150 to 220. The earlier existence of the post is demonstrated by the career of

M. Caranthius Macrinus (64) who was a cornicularius legati provinciae Lugdunensis in 83.

commentariensis

Where this post is mentioned on inscriptions recording the staff of the provincial governors it immediately follows cornicularius (II 4122, III 4452, 7794, VIII 2586, XIII 6803). There is one case of a soldier promoted from commentariensis to cornicularius consularis (168), while another was advanced to optio ad spem ordinis (124).

Promotions to this post are attested from beneficiarius legati (124) beneficiarius consularis (168), quaestionarius (169), frumentarius (175) and speculator (151 and 179). The position of the post on the career is clearly determined as being just below the cornicularius consularis, and perhaps equal to the cornicularius legati. The number of commentarienses on the staff of a provincial governor appears to have been the same as the number of cornicularii:

PROVINCE	NO. OF CORNICUL.	NO. OF COMMENTARIENSES	REFERENCE	DATE
Tarraconensis	2	2	II 4122	198-209
Pannonia sup.	3	3	III 4452	212
Numidia	2	2?	VIII 2586	214-216
Germania sup.	3	3	XIII 6803	213-217

Each provincial governor will therefore presumably have had either two or three commentarienses. These officers are attested on the staff of governors of other provinces:

Arabia (ILS 8880), Dacia (III 7794), Dalmatia (III 2015),

Lugdunensis (XIII 1732, 1771) Moesia superior (Mitt der Zentralkomm. 23 1897, p.77 ~~n.~~ 27) and Thrace (III 14207, 14).

The earliest record of this post is on an inscription dated to the late first century or the early years of the second (124).

speculator

This post is clearly the third in the hierarchy in the officium of a provincial governor, following cornicularius and commentariensis (II 4122, III 4452, 7794, VIII 2586), and preceding such as the beneficiarius consularis and the quaestionarius (VIII 2586, AE 1917/8, 57). There are promotions known to speculator from beneficiarius consularis (144, 180) and advancements from the post to commentariensis (151 and 179) and cornicularius legionis (182). There are no direct promotions attested from speculator to centurion, though a number of inscriptions (e.g. 131-136) record indirect promotion. There appear to be no speculatores recorded as veterans which suggests that they were normally promoted. Each legion appears to have supplied 10 speculatores to the governor. The evidence is set down below:

PROVINCE	NO. OF LEGIONS	NO. OF SPECULATORES	REFERENCE	DATE
Lusitania	0	10	XI 395	65
Tarraconensis	1	10	II 4122	198-209
Pannonia sup.	3	30	III 4452	212

Pannonia inf.	2	20	III 3524	228
Numidia	1	4	AE 1917/8, 57	200-210
	1	4	VIII 2586	214-216

If the case of Numidia is ignored the rule seems to be: in provinces with one, two or three legions each legion provided 10 speculatores for the governor's officium; in provinces without legions the governor had 10 speculatores only. This is clear from four of the surviving cases. Numidia is, however, in a separate category. Tacitus mentions that when the legate of III Augusta was given control over Numidia independently of the proconsul of Africa the patronage available to the latter was shared with the former. (Historias 4, 48). There was clearly some connection remaining in the time of Hadrian since he refers to the fact that the legion sent a cohort to serve under the proconsul (VIII 18042). The two inscriptions referring to the staff of the governor of Numidia, however, are both dated to the early third century when the province was possibly independent of Africa (see B.E. Thomasson, Die Statthalter der Römischen Provinzen Nordafricas von Augustus bis Diocletianus, 1960, 82-88). If they had been dated earlier - say to the first century - it could have been argued that the number of officers was smaller than it should have been since others were on the staff of the proconsul, the number of cornicularii,

commentarienses and speculatores being divided 2 : 2 : 4 and 1 : 1 : 6. Not only does the date cast doubts on such an argument but also the fact that it was clearly possible to have two cornicularii and two commentarienses detracts from its strength. Hence it is possible that for some unknown reason only the number of speculatores on the staff of the governor of Numidia was unusual - perhaps there were 10 speculatores and 6 were stationed at a city other than Lambaesis. However, it could be argued with some conviction that if the staff was divided, after the elevation of Numidia to true provincial status the number of senior officers remained the same as before and continued to be divided between the two governors. In summary it is clear that for a reason as yet unknown the number of speculatores and other senior officers on the staff of the governor of Numidia were smaller than was normal in other provinces.

Speculatores are attested on the staff of other provincial governors: Aegyptus (AE 1955, 238), Britannia (VI 2258 and RIB 19), Dacia (III 7794 and 14479), Dalmatia (AE 1914, 75), Germania superior (XIII 6721 and 6884), Lugdunensis (XIII 1732), Mesopotamia (VI 36775), Moesia inferior (III 13719), Moesia superior (III 1650add and 8173), Noricum (III 4803) and Syria Phoenicia (III 14385b cf. III 138add).

The first mention of this post in the legions falls

within the first half of the first century (AE 1956, 75), and it continued to the end of the period under discussion (cf. III 4803).

optio speculatorum

The post of optio specul(atorum) is recorded on an Egyptian inscription dated to about 118 (III 14137.1). The inscription is only preserved in a manuscript and reads:

Q. Rammio Matiali praef. Aeg. A. Rutilius Cilo optio specul.

o. m. The wording could be hiding a promotion rather than a post, though this is perhaps unlikely. Nevertheless the existence of this post must be treated with reservation and regarded as rather suspect.

beneficiarius

This post ranked in the officium of the governor after the cornicularius, commentariensis and speculator and above the quaestionarius (VIII 2586 and AE 1917/8, 57). There are promotions to the post from frumentarius (171, 172 and 173), and from it to speculator (144 and 180), commentariensis (168), in the third century possibly to the centurionate (probably 174 and possible 187), and to posts in the equestris militia (185 and probably 186). The third century situation was clearly different from that pertaining in earlier days when no promotion to the centurionate is known. There are over 180 beneficarii consularis recorded in association with legions (many other beneficarii consularis

do not mention a legion), a total greatly in excess of that for any other post. Most of these soldiers probably rose no higher, the post of beneficiarius consularis probably acting as an efficiency bar. The number of holders of this post - 25 - mentioned on discharge lists or as veterans is only exceeded by the number of signiferi (39), the most senior post in the century and probably of roughly the same rank as the beneficiarius consularis.

(laterculi: III 14507, a, 12; 36; 38; VIII 2567, 18; two in AE 1955, 238 cohors. VII. of Domaszewski-Dobson. veterans: II 4148; III 196; 987; 3474; 3543; 4057; 4191; 6800; 7505; 7545; 8745; 9847; 10427; 12659; 14216.6; 14217.4; XIII 8293; AE 1928, 196; 1933, 248.)

Eight of the eleven beneficiarii who record their stipendia had service in excess of 21 years:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
RIB 293	31	52	1c
XIII 1843	22-25		late 2c-3c
II 4167	24	41	"
II 4144	23	45	"
III 6300	23	40	"
III 14212, 19	23	40	"
III 11240	22	40	"
II 4154	21	40	"
III 13807	11	28	"

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
VIII 27854	7	25	c.100 - 167
AE 1957, 191	6	25	70s

The large number of beneficiarii is probably related to the actual numbers of officers of this rank serving on the staff of the governor. The only reference to the number of beneficiarii comes from Lambaesis, and it has already been noted that the situation in Numidia does not appear to be normal. On two inscriptions (VIII 2586 and AE 1917/8, 57), both falling within the period 200 to 216, 30 beneficiarii cos. are mentioned. However, since the number of speculatores is so low - 4 instead of the normal 10 - the possibility has to be reckoned with that the beneficiarii were in excess of 30. The norm may well have been therefore 60 not 30, though there is no way of knowing for certain on the evidence now available. It is possible, indeed probable, that the number of beneficiarii varied from province to province, and from period to period, though probably increasing rather than decreasing (cf. Pliny's letters, (Pliny to Trajan 21 and 27) illustrate how the number of beneficiarii could increase). Most of the evidence for the beneficiarii of governors comes from the Danube provinces and it is possible that the governors of these provinces needed more for special duties.

The following provinces have produced evidence for beneficiarii (only one inscription is mentioned, though there

are often a plurality of references surviving):

Arabia (168), Belgica (V 6785), Britannia (RIB 293), Britannia superior (RIB 1696), Cappadocia (III 6800), Dacia (III 1485), Dalmatia (III 3161), Germania superior (XIII 6740), Germania inferior (XIII 8278), Lugdunensis (XIII 1843), Moesia inferior (III 7447), Moesia superior (III 6300), Noricum (III 11482), Numidia (VIII 2586), Pannonia inferior (III 12723), Pannonia superior (III 12802), Raetia (III 5768), Tarraconensis (II 4144).

The first dated reference to a beneficiarius consularis is in the 70s (VIII 27854) and the last in 257 (III 3906).

beneficiarius domicurius

This post is found on two inscriptions, both relating to III Augusta and both of the second half of the third century:

VIII 2797: ...IAI... ..L et leg. III Aug. Gallienae
Aemilius Florus bf. domicurius eius patrono /pr/aestantis/simo..

CIL suggested the following expansion for the early part of the inscription: legato Augusti pro praetore provinc/iae

/Numidia/e et leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) Gallienae.. Although

this is not certain the early part of the inscription probably refers to the other titles of the legate of the legion.

AE 1917/8, 76: /C./ Pomponio Magno leg. Aug. pr. pr. c.v.

consuli patrono inconp/ar/abili P. Geminus Gallonianus bf.

domicurator promotus ab eo. Magnus was governor of Numidia

about 259 (E. Birley, 'The Governors of Numidia A.D. 193-268', JRS XL (1950) 65).

The fact that the post is not abbreviated might be taken to suggest that it is a fairly recent creation. Perhaps these two were beneficiarii consularis and held these special ad hoc appointments, though the description of the post suggests that it was established.

quaestionarius

This post is below the cornicularius, commentariensis, speculator and beneficiarius in the hierarchy of the governor's officium and also the candidati and ex frumentariis (VIII 2586 and AE 1917/8, 57). These two inscriptions also record that it was above the beneficiarius sexmestris in status. The post is only recorded on one career (169) and in this case the soldier was promoted to commentariensis. It would appear that usually quaestionarii were not promoted to the centurionate since the candidati ranked not only higher than the holders of this post but also than the ex frumentariis. In Numidia there were either four (AE 1917/8, 57) or five quaestionarii (VIII 2586), but this may not reflect accurately the situation in other provinces. The other provinces which have produced evidence for soldiers of this rank are: Arabia (AE 1895, 77), Moesia inferior (III 12401), and Tarraconensis (II 4156). All the dated references to this post in association with legionaries are third century, and the undated cases probably fall within this period. This is not to say, however, that this post was a Severan introduction.

frumentarius

This officer was clearly attached in some way to the legions, but there is no evidence that he served on the staff of the governor or of the legionary legate for that matter, and the post has therefore been discussed under the heading of the castra peregrina.

optio praetorii

This post appears on three inscriptions (III 7765, 5803 and X 7583). Only one of these is dated (X 7583) and it falls within the period 198-209; the others can only be generally dated to the second or third centuries. The rank of the post is uncertain since optiones with special duties appear at almost any grade. The three inscriptions record the post of optio praetorii in the provinces of Dacia (III 7765), Raetia (III 5803) and Sardinia (X 7583).

The optio praetoritor/⁷ recorded on an inscription at Lambaesis (VIII 2947) may be recording a variant title of the optio praetorii, or an entirely different post. If the latter it is difficult to see what the correct rendering of the title would have been. The former is more likely to be correct.

librarius

There is no direct evidence to demonstrate the rank of the librarius consularis. By analogy with the staff of the legionary legate he stood higher than the exactus, but

lower than the actarius, as Domaszewski rightly points out, though unfortunately the rank of the latter officer is not entirely certain. Legionary librarii were promoted to tesserarius (119) and to armorum custos (156) and there is no reason to think that the librarii on the governor's staff ranked much differently, at least they cannot have ranked higher than the posts in the century. Domaszewski's contention that the librarius consularis was at least equal in status to the posts in the century rests upon a misinterpretation of the position of the librarii on the staff of the prefect of the vigiles. One librarius consularis had five stipendia and was 23 years of age (V 375) and another was aged 30 (III 5814). They are recorded in connection with the officii of the following provincial governors: Arabia (112), Dacia (III 1318, 6246, 14215,16 and AE 1965, 35), Moesia superior (III 12658), Noricum (III 5435, 5631), Pannonia inferior (III 10521), Raetia (III 5814). The earliest dated reference to this post is in 107 (112).

immunis

G.R. Watson in an important article considered that immunis consularis was a local variant of librarius consularis, the former being found in the Rhineland and perhaps in Gaul and the latter on the Danube: these conclusions have been accepted here (Immunis Consularis, 45-55). The distribution of librarii has been noted above; Raetia is the westernmost

case, Dacia being the focal province. Immunes consulares are found in the following provinces: Germania inferior (AE 1930, 35), Germania superior (XIII 5170, 5621, 7335 and 7277 which mentions no legion), and Lugdunensis (XIII 1903). These inscriptions throw no further light on the rank of the immunis or librarius consularis. The earliest reference to an immunis consularis is on an inscription, which unfortunately does not mention a legion, dated to 183 (XIII 7277). The latest dated reference to the post was in the years 262-266 (AE 1930, 35).

exactus

In the legions this post ranked below librarius and therefore probably did in the officium of the governor. There is one promotion from exactus to armorum custos attested in the legions and this probably reflects the rank of the exactus in the provincial headquarters. The number of exacti consularis, as of librarii, are not known, but they are found in several provinces: Dalmatia or Moesia superior (AE 1940, 177), Germania superior (XIII 6738), Numidia (VIII 4240 and 2977), Pannonia inferior (III 3638 and 4311), and Raetia (III 5812). The only dated example is third century (XIII 6738 dated to 223), though they presumably existed in an earlier period.

exceptor

An exceptor of the governor of Moesia superior is

known in the third century (58). He had enlisted at the age of 17 and served as exceptor for four years before being transferred into the praetorian guard. VIII 17634, dated to the late second or third century, records exceptores together with a beneficiarius at the statio of Vazaivi in Numidia. These soldiers were probably on the staff of the governor. The number of these officers is unknown as is their rank, though the fact that a soldier was appointed one apparently very soon after his enlistment suggests that they were of low status. There is probably a reference to an except/or, though possibly on the staff of the legionary legate, on a papyrus dated to 80 (Pap. Gen. Lat. 1, II, b), which suggests that the post may have been in existence many years earlier than the two inscriptions imply.

Domaszewski considered that there was a post of exceptor princeps praetorii. He cited as his evidence III 5293 (Ager Celeianus): ..7an. XLVII Lupianus dupl. leg. X G. ex pr. pre..... The last phrase was restored to read ex(ceptor) pr(incipis) pr(a)e(torii). This is a daring restoration, and even if the last two words are accepted in default of other possibilities there appears to be no reason why the post could not have been ex(actus). Equally well the soldier could have been ex pr.....pre.....
adiutor

There are two adiutores from legions serving on the

staff of the governor known: adiutor officii cos. (III 3510 dated to 229) and adiutor officii corniculariorum cos. (III 3543, which is third century in date). The adiutor praeter. may be the same soldier masquerading under a different title, but on the other hand he may have had some connection with the optio praeteritor (III 4030). It is interesting to note that Tarrutenus Paternus lists the post of adiutor corniculariorum (Digest 50, 6, 7(b)). The adiutor presumably ranked below the other clerks, especially since they specifically mention that they served in the officium of the cornicularius of the governor. They do not appear in careers (218 quoted by Domaszewski is surely referring to an auxiliary), and their numbers are unknown. Cassius Pudens (III 3543), an adiutor officii corniculariorum cos. at his death, was aged 32 and had served for 13 years, but these figures are of little practical use by themselves. The two references are third century in date, though this is no indication as to when the post was introduced. The two soldiers were on the staff of the governor of Pannonia inferior.

Another adiutor is recorded on an inscription from Moguntiacum:

XIII 6746: deae Palladi. C. Aur. Festinus 7 strat. C. I/uli? E/gnatiani leg. tabularium pensilem a solo fecit adiutore Cossio Martino Prae/s/ente et Extr/i/cato /cos.7 (217)

Domaszewski (p. 37) considered that the adiutor was in the

tabularium of the statores. This view was accepted by Passerini (Legio p. 605) but challenged by E. Stein (Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat, Wien 1932, 76), who considered that the phrase did not refer to a specific post. He held that the man was an adiutor praetorii. In fact the inscription raises more problems than it can answer. It is possible that adiutor is not being used in a technical sense to describe a rank though there is no reason why it should not be. On the other hand it is probable that the soldier was on the staff of the tabularium legionis since a tabularium statorum is otherwise unattested. In short Stein is probably correct in thinking that this is an adiutor praetorii, but incorrect in equating the adiutor praetorii with the optio praetorii.

strator

The rank of this officer is not known, though it must be fairly low; he was probably an immunis. Domaszewski is correct in placing it below the frumentarius in rank. The earliest record of the post is in 164 on an inscription mentioning the stratores of Germania inferior (XIII 8203). The following provinces have produced evidence for stratores: Britannia (RIB 233), Germania inferior (XIII 8203), Germania superior (XIII 6732), Mesopotamia (III 1651), Moesia inferior (AE 1919, 15), Moesia superior (III 14507), Noricum (III 4836), Numidia (AE 1917/8, 78), Pannonia inferior (III 10315). These

soldiers were probably under the command of the centurio strator (cf. VIII 2749, II 4114 and N, 1938, 237).

singularis

There is no absolutely clear case of a legionary singularis consularis. That this rank did exist in the legions is demonstrated by VI 3614 -..singularis leg(ionis) X Fretensis (centuriae) Volusi Magni.... and by VI 3339 ... Q. Aemilius Marinus singular. leg. eiusd... But the official under whom these singulares served is not mentioned, and cannot with any degree of certainty be inferred. Singulares are attested in association with legionaries on inscriptions. N. 1938, 237 records .. V/e/ttius Rufinus 7 leg. I M. /p/. f. c/u/rram agens stratorum leg. I M. et XXX V. V. et peditum singularium Alli Fusci cos. (c. 192). If the singulares were legionaries why were they not grouped with the stratores? Might this not imply that they were auxiliaries? On a second inscription, XIII 8203, the singulares are grouped more closely with the stratores -..... M. Verecundinius Simplex 7 leg. XXX Ulp. curam agens stratorum et peditum singularium cos. (164)- but this inscription is of little practical use beyond demonstrating that this provincial governor had a number of pedites singulares on his staff, their unit of origin and their status are a mystery. One final scrap of evidence should be considered; a tombstone from Lambaesis records the death of C. Iulius Nepos a pedes singularis aged 18. His unit is not

mentioned but he could have been an auxiliary serving on the staff of the governor. His brother, C. Iulius Verus, was a beneficiarius consularis and therefore a legionary and it might therefore be expected that Nepos was in the same legion. There are though a number of cases of brothers serving some in legions and others in the auxilia so this piece of evidence is also of uncertain value.

In summary there is no clear case of a singularis on the staff of the provincial governor being a legionary rather than an auxiliary, though the pedes singularis possibly was a legionary and the eques singularis an auxiliary, though it is clear that the cohors XX Palmyrenorum provided both pedites and equites singulares to the officium of their governor.

interpretes

A number of soldiers of this rank are known:

III 10505 (Aquincum):... m/il. leg. II Ad. du/pl. /e/t
interpreti Germanorum off. cos....

III 14349.5 (Aquincum):...mil. leg. II Ad. interpres S/....
...../ffici cos. ...

AE 1947, 35 (near Brigetio): .. interpretes Dacorum sal. leg.
I Ad. ...

III 14507, lat. dex. a, 11 (a laterculus of VII Claudia): INT.

III 14507, lat. sin, 40: INT.

In two cases the interpretes was serving on the staff of the governor, but the interpretes of I Adiutrix may have been in the officium of the legionary legate, as may the two in

VII Claudia. There were two interpretes retiring in 195 from this legion, but this is the only evidence bearing on the numbers of these soldiers. Presumably each governor, and perhaps legate, had as many as he found necessary, one or more for each language that came within his area - certainly interpretes in three different languages are attested. One interpex may have been a duplicarius (III 10505).

Religious staff

haruspex

One haruspex appears at the bottom of each list of the staff of the governor of Numidia (VIII 2586 and AE 1917/8, 57), dated to the period 200-216. There was presumably only one of the staff of this governor, and perhaps every governor, though it is not possible to generalise from one instance. The post is also recorded on ILS 9107 dated to the early second century. This part of the list would seem to refer to legionaries and also record the posts in hierarchical order. The haruspex follows the optio and the beneficiarius acil. and precedes the tesserarius. If the order is correct the rank of the haruspex would appear to be indicated. However, it is not certain that this haruspex was on the staff of the governor of the province, it is conceivable that he was on the staff of the legatus legionis.

victimarius

A victimarius is apparently recorded on a laterculus of III Augusta (VIII 18085, e, 4 - VI), though the officium in which this soldier served is not mentioned. XIII 8292 from Colonia Agrippinensium, however, records a victimario mil. leg. XXX V. V. Agrip. stip. XXVIII.... The legion was stationed at Vetera so the soldier was probably on the staff of the governor of Germania inferior at Colonia Agrippinensium.

Staff of the procuratorcornicularius

There are a number of cornicularii on the staff of procurators known, but with one exception (AE 1932, 41) none are mentioned in connection with legions (II 3323, III 3275, X 1679, XIII 1810 and ILG I 231). However, in the case of the exception, although a unit is mentioned, VI Victrix, the cornicularius may have been on the staff of the governor of Belgica or the procurator of Belgica and the two Germanies (cf. W. Meyers, L'Administration de la province romaine de Belgique, Brugge 1964, 48-9 and 69). Since the legions provided the procurators with beneficiarii they presumably supplied the cornicularii also.

beneficiarius

The rank of this soldier is not known since he neither appears on a career inscription nor in association with soldiers of other ranks. He presumably was similar in status

to the beneficiarius legati, or perhaps a little higher. A number of provinces have produced evidence of beneficariii procuratori: Belgica (XIII 3983), Dacia (III 6179 and 6180), Lugdunensis (XIII 1856, 1880 and 11178), Moesia superior (AE 1913, 39) and Pannonia inferior (III 3441, 3442, 3448, 3449, 3451, 3454, 10467, 13362). Pliny supplied, from the auxiliary cohorts at his command, the procurator of Pontus and Bithynia with 10 beneficariii. This is not only the first reference to beneficariii attached to the staff of the procurator, but also the only mention of the number of these officers. The letter (X, 27) clearly demonstrates how the number of beneficariii could easily rise. There is no reason to suppose that every procurator had the same number of beneficariii, or that the numbers attached to each procurator remained static. One inscription only mentions the age and length of service of a soldier of this rank - AE 1913, 39 - the soldier being 50 with 25 stipendia. Others are attested as veterans (XIII 1856; XIII 1880; III 6179, 1, 25; 3, 15; 6180, 1,5 - other bf. pr. are recorded on laterculi but may have been beneficari praefecti).

optio

There is only one soldier of this rank attested. He is recorded on an inscription from Valentia in Narbonensis, a veteran ex leg. prim. ¶ Min. ex optione proc. ducenar. (XII 1749). The inscription would most easily fit into a

third century context.

exactus

Lugdunum has produced two soldiers of this rank:

XIII 1847 records a clear exactus - ...mil. le/g. XXX
exacti proc. p. L. ...

XIII 1881, unfortunately presents problems -..factus
ex/actus procur. provinciarum duarum Lugud. et
Aquitanicae....

There was probably little difference in the position of this exactus and those on the staff of the governor and legionary legate, though that a difference did exist is demonstrated by reference to the career of Iulius Apollinaris (112).

Staff of the praepositus of a vexillation

One inscription of a group dated to the reign of Gallienus, lists the clerical staff of a vexillation of V Macedonica and XIII Gemina as follows:

(AE 1936, 56 = AIJ 314):

canaliclari et actariorum et codicarior(um) et librariorum
leg(ionum).

By this period the vexillation was probably a mobile field army unit to all intents and purposes separate from the parent units and needing its own staff.

canaliclarius

This is presumably a different spelling of cornicularius.

This spelling is found in the praetorian cohorts (52) and in the castra peregrina (190 and VI 1110). There were at least two canalicularii in the vexillation - perhaps there was one with each legionary detachment.

actarius

This post is directly paralleled in the tabularium legionis. Again there was probably one for each legionary detachment.

codicarius

This post is not known in the tabularium legionis, indeed it is not otherwise attested. It was apparently higher than the librarius in status yet lower than the actarius. There were a number in the vexillation, and in this case each legion may have supplied a plurality of codicarii since they were probably a kind of clerk.

librarius

This was the lowest post in the officium of the vexillation. There were 22 librarii to each cornicularius and actarius in the legion and there were therefore probably a number of librarii in the vexillation.

Each century in the vexillation would naturally have had its own officers and a dedication in the same series as the above was erected by the tesserarii and armorum custodes (AE 1936, 55).

Staff of the legionary legate

There is no support for Domaszewski's statement that the organisation in Numidia was unusual in the way that he suggests, with the praefectus castrorum taking over part of the duties of the legate, including control of the tabularium legionis. Domaszewski based most of his evidence on the very suspect expansion of]ef/..... to read /b(ene)f(iciarii) praefectii/ (AE 1895, 204), and the resulting dubious conclusion that the cornicularius and actarius who appear on either side of the beneficiarius praefecti were also on the staff of the praefectus castrorum. He therefore argued that the titles cornicularius legati and cornicularius praefecti were interchangeable and a tautology. There is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that the two officia were anything but completely separate under their own officers.

The correct name of this officium seems to have been the tabularium legionis (139).

cornicularius

This officer is the senior soldier below the rank of centurion in the tabularium of the legatus legionis (VI 3401, XIV 2255 of II Parthica and AE 1898, 108 of III Augusta). There are promotions to this post from beneficiarius legati (167), speculator (182) and possibly signifer (116), and advancements from it to optio ad spem

ordinis (167 and possibly 116) and centurion (182 and probably 183). One cornicularius (AE 1934, 267) had 14 years service and was aged 30, while another was 35 with 17 years service (XIII 6962). The inscriptions recording the tabularium of II Parthica and of III Augusta show that there was only one cornicularius in each. The earliest example of this post is in the career of Sabidius Maximus (116), dated to the second or third decade of the second century and the post clearly continues into the third century (e.g. 140).
actarius

This officer ranked below the cornicularius in the tabularium legionis, yet above the librarii and exacti (VI 3401, XIV 2255 and AE 1898, 108). The actarius does not appear in any career. It does, however, figure in one list (ILS 9107; AE 1895, 204 is of no value owing to the doubtful restoration of ...ef... to read bf. praef.). This inscription is a list of soldiers including both legionaries and auxiliaries, and can be dated to the early second century. The soldiers are almost certainly legionaries and appear to be in order of rank: the actarius follows 5 signiferi, and 3 imaginiferi and precedes an optio, 2 beneficiarii acil. a haruspex and a tesserarius. Since the posts in the century are in order the other posts probably are also. Domaszewski tried to draw a parallel between the position of the actarius in the legions and in

the vigiles. There is no evidence that the two officia were organised on a similar basis and in any case his reasoning for the position of the post in the vigiles is based upon the suspect expansion of AE 1895, 204! He also considered that the actarius ranked higher than optio since he considered that a cornicularius and an actarius recorded on a list of a schola of optiones at Lambaesis were promoted optiones; there is no evidence for this, they may simply have been commissioned to erect the inscription (140-142). One actarius at least was an equus; II 2663 records equites in his actarius leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) Ant(oniniana)e... Domaszewski considered that the actarius was promoted equus. In fact he may have been made an equus in order to supplement his pay, though this may have been an isolated case of this or an example of a situation common to every actarius in every legion. All the references to actarii are third century in date or at least would not be out of context in such a period (in addition to the references already quoted note AE 1910, 127 dated 212-222, RIB 327 dated to 244, ILS 9098, III 4232, 7753 and RIB 507. Note also the mention of actarii on AE 1936, 56). This does not necessarily mean that the post was a Severan introduction into the legions. Evidence already cited (VI 3401, XIV 2255 and AE 1898, 108), demonstrates that there was only one actarius in the tabularium of the legate.

beneficiarius

There is one promotion to this post and that is from armorum custos (166). There are promotions from it to cornicularius legati (167), probably commentariensis (124) and optio ad spem ordinis (113). The post logically must have ranked below beneficiarius consularis. On a list of 226 it appears to rank below signifer and above beneficiarius praefecti and immunis figulinarius (N 1938, 184). Three stipendia are known for beneficiarii legati:

RIB 505 probably 22 late 2c-3c in date

III 4328 22 late 2c-3c

XIII 6068 23 3c in date

Also a number of beneficiarii legati are recorded as veterans (12 in all: III 2677; III 12408; XIII 8011; AE 1959, 159; AE 1965, 120; III 6178, 5, 4; III 6179 1, 23; 2, 26; III 6180, 1, 16; VIII 18067 a, 26; 30; and also possibly VIII 18087, a 20). These do no more than reflect the soldiers who did not progress in their career, but stayed on as beneficiarii legati. The number of soldiers of this rank in the officium is not known but it must have been in excess of 12 since the beneficiarius tribuni laticlavi of III Augusta had that number, though of course every officer of that rank may not have been so fortunate - or may have been more so. It would not have been higher than the maximum of 60 allowed for a

provincial governor, and probably much less than that.

It was possibly about 20. The first dated reference to this post is about 100 (113) and the last in 252 (XIII 8015), though the inscriptions are predominantly third century in date.

librarius

The librarius legionis ranked below the actarius (139, VI 3401 and XIV 2255), tesserarius (119), armorum custos (156) and librarius consularis (112), there being promotions, or promise of promotion, to the three latter posts and above exactus (139, VI 3401 and XIV 2255) and probably cerarius (139). Two librarii had low stipendia:

III 3538 4 stipendia 18 years of age late 2c-3c

AE 1909, 144 5 stipendia 25 years of age late 2c-3c

though when age alone is given this tends to be higher:

III 1194 aged 28 late 2c-3c

III 909 aged 34 late 2c-3c

III 5953 aged 45 late 2c-3c

There were 22 librarii in the tabularium of the legate of III Augusta (139) and although each legionary legate may not have had exactly the same number it would not have been very different. The earliest reference to the post is in A.D. 107 (112) though the vast majority of the references fall in the late second or third centuries. Vegetius (II 7) refers to the post in a legion, but to no other clerical

position.

exactus

This post ranked below that of librarius legionis (139, VI 3401 and XIV 2255). There is one probable promotion from exactus to armorum custos known (143). There were 20 exacti on the staff of the legate of III Augusta, which indicates an approximate, if not exact, number to be found on the staffs of other legionary legates. The inscription recording this number is also the first dated reference to exacti legionis - c.200 (139).

cerarius

This post appears at the bottom of the list of 22 librarii and 20 exacti in the tabularium of the legate of III Augusta (139). There seems to be only one in the tabularium, and it is possible that the cerarius - L. Tonneius Martialis - was promoted to the post of librarius. CER is recorded on a laterculus of VII Claudia dated to 195 (III 14507, lat. sin., 54) and cera/r/ius appears even earlier on an Egyptian papyrus dated to 90 (Pap. Gen. Lat. I. IV. b). The latter document is usually thought to be listing the immunes of a century, but in fact it is more readily explained if it is considered to be listing the immunes on the books of a century serving outside that century. It therefore cannot be taken as evidence for there being one cerarius in each century. An immunis caerei of XIV Gemina,

recorded on an inscription dated to 213, is probably holding the same post (III 14358.2).

notarius

This post is recorded on one inscription:

d.m.s. P. Aelio P. f. Crescentiano notario legati, in officio Iuvenalis praef. praetori defuncto, vixit annis viginti duo et militavit an. IIII.... (129). The inscription can be dated to the period 193 to 200. The tombstone was erected at Lambaesis so the legate will presumably be of III Augusta. This post may have been unique to that legion, though if there was only one notarius in each legion, as there appears to have been only one cerarius, this would account for the paucity of references.

adiutor

There is no positive evidence for an adiutor in the officium of the legionary legate, but an adiutor officii corniculariorum who dedicated an altar at Potaissa, the legionary headquarters of V Macedonica, may have been in this officium, or less probably in that of the provincial governor and the same can be said of a soldier of the same rank serving in XIII Gemina who is mentioned on an inscription from Sarmizegethusa (III 1471). Similarly the four adiutores of IV Scythica recorded with a librarius on a graffito at Dura were probably also members of the legate's officium. Other references to adiutores are even less clear (IL Afr 339, XIII 6935, 6746 and AE 1907, 48), though Tarrutenus Paternus

mentions the post of adiutor corniculariorum in his list of immunes in a legion (Digest 50, 6, 7, (6)).

strater

The rank of this post is not known, though it was presumably below the posts in the century. It is not recorded in a career. AE 1966 p. 159 (cf. III 6641) implies that there were two stratores on the staff of the legate of X Fretensis - M. Iunio Maximo leg. Aug. leg. X Fr.

Antoniniana, Caius Domitius Sergianus Iulius Honoratus stratores eius. - and therefore possibly on the staff of every legate. Other legions have produced evidence for stratores - I Adiutrix (III 10316), II Adiutrix (III 10317, 10411), X Gemina (III 11300), XIV Gemina (III 11108), and possibly VII Claudia (Spomenick 1931, 594) and XXII Primigenia (XIII 6745). Tarrutenus Paternus mentions the post of strator in his list of immunes (Digest, 50, 6, 7, (6)).

stator

One inscription, dated to 270, records this post, III 8117 (Viminacium): d. m. Aur. Marcianus sta. leg. leg. VII Cl. st. XXVI.... It is to be presumed that this is a separate post from strator legati legionis. The rank of the soldier is not known and the 26 years service is of no help since immunes often stay in the same post until their retirement. The post may have been a third century

introduction, though if there were only a few statores this may account for the lack of evidence. Alternatively the post may, for some unknown reason, be unique to this legion, perhaps due to a whim of the commander. The inscription noted by Domaszewski records no unit for the stator and is therefore irrelevant (IGRR I 561).

singularis

Two inscriptions record singulares in legions, though the officia in which they served is not mentioned:

VI 3614 (Rome): M. Messius M. f. Col. Pudens singularis leg. X Fretensis 7 Volusi Magni domo Ancyra milit. an. XX vixit ann. XXXVIII.

VI 3339 (Rome): d.m. L. Gratii L. f. Clau. Verini Cemeneli mil. frum. leg. II Aug. vix. ann. XXXI militavit an. XII fecit heres Q. Aemilius Marinus singular. leg. eiusd.

These two singulares are clearly mentioned in connection with legions. It might be expected that they were on the staff of the legionary legate since no officer is mentioned, as Passerini (Legio 605) considered possible. On the other hand it could be argued that if the only singulares in a legion were those in the officia of provincial governors there would be no need to mention a senior official on the inscriptions. It is, however, extremely doubtful that they were on the staff of the tribune, as Domaszewski (p.40) considered: 'da die singulares der Statthalter Auxiliarreiter

sind und den Legionslegaten diese Officialen ganz fehlen, so werden sie den laticlavii zugeteilt gewesen sein, die demnach beritten sind'. He goes on to quote a passage in Josephus (Bell. Jud. 3, 6, 2) which he takes as supporting his thesis that tribunes had singulares. The passage in fact does not mention singulares, only a bodyguard, which could have guarded only the tribunes as Domaszewski suggested, or the whole group of officers - *ἡγεμόνες τε καὶ σπειρῶν ἐταρχοὶ σὺν χιλιαρχοῖς ἐπιλεκτοῦς περὶ σφῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔχοντες*. In conclusion it can be said that the legate possibly had a number of singulares on his staff, but there is as yet no positive proof of this.

Staff of the tribunus laticlavus

cornicularius

There is one promotion to the post of cornicularius tribuni, from frumentarius (176). The post was clearly one of the senior staff posts but its exact position is a mystery. VIII 2551 reveals that there was only one cornicularius tribuni, a situation which might be expected since there was only one cornicularius legati. This inscription also demonstrates the seniority of the cornicularius to the beneficiarii tribuni laticlavi., M. Iulius Proculus, a cornicularius tribuni in I Adiutrix, mil. an. XXVI, corni. trib. an. XVI.... (III 11027). The inscription would not be out of place in a third century context and clearly demonstrates

that such officers, perhaps of their own inclination, did not always rise to a centurionate but sometimes stayed in one post for many years. Two other stipendia of cornicularii tribuni are known:

III 5974	24 <u>stipendia</u>	aged 45	1 II - III
VIII 2930	23 <u>stipendia</u>	aged 41	"

Another cornicularius tribuni appears on a laterculus (VIII 18068, 33). These three veterans (including 176 and III 11027), two soldiers still cornicularii tribuni after 23 years service, together with the 16 years of Proculus up to his retirement all combine to suggest that this post was a backwater as far as further promotion was concerned, many holders of the post not rising any higher - perhaps it was recognised as a post from which promotion to the centurionate was unusual - though the small amount of evidence makes such an assumption dangerous. The only dated references to this post are late (VIII 2551 dated to 198 and III 4558 to 249) though this does not imply that the post is a Severan introduction.

beneficiarius

The rank of this soldier is nowhere attested though it must have been below beneficiarius legati. Domaszewski tried to compare this officer to the beneficiarius tribuni in the vigiles, but there is no evidence that a basis for analogy exists. VI 2551, dated to 198, demonstrates that

the tribunus laticlavus of III Augusta had at least 12 beneficiarii, while the tribunus laticlavus of X Gemina in 249 had at least 7 (III 4558 + p. 2328.40). A number of other beneficiarii of the tribunus laticlavus are known (VIII 2774, 2861 and 2892). Again all the references are late, but this probably has no significance. At least one beneficiarius of this tribune is recorded as a veteran (VIII 2892) but in general it is impossible to distinguish between the beneficiarii on the different staffs as veterans.

librarius

Two references on an inscription at Lambaesis are thought to refer to this soldier:

VIII 2626, a, 17 EXLLT Pomp. Pontius

b, 2 EX L T M. Aurel. Claudianus

One suggested expansion of the former has been ex l(ibrario) l(egionis et) t(ribuni) and another ex l(ibrario) l(a)t(iclavi). A suggested expansion of the latter reads: ex l(ibrario) t(ribuni) m.... M could be an abbreviation of the praenomen Marcus which is normally found with Aurelius though praenomen are rare on this dedication (c, l is perhaps another case). However, better evidence is needed before the existence of the post of librarius tribuni is considered to be definite.

secutor

There are possible references to this post:

Pap. Gen. Lat. I, IV, b (Egypt): secutor tri.....tius
Severus 1.

This line occurs in a list of the immunes in a legionary century on duty outside that century on a certain day in the year 90. III 3472 (Aquincum):Clod. Marcellinus
sc. trib. mil. leg. II Ad. p. f. Ant. transl. ex leg. X
Fr. Ant

This inscription can be dated by reference to the imperial titles appearing earlier in the dedication to the period 218-222. It also demonstrates how easily it is to misinterpret the evidence since Domaszewski (p.41) considered that the secutores tribuni only existed in Egypt. SC on this inscription is best rendered as secutor; in fact there is little else it could be as an abbreviation of singularis to SC would be unique and hardly possible. These two therefore must be references to secutores tribuni and they are separated by over a hundred years. There is no support for Domaszewski's conclusion that the secutor was on the staff of the tribunus angusticlavus, though there is no evidence that he was not; in fact the officium to which these two soldiers belong is not known.

SEQ appears twice on a list of soldiers of III Augusta erected in the period 209-211 (IL Afr 27, b, 15 and 30) and once from a list of duplicarii of the same legion in 218-220 (VIII 2564 b 58). The expansion of this may be secutor,

though no senior officer to whom they would be attached is mentioned.

optio

An inscription records the post of optio tribuni:
 II 5682 (Legio): L. Campilo Paterno equit. secundo Aquae
 Flaviae opt. trib/uni/ militum leg. VII Gem. p. fel.
 per Flavium Campilum Noelicum lib. f. c.

Domaszewski considered that SECVNDO was a mistake for /ori/undo, though the reading on the stone is clear. The tribunus militum referred to is probably the tribunus laticlavus. Domaszewski (pp.47-8) considered that the tribune commanded the legionary cavalry, quoting unsatisfactory evidence, and that this post ought therefore to be equated with the optio equitum. This was probably not the case. An honorific dedication at Lucania (X 135) to the senator Satrius Sep... records that under Domitian he held the post of optioni tribun/or. le/gionum quinq. between tribunus laticlavus and quaestor. Here optio is being used in its classical, non-technical sense and the post has no connections with the optio tribuni of VII Gemina.

Staff of the praefectus castrorum

The officium of the prefect appears to be called the officium rationum (cf. 165 recording a coadiutor off(ici) rat(ionum) promoted to cornicularius praefecti; and III 7979

recording a librarius a rationibus).

cornicularius

There is no surviving evidence to demonstrate the rank of this post. Domaszewski considered that it was higher than beneficiarius consularis, though the inscription cited does not prove this (VIII 17625). A cornicularius praefecti fulfilled the vow he made when an adiutor officiorum though the promotion was presumably not direct (165). There was probably only one cornicularius for this official since there was only one in the officia of the legate and the tribune. Not surprisingly therefore only one soldier of this rank is attested as a veteran (III 14507 a 48 - COR P; it is possibly that this should be expanded to cornicularius procuratoris). A number of legions have produced evidence of cornicularii praefecti: II Adiutrix (III 3565), III Augusta (VIII 17625, AE 1899, 60 and AE 1946, 38), VII Claudia (III 14507), XIII Gemina (165), XXII Deotariana (III 6608, which is the earliest example).

beneficiarius

These soldiers must have ranked below the beneficiarii of the two more senior officers of the legion but other evidence is lacking. The number of beneficiarii is also unknown. The following legions are known to have had beneficiarii praefecti: I Adiutrix (III 15188.4), II Adiutrix (III 3559), II Traiana (III 6580+ which is dated to 194, and AE 1955, 238

dated to 157 which is the earliest record of the post),
III Augusta (VIII 2568, 2784, 2813, 2937, 18293), III Italica
 (III 5953), IV Flavia (Spomenick 1931, 5), VII Claudia
 (III 14507) and XIII Gemina (III 1056). Some soldiers of
 this rank are recorded as veterans (III 3559 and III 6580,
 I, 14) but in general it is difficult to distinguish between
beneficiarii procuratoris and beneficiarii praefecti on
laterculi.
librarius

There are three references to this post:

III 7979 (Sarmizegetusa): d. m. C. Iul. Sabini mil. leg.

XIII G. librarius a rationibus vix. an. XXX....

XIII 8619 (Vetera): I.O.M. Conservatori Tertinius Vitalis
mil. leg. XXX v. v. s. a. lib. praef.(232).

AE 1899, 60 (cf. 138) (Lambaesis) also records librarii
 on the staff of the prefect.

The librarii praefecti must have ranked below the librarii
 of the more senior officers of the legion. Their numbers
 are unknown. These librarii appear to fall into the class
 known as officiales (AE 1899, 60), though whether this term
 was used to describe the members, or some members, of officia
 generally, is not known.

immunis

These are apparently mentioned on an inscription from
 Aquincum:

III 3565 : P. Tarrutenio Stel. Proculo Taurinis evocato leg. II Ad. stip. XLVI an LXVII h. s. e., C. Cornelius Felix cornicular. praeff. leg. eiusdem h. ex t. f. c. et immunes et discent.

On the basis of the discussion of immunis consularis these are more readily acceptable as clerks on the staff of the prefect of II Adiutrix, though this is not certain.

adiutor

There were two or more adiutores in the officium of the prefect since one is recorded as a coadiutor (165). This soldier fulfilled a vow as cornicularius praefecti which he had made when coadiutor off(ici) rat(ionum). This advancement was presumably not direct.

discens

III 3565 from Aquincum already noted under immunis praefecti appears to record discent(es) in the officium of the praefectus castrorum under the cornicularius. Domaszewski (p.40) noted the passage in the Digest (50, 6, 7) recording librarii quoque qui docere possint, which could be thought to have relevance to discentes mentioned in connection with a cornicularius praefecti. Librarii who instruct must have pupils!

Staff of the tribunus angusticlavus

beneficiarius

There is no positive proof of the existence of this post, though since the tribunus laticlavus had 12 beneficarii,

and the tribunus sexmestris 5 it is probable that the tribunus angusticlavus would have a small number at his disposal. Domaszewski (p.40) considered that the beneficiarii tribuni on the list of duplarii of III Augusta named after the post of tesserarius were beneficiarii of the tribunus angusticlavus. He had previously assumed that the beneficiarius tribuni laticlavi, on the basis of no evidence whatsoever, ranked above the posts in the century, thereby excluding the possibility that the beneficiarii tribuni on the list could be attached to the more senior officer. A number of inscriptions attest beneficiarii laticlavi and sexmestris but not angusticlavi but this does not preclude their existence.

There is no evidence that the other officers placed by Passerini (Legio 606) in the officium of the tribunus angusticlavus were in fact members of it. They all - secutor tribuni, together with the soldiers listed below, librarius, cerarius, custos domi and supernumerarius - appear on the Egyptian papyrus of 90 (Pap. Gen. Lat. I, IV, b). G.R. Watson (Roman Military Bookkeeping, 17) considered that this document demonstrated that each century had a librarius and a cerarius. In fact the document is best understood if these soldiers were members of one century but were serving outside the century and therefore not available for duty at century level. In that case this century will have supplied

the librarius and the cerarius to the officium or officia of unknown senior officers, the armorum custos to the armoury or the arms depot presumably, the secutor to the officium of the tribune and so on. The document does not show that the soldiers listed by Passerini served on the staff of the tribunus angusticlavus, and though it equally does not disprove it it is probable that they did not.

Staff of the tribunus sexmestris
commentariensis

On VIII 2586 there are two commentarienses named after the cornicularii and before the speculatores; the second commentariensis is followed not by his origo as in every other case but by the epithet TRIB LEG. Domaszewski, taking note of the beneficiarii sexmestris on the same list, which is a list of the senior NCOs on the staff of the governor of Numidia, came to the conclusion that the tribunus laticlavus was not meant but the tribunus sexmestris. The reference on the stone is peculiar and the commentariensis tribuni, if this was the rank of this soldier, is otherwise unattested. The nature of this post must therefore remain an open question until more evidence bearing on the problem is found.

beneficiarius

Two inscriptions from Lambaesis demonstrate that there were 5 beneficiarii tribuni sexmestris in Numidia in

the period 200 to 216 (VIII 2586 and AE 1917/8, 57). Two other legions have also produced inscriptions recording this post - III Cyrenaica (III 101) and VIII Augusta (XIII 1850), while BF S on a laterculus of VII Claudia has been interpreted as b(ene)f(iciarius) s(exmestris) (III 14507, ant, a, 31). A b(ene)f(iciarius) sem(estris) with 24 stipendia, and therefore a soldier, is recorded on a tombstone found at Novae in Moesia inferior, and therefore is presumably a legionary.

Staff of the princeps

The centurio princeps was the head of the tabularium principis (VIII 18072).

optio

As a centurion in the first cohort the princeps would have an optio under him. This soldier, with the other optiones of the first cohort however, appears on an inscription recording the building and subsequently the rebuilding of the tabularium principis at Lambaesis. (On the rebuilding stone the princeps and two librarii principis also appeared. This suggests that in addition to their normal duties in the century the optiones of the first cohort were also concerned with the running of the tabularium (VIII 18072). The building of the tabularium was in the period 200 to 210 and the rebuilding in 253. The evidence from III Augusta receives slight support from an inscription

from Argentorate (XIII 5970). Here an optio principis and a librarius principis presumably of VIII Augusta were, in 201, associated together in the rebuilding of a building in the centre of the fort. The tabularium principis in the legionary headquarters fits this description. Optiones principis are attested in two other legions - III Cyrenaica (AE 1956, 18 dated to 193-198) and possibly I Italica (VI 3628).

librarius

VIII 18072 records two librarii principis in connection with the rebuilding of the tabularium principis of III Augusta in 253. The part of the inscription recording the building of the office does not mention librarii, but this does not mean that this post did not exist at this date, only that librarii were not associated with the building. XIII 5970 records a librarius principis in 201, probably in VIII Augusta.

adiutor

This post is recorded on two inscriptions:

XIII 8516 (Rheincassel): ...Victori ad/iut. ta/bu/I. prin/cipis leg. II Parthic/..... S/everus bf. pref. pret.

VIII 4332 (Cassae): d. m. s. L. Sentio Valeriano vet. ex adiutore princ. leg. III Aug..... This inscription is

dated shortly after 158 by reference to VIII 4330. The above soldiers presumably held the established post of

adiutor principis, but VIII 18072 reveals that the term can be used in a loose sense for the tabularium principis was r/e/novatum ab Ulpio /A/ntonin/o p/rinc(ipe) et option/es/ coh(ortis) pri/m(ae)/ et adiu/t(ores)/ de suo f/e/cerunt... The inscription goes on to reveal that the adiutores are in fact the two librarii principis.

Clearly the word adiutor had a double meaning and care must be taken to establish that when a soldier is described as an adiutor the established post is referred to and not a loose description of librarius or any other clerical post. It is possible, though perhaps improbable, that adiutor and librarius are alternative titles for the same post.

Administrative staff of the century

librarius

G.R. Watson considered that the librarius and the cerarius on the Geneva Papyrus (Pap. Gen. Lat. I, IV, b), which records the soldiers not available for normal duties in the century, were actually clerks attached to that century. I have argued elsewhere that it is more probable that the soldiers on the list were not available for normal duties not because they held a post in the century but because they held a post outside the century administration and organisation, hence the librarius and cerarius will have served on the staff of a senior officer, probably the

legionary legate (cf. the discussion of this document under the Staff of the tribunus angusticlavus above). One inscription does, however, refer specifically to a librarius centuriae.

XIII 3595 (Ager Tungrorum): Aurnuc. Pertur. lib/rari
centur. leg. IV.

The inscription was found by workmen in 1818 and has since been lost. The reading does seem to be clear. The only fourth legion known to have been there is IV Macedonica in the period 43 - 69. This inscription is not first century in style though and is more likely to be fourth century in date. There are so many doubts attached to this inscription that it cannot be taken as proof of the existence of the post of librarius centuriae during the principate. G.R. Watson considered that the librarius depositorum listed as an immunis by Tarruntenus Paternus (Digest, 50, 6, 7, (6)) may well have been the correct title of the librarius of the century, a suggestion which carries a good deal of probability in view of the function of the signiferi (Roman Military Bookkeeping, 16-23).

adiutor

One inscription specifically records this post:
AE 1909, 3 (Lambaesis):C.Iunianus adiutor 7 leg. III
Aug. p. v. v.s.l.l.m. The titles pia vindex were granted in 193.

The use of the word in connection with the signiferi in the following inscription may not be technical, but they may have been adiutores centuriae:

VIII 18224 (Lambaesis): I.O.M.Dol. p.p.Flavi Studiosi Sabinius Ingenuus et Aurelius Sedatus sig. leg. III Aug. agentes cura macelli v.l.a.s. cum azuitoribus suis.

Other staff posts

tabularius

This post is only attested in III Augusta and the staff to which the officer was attached is not certain.

AE 1899, 91, a, 2 ius Cas. tab.

8Cas. tab.

9us Cas. tab.

On this laterculus found at Lambaesis and therefore presumably relating to soldiers of III Augusta TAB should probably be expanded to read tab(ularius). No officium is mentioned and this might imply that the tabularii served on the staff of only one official connected with III Augusta, though this is not certain.

optio custodiarum

There are two epigraphic references to this post:

III 15191 (Carnuntum): Nemesi Augg. C. Publ. Censoinus ve. leg. XIIII G. ex optione cust. - (201).

XIII 6739 (Mogontiacum): ... sollius /../ Gallicanu/s/ mil. leg. I A/di/ 7 Val. Fron. /../ optio cust/ ../ d. d. /..

The number of soldiers holding the post is not known, neither is the position of the post in the hierarchy, nor the staff on which the soldiers served.

ΟΠΤΙΩ ΕΞΑΚΤΩΝ ΚΟΡΝΙΚΟΥΛΑΡΙΟΥ

This post is only found once:

PSI V 465 6-7: ΟΠΤΙΩΝΙ ΕΞΑΚ. ΚΟ.

Daris restored this to read ΟΠΤΙΩΝΙ ΕΞΑΚ(ΤΩ?) ΚΟ(ΝΙΚΟΥΛΑΡΙΩ)

and R.W. Davies ΟΠΤΙΩΝΙ ΕΞΑΚ(ΤΩΝ) ΚΟ(ΝΙΚΟΥΛΑΡΙΩ)

The papyrus was found at Ossirinio in Egypt and can be dated to 265. It almost certainly refers to II Traiana. The officium in which the cornicularius and therefore the optio served is not known, but a post so specialised as this was probably on the staff of the legate.

beneficiarius acil.

This post is recorded solely on the inscription listing legionaries and auxiliaries erected at Trophaeum Traiani early in the second century (ILS 9107). Unfortunately it is not absolutely clear that the soldiers in question were legionaries and not auxiliaries but it is generally assumed that they were the former. Two beneficarii acil. appear on the list, which appears to be in hierarchical order - 5 signiferi, 3 imaginiferi, one actarius, one optio 2 beneficarii acil., one haruspex and one tesserarius. Since it is not clear that the soldiers were all members of one legion it is not possible to say how many beneficarii acil.

there were in a legion, nor is it possible to state which officium this soldier served in since the members of two officia appear to be recorded - the actarius was a member of the tabularium legionis while the only haruspex is recorded in connection with the provincial governor. Dr. Dobson has suggested to me that acil. is an abbreviation for acil(iferi).

Standard bearers

aquilifer

There are a number of promotions from aquilifer to centurion (104, 121 and 126) and also to aquilifer from signifer (103, 106). Another aquilifer also probably served as a signifer since he appears to have been a d(iscens) s(igniferum) (150). The post of aquilifer must have fallen within the group of senior principales, and in fact have been one of the most senior ranks below the centurionate, especially considering that promotion from optio and signifer to the centurionate was possible. As is to be expected, with one exception the recorded aquiliferi all had fourteen years service or over:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
VIII 2991		50	1 II - III
VIII 2794		45	"
VI 3627	20	40	"

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
III 14995	18	41	II
Istambul 1965	18	40	III
XIII 6888	17		e II
XIII 6901	15	32	II
VIII 2796		32	1 II - III
XI 2234 (104)	0-13		37/8 - 50

In addition 5 aquiliferi are known to have retired at that rank (III 1663; III 4231; V 899; VIII 2904; VIII 18085, f, 6). The last career is interesting since Sammius Severus was promoted to aquilifer in the same year he enlisted, a post which he then held for a further thirteen years before being advanced to the centurionate. There is no other record of the length of time the post was held, but thirteen is surely abnormal, belonging to a period before the legionary career was properly organised. It is not known how many aquiliferi there were in each legion but there was probably only one or two. The earliest epigraphic reference to the post falls within the last decades of the first century B.C. (103), though Caesar mentions an aquilifer (B.G. V37). The post was still in existence in the third century (III 4231 and Istambul 1965 unpublished). Vegetius mentions the post in connection with the legions (II 7).

discens aquiliferum

The three references to this post all refer to the

same man, L. Tullius Felix, a soldier of III Augusta (VIII 2568, 22; 2988; 18302). His tombstone supplies his title:

VIII 2988: d.m.s. L. Tullio Felici vixit anos XXV meses II dies XVII discens aquiliferu leg. III Aug. ...
imaginifer

Vegetius recorded this post in connection with the legions (II 7) but it does not appear in any career and only on one list dated to the early second century. This list (ILS 9107) is probably but not definitely referring to legionaries, and certainly elsewhere on the stone auxiliaries are mentioned. Three imaginiferi are named after five signiferi and before an actarius, an optio, two beneficiarii acil., a haruspex and a tesserarius. The posts in the century are certainly in their correct order and therefore the others probably are also. If the soldiers are all from the same legion there would appear to be at least three in the legion. There are a number of stipendia of imaginiferi known:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
III 12498		57	e II
VIII 2971		50	229/30
V 937	25		e I
AE 1934, 178	24		l I - II
III 12057	22	45	212-222
VIII 2935		35	l II - III
III 14358.22	11	31	I - e II

The stipendia of these imaginiferi are on the whole larger than those of the aquiliferi. This might reflect that the post was not such a good springboard to the centurionate as was the post of aquilifer, and therefore soldiers stagnated at that rank; alternatively it could have been a post usually held briefly by younger soldiers who passed on to higher ranks - the soldier with only eleven stipendia might be taken in support of this. The earliest record of this post is in the first half of the first century (V 937 - a soldier without a cognomen), while the last dated reference to it is in 223 (XIII 8607).

The Posts in the Century

optio ad spem ordinis

There is some controversy over the position of this post and therefore a summary of the careers in which the post appears, or is thought to appear, is given:

- 113: b(ene)f(iciarius) lega(ti), opt(io) ad spe(m) ordin(is),
centurion.
- 114: optio ad ordine, centurion.
- 116: signif(eri), corni/cular(io)7, optioni ad spe/m ordi/nis,
centurion.
- 124: 7b(ene)f(iciarius)7 legat(i), a comment(ariis) 7...7f,
optio, centurion.
- 167: benefic(iarius) leg(ati), cornicularius leg(ati), optio
coh(ortis) I.

The following career may also be relevant:

156: librarius numeris, (i.e. legion), cus(tos) arm(or)um,
signif(er), optio octava? pr(incipis) pr(ioris),
candidatus. (235-238?).

There are also a number of other references to this post:

III 3445 (Aquincum): ...L. Sept. Constantinus optio spei leg.
II Adi.p. f. Antoniniana...(218).

V6423 (Ticinum): d.m. Caecili Valentini opt. spei leg.
XIII G qui vixit annisXXIIII menses III dies XVIII....

AE 1957, 339 (Montana):Aur. Bonitus optio spei
leg. I Ital.

RIB 544 (Chester): ...optionis ad spem ordinis Lucili
Ingenui qui naufragio perit s.e.

VIII 18085 (Lambaesis): a laterculus the surviving part of
the head of the stone reading: optiones et milites?..
erio retentus spe successionis?pos
retentus/s sui casu.... (probably 144).

III 6180, 3, 1 (Troesmis), part of a laterculus of V Macedonica:
...ALIS OP TRE ET AD SE

Domaszewski suggested that this should read:

opt(io) ret(entus) ad s(pem). This is clearly not
completely satisfactory, but the CIL expansion - opt(io)
tre(centariii?) et ad(iutor?) se - is no better.

The post of optio ad spem ordinis, optio ad ordine,
or optio spei is clearly different from optio in some way.

Domaszewski (p. 42) considered that the optio spei was different in function and rank from the optio centuriae, drawing attention to the fact that the optio spei was one of the senior principales being promoted directly to the centurionate and standing higher in rank in the careers than the optio centuriae. Only in the third century, he maintained, did promotion from optio to centurion become common, though after the time of Hadrian it was no longer necessary for soldiers to serve in the administrative grades. Passerini (Legio 595) has challenged the view that the optio spei was different in function from the optio centuriae. His evidence is based upon VIII 2554 which is a list of the schola of 61 or 62 optiones of III Augusta. These optiones appear to fall into two different classes: uti collega proficiscens ad spem suam confirmandam accipiat (sestertium) VIII mil(ia) n(ummum), veter(ani) quoque missi accipiant kal(endis) Ian(uariis) anularium singuli (sestertium) VI mil(ia) n(ummum). In the following list, observes Passerini, the optiones spei are not singled out for special mention and therefore their function was the same as the optiones centuriae, with the understanding that they had been nominated for a centurionate and would be promoted when a vacancy existed. There is no evidence to disagree with this statement of Passerini. Moreover, it would seem that there is no distinction in rank, or at least pay, between the two; both

appear to be duplicarii. The career structure can therefore be seen to be more flexible than has been hitherto considered. The post of optio should be examined not just as a post in the hierarchy between tesserarius and signifer but also in the light of the experience gained by the holder - it was the only post below centurion which would give experience of command and it would appear to be unimportant when it was held. Although in the normal course of affairs optio was below signifer and optio spei above signifer, sometimes the post of optio was held after signifer (124, 156 and 167). It might be argued that these three are in reality optiones spei, but the careers are better explained if it is assumed that before promotion to centurion it was usual to hold the post of optio, it not mattering when this post was held. Hence a soldier could be an optio at any stage after being made a duplicarius before his advancement to the centurionate.

Domaszewski considered (p.42) that in the third century candidatus took over from optio spei as a way of describing a soldier with the prospect of a centurionate. While there are no clear second century examples of candidati the two expressions were in use at the same time (optio spei in 218 (III 3445 and candidatus in 200-210 (AE 1917/8, 57)), so they may not be synonymous.

Finally Dobson has pointed out (Domaszewski-Dobson XIV) that there is no evidence that the gold ring which

Domaszewski refers to belonged to an optio spei and not an optio centuriae. A. Stein (Der römische Ritterstaad, 46-7) saw only a cheapening of the significance of the gold ring in its freer award.

signifer

There are promotions to this post from optio (115, 119, 160 and 161) and from custos armorum (156). Signiferi were promoted to aquilifer (103 and 106), optio (156), cornicularius (116) and to centurionates in the auxilia (108) and the legions (109 and 119). ILS 9107 is in correct order as far as the posts in the century are concerned and therefore probably also with regard to the other posts. This list, which probably refers to legionaries in the early second century, places 5 signiferi before 3 imaginiferi, an actarius, an optio, 2 beneficiarii acil., one haruspex and a tesserarius. The career of Petronius Fortunatus demonstrates that it was possible to hold this post after only a few years service since he was promoted centurion with only four stipendia. A number of other stipendia are known:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
AE 1961, 22	35		Nero
VI 3637	26	50	late 2c - 3c
III 2040	26	45	later 1c to early 2
III 1202	25	45?	late 2c - 3c

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
III 2832	20	45	1c
RIB 294	18	38	later 1c to early 2c
RIB 365	17	45	2c
III 6706	17	37	2c
III 414	15	30	late 1c - early 2c
III 15001	14	40	1c - early 2c
RIB 257	14	35	late 1c - early 2c
XII 685	14	29	"
III 6592	13	31	late 2c - 3c
III 8155	12	32	3c
III 5952	10	30	3c
III 2708	10	30	early 1c
III 2716	8	30	1c - early 2c
III 4375	6	24	late 2c - 3c
119	4		160s

The career of Fortunatus was clearly unusual, most of the signiferi had many more years of service to their credit.

This is emphasised when the 39 signiferi recorded on laterculi or as veterans are taken into account, (III 6179, 3, 18; 6580, a, 12; 24; 14507, b, 37; lat.dex. a, 52; b, 46; lat.sin., 44; VIII 18067, a, 16; 28; 18068, B, 29; 18084, 97; 18085, b, 8; 17; e, 3; f, 3(?); 18087, sin., 1; 60; dex., 65; veterans: III 3321; 3538; 4056; 4298; 4478; 5818; 5956; 7657; 12658; 14354.1; VIII 2528; 2596; 3000; 18294; XIII 6076; 6769; 8650; 8654; AE 1910, 172; 1914, 135; 1927, 61).

This far exceeds the number of beneficiarii consularis - 25 - and optiones - 19 - and tesserarii - 15 - and suggests that the post of signifer would normally be the highest most legionaries would expect to rise to. The first epigraphic reference to this post is in the last years of the first century B.C. (103), though the post is mentioned by Polybius (VI, 24, 6) and by Caesar (for example B. G. II 25). The last dated reference to the post is in 239 (XIII 8625). Vegetius mentions the post in a legion (II 7).

discens signiferum

D S found on a number of laterculi is usually expanded to d(iscens) s(igniferum) because signifer is the most commonly attested post beginning with S. One d(iscens) s(igniferum) appears later to have become an aquilifer (150). If the identification of the soldier is correct it will strengthen the case for the expansion since the only aquiliferi mentioning an earlier post had been signiferi (103 and 106). For other references to DS see VIII 2568, 8; (9; 10?); 86; 88; 2569, 4; 5; 25; 18086 b 11; 13; 14; 17; 18; 19; c 2. A word of caution should be said. On VIII 18086 c 3 appears DS BVC. This is expanded to read d(iscens) buc(inator), as DIS POL (c 8) is expanded to dis(cens) pol(lio). In this case DS itself might simply refer to a d(iscens) or a d(i)s(cens).

optio

There are promotions to this post from tesserarius (119), eques (130), commentariensis (124), cornicularius legati (167) and signifer (157). In the latter three cases the soldier has probably been nominated for a centurionate and is serving as an optio, with or without the exact title of optio spei, in order to gain experience of command before his actual promotion (these careers are discussed under optio ad spem ordinis). Optiones are promoted to signifer (115, 119, 160, 161), centurion (140, 162, 163), and probably decurion of a cohort (109). ILS 9107, a list of legionaries of the early second century, which is probably in hierarchical order, places the optio after 5 signiferi, 3 imaginiferi, and an actarius and before 2 beneficiarii acil., one haruspex and one tesserarius. Petronius Fortunatus (119) held the post after tesserarius and before signifer, after which with only four stipendia he was promoted centurion. Most optiones usually had more service before reaching the rank:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
III 1202	25	45?	late 2c - 3c
III 4491	20	40	late 1c - early 2c
V 7004	20	39	2c
XIII 6849	19	40	late 2c - 3c
V 942	15	45	"
V895	14	40	late 2c - 3c

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
VI 3625	13	30	late 2c - 3c
III 5976	8	26	"
III 10525	6	25	"

These stipendia are generally lower than those of the signiferi and there are also only 19 optiones recorded on laterculi or attested as veterans (III 6178, 1, 24; 5, 3; 6580 I, 26; 7688, a, 14; 15; b, 10; c, 16; 14507, b, 35; lat. dex., a, 6; VIII 18084, 34; and as veterans: V 7561; VIII 2684; 2885; 2894; 2948; XIII 1887; 4331; IGRR III 1183; AE 1939, 238), compared to 39 signiferi, suggesting that many optiones, perhaps about half or rather more, of those who reached the rank, could expect to reach signifer or higher. Three optiones record the length of time they held that post:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DURATION OF POST	DATE
RIB 362		25	2	late 2c - early 3
III 5976		26	2	early 2c - 3c
III 895	14	40	10	late 2c - 3c

The lower number of years spent as an optio is more likely to be correct for those soldiers whose prospects of the centurionate were good, though many soldiers must have reached optio and stayed there for many years - the 19 recorded on laterculi and as veterans are witness to this.

Polybius (VI, 24, 2) records that each centurion chose his own optio, illustrating thereby how the title came into

being and suggesting also that there was one optio in each century. An inscription dated to the early years of the third century records that there were 61/62 optiones in the legion~~s~~ III Augusta. It is possible that the extra two or three optiones included those who had been promoted or retired together with their substitutes or that there were a number of spare optiones on ad hoc duties (Dr. J.C. Mann has suggested to me that it is possible that there were two optiones in each century in the first cohort but this receives no support from the sources and is unlikely). On this inscription the five optiones following the leading five were, on another inscription, all listed together as being optiones cohortis primae (VIII 18072). This led Domaszewski to imply that the optiones were promoted in groups. Passerini (Legio 607) noted correctly that this was not proved by these two inscriptions.

The first non-literary reference to an optio legionis is on a papyrus of the first century A.D. (C.P.L. 102). The first literary reference to the post is by Polybius (VI 24, 2). That the post was still in existence in the middle years of the third century is illustrated by an inscription dated to 253 (VIII 2482). Vegetius records the post in a legion (II 7).

The inscriptions cited by Domaszewski and accepted by Passerini (Legio 605) as proving the existence of the post of

optio signiferorum surely simply record promotion from optio to signifer (115, 160 and 161).

tesserarius

This post appears on two career inscriptions; one is Petronius Fortunatus who served as librarius, tesserarius, optio and signifer all within a period of four years in the 160s (119) and the other an unknown soldier of legion XI who was a tesserarius and later a cornicular(ius) leg(ati) Aug(usti) (105). The position of the post below optio is therefore clearly fixed. ILS 9107, a list of the early second century of which this part is probably composed of legionaries, places the tesserarius at the bottom of the list, after 5 signiferi, 3 imaginiferi, one actarius, one optio, 2 beneficiarii acil, and a haruspex. That the post was not of duplicarius standing is suggested by its inclusion on a list of immunes and gregarii apparently made duplicarii as a result of their service in the East in 218-220 (VIII 2564). The stipendia of tesserarii are not particularly illuminating:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
VIII 2828		43	late 2c - 3c
VIII 2960		42	"
VIII 2564		42	"
III 8118	20	40	"
III 935		40	"
XIII 7293	18	37	"
XIII 6681	18		"
XIII 6955	15		"

Presumably the better soldiers, such as Fortunatus, held this post early in their careers and the tesserarii recorded are those who could never hope to rise any higher. Nevertheless fewer tesserarii than signiferi or optiones appear to have held this post on retirement - there are only 5 tesserarii recorded on laterculi, and none known to me as veterans, compared to 19 optiones and 39 signiferi. (The tesserarii recorded on laterculi are: III 6581, I, 27; 7688, e, 15; 14507, lat. dex., a, 8; VIII 2567, 51; 18084, 50). The low number of tesserarii thus recorded may in part be a reflection of their low rank - fewer tombstones would be erected to tesserarii and fewer dedications cut by them, than by holders of the more senior of the posts in the century. It also surely reflects that once this rank had been attained most tesserarii could expect that at least one more promotion would be forthcoming.

The fact that the tesserarii and the armorum custodes are placed together on one of the series of dedications of the vexillation of V Macedonica and XIII Gemina of the reign of Gallienus (AE 1936, 55) suggests perhaps that they were of roughly equal status - a missing dedication may have been made by the optiones and signiferi. The earliest epigraphic reference to the post is in the late first or early second century (105) though the post is mentioned by Polybius (VI, 35, 7) who describes the derivation of the post from

the tessera. The latest reference is in the reign of Gallienus (AE 1936, 55) - the post had not died out by the time of the Philips as Domaszewski (p.44) suggested on the basis of III 8047 which mentions a signifer and an optio in a century of VII Claudia but not a tesserarius. Vegetius (II 7) listed the post as being in a legion.

The equites

The legionary cavalry and their officers appear to have been organised under a tabularium equitum, which is recorded on one inscription of III Augusta dated to the reign of Commodus (AE 1957, 85). It is not clear, however, whether they were carried on the books of the centuries or divided into turmae. Josephus (Bell. Iud. III 6, 2) states that there were 120 cavalry in each legion, but omits to comment on their organisation. Vegetius, drawing on a third century source, maintained that there were 132 equites in the first cohort and 66 in each of the other cohorts (II 6), and that they were organised into turmae of 32 men each under the command of a decurion (II 14). Two turmae of 32 men each with a decurion are equal to the 66 found in cohorts II to X, and twice that to the 132 equites cohortis primae. It has been thought that an engraving on a ring found at Baden, and presumably lost in the period 43 to 69 when XXI Rapax was stationed at Vindonissa and at the latest before the principate of Trajan when the legion disappeared, supports

Vegetius for it reads: eq. leg. XXI Sexti t. Although t. has been expanded to read turmae there is no parallel to this position, the word usually coming before the name of the officer. It is, however, difficult to see what else the abbreviation could be expanded to read. The dedicatory inscription is, nevertheless, very abbreviated and as a result due caution must be observed in any attempted expansion in other words the ring cannot be taken as unqualified support for the statement of Vegetius. Certainly other epigraphic references are in direct contradiction to the statements of Vegetius. Four equites appear in centuries in three different legions:

RIB 481 (Chester): Zinus eque[us leg.] II Ad. p. f. 7 Petroni Fidi stipendiarum <I> XI annorum XXV - This is dated between 71 and about 86.

III 11239 (Carnuntum): C. Valerius C. f. Gal. Proculus Calagurri, eq. leg. XI C. f. 7 Vindicis an. XXX stip. IX - Stylistically this tombstone can be dated to the first century.

VIII 2593 (Lambaesis): Ael. Severus eq. leg. III Aug. 7 Iul. Candidi - This is probably late second or third century in date.

VIII 2568, 18 (Lambaesis): Celsius Aprilis Cas. op. eq.

This soldier is either in the fourth or the fifth century of the eighth cohort of III Augusta, in about 220. These three inscriptions strongly imply that from at least the first century to the early third the equites were carried on the

books of the centuries - but organised under the tabularium equitum. Vegetius may therefore be describing a later situation, after third century reforms, when the equites were increased in number and organised into turmae. The engraving on the ring from Baden remains a problem. It is possibly that the restoration or reading is erroneous, or the organisation of the equites varied from legion to legion, or that in the early first century the equites in all legions were divided into turmae. The first explanation is perhaps the most likely, but more, as yet undiscovered information, may throw more light on the problem.

vexillarius

Vexillarii equitum are attested for only two legions: I Italica (AE 1957, 341), and III Augusta (VIII 2562, 3 and 4, 16549 and IIA 3117). There were certainly two or more in III Augusta at one time in the reign of Severus Alexander (VIII 2562, 3 and 4). The only other dated inscription is also of the third century, in fact of the reign of Gordian III (AE 1957, 341).

optio

This is only recorded on one inscription:
VIII 2568, 18 (Lambaesis): Celsius Aprilis Cas. op. eq.
This inscription can be dated to about 220.

tesserarius

This post similarly is only attested once; and also

in III Augusta in the reign of Severus Alexander. It appears on a list of equites of the legion:

VIII 2562, 5 (Lambaesis): Flavius Paulinus tess.
magister equitum

This post is uniquely attested on a career (184). The soldier served as a discens equitum, eques, though this is understood, magister equitum and at the time of his death was a supernumerary centurion. It is possible that he held the post of magister equitum while a centurion. He was commissioned before the completion of his statutory service since he had only served for 24 years. The inscription is almost certainly third century in date, though the post is not necessarily a late introduction.
magister kampi

A. Geminus Extricatus is included on a list of equites in III Augusta in the reign of Severus Alexander with the epithet MAG K (VIII 2562, 6). This is probably an abbreviation for mag(ister) k(ampi), though the post is otherwise unattested in the legions.

eques

The number of equites attached to each legion has been discussed above, together with their organisation. Equites are attested in almost every legion in the Roman Imperial army. There are promotions known to eques from miles or minifex (107 and 158) and discens equitum (130 and

probably 184) and from equus to optio (130), cornicularius of the governor or procurator (111), decurion (118), decurion of an auxiliary unit (153 and 154), auxiliary centurion (155) and legionary centurion (107). These promotions vary widely in date from the first century (107 and possibly 111), through the second century (118 dated to 155, 130 to 197) to the middle third (153, 154 and 155 are dated to 242-244), promotions to the centurionate coming both at the beginning (107) and end of that period (153, 154 and 155). Some 22 stipendia are known for equites:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
107	4 - 14	24 - 24	1c
158	7	24	late 2c - 3c
AE 1919, 72	8	28	3c
III 11239	9	30	late 1c - early 2c
RIB 481	9 - 11	25	71 - 86
III 10506	10	30	late 2c - 3c
VI 3409	11	29	213
III 6416	12	29	early 1c
XIII 6904	12	35	early 1c
RIB 482	13	32	71 - 86
XIII 8509	15	30	83 - early 2c
III 6765	15	35	late 2c - 3c
RIB 254	19	40	60 - 70s
III 4858	20	40	1c - early 2c

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
III 10879	21	43	1c - early 2c
XIII 6241	22	45	late 1c - early 2c
S 1931, 624	25	45	late 2c - 3c
XIII 8552	20+	50	late 2c - 3c
III 1814	30	60	1c - early 2c

There are also 29 equites recorded as veterans either on laterculi or other inscriptions (laterculi: III 6178, 2, 30; 3, 17; 6179, 1, 20; 2, 4(?); 5; 3, 5; 6180, 1, 8; 7688, 4, 5; 6; VIII 2565, b, 6; 2567, 34; 18084, 16; 18085, b, 4; c, 16; 18087, sin., 2(?); 10; 36; dext., 26, 35, 39. as veterans: III 1814; 5955; 9885; V 2162; AE 1929, 221; IGRR III 1110; 2265; S 1931, 624). Apart from the one first century example of an equus with only four stipendia the lowest length of service of an equus is seven years. There appears to have been no limit on the number of stipendia equites might have since - with the one exception - they vary from seven to retirement. Probably most equites never rose any higher up the hierarchy. The earliest reference to an equus legionis is pre-Claudian (III 6416 and XIII 6904), the last dated inscriptions being in 242-244 (153, 154 and 155).

Soldiers of other rank are sometimes recorded as equites:

II 2663 (Leon): - equites in his actarius leg. VII Gem. Ant. p. f. - (216).

III 14507, b, 51 (Viminacium): P. Ael. Vitalis eq. pol. C. - (195).

III: Matronis - M. Val. Crescens eques leg. VI Vic. cornicularius P. Aburi Lucull/i...

This last inscription may be recording the rank of the cornicularius rather than a promotion. It is not clear why these soldiers are equites. They may have been equites promoted to these posts and retaining their former position, or, which is less likely, they may have needed to be mounted to carry out their duties correctly, or, which is more probable, they may have been made equites as a means of reward. Certainly more evidence needs to come to light before the problem can be resolved.

discens equitum

This post appears on two careers. On one, dated to the early years of the third century, the soldier was promoted from miles to discens equitum to eques in II Parthica (130), while the other does not specifically mention service as miles or eques, though the latter is almost certainly meant to be understood and probably the former also (184). The former was promoted eques with eleven stipendia and so he must have served as discens equitum shortly before that. One other discens equitum was 27 at the time of his death (VIII 2882). One other soldier of this rank is known, again in XI Claudia (V 944).

Training staffarmidoctor

This post is recorded on one inscription:

AE 1952, 153 (Aquileia): L. Pellartius C. Lem. Celer Iulius Montanus stipendior XLIII missus ex evocato et armidoctor leg. XV Apol. ab imp. Domitiano Caesare Aug. -

This late first century armidoctor appears to have been an evocatus at the same time, though in view of the paucity of the evidence it is not known whether this was normal. The doctor armorum and the campidoctor are only known from the writings of Vegetius, and it is possible though perhaps unlikely that the title of the armidoctor was changed to one of these.

campidoctor

Vegetius (I 13 and II 6) refers to this post in connection with legionary officers, but it is unattested epigraphically in the legions.

doctor armorum

Vegetius (I 13) mentions this post in his discussion of legionary officers but there is no record of the post epigraphically in the legions.

Religious staffharuspex

There is no clear case of a haruspex on the staff of a legionary officer though the HAR recorded on a laterculus

of III Augusta may possibly fall into this category (VIII 2567, 20). However, he could equally well have been on the staff of the governor of Numidia.

victimarius

There is no certain example of a victimarius on the staff of the legionary legate. VI, presumably an abbreviation for the post, appears on a laterculus of III Augusta, but this soldier may have served either the legate or the governor (VIII 18085, e, 4). Tarruntenus Paternus includes the victimarius in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7, (60)).

Hospital and Medical staff

medicus

The post of medicus is included by Tarruntenus Paternus in his list of immunes after the optio valetudinarii and before the capsarius (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)). Some medici carry the epithet ordinarius and I shall deal with these separately from the medici.

Medici are attested in the following legions:

I Minerva (XIII 7943 dated to 161), II Adiutrix (III 3413, AE 1923, 14, AE 1937, 180), II Italica (V 4367), II Traiana (IGRR I 1212 dated to 147), III Augusta (VIII 2834, 2872, 2874, 2951), IV Flavia (III 3537), IV Macedonica (XIII 6700), VII Claudia (III 14216.9), XI Claudia (III 7449 dated to 155),

XXI Rapax (XIII 5208), XXII Deiotariana (IGRR I 1361), XXII Primigenia (III 14347.5). In one case a medicus is specifically called a principalis, and though it is unfortunate that the term is probably not being used in a technical sense the medicus is classed equally with the other soldiers mentioned; and appears to be below the beneficiarius consularis in status (III 7449). The inscription records a vexillation of XI Claudia in 155 and lists the soldiers in the following order: centurion, beneficiarius consularis - principales - tesserarius, tubicen, cornicen, medicus, two immunes venatores. Similarly some medici are termed miles medicus: XIII 7943 (Iversheim): Genio vexillationis l. I M. p. f. - M. Sabinianus Quietus miles medicus - (161).

III 14347.5 (Aquincum): d.m. T. Aur. Numeri militi medico leg. XXII Pr. p. f. et G. Iul. Me/r/catori militi leg. eiu/sdem.. These two inscriptions clearly support III 7449 in demonstrating that the medicus - or miles medicus - was an immunis or possibly a principalis.

The earliest reference to a medicus falls in the middle of the first century (XIII 6700).

medicus ordinarius

Three inscriptions mention this post:

III 4279 (Adiaum): - Aemilius Deciminus medicus ordinarius leg. I Adi. -

VIII 18314 (Lambaesis): d.m. C. Papirio Aeliano medico ordinario leg. III A., vix. annis LXXXV m. VII d. XV -

III 5959 (Regensburg): ... have mihi Lucilianae, Ulp. Luciliano medico ordinario... (presumably III Italica).

The word miles is nowhere mentioned in connection with these medici, nevertheless Gilliam considered that the term ordinarius was here being used to differentiate military medici from civilian (J.F. Gilliam, The Ordinarii and Ordinati of the Roman Army, TAPA lxxxix 127-148).

Ordinarius is an alternative for centurion, and usually applied only to the centurionate; there is therefore no reason to consider that this is not being done here. In that case the medicus ordinarius would appear to be of a different rank from the miles medicus.

optio valetudinarii

This post is included by Tarruntenus Paternus in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)). Two optiones valetudinarii are mentioned on an inscription of III Augusta: VIII 2553 + AE 1906.9 (Lambaesis): - optiones valetud. II Caecil. Urbanus. / pequari, librarius et discentes capsario / rum leg. III Aug. p. / v. - (199).

The wording of the inscription implies that the two optiones valetudinarii were the only soldiers of this rank in the legion. Caecilius Urbanus was later promoted cur(ator) operi arm(amentarii) (136). Optiones valetudinarii are

known in I Minerva (XIII 8011) and II Adiutrix (AE 1937, 181).
capsarius

Tarruntenus Paternus included this post in his list of immunes after the optio valetudinarii and the medici (Digest 50, 6, 7, (6)). Capsarius is twice attested epigraphically:

XIII 5623 (Tilena): - m/i/les legionis VI/II An/to/n/i/ni/-
anae A/ug. c/apsarius -

ILS 9095 (Carnuntum): capsariorum /leg. X/IIII G.

The latter inscription implies that there was a plurality of soldiers of this rank, as does the fact that there were a number of discentes capsariorum in III Augusta recorded on the inscription of 199 (VIII 2553 + AE 1906.9).

discentes capsariorum

This position is only known from one inscription: VIII 2553 + AE 1906, 9 (Lambaesis): - optiones valetud.
II Caecil. Ur/banus /pequari. librarius et discentes
capsario/r/um leg. III Aug. p. /v. - (199).

There were clearly a number of soldiers holding this position at this time, a situation probably reflected in other legions.

seplasiarius

One inscription records this post:

XIII 6778 (Mogontiacum): - L. Vireius Dexter seplasiar.
in leg. I Ad. -

This post is presumably connected with unguents and therefore with the medical staff. The number of soldiers holding the post is not known.

librarius

An inscription of III Augusta might be taken to support the supposition that there was a librarius attached to the hospital, though this evidence is not completely incontrovertible:

VIII 2553 + AE 1906, 9 (Lambaesis): - optiones valetud.
II Caecil. Urbanus...] pequari, librarius et discentes
capsario/rum leg. III Aug. p. v. - (199).

The pequarius is an anomaly in this list, unless as Dr. R.W. Davies has suggested to me ~~that~~ he was a veterinary surgeon. If this is accepted the case for the librarius being connected with the hospital is strengthened.

medicus veterinarius

Tarruntenus Paternus included the veterinarius in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)). Passerini (Legio 609 (69)), listed four inscriptions recording this post: III 11215 (Carnuntum): L. Cliternius L. lib.] veterinarius
le....]a. l. h. s.] Cliternia m...]af...]patri suo posuit
]a]rbitratu Flaviae Secundae] coniugis eius et Cliterni Pacati
liberti eius.

V 2183 (Altinum): L. Crassicius L. Hermia medicus veterin-
arius sibi et Abiriae L. l. Maximae uxori vivus fecit]et]
Eugeniae l.

CIG 1953 (Macedonia): Ερνησθησαν τα τεκνα Αυρηλιου Α
 Λοκου του πατρος. Δει[κ], Λουκιλα, ουαλεριανος ιπποιατρος
 υος ιπποιατρου, νυειας χαριν.

IGRR I 1373 = CIG 5117 (Nubia): Ροδος ιππευς [σπειρ]ης [α
 θηρα]ιων [εποιησ]α το π[ρο]ς[κ]υνημα των ερ[υ]ν π[κ]ν τ[υ]ν. [κ]ιος
 αυφιδιος [ι]ππωιατρος [η]λ θ[ο]ν και προςεκ[υ]νησα.

The first of these inscriptions records a veterinarius who is a freedman, and only possibly attached to a legion; the second appears to be a centurion, and in any case records no unit; the third mentions no unit and the fourth is probably an auxiliary. In other words there is no surviving example of a miles veterinarius in the legions.

Musical staff

bucinator

Vegetius (II 7) includes the bucinator in his list of soldiers in a legion and Tarruntenus Paternus (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)) places him in his list of immunes. An inscription specifically refers to two immunes bucinatores (AE 1908, 272). The post is recorded in the following legions: I Adiutrix (Istambul 1965 unpublished), II Parthica (AE 1908, 272), III Augusta (VIII 2564, 18085), V. Macedonica (III 6180), XIV Gemina (III 11029) and XXII Primigenia (XIII 11862 and AE 1963, 240). The two immunes bucinatores are paralleled by two bucinatores of III Augusta made duplarii as a result of their service in the East in the

years 218-220 (VIII 2564). There were therefore at least two bucinatores in each legion, and their actual numbers may have equalled the 35 cornicines or the 37 tubicines. The earliest epigraphic reference to this post is c. 134 (III 6180), though Caesar mentions a bucinator in connection with legions (B.C. II 35). The post is also recorded in the third century (AE 1908, 272, dated to the reign of Severus Alexander).

discens bucinator

This post is recorded on a laterculus of III Augusta with the following abbreviation:

DS BVC. The soldier is known to have been promoted to bucinator (149).

cornicen

Vegetius states that this soldier is to be found in a legion (II 7). He is attested in a number of such units: I Italica (III 14409), I Adiutrix (Mocsy 185, 7), III Augusta (VIII 2557, 2564) and XI Claudia (III 7449). The post appears in a list of 75 soldiers of a vexillation of XI Claudia in 155. Six soldiers following the beneficiarius consularis are described as principales: tesserarius, tubicen, cornicen, medicus and two immunes veneratores. Principalis is probably not being used in a technical sense. 35 cornicines, excluding the optio at their head, are placed together on a list of III Augusta in 203. The optio may

simply have been in charge of the erection of the inscription, though he may also have been the officer in charge of the cornicines (VIII 2557). (Two cornicines were made duplarii in 218-220 as a result of their service in the East (VIII 2564, 8 and 9). It is not possible to divide the cornicines up between the cohorts or centuries as Domaszewski attempted to do (p.44). The post is attested epigraphically in 155 (III 6180) and also in 218-220 (VIII 2564).

tubicen

This post was included by Vegetius in his list of soldiers in a legion (II 7). A fairly large number of legions have produced evidence for the post: I Italica (III 14409), II Traiana (III 6580), III Augusta (VIII 2564, 2568, 2569, 2897, 2926, 2936, 2969, 18085, 18513, 23297, AE 1899, 91, AE 1907, 184), III Italica (III 5957), IV Flavia (III 10518), V Macedonica (III 7688), X Gemina (XIII 7694 and AE 1928, 163), XI Claudia (III 782 and 7449), XIII Gemina (V 7366), XIV Gemina (III 11121), XV Apollinaris (III 4482, 4483 and 14358, 21a) and XXII Primigenia (AE 1920, 50). The tubicen appears in a list of a vexillation of XI Claudia in 155. Following the beneficiarius consularis six principales are listed: tesserarius, tubicen, cornicen, medicus and two immunes venatores (III 7449). Principalis is here probably not being used in a technical sense, and in this connection it is interesting to note that four

tubicines appear on a list of soldiers made duplarii in 218-220 as a result of their service in the East, which demonstrates that the post was below duplicarius in status and pay (VIII 2564). 37 tubicines of the schola of III Augusta were placed together on a list under an opt(io) and a pr(inceps) (AE 1907, 184). These two may have been responsible for the erection of the inscription and/or may have been the officers in charge of the tubicines.

Domaszewski (p.44) suggested a way in which the 37 soldiers were divided between the cohorts and centuries, but there is really no evidence to support this. Two soldiers appear on this list, dated to 209-211, and also on VIII 2564, dated to 218-220, demonstrating that they had served for at least 7 years in this position (VIII 2564, 6 = AE 1907, 184, 11; VIII 2564, 5 = AE 1907, 184, 21a). Six stipendia are recorded for tubicines, but in view of the long service of the above two soldiers they are not particularly relevant:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
V 7366	13	30	late 2c - 3c
III 782	14	26	"
III 4483	16	36	1c - early 2c
III 4482	17		"
AE 1928, 163	19	37	2c?
III 14358, 21a	20	41	1c - early 2c

The time bracket - 13 to 20 years of service - may simply

reflect the period in which most tubicines - and most other soldiers - are likely to die. The first dated reference to the post is in 144 (VIII 180³85), though other inscriptions can be dated earlier on stylistic grounds (III 4482 and 4483). The latest dated reference to the post is 218-220 (VIII 2564).

Armoury staff

Included in this section are both the soldiers who made the arms and the soldiers whose duty it was to look after them.

custos armorum

Tarruntenus Paternus includes this post in his list of immunes (Digest 20, 6, 7 (6)), while a passage elsewhere in the Digest clearly demonstrates at least one function of the soldier (Digest 49, 16, 14 (1)). The post is attested in the majority of legions. There are promotions recorded to custos armorum from exactus (143) and librarius (156) and from it to beneficiarius legati (166) and signifer (156). One other custos armorum appears to have risen to the rank of cornicularius praefecti castrorum (138). The promotions suggest that the armorum custos was of roughly equal status to the tesserarius. This supposition is supported by the appearance of the tesserarii and the armorum custodes together on one of a series of inscriptions erected by members of a vexillation of V Macedonica and XIII Gemina in the reign of Gallienus (AE 1936, 55). However, if AR on an

inscription recording soldiers in III Augusta made duplarii as a result of their service in the East 218-220 is an armorum custos, which is doubtful, then the post would appear to have been held by an immunis or a sesquiplicarius - this though is not in opposition to the conclusions reached above since a tesserarius is probably a sesquiplicarius (VIII 2564, b. 16). A number of stipendia are recorded for custodes armorum:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
III 10518	9	30	late 2c - 3c
AE 1929, 207	10		late 1c - early 2c
XIII 8071	13	31	81 - 96
III 3556	14	32	3c
III 11218	22		late 1c - early 2c
AE 1962, 112	22	42	2c
III 3549	23	48	late 1c - 2c
II 5684	26	53	2c

There are also some 29 custodes armorum recorded as veterans or on laterculi (laterculi: III 6179, 2, 10(?); 3, 10 (?); 7688, a, 10 (?); b, 12; 13; 15; 16; d; 14; 14507, b, 30; 32; lat. dex., b, 53; XIII 2567, 35 (?); 56 (?); 18067, a, 3; 18085, b, 13 (?); d, 13 (?); 18087, b, 31 (?); as veterans: III 3560, 4275, 5106, 10270, 11189, 13375, V 5270, VIII 2840, 2982, XIII 8102, AE 1951, 65, AE 1965, 43). Although little can be said about the length of service a

soldier would need to have before he could be made a custos armorum most soldiers when they had reached the post clearly never rose any higher, as witnessed by the large number of armorum custodes recorded as veterans - more than any other rank with the exception of the signiferi - and the four stipendia in excess of 22 years.

Two inscriptions of III Augusta record 62 armorum custodes in the legion and 64 (AE 1902, 147a and AE 1902, 147b). The former is dated to 200 and the latter to the reign of Severus Alexander. It is not surprising to find two different totals, after all two inscriptions of the same legion record different numbers of quaestionarii. The number so closely approximates to the number of centuries in a legion that it is probably more than coincidence. Presumably each century had its own custos armorum - the 64 in the later reign perhaps suggests that there were two in each century in the first cohort, though there may simply have been a number of custodes armorum in excess of the absolute minimum. In this connection it is also possible that some had just been promoted and others retired and yet both groups paid for the erection of the inscription and therefore had their names inscribed upon it. The supposition that there was one armorum custos in each century receives support from a papyrus from Egypt (Pap. Gen. Lat. I IV b). This is a list of the soldiers in a century on duty outside that century

on a particular day in 90. The name of each soldier is given and his rank, with the exception of the armorum custos. This might suggest that there was only one soldier of this rank in the century, in fact that he was the armorum custos of the century.

The first reference to the post is in the reign of Domitian (XIII 8071) and the post was certainly still in existence in the reign of Gallienus (AE 1936, 55 and AE 1930, 35).

curator operis armamentarii

This post is uniquely recorded on the career of Caecilius Urbanus:

136: - L. Caecilius Urbanus opt. val., cur. operi. arm. - (209-11).

This post is usually expanded cur(ator) operi(s) arm(amentarii).

The status of both of the posts held by Urbanus is unknown.

arcuarius

Vegetius (II 11) records that the legions had arcuaria while Tarruntenus Paternus includes the arcuarii in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)). These two pieces of evidence suggest that the post existed in the legions.

magister ballistariorum

This post is recorded on only one inscription; which is now unfortunately lost:

V 6632 (Ager Novariensis): - Aelius Opatus mil. in /17eg. XX

magister BALIISIARIPRDVPL0I -

The last word(s) presumably includes reference to the ballistari.

ballistarius

Tarruntenus Paternus includes the ballistarii in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)). There is, however, no epigraphic reference to the post - AE 1927, 79 = AE 1935, 110, considered by Passerini (Legio p.609) to refer to a ballistarius, has been re-read Vale(n)s tes. (AE 1937, 102). Ballio (P. Gen. Lat V passim) quoted by Passerini (Legio p.609) as referring to a post in connection with the baths may in fact be connected with the ballistarius. There is, however, no evidence that entries referred to permanent post and not duties which seems much more likely.

hastilarius

This post - abbreviated to HAST - appears in a list of equites in III Augusta in the reign of Severus Alexander (VIII 2562). The post may in general have had a special connection with the equites, or alternatively this particular soldier may have had a special connection, presumably being an eques himself. The soldier was presumably connected with the making of hastae.

Building and maintenance staffarchitectus

There are a number of references to this post in

the legions - it is recorded in the following units:

III Augusta (VIII 2850), V Macedonica (III 6178, 1, 5 and 7688), XI Claudia (AE 1936, 12), XV Apollinaris (AE 1929, 213), and XXII Primigenia (XIII 6680, 8082 and AE 1953, 93).

Tarruntenus Paternus included the post in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)). XIII 6880 (Genio 7 Nigidi Censorini, Ael. Verin. architect., Geminius Primus c. a. -) was considered by Domaszewski (p.46) to imply that the architectus ranked higher than the armorum custos. This is possible, though not completely proven. One architectus had served for 9 years and was 40 years old (AE 1929, 213) while another was 30 (VIII 2850). An architectus of XI Claudia described himself on a dedication as architectus salariarius which might suggest that he had completed his 25 years service and was being kept on as a specialist (AE 1936, 12). There is only one dated inscription recording the rank, a laterculus of V Macedonica of about 134 (III 6178). The number of soldiers holding the post is not known but was probably more than one.

ensor

Vegetius (II 7) states that there was a ensor in each legion, and the post is also listed by Tarrutenus Paternus as being of immunis status (Digest 50, 6, 7, (6)). Mensores are known in a number of legions - II Adiutrix (III 3433), III Augusta (VIII 2856, 2857, 2946, 3028,

AE 1904, 72), V Macedonica (V 7368 and J. W. V. B., 97, 2) VII Claudia (III 12656) and X Gemina (AE 1938, 153). The post precedes the lib(rator) on a list of soldiers of III Augusta made duplarii as a result of their service in the East 218-220 and therefore presumably all gregarii, immunes or sesquiplicarii - the ensor and the librator were probably both immunes. The list is roughly in correct hierarchical order, but there may have been no difference in the status of the two soldiers (VI 2564, 19 and 20). The tombstone of one ensor records that he was 55 at his death (VIII 2946). 16 ensores are recorded in III Augusta on one inscription (AE 1904, 72), while eleven of VII Claudia were listed in connection with the lustrum in 228. The latter inscription may not have contained a complete list, though on the other hand III Augusta may have had more ensores than was usual. The only two dated inscriptions are third century (III 13656 dated to 228 and AE 1938, 153 to 240), though the post probably had a long history.

librator

This post is three times attested in legions. In one instance - a list of soldiers, presumably all gregarii, immunes or sesquiplicarii, of III Augusta made duplarii as a result of their service in the East 218-220 - a lib(rator) follows a me(n)s(or) (VIII 2564, 19 and 20). It is hypothetically possible that the soldier was a lib(rarius) but

unlikely in view of its proximity to ensor. The soldiers on the list appear to be in a rough hierarchical order, which might suggest that the ensor ranked slightly higher than the librator, but since the order cannot be trusted this may not have been the case. One librator aged 33 had eleven stipendia (VIII 2934). Nonius Datus, a soldier of III Augusta, appears to have been an evocatus and a librator (117). In 147-149 he was described as an evocatus, and in 151-152 as a veteranum leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) libratores. In the discussion of the career it is argued that the words are being used technically and that Datus was asked to stay on as an evocatus on his retirement in his specialist capacity as a librator.

ensor agrarius

There is one reference to this post:

VI 3606: d.m. L. Iulius Priscus miles leg. I Adiut/r/ensor agrari/us/. The inscription can be dated no closer than the second or third centuries.

ensor frumenti

Two inscriptions refer to this post:

V 936 (Aquileia): L. Titius L. f. Vot. veteranus leg. VIII Aug. stipendiorum XXV mensor frumenti v. f. sibi -

AE 1917/8, 29, 3: coh. I

4: ..ticius Primus mes. frum.

The lack of a cognomen suggests that the former inscription is dated to the early first century, while the latter probably

falls into the late second century. XIII 7007 mentioned a ensor frumenti numeris in connection with a strator consularis. The inscription, a tombstone, is erected at Mogontiacum and it is possible that the ensor frumenti was either in the legion stationed at that place or on the staff of the governor since as Rowell has suggested convincingly numerus here may imply a 'unit' (RE XVII 1330-1331).

ensor tritici

There is only one epigraphic reference to this post: AE 1907, 41 (Serbia): d.m. Aur. Vitalis veter. e/x/mensore tritici leg. VII -

This inscription is probably late second to third century in date.

χρωρογραφοσας

This post is mentioned on an ostraca of III Cyrenaica from Pselchi dated to 33. The post may be connected with the surveying staff, though he could have been a map-maker.

metator

Vegetius includes the metator in his list of soldiers in the legion (II 7) so presumably each legion had at least one.

carpentarius

There is no epigraphic reference to this post though it does appear twice in literary sources. Tarruntenus Paternus includes the post in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)), while Vegetius (II 11) notes that the post is to be found in

the legions.

clavicularius

There is one epigraphic reference to this post dated to 219:

III 3484 (Aquincum): Nemesi Aug. - M. Aur. Valens quot clavi. vovit vet. p/o7s. leg. II Ad. Anto. imp. d. n. Antonino II Sacerdoti cos.

If the soldier was a maker of nails (Davies 335) there was probably at least one in each legion.

cunicularius

Vegetius (II 11) included this soldier in his list of soldiers in a legion, but the post is not attested epigraphically.

faber

Both Tarruntenus Paternus (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)) and Vegetius (II 11) list this post when referring to immunes of the building staff of a legion. Caesar (B.G. VI 11) also refers to the post - ex legionibus fabros deligit.

fabriciensis

This post is clearly attested on an inscription from Bath:

RIB 156 (Aquae Sulis): Iulius Vitalis fabricie/n7sis leg. XX V. V. stipendiorum IX anor. XXIX natione Belga ex colegio fabrice(nsium) elatus h. s. e.

This inscription is probably dated to the later first or

early second centuries. The post may have been similar to, if not the same as, faber.

beneficiarius praefecti fabricensium

Passerini (Legio 609 (74)) suggested the existence of a praefectus fabricensium in a legion - of principalis rank - and a beneficiarius of this officer on the basis of the following inscription:

V supp. 983 (Albintimilium): d.m. M. Iunio Tranquillo
benef. praef. fabric. Peculiaris mater filio pientissimo fec.

No unit is mentioned, nor is it even recorded that the man was a soldier! The case for the existence of this post in the legions must remain unproven.

doctor fabricae

Two inscriptions refer to this post:

III 6 add (Tauchira): d.m. M. Aur. Apollonius vet. leg.
II Ad. ex d/oc(tori) f/abricae sep(ulchrum) vi(v)us sibi
et s/u/ris fac(iendum) cur(avit)

III 10516 (Aquincum): d.m. T. Tor/io/ Gemelliano quondam
/d/oc. fabr. leg. II A/di/ -

There was presumably one and possibly more doctor fabricae in each legion.

ferrarius

This post is only recorded in literary sources. Tarrunenus Paternus includes it in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7(6)), and Vegetius in his discussion of the

building staff of the legion (II 11):

immunis figulinae

This post appears on a list of legionaries erected at Bonn in 226 and probably therefore in the legion I Minerva (N 1938, 184). The dedication is by a sign(ifer), b(ene)f(iciarius) leg(ati), b(ene)f(iciarius) pr(aefecti), and two imm(un)es fig(ulinae). This does not mean to say that there were only two immunes figulinae in the whole unit - there was more than one signifer!

custos castelli figlinarum

An inscription erected at Mogontiacum in 220 records a holder of this post:

XIII Nachtrag, 162: in h. d. d. deo Marti Severus Alexandri mil. leg. XXII Pri. /Anto. p. f./ cus. castel. figlina.

cives Trhax (!) ex voto posuit -

This post was presumably distinct from the previous one and may have been the same as the following.

magister figlinarum

One inscription attests the existence of this post: XIII 8729 (Ulpia Noviomagus): vestae sacrum Iul. Victo. mag. fig. pro se.

The dedicator may, of course, not be a soldier, but in view of the previous inscriptions it is very possible that he is.

speclariarius

There is one epigraphic reference to this post:

ILS 9094 (Carnuntum): - Bonosus Firmani immunis speclariarius leg. XIII G. -

Tarrutenus Paternus includes the specularii in his list of the immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)). There may have been a number of these soldiers attached to the legion.

structor

Vegetius (II 11) includes the structor in his discussion of the building staff of the legion. There is also a single inscription attesting the post:

XIII 5209 (Vindonissa): ... Iulio M. f. Qui/r. Maxim. Augusto Nemeto mil. leg. XI C. p. f. sti/p. VIII stru/ctorus Ve/getus mil. leg. eiusdem he/res eius feci.

Presumably each legion had one or more of these soldiers.

tignarius

The only mention of this post appears in the pages of Vegetius (II 11), where it is included with the fabri, structores, carpentarii and ferrarii in a discussion of the legion.

σκληρουργος υδρευματων

An inscription from Egypt mentions the following post:

IGRR I 1246 (Hamiamat): στρατιωτης σκληρουργος υδρευματων

The post is so specialised - the soldier being a mason connected with the irrigation system - that he was probably a legionary seconded from one of the legions at one time or another stationed in the province.

Leather workerscoriarius

This post is recorded on a single inscription:

III 14492 (Celeia): M. A. XX - Q. Phil/i/ppicus Q. f. Mae
Edessa signi/f/er leg. V vix. annos XXXX h.s.e. ex tes. f.
ius. her. f. c. arbitr. Antoni archecti. et Titi coriari.

None of the soldiers record cognomina and therefore coriari was presumably a post. The inscription falls within the principate of Tiberius or soon after.

pollio

This post appears on a number of inscriptions connected with the following legions: II Traiana (III 14126, 19), III Augusta (VIII 2564, 21, VIII 18085, c, 1, VIII 18085, c, 21, VIII 18086, VIII 2618), III Italica (III 5949), and VII Claudia (III 14507). Two polliones are recorded on one laterculus, implying that there were more than that number in the legion (VIII 18085, c, 1 and 21). The earliest dated inscription is of the year 144 (VIII 18085). The appearance of the pollio on the list of soldiers of III Augusta made duplarii as a result of their service in the East in 218-220 suggests that the post is held by an immunis, and indeed Tarruntenus Paternus includes the post in his list of soldiers of that standing (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)). However, in one case it is recorded that the post was held by an equus - III 14507, b, 51: EQ POL. It is difficult

to envisage any other expansion on present evidence. This soldier may have been rewarded like the duplicarius; certainly insufficient is known about the legionary system to comment further upon this inscription.

discens pollio

A laterculus of III Augusta mentions a DIS POL, which presumably should be expanded to read dis(cens) pol(lio). (VIII 18086, c, 8).

scaenicus

Two inscriptions attest the existence of this post:
 AE 1940, 229 (Dura): Nam/a ..7 Maximus scen/i/co leg. IIII Sc.
 ILS 7473 (Lugdunum): - T. Fl. Super Cepula scaenicus honesta missione missus ex leg. XXX V. v. p. f. sub cura Saturi
Censorini proc. Aug. D. n. N. Apro et Maximo cos. (207)
 If indeed the soldier was a tent-maker (Davies 331) there was probably a small number in each legion.

Naval staff

optio navaliurum

There are two references to this post, both epigraphic:
 122: - T. Albanus Primanus sig. leg. XXII Pr. p. f. optio navaliurum - (185).
 123: - L. Septimius Bellus sig. leg. XXII Pr. optio navali. - (198).

These soldiers both were promoted from signifer to optio navali or navaliurum. It is interesting to note that the

only epigraphic example of a nauegus is also in XXII Primigenia, though this may be no more than coincidence.

nauegus

There is a single epigraphic reference to this post:
AE 1911, 225 (Mogontiacum): - veterano leg. XXII P. p. f.

nauego -

Tarruntenus Paternus also includes the post in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)).

gubernator

The only epigraphic record of this post is from Britain:

RIB 653 (Eburacum): - M. Minu. Aude. mil. leg. VI Vic. guber. leg. VI -

Tarruntenus Paternus, however, includes the post in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)).

discens epibata

This position is recorded on only one inscription:
III 14567 (Naissus): d.m. Ls. Cassius Candidus mils. leg. VII Cls. discens epibata vi. an. XXI....IIII m. ...an..

Soldiers connected with animals

caprarius

There is one example of this post, assuming the inscription to be genuine:

ILAf 472 (Sidi-Ali-bel-Kassem): Cornelius T. f. Stelati Foro Popili caprarius l. VIII.

pequarius

This post is found in a number of legions:

I Adiutrix (III 11017, 13438), II Adiutrix (III 10428, AE 1910, 131), III Augusta (VIII 2553, 2568, 2569, 2791, 2827, 18086, AE 1914, 234), XX Valeria Victrix (XIII 8287) and XXII Primigenia (XIII 7077). These inscriptions are found not at provincial headquarters but at legionary, but since the two are sometimes in the same place it is not possible to do more than suggest that this indicates that the post is found only in the legions. The earliest reference falls within the period c. 30 - 50 when XX Valeria Victrix was stationed at Colonia Agrippinensium (XIII 8287 - the style of the inscription supports this date). This soldier had 16 stipendia and was 35 years old - a soldier in III Augusta was 34 (VIII 2827). The latest dated reference to the post is 238 (III 10428). In one inscription the post is listed with two optiones valetudinarii, a librarius and discentes capsariorum (VIII 2553). Certainly the first and last of these were connected with the hospital, which might suggest that the librarius and the pequarius also had some connection with the same establishment. This is supported by an inscription which mentions a man, though not necessarily a soldier, medico peq(uario) (XIII 7965). It is not known how many there were in each legion, but the dozen or more examples of the post might suggest that there was more than

one in each legion.

pullarius

There is a single epigraphic record of this post:
 AE 1926, 69 (Vindonissa): - Val. Tertius, genio leg. XI
C. p. f. pullumus -

The inscription can be dated to the period 70 - 101, which is when XI Claudia was stationed at Vindonissa. A freedman pullarius is known in connection with a legion (XIV 2523).

ursarius

The only example of this post is recorded epigraphically:
 XIII 8639 (Vetera): deo silvano - Cessorinius Ammausius
ursarius leg. XXX V. V. -

venator

Tarruntenus Paternus includes this soldier in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)), and in addition two venatores appear on a list of principales in a vexillation of XI Claudia in the year 155 (III 7449). The list is in the following order: beneficiarius consularis, tesserarius, tubicen, cornicen, medicus, immunes venatores. Principalis is possibly not being used in a technical sense - if it is it clashes with the description of the venatores as immunes! Since there are only 75 soldiers in the vexillation there were probably more than two venatores in the whole legion

and therefore in every legion.

lanus

Tarruntenus Paternus includes the lani in his list of immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)). There is also one possible epigraphic reference to this post (III 195). The inscription is now lost, but the two eighteenth century sources, although differing but little from each other, disagree with the suggested expansion of the Corpus. The two primary sources read as follows:

Maundrell: .. IMM LIINI O LEG VII CL EX Z II PR POST..

Pococke: ... MM LIINI O LEG VII EX Z II PR POST....

IMM is the usual abbreviation for immunis, while LIINI O would best be expanded to read lanio or lanius. The suggested expansion of these lines is therefore:

...imm(unis) l/a/nio leg(ionis) VII CL(audiae) ex (centuria) (secunda) pr(incipe) post(eriore)...

Prison staff

carcerarius

Two inscriptions apparently refer to this post:

III 10493k (Aquincum): locus Val kar. leg

AE 1936, 155 ('Anz): Ael. Saturnilos imm. ka. leg. III Kyiek.

AE suggested ka(rcerarius) as an expansion.

Transport staffcarrarius

This post is mentioned on a papyrus from Egypt: Pap. Gen. Lat. I IV 2, line 6: carrarius Plotinus 1. This soldier is included in a list of soldiers of a century serving outside the century sometime in the year 90.

mulio

Caesar refers to muleteers in his army, though these may not have been legionaries (B.G. VII 5): prima luce magnum numerum impedimentorum ex castris mulorumque produci deque his stramenta detrahi mulionesque cum cassidibus equitum specie ac simulatione collibus circumvehi iubet.

Miscellaneous.armatura

This post is attested in a number of legions: I Minerva (XIII 8069 and AE 1931, 15), II Adiutrix (III 3336 and 10435), III Augusta (VIII 2618), IV Flavia (III 1663), XI Claudia (AE 1909, 167), XIV Gemina (XIII 6895) and XXII Primigenia (XIII 6999). One armatura had 12 stipendia and was aged 30 (XIII 6895), another 16 years of service and was 34 (III 3336). Although these figures are mutually compatible they do not help determine the rank or position of the post. The earliest reference to an armatura is in the first century, on the tombstone of a soldier of this rank in XIV Gemina erected at Mogontiacum, presumably in

the years when the legion was stationed there, that is from 70 to 92 (XIII 6895). The post is recorded on an inscription from III Augusta dated to about 200 (VIII 2618), while a coll(egia) armatura(rum) is known in II Adiutrix in the decade 212-222 (III 10435).

Discens AR

A dedication by a number of veterans of III Augusta in 211-212 contains a D AR (VIII 2618, 34). The Corpus suggested d(iscens) ar(matura) - an armatura is mentioned earlier on the inscription - and Passerini (Legio 608 (60)) suggested as an alternative d(iscens) ar(morum).

a curis

This post, if it indeed is a separate post, occurs on only one inscription:

III 5878 (Geneva): deo Neptun. C. Vitalinius Victorinus miles leg. XXII a curis v.s.l.m.

CIL suggested that a curis might be connected with the post of domicurius legati, but there is no evidence to support this. Similarly reference was made to the cura praetorii mentioned in the life of Claudius (Suetonius, 14), though no connection is known.

ADB

This abbreviation occurs on a list of soldiers in III Augusta (VIII 2568, 25). Cagnat (L'armee romaine d'Afrique, p.186) suggests that this may stand for ad b(alneas).

This is possible but there is no other evidence to support the suggestion. Passerini (Legio 609) quoted in support the ballio (P. Gen. Lat. V passim) but this is more likely to refer to an ad hoc duty rather than a permanent post. In any case it is not certain that the post is connected with the bath-house. It may have some connection with the ballistarius.

candidatus

The appearance of candidati on one of the lists of the staff of the governor of Numidia suggests that there is possibly an established post of candidatus. (AE 1917/8 57). The inscription is dated between 200 and 210 and is the earliest dated reference to candidati. One soldier was a candidatus after being, or while being, an optio (156) and a beneficiarius consularis was also a candidatus (226). It is usually presumed that these soldiers were chosen as candidates for the centurionate, but had not yet been assigned to a legion. This is probably the case and the seniority of the two officers who were candidati supports the suggestion. Domaszewski considered (p.42) the title candidatus superseded optio ad spem ordinis in the third century. This is possible though for a time the two descriptions must have been used together (^{III 344-5} ~~156~~ dated to A.D. 218 is the last dated example of optio spei). It is not clear whether the candidatus was a special rank or, as

with optio spei, merely a designation. The list of the staff of the governor of Numidia is not positive proof either way since ex-frumentariis are also mentioned on the inscription (AE 1917/8, 57). These soldiers clearly were awaiting further promotion and it is possible that other soldiers, who happened to be candidati were also awaiting their new post - as principales. It may be noted that one candidatus had only 14 years service (AE 1925, 63).
conductor

There are a few references to this post:

Pap. Gen. Lat. I IV 2, 5: conductor Porcius 1 (90).

This is a list, from Egypt, of soldiers in a century serving outside that century.

III 14356.3a (Carnuntum): - C. Iul. Catullinus mil. leg.

XIIII G. M. V. cond. prat. Fur. lustr. Nert. Celerini p. p.

- (205).

The second line is usually expanded to read cond(uctor) prat(i) Fur(iani) lustr(o).

AE 1914, 234 (Lambaesis): (on an inscription erected in the market place reference is made to the following ranks):

- sig/niferorum aut/... b/eneficiarios /... pe/quarios et con/.../ -

The last may be restored to read con/ductores/ curator veteranorum

This post is found in three careers and possibly on another inscription (103, 106, 237 and Pais 677). One

inscription is dated to the principate of Augustus (103), and another from the nature of the career to either Augustus or Tiberius (237). A third probably falls within the second half of the first century (106) and the fourth before the principate of Hadrian (Pais 677). The nature of the post is not entirely certain. It was held by one soldier for four years after 16 years service and before he received the evocatio and later a centurionate (237). Another soldier held the post apparently before he received his praemia (103). These two suggest that the post was held by a serving soldier. It is interesting that both soldiers whose careers are known served as signifer and aquilifer before being appointed curator veteranorum (103 and 106). It is unfortunate that nothing is known of the career of the fourth soldier:

Pais 677 (Brixia):] C.f. F/ab.le/g. XI H/īspan.
cur. ? vete/ranorum f. c.

It does seem probable that all the inscriptions could be dated to the early first century, and certainly all the known instances of the post are in connection with legionaries.
custos basilicae

This post is recorded on an inscription from Germania superior:

XIII 6672 (Mogontiacum): - C. Lucilius Messor mil. leg. XXII
Pr. f. cus. basil. - (196).

custos domi

This post is mentioned on a papyrus from Egypt dated to 90, which lists the soldiers of a century serving outside that century:

Pap. Gen. Lat. I IV 2, 8: custos domi Coti.r. .Staur.

horologiarius

The post of horologiarius is uniquely attested on an inscription from Dacia:

III 1070 cf. p. 1390 (Apulum): - M. Ulp. Mucianus mil. leg. XIII Gem. horologiar. templum a solo de suo ex voto fecit - (193).

hydraularius

A soldier holding this post erected a tombstone to his wife at Aquincum:

III 10501: - T. Ael. Iustus hydraularius salarius leg. II Ad. -

The word salaris here might suggest that the soldier had completed his 25 years service and had been asked to stay on in order to carry out his specialist duties - perhaps there was a shortage of water-organists in Pannonia inferior!

marsus

There are a number of references to this post, all relating to III Augusta:

VIII 2564, b, 23: Rutilius Catus mar. (218-220).

VIII 2618, b, 24: M. Pontennius Victor ex marso (211-2).

AE 1917/8, 29, 10: T. Flavius Ianuarius mars. Tham.

The post need not be a third century introduction, nor only

peculiar to III Augusta.

protector

This post appears on a third century inscription listing a number of soldiers on an unknown legion, three of whom are immunes:

AE 1907, 48: Ηρωδης ες προτηκ(τωπος).

This suggests that the protector was also an immunis or a principalis.

stationarius

Two inscriptions refer to this post:

ILS 9087 (nr. Aveia): Aurel. Mucatra R. mil. legion. sac. Pa. Filipi. ani cho. V stato prioris, stationarius municipio Habae. -

IGBR I 277 (Ignatievo): -[Μου]κιου φησ του κεντοριωυος
[.....Ρο]υφος στατουαριος λε[χ]-

A soldier on the list of a century in Egypt in 90 may be noted in connection with the post:

Pap. Gen. Lat. I IV 2, 14: stationem a/ge/ns I Domitius...

Tarruntenus Paternus mentions a number of immunes who are otherwise unattested (Digest 50, 6, 7 (6)). It is possible that these posts were to be found in the legions. Those that have not already been mentioned are:

aerarius

aquilex

artifex

cornuarius

gladiator

lapidarius

librarius caducorum

librarius horreorum

optio fabricae

Passerini (Legio 609 (75)) on the basis of the Corpus restoration considered that the following inscription proved the existence of this post:

III 8202 (Scupi): - ..arusfabric.....s eiusdem vixit
annis LXV h. s. e. -

The restoration clearly cannot be accepted without more evidence.

plumbarius

praeco

sagittarius

scandularius

structor bucularum

tubarius

The troops in the Castra Peregrina

canalicularius

A soldier with the rank of canalicularius fulfilled a vow when he was made an aedile which he had undertaken when he was serving abroad (190). The post also possibly appears on an inscription of the reign of Gallienus which mentions certain officers of the castra peregrina:

VI 1110: - ...] do v. e. ex kanal [...

Canalicularii are recorded on two other inscriptions, which may be relevant to the present discussion. Canalicularii of a vexillation of V Macedonica and XIII Gemina made a dedication at Poetovio to Mithras in the reign of Gallienus together with actarii, codicarii and librarii (AE 1936, 56). The canalicularii come at the head of the list of the posts which were all clerical in nature. This suggests that the canalicularius is performing the duties of the cornicularius, or which is more probable that the two are both one and the same post and that canalicularius is an alternative title to cornicularius. The post appears in the career of a praetorian (52). This soldier was promoted from primiscripius castrorum praetorianorum to ostiarius praefectorum praetorianorum to canalicularius to centurio frumentarius. The position of canalicularius = cornicularius is not out of place, but the fact that he was promoted centurio frumentarius

- a unique advancement - might suggest that the post was connected with the castra peregrina. This therefore sheds no light on the canalicularius in the castra peregrina. In view of the inscription from Poetovio it seems best to regard the post as being an alternative title for the cornicularius.

optio peregrinorum

This post was held by C. Su^lgius Caecilianus between exercitator militum frumentariorum and navarchus of the Misenum fleet; after the latter post Caecilianus was made a centurion (188). The post of optio peregrinorum may have been held at the same time as exercitator militum frumentariorum, but this is unlikely. One other optio peregrinorum died holding the post, aged 35, with 17 years service, after being promised a centurionate and while awaiting his appointment (189). A third holder of the post is attested (VI 3324).

exercitator militum frumentariorum

This post is attested once - in the career of C. Su^lgius Caecilianus: (188). It was held either before or at the same time as optio peregrinorum - probably the former, though Baillie Reynolds considered the latter to be more probable (Castra peregrina, 174).

aedilis

Aurelius Alexander, an aedile, fulfilled the vow to the Genius of the castra peregrina which he had made when

abroad (190). At the time he erected the dedication he held the rank of canalicularius, which suggests that the two posts of aedilis and canalicularius were distinct and separate. The aedilis is otherwise unattested in the castra peregrina and is only attested in the vigiles where the duties do not appear to have been of a military nature (cf ILS 2178). Since he is specifically described as aedilis castrorum the position may have been officially recognised.

frumentarius

This soldier was seconded from a legion to serve in the castra peregrina. He apparently continued to be carried on the books of his parent legion since most frumentarii record their legion of origin (e.g. VI 3351, 3357, 3361). A number of frumentarii also returned to their original legions for promotion to more senior posts (171, 172, 173 and 175, cf also AE 1917/8, 57). One frumentarius was promoted to a post in a different legion (176). These posts were: beneficiarius consularis (171, 172 and 173), cornicularius tribuni (176) and commentariensis (175). These promotions help determine the position of the frumentarius in the hierarchy, just below beneficiarius consularis, perhaps roughly equal in status to optio or signifer and beneficiarius legati. On a list of the staff of the governor of Numidia the five ex frum(entariis) are

placed below the beneficiarii consularis and the candidati yet above the quaestionarii (AE 1917/8, 57). This suggests that the frumentarii were about equal to the quaestionarii in rank. The inscription is also an interesting demonstration that frumentarii returned to their parent legion - these five soldiers were presumably awaiting their promised promotion.

A number of frumentarii reached the centurionate. One soldier was promoted to centurio frumentarius at the age of 40 (178). Two other advancements to legionary centurionates were probably not direct (122 and 177), though in the third century an inscription does record a frumentarius as a candidatus - perhaps such a promotion was more possible in the changed conditions of the period (IGRR I 134). A number of stipendia are recorded for frumentarii:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
VI 3353	6	23	late 2c - 3c
VI 3342	8	28	late 2c - 3c
III 3466	9		late 2c - 3c
II 6088	10	24	late 2c - 3c
VI 3336	10	28	late 2c
VI 3339	12	31	2c
III 4462	15	33	late 2c - 3c
III 8201	17	35	2c

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
VI 3365	17	38	late 2c - 3c
VI 3344	25	47	late 2c - 3c

The lowest stipendia is about what might be expected, though probably most frumentarii had rather more when first appointed. It is interesting that only one frumentarius is known with over 17 stipendia. This is consistent with the lack of officers of this rank on laterculi and the dearth of frumentarii recorded as veterans (VI 3341). This might suggest that frumentarii more than most principales could normally expect promotion to a more senior post, and as a result of this there were few with between 17 and 25 years of service.

Baillie Reynolds (Castra Peregrina 177) pointed out that although it is not known how many men were provided by each legion one inscription demonstrates that XXII Primigenia on one occasion had three frumentarii in the castra peregrina (VI 3351) and another that XXX Ulpia Victrix also had three (VI 3362). Other inscriptions show that other legions had two frumentarii at the same time (VI 3349, 3357, 3361). In connection with this it should be noted that the governor of Numidia had five ex frumentariis on his staff, all presumably from III Augusta, on one occasion about 200 (AE 1917/8, 57).

There is no dated example of a frumentarius before

the third century, though clearly they did exist at an earlier date (cf. III 8201). No inscriptions can, however, be placed in the first century.

The Auxilia

In his discussion of the auxilia Domaszewski divided that wing of the army into cohortes and alae. This is, however, rather a false division. Many of the auxiliary units were mixed containing both infantry and cavalry; the cavalry in a cohors equitata would better be compared to the cavalry in an ala than the infantry in their own unit. In that case a more useful division would be into infantry and cavalry, dividing the cohortes equitatae between the two. Alternatively these units could be dealt with in a separate section. It is conceivable, however, that there were some differences between the quingenary units and the milliary, and in that case each of the six types of auxiliary units should be considered separately. Furthermore it could be argued that the cohortes Voluntariorum were special and in some way distinct from other auxiliary units and as a result should receive their own section. Unfortunately it is not possible to consider all these units in such great detail for the simple reason that there is insufficient evidence available, and moreover a study of the posts found only in infantry units or only in cavalry leads to the conclusion that the only difference is that the latter had an additional number of specialised posts such as optio campi or curator, most of the posts being found in both types of unit. In view of this the auxilia has been dealt with

en bloc, the equites receiving a special section as in the discussion of the praetorian cohorts or the legions.

Table of Posts

This table is intended to illustrate the different auxiliary units in which the known posts are found. Where possible pedites and equites, in cohortes equitatae, have been differentiated, but the central columns which are composed of soldiers who do not state whether they are mounted or not, are included for the sake of completeness. The posts are listed in the groups in which they appear in the following discussion.

	cohortes				alae					
	peditatae		equitatae							
	D	&	pedes	??	eques					
	D	&	D	&	D	&	D	&	D	&
<u>Staff of the governor</u>										
<u>beneficiarius</u>	x								x	
<u>quaestionarius</u>					x					
? <u>librarius</u>					x					
(<u>adiutor corniculariorum</u>	x									
(<u>adiutor a commentaris</u>									x	
<u>strator</u>					x					
<u>singularis</u>		x		x			x	x	x	x

	cohortes						alae			
	ped.		ped.		?	?	eq.			
	D	&	D	&	D	&	D	&	D	&
<u>Staff of the prefect of tribune</u>										
<u>cornicularius</u>	x				x	x		x	x	
<u>actarius</u>	x				x		?		x	
<u>beneficiarius</u>	x	x			x	x				
<u>librarius</u>					?		x		?	x x
<u>adiutor</u>					?					
<u>strator</u>										x
<u>stator</u>							x			x x
<u>secutor</u>										?
<u>Staff of the princeps</u>										
<u>adiutor</u>	x									
<u>Standard bearers</u>										
<u>imaginifer</u>	x				?	x	x	x		x x
<u>vexillarius</u>	x				x			x	x	
<u>Posts in the century or turma</u>										
<u>signifer</u>	x				x	x	x		x	x
<u>optio</u>	x	x			?	x	x			x
<u>duplicarius</u>	x				x	x			x	x x x x
<u>tesserarius</u>	x						x	x		
<u>sesquuplicarius</u>					x	x			x	x x x x

	cohortes					alae		
	ped.		?		eq.			
	D	&	D	&	D	&	D	&
<u>The equites</u>								
<u>curator</u>					x		x	x
<u>summus curator</u>							x	
<u>magister eques</u>								x
<u>magister campi</u>					x			
<u>optio campi</u>								x
<u>citator campi</u>								x
<u>The dromedarii</u>								
<u>sesquiplicarius</u>								x
<u>dromedarius</u>								x
<u>Religious staff</u>								
<u>aedituus</u>							x	
<u>sacerdos</u>							x	
<u>Hospital and Medical staff</u>								
<u>medicus</u>	x	x			x	x		x
<u>capsarius</u>						x		x
<u>ἰατρίκῃς</u>						x		
<u>Musical staff</u>								
<u>aeneator</u>						x		
<u>bucinator</u>	x				x		x	
<u>tubicen</u>	x				x		x	x
<u>Armoury staff</u>								
<u>Armorum custos</u>					x		?	x

alae

	ped.	ped.	?	?	eq.
	D &	D &	D &	D &	D &

Building and maintenance staff

<u>ensor</u>		x		x	
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Miscellaneous

<u>circitor</u>				x	
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<u>conductor</u>					x
------------------	--	--	--	--	---

<u>nuntius</u>			x		
----------------	--	--	---	--	--

<u>pequarius</u>					?
------------------	--	--	--	--	---

Staff of the provincial governor

beneficiarius

There are promotions to this post from adiutor principis (219) and probably quaestionarius (225). One possible holder of this rank was a candidatus, though he may have been a legionary (226). The post is found in cohortes peditatae (219 and IGRR III 677) and also probably in alae (VIII 9380). Naturally the post is only attested in non-legionary provinces - Lycia (IGRR III 677), Dalmatia (219) and Mauretania Caesariensis (224, possibly 225 and VIII 9380). One beneficiarius consularis had 18 stipendia and had held the post for 8 years (IGRR III 677). Another is specifically described as a beneficiarius duplicarius (225). It has been argued in the discussion of this career

that the soldier is so termed since the beneficiarius consularis was the only beneficiarius to be of duplicarius status, and so is using the word as a tautology for consularis. Certainly the beneficiarius consularis must have been a duplicarius so the soldier cannot be using the word to boast his success.

quaestionarius

This post appears on two inscriptions. One is from Mauretaniae Caesariensis and although no unit is mentioned the soldier is almost certainly an auxiliary (225). He was promoted from quaestionarius to beneficiarius duplicarius. The other inscription is from Dalmatia: III 3162b (Dalmatia incerta): M. Septim.Dasi coh. I Belgi. quaestuario /.../icipali cons/.

This soldier is probably a quaestionarius - it is difficult to see what else quaestuario could mean. It is to be expected that these officers should be found in Dalmatia since there were no legions in this province, and other auxiliaries serving on the staff of the governor are known. No official other than the provincial governor is recorded as having quaestionarii on his staff.

Clerical staff

librarius

This post is possibly recorded on the pridianum of the cohors I Hispanorum equitata dated to the years 99 to 104:

P. Hunt ii 34: ad praetorium c/um/ librariiss (cf. JRS XLVIII (1958) 102 ff).

The praetorium is the term usually given to the officium of a provincial governor. In that case, assuming that it is here being used correctly, the cohort may have seconded one or more soldiers to duty at the governor's office, possibly as clerks, though it is possible that the librarii only accompanied a senior official on a visit to the praetorium.

adiutor corniculariorum consularis

This post is recorded twice epigraphically in Dalmatia: one inscription is discussed in the prosopography since the soldier was promoted from this post to actarius cohortis VIII Voluntariorum (218); the other is set down below:

III 2052 (Salona): T. Statilio Maximo mil. coh. VIII Vol. adi corn. cos. def. an XXV -

The youth of this soldier is in keeping with the apparently low standing of the post. The two soldiers are from the same unit, a cohors Voluntariorum.

adiutor a commentaris

This post is uniquely attested epigraphically: AE 1933, 61 (Caesarea): d.m. M. Cassio Calpurnio eq.alae Thracum adiutori a commentaris vicsit annis XXXII m. VIIII d. XX h. VS -

The great detail of the age of the soldier suggests a late, possibly third century, date. Presumably all the staff of the governor of Mauretania Caesariensis were auxiliaries.

strator

There are two inscriptions known recording this post. One mentions a strator in a cohors quingenaria equitata: III 2067 (Salona): ..Zosime Statil.Pulcher mil. coh. I Belg. ex strat. cos. uxor b. m. dupl.

Not surprisingly this was erected at the capital of Dalmatia. What is the cause of some concern is the fact that Pulcher was apparently a duplicarius. The mention of this appears to be almost an afterthought; this may imply that stratores were not normally duplicarii, and it was considered worthy of mention in this case. This, however, is conjecture, the fact remains that he was a duplicarius and a strator consularis.

The only other known strator consularis was promoted decurion in an ala by the procuratorial governor of Mauretania Caesariensis (202). This suggests that he had previously been a cavalryman, and in that case he had probably been in an ala.

singularis

This post is well attested. Some singulares are specifically called singulares consularis, others just singulares; there is no known case of a singularis praefecti

or tribuni (III 7395 does not necessarily refer to a singularis praefecti since the inscription is fragmentary and two officers appear to be mentioned on the inscription and it is not clear which the singulares were serving: TROPAIOPHORO fratre ex provinc. Pannonia in amplissimum ordinem adsumpto praef. coh. I/II/ Br/e/ucorum equites singular. eius.). This is well illustrated by the two rosters of cohors XX Palmyrenorum (P. Dura 100 and 101). Some singulares have the epithet consularis, but most do not. Three of the four known singulares consularis of 219 are simply termed singulares in 222 (100 xxxiii 11 = 101 xxxii 27; 100 xxxviii 3 = 101 xxxviii 11; 100 xli 22 = 101 xli 10) while one soldier was a singularis in 219 and one of the four singulares consularis in 222 (100 xiii 9 = 101 xxviii 26). These three former soldiers can hardly have been demoted (cf. 112 for hopes of advancement from librarius legati legionis to librarius consularis), nor is it likely that the clerk has made a slip, but the problem can be solved if it is accepted that there is only one kind of singularis, namely of the governor. In that case it will not matter whether cos. is added after the rank, it can be included or omitted at whim.

Singulares are recorded in the following provinces: Britannia inferior (RIB 594 and 1713), Dalmatia (III 2047 and 14693), Germania inferior (XIII 8185, 8188, 8225),

Germania superior (XIII 6270, 7032), Lycia (IGRR III 394 - this is presumably an auxiliary since there were no legions in the province), Mauretania Caesariensis (VIII 9354 and 9355 - these two presumably refer to auxiliaries since the province was non-legionary), Mauretania Tingitania (VIII 21814), Moesia inferior (220), Noricum (III 4812), Raetia (III 5822), Syria Coele (P. Dura 100 and 101 contain many references to this post, some already quoted), and Thrace (III 7395 - this is probably an auxiliary since there were no legions in the province). The number attached to each governor is not known and in any case probably varied with the rank of the governor and the size of the garrison of the province.

Five of the six main types of auxiliary units have furnished evidence for singulares - cohors quingenaria equitata (e.g. III 14693), cohors miliaria peditata (III 4812) cohors miliaria equitata (e.g. XIII 6270), ala quingenaria (e.g. XIII 8223), ala miliaria (III 5822).

Singulares could be either on foot or mounted. Those in mixed units specifically record this (e.g. XIII 6270 was an infantry man in a cohors miliaria equitata, AE 1925, 66 records a mounted singularis in a cohors quingenaria equitata). The distinction is clear on the rosters of XX Palmyrenorum (P. Dura 100 and 101):

singularis pedes

In 219 there were 12 singulares pedites recorded and

in 222 5. The stipendia of these singulares are listed below.
singularis eques

In 219 there were 10 singulares equites attested and three years later only 7. There appears to have been a large increase in the number of pedites singulares between 219 and 222, but not equites singulares. In normal times it seems that there were about equal numbers of each, though probably slightly more pedites than equites, as might be expected since there were more pedites as a whole in the unit than equites. The stipendia of the singulares equites are listed below:

STIPENDIA	PEDITES SINGULARES		EQUITES SINGULARES	
	219	222	219	222
26		1		1
26/20				
25	1			
25/4			1	
23			1	
22/16				
20				2
19		1		
18		2		1
17			1	1
16	1	2	1	1
15	1	3	2	
14		7	2	

STIPENDIA	PEDITES SINGULARES		EQUITES SINGULARES	
	219	222	219	222
13		1	1	
12	2	3		
11	2			
10		1		1
10/7		1		
8		1		
7		3	1	
6		9		
5	1			
5/3		2		
4	4			
3		1		
1		3		
0		10		

The lowest stipendia of an equus singularis was seven and the next ten, though this was clearly unusual, thirteen being the lowest of the main group of equites singulares. This is clearly related to the stipendia of the equites as a whole; most of the cavalry in this cohort at this time had 12 stipendia or more, though a number had rather less (cf equus below). The pedites singulares are in a totally different situation. In 219 the stipendia are spread out, varying from 4 to 25, with no concentration at any one point. In 222 there are not only over four times as many pedites

singulares, but also many had been promoted immediately after the completion of their period of initial training, and others not long after. Over half of the 51 in fact had only seven years service or less. The reason for the great increase in the number of pedites singulares is not known. The unmistakable impression is that this post, although a permanent rank, was of a low grade; its holders were neither duplicarii nor probably sesquuplicarii and therefore presumably immunes. Some singulares, however, were duplicarii, though it is possible that here duplicarius is used as a variant of optio. In these cases it is impossible to say whether the soldiers' main duty was as a duplicarius or as a singularis (100 xi 4; 100 xxi 4 = 101 xvi 19; 100 xxvi 14).

The post of singularis appears in a number of careers. Singulares are promoted to decurion of a cohort (222) or of an ala (197 and 221) and duplicarius in an ala (198). One singularis appears to be promoted to stator eques (223) and another in XX Palmyrenorum to the officium, possibly as a clerk. That a singularis ranked below a librarius is revealed by one career in which a soldier was promoted from eques singularis in a cohort to eques singularis in an ala, thereby illustrating the relationship between the same post in two different types of unit, to an unknown post which ends in the letters ...ΠΙΟΥΞ, and then to librarius, actarius and

cornicularius (220).

The earliest reference to the post falls within the years 99 - 104 when it is recorded on a pridianum of cohors I Hispanorum equitata (P. Hunt ii 25), and the last is in 238 on an inscription from Virunum (III 4812).

Staff of the princeps

adiutor

This post is recorded on the career of Bennius Egregius (215). He was promoted from adiu/t(or)/principis to b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) of the governor of Dalmatia. Domaszewski considered (p.34) that Egregius was adiutor to the princeps of a legion, but this is not necessarily the case especially since the princeps appears in auxiliary units (p.53 and 56). It is probable that since the soldier is later promoted to beneficiarius consularis the princeps is probably the princeps praetorii, but this does not affect the possibility that the soldier was an auxiliary. Nor is there any need to assume that the post was so highly placed in the hierarchy as Domaszewski thought - he positioned it between the beneficiarius consularis and the quaestionarius. Although generally speaking the rank of adiutores is not known there is no evidence to support this high rank, in fact what slight evidence there is places the post low down in the hierarchy, the holder presumably being an immunis.

Staff of the procuratorofficiales

References to the soldiers at the officium of the procurator are found on the pridianum of the cohors I Hispanorum equitata and on lists of the cohors XX Palmyrenorum equitata:

P. Hunt ii 26; officii latiniani proc(uratoris) Aug(usti) (dated to 99 - 104).

P. Dura 95 b ii 27: Rr ex is q d off(icio) proc(uratoris) mil(ites) III (dated to 250).

P. Dura 105 b ii 11: of/f proc(uratoris) Au/rel (250-256)

Officio appears repeatedly in the rosters of the latter cohort, but it does not appear to be a rank, but indicates service in some capacity at the officium, possibly if not certainly as a clerk. No librarii, exacti or other clerks are mentioned on the two lists, though it is clear from a document of c. 233 that the term librarius had not been abandoned (P. Dura 82, i 17). It is safest to presume that both units provided the procurator's office with some staff, probably clerical in nature.

Staff of the unit commander

The officium of the prefect or tribune appears to have been called the tabularium (P. Oxy. VII 1022).

cornicularius

This post is attested in four of the six different types of auxiliary units and there is no doubt that each unit had a cornicularius - cohors quingenaria (AE 1937, 56), cohors quingenaria equitata (V 9897), cohors milliaria equitata (III 10316), ala quingenaria (AE 1926, 74). One cornicularius retired with that rank after 26 years service at the age of 51 (AE 1937, 56). A cornicularius also appears on the two rosters of XX Palmyrenorum. Aurelius Alexandrus Antoninus, the only cornicularius mentioned on the incomplete lists, was appointed before 219 when he had 16 years service. He still held the rank three years later (100 xxxii 29 = 101 xxxiii 10). It is interesting to note that he was in a turma, and moreover that he was a duplicarius (there were five soldiers receiving double pay in the turma in 219 - two duplicarii, a signifer, a vexillarius and a cornicularius). A cornicularius of the governor of Lugdunensis was an eques (64), as was a cornicularius of the praetorian prefect. The actarius in this cohort was a pedes.

The earliest dated reference to this post is in 103 (P. Oxy. VII 1022) and the latest 227 (P. Dura 26).

actarius

This post is only attested in three or four types of auxiliary ^{units} ~~cohorts~~, but there was probably one in each

cohort: the relationship of the actarius to the cornicularius was presumably the same in the auxilia as it was in the legions. Actarii are recorded in the following types of unit; cohors quingenaria (AE 1961, 315), cohors quingenaria equitata (AE 1934, 280), possibly cohors milliaria equitata (P. Dura 100 xvii 3 = 101 xxii 13), ala quingenaria (III 3392). It was suggested by the editors of P. Dura that Ulpus Severus, who appears on both rosters of XX Palmyrenorum, is an actarius. In 219 his name is preceded by two puncta, and in both rosters a line is drawn besides his name indicating an assignment or rank, while this rank in 219 began with a ∟ and in 222 contained ∟tua∟; there can be little doubt that this was an actarius. Severus had enlisted in 203 and therefore had at most 16 years service when he was promoted, that is the same as Antoninus the cornicularius. However, the cornicularius of the unit was both an eques and a duplicarius, whereas Severus was a pedes though also probably a duplicarius (the fragmentary nature of the documents prevents certainty on this point).

There is one promotion known to actarius and that is from adiutor corniculariorum consularis, posts held by a soldier in a cohort of Volunteers stationed in Dalmatia and probably dated to the second half of the second century (218). The earliest reference to this post is in 194 (AE 1934, 280), and Ulpus Severus is the last. This does not mean, however,

that the post was introduced by Severus; there are only nine known references in all to the post so it is not surprising that none are earlier than the 190s.

beneficiarius

It is interesting, though probably coincidental, that this post is only found in cohorts and also never specifically in association with equites: cohors quingenaria (VIII 9058), cohors quingenaria equitata (III 12074), cohors milliaria (RIB 1619), cohors milliaria equitata (III 13419). It is surprising that this post does not appear on the rosters of XX Palmyrenorum though there are inscriptions demonstrating the existence at Dura, and presumably in the unit, of the post (e.g. AE 1929, 177 and AE 1931, 117). This may be due to the way of recording information on the rolls. One beneficiarius had served for 19 years and was aged 40 at his death (III 14216.8) and another had 19 stipendia (VIII 9057), while a third had served for 24 years and was 45 (AE 1912, 7) and a fourth beneficiarius was apparently still serving at the age of 60 when he died with 20 years service (VIII 9058). These were all men of some experience, with probably no further hopes of promotion, but younger men may have held the post and passed on. These soldiers being older would have been more likely to die in the post and thus create an imbalance in the surviving information. There are no dated references to the post, but

all the inscriptions on stylistic grounds can be placed in the second or third centuries.

librarius

This post is attested both in alae quingenariae (III 804 and AE 1926, 74) and alae milliariae (III 13441 and VIII 9764), but it is only recorded once in a cohort, that is in the records of the cohors XX Palmyrenorum equitata (P. Dura 82 i 17). The post does not appear in the rosters of this cohort, but the notation officio does frequently. The meaning of this word is not exactly clear, but it certainly records that the soldiers were serving in the officium of the tribune, though their duties are open to speculation. It is usually assumed, for example by the editors of the documents, that these soldiers were clerks. Perhaps officio was an alternative for librarius, though this latter word was still used in the cohort as late as c.233 (P. Dura 82, ii 17). Only two soldiers are attested as officio in both 219 and 222, but many assignments are missing from the fragmentary documents (100 xxxv 6 = 101 xxxv 10; 100 xxxix 5 = 101 xxxix 11). One singularis in 219 was recorded as officio three years later (210), and an officio in 219 was a vexillarius in 222 (211). Other soldiers recorded officio in 219 were stationed outside Dura in 222 (100 vii 16 = 101 xii 30; 100 xvii 9 = 101 xxii 19) or had other duties (100 xv 12 = 101 xxx 24; 100 xl 24 = 101 xl 30) or had no recorded duties at all (100 xxxv 13 = 101

xxxv 14; 100 xlii 21 = xxxix 16): the significance of this is not clear. Clerks do not usually appear to have held temporary appointments or to have been demoted; were these soldiers not clerks? Did they choose other duties, or were their abilities found to be insufficient for a clerk? Were they seconded to the officium to help in a crisis? These questions must remain unanswered until more work is done on the rosters and on papyri generally, though even then it is doubtful if the problems can wholly be solved. On the assumption that these soldiers are clerks their stipendia have been set down below.

STIPENDIA	PEDITES		EQUITES	
	219	222	219	222
24			3	
23	1			
22				1
21		1		1
20	1			
19			1	1
18	2	1	1	1
17				1
16		1	1	
15	4		2	
14			2	
12	1			
11	1			

	PEDITES		EQUITES	
STIPENDIA	219	222	219	222
10/8		1		
10/5	1			
8		1		
7	2			
6		2		
5	3		1	
3	2	3		
1		2		
	<hr/>			
	18	12	11	5
	<hr/>			

Pedites could be promoted officio after but a short period in the unit, while the equites with only one exception had over 14 years service, corresponding to the position of the equites in general. In 219 a total of 29 soldiers with the notation officio are known, but three years later there are only 17. While this in part certainly reflects the fragmentary state of the documents the drop in real numbers is related to the fall in the aggregate of men in the unit from c. 1210 to c. 1040 since it can be calculated that a minimum of approximately 2.5% of the unit in 219 were on duty officio three years later the percentage being only 1.7. This probable reduction of the clerical staff may help to account for the men noted as officio in 219 holding other posts in 222.

Librarius appears in one career of a cavalryman (220). The soldier was promoted from eques singularis to an unknown post ending in .. ΠΙΟΥΣ to librarius to actarius and finally cornicularius. This places the post above singularis, but both are held by immunes.

adiutor

One inscription records an adiutor in a cohort:

AE 1964, 268 (Ravna): Fl. Bitho ad. coh. II Aur. Dar. marito et Aur. Hermogeni dec. coh. s. s. fratri Aureli Cristina

p.o.s. The inscription must be dated to the late second or early third centuries, while Bitho was presumably as adiutor serving in the unit, possibly in the tabularium of the commander. An anonymous adiutor duplicarius is probably a member of the singulares of the governor of Mauretania Caesariensis since he is described as ex numero singularium, though it is possible that this unit is to be equated with the cohors I Aelia Singularium also stationed in the province (VIII 20857). The close proximity of Tipasa to Caesarea, compared with Avizia to Caesarea supports the former interpretation. However, the soldier will no doubt originally have been a member of a cohort or ala. He was 36 at the time of his death.

strator

An inscription from Admedera in Egypt seems to refer to this post:

IGRR III 1094 Σ...ος Αυριανος [σ]τρατωρ επιάρχου εικης

Ουοκοντιων θελσηνος επι[εσκευασε] το επιο[τυλιον] εκ
των ιδιων κατ ευχην αυτου και τεκνων ετ[ο]υ[ς] vs.
(? 84/95 or 148/9).

Annianus would appear to be a strator of the prefect of the
ala Vocontiorum. It is highly probable that επαρχος
refers to the prefect of Egypt. If this inscription is
correctly interpreted Annianus is the only strator praefecti
or tribuni attested. Stratores were usually equites
(cf. SHA Caracalla 7, 2) and to date have only been recorded
in cohortes equitatae or alae.

stator

This post is only found in cavalry units. It is
recorded in both alae quingenariae (AE 1960, 333, *Anuarul*
Institutului de Studii Clasice V (1945-1948) p.232 Fig. 1)
and alae milliariae (III 4369). There are inscriptions by
statores tribuni at the Palmyrene Gate at Dura, probably
by soldiers of XX Palmyrenorum (e.g. AE 1929, 180 and AE
1931, 116). These statores do not state whether they are
equites or pedites, though it is more likely that they are
the former since no pedites statores are known, as might be
expected if their main duty was to carry messages. The
post does not appear on the rosters of XX Palmyrenorum but
this may be due to the type of information recorded on these
documents. In three other sources statores are mentioned
without qualification but either in alae or as equites;

since no statores are known of other officers these presumably are on the staff of a prefect or tribune (III 4379, P. Hamb 39, III 12356). Domaszewski (p.55) considered that the post was only found in alae, but in reality it is only found in auxiliary equites. One equus stator appears to have been promoted from singularis (223), while three others retired as statores (III 4369, 4379, AE 1960, 333). There is only one dated reference to the post; this appears on a papyrus of 179 (P. Hamb 39). The other inscriptions fall into the period late second century to third century.

secutor

This rank appears to be recorded on the following inscription:

IIP = AE 1933, 210 (Palmyra): ...CLU. Ec.....sovte...
[/s/ecut. ala/e I/ Ulpia/e s/ing/u/lar/ium/].

If this inscription has been correctly expanded to read [/s/ecut(or)] it is probable that he was on the staff of the prefect of the ala, which was stationed at Palmyra in the second century.

singularis

There is no proof of the existence of this post. It is possible that one inscription refers to singulares of the prefect of a cohort but the inscription is fragmentary:

III 7395 (Perinthus in Thrace): TROPAIOPHORO fratre ex provinc. Pannonia in amplissimum ordinem adsumpto praef.

coh. I/II/ Br/e/ucorum equites singular. eius.

It is clearly not possible to say who the equites singulares were serving. Domaszewski (p.37) considered that they were on the staff of the governor of Thrace and this is very probably correct especially in view of the complete lack of corroborative evidence for the existence of the post of eques singularis tribuni or praefecti.

Standard bearers

imaginifer

This post is well attested appearing in five types of units: cohors quingenaria (e.g. 192), cohors quingenaria equitata (e.g. XIII 11868 and AE 1926, 110), cohors milliaria equitata (e.g. AE 1934, 185), ala quingenaria (AE 1964, 45) and ala milliaria (VIII 9291). In one case the imaginifer could be acting as a vexillarius at the same time (192).

A number of stipendia are known for these officers:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
III 8018		30	3c
AE 1964, 45		35	2c - 3c
XIII 11868	13	34	2c
VIII 4527	17	37	late 2c - 3c
AE 1934, 185	22		3c

It would appear that in the main imaginiferi had at least about 10 years of service. There is possibly one imaginifer on the roster of 219. The editors of the document suggested

that .ag could be restored as im/ag(inifer) (100 xxviii 21). The two puncta and the straight and diagonal line opposite the name lend support to this suggestion. The soldier was enrolled in a century, had 12 years service and also appears to have been a duplicarius (there were five soldiers in the century receiving double pay - a singularis duplicarius, a duplicarius, a signifer and two others. The imaginifer is probably one of these.

The earliest reference to the post is in the late first century (192) and the latest in the third century (III 8018 and AE 1934, 185).

vexillarius

This post is found in four different types of auxiliary units: cohors quingenaria (e.g. 192, AE 1964, 243 and V 7896), cohors quingenaria equitata (e.g. III 2012, 8762, 9739 and AE 1957, 193), cohors milliaria equitata (211, 212 213 and 214 all in a turma; P. Dura 101 xviii 19 in a century), and ala (III 4576). Most of the evidence concerning the position of this post comes from the records of XX Palmyrenorum at Dura. Seven vexillarii are attested in 219 (P. Dura 100 xxiii 12; xxxii 21; xxxvi 18; xxxviii 23; xxxix 9; 13; 16) and five in 222 (P. Dura 101 xviii 19; xxxviii 8; xl 9; 19; xliii 3). Only one of these held the post in both years (100 xxiii 12 = 101 xviii 19). Two of the remaining vexillarii of 219 retired in the next three

years (100 xxxvi 18 and xxxviii 23), two did not appear to hold any permanent post in 222 (213 and 214), to which should possibly be added another (100 xxxii 21 =? 101 xxxiii 3), while the seventh does not appear at all in 222 (100 xxxix 13). Of the vexillarii of 222 one three years previously had held the same rank (100 xxiii 12 = 101 xviii 19), one had been in Parthia (210) another at the officium (211) while the record of the other two is incomplete (100 xxxvii 38 = 101 xxxviii 8; 101 xliii 3). Although the vexillarii of 222 could have been promoted since 219 it is difficult to envisage demotions of vexillarii in the three years between the two lists. This led the editors of the papyri to suggest that the post was temporary in nature (P. Dura p.33). This is possible. In peace time especially the post may have been concerned with ceremonial rather than military duties. Slight support for this view comes from the fact that two vexillarii in different turmae appear to have borne the title vexillarius 7 (101 xxxviii 8; xl 9). This not only suggests ceremonial duties but also the probability that the post was not attached to individual centuries or turmae, a suggestion receiving support from the fact that each subdivision did not have a vexillarius and also that there were four in the turma Octavi in 219! Vexillarii were clearly duplicarii (there were five duplicarii in the turma Zebida in 219 - two duplicarii, a signifer, a vexillarius and a cornicularius). What happened when the soldier ceased

to be a vexillarius is not demonstrated. The stipendia of all these vexillarii are known:

STIPENDIA	PEDITES		EQUITES	
	219	222	219	222
24			2	
19				1
18			4	1
17				1
14				1
13		1*		
10	1*			

*This is the same soldier.

As might be expected the stipendia of the equites is higher than those of the pedes, and in fact roughly conforms to the figures for the equites as a whole. The length of service of only one other vexillarius equitum is known, a soldier who died at the age of 45 with 24 stipendia (III 9739).

One soldier may have been a vexillarius and an imaginifer at the same time (192), certainly the relationship of the two on the inscription might be taken in support of the suggestion that the vexillarius was an officer of the unit rather than of a century or turma.

The earliest reference to the post is in the late first century (192) and the latest in the decade c.245 - 255 in the rolls of XX Palmyrenorum (P. Dura 96 a 3).

Posts in the century or turma

The three ranks of signifer or vexillarius, optio and tesserarius which are so well attested in the other units of the army are found in the auxilia in both cohorts and alae, but never in a career or a list proved to be in hierarchical order with the result that it is difficult to determine the relationship between the three from the internal evidence of the auxilia alone. The situation moreover is complicated by the appearance of other terms such as duplicarius and sesquiplicarius and another post, namely curator. The two rosters of XX Palmyrenorum go a long way to clarify the situation (P. Dura 100 and 101). Normally each century and turma has both a duplicarius and a sesquiplicarius who are placed immediately following the ordinarius or decurion and are clearly the second and third in command of the subdivision. The duplicarius can be explained as the optio and the sesquiplicarius with less conviction as the tesserarius (for a discussion of the term duplicarius see E. Sander: Zur Rangordnung des römischer Heeres: Der Duplicarius). The signifer appears in both centuries and turmae, but is listed in order of enlistment, not at the head of the subdivision. The signifer is clearly a duplicarius but in this case the word is related to pay and therefore rank and is not the title of a post. The curator is found in cohortes equitatae and in alae, sometimes

with the title curator turmae, and seems to be peculiar to turmae.

signifer

There is no evidence from the auxilia that this was the most senior of the three posts in the century or turma but it has been placed in this position by analogy with the legions and the praetorian cohorts. Signiferi are attested in cohortes quingenariae peditatae (VIII 21561 and XIII 8198), cohortes milliariae peditatae (III 10581), cohortes quingenariae equitatae (e.g. XIII 11785, AE 1950, 46 and RIB 1560), in cohortes milliariae equitatae as pedites (e.g. P. Dura 100 xxvii 8) and as equites (e.g. P. Dura 100 xxxii 16) and in alae quingenariae (e.g. III 4376 and AE 1930, 132). The rosters of XX Palmyrenorum indicate that it was ~~un~~usual for each century and each turma to have one signifer, though the fragmentary state of the document prevents positive proof of this. Each century clearly had its own signifer in the cohors I Lusitanorum equitata in 117 (PSI IX 1063), while the fact that some signiferi are specifically called signifer turmae demonstrates that the post was attached to the turma in the same way (e.g. 194). The rosters also demonstrate that the signifer was a duplicarius (in the turma Zebida in 219 there were five soldiers receiving double pay - two duplicarii, a signifer, a vexillarius and a cornicularius). The signifer is not placed in the two rosters at the head of the list of soldiers

in the century or turma together with the ordinarius or decurion, the duplicarius and the sesquiplicarius, but in the body of men according to the year of enlistment. This clearly demonstrates that the signifer although a duplicarius and an officer of the century or turma - unlike the vexillarius and the cornicularius - and receiving more pay than the sesquiplicarius was not the second in command of the century. A promotion to signifer from armorum custos is attested, the soldier previously having served as a curator turmae (194), while a signifer of 222 in XX Palmyrenorum three years previously had simply been qualified by the phrase ad opinio(nem) perhaps indicating that the soldier held no established post (209). These two careers really provide no more information than can be gleaned by implication from the Dura rosters. The stipendia of the signiferi recorded on the rosters of 219 and 222 are:

STIPENDIA	PEDITES		EQUITES	
	219	222	219	222
26		1 ^o		
24				1
23	?1 ^o			
20		1*		
18			1	
17	1*			
15	1?			1 ^x
12			1 ^x	

* o x indicate the same soldiers in different years.

The stipendia can be supplemented by those of signiferi in other units:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
PEDITES			
AE 1913, 139	15		2c?
XIII 8198	7	30	1c?
EQUITES			
AE 1930, 132	22		late 1c - early 2c
III 4376	16	34	late 1c - early 2c
RIB 1172	7	25	late 1c - early 2c

With only one exception the signiferi centuriae had 15 or more years of service, and the signiferi turmae in the cohors equitata 12 or over. The situation in the alae, however, is similar to that in the cohortes peditatae since they enlisted as equites, hence the low stipendia of 7 years recorded for a signifer turmae in an alae is comparable to the same number of years served by a signifer centuriae. It is notable that the majority of signiferi in all types of units had 15 years service or over.

The signiferi in XX Palmyrenorum appear to have held the post for at least three years though there are only three soldiers who can be observed to hold the rank in both years, the decayed state of the rosters preventing further evidence from being drawn from them (100 i 10 = 101 vi 23; 100 xxvii 7 = 101 i 12; 100 xl 19 = 101 xl 26).

The earliest reference to the post in the auxilia is

117 (PSI IX 1063), though certain inscriptions are possibly first century in date (e.g. XIII 8198), and the latest reference is at Dura in 239 (P. Dura 89 i 2, 3, and 9).

optio

There is no reason to suppose that the optio in the auxilia was other than the second-in-command to the centurion or decurion. The post is found in most of the different types of units: cohors quingenaria (III 10299, 13483a and AE 1965, 251), cohors milliaria (AE 1905, 16), cohors quingenaria equitata (III 6366, 12251, XIII 6539, RLOe. xviii (1937) 54, 16, AE 1954, 265 and 266, P. Dura 26 Verso 5), cohors milliaria equitata (P. Dura 82 i, 17) and ala quingenaria (III 11911). The stipendia of these soldiers is varied:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
AE 1965, 251	26	45	late 1c - early 2c
III 12251	18	40	later 2c?
XIII 6538	18	40	c. 138 - c. 200
III 13483a	7	26	late 1c - early 2c

Although many of these inscriptions fall into an early period the optio in an ala is recorded on an inscription dated to 153, the optio in XX Palmyrenorum is recorded on a morning report of c. 233, while inscriptions recording two of the optiones in a cohors quingenaria equitata are dated to 251-3! Hence although the rosters of Dura clearly demonstrate that in both century and turma the title of the second-in-command

to the centurion or decurion is duplicarius and not optio the terms are not exclusive but appear to have been concurrently in use.

Mention should be made of three optiones, probably all in auxiliary units, with special duties and not ranks recorded on different documents:

P. Oxy. 2230: ΕΠΙΡΕΛΗΤΗΣ ΙΡΑΤΙΣΜΩΝ (119)

P. Cologne inv. 325: ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΚΘΗΚ(ΗΝ) (144)

Preaux Ostraca de Pselkis de la bibliotheque Bodleine in Chronique d'Egypte 26, 121-155: Παραλημτης σιτου.

duplicarius

In the two great rosters of 219 and 222 it was normal practice to place the duplicarius after the centurion or decurion and before the sesquuplicarius. There is usually only one duplicarius and he is clearly the second-in-command of the centurion or decurion - the title is therefore an alternative for optio (some centuries or turmae have two duplicarii - centuria Antonini, centuria Malchiani, turma Zebida in 219, and centuria Marci, turma Tiberini in 222 all have two duplicarii but no sesquuplicarius; turma Tiberini in 219 and turma Antonini in 222 had two duplicarii and a sesquuplicarius. The reasons for these divergences from the normal practice, like so many other peculiarities of procedure in the documents relating to this cohort, are not clear). The duplicarius appears in five out of the six different sizes of auxiliary units: cohors quingenaria

(V 7887), cohors quingenaria equitata (R. L. Oe. xviii (1937) 54), cohors milliaria equitata (frequently on P. Dura 100 and 101), ala quingenaria (e.g. P. Hamb 31, P. Grenf. II 51, AE 1960, 127, and III 3223) and ala milliaria (VIII 9750). The earliest reference to the post appears to be in the principate of Tiberius (AE 1960, 127) and it continues in use, side by side with optio, into the third century (cf. P. Dura).

There are promotions attested to duplicarius from singularis consularis (200), miles legionis (196) and also probably directly from eques (208). Duplicarii themselves were promoted to be decurions of alae (196 and 217). The rosters of XX Palmyrenorum once again provide the most interesting group of stipendia:

STIPENDIA	PEDITES		EQUITES	
	219	222	219	222
26			1	
25	1			
21		1		1 ^o
19		1*		1 ^x
18			1 ^o	
17			1	
16	1*		1 ^x	
15				1 ⁿ
13				2
12	1		1 ⁿ	

	PEDITES		EQUITES	
STIPENDIA	219	222	219	222
8		1"		
5	1"			

* x o n " all indicate the same individuals in two different rosters.

The surprising fact demonstrated by this list is that some duplicarii turmae have so few years of service - three out of seven individuals have less than 15 stipendia. This, together with the duplicarius centuriae with 5 stipendia, indicates that promotion for the good soldiers could be speedy. Only one other duplicarius turmae in a cohors equitata, though this time quingenaria in size, indicates his stipendia - 13 years - and his age - 30 (R. L. Oe. xviii (1937) 54). A number of duplicarii in alae do however record their years of service:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
AE 1960, 127	36	60	Tiberius
RIB 201	15	40	43 - 60
III 10609	13	30	late 2c - early 3c
III 2016	11	35	late 1c - early 2c

Low stipendia might be expected in these alae since the soldiers enlisted as equites, and were not promoted from pedites as in cohortes equitatae, but the stipendia are in fact no lower than those of the equites already discussed.

However, the evidence is so slight that no conclusions can be drawn. The better soldiers would probably have received early promotion to decurion in any case. The length of time the post of duplicarius would have been held is not clear, but certainly usually probably longer than 3 years since six soldiers in XX Palmyrenorum held the post in 219 and 222 (100 i 4 = 101 vi 21; 100 xxi 4 = 101 xvi 19; 100 xxxiii 26 = 101 xxxiv 4; 100 xxxiii 28 = 101 xxxiv 6; 100 xxxviii 13 = 101 xxxviii 26; 100 xli 4 = 101 xli 4). Two other duplicarii of 219 retired in the next three years (100 xxvi 16; 100 xxxvi 4) and only one appears to have been definitely promoted to duplicarius between 219 and 222 (208). The fragmentary state of the lists prevents further conclusions.

tesserarius

This post is attested only in cohorts and never specifically in connection with turmae. It has been noted in cohortes quingenariae peditatae (AE 1948, 150), cohortes quingenariae equitatae (II 2553, AE 1899, 158, and P. Dura 26 verso 6), and cohortes milliariae equitatae (III 5646, 14541 and P. Dura 89 i 3 and 9). This suggests that there are no tesserarii in turmae. The references to the post all fall within the second or third century, the dated examples being of 167 (II 2553) and 227 (P. Dura 26 verso 6) and c. 239 (P. Dura 89 i 3 and 9). The post is found in XX Palmyrenorum at a later date than the rosters of 219 and 222 on which it

does not appear though the third-in-command of the century or turma on those documents is the sesquiplicarius. The titles are therefore not mutually exclusive in date, possibly they were simply alternatives for the one post.

sesquiplicarius

This post is well attested in alae quingenariae (e.g. III 10257, 10514, V 907, AE 1909, 71, and BGU II 614) and in alae milliariae (EE V 996) and in cohortes equitatae both quingenaria (Pedites and equites: P. Hunt. i 27 and 28, ii 1, 15 and 16, 30, 40 and 43, though here the references are possibly to pay-grades rather than posts), and milliaria (P. Dura 100 and 101). The only references to the post in the cohortes milliariae equitatae are at Dura and here it is found in both centuries and turmae. It is noticeable that the post is omitted from the lists of posts in cohortes peditatae in which tesserarii are common. This might imply that the normal practice was to use the term tesserarius in connection with the century and sesquiplicarius with the turma. In XX Palmyrenorum as in so many matters the practice was different, though it is difficult to know how much depended on the requirements to be met in drawing up the rolls and rosters. Certainly in the two rosters of 219 and 222 it was the normal practice for each century and turma to have one sesquiplicarius who was the deputy of the duplicarius. There are some exceptions to this: centuriae Danymi in 219

and Mariani in 222 had only one duplicarius and no sesquiplicarius, centuriae Antonini and Malchiani and turma Zebida in 219 and centuria Marci in 222 had two duplicarii and no sesquiplicarius; turmae Tibernini in 219 and Antonini in 222 had two duplicarii and a sesquiplicarius. The reasons for these exceptions are not altogether clear but may be due to soldiers serving elsewhere and as a result it being necessary to appoint a coduplicarius or a change-over in officers. It may also be that the third-in-command of the century or turma could be a duplicarius rather than a sesquiplicarius but still carrying out the duties of the tesserarius. This is very doubtful but might be considered to receive some support from the Moesian pridianum in which it might be thought that the second-in-command of the century or turma is either a duplicarius or a sesquiplicarius (P. Hunt. i 27 and 28, ii 1, 16, 40 and 43). However this is by no means certain while the 120 years separating the two documents could, and almost certainly do, contain changes in procedure which prevent comparison between the two units. In summary it can only be said that at Dura there appears usually to have been one sesquiplicarius in each century or turmae, but this situation may have been peculiar to this unit.

The stipendia of the sesquiplicarii in XX P[ro]lamyrenorum are worth noting:

STIPENDIA	PEDITES		EQUITES		DROMEDARII	
	219	222	219	222	219	222
27			1			
26						1
23					1	
20				1 ^x		
17			1 ^x			
15	1		1			
13			1			
8				2		

^x refers to the same soldier.

It is impossible to comment on the one sesquiplicarius in a century or on the sesquiplicarius dromedariorum but five of the six sesquiplicarii turmae fall into the bracket 8 to 17, lower than the majority of the duplicarii, as might be expected. Three other stipendia of sesquiplicarii in alae are all slightly higher, as might be expected with the bias of the evidence towards older men:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
III 10514	36		1c
V 907	22		late 1c - early 2c
VIII 5936	21	40	1c?

A sesquiplicarius of 222 in XX Palmyrenorum appears to have been promoted in the three years since 219 since he held no post in the earlier year (207). Two advancements are attested from sesquiplicarius alae, both on the same

document dated to 242 and both to decurion (215 and 216).

Only one soldier with this rank appears on both rosters of XX Palmyrenorum so it is difficult to come to any conclusions concerning the length of time the post would be held, but there is no reason to think that it was less than the three years suggested for duplicarii and signiferi (P. Dura 100 xli 8 = 101 xli 8).

The earliest reference to sesquiplicarius as a post and not a pay-grade is in the first century (III 10514) and the latest in the middle of the third century in 242 (215 and 216).

Posts peculiar to the Equites

curator

There are few references to this post and with the exception of two curatores from Dura all known holders of the post are in alae; the fact that they are in alae quingenariae is undoubtedly coincidental (194, VIII 2094, 9291, AE 1906, 109, RIB 1480 and P. Hamb. 39, 16, 42, 66 and 102). The two in XX Palmyrenorum do not mention whether they are attached to a century or a turma (P. Dura 82, i 7). However, a number of curatores in other units specifically call themselves curator turmae (194 and P. Hamb. 39 16, 42, 66 and 102). This suggests that the curator was specially connected to a turma, rather like the duplicarius or signifer. If this is the case it is strange that the post does not appear in the two rosters at Dura. But the tesserarius

does not appear on the rosters, but is called by his apparently alternative title sesquiplicarius. It is possible that the curator holds the same rank in a turma as a tesserarius in a century, and is accordingly termed the sesquiplicarius on the rosters. This would account for the lack of evidence for a tesserarius turmae and also explain why the curator does not figure on the rosters. However, this does not appear to be the case since a sesquiplicarius and a curator are mentioned on a list of soldiers in a turma of the equites singulares Augusti in 200 (VI 225). These two posts must be distinct. Curator therefore seems to be a special post found only in turmae in cohortes equitatae or alae. The curator turmae appears on one inscription, that of a cavalryman promoted from eques to curator turmae to armorum custos to signifer turmae (194). In the legions the post of armorum custos was roughly of the same status as tesserarius and if the same is true in the auxilia the post of curator turmae may have ranked but a little below tesserarius. Only one curator records his years of service - 15 (RIB 1480). There is no first century record of this post, all the references being dated to the second or third centuries (e.g. P. Hamb. 39 to 178-9 and P. Dura 82 to c. 233).

summus curator

There is only one clear reference to this post, that is in 178-179 in the records of the ala Gallica (201). This

soldier is clearly the summus curator of the unit and as such must have been a fairly high ranking principalis, unless he was just the senior curator. He later appears to have become a decurion.

magister eques

This post is uniquely attested in an ala milliaria - III 4576 (Vindobona): T. F. Verecund. mag. eques alae I Fla. Aug. Brit. & c. R. tur. Italici ann. XXXX s. XIX i. s. e. -

The inscription is probably first century or early second century in date. It is impossible to do more than speculate about the rank of the post, but it presumably is of fairly high standing. The title may have been changed to magister campi.

magister campi

The only mention of this post appears on a morning report of XX Palmyrenorum dated to 233 -

P. Dura 83, 7: Demet/r/ius mag(ister) campi Bellaeus
O.a..g Malchus Zebida/

The post is probably connected with the equites since the citator campi and the optio campi are both only found in alae. The title of this post may originally have been magister eques.
optio campi

The only reference to this post is in the records of ala veterana Gallica dated to 178-9 in which is mentioned a soldier Ερπιδας Ερπιου, with the title optio campi (P. Hamb.

39, 89). The post probably is associated only with the cavalry.

citator campi

This post is recorded only on the document of the ala veterana Gallica dated to 178-9 which mentions the optio campi (P. Hamb. 39, 101). It would appear that the post is connected only with cavalry units.

eques

The main evidence for the equites in a cohortes equitata enlisting as pedites and serving for a number of years as such before advancement has been discussed recently by J.F. Gilliam (Dura Rosters and the Constitutio Antoniniana Historia XIV (1965) 74-92) and there is no need to do more than note his conclusions here. Gilliam, on the basis of the two Dura rosters of 219 and 222, observed that it would appear that pedites were not usually promoted to equites until they had served for a period of at least ten years. He also published the following table which is reproduced here:

Year	<u>Equites</u>	Year	<u>Equites</u>
A.D. 192	3	A.D. 198	3
193	16	199	23
194	3	200	10
195	32	201	78
196	8	202	18
197	0	203	38

	Year	<u>Equites</u>		Year	<u>Equites</u>
A.D.	204	38	A.D.	214	8
	205	40		215	0
	206	3		216	1
	207	6		217	0
	208	0		218	0
	209	5		219	0
	210	1		220	0
	211	0		221	0
	212	10		222	0
	213	0			

Many soldiers were recruited in the years 214-216 in preparation for Caracalla's Parthian War but this is only slightly reflected in the number of equites recruited in those years, most of the equites having served for upwards of 14 years (for one pedes promoted to equus between 219 and 222 see 203). Apart from those enlisting 214-216 and one other exception all equites had over 9 years service. There is no reason to consider that this was not normal practice in other cohortes equitatae. Gilliam draws attention to the pridianum of I Lusitanorum equitata which records soldiers made equites, one with either one or 15 years service and the other with 4 (198 and 199). On the same document is mentioned a recruit who was an equus (BGU 696, 28-30). The credible suggestion is made that recruits who were of sufficient merit, influence and height would be enlisted as

equites, for example some of the recruits of 214 and 216 in XX Palmyrenorum.

The Dromedarii

Dromedarii are known in two units of the Roman army, in cohors I Lusitanorum equitata and in cohors XX Palmyrenorum milliaria equitata (BGU II 696 and P. Dura 82, 100 and 101). A pridianum of the first unit dated to 156 reveals the number of men in the unit - 6 centurions, 3 decurions, 114 equites, 19 dromedarii and 363 pedites (BGU II 696 i 13-15). Both the infantry and the cavalry were below strength and it therefore is very possible that the dromedarii were also. In the same year the unit received some additions. One of the nine recruits was a dromedarius, and he was enrolled in a turma (BGU II 696 I 30 and ii 10-12). The totals for the pedites, equites and dromedarii for XX Palmyrenorum in certain years are preserved:

DATE	PEDITES	EQUITES	DROMEDARII	REFERENCE
219	c.860	c.335	c.20	P. Dura 100
222	c.750	c.250	c.35	P. Dura 101
c.233	914	223	34	P. Dura 82
c.239	781	133(?)	36	P. Dura 89
238-244(?)	-	-	31	P. Dura 88

Except for those of 219 the figures are remarkably consistent at about 35. This small troop of dromedarii was commanded by a soldier with the rank of sesquiplicarius. There

usually appears to have been only one (this was the situation in 219, 222 and c.233), but in the roster of 238-244(?) there were two sesquiplicarii. The same soldier held the rank in 219 and in 222, having enlisted in 196 and consequently having 23 stipendia in the former year!

(P. Dura 100 xliii 23 = 101 xliv 12). The stipendia of the rest of the dromedarii are listed below:

STIPENDIA	219	222
27		2
26	1	4*
24	4	
23	4*	
21		1 ⁺
20	1	
18	1 ⁺	1 ^o
17/14		1
15	1 ^o	
10		1
8		5
6		9
0	1	

* + ^o refer to the same soldiers in different years.

In the earlier years the average stipendia is higher than in 222 but the lower number of dromedarii in 219 together with the appointment of the recruit in that year suggest

that this picture may not be normal and that the situation in 222 approximates more nearly to the truth, with no set age for promotion. It would appear that in the three years between 219 and 222 a number of soldiers were appointed dromedarii though only two are known for certain (204 and 205). It is noticeable that all the dromedarii in XX Palmyrenorum are from centuries while the only other known example was enrolled in a turma. More evidence will have to be found before the usual procedure can be determined.

Religious staff

aedituus

This post is twice attested. It appears on an inscription from Raetia:

III 5822 (nr. Augsburg): d.m. Victorini Longini eq.al. II Fl. sing., Cl. Latinus aedituus singularium h. f. c.

Augsburg was the seat of the governor of Raetia and Longinus was therefore presumably a singularis in the company of equites singulares of that governor. Latinus does not specifically call himself a soldier, but there is no reason to consider that he is not. It is not clear, however, why he should be connected with the singulares - did all singulares consulares have priests attached to them? The post is also recorded at Dura in the morning reports of XX Palmyrenorum dated to about 233:

- P. Dura 82, i 7 : - a/ed(ituus) A/urel(ius) Si/Ivanu/s -
 17 : - aedit(uus) Aurel(ius) Silvanus -
 ii 12 : - aed(ituus) Aurel(ius) Silvanus -

This evidence from Dura, from a military document, demonstrates that aedituus must be an official military post. Six years later in another morning report of the same unit the aedituus is not mentioned, but his place seems to have been taken by the sacerdos.

sacerdos

This post is only attested in connection with the cohors XX Palmyrenorum. It appears in a morning report of 239 in which the soldier's office can be restored so readily since he also appears with the same title in the Tribune Fresco in the Temple of Bel.

- P. Dura 89 i 2 : - /sacer/dos Themes Mocimi -
 9 : - /sace/r(dos) Themes Mocimi -

The editors of the document point out that Themes cannot be an Oriental priest serving as a kind of chaplain but the holder of an official military post, probably in succession to Silvanus the aedituus.

Hospital and Medical staff

medicus

This post is attested in five out of the six types of auxiliary units and there is no doubt that each cohort and ala would have had its own medicus or medici. The

following types of unit are known to have possessed the post: cohors quingenaria (III 10854 and XIII 7415), cohors quingenaria equitata (XIII 6621 and 11767), cohors milliaria (RIB 1618), cohors milliaria equitata (AE 1903, 290) and ala quingenaria (195). It is interesting that in all the known cases of medici in the auxiliary units, ranging from the late first century (195) to the late second century (XIII 11767 dated to 198), the soldier had the tria nomina. This suggests that they might have been recruited separately or were at least of a separate status from the principales or immunes in the units. In this connection it should be noted that the post does not appear at Dura, and while this means little in itself since other attested posts are not mentioned in these documents either, the absence from the rosters especially does support the suggestion that the medici were not ordinary soldiers. One medicus had served for 22 years (AE 1903, 290), while the ages of two others differed widely - 25 (RIB 1618) and 47 (III 10854).

medicus ordinarius

This soldier has already been mentioned above as serving in a cohors milliaria:

RIB 1618 (Housesteads): d.m. Anicio Ingenuo medico ord. coh. I Tungr., vix. an. XXV.

Medici ordinarii have already been discussed in connection with the legions and it is not necessary to do more than

repeat here the tentative conclusions that this soldier was possibly of the same rank as a centurion.

capsarius

This position, presumably by accident, is only found in cohorts, in fact there are only two inscriptions recording the post, both relating to milliary cohorts and both third century (III 13386 and AE 1906, 110). One of these capsarii was an eques (III 13386) and it is to be expected that each unit had its own capsarii.

ιππιατρος

This post is recorded on one inscription relating to the cohors I Thebaeorum equitata:

IGRR I 1373 (ad Hieram Sykaminon): Γ[α]ιος Αυφιδιος
[ι]ππιατρος [η]λθ[ο]ν και προσεκ[υ]νησα.

It seems reasonable to suppose that each unit containing cavalry had its own veterinary surgeon.

Musical staff

aeneator

This post is uniquely attested:

XIII 6503 (Oberscheidental): Minervae - aeneatores coh. I
Seq. et Raur. eq. v.s.l.l.m.

Cichorius (RE IV 236) suggested that aeneator is a collective noun for the three posts of bucinator, cornicen and tubicen. There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation.

bucinator

This post is attested in a cohors quingenaria (III 8522), cohortes quingenariae equitatae (III 3352, RIB 1559 and AE 1900, 47) and a cohors milliaria equitata (P. Dura 89 i 2 and 9 = 100 xxv ll = 101 xiii 31), but not in an ala. This lacuna in the evidence is probably more by accident than design since a bucinator in I Alpinorum equitata was an eques (III 3352). One bucinator died at the age of 30 after 10 years service (III 8522), but the most interesting soldier of this rank is clearly Aurelius Priscus of XX Palmyrenorum. He enlisted in the unit in 214 and was certainly a bucinator by 222 and probably by 219 (the two puncta and the straight and diagonal lines opposite his name indicate this) and was still holding the post in c. 239 when he must have been ready to retire (P. Dura 89 i 2 and 9). It seems probable that he was made a bucinator within five years of his enlistment and held the post for the rest of his military career. This undoubtedly reflects the situation common to most immunes. Aurelius Priscus provides the latest dated case of the post, the earliest is recorded on III 3352 dated by the use of h.s.e. and general style of the inscription to the late first to early second centuries. The number of bucinatores in a unit is not known, but it is interesting to note that in all the documents relating to XX Palmyrenorum only the one bucinator is mentioned. Although the rosters are fragmentary there

can only have been a few holders of this post at maximum, and possibly no more than Priscus himself and a colleague.

cornicen

There is no clear mention of this post in connection with either a cohort or alae. Domaszewski cites XIII 6572 from Osterburken:

..PATERIO....CORNICE MAR....CNABETIO VOTRRRM.

This piece of evidence is far from satisfactory, but since there was a cohort stationed at this place the inscription may record a military cornicen possibly of the cohors

III Aquitanorum. One other inscription should be noted:

III 7651 (Gyalu): d.m. Aurel. Carinus cor. a/lae/ Sil. -

This soldier may be a cornicen or a cornicularius, probably the former. The post does not appear on the rosters or any other documents of XX Palmyrenorum.

tubicen

This post is well attested in the cohorts, being found in cohortes quingenariae peditatae (e.g. III 11508, X 7884 and XIII 7042) and equitatae (e.g. III 8437, 8491, 10589 and P. Dura 26 Verso 9), but not at all in the alae.

This is not to suggest that it did not exist in these units.

One tubicen in a cohors equitata was an eques (III 10589),

while a tubicen in the equites singulares Augusti had

previously served in an ala, possibly with the same rank.

Tubicines had a variety of stipendia:

REFERENCE	STIPENDIA	AGE	DATE
XIII 7042	6	24	late 1c - early 2c
III 8437	10		2c - early 3c
III 11508	22		2c - early 3c
III 8491	24	48	late 1c - early 2c
X 7884	31	50	1c?

The earliest reference to the post is in the first century (X 7884) and latest well into the third, in 227 (P. Dura 26 Verso 9).

Armoury staff

custos armorum

This post surprisingly is not well attested - it does not appear at all in the records of XX Palmyrenorum but is found elsewhere in both cohortes and alae: cohors quingenaria peditata (III 10247, VIII 2787, XIII 6577, 6586a and JRS xxvii (1937) p. 33, line 17), and ala quingenaria (201, III 5655, VIII 2094, AE 1928, 164 and P. Hamb. 39, 96). Custos armorum appears in one career held between curator turmae and signiferi turmae (194). As in the legions the armorum custos may have been of similar standing to the tesserarius. Only one armorum custos records his length of service, 17 years having enlisted at the age of 20 (AE 1928, 164), though another retired with this rank after 26 years service (III 5655). No custos armorum specifically states that he was attached to a century

or turma, but it is possible that they were, on the analogy of the situation in the legions. There are two dated references to the post - 127 (JRS xxvii (1937) p.33 line 17) and 178-0 (P. Hamb. 39, 96) - though at least one inscription is probably third century in date (III 10247).

Building and maintenance staff

ensor

This post is recorded on a list of names with ranks relating to XX Palmyrenorum milliaria equitata and dated to 245 - 255 (P. Dura 96 a 4) and also in a cohors quingenaria equitata stationed at Mainhardt from c. 138 to c. 259:

XIII 6538 (Mainhardt): d.m. Maximo Sasantis, mensori coh. I Asturum, 7 Corvini Quin/ṫ/āni, s/ṫi/pendiorum XVIII anorum XXXVIII, c. Dalmata ex muni/c/āpio Magno -

The inscription is clearly earlier rather than late suggesting a date perhaps towards the middle of the second century - Maximus does not have the tria nomina, nor does the other soldier on the inscription which certainly places the inscription in the second century. It is presumably just coincidence that the post turns up in two cohortes equitatae.

discens mensorem

This position is uniquely attested at Dura:

- P. Dura 89 i 3: - disc(ens) mens(orem) .. Aurel(ius)
Iarhables .. -
 9: - disc(ens) mens(orem) ...
 10: Aurel(ius) I/arhables/...

The document on which it appears is a morning report of the year 239.

Transport staff

mulio

Muliones are recorded in connection with the auxilia in a similar, rather ambiguous, way to their record in the legions:

P. Dura 64 A i, 9-10: - equitibus siv/e/ mulionib/us
q/u/i/ in vexill(atione) Appadanens/i/ - (221)

As the editors of the letter point out XX Palmyrenorum had a considerable detachment stationed at Appadana so these soldiers may be members of this cohort. J.F. Gilliam has suggested that mulio may be a duty rather than a rank but there is really no evidence either way (cf. Latomus XXVI fas. 1, 69 where R.W. Davies quotes J.F. Gilliam).

Miscellaneous

circitor

This post is only attested at Dura. P. Dura 88, which is a morning report dated to 238-244(?), includes on the second line:

/c/ir/citores Aurel Ach. /.../...es Gaius Sal/

The editors suggested that the post could be restored on two other morning reports, dated to c.233:

P. Dura 82 i 7 : - .i Iarhaeus Malchi -

P. Dura 82 i 17 : - .i Anton(ius) Val(entinus?)

The abbreviated titles of the two soldiers is ci or pi which the editors consider could be an abbreviation for circitor.

conductor

There is only one reference to conductores in connection with the auxilia, and it is not clear from this whether the post is established:

P. Lond. 482, 1 - 3: Alae Vetrane Galliga turma Donaciani Serenus procurator conductoribus fenaris salute.

nuntius

This is uniquely attested on a deed of sale from Dura which is dated to 227 and witnessed by soldiers of III Thracum equitata:

P. Dura 26, 33: Flavis Serapeio nuntius. sig/n/avi,

pequarius

This post is possibly recorded on the following inscription:

AE 1940, 116 (Mogontiacum): ...ili f. d. To....anor. V....
eques p....rius alaiana I....

AE suggested that the soldier was a p/equa/rius possibly in the ala /Ind/iana. This post is the most obvious suggestion but it should be noted that plumbarius and pullarius would

both fit the requirements.

The Equites Singulares AugustiStaff of the tribunebeneficiarius

This post is attested on a number of inscriptions (VI 3190, 3192, 3235, 3238). On the basis of the number of beneficarii tribuni on tombstones and comparison with the numbers for principales Speidel (p.32) suggested that there would be a total of about 20 or 30 beneficarii, that is approximately one per turma. This seems to be a reasonable total. In a list of soldiers in one turma two beneficarii, presumably of the tribune, are mentioned (VI 225). No soldiers of this rank appear on the discharge lists, which caused Domaszewski to suggest that beneficarii tribuni were usually promoted to higher posts. Support for this assumption comes from the known stipendia of beneficarii - 12 (VI 3235 and 3238), 13 (VI 3205) and 17 (VI 3212). These form a fairly compact group and suggest that most beneficarii tribuni would normally have at least 10 to 12 years service, and would be promoted from the post before the completion of their 25 years, and probably after about 17 years service or less. The list of equites in a turma in 200 (or 225) does not appear to be in strict order of hierarchy, but beneficiarius tribuni probably did rank below curator, and was on the basis of analogy with the auxilia duplicarius in status. There is a reference to the

post in 198 (VI 3314), but most of the inscriptions mentioning soldiers of this rank can only be dated roughly to the later second to third centuries.

librarius

There are only a few references to this post as is the case with all librarii (III 6763, VI 225, 31143 b 2, and possibly 32811; XI 4186 need not refer to a librarius in the equites singulares Augusti). None of the inscriptions refer to a librarius tribuni as such, only librarius, but it is probable that they were on the staff of the tribune. Needless to say there is no mention of librarii turmae, though it is possible that they could have existed. The paucity of epigraphic references to librarii is undoubtedly the result of their low status. The number of librarii tribuni is not known - the occurrence of one in the turma of 200 (VI 225) does not prove that there was one in each turma. The earliest reference to the post is in 135 (VI 31143 b 2) and the latest 200 (VI 225). It is possible that the T. Aurelius Firminus, a librarius attested on an inscription from Ancyra (III 6763), is the same as the Aurelius Firminus recorded in the turma of 200, apparently as an ordinary gregalis (VI 225 c 27), though there is no positive proof. T. Aurelius Firminus had 15 years service at the time of his death.

adiutor

The tombstone of a soldier, almost certainly in the

equites singulares Augusti, includes the following information:

VI 3196: d.m. Aur. Brinursius eq. cast.. prior.tur.

Maximi adiutor prae/f̄/. nat. Trax. civis Bero/ē/ensis vixit
ann. XXXVIII mil. ann. XVIII -

The inscription is now lost. There are three suggestions for the restoration of PRAE in line 2:

Henzen prae/f̄(ecti)/

Mommsen prae/p̄(ositi)/

Domaszewski PRIN(cipis)

There are serious objections to all three: the first two although keeping within the bounds of the evidence restore officers who are unknown in the equites singulares Augusti - the second has perhaps the greater merit since this officer presumably could exist - while the latter ignores the reading on the stone. In summary it may be said that on present evidence the letters cannot be expanded with certainty.

immunis

Four soldiers in this unit are termed imm(unis) or im(munis) (VI 228, 2; 2408, 5 and 20; 3236). It is possible that they are clerks as seems to be the case with the immunes consulares.

This seems better to fit the situation, (cf.) immunis being a specific post, rather than the other possibility that the word is being used in a general sense. In the latter

case it would be difficult to know why the actual post held by the soldier is not mentioned.

Standard bearers

vexillarius

There are only four references to this post (VI 226, 3203, 3239 and 3253). It is not known how many vexillarii there were in the unit, but if there were only a small number this would account for their absence from the veteran lists. On the other hand in XX Palmyrenorum the vexillarii received double pay and there is no reason to think that the same was not true in the equites singulares Augusti. In that case another reason for the absence of vexillarii on the veteran lists could be, as Domaszewski (p.53) suggested, that soldiers of this rank were normally promoted to higher posts. The only known stipendia of a vexillarius - 12 (VI 3239) - is in agreement with this suggestion.

The vexillarius was probably, as Speidel pointed out (pp.38-9), a standard bearer for the whole unit. Only one inscription relating to this soldier is dated, the year being 202 - the others are probably late second to third century in date.

tablifer

There are four soldiers holding this post at retirement on the discharge lists of the years 133 - 145 (VI 31143, c, 4;

31144, c, 5; 31145, c, 7; 31152, c, 13) and one soldier in 241 (VI 31164 b 5). Since the number of tabliferi are not known these figures give no clue to the rank of the post; nor does the apparent promotion from tablifer to decurio (229) since there are promotions to the same rank in cohortes and alae from posts held by immunes (197, 202, 221 and 222). On the other hand if Domaszewski (p.51) is correct about the function of the post, the soldier carrying the tabula or symbol of the unit, the tablifer may well have been a principalis, and promotion from a post of this rank would be quite usual.

Posts in the turma

signifer

This post has been placed first of the posts in the ~~century~~^{turma} on the basis of analogy with the legions and the praetorian cohorts and the lack of evidence to the contrary in either the equites singulares Augusti or the auxilia as a whole. There is no positive proof that there was one signifer in each turma but the post does appear in a list of soldiers in a turma in 200 together with the decurion, duplicarius, sesquuplicarius, armorum custos and curator (VI 225; a signif(er) tur(mae) Sereni is also attested (VI 3304) but this may merely indicate that this soldier was a member of this particular turma), while the situation in the other units of the auxilia may be cited as comparative

evidence. There are 41 signiferi recorded on the discharge lists for the years 133 to 145 compared to only five duplicarii and an absence of sesquuplicarii (VI 31142 b 1; c 1; 31143 b 5; 7; 9; 31144 b 4; 6; 8; 31145 b 9; 14; 17; 19; c 4; 11; 12; 14; 31146 b 3; 31147 b 2; 31148 13; 31149 b 5; 11; 18; 21; c 3; 5; 6; 11; 31150 b 8; 16; 20; c 9; 13; 31151 b 4; 13; 15; c 7; 11; 31152 b 5; 9; 10; c 3). The interpretation of these figures is discussed elsewhere but it may be noted here that they would seem to imply that many signiferi were in the last years of their service and could not expect further promotion. The two known stipendia of signiferi - 22 (VI 3214) and 23 (VI 3304) - would seem to support this. The earliest reference to the post is in 134 (VI 31142) and the latest in 241 (VI 31164).

optio

There is only one mention of this post in connection with the equites singulares Augusti. The dedication, however, is by members of a schola and optio could simply be a rank in that organisation and not an army rank (AE 1935, 256 dated to 197).

duplicarius

There are a number of references to duplicarii in this unit and there is no reason to suppose that the rank is not directly analogous to the duplicarii in other auxiliary units, being the second-in-command of a turma. In the

list of soldiers in a turma in 200, which, however, is not in strict hierarchical order, the duplicarius is placed second, following the decurion and preceding the sesquiplicarius, signifer, armorum custos, curator and other soldiers (VI 225). Only five duplicarii are recorded as veterans on the lists of 133 to 145 compared to 41 signiferi and a complete lack of sesquiplicarii (VI 31141 c 1; 31146 b 1; 2; 31147 b 10; 31150 b 1). Presumably many duplicarii were promoted to signifer or decurion, and the slight evidence from the auxiliary cohorts and alae would suggest that the latter was more common. The only known stipendia of a duplicarius is quite high - 23 years (IX 795) - and this soldier had probably given up all hopes of advancement. The earliest reference to the post is in 133 (VI 31141) and the latest in 241 (VI 31164).

sesquiplicarius

Again the few references to this post provide little information about the position of the sesquiplicarius, which was undoubtedly similar to that of the sesquiplicarii in the auxiliary units. This is supported by the list of soldiers and their ranks in a turma in 200 (VI 225). One sesquipli-
carius appears together with the decurion, duplicarius, signifer, armorum custos and curator. Although the list may not be in order of rank throughout the sesquiplicarius follows the decurion and duplicarius, as in the rosters of XX Palmyrenorum. The post does not appear at all on the

dedications by veterans in the years 133 - 145. This may be taken to imply that most sesquiplicarii could normally expect promotion to a post with double pay or to decurion. There are a number of stipendia of sesquiplicarii known - 13 (VI 3253), 15 (VI 3914), 16 (VI 32795) and 18 (VI 3266). These are in broad agreement with the stipendia of sesquiplicarii in the other auxiliary units and also with the supposition that sesquiplicarii would normally expect - and receive - promotion. The only dated reference to the post is in 200 (VI 225).

curator

This is presumably analogous to the post of curator turmae found in cohortes equitatae and alae. There are three references to the post (VI 225, 3191 and 3312), while a schola curatorum is attested on a dedication from Rome (AE 1935, 156). There was probably one curator in each turma and a curator appears on the list of soldiers in a turma in 200 together with the decurion, duplicarius, sesquiplicarius, signifer, armorum custos, two beneficiarii, librarius and other equites (VI 225). Although the list does not appear to be in strict order of rank the curator does follow the armorum custos, as is the case in the career of a soldier in an ala (194). This suggests that the rank of the curator is similar in the equites singulares Augusti to that in other auxiliary units, as might be expected. The post does not appear at all in the lists of veterans of the unit which might be taken to imply that most curatores were normally promoted to a higher rank before retirement. However, the only known stipendia of a curator is 21 years, which suggests that this

soldier was probably going to retire with that rank. Both dated references to the post are of the reign of Severus (AE 1935, 156 dated to 197 and VI 225 to 200).

Training staff

doctor

A doctor is mentioned on an inscription which refers to at least one member of the equites singulares Augusti, but it is not clear which unit he belongs to (VI 3239a). CIL suggested that the reading of the letters following doctor is AL(ae). Domaszewski (p.52 n. 2) disagreed without stating his reasons and suggested that the soldier may have been in the praetorian cohorts.

campidoctor sagittatorum

The letters CDS appear on the discharge list for 142 (VI 31150 c 3). Henzen (Ann.d. Inst. 1885, 281) suggested c(ampi)d(octor) s(ingularium) and Speidel (p.45) c(ampi)d(octor) s(agittatorum). Neither of the expansions carry complete conviction, but mention could be made of a doctor sagittatorum, possibly in the praetorian cohorts (VI 3595), and the difficulty of any other possible expansion.

Religious staff

victimarius

VIC appear on the discharge list for the year 141 (VI 31149 c 13). It is difficult to see what else this abbreviation could be expanded to other than victimarius.

turarius

The abbreviations TVRAR (VI 31164 b 7) and TVR (VI 31150 b 10) appear on two discharge lists dated to 142 and 241. Domaszewski (p.52) cited a reference to an aram turariam (III 5773) in support of his expansion to

turarius and his suggestion of the function of the post in connection with the religious devotions of the unit.

Hospital and Medical staff

medicus castrorum

This post is uniquely attested on an inscription dated to the later second or third centuries (VI 31183). A medicus is also known (VI 19) in the second or early third centuries. The two posts are probably synonymous, the medici being attached to the unit or camp and not the individual turmae.

optio valetudinarii

The abbreviation OPV is found on the discharge list dated to 137 (VI 31145 c 8). CIL and Domaszewski both accepted the suggestion of Henzen that this was the abbreviation of op(tio) v(aletudinarii).

Musical staff

bucinator

This post is attested once on the veteran lists of the years 133 to 145 (VI 31147 c 17) and also on one other undated inscription (VI 3179). Nothing can be inferred from this concerning the position of the post.

tubicen

This post appears four times on the discharge lists of 133 to 145 (VI 31147 c 10, 31149 b 10, 31151 b 14,

31152 c 9), and on one other inscription (VI 3176; VI 32797 does not mention a unit though the soldiers were probably members of the equites singulares Augusti). The four tubicines compared to the one bucinator suggests that there were more soldiers holding the former post at any one time, though this could not be pressed too far due to the paucity of evidence. One tubicen had 15 stipendia at his death having enlisted at the age of 20 (VI 3176).

Armoury staff

armorum custos

There are a number of references to this post (e.g. VI 725, 3314 and ILS 2187). There is no evidence that the post should be linked with signifer and curator as Domaszewski suggested (p.51). The main basis for his suggestion was that the three posts appear together in the career of a soldier in an ala (194) - but this in no way implies that the posts formed one group in the ala or the equites singulares - and the fact that they are placed together in the list of soldiers in a turma of the equites singulares Augusti in 200. This also appears to have no significance (VI 225) - the three were presumably the next senior officers of the turma after the decurion, duplicarius and sesquuplicarius who were placed at the head of the list as in the Dura rosters. Two equites are, for no known reason, interposed between the sesquuplicarius and the rest

of the immunes and principales. However, these two pieces of evidence - the career and the list - are mutually supporting in that they agree on the relationship of the three posts to each other, but they do not demonstrate that the posts form a special group. There is no positive support for the suggestion of Speidel (p.52) that there was one armorum custos in each turma - the list of men in a turma which he cites simply demonstrates that there was one in that particular turma (VI 225). There were clearly a large number of armorum custodes since 20 are mentioned on the discharge lists of 133 to 145 (VI 31142 b 2; 31143 c 7; 31144 b 1; c 1; 31145 b 11; 16; c 10; 19; 31146 b 4; 31147 b 16; 31149 b 7; 17; c 7; 12; 17; 31150 c 6; 31151 b 7; c 13; 14; 31152 c 5), compared to the 5 duplicarii and the 41 signiferi who were more senior officers, and on the basis of analogy with the legions it is probable that there was one armorum custos in each turma. Similarly on the basis of analogy with the auxilia and VI 225 the post was not held by a duplicarius, but by an immunis or a sesquuplicarius. Undoubtedly some armorum custodes were promoted to higher posts, so that although there was one signifer and probably one armorum custos in each turma less soldiers reached retiring age with the latter post than the former. On the other hand many soldiers having once reached the post must have received no further advancement for there are three times as many armorum custodes on the list as duplicarii. The

only two stipendia known for armorum custodes are widely divergent, as the previous argument might suggest - 12 years and 21 years (VI 3274 and 3177). The earliest reference to the post is in 134 (VI 31142 b 2) and the latest 205 (ILS 2187).

hastilarius

There are a few references to this post (VI 3192, 3226 and 31143-53). Ten hastilarii appear on the discharge lists of 133-145 (VI 31143, b, 1; 4; c, 6; 31144, c, 8; 31145, b, 13; 31147, c, 15; 31148, 14; 31149, b, 16; 31151, c, 12; 31152, c, 7). This implies that there were quite a number in the unit, perhaps half as many as the armorum custodes, though since the hastilarii were probably of a lower status than the latter the comparison between the figures should not be carried too far. The hastilarius does not appear on the list of soldiers in a turma in 200 (VI 225), but this is not surprising if there was not one hastilarius in each turma. Apart from those hastilarii on the veteran lists one soldier had recorded on his tombstone the fact that he had served for 16 years and was aged 36 (VI 3192). The only other reference to a hastilarius in the Roman army was in legion III Augusta where the soldier is also connected with the equites (VIII 2562). The two references to hastilarii in the equites singulares Augusti apart from the discharge lists are undated,

but appear to be late second or third century in style.

Building and maintenance staff

architectus

This post is uniquely attested on an inscription dated on stylistic grounds to the second or early third centuries (VI 3182).

Miscellaneous

tector

Three tectores in a turma appear together on an inscription of 250 (VI 31165). CIL has suggested that another should be restored on an undated fragment (VI 31186) and Domaszewski on an undated, but probably third century, inscription (VI 3261). The latter two restorations are uncertain. The evidence for the tectores in the praetorian cohorts and in the equites singulares Augusti seems to suggest that they are third century introductions.

The Numeri

The posts listed below are all found in numeri. It is not clear, however, that there was a numerus type of organisation as there was, for example, a legionary type. There may have been several different organisations. Following the auxilia there seems to be no reason to divide the numeri into pedites and equites especially since the sources do not support such a division.

Staff of the prefect cornicularius

There are four known references to this post from different units; two (XIII 7751 and 7350) are dated to the reigns of Severus Alexander and Gordian III respectively and two (XIII 6622 and AE 1933, 48) are undated. These inscriptions give no hint as to the status of the holder, which was probably no different from his colleagues in other units. There was also probably only one cornicularius in each unit.

actarius

Two inscriptions have survived referring to actarii; one of the inscriptions can be dated to 221 (XIII 7750), the other unfortunately is not dated (AE 1914, 210). The actarius was probably in an analogous position to his colleagues in other units.

Clerical staff

librarius

Librarii numeri are thrice mentioned on inscriptions,

which are unfortunately undated but probably fall within the later second or third centuries (XIII 6599, 7752 and AE 1914, 120). The librarii were members of different units and there is no reason to consider that all numeri which were on a permanent footing did not contain a number of soldiers of this position. XIII 7752 refers to the tabularium, presumably of the numerus.

officiales

Officiales of the numerus Brittonum are mentioned on an inscription of 222 (XIII 6592).

Standard Bearers

vexillarius

There are three references to this post (XIII 7753, dated to 246; XIII 7754 dated to 239; and AE 1897, 147 dated to 212 to 222). XIII 7754 is a dedication by a vexillarius and an imaginifer, in that order, to the genius of the vexillarii and imaginiferi. It is probable, as Domaszewski (p.60) considered, that this reflects the relative status of these two officers, but not proven. If Domaszewski is correct here it is probable that the vexillarius is the standard bearer of the unit, in which case it would seem unlikely that there were seven in this numerus as he considered on the basis of XIII 7754, a dedication by baiuli and vexillarii, which lists 14 dedicators. The rank of the dedicators is not mentioned. If this

inscription is in correct order of precedence the vexillarii would appear to rank below the baiuli, as Domaszewski himself concluded. In summary neither the number of vexillarii nor their rank is certain.

imaginifer

This post is twice attested (XIII 3492 and 7753). The second inscription is a dedication by a vexillarius and an imaginifer in 239 to the genius of the vexillarii and imaginiferi. Domaszewski argued that the order was hierarchical and this is probable though not certain. The number of imaginiferi is not known.

Posts in the century or turma

signifer

This post is attested on four inscriptions (III 1396 dated to 186, III 7415, III 7493, VIII 21453; cf. also XIII 7754). One signifer was aged 30 at the time of his death (III 7415). Another held the post of signifer and quaestor numeri Britannorum in 186 (III 1396). The latter is otherwise unattested as an established post if indeed it is here. The conjunction of the two is perhaps connected with the duties of the signifer as the financial officer of the century or turma. Domaszewski (p.60) considered that VIII 21453, listing a signifer and an optio as heirs of a fellow-soldier, demonstrated the relative status of the two soldiers, but this may be purely fortuitous

since the order may have been due, for example, to the size of the legacies.

optio

Three inscriptions relate to soldiers of this rank (III 7999, VIII 9964 possibly dated to 272, and 21453). The relationship of optio to signifer has already been discussed (see above) and is not proven by VIII 21453, though on the basis of other centuries and turmae the optio presumably ranked below the signifer. One optio, aged 42, had 21 years service at the time of his death (III 7999).

duplicarius

An inscription from Britain refers to a duplicarius of a numerus of exploratores, in the third century (RIB 1270). The duplicarius, on the basis of analogy with the auxilia, is probably to be equated with the optio.

sesquuplicarius

One sesquuplicarius is known, on a tombstone from Mauretania Caesariensis (VIII 9829). The soldier had served for seven years and was 26 at the time of his death.

Hospital and Medical staff

medicus

A medicus ordinarius of the numerus Divitiensium dedicated an altar to the genius capsariorum of the unit in the reign of Gordian III (XIII 11979). It is possible that each numerus had a medicus.

capsarius

The existence of this post in the numeri is implied by an inscription from Niederbieber:

XIII 11979: In h. d. d. Genio capsariorum n. Divitiensium Gordianorum T. Fl. Processus medicus hordinarius sub C. Vibio Vitale pref. n.s.s.d.p. (238 - 244).

Armoury staffarmorum custos

This post appears to be attested on the following inscription:

XIII 6156 (Becherbach): Mercurio ex vto. Masvinnus Irduti f. c.a. ex numero Vi....cum...

Custos Armorum is the usual expansion of c. a. used in connection with a military unit.

Miscellaneousbaiulus

This post appears on one inscription:

XIII 7754 (Niederbieber): In h.d.d. baioli et vexillari collegio Victoriensium signiferorum Genium de suo fecerunt VIII kal. Octobr. Presente et Albino cos. h. XL d. s. r.

(246)

14 soldiers are listed on the sides of the dedication, but their ranks are unspecified. Domaszewski considered (p.60) that this inscription demonstrated that the baiulus ranked above the vexillarii but the inscription does not prove this,

nor does it demonstrate the number of baiuli in the unit.

exarchus

Two inscriptions refer to this post:

III 10527 (Alt-Ofen, Pannonia inferior): ...exarchus ex n...
m Dal. agens..... -

AE 1938, 98 (nr. Makres): d.m. Aur. Mund. exarc. n. D.
v. a. XXX - D. is probably to be expanded as Dalmatarum,
in which case the two inscriptions may refer to soldiers
of the same unit. Nothing is known concerning the rank
of the post.

veredarius

One inscription attests the existence of this post:

XIII 7439 (Capersburg): In h. d. d. Genio veredariorum n.
N.... tonius Remu...

immunis

III 8032 (Romula): d.m. Claudia Amba vix. annos
II fecit in Dacia an. V Cl. Montanus imm. ex n. Sur. sag.
pat. eius fecit.

Imm. is more likely to be an abbreviation for immunis than
imaginifer.

Provincial and other Staffs
Staff of Provincial Governors

There is insufficient evidence to try to compare the staffs of governors of different status and therefore the provinces have been dealt with in alphabetical order.

Aegyptus

cornicularius

A soldier of this rank is mentioned at the head of the discharge list of 157 of soldiers of II Traiana (AE 1955, 238).

speculator

A speculator was discharged from II Traiana in 157 after serving for 25 or 26 years (AE 1955, 238).

optio speculator

This post is recorded on an inscription dated to about 118:

III 14137.1: Q. Rammio Martiali praef. Aeg. A. Rutilius Cilo optio specul. o. m.

The inscription is unfortunately now lost. It is possible that Cilo was promoted from optio to speculator, but this is unlikely. However, the possibility of the existence of this post must be treated with suspicion.

beneficiarius

Two beneficiarii praefecti were discharged in 157 from II Traiana but it is not clear which praefectus they

were serving under (AE 1955, 238).

Africa

Tacitus (Histories 4, 48) records that when III Augusta received its own legate the patronage was divided between the legate of III Augusta and Numidia and the proconsul of Africa. Under Hadrian the legion is known to have supplied a cohort to the proconsul (VIII 18042). There is, however, no example of a soldier of III Augusta serving on the staff of the proconsul, nor is the position known after the elevation of Numidia into separate provincial status. Domaszewski considered (p.30 ff.) that the number of cornicularii, commentarienses and speculatores known to have served on the staff of the governor of Numidia in the last years of the second century suggests that at this time III Augusta continued to supply staff officers to the proconsular province. However, I have argued elsewhere that this is not incontrovertible evidence since there are direct parallels for the number of cornicularii and commentarienses in other provinces if not the speculatores, while the relationship between Numidia and Africa at that time is uncertain (see cornicularius consularis and speculator consularis). It does seem possible that the urban cohort stationed at Carthage supplied some staff officers to the proconsul.

beneficiarius

The probability that the two beneficiarii of M' Acilius Glabrio recorded together on an inscription from Hippos Regius are members of the urban cohort has been discussed above when dealing with the urban cohorts (AE 1961, 224). The assumption that they are members of cohors I urbana is based upon the fact that the two soldiers are Italians at a time when there were very few Italians in III Augusta. The cohort stationed at Lugudunum supplied the staff of the governor and procurator of Lugdunensis and there is no reason to think that this was not paralleled in Africa.

Arabiacornicularius

Flavius Maximus Sabinus served, probably within the third century, on the staff of the governor of Arabia (168). Although his mother unit is not mentioned he was presumably a soldier of III Cyrenaica.

commentariensis

Sabinus also served as commentariensis on the staff of the governor of this province (168).

beneficiarius

Maximus Sabinus held this post before being promoted to commentariensis consularis (168).

quaestionarius

This post appears to be recorded on an inscription from Arabia:

AE 1896, 77: .oves Hammo - M. Aur. Theodor. a quaestonario (centurio??) leg. III Cyr.

Since quaestionarii are only found on the staff of provincial governors it is probable that this soldier was on the staff of the governor of Arabia.

librarius

Although no holder of this post is attested in 107 Iulius Apollinaris was made a librarius legionis by the governor of Arabia with the promise of promotion to librarius consularis when a vacancy occurred (112).

singularis eques

The e/q(uites)/sing(ulares) exerc(itus) Arab(ici) item drom(edarii) made a dedication to the governor of the province and his son in the second century (III 93 cf. PIR² II 47 and AE 1957, 271). The soldiers are more likely to have been auxiliaries than legionaries.

dromedarii

III 93, quoted above, suggests that the governor of Arabia had some dromedarii on his staff as well as equites singulares.

Asiacommentariensis

There is a mention in literature of a commentariensis of the proconsul of Asia in 250 (Acta s. Pionii, 21).

Bithynia and Pontus

There is no knowledge concerning the staff of the governor of this province but Pliny when governor of the province from his own staff was able to assign soldiers to other officials (Pliny to Trajan 21 and 27) while for specialists he could draw upon the army of the governor of Moesia inferior (Pliny to Trajan 42, 61 and 62).

Britanniaspeculator

A specul(ator) exercit(us) Brittan(iae) is known from an inscription found in Rome (VI 3358). The inscription may fall within the last years of the second century, and so relate to the undivided province, but on the other hand it may be third century in date and relate probably to Britannia superior, a supposition supported by the appearance on the stone of Sempronius Pudens a frumentarius of XX Valeria Victrix (cf. VI 3356 and 3359). RIB 19 also records a speculator, this time of II Augusta. The inscription is usually dated between 212 and 222, but Professor Birley has suggested that the reading is erroneous and the presence of dis manibus in full together

with the filiation, tribe and origo of the soldier suggests a date in the first century or early second. If this is the case the soldier will have been on the staff of the governor of the whole of Britain.

beneficiarius

RIB 293 records a soldier of this rank on the staff of the governor of the undivided province of Britain:
G. Mannius G. f. Pol. Secundus Pollent. mil. leg. XX anoru.
LII stip. XXXVI ben. leg. pr. h.s.e.

strator

An inscription from Irchester records this post:
 RIB 233: d.m.s. Anicius Saturn. strator cos. m.s.f.
 This inscription may be third century in date in which case the soldier will presumably be a member of the staff of the governor of Britannia superior.

Britannia superior

speculator

For reference to this post see above speculator
provinciae Britanniae.

beneficiarius

This post is recorded on an inscription from Chesterholm dated to the third century:
 RIB 1696: .. Silvan. M Aurelius Modestus bf. cos.
provinciae super/i/or/i s leg. II Aug.

strator

For the possibility of a strator of this province see above strator provinciae Britanniae.

Britannia Inferiorsingularis

Two soldiers of this rank are known in the province (RIB 594 and 1713). The first soldier was a member of the ala Sarmatarum, and the second, a son of a primipilaris, is buried at Chesterholm, perhaps the fort of his home unit. He was a Pannonian and had served for 26 years at the time of his death.

Cappadociabeneficiarius

One inscription refers to this post:

III 6800: M. Antonius Longus veteranus leg. XII F.

bene/f.7 consularium -

Daciacornicularius

III 14479 demonstrates that in the years 198 - 209 at least the governor of Dacia had two or more cornicularii. Another inscription, also from Apulum the capital of the province, records a cornicularius consularis (III 1106), while a third from the same city is a dedication about 193 to 195 by the cornicularii, commentarienses and

probably speculatores of the governor (III 7794).

commentariensis

The commentarienses of the governor of Dacia are mentioned on an inscription of about 193 to 195 after the cornicularii and before soldiers, whose rank has been restored as speculator (III 7794).

speculator

The schola speculatorum of soldiers on the staff of the governor of Dacia is mentioned on an inscription of 198 to 209 (III 14479). The speculatores are probably also mentioned on an inscription of about 193 to 195 following the cornicularii and commentarienses of the governor (III 7794).

beneficiarius

There are at least 18 epigraphic references to this post though most are unfortunately undated.

Beneficiarii were supplied to the governor of Dacia by V Macedonica (e.g. III 7505 dated between 145 and 170, AE 1957, 239 dated to 230, and AE 1957, 326 dated to 243) and XIII Gemina (e.g. III 6161 dated to 218 and III 7633 dated to 239).

optio praetorii

An inscription of the late second or third centuries from Apulum refers to an optio praetorii of V Macedonica, presumably on the staff of the governor (III 7765).

librarius

Three librarii consulares are known from XIII Gemina, two dated generally to the late second to third centuries (III 1318 and AE 1965, 35) and the other to the years 212 to 222 (III 6246). A fourth librarius consularis is known at Apulum in 196 to 197 (III 14215.16).

singularis eques

Two inscriptions from Apulum mention equites singulares of the governor of the province, though no unit is recorded in either case (III 1160 and 1195, the latter being only 20 at his death).

Dalmatiacornicularius

An inscription from Salona reads in part as follows:

III 8750: - ...nicul. cos. -

The inscription presumably refers to a cornicularius of the governor of Dalmatia whose seat was at Salona. A soldier of cohors VIII Voluntariorum, which was stationed in the province, was at one stage of his career adiutor to the cornicularius of the governor (218), and another soldier of the same unit died while holding the same post at the age of 25 (III 2052). The wife of a veteran of I Adiutrix, ex cornic(ulario) co(n)s(ularis) died at Salona, but the soldier may not have been a member of the

staff of the governor of Dalmatia (III 8752).

commentariensis

A soldier of XIIII Gemina served as comm(entariensis) co(n)s(ularis) prov(inciae) Delm(atiae), after previously being speculator, presumably of the same province (179).

speculator

An inscription which can be dated on stylistic grounds to the first century is the tombstone of a speculator of XI Claudia erected at Salona, presumably before 70 when that legion was still stationed in the province (AE 1914, 75). Later the speculatores appear to have been provided by other legions including I Adiutrix (Bullettino di archaeologia e storia dalmata xxxviii (1914) 94, 4692a) and possibly XIIII Gemina (III 9401).

beneficiarius

Soldiers of this rank serving on the staff of the governor of Dalmatia are known from most of the Danube legions as well as from an auxiliary unit within the province. However, it is not completely certain that the beneficiarii of the Danube legions were actually serving on the staff of governor of Dalmatia since they could have been sent on official business by their own provincial governors. It seems unlikely that all fall into this category and listed below are those who probably

do not:

I Adiutrix (Pannonia superior and inferior): AE 1933, 76
(dated to 187), III 1909 (194), 13847 (194),
3161 (245), 1907, 1910, 14218, 15066, ILJ 144.

I Italica (Moesia inferior): III 1781 (225), 1906, 2033,
14631.

V Macedonica (Moesia inferior?): AE 1910, 214 and ILJ 81.

VII Claudia (Moesia superior): ILJ 67 and 69.

X Gemina (Pannonia superior): III 3158a, 6376, 9847,
14219, 14637.

XI Claudia (Dalmatia): four dedications are probably
of the period when this legion was still
garrisoned within the province: III 9790,
13231, 14219.4, 14703.

(Moesia inferior): one inscription may
possibly relate to the period when the legion
was stationed on the Danube, though it could
be earlier: III 8727.

XIV Gemina (Pannonia superior): III 1780 (209), III 1911
(239), Clasnik xxxix (1927), 262, 267 (261),
III 8431, 8435 and 10050.

A beneficiarius of the governor is also recorded from a
cohors Voluntariorum (219).

quaestionarius

This post appears to be recorded on an inscription from Dalmatia:

III 3162b: M. Septim. Dasi coh. I Belgi. quaestuario
[-...-]icipali cons[-..]

Since quaestionarii are only found on the staff of provincial governors this soldier was presumably on the staff of the governor of Dalmatia.

exactus

An inscription from Andetrium in Dalmatia is the tombstone of a soldier of this rank:

AE 1940, 177: d.m. L. Septimio Gratiano mil. leg. VII
Cl. exacto cos. v/i [-]xit ann. XXIII/[-]II[-] d. XI -

Andetrium is so near Salona that it is more probable that the soldier was on the staff of the governor of Dalmatia and not that of Moesia inferior where VII Claudia was stationed in the third century to which period this inscription must belong.

adiutor corniculariorum

There are two references to this post, both recording soldiers of the cohors VII Voluntariorum (218 and III 2052).

adiutor principis

A soldier in a cohors Voluntariorum held this post before proceeding to beneficiarius consularis (219).

This later position on the governor's staff suggests that the earlier post was as assistant to the princeps praetorii on the same staff, rather than the princeps of the home cohort.

strator

A soldier of cohors I Belgarum served as strator to the governor (III 2067).

singularis

A soldier of cohors I Alpinorum equitata appears to have served as singularis of the governor of Dalmatia possibly in the third century:

III 14693 (Salona): ..cato/....coh. I A/Ip....sing. c/os.../Aur.M/...

The tombstone of a veteran of an unknown unit probably refers to another:

III 2047 (Salona): d.m. C. Sabinio Niciati eq. ex. sing. - . optio equites singulares

This post is recorded on the tombstone of the son of a soldier erected in Salona:

III 2011: Aur. Priscus opti. eq. sing. Aur. Prisco filio infelicissimo qui vixit ann. II m. VIII.

There is no reason to think that the soldier was not a member of the singulares equites of the governor of Dalmatia.

In summary certain members of the staff of the

governor of Dalmatia were drawn from the legions stationed on the Danube after the withdrawal of the last legion from the province. These posts definitely included commentariensis, probably speculator, beneficiarius, and exactus. The legions of which these soldiers were members included three legions of Moesia inferior, VII Claudia of Moesia superior, and the three legions of Pannonia superior. There is no known contribution from IV Flavia in Moesia superior and II Adiutrix in Pannonia inferior. After the redrawing of the boundary of Pannonia inferior by Caracalla I Adiutrix continued supplying soldiers, though still none are known from its sister legion. This may simply reflect the inadequacy of the available information but on the other hand it is possible that when Pannonia inferior was a one legion province it may have been felt that II Adiutrix had a hard enough task to do to fill all the necessary posts in its own province without taking on further burdens and this situation may have merely continued without change after the frontier revisions. Other posts were filled by members of the auxiliary garrison of the province - beneficiarius, quaestionarius, adiutor, strator and of course singularis. The cohortes Voluntariorum supplied some members, but non-citizen cohorts also contributed - I Alpinorum and I Belgarum - to more senior posts as well as junior. The mixture of legionaries and auxiliaries

in the officium is not affected by date since legionaries are known to have served in the provincial staff from 179 to 261 and auxiliaries in roughly the same period.

Galatia

cornicularius

An inscription from Ancyra, a dedication to the governor, records two soldiers:

III 6754: T. Iulius Seleucus et Septimius Valerianus
b(eneficiarii) et corniculari eius praesidem sanctissimum
h. c.

Beneficiarius is presumably here being used in a general sense to describe the cornicularii. Only two cornicularii are mentioned and it is probable that this is the complement of soldiers of this rank on the staff of the governor of this province.

Gallia Belgica

cornicularius

AE 1932, 41 records a cornicularius of an official of Belgica, but it is not certain whether the official is the governor or the procurator (cf. W. Meyer, L'Administration de la province romaine de Belgique, Brugge 1964, 48-9 and 69). XIII 11350 records a cornicularius of the governor of Belgica but no unit is mentioned on the inscription.

beneficiarius

A b(ene)f(iciarius) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) dedicated an altar at Trier and it is possible that this soldier was actually on the staff of the governor of Belgica, though beneficiarii did travel into provinces other than their own (XIII 3645). Clear evidence, however, comes from an inscription which records a mil(es) benef(iciarius) leg(ati) Aug(usti) provinc(iae) Belgic(ae) (V 6785).

Gallia Lugdunensiscornicularius

M. Caranthius Macrinus, a member of cohors I urbana, was cornicularius to two governors of Lugdunensis from 83 to 88 (64). It is probable that until its disbanding this cohort supplied the staff of the officials of the province. Sometime in the third century VIII Augusta provided a cornicularius (XIII 1860). Another cornicularius, probably in the third century, omitted to mention his unit (XIII 1869).

commentariensis

Respectius Hilarianus dedicated an altar at Lugudunum when a commentariensis, presumably of the governor of Lugdunensis, after serving as speculator (151).

speculator

A soldier of an unknown unit is recorded on an

inscription at Lugudunum together with a cornicularius (XIII 1869). Respectus Hilarianus was probably on the staff of the governor of this province when he held the post of speculator (151).

beneficiarius

M. Caranthius Macrinus held this post from 77 to 83 while a member of cohors I urbana (64). In the third century a beneficiarius on the staff of the governor was a soldier in I Minervia stationed at Bonna in Germania inferior. (XIII 1843).

immunis

A veteran of legion VIII who had been an immunis consularis was buried at Lugudunum, but the governor under whom he served is not mentioned and it may be, though perhaps unlikely, that the soldier was a native of the city and had retired to his birthplace after soldiering in Germany rather than the other possibility which is that he stayed living in the city in which he had served as a member of the governor's staff (XIII 1903).

Germania inferior

beneficiarius

Both I Minervia and XXX Ulpia Victrix, stationed in the province, furnished the governor with beneficiarii (e.g. XIII 8278 and 11991; XIII 7997 dated to 182, and 8293).

immunis

An immunis consularis is recorded on an inscription from Bonna dated to 262 to 266 (AE 1930, 35). A beneficiarius of VI Victrix is also on the inscription but the immunis is probably a member of I Minervia which was stationed at Bonna.

strator

The stratores of the governor together with the pedites singulares all under the command of a centurion are mentioned on two inscriptions, one of 164 and the other dated to about 192, both from Colonia Agrippina, the capital of the province (XIII 8203 and Nesselhauf 1938, 237). The later inscription makes it clear that the stratores are members of I Minervia and XXX Ulpia Victrix, differentiating them from the pedites singulares.

singulares

There are both pedites and equites singulares attested in this province. Mention could also be made of a soldier who omitted to specify whether he was mounted or not (XIII 8188 - the soldier was a member of cohors II Varcianorum equitata; he described himself as mil(es) which may be taken to imply that in all probability he was an infantryman).

pedites singulares

These soldiers came under the command of a centurion on two inscriptions of 164 and about 192 (XIII

8203 and Nesselhauf 1938, 237). The stratores of the governor are included on both inscriptions but were clearly drawn from the ranks of the legions, apparently unlike the singulares:

Nesselhauf 1938, 237: - curam agens stratorum leg. I M et XXX V. V. et peditum singularium Alli Fusci cos.

This implies that the pedites singulares were auxiliaries. Reference is made to the pedites singulares probably of the governor of Germania inferior on an inscription dated to about 72 (XIII 7709).

eques singularis

Two soldiers of this rank are known, one from the ala Affrorum (XIII 8223) and the other from the ala Sulpicia (XIII 8185). The latter inscription can be dated to 187, and it is interesting that the singularis was a duplicarius, a term here probably used to demonstrate that he was a duplicarius-optio. It is possibly coincidental that both known cases of equites singulares are from alae and not cohortes equitatae.

victimarius

A legionary of this rank enrolled in XXX Ulpia Victrix with 28 years service was buried at Colonia Agrippina (XIII 8292). XXX was stationed at Vetera lower down the Rhine so it is possible that this soldier was serving on the staff of the governor of Germania

inferior, though it is also possible that the soldier was a native of Colonia Agrippina and his heir had his tombstone erected in his home city.

Germania superior

cornicularius

An inscription of the years 213 to 217 demonstrates that the governor of this province had three cornicularii (XIII 6803). These were presumably provided by the two legions normally garrisoned within the province. One of the cornicularii was promoted to be a centurion in VIII Augusta (148).

commentariensis

The governor of the province had three soldiers of this rank on his staff (XIII 6803 dated to 213-217).

speculator

A speculator of the governor of the province, who was a member of XIII Gemina, was buried at Moguntiacum in the first century after his death at the age of 35 with 19 years service (XIII 6884). At a later date a soldier of VIII Augusta with the same rank was buried outside the same city (XIII 6721).

beneficiarius

A number of soldiers of this rank are known to have been provided for the governor of Germania superior from VIII Augusta (e.g. XIII 6440 dated to 212-222, 6637

dated to 182, 7338 dated to 213, 7557 dated to 179 and 11771 dated to 231) and from XXII Primigenia (e.g. AE 1957, 41 dated to 201, XIII 6441 dated to 212-222, 6442 dated to 223 and 6740 dated to 194).

exactus

An exactus consularis in VIII Augusta is attested on an inscription dated to 223 (XIII 6738).

immunis

Four immunes serving on the staff of the governor are known, three from XXII Primigenia (XIII 5170 dated to 219, 5621 dated to 226 and 7335 dated to 230) and one who omits to specify his unit (XIII 7277 dated to 183).

strator

Two soldiers of XXII Primigenia are known to have been stratores in this province (XIII 6732 and 6670), while a third soldier of the same rank does not mention his unit (XIII 7007).

pedes singulares

A soldier of cohors I Flavia Damascenorum milliaria equitata sagittariorum died at the age of 25 with this rank (XIII 6270). Another soldier with the same position makes no mention of his unit (XIII 7299).

eques singulares

The ala Scubulorum provided a soldier of this rank for the staff of the governor in the third century (XIII 7032).

Hispania citeriorcornicularius

An inscription dated to 198 to 209 reveals that the governor of Hispania citerior had two cornicularii (II 4122). Although Tarraconensis was a one legion province the governor was not in direct command of the legion since there was a separate legionary legate, and therefore the number of cornicularii can have no connection with the relationship between the two officia as Domaszewski (p.30) tried to argue. Another cornicularius of the governor died at Tarraco aged 48 (II 4155).

commentariensis

The number of commentarienses were directly related to the number of cornicularii as II 4122, dated to 198 to 209, demonstrates. A commentariensis, promoted from quaestionarius, was buried at Tarraco (169).

speculator

The governor of this province had 10 speculatores provided from the soldiers of VII Gemina (II 4122 dated to 198 to 209).

quaestionarius

The number of quaestionarii is not known, but one was directly promoted to commentariensis to die holding that post (169).

beneficiarius

A number of soldiers holding this post on the staff

of the governor of the province are known (II 4144 - the soldier had 23 stipendia - II 4148, II 4149, II 4160, II 4163, II 4164 - aged 42 - II 4167 - stipendia 24 - XII 3168 and 180).

adiutor principis

This post is recorded on an inscription from Tarraco: II 6111: Ulpus Marcianus adiutor principis posuit.

The soldier, since this inscription was erected at the provincial capital, was probably serving on the staff of the princeps praetorii. No unit is mentioned but he is probably a legionary.

strator

No strator is recorded serving in the ranks but a centurio strator of the governor of this province is attested about 195 (II 4114).

eques singularis

The equites singulares are mentioned on a dedication to Mars Campestris in 182 by the praepositus and campidoctor (II 4083).

Lusitania

speculator

10 speculatores of the governor of Lusitania erected an inscription in honour of their patron in 66 (1). This was presumably the total number of soldiers of this rank and they may have been supplied by the neighbouring legionary province.

Lyciabeneficiarius

A soldier of the cohors I Musulamiorum served as beneficiarius of the governor of this province for eight years, dying after a total of 18 years service (IGRR III 677).

strator

A fragmentary inscription found at Side in this province probably refers to a strator of the governor: AE 1966, 476:i f. Li.....strator eu/s

eques singularis

Only one soldier with this rank is known from this province (IGRR III 394).

Mauretania Caesariensiscommentariensis

No soldier of this rank is attested in the province, but an adiutor a commentaris is (AE 1933, 61).

beneficiarius

A third century beneficiarius on the staff of the praeses is attested at Caesarea (VIII 9380). Sallustius Saturninus was also probably a beneficiarius of the governor since he was promoted from quaestionarius, a post only found on the governor's staff, and it seems reasonable to suppose that he was also an auxiliary (225).

quaestionarius

Only one quaestionarius is attested in this province and since he specifies neither his unit nor his officium it is to be presumed that he was on the staff of the governor of the province in which the inscription was erected (225).

adiutor

An adiutor a commentaris from the ranks of ala II Thracum was buried at Caesarea following his death at the age of 32 (AE 1933, 61).

strator

Two stratores of the governor of Mauretania Caesariensis are attested, but both are decurions (VIII 9370 dated to 197 to 198 and VIII 9002 dated to 218 to 223).

eques singularis

Two inscriptions both from Caesarea and both dated to 227 or thereabouts refer to the equites singulares of the governor (VIII 9354 and 9355). A tombstone at Portus Magnus was erected to the memory of a member of the same body:

VIII 9763: d.m.s. Licinio Iuliano equiti ex officio singulariorum vixit annis XXVI m. VIII dies. XI.

adiutor numerum singularium

This post appears to be recorded on a fragmentary inscription from Tipasa:

VIII 20857: - ...erelius aiutor duplica/rius ex numerum

singularium qui at Monte Zelel interfectus est vi. ans.

XXXVI m. IV dies. X -

The soldier would seem to have been an adiutor duplicarius of the numerus singularium of the governor of the province. It is more likely that he is in this unit rather than the cohors I Singularium which was garrisoned in the province due to the closer proximity of Tipasa to Caesarea than to Avzia where the cohort was stationed.

Mauretania Tingitania

exactus

The exacti exercitus are recorded on an inscription of the principate of Trajan from Tingi (VIII 9990).

eques singulares

An inscription from Tingi appears to record this post:

VIII 21814: d.m. Antonius Proculus eq. ex vexillatione
ale Flaviae ex singularibus vixit anis XXXX -

The soldier was presumably a member of the singulares of the governor of Mauretania Tingitania.

Mesopotamia

speculator

An inscription of 222 records a speculator of III Parthica which was stationed in this province, so it is probable that the soldier was on the staff of the

governor of Mesopotamia (152).

singularis

A soldier of III Parthica described simply as Iulius Bassus m. leg. P. s. cos. was probably a singularis or much less likely a strator (III 1651 add p. 1021).

Moesia inferior

cornicularius

An inscription found near Tomi refers to the governor of Moesia inferior and his cornicularius in 155 (III 7542).

speculator

A speculator in I Italica stationed at Nova dedicated an altar in the reign of Severus Alexander at Altimir (III 13719).

beneficiarius

Officers of this rank on the staff of the governor are known to have been members of I Italica (III 7447 and 14213.19).

quaestionarius

A soldier of XI Claudia with 24 years service served on the staff of the governor of this province in this position (III 12401).

strator

A strator consularis of XI Claudia is known from the third century (AE 1919, 15).

Moesia superiorcornicularius or commentariensis

A soldier on the staff of the governor of this province is recorded as:

Mitt. der Zentralkomm. 23 (1897) 77, n. 27: - co/..7 cos.
leg. VII provinc. Moesi/ae s/up. -

His rank could be restored either as cornicularius or commentariensis.

speculator

Both IV Flavia and VII Claudia are known to have furnished the staff of the governor with speculatores (respectively III 8173 dated to 226 and III 1650).

beneficiarius

Soldiers of the rank were supplied by both IV Flavia (III 6300) and VII Claudia (e.g. III 6291 dated to 213 and III 8184).

librarius

A librarius consularis, the son of a signifer of VII Claudia, erected the tombstone of his father at Viminacium so it is probable that he was on the staff of the governor of Moesia superior (VII 12658).

exceptor

A soldier in the third century served as exceptor presidi provincies M(oesiae) s(uperioris) for four years before being transferred into the praetorian guard (58).

strator

Both IV Flavia and VII Claudia provided the governor with soldiers of this rank (III 1065 and 8249; III 1676 dated to 225 and 14507 dated to 195).

equus singularis

A soldier with this rank was buried at Lambaesis: VIII 3050: d.m.s. Aur. Celso eq. ex sin. pro. Mes. sup. interf.-

Noricumspeculator

A speculator in I Noricorum was buried at Virunum, possibly in the later third century (III 4803).

beneficiarius

There are over a dozen beneficiarii of the governor from II Italica attested, mostly from the first four decades of the third century (III 3270 dated to 226, 4820 dated to 238, 5178 dated to 192, 5180, 5185 dated to 215, 5189 dated to 217, 5575 dated to 226, 5580 dated to 219, 5690 dated to 230, 11482 dated to 215, 11676, 14361 dated to 209).

librarius

A 23 year old librarius consularis with five years service in II Italica was buried at Neapolis (V 375). An 18 year old librarius consularis is recorded on an inscription from Noricum and though no unit is mentioned

he is probably on the staff of the governor of that province (III 5435). A third librarius is also known (III 5631).

strator

Two soldiers of this rank are attested, both from the ranks of II Italica (III 4836 and 5449 dated to 222-235).

singularis

In 238 a singularis dedicated an altar at Virunum; the soldier was a member of cohors I Aelia Brittonum milliaria (III 4812).

eques singularis

A soldier of this rank from the ala Augusta dedicated an altar with a fellow singularis at Virunum in 238 (III 4812).

Numidia

cornicularius

There were two officers of this rank on the staff of the governor of Numidia (VIII 2586 dated to c. 214-216 and AE 1917/8, 71 dated to c. 244-249). Other cornicularii are attested (157 dated to c. 244-249 and AE 1917/8, 77 dated to c. 214-216).

commentariensis

The inscription listing soldiers on the staff of the governor of Numidia in c. 214-216 includes two

commentarienses (VIII 2586). The second commentariensis was:

L. Orbius Felix trib. leg.

This has been assumed to demonstrate that the soldier was attached to the staff of one of the tribuni (cf. Domaszewski p.31). This may be the case, but the situation is unique and must await more corroborative evidence before final acceptance. A commentariensis is recorded on a dedication of 152 (VIII 2613) and another on a tombstone which is probably either late first or early second century in date (VIII 2812).

speculator

On two surviving lists of soldiers on the staff of the governor of Numidia only four speculatores are named (AE 1917/8, 57 dated to 200-210 and VIII 2586 dated to c. 214-216). The reason for this small number is not known but may have some connection with the special relationship between Numidia and Africa (see speculator consularis for a discussion of this problem). There are two other references to the post in the early third century (VIII 2751 dated to c. 214-216 and AE 1917/8, 78 dated to c. 217-220) and a number of other references of the same general period (VIII 702, 2603, 2746 and 4311).

beneficiarius

Thirty beneficiarii of the governor of Numidia are recorded on both of the lists of soldiers in his staff

(AE 1917/8, 57 dated to 200-210 and VIII 2586 dated to c. 214-216). Since there is some doubt about the relationship of the staff of the governor of Numidia to that of the proconsul of Africa it is possible that the normal total for beneficiarii was higher. Most of the other references to this post are also late in date (e.g. AE 1917/8, 72 dated to c. 244-249, VIII 2567, 2746, 17627 and 17635).

quaestionarius

AE 1917/8, 57 lists four quaestionarii on the staff of the governor in the years 200 to 210 and VIII 2586 five in the middle years of the second decade of the same century. Again it is possible that others could have served in the officium of the proconsul. Another soldier of this rank is known in the period c. 214 to 216 (VIII 2751).

optio praeteritor /

This post is recorded on a fragmentary inscription from Lambaesis (VIII 2947). The soldier probably was on the governor's staff and may be compared to the optio praetorii found in other provinces.

exactus

Two soldiers of this rank are known:
VIII 2977 (Lambaesis): d.m.s. Sirifius Candidus exac.
c. v. v. ann. XXXV -

VIII 42400 (Lambaesis): d.m. C. Florio C.fil. Honorato mil. leg. III Aug. exacto at praet. vix. ann. XXII - exceptor

VIII 17634 erected in the later second or third century at the statio at Vazaivi mentions a beneficiarius and exceptores presumably on the staff of the governor of Numidia.

strator

A centurion and strator of the governor is attested in 180 (VIII 2749) and in the years c. 217 to 220 stratores who are apparently from the ranks (AE 1917/8, 78).

haruspex

One haruspex is placed at the bottom of each of the lists of the staff of the governor of Numidia (AE 1917/8, 57 dated to 200-210 and VIII 2586 dated to c. 214-216). This would appear to be the sole officer of this rank on the staff of the governor.

victimarius

A victimarius is listed on a laterculus of III Augusta and it is possible that he was on the staff of the governor (VIII 18085 e, 4).

Pannonia inferior

A. Dobo, Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonien von Augustus bis Diocletianus (1968) 155 - 168

gives a complete list of the soldiers in the staffs of the governors of both Pannonia inferior and Pannonia superior.

cornicularius

A few soldiers of this rank are known (III 10568 dated to 222 - 235, III 14349.6 and possible AE 1937, 188 dated to 236 and AE 1939, 12). Two inscriptions also refer to the officium corniculariorum (III 3543 and 10437).

commentariensis

One soldier of this rank is attested:

Budapest Régis-Cégei 19 (1959) 145 (Aquincum): M. Ulp. Sabinus comm. cos. leg. I Adi. p. f.

speculator

After the alteration of the boundary between Pannonia inferior and Pannonia superior by Caracalla the two legions of the former province each supplied 10 speculatores to the governor (III 3524). Other soldiers of this rank are known (III 3612 and Budapest Régis-Cégei VII 41).

beneficiarius

Dobo lists a total of 30 beneficiarii for the province, mostly dated to the third century (e.g. III 10306 dated to 213 and III 10427 dated to 243).

quaestionarius

Dobo (p.166 nr. 252) assumes that the following inscription refers to a quaestionarius.

III 10458 (Aquincum): G. Iu/I 7. Proculus q. leg. I Adi. -
 The soldier dedicated his altar at the capital of the
 province and it is therefore possible that he was on the
 staff of the governor. In this case q(uaestionarius)
 would be a reasonable expansion.

librarius

Two soldiers are attested holding this position
 from both I Adiutrix and II Adiutrix (Archaeologia
Hungarica 33 (1954), Intercisa I Nr. 103 and III 10521).

exactus

Two soldiers of II Adiutrix with this position are
 known (III 3634 and 4311).

adiutor

An adiutor officii corniculariorum consularis
 (III 3543) and an adiutor officii consularis (III 3510
 dated to 229), both of II Adiutrix, are attested. They
 are probably the same post under a slightly different title.

interpres

Interpretes of three different languages are recorded
 on the staff of the governor of this province:

III 10505 (Aquincum): d.m. M. Aur. Flavio m/il. leg. II Ad.
du/pl. /e/t interpatri Ge/rmanoru/m off. cos. -

III 14249.5 (Aquincum): - Gaius mil. leg. /II Ad./

interpres S. e/x ... o/ffici cos.-

AE 1947, 35 (near Brigetio): - M. Ulp. Celerinus sal. leg.
I Ad. p. f. interpres Dacorum -

strator

Stratores from the ranks of II Adiutrix are attested (III 10315 and AE 1910, 144) as well as those who make no mention of their unit (III 3395, 3654, 10426, Intercisa I Nr. 117 and 361). One strator is uniquely described as being strator off(icii) /co(n)s(ularis) (III 10315).

singularis

A soldier of cohors I milliaria Hemesenorum appears to have been a s(ingularis) c(onsularis) (Archaeologia Hungarica 33 (1954), Intercisa I Nr. 119).

pedes singularis

One soldier of this rank is attested:

Intercisa I Nr. 143 (Intercisa): -Fl....situs ped. sing. -
eques singularis

An inscription from Bia records the equites singulares of the province under the command of a centurion of II Adiutrix and three decurions (III 10360). Another soldier of the same rank is known (AE 1937, 192).

Pannonia superiorcornicularius

An inscription of 212, before the adjustment of the provincial boundaries, demonstrates that the three legions of Pannonia superior supplied three cornicularii between them to the governor (III 4452). There is also an earlier reference to thecornicul. Pannoniae superioris.

(Carnuntum Jahrbuch 1 (1955) 24, 1).

commentariensis

The three commentarienses provided by the three legions of the province are recorded on an inscription of 212 together with the three cornicularii and the 30 speculatores (III 4452).

speculator

The governor of Pannonia superior had 30 speculatores in 212 provided by the three legions of the province (III 4452). The speculatores of the province also appear to be mentioned on an altar from Carnuntum:

III 4402: Herculi Aug. spec. P.s.

beneficiarius

Dobo lists nearly 70 beneficiarii consulares in Pannonia superior ranging in date from 158 (Glasnik, 38 f., Nr. 6) to 250 (III 10789). Each legion furnished these officers - I Adiutrix (e.g. III 4191 and 11240), X Gemina (e.g. AE 1965, 292 and III 3899) and XIV Gemina (e.g. III 3905 and 3909).

adiutor praetorii

This post is recorded on a dedication to Jupiter: III 4030 (Poetovio): - P. Val. Marcianus mil. dupl. leg. X Gem. Antoniane adiut. praeter. -

strator

Four stratores of the governor are attested, but none in connection with a legion (III 4365, 4440, 10945,

JOAI 29 (1935) Beibl. 328/515 and 523).

eques singularis

One soldier with this position is known from this province (III 4471).

Raetia

beneficiarius

A soldier probably with this rank dedicated an altar at Brigantium in the reign of Gordian III:

III 5768: - Severius Severianus /bf.7 cos. leg. III

Itali/c.7 Gordian. -

optio

A soldier in this position is recorded on an altar from Augusta Vindelicum:

III 5803: ..us optio /p/raeteri v.s.l.m.

librarius

A soldier with this rank was buried at Augusta Vindelicum probably in the third century:

III 5814: d.m. Iul. Amando mil. leg. III Ital. librario

cos. vixit annis XXX -

exactus

This post is also recorded on a tombstone from Augusta Vindelicum:

III 5812: - T. Fl. Clementi fratri mil. leg. III Italic.

exacto cos. qui vixit annis XXIIII -

eques singularis

A soldier of this rank was buried at the capital of Raetia:

III 5822: d.m. Victorini Longini eq. al. II Fl. sing. - aedituus singularium

The heir of Longinus, a singularis, was a soldier with this rank:

III 5822: - CL. Latinus aedituus singularium h.f.c.

He was presumably also a member of the singulares of the governor of Raetia.

Sardiniaoptio

A soldier with this rank is mentioned on an inscription together with Q. Cosconius Frontonus, governor of Sardinia in the period c. 198 to 209:

X 7583 (and 7584): -P. Sempronius Victor optio praetori.

It is of course uncertain as to whether this man was a soldier or not.

Syria Coelecornicularius

Evidence ~~from~~ this post comes from an inscription dated to 195 recording a soldier in the officium of the governor:

IGRR III 1008 = IGLS 448 (Qatoura): -Λιριλλίου Πτολεμαίου
στρα τευσαμεν ω ετη ε βοθη κορνικουλαριων υπατικου -

It is unfortunate that no province or unit is mentioned on the inscription but since the stone was found in Syria Coele it is probable that the soldier was on the staff of the governor of that province.

adiutor

An adiutor corniculariorum consularis is recorded on an inscription found in Syria Coele dated to 195 (IGRR III 1008 - cf. cornicularius of the governor of Syria Coele).

pedes singulares

12 soldiers holding this post in 219 and 50 in 222 are listed on the two rosters of cohors XX Palmyrenorum (P. Dura 100 and 101). Not all singulares have the epithet consularis but due to the lack of any evidence for singulares on the staff of the tribune it is presumed that they are all on the staff of the governor. If each auxiliary unit provided so many singulares the total for the province must have been quite high.

eques singulares

10 eques singulares appear on the roster of XX Palmyrenorum in 219 and 7 in 222 (P. Dura 100 and 101).

Syria Phoenicia

speculator

III 14385b records Aur(elius) Ant(oninus) Longinus specul(ator) leg. III Gall(icae) and III 138 add p. 970,

a dedication by the same soldier at the same city, Heliopolis, provides a date - 212 to 217.

eques singularis

Mention is made of soldiers of this rank on an inscription from Heliopolis:

III 14387f: ...e/quires singular. qui /in/ officio eius fuerunt pe/r/ Titium Proculum decur.

Thrace

cornicularius

The governor of Thrace had three cornicularii on his staff in the joint reign of Marcus and Verus (III 7394).

commentariensis

An inscription from Phipippopolis appears to record a commentariensis but no unit is mentioned:

III 14207.14: ...Coelia....Verusa commen...provinc...-
eques singularis

An acephalous inscription from Perinthus possibly records the equites singulares of the governor of Thrace (III 7395). The inscription was erected by these soldiers, but the staff to which they were connected is not certain due to the fragmentary nature of the stone.

Summary

Wherever possible the staff of governors were

drawn from the legions with the exception of the singulares who were always auxiliaries. This was a simple matter when the province had a legionary garrison. When there was no legion within the province soldiers were supplied either by the legions of a neighbouring province or from the auxiliary units of the provincial garrison or from an urban cohort stationed within the province. This situation can clearly be seen in Dalmatia where the staff of the governor appears to be a mixture of legionaries and auxiliaries with the latter occupying even the posts of beneficiarius and quaestionarius.

Staff of Provincial Procurators

Only soldiers or probable soldiers have been included in this study; all other members of the officia of procurators have been excluded.

Arabia

cornicularius

This post appears on an inscription dated to the reign of Severus:

III 14156.3 (Gerasa): C. Allio Fusciano leg. Aug. pr. pr. cos. desig. M. Antonius Gemellus cornicul. Vibi Celeris proc. Aug.

Although no unit is mentioned it is possible that Gemellus is a soldier.

Bythnia and Pontusbeneficiarius

Pliny when governor of this province supplied the procurator with 10 beneficariii (Pliny to Trajan 27). These soldiers were presumably members of the cohort mentioned by Pliny in another letter (Pliny to Trajan 21).

Daciabeneficiarius

Two beneficariii of the procurator dedicated altars at Empelum, but neither mentioned whether or not they were soldiers (III 1295 dated to 161 and III 7833).

Gallia Belgica et duae Germaniaecornicularius

This post is recorded on an inscription, possibly of the first or second centuries, from Puteoli:

X 1679: P. Aelio P.f. Agrippino corniculario proc.

provinciae Belgicae -

It is also possible that AE 1932, 41, dated to 71 to 89, records a cornicularius of this official, but the officium in which the soldier served is not mentioned (see cornicularius of the governor of Gallia Belgica).

beneficiarius

A holder of this post is known from an inscription dated to about 145, but it is not stated whether he was a soldier or not (III 553). A veteran of VIII Augusta

who had been a beneficiarius procuratoris settled at Trier and it is therefore probable that he had been on the staff of the procurator of this province (XIII 3983).

Gallia Lugdunensis et Aquitanica

cornicularius

Two inscriptions have survived relating to these officers; unfortunately neither mention a unit (XIII 1810 dated to about 170 and also probably LLGT 231. Both inscriptions are from Lugudunum).

beneficiarius

In the second century a soldier of cohors I urbana served as beneficiarius procuratoris, retiring while holding the post (AE 1935, 16). After the disbanding of the cohort the Rhine legions supplied these officers. Only I Minervia (III 1856 and probably also XIII 1880) and XXX Ulpia Victrix (XIII 11178) both from Germania inferior are known to have provided staff officers and, though the evidence is very slight, it is possible that this was the sole source of supply. This is perhaps unlikely in view of the fact that some of the staff of the governor of Lugdunensis came from Germania superior, unless each official of the Gallic provinces only drew on the garrison of one of the Rhine provinces. One other beneficiarius omits to specify the unit in which he was enrolled (XIII 1905).

exactus

An exactus of the procurator of the two provinces was buried at Lugudunum in the second or third centuries (XIII 1881). He was a soldier of I Minervia and had 18 years service. A member of XXX Ulpia Victrix aged 40 who was also an exactus of the procurator was buried at Lugudunum in the third century (XIII 1847): Another soldier with the same position omitted to state his unit, if indeed he was a soldier (XIII 1822 - he was aged 60!)

Gallia Narbonensisoptio

The following soldier was probably a member of the staff of the procurator of this province:

XIII 1749 (Valentia): d.m. et memoriae aeter. Petroni Casti vet. missi honesta missione ex leg. prim. Min. ex optione proc. ducenar. -

Hispania citeriorcornicularius

II 3323 (Castulo): ...- cornicul ... proc. Au/g...

This inscription presumably records a cornicularius of the procurator, but it is not known whether he was a soldier or not.

beneficiarius

A number of men of this rank are attested, but none

are definitely soldiers (II 2552 dated to 163, II 2553 dated to 167, II 2556 dated to 165 or 166).

Moesia inferior

beneficiarius

Beneficiarii procuratoris of this province from V Macedonica are recorded on the laterculi of about 134 (III 6179, 1, 25; 3, 15; 6180, 1, 5).

Moesia superior

beneficiarius

A soldier of this rank from VII Claudia was buried at Viminacium, dying at the age of 50 after 25 years service (AE 1913, 39).

Noricum

beneficiarius

A series of 19 dedications by individual beneficiarii procuratoris at Celeia, some of them dated to 158, are a unique collection (III 5161 - 5177, 5179 and 5181). To these officers may be added two others (III 11759 and 11826). None of the beneficiarii even intimate whether they were soldiers or not.

Pannonia inferior

cornicularius

A dedication at Mursa was erected, probably in the third century, by a corn(icularius) proc(uratoris)..

Aug(usti) (III 3275), but he may not have been a soldier.
beneficiarius

There is a series of dedications to Juppiter by beneficiarii procuratoris at Aquincum but none are definitely soldiers (III 3441, 3442, 3448, 3449, 3451, 3454, 10417, 13362).

Pannonia superior

beneficiarius

There are five known inscriptions recording officers of this rank, but none certainly soldiers (III 3663, 3942, 10842 and also probably 4559 and 3947).

Staff of the praefectus orae Ponticae

Pliny when governor of Bithynia and Pontica supplied the praefectus orae Ponticae, from the cohort at his command, with 10 beneficiarii, 2 equites and a centurion (Pliny to Trajan 21). It is noteworthy that the prefect asked for more staff but this request was refused by Trajan.

Staff of the praefectus annonae

cornicularius

T. Flavius Rufus was seconded from the praetorian guard to hold this post in the second century. He was promoted from beneficiarius praefecti praetorio and was promoted directly from cornicularius to a legionary centurionate (31).

Staff of the procurator annonae Ostiaecornicularius

XIV 160 records a holder of this post between 218 and 222 but it is not known whether he was a soldier.

beneficiarius

Beneficiarii of a procurator - probably procurator annonae Ostiae - are mentioned on an inscription from Ostia but again no mention is made of an army unit (XIV 409).

On the analogy of the cornicularius praefecti annonae it might be expected that the procurator annonae Ostiae drew his staff also from one of the army units of Rome or Ostia.

Evocati Augusti

This group of soldiers have been the subject of studies by Schmidt, Mommsen and Domaszewski, and more recently Durry and Passerini in their works on the praetorian cohorts and Freis in his on the urban, have touched on problems relating to them, but a new study taking into account all the evidence is required. This is not the place to enter into such a full discussion but the relationships of the post in the career structure must be examined.

Origins of the evocati Augusti

1) Praetorian cohorts This was probably the main source of supply. Promotions are known from the following posts: beneficiarius praefecti praetorio (1, 4, 9, 12, 17, 21, 28, 30, 39, 50, 57 and 61)

cornicularius tribuni (11, 15, 29, 33)

fisci curator (34)

signifer (8 and 20)

optio (5)

tesserarius (32)

Promotion from any post other than the two senior ones, beneficiarius praefecti praetorio and cornicularius tribuni, was clearly unusual and is only found in first century careers, or those which are clearly special cases. No advancement from cornicularius praefecti to evocatus is attested; officers of this rank were always, on present evidence, posted to a centurionate in a legion. Domaszewski tried to argue (p.75) that in the third century the praetorian cohorts were unable to supply the requisite number of evocati but Durry was able to demonstrate the existence of many evocati in the third century (p.119 n. 7: VI 32533 b 14; 17; dated to 209. 32640, 30; this mentions Munatius Pius, centurion, who appears on VI 32533. XI 6107 is dated to the Philips. VI 32536 c I 20; II 36; d L 10; 33; VI 2626; VI 2462 and VI 32677 are dated to the third century by the appearance of p(ia) v(index) on the inscription in connection with the guard. VI 32564 b 2; 32604 a 12; 32623 II 10; 32624 d 13; 32625 a I 10; II 14; II 17 are dated to the third century by the appearance of so many Aurelii on the inscriptions). Moreover in the third

century few praetorians, with the exception of the cornicularii praefecti praetorio, are known to have been promoted directly to the centurionate, by-passing evocatus. The exceptions are a laterculensis, who may have been equal in status to the cornicularii praefecti praetorio (41), a sacerdos (40), a tabularius, who was promoted after nine years service (58) and a beneficiarius praefecti praetorio (48). It would appear that in the main the praetorians in the third century still continued to serve as evocatus for a period before advancement to the centurionate. The percentage of soldiers staying on as evocati must always have been small; Mommsen (p.144) commented that of the 191 soldiers who enlisted in 143-144 only 14 continued their military career as evocati according to the laterculi (VI 32520), though many of the 191 must have died before discharge.

2) Urban cohorts These cohorts appear to have furnished only a small number of evocati. Promotions are attested from the following posts:

cornicularius of the governor of Lugdunensis (64).

signifer (67 - this soldier may have been in the praetorian cohorts).

Evocati are attested from cohorts I (64), X (VI 2870), XI (VI 2893), XII (VI 32521), XIII (AE 1935, 16) and XIV (III 32526a 3, 21; 4, 16; 5, 5).

The latest dated reference to evocati from the urban cohorts is 198 (VI 32526) although this is of little significance due to the paucity of the evidence.

3) Legions It is usually assumed that after the time of Augustus the legions ceased to furnish evocati - the classic expression of this view is in the pages of Demaszewski's Rangordnung (p.75). Two pre-Claudian evocati from the legions are known (237 and probably X 3886). But it is possible that occasionally in later years legionaries were asked to stay on as evocati.

(a) If evocatus is used correctly on the inscriptions relating to Nonius Datus it would appear that this legionary continued on the staff of III Augusta, presumably because of his specialist skill as a librator (117).

(b) L. Furius Felix, an evocatus ballistarum, appears on an inscription of 157 recording soldiers retiring from II Traiana (AE 1955, 238). These soldiers had enlisted in 132-133 and, unusually, 92 of the 129 recruits have African origins. Dr. Mann has suggested to me that these soldiers were specially recruited, perhaps because of casualties suffered in the Jewish wars (he notes for example that three of the soldiers came from Rome, which is almost unique in the principate - III 14214 is the only other known case.) Most of the

soldiers were from Utica or Carthage or the surrounding cities and Felix is no exception being from Utica.

Passerini (le Coorti Pretorie 148) can find no example of an African in the first and second centuries serving in the praetorian guard. This suggests that Felix was part of the special recruiting campaign of 132 and 133 and was not sent out from Rome to II Traiana.

(c) M. Gennius Felix was an evocatus in III Augusta in the early third century (AE 1946, 38 dated to 198-201). Felix is an African cognomen - Dean in his study of cognomina lists 181 examples from Africa, 14 from volume III of the Corpus and 15 from the other volumes. Gennius is possibly Italian in origin (cf. W. Schulze Lateinische Eigennomen, Berlin 1933, 357), though this does not rule out an African origin for this soldier. In the third century Passerini could only find 40 Africans in the praetorian guard out of a total of 669 known origines, while at the same time III Augusta was composed predominantly of Africans. Although it is very probable that Gennius Felix was an African, serving in III Augusta and staying on as an evocatus, this must remain uncertain.

There are a number of other evocati legionis known but their original units are uncertain.

4) Auxilia Two evocati are connected with the auxilia but they are both pre-Claudian and evocatus is almost

certainly being used in its Republican sense (191 was clearly an auxiliary who stayed on as an evocatus, and X 6011 less certainly so: Q. Anchari C. f. Pol. Narbones. eques evocatus annor. nat. XXIII ala Scaevae).

5) The Fleet One soldier in the Misene fleet is known to have been an evocatus:

X 3417 (Misenum): d.m. C. Nonio Calusio veter. evoka. ex Cl. pr. Mis. stip. XXIX vix. ann LIII -

A soldier in the Ravenna fleet may also have been an evocatus:

XIV 4497 (Ostia): ..7us Her7.....7t. Aug. ex Cl. pr. Rave7...7ia Helpii7.. -

It is possible that 7evoca7t(us) should be restored, though this is uncertain.

Service as evocatus

Although certain evocati were promoted to the centurionate probably after a short time (e.g. 1, 11, 39, 64, 244) there were many who received no further promotion. Some evocati remained as such for over 20 years! The length of service of evocati after the completion of their initial period of service where known is listed below:

REFERENCE	LENGTH OF SERVICE AS <u>EVOCATUS</u>	DATE
<u>praetorian cohorts</u>		
24	2	2c
VI 2530	2	late 1c - 2c
33	3	2c
237	3	Augustus-Tiberius
VI 2448	4	late 1c - 2c
VI 2589	6	2c - 3c
III 7108	7	late 1c - 2c
61	9	3c
8	12	1c?
3	23	Flavian
VI 2495	27	3c
<u>urban cohorts</u>		
64	2	Flavian
VI 37245a	3	2c - 3c
67	4	2c?

It was clearly possible to remain an evocatus for many years, often carrying out specialist tasks. Some of the special posts held by evocati are known:

praetorian cohorts

maiorarius

In two cases an evocatus maiorarius is connected with the praetorian prefect:

VI 3445: ḍ. m. s. M. Ulpio M. f. ...Ma/rciano evok.
Aug. mai/oriario prae/f. praet. -

VI 1611:C. Furi/us Timisitheus v. em. praef.
praetorioati cum maioriaris, -

In two other instances the post is almost certainly held by praetorian evocati (44 and 249), and one other maioriaris was an evocatus (III 6775). Finally two maioriaris are known simply as such without any unit or other military connection being mentioned on the inscription (VIII 14691 and IX 1095).

a quaestionibus

One praetorian evocatus appears to have been a quaestionibus praefecti praetorio whilst serving as evocatus, or less probably immediately before the completion of his service (6), while another evocatus, probably also from the praetorian cohorts, was a quaestionibus:

XI 2108 (Clusium): Q. Gavius Q. f. Arn. Clemens Clusio
evoc. Aug. a questionibus.

a commentariis custodiarum

This post appears in two careers, in the earlier not held by an evocatus (2), but in the later career, which is very difficult to interpret, probably held by the soldier when an evocatus (242). An inscription from Pompeii records another evocatus holding the post:

AE 1934, 143: L. Satri Rufi evocati Aug. a commentar.

On a fourth inscription no unit is mentioned:

VI 33054 (Rome): ... 7 a commentar. custod/i/ar. aeternum
sedem consacravit.

ab actis fori

The post of evoc(atus) Aug(usti) ab actis fori
and evocatus in foro ab actis appear in two careers of
the early second century (14 and 16).

architectus

A praetorian under the Flavians was an evoc(atus)
Aug(usti) arcitect(us) armament(arii) imp(eratoris) (3).

He served as evocatus for 23 years.

exercitator

An evocatus in the third century served as
exercitator equitum praetorianorum:

III 10378 (Campona): - et Aur. 7...7sio 7ev7okato
exse/r7citato/r7i eqq. praet. -

There are inscriptions recording centurions holding this
post (e.g. VI 2464). Another evocatus, who does not
record his unit but who was probably a praetorian,
especially since his record was found in Rome, was a different
kind of exercitator:

VI 31122 (Rome): ... 7icae sacr. - /M. V7ibullius M. f.
/Ro7m. Felix Atest. 7ev7oc. Aug. exerci. 7ar7maturar.
voto 7po7sui ob triumph. 7Au7gustorum ...

Other evocati are known to have carried out more

ad hoc duties such as rounding up bandits (XI 6107) or supervising supplies (VI 2893).

legions

There are a number of evocati attested in legions (e.g. 24, 244, 245, 250 and 251). Some of these may have been recruited from the legions themselves, others were certainly posted from the praetorian cohorts (250 and 251). In inscriptions of II Parthica, III Augusta and also probably XXII Primigenia the evocatus (certainly only one in the case of III Augusta, the number is unknown in the other two legions) was listed after the centurions (XIV 2258, VIII 18065 and XIII 6861). This gives some indication of their standing in the legions but nothing more. Only three evocati are known to have had specialist tasks in the legions:

armidoctor

AE 1952, 153 (Aquileia): L. Pellarius C. Lem. Celer. Iulius Montanus stipendior. XLIII missus ex evocato et armidoctor leg. XV Apol. ab imp. Domitiano Caesare Aug. -

This soldier was an Italian (Lemonia is only found in Italy) and therefore was probably a praetorian, though Italians did still find their way into the legions at this time.

evocatus ballistarum

A soldier with this post is recorded at the head

of the list of soldiers disbanded from II Traiana in 157:

AE 1955, 238 (Nicopolis): - L. Furius Felix Utica evocatus ballistarum -

This soldier was probably a legionary who was asked to stay on as an evocatus (see the discussion above).

librator

Nonius Datus was a librator in III Augusta who may have been asked to stay on as an evocatus, if the word is being used in a technical sense, which is problematic (117).

Unit unknown

ab indicibus

This post appears on two inscriptions:

VI 3414 (Rome): d.m. L. Antistius L. f. Sab. Quieto evoc. Aug. ab indices - fecit Maria Iusta mater filio pientissimo.

The post of curator ab indicibus also occurs in the peculiar career of Apicius Tiro (242), and this soldier appears to have held the post when an evocatus.

ensor

A soldier recorded on an inscription from the Balkans held this post:

III 586 cf. 12306 (Macedonia): - adhibito a me Iulio victore evocato Augusti ensore -

Another evocatus seems to have been surveying in Africa (VIII 23395).

Remmius was certainly given an ad hoc appointment in A.D. 19 when he had to guard the king Vonones (Tacitus, Annals 2, 68). C. Iulius Macer almost probably had an ad hoc appointment, or at least an unusual post in a period when experiments were being carried out in the command of soldiers (191). On the other hand it is not clear whether Iulius Rufus was an evocatus Augusti sent to command a cohort or promoted from one post to the other; the former is more probable: XIV 2954 (Praeneste): Sex. Iulius S. f. Pol. Rufus evocatus divi Augusti praefectus /I/ cohortis Corsorum et civitatum in Sardinia.

There is no positive proof that the evocati had their own officers. Domaszewski (p.76) considered that VI 215 referred to a vexillarius and an optio of the evocati, but there is no proof for this (cf. Passerini, Le coorti pretorie p.77). Similarly although it is possible that Apicius Tiro was an optio evocatorum this is uncertain (243).

Appendix I

Immunis and Principalis

Tarruntenus Paternus has defined the position of the immunes (Digest 50, 6, 7, (6)): quibusdam aliquam vacationem munerum graviorum condicio tribuit. They were clearly soldiers who were freed from carrying out the heavier fatigues in return for other duties, presumably of a technical or specialist nature, but apparently without receiving any extra pay.

Vegetius (II, 7) defines the position of the principales at the end of a discussion of a list of soldiers of that rank: Hi sunt milites principales, qui privilegiis muniuntur. Reliqui munifices appellantur, quia munera facere coguntur. It would appear that there was little distinction between the principales and the immunes, the latter had relief from fatigues and the former had privileges, usually interpreted as extra pay - they were therefore presumably of higher status or rank.

Vegetius lists the principales but unfortunately includes some posts which Paternus considered were held by immunes. This is undoubtedly explained by the difference in date between the two writers - Paternus was executed in 183 while Vegetius is evidently describing the situation after the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine (cf. E. Sander, Die antique ordinatio legionis des Vegetius,

Klio xxxii (1939) 386). Vegetius includes in his list the aquilifer, imaginifer, optio, signifer, tesserarius, campigenus, metator, beneficiarius, librarius, tubicen, cornicen, and ensor. But since some posts may have been promoted from immunis to principalis status at the end of the third century or in the fourth it is not possible to use Vegetius to determine which posts were held by principales in the principate.

Pay has already been suggested as the criterion dividing immunes and principales and this is acceptable not merely from the point of view of the statements of Paternus and Vegetius but also on logical grounds. If this is the case it would appear that the sesquiplicarii and the duplicarii were principales. Both these terms used as pay grades in the auxilia described the tesserarius as a sesquiplicarius, and the optio, signifer, vexillarius, cornicularius and almost certainly the imaginifer and actarius as duplicarii (see especially P. Dura 100 and 101). There is no reason to think that the same situation was not broadly true in the other units of the army. An inscription relating to III Augusta reveals that the tesserarius was not a duplicarius (VIII 2564), and on the basis of analogy with the auxilia he was presumably a sesquiplicarius. The whole of the legionary career structure supports the division into immunes, sesquiplicarii

and duplicarii, especially since the post of optio seems to be the lowest from which promotion to the centurionate was possible - a situation best explained if all posts from optio upwards were held by duplicarii. It is probable in any case that the auxiliary career structure was modelled on the legionary and therefore there should be little differences between the two in such important principles. It is clear that in the guard the posts of tesserarius and above were held by principales (19 and 40) and possibly even the post of beneficiarius tribuni was of the same status (6). In the vigiles the situation is not so clear but VI 221 (which appears to include both immunes and principales under the heading of principales) is ignored for reasons which will be explained later. An inscription of the reign of Severus may demonstrate that the post of tesserarius and those above were held by principales (VI 220: item principalibus, quibus honorem habuerunt: b. pr., libr. i.d., vex. 7., opt. 7, tess. 7 -) Domaszewski (p.3) considered that this inscription demonstrated that the post of tesserarius was the lowest post held by a principalis, but it hardly does this. All this evidence, such as it is, does seem to agree that all posts from tesserarius upwards inclusive were held by principales.

Since the most senior officers in the auxiliary units, including the cornicularii were duplicarii it is

impossible to envisage a "triplicarius" in the cohorts or alae. Again there is no reason to consider that the situation was any different in the other units of the army, especially the legions. In fact since it would appear to be theoretically possible to be promoted from any post in the legion above the status of optio to the centurionate it is improbable that there was any difference in rank or pay between these senior principales. This combines with the lack of evidence for a "triplicarius" to damn effectively Domaszewski's suggestion (pp.71-72) of a group receiving treble pay. It may be noted that G.R. Watson (Roman Military Bookkeeping 213-215 and The Pay of the Roman Army: the auxiliary forces, Historia VIII (1959) 377-378) ignores Domaszewski's treble pay but does not explicitly damn it.

The term principalis is found on other inscriptions and a papyrus but unfortunately does not always appear to have been used in a technical sense, in one inscription for example two immunes venatores are described as principales, surely a contradiction in terms (III 7449 dated to 155). Many of these apparent contradictions can be explained if a suggestion of Watson (Immunis Librarius, 50) is accepted. He considered that Hadrian defined the two terms and cited evidence in support of this emperor's military reforms (Aurelius Victor, epitome

de Caesaribus 14, 11). Watson was able to demonstrate that both the terms were used in Hadrianic or pre-Hadrianic contexts. Imunis appears, abbreviated, which suggests some years of use of the term, on two laterculi of about 134 (III 6178, a, 9 and III 6179 a, 11 - ex imm(uni)), though not earlier. The earliest dated reference to principalis is in 107 when a librarius in letters to his parents describes himself as a principalis (112). A librarius was almost certainly an immunis (cf. III 7684 = ILS 3380, VI 3401, XIV 2255 and Watson, Immunis Librarius, 51 for other references) and the contradiction is only explained either by assuming that principalis is not being used correctly here or that "all soldiers who were above the lowest rank but below the centurionate were entitled under Trajan to call themselves principales, and that under Hadrian a differentiation was imposed". If this is the case it will help to explain other inscriptions, one possibly of the late first century, in which a beneficiarius tribuni in the praetorian guard was called a principalis (6), and another dated to 113 relating to the vigiles, which included librarii, secutores, a bucinator and a HOR LEG in a list of principales (VI 221). However, the tentative nature of Watson's conclusions must be emphasised, especially since they leave unexplained the description of immunes venatores as principales (and also the a librarius i...d...

as a principalis on an inscription of the time of Severus (VI 220) unless this soldier actually was a principalis) - if this could happen in 155 why could a librarius not be described in the same way in 107 or 113?

It might be thought that the records of the scolae at Lambaesis are of help in determining which posts were held by immunes and which by principales since the amount of money given to the soldiers on their retirement is mentioned. This evidence has survived in the following cases:

RANK	AMOUNT IN DENARII	REFERENCE	DATE
<u>cornicen</u>	500	VIII 2557 = ILS 2354	203
<u>tubicen</u>	500	AE 1907, 184	209-211
<u>librarius</u> } <u>exactus</u> }	800	AE 1898, 108-9 = ILS 9100 (cf. 139)	c.200
<u>armorum custos</u>	1000	AE 1902, 147a = ILS 9097 (cf. 138)	200
<u>cornicularius</u> <u>praefecti</u>	1000	AE 1899, 60 = ILS 9099 (cf. 138)	c.200
<u>actarius</u> } <u>cornicularius</u> } <u>legati</u> }	1000	AE 1898, 108-9 = ILS 9100	c.200
<u>optio</u>	1500	VIII 2554 = ILS 2445 (cf. 140)	198-209
<u>optio spei</u> upon promotion to the centurionate.	2000	VIII 2554 = ILS 2445 (cf. 140)	198-209

All these inscriptions fall within a very short period from about 198 to 211, that is when the basic pay of legionaries was 500 denarii a year. It is possible therefore that these figures are related to the pay of the soldiers, the man receiving a full year's pay on retirement. This would explain why the cornicen and the tubicen, who are both immunes, receive only 500 denarii and also why the cornicularii and the actarius, who on the basis of the career structures would appear to be duplicarii, receive 1000. But although it is possible to fit the exactus, librarius, and armorum custos into this system it is impossible to explain the inordinate sum given to the optio upon his retirement and the optio spei on his promotion unless it is considered that each schola was able itself to fix the amount given to its members, the sum not necessarily being related to the pay of the soldiers. If this is the case, and indeed it is difficult to see any other explanation for the discrepancies between the various amounts, it follows that this group of inscriptions are useless in trying to determine the line dividing the immunes and the principales.

In summary it can be demonstrated that in the second century at least and probably also the third the post of tesserarius was the lowest post known to have been held by a principalis, all posts lower than that being held by

immunes and all higher by principales, though, of course, it is not always possible to determine the relative status of a post and therefore its rank, while it is possible that rank varied slightly from unit to unit.

Appendix II

The First Cohort of a Legion

The first cohort of a legion is known to have been larger than the other nine cohorts. It consisted of five centuries, each double the size of each of the six centuries of cohorts two to ten. Vegetius (II 6) states that the first cohort was double in size and this is supported by epigraphic evidence (III 6178 and III 14507 are discharge lists, the first cohort in each legion containing approximately twice as many men as each of the other cohorts). Excavation also has demonstrated that the first cohort has more barrack accommodation than the other cohorts (see especially Inchtuthil: R.M. Ogilvie and Sir Ian Richmond, Agricola, 71).

It is usually considered that the cohort was larger than each of the others because it contained the administrative staff and the technicians of the legion (for example, G. Webster, The Roman Army, Chester 1956, 11 and G.C. Boon and C. Williams, Plan of Caerleon, Cardiff 1967, 6). A study of the laterculi effectively disproves this. The following table contains the references to staff officers and specialists and the cohorts in which they were enrolled.

Table 23

rank	cohort	reference	date
<u>Staff of the governor</u>			
speculator	VI	Domaszewski-Dobson, 300-1	157

<u>beneficiarius</u>	I	III 14507, a, 12	195
	I	VIII 2567, 18	c.200
<u>strator</u>	II	III 14507, b, 20	195
	II	III 14507, b, 21	195
<u>Staff of the procurator</u>			
<u>beneficiarius</u>	III	III 6180, 1, 5	c.134?
<u>Staff of the legate</u>			
<u>beneficiarius</u>	III	III 6180, 1, 6	c.134?
	III	VIII 2569, 30	c.220
<u>Staff of the tribunus laticlavus</u>			
<u>cornicularius</u>	VII	VIII 18068, 2, 33	198
<u>beneficiarius</u>	I	III 14507, a, 53	195
	I	AE 1917/8, 29, 13	?
	II	VIII 2567, 49	c.200
	VII	VIII 18068, 2, 40	198
	IX	III 14507, sin., 50	195
	X	VIII 18068, 3, 28	198
<u>Staff of the praefectus castrorum</u>			
<u>cornicularius</u>	I	III 14507, a, 48	195
<u>beneficiarius</u>	II	III 6580, 1, 14	194
	II	III 14507, b, 26	195
	VII or VIII	VIII 2568, 1	c.220
	X	VIII 2568, 84	c.220
<u>Staff of the tribunus sexmestris</u>			
<u>beneficiarius</u>	I	III 14507, a, 31	195

Staff of a prefect

<u>beneficiarius</u>	VII	Domaszewski-Dobson, 300-1	157
	VII	Domaszewski-Dobson, 300-1	157
<u>Other posts</u>			
<u>imaginifer</u>	I	III 6178, 1, 20	c.134
<u>discens aquiliferum</u>	VIII	VIII 2568, 22	c.220
<u>harsupex</u>	I	VIII 2567, 20	c.200
<u>armorum custos</u>	II	VIII 2567, 35	c.200
	II	III 14507, b, 30	195
	II	III 14507, b, 32	195
	III	VIII 2567, 56	c.200
	III	VIII 2569, 17	c.220?
	IX	VIII 2568, 35	c.220
<u>strator</u>	II	VIII 2567, 32	c.200
	III	VIII 2569, 18	c.220?
	VIII	III 14507, sin., 41	195
	IX	VIII 2568, 30	c.220
	IX	VIII 2568, 37	c.220
<u>interpres</u>	IV	III 14507, dex., a, 11	195
	VIII	VIII 14507, sin., 40	195
<u>librarius</u>	X	VIII 2568, 61	c.220
<u>exactus</u>	III	VIII 2567, 54	c.200
<u>cerarius</u>	IX	III 14507, sin., 55	195
<u>tubicen</u>	II	III 6580, 1, 7	194
	II	III 14507, b, 28	195
	III	VIII 2569, 16	c.220?

	IX	VIII 2568, 39	c.220
<u>pequarius</u>	IV	VIII 2569, 28	c.220?
	VIII	VIII 2568, 4	c.220
<u>pollio</u>	IV	III 14507, b, 51	195
<u>marsus</u>	I	AE 1917/8, 29, 10	?
<u>ensor frumenti</u>	I	AE 1917/8, 29, 4	?
<u>clavicularius?</u>	IV	III 14507, dex., 7 with JOAI IV (1901), BB 95	195
<u>optio equitum</u>	VIII	VIII 2568, 18	c.220
<u>eques</u>	II	III 6178, 2, 30	c.134
	II	VIII 2567, 34	c.200
	III	III 6178, 3, 17	c.134
	III	III 6180, 1, 8	c.134?
	IV	III 6178, 3, 27	c.134

It is clear that the staff posts, the specialists and the technicians are spread through all the cohorts with no bias towards the first.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHYInscriptions and Papyri

- AE L'Année Épigraphique
- AIJ Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien,
V. Hoffiller and B. Saria, Zagreb 1938
- BGU Berliner griechische Urkunden
- CIG Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
- CPL Corpus Papyrorum Latinorum, R. Cavenaile,
Wiesbaden 1958.
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