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# Studies in the Legionary Centurionate

by James Robert Summerly

Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

November 1990

## Abstract

The thesis consists of seven chapters and a second volume of legionary lists covering all the legions from the Latin speaking areas of the empire, except for III Augusta and VII Gemina. Each of the first five chapters contains a discussion of all the known multiple centurionate careers within the period covered by the chapter, and is followed by a detailed examination of these careers.

The Foreword gives an outline of the historiographical material on legionary centurions and lists the questions which concern the first five chapters.

Chapter one deals with the careers of legionary centurions during the Julio-Claudian period.

Chapter two is concerned with Flavian careers together with a group of careers which are earlier than the second century, but are not closely dateable.

Chapter three analyses the careers of centurions in the period c96-c140.

Chapter four discusses the careers of centurions in the period c140-c194.

Chapter five looks at careers of centurions in the period c194 onwards. The chapter also contains a group of careers which are post c100.

Chapter six is an analysis of the role of centurions as revealed in the works of Tacitus.

Chapter seven examines the relationship between the equestrian military career and the legionary centurionate.

Volume II contains an explanation of the epigraphic dating conventions used in the thesis, followed by twenty-four legionary lists. Each list contains a chronologically ordered discussion of every centurion attested on stone. This is followed by two spread-sheets; the first containing all the centurions of the legion in chronological order; the second listing the names in alphabetical order.



21 MAR 1991

## Acknowledgements

There are many people who deserve thanks for this piece of work. It was Brian Dobson who first suggested the centurionate as a subject. In his eleven years as my supervisor he has been an invaluable source of help, encouragement and restraint. I hope he is not too disappointed with the result. Within the field of the Roman Army I would also like to thank Margaret Roxan for her encouragement, her kindness and the tireless pursuit of diabolical advocacy, also John Mann and Mark Hassall for their faith that the work might finally be produced. Babette Evans first sparked my interest in the Roman Army and Roman Britain and has continued as an important source of advice and support.

Many friends who have no connection with the Roman Army save through this thesis need thanks. Colin and Gill Godbold have supported the work from the beginning. More recently Mark Steed provided the invaluable introduction to the word-processor which transformed the last two years. Finally Mike and Debbie Spens worked tirelessly on a complex and difficult set of texts, I am particularly grateful to them.

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Radley College  
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## Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Contents	iii
Foreword	1
Chapter One	4
Chapter Two	35
Chapter Three	58
Chapter Four	136
Chapter Five	199
Summary of Conclusions	225
Chapter Six	229
Chapter Seven	245

## Figures and Diagrams

Chapter One	Figure 1 - List of single centurionates Diagram to show transfers	10-11 15
Chapter Two	Figure 2 - List to show West - East transfers Group Lists Diagram to show transfers Legions and Provinces: Claudius - Trajan	36 37-38 40 42
Chapter Three	Figure 3 - Table showing comparative origins of centurions c96-c140 Diagram to show transfers Alphabetical and Numerical List c96-c140	64 66-68 69
Chapter Four	Diagram to show transfers Alphabetical and Numerical List c140-194	140-142 143
Chapter Five	Diagram to show transfers Alphabetical and Numerical List c194+ Alphabetical and Numerical List second and third centuries	201-203 204 204

## Foreword

### The Careers of Legionary Centurions

A number of aspects of the careers of legionary centurions have been discussed by scholars since the publication of Domaszewski's original survey in Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres.<sup>1</sup> Eric Birley, building on his paper concerning the origins of legionary centurions,<sup>2</sup> considered a group of multiple-centurionate careers in 1963.<sup>3</sup> B. Dobson and D.J. Breeze examined the contribution to the careers of centurions made by the praetorian guard, the urban cohorts and the Vigiles.<sup>4</sup> B. Dobson, as well as writing on a number of aspects of the centurionate<sup>5</sup> has analysed the careers of those centurions who reached the primipilate.<sup>6</sup> D.J. Breeze examined the careers of soldiers up to the rank of centurion.<sup>7</sup>

Other scholars have published works which shed light on certain problems within the sphere of careers in the centurionate. Prominent amongst these was Wegeleben's production of a generally accepted explanation of promotion within the centurionate.<sup>8</sup> More recently, Maxfield, in the course of her work on dona militaria, examined the careers of centurions who received dona.<sup>9</sup> Mann has produced a new interpretation of the term trecenarius,<sup>10</sup> and Zwicky has explained the meaning of the phrase 'ex equite romana'.<sup>11</sup> All of the above works have been consulted during this study of multiple centurionate careers. Major questions needed to be discussed:

1. Can transfers of centurions be linked to warfare and the transfer of whole legions and vexillations as Eric Birley thought?<sup>12</sup>
2. What proportion of centurions had multiple centurionate careers and what proportion of centurions remained in a single legion until death, retirement or the primipilate supervened?
3. How many centurions were directly commissioned and how many came from the guard in Rome?

4. How many centurions with multiple-centurionate careers were directly-commissioned? The primipilares of the Roman Army rarely gave information as to their careers below the rank of centurion. Does the absence of a career below the rank of centurion show a similar reluctance to give information or does it show a large group of directly-commissioned centurions?
5. Who transferred centurions and what part did patronage play in those transfers?
6. Were there any restrictions on the transfers of centurions and is it possible to see any difference between the transfers of the directly commissioned, the guard and the legionary rankers?

The first task was to divide the study into firmly dateable groups. This was to see if particular periods produced particular forms of transfer or career. The five isolated groups were examined in terms of each of the major questions outlined above. The five isolated groups are as follows:

1. From 27BC to AD69.
2. From AD69 to 96 (this group was linked to a number of inscriptions which did not allow a precise Flavian dating but which were probably mid first to early second century in date.
3. From c96-c140.
4. From c140-c194. The closing date is marked by the titles P(ia) V(index) given to III Augusta in 194; the P(ia) F(idelis) given to XXX Ulpia Victrix in 197; the F(idelis) given to VII Gemina in 197 and introduction of the three Bothian legions.
5. After c194. (this group is also linked to a number of inscriptions which could date anywhere from the late first century to the mid third which are included for the sake of completeness.)

## Notes

1. Domaszewski (1895) Die Rangordnung.
2. Birley (1953) 104-125
3. Birley (1965) 21-33
4. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 100-124
5. Dobson (1972) 193-207; Dobson (1974) 392-434
6. Dobson (1978) Die Primipilares
7. Breeze (1974) 245-292
8. Wegeleben (1913) Die Rangordnung der römischen Centurionen.
9. Maxfield (1981)
10. Mann (1983a) 36-40
11. Zwicky (1944) 67
12. Birley (1965) 26

# Chapter One

## Careers in the Legionary Centurionate

### 1. Augustus - AD 69

The army of the principate must be seen as a body which developed from the army of the late republic. The most important contribution of Augustus was to give the legions permanence. After a legion became a permanent entity it was inevitable that its hierarchical structure would develop. Permanent organizations demand conventions of advancement. For the centurionate those conventions must have come originally from the republic and they were adapted to suit service in a permanent legion. It would be a surprise if the reforming impulses of the first emperor extended to a group such as the centurionate which retained a respectable connection with republican tradition, and had no direct political importance or political ambitions.

Permanent legions meant that a centurion's career did not begin with the creation of a legion and end with the discharge of that legion. The post of primus pilus existed under the republic. Augustus gave the holders of that post the title of primipilaris which gave the promise of future employment and the property qualification of the equestrian ordo.

In late republican times the centurionate seems to have consisted of three ranks; the primus pilus, the primi ordines, and the centurions of cohortes II to X. The processes by which 54 centurions were under consideration for the five posts in the primi ordines, and those five primi ordines were available for the post of primus pilus are not recoverable from the surviving careers of legionary centurions of the early empire. The advancement theories of Domaszewski must be rejected.<sup>1</sup> The simplest progress of:-

1. A centurionate in cohortes II to X.
2. A centurionate in the primi ordines.
3. Primus Pilus.

cannot be proven in a single case and must be rejected in two certain cases where only one post as a centurion separates posts before the centurionate and the post of primus pilus. Those two careers, Apicius Tiro and Terentius Rufus (see below), suggest that a man could enter the centurionate into the primi ordines or that centurions from cohorts II to X could be promoted directly to primus pilus without any intervening post in the primi ordines.

The pre-Claudian careers of centurions contain many features which can be judged unusual in the light of later careers. These careers cannot be judged unusual in their own time. The development of the Roman Army during the Julio-Claudian period shows an increasing separation between the equestrian military career and the legionary centurionate.<sup>2</sup> This process is examined in more detail in Chapter Seven, but in short it seems that the post of tribunus militum legionis was the usual block to the advancement of centurions. So in a time of common single appointments to the equestrian military posts centurions could be found as praefectus equitum, but primipilares who were already equestrians were more common in equestrian military positions. Primipilares seem to have gone from tribunus militum legionis to praefectus equitum while there is no case of a centurion holding more than one equestrian military post before the primipilate. After Claudius centurions are attested as praefectus cohortis, but they hold no other equestrian military posts. Some centurions who held equestrian military posts during the Julio-Claudian period may have done so on the same basis as centurions who were praepositi of auxiliary units during the later periods. However, the five years that Euvius Capreolus spent as praefectus cohortis II Thracum is difficult to explain in that way. There may have been shortages of men suitable for the equestrian military posts, but the significance of equestrian rank is suggested by the career of Trebius Attius specifically that he gained equestrian rank before he became tribunus

militum legionis. He is the sole certain example of a centurion becoming tribunum militum legionis without first becoming primus pilus. He may have had other equestrian military posts after he was tribune as the inscription is illegible after that point, though the early (Augustan) date of the inscription might suggest that the career was not long.

The reorganization of the equestrian military career under Claudius is well known, but its implications for the centurionate have only been partially investigated.<sup>3</sup> The Claudio-Neronian career of Vettius Valens presents a complete picture of what appears to be a new type of career.<sup>4</sup> His is the earliest career to link centurionates in Rome to the legionary centurionate as a path to the primipilate (though Rufellius Severus, Dobson 59, may be another at a slightly earlier date.) Vettius Valens may not be the earliest trecenarius (the earliest was probably P. Alfenus Varus, Dobson 84, in 53/54) but he was one of the first, and the appearance of the term invites a discussion on its significance.

Trecenarius. The problem of the trecenarius has been much debated. In 1969 Dobson and Breeze produced a review of the evidence on trecenarii and thought it likely that a trecenarius must rank as a primus ordo, perhaps hastatus rather than princeps, and the title was reserved for centurions from the guard going to legionary centurionates.<sup>5</sup> In 1974 Dobson referred back to his 1969 article as suggesting that trecenarius and princeps castrorum were a type of praetorian primi ordines.<sup>6</sup> In 1983 J.C. Mann produced a sequel to the Dobson and Breeze paper of 1969.<sup>7</sup> The Mann paper suggested the title trecenarius was an indication of rank (other examples would be consularis, primipilaris) on the analogy of the three grades of office in the equestrian militiae, and that indication of rank was to be found in the context of the Rome centurionates. The Mann suggestion is attractive in that by describing the title as an indication of rank allows it to cover all the possible permutations of the careers of trecenarii. Just as it was possible for a man to have six different posts in the equestrian

militiae and to have served in only three grades, so it was possible for a trecenarius to have had more than three centurionates. Mann suggested that a trecenarius is a man who has 'three times (at least) commanded 100 men' in the context of the Urban cycle of centurionates. To return to the analogy of the equestrian militiae, the first grade of the equestrian militiae included posts as praefecti of non-citizen cohorts and tribuni of citizen cohorts or both. In the first grade of what might become a trecenarius career a man could have a legionary centurionate, or a centurionate in the Vigiles or the Statores or all three. The second grade of the trecenarius career would be a centurionate in the Urban cohorts, and the third grade would be a praetorian centurionate alone or a praetorian centurionate followed by a senior legionary centurionate. Letting the title trecenarius be an indicator of rank (with its own implications for the previous career of the soldier) helps to explain inscriptions such as CIL III 13648 = ILS 2663, 'trecenario, primipilari, praef. kastror. leg. XIII Gem'; two indicators of rank and the present post of the soldier. Again, CIL III 2917 = 9985 = ILS 2647, 'P.P. leg. XII Fulm., trecenario', two indicators of rank. The flexibility of the term allowed its use when directly commissioned centurions began to enter the Urban cycle of centurionates (the earliest certain careers are Trajanic) and when those men omitted centurionates in the Vigiles and the Statores.

The praetorian centurionate that preceded the title trecenarius was presumably a senior centurionate, though possibly junior to all of the primi ordines legionis.<sup>8</sup> It is clear that if there was such a thing as a primus ordo for the praetorian guard it cannot have been in a single cohort of the guard as was the case for the legions. A survey of the cohorts of the guard in which trecenarii served produced the following result.

CIL III 7534 = ILS 4063 Coh. III.	CIL XI 395 = ILS 2648 Coh. II.
CIL X 686 = ILS 9191 Coh. II.	CIL XI 5646 = ILS 2081 Coh. VII.
CIL X 5064 = ILS 2667 Coh. IIII.	CIL XI 6057 Coh. VIII.
CIL XI 7093a = ILS 9189 Coh. X.	

The problems of trecenarii are not exhausted by the foregoing survey, but the suggestion is made that the term trecenarius is a Claudian introduction indicating the rank of men who had passed through the Urban cycle of centurionates and were moving towards the primipilate.

The significance of the date of the earliest attested examples of trecenarii is not certain, but there are no careers before the time of Claudius which mix legionary centurionates with Rome centurionates. It is assumed that Claudius closed off the promotion route of legionary centurions and primipilares to the established equestrian posts of tribunus militum legionis and praefectus equitum. (There are a number of primipilares in the time of Nero who hold equestrian military posts, these are explainable in terms of military exigency and the formation of a new legion.) Perhaps Claudius opened the connecting patterns of promotion between the legionary centurionate and the guard. Admittedly the earliest certain signs of promotion from the ranks of the guard to the legionary centurionate belong to the early second century, but the inscription of C. Aninius Gallus<sup>9</sup> may be first century. The significance of commanding a century three times is again difficult to ascertain. Nobody has ever supposed Claudius reorganized the equestrian military career from source, he was changing an existing convention. If Claudius did review the possibilities of the careers of legionary centurions then he must have done so in the light of previous conventions. There may have been a convention of three posts to the primipilate.

Multiple centurionate careers seem to occur under the triumvirs, but none include the post of primus pilus. The earliest Augustan multiple centurionate career was that of Sabidius. He seems to have held two centurionates before he became primus pilus and at the same time as he was primus pilus he was princeps of another legion. Following Dobson<sup>10</sup> it seems almost certain that at all periods the post of primus pilus was held for one year, so presumably Sabidius was princeps for one year also.

It must be pointed out that the career of Sabidius was exceptionally detailed for the period. A number of points need to be made about the nature and extent of the evidence relating to centurions careers. From the first primipilares tended not to give details of their careers before the primipilate. There are only five career inscriptions from the Julio-Claudian period which give a complete list of centurionates before the primipilate (M. Oppius and the Ignotus of X 1711 are fragmentary inscriptions). Of those five complete inscriptions only Sabidius is clearly earlier than Claudius. The body of evidence is not large enough to permit firm conclusions, but a number of points can be made. All five men had three or more centurionates counting the primipilate. Two other careers which have two centurionates do not end with the primipilate (one man dies or retires, the other becomes tribune of a legion). This suggests that primipilares tend to have multiple centurionate careers, and there may even have been a requirement of three posts before the primipilate which might suggest a connection with the title trecenarius, but it is possible that M. Oppius reached the primipilate after only one post as a centurion.

The question of what proportion of centurions had multiple centurionate careers in the Julio-Claudian period is vexed by the possibility that a man could hold two centurionates in the same unit. That clearly occurred in the career of Lepidius Proculus where he states he was centurio V Macedonicae eiusdem II. The appearance of that repetition in the career suggests it may have been of significance for the primipilate. If we look at the total of the evidence for centurionates during the Julio-Claudian period, omitting centurions attested by men of their century who died in service and the centurions involved in the Dalmatian boundary disputes, there are thirty-seven examples of centurions who may have died or retired after only one post as a centurion (see Figure 1). Seventeen of those men could have gone on to further centurionates. The remaining nineteen men probably only had one centurionate, but unless they were virtually all directly commissioned we must assume that parts of their careers have been omitted. For what it is worth all the career inscriptions come from the homes of

centurions or from places of established Roman culture. The nineteen inscriptions of men who seem only to have had one centurionate divide into two groups; those who died close to the site of their legionary service, and those who are attested in their homes after service in the army. Ten inscriptions belong to the latter group, and they are found in the same areas which produce career inscriptions. But it is difficult to make much of this sort of information.

**Figure I**

<b>Reference</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Findspot</b>	<b>Legion</b>	<b>Date</b>
11 6056	Sex. Abulenus L. f.	Urvinum Mat. 6	XIX	c27BC-AD9
1959 262	L. Acirius	Mainz	XIV Gem.	cAD9-c43
1929 193	T. Alfius Macrinus	Carnuntum Pann.	X Gem.	c63-c68
11 1933	C. Allius L. f.	Perusia 7	XIII	c27BC-cAD14
13 5206	C. Allius C. f. Oriens	Vindonissa G.S.	XIII Gem.	cAD10-c43
5 2114	C. Andennius C. f.	Tarvisium	II Aug.	c27BC-cAD14
11 5935	C. Aninius C. f. Gallus	Tif. Tiberin. 6	IV Scyth.	cAD14-c57
3 2817	Appinius Quadratus	Scardona Dal.	IV Mac.	c43-c70
9 4058	C. Appuleius Firmus	Carsioli 4	IV Scyth.	cAD14-c100
1893 111	L. Blattius L. f. Vetus	Fregose	IV Mac.	cAD14-c43
13 8648	M. Caelius T. f.	Xanten G.I.	XIIX	cBC10-AD9
3 2834	Claudius Celer	Burnum Dal.	XI Cl.	c42-c70
1976 238	L. Cornelius Aquilinus	Concordia 10	II Aug.	c27BC-cAD14
3 2914	T. Elvius T. Salinator	Iader Dal.	VII	cAD9-c42
11 3936	C. Fadius C. f.	Tif. Tiberin. 6	XI	c27BC-cAD14
RIB 200	M. Favonius Facilis	Camulodunum Brit.	XX	c49-c60
3 2836	Frebranus T. f. Baculus	Burnum Dal.	XX	cBC27-AD9
13 6961	T. Iavennius C. f. Proculus	Mainz G.S.	XXII Prim.	c45-c70
2 1681	C. Iulius L. f. Scaena	Tucci Baetica	IV Mac.	c10BC-cAD37
5 7544	P. Licinius	Ad Bormidan 9	VI	c20BC-cAD14

Reference	Name	Findspot	Legion	Date
5 7544	Q. Licinius	Ad Bormidan 9	VI	c20BC-cAD14
5 8197	M. Moranus Rufus	Histria 10	IX Hisp.	c27BC-cAD14
13 6901	M. Musius T. f.	Mainz G.S.	XIV Gem.	cAD9-c43
9 798	M. Oppius	Luceria 2	VI	c27BC-cAD9
3 4060	M. Petronius M. f. Classicus	Poetovio Pann.	VIII Aug.	cAD10-c45
1941 105	M. Pulfennius Sex. f.	Chieti (It.)	VI Ferr.	c32-c37
13 11837	L. Refidius L. f. Bassus	Mainz G.S.	XVI	cAD9-c43
12 2234	Sex. Sammius Severus	Cularo Gall. N.	I Germ.	c50-c51
5 3374	Q. Sertorius L. f. Festus	Verona 10	XI Cl.	c42-c69
13 7701	M. Statilius	Brohl	XV Prim.	c43-c70
5 3367	M. Valerius Crispinus	Verona 10	VII	cAD9-c42
9 4123	A. Varius L. f. Varro	Aequiculi 4	IV	c10BC-cAD37
9 2092	L. Veratius Aufidius Rufus	Beneventum 2	XXII Prim.	c41-c89
3 2678	C. Vibius C. f. Pudes	Tragurium Dal.	VII Cl.	c42-c69
5 4378	T. Vidius T. f.	Brixia 10	IV	c10BC-cAD37
1956 169	Ignotus (AE 1956 169)	Lobuth G.I.	I Germ.	c37-c69

The list of centurions with single centurionates is also instructive in that it shows clearly that Italians and men from the the Latin-speaking western end of the Empire did not normally go into Eastern legions. In Chapter two the virtual absence (or prohibition?) of Italians or westerners from transfers into eastern legions is noted. The only certain example of an exception in the list of single centurionates is M. Pulfennius Sex. f. who entered VI Ferrata in the reign of Tiberius. That inscription was put up by an equestrian who held the post of procurator to a number of members of the Imperial family. The centurion himself had a different praenomen to that of his father which is often a sign of high social status. His connections and name suggest that M. Pulfennius could well have been an equestrian himself and may have been directly commissioned. When transfers from Western to Eastern legions begin in earnest in the

early second century it is clear that the directly commissioned, who would have had a presumably more exacting education in the two languages, make up a very high proportion of those transferred. M. Pulfennius looks like an early example of the educational advantages of the directly commissioned. Two other centurions entered III Scythica, a legion in the east after c56. C. Appuleius Firmus from Carsioli in Regio IV looks first half of the first century rather than the second half and presumably belongs to the period when III Scythica was in Moesia. The other centurion was C. Aninius Gallus from ~~A~~rettium who entered III Scythica after service as an evocatus. The earliest evocati entering the legions as centurions were stated to be Trajanic by Dobson and Breeze in 1969.<sup>11</sup> Aninius Gallus looks earlier than Trajanic. The man's name is given in the nominative case without any reference to the standard second century funerary dedication D(is) M(anibus). The name of the legion is written out in extenso on two occasions which tends to be an early feature, while the first century funerary dedication H(ic) S(itus) E(st) is given. The stipendia of the soldier are referred to as meru(it), which is rare and seems to occur in the first century. The inscription could easily pre-date c56 and the departure of III Scythica to the east. Perhaps Aninius Gallus, like Vettius Valens, provides a mid first century example of a career type which only becomes more common in the early second century. See Appendix <sup>o</sup>ne.

It is clear that primipilares tend to have multiple centurionate careers, and since on the Dobson figures a centurion had about a one in three chance of the primipilate,<sup>12</sup> the proportion of multiple centurionate careers must be more than one third of the total. For in all periods multiple centurionate careers exist which end before the primipilate.

Again, for what it is worth, in the early period there are almost as many career inscriptions of centurions which end with an equestrian military post as end with the primipilate. In all of those careers the equestrian post seems always to follow the

centurionate, in contrast to the position after AD 69 when the equestrian posts seem always to precede the centurionate

The transfers of centurions in the Julio-Claudian period show a tendency to occur within single provinces. Of the twenty-two transfers of the centurions under consideration 14 of those transfers took place within a single province. During the Augustan period all of the recorded transfers of centurions seem to have taken place within the same province. During the second century there is evidence that transfers tend to increase in number during periods of warfare. In the Julio-Claudian period there is little evidence to suggest that may be the case. The table showing transfers of centurions shows a group of centurionates with VI Victrix in Spain. The career of Vettius Valens is our only direct source for warfare in Spain after the reign of Augustus and that career does not suggest a very serious situation.<sup>13</sup> The particular war which involved Vettius Valens occurred in the early part of the reign of Nero. Recently Keppie suggested that the career inscription of Vettius Valens was the earliest record of legion VI having the cognomen Victrix.<sup>14</sup> If that were so it would push transfers into VI Victrix into the same early Neronian period or later. However, the Ignotus of ILS 9197 probably held a centurionate in VI Victrix before the bello Mithridatico of Didius Gallus, which should predate the war of Vettius Valens. In fact of all the centurionates in VI Victrix in this particular period only Vettius Valens can have been in Spain early in the reign of Nero. There may have been warfare in Spain during the reign of Augustus, and that could have affected the careers of Sabidius, Saufeius Silo and M. Oppius but the point cannot be proven. Only Lepidius Proculus who gained dona in the Judaeen War seems to have a career with transfers influenced by warfare and that career permits no easy conclusions (see below). On the particular point of warfare influencing multiple centurionate careers it is of interest that the legions of Britain seem to take no part in the attested transfers, though this is the conquest period, while in later and more peaceful (so far as we know) periods they take a more prominent place.

So the Julio-Claudian period shows the establishment of the primipilate, the post of trecenarius, the directly commissioned centurion, the centurion promoted from evocatus in the guard and the beginning of the separation between the legionary and the equestrian military career.

### Notes

1. Domaszewski (1908) 90-97
2. Dobson (1974) 402
3. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 115
4. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 119
5. Dobson (1969) 119
6. Dobson (1974) 405
7. Mann (1983) 136-140
8. Dobson (1969) 119
9. CIL XI 5935
10. Dobson (1974) 411
11. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 115
12. Dobson (1974) 428
13. Maxfield (1981) 202
14. Keppie (1984) 207

The following diagram is designed to show the complete set of transfers from legionary centurions in the period Augustus to AD69. Each number on the diagram corresponds to a particular post as a centurion. The number in the brackets (if given) corresponds to the number of posts as a centurion the man had held up to that point. The purpose of the diagram is to show whether separate posts as a centurion in multiple centurionate careers increase in number if the legion in which the posts occur is involved in warfare. The province of the legion or any wars it may have taken part in, are given under the legion. The diagrams on page 41, pages 66-68, pages 140-142 and pages 201-203 are designed to illustrate the same point.





## Notes

1. IGLS VI 2798 = ILS 9190
2. Ritterling (1925) 1713.
3. Wilkes, (1969) 193. The latest in date was probably Marcellus (no. 777), see below.

### L. Atilius Verus

#### No. 848

1. AE 1912, 188 Dobson 83

Oescus  
Moesia Inferior

... C. Val[er]ius Pud[e]n[s] miles leg(ionis) V M[a]c(edonicae) (centuria) Atili Veri...

2. Tac. Hist. 3, 22 (AD 69, Battle of Cremona)

... occisi sex primorum ordinum centuriones, abrepta quaedam signa: ipsam aquilam Atilius verus primi pili centurio multa cum hostium strage et ad extremum moriens servaverat.

L. Atilius Verus, centurion and primus pilus. Pre AD 62 - AD 69

- |                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| 1. V Macedonica      | Moesia   |
| 2. VI Victrix??      | Hisp. Tarraconensis                                  |
| 3. P.P. VII Galbiana | Hisp. Tarraconensis? - Pannonia<br>Battle of Cremona |

AE 1912, 188 should pre-date AD 62 when V Macedonica left Oescus to take part in Corbulo's Parthian War.<sup>1</sup> The Tacitean account of the battle of Cremona shows that Atilius Verus was primus pilus of VII Galbiana when he was killed defending the Eagle of the legion. He may have been the first primus pilus of VII Galbiana, in which case he is most likely to have been transferred from VI Victrix, the single established legion of Hispania Tarraconensis at the time of the usurpation of Galba. He may have been transferred from V Macedonica to VI Victrix before AD 68, though such a transfer is simply conjecture. For what it is worth, L. Lepidius Proculus (no. 786, see below) was transferred from V Macedonica to VI Victrix in the same period. The Atilia L. f. Vera mentioned on the tombstone of L. Aemilius Paternus (no. 820, see below) was almost certainly the daughter of Atilius Verus. Ritterling<sup>2</sup> and Pflaum<sup>3</sup> thought that Atilius Verus was from Spain, Le Roux thought he may have been an Italian.<sup>4</sup> All the

indications of origin of Aemilius Paternus suggests that Atilia Vera at least had Spanish connections.

### Notes

1. Ritterling (1925) 1572
2. *op. cit.* 1584
3. Pflaum, (1970) 357.
4. Le Roux, (1972) 111.

### L. Attius Lucanus

#### No. 1490

1. CIL XII 3177

Nemausus  
Gallia Narbonensis

L. Attio L. f. Vol(tinia) Lucano, signifero, centuri[oni], tribuno cohort(is) V Inguenorum. (Dobson 1978)<sup>1</sup>  
tribuno cohort(is) V[I C(ivium) R(omanorum)] Inguenorum. (Holder 1980)<sup>2</sup>

2. CIL XII 3178 Dobson 36

Nemausus  
Gallia Narbonensis

[---IIIIvir?] Aug(usti), L. Attius L. Attii[---] primipilaris lib(ertus) sibi [---] L. liberto v(ivus) f(ecit).

L. Attius Lucanus centurion (primipilaris?) pre AD 69.

1. Signifer leg.
2. Centurio leg.
3. P.P.?
4. Trib. Coh. V Inguenorum or
4. Trib. Coh, VI C.R. Inguenorum

Attius Lucanus was enrolled in the tribe Voltinia which suggests he was from Nemausus. It was unusual for a centurion not to name his legion or at least to state that his centurionate was legionary. A legionary centurion must be assumed if he was to become tribunus cohortis. No certain cases of transfer from the centurionate to the equestrian militiae are known after AD 69 which suggests that Attius Lucanus' transfer occurred before AD 69. If L. Attius, the primipilaris of XII 3178, is the same man as the centurion L. Attius Lucanus then the pre-69 date would seem to be certain.<sup>3</sup> Yet the primipilaris could be the father, brother or son of the centurion. The late first century date suggested by D.J. Breeze is difficult to support.<sup>4</sup>

## Notes

1. Dobson (1978) 181-2
2. Holder (1980) 85
3. Dobson (1978) 182
4. Breeze (1974) 271

### Calp[urnius] Ma[

No. 233

CIL III 8736 Devijver C59

Salona  
Dalmatia

]Calp[urnio --- ] Tro(mentina) Ma[ --- --- pre]aef(e)cto [coh(ortis)I]  
L[u]cen[sium, pr]aef(e)cto[ --- ce]nturioni le[g ---

Calp[urnius] Ma[. centurion and praefectus cohortis. Pre 69

- |                            |            |
|----------------------------|------------|
| 1. Centurio Leg.           | Dalmatia?? |
| 2. Praefectus              | Dalmatia?? |
| 3. Praef. Coh. I Lucensium | Dalmatia   |

Holder seems certain that the earlier praefectus post of Calp[urnius] was linked to a tribe on analogy with the career of Marcellus<sup>1</sup> (see below). That is possible but not certain. The man was probably from Salona as he was enrolled in the tribe of that town (Tromentina). His centurionate may have been with one of the legions in Dalmatia, again on analogy with the career of Marcellus. The order of posts is assumed on the basis of other pre 69 careers which include posts as legionary centurion and as praefectus cohortis.

## Note

1. Holder (1980) 83.

### Q. Euvius Capreolus

No. 490

ILS 9090 Devijver E 14

Aquileia  
Italy Reg. X

Q. Euvius Sex. f. Vol(tinia) Capreolus, domo Vienna, miles leg(ionis) IIII Scyth(hica) ann(is) IIII, eques ann(is) X, Cent(urio) ann(is) XXI, praef(ectus) coh(ortis) II Thracum in Germania ann(is) V, vixit ann(is) LX, t(estamento) f(ieri) I(ussit) arbitrato libertor(um) idemque heredum. Vivi fec(erunt) patrono et sibi Ilus IIIII vir, Erigonus, Secundus, Illyricus, Heracla.

Q. Euvius Capreolus, centurion and praefectus cohortis. Pre 69

- |                                 |                   |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <u>Miles</u> III Scythica    | Moesia            |
| 2. <u>Eques</u> III Scythica    | Moesia            |
| 3. <u>Centurio</u> III Scythica | Moesia            |
| 4. Praef. Coh. II Thracum       | Germania Superior |

The career of Euvius Capreolus was recently discussed by S. Dusanić<sup>1</sup> in a paper which sought to use the transfer of the centurion from III Scythica to cohors II Thracum as evidence that III Scythica was the legion which Tacitus records as having been transferred from Germany to the East to support the Parthian war of Corbulo. The Tacitean account of a transferred legion from one of the German provinces has found little favour with modern commentators.<sup>2</sup> The reasoning of Dusanic, and his employment of the Tacitean passage, depends on his suggestion that the transfer of Capreolus from his centurionate to the prefecture of cohors II Thracum should have occurred within the same province. That suggestion is reasonable, but it is not a rule. There were three known occasions when men were transferred between the equestrian militiae and the centurionate within the same province, and two occasions of transfer during the same war,<sup>3</sup> but AE 1961, 330 shows a man was transferred between cohors III Lingunum (Britain) and I Minervia (Germania Inferior) or III Cyrenaica<sup>4</sup> (Arabia or Egypt). There seems to be no possibility of the latter transfer taking place within the same province. And that is the natural interpretation of the transfer of Euvius Capreolus. The inscription points out that his prefecture of II Thracum was in Germania, presumably because the whereabouts of III Scythica were known and were different.

Dusanić considers that Capreolus must have been cornicularius legati before he became centurion in III Scythica.<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence of this. It seems possible that a man could be promoted from any rank in a legion to the centurionate though there were conventional avenues of promotion which become clearer during the second century.<sup>6</sup> There is nothing inherently unlikely in Capreolus being promoted from eques to centurion and no further restorations to the career<sup>7</sup> need be made.

Dusanić makes the useful point that the names of the freedmen of Capreolus seem to reflect the stationing of IIII Scythica in the region of Macedonica and later Moesia.<sup>8</sup>

The date of the inscription would seem to be pre 69 with the most likely period being the reigns of Tiberius to Claudius.<sup>9</sup>

### Notes

1. Dusanić, (1978) 471-2
2. e.g. Ritterling (1925) 1558. Later scholars have consistently followed Ritterling, e.g. CAH (1934) 760.
3. Transferred within the same province: M. Oppius (no. 774) early, but relevant to this problem, Marcellus (no. 777), and Terentius Rufus (no. 821). Transferred within the same war; G. Sulpicius Ursulus (no. 1457), T. Pontius Sabinus (831). All are discussed below.
4. M. Lucretius Augurinus (no. 588), see below.
5. Dusanić (1978) 474 footnote 194.
6. Breeze (1974) particularly 263-278.
7. Etuvius Capreolus remains the only man known to have been promoted to the centurionate directly from the equites legionis.
8. Dusanić (1978) 472-3
9. eg. Ritterling (1925) 1563, Alföldy (1968) 213 suggested a Flavian date for the inscription on the basis of the formula vixit annis. His suggestion was not taken up by either Breeze (1974) or Holder (1980) and is not taken up here.

### A. Instuleius Tenax

#### No 1491

1. AE 1923, 83

Ascalon  
Judaea

Greek text (7 X Fretensis)

2. CIL III 30 = ILS 8759a Dobson 66

*Mons Claudianus*  
Egypt

A. Instuleius Tenax, primipilaris leg(ionis) XII Fulminatae et C. Valerius Priscus (centurio ) leg(ionis) XXII e†L. Quintius Viator decurio audivimus Memnonem anno XI Neronis Imp(eratoris) n(ostri) XVII K(alendas) April(es), hora ---

AD 65

A. Instuleius Tenax, ceturion and primipilaris. Before AD 65

1. X Fretensis
2. P.P. XII Fulminata

Syria  
Syria

Instuleius Tenax was recorded as a centurion of X Fretensis in the Greek text AE 1923, 83 which is a dedication to the Roman state and people made at Ascalon in Judaea. His presence in that province before it possessed any legion is not explained by the inscription, but it would not be surprising for the legions in the closest consular province to Judaea (Syria) to take part in the provincial administration of Judaea. By AD 65 Instuleius Tenax had been Primus Pilus of another Syrian legion, XII Fulminata. His name and his Greek text suggest he was of Eastern origin.

### Ti. Iulius Italicus

No 829

CIL X 4723 Dobson 60

Ager Falernus  
Italy Reg. I

Ti. Iulio Ti. f. Fal(erna) Italico, (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Macedon(icae),  
(Centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Primigen(iae), (Centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII  
Gem(inae), p(ri<sup>m</sup>o) p(ilo) [---]...

Ti. Iulius Italicus, centurion and primus pilus. Gaius-Claudius

- |                   |                                     |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. VII Macedonica | Dalmatia                            |
| 2. XV Primigenia  | Germ. Sup. (Weisenau) or Germ. Inf. |
| 3. XIII Gemina    | Germ. Sup. or Pannonia (post c.45)  |
| 4. P.P.           |                                     |

Iulius Italicus must have been an Italian as the tribe Falerna was confined to Italy. The presence of the legions XV Primigenia and VII Macedonica in the career of Iulius Italicus led Ritterling to suggest that the career must belong to the reign of Gaius and that XV Primigenia must have been raised<sup>1</sup> before AD 42. For in AD 42 the legion sometimes known as VII Macedonica was given the titles Claudia pia fidelis following the rebellion of Camillus Scribonianus<sup>2</sup> in Dalmatia. Ritterling seems to have decided that the titles Claudia pia fidelis replaced the title Macedonica. CIL X 1711 shows that the title of Macedonica was still being used by legio VII later in the reign of Claudius.<sup>3</sup> So the firm assumption of Ritterling that the career of Iulius Italicus belonged to the reign of Gaius<sup>4</sup> must become no more than a possibility.

The possibility of a date of Gaius-Claudius may be supported by the transfer of Iulius Italicus from XV Primigenia to XIII Gemina. The earliest fortress of XV Primigenia seems to have been Weisenau in Germania Superior.<sup>5</sup> Three soldiers of XV Primigenia died there after serving one year each and they were probably original recruits into the legion.<sup>6</sup> The legion cannot have spent long at Weisenau as it seems to have moved to Vetera c.43. XIII Gemina seems to have left Germania Superior for Poetovio c.45.<sup>7</sup> For a few years in the early 40's XV Primigenia and XIII Gemina were both present in Germania Superior and it is tempting to date the transfer of Iulius Italicus to this time. Such a date suggests that Iulius Italicus was one of the original centurions of XV Primigenia. It is likely that a very large proportion of centurions in new legions were transferred from existing legions and a number of multiple centurionate careers show service in new legions.

### Notes

1. Ritterling (1925) 1246
2. Dio LV 23.4
3. CIL X 1711 = ILS 2695 Dobson 56, the point is made at Dobson (1978) 193.
4. Ritterling (1925) 1760
5. *op. cit.* 1758-9
6. CIL XIII 11853, 11854, 11855. see Mann (1983) 54
7. Ritterling (1925) 1713

### Iulius Priscus

#### No. 863

1. CIL III 14999

Burnum  
Dalmatia

L. Flavius L. f Fab(ia) Valens Heraclea, mil(es) leg(ionis) XI C(laudia) p(ia) f(ideli)s, (centuria) Iuli Prisci, an(norum) XLII stip(endiorum) XXII - (centuria) Iuli Prisci h(eredes) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)

2. Tac. Hist. 2, 92,

praeposuerat (Vitellius) praetorianis Publilium Sabinum a praefectura cohortis, Iulium Priscum tum centurionem...

Iulius Priscus, centurion and praetorian prefect. Claudius/Nero - 69

1. XI Claudia
2. A legion or legions of the Germanies
3. Praetorian prefect.

Dalmatia

The promotion from centurion to praetorian prefect was unprecedented and unrepeatable. The attested centurion of XI Claudia may be the centurion who became praetorian prefect, but the name is very common. If the centurion of XI Claudia is the same man as the praetorian prefect of Vitellius a transfer from XI Claudia to one of the legions of the German provinces must have occurred as XI Claudia was an Othonian legion before the battle of Bedriacum.

### L. Lepidius Proculus

No. 786

1. CIL XI 390 Dobson 91

Ariminum  
Italy Reg. VIII

L. Lepidio L. f. An(iensis) Procuro, mil(iti) leg(ionis) V Macedon(icae),  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) eiusd(em), (centurioni) leg(ionis) eiusd(em) II  
(Centurioni) leg(ionis) VI Victricis, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apollinar(is),  
prim(opilo) leg(ionis) XII[I] Gemin(ae), donis donato ab Imp(eratore)  
Vespasiano Aug(usto) bello Iudaico, torquib(us) armillis phaleris corona vallari,  
salinatores civitatis Menapiorum ob mer(ita) eius Septimina f(ilia) reponend(um)  
curavit.

2. CIL XI 391 a similar text to the above but by the

Ariminum  
Italy Reg. VIII

...salinatores civitatis Morinorum...

L. Lepidius Proculus, centurion and primipilaris Nero - Vespasian.

- |                            |                                  |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Miles V Macedonica      | Moesia                           |
| 2. Centurio V Macedonica   | Moesia or Parth. war or Jud. war |
| 3. Centurio V Macedonica   | Moesia or Parth. war or Jud. war |
| 4. Centurio VI Victrix     | Spain or Germ. Inf.              |
| 5. Centurio XV Apollinaris | Jud. war or Pannonia             |
| 6. P.P. XIII Gemina        | Rev. of Civilis or Pannonia      |

Lepidius Proculus was almost certainly from Ariminum as he was enrolled in the tribe of that place (Aniensis). He gained dona from Vespasian in the Judaeen war. Two of the legions in which he served took part in the Judaeen war, V Macedonica and XV Apollinaris. Dr. Maxfield thought it more likely that he won his dona with V Macedonica rather than with XV Apollinaris since at some time in his career he made contact with the salt workers of the Menapii and Morinii in Belgica, and Dr. Maxfield considered this must have happened while Proculus was centurion with VI Victrix after the end of the Judaeen<sup>1</sup> War, rather than while he was primus pilus of XIII Gemina at

the time of the revolt<sup>2</sup> of Civilis. The alternative would involve Proculus being transferred away from Judaea before the end of the Judean war. That seems reasonable and would involve the transfer of Lepidius Proculus between XV Apollinaris and XIII Gemina taking place within Pannonia, which is an attractive suggestion. However, the demands of a one year post as primus pilus could lead to transfers away from the scene of warfare. It may be more likely that a primus pilus would have more impact on two communities than a centurion. Again, an immediate dedication of thanks may be more likely than one which takes place several years after the incidents that caused them.

Ritterling clearly thought that the dona of Lepidius Proculus were gained with V Macedonica.<sup>3</sup> In 1969 Dobson and Breeze imply that the career belonged to the reign of Vespasian,<sup>4</sup> though in 1978 Dobson gave the date of the primipilate as um<sup>5</sup> 70?. Dobson also gave information on the female relatives of Lepidius Proculus.<sup>6</sup>

### Notes

1. Maxfield (1981) 190
2. For XIII Gemina at the time of the revolt of Civilis see Tac. Hist. 4, 68
3. Ritterling (1925) 1584
4. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 102
5. Dobson (1978) 358. The text of CIL XI 390 is defective in Dobson (1978).
6. op. cit. 214. CIL XI 415, daughter. CIL XI 419, wife.

### Q. Manilius Cordus

No. 788

CIL XI 707 = ILS 2705 Devijver M 18

Bononia  
Italy Reg. VIII

Q. Manilio C. f. Cordo, (centurioni)leg(ionis) XXI Rapac(is), praef(ecto) equit(um), exact(ori) tribut(or)um civitat(ium) Gall(iae), fac(iendum) cur(avit) Certus lib(ertus)...

Q. Manilius Cordus, centurion and praefectus equitum. Augustus-Tiberius

- |                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Centurio XXI Rapax | Germania Inferior   |
| 2. Praefectus Equitum | Germania Inferior?? |

Centurions may have commanded cavalry units under Caesar,<sup>1</sup> though under Augustus and Tiberius it is more common to find primipilares as praefecti of cavalry

units than centurions. Manilius Cordus is the sole certain example of a centurion becoming praefectus equitum, though it is possible that L. Vibrius Punicus<sup>2</sup> had also been a centurion before he was made praefectus equitum. The centurionate of Manilius Cordus was in Germany and his post as collector of taxes was in Gaul so it seems likely that his post as praefectus equitum was in the same area. The omission of the name of the cavalry unit is not uncommon during the early period.

### Notes

1. Cheesman (1914) 24
2. CIL XII 2455 Dobson 44

### M. Oppius

No. 774

CIL IX 798 Dobson 32

Luceria  
Italy Reg. II

M. Oppius [---,] centur(io) leg(ionis) VI, p(rimus) [p(ilus)], trib(unus) leg(ionis) II, pr[ae]f(ectus)castror(um).

M. Oppius, centurion and primipilaris. Augustus. Pre AD 9.

- |                           |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Centurio VI            | Hisp. Tarraconensis |
| 2. P.P. (VI or II)        | Hisp. Tarraconensis |
| 3. Trib. Leg. II          | Hisp. Tarraconensis |
| 4. Praef. Castrorum (II?) | Hisp. Tarraconensis |

It seems possible that all of the transfers of M. Oppius occurred in Hispania Tarraconensis, the province of legiones VI (Victrix) and II (Augusta) until AD 9.<sup>1</sup>

### Note

1. Syme (1933) 23. II (Augusta) must be the legion referred to.

## C. Papirius Aequos

No. 705

1. CIL III 6628

Caenopolis  
Egypt

... cum C. Papirio Aequo (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae).

2. CIL VI 932 = ILS 246

Rome

(Dedications to Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, AD 72)

... C. Papirius Aequos (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) testamento poni iussit...

C. Papirius Aequos, centurion, before AD 72.

1. III Cyrenaica

Egypt

2. III Augusta

Numidia

This man is not the Papirius who killed Clodius Macer in 68, though that man was probably a centurion of III Augusta. In AD 70 the same Papirius was sent by Mucianus to kill the proconsul of Africa L. Piso. Piso had him executed.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that Papirius Aequos could be a brother of the centurion mentioned by Tacitus. The dedication to the Emperor and his sons according to the testamentary provision of a centurion suggests some connection with the Imperial house, presumably that connection was linked to patronage. The cognomen of the centurion was very rare.<sup>2</sup>

### Notes

1. Tac. *Hist.* 4,49

2. Kajanto (1965) 255, Aequus

## Sabidius C. f.

No. 1492

CIL IX 4122 = ILS 2644 Dobson 3

Aequiculi  
Italy Reg. II

[---Sa]bidius C. f. Pap(ira), prim(us) [(centurio) le]g(ionis) V et leg(ionis) VI, ita ut in [leg(ione)] X Primum pil(um) duceret eodem[que te]mpore princeps esset leg(ionis) VI, praef(ectus) [q]u[inq]uennalis) ---Ca]esar(is) divi Aug(usti) [f(ili)] et Ti(berii) Caesar(is) A[ug(usti), i]dem --- a don[---]cu[---] Corn]elia[C]n. f. Pupilla uxors, [C]rispina neptis

Sabidius C. f., centurion and primipilaris. Augustus

- |  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. Centurio V                          | Hisp. Tarraconensis |
| 2. Centurio VI                         | Hisp. Tarraconensis |
| 3. P.P. X et eodem tempore Princeps VI | Hisp. Tarraconensis |

The career of Sabidius is exceptionally detailed for a career which seems to belong to the reign of Augustus. The sequence of posts as a centurion seems to be; 7 leg. V, 7 leg. VI, P.P. leg. X et eodem tempore princeps leg. VI. The combination of posts as primus pilus of one legion and princeps of another is unique. Such a combination could only be possible if the two legions shared the same camp. Sabidius served in legions V, VI and X, which were all in Spain during the reign of Augustus. The date of the transfer from V to VI could be of significance in dating the career. In 1933 Syme suggested that the leg. V which lost its Eagle in a clades<sup>1</sup> in 17 BC was V (Alaudae).<sup>2</sup> Syme's suggestion assumes that leg. V must have left Spain in c19 BC, so the transfer of Sabidius from leg. V to leg VI should have taken place before c19 BC. It must be pointed out that Ritterling thought leg. V (Alaudae) remained in Spain until AD 9 and that Ritterling suggested that the leg. V defeated in 17 BC was V Gallica (Macedonica).<sup>3</sup> Syme referred in passing to Ritterlings suggestion in his 1933 paper<sup>4</sup> but retained his own identification in a paper in 1970.<sup>5</sup> Recently Dr. Keppie<sup>6</sup> pointed out that in Claudian times X (Gemina) was provided with a single legionary fortress of its own at Rosinos de Vidriales south of Astorga. But his suggestion that the 'old view' that VI and X probably shared a camp, can no longer be maintained, is premature. Admittedly there is no other evidence save the career of Sabidius, but there is a 40 year gap between the career of Sabidius and the Claudian evidence of a single legionary fortress for X (Gemina).

### Notes

1. Vell. Pat., ii, 97.1; Dio LIV 20.5 (16BC)
2. Syme (1933)17
3. Referred to in Syme (1933) 19
4. loc. cit.
5. Syme 1970 105
6. Keppie (1984) 193

Saufeius Silo

No. 762

CIL V 7255

Segusio  
Alpes Cottiae

Saufeius L. f. Pol(ia) Silo, [ce]ntur(io) leg(ionis) IIII Macedonic(ae) [et]  
leg(ionis) X Geminae, Vitulus L. IIIII vir August(alis) Latinus L. August(alis)  
B(ene) M(erenti)

Saufeius Silo, centurion, Pre Claudian.

1. IIII Macedonica
2. X Gemina

Hisp. Tarraconensis  
Hisp. Tarraconensis

The dating of the inscription comes from the presence of IIII Macedonica and X Gemina in Spain before IIII Macedonica moved to the Rhine in<sup>1</sup> c43. No post is mentioned before the first centurionate which might suggest a direct commission. However, if the tribe Pollia is indicative of the origo Castris a direct commission might be unlikely. The inscription was set up by a VI Vir Augustalis - so a freedman - surely that suggests the centurion was an equestrian and was probably directly commissioned.

Note

1. Ritterling (1925) 1551. Supported by Le Roux (1982) 293.

T. Suedius Clemens

No. 1434

1. AE 1929, 192

Carnuntum  
Pannonia

Q. Pompeius Q. f. Vo(itinia) Restitutus Aquis, m(iles) l(egionis) X G(eminae),  
(centuria) Suedi...

2. Tac. Hist. 1, 87

Dobson

(Otho)... summa expeditionis Antonio Novello, sudi Clementi primipilaribus,  
Aemilio Pacensi, cui ademptum a galba tribunatum reddiderat, permissa.

T. Suedius Clemens, centurion and primipilaris, pre 69. (career continues)

1. Centurio X Gemina
2. P.P.

Pannonia  
Pannonia?

In the Julio-Claudian period, more than half of the recorded centurions who became primus pilus were promoted within the same legion or the same province. The Tacitean passage describes Suedius Clemens as a primipilaris so his post as primus pilus was already past. He may well have held the post of primus pilus in Pannonia. X Gemina was at Carnuntum from c63-c68.<sup>1</sup> The later parts of the career (he became a Praetorian tribune and a praefectus castrorum) are discussed by Dobson.<sup>2</sup>

### Notes

1. Ritterling (1925) 1680
2. Dobson (1978) 207-208

### P. Treptius Attius

No. 787

CIL XI 394 Devijver T 35

Ariminum  
Italy Reg. VIII

P. Trept(i)us M.f. Attius, (centurio) leg(ionis) X, (centurio) leg(ionis) XII,  
Equo Publ(ico) Trib(unus) leg(ionis) [--- ---]Pr[---

P. Trept(i)us M. f. Attius, centurion and tribunus legionis. Pre-Claudian.

- |                             |         |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| 1. Centurio X (Fretensis)   | Syria   |
| 2. Centurio XII (Fulminata) | Syria   |
| 3. Trib. Legionis           | Syria?? |

It is assumed that the career pre-dates the reign of Claudius as the Claudian reorganization of the equestrian militiae would have made the transfer from the centurionate to the legionary tribunate extremely unlikely. The transfer from X (Fretensis) to XII (Fulminata) will have taken place while both legions were in Syria (before AD 67). The nomen Treptius comes from Ritterling,<sup>1</sup> CIL XI 394 gives Treptus, Devijver supplies Trebius.<sup>2</sup>

### Note

1. Ritterling (1925) 1710
2. Devijver T 35

## M. Vettius Valens

No. 840

1. CIL XI 395 = ILS 2648 Dobson 69, Pflaum 32

Ariminum  
Italy Reg. VIII

M. Vettio M. f. Ani(ensi) Valenti, mil(iti) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae), benef(iciario) praef(ecti) pr(aetorio) donis donato bello Britan(nico) torquibus, armillis, phaleris, evoc(ato) Aug(usti), corona aurea donat(o), (centurioni) coh(ortis) VI Vig(ilum), (centurioni) stat(orum), (centurioni) coh(ortis) XVI Urb(anae), (centurioni) c(o)ho(rtis) II pr(aetoriae), exercitatori equit(um) speculatorum, princip(i) praetori leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) ex trec(enario), [p(rimo) p(ilo)] leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis), donis donato ob res pr(osp)er(e) gest(as) contra Astures, torq(uibus), phaler(is), arm(illis), trib(un) coh(ortis) V Vig(ilum), trib(un) coh(ortis) XII Urb(anae),..... C. Luccio Telesino, C. Suetonio Paulino cos. AD 66

2. CIL XI 6059

Urvinum Mataurense  
Italy Reg. VI

Q. Vasellio Q.f Stel(atina) Sab[in]o vixit ann(os) XXI[II] mil(itavit) ann(os) III c(o)[ho]r(te) II Pr(aetoria), (centuria)Vetti Valentis.

M Vettius Valens, centurion and primipilaris. Tiberius - Nero

1. Miles Coh. VIII Praetoria	Rome
2. Bf. Praef. Praet.	Britain <u>Dona</u>
3. Evocatus Aug.	Rome <u>Dona</u>
4. Centurio Coh. VI Vigillum	Rome
5. Centurio Statores	Rome
6. Centurio Coh. XVI Urbana	Rome
7. Centurio Coh. II Praetoria	Rome
8. Exercitator Equites Speculatores	Rome
9. Centurio Princeps Praetori XIII Gemina	Rome
10. Centurio trecenarius XIII Gemina?	Rome Pannonia
11. P.P. VI Victrix	Hisp.Tarrac. <u>Dona</u>

Vettius Valens was from Ariminum as he was enrolled in Aniensis, the tribe of Ariminum. His is the earliest known career of an evocatus going to centurionates in the Rome Cohorts before going onto the legionary centurionate.<sup>1</sup> He became a member of the primi ordines of XIII Gemina before becoming trecenarius (in XIII Gemina?). Other careers with the same pattern (evocatus in Rome to legionary centurionates) probably begin around the same time.<sup>2</sup>

### Notes

1. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 115
2. See appendix one to Chapter one.

Marcellus

No. 777

CIL IX 2564 Devijver M 78bis

Bovianum Undecimanorum  
Italy Reg. IV

Vespasian's title for AD 75 ....

... Ex testam[ento--- ----] Marcelli (centurioni) leg(ionis) Cl[audiae P(iae)  
F(idelis) Pr]aef(ecto) civitatis Maeze[iorum item Daesit]iatium, Praef(ecto)  
c(o)hor(tis) III Alp[inorum, --- ---] ianorum, Ilvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo)  
Quinqu[enn(ali), patr]oni coloniae

Marcellus, centurion and praefectus cohortis, pre AD 75 probably pre AD 69.

- |  |          |
|--|----------|
| 1. Centurio XI Claudia                   | Dalmatia |
| 2. Praef. Civ. Maeziorum et Daesitiatium | Dalmatia |
| 3. Praef. Coh. III Alpinorum             | Dalmatia |
| 4. ?                                     |          |

The centurion was seconded from his post with XI Claudia to be prefect of two major tribes of the interior of Dalmatia. This was presumably between c42 and the assumption of titles Cl(audia) P(ia) F(idelis) by legion XI and c 69 and the departure of XI Claudia for Germania Superior. The post of prefect of native communities was a temporary administrative post which presumably lasted until the government was satisfied that the tribal aristocracies were ready to take over their traditional role.

Notes.

1. Wilkes (1969) 194, 193.

Ignotus (ILS 9197)

No. 1493

ILS 9197 Dobson 53

Terracina

--- et leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis), i [--- bello Mit] hridatico, prae f(ecto) cas  
tr(orum) ---.

Ignotus (ILS 9197), centurion and primipilaris. Claudian

- |  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. Centurio or P.P. of unknown legion    |                     |
| 2. Centurio or P.P. of VI <i>Victrix</i> | Hisp. Tarraconensis |
| 3. Praef. Castr. of unknown legion.      |                     |

It is perhaps more likely that the post with VI Victrix was a centurionate rather than P.P. Iterum. The reference to the bellum Mithridaticum dates the career to the time of Claudius.<sup>1</sup> That war belonged to the year AD 49. In a recent work Lawrence Keppie suggested that the earliest record of legion VI with the cognomen Victrix was the career inscription of Vettius Valens.<sup>2</sup> The inscription under consideration here must predate that of Vettius Valens.

#### Notes

1. Tac. Ann. 12, 15
2. Keppie (1984) 207

## Appendix One

### Q. Herennius Severus

No. 1808

AE 1981 291

Alba Fucens  
Italy Reg.

[Q. He]renni[us] Q.f. Fab(ia) (tribu) Severu[s], evo(catus) Aug(usti) don(is)  
dona(tus) ab I[mp(eratore) C]lor(onis) [Aur(eis) I]I Leg(ionis) I[I]I Aug(ustae)  
in Af[r]ica (centurio) leg(ioni) X Freten[is] in Sur[ia] mu[ni]cipio  
Alb[ens(ium --- ---)] de [s(uo)] d(ono) d(edit).

Q. Herennius Severus, evocatus and centurion, before c70

- |                          |         |
|--------------------------|---------|
| 1. evocatus Aug          | Rome    |
| 2. centurio? III Augusta | Numidia |
| 3. centurio X Fretensis  | Syria   |

The evocatus Q. Herennius Severus from Alba Fucens probably pre-dates c70 when X Fretensis left Syria. The rest of the inscription could easily be first century. The inscription is in the nominative case, the inclusion of the dona awarding Emperor as simply Imp(eratore) is much more common in the first century than the second. Tiberius, Nero and Domitian are all referred to as Imp(eratore) in various inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> However, the most important piece of dating evidence is the location of X Fretensis in Syria, a province which it left in c70. That suggests that Herennius Severus, like C. Aninius Gallus, was a first century evocatus who entered the legionary centurionate. The assertion of Dobson and Breeze<sup>2</sup> that evocati did not enter the legionary centurionate until the reign of Trajan seems to be unsubstantiated.

### Notes

1. CIL III 14387ff = ILS 9199 - Nero
2. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 115

## Chapter Two

### 2. The Careers of centurions during the Flavian period.

The attested careers of legionary centurions during the Flavian period are problematical. In fact there are only three career inscriptions of centurions in all. Only one man, Arnius Bassus, gives any details of his career before the centurionate and those details were highly exceptional (a transfer from a legion to the praetorian guard). The Flavian primipilares form a complex problem on their own. On first examination it would seem that none of the Flavian primipilares gave any details of the centurionates they had before the primipilate. However, Velius Rufus<sup>1</sup> mentions at least one incident which probably occurred before he was a primipilaris, and the Ignotus of IGLS VI 2798 may have given details of his career as a centurion but his career inscription is incomplete. Again, the inscription of L. Antonius Naso at Heliopolis (see above) shows a group of centurionates which must have occurred before AD 69, while the inscription itself was clearly post c78. It is of interest that Velius Rufus, the Ignotus of IGLS VI 2798 and Antonius Naso were all probably from Heliopolis. Their inscriptions may well reflect a local fashion, but it is difficult to assess the significance of that point when the Flavian period produces a number of detailed inscriptions of men up to the rank of centurion and, of course, of other types of military careers.<sup>2</sup>

Other careers clearly overlapped the period in question. L. Aconius Statura and Q. Geminus Sabinus are dealt with in Chapter three dealing with Trajanic careers, which they largely resemble. It is difficult to see why so few careers appear under the Flavian emperors. Indeed<sup>of</sup> the three attested Flavian careers, one, Iulius Avitus, must have been recorded after AD 96 as the dona awarding emperor's name (Domitian) was omitted from the stone.

Fig. 2

Group 1

<u>Antonius Naso</u> <u>III Cyrenaica</u> XIII Gemina XIII Gemina P.P.	<u>Atilius Verus</u> V Macedonica VI Victrix?? VII Galbiana	<u>Instuleius Tenax*</u> <u>X Fretensis</u> <u>XII Fulminata</u> P.P.	<u>Iulius Italicus</u> VII Macedonica XV Primigenia XIII Gemina
<u>Iulius Priscus</u> XI Claudia German Legion?? unknown	<u>Lepidius Proculus</u> <u>V Macedonica</u> <u>V Macedonica II</u>  VI Victrix <u>XV Apollinaris</u> XIII Gemina P.P.	<u>Papirius Aequos</u> <u>III Cyrenaica</u> <u>III Augusta</u>	<u>Suedius Clemens*</u> X Gemina P.P. Leg.
<u>Vettius Valens</u> XIII Gemina VI Victrix P.P.	<u>Ignotus*(ILS 9197)</u> VI Victrix P.P. ?	<u>Ignotus*(CIL X 1711)</u> VII Macedonica VIII Scythia P.P.	<u>Minicius Iustus*</u> <u>7 in Egypt</u> P.P. VI Victrix??

Group 2

<u>Arnius Bassus</u> XIV Gemina II Augusta VI Victrix	<u>Iulius Secundus</u> XI Claudia II Adiutrix  <u>Iulius Clemens</u> II Adiutrix XI Claudia	<u>Antonius Silo</u> I Adiutrix II Adiutrix <u>III Augusta</u> IV Flavia XI Claudia XXII Primigenia	<u>Iulius Avitus</u> XV Apollinaris V Macedonica <u>XVI Flavia</u>
--	---	---	---

Group 3

<u>Claudius Lucullus</u> XIV Gemina XIII Gemina	<u>Iulius Paternus</u> VIII Augusta XIV Gemina XI Claudia	<u>Iulius Sedatus</u> XIV Gemina XX V.V. or II Ad.	<u>Pompeius Asper</u> <u>XV Apollinaris</u>
<u>Blandius Latinus</u> I Italica II Augusta VIII Hispana XX (Prob. V.V.)			

Notes

1. Primipilates are not included as centurion transfers. All of the known examples are transferred within the western provinces or within the eastern provinces.
2. Careers marked \* are included in the total of multiple centurionates though only one centurionate is recorded.
3. Legions in the East, Africa and Egypt are underlined. Of the three underlined legions of Lepidius Proculus only the first two or the third were in the east. Pompeius Asper's centurionate with XV Apollinaris may not have been in Judaea.

The career inscriptions of the period AD 69-96 show ten transfers of which only three or four are likely to have been within the same province or war. The period was one of considerable warfare in the provinces along the northern frontier of the empire and the transfers seem to reflect that geographical distribution of action. Two caveats must be stated before the point is taken further. First the sample of evidence is far too small to form firm conclusions and, secondly, we cannot know if a centurionate in a legion which could have been involved in war did involve warfare unless the centurion won dona. The centurionates of the small group of Flavian careers were virtually all held on the northern frontiers of the empire (the single exception is the centurionate of M. Iulius Avitus with XVI Flavia at Satala). Given that three careers is not sufficient to use as even a representative sample of the indications of the transfer of centurions; if we include the centurions from group 1, from the time of Claudius, and all of the centurions from group 2 (the Flavians) and 3 (those difficult to date, but probably in the period Claudius to Trajan), then our evidential sample might at least be taken to be indicative of the trends within the transfers.

## Group Lists

### Group 1

#### Claudius-Nero

Antonius Naso	No. 217
Atilius Verus	No. 848
Instuleius Tenax	No. 1491
Iulius Italicus	No. 829
Iulius Priscus	No. 863
Lepidius Proculus	No. 786
Papirius Aequos	No. 705
Suedius Clemens	No. 1434
Vettius Valens	No. 840
Ignotus ILS 9197	No. 1493
Ignotus CIL X 1711	No. 1464

## Group 2

### Flavian

Arnius Bassus	No. 736
Antonius Silo	No. 251
Iulius Avitus	No. 144
Iulius Clemens	No. 1148
Iulius Secundus	No. 1448

## Group 3

### Claudius-Trajan

Blandius Latinus	No. 700
Claudius Lucullus	No. 95
Iulius Paternus	No. 47
Iulius Sedatus	No. 1005
Pompeius Asper	No. 844

The sample described above (and illustrated, see fig. 2) shows forty-two centurionates in eighteen careers. Centurionates in Rome are omitted, as are the assumed centurionates (in Rome) of Claudio-Neronian and Flavian tricenarii. The careers of L. Servaeus Sabinus and the Ignotus of RIB 509 are also omitted though they may belong to his time. If they were included the revised figures would show 51 centurionates in 20 careers and an even greater Western empire bias. Early posts in the careers of L. Aconius Statura and Q. Geminius Sabinus are omitted though both careers began under the Flavians and again include western transfers.

The careers of this Claudio-Flavian group show a remarkable focus on the provinces along the northern frontiers and Spain. Between 34 and 36 of the attested centurionates occurred in those places. The East and Africa get only 6 to 8 centurionates. It must be remembered that during the period in question some two thirds of the legions were spread through the northern frontiers of the empire and Spain, but the detailed breakdown of the eastern centurionates shows a number of interesting points. Antonius Naso from Heliopolis began his career with an eastern

legion (III Cyrenaica) just as the likely easterner Papirius Aequos may have done. Another likely Greek speaker, A. Instuleius Tenax, was attested with X Fretensis. Apart from the centurionate of M. Iulius Avitus with XVI Flavia (and that could have been a first time direct commission), the evidence seems to suggest a separation within the centurionate between the Greek speaking east, Egypt and Africa, and the rest of the empire. That separation was only partial as men from the Latin settlements in the east, such as Heliopolis, were transferred into the west without apparent difficulty. This is a continuation of a situation noted in Chapter One.

To return to Fig. 2 it is clear that the other multiple centurionates occurring in the east were in the careers of western centurions in western legions during the wars of Corbulo and/or the Judaeian war. And those men (or man, the career of Pompeius Asper may not date to the period when XV Apollinaris was in the east) returned to the Latin speaking west. Centurions from the west tended to stay there. Reference was made in Chapter One to the list of thirty-eight centurions on tombstones or dedication slabs who may have had only one centurionate.<sup>3</sup> All of those stones were from the Latin-speaking west, or from Italy itself. Only one of those inscriptions attests a man with a centurionate in an eastern legion (M. Pulfennius Sex. f. in VI Ferrata in the reign of Tiberius).<sup>4</sup>

It has been long suggested and was recently confirmed by J.C. Mann<sup>5</sup> that the eastern provinces soon ceased to be dependent on the western provinces and Italy for their legionary recruits. From the foregoing discussions it would seem that the centurions of the legions of the eastern provinces were not from western provinces. The point is implicit in the conclusions of Eric Birley,<sup>6</sup> that in every period the majority of centurions were promoted from the ranks of their legions and so reflect the recruiting pattern of those legions. Perhaps one should not be surprised that the pattern of transfers also seems to reflect the origins of the centurions concerned. Cheesman saw

the same split between men of western and eastern origin in the careers of officers in the equestrian militiae during the first century.<sup>7</sup>

Under Trajan and Hadrian the pattern changes and centurions from the west were more freely transferred into eastern legions (see below). The earliest career which does not seem to be limited to either western or eastern legions was that of Geminus Sabinus whose transfer from VII Gemina to VI Ferrata probably took place in the later years of Domitian. As an African it might be said that he had a foot in both camps, and as a directly commissioned centurion he probably had the educational background to allow him to use both of the languages.

The diagram showing total numbers of centurions transferred over the period shows a fairly uniform distribution of transfers with the largest number going to and from XI Claudia. This is partially the result of the large number of inscriptions of the legion found at Vindonissa. Antonius Silo was one of the few Flavian multi-centurionate careers while Aconius Statura and Herennius Valens had careers which were mainly early second century though they began under the Flavians. So, in a sense, the over-representation of XI Claudia among multi-centurionate careers is simply part of the general over-representation of early second century careers.

### Notes

1. IGLS VI 2796 = ILS 9200
2. CIL III 14387ff = IGLS VI 2781 = ILS 9199
3. e.g. CIL V 7425, AE 1972 572 - equestrians
4. AE 1941 105
5. Mann (1983) 41
6. Birley (1953) 124
7. Cheesman (1914)

MULTIPLE CENTURIONATE CAREERS

2. Careers from c.69 - c.96

642(3) 700	218 700	218	47 95 1005	47 642(2)	844(1)	95	642(1)	700	218	642(2) 700 1005	844(2)	II. Aug. Britain	IX. Hisp. Britain	VIII. Aug. Germ. S.	XI. Cl.	XV. Apol Pann.	IV. F.F. Dalmatia Moes. S?	V. Mac. Moes. I.	XVI. Flav. III. Aug. Cappadoc. Numidia	XX. Val. V. Praetor. Britain	3
736(2)	251(2) 1148 1448	736(3)	736(1)	251(6)	144	251(4)	144	144	251(3)	736(1)	844(2)	II. Aug. Britain	IX. Hisp. Britain	VIII. Aug. Germ. S.	XI. Cl.	XV. Apol Pann.	IV. F.F. Dalmatia Moes. S?	V. Mac. Moes. I.	XVI. Flav. III. Aug. Cappadoc. Numidia	XX. Val. V. Praetor. Britain	2

3. Careers from c.40 - c.120

## Legions and Provinces: Claudius to Trajan

<p><b>Britain</b></p> <p>II Augusta IX Hispana XIV Gemina to 68 XX Valeria Victrix II Adiutrix 71-c86</p>	<p><b>Germania Inferior</b></p> <p>I Germanica to 70 V Alaudae to 70 XV Primigenia to 70 XVI Gallica to 70 VI Victrix 70-c123 X Gemina 70-c106 XXI Rapax 70-c83 XXII Primigenia 70-c92</p>	<p><b>Germania Superior</b></p> <p>IV Macedonica to 70 XIII Gemina to 45 XXI Rapax to 70 XXII Primigenia to 70 I Adiutrix 70-c86 VIII Augusta 70- XI Claudia 70-c101 XIV Gemina 70-c92 XXI Rapax c83-c89 XXII Primigenia c92-</p>	
<p><b>Pannonia to Trajan</b></p> <p>VIII Augusta to 45 XV Apollinaris to 62 XIII Gemina 45-c101? X Gemina 62-70 I Adiutrix c86- II Adiutrix c86?-c.101? XIV Gemina c92- XV Apollinaris 70-c113? XXI Rapax c89-c92 XI Claudia c101-c106 XXX Ulpia c103??-?</p>	<p><b>Moesia to c86</b></p> <p>IV Scythica to 56 V Macedonica to 62 VIII Augusta 45-70 VII Claudia 56- I Italica 70- V Alaudae 70-c86 V. Macedonica 70-</p> <p><b>Pannonia Inferior</b> X Gemina c106-c118?</p>	<p><b>Moesia Superior</b></p> <p>IV Flavia c86?-c.106? VII Claudia c86- II Adiutrix c86? -c118?</p> <p><b>Moesia Inferior</b></p> <p>I Italica c86- V Macedonica c86- XI Claudia c106- II Traiana c103??-c.118???</p>	
<p><b>Dalmatia</b></p> <p>VII Claudia to 56 XI Claudia to 70 IV Flavia 70-c86</p>	<p><b>Hispania Tarraconensis</b></p> <p>VI Victrix to 70 X Gemina to 62 VII Gemina 74-</p>		
<p><b>Cappadocia</b></p> <p>XII Fulminata 70- XVI Flavia 70-c118</p>	<p><b>Syria</b></p> <p>III Gallica-c68 VI Ferrata-c106 X Fretensis-70 XII Fulminata-70 IV Scythica 56- V Macedonica 62-70 XV Apollinaris 62-70</p>	<p><b>Judaea</b></p> <p>X Fretensis 70-</p>	<p><b>Arabia</b></p> <p>VI Ferrata c106-?</p> <p><b>Egypt</b></p> <p>III Cyrenaica XXII Deiotariana</p>

There are great problems in assigning provinces for legions I and II Adiutrix, and IV Flavia in the period after c86. Presumably two of those three legions need to go into the Moesian provinces after c86 to cause the split in the province of Moesia (probably II Adiutrix and IV Flavia).

## L. Arnius Bassus

No. 736

CIL V 522 = Inscr. It.X. 4 Nr. 13

Tergeste  
Italy Reg.X

Mercurio Aug(usto) sacr(um). L. Arnius L. f. Pup(inia) Bassus, mil(es)  
leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris), mil(es) coh(ortis) I Pr(aetoriae), (centurio)  
coh(ortis) II C(ivium) R(omanorum), (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII Ge(minae),  
(centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), (centurio) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis),  
t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit). Locus datus d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

L. Arnius Bassus, centurion, Flavian.

- |                           |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Miles XV Apollinaris   | Pannonia or Judaean war    |
| 2. Miles Coh. I Praetoria | Rome                       |
| 3. Centurio Coh. II C.R.  | Germania Inferior          |
| 4. Centurio XIV Gemina    | Germ. Inf. (70) Germ. Sup. |
| 5. Centurio II Augusta    | Britain                    |
| 6. Centurio VI Victrix    | Germania Inferior          |

Arnius Bassus was almost certainly from Tergeste as he was enrolled in the tribe of that place (Pupinia). The inscription of Arnius Bassus gives no specific information as regards date though scholars have united in considering the career to be Flavian.<sup>1</sup> The transfer from the ranks of XV Apollinaris to the ranks of the praetorian guard is not a unique<sup>2</sup> occurrence but it is very rare. It is tempting to see the transfer taking place in the disturbed conditions of AD 69-70, though that dating is complicated by the presence of XV Apollinaris in Judaea until AD 70. One point can be made on the transfer, if it occurred in c AD 70 then the rank of miles simply means below the rank of centurion. For Arnius Bassus as an Italian was probably recruited into XV Apollinaris before its departure for the east in AD 62. With at least eight years stipendia it is difficult to see (following Breeze)<sup>3</sup> how he could have entered the praetorian guard with the rank of miles. The transfer from the praetorian guard to a centurionate in a citizen cohort seems to have been a unique event. Dr Dobson has suggested to me that this could be a way of reaching the legionary centurionate without going through the praetorian cursus and spending time as an evocatus. The early part of the career is very unusual and is made more unusual still in that Arnius Bassus gave the information in a period when centurions rarely give any clue to the career before the centurionate.

The career is of interest in that it shows the problems of dating by the association of two units in the same province or war. Four separate dates could plausibly be suggested for the transfers contained within the career.

1. Transfer from XV Apollinaris to cohorts I Praetoria. Probably AD69 or 70

2. The transfer from cohorts II C(ivium) R(omanorum) to XIV Gemina. In 1963 Eric Birley suggested that men who were promoted to the legionary centurionate after service as a decurion or centurion in an auxiliary unit were always promoted within the same province.<sup>4</sup> The only period when XIV Gemina and cohorts II c R. were within the same province was probably the time of the revolt of Civilis. Cohors II C.R. is attested in Germania Inferior in <sup>5</sup> AD 80, it could easily have been there in AD 70, and Petillius Cerealis could have brought praetorians with him. XIV Gemina arrived in Germania Inferior in AD 70 just before the battle of Vetera,<sup>6</sup> and it left for the Upper German province the day after the battle.<sup>7</sup> Doubtless, the legion suffered centurion casualties but it is a tight fit to date the transfer so close to the likely date of the first (and second) transfer. The Birley point mentioned above need not be as absolute as he suggests, at all periods there were connections between the garrisons of the two Germanies. Some career inscriptions reverse the order of posts after a significant event in the career (e.g. Oppius Bassus in CIL XI 5840, see below) but though this would have the effect of transferring Arnius Bassus into a legion of Germania Inferior (VI Victrix) when he entered the legionary centurionate, it is impossible to prove and seems unlikely on the layout of the inscription of Arnius Bassus.

3. The transfer from XIV Gemina to II Augusta. It is attractive to see that occurring while the two legions were within the same province. But that must pre-date AD 70.

4. The transfer from II Augusta to VI Victrix. Again it is tempting to suppose the transfer occurred within the same province, but that would imply a date of c123+ which would be far too late.

Clearly alternatives 3 and 4 are unlikely or impossible if we are to take alternative 1 as a fixed point to date the inscription, and there are objections to accepting alternative 2. Perhaps the solution to the transfers before the centurionate can only be found in events (possibly connected to AD69-70) which are not recoverable. The career seems highly exceptional and does not lend itself to easy explanation. If a connection need be sought between the three legionary centurionates then we might note the vexillation command of C. Velius Rufus<sup>8</sup> which included all the legions from Britain and the two German provinces. If that vexillation command remained in existence for any length of time it could have been the context for any (though perhaps not all) of the legionary centurionate transfers of Arnius Bassus.

#### Notes

1. Ritterling (1925) 1744, Forni (1953) 152, Alföldy (1968) 199 followed Ritterling.
2. ILS 2034, transferred from XV Gallica to coh. IX Praetoria. Dessau suggests the context of this transfer was the reign of Vitellius, see Tac. *Hist.* 2, 94. Vedennius Moderatus gained dona from Vespasian, probably as a praetorian if he was transferred in AD 69. It is difficult to see where he gained that dona (surely not in Judaea) unless Cerealis had Praetorians with him or the transfer from XVI Gallica to the Praetorian guard followed the demise of XVI Gallica in AD 70.
3. Breeze (1974) 257
4. Birley (1965) 26
5. CIL XVI 158
6. Tac. *Hist.* 5. 14.
7. Tac. *Hist.* 5. 19.
8. IGLS VI 2796. Dobson 94, Pflaum 50.

## Q. Antonius Silo

No. 251

CIL XIII 6357 = ILS 3914

Arae Flaviae  
Germania Superior

Abnobae - Q. Antonius Silo, (centurio) leg(ionis) I Adiutricis et leg(ionis) II Adiutricis, et leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), et leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) F(elicis), et leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis), et leg(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) D(omitianae), v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erto).

Q. Antonius Silo, centur. , post 69 pre 96. Inscription 92-96.

- |                    |                               |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. I Adiutrix      | Germ. Sup. or Pann. or Moesia |
| 2. II Adiutrix     | Britain or Pann. or Moesia    |
| 3. III Augusta     | Numidia                       |
| 4. IIII Flavia     | Dalmatia or Moesia            |
| 5. XI Claudia      | Germ. Sup.                    |
| 6. XXII Primigenia | Germ. Sup. or Germ. Inf.      |

The last recorded centurionate of Antonius Silo was held with XXII Primigenia pia fidelis Domitiana in Germania Superior. That information shows the inscription of Antonius Silo was erected between c92 and 96 after XXII Primigenia p. f. D. arrived at Mainz to replace XIII Gemina. The last transfer of Antonius Silo, from XI Claudia to XXII Primigenia, probably took place in Germania Superior in the period c92-96, but it is difficult to date the other transfers with any precision. Both I and II Adiutrix were transferred to the Danubian provinces after c86 and both may have been within Moesia<sup>1</sup> Superior at first, but certainty is impossible and the transfer of Antonius Silo between the two legions could easily pre-date c86. I and II Adiutrix took part in the vexillation command of C. Velius Rufus,<sup>2</sup> and the transfer between the legions could have occurred in that context. It may be of significance that all of the legions listed in the career (except III Augusta) could have taken part in warfare during the reign of Domitian. Antonius Silo probably began his career in Germania Superior, his dedication to a local deity might suggest he was from Germania Superior.

### Notes

1. Alföldy (1959) 141, places the two legions at Sirmium and Singidunum respectively. In this period Sirmium was probably part of Moesia Superior (see Syme (1971) 206). The evidence for the stay of the legions does not permit certainty or perhaps even confidence.
2. IGLS VI 2796 = ILS 9200 Dobson 94.

## M. Iulius Avitus

No. 144

CIL III 7397

Perinthus  
Thrace

M. Iulius Avitus Ultinia Reis Apollinar (ibus), (centurio) leg(ionis) XV (sic) Apol(linaris), item leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) et leg(ionis) XVI Fl(aviae) Fir(mae), bis donis donatus bello Dacic(o) et bello Germanico, sorores fratri optimo et pientissimo.

M. Iulius Avitus, centurion post 69 pre 96.

- |                              |                 |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Centurio XV Apollinaris   | Pannonia        |
| 2. Centurio V Macedonica     | Moesia Inferior |
| 3. Centurio XVI Flavia Firma | Cappadocia      |

Iulius Avitus was from Reii Apollinaris in Gallia Narbonensis. The dating of the career comes from the dona he gained in two wars, a bellum Dacicum and a bello Germanicum, from an unnamed emperor. All the authorities agree that the emperor must be Domitian, though agreement on the dates of the two wars is more difficult to find. A bellum Germanicum was fought by Domitian in 83-84, and a bellum Dacicum in c86-c88. The career inscription of A Bucius Lappius Maximus (cos. suff. 86) records a bellum Germanicum in c89 against the allies of Saturninus, but it is unlikely that any of the legions of Iulius Avitus took part in either that war or the bellum Germanicum of 83-84. L. Aconius Statura was decorated ob bellum Germ. et Sarmatic.<sup>1</sup> which is probably the same war as the bellum Marcomannicum of Bruttius Praesens<sup>2</sup> and the bellum Marcomannicum, Quadorum Sarmatarum of Velius Rufus,<sup>3</sup> which seems to have ended in AD 92. The order of the inscription would suggest the Dacian war was earlier than the German war. However, the order of the centurionates is not certain. Both XV Apollinaris and V Macedonica could have taken part in the Dacian war of c86-c88. Yet the great increase in the legionary garrison of Moesia at this time (which resulted in the division of the province) suggests that the Moesiae rather than Pannonia were the base for the Dacian war. Perhaps the dona for the Dacian war were won with V Macedonica. Again, XV Apollinaris at Carnuntum may have a slightly better claim than V Macedonica at Oescus for involvement in a German war.

But that is conjecture, both sets of dona could have been won with either XV Apollinaris or V Macedonica.

### Notes

1. CIL XI 5992 (see below)
2. IRT 545
3. IGLS VI 2796 = ILS 9200 Dobson 94

### Iulius Clemens

#### No. 1148

1. RIB 476 = EE IX 1048

Chester  
Britain

G. Iuventus g. Cla(udia) Capito Apro, mil(es) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) (centuria) Iuli Clementis ann(or)um XL stip(endiorum) VII. or XVII

2. CIL XIII 11525c

Vindonissa  
Germania Superior

(centuria) Iuli Clementis

Iulius Clemens, centurion, Flavian.

1. II Adiutrix
2. XI Claudia

Britain  
Germania Superior

It was Ritterling who suggested the two centurions could be the same man.<sup>1</sup> The period must be between c70 and the arrival of XI Claudia at Vindonissa and the legions departure from Vindonissa in c100. II Adiutrix was at Chester probably within the period c77 - c86.

### Note

1. Ritterling (1925) 1703

## Iulius Secundus

No. 1448

1. AE 1903, 303 = AE 1925, 131

Burnum  
Dalmatia

L. Bodlius L. f. Pol(lia) Genialis Pollent(iae), mil(es) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae)  
p(iae) f(idelis), (centuria) Iuli Secundi, ann(or)um XXX, stip(endiorum) X,...

2. RIB 157

Bath  
Britain

C. Murrius C.f. Arniensis Foro Iuli Modestus, mil(es) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis)  
p(iae) f(idelis), (centuria) Iuli Secundi ann(or)um XXV, stip(endiorum) --- h(ic)  
s(itus) e(st).

3. CIL VI 2465 (Possibly the same man.)

Rome

Q. Eneius Q. f. Lem(onia) Montanus Bononia, mil(es) coh(ortis) II Pr(aetoriae)  
(centuria) Iuli Secundi,...

Iulius Secundus, centurion, pre 69 - post 72.

1. XI Claudia
2. II Adiutrix
3. Coh. II Praetoria

Dalmatia  
Britain  
Rome

Iulius Secundus was not a rare combination of names (there are seven soldiers so named in Dean),<sup>1</sup> but the identification of the first two inscriptions with the same man seems likely. The praetorian centurion may not be the same man. Careers involving a group of legionary centurionates followed by a transfer to the Rome cohorts are not certainly attested till the time of Trajan.<sup>2</sup> The centurion of III Augusta (CIL VIII 2764) was a different man. The Iulius Secundus of the first two inscriptions may be a man transferred into II Adiutrix on its confirmation as an official legion, though I and II Adiutrix may have retained their original officers. II Adiutrix and XI Claudia were in contact in the Lower Rhineland in AD 70 during the period around the battle at Vetera. The expeditionary force of Petilius Cerealis consisted of VIII Augusta, XI Claudia, XIII Gemina and XXI Rapax until just before the battle at Vetera<sup>3</sup> when that force was joined by II Adiutrix, VI Victrix and XIV Gemina.<sup>4</sup> The transfer of Iulius Secundus could have occurred at that time. The earliest fortress of II Adiutrix in Britain was at Lincoln, the presence of the soldier of II Adiutrix at Bath is different to explain. Perhaps he sought a cure.

## Notes.

1. Dean (1916)...
2. The earliest was probably L. Aemilius Paternus (see below), though there may be no substantial difference between careers involving a group of legionary centurionates before the transfer to the Rome cohorts and those, like Pompeius Asper and Sulpicius Ursulus, who only have one legionary centurionate before the Rome cohorts.
3. Tac. Hist. 4, 69
4. Tac. Hist. 5, 14

### D. Iunius Verecundus

#### No. 1011

1. CIL XIII 6840

Mainz  
Germ. Superior

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

2. CIL VI 2647 Dobson 96

Rome

*Iuniae D. f. Flacillae, D. Iunius D. f. Verecundus, trib(unus) coh(ortis) VII Pr(aetoriae) et Aurelia L. f. Flacilla parentes filiae piissimae carissimae.*

D. Iunius Verecundus, centurion and primipilaris, as centurion, 70-86

1. Centurio I Adiutrix
2. P.P.

Germ. Superior  
?

Iunius Verecundus must have reached the primipilate at some time between his centurionate with I Adiutrix and his tribunate with cohorts VII Praetoria. Both Dobson and Pflaum point out that the names of the man's wife suggest a connection with Aurelius Flaccus who was procurator of Belgica in AD 80.<sup>1</sup> A possible consular descendant, L. Aurelius Flaccus, is examined by both Dobson and Pflaum.<sup>2</sup>

## Notes .

1. Dobson (1978) 218, Pflaum (1960-1961) 1056.
2. loc. cit.

## Blandius Latinus

No. 700.

CIL XII 2601

Geneva  
Gall. Narbonensis

- Blandio C. f. Vol(tinia) Latino, (centurioni) le[g(ionis)]I Ital(icae),  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), (centurioni) le[g(ionis)]VIII Hispan(ae),  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) XX --- d[omi]ni dona]to ---

Blandius Latinus, centurion, post c. 65 to Hadrian.

- |                                  |                   |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. I Italica                     | Moesia (Inferior) |
| 2. II Augusta                    | Britain           |
| 3. VIII Hispana                  | Britain           |
| 4. XX (Probably Valeria Victrix) | Britain           |

The career of Blandius Latinus can only be dated between the raising of I Italica<sup>1</sup> towards the end of the reign of Nero, and the departure of VIII Hispana from Britain. The latter event occurred after 108, probably between c.113 and c.132. The transfer from I Italica to II Augusta may have occurred at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian - perhaps at the same time as the transfer of Valerius Proclus. Such was the suggestion of Dr. Maxfield in her thesis,<sup>2</sup> though the implications of this for the history of VIII Hispana were not taken up. It might be said that the opportunities for warfare and the gaining of dona were rather better with I Italica than with the legions of Britain.

Blandius Latinus was almost certainly from Geneva as he was enrolled in the tribe of that place (Voltinia). The absence of posts below the centurionate suggests the possibility of a direct-commission, though at least one man from Narbonensis was recruited into I Italica in the period 69 - 117.<sup>3</sup> Blandius Latinus may have been one of the first centurions of I Italica. The legion was at Lugdunum at the beginning of 69.<sup>4</sup>

### Notes

1. The conventional date for the raising of I Italica is that of Ritterling (1925) 1407, but the tribunate of L. Antonius Naso must be earlier than that. See Dobson (1978) 204.
2. Maxfield Ph.D thesis (1972).
3. Mann (1983) 132. AE 1972 512.
4. Tac. Hist I. 59.

M. Claudius Lucullus

No. 95

CIL III 5336

Solva  
Noricum

[T]i. Claudio Ti. f. Secundino, II vir i(ure) d(icundo), [A]rtoriae C.f. Flora[e],  
M. Cl(audio) Ti. f. Lucullo, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII, (centurioni) leg(ionis)  
XIII, Ti. Cl(audio) Ti. f. [Se]cundo, Valeria Crispa Fecit.

M. Claudius Lucullus, centurion, Flavian - early second century.

- |                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| 1. XIII (Gemina) | Germ. Sup. or Pannonia |
| 2. XIII (Gemina) | Pannonia or Dacia      |

The absence of the cognomina of the legions suggests the career of Claudius Lucullus could be early first century, but Solva was a Vespasianic municipium and the father of the centurion was II vir there.<sup>1</sup> Since Claudius Lucullus was the son of a city magistrate, and he shows no evidence of a career prior to the centurionate, it is possible he was directly-commissioned. It is attractive to see the transfer of Claudius Lucullus from legion to legion (we cannot be certain of the order of the legions) occurring while the two legions were in Pannonia in the period 92 - 105.

Note

1. Alföldy (1974) 268 produces 6 inscriptions of II vir at Solva

M. Iulius Paternus

No. 47

CIL III 2035

Salona  
Dalmatia

M. Iul(ius) M. f. Vol(tinia) Paternus Aquis Sextiis, mil(es) leg(ionis) VI  
Victric(is), (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), (centurio) leg(ionis)  
XIII G(eminae) M(artiae) V(ictricis), (centurio) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) p(iae)  
f(idelis), t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit), ...

M. Iulius Paternus, centurion post AD 61 - end of first century.

- |                          |                        |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Miles VI Victrix      | Hisp. T. or Germ. Inf  |
| 2. Centurio VIII Augusta | Moesia or Germ. Sup.   |
| 3. Centurio XIII Gemina  | Britain or Germ. Sup.  |
| 4. Centurio XI Claudia   | Dalmatia or Germ. Sup. |

Ritterling dated the last centurionate of Iulius Paternus to the period AD 62 - 69 when XI Claudia was still in Dalmatia.<sup>1</sup> Forni dated the recruitment of Iulius Paternus to the Claudio-Neronian period.<sup>2</sup> In 1970 Dobson and Breeze followed Forni in assuming the career was Claudio-Neronian.<sup>3</sup> In the most recent work on legionary recruitment J.C. Mann also dated the recruitment of Iulius Paternus to the period before AD 69.<sup>4</sup> It is likely that the basic dating is that of Ritterling. The inscription was found at Salona rather than at the last Dalmatian fortress of XI Claudia, Burnum. Ritterling suggested that the reason for this was that Iulius Paternus was associated with a detachment of XI Claudia at Salona.<sup>5</sup>

The only doubting voice was that of J.J. Wilkes who suggested Iulius Paternus was recruited into VI Victrix while the legion was in Germany and so implied a Flavian (or later) date for the career.<sup>6</sup>

It is clearly attractive to date the inscription by <sup>the</sup> presence of XI Claudia in Dalmatia in the years before AD 69. However, the three centurionates of Iulius Paternus may belong to the period c.70 - c92 when the three legions concerned were all in Germania Superior. Also, VI Victrix and VIII Augusta were in contact with each other during the revolt of Civilis.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that Iulius Paternus was promoted centurion at that time. The view of Ritterling would involve a transfer from VI Victrix in Hisp. Tarraconensis to VIII Augusta in Moesia, which is not impossible but is not easy to explain.

The problem of date <sup>is</sup> does not have an easy solution. The possibility outlined above that the centurionates of the career of Iulius Paternus may be of Flavian date does not explain why a man from Aquae Sextis chose to retire to Salona, though a number of veterans are known there.

## Notes

1. Ritterling (1925) 1703
2. Forni (1953) 225
3. Dobson and Breeze (1970) 111
4. Mann (1983) 84
5. Ritterling (1925) 1692
6. Wilkes (1969) 103
7. Tac. Hist 5,14

### Iulius Sedatus

#### No. 1005

1. CIL XIII 6929

Mainz  
Germania Superior

...c(o)ho(rtis) II leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) M(artiae) V(ictricis), (centuria) Iuli Sedati....

2. JRS XXX (1940), 189 no. 24 (Graffito on Dr. 27)

Chester  
Britain

(centuria) Iuli Sedati,...

Iulius Sedatus, centurion, post 70 - second century.

1. Centurio XIII Gemina
2. Centurio XX Val. Vict. or II Adiutrix

Germania Superior  
Britain

The career of Iulius Sedatus must be dated to the period c76 when II Adiutrix seems to have reached Chester and c92 when XIV Gemina left Mainz for Pannonia. Or the significant dates are c70 when XIV Gemina arrived at Mainz and c86 when II Adiutrix probably left Chester.

### M. Pompeius Asper

#### No. 844

- CIL XIV 2523 = ILS 2662 Dobson 101

Ager Tusculanus  
Italy Reg. I

M. Pompeio M. f. Ani(ensis) Aspro, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apollinar(is), (centurioni) coh(ortis) III Pr(aetoriae), primop(ilo) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae), praef(ecto) castr(orum) leg(ionis) XX Victr(icis), Atimetus lib(ertus) pullarius fecit. ...

M. Pompeius Asper, centurion and primipilaris, post 60 - second century.

1. Centurio XV Apollinaris
2. Centurio Coh. III Praetoria
3. P.P. III Cyrenaica
4. Praef. Castr. XX Valeria Vict.

Pannonia or Judaeen War  
Rome  
Egypt  
Britain

The date of the inscription of Pompeius Asper has been the subject of some discussion. Lesquier dated the career to the early second century,<sup>1</sup> while Hofmann dated the career to the Vespasianic period on stylistic grounds.<sup>2</sup> More recently Dobson and Maxfield have suggested the career is perhaps Domitianic.<sup>3</sup> The career inscription is almost certainly later than AD 61 because of the cognomen of legion XX.<sup>4</sup> The pattern of centurionates - from a legionary centurionate to a praetorian centurionate, omitting a centurionate in the Vigiles, suggests that Pompeius Asper was directly commissioned.<sup>5</sup> Dobson and Breeze assembled the group of direct commissions which included centurionates in Rome in their 1969 paper.<sup>6</sup> From that it is clear that Pompeius Asper was the earliest of the group and that all of the others included an Urban centurionate before the praetorian one. Perhaps the career of Pompeius Asper represents an earlier example of a career type which appears to be fully formed under Trajan.<sup>7</sup>

#### Notes

1. Lesquier (1918) 62
2. Hofmann(1905) 24
3. Dobson (1978) 221, later first century. Maxfield (1981) 192, probably Domitian
4. McPake (1981) 294
5. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 110
6. loc. cit.
7. loc. cit. see Aemilius Paternus and Sulpicius Ursulus. The dating of the later career by Dobson (1969) 122-23 is probably incorrect.

#### L. Servaeus Sabinus

##### No. 218

1. AE 1930, 109

Savatra  
Galatia

Lucio Servaeo S[a]bino, (centurioni) leg(ionis) VIII[(I)]Hispanae, (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Au[g(ustae)] (centurioni) leg(ionis) VI Victricis, statuam ex testamento.

2. CIL III 14398 = AE 1903, 77

Savatra  
Galatia

Tito Servaeo Sabino, p(rimo) p(ilo) donato omnibus donis, L. Servaeus Sabinus (centurio) leg(ionis) VI Vict(ricis), patri suo fecit.

L. Servaeus Sabinus, centurion, before 161-165

- |                 |                                  |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. VIII Hispana | Africa, Pannonia, Britain, East? |
| 2. III Augusta  | Numidia                          |
| 3. VI Victrix   | Hisp. T., Germ. I. or Britain    |

L. Servaeus Sabinus was the son of a primipilaris. The inscriptions of the two men come from Savatra, close to the city of Iconium in Galatia. Their inscriptions spell out their praenomina, which seems to be an indicator of men whose first language was Greek.<sup>1</sup> If the two men were Greek in origin the chances of L. Servaeus Sabinus being directly commissioned would be increased. As the son of a primipilaris and with no indication of any career before the centurionate there is already a strong possibility of the younger Servaeus Sabinus being directly-commissioned. Servaeus Sabinus served in three legions, none of which are known to have been stationed in the east. However, a vexillation of III Augusta took part in Trajan's Parthian war,<sup>2</sup> and J.C. Mann has recently drawn attention to CIL X 1769, the tombstone of a man called Aelius Asclepiades who served eight years in IX Hispana and who was nati(oe) Cil(ix). As Professor Mann states, it is difficult to see how a native of Cilicia could be recruited into VIII Hispana unless the legion spent some time in the east, and the nomen Aelius suggests eastern enfranchisement on recruitment in the reigns of Hadrian or Pius.<sup>3</sup> The possibility must be open that Servaeus Sabinus could have entered VIII Hispana, perhaps as a directly commissioned centurion, in the period after c120. But there is no simple answer to the dating problems of the career. The centurionate with IX Hispana being followed by a centurionate with III Augusta recalls the war fought by the two legions in Africa in the reign of Tiberius, but there are problems in assigning the career to so early a date. It is unclear whether the legion VI then in Spain was called VI Victrix in the reign of Tiberius. The cognomen Victrix is attested during the Claudian period,<sup>4</sup> while under Nero the legion is known as both VI Victrix and VI Hispana.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Brian Dobson has suggested to me from his own research on primipilares that men from the Greek east seem first to appear as primipilares during Flavian times.

For what it is worth, the career of Claudius Vitalis shows a transfer from VIII Hispana to VII Claudia which may have occurred while the latter legion was in the east for Trajan's Parthian war, which might be another support for the presence of VIII

Hispana in the east. Scholarly opinion seems united in supposing that VIII Hispana was destroyed in the east.<sup>6</sup>

### Notes

1. See the bilingual inscription CIL III 186 = ILS 2657
2. Ritterling (1925) 1499. Mann (1983) 13. The recruits of CIL VIII 18084 are the result.
3. Mann (1983) 177
4. ILS 9197
5. Keppie (1984) 207 where he quotes the Neronian inscription AE 1917/1918 2, and ILS 2648 (AD 66).
6. On the end of VIII Hispana see Eck (1972) 459 and Claudius Vitalis and Valerius Proclus (below).

### Ignotus RIB 509

No. 642

RIB 509

Chester  
Britain

[---]Pub(lico), (centurio) leg(ionis) V Macid(onicae), et VIII Aug(ustae), et II Aug(ustae), et XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), vixit annis LXI, Aristio lib(ertus) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

Ignotus RIB 509, centurion, post c61 to Trajan?

- |                       |         |
|-----------------------|---------|
| 1. V Macedonica       | Moesia  |
| 2. VIII Augusta       | Moesia  |
| 3. II Augusta         | Britain |
| 4. XX Valeria Victrix | Britain |

It is possible that the Ignotus (RIB 509) began his career in Moesia as the transfer from V Macedonica to VIII Augusta may have taken place when the two legions were the garrison of Moesia before c62. The inscription itself must post-date c86 because of the presence of XX Valeria Victrix at Chester. The centurion died aged 61 which suggests a career of thirty to forty years. The above emendation of the inscription is that of Eric Birley who suggested that the RIB version of Pub(lilia) was more likely to be Eq. Pub(lico). That would make the man a directly-commissioned centurion. A career beginning before c62 could easily have gone on to the late first century or even the early second century. There is little else to press home that point other than the phrase vixit annis written out in full which is more likely to be a first century feature.

## Chapter Three

### Careers in the Legionary Centurionate.

#### 3. c.AD 96 - c.AD 140

The reigns of Nerva and Trajan saw a continuation of the large scale warfare of the time of Domitian in the Danubian provinces. The wars of Domitian made remarkably little impact on the epigraphic records of legionary centurions. The wars of Trajan produced a comparative explosion of epigraphic material. The reasons for the heightening of what J. C. Mann has called 'the epigraphics consciousness' of the age were probably various. The majority of the inscriptions were set up well into the reign of Trajan or in the reign of Hadrian when the martial glories of the army of the optimus princeps were considered worthy of recall. Yet it is worth recalling that the primipilares of the reign of Trajan were the centurions of Domitian and they seem to have fallen back on the convention which involved giving no information of their careers before the primipilate. The latter end of the reign of Trajan and the reigns of Hadrian and Pius produce considerably more detailed career inscriptions than any other period from Augustus to the mid-third century.

It seemed clear that the increase in epigraphic material under Trajan and his successors produced an increase in the variety of the careers and origins of legionary centurians. In 1969 Dobson and Breeze<sup>1</sup> listed six career patterns leading to the legionary centurionate. They found that in two of those six patterns,

1. Evocati going straight to legionary centurionates.
2. Cornicularii of the great prefects in Rome going to legionary centurionates.  
the earliest careers are Trajanic,<sup>2</sup> while in a third group,
3. Evocati going to the Rome centurionates and then to the legionary centurionates

only one career is known which was pre-Trajanic.<sup>3</sup> Following the discussion of C. Aninius Gallus in Chapter One it seems likely that only the cornicularii of the great prefects was a new career route in the reign of Trajan and evocati were capable of going on to either Rome centurionates or legionary centurionates from perhaps the time of Claudius onwards. So there may be little connection between the quantity of evidence and the variety of careers. By the reign of Trajan the career structure of the centurionate would appear to have been functioning for perhaps half a century. The only innovations of the time of Trajan were the large number of praetorians who emerged into prominence presumably because of their proximity to the Emperor and the Emperor's predilection for war.

Dobson and Breeze suggested that the increase in the number of attested careers in the early second century was due to the 'pay rise under Domitian and the booty of the wars, particularly the Dacian wars'.<sup>5</sup> Their reasoning seems simplistic. Booty and an increase in pay may have been significant for centurions in their home towns as wealth will have brought prestige, but the relationship between money and the setting up of inscriptions was much more complex than Dobson and Breeze suggest. Some career inscriptions were set up by communities into which centurions were born or had attached themselves and those inscriptions were clearly honorific in character. Other inscriptions were set up by heirs who may or may not have felt bound to honour the testamentary wishes of a deceased relative.

It seems much more likely that the increase in the number of attested careers was due to a climate of opinion which linked service within the army and close to the emperor, (many of the fullest careers are those of praetorians) with honour, and made that service worthy of reasonably complete recollection. The group of Spanish Equestrians which may be connected to Hadrian through I Minervia may be an example of this. The majority of careers examined below are the careers of primipilares and/or directly commissioned centurions. For such men the price of a career inscription was

not so prohibitive as to make it dependant on the booty won in wartime or on an increase in pay. The eleven known inscriptions of Caesius Silvester (see below) suggest a more complex motivation than a quantity of booty. Surely the centurions and primipilares of the time of Hadrian and Trajan were identifying themselves with a particular time and ethos; tam fabulosa materia, said the younger Pliny.<sup>6</sup> It was a time felt worthy of record.

The triumphant wars of the optimus princeps must not be overplayed. Of the thirty-eight careers examined below only thirteen careers are to be dated through the recordings of dona and two of those careers omit the name of the awarding emperor.<sup>7</sup> The comparatively large number of careers in the period cAD96 - cAD140 is partly to be explained by a collection of important factors concerning dating evidence, without which almost half of the careers discussed below would have to be assigned to the second century to early third century group careers. Dating inscriptions by epigraphic formulae is an inexact method which needs careful handling particularly in terms of the social status of the subject and the geographical location of the inscription. Nevertheless a certain amount of dating evidence can be gained from the presence or the omission of particular elements of nomenclature of epigraphic formulae on an inscription. Holder has produced the most recent survey of the evidence for dating tombstones,<sup>8</sup> basing his conclusions in part on the work of Kraft<sup>9</sup> and Saddington.<sup>10</sup> The survey of Holder contains a number of categorical assertions that need not be taken as absolute, but his work would support the notion that the absence of the burial formulae D(is) M(anibus) is a first century feature which continues into the second century for a time. By the reign of Pius D(is) M(anibus) seems to have become established as the standard burial formulae and is ubiquitous. In this study the absence of the burial formulae D(is) M(anibus) on a tombstone is taken to suggest a date earlier than the reign of Pius if another indication of late first or early second century date can be found on the inscription, or if the transfers of the centurion suggest the period of the late first early second century. A number of other early epigraphic indicators are

referred to in the discussion of careers (e.g. H(ic) S(itus) E(st), and the filiation clause expressed solely by the praenomen of the father.).

There were a number of occasions when a legion was only found in a particular province in a specified period during the early second century; the last period when legions moved between the provinces on any scale. These legionary movements allow comparatively tight dating of careers. The three inscriptions which provided most of the evidence for the presence of IIII Flavia in Trajan's Dacia (c106-c118) were all legionary centurions with multiple centurionate careers. The part played by I Minervia in the second Dacian war of Trajan is prominent in the careers and dona of a number of centurions. For those men a reference to I Minervia might recall a possible connection to its commander at that time, P. Aelius Hadrianus. The two legions IX Hispana and XXII Deiotariana disappeared at some point between the reign of Trajan and before the date of the setting up of the army list in c162.<sup>11</sup> Conventional scholarship suggests the disappearance of the two legions can be assigned to the Judaeian war of Hadrian and the reported destruction of a legion in Cappadocia early in the reign of Marcus.<sup>12</sup> The careers of senatorial officers of IX Hispana show the legion could have been in existence in the early part of the reign of Pius.<sup>13</sup> There are no careers of senatorial officers of XXII Deiotariana in the second century which might cause speculation that its end followed its removal from Egypt at not too great a distance. Dated inscriptions of XXII Deiotariana with the cognomen Deiotariana are uncommon before the second century,<sup>14</sup> which provides a useful terminus ante quem for references to the legion. There are no indications that any of the careers of centurions in IX Hispana and XXII Deiotariana were any later than the reign of Hadrian. None of the recent works on the end of the IX Hispana have dealt with any careers save those of senators (apart from J.C. Mann,<sup>15</sup> who considered the nomenclature of Aelius Asclepiades (CIL X 1769) who was described as nati(oue) Cil(ix) and suggested that this was Hadrianic evidence for IX Hispana in the east). The transfers of Claudius Vitalis and Valerius Proclus

suggest possibilities (unfortunately contradictory) for the movements of IX Hispana after its last certain reference at York in 108.

A group of three careers include<sup>5</sup> centurionates in XXX Ulpia Victrix. That legion was probably raised c102 - c105, which provides a useful terminus ante quem for those careers, though none of them begin with XXX Ulpia Victrix. The three centurions could have been amongst the earliest centurions in XXX Ulpia Victrix. The provision of centurions for new legions is a topic that has attracted little attention from scholars. The natural assumption is that the great majority of centurions in new legions were transferred from other legions, with perhaps a few directly commissioned men and a few transferred from the Guard. The evidence, such as it is, seems to bear out the foregoing assumption. The four probable Trajanic centurions in XXX Ulpia Victrix all had previous centurionates with other legions; two with III Augusta, one with I Adiutrix, and the other with XV Apollinaris. A small doubt might be expressed in the case of the centurion who was transferred from I Adiutrix. The earliest indications of XXX Ulpia Victrix are to be found in Pannonia which was also probably the province of I Adiutrix in the reign of the Trajan. The transfer from I Adiutrix to XXX Ulpia Victrix could have occurred while the two legions were in Pannonia up to the time of Trajan's Parthian war. The earliest attested centurion in II Traiana is Maenius Haniochus who was Hadrianic, though he was transferred from I Italica. II Traiana's earliest province was Moesia Inferior, the province of I Italica.

As Dobson and Breeze pointed out in 1969 there is a striking representation of all the sources of recruitment to the legionary centurionate under Trajan and Hadrian.<sup>16</sup> In fact Fig. 3 (page 64) shows the evidential domination of the directly commissioned and the Guard which must be out of all proportion to the total number of centurions from those sources. Professor Eric Birley<sup>17</sup> has shown that at all periods the legionary centurionate was largely recruited from the ranks of the legions. Fig. I lists all of the early second century careers in terms of their origins within the army. Only seven early

second century careers show evidence of service in the ranks of the legions. Even that figure is constructed as three of the careers are exceptional. Annius Martialis began in a legion but reached the centurionate after being decurio alae. M. Tuccius lists only one post before his centurionates and that was a centurionate in an auxiliary unit, though prior service in a legion might be suspected. Herennius Valens probably served in the ranks before his evocatio but that service was probably over fifteen years before the reign of Trajan. Exceptional careers prior to the legionary centurionate were clearly not sources of embarrassment. There is a very high proportion of attested oddities in the few careers we have of men who reached the centurionate from the ranks of the legions. This point is made more prominent by the probability that most centurions came from the ranks.

The prominence of the directly-commissioned centurions in the evidence for the early second century careers is remarkable. There are fifteen cases where a direct commission is attested or seems probable. Of those fifteen men, eight reached the primipilate while Paccius Nonianus, Maenius Haniochus and Censorius Cornelianus could have gone on to reach that rank. Claudius Vitalis and Pilonius Modestus died before they reached the earliest attested age for the post of primus pilus. The youngest attested primus pilus was Blossius Pudens who died as primus pilus designate at the age of 49.<sup>18</sup> It is possible that there was a minimum age for the primipilate (perhaps 50) but that subject is brought into question by the careers of Pontius Sabinus, Terentius Rufus and Sulpicius Ursulus. These men were transferred from the equestrian militiae to the legionary centurionate and then reached the primipilate. The career of Pontius Sabinus (see below) suggests his time within the centurionate could have been less than four years. Again, the career of Terentius Rufus (see below) gives the possibility of a very quick passage to the primipilate. Unless these men were rather middle-aged equestrian officers when they began their careers (and we know nothing of their age at any stage in their careers) they are likely to have reached the primipilate before the age of 50.

Fig. 3

Table to show comparative origins of legionary centurions within the Roman Army during the period cAD 96 - cAD 140.

Origins

Ranks	Corn. of Prefects	Evocati	Direct Commission
Annius Martialis	Flavius Rufus	Arrius Clemens 1	Aemilius Paternus 1
Herennius Valens		Caesius Silvester 1	Censorius Cornelianus *
Sabidius Maximus		Ligustinius Disertus	Claudius Telesinus
M. Tuccius		Nummius Constans 1	Claudius Vitalis
Valerius Proculus		Octavius Secundus 1	Decrius Longinus 1
Ignotus (XIII 6952)		Oppius Bassus 1	Geminus Sabinus 1
			Iulius Aquila
			Iulius Quadratus
			Maenius Haniochus
			Marcus Plaet. Celer 1
			Paccius Nonianus
			Pontius Sabinus 1*
			Sulpicius Ursulus 1*
			Terentius Rufus 1*
<b>Unclear</b>			
Aconius Statura			
Annius Rufus			
Antonius Felix			
Aufidius Exoratus			
Calventius Viator			
Licinius Macrinus			
Septimius Magnus			
Solicius Aurelianus			
	Albius Felix	Laelius Fuscus Vellius Prudens Stadius Celsus Ignotus (XI 2112) 1	Gavius Fronto 1*

1 = Primipilaris

\* = Transfer from equestrian militiae.

Laelius Fuscus and Vellius Prudens are separated from the evocati above the line as their service as evocatus was followed by service in the Rome centurionates.

All of the other careers below the line are not described in the prosopography of this chapter as they had only one centurionate not followed by the primipilate or their service as a centurion was unclear.

All of the career inscriptions of men transferred between the equestrian militiae and the centurionate after the time of Vespasian show the direction of the transfer was from the militiae to the centurionate. The single possibility of an exception is the case of M. Lucretius Peregrinus (see next chapter) in which the direction of transfer is uncertain. (The inscription is given in the following chapter but it seems best to discuss the career with the other examples of the equestrian militiae to the centurionate transfer.) If the transfer of Lucretius Peregrinus was from the militiae to the centurionate, as seems likely, then his first legionary centurionate was held in I Minervia. The appearance of that legion in the career is interesting since it was into I Minervia that Terentius Rufus and Sulpicius Ursulus were transferred after their posts as praefecti. The most likely time for the transfers of Terentius Rufus and Sulpicius Ursulus was probably the second Dacian war of Trajan. Yet caution is necessary. The transfer of Terentius Rufus from an auxiliary unit of Germania Inferior to a legion of Germania Inferior could pre-date the second Dacian war. The transfer of Lucretius Peregrinus from an auxiliary unit of Britain to a legion of Germania Inferior is difficult to explain at any period. The transfer would seem to run against the normal line of consular promotions and so is difficult to explain in terms of patronage. It is possible that British units took part in the Dacian wars of the reign of Trajan, but direct evidence has not been found. The appearance of I Minervia in the three careers may be fortuitous or it is not capable of explanation in the present state of our evidence.

The diagram on the following three pages shows the transfers of centurions in the periods c96-c120 and c120-c140.



MULTIPLE CENTURIONATE CAREERS

5. Careers from c.120 - c.140

4. Careers from c.96 - c.120

5.			804(5)	283(3)					546(2) 804(3)	546(3) 800(2)	653eq?	871(2)		
	14													
	40(4)													
	577													
	697													
	716(2)	208(3)							14		14			
	820(2)	353(2)							14		451(3)			
	821eq	451(2)		35(2)	46(2)	46(3)			14		551(7)		506(4)	5(3)H
4.	1457eq	594(2)		831eq	551(6)	850(2)	40(2)G		850(3)	14	807(5)T		715	46(5)
VI. Vic.	I. Min.	XXX. Ulp	VIII. Aug.	XXII. Pr.	XII. Ful.	XVI. Flav.	VI. Ferr.	III. Ferr.	III. Gall.	IV. Scyt.	X. Fret.	III. Cyt.	XXII. Dt.	II. Tr. F.
Germ. I.		Pann.		Germ. S.	Cappadocia		Syria				Judea	Egypt		Moes. I?
	B. Dac. Traj. II			B. Part. T.	B. Part. Traj.									
					Capp.	Syria	Arabia	Syria			Judea	Egypt		Syria??
							Syr. Pal.				Syr. Pal.	Arabia		Egypt
Britain														

MULTIPLE CENTURIONATE CAREERS

5. Careers from c.120 - c.140

783(4) 1451	881(1) 882(1)	881(2) 882(2)	881(3) 882(3)	881(4) 882(4)
351(1)I 351(6) 506(2) 506(3) 594(3) 820(1) 850(1)	881(5)T			
	106(1) 351(5) 353(1) 441(5) 581(2) 594(1)		485(3) 807(2) 820(5) 1457(2)	485(4) 807(3) 820(6) 1457(3)
VII Gem. Hisp. T.	III Aug. Numidia	Statores	Urban	Praetor.

4. Careers from c.96 - c.120

- A Could be Hadrianic
- B Could be Flavian
- C Could be Hadrianic
- D Could be Hadrianic
- E Could be Flavian
- F Could be Flavian
- G Could be Flavian
- H Could be Hadrianic
- I Could be Flavian

T = Trecenarius

eq = Previous post in the equestrian militiae.  
First post in the legionary centurionate.

### Alphabetical list

L.	Aconius Statura	802
L.	Aemilius Paternus	820
M.	Annius Martialis	353
	Annius Rufus	1
L.	Antonius Felix	106
C.	Arrius Clemens	881
P.	Aufidius Exoratus	594
C.	Caesius Silvester	804
M.	Calventius Viator	158
M.	Censorius Cornelianus	653
Ti.	Claudius Fatalis	551
Ti.	Claudius Telesinus	715
Ti.	Claudius Vitalis	716
L.	Decrius Longinus	506
T.	Flavius Magnus	212
T.	Flavius Pomponianus	46
T.	Flavius Rufus	783
Q.	Geminius Sabinus	351
M.	Herennius Valens	199
Q.	Iulius Aquila	451
M.	Iulius Quadratus	581
L.	Laelius Fuscus	485
Q.	Licinius Macrinus	35
C.	Ligustinius Disertus	800
C.	Maenius Haniochus	5
N.	Marcus Plaet. Celer	850
C.	Nummius Constans	871
	Octavius Secundus	143
C.	Oppius Bassus	782
L.	Paccius Nonianus	577
Sex.	Pilonius Modestus	40
T.	Pontius Sabinus	831
M.	Sabidius Maximus	546
M.	Septimius Magnus	14
L.	Solicus Aurelianus	697
G.	Sulpicius Ursulus	1457
L.	Terentius Rufus	821
M.	Tuccius	441
L.	Valerius Proculus	193
L.	Velius Prudens	807
	Ignotus (CIL III 14178)	208
	Ignotus (CIL XIII 6952)	283

### Numerical list

1	Annius Rufus
5	C. Maenius Haniochus
14	M. Septimius Magnus
35	Q. Licinius Macrinus
40	Sex. Pilonius Modestus
46	T. Flavius Pomponianus
106	L. Antonius Felix
143	Octavius Secundus
158	M. Calventius Viator
193	L. Valerius Proculus
199	M. Herennius Valens
208	Ignotus (CIL III 14178)
212	T. Flavius Magnus
283	Ignotus (CIL XIII 6952)
351	Q. Geminius Sabinus
353	M. Annus Martialis
441	M. Tuccius
451	Q. Iulius Aquila
485	L. Laelius Fuscus
506	L. Decrius Longinus
546	M. Sabidius Maximus
551	Ti. Claudius Fatalis
577	L. Paccius Nonianus
581	M. Iulius Quadratus
594	P. Aufidius Exoratus
653	M. Censorius Cornelianus
697	L. Solicus Aurelianus
715	Ti. Claudius Telesinus
716	Ti. Claudius Vitalis
782	C. Oppius Bassus
783	T. Flavius Rufus
800	C. Ligustinius Disertus
802	L. Aconius Statura
804	C. Caesius Silvester
807	L. Velius Prudens
820	L. Aemilius Paternus
821	L. Terentius Rufus
831	T. Pontius Sabinus
850	N. Marcus Plaet. Celer
871	C. Nummius Constans
881	C. Arrius Clemens
1457	G. Sulpicius Ursulus

The Ignotus of CIL XI 2112 is included in the diagram showing multiple centurionate careers as that man held four Rome centurionates and was trecenarius before he held a centurionate in an unknown legion. Since his legionary post is not known he is omitted from the careers discussed below which are ordered alphabetically. For the Ignotus (CIL XI 2112) see Dobson 124.

The most striking thing about the diagram dealing with multiple centurionate careers is the representation of I Minervia in a period when there are few transfers attested among the other legions of Germany. The presence of I Minervia in the second Dacian War of Trajan is well known, its commander was P. Aelius Hadrianus.<sup>19</sup> The assumption that transfers of centurions become more common in a period of warfare can be supported from evidence of I Minervia and the legions of Pannonia, Moesia and Dacia in the reign of Trajan. The statistical evidence offered cannot be said to provide anything more than a representation of what may have been happening, but despite that some suggestions as to the significance of the careers can be made. I Minervia is attested on eight (possibly nine) Trajanic multiple centurionate careers. In seven of those cases the transfer involved I Minervia and a legion (or an auxiliary unit) from the Danubian provinces or during the Dacian War.

L. Aemilius Paternus	I Minervia to VII Claudia
Ti. Claudius Vitalis	I Italica to I Minervia
Sex. Pilonius Modestus	XI Claudia to I Minervia to III Flavia
L. Solicius Aurelianus	V Macedonica to I Minervia
C. Sulpicius Ursulus	Praef. Symachiarii to I Minervia
L. Terentius Rufus	I Minervia to XV Apollinaris

(The transfer of Terentius Rufus from the command of Coh. VI Brittonum to I Minervia may have occurred in the context of the Dacian War as well.)

In only two of those cases can the participation in the Dacian war at the time of the transfer be proved but the comparative scarcity of transfers in and from I Minervia at other periods may suggest something exceptional about the legion's activities during the reign of Trajan. The transfers of three Spanish equestrians from the post of praefectus cohortis to centurio legionis I Minervia (M. Lucretius Augurinus, C. Sulpicius Ursulus and L. Terentius Rufus) are remarkable given that no other certain examples of the career type are known. Two of the careers are Trajanic the other may

have been Trajanic. The possible connection of Spanish equestrians and Hadrian may be significant.

Most of the legions from the Danubian provinces record about five multiple centurionate careers (except XV Apollinaris and II Adiutrix). Taking the reign of Trajan as a whole there seems to be a correlation between warfare and the transfers of centurions. This need not be a surprise given the inevitable casualties of warfare and the opportunities of patronage, to say nothing of the importance of good officers.

The small number of transfers to and from legion XV Apollinaris and II Adiutrix may simply be the result of the partial nature of the evidence. If the legions took little part in the fighting of the Dacian War (no dona are recorded for any soldier of either legion during the Wars) then it would still be likely that transfers would have occurred as casualties appeared in other legions. There may be significance in the fact that of the four transfers recorded for XV Apollinaris and II Adiutrix, two appear in the same career - that of the evocatus legionis Herennius Valens, and that transfer could be Flavian. Some have suggested that XV Apollinaris could have gone east before the conventional date of c113,<sup>20</sup> others have pointed out the shortage of Trajanic material of XV Apollinaris at Carnuntum.<sup>21</sup> The subject of the arrival date of XV Apollinaris was recently discussed by the present writer who could not rule out an arrival date prior to c113 in the east.<sup>22</sup> The evidence for the stations of II Adiutrix in the reign of Trajan is bafflingly complex and uncertain.<sup>23</sup>

X Gemina also produced only two transfers in the same period but its presence cannot be proved in either of the Dacian Wars of Trajan, though it was probably stationed at Aquincum in the aftermath of the second war. Other legions are known to have taken part in the Dacian wars but leave no trace; IIII Scythica and XII Fulminata were attested as having sent vexillations to the First Dacian War<sup>24</sup> but there are no traces of transfers from or to those legions. This may mean that the absence of transfers from

western to eastern legions noted in first century careers was still operating or it may simply stem from the incomplete nature of the evidence.

The Parthian War of Trajan seems to have provided the two transfers of XXII Primigenia recorded in the period (Q. Licinius Macrinus and T. Pontius Sabinus). The transfer of Pontius Sabinus was from the post of tribunus militum legionis and seems to have been during the course of the war. XXII Primigenia otherwise provided no records of centurions transferred during the reign of Trajan.

There is considerable evidence for the idea that the transfers of legionary centurions could be influenced by warfare. Yet the influence of warfare was never the only reason for the transfer of centurions. Patronage must have played a part though that part is largely invisible to scrutiny. On the transfers of centurions to the primipilate there are ten examples of careers in this period in which the post immediately before the primipilate is known. In eight of these cases the transfer from centurion to primus pilus occurred either within the same legion or within the same province or war.

	L. Aemilius Paternus	II Augusta » II Augusta
	C. Arrius Clemens	III Augusta » III Augusta
	Q. Geminius Sabinus	I Adiutrix » I Adiutrix
	N. Marcius Plaetorius Celer	I Adiutrix » I Adiutrix
	Octavius Secundus	I Italica » I Italica
	T. Pontius Sabinus	XIII Gemina » III Augusta
	L. Terentius Rufus	I Minervia » XV Apollinaris
Unclear	C. Oppius Bassus	II Traiana » ?probably II Traiana
	C. Nummius Constans	III Cyrenaica » II Traiana - perhaps in Egypt
Against	C. Caesius Silvester	XXX Ulpia Victrix » III Flavia
	C. Sulpicius Ursulus	Cohors III Praetoria » XXII Primigenia

On the transfers taken as a whole. One-hundred-and-twelve transfers are recorded. Thirty-four of those occurred within the same province (the great majority of these occurred within the Danubian provinces) and thirty-six further transfers are recorded within the provinces of the western empire. That shows a major development from the proportions transferred within provinces during the first century. In the Julio-Claudian period almost two-thirds of the total number of transfers occurred within the same provinces. In the period c96-c140 the proportion of transfers within the same province had diminished to just over a quarter of the total number of transfers. The number of transfers in the period c96-c140 which took place in wartime may be nineteen, but the figure is no more than an informed guess because of the imprecise dating of the inscriptions and the impossibility of certainty as to the transfers occurring in wartime. Of the thirty-six transfers which occurred within the Latin-speaking provinces of the Empire some probably occurred between the legions engaged in warfare. There may also have been transfers between legions in the same province which occurred in the context of warfare. This may well be the reason why the Danubian provinces are so well represented in the total number of transfers.

In the first century there were almost no examples of men with a western, Latin-speaking origin being transferred into an eastern legion. In the period c96-c140 there are fifteen transfers recorded from a western legion to an eastern legion. The group is given below.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Transfer</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Context/Origin</b>
C. Caesius Silvester	Britannia to Judaea		ex evoc. Judaeen War?
Ti. Claudius Telesinus	Moesia Sup. to Judaea		D.C.?
Ti. Claudius Fatalis	Pann. Sup. to Cappadocia		D.C.
L. Decrius Longinus	Moesia Inf. to Egypt		D.C. before c140
T. Flavius Pomponianus	Hisp. Tarrac. to Egypt		D.C.? from Salona
Q. Geminius Sabinus	Moes. Sup. to Cappadocia Hisp. Tarrac. to Syria		D.C. from Africa

Name	Transfer	Origin	Context/Origin
Q. Iulius Aquila	Germ. Inf. to Judaea	D.C.	from Africa
C. Ligustinus Disertus	Brittania to Syria	ex evoc.	Judaeen War?
N. Marcius Plaetorius Celer	Hisp. Tarrac. to Capp.	D.C.	Parthian War
C. Nummius Constans	Moesia Sup. to Egypt	ex evoc.	Judaeen War??
Octavius Secundus	Rome to Judaea	ex evoc.	Judaeen War?
C. Oppius Bassus	Moesia Sup. to Egypt	ex evoc	Judaeen War?
M. Sabidius Maximus	Moesia Inf. to Syria	ranker	Dyrrachium
M. Septimius Magnus	Brittania to Syria	D.C.?	Easterner
L. Velius Prudens	Rome to Judaea	ex evoc.	Parthian War

There is only one ranker from the group, Sabidius Maximus, who was from Dyrrachium and so was probably a Greek speaker. All the rest were evocati or directly commissioned men. It would seem that the praetorians and the directly commissioned had some ability in speaking Greek. The fourteen transfers from western legions to eastern legions would be about twenty percent of the total of transfers from western legions (that is, western legions into western legions, plus transfers between legions in the same province, plus transfers occurring in the context of a war). Something like a third of the total of transfers from western legions might be expected into eastern legions were there no preferred (or perhaps prohibited to the non-Greek speaker) routes of transfer. The two Moesian provinces plus Hispania Tarraconensis and Britain were the main sources of transfer to the east. All three of the transfers from Britain, (Caesius Silvester, Ligustinus Disertus and M. Septimius Magnus) could have occurred at the same time when Sex. Iulius Severus went from the governorship of Britain to the governorship of Syria (c132) but there can be no certainty of this. It may be worth recalling that Iulius Severus governed Moesia Inferior before he came to Britain and vexillations of all three of the legions of Moesia Inferior were attested in the Judaeen War of Hadrian, but in fact Moesia Superior is rather better represented in the transfers than Moesia Inferior. Four of the transfers from the Moesian provinces and Hispania

Tarraconensis went to legions associated with Egypt which is very difficult to explain in terms of senatorial promotion or patronage. The most telling point about the transfers from western legions to eastern legions is the apparent absence of the Latin-speaking western empire ranker who probably made up a majority of centurions in the western legions at one time.

There is a group of seven transfers from eastern legions to western legions. In six out of the seven cases the man belonged to the group of Latin-speaking (and presumably Greek-speaking) centurions discussed above who were returning to the west. The seventh case is the sole centurion on the list with a likely eastern origin. M. Septimius Magnus, who was presumably capable of speaking both languages. The sample of evidence is overwhelmingly western and African in origin, but that would not seem to alter the conclusions outlined above.

### Notes

1. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 101-102.
2. Albius Felix CIL XI 3108.
3. Vettius Valens CIL XI 395 - ILS 2648, Claudius-Nero.
4. See Chapter One: C. Aninius Gallus.
5. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 115.
6. Pliny Ep. VII, 4.
7. Claudius Vitalis CIL VI 3584 - ILS 2656, Valerius Proclus CILIII 12411 - ILS 2666b.
8. Holder (1980) 144-165.
9. Kraft (1951) 18-19.
10. Saddington (1973) 538-540.
11. ILS 2288.
12. Cassius Dio, 71,2,1.
13. Most recently discussed in Mor (1986) 269.
14. Keppie (1984) 212, shows the earliest reference was Flavian.
15. Mann (1983) 177.
16. Dobson and Breeze op. cit. 115.
17. Birley (1953) 104-124.
18. CIL VI 3580.
19. SHA Hadr. 3, 5, ILS 308.
20. Mitford (1977) 501-510, the reasoning is very doubtful - it depends on coins of 105/106 overstrapped LXV. Photographs of the coins reveal a great deal of wear before overstriking.
21. Syme (1971) 92.
22. French and Summerly (1987) 22.
23. Ritterling (1924) 1445, Syme (1971) 207
24. Syme op. cit. 91.
25. CIL III 14387d + w. = IGLS VI 2775.

## L. Aconius Statura

No. 802

CIL XI 5992

Tifernum Mataurense  
Italy Reg. VI

L. Aconio L. f. Clu(stumina) Staturae, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XI CL(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis), leg(ionis) III F(laviae) f(elicis), leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae), leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis), doni(s) donato ab Imp(eratore) Traiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico) ob bellum Dacic(um), torquib(us) armill(is), phaler(is), corona vallar(i) et a priorib(us) principibus eisdem donis donato ob bellum Germa(nicum) et Sarmatic(um), a divo Traiano ex militia in equestrem dignitatem translato...

L. Aconius Statura, centurion, Domitian to Trajan.

- |                 |                                |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. XI Claudia   | Germ. S., Pann. S., Moes. Inf. |
| 2. III Flavia   | Moes. Sup. Dacia               |
| 3. V Macedonica | Moes. Inf.                     |
| 4. VII Claudia  | Moes. Sup.                     |

Aconius Statura was probably from Tifernum Mataurense as his tribe, Clustumina, was the appropriate one for that community. He was decorated on two separate occasions with the standard award for a centurion; torques, armillae, phalerae and a crown. The Trajanic award may have occurred during the first Dacian war of 101-102 as the titles of the emperor do not include Dacicus which he took in 102. Trajan's titles on career inscriptions form a complex problem.<sup>1</sup> One might wonder at the significance of the absence of the title Dacicus in the name of the emperor who gave the *dona* in a Dacian war when the inscription was finally erected after 117. However, the point is reinforced by the subtlety with which the inscription recalls the emperor who gave dona in the *bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum* a prioribus principibus.

The order of the career is almost impossible to retrieve. All of the legions mentioned could have fought in the bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum, which is presumably the same war as the bellum Marcomannicum<sup>2</sup> of Bruttius Praesens and the bellum Marcomannorum<sup>3</sup> Quadorum Sarmatarum of Velius Rufus. It was the war of c92.

Trajan gave Statura the necessary qualification for the equestrian ordo. The award is rare, the other two recorded examples, Tillius Rufus and Gavius Fronto, became primipilares. Dr. Maxfield suggested Statura was directly commissioned.<sup>4</sup> Admittedly there is no information as to his career before the centurionate but the gift of equestrian status to a man who was directly commissioned seems curious. There is a strong presumption that most directly commissioned centurions were equestrians anyway. The cognomen Statura is remarkably rare. Kajanto counted three holders of the name;<sup>5</sup> the centurion, his homonymous son and the senator L. Velius Statura<sup>6</sup> from Urvinum Mataurense. The period of the senator is not clear, but Urvinum Mataurense is close to Tifernum and there could be a connection between the two families.

### Notes

1. See Annius Martialis, Geminius Sabinus
2. IRT 545
3. ILS 9200
4. Maxfield (1981) 190
5. Kajanto (1965) 335
6. A.R. Birley (1981) 281

### L. Aemilius Paternus

#### No. 820

1. CIL II 4461 = ILS 2661<sup>1</sup> Dobson 111 Aeso  
Hisp. Tarraconensis

L. Aemilio L. f. Gal(eria) Paterno, p(rimi)p(ilari), praef(ecto) fabr(um), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII G(eminae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae), (centurioni) coh(ortis) X Urb(anae), (centurioni) coh(ortis) III Pr(aetoriae), (trecenario) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) et p(rimo)p(ilo), ter donis donato ab Imp(eratore) Traiano torquibus armillis, phaleris, corona vallari, bis in Dacia, semel in Parthia, Atilia L. fil. Vera bene de se merito.

2. CIL II 4460 Aeso  
Hisp. Tarraconensis

M. Aemilius L. f. Gal(eria) Fraterno, praef(ecto) fabrum, trib(uno) militum, fratri Aemilius Paternus p(rimi)p(ilaris).

L. Aemilius Paternus, centurion and primipilaris, Trajan

1. Praef. Fabrum

2. Centurio VII Gemina	Hisp. Tarraconensis
3. Centurio I Minervia	Germ. Inf. or 2nd Dac. War
4. Centurio VII Claudia	Moes. S. or Dac. War or Parth. War
5. Centurio XIII Gemina	Pann. or Dac. War or Parth. War
6. Centurio X Urbana	Rome
7. Centurio IIII Praetoria	Rome or Parthian War
8. Trecenarius II Augusta	Britain
9. P.P. II Augusta	Britain

The tribe Galeria is probably the tribe of Aeso,<sup>2</sup> and Aeso was almost certainly the home of Aemilius Paternus. The family of the Aemilii at Aeso was presumably equestrian as Aemilius Paternus was a directly commissioned centurion and his brother Fraternus became a tribunus militum after beginning his career, like Paternus, as a praefectus fabrum. The wife of Aemilius Paternus, Atilia L. fil. Vera, was probably the daughter of the primus pilus Atilius Verus who was killed at the battle of Cremona (see above).

Aemilius Paternus was decorated three times by Trajan; twice in the Dacian wars and once in the Parthian war. If he was decorated with I Minervia then he may have been decorated twice in the second Dacian war as the evidence for the participation of I Minervia in the first Dacian war is unconvincing. VII Claudia and XIII Gemina took part in both Dacian wars and both were involved in the Parthian war as well. Dr. Maxfield<sup>3</sup> assumed that the dona gained by Aemilius Paternus during the Parthian war was won with the Praetorian Guard, but it could have been won with either VII Claudia or XIII Gemina

Aemilius Paternus was directly commissioned into VII Gemina, the closest legion to his home. His progress through the Rome centurionates was typical of a directly commissioned centurion in that he did not hold a centurionate<sup>4</sup> with the Vigiles.

Trajan is not described as divus on the inscription but there can be few doubts that he was deified before the inscription was set up. Paternus won dona in the Parthian war and held at least two more posts (at the other end of the empire) before the inscription was set up.

## Notes

1. Le Roux (1972) 122
2. op. cit. 123
3. Maxfield (1981) 194. But the evidence for VII Claudia in the Parthian war is almost certain; see Syme (1971) 98 and ILS 9491.
4. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 102

### M. Annus Martialis

#### No. 353

CIL VIII 2354 + p.1693 = ILS 305

Timgad  
Numidia

Victoriae Parthicae Aug(usti) Sacr(um), ex testamento M. Anni M. f. Quirina Martialis, mil(itis) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), duplic(ari) alae Pann(oniorum) dec(urionis) al(ae) eiusdem, (centurionis) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) et XXX Ulpiae Victric(is), missi honesta missione ab Imp(eratore) Traiano optimo Aug(usto) Germ(anico) Dac(ico) Parth(ico) ...

M. Annus Martialis, centurion, Trajan.

- |                                 |                    |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Miles III Augusta            | Numidia            |
| 2. Duplicarius Alae Pannoniorum | Numidia            |
| 3. Decurio Alae Pannoniorum     | Numidia            |
| 4. Centurio III Augusta         | Numidia            |
| 5. Centurio XXX Ulpia Victrix   | Pannonia Superior? |

The inscription of Annus Martialis was set up to commemorate or celebrate the Parthian victory of the emperor (presumably Trajan). It was an inscription set up after the death of Martialis who had been given honourable discharge by Trajan. Trajan is referred to as Parthicus, the title he gained in 116. The celebration of the Parthian victory and the granting of the title Parthicus were contemporary events. If Martialis was given honorary discharge by Traianus Parthicus in 116 or 117 he must have made his will almost immediately and died before the news of the death of Trajan reached Timgad (Sept? 117). In the period between discharge and death Martialis will have had to return from Pannonia. It might be preferable to see the titles of the emperor as correct at the date of the carving of the inscription, rather than correct at the moment when Martialis was given honourable discharge.

If Martialis was discharged a little earlier than 116-117 it is possible that he could have been one of the earliest centurions of XXX Ulpia Victrix. The point was made earlier that the creation of new legions must have resulted in large scale transfers of centurions. Indeed, P. Aufidius Exoratus (see below) could be another centurion of III Augusta who was transferred to XXX Ulpia Victrix in the same period. The career of Martialis before the centurionate seems to have been unique.

### Annius Rufus

#### No. 1

1. CIL III 25

*Mons Claudianus*  
Egypt

Annius Rufus (centurio) leg(ionis) XV Apollinaris praepositus ab optimo Imp(eratore) Traiano operi ma[r]morum monti Claudiano v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

2. CIL III 15196.4

Vindobona  
Pannonia

leg(io) XIII Gem(ina) (centuria) Anni Rufi.

Annius Rufus, centurion, Trajan.

1. XIII Gemina
2. XV Apollinaris

Pannonia Sup.  
Pannonia Sup. Parthian War

The inscription of Annius Rufus from Vindobona presumably predates the departure of the legion for Apulum in Dacia after the Dacian war of 105-106. It is likely that the transfer from XIII Gemina to XV Apollinaris took place while the two legions were in Pannonia or in the course of the Dacian war. The inscription of Annius Rufus from Thebes is the only evidence we have for the operation of XV Apollinaris in the east during the reign of Trajan. The title of the emperor suggests the period c115-117. It has been assumed XV Apollinaris took part in Trajan's Parthian war because in the aftermath XV Apollinaris is found at Satala in Cappadocia. Evidence of the legion from Egypt in c115-c117 is difficult to put into that scheme.

## L. Antonius Felix

No. 106

1. CIL III 6185

Troesmis  
Moesia Inferior

L. Antonio L. fil. Arnensi(s) Felici Kathagine, (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), vixit annis LVIII ...

2. CIL VIII 3174

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus), M. Laetorio Syriaco, mil(iti) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), (centuria) Antoni Felic(is) ...

L. Antonius Felix, centurion, Trajan to Hadrian?

1. III Augusta
2. X Gemina
3. I Italica

Numidia  
Pann. Inf. or Pann. Sup.  
Moesia Inferior

The date of the career is not certain. CIL VIII 3174 shows that his centurionate with III Augusta must be dated after the time when III Augusta moved to Lambaesis, probably c100. The absence of D. M. or Dis Manibus from the Troesmis inscription might suggest a date in the first quarter of the second century. After the reign of Hadrian the formula D. M. became ubiquitous on tombstones.

The Troesmis inscription shows his first centurionate was with III Augusta. The origo of Antonius Felix suggests he could have been a ranker in III Augusta though he gives no details of his career prior to the centurionate. He could have been directly commissioned. The transfer of Antonius Felix from X Gemina to I Italica could have occurred as early as the period of the second Dacian war, in which both legions took part, but was probably later. A vexillation of III Augusta was present in the Danubian area in the reign of Trajan, perhaps during the Dacian wars.<sup>1</sup> The transfers of rankers into Danubian legions suggested to J.C. Mann that the vexillation did not return.<sup>2</sup>

The Antonius Felix of RIB 1513 cannot have been the same man. It is salutary to reflect that if CIL III 6185 were not a tombstone a late Trajanic transfer from Moesia

Inferior to Britain would be attractive (see Valerius Proclus, Blandius Latinus and M. Tuccius).

### Notes

1. It is difficult to see how otherwise men from Theveste and Ammaedara could get into I or II Adiutrix. See Mann (1983) 13
2. Mann (1983) 14

### C. Arrius Clemens

No. 881

CIL XI 5646 = ILS 2081 add. Dobson 121

Matilica  
Italy Reg. VI

C. Arrio C. f. Cor(nelia) Clementi, militi coh(ortis) IX Pr(aetoriae), equiti coh(ortis) eiusdem, donis donato ab Imp(eratore) Traiano torquibus, armillis, phaleris ob bellum Dacium, singulari praefectorum pr(aetorio), tesserario, optioni, fisci curatori, cornicul(ario) tribuni, evocato Aug(usti), (centurioni) coh(ortis) I Vigil(um), (centurioni) statorum, (centurioni) coh(ortis) XIII Urb(anae), (centurioni) coh(ortis) VII Pr(aetoriae), trecenario, donis donato ab Imp(eratore) Hadriano, hasta pura, corona aurea, (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), primipilar, Iivir(o), quinquennali, patrono municipii, curatori reipublicae, decur(iones) et Aug(ustales) V[Ivir(i)]et municipes Matil(icae).

C. Arrius Clemens, centurion and primipilaris, Trajan-Hadrian.

- |  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| 1. Miles coh. IX Praetoria                   | Rome               |
| 2. Eques coh. IX Praetoria                   | Rome (Dacian War)  |
| 3. Singularis Praefectorum Praet.            | Rome               |
| 4. Tesserarius                               | Rome               |
| 5. Optio                                     | Rome               |
| 6. Fisci Curator                             | Rome               |
| 7. Corn. Tribuni                             | Rome               |
| 8. Evocatus Aug.                             | Rome               |
| 9. Centurio coh. I Vigilum                   | Rome               |
| 10. Centurio Stator                          | Rome               |
| 11. Centurio coh. XIII Urbana                | Rome               |
| 12. Centurio coh. VII Praetoria, Trecenarius | Rome (Judaean war) |
| 13. Centurio III Augusta                     | Numidia            |
| 14. P.P. III Augusta?                        | Numidia            |

Arrius Clemens was probably from Matilica as he was enrolled in the tribe of that town (Cornelia). The career of Arrius Clemens is that of a praetorian soldier, his sole legionary centurionate being with III Augusta. Presumably that appointment was in the primi ordines of III Augusta as his next post was primus pilus while his previous post had been trecenarius. Arrius Clemens won donā as a centurion presumably during

the Judaeen war of Hadrian. The time span between the two sets of dona is interesting. If Breeze is correct the usual length of service of a praetorian prior to becoming eques was about seven years.<sup>1</sup> So Arrius Clemens had a minimum of thirty-three stipendia and a maximum of forty-one stipendia when he gained his dona in the Judaeen war. He clearly did not reach the primipilate before the age of fifty.

### Note

1. Breeze (1974) 256

### P. Aufidius Exoratus

No. 594

AE 1966 209

Barcino  
Hisp. Tarraconensis

P. Aufidio Exorato, (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), et leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae) V(ictricis), et leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) f(elicis), heredes b(ene)merenti.

P. Aufidius Exoratus, centurion, Trajan-Hadrian?

1. III Augusta
2. XXX Ulpia Victrix
3. VII Gemina

Numidia  
Pann. Supp., Germ. Inf.?  
Hisp. Tarraconensis

The career does not provide a certain date but it cannot be any earlier than the reign of Trajan as it includes a centurionate in XXX Ulpia Victrix which was probably raised in the period c102-c105.<sup>1</sup> Le Roux<sup>2</sup> suggested the period of the war of Pius in Mauretania on the basis of the presence of a miles of [X]XX VV who seemed to have served seventeen years and died at forty at Caesærea.<sup>3</sup> The problem is that firstly there is no certain connection between the two men and that the soldier at Caesærea was described as Nat. Italic. The period of the reign of Pius for such an inscription would be a surprise given the recruiting patterns of the legions in the second century, and a date early in the reign of Hadrian would be much more likely for a Nat. Italic. who served seventeen years. Indeed the S.H.A. recorded trouble in Mauretania in the early part of the reign of Hadrian.<sup>4</sup> The post of Aufidius Exoratus could date from the early

part of the reign of Hadrian, or it could be earlier. The stone lacks any funerary dedication such as D(is) M(anibus) though it is clearly a tombstone. Balil<sup>5</sup> suggested a date after 150 on the basis of the absence of the filiation clause, but that does not seem as telling an omission as the absence of the funerary dedication. The Trajanic inscription of C. Sulpicius Ursulus also lacks a filiation clause.<sup>6</sup>

Le Roux suggested the man was African on the basis of the past participle formation of the cognomen.<sup>7</sup> If the inscription was Trajanic then Aufidius Exoratus, like Annius Martialis, could have been one of the earliest centurions of XXX Ulpia Victrix. The man could be directly commissioned as there is no career recorded before the centurionate.

### Notes

1. Ritterling (1925) 1822
2. Le Roux (1972) 102
3. Ritterling op. cit. 1826
4. SHA Hadr. 13, 1
5. Balil (1961) 107-109
6. AE 1935 12, see below
7. Le Roux op. cit. 129

### C. Caesius Silvester

#### No. 804

1. CIL XI 5696 Dobson 128

Tuficum  
Italy Reg. VI

C. Caesio C. f. Ouf(entina) Silvestri, benef(iciario) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), evoc(ato) Aug(usti), (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), leg(ionis) III F(laviae) felicis, leg(ionis) III Gall(icae), leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae), leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae) V(ictricis), p(rimo) p(ilo), praef(ecto) castror(um) leg(ionis) III F(laviae) [f(elicis), do]nis ~~donato~~ bello Dacico bis, [to]rquibus, armillis, phale[ris], po]ntifici, curator[um] [viarum et pont(ium)] Umbr(iae) et Pice(ni) dato [ab Imp(eratore) An]tonino Aug(usto) Pio, patrono municipi.

2. CIL XI 5764
3. CIL XI 5697 = ILS 5891
4. CIL XI 5698
5. CIL XI 5694 = ILS 2666a
6. CIL XI 5695 = ILS 5612

Attidium  
Tuficum  
Tuficum  
Tuficum  
Tuficum

7. CIL XI 5687	Tuficum
8. CIL XI 5699	Tuficum
9. CIL XI 5700	Tuficum
10. CIL XI 5701	Tuficum

C. Caesius Silvester, centurion and primipilaris, Trajan - Pius (P.P. by 141)

1. Bf. Praef. Praet.	Rome
2. Evocatus Aug.	Rome
3. Centurio II Augusta	Britain
4. Centurio IIII Flavia	Dacia or Moesia Superior
5. Centurio III Gallicae	Syria
6. Centurio VI Ferrata	Arabia or Judaea
7. Centurio XXX Ulpia Victrix	Germania Inferior
8. P.P. IIII Flavia	Moesia Superior
9. Praef. Castr. IIII Flavia	Moesia Superior

Caesius Silvester was probably from Tuficum as he was enrolled in the tribe of that place (Oufentina), and he left a storm of inscriptions there. The decorations of Caesius Silvester were probably won while he served in the praetorian guard, for although the award is the same as that of the Trajanic centurion Valerius Proclus, if the dona were won when Silvester was a centurion his career would have to last at least fifty years. His service in the east could have been at the time of Trajan's Parthian war or, perhaps, the Judaeian war of Hadrian. Silvester had five legionary centurionates before he reached the primipilate. Most of the recorded careers of praetorians reach the primipilate after a smaller number of transfers. The dona awarding emperor is not named by Silvester, it must have been Trajan.

### M. Calventius Viator

No. 158

1. CIL III 7904 = ILS 2417	Sarmizegethusa Dacia
----------------------------	-------------------------

Eponab(us) et Campestrib(us) sacr(um). M. Calventius Viator, (centurio) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) f(elicis), exerc(itator) eq(uitum) sing(ularum) C. Avidi Nigrini leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

2. ILS 9134 (Hadrian's adlocutio to Ala I Pannoniorum)

3. AE 1915 42	Jerash Arabia
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Pro Salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Traian(i) Hadriani Aug(usti) P(atris) P(atriciae), Deaniae Aug(ustae), Equites sing(ulares) eius qui hibernati sunt Antioch[i]ae ad Chrysorhoan quae et Gerasa Hiera et Asylo(s) et Autonomos

quorum curam agit M. Calventius Viator (centurio) leg(ionis) V M[a]cedonicae turmae V[III]Flavi [Titi?], Statili Roma[ni], Val(eri) Bassi, Cn[on] August[ini?], ///X Paterni, Ulpi Fest(i) Ulpi Victoris, Ulpi Agrippini, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). Honoris et Pietatis Causa.

M. Calventius Viator, centurion, Trajan-Hadrian

- |                 |                          |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. III Flavia   | Dacia                    |
| 2. V Macedonica | Moesia Inferior (Judaea) |

There seems little doubt that the inscriptions refer to the same man. The career has recently been the subject of extravagant claims as to the historical significance of the centurion in the conspiracy of the four consulars in c118. The author<sup>1</sup> of those claims, M. Speidel, suggested that the career of Calventius Viator shows 'the authenticity of the plot' against Hadrian's life in AD 118. According to Speidel, Calventius Viator was given the position of 'commander of the Emperor's guard'<sup>2</sup> because he had served the Emperor well, 'by betraying Nigrinus' plot'.<sup>3</sup> Speidel finds significance in the fact that Calventius Viator was given a centurionate in V Macedonica,<sup>4</sup> 'stationed in Lower Moesia, i.e. precisely where Hadrian learned of the plot and from where he sent the order to kill Nigrinus'.

It is impossible to agree with Speidel on the significance of the career of Calventius Viator. On the question of dates, Speidel claimed that Avidius Nigrinus governed Dacia between AD 112 and 117. It is essential to Speidel's case that Nigrinus governed Dacia at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian. There can have been no plot without the accession of Hadrian and Calventius Viator cannot be connected to the plot if Nigrinus had left Dacia. The exact dates of the governorship of Avidius Nigrinus are not recoverable. The governorship of Nigrinus lay between that of D. Terentius Scaurianus, last attested<sup>5</sup> in 110, and the beginning of the governorship of C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (cos. suff. 105). The beginning of the governorship of Quadratus Bassus was probably in the year 117, but it is unclear whether he was appointed by Trajan or Hadrian. Quadratus Bassus had considerable consular employment from Trajan (three posts and a spell as comes) and an appointment by Hadrian (accession date 117) would scarcely give him time to reach Dacia before he died in the winter of 117-118. He was succeeded by Marcius Turbo. Stein believed it was Trajan who

appointed Quadratus Bassus to Dacia.<sup>6</sup> Trajan is mentioned but is not divus on one of the texts which mention Quadratus Bassus' governorship of Dacia. (But Syme points out that Trajan is neither divus nor parthicus on ILS 1035 which cannot be before c123.)

On balance it seems unlikely that Nigrinus was governor of Dacia on the death of Trajan and impossible that Nigrinus was governor and commander of Calventius Viator when the plot was discovered in the spring of 118. The S.H.A. records<sup>7</sup> that Avidius Nigrinus was killed at Faventia, which is known to have been the home of the Avidii. In flat contradiction to the account of Speidel, the S.H.A. records<sup>8</sup> that Nigrinus was killed on the orders of the Senate, not the orders of Hadrian. The assertions of Speidel on the career of Calventius Viator and his significance as a historical personage seem without value.

Yet Calventius Viator was an interesting man. He is one of a small group of centurions attested on the staffs of provincial governors, which was a likely place to acquire patronage, yet he is the only one of that group of centurions who can be shown to have a career beyond his first attested post. His exceptional position may be the result of the form of the inscriptions which attest him. On career inscriptions it is very rare for a centurion to give any information as to a particular job they may have undertaken while they were a centurion in a legion. Perhaps the career inscription of Calventius Viator only recounted that he was centurion in IV Flavia and later in V Macedonica.

CIL III 7904 was a major piece of evidence for Syme's suggestion that IV Flavia was a part of the original garrison of Dacia.<sup>9</sup> Viator's centurionate in V Macedonica may have had a connection with the vexillation of V Macedonica that probably took part in the Judaean war of Hadrian's time.<sup>10</sup> It is unclear which unit Viator was attached to at the time of Hadrian's adlocutio.

It might be worth pointing out that a man who had served as an exercitator of the singulares of a provincial governor would be a prime choice for the command of a part of the emperor's singulares. As a reward for a man who may have saved the life of the emperor the post is strangely insubstantial.

The religious dedications are typical of the dedications of the singulares of provincial governors and of the equites singulares Augusti.<sup>11</sup> The command formula of AE 1915, 42, quorum curam agit is typical of the centurions acting as praepositi<sup>12</sup> of other units. Despite the assertions of Speidel, the Jerash inscription does not show Calventius Viator had charge of all of the equites singulares Augusti, merely eight turmae of that unit.

### Notes

1. Speidel (1978a) 3
2. op. cit. 30
3. ibid.
4. ibid. There is no evidence to suggest he was appointed immediately
5. CIL XVI 57, and CIL XVI 163. Nigrinus was cos suff. 110, AE 1933, 30
6. Reported by Syme (1971) 163
7. S.H.A. Hadr. 7
8. ibid.
9. Syme (1971) 93-98, reprint of an article of 1938. Also D. Protase (1967). Centurions are prominent in the evidence, see Pilonius Modestus and Licinius Macrinus.
10. CIL III 14155<sup>2</sup> from Bittir, near Jerusalem, is later than c106 and is probably from the time of the Judaeen war of Hadrian. That was the interpretation of Ritterling (1925) 1578. The inscription attests vexillations of XI Claudia and V Macedonica and I Italica.
11. Birley (1953) 87-104
12. Davies (1981) 183-187

AE 1915, 42 was discussed by G.L. Cheesman (1914) 13-16 who believed the centurion was called M. Cal(purnius) Venetus Viator. The restorations of the names in the lower part of the inscription are Cheesman's based on the discharge lists of the equites singulares in Rome.

## M. Censorius Cornelianus

No. 653

RIB 814

Maryport  
Britain

Iovi Aug(usto). M. Censorius M. fil. Voltinia [C]ornelianus, (centurio)  
leg(ionis) [X Fr]etensis Prae/////us coh(ortis) I Hisp(anorum) ex provincia  
Narbone[n(si)] domo Nemauso [v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

M. Censorius Cornelianus, centurion, Hadrian.

- |                                    |         |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| 1. Centurio X Fretensis            | Judaea  |
| 2. Praepositus Coh. I Hispanorum   | Britain |
| or 1. Praefectus Coh. I Hispanorum | Britain |
| 2. Centurio X Fretensis            | Judaea  |

The major problem of the inscription of Censorius Cornelianus is that of whether he was praepositus or praefectus of cohors I Hispanorum at Maryport. It is difficult to see how he could have been praepositus of a British unit while his official post was centurion of X Fretensis, one of the legions of Judaea (Syria Palestina). If he was praepositus of I Hispanorum and his post was centurion of X Fretensis then his origo of Nemausus in Gallia Narbonensis makes it highly likely that he was directly commissioned. J.C. Mann has shown that an origin far away from the home base of a man's legion virtually ensures a transfer.<sup>1</sup> In the case of a centurion in a legion far away from his home then a multiple centurionate career or a direct commission must be considered a probability.

If Censorius Cornelianus was praefectus of cohors I Hispanorum then his appointment to the legionary centurionate should follow rather than precede his prefecture. That is the sequence of posts of the four Trajanic careers which involved a transfer between the equestrian militiae and the legionary centurionate.<sup>2</sup> The Hadrianic date of the career comes from the presence of M. Maenius Agrippa as tribune of cohors I Hispanorum.<sup>3</sup> Given that date it was almost inevitable that scholars would connect the centurionate in X Fretensis to the transfer of Sex. Iulius Severus (cos. suff. 127) from Britain to Judaea at the time of Hadrian's Judaeen war.<sup>4</sup> That assumption is attractive though it carries implications for the appointment of centurions. It is difficult

to see how a governor of a province could appoint a man to a centurionate in a legion in a different province. Presumably the sort of transfer suggested in the case of Censorius Cornelianus must have occurred after the governor reached his new province rather than at the time of the news of the governor's transfer.

### Notes

1. Mann (1983) 64-65
2. Terentius Rufus, Sulpicius Ursulus, Pontius Sabinus and probably Gavius Fronto, see below. We cannot tell the direction of the transfer of Lucretius Augurinus, but it was probably from cohort to legion, see below. Prior to the Flavian period the transfers went from legion to auxiliary unit.
3. ILS 2735 shows he was sent on an *expeditio Britannica* by Hadrian. The date of that event is controversial. Birley (1953) 26 suggested the 130's. Dobson suggested that date must be too late for Pontius Sabinus, (Dobson (1978) 236) and his reasoning was cited by Jarrett (1976) 150. Jarrett suggested Maryport was built for milliary cohort which was later reduced in size and so became commanded by prefects. Maxfield (1981) 197, suggested the reduction should take place c130 as four prefects have to be fitted in before the garrison changed in c140. The career of Censorius Cornelianus would suggest that prefects were in command by c132, if there was a connection between the transfer of Cornelianus and Iulius Severus.
4. Maxfield (1981) 195

### Ti. Claudius Fatalis

#### No. 551

AE 1939 157

Jerusalem  
Syria Palestina

Ti. Cl. Ti. f. Pop(lilia) Fatalis Roma, (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), leg(ionis) XX Vic(tricis), leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis), leg(ionis) XIV G(ermineae) m(artiae) v(ictricis), leg(ionis) XII Ful(minatae), leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis) III Hast(atu)s (prior?), vix(it) an(nis) XLII, mil(itavit) ann(is) XXIII. ...

Ti. Claudius Fatalis, centurion, early second century.

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. II Augusta         | Britain                |
| 2. XX Valeria Victrix | Britain                |
| 3. II Augusta         | Britain                |
| 4. XI Claudia         | Germ. Sup., Pann. Sup. |
| 5. XIV Gemina         | Germ. Sup., Pann. Sup. |
| 6. XII Fulminata      | Cappadocia             |
| 7. X Fretensis        | Judaea                 |

Ti. Claudius Fatalis was almost certainly a directly commissioned centurion who served twenty-three years, and shares with Pilonius Modestus the distinction of

being the youngest epigraphically recorded centurions. Both men appear to have become centurions at nineteen. The date of Claudius Fatalis's career is problematical. The inscription is a tombstone without burial formula and is in the nominative case. Both features indicate a first century date. The titles of XIV Gemina show the inscription to be post AD61, while the transfer from XI Claudia to XIV Gemina could easily have taken place when the two legions were in the same province, which occurred from c71-c92 in Germania Superior and c100-c106 in Pannonia.

### Ti. Claudius Telesinus

No. 715

CIL VI 3583

Rome

Ti. Claudio Ti. f. Qui(ina) Telesinus, (centurio) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) et leg(ionis) XXII Deiot(arianae), Pater infelicissimus Ti. Claudius Acontianus P(rimi) P(ilaris).

Ti. Claudius Telesinus, centurion, late first century to early second century.

- |                     |                                    |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. XI Claudia       | Germ. Sup., Pann. Sup., Moes. Inf. |
| 2. XXII Deiotariana | Egypt                              |

The date of the inscription is based partly on the fact that there seem to be no certain references to XXII Deiotariana later than the reign of Trajan.<sup>1</sup> The inscription attests a primipilaris with the names Ti. Claudius, suggesting his family gained citizenship from the emperor Claudius. It is unlikely that a man called Ti. Claudius would have become a primipilaris much before the end of the 1st century. His son, the centurion, could easily have been directly commissioned. Vexillations of all the legions of Moesia Inferior took part in the Judaeen war of Hadrian and the transfer from XI Claudia to XXII Deiotariana could have occurred at that time, but a transfer so well on in the reign of Hadrian would lead one to expect some sort of burial formula on the tombstone.

### Notes

1. The exact date of the demise of XXII Deiotariana remains in doubt. The legion had disappeared by the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Lacking senatorial officers, its survival past the reign of Trajan is difficult to trace.

Ti. Claudius Vitalis

No. 716

CIL VI 3584 = ILS 2656

Rome

Ti. Claudius Ti. f. [G]a[l(eria)] Vitali ex equ[i]te R(omano) ordinem accepit in leg(ione) V [Mac(edonia)] successione promotus [ex] leg(ione) V Ma[c(edonica)] in leg(io ) [I It]al(ica) donis d(onatus) torquib(us) armill(is) phaler(is) corona val [l(ari)] bello Dacico, successione promot(us) ex leg(ione) I Ital(ica) in leg(ionem) I Miner(viam), [it]er(um) donis d(onatus) torquib(us) armil[l(is)] phaler(is) corona val[l(ari)] bello Dacico, successione promot(us) ex leg(ione) I Miner(via) in leg(ionem) XX Vict(ricem) item Prom(otus) in leg(ione) ead(em) item promotus ex leg(ione) XX Vict(ricem) in leg(ionem) IX [Hi]sp(anam), succ(essione) promot(us) ex leg(ione) IX [Hi]sp(ana) in leg(ionem) VII Cl(audiam) p(iam) f(idelem), item successit in leg(ione) ead(em) milit(avit) (centurio) in (cohorte) II pr(inceps) post(erior), annis XI vixit annis XLI

Ti. Claudius Vitalis as centurion c.100 - c.111 or c.105 - c.116

- |                       |                                      |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. V. Macedonica      | Moesia Inferior                      |
| 2. I Italica          | Dacian War (Moesia Inf.) <u>Dona</u> |
| 3. I Minervia         | Dacian War (105-106) <u>Dona</u>     |
| 4. XX Valeria Victrix | Britain                              |
| 5. XX Valeria Victrix | Britain                              |
| 6. IX Hispana         | Britain (Parthian War?)              |
| 7. VII Claudia P.F.   | Moesia Superior (Parthian War?)      |
| 8. VII Claudia P.F.   | Moesia Superior (Parthian War?)      |

Ti. Claudius Vitalis was a directly commissioned centurion who was decorated twice in Dacian Wars. The career has been the subject of some discussion. The survey of Eric Birley in 1963 noted the transfer of Claudius Vitalis from I Minervia to XX Valeria Victrix and the 'parallel' move of L. Valerius Proclus from XI Claudia to XX Valeria Victrix.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Birley suggested that the transfers of the two centurions were an indication of the trouble in Britain reported by the S.H.A. at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian.<sup>2</sup> In fact the 'parallel' moves of Claudius Vitalis and Valerius Proclus were not parallel at all. At the time of the trouble in Britain reported by the S.H.A. I Minervia (the legion of Claudius Vitalis before he joined XX Val. Vict.) was at Bonna<sup>3</sup> in Germania Inferior, and XI Claudia (the legion of Valerius Proclus) before he joined XX Val. Vict.) was at Durostorum.<sup>4</sup> The careers of Claudius Vitalis and Valerius Proclus share two movements; from V Macedonica to I Italica and from XX Val. Vict. to IX Hispana, otherwise the two men are different in origin, age and fate.

The point is that the commentaries on the two careers have suffered by stressing the similarities in their legionary movements. The careers of the two men need to be separated to make sense of those legionary movements.

In the course of her work on Dona Militaria Dr. Maxfield saw that on the Birley hypothesis the Dacian wars in which Claudius Vitalis was given dona had to be those of Trajan, 101-102 and 105-106.<sup>5</sup> She pointed out the problem of the last line of the inscription; in leg(ione) ead(em) milit(avit) (centurio) in (cohorte) II pr(inceps) post(erior) annis XI vixit annis XLI. On either interpretation of that line (1. He spent eleven years as a centurion or, 2. he spent eleven years as centurio princeps posterior in Coh. II Leg. VII Claudia) it was impossible for Claudius Vitalis to have taken part in the Dacian war of 105-106 and to have been transferred to Britain at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian.<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Maxfield then suggested that Claudius Vitalis and Valerius Proclus could have gained their dona in the Domitianic wars on the Danube since neither centurion recorded the name of the emperor who gave them their dona. Men who were given dona by Trajan usually seem to have revealed the source of their decorations, those given dona by Domitian seem to have avoided using the Emperor's name after the damnatio memoriae. Yet those given dona by Domitian usually state the dona were from an (unnamed) emperor. However, the unnamed Emperor who gave dona to C. Caesius Silvester (see above) must have been Trajan. Clearly there was no absolute rule on the naming of the Emperors who gave dona. Everything depended on the circumstances.

During the reigns of Domitian, Nerva and Trajan there were five occasions when dona were awarded to soldiers in conflicts in the Danubian area. I Minervia, usually stationed at Bonna in Germania Inferior, took part in two of these conflicts. These were the war of AD92 and the second Dacian war of Trajan in 105-106 when its

commander was P. Aelius Hadrianus.<sup>7</sup> Dr. Maxfield assigned the dona awarded to Claudius Vitalis while he was with I Minervia to the second of the Domitianic wars across the Danube. However, the war of 92 was not described as a Dacian war by any of the literary sources. In the epigraphy of the early second century it was described as a bellum Marcomannorum Quadorum Sarmatarum by the cursus of Velius Rufus,<sup>8</sup> and it may be the bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum of Aconius Statura.<sup>9</sup> The war was described as a bellum Marcomannicum on the cursus of Bruttius Praesens which provides the evidence for the participation of I Minervia in the conflict.<sup>10</sup> One interpretation of the cursus of Velius Rufus suggests that the Dacians could have fought on the Roman side in AD92. It seems clear that the only Dacian war fought by I Minervia was the second war of Trajan in 105-106. The second Dacian war of Trajan seems to be the only fixed point from which the inscription of Claudius Vitalis can be dated.

It is difficult to believe that Claudius Vitalis' last post as a centurion lasted eleven years if his previous seven posts had to be fitted into no more than twelve to thirteen years (since the man died aged 41). Some of the literary sources suggest a number of directly commissioned centurions were young,<sup>11</sup> but Claudius Vitalis can scarcely have begun his career any earlier than Pilonius Modestus,<sup>12</sup> directly commissioned at eighteen. The most likely interpretation of the last line of the inscription is that his whole career as a centurion lasted eleven years and his last post was princeps posterior of cohors II in VII Claudia. If Claudius Vitalis got his dona with I Minervia in 105-106, as seems likely, and his whole career lasted eleven years, then he died before Trajan. That eases the problem of the missing name of the dona awarding emperor. In the years before 117 who in Rome could doubt which emperor gave dona in two Dacian wars?

There is a possibility that both sets of dona could have been given in the course of Trajan's second Dacian war. Eight posts as a centurion have to be fitted into eleven

years, which is a tight fit. If both sets of dona were given during the war of 105-106 then the career may have a bearing on the fate of IX Hispana. IX Hispana was last attested in Britain in 108.<sup>13</sup> It is most likely that the transfer of Claudius Vitalis from XX Valeria Victrix to IX Hispana occurred within Britain. So IX Hispana was in Britain a few years after 108. There is just a possibility that the career of Claudius Vitalis shows the departure of IX Hispana from Britain. Claudius Vitalis went from IX Hispana to VII Claudia towards the end of his career. VII Claudia fought in the Parthian war of Trajan.<sup>14</sup> A number of scholars have suggested that IX Hispana could have gone to the east for the Parthian war of Trajan.<sup>15</sup> There is an outside possibility that the transfer of Vitalis from IX Hispana to VII Claudia occurred in the context of that Parthian war. However, the career of Valerius Proclus (see below) suggests other possibilities for the later history of IX Hispana.

#### Notes

1. Birley (1965) 30
2. ibid.
3. Ritterling (1925) 1421-1422
4. op. cit. 1697. The earliest dated record is AE 1936, 14 belonging to the governorship of Q. Pompeius Falco. (c115-c118).
5. Maxfield (1981) 191
6. op. cit. 192
7. S.H.A. vita Hadriani 3, 6-7
8. ILS 9200
9. CIL XI 5992 (no. 802)
10. AE 1950, 66 is a restoration, IRT 545 calls the war a bellum Marcomannicum.
11. Juvenal Sat. 14, 193
12. CIL III 1480 (no. 40)
13. RIB 665
14. Syme (1971) 98. Also ILS 9491
15. Mann (1983) 177

## L. Decrius Longinus

No. 506

AE 1913, 215 Dobson 112

Agnano  
Italy Reg. 1

D(is) M(anibus) L. Decrio L. f. Ser(gia) Longino, praef(ecto) fabrum,  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) et VII Gemin(ae) bis et XXII  
Deiotarian(ae), p(rimo) p(ilo) legion(is) eiusdem, praef(ecto) castr(or)um  
leg(ionis) VIII Hisp(anae), L. Decrius L. f. Ser(gia) Iulianus qui et  
Numisianus princeps leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis) patri opt(imo)  
testamento fieri iussit.

L. Decrius Longinus, centurion and primipilaris, Trajan.

- |                               |                     |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Praef. Fabrum              |                     |
| 2. Centurio II Augusta        | Britain             |
| 3. Centurio VII Gemina        | Hisp. Tarraconensis |
| 4. Centurio VII Gemina        | Hisp. Tarraconensis |
| 5. Centurio XXII Deiotariana  | Egypt               |
| 6. P.P. XXII Deiotariana      | Egypt               |
| 7. Praef. Castr. VIII Hispana | Britain East??      |

Decrius Longinus was a directly commissioned centurion and primus pilus who was the father of a man who had become princeps of XI Claudia. We might expect the son of the primipilaris to have been directly commissioned as well. The date of the career of Decrius Longinus comes partly from the appearance of XXII Deiotariana within it. That legion was last attested in AD119, while its cognomen Deiotariana seems to have been unattested before the Flavian period and uncommon until the early second century.<sup>1</sup> The etymology of the names of Decrius Longinus are discussed by Dobson.

### Note

1. Keppie (1984) 212

## T. Flavius Magnus

No. 212

CIL III 14349.3 = ILS 9202

Contra Aquincum  
Pannonia Inferior

T. Fl. T. Quir(ina) Magnus (centurio) leg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae), (centurio) leg(ionis) [-----], (centurio) leg(ionis) III Gall(icae), (centurio) leg(ionis) VII[-----], cur(ator) pontium viae, Fulv[ius -----] pater et Fl(avius) Modestu[s] heredes ex HS XV-- p[os].

T. Flavius Magnus, centurion, second century.

- |                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. XII Fulminata | Cappadocia? Dacian war? |
| 2. ?             | ?                       |
| 3. III Gallica   | Syria                   |
| 4. VII ?         | ?                       |

The inscription shows that the centurion had at least four posts as a centurion, and two of those posts were in eastern legions. The man carries the tribe of the Flavians and their gentilicium. The inscription expresses the filiation by providing the letter T(itus) and omitting any reference to f(ilius). That is a feature of inscriptions which seems to die out around the time of Hadrian. The career would appear to be late first or early second century. The career might just be connected to the vexillation of XII Fulminata commanded by C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus in the first Dacian war.<sup>1</sup>

### Note

1. CIL III 14398 = IGLS VI 2775 cf. Halfmann (1979) 119-120

## T. Flavius Pomponianus

No. 46

CIL III 2029

Salona  
Dalmatia

D(is) M(anibus) T. Fl(avio) Pomponiano, (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae) fort(is), (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Fl(aviae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XII Fulminat(ae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XVI Flaviae, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII Geminae M(artiae), (centuriones?) leg(ionis) II Tro(ianae) (!) Fort(is) heredes.

T. Flavius Pomponianus, centurion, late first to early second century, or second century.

- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. III Flavia    | Dalmatia, Moesia Sup. |
| 2. XII Fulminata | Cappadocia            |
| 3. XVI Flavia    | Cappadocia , Syria    |
| 4. XIV Gemina    | Pannonia Superior     |
| 5. II Traiana    | Egypt?                |

Professor Eric Birley believed the inscription belonged to the second century.<sup>1</sup> Certainly the man must have died in the course of the second century because of his centurionate with II Traiana. The career may have begun in the first century. It is difficult to explain the findspot of the inscription unless Flavius Pomponianus was a resident of Salona. If that were so it could be relevant that IV Flavia was the last legion to be situated in Dalmatia up to c86. So Flavius Pomponianus could have been recruited into IV Flavia before its departure from Dalmatia. The other indication of a late first or early second century date for the career comes from the transfer between XII Fulminata and XVI Flavia which were the two legions of Cappadocia from the inception of that province until the date (c114?) when XVI Flavia was replaced at Satala by XV Apollinaris. The Flavian nomenclature of the centurion does not suggest an early Flavian date for the centurion's original recruitment into the army, though a date in the 80's need not be ruled out. No indication of the length of the career is given on the inscription, but thirteen to twenty years in the ranks could easily push the bulk of his career into the reign of Trajan.

The order of the career may just have begun with a centurionate in II Traiana, but that must imply a direct commission. A man from Salona could have been recruited into II Traiana while II Traiana was probably one of the legions of Moesia Inferior (c106-c112?), but it is unlikely that a ranker would have enough time as a centurion to be within Cappadocia while XVI Flavia was still at Satala. If he was recruited in the period c103 (the approximate date of the raising of II Traiana) -c113 the fact that the heirs of the centurion being other centurions in II Traiana might also point to his post with II Traiana being the last rather than the first of his posts as a centurion. He could even be directly commissioned. Transfers from western to eastern legions were not

common during this period. It might be hazarded that Flavius Pomponianus was a Greek speaker since he includes two or possibly three eastern legions within his career.

### Note

1. Birley (1953) 113

### T. Flavius Rufus

No. 783

CIL XI 20 = ILS 2082

Ravenna  
Italy Reg. VIII

T. Flavio T. f. Pup(inia) Rufo, militi coh(ortis) XII Urb(anae) et coh(ortis) IIII Pr(aetoriae), ordinato architec(to), tesserario in (centuria) b(eneficario) praefecti praetor(io) cornicular(io) praef(ecti) anno(nae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) et XI Cl(audiae) et II Aug(ustae) et VII Gem(inae), Ulpia pientissimae soror et Aelia Secundina heredes ex testamento faciend(um) curav(it)

T. Flavius Rufus, centurion, Trajan-Hadrian

1. Miles coh. XII Urbana	Rome
2. Miles coh. IIII Praetoria	Rome
3. Architectus coh. IIII Praetoria	Rome
4. Tesserarius coh. IIII Praetoria	Rome
5. Bf. Praef. Praetorio	Rome
6. Cornic. Praef. Annona	Rome
7. Centurio XIII Gemina	Pannonia Superior
8. Centurio XI Claudia	Pann. Sup., Moes. Inf.
9. Centurio II Augusta	Britain
10. Centurio VII Gemina	Hisp. Tattaconensis

Flavius Rufus may not have been from Ravenna, the tribe of that place being Camilia. The tribe of Rufus was Pupinia, a tribe with an Italian distribution save for Baeterrae in Narbonensis. The inscription is a tombstone without any version of the funerary formula D(is) M(anibus) which suggests a date before the end of the reign of Hadrian. The names of the women (an Ulpia and an Aelia) on the inscription suggest the period Trajan-Hadrian at the earliest. The transfers between the legions could be interpreted as belonging to the period Trajan-Hadrian. XIV Gemina and XI Claudia were probably in Pannonia in the period c100-c106. The transfer from XI Claudia to II Augusta could have been at the same time as Valerius Proclus (late in the reign of

Trajan?),<sup>1</sup> while the final transfer from II Augusta to VII Gemina could have occurred in the context of the vexillation of VII Gemina brought to Britain by Pontius Sabinus (see above) early in the reign of Hadrian. The man is the single known example of a cornicularus praefecti Annonae. Like the cornicularii of the praetorian prefects Rufus went straight to the legionary centurionate without an intervening spell as evocatus.<sup>2</sup> The career is also unusual in that only one post was held in the century while Flavius Rufus was in the praetorian guard. Flavius Rufus was one of the very few soldiers who held technical posts in the guard to have a professional military career.<sup>3</sup>

### Notes

1. Birley (1915) 30
2. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 104
3. Breeze (1974) 437-438

### Q. Geminus Sabinus

#### No. 351

1. AE 1923, 28 = ILT 779    Dobson 103    Vicus Annaeus  
Africa Procos.

Q. Geminio Q. fil. Arn(ensi) Sabino, (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gem(i)n(ae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VI Fer(ratae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIV Mart(iae) Gem(inae) Vict(ricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) X Gem(i)n(ae) p(iae) f(idelis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gem(i)n(ae), hast(ato) priori leg(ionis) I Adiut(ricis), p(rimo) p(ilo) et principi peregrinor(um), d(onis) d(onato) ab Imp(eratore) Caes(are) Traiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico) corona vallari torquibus et armillis et phaleris bello Germanico, praef(ecto) leg(ionis) X Fretensis.

2. ILT 778 is substantially the same as ILT 779
3. CIL VIII 825 and 12232 = 23841 are fragments of inscriptions of the same man.

Q. Geminus Sabinus, centurion and primipilaris. Trajan.

- |                           |                                    |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. VII Gemina             | Hisp. Tarraconensis                |
| 2. VI Ferrata             | Syria                              |
| 3. XIV Gemina             | Pannonia or Germ. Sup.             |
| 4. X Gemina               | Germ. Inf. or Pann. Inf.           |
| 5. III Augusta            | Numidia                            |
| 6. VII Gemina             | Hisp. Tarrac. (vex. at Lambaesis)  |
| 7. Hast. Prior I Adiutrix | Pann. Sup. or Dacia (Parthian war) |

8. P.P. et Princeps Peregrinorum
9. Praef. X Fretensis

Rome  
Judaea (Parthian War)

Geminus Sabinus was probably from Annaeus or at least from its general area. The tribe Arnensis is common in Proconsularis. The magistrate of Annaeus attested in ILT 778 was enrolled in the tribe Arnensis. The dating of the career is dependent on the titles of the dona awarding emperor, Trajan. ILT 779 shows that Geminus Sabinus won his dona in the German war of Trajan. That conflict was inherited by Trajan on his accession; under Nerva the war is attested as a bellum Suebicum<sup>1</sup> by a tribune of I Adiutrix who also won dona in it. Trajan was a governor of Germania Superior at the time of his accession, but none of the legions attested in the career of Geminus Sabinus were in Germania Superior at that time (XIV Gemina left Mainz for Pannonia in c92). The dona of Geminus Sabinus must have been won with one of the legions of Pannonia, XIV Gemina or I Adiutrix.

On both ILT 778 and ILT 779 Trajan is referred to as Germanicus, without qualification. That fact caused Dobson to date the setting up of the inscription to the period before the end of 102, when Trajan took the title Dacicus. He may be correct but his case would be much stronger if we were dealing with an Imperial dedication *rather than a descriptive reference in a career inscription*. If Dobson is correct in assuming the stone was inscribed before the end of 102 Geminus Sabinus must fulfill a tight timetable. He must have won his dona while he was hastatus prior of I Adiutrix, and his promotion to the primipilate will have followed immediately. The primipilate will have been held in Rome as he simultaneously held the post of princeps peregrinorum (he is the earliest known holder of that post). Then (after a year) he will have gone to Judaea to be praefectus legionis of X Fretensis. It is difficult to see how he could have got to Judaea much before the spring of 100.<sup>2</sup> On the Dobson dating he must have fulfilled his post with X Fretensis, returned to Annaeus and died before the end of 102. That is possible, but there are a group of Trajanic inscriptions which suggest that dating by a single title of the emperor is not always a reliable criterion when the subject of the inscription is not the emperor.<sup>3</sup> It is in some ways more



attractive to see Geminus Sabinus winning his dona with XIV Gemina and perhaps remaining with that legion till X Gemina joined it on the Danube just before the second Dacian war. A transfer to III Augusta, close to his home, might have been followed by a transfer into the vexillation of VII Gemina based at Lambaesis in the reign of Trajan.<sup>4</sup>

Geminus Sabinus may have been directly commissioned . It is difficult to see how else a native of Africa could get into VII Gemina in the last quarter of the first century.<sup>5</sup> No record of length of service is contained on the stones but a career such as this might have lasted twenty-five years or more. If the Dobson dating is correct then he could have been one of the first centurions of VII Gemina. In that case his transfer from VII Gemina to VI Ferrata was a rare west to east move for a centurion during the Flavian period. If the less specific dating solution, outlined above, is accepted then the career probably began towards the end of the reign of Domitian.

### Notes

1. CIL V 7453 = ILS 2720. Dr. Maxfield points out, (1981) 194, that both XIV Gemina and I Adiutrix were geographically in a position to have taken part in the war.
2. The dona were given by Trajan as emperor, so they were given after 28th January 98. Trajan was at Cologne when he heard of the death of Nerva (S.H.A. Hadr. 2. 6,) and then travelled through Pannonia to Moesia (Pliny, Paneg. 12). Geminus Sabinus was perhaps more likely to have won dona in a campaign of 98 rather than 97. Presumably he reached Rome towards the end of 98. A year (at least) in Rome brings him to the end of 99 and an unpropitious time for sailing to Judaea.
3. ILS 1035 describes Trajan as Germanicus and Dacicus though the inscription is post 123. Trajan is either not described as divus or retrospectively described as Parthicus on ILS 1039. See Aemilius Paternus also (above).
4. CIL VIII 3075, 3182, 3226, 3245, 3268.
5. Mann (1983) Table 7, 85. In the period AD69 - AD117 there are no African recruits into VII Gemina.

M. Herennius Valens

No. 199

CIL III 13360

Cibalis  
Pannonia Inferior

D(is) M(anibus), M. Herennio Tromentina Valenti Sa[l]ona, evocato leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) eiusd(em), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Adi(utricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apol(inaris), (centurioni) leg(ionis) iter(um) I Adi(utricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Fl(aviae) coh(orte) V h[a]st(ato) post(eriori), stip(endiorum) LV, vixit annis LXXXV.

M. Herennius Valens, evocatus legionis and centurion, Flavian - Trajan?

- |                            |                              |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Evocatus XI Claudia     | Dalmatia, Germ. Sup.         |
| 2. Centurio XI Claudia     | Germania Superior            |
| 3. Centurio I Adiutrix     | Germ. Sup., Pannonia         |
| 4. Centurio II Adiutrix    | Pannonia? Moes. Sup.?        |
| 5. Centurio XV Apollinaris | Pannonia Sup.                |
| 6. Centurio I Adiutrix     | Pannonia Sup.                |
| 7. Centurio III Flavia     | Moes. Sup., Dacia, Moes Sup. |

The most obvious problem of the career of Herennius Valens is the question of whether he was an evocatus of the praetorian guard or whether he was a ranker in the legions who became evocatus legionis. Eric Birley preferred to see him in the guard in a short reference to the career in his appendix of long-serving centurions.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Breeze did not attempt to answer the problem in his thesis, though he pointed out that Passerini showed<sup>2</sup> that men from Dalmatia, even Salona, entered the praetorian guard at this time.<sup>3</sup> Dobson and Breeze did not discuss the career in detail in their appendix on evocatus legionis.<sup>4</sup>

It is possible that the date of the inscription and the problem of evocatus legionis are connected. The tombstone displays a second century feature, D(is) M(anibus) in an abbreviated form. But the man lived a very long time. It is attractive to see Herennius Valens recruited as a serving soldier into XI Claudia while that legion was still in Dalmatia, that is before the end of AD69. Even if he entered the legion in cAD55 he would still have lived on well into the second century and had D(is) M(anibus) put on his tombstone. The transfers of the man as a centurion suggest the period of the Flavians and Trajan. XI Claudia and I Adiutrix were both in Germania Superior from

70 to c86, and the two legions were both in Pannonia in the period c100-c106. The transfer from I Adiutrix to II Adiutrix could have occurred in Pannonia in the time of Domitian, but there are problems, particularly in fixing the position of II Adiutrix at this time.<sup>5</sup> The transfer from XV Apollinaris to I Adiutrix again points to Pannonia or Pannonia Superior before c113.

The whole question of evocatus legionis is too complex for introduction and full discussion at this point, save to say that if the above sequence of dating is correct and Herennius Valens served in the guard, then he is the earliest known evocatus to become a legionary centurion by some thirty years. That may be the case, though C. Annius C. f. Gallus,<sup>6</sup> an evocatus of the guard who became a centurion in IIII Scythica, could also easily be first century. It is difficult to resist the argument of Dobson and Breeze, 'if a man qualifies himself as evocatus legionis without adding any information about his alleged praetorian origins one is entitled to ask why.'<sup>7</sup>

The last centurionate of Herennius Valens was with IV Flavia, yet he apparently died in Pannonia Inferior. IV Flavia was probably not part of the garrison of Pannonia under Trajan and was certainly in Moesia *Superior* under Hadrian. Perhaps Herennius Valens retired before his death, though his inscription does not record the retirement. If he was serving at eighty-five then he must have been recruited at thirty, a little later than usual. If he were recruited before the age of thirty it might explain why his tombstone was found away from the known sites of fortresses of IV Flavia.

## Notes

1. Birley (1965) 33 (Appendix: Long serving centurions)
2. Breeze Ph.D thesis
3. Passerini (1939) 148
4. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 118
5. Alföldy (1959) 128 and 141 says a vexillation was present at Aquincum from 89-92 while the rest of the legion was at Singidunum from 86-101. Dusanic and Vasic (1977) 302 point out a late first century tombstone of a legionary centurion of II Adiutrix at Sirmium (ILS 9193), and press for II Adiutrix to be in S.E. Pannonia before going to Aquincum. They reject the evidence of the S.H.A. Had. 2, 2 (Hadrianus) ... tribunus secundae Adiutricis legionis creatus. Post

haec in inferiorem Moesiam translatus extremis iam Domitiani temporibus. Syme (1971) 204-205 held, (following Ritterling (1925) 1443, and, originally Pfitzner (see Dusanić and Vasić (1977) 297 fn. 38 for reference)), that the inversion in inferiorem Moesiam translatus of the S.H.A. implied that Hadrian's first tribunate was in Moesia Superior. But Dusanić and Vasić do not discuss Syme's point that Sirmium itself could have been in Moesia Superior in late Domitianic times (Syme (1971) 206). The whole subject is very difficult.

6. CIL XI 5935

7. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 118

## Q. Iulius Aquila

No. 451

CIL VIII 15872

Sicca Veneria  
Numidia

Q. Iulio C. f. Quir(ina) Aqu[i]lae, equo publico, adlecto in quinq(ue) decurias, (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Adiutricis, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XXX Ulpiae Victricis, (centurioni) leg(ionis) X Fretensis. Iulius Fidus Aquila fratri optimo -

Q. Iulius Aquila, centurion, Trajan?

- |                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. I Adiutrix        | Pannonia Superior      |
| 2. XXX Ulpia Victrix | Pann. Sup., Germ. Inf. |
| 3. X Fretensis       | Judaea                 |

Iulius Aquila was enrolled in the tribe Quirina, which was the tribe of Sicca Veneria. That town was probably his home. The early second century date for the inscription is gained partly through the appearance in the career of a centurionate in XXX Ulpia Victrix, which was probably raised in the period c102-c105. The date is supported by the absence of the burial formula D(is) M(anibus) which is overwhelmingly prevalent in tombstones from the time of Hadrian onwards. The transfer from I Adiutrix to XXX Ulpia Victrix again supports the early second century date as the two legions were probably within Pannonia Superior during that time. Iulius Aquila could have been one of the earliest centurions of XXX Ulpia Victrix. His original centurionate with I Adiutrix was clearly the result of a direct commission. His brother is attested at Thebes in 134 and in Dacia in 140 as a procurator, which strongly supports the second century date.

## Notes

1. Ritterling (1925) 1822, also 1280 and 1484. Parker (1928) 109.
2. The earliest indications of XXX Ulpia Victrix are in Pannonia Superior, tiles at Carnuntum, Vindobona and Brigetio (Ritterling (1925) 1822). I Adiutrix could have been in Dacia after c106, but Ritterling doubted it (Ritterling (1925) 1365, 1390-1391). *as* did Syme (Syme (1971) 93-94). There is no certain evidence at all. If the legion were in Pannonia Superior that province had four legions in the period c106-c113.
3. Pflaum (1961) 123

## M. Iulius Quadratus

No. 581

AE 1957, 249

Castellum Arsacalitanum  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus), M. Iul(ius) C. f. Quir(ina) Quadratus, eq(uo) pub(lico), in V dec(urias) allecto, (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) in Dacia, (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) in Afr(ica), (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) Britta(niae), def(unctus) Britanniae in procinctu, v(ixit) a(nnis) XXXVIII, h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

M. Iulius Quadratus, centurion, first half of the second century?

- |                |         |
|----------------|---------|
| 1. XIII Gemina | Dacia   |
| 2. III Augusta | Numidia |
| 3. II Augusta  | Britain |

Iulius Quadratus was almost certainly from Arsacalitanum as he was enrolled in the tribe of that place (Quirina). The dating of the career comes from Professor Eric Birley's recognition<sup>1</sup> of the similarity of the transfers of this career to the transfers of T. Pontius Sab<sup>u</sup>linus, who was a centurion in XIII Gemina, primus pilus in III Augusta and then went to Britain with three vexillations (of VII Gemina, VIII Augusta and XXII Primigenia). Professor Birley questioned whether the transfer of Quadratus to Britain was made by the recommendation of Pontius Sabinus. There are problems in that interpretation of the career of Quadratus as it is by no means certain that Pontius Sabinus served in Dacia or Africa (see below). The formula h(ic) s(itus) e(st) is usually taken to be first century or early second century at latest but in Africa it lingers on. There are late second century and third century examples of its use, though it is not common. It would probably be pushing the evidence too far to suggest that the

mention of Dacia, as opposed to Dacia Superior, indicates the undivided Dacia of c106-c118. It might also be excessive to suggest a connection between M. Iulius C. f. Quir. Quadratus and Q. Iulius C. f. Quir. Aquila. The two men share the same nomen, filiation, tribe, and were adlected into the same body in Rome. However, the nomen and filiation are commonplace, the tribes are both tribes of their (different) birthplaces and the adlections could be coincidence. Iulius Quadratus was directly commissioned.

### Note

1. Birley (1965) 29

### L. Laelius Fuscus

No. 485

CIL VI 32709a = ILS 9190

Rome

Dis Manibus, L. Laeli Fusci, (centurionis trecenarii) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis), vix(it) ann(is) LXV militavit ann(is) XXXXII, optio equitum, vex(illarius) eq(uitum), fisci curator, evoc(atus) (centurio) in coh(orte) I Vig(ilum) (centurio) Statorum, (centurio) coh(ortis) XIII Urb(anae), (centurio) coh(ortis) X Pr(aetoriae).

L. Laelius Fuscus, centurion, Trajan-Hadrian.

- |                                       |                 |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Optio Equitum coh. Praetoria       | Rome            |
| 2. Vexillarius Equitum coh. Praetoria | Rome            |
| 3. Fisci Curator                      | Rome            |
| 4. Evocatus                           | Rome            |
| 5. Centurio coh. I Vigilum            | Rome            |
| 6. Centurio Statores                  | Rome            |
| 7. Centurio coh. XIII Urbana          | Rome            |
| 8. Centurio coh. X Praetoria          | Rome            |
| 9. Centurio trecenarius VII Claudia   | Moesia Superior |

The text of the inscription clearly shows that the first letter of the legion in which Laelius Fuscus served as trecenarius was a G. That suggests the legion concerned was VII G(emina) p. f.: VII Gemina after 197.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the inscription does not support so late a date. Dis Manibus written out in full is a late first century to early second century feature, and a centurionate held in the Statores would be a unique event in a third century career of this type. Surely the legion was VII Claudia p. f. and

the date was the early second century. Trecenarii who had been evocati are known from the time of Claudius-Nero,<sup>2</sup> but they only appear in any scale under Trajan. VII Claudia could have been in contact with the praetorian guard and the emperor on at least three occasions in the reign of Trajan; during the first and second Dacian wars and during the Parthian war. The transfer could fit any of those times (or, of course, none of them).

### Notes

1. CIL VI 37191 gives VII G(eminae) p. f.. ILS 9190 omits stipendia, followed by Dobson and Breeze (1969) 121.
2. Vettius Valens, CIL XI 395 = ILS 2648 (see above).

### Q. Licinius Macrinus

#### No. 35

1. CIL III 1353

Micia  
Dacia

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Heliopolitano, Q. Licinius Macrinus (centurio)  
leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) F(elicis), v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

2. CIL III 14402b

Sinope

Q. L[i]cinius Macrinus (centurio) leg(ionis) XXII Primig(eniae) p(iae) f(idelis),  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Q. Licinius Macrinus, centurion, Trajan

1. IV Flavia
2. XXII Primigenia

Dacia  
Parthian war?

The inscription from Micia should probably be dated to the period when IV Flavia was part of the garrison of Dacia (106-c118).<sup>1</sup> The dedication to I.O.M. Heliopolitanus is the earliest recorded dedication outside of the eastern provinces,<sup>2</sup> and may be connected to the fact that under Hadrian (and probably under Trajan) the auxiliary unit at Micia (of which Licinius Macrinus could have been temporary commander) was cohors II Flavia Commagenorum.<sup>3</sup>

The dedication at Sinope is part of the evidence for a detachment of XXII Primigenia taking part in Trajan's Parthian war.<sup>4</sup> The consular C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus commanded vexillations of four legions in the Parthian war.<sup>5</sup> Two of those legions were XIII Gemina and III Gallica, perhaps IV Flavia and/or XXII Primigenia were amongst the unknown legions, and that provided the context for the transfer.

### Notes

1. Syme (1971) 93-98
2. Birley (1978) 1521, suggested there are no firmly dateable second century texts to I.O.M. Heliopolitanus, CIL III 1353 and IGLS VI 2714 are second century.
3. CIL III 1371
4. As the evidence stands this inscription is virtually the whole of the evidence for the vexillation of XXII Primigenia. Mitford (1980) 116 used AE 1962 311, a praefectus castrorum of XXII Primigenia who was given dona in the course of the Parthian war of Trajan, his dona following on from his last recorded post. It is possible that the dona were gained while praefectus castrorum but it is not certain and, given the uncommon appearance of dona with the post of praefectus castrorum, is probably unlikely. The dona could have been gained with one of the posts before primus pilus (see Dobson 120).
5. Halfmann (1979) 120

### C. Ligustinius Disertus

No. 800

CIL XI 5960

Pitinum Mergens  
Italy Reg. VI

C. Ligustinio C. f. Clu(stumina) Diserto, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae, item (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), evocato Aug(usti), benef(iciario) praef(ecti) praet(orio), Eutyches lib(ertus) patrono optimo ob merita, cuius dedicatione decurionib(us) et plebi crustulum et mulsum dedit.

C. Ligustinius Disertus, centurion, Trajan-Hadrian?

- |                       |         |
|-----------------------|---------|
| 1. Bf. Praef. Praet.  | Rome    |
| 2. Evocatus Aug.      | Rome    |
| 3. XX Valeria Victrix | Britain |
| 4. IIII Scythica      | Syria   |
| 5. XX Valeria Victrix | Britain |

Ligustinius Disertus was almost certainly from Pitinum Mergens as he was enrolled in the tribe of that town (Clustumina). There is no certain dating evidence on the inscription, though evocati going on to the legionary centurionate may only appear

from the time of Trajan. If the stone is a tombstone it lacks any version of the funerary formula D(is) M(anibus) which should date the stone to the period before the end of the reign of Hadrian. The Trajan-Hadrian date has been supported by Eric Birley who felt that the legionary sequence of XX Valeria Victrix to IV Scythica to XX Valeria Victrix suggested a temporary reinforcement of the army in Syria, perhaps by the transfer of a vexillation from Britain at the time of the governorship of Sex. Iulius Severus (cos. suff. 127), returning to Britain later in the reign of Hadrian.<sup>1</sup> That interpretation, or at least the early part of it, was supported by Dr. Maxfield<sup>2</sup> who suggested the centurion Albius Felix<sup>3</sup> won his dona at the same time. These interpretations are not unlikely though no certain evidence of XX Valeria Victrix has so far appeared in the east.

### Notes

1. Birley (1965) 29-30
2. Maxfield (1981) 195
3. CIL XI 3108

### C. Maenius Haniochus

#### No. 5

CIL III 42

Thebes  
Egypt

C. Maenius Haniochus Domo Corinthi, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis), item I Ital(icae), item II Tr(aiana) f(ortis), audivi Memnonem ante semihoram XIII K(alendas) Mai, Gallicano et Titiano cos eodem die hora prima et dimidia. (AD 127)

C. Maenius Haniochus, centurion, Trajan-Hadrian.

1. XI Claudia
2. I Italica
3. II Traiana

Moesia Inferior  
Moesia Inferior  
Egypt

The inscription is the earliest record of II Traiana in Egypt,<sup>1</sup> and displays an interesting group of transfers. The transfer from XI Claudia to I Italica presumably dates to the period after c106 when the two legions were within Moesia Inferior. The transfer from I Italica to II Traiana recalls the earliest evidence we have for II Traiana;

the career of the polyonymous Gallus,<sup>2</sup> perhaps to be identified with the L. Gossonius Gallus,<sup>3</sup> a suffectus of 119, who was legatus legionis of I Italica and II Traiana in succession in the period shortly before the Parthian war of Trajan. It is attractive to see the transfer of the centurion and the legatus legionis occurring at the same time, and there is nothing in the timescale of the inscription to prevent this.

Maenius Haniochus was probably directly commissioned as Corinth produces no recruits for the legions at any period.<sup>4</sup> Twenty to twenty-five years service for a directly commissioned centurion is clearly not excessive. The notion of a direct commission into XI Claudia in Moesia Inferior, the most <sup>6</sup>greek-influenced of the Danubian provinces, is attractive.

### Notes

1. Ritterling (1925) 1486
2. ILS 1038
3. Syme (1971) 106. Syme also suggested II Traiana was part of the garrison of Moesia Inferior in the same period (c106-c112), same reference.
4. Forni (1953) and (1974) has no examples of men from Corinth entering the legions.

### N. Marcius Plaetorius Celer

No. 850

CIL X 1202 = ILS 2660a Dobson 115

Abella  
Italy Reg. I

N. Marcio N. f. Gal(eria) Plaetorio Celeri, quaest(ori), II vir(o), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XVI Fl(aviae) f(irmae), donis donato a divo Traian(o) bello Parthic(o), corona murali, torquib(us), armillis, phaleris, (centurioni) leg(ionis) II(sic) Gall(icae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) Mart(iae) victr(icis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis), p(rimo) p(ilo) leg(ionis) eiusd(em), praeposit(o) numeror(um) in Ponto Absaro, trib(uno) coh(ortis) III Vig(ilum), patron(o) colon(iae), d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

N. Marcius Plaetorius Celer, centurion and primipilaris, Trajan-Hadrian.

- |                     |                                   |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. VII Gemina       | Hisp. Tarraconensis               |
| 2. XVI Flavia firma | Cappadocia - Parthian war - Syria |
| 3. III Gallica      | Syria                             |
| 4. XIV Gemina       | Pannonia Superior                 |

5. VII Claudia	Moesia Superior
6. I Adiutrix	Pannonia Superior
7. P.P. I Adiutrix	Pannonia Superior
8. Praepositus numerus	
9. Trib. Coh. III Vigilum	Rome

Marcus Plaetorius Celer was almost certainly from Abella as he was enrolled in the tribe of that place (Galeria). His career seems to have been reproduced in chronological order beginning with two municipal magistracies before a direct commission into VII Gemina. His transfer from VII Gemina to XVI Flavia (then at Satala in Cappadocia) is one of the earliest attested of a centurion from the west to an eastern legion, and shows a change from the west-east separation of the second half of the first century. The corona muralis Celer gained with XVI Flavia is the only <sup>known</sup> example of that particular decoration given by Trajan to a centurion.<sup>1</sup> The transfer of Celer from XVI Flavia to III Gallica could easily have been in the context of Trajan's Parthian war. In the years following the Parthian war Celer returned to the Danubian provinces.

#### Note

1. Maxfield (1981) 194

### C. Nummius Constans

#### No. 871

CIL X 3733 = ILS 2083 Dobson 122

Atella  
Italy Reg. I

C. Nummio C. fil. Fal(erna) Constanti, p(rimo) p(ilo) leg(ionis) II Traianae, centurion(i) leg(ionis) III Cyreneicae et VII Cla(udiae), evocato in foro ab actis. militi coh(ortis) III Praet(oriae) et X Urb(anae), donis donato ab Imp(eratore) Traiano, torquibus, armillis, phaleris ob bellum Parthicum, i[te]m ab Imp(eratore) Hadriano corona aurea, torquibus, armillis, phaleris ob bellum Iudeicum, heredes ex testamento.

C. Nummius Constans, centurion and primipilaris, Trajan to Hadrian.

1. Miles Coh. X Urbana	Rome
2. Miles coh. III Praetoria	Rome
3. Evocatus	Rome
4. Centurio VII Claudia	Moesia Superior
5. Centurio III Cyrenaica	Egypt or Arabia
6. P.P. II Traiana	Egypt

Nummius Constans was enrolled in the tribe of Atella (Falerna). The town was almost certainly his home. Like Octavius Secundus, Constans began his career in cohorts X Urbana and was transferred to the praetorian guard. While serving with the guard he probably won his dona during the Parthian war of Trajan. His second set of dona were won during the Judaeen war of Hadrian. Dr. Maxfield stated the possibility that Constans' second set of dona could have been gained as evocatus or as a legionary centurion.<sup>1</sup> She also pointed out that a corona aurea was more likely to be the award of an evocatus rather than a legionary centurion. Certainly the run of inscriptions would suggest that she was correct. A problem arises in that dona as a praetorian before August 117 means his service of sixteen years was probably over by the Judaeen war of Hadrian. An evocatus could have served on, but this man's post seems to have been connected to Rome rather than Judaea. Nothing can be certain about the posts Constans held when he gained his two sets of dona. Valerius Proclus (see *below*) won torques armillae and phalerae from Trajan while he was a centurion, and it is salutary to reflect that VII Claudia fought in the Parthian war of Trajan.<sup>2</sup> Constans could have gained T.A.P. at that time, with that legion.

It is not possible to argue that if Constans got his crown as an evocatus then he has a very short career to be P.P. before the end of the reign of Hadrian. The absence of divus from the title of Hadrian can be of no relevance when Trajan lacks the appellation on the same stone.

On the balance of possibilities it seems more likely that Constans won his Parthian war dona as a praetorian and that he won his dona in Judaea as either a centurion in III Cyrenaica or as primus pilus of II Traiana. He was presumably a member of the primi ordines of III Cyrenaica.

### Notes

1. Maxfield (1981) 212
2. Syme (1971) 98 quoting Arrian's Parthica frag. 80. Also ILS 9491.

## Octavius Secundus

No. 143

CIL III 7334 = ILS 2080 Dobson 123

Serrae  
Macedonica

[---]us D. f. Octavius Se[c]undus Curibus Sab(inis) mil(es) coh(ortis) X Urb(anae), trans[lat]at(us) in coh(ortem) VI Pr(aetoriam), [sing]ularis trib(uni), benef(iciarius) trib(uni), sing(ularis) pr(aefecti) [pr]aet(orio), optio in centur(ia), sign(ifer), [f]is[c]o curat(or), cornicu[lar]ius] trib(uni), ev(ocatus) Aug(usti), [(centurio) I]leg(ionis) X [F]retensis, donis don(at)us ab divo Hadrian(o) ob bell(um) Judaicum corona aurea, tor[qu]ib(us), armillis, p[ro]h[er]is et ab eodem promotus succes(sione) in leg(ionem) prim[ar]ia[m] [I]talica[m], [p]rimipil(us) leg(ionis) eiusdem, adlectus decurio in colonis et or[n]am(entis) [I]v[er]alib(us) [or]n(at)us Actiae Nicopoli et Ulpia[---]

Octavius Secundus, centurion and primipilaris, Hadrian.

1. Miles Coh. X Urbanae	Rome
2. Sing. Trib. Coh. VI Praetoria	Rome
3. Bf. Trib. Coh. VI Praetoria	Rome
4. Sing. Pr. Pr. Coh. VI Praetoria	Rome
5. Optio in 7 Coh. VI Praetoria	Rome
6. Signifer Coh. VI Praetoria	Rome
7. Fisci Curator Coh. VI Praetoria	Rome
8. Cornic. Trib. Coh. VI Praetoria	Rome
9. Evocatus Aug.	Rome
10. Centurio X Fretensis	Judaea
11. Centurio I Italica	Moesia Inf. Judaeen war?
12. P.P. I Italica	Moesia Inf. Judaeen war?

Octavius Secundus began his career as a miles in cohors X Urbana. Early in his career he was transferred to the praetorian guard. After being evocatus he was transferred to X Fretensis and won dona with that legion during the Judaeen war of Hadrian. He was then transferred (and promoted) into I Italica, a part of which seems to have been in Judaea at that time.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps promotus on this occasion meant entry into the primi ordines as his next post was P.P. of I Italica.

It was uncommon for a man from Italy or the west to be transferred into an eastern legion as a first centurionate post, perhaps the man had a Macedonian background, or it may be a sign that Secundus served as evocatus with Hadrian and the guard in Judaea. However, a transfer from evocatus to X Fretensis and then to I Italica all in the context of the Judaeen war would involve a quick passage to the primipilate.

## Note

### 1. CIL III 14155<sup>2</sup>

#### C. Oppius Bassus

##### No. 782

1. CIL XI 5839 = ILS 2084 Dobson 126

Auximum  
Italy Reg. V

C. Oppio C. f. Vel(ina) Basso, p(atrono) c(oloniae), pr(aetori) Auximo, (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) fel(icis), evoc(ato) Aug(usti), ab actis fori, b(ene)f(iciario) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), signif(ero), option(i), tesse(rario) coh(ortis) II Pr(aetoriae). mil(iti) coh(ortis) II Pr(aetoriae), mil(iti) coh(ortium) XIII et XIII Urbanarum, coll(egium) cent(onariorum) Auxim(i) patr(ono) ob merita eius. L(ocus) d(at) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum). Posita VI K(alendas) Iul(ios), L. Aelio Caesare II, P. Coelio Balbino Cos.

2. CIL XI 5840 = ILS 2085 Dobson 126

Auximum  
Italy Reg. V

C. Oppio C. f. Vel(ina) Basso, p(rimo) p(ilo), p(atrono) c(oloniae), pr(aetori) i(ure) d(icundo) Aux(imi), (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) fel(icis) et leg(ionis) II Traianae for(tis), evoc(ato) Aug(usti) ab act(is) fori, b(ene)f(iciario) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), mil(iti) coh(ortis) II Pr(aetoriae) et coh(ortium) XIII et XIII Urb(anarum), omnibus officiis in claiga funvto, centuriones leg(ionis) II Traianae fortis, optimo et dignissimo. In cuius ded(icatione) cenam col(onis) ded(it). L(ocus) d(at) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

C. Oppius Bassus, centurion and primus pilus, Hadrian-Pius.

- |                                  |                 |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Miles Coh. XIII Urbana        | Carthage        |
| 2. Miles Coh. XIII Urbana        | Rome            |
| 3. Tesserarius Coh. II Praetoria | Rome            |
| 4. Optio Coh. II Praetoria       | Rome            |
| 5. Signifer Coh. II Praetoria    | Rome            |
| 6. Bf. Pr. Pr. Coh. II Praetoria | Rome            |
| 7. Evocatus Aug. ab actis fori   | Rome            |
| 8. Centurio IIII Flavia          | Moesia Superior |
| 9. Centurio II Traiana           | Egypt           |
| 10. P.P. II Traiana ??           | Egypt           |

Oppius Bassus was enrolled in the tribe of Auximum (Velina). He was almost certainly from that town. The two inscriptions show differences in the order of the posts. The order of the career in CIL XI 5839 is taken as strictly chronological in reverse order. The order of the career in CIL XI 5840 is generally chronological in reverse order save that the duplicated posts (the centurionates and the two posts as miles in the Urban cohorts) are recounted earliest first. The career is that of a praetorian

soldier who began his career in the Urban cohorts. Flavius Rufus, Nummius Constans and Octavius Secundus display the same transfer in the same general period. Oppius Bassus was probably primus pilus of II Traiana.

### L. Paccius Nonianus

No. 577

1. AE 1956, 242 = AE 1960, 87

Cologne  
Germania Inferior

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Genio Imp(eratoris), L. Paccius Nonianus,  
(centurio) legionis I M(inerviae).

2. CIL V 6881

Alpes Poenina  
Italy Reg. XI

Iovi Poenino, L. Paccius L. f. Pal(atina) Nonianus Fundis, (centurio) leg(ionis)  
VI Victricis p(iae) f(idelis), ex voto.

L. Paccius Nonianus, centurion, c83-c123, Trajan?

1. I Minervia

Germania Inferior

2. VI Victrix

Germania Inferior

The inscription of Paccius Nonianus from Cologne could be dated as early as c83-c89 as I Minervia lacks all of the titles it gained in 89. However, it is probably best not to rely solely on the absence of titles for dates. The inscription of Paccius Nonianus at Alpes Poenina is certainly post AD 96 and probably before c123 when the legion moved to Britain. It would seem likely that the transfer between the two legions occurred in Germania Inferior.

Paccius Nonianus was from Fundi in Italy (Reg. I). It might be premature to claim Paccius Nonianus as an original recruit for I Minervia. Regio I was not a prime recruiting ground for soldiers in the legions. The two major works on legionary recruitment by Forni<sup>1</sup> produce only two men from Regio I entering the legions during the Flavian-Trajanic period.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Paccius Nonianus was directly commissioned. Centurions from areas which do not usually produce recruits from the ranks should suggest the possibility of a direct commission.

## Notes

1. Forni (1953), and Forni (1974)
2. Forni (1953), 177

## Sex. Pilonius Modestus

## No. 40

CIL III 1480 = ILS 2654<sup>a</sup>Sarmizegetusa  
Dacia

Sex. Pilonius sex. f. Stel(latina) Modestus, Benevento, (centurio) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) F(elicis), III (tertius) hast(atus) post(erior), ann(or)um XXXVII. Ordine(m) accepit ex equite Romano, militavit in leg(ione) VII C(laudia) p(ia) f(ideli) et VIII Aug(usta), XI C(laudia) p(ia) f(ideli), I Miner(via) p(ia) f(ideli), stipendis centurionis XVIII. H(ic) s(itus) e(st), s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).

Sex. Pilonius Modestus, centurion, within the period 88-100 to 106-118

- |                 |                               |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. VII Claudia  | Moesia Superior               |
| 2. VIII Augusta | Germania Superior             |
| 3. XI Claudia   | Germ. Sup., Pann. (Sup.)      |
| 4. I Minervia   | Germ. Inf., second Dacian war |
| 5. IIII Flavia  | Dacia (formerly Moes. Sup.)   |

Pilonius Modestus from Beneventum was directly commissioned at the age of nineteen. He is the youngest attested centurion though the implication of passages in Juvenal<sup>1</sup> and Frontinus<sup>2</sup> suggest other comparatively young men could be directly commissioned.

In 1969 Dobson and Breeze did not attempt to date the career of Modestus.<sup>3</sup> The date is given by his last centurionate in IV Flavia in Dacia.<sup>4</sup> He died between 106 and 118 (or whenever IV Flavia left Dacia, certainly by 120 when Dacia Superior was a single legion praetorian province). The order of the career is given by the et after his centurionate in VII Claudia. VII Claudia was presumably his first centurionate, followed by VIII Augusta. He was then presumably transferred within Germania Superior to XI Claudia, so before c100 going to I Minervia. It is tempting to see the transfer from XI Claudia to I Minervia occurring around the time of the second Dacian war. Then his final transfer would take place on the Danube to IV Flavia, presumably

after c106 . All of his legions could have seen action; VII Claudia in the wars of 88 and 92, VIII Augusta in the war of 97-98, XI Claudia in the war of 97-98 and 101-102 and 105-106, I Minervia in the war of 105-106, and IV Flavia in the war of 105-106. Yet in that time he had won no dona and after eighteen years and five centurionates he had not reached the primi ordines.

### Notes

1. Juvenal Sat. 14, 193
2. Frontinus Strat. 4,6,4
3. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 109
4. Syme (1971) 93-98 reprint of an article of 1938. Also D. Protase Congress of Latin and Greek Epigraphy London (1967) 337-342.

### T. Pontius Sabinus

#### No. 831

CIL X 3829 = ILS 2726 Dobson 117, Pflaum 118

Ferentinum  
Italy Reg. I

T. Pontius T. f. Pal(atina) Sabinus, praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Pann(oniorum) et Dalmat(arum) eq(uitatae) C(ivium) R(omanorum), trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Ferrat(ae), donis donatus expeditione Parthica a divo Traiano hasta pura, vexillo, corona murali, (centurio) leg(ionis) XXII Primig(eniae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII Gemin(ae), primuspilus leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), praepositus vexillationibus milliaris tribus expeditione Britannica leg(ionum) VII Gemin(ae), VIII Aug(ustae), XXII Primig(eniae), ...

T. Pontius Sabinus, equestrian officer and centurion, c110-c125

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. Praef. Coh. I Pann. et Dalmat.            | Germania Inferior                  |
| 2. Tribunus Militum VI Ferrata               | Arabia? (Parthian war) <u>Dona</u> |
| 3. Centurion XXII Primigenia                 | Germ. Sup. (Parthian war?)         |
| 4. Centurion XIII Gemina                     | Dacia (Parthian war?)              |
| 5. Primus Pilus III Augusta                  | Numidia                            |
| 6. Praep. Vex. VII Gem., VIII Aug., XXII Pr. | Britain                            |

T. Pontius Sabinus began his military career in the equestrian militiae. After being tribunus militum in VI Ferrata and gaining dona, he was transferred to the legionary centurionate. Dobson suggested that Pontius Sabinus entered the primi ordines<sup>1</sup> of XXII Primigenia. This suggestion seems likely through a lack of alternatives. Direct promotion to the post of primus pilus would appear to have been impossible, while it would appear that the closest equivalent post in the legionary

centurionate to the prefecture of a cohort was a centurionate in one of the cohorts II-X.<sup>2</sup> Yet a post in the primi ordines of a legion was not the equivalent of a post as tribune of a legion. In the context of the legionary command structure as a whole a transfer from the military tribunate to the primi ordines appears to be a demotion or a step sideways. Dobson assumed that Pontius Sabinus held his centurionate in XXII Primigenia in the context of the whole legion at Mainz.<sup>3</sup> An alternative view is possible.

A vexillation of XXII Primigenia took part in the Parthian war of Trajan.<sup>4</sup> The Parthian war of Trajan had a number of campaigns. It is possible that Pontius Sabinus received his dona as a tribune of VI Ferrata in (or for) an early campaign of the war and was transferred to XXII Primigenia as the war continued. It might be premature to claim the command of the vexillation of XXII Primigenia for Pontius Sabinus, but such a post would obviate an apparent demotion or sidestep in the career of an effective officer. The transfer of a man from the tribunate of a legion to the legionary centurionate was very rare and may be the result of exceptional circumstances (see above). It seems likely that the transfer of Pontius Sabinus to the legionary centurionate was for a particular purpose and that it carried the promise of further advancement.

Pontius Sabinus was transferred from XXII Primigenia to XIII Gemina. The context of that transfer could still be the Parthian war of Trajan. A vexillation of XIII Gemina and the vexillations of three other legions (one of those legions was III Gallica, the rest are unknown) were under the overall command of C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (cos. suff. 105) before his short term as governor of Syria.<sup>5</sup> Hypothesis on hypothesis, it is possible that Pontius Sabinus commanded the vexillation of XIII Gemina while being under the overall command of a senator. It is necessary to state that this hypothesis of commands of legionary vexillation is not without its problems: why transfer to the centurionate when the tribunes of legions could command vexillations?<sup>6</sup> The answer might be found in Pontius Sabinus' short term ambitions

and an awareness that a short route to the primipilate would be a quicker path to higher commands than another legionary tribunate and at least one more grade of the equestrian militiae before the higher commands began.

If there was a connection between Pontius Sabinus and the vexillations of XXII Primigenia and XIII Gemina which fought in the Parthian war, then that connection could have been significant in his being chosen to command vexillations of VII Gemina, VIII Augusta and XXII Primigenia in the expeditio Britannica.

The expeditio Britannica and the career of Pontius Sabinus have been the subject of some debate amongst British scholars. Eric Birley used the reference to the expeditio Britannica in the career as part of the basis of his theory of trouble in Britain in the middle of the reign of Hadrian.<sup>7</sup> The Birley thesis was rejected by M.G. Jarrett and J.C. Mann<sup>8</sup> partly on the ground of Dobson's suggestion that the entry of Pontius Sabinus into the primi ordines suggested a quicker passage to the post of primus pilus than the Birley theory assumed. Jarrett and Mann suggested that the expeditio Britannica of Pontius Sabinus was a reply to the trouble in Britain reported by the S.H.A. at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian.<sup>9</sup> That suggestion caused problems of time. If Pontius Sabinus got his dona at the end of the Parthian war and the centurionates in XXII Primigenia and XIII Gemina followed, and a year was spent as primus pilus of III Augusta, it was very difficult to see how Pontius Sabinus could have got to Britain early in the reign of Hadrian. If the centurionates in XXII Primigenia and XIII Gemina were held during the Parthian war of Trajan then that problem of time would be removed.

### Notes

1. Dobson (1978) 235
2. see above, L. Terentius Rufus (no. 821) and C. Sulpicius Ursulus (no. 1457)
3. Dobson, op. cit. 235
4. CIL III 14402b
5. Pergamon VIII 3, 21. PIR<sup>2</sup> J 508
6. CIL VI 3505
7. Birley (1953) 28

8. Jarrett and Mann, 170 (1970), 185-205

9. *op. cit.* 192

### M. Sabidius Maximus

No. 546

AE 1937, 101

Dyrrhacium  
Macedonia

M. Sabidi[o M. f.] Aem(ilia) Ma[ximo], mil(iti) leg(ionis) XI C[l(audiae)] signif(eri), corni[cular(io),] optioni et spe[m ordi]nis, (centurioni) leg(ionis) s(supra) s(criptae), prom[oto a] divo Hadrian[o in leg(ionem) III] Gall(icam), d(onis) d(onato) ab eu[d(em) Imp(eratore) ob victo]r(iam) Iudaic(am) torqui[bus armil(lis) ph]aleris coron[a] mur[ali, (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Sc]ythicae item (centurioni) leg(ionis) I [----prom(oto)] ab Imp(eratore) Antonino in l[eg(ionem) -----] ab eod(em) Imp(eratore) prom(oto) in leg(ionem) XIII Gem(inam), v(ixit) [a(nnis) ---- mil(itavit) st(ipendia)] (centurioni) Ka XX continua XL ...

M. Sabidius Maximus, centurion, Hadrian to Pius.

1. Miles XI Claudia	Moesia Inferior
2. Signifer XI Claudia	Moesia Inferior
3. Cornicularius XI Claudia	Moesia Inferior
4. Optio ad spem ordinis XI Claudia	Moesia Inferior
5. Centurio XI Claudia	Moesia Inf. (Judaean war)
6. Centurio III Gallica	Syria (Judaean war)
7. Centurio III Scythica	Syria
8. Centurio I--- ?	?
9. Centurio ?	?
10. Centurio XIII Gemina	Dacia Superior

Sabidius Maximus served for twenty years in the ranks and then served a further twenty years as centurion. He was probably from Dyrrhacium as he was enrolled in the tribe of that place (Aemilia). He held at least six posts as a centurion. The earliest transfer as a centurion from XI Claudia to III Gallica could have occurred in the context of the Judaean war of Hadrian in which a vexillation of XI Claudia was present.<sup>1</sup> In his second post as a centurion he won dona before being transferred again in the reign of Hadrian. He was transferred at least three times during the reign of Antoninus Pius. His dona in the Judaean war of Hadrian would suggest the period c132-c152 for his centurionates.

#### Note

1. CIL III 14155<sup>2</sup>

## M. Septimius Magnus

No. 14

CIL III 186 = ILS 2657

Aradus  
Syria

M. Septimio M. f. Fab(ia) Magno, (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Gal(licae) iter(um) et leg(ionis) IIII Scy(thicae), et leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) iter(um), et leg(ionis) I Miner(viae), et leg(ionis) X Fr(etensis) II, L. Septimius Marcellus fratri optimo, (a greek version follows)

M. Septimius Magnus, centurion, early second century

1. X Fretensis	Judaea
2. X Fretensis	Judaea
3. I Minervia	Germania Inferior
4. XX Valeria Victrix	Britain
5. XX Valeria Victrix	Britain
6. IIII Scythica	Syria
7. III Gallica	Syria
8. III Gallica	Syria

It seems likely that Septimius Magnus was from the eastern provinces, his tribe (Fabia) suggests Berytus or Heliopolis. The inscription which reveals his career was probably a tombstone. It is difficult to make categorical statements on epigraphic fashion which are valid for the eastern part of the empire, but the absence of any reference to the burial formula D(is) M(anibus) might suggest an early second century date (or, perhaps earlier). The career is interesting in that it shows the transfers of a centurion from the eastern part of the empire. The man could easily be directly commissioned and, whichever way the career ran, it is clear he entered an eastern legion first. The career may be interpreted to lend support for the notion that a vexillation of XX Valeria Victrix took part in Hadrian's Judaeian war (see Ligustinius Disertus, above), but it is probably unwise to push that notion without any other evidence. It is uncommon to have so many iterated centurionates within single legions.

## L. Solicius Aurelianus

No. 697

CIL XII 264

Forum Iulii  
Gall. Narbonensis

Dis Ma(nibus) Numisiae Caesiae, G. Numisi f., coniugi pientissimae, vixit annis LX, L. Solicius Aurelianus (centurio) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) et leg(ionis) p(rimae) Minerviae p(iae) fidelis se vivo et Numisius Chrestus libertus sib(i) et suis fecerunt.

L. Solicius Aurelianus, centurion, post AD 96, Trajan?

1. V Macedonica
2. I Minervia

Moesia Inferior  
Germania Inferior

The date of the inscription is difficult to assess. The titles of I Minervia, pia fidelis, show the inscription has to be after AD96. The partially written out funerary formula Dis Ma(nibus) might imply an early second century date which might be supported by a general lack of abbreviation. Forum Iulii produces few military men after the first century, though it is not certain that Solicius Aurelianus was from that place. Another Solicius is known locally.<sup>1</sup> The order of the posts of the centurion is not clear. The man could easily be directly commissioned with a long career, if he was about the same age as his wife. The two legions were in contact during the war of AD92 and during the second Dacian war of 105-106 but it is impossible to know if the transfer occurred at any of those times.

### Note

1. CIL XII 323, not from Forum Iulii itself

## G. Sulpicius Ursulus

No. 1457

AE 1935, 12 Dobson 156

Ujo  
Hisp. Tarraconensis

G. Sulpicio Ursulo, praef(ecto) symmachiariorum Asturum belli Dacici, (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Minerviae p(iae) f(idelis), (centurioni) coh(ortis) XII Urbanae, (centurion) coh(ortis) IIII Praetoriae, p(rimo) p(ilo) leg(ionis) XIIII, praef(ecto) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), G. Sulp(icius) Afr(icanus) pos(uit).

G. Sulpicius Ursulus, Praefectus, centurion and primipilaris, Trajan.

1. Praefectus Symmachiarii	Dacian war (105-106)
2. Centurio I Minervia	Dacian war (105-106) Germ. Inf.
3. Centurio Coh. XII Urbana	Rome
4. Centurio Coh. IIII Praetoria	Rome
5. P.P. XXII Primigenia	Germania Superior
6. Praef. III Augusta	Numidia

The career of Sulpicius Ursulus has attracted a great deal of scholastic attention because of its refer<sup>v</sup>ence to symmachiarii. Symmachiarii are only attested twice in the literary records of antiquity. The most famous reference is contained in the work by pseudo-Hyginus,<sup>1</sup> while another can be found in a fragment of Arrian's Ektaxis.<sup>2</sup> In 1887 Domaszewski dated the work of pseudo-Hyginus to Trajanic times.<sup>3</sup> More recently Eric Birley thought that the references to alae militariae and to comites in pseudo-Hyginus fitted the period of Marcus Aurelius' Danubian wars rather than the time of Trajan.<sup>4</sup> S.S. Frere lately used the evidence of the barrack blocks of the first cohort at Inchtuthil to suggest that pseudo-Hyginus could be as early as the time of Domitian.<sup>5</sup> Birley immediately returned to the question, suggesting that Frere's interpretation of the evidence relating to alae militariae was not wholly convincing, and that he had not seen the significance of the consular comites which seem to be attested first under Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius.<sup>6</sup> The debate continues. All those who have written on the subject since the discovery of the inscription have considered the date of the career of Sulpicius Ursulus.

Richmond pointed out that the inscription and the passage in pseudo-Hyginus could be connected with the irregular armed men fighting for the Romans on Trajan's column.<sup>7</sup> The Trajanic date the inscription gained was not actually invalidated by the mid second century date suggested by Birley for pseudo-Hyginus. However, in 1969 Dobson suggested that the date of the inscription of Sulpicius Ursulus could be later than Trajan.<sup>8</sup> Dobson pointed out the omission of the filiation and the tribe from the name of Sulpicius Ursulus, and suggested that omission fitted the later second century better than the time of Trajan, as the man reached a position of some prominence (praefectus legionis). Dobson p<sup>i</sup>nted out that a Dacian war was reported by the

S.H.A. during the reign of Commodus, and suggested Sulpicius Ursulus commanded the symmachiarii at that time.<sup>9</sup> The solution was never ideal, Dobson himself pointed out that if Sulpicius Ursulus took part in the Commodan Dacian war then his inscription was put up after 194. In that case III Augusta should have had the titles p(ia) v(index).<sup>10</sup> Recently Le Roux suggested the absence of filiation and tribe from the inscription need not have any relevance as to date as the inscription is the sole example of its type in Asturia.<sup>11</sup> Le Roux again returned to a Trajanic date for the inscription.

He is probably correct. Sulpicius Ursulus was transferred from his prefecture of the Symmachiarii to a centurionate with I Minervia. The evidence as it stands suggests that transfers from the equestrian militiae to the legionary centurionate seem to end during the reign of Hadrian.<sup>12</sup> However, the telling point would seem to be that I Minervia fought in the Trajanic Dacian war of 105-106, but was otherwise stationed at Bonna in Germania Inferior. It is much more attractive to see the transfer from the symmachiarii to I Minervia taking place in the context of the Dacian war of 105-106, rather than during a period when the two units had no contact. I Minervia also took part in Domitian's war of AD92, but that may not have been a Dacian war. It is possible that the transfer of L. Terentius Rufus from the equestrian militiae to a centurionate in I Minervia occurred at the same time as the transfer of Sulpicius Ursulus.

Sulpicius Ursulus was transferred to a centurionate in the Urban cohorts, omitting the Vigiles. That was the normal pattern for a directly commissioned centurion entering the Rome cycle of centurionates.<sup>13</sup> After being a centurion in the praetorian guard Ursulus became one of a small group of praetorian centurions who became primus pilus without an intervening legionary centurionate.

The dedicator and his brother were probably from Asturia as Sulpicius Africanus made a dedication to a local deity near Ujo.<sup>14</sup>

## Notes

1. Hyginus de Munitioibus, 43
2. Arrian Ektaxis 7, 14
3. Domaszewski (1887) 71f.
4. Birley (1966) 57
5. Frere (1980) 58
6. Birley (1981) 287
7. Richmond (1939) 18
8. Dobson and Breeze (1969) Appendix III by B. Dobson, 122-124
9. op. cit. 123
10. Dobson (1978) 271
11. Le Roux (1983) 248
12. M. Lucretius Augurinus could be later, see below
13. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 110
14. See Epigraphia Romana de Asturias 9, (1959) Oviedo (Diego Santos)

### L. Terentius Rufus

#### No. 821

CIL II 2424 Dobson 110 Devijver T 12

Bracara Augusta  
Hisp. Tarraconensis

L. Terentio M. f. Quir(ina) Rufo, Praef(ecto) coh(ortis) VI Britto(num),  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) p(iae) f(idelis), don(is) don(ato) ab  
Imp(eratore) Traiano bell(o) Dac(ico), p(rimo) p(ilo) leg(ionis) XV  
Apoll(inaris), trib(un) coh(ortis) II Vig(ilum), d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

L. Terentius Rufus, praef. coh., centurion and primipilaris, Trajan.

- |                             |                                  |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Praef. Coh. VI Brittonum | Germania Inferior                |
| 2. Centurio I Minervia      | Germ. Inf. and second Dacian war |
| 3. P.P. XV Apollinaris      | Pannonia Superior                |
| 4. Trib. Coh. II Vigilum    | Rome                             |

Terentius Rufus was probably from Bracara Augusta as he was enrolled in the tribe of the town (Quirina). He was transferred from the prefecture of cohorts VI Brittonum to a centurionate in I Minervia. After the Julio-Claudian period transfers between the equestrian militiae and the centurionate seem to occur from the militiae to the centurionate. The process of transfer from the militiae to the centurionate was fairly rare and would seem to suggest an exceptional occurrence, such as warfare. That suggestion seems to be underlined when it is recalled that Terentius Rufus won dona when he served in I Minervia. Yet cohors VI Brittonum was probably a unit of Germania Inferior<sup>1</sup> which would suggest the transfer took place within that province.

VI Brittonum could have accompanied I Minervia on its journey to the second Dacian war, but there is no evidence save the possibility that legions had auxiliary units attached to them during campaigns.

Terentius Rufus may have been transferred into the primi ordines of I Minervia. His next post was primus pilus of XV Apollinaris. A transfer from the prefecture of a cohort to a centurionate in cohorts II to X would appear to be a sideways move, while a transfer into the primi ordines would be a promotion. The career of Terentius Rufus shows that it was possible for a man to go straight to the primipilate after a centurionate in cohorts II to X and/or, it was possible for a man to be promoted straight into the primi ordines. However, it is also possible that a single reference to a centurionate in a career inscription may hide two (or even more) posts as a centurion in that legion. Terentius Rufus was a directly commissioned equestrian, but the single (probable) centurionate before the primipilate occurred also in the case of Apicius Tiro (see below) who was an evocatus.

Rufus may have had a patron, the commander of I Minervia in the second Dacian war was P. Aelius Hadrianus who went to Pannonia Inferior after the war.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the dona won by Terentius Rufus made a difference to his promotion chances. The career of Terentius Rufus suggests that he might have reached the primipilate before the age of fifty.

### Notes

1. Alföldy (1968) 196
2. S.H.A. Hadriani 3, 5

## M. Tuccius

No. 441

CIL VIII 3005

Lambaesis  
Numidia

-----, (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Adiut(ricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), (centurioni) coh(ortis) III Bra(caraugustanorum), vix(it) an(nos) LXII, ex HS VIIIICC n., M. Tuccius Urbicus et M. Tuccius Proculus fili pientissimi.

M. Tuccius -----, centurion Trajan to Hadrian?

1. Coh. III Bracaraugustanorum	Moes. Inf., Rhaetia, Britain
2. I Italica	Moesia Inferior
3. XI Claudia	Moesia Inferior
4. XX Valeria Victrix	Britain
5. I Adiutrix	Pannonia Superior
6. III Augusta	Numidia

The names of the sons of the centurion allow the restoration of the praenomen and nomen of the centurion as M. Tuccius. The inscription gives a list of his centurionates up to I Adiutrix. Professor E. Birley suggested that his burial at Lambaesis should allow us to restore another centurionate in III Augusta.<sup>1</sup> M. Tuccius may have had even more centurionates, and he may have been primus pilus or praefectus castrorum of III Augusta, but another centurionate is at least likely and is retained here. Professor Birley suggested that the move of M. Tuccius from XI Claudia to XX Valeria Victrix could have occurred at the same time as the move of Valerius Proculus between the two legions (see below).<sup>2</sup> The late Trajanic or early Hadrianic date for the move is possible. The inscription should be dated later than the move of XI Claudia to Moesia Inferior (c106), as the transfer from I Italica to XI Claudia presumably occurred within Moesia Inferior.

The career was the subject of Professor Birley's claim that 'in every other case in which a man is shown proceeding to a legionary centurionate after service as a decurion or centurion in an auxilliary unit, the sequence can be shown to occur in the same province.'<sup>3</sup> The claim has already been shown not to be an absolute rule (see L. Arnius Bassus, above) and there are problems with the case of M. Tuccius. The Birley

hypothesis needs a cohort III Bracara. in Moesia Inferior. None are attested by inscription or diploma. The only evidence for a cohort III Bracara. in Moesia Inferior comes from the Notitia Dignitatum, Or. XL, 49, Dux Moesiae Secundae, cohors tertiae Valeria Bacarum (Böck suggested this was an error for Bracarum).<sup>4</sup> That unit could have been in Moesia since the second century, but there is no evidence save M. Tuccius. Two other cohorts III Bracara. are known, one in Britain, the other in Rhaetia. One more cohort is attested on the diploma of 139 for Syria Palaestina.<sup>5</sup> For what it is worth, all of the legions of Moesia Inferior sent vexillations to the Judaean war of Hadrian, the province could have sent auxiliary units as well. The transfer might even have occurred in the east which would mean dating the career to the period Hadrian-Pius. We cannot be certain of the date or the context of the transfer. Professor Birley's suggestion is reasonable but cannot be held as a rule.

### Notes

1. Birley (1965) 26
2. op. cit. 30
3. op. cit. 26
4. Seeck (1876) 91, fn 6. By Böck. I owe this reference to Dr. M. Roxan
5. CIL XVI 87, but Professor Radnoti has established that units from Rhaetia were sent to the war, see Germania LXXIX (1961) 114-115.

### L. Valerius Proclus

#### No. 193

CIL III 12411 = ILS 2666b = AE 1892, 106

Nedan  
Moesia Inferior

D(is) M(anibus) L. Valerius L. f. Proclus, mil(es) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) b(ene)f(iciarius) lega(ti), opt(io) ad spe(m) ordin(is), (centurio) leg(ionis) eiusdem, d(onatus) tor(quibus) ar(millis) phaler(is) bel(lo) Dac(ico), (centurio) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII Hisp(anae), mis(sus) h(onesta) m(issione), vix(it) an(nos) LXXV.

L. Valerius Proclus, centurion, Trajan.

- |                                      |                 |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Miles V Macedonia                 | Moesia Inferior |
| 2. Beneficarius Legatus V Macedonia  | Moesia Inferior |
| 3. Optio ad spem ordinis V Macedonia | Moesia Inferior |
| 4. Centurio V Macedonia              | Moesia Inferior |

5. Centurio I Italica	Moesia Inf. Dacian war
6. Centurio XI Claudia	Moesia Inf. or Pann. Sup.
7. Centurio XX Valeria Victrix	Britain
8. Centurio VIII Hispana	Britain

Eric Birley linked the career of Valerius Proclus with that of Claudius Vitalis and dated both careers to the reign of Trajan.<sup>1</sup> (For a discussion of the problems involved in dating two careers together, see above, Ti. Claudius Vitalis.) In Maxfield's work on Dona Militaria the connection in date between the two careers was retained on the basis of the similar legionary transfers of the two centurions.<sup>2</sup> (On the problems of their 'similar' transfers, see above, Ti. Claudius Vitalis.) In fact both groups of centurionates may belong to the reign of Trajan rather than the Domitianic date suggested by Maxfield, though a Domitianic date is possible for Valerius Proclus. The importance of the suggestions made while discussing Claudius Vitalis is that the two careers need not have anything to do with each other.

Valerius Proclus was successively centurion in the three legions present in Moesia Inferior after c106. His dona were awarded while he was serving with V Macedonica in a Dacian war. He then moved to I Italica, and on to XI Claudia. V Macedonica took part in the Dacian wars of Domitian and Trajan; all three could be the starting point for the career of Valerius Proclus. The movements of XI Claudia could be of significance in following the progress of Proclus. It would be natural to suggest that the transfer from I Italica to XI Claudia occurred in the same province. XI Claudia was in Vindonissa in Germania Superior till c100 when the legion moved to Pannonia. There is evidence of the legion at Brigetio (and Carnuntum) before it moved to Moesia Inferior after c106. The earliest dateable evidence of XI Claudia at Durostorum is AE 1936, 14, which belongs to the governorship of Q. Pompeius Falco (c115-c118). Dr. Maxfield's Domitianic date for the dona would seem to press Valerius Proclus into XI Claudia before c106. The alternative is to allow about twenty years for the first two centurionates (pre c88 to post c106). That is not impossible, but it seems unlikely, though Valerius Proclus might have transferred into XI Claudia while the legion was at Vindonissa or Brigetio. Maxfield makes two further points in defence of her dating of

the career by suggesting that the unnamed emperor who gave the dona was likely to have been Domitian,<sup>3</sup> and that two other Domitianic centurions got the same scale of dona as Valerius Proclus, while under Trajan (if Valerius Proclus was Domitianic) all centurions given specified dona received the same award (a crown and torques, armillae and phalerae).<sup>4</sup>

Another view of the career is possible. The transfer from I Italica to XI Claudia is more likely to have happened after c106 than before. It can also be argued that the non-appearance of the name of the awarding emperor need not imply that the emperor was Domitian, as in the case of Caesius Silvester (see above). Following Breeze<sup>5</sup> and Forni,<sup>6</sup> it seems likely that Valerius Proclus spent some thirteen to twenty years in the ranks of V Macedonica before his centurionate. If he joined the army at the age of seventeen to twenty-three then he was between thirty and forty-three when he reached the centurionate. Assuming that his dona were given in one of the Dacian wars of Trajan then Valerius Proclus probably died in the late 130's or the 140's (he died at the age of seventy-five). The Ignotus of CIL XI 2112 died in the years following Hadrian's Judaeen war of 132-134. The Ignotus was awarded dona in a Dacian war by an unnamed emperor who must have been Trajan. In the late 130's the embarrassment of the age of Domitian was over, the obvious Dacian wars were those of Trajan. On the question of the extent of the dona Maxfield was at pains to explain that dona were given for individual acts, and, within certain limits, were subject to the whim of the awarding emperor.<sup>7</sup>

If we assume that Valerius Proclus gained his dona in one of Trajan's Dacian wars then it might be possible to see a connection between the career of Valerius Proclus and the senator Q. Pompeius Falco (cos. suff. 108). Pompeius Falco was legatus legionis of V Macedonica during the Dacian war of 101-102 and he won dona in that war. He governed Moesia Inferior from c115-c118 before being transferred to Britain where he is attested, probably just after the end of his governorship, on 17th

July 122.<sup>8</sup> The coincidence of posts; Valerius Proclus being solely within Moesia Inferior and Britain, Pompeius Falco having charge of V Macedonica (and gaining dona), Moesia Inferior and Britain, is interesting and it is tempting to see a connection between the two men. Yet it has to be stated that while legionary legates and consular governors may have taken centurions with them when they were transferred to a different province, the practice is not proveable in a single instance. Having said that, it is still possible that Valerius Proclus accompanied Pompeius Falco from Moesia Inferior to Britain. That transfer may have had something to do with the trouble in Britain recorded by the S.H.A. early in the reign of Hadrian.<sup>9</sup>

If that hypothesis is correct then another item of information may be assumed. Valerius Proclus was transferred from XX Valeria Victrix to IX Hispana. That transfer almost certainly occurred within Britain. IX Hispana is last attested in Britain in 108.<sup>10</sup> Its presence in Britain in the early years of Hadrian might be suggested from the hypothesis outlined above. The implications of that possibility are considerable for such diverse problems as the building of Hadrian's wall and the end of IX Hispana. Without making any sort of formal identification it is interesting to recall RIB 1364 from the Vallum close to Turret 7B (centuria) Pro...

The suggestions on the time spent by IX Hispana in Britain outlined above are perhaps to be preferred to the suggestions relating to IX Hispana in the discussion of Ti. Claudius Vitalis (see above).

### Notes

1. Birley (1965) 30
2. Maxfield (1981) 191
3. *op. cit.* 192
4. *ibid.*
5. Breeze (1974) 273
6. Forni (1953) 47
7. Maxfield (1981) 200. Admittedly the range of awards is not large.
8. CIL XVI 69
9. S.H.A. Hadr. 3, 6-7
10. RIB 665

## L. Velius Prudens

No. 807

CIL XI 7093a = ILS 9189

Perusia  
Italy Reg. VII

(Hadrian's titles for AD120) ... L. Velius L. f. Clu(stumina) Prud[e]n[s]  
(centurio) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis) (trecentarius), [prin]ceps castror(um),  
(centurio) coh[ortis] X Pr(aetoriae), (centurio) coh(ortis) X Urb(anae),  
(centurio) coh(ortis) IIII Vig(ilum), evoc(atus) A[ug(usti)] t(estamento) f(ieri)  
i(ussit) l(ocus) d(atus) [d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)].

L. Velius Prudens, centurion, Trajan-Hadrian

- |                                      |        |
|--------------------------------------|--------|
| 1. Evocatus Aug.                     | Rome   |
| 2. Centurio coh. IIII Vigilum        | Rome   |
| 3. Centurio coh. X Urbana            | Rome   |
| 4. Centurio coh. X Praetoria         | Rome   |
| 5. Princeps Castrorum (Trecentarius) | Rome   |
| 6. Centurio X Fretensis              | Judaea |

The transfer from the praetorian guard to X Fretensis might suggest the man was a Greek speaker. However, his tribe and his career show him to have been Italian.

## Ignotus (CIL III 14178)

No. 208

CIL III 14178

Cyanae  
Lycia

pro[b]a[t]us in leg(ione) I Ad(iutrice), opt[io] et (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII  
Gem(inae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XV Apol(inaris) (centurio) le[g(ionis)] XXX  
[V] V, [(centurio)] leg(ionis) VII [Cl(audiae)] Trophimus L(ibertus).

Ignotus (CIL III 14178), Trajan?

- |                               |                 |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. miles I Adiutrix           | Pannonia        |
| 2. optio XIII Gemina          | Pannonia?       |
| 3. centurio XIII Gemina       | Pannonia?       |
| 4. centurio XV Apollinaris    | Pannonia?       |
| 5. centurio XXX Ulpia Victrix | Pannonia?       |
| 6. centurio VII Claudia       | Moesia Superior |

The inscription of the Ignotus can hardly be earlier than the reign of Trajan as his third post as a centurion was with XXX Ulpia Victrix which was probably raised in the first five or so years of the reign of Trajan. The dating of the inscription comes from the transfers of the centurion. It is particularly attractive to see the transfer

between I Adiutrix and XIII Gemina take place before c107 when XIII Gemina left Pannonia for Dacia. Transfers between legions below the rank of centurion were rare and it would probably be more likely if the transfer occurred within a province. The next two transfers of the Ignotus probably took place in Pannonia as well. XV Apollinaris was in Pannonia until about the time of the outbreak of Trajan's Parthian War, while the first base of the new legion XXX Ulpia Victrix was almost certainly Pannonia.<sup>1</sup> The Ignotus could have been one of the earliest centurions of XXX Ulpia Victrix. The final transfer of the centurion could explain the findspot of the inscription for VII Claudia went east for Trajan's Parthian War.<sup>2</sup>

### Notes

1. Ritterling (1925) 1822
2. ILS 9491, See Syme (1971) 98

### Ignotus (CIL XIII 6952)

No. 283

CIL XIII 6952

Mainz  
Germania Superior

---- P. f. ---Aeq[uo Dal]matiae, aquilif(er) leg(ionis) XXX UI[p(iae)]  
Vict(ricis), promot(us) (centurio) l[eg(ionis)] XIII Ge(minae), M(artiae)  
V(icticis), (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XX[II]  
Prim(igeniae) p(iae) f(idelis)] qui me[r(uit)] stip(endia) XLV an(nos) LXX.

Ignotus CIL XIII 6952, centurion, first half of the second century.

- |                                |                   |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Aquilifer XXX Ulpia Victrix | Pannonia Superior |
| 2. Centurio XIV Gemina         | Pannonia Superior |
| 3. Centurio XIII Gemina        | Dacia Superior    |
| 4. Centurio XXII Primigenia    | Germania Superior |

The Ignotus of CIL XIII 6952 was from Aequum in Dalmatia. J.C. Mann<sup>1</sup> has argued that new legions were only raised in Italy through the period of the Principate, yet an argument can be put forward for the Ignotus to have been a very early recruit into XXX Ulpia Victrix. The earliest province of XXX Ulpia Victrix was Pannonia Superior in the reign of Trajan.<sup>2</sup> It is much more likely that a recruit from Dalmatia

would have entered the legion while it was in Pannonia rather than during the period when it was at Vetera in Germania Inferior. This contention is supported by the fact that the first centurionate of the Ignotus was in XIII Gemina, one of the legions of Pannonia Superior. It is more likely for the promotion of a ranker to take place within a province rather than across provinces. Following Breeze and Forni<sup>3</sup> it seems likely that a ranker would have served thirteen to twenty years before being promoted to the centurionate. On that basis the promotion from XXX Ulpia Victrix to XIII Gemina could have occurred before the end of the reign of Trajan. The transfer from XIII Gemina to XXII Primigenia may have occurred at the time of Trajan's Parthian war when vexillations of the two legions were brigaded together under the command of C. Julius Quadratus Bassus. However, this would push all of the transfers into a period of no more than sixteen years, which is probably too short a time. J.C. Mann<sup>4</sup> suggested that the Ignotus was recruited into XXX Ulpia Victrix after c122, however he has no other examples of Dalmatian recruits into the legion in its period of occupation in Germany and the suggestion of recruitment into the legion while it was in Pannonia seems much more likely.

### Notes

1. Mann (1983) 483 et seq.
2. Ritterling (1925) 1822
3. Breeze (1974). Forni (1953)
4. Mann (1983) 95

## Chapter Four

### Careers in the Legionary Centurionate

#### 4. cAD140 - cAD194

Apart from the aberration of the Jewish War of c132-c135 the reign of Hadrian had largely been peaceful. The reign of Antoninus Pius was marked by a series of small wars fought by the legates of the Emperor, notably in Britain and Mauretania,<sup>1</sup> but with nothing like the convulsive conflicts of the reigns of Domitian or Trajan. However, the reign of Marcus Aurelius was marked by very important wars in the East and on the Danube. These were perhaps even more important in their way than the Dacian Wars or the Parthian War of Trajan. Yet the transfers of centurions do not reflect the importance of the wars of the reign of Marcus in the same way that they seemed to reflect the wars of Trajan.

There are more multiple-centurionate careers attested in the period c140-c194 than there are in the period c96-c140. An important reason for this is the emergence of Lambaesis as the most prolific producer of inscriptions of any legionary fortress. Fourteen of the fifty-six careers under discussion are attested at Lambaesis. There is also a tendency for the centurions in the period to have more commonplace names. Indeed, the nomenclature of the Emperors, and the more typical provincial nomenclature abound. This doubtless reflects the provincial recruitment patterns of the second century. The commonplace names of the centurions increase the possibility of the occurrence of two or more inscriptions attesting the same name. Some of these are clearly coincidental others may record centurions at different stages of their careers.

There is a slight tendency for the period to show more transfers coming to and going from the legions which are closest to the capitals of their province in provinces with more than one legion. These legions were; XI Claudia in Moesia Inferior, VII

Claudia in Moesia Superior, XIII Gemina in Dacia, XIV Gemina in Pannonia Superior, XXII Primigenia in Germania Superior, I Minervia in Germania Inferior and (perhaps) II Augusta in Britain. This may be an indication of better opportunities for patronage but in some cases it is quite clear that the capitals of the provinces (eg. Mainz and Carnuntum) simply produce many more inscriptions than anywhere else in the province. It is also clear that in all periods governors used centurions from legions which were not closest to their capital.

The period produces nine primipilares with details of careers before the primipilate. Of those, Amblasius Secundus, Apicius Tiro and the Ignotus CIL XI 1059 could be earlier than c140. Of the others, Artorius Castus, Cestius Sabinus and Petronius Sabinus all reached the primipilate after between two to four centurionates. The fragmentary inscription of Sextilius Marcianus may attest a primipilaris with as many as seven posts as a centurion, but that is rare in all periods. All of the careers of the primipilares suggest the men were either praetorians or were likely to have been directly commissioned. In comparison to the centurions of the period Trajan to Hadrian there are far fewer attested careers of men reaching the primipilate.

The later second century produced approximately the same number of praetorians as were attested in the period Trajan to Hadrian though there was a larger number of men who had not held the post of evocatus. The directly-commissioned centurions of the period c140-c194 are by no means so obvious. The process of using the phrase ex equite romana seems to have died out and we are left with simply many careers giving no evidence of posts before the centurionate. Caecilius Optatus, Cestius Sabinus and the younger Petronius Fortunatus, look directly commissioned but the only certainty is Aemilius Pudens, adlected by Commodus.

As was the case with careers from the period c96-c140, men with more than six centurionates seldom seem to have reached the primipilate. Six centurions are

attested with more than six posts as a centurion. Only Sextilius Marcellus seems to have reached the primipilate and that career was heavily restored, while the men with more than ten posts as centurions die in that rank. The number of centurions who have multiple-centurionate careers, which do not seem to end in the primipilate, seems to be increasing though that might be simply the result of a different quantity and quality of information. It would appear that, given about one third of centurions reaching the age of fifty had a chance of the primipilate, and that primipilares almost always seem to have multiple-centurionate careers, probably more than half the number of centurions reaching the age of fifty<sup>2</sup> (and many below that age, as is shown by the tombstones) would have multiple-centurionate careers.

There are few signs that transfers tended to take place within the provinces in which legions were situated. This may be partly the result of fewer provinces (three, in fact) having more than two legions, and partly through the increase in the number of single legion praetorian provinces. Only about 10% of the total number of transfers occurred in the same province. The career of Petronius Fortunatus, so exceptional in its origins, turns out to be an excellent example of the period, in that he is hardly ever transferred to a legion which seems to have had anything to do with his previous legion, and that after thirteen centurionates he did not reach the primipilate. Transfers from the west to the east, which were noted for their scarcity in previous chapters, continued to occur in the context of the directly-commissioned, the easterners or the Africans.

War does not seem to have been a fertile source of transfers in the period c140-c194. Artorius Castus, Iulius Proculus, Petronius, Petronius Fortunatus (the elder), and Titius Barbius Titianus may have been transferred from Danubian legions into eastern legions during the Parthian War of L. Verus but even they are not certain. Petronius Sabinus won dona in the German War of Marcus Aurelius, but that is a war which produces no obvious transfers at all. The reason for the absence of the transfers

in war could be the increasing proliferation of vexillation commands involving numbers<sup>3</sup> of legions from different provinces which could have produced many transfers which are not obvious because of the lack of closely dateable evidence.

There are many careers of centurions, but there is not much variety. The elder Petronius Fortunatus has the most exceptional origins of any of the centurions while rankers, on Eric Birley's evidence<sup>4</sup> the most common source of the centurionate, are very difficult to find. The problem of identifying centurions who were promoted from the ranks or were given direct commissions may be exacerbated by the possibility that the frontier provinces might be beginning to produce equestrians by the later second century. The only centurion likely to have been brought in as one of the first centurions of a new legion was the *ex evocatus* Cornelius Florentinus.

The striking feature of the diagram showing transfers of centurions is how few variations there are in it. The predominance of III Augusta is clear but that seems to be the result of the quantity of the evidence rather than any other factor.

### Notes

1. S.H.A. Pius, 5. 4-5
2. Dobson (1978) 63, 150
3. eg. AE 1957 123
4. Birley (1953) 121

The following diagram shows the transfers of centurions in the period c140-c194.





**MULTIPLE CENTURIONATE CAREERS**

**6. Careers from c140 - c194**

8	425(1)						
815(6)	818(5)						
822	924(2)						
889(1)	961			867			
1451	1458(2)			882			
1458(1)	1463(2)			1497			
VII Gem.	III Aug.			Praet.			
Hisp. T.	Numidia			Rome			
				Urban.			
				882			
				Strator.			
				791			
				882			
				Vigiles.			

\* Post later than c194

## Alphabetical list

M.	Aebutius Victorinus	19
P.	Aelius Romanus	378
	Aemilius Pudens	565
	Amblasius Secundus	791
	Antonius Nereus	961
M.	Antonius Sabinus	386
M.	Apicius Tiro	865
M.	Appianus Ursulus	178
L.	Artorius Castus	1467
M.	Aurelius Lucillus	815
L.	Caecilius Optatus	822
C.	Cestius Sabinus	867
Ti.	Claudius Andreas	345
Ti.	Claudius Ulpianus	107
Ti.	Claudius Valerianus	30
M.	Cornelius Faustus	175
C.	Cornelius Florentinus	401
	Cu[----] Campanus	897
C.	Domitius Alexander	403
Q.	Flavius Festivus	1451
	Flavius Marcianus	18
T.	Flavius Verecundus	87
	Iulius Alexander	64
C.	Iulius Bassianus	347
C.	Iulius Candidus	696
C.	Iulius Celer	31
C.	Iulius Crescens	25
C.	Iulius Germanus	8
C.	Iulius Iulianus	157
C.	Iulius Maritimus	418
M.	Iulius Martius	329
C.	Iulius Proculus	310
C.	Iulius Valerianus	361
M.	Iunius Montanus	1465
M.	Liburnius Fronto	666
L.	Mantius Hispanus	425
C.	Masculinius Masculus	92
L.	Numerius Felix	818
C.	Octavius Honoratus	449
	Papius Firmus	924
	Petronius	109
M.	Petronius Fortunatus	350
	Petronius Fortunatus	349
L.	Petronius Sabinus	805
L.	Pupianus Verinus	1802
T.	Sergius Longus	189
	Sextilius Marcianus	887
T.	Statilius Solon	1200
M.	Titius Ti. Barbius Titianus	74
Q.	Trebellius Maximus	149
P.	Turranius Severus	1803
M.	Ulpus Avitus	243
M.	Ulpus Titus	59
C.	Valerius Clemens	139
L.	Valerius Rufus	437
M.	Valerius Secundus	1458
	Vesuvius Rufus	1353
T.	Vitellius Atillianus	439
	Ignotus CIL V 955	1807
	Ignotus CIL VIII 16553	1463
	Ignotus CIL XI 1059	889

## Numerical list

8	C.	Iulius Germanus
18		Flavius Marcianus
19	M.	Aebutius Victorinus
25	C.	Iulius Crescens
30	Ti.	Claudius Valerianus
31	C.	Iulius Celer
59	M.	Ulpus Titus
64		Iulius Alexander
74	M.	Titius Ti. Barbius Titianus
87	T.	Flavius Verecundus
92	C.	Masculinius Masculus
107	Ti.	Claudius Ulpianus
109		Petronius
139	C.	Valerius Clemens
149	Q.	Trebellius Maximus
157	C.	Iulius Iulianus
175	M.	Cornelius Faustus
178	M.	Appianus Ursulus
189	T.	Sergius Longus
243	M.	Ulpus Avitus
310	C.	Iulius Proculus
329	M.	Iulius Martius
345	Ti.	Claudius Andreas
347	C.	Iulius Bassianus
349		Petronius Fortunatus
350	M.	Petronius Fortunatus
361	C.	Iulius Valerianus
378	P.	Aelius Romanus
386	M.	Antonius Sabinus
401	C.	Cornelius Florentinus
403	C.	Domitius Alexander
418	C.	Iulius Maritimus
425	L.	Mantius Hispanus
437	L.	Valerius Rufus
439	T.	Vitellius Atillianus
449	C.	Octavius Honoratus
565		Aemilius Pudens
666	M.	Liburnius Fronto
696	C.	Iulius Candidus
791		Amblasius Secundus
805	L.	Petronius Sabinus
815	M.	Aurelius Lucillus
818	L.	Numerius Felix
822	L.	Caecilius Optatus
865	M.	Apicius Tiro
867	C.	Cestius Sabinus
887		Sextilius Marcianus
889		Ignotus CIL XI 1059
897		Cu[----] Campanus
924		Papius Firmus
961		Antonius Nereus
1200	T.	Statilius Solon
1353		Vesuvius Rufus
1451	Q.	Flavius Festivus
1458	M.	Valerius Secundus
1463		Ignotus CIL VIII 16553
1465	M.	Iunius Montanus
1467	L.	Artorius Castus
1802	L.	Pupianus Verinus
1803	P.	Turranius Severus
1807		Ignotus CIL V 955

## M. Aebutius Victorinus

No. 19

CIL III 6761 = 260

Ancyra  
Galatia

D(is) M(anibus). M. Aebutius M. f. Ulp(ia) Papir(ia) Troiana Victorinus  
Poetovio, stip(endiorum) X[L]V, an(norum) LXIII m(ensis) II, (centurio)  
leg(ionis) X G(eminae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), [(centurio)]  
leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae), (centurio) leg(ionis) I Mine(rviae), [(centurio) ]  
eg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae), [(centurio)  
leg(ionis)] VII Cl(audiae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XV Ap(ollinaris).

M. Aebutius Victorinus, centurion, died after Trajan's Parthian war.

1. X Gemina	Pann. Inf.
2. XI Claudia	Pann. Sup. Moes. Inf.
3. XIV Gemina	Pann. Sup.
4. I Minervia	Germ. Inf.
5. XXII Primigenia	Germ. Sup. (Parthian war?)
6. XIII Gemina	Dacia Sup. (Parthian war?)
7. VII Claudia	Moes. Sup. (Parthian war?)
8. XV Apollinaris	Cappadocia

Interpretations of the career of Aebutius Victorinus depend upon the number of stipendia he served. The inscription is now lost but Mommsen read XIV stipendia in CIL and its editors saw no reason to change that reading. In 1963 Professor Eric Birley gave the man XLV stipendia and included him in a list of long serving centurions.<sup>1</sup> No explanation was given as to why Professor Birley amended the inscription, perhaps he felt that 49 was too late for a man to join the army. If Aebutius Victorinus did become centurion at the age of 49 then he is the oldest recorded directly commissioned centurion. There can be no doubt that if Aebutius Victorinus joined the army at the age of 49 he did so as a directly-commissioned centurion. It would be virtually impossible for a man to have a career in the ranks and then eight centurionates within fourteen years.

There is little direct evidence of the date of the inscription on the stone. The last post of Aebutius Victorinus was with XV Apollinaris in Asia Minor, which suggests he died after the Parthian War of Trajan. If Aebutius Victorinus served only fourteen years then his sequence of centurionates and transfers could be interpreted to give him a career in the period c104-c118. The man was Pannonian and could have been directly

commissioned into X Gemina soon after that legion took station in Pannonia (possibly at Mursa<sup>2</sup> and certainly, at some stage in the reign of Trajan, Aquincum<sup>3</sup>). Pannonia Inferior may not have been created till after the second Dacian War, its first attested governor was P. Aelius Hadrianus (suff 108). Victorinus' first transfer to XI Claudia could have occurred in Pannonia before c106 when XI Claudia<sup>4</sup> probably went to Moesia Inferior, while his second transfer, to XIV Gemina could again have kept him within Pannonia around the time of the second Dacian War. His third transfer to I Minervia could have occurred during the second Dacian War, when I Minervia was commanded by P. Aelius Hadrianus.

Service with XXII Primigenia could have taken him east for Trajan's Parthian War, as a vexillation of the legion served in the Parthian War.<sup>5</sup> The transfer from XXII Primigenia to XIII Gemina could have occurred during the Parthian War as a vexillation of XIII Gemina<sup>6</sup> was present in the east,  $\alpha\beta$  was the whole of VII Claudia.<sup>7</sup> No evidence exists for the participation of XV Apollinaris in the Parthian War of Trajan, but in the aftermath the legion is at Satala in Cappadocia;<sup>8</sup> a transfer between VII Claudia and XV Apollinaris while both legions were in the east could be suggested. The fit of legions is almost too snug. It has to be pointed out that none of these connections are proveable. The inscription is only likely to have been set up after c116.

Again, Professor Birley may be correct in his assumptions as to the stipendia of Aebutius Victorinus in which case a direct commission becomes much less likely (though not impossible-see Pilonius Modestus). The career will then be dateable to the period after X Gemina gets to Pannonia, therefore after c102. The mention of the pseudo tribe Ulp(ia) as well as the tribe Papiria might suggest a later second century date.

## Notes

1. Birley (1963) 33
2. AE 1928 157
3. III 10517 AE 1965, 121
4. Ritterling (1925) 1697 suggests post c115 and the earliest reference is of that period. But that would mean six legions in the two Pannonian Provinces after c106, which seems excessive.
5. III 144026
6. See C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus cos. suff. 105
7. ILS 9491
8. French and Summerly (1987) 21

### P. Aelius Romanus

#### No. 378

CIL VIII 2786 = ILS 2659

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus). P. Aelio P. f. Romano ex Mysia, (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Au(gustae) et VII Cl(audiae), XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), et I Ital(icae), donis donato debellatori hostium prov(inciae) Hisp(aniae) et Mazicum reg(ione) Montens(ium). Valeria Ingenus coniunx cum Tubrone filis fec(erunt).

P. Aelius Romanus, centurion, mid second century.

- |                       |                 |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1. I Italica          | Moesia Inferior |
| 2. XX Valeria Victrix | Britain         |
| 3. VII Claudia        | Moesia Superior |
| 4. III Augusta        | Numidia         |

The career of Aelius Romanus was probably given in reverse order. He was recruited into I Italica, the legion at Novae in Moesia inferior which was in the area of his birth and he died at Lambaesis, the legionary fortress of III Augusta which was his last post. The Spanish rebellion which involved the Mazices was presumably that of the sole reign of Marcus Aurelius<sup>1</sup> in which the Moors caused trouble within Spain. Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> describes the Mazices as moorish people. We cannot know the legion to which Aelius Romanus belonged when the war in Spain broke out.

Both Eric Birley<sup>3</sup> and P. Holder<sup>4</sup> were of the opinion that Aelius Romanus was enfranchised when he entered the legions taking name of the emperor Hadrian. It is difficult to find support for such a notion. If the practice were general one might expect large numbers of Ulpii in the centurions which appear on Hadrian's Wall. In fact only

two Ulpii have been found from that closely dateable group. on the contrary, where it is possible to find closely dateable groups of legionary soldiers, they do not seem to possess the nomenclature of the reigning Emperor. Far from being given the Emperor's name on enlistment, Aelius Romanus could even be directly commissioned.

### Notes

1. S.H.A. Marci 21,1; 22,2
2. Ptolemy 4, 2.19
3. Birley (1963) 26
4. Holder (1983) 46

### Aemilius Pudens

No. 565

AE 1949, 38

Thaenae  
Numidia

[Aemi]lio Q. fil. Pap(iria) Pudenti, [cent]urioni legionis III Aug(ustae), [et] leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) [e]t iterum l(e)g(ionis) [II A]ug(ustae) [e]t leg(ionis) XI Claudiae, [ad]lecto in comitatu Imp(eratoris) [Com]modi Aug(usti) Pii Fel(icis), [q(uin) q(uenalis)] col(oniae) Thaenitanae, fratri [Q. Ae]mili Laeti praef(ecti) praet(orio).

Aemilius Pudens, centurion, post 185.

- |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. III Augusta | Numidia         |
| 2. II Augusta  | Britain         |
| 3. II Augusta  | Britain         |
| 4. XI Claudia  | Moesia Inferior |

The career of Aemilius Pudens shows the significance of patronage and support in advancement through the army. Aemilius Pudens was the brother of Aemilius Laetus, the last of the praetorian prefects of Commodus. Aemilius Pudens was given a direct commission. The inscription is not without problems; none of Commodus's praetorian prefects served more than three years<sup>1</sup> and the number of centurionates held by Pudens suggest the direct-commission may have taken place before Laetus became Praetorian Prefect for there is no suggestion from the inscription that either Commodus or Aemilius Laetus were dead. (Commodus was killed on the last day of 192, Aemilius Laetus was killed by Didius Julianus in the summer of 193<sup>2</sup> - he had become Praetorian Prefect in c190) The career of Aemilius Pudens need not have come to a full stop under

Septimius Severus - it had been Aemilius Pudens who achieved the appointment of Severus to the governorship of Pannonia Superior in 191.<sup>3</sup>

### Notes

1. S.H.A Commodus 14, 8
2. S.H.A. Didius Julianus 6, 2
3. S.H.A. Severus 4, 5

### Amblasius Secundus

No. 791

CIL XI 710 Dobson 243

Bononia  
Italy Reg. VIII

D(is) M(anibus), [---] Amblasi C. f. M[---] CN Secund(i), mil(itis) coh(ortis) [---] tr(ibunus), mil(itis) coh(ortis) I, [---] tessera(rii) [---] NA[---]tionis, sign(iferi) coh(ortis) eiusdem [---] nef(iciarii) praef(ecti) praet(orio), MCC Aug(usti) [---] (centurionis) coh(ortis) I Vig(ilum), (centurionis) coh(ortis) XIII Urb(anae), [centurionis] leg(ionis) V Ma(cedonicae) ex tr(ecenario) MACFSTRE[---]hic I Adiutricis p(iae) f(idelis), Hilara Cyrilla uxor marito optimo.

Amblasius Secundus, centurion and primipilaris, second century?

- |  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. Miles coh. Praet?                   | Rome                        |
| 2. Tesserarius                         | Rome                        |
| 3. Optio                               | Rome                        |
| 4. Signifer                            | Rome                        |
| 5. Bf. Praef. Praet.                   | Rome                        |
| 6. Evocatus Aug.?                      | Rome                        |
| 7. Centurio coh. I Vigilum             | Rome                        |
| 8. Centurio coh. XIII Urbana           | Carthage                    |
| 9. Centurio V Macedonia ex trecenarius | Moesia Inferior or III Dac. |
| 10. Centurio ?? Parthicae ?            | Italy or Mesopotamia        |
| 11. P.P. I Adiutrix                    | Pann. Sup. or Pann. Inf.    |

The fragmentary inscription shows an Italian Praetorian who may have entered one of the Parthian legions. Certainty is impossible and the form of the inscription looks second rather than third century.

**Antonius Nereus**

**No. 961**

AE 1955, 238

Nicopolis  
Egypt

Coh. X II Traiana ...(centuria) Antoni Nerei (five veterans from his century, all from African towns) AD 157

CIL VIII 18065

Lambaesis  
Numidia

Coh. VIII III Augusta ... (centurio) Antonius Nereus AD 162

Antonius Nereus, centurion, mid second century

1. II Traiana
2. III Augusta

Egypt  
Numidia

In VIII 18065, in coh. VIII there are seven centurions. Antonius Nereus is number five in descending order.

**M. Antonius Sabinus**

**No. 386**

CIL VIII 2808

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum), M. Antonius M. fil. Collin(a) Sabinus Caes rea Augus(ta), (centurio) leg(ionis) X Fr(etensis), (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), v(ixit) a(nnis) LX, et filia eius Antonia Antulla, v(ixit) a(nnis) XI, Varia Binna coiunx.

M. Antonius Sabinus, centurion, second century.

1. X Fretensis
2. III Augusta

Syria Palaestina  
Numidia

M. Antonius Sabinus was from Caes rea Augusta-presumably the capital of Syria Palaestina. No record of service before the centurionate is given, which allows the possibility that he was directly commissioned. It is also possible that he was simply recruited into X Fretensis, one of the legions of Syria Palaestina and later became a centurion in that legion. He died at Lambaesis aged 60. No closer date can be gained than the second century.

## M. Apicius Tiro

No. 865

CIL XI 19 = ILS 2664 Dobson 245

Ravenna  
Italy Reg. VIII

M. Apicio T. f. Cam(ilia) Tironi, p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XXII Primig(eniae), P(iae) f(idelis), praef(ecto) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apollin(aris), evoc(ato) a comment(ariis) cust(odiarum), optioni, evoc(ato) salar(iario), curat(ori) ab indicib(us), patron(o) mun(icipii) Raven(nae), pontif(ici).

M. Apicius Tiro, centurion and primipilaris, early second century?

- |                              |                           |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Evocatus                  | Rome                      |
| 2. Centurio XV Apollinaris   | Pannonia Sup., Cappadocia |
| 3. P.P. XXII Primigenia      | Germ. Sup.                |
| 4. Praef. Castr. XIII Gemina | Pann. Sup. Dacia          |

Apicius Tiro was enrolled in the tribe of Ravenna (Camilia). He was almost certainly from that place. Dobson did not attempt to date the inscription other than suggesting it must be later than AD 96 when XXII Primigenia retained the titles P(ia) F(idelis) and dropped D(omitiana).<sup>1</sup> If the inscription is a tombstone, it is probably early second century, since it should be fitted between AD 96 and the establishment of the formula D(is) M(anibus) for tombstones. Dobson had explained some of the problems of the career before the centurionate. The inscription does not tell us whether Apicius Tiro was a praetorian but his posts before the centurionate make praetorian service highly likely. As a centurion Apicius Tiro was exceptional in that he, like Terentius Rufus, had only one post as a centurion before the primipilate.

### Note

1. Dobson (1978) 327

## M. Appianus Ursulus

No. 178

CIL III 10940 = 4242

Scarbantia  
Pannonia Superior

Silvano Aug(usto), M. Appianus Ursulus Agr(ippinensis), (centurio) leg(ionis) V[I Vic(tricis)] p(iae) f(idelis) (centurio) leg(ionis) I[II Au]g(ustae), (centurio) [le]g(ionis) X[Gem(inae)]...

M. Appianus Ursulus, centurion, second century.

- |                                  |                    |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. VI Victrix or                 | Germ. Inf. Britain |
| 1. VII Claudia                   | Moesia Superior    |
| 2. III Augusta                   | Numidia            |
| 3. X[Gemina??] or X[IV Gemina??] | Pannonia Superior  |

Appianus Ursulus was probably from C.C.A.A. in Germania Inferior. That might support the identification of his first centurionate post with VI Victrix which was in Germania Inferior from c71 till c123. The transfer from III Augusta to a legion which may be X or XIV Gemina could reflect the absorption of a vexillation of III Augusta into the legions on the Danube after the Parthian war of Trajan.<sup>1</sup> Certainty is impossible. The inscription may pre-date 194 for III Augusta lacks the titles pia v(index) it gained in 194.

#### Note

1. Ritterling (1925) 1500

### L. Artorius Castus

No. 1467

CIL III 12791 = 8513 = 1919 = ILS 2770. Dobson 151 Pflaum 196 Epetium Dalmatia

D(is) M(anibus), L. Artori[us Ca]stus (centurio) III Gallicae item (centurio) leg(ionis) VI Ferratae item (centurio) leg(ionis) II Adi[utricis i]tem (centurio) leg(ionis) V M(acedonicae) c(onstantis) item p(rimus) p(ilus) eiusdem legionis, praeposito classis Misenaetium,[item pr]aef(ecto) leg(ionis) VI Victricis, duci leg(ionum)[duaru]m Britanicianarum adversus Arm[orican]os, proc(uratori) centenario provinciae Lib[urn]iae iure]gladi, vivus ipse sibi et suis[--- ex te]st(amento).

L. Artorius Castus, centurion and primipilaris, Marcus Aurelius-Commodus.

- |  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. III Gallica                         | Syria                       |
| 2. VI Ferrata                          | Syria Palaestina            |
| 3. II Adiutrix                         | Pann. I. (Parthian War)     |
| 4. V Macedonica                        | Moes. I. (Parth. War) Dacia |
| 5. P.P. V Macedonica                   | III Dacia                   |
| 6. Praeposito Classis Misenum          |                             |
| 7. Praef. VI Victrix                   | Britain                     |
| 8. Dux legionum duarum Britanicianarum | Armorica                    |
| 9. Procurator Prov. Liburnia           |                             |

The career of Artorius Castus has been discussed by both Dobson and Pflaum (see above references). His origo is not known, but if he was from Dalmatia, then his first centurionate with a Syrian legion (III Gallica) would suggest he was directly

commissioned. Both Dobson and Pflaum dated the prefecture of VI Victrix and the posts which followed that prefecture to the time of Commodus. The transfers of Artorius Castus as a centurion recall the career of Antistius Adventus in the Parthian war. The senator Antistius Adventus commanded VI Ferrata and II Adiutrix in the Parthian war of c162-168. Artorius Castus could have followed his legionary commander. Castus then served as a centurion in V Macedonica which also served in the Parthian war of 162-168 before returning to the Danube. It seems reasonable to argue that the title of V Macedonica, constans, given on the inscription was current when the inscription was put up rather than when Castus served in the legion. Ritterling dated the title constans to the period 185-187.<sup>1</sup> The career of Castus may have involved a period of over twenty years as a centurion if he was directly commissioned. The centurion could have entered V Macedonica towards the end of the Parthian war and been with that legion for perhaps 15 years up to the point where he became Primus Pilus.

#### Note

1. Ritterling (1925) 1371

### M. Aurelius Lucillus

No. 815

CIL II 4147

Tarraco  
Hispania Tarraconensis

M. Aur(elio) M. f. Pap(iria) Lucil[l]o Poetovion(o) ex singularib(us)  
Imp(eratoris), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Adiut(ricis), leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae),  
leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), leg(ionis) XIII Gemin(ae), leg(ionis) VII  
Cl(audiae), leg(ionis) VII Gemi[n(ae)] hast(ato) pr(ior) annor(um) LX,  
stipendiorum XXXX, Ulpia Iuventina uxor et heres marito pientissimo et  
indulgentissimo faciend(um) curavit.

M. Aurelius Lucillus, centurion, later second century.

- |                                    |                        |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Eques singularis Aug.           | Rome                   |
| 2. Centurio I Adiutrix             | Pannonia Superior      |
| 3. Centurio II Traiana             | Egypt                  |
| 4. Centurio VIII Augusta           | Germania Superior      |
| 5. Centurio XIV Gemina             | Pannonia Superior      |
| 6. Centurio VII Claudia            | Moesia Superior        |
| 7. Centurio VII Gemina Hast. Prior | Hispania Tarraconensis |

Dr. Breeze dated the career of Aurelius Lucillus to the third century,<sup>1</sup> it is not clear why unless he considered the transfer from II Traiana to VIII Augusta was likely to have occurred in the context of the German War of Caracalla.<sup>2</sup> Le Roux dated the career to the reign of Septimius Severus.<sup>3</sup>

### Notes

1. Breeze (1974) 286
2. Ritterling (1925) 1317-1318
3. Le Roux (1982) 330

### L. Caecilius Optatus

No. 822

CIL II 4514 = ILS 6957

Barcino  
Hispania Tarraconensis

L. Caecilius L. f. Pap(iria) Optatus, (centurio) leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) fel(icis), et (centurio) leg(ionis) XV Apollin(aris), missus honesta missione ab Imp(eratore) M. Aur(elio) Antonino et Aur(elio) Vero Aug(ustorum) atlectus a Bar[c(ino)] inter immunes ... (His will follows)

L. Caecilius Optatus, centurion, 161-169.

1. VII Gemina
2. XV Apollinaris

Hispania Tarraconensis  
Cappadocia

L. Caecilius Optatus was probably not from Barcino as the tribe of Barcino was Galeria. He was almost certainly a directly commissioned centurion who was given honourable discharge by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus - that is in the period 161-169. His will shows him to be a man of considerable wealth. The order of the centurionates is difficult to recover, as he is unlikely to have come from either Syria or Cappadocia and he came to Barcino to retire. The Caecilius Optatus of R.I.B. 1265, 1268, and 1272 who commanded cohors I Fida Vardullorum at High Rochester in the reign of Caracalla has been suggested as a relative, but the will of Caecilius Optatus seems to suggest he had no lineal descendants.

## C. Cestius Sabinus

No. 867

CIL XI 6057 Dobson 131

Urvinum Mataurense  
Italy Reg. VI.

C. Cestio C f. Stel(latina) Sabino, trib(uno) coh(ortis) XIII Urb(anae), p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) I Adiutricis p(iae) f(idelis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) ex trecenario, (centurioni) coh(ortis) VIII Pr(aetoriae), (centurioni) coh(ortis) XIII Urb(anae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Adiutric(is) pia(e) fid(elis) et leg(ionis) VI Claud(iae) p(iae) f(idelis) donis donat(o) ab Antonino Aug(usto) hasta pura, IIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) patrono municip(i).

C. Cestius Sabinus, centurion and primipilaris, Pius.

1. VII Claudia	Moesia Superior
2. II Adiutrix	Pannonia Inferior
3. XIII Urbana	Rome
4. VIII Praetoria (trecenarius)	Rome
5. P.P. I Adiutrix	Pannonia Superior
6. Trib. Coh. XIII Urbana	Carthage.

Cestius Sabinus was almost certainly from Urvinum as he was enrolled in the tribe of that place (Stellatina). He appears to have been directly commissioned as a centurion. No posts are mentioned before his first centurionate while when he embarked upon the Rome series of centurionates the Vigiles post was omitted, which is proof of a direct commission.<sup>1</sup> Dobson and Breeze have pointed out that service with the Rome cohorts for a directly commissioned centurion carried with it a very good chance of becoming Primus Pilus.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Maxfield has pointed out that Cestius Sabinus was the only soldier known to have been decorated by Antoninus Pius.<sup>3</sup> The S.H.A. states that Pius fought wars through his legates against Britons, Moors, Germani, Dacians, Jews and in Achaia and Egypt.<sup>4</sup> Vexillations from the Danubian and German provinces fought in the Moorish conflict in Mauretania. It seems reasonable to follow Dr. Maxfield in suggesting the award of the hasta is more likely to have occurred in the context of a senior centurionate or either with VIII Augusta or I Adiutrix both of which could have sent vexillations to the Mauretanian war.

### Notes

1. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 102 plus table VII (c6) p110
2. Op. cit.
3. Maxfield (1981) 197
4. S.H.A. V. Pii. 5.4-5
5. Maxfield (1981) 198

**Ti. Claudius Andreas**

**No. 345**

Nesselhauf (1938) 152

Bonn  
Germ. inferior

Matronis Aufanis, Tib. Cl. Andreas, (centurio) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) p(iae) f(idelis) et VII Claudiae, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Ti. Claudius Andreas, centurion, second half of the century.

- |                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. I Minervia  | Germania Inferior |
| 2. VII Claudia | Moesia Superior   |

Nesselhauf dated the inscription to the later part of the second century. The order of the career is unclear as the inscription could have been put up after the transfer had been announced *but* before it had taken place. We can only be certain that the man was a centurion in I Minervia when the inscription was dedicated. For other men showing indications of impending movements see E. Birley.<sup>1</sup>

**Note**

1. Birley (1979) p 495-505

**Ti. Claudius Ulpianus**

**No. 107**

CIL III 6186

Troesmis  
Moesia Inferior

D(is) M(anibus), Tib. Claudius Tib. f. Quirina Ulpianus dom(o) Laod(iciae) Syriae, (centurio) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae), et III Fl(aviae) et XII Fulminatae, et III Cyrenaicae, et X Fret(ensis), et II Adiut(ricis), et V M(acedonicae), vixit annis LVI h(eres) s(uo) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Ti. Claudius Ulpianus, centurion, before 169.

- |                  |                                |
|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. X Gemina      | Pannonia Sup. (Judaeen war?)   |
| 2. III Flavia    | Moesia Superior                |
| 3. XII Fulminata | Cappadocia                     |
| 4. III Cyrenaica | Arabia                         |
| 5. X Fretensis   | Syria Palaestina               |
| 6. II Adiutrix   | Pann. Inferior (Parthian war)  |
| 7. V Macedonica  | Moesia Inferior (Parthian war) |

The career of Claudius Ulpianus is given in descending order from the first recorded centurionate in X Gemina. The order is shown by the information of the last post in V Macedonica with the findspot of Troesmis in Moesia Inferior which was the base of V Macedonica from c106 to the 160's. No posts below the rank of centurion were recorded which indicates the possibility the Claudius Ulpianus was directly commissioned. The possibility of a direct commission is supported by the origo of the centurion. J.C. Mann has shown that an origo from a place outside the normal recruiting area of a legion was probably to be explained by recruitment into a vexillation of the legion which was temporarily in the vicinity of the origo.<sup>1</sup> Transfers between legions involving men below the rank of centurion seem to have been rare, and so the presence of a man from Laodicea in Syria in X Gemina (in Pannonia Superior from c102 onwards) suggests the man was either directly commissioned or a vexillation of X Gemina spent some time in the east when Claudius Ulpianus could have been directly commissioned into a vexillation of X Gemina while it was in the east. Ritterling presumed part of the legion was in the east in the time of Hadrian's Judaeen War on the basis of CIL VI 3505,<sup>2</sup> the career inscription of a tribune of X Gemina missus a divo Hadriano in expeditione Iudaica and vexila [tiones deducendas...]. Applebaum pressed into service the career of M. Staius Priscus (cos. ord. 159), but his dona militaria in the Judaeen War could have been won while he was tribune of III Gallica and may have nothing to do with X Gemina.<sup>3</sup> The career inscription of Lollius Urbicus (cos suff. c136) does not rule out the possibility that X Gemina accompanied Urbicus when he was legat. imp Hadriani in expeditione Iudaica. The evidence for X Gemina in the east seems shadowy rather than certain which strengthens rather than weakens the case for Claudius Ulpianus being directly commissioned.

Claudius Ulpianus died at the age of 56 having held seven centurionates. We might assume a military career of thirty to thirty-five years which would allow the separate possibility of both a direct commission and service in the ranks. Most of the legions of Claudius Ulpianus saw service in the east in the second century. The fifth

transfer of the career—from X Fretensis to II Adiutrix could have occurred in the context of the Parthian War of 162-166. II Adiutrix, normally stationed at Aquincum went east for the war of 162-166 being commanded by Q. Antistius Adventus<sup>4</sup>. The transfer from II Adiutrix to V Macedonica could also have occurred in the course of the Parthian War as V Macedonica commanded by P. Martius Verus went east for that war.<sup>5</sup> Such a sequence would only be explicable if its legion returned to Troesmis before going on to Dacia which it had certainly reached by 170.<sup>6</sup> For this sequence of transfer to the possible Claudius Ulpianus would have returned to Troesmis to die after the Parthian War. The inscription CIL III 6189 records a soldier of V. Macedonica who died on a Parthian campaign but who was commemorated at Troesmis by female members of his family. This cannot prove the legion returned to Troesmis after the Parthian War, and it is cautionary to recall that the veteran of I.L.S. 2311 was discharged from V Macedonica in 170 in Dacia, but returned to Troesmis in the aftermath.

In the end we are left with a likely directly commissioned centurion who probably died before the date V Macedonica moved from Troesmis (either c162 or c169). He is hardly likely to have died before c106 when V Macedonica moved to Troesmis. He seems to follow the pattern that eastern born centurions tend to stay with eastern legions.

### Notes

1. Mann (1983) table 25a 147-148
2. Ritterling (1925) 1685
3. Applebaum (1976) 43 - the transfer sequence of III Gallica - X Gemina - I Adiutrix could be explained by the presence of X Gemina in the Judaeen war and then returning to Pannonia when the transfer to I Adiutrix could have occurred.
4. ILS 8977
5. ILS 2311
6. ILS 2311

**Ti. Claudius Valerianus**

**No. 30**

CIL III 981

Apulum  
Dacia

Aesculapio et Hygiae, Tib. Cl. Valerianus (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae)  
et leg(ionis) I Aitricis vot(um) p(osuit).

Ti. Claudius Valerianus, centurion, second century.

1. I Adiutrix
2. XIII Gemina

Pannonia Superior  
Dacia

Claudius Valerianus was presumably a centurion of XIII Gemina when its inscription was dedicated, but it is difficult to be certain whether he had previously been a centurion in I Adiutrix or whether he was going to become a centurion in I Adiutrix. It used to be believed that the two legions were part of the first garrison of Trajan's Dacia,<sup>1</sup> but the evidence for I Adiutrix is unconvincing.

**Note**

1. Ritterling (1925) 1365, 1283

**M. Cornelius Faustus**

**No. 175**

1. CIL VIII 2503

Calceus Herculis  
Numidia

M. Cornelius Faustus (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), ---

2. CIL III 7475

Durostorum  
Moesia Inferior

In[vict(o)]Mitr(ae), Cornel(ius) Fau(s)tu(s) (centurio) l(e)g(ionis) XI  
Cl(audiae).

M. Cornelius Faustus, centurion, second century.

1. III Augusta
2. XI Claudia

Numidia  
Moesia Inferior

The absence of P(ia) V(index) from VIII 2503 may date the inscription to the period before 194 when III Augusta took that title. On the other hand the other centurions at Calceus Herculis are all in connection with the numerus Palmyrenorum which did not appear at Calceus Herculis until the third century. The inscription at

Durostorum looks later than the middle of the second century. Indeed the two inscriptions may not refer to the same man. There is nothing to prevent the occupation of Calceus Herculis being earlier than the beginning of the third century.

### C. Cornelius Florentinus

#### No. 40

1. CIL VIII 851

Lambaesis  
Numidia

C. Cornel(io) Florentino (centurion) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), Benigna Maximilla C. f. coniugi rarissimo et Cornel(ius) Florentinus fil. et heres partri incomparabili...

2. CIL VIII 2852

Lambaesis  
Numidia

[C. Cornelius Flo]rentinus (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), II Pi[ae -----  
-----] tabul(arius) castr(or)um, evok(at)us e[-----e-----p]raet(orio), vixit  
a[nnis-----]

C. Cornelius Florentinus, centurion, second half of second century.

Dr. Breeze<sup>1</sup> suggested in 1974 that the career of Cornelius Florentius should be dated to the third century. It is difficult to see why. The first recorded centurionate in the career of Cornelius Florentius was in II Pia. II Pia was the short-lived name of the legion, which was later called II Italica.<sup>2</sup> The legion was raised in c165 and was referred to as II Pia in CIL III 1980 which is dated to the year 170. VIII 2852 is a fragmentary inscription but it is possible that Cornelius Florentius was one of the earliest centurions of II Pia, and shows that new legions could have gained their centurions from the ranks of the ex evocati as well as from transfers from other legions. That should not be a surprise. The career properly belongs to the third quarter of the second century.

#### Notes

1. Breeze (1974) p252
2. Ritterling (1925) 1468

Cu[-----] Campanus

No. 897

AE 1916, 39

Thuburbo Maius  
Numidia

Genio *municipi* Aug(usto) sacr(um) ex testamento Cu[-----]Campani  
(centurionis) leg(ionis)[-----](centurionis) leg(ionis) XIII Ge(minae) qui  
Genio municipi sui HS V legavit Iulia [-----]fl am(inica) p(erpetua) pro pa[-----]  
-]s[-----]ius (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), (centurio) leg(ionis) II[-----]  
]qui[-----].

Cu[----] Campanus, centurion, second century?

1. XIII Gemina
2. III Augusta??

Dacia  
Numidia

The absence of the praenomen may date the inscription to the later second century while the absence of P(ia) V(index) in the reference to III Augusta may suggest the inscriptions pre-date 194.

C. Domitius Alexander

No. 403

1. CIL VIII 2863

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum), C. Domitio Babilliano an(norum) XI, fil. C.  
Domitius Alexander (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae).

2. CIL III 6747

Trapezus  
Cappadocia

[-----] leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris), (centuria) Dom(iti) Alexandri[---

3. IGR III 1380

Madaba  
Arabia

(Greek text) C. Domitius Alexander (centurio) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae).

C. Domitius Alexander, centurion, second century.

1. III Augusta
2. XV Apollinaris
3. III Cyrenaica

Numidia  
Cappadocia  
Arabia

The name Domitius Alexander was clearly very common and the three inscriptions naming a centurion called Domitius Alexander may refer to three or two or one man. The inscriptions are all probably dateable to the period from c100+ when III

Augusta arrived at Lambaesis, after c113-c116 when XV Apollinaris reached Cappadocia and after c119 when III Cyrenaica reached Arabia.

### Q. Flavius Festivus

No. 1451

CIL II 4517

Barcino  
Hisp. Tarraconensis

Q. Flavio C.f. Festivo (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) f(elicis), et  
leg(ionis) [-----]  
amico optimo l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Q. Flavius Festivus, centurion, second century.

1. VII Gemina
2. ?

Hisp. Tarraconensis  
?

The career of Flavius Festivus was dated to the second century by Le Roux.<sup>1</sup>  
The nomen Flavius was very rare before the reign of Vespasian and it presumably would have taken three or four generations of citizens to produce a Q. Flavius C.F. The different praenomina of father and son can be an indication of high social status. That indication of high social status and the absence of record of any career before the centurionate might indicate a direct commission.

#### Note

1. Le Roux (1982) 297

### Flavius Marcianus

No. 18

1. CIL III 242

Ancyra  
Galatia

Soli Aesculapio et Hygiae Fl(avius) Marcianus (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII  
Gem(inae) et leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) iussu eorum posuit.

2. AE 1909, 132

Bostra  
Arabia

T. Flavius M. (f) Col(lina) Marcianus domo Philad(elphia) op(tio) hast(atus)  
leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) SIIV Iulia matir et Fla(via) Ialla soror IEREMS.

Flavius Marcianus, centurion, second century.

- |                        |               |
|------------------------|---------------|
| 1. XIV Gemina          | Pannonia Sup. |
| 2. XV Apollinaris      | Cappadocia ?  |
| 3. Hastatus VI Ferrata | Arabia        |

The Ancyra inscription records a Flavius Marcianus who had served or was going to serve in XIV Gemina and was serving in XV Apollinaris. The date should be after the arrival of XV Apollinaris in Cappadocia. The conventional date for XV Apollinaris going east is c113 for the Parthian War of Trajan. The transfer from between XIV Gemina and XV Apollinaris would make sense while the two legions were in Pannonia Superior, that is, the period c92-c113. However, Flavius Marcianus lacks a praenomen which might suggest the inscription is to be dated to the mid second century at the earliest. AE 1909, 132 records a hastatus of VI Ferrata at Bostra in Arabia. VI Ferrata garrisoned Arabia at some stage between the conquest of 105 and the arrival of III Cyrenaica.<sup>1</sup> The date of its departure from Arabia at the arrival of III Cyrenaica is not known for certain, but was probably the early years of Hadrian. So it is possible for the Flavius Marcianus of III 242 to be the same T. Flavius Marcianus of AE 1909 132 though the balance of probabilities is against that being the case. If the two inscriptions refer to the same man than he was probably directly commissioned as it is otherwise difficult to see how a man from Philadelphia could be recruited into XIV Gemina in the period of the late first-early second century.

It seems safer to conclude the two inscriptions refer to different men and that the career of Flavius Marcianus belongs in the range of mid second century to early third century.

#### Note

1. Speidel (1979) 691-698 in Temporini (1979) ANRW II, 8.

## T. Flavius Verecundus

No. 87

1. CIL III 4416

Carnuntum  
Pannonia Superior

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) T. Flavius Verecundus Cl(audia) Savaria, (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) m(artiae) v(ictricis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

2. JRS liv (1964) 7, p. 178

Westerwood  
Britain

Silvanis [et] Quadrus Ca[e]lestiv(us) sacr(um), Vibia Pacata Fl(avi) Verecu[nd]i (centurionis) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) cum suis v(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

3. AE 1958, 63 with Pflaum (1960-1961) 1107  
(= I.L. JUG. 157 of Supplement (1982) p.122 to  
H.G. Pflaum *Carrieres Procuratorum*)

Ljubiana  
Dalmatia

Terrae Matri sac(rum). (Titles of Severus, Caracalla and Geta as Emperors). T. Fl. Verecundus proc(urator) Augg. ed Callimorpu[s a(nte) d(iem) XI Ka]l. Maias, Pompeiaiano(!) et [Av]i[to cos.]  
(proc ferrarium Dalmatiae) 21st April 209

T. Flavius Verecundus, centurion, late second century.

1. XIV Gemina  
2. VI Victrix

Pannonia Superior  
P.P.? and Procurator

The name Flavius Verecundus was by no means rare. The three inscriptions given above could refer to three, two or one man or men. A number of points can be made. The Flavius Verecundus at Westerwood on the Antonine Wall in Britain should be dated to the period c142-c163 on the present conventional date of the occupation of the Antonine Wall. If the Flavius Verecundus at Carnuntum was the same man as the Westerwood centurion then the date of the Carnuntum inscription will be earlier than that of Westerwood for T. Flavius Verecundus at Carnuntum was from Savaria in Pannonia Superior and his centurionate in a legion of Pannonia Superior was presumably his first post as a centurion.

If the procurator of AE 1958 63 is the same man as the Flavius Verecundus of the Westerwood inscription, then there is a problem of dates. The procurator is precisely dated to the year 209-he could have been a centurion who became a primipilaris and then went into the procuratorial career. But if this occurred he is

unlikely to have been at Westerwood as a centurion c45 years before he became procurator. If all the inscriptions refer to the same man the possibility must be faced that the centurion served in the ranks, which stretches his career to almost impossible lengths. It is worth pointing out that the date of the Westerwood inscription has been gained by archaeological rather than historical means. Since 1972 the conventional date for the abandonment of the Antonine Wall has been in the early 160's.<sup>1</sup> The evidence is not wholly watertight. If it could be proven that the centurion from Westerwood and the procurator from Ljubija were the same man, the date for the abandonment of the Antonine wall might have to be advanced. But none of the identifications given here can be considered as certain.

In 1984 Professor Eric Birley suggested the possibility that the centurion at Westerwood could be early third century in date.<sup>2</sup>

### Notes

1. Hartley (1972) 36-42
2. Birley (1984) 231

### Iulius Alexander

#### No. 64

1. AE 1955, 238

Nicopolis  
Egypt

(cohors VIII) II Traiana  
(centuria) Iuli Alexandri,

2. CIL III 3502

Aquincum  
Pannonia Inferior

Sil(vano) Silv(estri) pr(incipales) in ped(atura)  
(centuriae) Iuli Alexandri. (Presumably II Adiutrix)

Iulius Alexander, centurion, second century

1. II Traiana
2. II Adiutrix

Egypt  
Pannonia Inferior

The name Iulius Alexander was clearly quite common within the Roman world but is it possible that the two inscriptions refer to the same man. The Nicopolis inscription is dated to 158, the Aquincum inscription is dated to the second or third centuries.

### C. Iulius Bassianus

No. 347

Nesselhauf (1937) 155

Bonn  
Germania Inferior

Matronis Aufaniis, G. Iulius Bassianus (centurio) leg(ionis) I Minerviae p(iae) f(idelis) et VIII Aug(ustae), quod optio voverat, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

G. Iulius Bassianus, centurion, second century.

1. VIII Augusta
2. I Minervia

Germania Superior  
Germania Inferior

An inscription which was promised when the dedication was an optio. The dedication was presumably in I Minervia when the inscription was put up. He may have been or be going to VIII Augusta.

### C. Iulius Candidus

No. 696

Britannia (1970), 310f

Old Kilpatrick  
Britain

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), Coh(ors) I Baetasiorum c(ivium) r(omanorum) cui praest Publicius Maternus praef(ectus), c(uram) a(gente) Iulio Candido (centurionis) leg(ionis) I Italicae, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

CIL VIII 2593 = ILS 2326

Lambaesis  
Numidia

Ael(ius) Severus eq(ues) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) (centuria) Iul(i) Candidi. ...

CIL III 267

Ancyra  
Galatia

D(is) M(anibus) C. Iul(io) Candido p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) heredes ex testamento fecerunt.

RIB 1646	Coh(ortis) I (centuria) Iuli Candid(i)	H.W. 36a-39a
RIB 1674	Coh(ortis) I (centuria) Iuli candidi	H.W. 42-42a
JRS XIV 247	phalera (centuria) Iuli Candidi (Presumably XX Valeria Victrix)	Chester Britain

The name Iulius Candidus was not rare. It is unlikely that the six inscriptions which attest centurions of that name refer to the same man. The two inscriptions from Hadrian's Wall presumably refer to the same man, and he is likely to have been the man attested at Chester. The Hadrian's Wall centurion was a member of the primi ordines, but there is nothing to prove that the Primus Pilus of XIII Gemina was the same man. The Hadrian's Wall centurion was Hadrianic in date.

The centurion of I Italica at Old Kilpatrick is not likely to have been the same man as that attested on Hadrian's Wall. Old Kilpatrick was not built until c142 and the absence of praenomina from the names of its prefect and the centurion suggests a date later in the second century. It must be pointed out that the conventional date for the abandonment of Old Kilpatrick is c163.<sup>1</sup> When the Old Kilpatrick inscription was discovered it was suggested the most likely way for a centurion of I Italica to come to Britain was with a vexillation of I Italica which may have come to Britain with the Emperor Septimius Severus in the period 208-211.<sup>2</sup> Professor E. Birley reiterated his theory in 1983.<sup>3</sup> Since the inscription seems to attest a unit in garrison at Old Kilpatrick, the early third century date has been opposed by writers seeking to buttress the orthodoxy of a final abandonment of the Antonine Wall in c163.<sup>4</sup> It seems fair to state that attempts to place the inscription in a second century context by the absence of ligatures and the fineness of the lettering are possibly not convincing.<sup>5</sup> On the present state of our evidence about the abandonment of the Antonine Wall and the date of the Old Kilpatrick inscription it is impossible to be certain or even confident of the significance of the inscription.

The Iulius Candidus of III Augusta could be the same man as the centurion of I Italica. The name of the serving soldier in his century was Aelius Sergius which

suggests a time later than the reign of Hadrian while III Augusta seems not to have gained the titles P(ia) V(index) which it did after 194. In retrospect there seems to have been at least two separate centurions called Iulius Candidus and there could have been as many as four.

### Notes

1. Hartley (1972) also Breeze and Dobson (1975)
2. Birley (1969) 310f
3. Birley (1983) 76
4. Hanson and Maxwell (1983) 157-158
5. Ibid

### C. Iulius Celer

#### No. 31

CIL III 1044. Piso (1981) 447<sup>1</sup>

Apulum  
Dacia

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) C. Iulius Celer Isa(uria) (centurio) leg(ionis) IIII  
Scy(thicae) et XVI F(laviae) f(irmae) et XIII Gem(inae) v(otum) s(olvit)  
l(ibens) m(erito).

C. Iulius Celer, centurion, second century

- |                  |       |
|------------------|-------|
| 1. IIII Scythica | Syria |
| 2. XVI Flavia    | Syria |
| 3. XIII Gemina   | Dacia |

Piso recognised that the inscription did not record a centurion called C. Iulius Celeris but a centurion called C. Iulius Celer from Isauria near Antioch in Syria. That explains the opening centurionates in IIII Scythica and XVI Flavia which would have been most uncommon for centurions from the western, Latin-speaking area of the Empire. Piso believed the inscription dated from the time of Septimius Severus,<sup>2</sup> but there is no other dating evidence on the stone. The dedication to I.O.M. could be as late as the third century but in the absence of other dating evidence a second century date seems likely. The centurion could have been a ranker in IIII Scythica before he became a centurion since he was from the recruitment area of IIII Scythica, but he could still be directly-commissioned.

### Notes

1. Piso (1981) 447
2. *ibid.*

## C. Iulius Crescens

No. 25(a)

CIL III 268

Ancyra  
Galatia

D(is) M(anibus) L. Oc[ta]vi Vi[ct]oris (centurioni) leg(ionis) XV  
A[p]ol(inaris) curan[te] Iul. Crescente (centurio) leg(ionis) eiusdem,  
municipatus et amici[t]iae causa.

CIL III 3550

Aquincum  
Pannonia Inferior

Iuli Atheni liberto et heredi Iuli Crescentis q(uondam) (centurionis)  
leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) qui post obitum eius vixit annum I menses tres,  
Iul. Iulia coniugi carissimo f(aciendum) c(uravit).

CIL III 7428

Oescus  
Moesia Inferior

D(is) M(anibus) C. Iuli C. f. Col(lina) Celeri veter(ani) leg(ionis) V  
Mac(edonica) et Iuliae Tyche, C Iulius Crescens (centurio) leg(ionis) I  
Italic(ae) parentib(us) piissimis fec(it).

CIL VI 3603

Rome

D(is) M(anibus) Iul. Crescens ex leg(ione) VII Cl(audia) ordinatus  
(centurio) in leg(ione) III Scyt(hica), vixit ann(is) XLIII, filii et heredes  
eius posuerunt.

AE 1969 633

Primus Pilus of II Traiana, Iulii Crescentis

Nicopolis  
Egypt

AE 1969 633

II Traiana

Nicopolis  
Egypt

L. Iulio Crescente praef(ecto) castror(um)

(AD 157)

### C. Iulius Crescens

1. I Italica

2. XV Apollinaris

3. II Traiana P.P.

Moesia Inferior

Cappadocia

Egypt

The centurion of X Gemina attested in the Aquincum inscription presumably died at Aquincum which should date him (despite the missing praenomina) to the period c107-c117.<sup>1</sup> The centurion of I Italica at Oescus could be the same man as the centurion of the Ancyra inscription and just possibly the primus pilus of II Traiana in 157. The date of the Oescus inscription must come from the period after c108 when Oescus became a ~~V~~eteran colony.<sup>2</sup> The father of the Iulius Crescens of the Oescus

inscription was a veteran of V Macedonica with the eastern tribe Collina. The veteran was surely one of a group of Easterners<sup>3</sup> recruited probably when V Macedonica was in the east for the Judaeian war of Vespasian and settled at Oescus after c108-presumably one of the original settlers. His son will have lived on well into the second century and may be the same centurion whose praenomen was omitted on the Ancyra inscription and who could have been the primus pilus of II Traiana in 157.

### Notes

1. Syme (1971) 91
2. Mann (1983) 60
3. Mann (1983) 132

### C. Iulius Germanus

#### No. 8

1. CIL III 96

Bostra  
Arabia

P. Iulio Geminio Marciano leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) co(n)s(ul) des(ignato) (AD 170) C. Iul. Germanus (centurio) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae).

2. IGR III 1128

Aera  
Syria

(Greek text for the safety and victory of Commodus AD 191/192)  
Iulius Germanus 7 legionis III Gallica.

3. CIL II 5266

Emerita  
Lusitania

P. Valerius Flav(u)s miles leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) F(elicis) (centuria) Iuli Germani, ann(or)um XXX h(ic) s(itus) e(st), s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) ...

4. CIL II 2887=5804

Tritium Magallum  
Hispania Tarraconensis

D(is) M(anibus) Didio Marcello militi l(egionis) VII G(eminae) f(elicis) (centuria) I[uli] Germani....

C. Iulius Germanus, centurion, later second century.

1. III Cyrenaica
2. III Gallica

Arabia  
Syria

The centurion called Iulius Germanus in the Bostra inscription and the Aera inscription could be the same man as they are separated by twenty one years. The centurion Iulius Germanus of Emerita and Tritium Magullum may be the same man-Le Roux suggested he might be mid second century,<sup>1</sup> but the Emerita inscription omits the use of the burial formula D(is) M(anibus) and uses the form H(ic) S(itus) E(st) which would suggest the earlier second century or even the late first century rather than the mid second. So there may be a single centurion of VII Gemina attested by two inscriptions.

### Note

1. Le Roux (1982) 328

### C. Iulius Iulianus

#### No. 157

1. CIL VIII 18065 Lambaesis  
Numidia  
  
Leg. III Augusta Coh. VII Iulius Iulianus  
(AD 162)
2. CIL III 7858 Micia  
Dacia  
  
Nymphis C. Iulius Iulianus (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) v(otum)  
s(olvit).
3. CIL III 12071 Ptolemais  
Egypt  
  
C. Um(b)rius Fuscus miles leg(ionis) III Cyrinaecae (centuria) Iulii  
(sic) Iuli(ani)....

C. Iulius Iulianus, centurion, second century.

- |     |                                    |                  |
|-----|------------------------------------|------------------|
| (a) | 1. III Augusta<br>2. XIII Gemina   | Numidia<br>Dacia |
| (b) | 1. III Cyrenaica<br>2. XIII Gemina | Egypt<br>Dacia   |

Two of the inscriptions of Iulius Iulianus are firmly dateable. CIL VIII 18065 is dateable to the year 162 while CIL III 12071 must date to the period before the departure of III Cyrenaica from Egypt at the end of the reign of Trajan. Those two

inscriptions could not refer to the same man. The centurion of XIII Gemina cannot be any closer dated than the period of Roman occupation at Micia in Dacia so the centurion of XIII Gemina could be Trajanic or belong with the Marcan inscription from Lambaesis. Or, indeed, the centurion from Micia could be a third man.

### C. Iulius Maritimus

No. 418

CIL VIII 2907

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus) C. Iulio C. f. Cl(audia) Maritimo Ara, (centurioni) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), vixit ann(is) XXXXV men(sis) V d(ies) XIII...

C. Iulius Maritimus, centurion, first half of the second century.

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. VI Victrix         | Germania Inf., Britain |
| 2. XX Valeria Victrix | Britain                |
| 3. II Augusta         | Britain                |
| 4. III Augusta        | Numidia                |

C. Iulius Maritimus from C.C.A.A. died at the age of forty-five years five months and thirteen days at Lambaesis. He was recruited as either a directly commissioned centurion or as a ranker into VI Victrix, which before c122 was one of the legions of Germania Inferior. The transfers from VI Victrix to XX Valeria Victrix and then from XX to II Augusta probably occurred in Britain in the period after c122. It is attractive to use the presence of VI Victrix in Germania Inferior in the period up to c122 as the basis for the dating of the inscription, but certainty is impossible as he might have been recruited after VI Victrix came to Britain. The exactitude with which the centurion's age was recorded has astrological significance and points to a mid-second century date for the setting up of the inscription.

## M. Iulius Martius

No. 329

CIL XIII 8640

Xanten  
Germania Inferior

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae). M. Iul. Martius (centurio) leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae)  
V(ictricis), leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis), Silanis duobus cos.  
(AD 189)

M. Iulius Martius, centurion, late second century.

1. XXII Primigenia Germania Superior
2. XXX Ulpia Victrix Germania Inferior

AE 1955 238, of AD 157 mentions a Iulius Martius centurion in cohors III,  
this must be a different man.

The dedication of Iulius Martius at Xanten shows he was a centurion in XXX  
Ulpia Victrix in 189, but it is unclear whether his centurionate in XXII Primigenia was  
previous or in prospect.

z

## C. Iulius Proculus

No. 310

CIL XIII 7896

Erkelenz  
Germania Inferior

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), C. Iul(ius) Fab(ia) Proculus (centurio) leg(ionis)  
XXX U(lpiae) v(ictricis), v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

CIL VIII 2627

Lambaesis  
Numidia

Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Heliopolitano, C Iulius Valerianus (centurio) leg(ionis)  
III Aug(ustae), XVI Fl(aviae) f(irmae) bis, IIII Scyt(hicae) bis, pro salute sua et  
Liciniae Aquilinae uxor(is) suae et Iuli Proculi (centurionis) leg(ionis) V  
Mac(edonicae) et III Gal(licae), et XXII Primig(eniae) fratris sui et Variiae  
Aquilinae uxoris eius et Iuliae Aquilinae fil. eorum posuit.

RIB 1374

H.W. 9b-10  
Britain

(centuria) Iuli Proculi

C. Iulius Proculus, centurion or centurions, early second century or late second century

(a) early

- |                        |                   |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. XXX Ulpia Victrix   | Germania Inferior |
| 2. XX Valeria Victrix? | Britain           |

(b) late

- |                      |                            |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. V Macedonica      | Moesia Inf. (Parthian War) |
| 2. III Gallica       | Syria                      |
| 3. XXII Primigenia   | Germania Superior          |
| 4. XXX Ulpia Victrix | Germania Inferior          |

Iulius Proculus was a very common name. The connection between the Iulius Proculus of the Erkelenz inscription and the Iulius Proculus included on the inscription at Lambaesis is tenuous but not impossible. Iulius Proculus at Lambaesis was described as the brother of Iulius Valerianus, a centurion of III Augusta who began his career with IIII Scythica, one of the legions of Syria. On another inscription<sup>1</sup> Iulius Valerianus is described as a friend of the centurion Valerius Rufus who was from Antioch in Syria. That friendship could have been formed in Lambaesis, but it is at least arguable that the religious dedications of the two inscriptions (VIII 18223 to I.O.M. Dolichenus and VIII 2627 to I.O.M. Heliopolitanus) might support the suggestion that all of these men come from Syria. It is not clear in which direction the career of Iulius Proculus runs. He may have begun his career as a centurion with V Macedonica or with XXII Primigenia. Neither of these legions were Syrian but the man could have been directly commissioned and these were periods when V Macedonica and XXII Primigenia fought in the east during the second century. V Macedonica was in the east during the Judaean War of Hadrian of c132-135 (a vexillation) and the whole legion came east for the Parthian War of L. Verus. A vexillation of XXII Primigenia came east for the Parthian War of Trajan. Clearly an indication as to the date of the career would be helpful. If we take the inscriptions of Valerius Rufus (two inscriptions—a dedication to I.O.M. Dolichenus VIII 18223 and a tombstone VIII 2997) and that of Iulius Valerianus and Iulius Proculus (VIII 2627) we find the legion III Augusta is mentioned four times. On none of these occasions is the legion given the titles P(ia) V(index) which the legion was granted in 194. The absence of P(ia) V(index) on one inscription is probably insufficient to confidently date the inscription to the period before 194, but the absence of P(ia) V(index) from three inscriptions

which form a roughly contemporary group (and that group gives the title of another legion - XVI Flavia F(irma) - should date the group to the period before 194). The two centurions of III Augusta, Iulius Valerianus and Rufus, were not mentioned on the inscription giving the full list of the centurions in III Augusta in 162, and Iulius Proculus and Valerius Rufus lack praenomina on their religious dedications, an absence which is usually taken to date inscriptions to the latter half of the second century at earliest. The combination of these elements makes it seem likely that the three inscriptions belong to the period c163-194. Perhaps it is more likely that the first centurionate of Iulius Proculus was with V Macedonica and that he entered the legion in the period c162-166 when it was in the east. His transfer into III Gallica makes sense if it happened while both legions were in the east.

As to the C. Iulius Proculus who dedicated to I.O.M. at Erkelenze in Germania Inferior, that centurion had the voting tribe Fabia. It is difficult to see how any normal recruit of XXX Ulpia Victrix belonged to the voting tribe Fabia, but Fabia was the tribe of Berytus and Heliopolis in Syria. The argument that the dedication to the Baal of Heliopolis was from Heliopolis tends towards circularity, but it is a possibility. The centurion of XXX Ulpia Victrix and the Iulius Proculus of VIII 2627 could easily be the same man.

In conclusion, Iulius Proculus was probably an easterner, perhaps from Heliopolis or Berytus who may have been directly commissioned into V Macedonica in the second half of the century.

#### Note

1. VIII 18223

### C. Iulius Valerianus

No. 361

CIL VIII 2627

Lambaesis  
Numidia

Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Heliopolitano, C. Iulius Valerianus (centurio) leg(ionis) III aug(ustae), XVI Fl(aviae) F(irmae) bis, IIII Scyt(hicae) bis, pro salute sua et Liciniae Aquilinae uxor(is) et Iuli Proculi (centurionis) V Mac(edonica) et III Gal(licae) et XXII Primig(eniae) fratris sui...

C. Iulius Valerianus, centurion, late second century?

- |                  |         |
|------------------|---------|
| 1. IIII Scythica | Syria   |
| 2. IIII Scythica | Syria   |
| 3. XVI Flavia    | Syria   |
| 4. XVI Flavia    | Syria   |
| 5. III Augusta   | Numidia |

The preceding discussions of Iulius Proculus attempted to establish that Proculus was an easterner, could possibly have been directly commissioned and had a career dated to the period c163-194. The same arguments apply to Iulius Valerianus, the brother of Iulius Proculus.

### M. Iunius Montanus

No. 1465

AE 1932, 30

Tchertelan  
Moesia Inferior

D(is) M(anibus) M. Iunius M f. [-----] Montanus [-----] miles coh(ortis) XXII [-----] coh(ortis) II Pr(aetoriae) [-----] leg(ionis) I [----] I Minerv(iae) [---] v [---] r Aug. (centurio) leg(ionis) [----] vix(it) annis LXII [-----...]

M. Iunius Montanus, centurion, second century?

- |                                |                   |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Miles coh. XXII             | ?                 |
| 2. Miles coh. II Praetoria     | ?                 |
| 3. centurio legionis           | ?                 |
| 4. centurio I Minervia         | Germania Inferior |
| 5. centurio legionis Augusta ? | ?                 |
| 6. centurio legionis           | Moesia Inferior?  |

The fragmentary inscription of Iunius Montanus looks second century in date.

M. Liburnius Fronto

No. 666

RIB 2077

Newburn  
Britain

leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) c(o)ho(rtis) III c(enturia) Lib(urni)  
Fro(ntonis) c(enturia) Tere(nti) Mag(ni).

RIB 1330

Benwell  
Britain

I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo) Dolic]heno et Numinibus Aug(ustorum) pro salute  
Imp(eratoris) Caesaris T. Aeli Hadriani Antonini Aug(usti) Pii P(atris) P(atriciae)  
et leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), M. Liburnius Fronto (centurio) leg(ionis) eiusdem  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

M. Liburnius Fronto, centurion, Hadrian to Pius.

1. XX Valeria Victrix
2. II Augusta

Britain  
Britain

Domaszewski had supposed that centurions and equestrian officers were in the forefront of the dissemination of religious cults such as Mithraism and Jupiter Dolichenus.<sup>1</sup> It is very difficult to find evidence of this in most provinces, however, Liburnius Fronto supports the contention of Domaszewski since the Benwell inscription is the earliest dateable dedication to Dolichenus in Britain and is the earliest dedication to Dolichenus by a centurion anywhere. The date of the inscription should be 139 (as Antoninus Pius is P(ater) P(atriciae)) to 161. The reference to numinibus Augustorum is a typically British feature. Centurions do not dedicate to the Numen of the emperor or emperors anywhere else except in Britain. The context for the inscription from Newburn (which is very close - approximately two miles away from Benwell) could be the building of Hadrian's Wall or the refurbishment of the Wall in c158.<sup>2</sup> If RIB 2077 was to be dated to the time of the building of Hadrian's Wall the transfer from XX Valeria to II Augusta, which we can assume took place, should probably be closer to 139 than 161 and would tend to put the date of RIB 1330 earlier. If RIB 2077 is dated to the late 150's then the transfer could easily have been in the opposite direction and would not influence the date of RIB 1330.

Note

1. Domaszewski (1895) 58
2. RIB 1289

## L. Mantius Hispanus

No. 425

CIL VIII 2938

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus) L. Man[t]i L. f. Gal(eria) Hispani (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII  
Geminae fel(icis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) IX H(astati) pr(iori),  
v(ixit) a(nnis) XXX L. Man[t]ius Caecilianus fil. patri kar(issimo) fecit.

CIL VIII 2939

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus) Iunia Caecilianae uxoris Manti Hispani (centurionis)  
leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), vix(it) ann(is) XX, L. Mantius Ceacilianus fil. matri  
kar(issimo) fecit.

L. Mantius Hispanus, centurion, second century.

1. VII Gemina
2. III Augusta

Hisp. Tarraconensis  
Numidia

Mantius Hispanus was enrolled in Galeria, a tribe which was rare in Africa but very common in the provinces of Spain. It seems likely that he was recruited into VII Gemina and was then transferred into III Augusta. After Breeze and Forni,<sup>1</sup> it seems that men reached the centurionate after some 13 to 20 years in the ranks. It is unlikely that such a length of service plus two centurionates could be undertaken by a centurion who died aged thirty. Mantius Hispanus looks directly commissioned. The inscription is only dateable by its title of VII Gemina Felix, which suggests the period before 197 and after c100 when III Augusta reached Lambaesis. A vexillation of VII Gemina was at Lambaesis in the reign of Trajan,<sup>2</sup> but since there is nothing else in the inscription to suggest an early second century date for the career it seems best to discount this indication of a Trajanic transfer. Le Roux suggested the career dated from the second half of the second century,<sup>3</sup> which would fit the missing praenomen of the Lambaesis inscription.

### Notes

1. Breeze (1974), 273. Forni (1953), 47.
2. CIL VIII 3075, 3182, 3226, 3245, 3268.
3. Le Roux (1982) 297

## C. Masculinius Masculus

No. 92

CIL III 4787

Virunum  
Noricum

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) sacr(um) C. Masculinius Masculus (centurio)  
leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) fr(umentarius)

CIL III 4861

Virunum  
Noricum

---- [C. Masculi]nius [Mas]culus (centurio) I]leg(ionis) II Italicae  
fr(umentarius).

C. Masculinius Masculus, centurion, late second century.

1. I Adiutrix
2. II Italica

Pannonia Superior  
Noricum

The date for the career of Masculinius Masculus was probably after c171 when II Italica arrived within Noricum. Frumentarii carried out police functions and other duties. The two inscriptions of Masculinius Masculus are both from mining centres, III 4861 from Feldkirche and III 4787 from Tiffen.<sup>1</sup> Frumentarii could be seconded from legions outside the province in which they operated. But, for what it is worth, the SHA on Pertinax says while he was legatus legionis of I Adiutrix he freed Rhaetia and Noricum from the enemy<sup>2</sup> which may be the occasion of Masculus's spell as a Frumentarius of I Adiutrix at Tiffen. The fabricated nomen of Maculinius Masculus suggests he was from one of the North Western provinces of the Empire.

### Notes

1. Alföldy (1974) p333
2. S.H.A. V. Pertinax 2, 6.

## L. Numerius Felix

No. 818

CIL II 4162

Tarraco  
Hisp. Tarraconensis

L. Numerio L. f. Felici (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) f(elicis),  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) XX Vict(ricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae),  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Italic(ae),  
Mamilia Prisca marito optimo.

L. Numerius Felix, centurion, later second century.

- |                       |                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. III Italica        | Rhaetia           |
| 2. XXII Primigenia    | Germania Superior |
| 3. III Cyrenaica      | Arabia            |
| 4. XX Valeria Victrix | Britain           |
| 5. VII Gemina         | Hispania Tarrac.  |

The career of Numerius Felix is to be dated within the range c170 to c197. III Italica was raised in c165 but is only called Italica after c170. In 197 VII Gemina received the title P(ia) F(elix) for its service against the rebellion of P. Clodius Albinus.

There is no specific indication of the origins of the centurion so as the inscription was set up at Barcino in Tarraconensis it seems best to assume his last centurionate was with VII Gemina, the single legion of Tarraconensis. The career runs in reverse order. No posts are recorded before the first centurionate which raises the possibility of a direct commission. Alföldy<sup>1</sup> suggested Numerius Felix was an Italian as III Italica was raised in Italy and Numerius Felix could have been among its earliest recruits. But he might have been directly commissioned. After first following Alföldy, Le Roux<sup>2</sup> suggested the centurion may have come from Spain.

#### Note

1. Alföldy (1975) 181
2. Le Roux (1982) 297

### C. Octavius Honoratus

No. 924

CIL VIII 14698

Thuburnica  
Numidia

C. Octavio Q. fil. Cornel(ia) Honorato (centurioni) adlecto ex eq(uite)  
R(omano) a divo Pio in leg(ionem) II Aug(ustam), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII  
Cl(audiae) piae fidel(is), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XVI Flaviae fir(mae),  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) p(iae) f(idelis) (in cohorte) V princ(ipi)  
posteriori.

C. Octavius Honoratus, centurion, Pius.

- |                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. II Augusta  | Britain           |
| 2. VII Claudia | Moesia Superior   |
| 3. XVI Flavia  | Syria             |
| 4. X Gemina    | Pannonia Superior |

The centurion Octavius Honoratus was not from Thurnburg which was enrolled in the tribe of Arnensis. The inscription states that Octavius Honoratus was directly commissioned. It is not clear how long the career lasted but it clearly extended beyond the reign of Pius as he is divus on the inscription. There is no easily understandable military connection between the transfers of Octavius Honoratus, but the results of patronage could easily produce such a disparate collection of transfers.

### Papius Firmus

No. 924

AE 1955, 238

Nicopolis  
Egypt

(II Traiana) Coh. III (centuria) Papi Firmi,...  
(AD 157)

CIL VIII 18065

Lambaesis  
Numidia

(III Augusta) Coh. II (centuria) Pati (!) Firmi,...  
(AD 162)

Papius Firmus, centurion, mid second century.

1. II Traiana
2. III Augusta

Egypt  
Numidia

For what it is worth Papius Firmus joins a small group of centurions who seem to move up the cohorts as time passes on.

### Petronius?

No. 109

CIL III 6192

Troesmis  
Moesia Inferior

-----] (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Traian(ae), leg(ionis) I Ital(icae),  
leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis), leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) [-----] vix(it) ann(is) L[---  
--], Petronia [-----] fil. et her(es) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Petronius?, centurion, first half of the second century.

- |                 |                                |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. II Traiana   | Egypt                          |
| 2. I Italica    | Moesia Inferior (Judaean war?) |
| 3. X Fretensis  | Judaea (Judaean war)           |
| 4. V Macedonica | Moesia Inferior                |

The nomen Petronius is constructed from the name of the centurion's daughter. The career appears to run in descending order with his last centurionate being with V Macedonica in Troesmis, which suggests the period c106-c162, when V Macedonica went east for the Parthian War<sup>1</sup> of L. Verus. The legion may have returned to Troesmis for a few years after c166, but by 170 it was in Dacia.<sup>2</sup> The reference to II Traiana means the man was a centurion by c103. The transfer from II Traiana to I Italica might suggest the reign of Trajan, when it has been conjectured that II Traiana was present in Moesia Inferior in the period c106-c113.<sup>3</sup>

It is also possible that the transfers from I Italica to X Fretensis and then on to V Macedonica suggests the period of the Judaean War of Hadrian when vexillations of I Italica and V Macedonica fought in Judaea<sup>4</sup> and a transfer into X Fretensis could be likely. Again the transfer from X Fretensis to V Macedonica could have been in the context of the Parthian War of L. Verus. With no other indications of date it may be best to date the inscriptions to the period c103-c170.

#### Notes

1. ILS 2311
2. Ibid
3. Syme (1971) 91-92 cf. ILS 1038
4. CIL III 14155<sup>2</sup> Bettir

### M. Petronius Fortunatus

No. 350

CIL VIII 217 add. = ILS 2658 add.

Cillium  
Numidia

... militavit ann(orum) VI, (centurioni) leg(ionis) X[X]II Primig(eniae),  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), vixit ann(is) XXXV,...

M. Petronius Fortunatus, centurion, later second century.

- |                    |                   |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. XXII Primigenia | Germania Superior |
| 2. II Augusta      | Britain           |



The son of a more famous father. His stipendia of 6 years and his two centurionates make it almost certain that he was directly commissioned. The order of his posts is not certain.

### Petronius Fortunatus

No. 349

CIL VIII 217 add. = ILS 2658 add.

Cillium  
Numidia

-----] militavit L annis, IV in leg(ionis) I Italica, librar(ius) tesser(arius), optio, signifer, factus ex suffragio leg(ionis) eius [dem] militavit (centurio) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), (centurio) leg(ionis) VI[F]erratae, (centurio) leg(ionis) I Min(erviae), (centurio) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae), (centurio) leg(ionis) II A[ug(ustae)], (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), (centurio) leg(ionis) II[I]Gall(icae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XXX U[l]p(iae), (centurio) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis), (Centurio) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) (centurio) leg(ionis) II Par(thicae), (centurio) leg(ionis) I Adiutricis, consecutus ob virtutem in expeditionem Parthicam coronam muralem, vallarem torques et phaleras, agit in diem operis perfecti annos LXXX, sibi et Claudiae Marciae Capitolinae koniugi karissimae quae agit in diem operis perfecti annos LXV et M. Petronio Fortunato filio militavit ann(os) VI (centurio) leg(ionis) X X II Primig(eniae), (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) vixit ann(os) XXXV cui Fortunatus et Marcia parentes karissimo memoriam fecerunt.

Petronius Fortunatus, centurion, second half of the second century.

- |                          |                              |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Librarius I Italica   | Mauretania? Moesia Inf.      |
| 2. Tesserarius I Italica | Mauretania? Moesia Inf.      |
| 3. Optio I Italica       | Mauretania? Moesia Inf.      |
| 4. Signifer I Italica    | Mauretania? Moesia Inf.      |
| 5. Centurio I Italica    | Mauretania? Moesia Inf.      |
| 6. VI Ferrata            | Syria Palaestina             |
| 7. I Minervia            | Germania Inf. (Parthian War) |
| 8. X Gemina              | Pannonia Sup.                |
| 9. II Augusta            | Britain                      |
| 10. III Augusta          | Numidia                      |
| 11. III Gallica          | Syria                        |
| 12. XXX Ulpia            | Germania Inferior            |
| 13. VI Victrix           | Britain                      |
| 14. III Cyrenaica        | Arabia                       |
| 15. XV Apollinaris       | Cappadocia                   |
| 16. II Parthica          | Italy                        |
| 17. I Adiutrix           | Pannonia Sup.                |

The practice of men voting other ranks into the post of centurion was known to Tacitus (who disapproved of it<sup>1</sup>) but was unknown in epigraphy save for Petronius Fortunatus. AE 1976 540 shows the process was going on in the reign of Severus Alexander. The date of the career is provided by the reference to II Parthica as the

second last centurionate. II Parthica was raised in c197.<sup>2</sup> The Trajanic date given by Breeze and Dobson in 1970<sup>3</sup> is impossible. The centurion may have been African. The final part of the inscription and the participle nature of the cognomen of the centurion both point to an African origin. However, I Italica was the legion at Novae in Moesia Inferior, and no other African recruits are known to have entered I Italica. A detachment of the legion may have taken part in the Mauretanian campaign of Antoninus Pius. CIL VIII 10474 is possible evidence of the legion at Constantia but there is not much to go on. Perhaps Petronius Fortunatus himself is evidence of the presence of part of I Italica in Africa.

Dr. Maxfield has argued for the Parthian War in which Petronius Fortunatus gained dona being that of L. Verus of c162-166.<sup>4</sup> He could have served in VI Ferrata or I Minerva; or III Gallica in that war. The transfers of Petronius Fortunatus are the most numerous of any recorded centurion and they follow no pattern of transfer within a province or war. No transfer could have taken him further across the empire than that between VI Victrix (York) and III Cyrenaica (Bostra). The transfers are so patternless there may be some disturbance of the order of centurionates.

### Notes

1. Tac. Hist III 49
2. Ritterling (1925) 1476
3. *Dobson and Breeze* (1969) 112
4. Maxfield (1981) 198-199

### L. Petronius Sabinus

No. 805

CIL XI 6055 = ILS 2743 Dobson 148 Pflaum 197

Urvinum Mataurense  
Italy Reg. VI

L. Petronio L. f. Pup(inia) Sabino, Foro Brent(anorum), corn(iculario) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), (centurioni) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis) et III Fl(aviae), donis don(ato) ab Imp(eratore) Marco Antonino in bello Germ(anico) hasta pura et coronis vallari et murali, p(rimo) p(ilo) legion(is) III Cyr(enaicae), curatori Statorum, tribuno coh(ortis) [---] proc(uratori) Augg(ustorum) rationis hereditatium et provinciae Narbonensis.

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

L. Petronius Sabinus, centurion and primipilaris, Marcus Aurelius.

1. Cornicularius Praef. Praet.	Rome?
2. Centurio X Fretensis	Syria Palaestina
3. Centurio III Flavia	Moesia Superior
4. P.P. III Cyrenaica	Arabia
5. Curator Statores	Rome
6. Tribunus coh. ?	Rome
7. P.P. Bis	
8. Procurator Hereditatium	
9. Procurator Prov. Narbonensis	Narbonensis

The military decorations of Petronius Sabinus date from the period of Marcus Aurelius' German war, that is the war of c169-c175. Dr. Maxfield was of the opinion that the decorations must have been those of a senior centurion<sup>1</sup> partly because of the extent of the decorations and because, by the death of Marcus Aurelius, Petronius Sabinus had already had a second primipilate and had embarked on a procuratorial career. The latter assertion is presumably based on the fact that Marcus Aurelius was not described as divus on ILS 2743. It has already been shown that the absence of divus on an inscription need not date that inscription to the period before the death of the particular emperor.<sup>2</sup> The career could go earlier on into the reign of Commodus or even beyond. The military decorations of Petronius Sabinus were presumably won with IV Flavia, part of which probably took part in the German war of Marcus Aurelius under C. Iulius Pompilius Piso.<sup>3</sup>

#### Notes

1. Maxfield (1981) 198
2. ILS 1039 can hardly be earlier than c123 and Trajan is neither divus nor Parthicus.
3. ILS 1111, CIL VIII 2745

## L. Pupianus Verinus

No. 1802

IGLS XIII 9187

Bosra  
Arabia

D(is) M(anibus), L. Pupiani L.f. Pol(lia tribu) Verini Foro Sempron(i), ex  
Evocat(o) Aug(usti), (centurionis) leg(ionis) III Cy(renaicae) item I  
Miner(viae), et II Ital(icae), *vixit* an(nis) XXXIX mens(ibus) II die(bus)  
V L(ucius) Pupianus Iustus frater et Pōntiana Iusta co(niu)x fecerunt.

L. Pupianus Verinus, centurion, ex evocatus, late second century. <sup>*militavit XXI*</sup>

- |                            |                   |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. evocatus                | Rome              |
| 2. centurion I Minervia    | Germania Inferior |
| 3. centurion II Italica    | Noricum           |
| 4. centurion III Cyrenaica | Arabia            |

The date of the inscription of Pupianus Verinus comes from the presence of the centurion in II Italica, a legion which did not exist until c165 and did not gain the name Italica until c170. The centurion had been an evocatus of the praetorian guard before gaining his first post as a centurion with II Italica. The centurion served a total of twenty one years and as an evocatus must have served at least sixteen years in the praetorian guard before gaining the centurionate.<sup>1</sup> His three posts as a centurion have to be fitted into a period of about four or five years given that he must have spent some time as an evocatus. It is very rare to be given the number of years spent by a man as a centurion and the multiplicity of posts in a comparatively short time provides a useful example of just how fast the Roman Army could move on occasions. The man could have been one of the earliest centurions of II Italica since the features of the inscription—the full use of all parts of the name plus the tribe and origin and the use of years months and days to describe the length of life—are mid second century features. However, one might expect the centurion of a new legion to stay rather longer than this particular career would suggest. The man could have been transferred from evocatus to II Italica at some stage during the Marcommanic wars of Marcus Aurelius when both praetorians and legions were campaigning in the Danubian area. Speidel suggested that the text of the inscription should be amended from, in IV (cohorte) hast(ati) post(erioris), to in IV (quartum) hast(atum) post(eriorem).<sup>2</sup>

## Notes

1. Breeze (1974) 270
2. Speidel (1983) 56

### T. Sergius Longus

No. 189

1. CIL III 12286

Carystus  
Achaia

T. Sergius Longus (centurio) leg(ionis) XV Apoll(inaris) Herculi Sacrum.

2. ILS 8717

... Sergio Longo (centurioni) leg(ionis) XXII Primig(eniae),...

AE 1955, 238

Nicopolis  
Egypt

(II Traiana) Coh. VIII (centuria) Sergi Longi, ...  
(AD 157)

T. Sergius Longus, centurion, mid second century?

1. XV Apollinaris
2. XXII Primigenia
3. II Traiana

Pannonia Sup. Cappadocia  
Germania Sup. (Rome)  
Egypt

The three inscriptions may all refer to the same man but they could be two of three different men. Only the Nicopolis inscription is precisely dateable to the year 157. The other two inscriptions attest the centurion in places where his legion was not normally found.

### Sextilius Marcianus(?)

No. 887

CIL XIII 6728

Mainz  
Germania Superior

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo), [Iu]noni Reginae, [For]tunae, Minervae, [---  
leg(ionis) X] XII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) [f(idelis) Com(modianae?), Commodo  
Aug(usto) VII et P] ertinace II [c] os. [---S]exti[lius?---] Marc[ianus?] domo?  
Ve]rceil[is? ---]I ALI [--- f]actus m[iles in cohorte V]II? pr(aetoria?),  
p[robatus?? Imp(erator) Anton]ino II[I? cos., factus principali]s Eru[cio Claro  
II et Cl(audio) Seve]ro co[s., fa]ctus t[esserarius, optio, signif(er),  
b(ene)f(iciarius) [pr(aefectorum) pr(aetorio?), factus in leg(ione) XX]II  
Pr(imigenia) p(ia) [f(ideli) evocatus? B]arbar[o et Regulo] c[os.], VI a[nno?? ab  
Imperatore o] rdinibu[s adscriptus?] in (cohorte) X pil(um) p[r(iorem) ob

virtutem?] viritim [donatus? (centurio)]leg(ionis) ann(os) [--- meruit, fuit?]  
 (centurio) leg(ionis) I[--- (centurio) leg(ionis)] VIII Aug(ustae), [(centurio)  
 leg(ionis) ---Ge]mine, (centurio) le[g(ionis) ----(centurio) 1]leg(ionis) X ---  
 [(centurio) 1]leg(ionis) I[---p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae)  
 f(idelis)].

Sextilius Marcianus was a praetorian who gained the centurionate after a period as evocatus. He seems to have held at least seven centurionates before reaching the primipilate. The inscription seems to have been set up in 192 from the consulships of Commodus and Pertinax. The career began in the reign of Antoninus Pius.<sup>1</sup>

### Note

1. Breeze (1974) 248

### T. Statilius Solon

#### No. 1200

1. RIB 1439

H.W. 21-27  
 Britain

coh(ors) VI, (centuria) Statil(i) Solonis.

2. CIL III 11034 Dobson 139 Pflaum 124

Brigetio  
 Pannonia Superior

D(is) M(anibus), Epaphrodito alumno suo [T.]S[t]a[tili]us Solo p(rimus)  
 p(ilus) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis)...

T. Statilius Solon, centurion and primipilaris, Hadrian-Pius.

1. Eastern legion?
2. Legion of Britain
3. primus pilus I Adiutrix

?  
 Britain  
 Pannonia Superior

The identification of the centurion of RIB 1439 with the Primus Pilus of I Adiutrix is not unlikely given the relative rarity of the names. The cognomen of Statilius Solon suggests eastern origin. In that case, recruitment and promotion within an eastern legion should be assumed, together with a transfer into a British legion. Pflaum and Dobson discuss his procuratorial career. Pflaum shows that he was from Asia Minor which suggests that he was either directly commissioned or he had a multiple centurionate career, or both.

M. Titius Ti. Barbius Titianus

No. 74

CIL III 3846 = ILS 2652

Emona  
Italy Reg. /Ø

M. Titio M. f. Cl(audia) Ti. Barbio Titiano decurioni Emonae, (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Adiutric(is), item leg(ionis) X Fretens(is), hastato in coh(orte) I leg(ionis) II Traian(ae) ex cornicular(io) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio), lartia Vera filio piissimo l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

M. Titius Ti. Barbius Titianus, centurion, second century.

- |                                |                           |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Cornicularius Praef. Praet. | Rome                      |
| 2. centurio II Adiutrix        | Pann. Inf. (Parthian War) |
| 3. centurio X Fretensis        | Syria Palaestina          |
| 4. hastatus II Traiana         | Egypt                     |

A polyonymous praetorian who was probably not a native of Emona which does not seem to have enrolled in the tribe Claudia. Like almost all the holders of the post of cornicularius to a praetorian prefect Titianus was promoted directly to the legionary centurionate. The inscription reveals an interesting and complex order. The man was decurion of the colony of Emona when he died. So his last post is mentioned first. Yet his career then runs in ascending order through his centurionates since he died as hastatus in cohort I, therefore in the primi ordines of II Traiana. There he is described as ex corniculario pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) the post he must have held before his centurionates began. By the end of the century Emona was part of Italy (Reg X).<sup>1</sup> The reference to II Traiana places the inscription firmly in the second century. The transfer from II Adiutrix to X Fretensis might have occurred in the context of the Parthian War of L. Verus, but certainty is impossible. The inscription looks second century but no closer dating seems possible.

Note

1. Mócsy (1974) 94

## Q. Trebellius Maximus

No. 149

CIL III 7534

Tomi  
Moesia Inferior

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Heroi, Q. Trebellius Q. f. [F]ab(ia) Maximus  
Roma, (centurio) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae), trecenarius coh(ortis) III  
Pr(aetoriae) v(otum) s(olvit).

Q. Trebellius Maximus, centurion and trecenarius, second century.

1. Centurio III Praetoria trecenarius Rome
2. Centurio V Macedonica Moesia Inferior

The inscription from the capital of Moesia Inferior records a dedication to a Greek identification of I.O.M. by a man who was centurion of V Macedonica after being trecenarius in Rome, which was also his birthplace. The inscription presumably predates the departure of V Macedonica from Moesia Inferior in c162 otherwise the inscription should appear to belong to period c50-c162.

## P. Turranius Severus

No. 1803

A. S. XXXVII (1987) 19

Satala  
Cappadocia

D(is) M(anibus), P. Turranio P. f(ilio) Papir(ia) (tribu) Belluno Severo  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) VI h(astato) pr(iori), et (centurioni)  
leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) V pr(incipi) pos(teriori), vix(it) ann(is) XLI ex heredum  
(sic!) cur(ante) Turranio Epaphrodito lib(erto) eius.

P. Turranius Severus, centurion post c114

1. IIII Flavia Moesia Superior
2. XV Apollinaris Cappadocia

P. Turranius Severus, of the tribe Papiria was from Belunum in Regio X. He died as centurio hastatus prior in cohors VI of XV Apollinaris. A number of centurions give the title of the first post they held as centurion,<sup>1</sup> but the inscription of Turranius Severus is unique in that it is the only example of a multiple-centurionate career which specifies the title of the centurionate held in each legion. Promotion with the centurionate is a very difficult problem. Scholars after Birley have preferred to accept

the conclusion of T. Wegeleben's<sup>2</sup> dissertation of 1913, that all the centurions in cohorts II-X were equal in rank, differing only in seniority. The attention to details of the titles of the centurionates held by Turranius Severus may suggest the situation may have been more complex.

The inscription does not permit any closer dating than the period between c114 and the arrival of XV Apollinaris at Satala and the beginning of the third century when the practice of using tribe, filiation and origin was dying out. The Italian origin of the centurion in a second century inscription, together with the absence of any career before the centurionate in an otherwise detailed inscription, suggests Turranius Severus may have been directly commissioned. Some small support for the notion comes from Belunum; a text which records a IV Vir called P. Turranius Pistus<sup>3</sup> also enrolled in the tribe Ɔapiria. The inscription is not dated but the IV Vir could easily have been a relative of the centurion and a family which produced municipal magistrates could easily produce directly commissioned centurions. Alternatives to a direct commission for Turranius Severus are not particularly attractive. Promotion from the ranks is unlikely because of the date range of the inscription. Promotion from the ranks of the praetorian guard was possible, but in that case Turranius Severus would have had to serve at least 14-15 years if he attained the rank of cornicularis praefecti praetorio or more than 16 years if he followed the more usual route of service as an evocatus.<sup>4</sup> Such a career, with two posts as a centurion following, would have had to start very early for a man to die at 41, and praetorians do not seem to show the reluctance of legionaries to give details of their career before the centurionate. The balance of possibilities suggests Turranius Severus was directly commissioned.

### Notes

1. Claudius Vitalis ILS 2656
2. Birley (1953) 105
3. CIL X 2048
4. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 101

M. Ulpus Avitus

No. 243

CIL XIII 2828 = ILS 7047

Ager Aeduorum  
Gallia Lugdunensis

M. Ulpio Avito (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), III FL(aviae).  
Opifices loricari, qui in Aeduis consist(unt) et vico Brivae Sugnutiae  
respondent quiq(ue) sub cura eius fuerunt.....

M. Ulpus Avitus, centurion, second century.

- |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. III Augusta | Numidia         |
| 2. III Flavia  | Moesia Superior |

Presumably a man in charge of an armour workshops in the territory of the Aedui. Such a post appears to be unique amongst centurions. It is also not clear which legion the man was officially attached to when the inscription was set up. It is possible that a vexillation of III Flavia took part in the army which defeated Clodius Albinus in 197 at Lugdunum. The aftermath of that battle could have seen a centurion of a Danubian legion acting as a commander in Lugdunensis, but there is no other evidence. A centurion with the gentilicia of Trajan is unlikely to be any earlier than the end of the reign of Hadrian.

M. Ulpus Titus

No. 59

CIL III 3259

Sirmium  
Pannonia Inferior

D(is) M(anibus), M. Ulp(io) Tito Sirmi, [(centurioni)] leg(ionis) I  
Adi(utricis) p(iae) [f(idelis), (centurioni)] leg(ionis) XIV G(eminae)  
M(artiae) v(ictricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) V M[ac(edonicae) ----- ]

M. Ulpus Titus, centurion, second century.

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Centurio I Adiutrix   | Pannonia Superior        |
| 2. Centurio XIV Gemina   | Pannonia Superior        |
| 3. Centurio V Macedonica | Moesia Inferior or Dacia |

The centurion Ulpus Titus was from Sirmium in Pannonia Inferior. His inscription is fragmentary but it is probably in ascending order as the man's first centurionate was probably with I Adiutrix, one of the legions of Pannonia. There is no

record of a career before the centurionate which opens up the possibility of a direct commission, but recruitment into a Pannonian legion with promotion to the centurionate following seems to have been more likely.<sup>1</sup>

The date of the inscription is unclear, but it seems likely that a man with the gentilicia of Trajan would probably only be entering the centurionate about two generations after the reign of Trajan began-so probably not much before the reign of Antoninus Pius. The only likely exception to this would be if Ulpus Titus had been a member of the equites singulares Augusti. These men seem to have received Imperial gentilicia on enlistment. Many men were also given cognomina derived from praenomina. At least one member of the singulares Augusti was called M. Ulpus Titus and was a Pannonian,<sup>2</sup> but he cannot be the centurion as his stone is a tombstone.

The inscription lacks tribe and filiation clauses and could be dated as late as well into the third century.

#### Notes

1. Birley (1953) 105
2. CIL VI 3308

#### C. Valerius Clemens

No. 139

CIL III 6787

Lystra  
Lycaonia

[D(is) M(anibus), C. Valeri -----] ni b(ene)f(iciari) cos, C. Va[leri]us  
Clemens (centurio) [leg(ionis)] XV Apol(linaris) et Valer[ius] Pacatus et  
Vale[rius ----] lus, missi honos[ta mi]ssione a sacratis[simo] Imp(erator) fratres  
...

CIL III 14356.5

Carnuntum  
Pannonia Superior

Iunoni Reginae, C. Val(erius) Clemen(s) (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII.

CIL III 14433 = AE 1901, 50 = ILS 9118 add. Klio<sup>(a)</sup>12, 148

Kadikoi  
Moesia Inferior

Nept(uno) Aug(usto) sac(rum), vexil(lationes) leg(ionis) I Ital(icaea)  
M(oesicae) et V Ma(cedonicae) D(acicae) Tropa ei sub curam Eptidi(i)  
Modesti (centurionis) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) et Valeri(i) Clementis  
(centurionis) I Ital(icae), v(otum) s(oluerunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).

But not, CIL V 7007 = ILS 2544 Dobson 90

Taurini  
Italy Reg.

C. Valerio C. f. Stel(latina) Clementi primipilari, ..... decuriones alae  
Gaetulorum quibus praefuit bello Iudaico sub divo Vespasiano patre, honoris  
causa. ....

C. Valerius Clemens, centurion, second century.

1. XV Apollinaris	Cappadocia
2. XIII Gemina	Pannonia Superior
3. I Italica	Moesia Inferior

The name Valerius Clemens was probably very common and the three inscriptions could all refer to different centurions. But despite the rather sketchy dating of the three inscriptions:

a) III 6787 second century or later with mention of b. f. cos pointing to the mid second century at earliest.

b) III 14356.5 Post Trajanic and the arrival of XIV Gemina at Carnuntum.

c) III 14433 Later second century at earliest due to the absence of praenomina from the centurions and the reference to V Macedonica in Dacia. The legion is first attested in III Daciae in 170.

It is possible that they all refer to the same man.

## L. Valerius Rufus

No. 437

1. CIL VIII 2997

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus), L. Valeri L. f. Co[l(lina)] Rufi domo Antiocha,  
(centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) et leg(ionis) XXII Primi[g(eniae)], C.  
Iulius Valeri[anus] (centurio) leg(ionis) III Au[g(ustae)] amicus e[rius]  
faciendum [cur(avit)].

2. CIL VIII 18223

Lambaesis  
Numidia

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Doliche[no] Valerius Rufus (centurio) leg(ionis)  
III Aug(ustae) v(otum) l(ibens) l(aetus) s(olvit).

L. Valerius Rufus, centurion, late second century.

1. XXII Primigenia
2. III Augusta

Germania Superior  
Numidia

Valerius Rufus<sup>was</sup> from Antioch in Syria.<sup>1</sup> He presumably died as a centurion of III Augusta which suggests his first centurionate was in XXII Primigenia, the legion of Mainz. The absence of any career before the centurionate together with a centurionate in a legion which would not normally recruit from Syria suggests the possibility of a direct commission. The dating of the career depends upon the dating of the career of C. Iulius Valerianus and his brother C. Iulius Proculus (see above).

### Note

1. Antioch in Pisidia was enrolled in the tribe Sergia.

### M. Valerius Secundus

No. 1458

ILS 9279, an improvement on AE 1905, 25

Emerita Augusta  
Lusitania

Ann(o) col(oniae) CLXXX aram genesis Invicti Mithrae, M. Val(erius) Secundus fr(umentarius) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) dono ponedam merito curavit, G. Accio Hedychro pa[t]re, G. Acc(ius) Hedychrus p(ater) patrum (AD 155)

AE 1930, 151

Tarraco  
Hispania Tarraconensis

M. Val(erio) M. f. Gal(eria) Secundo, (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) fel(icis) item leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) item II Traian(ae) item XIII Gem(inae), Valeri Euvanthes Saturnius et Glaucilla lib(erti) et heredes patrono b(ene) m(erenti).

M. Valerius Secundus, centurion, second half of the second century.

1. VII Gemina
2. II Traiana
3. III Augusta
4. XIV Gemina

Hispania Tarraconensis  
Egypt  
Numidia  
Pannonia Superior

Valerius Secundus was presumably from Tarraco as he was enrolled in the tribe of that place. The inscription detailing his centurionates belongs to the period before 197 when VII Gemina received the titles pia fidelis. The second half of the second

century is to be assumed as he is almost certainly the same Valerius Secundus who was attested as a frumentarius at Emerita in Lusitania in 155. The order of the career suggests that the frumentarius became a centurion in VII Gemina before returning home to die after his final centurionate with XIV Gemina.

### Vesuvius Rufus

#### No. 1353

RIB 1858 = EE IX 1208, cf. PSAN ii 54

H.W. 47b-48  
Britain

(centuria) Vesui Rufi

RIB 2084

H.W.  
Britain

Coh(ortis) X, (centuria) Vesuvi Rufi

CIL XVI App. 13 Veterans discharged from X Fretensis (AD150) Judaea

(centuria) Verui(!) Rufi

Eric Birley suggested that the man attested as one of the builders of Hadrian's Wall may be the same man as the centurion of X Fretensis recorded on papyrus.<sup>1</sup> Later Professor Birley continued to support his identification.<sup>2</sup> If Professor Birley is correct and the man was Italian<sup>3</sup> the long career (at least 25 years and possibly more as a centurion) could be explained by the possibility of a direct commission.

#### Notes

1. AA4 XVI p235
2. Birley (1953) 109
3. AA4 XVI p236

### T. Vitellius Atillianus

#### No. 439

CIL VIII 3001

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) T. Vitellius Atillianus T. fil. Viminaci(o), (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), (centurio) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae), VII Cl(audiae), XII Ful(minatae), XV Apoll(inaris), VIII Aug(ustae), II Aug(ustae), VII Cl(audiae), II Adiut(ricis), VI Vict(ricis), milit(avit) ann(is) XLVIII, vix(it) ann(is) LXXI. ...

T. Vitellius Atillianus, centurion, Hadrian and later.

1. III Flavia	Moesia Superior
2. VII Claudia	Moesia Superior
3. XII Fulminata	Cappadocia
4. XV Apollinaris	Cappadocia
5. VIII Augusta	Germania Superior
6. II Augusta	Britain
7. VII Claudia	Moesia Superior
8. II Adiutrix	Pannonia Inferior
9. VI Victrix	Britain
10. III Augusta	Numidia

Vitellius Atillianus was from Viminacium in Moesia Superior. The order of the inscription is interesting. No service before the first centurionate is recorded but Viminacium is not really a likely origin for a directly commissioned officer. Clearly Vitellius Atillianus served his first post as a centurion in IV Flavia and his career then ran in descending order through to his post with VI Victrix after which he was transferred to III Augusta in which post he died at the age of 71 after 48 years of military service. The inscription is not specifically dated but belongs to the period when III Flavia and VII Claudia were both in Moesia Superior and when XII Fulminata and XV Apollinaris were both in Cappadocia, that is the reign of Hadrian and after.

### Ignotus CIL V 955

No. 1807

CIL V 955

Aquileia  
Italy Reg. 10

[centurio] leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) [P(iae) F(idelis et (centurio) leg(ionis) XI] C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) (centurio) XV[Fe]rr(atae) doni(s donato militaribus bello armeniaco et] Parthic[o ab Imp Antonino Aug(usto) et divo Vero...] Coro[na...] Promis[ pa]trono[

Ignotus V 955, centurion, Marcus Aurelius.

1. VII Claudia	Moesia Superior
2. XI Claudia	Moesia Inferior
3. XV or XVI	Cappadocia or Syria
4. VI Ferrata?	Syris Palestina

The fragmentary inscription shows a multiple centurionate career of at least four posts in which the centurion gained military decorations in a Parthian War. That war

was probably the war of L. Verus rather than Severus as Severus seems to have given dona very sparingly.<sup>1</sup> The military decorations could have been won with any of the later legions in the career. The man was presumably Italian and therefore either directly commissioned or a member of the guard. The other inscriptions of XI Claudia at Aquileia are mid to late third century. There is nothing to suggest that this inscription was so late.<sup>2</sup>

#### Notes

1. Maxfield (1981) 199
2. CIL V 940, 942 and 8278

### Ignotus CIL VIII 16553 add.

#### No. 1463

CIL VIII 16553 + p2731

Theveste  
Numidia

Centurio [fru]mentarius [le]gionis Secundae Adiutricis Promotus in Leg(ione)  
III Aug(ustae) Stipendior(um) XXVI, qui v(ixit) a(nnos) XLVI m(enses) II  
Dieb(us) XX H(ic) S(itus) E(st) Aurelia Dio [-----] Marito[-----]

Ignotus CIL VIII 16553 + p2731, centurion, late second century.

- |                          |                   |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Centurio frumentarius | Pannonia Inferior |
| 2. Centurio III Augusta  | Numidia           |

The tombstone of the Ignotus at Theveste probably does not date to the period when III Augusta garrisoned Theveste (c70-c100). Such a date would make the Ignotus the earliest recorded frumentarius. The burial formula H(ic) S(itus) E(st) is usually an early indicator, but in Africa it continues well on into the second century. The division of a man's age into years, months and days tends to be a mid to late second century feature. Again, the man's wife was an Aurelia. It is more likely that an Aurelia would be mid to late second century rather than late first century, though Aurelii are known at all periods. Without any further corroborating evidence on early frumentarii it seems best to retain the late first century date as a possibility and the mid to late second century date as a probability. The inscription is scarcely abbreviated at all except for the omission of all the extra titles of the legions. II Adiutrix was P(ia) F(idelis) from 71 while III Augusta was P(ia) V(index) from 194.

## Ignotus CIL XI 1059

No. 889

CIL XI 1059 Dobson 164

Parma  
Italy Reg. 11

[----] praef(ecto) leg(ionis) XX Valer(iae) victr(icis), primop(ilo) leg(ionis) X  
Gemin(ae) piae fidel(is), cent(urioni) legion(um) IIII Scythic(ae), XI  
Claud(iae), XIV Gem(inae), VII Gemin(ae) patr(ono) col(oniae) Iul(iae)  
Aug(ustae) Parm(ensis)...

Ignotus CIL XI 1059, centurion and primipilaris, after c96.

1. Centurio VII Gemina	Hispania Tarraconensis
2. Centurio XIV Gemina	Pannonia Superior
3. Centurio XI Claudia	Moesia Inferior
4. Centurio IIII Scythica	Syria
5. P.P. X Gemina	Pannonia Superior
6. Praef. Leg. XX Valeria	Britannia

The Ignotus was a patron of the city of Parma. He was probably from Parma itself. There is no dating evidence on the inscription other than the titles pia fidelis carried by X Gemina after 96. The transfer from XIV Gemina to XI Claudia could have taken place when the two legions were in the same province. Both legions were in Germania Superior between c70 and c92 and then again in Pannonia between c101 and c106. The transfer from XI Claudia to IIII Scythica could have taken place at the time of the Judaeen War of Hadrian when a vexillation of XI Claudia was in Judaea.<sup>1</sup> A transfer from XI Claudia to IIII Scythica is not otherwise a common transfer and all transfers from western, Latin-speaking legions to eastern legions seem to have been undertaken by ex evocati or directly-commissioned centurions.<sup>2</sup> Doubtless the Ignotus came into one of those two categories. The inscription is fragmentary but looks like a form of career found more often in the second century than at any other time. Dobson has stated that the title praefectus legionis for the post of praefectus castrorum legionis does not appear until the reign of Trajan.<sup>3</sup>

### Notes

1. CIL III 14155
2. See Chapter three.
3. Dobson (1974) 413

## Chapter Five

### Careers in the Legionary Centurionate

#### 5. c.194 onwards

The careers of the period after c194 are an exceptional group. They include seven primipilares out of a total of sixteen careers, a proportion not equalled in any other period. More than three-quarters of the inscriptions give the full tria nomina with origo, which again seems exceptional given the epigraphic conventions of the early third century. Most of the inscriptions are from Italy, Hispania Tarraconensis or Lambaesis which doubtless explains the quality of the information given. Apart from the Italians; Arbustius Valentinus, Marcius Rustius Rufinus, Sulgius Caecilianus and Tillius Rufus, the remainder of the centurions have provincial-sounding nomenclature.

The multiple-centurionate careers of the mid and later second century seem not to have used the convention ex equite romana as the signal for a direct commission, but in the early third century there are two examples (Aurelius Iustus and Marcius Rustius Rufinus) of centurions using the phrase to describe their origins.

All of the primipilares had between three and five centurionates before they reached the primipilate except M. Septimius [---]lis who seems to have had eight. No primipilaris is known to have had more than eight posts as a centurion. Marcus Septimius [---]lis may have been one of the earliest centurions of I Parthica, otherwise there are no indications of the sources of centurions for new legions.

The careers of the centurions reveal the same tendency as the mid and late second <sup>century</sup> careers in that they seem to avoid transfers within a province. The only significant exception is Flavius Virilis who held five of his six centurionates in Britain before going to III Parthica in Mesopotamia. But there are no three legion provinces

after the division of Pannonia Superior in the reign of Caracalla and that would certainly reduce the opportunities for transfer within a province. There are very few signs of transfers taking place as a result of war, though that could be due to the large numbers of vexillation commands which could easily involve men in transfers which are connected geographically but that connection cannot be seen because of the difficulties of dating careers closely enough.

The praetorians continue to produce centurions and primipilares in the early third century, while a number of uncommon sources for centurions are emerging. The post of centurio frumentarius emerges as a post leading to the primipilate and Sulgius Caecilianus became centurion after being a navarch of the Misenum fleet.

There seems to be little that can be learnt from Fig. 2 on the transfers of centurions. There are no glaring concentrations of activity and few omissions. III Augusta produced the largest number of transfers but that is surely the result of the quantity of inscriptions from Lambaesis.

At the end of the Chapter is a group of inscriptions of multiple-centurionate careers which have been included for the sake of completeness. They are for the most part fragmentary inscriptions which are likely to be second or third century.

The following diagram, on the next three pages, shows the transfers of centurions in the third century and the transfers of the collection of fragmentary inscriptions which are second or third century.

MULTIPLE CENTURIONATE CAREERS

8. Second or third century careers

8.	673	639 673	673	1452	1450	1462	238
		408(2) 408(4) 830(4) 868(3)		503(4) 239(3) 682(3)	413(2) 1460(1) 1806(10)	176 239(2)	239(1) 349(1) 868(2)
7.	408(3)	408(1)		1475 A	1453	868(1)	65 C 1806(1) 1806(5)
	VI. Vic.	XX Val.	II Aug.	I Min.	XXII Pr.	X Gem.	II Ad.
	Britannia			Germania Inferior	Germania Superior	Noricum	Pannonia Superior
	Brit. Inf.	Brit. Sup.					II Ad. Pann. Inf. III Gem. III Tac.



MULTIPLE CENTURIONATE CAREERS

	7. Careers from c194 onwards	8. Second or third century careers							
8.	<p>639 1461 1462</p> <p>1450</p>								
7.	<p>11 A 628(5)</p> <p>III Cyt. Arabia</p>	<p>393(3) 408(3) 413(4) 894 1476(1)</p> <p>III Aug. Numidia</p>	<p>836(2) 836(3) 866(5) 894</p> <p>VII Gem. Hisp. T.</p>	<p>176 349(12)</p> <p>II Parth. Italy</p>	<p>830(3) T 866(3) 869(4) 1460(2) T</p> <p>Praet.</p>	<p>830(2) 866(2) 869(3)</p> <p>Urban.</p>	<p>830(1) 866(1) 869(2)</p> <p>Vigiles.</p>	<p>393(1) 836(1) 1453(2)</p> <p>Frumen.</p>	<p>393(2) 869(5)</p> <p>Ex. S. Imp.</p>

### Alphabetical list

P.	Aelius Marcellus	836
L.	Arbustus Valentinus	866
M.	Aurelius Claudianus	1801
M.	Aurelius Iustus	628
M.	Aurelius Sextianus	393
	Claudius Claudianus	65
T.	Flavius?	1450
T.	Flavius Virilis	408
	Florus	1460
	Iulius Bassus Sulpicianus	413
C.	Iulius Lepidus	868
Cn.	Marcus Rustius Rufinus	869
M.	Septimius ....lis	503
L.	Septimius Marcellinus	239
	Simplicinius Victor	315
C.	Sulgius Caecilianus	894
M.	Tillius Rufus	830
C.	Valerius Maximus	176
	Ignotus AE 1954 135	1476

### Numerical list

	65	Claudius Claudianus
C.	176	Valerius Maximus
L.	239	Septimius Marcellinus
	315	Simplicinius Victor
M.	393	Aurelius Sextianus
T.	408	Flavius Virilis
	413	Iulius Bassus Sulpicianus
M.	503	Septimius ....lis
M.	628	Aurelius Iustus
M.	830	Tillius Rufus
P.	836	Aelius Marcellus
L.	866	Arbustus Valentinus
C.	868	Iulius Lepidus
Cn.	869	Marcus Rustius Rufinus
C.	894	Sulgius Caecilianus
T.	1450	Flavius?
	1460	Florus
	1476	Ignotus AE 1954 135
M.	1801	Aurelius Claudianus

### PART II

Antoninus	1808	238
Audacilius Romanus	673	562
Celesticus	562	639
Ignotus RIB 203	639	673
Ignotus CIL VIII 2249	1461	1452
Ignotus CIL VIII 3007	1462	1461
Ignotus CIL XIII 1859	238	1462
Ignotus	1452	1808

Ignotus CIL XIII 1859
Celesticus
Ignotus RIB 203
Audacilius Romanus
Ignotus
Ignotus CIL VIII 2249
Ignotus CIL VIII 3007
Antoninus

**P. Aelius Marcellus**

**No. 836**

CIL XI 5215 = ILS 2650 = Dobson 226

Fulginae  
Italy Reg. 6

P. Aelio P.f. Papir(ia) Marcello, cent(urioni) frum(entario), subprincipi peregrinorum, adstato et principi et primipilo leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) pie fel(icis), adlecto ad munera praef(ectorum) leg(ionum) VII Clau(diae) et primae Adiutricis, v(ir) e(gregio), flamine luculari, Lauren(t)i Lavia(ti), patrono et decurioni colonie Apulesium, patrono civitat(ium) Forofla(minensium), ... ..

P. Aelius Marcellus, centurion and primipilaris, early 3rd century.

- |                            |                 |
|----------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. centurio frumentarius   |                 |
| 2. hastatus VII Gemina     | Hisp. Tarrac.   |
| 3. princeps VII Gemina     | Hisp. Tarrac.   |
| 4. primus pilus VII Gemina | Hisp. Tarrac.   |
| 5. praef. VII Claudia      | Moesia Superior |
| 6. praef. I Adiutrix       | Pannonia Inf?   |

The tribe of Aelius Marcellus (Papiria) and the inscriptions CIL III 1181, 1182 and 7795 show that he was from Apulum in Dacia. The dating for the career comes from the titles pia felix which were given to VII Gemina in 197.<sup>1</sup>

**Note**

1. Ritterling (1925) 1637

**L. Arbustius Valentinus**

**No. 866**

CIL XIV 4007 Dobson no 227

Ficulea  
Italy Reg I

D(is) M(anibus), L. Arbustio L. fil(io) Ann(iensi) Valentino, Crem(ona), p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae) fel(icis), evoc(ato Aug(usti) ex coh(orte) IIII Pr(aetoria), (centurioni) coh(ortis) II Vig(illum), (centurioni) coh(ortis) XI Urb(anae), (centurioni) coh(ortis) VII Pr(aetoriae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Ge(minae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gemin(ae) p(iae) f(elicis), L. Arbustius Valens et C. Arbustius Vitalis f(ilii).

L. Arbustius Valentinus, evocatus, centurion and primipilaris, post 197.

- |                                 |             |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. evocatus Coh. IIII Praetoria | Rome        |
| 2. centurio Coh. II Vigillum    | Rome        |
| 3. centurio Coh. XI Urbana      | Rome        |
| 4. centurio Coh. VII Praetoria  | Rome        |
| 5. centurio Coh. VII Gemina     | Hisp. Tarr. |
| 6. centurio Coh. VII Gemina     | Hisp. Tarr. |
| 7. primus pilus IIII Flavia     | Moes. Sup.  |

The only dating evidence on the inscription is the titles *p(ia) f(elix)* which VII Gemina gained in 197 after its refusal to join the army of Clodius Albinus.<sup>1</sup>

### Note

1. Ritterling (1925) 1637

### M. Aurelius Claudianus

#### No. 1801

AE 1981 158

Ostia  
Italy Reg. 1

D(is) M(anibus), M. Aur(elio) Claudian(o) (centurioni) leg(ionis) XVI Fl(aviae) (secundo) princip(i) prior(i), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XXII Primig(eniae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Mine(rviae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Claud(iae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Gal(licae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII Fl(aviae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) bis, (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Adiu(tricis), ex testam(ento) (e)iusdem Vibia Laenilla neptis et heres, Avonculo piisimo faciendum curavit.

M. Aurelius Claudianus, centurion, third century.

1. centurio II <i>Adiutrix</i>	Pannonia Inferior
2. centurio I Italica	Moesia Inferior
3. centurio I Italica	Moesia Inferior
4. centurio IIII Flavia	Moesia Superior
5. centurio XIII Gemina	Dacia
6. centurio III Gallica	Syria
7. centurio VII Claudia	Moesia Superior
8. centurio I Minervia	Germania Inferior
9. centurio XXII Primigenia	Germania Superior
10. centurio XVI Flavia	Syria

The career of Aurelius Claudianus cannot be given any closer date than that gained from his nomenclature. It would be unlikely to have an Aurelius as a centurion in a western or danubian legion much before the end of the second century. The career points out that in the third century centurions still distinguished between separate posts as a centurion held within the same legion. There is no obvious pattern or context for the transfers of the centurion. Perhaps this is not surprising given the large number of vexillations of different legions used in the campaigns of the third century which would have given abundant opportunities for transfers.

## M. Aurelius Iustus

No. 628

AE 1977 467

Tarraco  
Hisp. Tarraconensis

[D(is)] M(anibus), [M. Aur(elio) Pa]latina Iusto, Ni[comedia] ex eq(uite)  
R(omano), (centurioni) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis), VI [Ferrat(ae) X]XX Ulp(iae),  
II Traian(ae) IIII[Scythic(ae)], III Cyr(enaicae) (secundo) h(astato) pr(iori)  
ann(or)um XLII [stip(endiorum)...] Aurelia Iusta uxor [mari]to dulcissim(o)  
item [Alexa]nder et Iulianus filii [patri p]ientissimo fecer(unt).

M. Aurelius Iustus, centurion, early 3rd century.

- |                               |             |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. centurio X Fretensis       | Judaea      |
| 2. centurio VI Ferrata        | Judaea      |
| 3. centurio XXX Ulpia Victrix | Germ. Inf.  |
| 4. centurio II Traiana        | Egypt       |
| 5. centurio IIII Scythica     | Syria Coele |
| 6. centurio III Cyrenaica     | Arabia      |

The inscription and career of Aurelius Iustus is analysed in great detail by Le Roux.<sup>1</sup> The man was clearly directly commissioned into X Fretensis and then he spent most of the rest of his career in the east. He died at 42, perhaps rather early to have hopes of becoming primus pilus, after six posts as centurion. Most centurions who have more than five posts as a centurion tend not to become primus pilus. Transfers within a province seem not to be common in third century careers. The career looks third century from the name of the centurion. One would not expect to find equestrian Aurelii until some time after the reign of Marcus Aurelius. It is difficult to explain why the inscription was put up in Tarraco.

### Note

1. Le Roux (1978) 77-86

**M. Aurelius Sextianus**

**No. 393**

CIL VIII 2825 = ILS 2214

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum), M. Aurelio M. F. Pal(atina) Sextiano Ostia,  
(centurioni) frumentario, exercitatori singularium Imp(eratoris), Hastato  
leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae), vixit annis XLV, Paccia Prima coniunx et heres eius  
marito piissimo.

M. Aurlius Sextianus, centurion, late 2nd - early 3rd century.

1. centurio frumentarius
2. exercitator Sing. Imp.
3. hastatus III Augusta

Rome  
Numidia

Aurelius Sextianus was almost certainly a soldier in the praetorian guard before he became a centurion. He was from Ostia and by the period of the inscription an Italian would only become a centurion by entry through the guard or by a direct commission. As a Hastatus he was presumably a member of the primi ordines of III Augusta. Had he lived longer he would probably have become primus pilus. The date of the inscription comes from the name of the centurion which can hardly pre-date 160 and is more likely to be third century. It is unlikely that a man with the gentilicium of Marcus Aurelius was directly-commissioned. CIL VI 2553 may refer to the same man.

**Claudius Claudianus**

**No. 65**

CIL III 3515

Aquincum  
Pann. Inferior

---] Pi(i) F(elicis) A(ugusti) Cla(udius) Claudianus (centurio) Leg(ionis) II  
Ad(iutricis) P(iae) F(idelis) Severian(a) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito),  
Agricol(ae) co(n)s(ularis). AD 230

CIL III 14479

Apulum  
III Daciae

Dedication to Severus and sons.

Mevius Surus co(n)s(ularis) Cla( .udius) Claudianus (centurio) leg(ionis)V  
Mac(edonicae)

Claudius Claudianus, centurion, third century.

- |                          |                   |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. centurio V Macedonica | III Daciae        |
| 2. centurio II Adiutrix  | Pannonia Inferior |

The two inscriptions of Claudius Claudianus probably refer to the same man. The earlier, III 14479, belongs to the period 198-209 because of its dedication to Severus and his sons while III 3515 is consular dated to 230. The centurion has a fabricated cognomen which suggests an origin from the North Western provinces of the empire.

### T Flavius? CIL XIII 6883

No. 1450

CIL XIII 6883

Mainz  
Germania Superior

---(centurio)]leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae),[it]em leg(ionis) II Troianae, T. Flavius Aeternus et T. Flavius Albinus et T. Flavius Verecundus[--- ---

T. Flavius? (CIL XIII 6883), centurion, after c102.

- |                              |            |
|------------------------------|------------|
| 1. centurio II Traiana       | Egypt      |
| 2. centurio VIII Augusta     | Germ. Sup. |
| 3. centurio XXII Primigenia? | Germ. Sup. |

The three Flavii look like a family group and perhaps allow the gentilicium of the centurion to be restored as T. Flavius. The findspot of the inscription might also allow the restoration of a centurionate in XXII Primigenia, the legion at Mainz after c92. The date of the inscription must post-date the raising of II Traiana in c102. If the restoration of a centurionate in XXII Primigenia is allowed then the career is listed in reverse order. The transfer from II Traiana to VIII Augusta might suggest the reign of Caracalla when II Traiana took part in the German war celebrated in 213.

## T. Flavius Virilis

No. 408

CIL VIII 2877 cf. p.1740 = ILS 2653

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus) T. Fl(avius) Virilis, (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae),  
(centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), (centurio) leg(ionis) VI  
Vic(tricis), (centurio) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis), (centurio) leg(ionis) III  
Aug(ustae), (centurio) leg(ionis) III Parth(icae) Sever(ianae) (in cohorte)  
(nona) hast(atus) poster(ior) vixit annis LXX, stip(endiae) XXXXV, Lollia  
Bodicca coniux et Flavi(us) Victor et Victorinus filii heredes --

T. Flavius Virilis, centurion, early third century

- |                                |             |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. centurio II Augusta         | Britain     |
| 2. centurio XX Valeria Victrix | Britain     |
| 3. centurio VI Victrix         | Britain     |
| 4. centurio XX Valeria Victrix | Britain     |
| 5. centurio III Augusta        | Britain     |
| 6. centurio III Parthica       | Mesopotamia |

Flavius Virilis was probably from Britain. His first centurionate was in II Augusta, the legion of Caerleon, and he married a lady called Lollia Bodicca whose nomen recalls the Antonine governor of Britain Q. Lollius Urbicus and whose cognomen recalls the Queen of the Iceni. The date of the career comes from the reference to III Parthica which means the end of the career must post-date the period after c197 and, if the title Sever(iana) is a shortened version of the rather more common Sever(iana) Alexandriana, it could end in the period 222-235. The career was discussed by Eric Birley<sup>1</sup> who suggested that following the information given by Vegetius, that recruits were most likely to begin their training in Cohorts VII, IX, II and IV, the final post of Flavius Virilis may suggest the man was involved in the training of the recruits of the new legion III Parthica. However, the training pattern of an entirely new legion was presumably not the same as that of the established legions about which Vegetius was speaking so Flavius Virilis' position in cohort IX may only have been coincidental.

### Note

1. Birley (1965) 24

## Florus

No. 1460

CIL IX 1609

Beneventum  
Italy Reg. 1

---] f. Ulp(ia) Florus [Sarmiz]egethusa mil(es) fac[tus in leg(ione) XII]I  
Gem(ina) Severo et [Victorino cos.] translatus in [coh(ortem) ---- praetor(iam)  
Antonino II cos. [factus prin]cipalis in coh(orte) s(upra) s(cripta) [Pompeiano et  
Avit]o cos, promo[tus] tesserarius in] coh(orte) s(upra) s(cripta) Antonino III  
[et Balbino cos.] factus optio in coh(orte) s(upra) s(cripta) [Messalla et Sabi]no  
cos., factus sig[nifer in coh(orte) s(upra) s(cripta) Lar]go et Ceriale cos.,  
[factus antistes ab Imp(eratore) Antonino aedis sa[rae Praesente et Extri]cato  
cos., factus [(centurio) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis)  
Mo]guntiaci A[n]t[on]i[n]o et Oclatinio Advento cos., translatus in coh(ortem)  
----praetoriam a Gord]ano Imp(eratore) Pio et Pon[tiano cos., factus  
(trecenarius) in ] coh(orte) III praetor(ia) [Sabino ey Venu]sto cos., fact[us  
(centurio) in leg(ione) ----

Florus, centurion, early third century.

1. miles XIII Gemina	Dacia
2. principalis coh. Praet.	Rome
3. tesserarius coh. Praet.	Rome
4. optio coh. Praet.	Rome
5. signifer coh. Praet.	Rome
6. centurio XXII Primigenia	Germ. Sup.
7. centurio coh. Praet.	Rome
8. trecenarius coh. III Praet.	Rome
9. centurio ??	

The centurion Florus was from Sarmizegetusa in Dacia. He may have been part of the process of bringing Danubian legionaries into the praetorian guard which was started by Septimius Severus.<sup>1</sup> The transfer of Florus occurred in 198. He then served in the guard and was promoted from signifer to a legionary centurionate in XXII Primigenia after nearly twenty years in the guard.

### Note

1. Dio Hist. 75, 2, 4

## Iulius Bassus Sulpicianus

No. 413

CIL VIII 2891

Lambaesis  
Numidia

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum), I(ulius) Bassus Sulpicianus (centurio) leg(ionis) II Traiana(e) for(tis), item (centurio) leg(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis), item (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae), item (centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) p(iae) v(indicis), item (centurio) leg(ionis) III Parthicae Severiana(e), vixit annis LIII milit(avit) ann(is) XXXVII, Iulia Saturnina Uxor dulcissimo marito, bene merenti, fecit, curant(e) I(ulio) Basso Donato procurat(ore)

Iulius Bassus Sulpicianus, centurion, early third century.

- |                             |               |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| 1. centurio II Traiana      | Egypt         |
| 2. centurio XXII Primigenia | Germania Sup. |
| 3. centurio XIII Gemina     | Dacia         |
| 4. centurio III Augusta     | Numidia       |
| 5. centurio III Parthica    | Mesopotamia   |

The dating for the inscription comes from the reference to III Parthica which was not raised until c197 and carries the appellation Severiana. CIL VIII 2890 reveals the man was from Cirta and had a brother in cohors I Urbana and another brother who was a speculator in III Augusta. It is likely then that Iulius Bassus Sulpicianus was a ranker rather than a directly-commissioned centurion.

## C. Iulius Lepidus

No. 868

CIL II 4461, Dobson 255

Aeso  
Hisp. Tarraconensis

C. Iulio Gal(eria) Lepido Iesson(e) P(rimi)P(ilari), centur(ioni) leg(ionis) X[III] P(iae) F(idelis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I Adiut(ricis), (centurioni) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) P(iae) F(idelis), [---(centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(icticis) [P(rimo) P(ilo) leg(ionis) X Ge]m(inae) P(iae) F(idelis), Adlecto in numerum decurion(um) ab ordine Barcinonensium, heredes ex testament(o).

C. Iulius Lepidus, centurion and primipilaris, late 2nd-3rd century.

- |                                |            |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| 1. centurio XIII Gemina        | III Daciae |
| 2. centurio I Adiutrix         | Pann. Sup. |
| 3. centurio X Gemina           | Pann. Sup. |
| 4. centurio XX Valeria Victrix | Britain    |
| 5. Primus Pilus X Gemina       | Pann. Sup. |

Iulius Lepidus was from Iesso in Hispania Tarraconensis. Huebner restored the final post of Iulius Lepidus as a centurionate with VII Gemina P(ia) F(idelis),<sup>1</sup> which suggested the career must post-date 197. Eric Birley suggested the final post must record the legion of which Iulius Lepidus was primus pilus. There would not be room on the inscription for P.P. Leg. VII Ge]m(inae).<sup>2</sup> Iulius Lepidus recorded only his posts as centurion and his first centurionate was in XIII Gemina which did not recruit from Hispania Tarraconensis. That may open the possibility of a direct commission. It is just possible that the order of the inscription might begin with the centurionate in XX Valeria which would reduce the possibility of a direct commission as XX Valeria did recruit from Spain.<sup>3</sup> The period of the inscription is probably post c185 since that was the period when XIII Gemina carried the titles P(ia) F(idelis).<sup>4</sup>

### Notes

1. CIL II 4463
2. Dobson (1978) 331
3. RIB 490, 491, 492.
4. Ritterling (1925)

### Cn. Marcius Rustius Rufinus

#### No. 869

CIL X 1127 = Dobson 154, Plaum 234

Abellinum  
Italy Reg. 1

Cn Ma[rcio] Cn. f. Stel(latina) Rust[io Rufino] praef(ecto) class(is) pr[aet(oriae) Misen(ensis)], praef(ecto) class(is) Rav[enn(atis)], proc(uratori) Aug(usti) prov(inciae) Syria[e Coeles, trib(uno)] coh(ortis) I Praet(oriae), tri[b(uno) coh(ortis) XI Ur]b(anae), trib(uno) coh(ortis) VI [vig(ilum), dilect(atori) reg(ionis)] Transpadan(ae) p(rimo) [p(ilo) bis, ab Imp(eratore) Au]gust(o) ordinibu[s adscripto ex] equite Roman[o exercitato]ri equit[um ---], (centurioni) coh(ortis) I [Praet(oriae), (centurioni) coh(ortis) ---- Urb(anae) (centurioni) leg(ionis)] XV Ap[oll(inaris) ---]

Cn. Marcius Rustius Rufinus, centurion, primipilaris late second century

- |                               |            |
|-------------------------------|------------|
| 1. centurion XV Apollinaris   | Cappadocia |
| 2. centurion Coh. Urbana      | Rome       |
| 3. centurion Coh. Praetorio   | Rome       |
| 4. primus pilus III Cyrenaica | Arabia     |
| 5. primus pilus III Gallica   | Syria      |

The career after the primipilate is analysed by Dobson.<sup>1</sup> An inscription from Beneventum<sup>2</sup> reveals Marcus Rustius Rufinus was from that city. He was directly commissioned into XV Apollinaris from which it is assumed he went to the Urban cohorts in Rome rather than the Vigiles since equestrians do not serve in the Vigiles. The date for the career comes from CIL XIV 4378 which shows Marcus Rustius Rufinus as tribune of Coh. VI Vigilum in 190. During the period 198-209 Marcus Rustius Rufinus was prefect of the Vigiles.<sup>3</sup> He is also known from CIL IX 1583 from Beneventum and CIL XIV 4389 from Ostia.

### Notes

1. Dobson (1978) 269-270
2. CIL IX 1582 = ILS 1343
3. *ibid.*

### M. Septimius [---]lis

#### No. 503

AE 1911, 128 = ILS 9201, Dobson 234

Ancona  
Italy Reg 8

M. Septimio M. [f. ----]li, (centurioni) legionum [---X Fret(ensis) II, pr(imae) Min(erviae) [---] II, pri(mae) Parth(icae), III Ga[ll(icae) --- XXII] Prim(igeniae), p(rimo)p(ilo), praeposi[to] --- Um]briae Piceni et Ap[uliae], col(onia) Acon(a) et c[ol(onia)]? patrono?] complurium [civitatium/] heredes patr[ono]

M. Septimius ---lis, centurion and primus pilus, early third century

- |                             |               |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| 1. centurio X Fretensis     | Judaea        |
| 2. centurio X Fretensis     | Judaea        |
| 3. centurio I Minervia      | Germania Inf. |
| 4. centurio I Minervia      | Germania Inf. |
| 5. centurio ?               | ?             |
| 6. centurio I Parthica      | Mesopotamia   |
| 7. centurio III Gallica     | Syria Coele   |
| 8. centurio XXII Primigenia | Germ. Sup.    |
| 9. primus pilus?            | ?             |

The dating for the career of Septimius comes from his centurionate in I Parthica which was raised in the reign of Septimius Severus, probably about 197.<sup>1</sup> Septimius is highly exceptional in having at least eight posts as a centurion and still becoming

primus pilus. The career could start early enough for the transfer from X Fretensis to I Minervia to have occurred at the time of the Parthian war of L. Verus when both legions were in the east, but it seems safer to assume that it is a later second to third century career. However, Septimius could have been one of the earliest centurions of I Parthica.

### Note

1. Ritterling (1925) 1435

### L. Septimius Marcellinus

No. 239

CIL XIII 1890

Lugdunum  
Gallia

Lugdunensis

D(is) M(anibus), et memoriae aeternae, L. Septimi(us) L.f. n(atione) Pannonius d(omo) Ulp(iae) Papir(iae) Petavione Marcellinus (centurio) leg(ionis) I Adiutricis, item leg(ionis) XIII Gemin(a)e, item leg(ionis) XXX V(lpiae) V(ictricis) S(everianae) A(lexandrianae), Aelia Clementina coniux, et Sept(imius) Marcellus et Sept(imius) Marcellinus et Septimia Marcella fil(ii) et H(eredes) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) sub ascia dedicaverunt

L. Septimius Marcellinus, centurion, reign of Severus Alexander.

- |                               |               |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. centurio I Adiutrix        | Pannonia Sup? |
| 2. centurio XIII Gemina       | Pannonia Sup. |
| 3. centurio XXX Ulpia Victrix | Germania Inf. |

Septimius Marcellinus was from Pannonia and entered into a Pannonian legion, I Adiutrix, for his first centurionate. The fact of his having the gentilicium of Septimius Severus may suggest he was enfranchised on enlistment and took the Emperor's name (or, though the practice is rare by the late second century, the governor's name on enlistment.). The inscription dates from the period 222-235 as XXX Ulpia Victrix carried the names Severiana Alexandriana.

## Simplicinius Victor

No. 315

CIL XIII 8065

Bonna  
Germania Inferior

D(is) M(anibus), Aelia Arvania viva sibi et Simplicinio Victori (centurioni)  
leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) et III Parthicae coniugi pientissimo fecit.

Simplicinius Victor, centurion, early third century.

- |                          |               |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| 1. centurio III Parthica | Mesop.        |
| 2. centurio I Minervia   | Germania Inf. |

The only pieces of dating evidence on the stone are the absence of the praenomen of the centurion which suggests a late second to third century date, and the reference to a centurionate in III Parthica which must date to the period after the raising of that legion in c197.

## C. Sulgius Caecilianus

No. 894

CIL VIII 14854 = ILS 2764, Dobson 205

Tuccabor  
Numidia

C. Sulgio L. f. Pap(iria) Caeciliano, praef(ecto) leg(ionis) III Cyrenaica, p(rimo)p(ilo) leg(ionis) XX Valeriae Victricis, praeposito reliquationi classis praetoriae Misensium piae vindicis et thesauris domini[cis e]t bastagis copiarum devehendarum, (centurioni) leg(ionum) III Aug(ustae) et Septimae Geminae et Primae Parthicae et XVI Fl(aviae) f(irmae) et XIII G(eminae) in provincia Dacia, navarch(o) classis praetoriae Mise[n]atium piae vindicis, optioni peregrinorum et ex[erci]tatori mil[i]tum frumentarior(um) et Sulgiae [---]jae et Sulgio Apro [---]sulgio [---]patri et coiu[gi].

C. Sulgius Caecilianus, centurion and primipilaris, early third century.

- |   |               |
|---|---------------|
| 1. optio peregrinorum                         | Rome          |
| 2. navarch classis Misensis                   | Misenum       |
| 3. centurio XIII Gemina                       | Dacia         |
| 4. centurio XVI Flavia                        | Syria         |
| 5. centurio I Parthica                        | Mesopotamia   |
| 6. centurio VII Gemina                        | Hisp. Tarrac. |
| 7. centurio III Augusta                       | Numidia       |
| 8. praepositus reliquationis classis Misensis | Misenum       |
| 9. primus pilus XX Valeria Victrix            | Britain       |
| 10. praefectus legionis III Cyrenaica         | Arabia        |

The dating (either the reigns of Elagabalus or Severus Alexander) comes from CIL X 3342 which records work done at Misenum under the charge of Sulgius Caecilianus in the time of either of those Emperors. The centurion Sulgius Caecilianus was from Tuccabor as he was enrolled in the tribe of that place (Papiria). The career is an exceptional one, beginning with the task of training the frumentarii, continuing with service in the fleet, before becoming a centurion in XIII Gemina. Despite clear evidence of an expertise or organizational skills connected with fleets, he remained with legions which had hardly connection with water, apart from XVI Flavia at Samosata on the Euphrates. Before he became primus pilus, he was given a praepositus command with the Misenum fleet. He was clearly concerned with the transport of materials and may have been the equivalent of the commander of a legionary vexillation. Different opinions on the subject are recorded by Dobson.<sup>1</sup> The career points to the variety of posts which might be undertaken under the bald title of centurio legionis.

#### Note

1. Dobson (1978) 301

#### M. Tillius Rufus

No. 830

CIL X 5064 = ILS 2667, Dobson 177

Atina  
Italy Reg 1

M. Tillio M.f. Ter(etina) Rufo (centurioni) leg(ionis) XX Val(eriae) Vict(ricis) ex (trecenario) coh(ortis) III Pr(aetoriae) p(iae) v(indicis), principi castror(um), eq(uo) p(ublico) exor(nato) et donis donato ab Imp(eratoribus) Severo et Antonino Aug(ustis) hasta pura corona aurea, (centurioni) coh(ortis) XII Urb(anae) et I Vig(illum), evoc(ato) Aug(ustorum) divorum M. Antonini et Commodi, patrono municipi, liberti. .

consular date 208

M. Tillius Rufus, centurion,

1. evocatus
2. centurio coh I Vigillum
3. centurio coh XII Urbana
4. princeps castrorum
5. trecenarius Coh III Praetoria
6. centurio XX Valeria Victrix
7. primus pilus XXII Primigenia

Rome  
Rome  
Carthage  
Rome  
Rome  
Britain  
Germ. Sup.

CIL XIII 6762 reveals Tillius Rufus as primus pilus of XXII Primigenia in 213. The man was evocatus in the period 177-180 and had presumably served at least sixteen years then. His total service cannot have been much short of 55 years and his dona must have been given while he was in his fifties. He was enrolled in Teretina the tribe of Atina so he was almost certainly from that town. He is only the third centurion known to have been given equestrian rank as a reward. The other examples were Aconius Statura,<sup>1</sup> and Gavius Fronto.<sup>2</sup>

### Notes

1. See Chapter three.
2. Revue des Etudes Grecques 61 (1948), 201

## C. Valerius Maximus

### No. 176

CIL III 10610

Incerta  
Pannonia Inferior

[G. Val](erio) Maximo (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Parth(icae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIV G(eminae) m(artiae) v(ictricis), G. Va[l(erius) Eu]t[e]les lib(ertus) et h[e]r(es) patrono pi[e]ntissimo faciendum curavit

G. Valerius Maximus, centurion, early third century.

- |                         |               |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1. centurio II Parthica | Mesopotamia   |
| 2. centurio VI Ferrata  | Judaea        |
| 3. centurio XIV Gemina  | Pannonia Sup. |

The dating of the inscription comes from the reference to II Parthica which was not raised until c197. This Valerius Maximus is not the same Valerius Maximus as the centurion of IIII Flavia who dedicated to I.O.M. Dolichenus in 185-192,<sup>1</sup> or the centurion of II Traiana in 175,<sup>2</sup> or the Valerius Maximus attested on Hadrian's Wall.<sup>3</sup>

### Notes

1. CIL V 1870
2. CIL III 12048
3. RIB 1682, 1766

Ignotus AE 1954 135

No. 1476

AE 1954 135

Aioun Sbiba  
Numidia

[---]ii protec[tor---]item primip[i]la[ris] protector iitem centurio III Fl(aviae) et  
protector iitem ce[nturi]o leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) item [dec(urio)] alae  
Parthoru[m---] iitem[---]

Ignotus AE 1954 135, centurio protector and primipilaris protector, mid-3rd century

- |    |                                |            |
|----|--------------------------------|------------|
| 1. | ?                              | ?          |
| 2. | decurio Alae Parthorum         | Mauretania |
| 3. | centurio protector IV Flavia   | Moes. Sup  |
| 4. | centurio protector III Augusta | Numidia    |
| 5. | primus pilus protector         | ?          |

The Ignotus of AE 1954 135 was described as centurio protector which seems  
to have been a mid third century <sup>1st</sup> first in connection with the new field armies controlled  
by the Emperor.

## PART II

### Antoninus

No. 1808

IGLS VI 2783

Baalbek  
Syria

[---Fa]b(ia) Antonino (centurioni) [leg(ionis) --- M]aced(onicae) (centurioni)  
leg(ionis) III Gallic(ae) [cu]ratori alarum trium.

Antoninus, centurion, first to third century.

- |                           |         |
|---------------------------|---------|
| 1. centurio V? Macedonica | Moesia? |
| 2. centurio III Gallica   | Syria   |

The centurion Antoninus of V? Macedonica and III Gallica was almost certainly from Heliopolis which was enrolled in the tribe [Fa]b(ia). He may date from the first century when V Macedonica fought in the East under Corbulo and then Vespasian, or from the second century when V Macedonica came East for the Parthian war of L. Verus. Or, of course, the inscription could date from a period in which there was no direct contact between the two legions.

### Audacilius Romanus

No. 673

RIB 1779

Carvoran  
Britannia

Fortun[ae] Audac(ilius) Romanus (centurio) leg(ionum VI, XX, (II)  
Aug(ustae).

Audacilius Romanus, centurion, post c123.

- |                                |         |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| 1. centurio VI Victrix         | Britain |
| 2. centurio XX Valeria Victrix | Britain |
| 3. centurio II Augusta         | Britain |

The altar of Audacilius Romanus presumably came from the fort at Carvoran, a short distance from Hadrian's Wall. It is possible that the centurion was praepositus at the fort. The reference to VI Victrix dates the inscription to the time of Hadrian or later.

Clearly all of the transfers occurred in Britain. The absence of the praenomen of the centurion suggests a late second to third century date for the inscription.

### Celesticus

No. 562

AE 1947 172

Palmyra  
Syria

[---Celestico (centurioni) leg(ionis) III Gall(icae)], IIII Scy(thicae), VI Ferr(atae), [curatori---. curator]i Ripae Superior(is) [et Inferior(is) Euphratis, curatori?] coh(ortis) [s]ebaste[n]ae supiuvim[---  
(completed in part from a Palmyrene version.)

Celesticus, centurion,

1. centurio VI Ferrata
2. centurio IIII Scythica
3. centurio III Gallica

Judaea  
Syria  
Syria

The order of the centurionates of Celesticus is not clear. All of the legions mentioned could have been in Syria in the approximate date of the inscription. It may be correct to suggest the career reads in its natural order. The inscription looks third century from its references to the curatorial river commands. VI Ferrata may have been transferred from Judaea into Syria Phonicie in the reign of Severus Alexander<sup>1</sup> and Palmyra was in Syria Phonicie. No career is recorded before the centurionates so the man may have been directly commissioned. He was almost certainly a Palmyrene.

### Note

1.Mann (1983) 160

## Ignotus RIB 203

No. 639

RIB 203

Colchester  
Britannia

---]di Tr[-----]ae bis (centurio) [-----] bis (centurio) leg(ionis) III Au[g(ustae)  
--- ---]leg(ionis) XX Val(eriae) V[ict(ricis) ori]ndus Nicaea [in  
Bithyn]ia Militavi[t ann(os) ---] vixit ann(os) [--- ---] obitum [---]

Ignotus (RIB 203), centurion, post c61

- |                                    |         |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| 1. centurion of unknown legion     | ?       |
| 2. centurion of same legion        | ?       |
| 3. centurion of unknown legion     | ?       |
| 4. centurion of same legion        | ?       |
| 5. centurion III Augusta           | Numidia |
| 6. centurion of XX Valeria Victrix | Britain |

The Ignotus of RIB 203 is attested on a very fragmentary inscription from Colchester. He was from Nicaea in Bythinia. He presumably died while he was centurion with XX Valeria Victrix in the period after 61 on the titles of the legion.

## Ignotus CIL VIII 2249

No. 1461

CIL VIII 2249

Macula  
Numidia

---]centurionis legionis III Aug(ustae), undecime Claudie

Ignotus (CIL VIII 2249), centurion, after c42.

- |                         |                              |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. centurio III Augusta | Numidia                      |
| 2. centurio XI Claudia  | Dal., Germ. Sup., Moes. Inf. |

There is no dating evidence on the stone apart from the reference to XI Claudia which must post-date 42.

## Ignotus CIL VIII 3007

No. 1462

CIL VIII 3007 = 18323

Lambaesis  
Numidia

---] f. Poll(ia) [---] Pollentia[--- ---(centurio) l]eg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) [--- ---  
(centurio)] leg(ionis) XIII Gem[(inae)---

Ignotus (CIL VIII 3007), centurion, after c100

1. centurio III Augusta
2. centurio XIV Gemina

Numidia  
Pannonia Sup.

The centurion was an Italian from Pollentia in Regio 9. As such he must have had a praetorian career or have been directly commissioned. On the spacing of the inscription a direct commission would seem more likely unless the career was given in reverse order. The findspot of the inscription at Lambaesis presumes a second or third century date for the career.

## Ignotus CIL XIII 1859

No. 238

CIL XIII 1859

Lugdunum  
Gallia Lugdunensis

---(centurio) leg(ionis)] XI Claud[iae --- ---(centurio) leg(ionis)] XIII Gemin[ae  
--- ---(centurio) leg(ionis) l]III Scythic[ae --- --- Has]tat(us) Prior[--- ---]et  
Florus

Ignotus (CIL XIII 1859), centurion, after 42.

1. centurio XI Claudia
2. centurio XIII Gemina
3. centurio IV Scythica
4. hastatus prior of unknown legion

Dal., Germ. Sup., Pann., Moes.  
Germ. Sup., Pann., Dacia  
Moesia, Syria  
?

The transfer of the Ignotus between XI Claudia and XIII Gemina may have been between c101-c105 when both legions were probably in Pannonia, but since there is no other dating evidence on the stone it is best to leave the inscription as later than 42. The tendency to use the full names of legions might be taken to suggest a first century date.

**Ignotus**

**No. 1452**

M. C. A. ii, 1956, 609 no. 129<sup>1</sup>

Dobrudja  
Dacia

---] (centurio) le[g(ionis) I]talica, (centurioni) [leg(ionis)] XXX [Ulp(ia)]  
V(ictrix) et{--- ---

Ignotus, centurion,

1. centurio I Italica
2. centurio XXX Ulpia Victrix
3. ?

Moesia Inferior  
Germania Sup.  
?

The Ignotus had at least two and probably three posts. The career must post-date c102 and the raising of XXX Ulpia Victrix.

**Note**

1. Materiale si Certări Arheologice ii, 1956, 609 no. 129. Referred to, but not extracted in AE 1956.

## Summary of the conclusions of Chapters One to Five

In the foreword six questions were proposed to form the framework of the analysis of the dateable groups of multiple centurionate careers. The results of those questions are contained in each of Chapters one to five and are summarized here. These summaries are not to be considered as final conclusions.

1. The question of linking transfers to warfare and the movement of whole legions and vexillations is probably to be answered in the affirmative but not throughout the whole dating range of the thesis. There are a few signs in the first century, but the period when the evidence is clearest is c96-c140. The appearance of the transfers of I Minervia in the careers of the early second century is striking and probably significant. There seems to be a clear correlation between the transfers of centurions on the Danube and the Dacian Wars of the reign of Trajan. There is rather less clear evidence for transfers in the east at the time of the Parthian war of Trajan and some evidence for transfers between the Danubian legions which went east for the Jewish war of Hadrian and the eastern legions which were already there. After the reign of Hadrian there is a small amount of evidence of transfers at the time of the Parthian war of L. Verus and after that very little at all. Casualties, patronage and merit presumably caused many of the transfers in the period of the wars of Trajan; it is not always clear what causes transfers at other times.

2. The proportion of centurions who had multiple centurionate careers is not finally clear, but a number of points can be made. At all periods men had multiple-centurionate careers which did not end in the primipilate. Dobson has calculated that a centurion had a 30% chance of reaching the primipilate<sup>1</sup> and this study has shown the great majority of primipilares have multiple centurionate careers. That should indicate the probability that considerably more than 30% of centurions had multiple centurionate careers. The career of Pupianus Verinus<sup>2</sup> revealed three posts as a centurion had to be

fitted into a period of no more than five years and there are indications in other careers that a centurion's tenure of post could be short.<sup>3</sup> Given the large proportion of centurions who died before the most likely age for the primipilate, it seems likely that more than half and possibly considerably more than half the centurions alive at any one time had a multiple centurionate career. There are few important indications of change over time. In the first century it was uncommon to have more than four posts as a centurion and it usually took at least two posts as a centurion before the post of primus pilus was reached. In the early second century careers grew longer at least in terms of the numbers of posts held though it was rare for centurions who had more than four posts to reach the primipilate. There are some remarkably long and numerous examples of multiple centurionate career at the end of the second century but these only very rarely end in the primipilate. The proportion of men remaining as a centurion in a single legion until death, retirement or the primipilate supervened is more difficult to estimate. Two primipilares give an indication of only one post as a centurion. Both are second century (Terentius Rufus is Trajanic, Apicius Tiro is post c96). In the first century there are indications of a considerable group of centurions remaining within one legion and that may well go with the restrictive nature of the transfers in that period. In later periods it is much more difficult to be certain that a single recorded post as a centurion is the only post he held. However, there <sup>is</sup> a sizeable group of tombstones of centurions of a second or third century date which only appear to record one post as centurion.

3. The question of how many centurions were directly commissioned and how many came from the ranks of the guard must remain open. The directly commissioned exist at all periods. They are most obvious in the evidence for the period c96-c140 where they seem to form a sizeable percentage (almost 30%) of the total of recorded multiple centurionate careers. In the later second century the proportion of the total sinks to less than 10%. These figures are probably meaningless in that it is not possible to tell if men with no details of the career before the centurionate were directly

commissioned or not. There are changes in time visible through the period of the five chapters but this may be due as much to changes in the quality and quantity of evidence as to changes in the recruitment pattern of the legions. One contribution was to see centurions who came from places which produce very few recruits for the legions mainly as being directly commissioned.<sup>4</sup> The Guard seem to produce centurions for the legions at all periods after the mid first century. That was the result of the examination of C. Aninius Gallus and Q. Herennius Severus.<sup>5</sup> The actual proportion of the Guard reaching the legionary centurionate is subject to the same caveats as the attempt to estimate the proportion of the directly-commissioned. There seems to be an increase in the representation of the <sup>6</sup>guard in the period c96-c140, but there is an increase in the representation of every group contributing to the centurionate at that time.

4. The number of centurions with multiple centurionate careers who were directly commissioned is obviously closely related to the foregoing discussion. There are no obvious answers other than to say that primipilares usually had multiple centurionate careers and the directly commissioned seem to have had a good chance of reaching the primipilate. How much better a chance than the ranker, cannot be answered in the present state of our evidence. The most obvious group of directly-commissioned centurions with multiple centurionate careers is in the period c96-c140, but that may be the result of the nature of the period which produces more examples of every type of centurionate career. However, a number of directly-commissioned centurions in the period c96-c140 were men transferred from the equestrian militiae, which is a process unknown in other periods.

5. The question of the part played by patronage in the transfers of centurions has been noticeably unsuccessful. There are a number of centurions who make dedications to their patron, but there are very few examples where a patron can be suggested to have assisted in the arrangement of a transfer. Birley made the suggestion

of the transfer of Saturninus some years ago.<sup>6</sup> To that man could be added the case of a possible connection between L. Valerius Proclus and Q. Pompeius Falco, but that is virtually the end of the list. The career of Sex. Iulius Severus may have influenced the transfers of Ligustinius Disertus and Censorius Cornelianus, while Hadrian could have been significant in the transfers of the group of spanish equestrians who enter I Minervia as centurions in the reign of Trajan, but certainty is not possible in a single case.

6. There may have been restrictions on the transfers of centurions. From the first century it was clear that centurions from the western latin-speaking areas of the Empire were not freely transferred into the Greek-speaking east. When men started to be transferred from the western, latin-speaking legions to the eastern legions around the turn of the second century those men turned out to be either directly-commissioned, evocati of the guard or men from greek-speaking cities. This is shown particularly clearly in the period c96-c140. It seems clear that the educational achievement of the directly-commissioned and the Italian guardsman were important in the opportunities they may have had to be transferred into eastern, Greek-speaking legions. This separation between western and eastern legions did not apply to those born in the east who move from legion to legion in a way unknown to the latin-speaking ranker. The Africans might be said to have a foot in both camps and do not seem to be restricted by language. The restrictions seem to go on into the third century.

Other aspects of the careers of centurions explored included the process of providing centurions for new legions and the relationship between the equestrian militia and the centurionate which is more fully developed in Chapter seven.

### Notes

1. Dobson (1978) 63, 156
2. IGLS XIII 9178, see Chapter four
3. ILS 2726, see Chapter three, Pontius Sabinus
4. CIL V 6881, see Chapter three, Paccius Nonianus
5. See Appendix to Chapter one
6. Birley (1965) 28

Chapter Six

Centurions in Tacitus

The aim of this study is to examine the role of centurions in the works of Tacitus. There are over 200 references to centurions, primipilares, prefects of the camp and praetorian tribunes in the Annals and the Histories. Yet their significance goes beyond mere numbers. They are frequently the prime movers of action in the Annals and the Histories and they provide a background of tradition, discipline and continuity within the Roman Army which is one of the most important elements in the work of Tacitus. Singly they often repeat the Tacitean theme of the importance of the individual set against the baseness, indifference or unreality of collective opinions and action. This study will concentrate on the following themes:

- a) The naming of centurions.
- b) The role of the centurion within the legion.
- c) The role of the centurion as state assassin, courier and envoy.
- d) The role of the centurion in relation to the Emperor.

A number of incidents are of significance in more than one theme.

The Naming of Centurions

Tacitus names some centurions and affords anonymity to others. The question of naming was clearly important and the motivation behind naming individuals needs examination. Tacitus probably came from a family which produced a procurator of Belgica.<sup>1</sup> Such a family might have numbered centurions among its numbers or at least its associates. When centurions appeared in the ancestry of notables of the senatorial order it was something to be commented upon but carried no note of censure. Ateius Capito (cos. suff. AD5) was the grandson of a centurion of Sulla.<sup>2</sup> Helvidius Priscus was the son of a primipilaris.<sup>3</sup> Other senators (perhaps not many) might be suspected from the speech of Otho to the praetorians after his disrupted dinner party.<sup>4</sup> Suetonius

tells us that father of Vespasian was a praefectus castrorum.<sup>5</sup> Tacitus presumably mentioned Vespasian in the lost books covering the invasion of Britain and its aftermath. Perhaps the introduction of Vespasian included an account of his forbears.

It is clear that centurions were not simply named in order to praise their descendants. Persons who were to appear prominently in future books of the Annals and the Histories would be mentioned by name.

The centurions named in the Annals form an interesting group. Those involved in the mutinies were important, their names gave colour and humanity to the episodes described and their actions and fates seem always to have been significant in the eventual settlement of events. The Pannonian revolt produced the execution of Lucilius, 'Fetch another' of camp legend,<sup>6</sup> and the near battle over the centurion nicknamed 'Sirpicus' whose execution was demanded by legion VIII (Augusta), and who was protected by XV (Apollinaris).<sup>7</sup> The issue of 'Sirpicus' was resolved by legion IX (Hispana) which intervened (on which side?) with entreaties and threats.<sup>8</sup> The whole episode served as an example of the potential for division amongst the soldiers. That potential for division was developed by Drusus Caesar through the medium of the centurion Julius Clemens who had been retained by the soldiers (when other centurions were expelled) because of his quick wits.<sup>9</sup> After an eclipse of the <sup>m</sup> Moon Julius Clemens was sent amongst the soldiers, with other centurions who were liked by the soldiers for their good qualities, to suggest hope and emphasize fear.<sup>10</sup> In fact, they were to encourage divisions among the rebels and to prepare a return to habits of obedience. So the centurion Julius Clemens retained his loyalty to the commander-in-chief despite being chosen by the men as a spokesman. In the Pannonian revolt the centurions served as both the focus of discontent and the means of repression. Catonius Iustus was named with an equestrian officer to take a message to Tiberius, this was an example of Tacitus naming a man who was to be of significance later though his name was not essential to the narrative of the revolt itself.<sup>11</sup>

The rebellion on the Rhine again focused, in its early stages, on the cruelty of centurions. Centurions were given sixty lashes, one for each centurion in the legion, and were thrown over the camp walls or were thrown into the Rhine. Again, as in the Pannonian rebellion, one centurion was killed - Septimius who fled to the tribunal but was given up to the rebels and was beaten to death.<sup>12</sup> Again, one centurion was named as his behaviour marked him out as a man of decision and violence. Cassius Chaerea, the future assassin of Gaius Caesar, fought his way out of the rebel camp in AD14.<sup>13</sup>

The named centurions gave colour to the narrative and provided introductions to men of significance in the later Books. Naming centurions was probably essential as centurions were so numerous and provided so many examples of conduct that some specific attribution of action was needed to give the narrative focus and a sense of actuality.

The (praetorian) centurion Attius taunted and beat Drusus Caesar, the son of Germanicus.<sup>14</sup> This was the second example of a centurion being prominent in the fates of members of the Imperial Family. The first crime of the principate of Tiberius, the execution of Agrippa Postumus, had been undertaken by an unnamed centurion.<sup>15</sup> Suetonius tells us the unnamed centurion was at the end of a chain of command leading from the senator Sallustius Crispus through a praetorian tribune.<sup>16</sup>

The naming of virī militares (centurions, primipilares, prefects of the camp and praetorian tribunes) in the Annals poses a number of problems linked to history and the interests of the readers of Tacitus. It has already been pointed out that persons who would appear prominently in future books of the Annals and whose connections or descendants had already appeared in the Histories would be named. That accounted for the references to Cassius Chaerea,<sup>17</sup> Catonius Iustus (who would become praetorian prefect under Claudius),<sup>18</sup> Casperius Niger<sup>19</sup> and Cornelius Martialis.<sup>20</sup> Casperius

Niger was killed in 69 but the praetorian prefect of Nerva was called Casperius Aelianus who could easily have been a family connection. The remembrance of family connections or friends of Tacitus might be found in the pages of the Annals.

The whole problem of names is connected to sources and political and literary significance. Tacitus may not have known the name of the centurion who killed Agrippa Postumus. Suetonius said Tiberius had said the matter would have to be investigated and explained before the Senate, but the matter was quietly dropped,<sup>21</sup> so the matter may not have entered the Acta Senatus. The centurion Attius may appear as a named person because he reported to the Senate and that report would have been available to Tacitus on the Acta Senatus. Syme has stated that Book IV of the Annals relied heavily on the Acta Senatus.<sup>22</sup> Book IV produced the record of the named praetorian Staius putting down a slave revolt and the primipilaris Olennius who provided the cause of a revolt of the Frisii. In Book three when recounting the campaigns of Blaesus in North Africa, Tacitus recounts Blaesus dividing his army into detachments - each commanded by a centurion of tried courage.<sup>23</sup> No centurions were named as the passage was not primarily concerned with them. The missing Books of the Annals provide problems of interpretation. We cannot know if Tacitus named the centurion who blinded the Elder Agrippina.<sup>24</sup> Nor can we know (though we might suspect) that centurions as well as praetorian tribunes were involved in the conspiracy of Cassius Chaerea. Suetonius tells us a centurion killed Caesonia and Drusilla.<sup>25</sup>

To be the cause of death of a prominent person was not the only reason for naming centurions in the Annals. Some were probably deliberately left unnamed. The man who asked Seneca to die was an unknown centurion while in the aftermath of the conspiracy of Piso the killer of Junius Silanus was not named. Names give prominence to an incident and notoriety to a family. The centurion who brought the Imperial order to M. Ostorius Scapula to die was unknown and Tacitus should have

been able to know it, the son of Ostorius Scapula held the consulate in the same year as Tacitus.<sup>26</sup>

C. Gavius Silvanus may have been mentioned in the lost account of the Claudian invasion of Britain. He was awarded dona for his activities in Britain either as an evocatus or a centurion, while he turns up as a praetorian tribune in 65.<sup>27</sup> However, Tacitus does not often stress the bravery of individual soldiers and when he does that bravery is usually the cause of their deaths. Two centurions perform acts of conspicuous bravery in the Annals and Histories; both died and both invite speculation about the sources of Tacitus's information. Tarquinius Crescens<sup>28</sup> defended his tower against the soldiers of Vologeses with great industry and audacity before he was killed. The episode is virtually without parallel in Tacitus' treatment of the Roman Army in action. Julius Caesar wrote a great deal of the military virtues of his centurions. Their loyalty and bravery reflected upon him as a commander. Tacitus had no such reason to give centurions prominence and generally did not do so. Yet his sources may have had recourse to the Caesarian method of citing centurions. Perhaps the actions of Tarquinius Crescens came directly from Corbulo's memoirs?<sup>29</sup> Tacitus also recounts the bravery of Sempronius Densus, the praetorian centurion who attempted to defend Piso Licinianus on 10th January 69.<sup>30</sup> Densus gave Piso the chance to escape and was killed soon afterwards. Plutarch<sup>31</sup> gives roughly the same story but suggests the object of Densus's bravery was Galba. Cassius Dio<sup>32</sup> gives a rather foreshortened version of Plutarch and lays even more stress on the role of Densus as the protector of Galba. Clearly the centurion was prominent in the account of the annalist who was a common source for Plutarch and for Histories I-III.<sup>33</sup> The only primus pilus to be recorded solely for bravery in the pages of Tacitus was Atilius Primus who was killed saving the Eagle of VII Galbiana at the battle of Cremona.<sup>34</sup>

This study of why and when Tacitus named virii militares has concentrated on the Annals rather than the Histories, partly because their subject matter was more

distant from the author and posed more problems of research and selection, and partly because they covered a lengthy period of time in which changes in attitude and methodology might be noted. The extant books of the Histories cover a short period of time and would have been memorable to both the author and most of his audience. In the Histories most centurions who are named die before the narrative breaks off in Book V. The attitude towards names in the Histories must be one of recall and record. Tacitus names eleven centurions in the Histories and reports the death of nine of them. Of the remaining two, it is unlikely that Vitellius's ex praetorian prefect Julius Priscus would have gone on to any sort of career under the Flavians, which would leave only the solitary Sisenna who could have had a career to be picked up in the later books of the Histories.<sup>35</sup>

All of the centurions who assassinated senators in the Histories were named by Tacitus. Crispinus, who killed Fonteius Capito in 68, was later executed by Vitellius.<sup>36</sup> Papirius, who killed Clodius Macer in 68, was clearly virtually a professional, being sent by Macianus to kill L. Piso (the Proconsul of Africa) in 70. Papirius was killed by Piso.<sup>37</sup> The centurion whom Aponius Saturninus, legate of Moesia, sent to assassinate the legate of VII Claudia was not named.<sup>38</sup> Tacitus may not have known the centurion's name.

There is no simple conclusion to this study. The question of motivation behind the naming of centurions clearly depends upon the information available to Tacitus combined with his own purpose in relating particular episodes. Sometimes to be named was a reward and a promise of future fame. On other occasions the name of a centurion was a marker of despotism and shame. The absence of a name is dependent upon the ignorance or the purpose of the historian and those are sometimes impossible to distinguish.

Appendix I contains a list of all of the named centurions in the Annals and Histories.

### **The role of the centurion within the legion**

Tacitus normally writes of the duties of centurions almost incidentally with very little emphasis on particular actions. He was not aiming to tell his audience how the Roman Army worked. Yet the position of the centurion as the guardian of the traditions of the army is an important theme in Tacitus. The Roman Army is introduced as mutinous at the beginning of both the Annals and the Histories. This shows and stresses the conventional view of the centurion as disciplinarian and as the centre of both loyalty and dissatisfaction early in the Annals and Histories, and that role of the centurion surfaces at intervals afterwards. Many of the references to centurions (22 in the Annals,<sup>39</sup> and 15 in the Histories<sup>40</sup>), show centurions as a group performing military or disciplinarian functions often in the company of legionary or praetorian tribunes (14 examples in the Annals,<sup>41</sup> and 10 in the Histories<sup>42</sup>). The connection between centurions and tribunes not only occurs in accounts of the army performing its duties in peacetime and in war. In speeches to the army the connection between the two ranks seems automatic.

There is no speech in Tacitus which fails to link centurions with tribunes if one or the other is mentioned first. The two ranks are associated by persons as diverse as the rebellious soldier Percennius,<sup>43</sup> and three threatened Caesars; Germanicus,<sup>44</sup> Piso<sup>45</sup> and Otho.<sup>46</sup> Those Caesars spoke to the army from a position of insecurity and in their appeals to the army they did not fail to remind the soldiers of those twin bastions of authority and discipline, centurions and tribunes.

The rapacity and greed of the centurions within the legion was an important theme which runs through the Annals and the Histories. The theme is introduced by

the rebellious soldier Percennius in the Annals and by the bribes demanded by centurions of the soldiers which were the subject of action by both Otho and Vitellius.<sup>47</sup> Both Emperors legislated to stop the bribes and both promised to pay the centurions the monies that they might have gained from the soldiers' bribes. Clearly the process was enshrined by time if not legality within the legions.

Examples of the duties and responsibilities of centurions can be found in the Annals and Histories. It is clear from the remarks on the lack of an escort for Agrippina and her children in AD14 that the wife of a commander was entitled to a centurion to lead her escort.<sup>48</sup> Again, the presence of an Armenian King in the camp of Corbulo resulted in Tacitus making us aware that a centurion announced the beginning of the new watch.<sup>49</sup>

The losses of centurions were noted by Tacitus. At Cremona six centurions of the primi ordines of VII Galbiana were killed.<sup>50</sup> It is not possible to tell whether all six of the primi ordines or only six of the primi ordines (implying still more alive) is the meaning of the passage. The primus pilus of VII Galbiana was killed at Cremona,<sup>51</sup> and Tacitus may have simply counted him into the primi ordines.<sup>52</sup> In the revolt of Civilis five centurions of the first rank (primoribus centurionum) of X Gemina were killed<sup>53</sup> and in Britain in AD52 eight centurions were killed in a single action.<sup>54</sup> The figures suggest proportionately higher casualties for centurions than rankers.

Tacitus gives two important episodes concerning the appointment of centurions. In AD14 Germanicus held a revision of the list of centurions after the the mutiny of that year.<sup>55</sup> The centurions were required to state their names, origines, the number of their campaigns and any dona they had received. The declarations were made in front of the tribunes. If the tribunes agreed the centurion was a man of some integrity he kept his post. Cruelty and greed earned his dismissal. After Cremona, Antonius Primus gave his legions the right to appoint their own centurions by vote to replace those fallen in

battle.<sup>56</sup> Tacitus disapproved of the procedure, but it continued. Apart from the episode in AD69, Petronius Fortunatus<sup>57</sup> was thought to be the only centurion who gained his rank by popular vote, but AE 1976 840 showed the same procedure going on in the third century.

Tacitus both stated how the Roman Army worked in exceptional situations and suggested normality by allusion. Both forms of information have great value.

### **The role of the centurion as state assassin, courier and envoy.**

The roles of assassin, courier and envoy were the most important tasks performed by centurions outside of their legions in the pages of Tacitus. Many of the assassins will have been praetorian centurions rather than legionary centurions because of their being based in Rome, which was where most prominent people were killed. In the conspiracy of Piso the named praetorian centurions were specifically named as men of the sword.<sup>58</sup> The other assassins are named in section A and listed again in Appendix I. The only other group to perform as the agents of the justice of the Emperor were praetorian tribunes who were responsible for the deaths of Gaius, Messalina and Plautius Lateranus, while tribunes supervised the suicides of Seneca and Agrippa Postumus. Praetorian tribunes rather than centurions seem to have been chosen for the highest grade assassinations.

Centurions were often used as envoys. Tacitus records that Tiberius sent a centurion to Thrace in AD18 to tell King Cotys to disband his auxiliaries and not to disturb the settlement of Augustus.<sup>59</sup> The king complied. In AD62 Corbulo sent the centurion Casperius (Niger) to King Vologeses to keep alive hopes of peace. Centurions of X Gemina were sent from Spain to Mauretania to win over that province for Vitellius when it seemed it might declare for Otho.<sup>60</sup> Before Cremona centurions

were arrested in Rhaetia and the Gallic provinces for carrying proclamations and letters of Vespasian.<sup>61</sup>

Centurions were the ideal men for such duties as they were the only group of middle-ranking officers in the Roman Army who existed in large enough numbers to be spared from specific duties within a legion for duties outside.

### **The role of the centurion in relation to the authority of the Emperor**

Tacitus was not writing a military history. He wrote a history in which military events were significant because of what they revealed about the leading personalities of the day, and because they frequently resulted in changes in political leadership. Centurions were significant in the development because they were loyal, industrious and respectable to use while not being politically ambitious. Centurions were the perfect agents of authority to be used for good or ill as the authority demanded.

The ways in which centurions were treated by Emperors were instructive as to the Emperors abilities. After the battle of Bedriacum the leading Othonian centurions were executed.<sup>62</sup> It was an act which more than anything else made enemies for Vitellius amongst the Danubian legions. The episode introduces Vitellius into Italy and seems to show his political ineptitude. For a time after the battle of Bedriacum the most politically important group was the defeated legions. Their propitiation was an essential task if Vitellius' hold on the Empire was to become permanent. Vitellius then pardoned the generals of Otho, men of no political importance at all, after a pantomime of making them wait outside his tent while their fates were discussed. Then Vitellius killed centurions who were as likely to be loyal and useful to him as they had been to Otho. Tacitus seems to use the episode as a test of Vitellius's understanding of political realities and finds him wanting.

It has already been pointed out that both Otho and Vitellius tried to prevent centurions taking bribes by paying them the money they would normally have got from bribes.<sup>63</sup>

The centurion was regarded as the upholder of Imperial authority everywhere. Often he was the acting force of the Imperial administration. It was a group of centurions who ravaged the estate of King Prasutagus in 60 and helped trigger the Boudiccan revolt.<sup>64</sup> Similarly before the revolt of Civilis the Batavians were described as at the mercy of prefects and tribunes.<sup>65</sup>

Centurions were the perfect agents of authority to be used for good or ill as the authority demanded. They were centrally important in the running of the army; but that could be referred to in passing, there was no need to state the obvious. Tacitus was interested in the behaviour of soldiers and the theme of the relationship between the army and the government was never far away in works which opened and closed with a series of military insurrections. The centurionate was a constant acting force in that theme and deserves attention.

## Notes

1. Syme (1958) 613
2. Tac. Ann. 3. 75
3. Tac. Hist. 4. 5
4. Tac. Hist. 1. 84
5. Suet. Div. Vesp. 1. 3
6. Tac. Ann. 1. 23
7. Tac. Ann. 1. 23
8. Tac. Ann. 1. 23.
9. Tac. Ann. 1. 23
10. Tac. Ann. 1. 28
11. Tac. Ann. 1. 29
12. Tac. Ann. 1. 32
13. Tac. Ann. 1. 32
14. Tac. Ann. 6. 24
15. Tac. Ann. 1. 6
16. Suet. Tib. 22
17. Tac. Ann. 1. 32
18. Tac. Ann. 1. 29

19. Tac. Ann. 12. 45, Ann. 15. 5, Hist. 3. 73
20. Tac. Ann. 15. 71, Hist. 3. 70, Hist. 3. 73
21. Suet. Tib. 22
22. Syme (1958) 280
23. Tac. Ann. 3. 74
24. Suet. Tib. 53
25. Suet. Cal. 58
26. Syme (1958) 303
27. CIL V 7003 = ILS 2701 = Dobson 70
28. Tac. Ann. 15, 11
29. Syme (1958) 297
30. Tac. Hist. 1. 43
31. Plutarch Galba, 26. 5
32. Dio History 63, 6
33. Syme (1958) 674-676
34. Tac. Hist. 2. 22, Dobson 83
35. Tac. Hist. 2. 8
36. Tac. Hist. 1. 60
37. Tac. Hist. 4. 49
38. Tac. Hist. 2. 85
39. Tac. Ann. 1. 6, 1. 20, 1. 30, 1. 35, 1. 42, 1. 61, 1. 66, 2. 55, 2. 76, 3. 2, 3. 74, 4. 73, 6. 15, 11. 32, 11. 37, 12, 38. 13. 18, 14. 10, 14. 15, 14. 27, 14. 64,
40. Tac. Hist. 1. 18, 1. 46, 1. 56, 1.80, 1. 82, 1.83, 1. 84, 2. 5, 2. 29, 2. 36, 2. 39, 3. 19, 4. 19, 4. 61,
41. Tac. Ann. 1. 6, 1. 17, 1. 35, 1. 42, 1. 61, 1. 66, 3. 2, 4. 73, 6. 15, 11. 37, 13. 18, 14. 10, 14. 15, 14. 27,
42. Tac. Hist. 1. 18, 1. 80, 1. 82, 1. 83, 1. 84, 2. 5, 2. 36, 2. 39, 3. 19, 4. 19, 4. 61,
43. Tac. Ann. 1. 17,
44. Tac. Ann. 1. 35, 1. 42
45. Tac. Hist. 1. 30
46. Tac. Hist. 1. 83
47. Tac. Hist. 1. 36
48. Tac. Ann. 1. 41
49. Tac. Ann. 15. 4
50. Tac. Hist. 3. 22
51. Atilius Primus, Tac. Hist. 3. 22.
52. The evidence for Inchtuthill suggests there were five primi ordines - Keppie (1984) 179
53. Tac. Hist. 5. 20
54. Tac. Ann. 12. 38
55. Tac. Ann. 1. 44
56. Tac. Hist. 3. 49
57. CIL VIII 217 add. = ILS 2658 add.
58. Tac. Ann. 15. 51
59. Tac. Ann. 2. 66
60. Tac. Hist. 2. 58
61. Tac. Hist. 2. 98
62. Tac. Hist. 2. 36
63. Tac. Hist. 1. 46
64. Tac. Ann. 14. 30
65. Tac. Hist. 4. 14

## Appendix I

What follows is a complete list of named centurions in the Annals and the Histories with details of their significance. (For the other vir militares see 'Die Primipilares'.)

1. Lucilius. "Fetch Another" killed in the furore that followed the speech of Vibulenus. A man famous in camp humour but otherwise unknown. Ann. 1. 23, AD14
2. Julius Clemens. When the other officers were expelled, he was retained by the mutinous soldiers for his quick wits. After speaking to Drusus of the soldiers' demands he was sent for by Drusus after the eclipse of the moon so that he might insinuate himself among the ranks suggesting hope and emphasizing fear. Otherwise unknown. Ann. 1. 23, 1. 26, 1. 28, AD14.
3. Cassius Chaerea. He fought his way out of the mutiny on the Rhine in AD14. That was the first appearance of a young man 'soon' (! - 27 years later) to be known as the killer of the Emperor Gaius. By the year 41 he was a 'senior' praetorian tribune. See above. Ann. 1. 32. Suetonius Caligula. 56. 2. Claudius 11. 2. Cassius Dio. 59. 29. Josephus Antiquities of the Jews. 19, 18-270.
4. Attius. The praetorian centurion who with the freedman Didymus beat and taunted Drusus, son of Germanicus. Otherwise unknown. Ann. 6. 24, AD32.
5. Casperius Niger. A legionary centurion blockaded in the fort of Gorneae with the prefect Caelius Pollio and an auxiliary unit by Radamistus in 51. Mithridates had sought sanctuary in the fort. In the negotiation with Radamistus over Mithridates it was clear that the centurion had complete freedom of action at Gorneae but did not have charge of the prefect. For a similar conflict of wills with no clear solution in rank see below. Casperius appears again as a centurion picked to serve as an envoy to King Vologases at Nisibis in 62. His cognomen is supplied from Hist. 3. 73 when he was killed with a group of 3 other vir militares in the Vitellian

attack on the Capitol. Casperius Niger only appears in the Histories once, yet that may be an introduction of sorts, as the praetorian prefect of Nerva was called Casperius Aelianus. That man could have been a family connection of the primipilares killed in 69. The primipilaris is probably the same man as the centurion of Corbulo's campaigns. Ann. 12. 45, AD51. Ann. 15. 5, AD62. Hist. 3. 73, AD69.

6. Insteius. A legionary centurion who was the envoy of Ummidius Quadratus (governor of Syria) and who received hostages from King Vologes<sup>es</sup>. When this became known to Corbulo he sent a praefectus cohortis to take charge of them. The resulting disagreement between centurion and prefect, like that between Casperius and Caelius Pollio, does not seem to have been capable of solution by seniority of rank. The hostages settled the dispute by going with Corbulo's prefect. About 3 years later a man called Insteius Capito appears as Praefectus Castrorum in the suite of Corbulo. The centurion and the Praefectus Castrorum are presumably the same man. Ann. 13. 9. Ann. 13. 39.
7. Tarquitius Crescens. See above. Ann. 15. 11.
8. Sulpicius Asper. Praetorian centurion. He seems to have been the most prominent praetorian centurion in the conspiracy of Piso. To Nero's question, why had he conspired to murder his emperor, he replied that it was the only service that could be rendered to his many infamies. Executed. Ann. 15. 49, Ann. 15. 58, AD65.
9. Maximus Scaurus (poss. inversion?) These were Praetorian centurions
10. Venetus Paulus. recruited to the conspiracy of Piso as men of the sword. Later executed. Ann. 15. 50, Ann. 15. 58, AD65.
11. Sempronius Densus. See above. Hist. 1. 43, AD69.
12. Sisenna. A legionary centurion travelling to Rome to present the clasped right hands of friendship to the praetorians from the army of Syria. On the island of Cynthus he came upon the false Nero later killed by the orders of Calpurnius Aspranas. The centurion escaped from Cynthus and it was he who spread the alarm. Otherwise unknown. Hist. 2. 8.

13. Nonius Receptus. A centurion of XXII Primigenia who, together with the three centurions listed below, tried to protect the images of Galba on 1st January 69. They were imprisoned by the soldiers and later executed by order of Vitellius. Hist. 1. 56, Hist. 1. 59.
14. Donatius Valens.
15. Romilius Marcellus.
16. Calpurnius Repentinus.
17. Crispinus. A legionary centurion who killed Fonteius Capito in 68 and was executed as a scapegoat by Vitellius when the army wished to kill the commander of the German fleet. Hist. 1. 60.
18. Julius Priscus. A legionary centurion who was made praetorian prefect by Vitellius. He owed his position to the favour of Valens. Hist. 2. 92. As praetorian prefect. Hist. 3. 55, Hist. 3. 61, Hist. 4. 11. CIL III 14999 may refer to him. However, Julius Priscus is a very common name (there are 4 in Dean) and it might be a surprise for a centurion of XI Claudia to be a Vitellian supporter.
19. Julius Agrestis. A centurion who persuaded Vitellius to send him to view the battlefield of Cremona. The centurion presented himself to Antonius Primus who gave him leave to visit the battlefield. On the return of Agrestis, Vitellius denied the truth of his report and Agrestis committed suicide having said, "I will give you that evidence that will make you believe". Apparently some reported that he was put to death by Vitellius. Hist. 3. 54.
20. Papirius. A centurion who apparently killed Clodius Macer in 68, though when the deed was reported, at Hist. 1. 7, it was assigned to the procurator Trebonius Garutianus. In 70 he was sent by Mucianus to kill the Proconsul of Africa, L. Piso. Piso interrogated him and had him executed. Hist. 4. 49.

For completeness three more centurions need comment.

1. Obaritus. The fleet centurion who helped kill the Younger Agrippina. Ann. 14. 8, AD59.
2. Claudius Flaventinus. A centurion (of the fleet?) dishonourably discharged by Galba. He brought the fleet at Misenum to revolt by forging letters purporting to be from Vespasian promising a reward for treason. Hist. 3. 57.
3. Aemilius Longinus. A deserter of Leg. I (Germanica) promoted to high rank (centurion?) after he assassinated Dillius Vocula. Later killed near Mainz. Hist. 4. 59, Hist. 4. 62.

## Chapter Seven

### The Relationship between the legionary centurionate and the Equestrian military career

The title praefectus was of very ancient origin in the Roman World.<sup>1</sup> It was a title of command which drew its status from the post to which it was attached. When Augustus created permanent auxiliary units it was inevitable that the old title of command, praefectus, would be used for their commanders. The command structure for the legions seems to have emerged earlier than the command structure for the equestrian military career. Centurions were part of the command structure within the legions and would be used in relation to that structure. The same was true for tribunes of legions and for primipilares. Scholars have been united in suggesting there was no fixed hierarchy of posts in the equestrian appointments to the newly formed auxilia, but that does not rule out the possibilities of conventions of appointment for the potential commanders of the auxilia. Any conventions of appointment would be based on the existing command structure of the legions.

Holder recognised that the key to the developing equestrian military career was the post of tribunus militum legionis.<sup>2</sup> In pre-Claudian equestrian careers the military tribunate usually occurred before the post of praefectus cohortis or praefectus equitum. That would explain why so few centurions became either praefectus equitum or praefectus cohortis. In the Julio-Claudian period only one centurion, P. Treptius Attius, is known to have been appointed tribunus militum legionis.<sup>3</sup> Treptius Attius stated he gained equestrian rank before his transfer to the military tribunate. The transfer from centurion to military tribune must have been rare in a period in which primipilares regularly became tribunes of legions.<sup>4</sup> Primipilares were equestrians and the equestrian rank of the only known centurion who became a military tribune underlines the importance of equestrian rank for military tribunes. The very fact of

primipilares reaching the military tribunate would have made centurions reaching the tribunate unlikely as such a promotion would appear to run contrary to the command structure of the legion. The non-appearance of centurions as military tribunes would curtail the likelihood of centurions as prefects of cohorts or alae in the period when the majority of prefects of cohorts and alae had previously been military tribunes. The only certain transfer from centurion to praefectus alae was Q. Manilius Cordus,<sup>5</sup> though L. Vibrius Punicus<sup>6</sup> may have been another. Manilius Cordus did not reach the primipilate and did not have the post of tribunus militum. Indeed, Dobson<sup>7</sup> has found that the post of tribunus militum was never held before the primipilate in careers of the Julio-Claudian period which must be another indication of conventions of advancement influencing the posts open to centurions. Perhaps the conventions of appointment can be reduced to one - there was a bar to the use of non-equestrians to the post of tribunus militum and the posts which were beyond that.

It is likely that M. Tarquitius Saturninus<sup>8</sup> was a centurion before he became praefectus cohortis, but in the pre-Claudian period that particular transfer seems to have been very rare. The scarcity of such careers may well be due in part to the slowness with which auxiliary cohorts were developed in comparison to the development of auxiliary cavalry, but the bar of the military tribunate and the simple fact that most praefecti of auxiliary units were single appointments were probably more important reasons for the absence of centurions in the auxilia before Claudius.

After it became more usual for the posts of praefectus cohortis and praefectus equitum to appear in equestrian careers before the post of tribunus militum, centurions becoming praefectus cohortis seem to have become more common.

	L. Attius Lucanus	CIL XII 3177 <sup>9</sup>
	Q. Etuvius Capreolus	ILS 9090
possibly	Calp[urnius] Ma[...]	CIL III 8736
possibly	Marcellus	CIL IX 2564

(The latter two careers seem to place the prefecture of an area between their posts as centurion and praefectus cohortis.)

It is well known that Claudius tried to institute a hierarchy of commands for equestrian officers.<sup>10</sup> That hierarchy was praefectus cohortis, praefectus equitum and then tribunus militum. Such a structure might have opened up the post of praefectus equitum to centurions but there is no evidence of any centurion having such a career unless Manilius Cordus was Claudian in date. Only three equestrian careers show the Claudian system in operation and there are no careers of centurions reaching the position of praefectus equitum at this time. Under Nero the pattern of praefectus cohortis, tribunus militum and then praefectus equitum became established. The careers of the centurions again reflect the point that centurions were barred from the military tribunate and the equestrian posts which lay beyond the tribunate. No centurion was transferred to the command of an ala after the time of Claudius.

The paucity of the evidence for centurions holding posts in the command structure of the auxilia is striking. It is much more common to find primipilares being transferred to commands in the auxilia up to the time of Claudius. After the reign of Claudius primipilares transferred to the military tribunate became rare while only one example is known of a primipilaris commanding an ala.<sup>11</sup>

Throughout the Julio-Claudian period and probably up to the end of the first century all transfers involving centurions and equestrians were from the centurionate to the equestrian military post. There are no certain examples of men being transferred from the prefecture of a cohort to the centurionate until the early second century.

On the relative rank of centurions and praefecti Tacitus<sup>12</sup> relates an interesting episode from the reign of Nero (the early stages of Corbulo's campaigns against the Parthians). A centurion, Insteius Capito, had been sent by the governor of Syria to

Vologeses on an unknown matter and had received hostages from Vologeses. Corbulo sent a praefectus cohortis to take over the hostages. The centurion and the praefectus quarrelled over the hostages. It would appear that the two men were incapable of outranking each other and to avoid an unseemly squabble (or perhaps a judgement of Solomon) the hostages were allowed to choose (they chose Corbulo's prefect). The incident may mean the centurion and the prefect were of the equivalent rank to each other (or that neither had jurisdiction in that place). The position of the equivalence of rank could also be supported by the admittedly small number of careers of centurions involving transfers to or from the prefecture of cohorts.

The early second century saw a number of men transferred from the equestrian militiae to the centurionate. There are no certain transfers from the centurionate to the equestrian militia after the end of first century.

Men transferred from the Equestrian militiae to the Centurionate

	Marcus Titianus	Trib. Mil. leg. - 7 leg
	T. Pontius Sabinus	Trib. Mil. leg. - 7 XIII G.
	C. Sulpicius Ursulus	Praef. Coh. - 7 I Minervia
	L. Terentius Rufus	Praef. Coh. - 7 I Minervia
possibly same period	M. Lucretius Augurinus	Praef. Coh. - 7 I Minervia
possibly	M. Censorius Cornelianus	Praef. Coh. - 7 X Fretensis

The cases of Sulpicius Ursulus and Terentius Rufus belong to the Second Dacian War of Trajan. The move of Terentius Rufus could have been to the primi ordines as he then reached the primipilate after only one post as a centurion. In that case his transfer from the prefecture of a cohort was probably a promotion. Dobson has shown the likelihood that a praefectus cohortis was paid the same as a legionary centurion while a

tribunus militum was probably paid the same as a member of the primi ordines. Sulpicius Ursulus was transferred to the centurionate from the prefecture of the Symachii. He held three posts as a centurion before he reached the primipilate which may suggest his first transfer was across pay scales rather than promotion. Two military tribunes, Marcius Titianus and Pontius Sabinus, were transferred to the centurionate around the time of Trajan's Parthian War. Little can be said of the career of Marcius Titianus, but Pontius Sabinus could easily have been transed into the primi ordines. Pontius Sabinus won donā in the Parthian War of Trajan as a tribunus militum and served as a praepositus vex in the expeditione Britannica of Hadrian. In between those two events, the Parthian War of c114-c117 and the expeditione Britannica of c119, Sabinus had to fit two posts as a centurion and the primipilate. A fuller explanation as to how this could have been done is contained in chapter three, in short it seems possible that Pontius Sabinus held his two centurionates with XXII Primigenia and XIII Gemina in the vexillations of those legions which fought in the Parthian War of Trajan. He may even have commanded those individual vexillations. The rapid promotion of the centurion to Primus Pilus gives substance to Dobson's view that the centurionates with XXII Primigenia and XIII Gemina were senior posts.<sup>13</sup> A transfer from the military tribunate to the primi ordines was a move which suggested an equivalent position in terms of pay scales.

The inscriptions of Censorius Cornelianus and Lucretius Augurinus may be examples of transfer from the centurionate to the prefecture of a cohort but this would rely on unlikely readings of the individual inscriptions.

The position of centurion in command of auxiliary units seems to have changed from the assignment of a particular post involving a new title to the assumption of a particular role which left the centurion as centurion but gave him the temporary title of praepositus. By the end of the first century the equestrian military career was a developed entity. Centurions had ceased to be transferred permanently into that career

but they still had an important role to play as praepositi. It seems likely that the centurions had served as praepositi of auxiliary units during the early empire but there is no evidence of the process until the early 80's. The curtain raiser for Tacitus's account of the battle of Mons Graupius is the strange tale of the cohors Usiporum.<sup>14</sup> Tacitus tells us that the men of that unit killed the centurion who had charge of them and sailed around the north coast of Britain and, eventually, ate each other. Tacitus does not state that the centurion was a praepositus but that was his likely role. Cassius Dio mentions a tribune in connection with the same story but that may not be correct. A tribune in command would suggest the cohort was milliary (though the earliest recorded commander of a milliary cohort was a praefectus<sup>15</sup>) and the earliest milliary cohorts belong to the same period. Birley did not seem to think the evidence worth mentioning in his article on milliary cohorts and alae.<sup>16</sup> It was perhaps inevitable that centurions would be used as temporary commanders of auxiliary units given the enormous gulf of rank and status that separated the prefect of a cohort from the next highest officer of the cohort. There are no examples of centurions mentioning posts as praepositi on their career inscriptions. Clearly a post as praepositus of a unit was not a specific appointment or a promotion for a centurion, it was simply part of his duties. For primipilares a post as praepositus was a specific appointment, and the earliest recorded use of the term praepositus in a military career is in the career of T. Pontius Sabinus referring to his role in the expeditione Britannica of Hadrian.

The developed equestrian military career included within the second militia the post of tribunus cohortis milliariae. If two posts were held within the second militia the order of those posts was almost always tribunus militum legionis then tribunus cohortis milliariae. The tribunate of a milliary cohort was a separate command and was probably more highly regarded than the tribunate of a legion. Given that centurions seem to have been barred from the legionary tribunate at a very early stage of the principate it would be logical if centurions were not appointed to the temporary command of milliary cohorts. On the principles outlined above, the use of a centurion as a

praepositus of a milliary cohort would be a promotion unless the man was a member of the primi ordines. A survey of the auxiliary cohorts which were commanded by centurions as praepositi seem to provide confirmation of the proposition that centurions were practically barred from serving as praepositi of milliary cohorts.

In Britain the majority of centurions who are recorded as more than simple names are found in auxiliary forts. The majority of centurions who are attested in auxiliary forts gave no indication as to why they were present, but it would seem reasonable to assume that the presence of a centurion in an auxiliary fort meant the centurion was acting commander of the unit. Several of the inscriptions of centurions make it clear that they were in command of the unit. The usual equestrian praefecti command formula was cui praest whereas centurions used phrases such as c(uius) c(uram) a(git)<sup>17</sup> or cui attendit<sup>18</sup> when they were in command of an auxiliary unit.

The distribution of centurions attested in the forts of auxiliary units appears to be related to the type of garrison attested in the forts. If centurions could command both milliary and quingenary cohorts then the distribution of centurions would be more general. Forts normally garrisoned by quingenary cohorts seem to produce evidence of the presence of centurions while those forts normally garrisoned by milliary cohorts or alae very rarely produce any evidence of the presence of centurions. If the number of centurions attested in the forts of quingenary cohorts are compared with the numbers attested in the forts of milliary cohorts the following figures are gained.

	<u>Forts of Quingenary Cohorts</u>	<u>Forts of Milliary Cohorts</u>
	<u>Inscriptions of Commanders</u>	<u>Inscriptions of Commanders</u>
<u>Legionary Centurions</u>	22	4
<u>Praefecti/Tribuni</u>	36	76

The number of commanders of milliary cohorts compared to the number of commanders of quingenary cohorts makes the point that the forts garrisoned by milliary cohorts quite simply have more inscriptions surviving, which makes the absence of centurions at those forts all the more striking. Arguments from absence of evidence need careful handling, but the absence of evidence of centurions from such forts as High Rochester, Risingham, Birrens, Netherby and Housesteads which normally held milliary cohorts might suggest that centurions were not normally used as temporary commanders of milliary cohorts. Of the four centurions attested at forts normally associated with milliary cohorts, three were present at Birdoswald and one at Bewcastle.

The Birdoswald inscriptions are all likely to have been of third century date and these attest two legionary centurions as temporary commanders of cohors I Aelia Dacorum with another centurion present at Birdoswald in an unknown capacity. Cohors I Aelia Dacorum was the garrison at Birdoswald from c205-c208. It was natural to infer from the large collection of inscriptions set up by tribunes at Birdoswald, 18 in all, that cohors I Aelia Dacorum was a milliary unit. Yet none of the inscriptions of cohors I Aelia Dacorum at Birdoswald expressly stated that the cohort was a milliary unit. (A similar absence of information has led scholars to believe that it was also peditate.) The absence of information about the size of the unit could be significant for it seems that the word milliaria or its symbol was part of the official title of a unit, hence its inclusion on many career inscriptions, diplomata and official dedications. That is not to suggest cohors I Aelia Dacorum was never milliary. AE 1956 123 from Lambaesis is the career inscription of Ti. Claudius Proculus Cornelianus who held the post of Trib. Coh. mil. Ael. Dacorum. No numeral for the unit was given but the identification with the cohort at Birdoswald seems highly likely. The date of the command of Claudius Proculus Cornelianus was probably the late 150's, possibly during the governorship of C. Iulius Verus whom Claudius Proculus Cornelianus later assisted in the raising the legiones Italicae which provides the dating

evidence for the career. It is possible that by the third century cohors I Aelia Dacorum could have ceased to be milliary while its commanders retained the title of tribune from tradition.

Some support for this view comes from one of the tribunes of cohors I Aelia Dacorum at Birdoswald who was promoted from evocatus to tribunus cohortis.<sup>19</sup> The normal line of promotion for an evocatus of the guard was to the legionary centurionate.<sup>20</sup> The foregoing discussion on the career inscriptions of centurions suggests that the equivalent rank to legionary centurion within the equestrian military career was the prefecture of a quingenary cohort. The likelihood that centurions were barred from transfers to the military tribunate might provide further reinforcement for the view that the tribune promoted from evocatus at Birdoswald held the same rank as a prefect, but with a different title. The same situation could be true of the other tribunes attested at Birdoswald, and the situation may be paralleled at Bewcastle.

The status of the unit at Bewcastle in the third century can be brought into question by arguments based on career inscriptions. The appearance of tribunes on third century inscriptions has led to scholars supposing that Bewcastle was garrisoned by a milliary cohort. That cohort may have been cohors I Nervana Germanorum. Whatever the identity of the unit at Bewcastle its numerical status can be questioned on the basis of the careers of its officers. RIB 988 records a tribune who was an ex evocatus. RIB 989 records a man who was ex cornicularius praef(ectorum) praetorio before he became tribune. The post of cornicularius praef(ectorum) praetorio normally led directly to the legionary centurionate,<sup>21</sup> and might be taken to lead to its equivalent in the equestrian militia, the command of a quingenary cohort. In view of these careers the unit at Bewcastle in the third century may well have been quingenary rather than milliary which might explain the presence of a centurion there.

Inscriptions showing men entering the equestrian militia from the praetorian guard are very unusual, and the group from Bewcastle and Birdoswald (with RIB 966 which records another ex evocatus who became a tribune and may have been a carry from Bewcastle) would be even more exceptional if their tribunates were held with milliary cohorts. There are no other recorded equestrian military careers which begin with the tribunate of a milliary cohort. Apart from the four men in Northern Britain all the attested careers of equestrian officers which include the post of tribunus cohortis milliariae begin either with the post of praefectus cohortis or tribunus militum legionis.

If it is assumed that cohors I Aelia Dacorum and the unit at Bewcastle were not milliary then the table showing legionary centurions attested in the forts of quingenary and milliary cohorts in Britain is greatly altered.

	<u>Forts of Quingenary Cohorts</u>	<u>Forts of Milliary Cohorts</u>
	<u>Inscriptions of Commanders</u>	<u>Inscriptions of Commanders</u>
<u>Legionary Centurions</u>	30	-
<u>Praefecti/Tribuni</u>	56	56

From the foregoing suggestions it is clear that the simple assumption that the title tribune means a man commanding a milliary cohort cannot be upheld. To underline the point RIB 1075 from Lanchester attests a man who was tribune of cohors I Lingonum. There is no evidence that cohors I Lingonum was ever milliary. If the assumption that the title tribune means a man commanding a milliary cohort, then in Britain in the third century milliary units existed at Bewcastle, Birdoswald, Bowness, Burgh-by-Sands, Castlesteads, High Rochester, Housesteads, Lanchester, Netherby and Risingham. It is highly unlikely that Britain had ten milliary cohorts in the third century. In the Notitia list all commanders of cohorts are described as tribunes. The process of exchanging the title of prefect for that of tribune could have begun in the third century. It may be significant that the tribunes attested at Bowness and Burgh-by-

Sands date to the 250's while the latest dateable inscription with a milliary sign on it from Britain belongs to the year 222.<sup>22</sup>

The discussion has so far been confined to Britain, because of the comparatively large quantity of evidence relating to the centurionate and the equestrian military career. The rest of the empire produces one certain and one possible centurion in command of a milliary unit. Both men are attested at Dura Europos. The morning report of the 28th May 239 from Dura shows a legionary centurion called Ael. Avitus in command of cohors XX Palmyrenorum.<sup>23</sup> The temporary nature of the command is clear from another papyrus which reported the death of the previous tribune in a Persian raid on 30th April 239.<sup>24</sup> The Dura example of a centurion praepositus of a milliary unit can be explained by the geographical position of Dura, the nature of its garrison and the suddenness of the crisis. Dura was over 250 miles from the headquarters of the governor of Syria Coele who would appoint the next tribune, but legionary centurions were on the spot with the legionary vexillations at Dura. The situation was clearly dangerous, perhaps the most senior of the available centurions became praepositus of cohors XX Palmyrenorum.

The first action of a governor faced with a sudden vacancy in any of the auxiliary forts under his control was to fill the vacancy. If a vacancy occurred at the level of a second or third militia post it was by no means difficult to draft in the tribune of a legion to the vacant post. There are nine known examples of men transferred from the tribunate of a legion to the tribunate of a milliary cohort. The military tribunate of the legions must have been a useful reserve of men who could be used as replacements for the command positions of tribunus cohortis milliariae or praefectus equitum. The military tribunate was of course the normal source of such commanders but the five tribunes in each legion would have provided a reserve for any sudden vacancy. Of the nine known examples of men transferred from the tribunate of a legion to the command

of a milliary cohort six were transferred within a single province or from an adjoining province.

Men transferred from the tribunate of a legion to the tibunate of a milliary cohort

M. Acilius Athenodorus	trib. X Fret. (Judaea) to Coh. I Ulpia Petraeorum (Syria). <sup>25</sup>
Alf. M.f. Faustianus	trib. XIII Gem. (Dacia) to Coh. II Mattiacorum (Dacia). <sup>26</sup>
P. Helvius Pertinax	trib. VI Vict. (Britain) to Coh. I Tungrorum (Britain). <sup>27</sup>
Q. Petronius Quintianus	trib. I Parthica (Mesopotamia) to Coh. IX Maurorum (Mesopotamia). <sup>28</sup>
A. Pomponius Augurinus	trib. X Fret. (Judaea) to Coh. I Milliaria (Syria). <sup>29</sup>
M. Sulpicius Felix	trib. XVI Fl. (Syria) to Coh. III Ulpia Petraeorum (Cappadocia). <sup>30</sup>

The above table shows the system of replacing the commanders of milliary cohorts in operation. There is virtually no evidence to show that centurions had any part in it. There are no centurions attested as having command of alae. In the Julio-Claudian period the post of tribunus militum legionis seems to have been an effective bar to the transfers of centurions into the equestrian militia while after the first century the posts available to a centurion as praepositus were also limited by the second militia posts.

The number of centurions found in connection with auxiliary forts in Britain seems to have been comparatively large. There are 26 centurions attested in auxiliary forts in North Britain and the same forts produce 56 prefects and tribunes in actual command of their <sup>units.</sup> Statistically these figures mean little, but if they are in any way representative they might suggest that as many as a third of the units in North Britain lacked equestrian commanders who had died or had been transferred. There are also a

number of inscriptions involving centurions as praepositi which would suggest the loyalty dedications to I.O.M. undertaken on 3rd of January were being undertaken under the charge of centurions which might suggest a rather longer tenure of post than that normally understood by the word temporary.<sup>31</sup> Britain probably had the largest auxiliary garrison of any province of the Roman Empire.<sup>32</sup> The governors of Britain may have had difficulties in filling all their available equestrian posts with suitable men and simply allocated the vacant places to legionary centurions on a fairly long term basis. In a recent paper Birley suggested it became increasingly difficult to find equestrians ready to offer themselves for service in command of auxiliary troops in the third century.<sup>33</sup> Birley's list of centurions in command of auxiliary units covers all of the certain examples,<sup>34</sup> in my own figures (see above) I have included centurions attested as present in auxiliary forts.

The use of centurions in Britain may have been extensive enough to show another detail of how the system of appointments to auxiliary units may have worked. High-numbered cohorts (i.e. those numbered III, IV, V, or VI) seem to have more centurions attested as commanders than lower-numbered cohorts. This point can only be argued from particular examples rather than overall figures, since once the milliary cohorts are removed from the reckoning (the great majority of milliary cohorts being numbered one) then high-numbered cohorts heavily outnumber low-numbered cohorts. The fort at Carrawburgh has eight attested prefects of cohors I Batavorum in the third century and no centurions are attested there. In contrast cohors VI Nerviorum has only one prefect associated with it and three centurions. Cohors IV Lingonum has two centurions and two prefects attested. It is possible that the army list for Britain was similar in appearance to the diplomata of Britain and that vacancies were filled from the higher numbered units first.

Speidel<sup>35</sup> has claimed that AE 1933 214 from Palmyra may be interpreted to show a centurion of II Traiana acting as praepositus of the Ala Vocontiorum.

Examination of the drawing of the inscription shows the initial reading of N(umeri) could be maintained, though Speidel claims it is a ligatured Al(ae). Since there are no other inscriptions which show a centurion acting as praepositus of an Ala (the example given by Speidel, CIL V 7007, is a primipilaris) it can be argued that the original reading of the Palmyra inscription is more likely to be correct. Indeed, the use of N(umerus) may have been undertaken deliberately to avoid the title Ala.

In conclusion, centurions were largely blocked from the auxiliary military career by the absence of the equestrian rank before the reign of Claudius. After the reign of Claudius centurions sometimes were transferred to the prefecture of cohorts but the emerging tres militiae system of paefectus cohortis to tribunus militum legionis to paefectus equitum meant centurions did not go beyond the prefecture of cohorts. By the end of the first century that line of transfer seems to have been closed off and a line of transfer is opened up from the equestrian militia to the centurionate. There are no career inscriptions of centurions which mention that centurions could be praepositi of auxiliary units. Clearly centurions did not think praepositus cohortis was a separate post. The earliest attested praepositus was probably the centurion in command of the Usipii, but no centurion actually carries the title before the mid-second century. Conventions seem to have existed as to the units which centurions could command as praepositi. It seems clear that centurions were not given the temporary command of milliary cohorts or alae, except in most unusual circumstances. The reason was probably the old block of the legionary tribunate. The evidence of centurions in auxiliary forts in Britain suggests that the idea of centurions as praepositi being simply temporary commanders of auxiliary units may be erroneous. There are indications that centurions were an integral part of the system of command and other indications of a shortage of equestrian officers.

## Notes

1. Suolahti (1955) 199-200.
2. Holder (1980) 75
3. CIL XI 394 Devijver T35
4. Dobson (1978) 10
5. CIL XI 707, = ILS 2705, Devijver M18
6. CIL XII 2455, Dobson 44
7. Dobson (1974) 397
8. CILXI 3801, = ILS 2692, Dobson 19
9. The man was tribune of a citizen cohort but the post is the equivalent of the prefecture of a cohort.
10. Suetonius, V. Claud. 25
11. C. Valerius Clemens, CIL V 7007, = ILS 2544 Dobson 90
12. Tacitus, Ann. 13. 9
13. Dobson (1972) 203
14. Dobson (1978) 235
15. Tacitus, Agricola 28, Dio 66,20
16. Birley (1966) 54-67
17. RIB 1876
18. RIB 1299
19. RIB 1896
20. Dobson and Breeze (1969) 105
21. op. cit. 104
22. RIB 978 Netherby
23. Morning report 28th May 239 Fink (1971) 50
24. Morning report 29th April 239 Welles (1941) 96
25. AE 1947 168 Palmyra
26. CIL III 10924, 10925
27. AE (1962) 407
28. AE 1958 20 Hatra
29. AE 1905 6 = ILS 8863
30. AE 1931 36
31. RIB 1299
32. CIL XVI 69
33. Birley (1983) 83
34. op. cit 79
35. Speidel (1984) 167