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ERIC BIRLEY

## Inscriptions Indicative of Impending or Recent Movements\*

Three inscriptions found in Mainz and first published in the *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 59, 1964,<sup>1</sup> each record a senator who had commanded two legions in succession; such a sequence is commonly taken to imply that warfare, in being or in prospect, had made it necessary to appoint experienced and able legates to the command of legions involved, or likely to be involved, in the theatre of war in question.<sup>2</sup> That was evidently the case, for example, when Q. Antistius Adventus was transferred from *VI Ferrata* to lead *II Adiutrix* in the Parthian war of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.<sup>3</sup> The question arises, what was the correct sequence of posts in each of the three cases attested by the Mainz texts; it must be premised that the question has been discussed by Professor GÉZA ALFÖLDY in his detailed investigation of 1967, *Die Legionslegaten der römischen Rheinarmeen* (Epigraphische Studien 3), but that there is good reason to re-examine the matter in the light of a good deal of comparative material, particularly the inscriptions which show that their dedicators, or the persons honoured by their dedicators, were about to move to new appointments, or had received word of promotion in their careers, whether senatorial or equestrian.

Before we look into the Mainz texts, it will be convenient to see what the comparative material has to tell us on the subject, first of all at the level of consular governorships. There happen to be three cases in which the impending transfer is to the consular governorship of Britain:

(1) The polyonymous Q. Pompeius Falco is known to have been consular gover-

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\* The following abbreviations are employed: AE = *L'Année Épigraphique*; ILS = DES-SAU, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*; JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*; RIB = COLLINGWOOD and WRIGHT, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I*, 1965. Volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* are cited by the roman numeral only (without CIL); and 58. Bericht = *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 58, 1977.

<sup>1</sup> Now to be cited by 58. Bericht, nos. 77, 81 and 82.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. ALFÖLDY, *Die Legionslegaten der römischen Rheinarmeen* (Epigraphische Studien 3), 1967, 77 ff. and his references to earlier discussions of the subject (p. 78, footnote 352).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> A 754, and in particular the detailed record of his career, up to the governorship of Lower Germany, in the inscription from his home town, Thibilis in Numidia (ILS 8977).

nor successively of Lower Moesia and of Britain;<sup>4</sup> his impending transfer is indicated on an inscription from Tomi, in the former province (AE 1957, 336): [*leg.*] *Aug. pr. pr. Moes[iae inf]erioris, leg. Aug. [pro p]r. provinciae [B]ritanniae.*

(2) AE 1910, 86 (Viminacium, Upper Moesia): a fragmentary text, for the health of Marcus and Verus, by M. Staius Priscus cet., [*leg. Augustor. pr. p]r. provin[c. Moesia]e sup[erioris item leg. August]or. [provin]c. Britan[niae].* In this case, there is no room for doubt, since we have an inscription which gives us the complete career of Staius Priscus (VI 1523 = ILS 1092), and there is an abundance of other evidence, literary as well as epigraphic,<sup>5</sup> which allows us to date his appointment to Upper Moesia and his transfer from there to Britain, and from Britain to Cappadocia, within the period A.D. 161–3.

(3) XIII 6806 (Mainz): ---- *leg. Aug.] pr. pr. pro[vinc.] Thrac., Moes. sup., Raet., Germ. sup. et Britt., et Modestiana eius et Caerellii Marcianus et Germanilla filii.* This career should fall within the reign of Marcus Aurelius, for it has involved the praetorian governorship of Upper Moesia, after it had lost one of its two legions, and then the consular command in Raetia during the Danubian wars, circa A.D. 172; the dedicator, whose name was probably Caerellius Priscus, had evidently learnt of his impending transfer from Upper Germany to the more important governorship of Britain when, with his wife and two children, he made this dedication.<sup>6</sup>

Next we have a transfer from the senior praetorian governorship of the province of Numidia to the consular governorship of Lower Germany:

(4) VIII 2751 (Lambaesis): *M. Valerio Senecioni leg. Aug. pr. pr., praesidi provin. German. infer., cos., speculator(es) et benefic(iarii) et quaestionari, curante Agilio Felice quaestore.* Valerius Senecio is attested as governor of Numidia under Caracalla, by VIII 2494 = ILS 2636 and two or three other texts; here we have one of three dedications in his honour by members of his staff, on his promotion to Lower Germany – none of the three mentions his Numidian command, for which there was already sufficient evidence on display at Lambaesis.<sup>7</sup>

Promotion from the command of a legion to the governorship of a praetorian province, with a good prospect of a consulate to follow, was to be expected by a successful legionary legate: witness the case of Julius Agricola, appointed to Aquitania after his good showing as commander of *XX Valeria Victrix* in Britain (Tacitus, *Agricola* 9), though in his case there was an interim period back in Rome. There

<sup>4</sup> Cf., most recently, A. R. BIRLEY, The origin and career of Q. Pompeius Falco, *Arheološki Vestnik* 28, 1977, 360–368.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. R. BIRLEY, The Roman governors of Britain (*Epigraphische Studien* 4), 1967, p. 73, no. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. R. BIRLEY, *ibidem*, p. 74 f., no. 31, summarising his paper on 'The status of Moesia Superior under Marcus Aurelius' (*Acta Antiqua Philippopolitana*, 1963, 109–112).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. B. E. THOMASSON, Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diocletianus, 1960, II 208.

are four epigraphic instances of such promotion, three of them from Dacia and one from Lower Germany:

(5) III 1566 = ILS 3891 (Mehadia): *Herculi, Genio loci, Fontibus calidis, Calpurnius Iulianus v(ir) c(larissimus) leg. leg. V Mac., leg. Aug. pr. pr. [prov.] Moesiae [sup]erioris v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*. In the past, some scholars have thought it possible that the transfer could have been from *V Macedonica*, already in Dacia, to the consular governorship of Lower Moesia, but that is clearly out of the question; the career must rather be assigned, like that considered under no. 3 above, to the later years of Marcus Aurelius, when the legion had been moved from Lower Moesia to its new permanent station in Dacia, and Upper Moesia had been reduced to a one-legion praetorian province.<sup>8</sup>

(6) III 993 = ILS 3923 (Apulum): *Caelesti Augustae et Aesculapio et Genio Daciarum, Olus Terentius Pudens Uttedianus leg. Augg. leg. XIII Gem., leg. Aug. pro praet. [pr]ovinciae R(a)etiae*. The two Augusti under whom Terentius Pudens received his promotion, to what was by now the one-legion praetorian province of Raetia, were presumably Severus and Caracalla, as ARTHUR STEIN observed,<sup>9</sup> taking the A. Terentius Pudens attested as becoming *sodalis Augustalis* in A.D. 229 (VI 1994) to have been his son, and noting that his dedication to Caelestis and Aesculapius is a strong indication that he came from Carthage.<sup>10</sup>

(7) III 1017, improved reading cited by ARTHUR STEIN (Apulum): *Genio imp. Gordiani P(ii) [F(elicis)] invicti Aug., Petronius Polianus v. c. leg. leg. XIII [G(eminae)] Gord(ianae), leg. Aug. [pro p]raet. [prov.] Belgicae*. In this case, under Gordian (238–244), the transfer impending is to the praetorian province of Gallia Belgica, in which there was no legion, though an enterprising governor of Belgica might collect sufficient local militia to deal successfully with a barbarian incursion, as the *Historia Augusta* records that Didius Julianus was able to do, thereby earning his consulate;<sup>11</sup> ARTHUR STEIN pointed out (op. cit., 99 note 6) that Petronius Polianus seems to be attested as consular governor of Cappadocia, by a Greek inscription from Nicopolis in that province (AE 1909, 19).

(8) XIII 7994 (Bonn): *Fortuni[s] salutaribu[s], Aesculapio, Hyg[ia]e*, Q. *Venedius Ruf[us] Mariu[s] Maxim[us L.] Calvinianu[s] l[eg. leg. I M(inerviae) p. [f.]*,

<sup>8</sup> The revised reading put forward in: *Römisches Österreich* 3, 1975, 178 (*leg. Aug. pr. pr. [pro]v. [Da]ciae [sup]er[io]ris*)), seems unacceptable on historical grounds: (a) Upper Dacia ceased to be under a praetorian governor once *V Macedonica* had been transferred from Lower Moesia into what was now the consular province of the Three Dacias; and (b) praetorian governors of Dacia Superior were regularly described as being in command *provinciae Daciae*, without mention of *superioris*: cf. A. STEIN, *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien*, 1944, 19 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien*, 1944, 96.

<sup>10</sup> Compare the case of M. Caecilius Donatianus (RIB 1791, Carvoran), whose dedication in verse – as well as his *cognomen* – proclaims his African origin.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> D 77, and my paper on *Local militias in the Roman Empire*, *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1972/1974*, 1976, 65.

leg. Aug. pr. [pr.] provinc. Cilic[iae], d. [d.]. Here too the promotion is to a praetorian province in which there was no legion stationed; but by A.D. 196 Venidius Rufus had been transferred from Cilicia to the one-legion province of Syria Phoenice; and seven years later he returned to Lower Germany as consular governor.<sup>12</sup>

A legionary legate of whose quality the emperor, or his advisers, had a less favourable opinion – as a potential consular commander at least – might be spared from his service to become one of the praetorian proconsuls; that was the case with another commander of the Bonn legion:

(9) XIII 8006 (Bonn): *Apollin(i) Livici, Cn. Cornelius Aquilius Niger leg. leg. I M. p. [f.], item proconsul provinciae Gal(liae) Narbonensis, item sodalis Hadrianal(is)*. His priesthood shows that his career falls after the death of Hadrian; it is uncertain what relationship, if any, he had with the Aquilius Niger cited by Suetonius (Aug. 11) for events in 43 B. C., the Q. Aquilius Niger who was *consul ordinarius* in A.D. 117, or a homonym attested as proconsul of Sicily by an undated inscription (X 7287), probably later in that century.

By contrast, a successful legionary commander might be spared a period in a praetorian province, receiving instead an appointment to one of the two treasuries in Rome; that was the case with another legate of *XIII Gemina*:

(10) III 1071, cf. 1072 with p. 1390 (Apulum): *I. O. M., Iunoni Reginae, Minervae, L. Ann:us Italicus Honoratus leg. Aug. leg. XIII Gem. Antoniniana, praef. aerar:ii militaris, sodalis Hadrianalis, cum Gavidia Torquata sua et Anniis Italico et Honorato et Italica filiis*. Such promotion may be taken as a sign that the man in question was thought very well of, as likely to make a good consular governor of a military province, and an inscription from Tomi (III 6154 = ILS 1174) shows him as governor of Lower Moesia, in which province he himself made a dedication on 20 September 224 (III 6224, 7581 = ILS 2295); in his case, a successful career could have been prognosticated by his selection to serve as *IIIIVir viarum curandarum* in the vigintivirate,<sup>13</sup> though another inscription from Tomi (III 6154, cf. p. 1358 = ILS 1174) which records that, and his career up to the Lower Moesian command, omits all reference to the post as *tribunus laticlavius* which might have been expected to have been held. He had presumably been appointed to *XIII Gemina* by Caracalla; its title *Antoniniana* was also held under Elagabalus, but it would probably have been erased after his assassination and the damnation of his memory, if it had referred to him and not to Caracalla on this stone.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. G. ALFÖLDY, *op. cit.*, p. 48, no. 58.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. my discussion of the significance of appointments in the vigintivirate, as an indication of the military careers envisaged for the young men in question, in: *Senators in the emperors' service*, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39, 1954, 199 ff.; my views have been rejected by B. CAMPBELL, *Who were the <Viri Militares>?*, *JRS* 65, 1975, especially 17 f., but I do not see any reason to modify them. Cf. also G. ALFÖLDY's observations in his: *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen*, 1977, 375 f., pointing out that CAMPBELL's ideas are misconceived and unacceptable.

The Numidian command, from which Valerius Senecio was promoted to Lower Germany, only became specifically that of a province under Severus, but from the time of Gaius the legate of *III Augusta* had been *legatus Augusti pro praetore*: in other words, he was *de facto* (if not *de jure*) a senior praetorian governor, normally a man who had already served elsewhere as legate of a legion, and who might legitimately expect to be given the consulate as a reward for his service in that appointment. But that reward did not always come straight away, as may be seen by four careers attested epigraphically:

(11) AE 1954, 138 (Lambaesis): *Ti. Claudio Ti. fil. Quir(ina) Gordiano, Tyanae ex Cappad(ocia), q(uaestori) provinciae Cypri, leg. prov. eiusd(em), procos. prov. Macedoniae, leg. leg. XI Claud., leg. leg. III Aug., praef. aer. Sat., cos. desig., sacerdoti fetiali, P. Iulius Theodorus 7 leg. III Aug. praesidi optimo*. Claudius Gordianus is attested as *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* by an inscription of A.D. 188 (VIII 2495); the present text implies his recent departure to become one of the prefects of the *aerarium Saturni*, with designation to the consulate already notified. That is enough to show that Commodus thought well of him.

Under Valerian and Gallienus two governors of Numidia were evidently less lucky in their careers, or less highly thought of by the emperors:

(12) VIII 2615 = ILS 1194 (Lambaesis): *I. O. M. ceterisq(ue) diis deabusq(ue) immortalib(us), C. Macrinus Decianus v. c. legat. Augg. pr. pr. prov. Numidiae et Norici . . .* The inscription continues to record that he had won three engagements against invading Bavares and other gentiles; yet his reward was no more than transfer to another one-legion province, Noricum, with no designation to the consulate announced.

(13) AE 1914, 245 (Lambaesis): *Iovi Optimo Maximo, Iunoni Reg(inae), Miner(vae) Aug(ustae) et ceteris dis deab(us)q(ue) im(mortalibus), M. Veturius Veturianus v. c. leg. Auggg. pr. pr., procos. Siciliae, reb(us) in pr(ovincia) Numidia prospere gestis*. Here, too, a governor of Numidia boasts of successful campaigning, but his only reward is release from the emperors' service (other inscriptions show that he was at Lambaesis under Valerian, Gallienus and the younger Valerian<sup>14</sup>) to take up the praetorian proconsulship of Sicily.

The explanation seems to be, as I pointed out in JRS 40, 1950, 67, that from the time of Severus Alexander onwards, men of a lower category were being selected for the Numidian command: instead of being the springboard from which those earmarked for consular governorships could be promoted (as in the case of Valerius Senecio), it was now reserved for men judged insufficiently well qualified to be considered for the governorship of major provinces: men for whom the consulate, if they were ever to be given it, would mark the close of their career, and not the incidental qualification for higher things. It seems that Lower Britain was another praetorian province to which only second-raters had a prospect of being

<sup>14</sup> Cf. THOMASSON, *op. cit.*, II 219 f.

posted; it is noticeable that, as yet, no governor of either Lower Britain or Numidia, from the time of Severus Alexander onwards, is attested in a consular governorship.

My fourth Numidian career does not belong properly as a record of recent or impending movement, but it deserves to be included here because it shows that promotion to the consulate was not necessarily assured in an earlier period:

(14) AE 1908, 237 (Lambaesis): *I. O. M., A. Larcius A. f. Quir. Priscus sevirum, decemvirum stlitib. iudicandis, quaestor provinciae Asiae, legatus Augusti leg. IIII Scythicae, pro legato consulare provinc. Syriae, tribunus plebei, praetor, leg. provinciae Hispaniae Baeticae, praefectus frumenti dandi, legatus Aug. legionis II Aug., legatus Aug. propr. exercitus Africae, v. s. l.* If we had not had this dedication by the man himself, it might have been thought that a text from Timgad (VIII 17891 = ILS 1055) proved that he had been proconsul of Narbonensis before taking over in Numidia; but that inscription, a dedication in his honour by the *colonia*, places the proconsulship in sequence with the post in Baetica, and records him as *cos. desig.*: it should be evident that he went to Narbonensis from Numidia, and it was in Narbonensis that he was designated consul, holding that office in 110.<sup>15</sup>

There is one further case in which the holder of a praetorian post has been promoted, like Claudius Gordianus, to the treasury of Saturn, with the evident prospect of a consulate to follow:

(15) II 2634 = ILS 2299 (Asturica): *I. O. M., Soli invicto, Libero patri, Genio praetor(i), Q. Mamili(ius) Capitolinus iurid(icus) per Flaminiam et Umbriam et Picenum, leg. Aug. per Asturiam et Gallaeciam, dux leg. VII [G(eminiae)] p. [f.], praef. aer. Sat., pro salute sua et suorum.* Another inscription from Asturia seems to attest Mamilius Capitolinus there in A.D. 197,<sup>16</sup> and it, taken in conjunction with his own description of himself as *dux* of *VII Gemina*, seems to indicate that he had superseded the legate of that legion, presumably a supporter of the governor of Hither Spain, L. Novius Rufus, in backing Clodius Albinus against Severus; if that was indeed the case, it would explain the exceptional reward, namely preferment to the treasury of Saturn of a senator who had not yet held the regular post of *legatus legionis*.

When we analyse the cases so far considered, one important fact emerges, namely that of two successive appointments mentioned, the second is that to which pro-

<sup>15</sup> THOMASSON, *op. cit.*, II 164 f., fails to recognise the fact that the text from Timgad, including the proconsulship of Narbonensis which Priscus himself did not mention in his dedication in Numidia, must have been set up after he had left the *exercitus Africae*; I drew attention to this in my review and discussion of his book (JRS 52, 1962, 224 f.), and I note that W. ECK accepts my interpretation (*Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, 1970, 164 f. n. 226).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. G. ALFÖLDY, *Fasti Hispanienses*, 1969, 90 ff.

motion or transfer is being made; in the case of no. 3 above, indeed, it is the fifth post to which the governor of Upper Germany is about to move. That gives us a useful basis for considering the three senators whose inscriptions at Mainz record that each of them held two legionary commands. It will be convenient to cite the texts from UTE SCHILLINGER-HÄFELE's definitive publication of them in 58. Bericht, 1977, but adding references to Professor ALFÖLDY's discussion of the careers:

(16) 58. Bericht 77; ALFÖLDY p. 36, no. 46: ----S]erenus leg. legionum IIII Fl(aviae) [e]t XXII Primigen(iae) voti compos. This should mean, as Professor ALFÖLDY rightly saw, that Serenus had been the legate of IIII Flavia in Upper Moesia before his transfer to XXII Primigenia in Upper Germany, where this inscription commemorated his arrival; the occasion for bringing him to hold a second legionary command, Professor ALFÖLDY has suggested, was the war against the Chatti which C. Aufidius Victorinus, the governor of Upper Germany in A.D. 162, had to wage. The legionary legate has not been identified elsewhere, but there seems reason to suppose that he may have been Ti. Claudius Serenus.<sup>17</sup>

(17) 58. Bericht 81; ALFÖLDY p. 53, no. 65: pro salute et incolumitate d. n. imp. [An]τονη[ini] Aug. totiusq. domus divinae eius, Domitius Antigonus leg. leg. XXII Pr. [p. f. Ant.] item leg. leg. V M[ac. Ant.] . . . Here, by contrast, we must differ from Professor ALFÖLDY in our interpretation of the career: in the light of the cases which we have been considering above, it must be taken that Antigonus was about to leave XXII Primigenia, to take up the command of V Macedonica in the Three Dacias; note the same use of *item*, as on the inscription of Cn. Cornelius Aquilius Niger, no. 9 above. Domitius Antigonus was a Macedonian who attracted the favourable notice of Caracalla in A.D. 214, as Cassius Dio records (77, 8, 1), and was given by him equestrian military appointments, a procuratorship, and then adlection into the senate in the grade of ex-praetor; later on, he became consul and then, under Maximinus Thrax, consular governor of Lower Moesia.

(18) 58. Bericht 82; ALFÖLDY p. 44 f., no. 53: Libero et Apollini pro salute [names and titles of Commodus erased], Q. Aurel. Polus Terentianus cum Q. Aur. Polo Syriaco filio, fetialis, leg. leg. XXII Pr. p. f., item leg. II Aug. In this case Professor ALFÖLDY has assumed that the command of the Mainz legion came second, after that of II Augusta; but the wording of the text ought surely to mean precisely

<sup>17</sup> Cf. (a) PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1017, for the Ti. Claudius Serenus attested as a procurator, after two posts in the equestrian *militiae*, by an inscription from Ephesus, and (b) the Ti. Claudius Serenus, c(larissimus) v(ir), on a lead pipe in Rome, XV 7429, on whom GROAG suggested (C 1018) that he might be the procurator's son. M. PFLAUM took the career of the procurator to have been Severan at earliest, since his post was in the *ratio privata*, believed to have been created by Septimius Severus (Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres, 1960, p. 743, no. 283); but Professor NESSELHAUF has shown that it was Antoninus Pius who created that financial department (Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1963, 1964, 73-93), so that the legionary legate could well have been a son of the procurator, and serving in Upper Germany early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.



the opposite, namely that Polus Terentianus had received word that he was to go to Britain from Mainz, to take up the command of *II Augusta* at Isca (Caerleon).<sup>18</sup> In view of the period, when there is evidence for trouble in Britain, from mutinous troops if no longer from northern tribes, it would not be surprising to find an experienced legionary legate sent to command one of that province's three legions, just as it was found necessary to send Helvius Pertinax – who had already been consular governor in Moesia,<sup>19</sup> the Three Dacias and Syria – to govern Britain (though he soon felt obliged to seek his release from that post). By his names, Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus has been shown with probability, by A. R. BIRLEY, to have come from Africa;<sup>20</sup> he was evidently to be one of the trusted supporters of Septimius Severus: he was consular governor of the Three Dacias in A.D. 193, as is shown by an inscription set up soon after that emperor's *dies imperii* (III 1374, cf. A. STEIN, *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien*, 1944, 56), and he rose to the consular proconsulship of Asia (AE 1964, 232), presumably while in that office receiving a rescript from Severus and Caracalla (Frag. Vat. 200).

Other epigraphic records of impending or recent promotion can be found in the case of equestrians too. Here are three instances from Caesarea in Mauretania:

(19) VIII 9360: *P. Aelio Peregrino praesidi prov. Mauret. Caes., perfectissimo viro a cognitionib(us) Aug[g]g., Tib. Cl. Licinius ex [p]raef. coh. I Fl(aviae) Hisp(anorum)*. The epigraphic evidence for Aelius Peregrinus is collected and discussed by BENGT E. THOMASSON:<sup>21</sup> AE 1954, 143, shows that he was in Caesariensis in A.D. 201; his promotion to the important post of *a cognitionibus* brought with it advancement in style from *vir egregius* to *vir perfectissimus*, duly registered by the former cohort commander who made the dedication in his honour. It appears that in this case the higher grading was a mark of exceptional favour accorded to him by Severus, as H.-G. PFLAUM has pointed out.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> That sequence has been accepted and explained by A. R. BIRLEY, *The coups d'état of the year 193*, BJ 169, 1969, 267 f.: he points out that the period indicated by the titulature of Commodus is 185/192, and that Polus Terentianus probably served in Britain when P. Helvius Pertinax was the consular governor.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> H 73. According to the *Historia Augusta*, v. Pert. 2, 10, *Pertinax Moesiae utriusque, mox Daciae regimen accepit*; it might be thought likely that he had been given both Moesias simultaneously, when the Upper province still had only one legion, and Lower Moesia had been reduced from three legions to two, by the transfer of *V Macedonica* to the Three Dacias. Compare the temporary linking of Upper Moesia with one or all three of the Dacias, for a time, under M. Claudius Fronto (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 874).

<sup>20</sup> A. R. BIRLEY has given reasons to think that the man's *praenomen*, the spelling Polus (instead of Paulus), and his son's *cognomen* Syriacus, all point to African origin, cf. *Gnomon* 40, 1968, 384 and BJ 169, 1969, 267 f. In 58. Bericht, p. 499, it is suggested that father and son came from the Greek-speaking half of the empire, without however taking cognisance of A. R. BIRLEY's discussion of the nomenclature.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, 201–204.

<sup>22</sup> *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres*, pp. 621–625, no. 233.

(20) VIII 20997: C. Octavio Pudenti Caesio Honorato pr[ocurator]i Augg. provi[nciae] Mauretania[e Caesa]riensis, p[rocurator]i a censibu[s, absti]nentis-s[imo praesidi]-----. In this case, it could be argued that it was while Octavius Pudens continued as procuratorial governor of Caesariensis that he was given the additional task of holding a fresh census of that province; such seems to be the conclusion to which M. PFLAUM has come in his discussion of the case.<sup>23</sup> But it seems easier to suppose that this inscription gives us another instance of promotion being celebrated: it was as procurator of the province that the dedicator or dedicators of the text had found him to be an *abstinentissimus praeses*, while their inscription recorded his promotion to a higher sphere – surely, in Rome.

(21) VIII 9327 = ILS 2750: diis Mauricis, M. Pomponius Vitellianus tribus militiis perfunctus, proc. Aug. ad curam gentium, praef. classis Germanicae. Here we are dealing with a far more junior member of the procuratorial service; M. PFLAUM has pointed out that the post as *procurator ad curam gentium*, evidently in Africa, must have been graded sexagenary, the man's promotion to command the *classis Germanica* carrying with it centenary status.<sup>24</sup> In this case, promotion brought with it the need to make a journey from Caesarea to Lower Germany.

Finally, there are three inscriptions, found in Britain, which will serve to illustrate the same practice of announcing impending departure, to take up a new appointment:

(22) RIB 335 (Caerleon): ----]isus Cl[audius] [Aem]ilius Q. I[ul]ius] Haterianus leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinc[iae] Cilic[iae]. In his commentary on this text Mr R. P. WRIGHT has noted that «Haterianus was probably legate of the Second Legion, and on his appointment to the governorship of Cilicia set up this dedication without specifying his recent office»; there can be no doubt but that that is the correct explanation – even though, unlike Venidius Rufus at Bonn, no. 8 above, Haterianus did not include his legionary command on the stone. The likeliest explanation for the omission is surely that his new altar was set up alongside an earlier one, in the same temple, on which that post was already specified. There is no other evidence for this senator, whose full nomenclature remains obscure; it seems possible that the recorded *-isus* should really represent the last four letters of the *cognomen Densus*, but no senatorial bearer of that name is on record. Indeed, it is an excessively rare *cognomen*, for I. KAJANTO, *The Latin Cognomina*, 1965, 289, has only four bearers of it to register: a Roman knight, Julius Densus, accused of being too friendly to Britannicus, the son of Claudius (Tacitus, *Annals* 13, 10), and the loyal praetorian centurion Sempronius Densus, who sacrificed his own life in an attempt to save Galba's intended heir, Piso Licinianus (Tacitus, *Histories* 1, 43); apart from these two men, there are only two inscriptions, both from Hither

<sup>23</sup> Op. cit., pp. 703–705, no. 262 a.

<sup>24</sup> Op. cit., p. 736 f., no. 278.

Spain (II 2815, 2686). In the case of a polyonymous senator, one cannot be sure a priori which of his *nomina* and *cognomina* were in normal use, and which were reserved for mention when the whole series was placed on record: in this case, it may well be that the legate's normal names have been lost with the upper part of his altar. As to the closing *tria nomina*, Q. Iulius Haterianus, it may be noted that the «Historia Augusta» produces, in one of the most blatantly fictitious of its Lives (tyr. trig. 6, 5), an alleged encomiast on the Gallic emperor Victorinus, by the name of Julius Atherianus; some scholars have assumed that the *cognomen* is a copyist's error for Haterianus, in which case we should have a homonym at our disposal – and it is worth bearing in mind that the «Historia Augusta» sometimes uses the names of historical personages, out of their proper historical period, to serve as the purported authors of invented stories: for example, Lollius Urbicus, the builder of the Antonine Wall in Scotland, is resurrected as the author of a history of his own time, in the first quarter of the third century, and credited with an observation about Diadumenianus, the young son of Macrinus.<sup>25</sup>

(23) RIB 782 (perhaps from Old Penrith, Cumberland): ----]ri[-----, *praef. coh. ?II*] *Gall(orum), t[rib.] mil. leg. VIII Aug.* In this case, the prefect of a cohort in Britain is being promoted into the *militia secunda*, as tribune of *VIII Augusta* in Upper Germany.

(24) RIB 827 (Maryport, Cumberland): *I. O. M., [L.] Cammi[u]s Maximus prae[fectus] coh. I His[panorum] eq[ui]tatae e(t) tri[bunus] XVIII coh[ortis] volu[n]tari[orum] v. s. l. m.* Here we have impending movement, from Britain to Upper Pannonia, without promotion – for the tribunate of a *cohors voluntariorum* counted as being a post in the *militia prima*. The numeral of the Upper Pannonian cohort was omitted first by the stone-cutter, and had to be inserted awkwardly, in smaller lettering, out of its proper place. A consideration of the Order of Battle details enables us to assign this prefect to the time of Hadrian, when *coh I Hispanorum* formed the garrison of Maryport (the Roman Alauna); Cammius Maximus is attested by two more altars at Maryport (RIB 828, 829), and he appears as one of the decurions present at a meeting of the council of Aquileia on the first of November, in what year does not appear (V 961). The *nomen* Cammius is so exceptionally rare that we need feel no hesitation in regarding him as a close kinsman, perhaps (to judge by their *cognomina*) an elder brother, of the L. Cammius Secundinus who rose through the centurionate to become a procurator, as is shown by an inscription from Solva in Noricum (III 5328): *M. Gavi[o] Maxim[o] prae[fect]o praetor[io], L. Cammiu[s] Secundi[nus] p[ro]rimus p[ro]ilus, praef[ectus] leg. X [Gem[inae]], proc. Aug., amico.* For the best analysis of the career of Secundinus, reference should be made to M. PFLAUM's discussion;<sup>26</sup> he takes the man

<sup>25</sup> *Historia Augusta*, v. Diadumeni 9, 2; cf. Sir RONALD SYME's observations on the bogus names in that work, in which fiction predominates increasingly, in his book: *Emperors and Biography. Studies in the Historia Augusta*, 1971, 1–16.

<sup>26</sup> *Les carrières &c.*, pp. 259–262, no. 108.

to have been a native of Solva.<sup>27</sup> His friendship with Gavius Maximus, praetorian prefect for almost twenty years under Antoninus Pius, at least from A.D. 139,<sup>28</sup> gives an approximate indication of his period, and we may take it that he set up his inscription to commemorate his friend's advancement to that pinnacle in a military man's career, in A.D. 138 or 139. Evidently the elder brother had sufficient means to become a decurion of Aquileia, and sufficient backing to secure two successive appointments in the *militia prima* (if he advanced further than that, we cannot say), while the younger son perhaps had to content himself with a direct commission as centurion, or even with enlistment in the ranks of a legion, as one of those *literati homines* who would have the best chance of being selected for a centurion's commission.

I would not wish it to be thought that I have included, in this paper, every instance in which impending or recent movement can be inferred from an inscription or inscriptions relating to the careers of military men; but it will be worth while to stress one particular point: in cases which give two appointments on the same rung of a career ladder, it may often be evident that *item* or *et*, on an inscription setting forth a career in descending order, places the earlier post first and the later one second. Take, for example, the case of P. Tullius Varro (XI 3364 = ILS 1047), as expounded by A. R. BIRLEY:<sup>29</sup>

(25) *P. Tullio Varronis fil. Stel. Varroni cos., auguri, procos. provinc. Africae, leg. Aug. pro pr. Moesiae superior., curat. alve(i) Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis, praef. aerari Saturn., procos. prov. Baeticae ulterioris Hispaniae, leg. leg. XII Fulminatae et VI Victricis p. f., praetori, aedil. Ceriali, quaestori urb., tribuno milit. leg. XVI Fl., Xviro stlitibus indicand. . .* It is surely necessary to suppose that he held his first legionary command in Cappadocia, and was transferred to VI *Victrix* at about the time when it was due to be transferred from Lower Germany to Britain.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> G. ALFÖLDY has accepted M. PFLAUM's assumption that Solva was the home of the family (Noricum, 1974, 274), suggesting that the decurionate at Aquileia held by Cammius Maximus «may probably be explained by the trading links between Solva and Aquileia».

<sup>28</sup> Cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> G 104.

<sup>29</sup> Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire, ed. R. M. BUTLER, 1971, p. 83, referring also to G. ALFÖLDY, Epigraphische Studien 3, 1967, 26 f.

<sup>30</sup> For the most recent discussion of the significance of successive legionary commands, including Tullius Varro's, cf. G. ALFÖLDY, op. cit., 26 f. and 77-79; a detailed analysis of the thirty or so cases, listed by him, might well throw light on a number of crises not directly attested by other evidence.

