THE BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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MAP : Bf stations end-packet
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ABSTRACT

THE BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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Beneficiarii consularis were members of the military staffs attached to Roman provincial governors of the Principate, and are well attested epigraphically, both at provincial capitals and at outposts along major roads and frontiers of the Western military provinces. They were usually experienced legionaries approaching retirement, and were of senior principalis rank. Each legion in a province provided the governor with (probably) sixty men of this rank.

The governor's staff (the officium consularis) assisted the governor in all his duties, administrative, judicial and military, and the beneficiarii were employed in a variety of roles, appearing in the sources as arresting officers, messengers, servants to the governor and general assistants. To indicate their status as officiales of the governor, they carried a decorated lance-symbol when operating away from the officium.

In Britain and the two German provinces they were evidently outposted, apparently for periods of six months at a time, along the roads linking the provincial capitals with the frontiers, with neighbouring provinces, and with Rome, in contrast with the other Western provinces where, for the most part, no such stationes are attested. The stationes have usually been regarded as police posts for the protection of the roads, but this seems unlikely. Although a few stationes fall outside the general pattern and can perhaps be associated with the control of imperial estates, the majority are to be linked with frontier defence. Since the main network of stationes, both in the Germanies and in the rest of Europe, first appears in the 160's, they may be seen as a response to the Chattan and Marcomannic attacks. The evidence is consistent with the interpretation of the stationes as relays for the improvement of military communications, those on the frontiers perhaps having an additional role in the coordination of military intelligence-gathering.
NOTE TO THE READER

This volume has no pages numbered 32, 97-9, 116, 237-42, and 251. This is the result of a failing in the computer software on which the text was edited, which consistently caused the printing of notes within a shorter space than was required. The author offers his apologies to the reader.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Roman provincial governors of the Principate were assisted in their duties by military staffs (officia), amongst the officers of which were the beneficiarii; their precise title varied according to the rank of their governor, but as a group they may conveniently be referred to as beneficiarii consularis ("of the governor"). They are noteworthy because of the large number of inscriptions (over 500) on which they are recorded and because they served not just at the governor's headquarters but also outposted in stationes around the military provinces of the empire.

Since by far the greater part of the evidence for these officers is epigraphic, the study of them was first made possible by the publication from 1863 onwards by Theodor Mommsen and his disciples of the volumes of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum which, together with the selections of inscriptions published in L'Année Épigraphique must still form the basis of work on this or any grade of Roman army personnel.¹

In 1876 J. Marquardt in Römische Staatsverwaltung had taken note of the place of the bbff cos in the officium consularis,² but Alfred von Domaszewski in his fundamental Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres, published in 1908, was the first to fully reconstruct the various officia of the Roman army hierarchically and so make clear the relationship of the beneficiarii consularis to other
officiales and the distinction between the officium consularis and other officia. The role and functioning of the officium were, however, hardly considered at all until the appearance of A.H.M. Jones's article on 'The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical Grades)' in 1949, in which he drew attention to its concern with judicial duties and was successful in his attempt to "correct the impression still too commonly given in textbooks that a Roman magistrate struggled single-handed with his official duties without any staff worthy of the name". Considerably more light was thrown on the role of the officium in judicial and police administration within the empire in a study made by G. Lopuszanski in 1951, entitled 'La Police romaine et les Chrétiens' and making full use of Christian martyrrologies as evidence for judicial and police procedure. More recently the functioning of the officium has been illuminated by studies concerned with individual groups of officiales; in 1973 M. Clauss published his doctoral thesis, Untersuchungen zu den principales des römischen Heeres. Cornicularii, speculatores, frumentarii, in which, however, he did not confine himself to the men of the officium consularis; in 1981 M. Speidel produced his Guards of the Roman Armies, concerned with singulares, stratores and protectores consularis; and in 1985 H.C. Teitler published Notarii et Exceptores, concerned mainly with the officiales of the Late Empire bearing those titles but taking note also of their predecessors under the Principate. Despite these works, no comprehensive study of the officium consularis has yet appeared.
The beneficiarii consularis have, however, been of interest to scholars in their own right. Already in 1881 Mommsen had noted in Ephemeris Epigraphica IV that these officers had frequently been outposted to stationes around the provinces. In 1891, Otto Hirschfeld in his article on 'Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich' connected these, on relatively slender evidence, with policing, also postulating a link with the cursus publicus. The most influential article of all concerning the bbff cos was again the work of von Domaszewski, appearing in 1902 and entitled 'Die Beneficiarierposten und die römischen Strassennetze' which perpetuated the idea of bbff cos as policemen and made the dogmatic (and incorrect) statement about their stationes that "die Posten alle an den Knotenpunkten der römischen Strassennetze ihren Platz hatten". This idea was used by von Domaszewski as the basis for his attempt to reconstruct the Roman road network of Europe but has come to dominate later scholarship on the bbff cos in general and has diverted attention away from the fact that the stationes are also frequently found at the sites of frontier forts. The overriding view of the bbff cos has in fact become that they were policemen stationed at crossroads; their connection with the officium consularis has generally been either forgotten or left unexplained and their service at the provincial capitals is hardly ever mentioned.

The phenomenon of the stationes has led several scholars to make regional lists of them, in particular S.S. Frere for Britain, E. Ritterling and E. Stein, and later Ph. Filtzinger, for Germany, G. Alföldy for
Noricum. A. Dobó for Pannonia. A. Betz and later J.J. Wilkes for Dalmatia, A. Mócsy for Moesia Superior and A. Dobó again for Dacia. Not all of these lists have been meticulous in assessing the validity of some of the epigraphic evidence for the existence and siting of stationes and few have paid sufficient attention to their geographical or historical context, taking little or no account of what roads they were on, whether they were sited at settlements or forts, and at what periods they were manned.

Two minor aspects of the bbff cos and their stationes have, however, drawn the attention of scholars. In 1919 E. Ritterling published an article entitled 'Ein Amtsabzeichen der beneficiarii consularis im Museum zu Wiesbaden' in which he linked an ornamental lance-head discovered near Ehl an der Ill in Upper Germany with various depictions of such lances on inscriptions erected by or commemorating speculatores, beneficiarii and frumentarii of the officium consularis. Ritterling saw these as the badges of the officiales who bore them when operating away from the officium. In 1941 G. Behrens drew attention to similarly-shaped miniature lance-head brooches found on military sites, and subsequently K. Raddatz in 1953 and H.J. Hundt in 1955 were able to identify a number of sword-shaped pendants to these brooches, which were most likely worn by members of the officium. In 1959 A. Alföldi investigated the symbolism of the lance in a pair of articles and concluded that it ultimately represented the sovereign power of the state.

A second aspect was investigated in 1965 by H. Lieb, who noted that a number of dedications made by bbff cos
appear to record the dates on which their outpostings to
the stationes came to an end; he was able to show that
in Upper Germany these dates tended to be the Ides of
January and July and in Noricum the Ides of May, and
suggested that this indicates that outpostings in the
former province were normally of six months duration and
in the latter perhaps of one year. His findings for Upper
Germany received support from a further investigation by
P. Herz in 1976.

In recent years the most significant event for the
study of these officers has been the discovery in 1982 of
a temple of Jupiter with its enclosure at Osterburken in
Upper Germany; this has produced 28 or more inscriptions
erected by bbff cos, out of at least 70 which originally
stood there arranged in chronological order, and even a
decorated lance-head. Unfortunately the value of this
find has been restricted by the publication of only
interim reports to date.

No proper study of the beneficiarii consularis has
yet been made, with the result that their attachment to
the officium consularis, and the workings of the officium
itself, are only dimly comprehended, whilst their
stationes are still interpreted in almost every instance
in the light of the explanations first put forward by
Hirschfeld and von Domaszewski, even though these were
incidental to the principal concerns of their authors and
were proposed with relatively little evidence or argument.

The aim of the present work is to reconsider the
functions and duties of the bbff cos by viewing them in
the context of the officium and its functions and by
examining the evidence for their stationes in detail. To
This end it begins with an investigation of the background, numbers, ranking and careers of the bbff cos and then looks at the structure and working of the officium consularis as a whole, with an appendix on the lances ('benefiziarierlanzen') carried by some of the officiales. The evidence for the bbff cos in the provincial capitals and stationes of the western provinces is then presented, together with an appendix on the lengths of the tours of duty. These chapters, with the addition of comparative evidence from the rest of the empire, finally form the basis for discussion of the roles of the beneficiarii consularis and their stationes in the western provinces (a restriction imposed by the statutory limitation of length on the Oxford doctoral thesis), and, it is hoped, for a better understanding of these officers wherever they are attested.

The present study has attempted to take account of all inscriptions relevant to the beneficiarii consularis (henceforward abbreviated bf cos or bbff cos in the plural) which have been published in CIL (usually cited by volume and inscription number only), in L’Année Epigraphique (cited as AE with year and inscription number) up to 1983 (latest), and in the other publications available to me to date. A number of inscriptions have been rejected as evidence where they have been too fragmentary or for other reasons unlikely to refer to bbff cos. The manuscript was completed on 31 August 1986.

1 J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung II (1876), 531-2.
4 Ibid., 41.
5 G. Lopuszanski, 'La Police romaine et les Chrétiens', L'Antiquité Classique xx (1951), 5-16.
6 Th. Mommsen, Ephemeris Epigraphica IV (1881), 529-30.
8 A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Beneficiarierposten und die römischen Strassennetze', WZ xxi (1902), 158-211 with Taf. 3.
9 Ibid., 159.
11A von Domaszewski had himself noted the coincidence of many *stationes* with frontier forts in 'Die Religion des römischen Heeres', WZ xiv (1895), 98-9 = *Aufsätze zur römischen Heeresgeschichte* (1972), 178-9.

12E. Cauer had already made a list of all the epigraphically attested *beneficiarii* of all kinds known to him in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* IV (1881), 379-401.


26See Ch. IV pp. 179-85.
CHAPTER II

THE BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS

The word beneficiarius is defined for us by Festus: beneficiori dicebantur milites qui vacabant muneris beneficio; e contrario munifices vocabantur qui non vacabant, sed munus reipubliae faciebant. Beneficium was a legal term meaning a benefit granted by one party to another and could often even apply to the granting of a ius, especially by an emperor. It could refer to usufruct of land or privileges such as the ius liberorum. It could also be employed to describe the conferring of magistracies and is frequently so used by Cicero. In a military context it is used of an appointment to a particular position. Cicero writes quod scribis de beneficiis, scito a me et tribunos militares et praefectos et contubernales, dumtaxat meos, delatos esse, and huic ego neque tribunatum neque praefecturam neque ullius beneficii certum nomen peto. Livy similarly speaks of military tribunates as being dictatorum et consulum ferme... beneficias. An inscription of the first century AD records a tribunus militum legionis IIII Scythicae apparently set upon his equestrian career beneficio Divi Claudii, and Suetonius tells us that Tiberius venit in suspicionem per quosdam beneficii sui centuriones... mandata .... dedisse. Not surprisingly, the literary sources concern themselves with the appointments of centurions and senior officers, but there is no reason why the term should not have been used in exactly the same
way for junior appointments. By the definition of Festus, therefore, beneficiarii were men appointed to a position which freed them from the normal duties of the common soldier.

Festus wrote in the late second century AD, but the definition appears in his epitome of the De Significatu Verborum of M. Verrius Flaccus, an Augustan scholar known to have used Republican sources. A passage of Caesar shows furthermore that in the late Republican period beneficiarius was a term applied to soldiers with a close attachment to a specific senior officer, who was evidently the donor of the beneficium. We are told that Petreius, one of Pompey's legates in Spain, armat familiam; cum hac et praetoria cohorte caetratorumque barbarisque equitibus paucis, beneficiariis sui, quos suae custodiae causa habere consueverat, improviso ad vallum advolat...; since these men were barbarians, it appears that at this period the word was a general term rather than an army rank and this seems to be confirmed by another passage of Caesar describing the army of Pompey: evocatorum (erant milia) circiter duo, quae ex beneficiariis superiorum exercitu ad eum convenerant. It is easy to see how the attachment of beneficiarii to specific officers led to the use of the term generally for staff officers under the Principate. Pliny the Younger appears to use it in this way in a letter to Trajan in which he writes to the emperor that he has informed Gavius Bassus, the praefectus orae Ponticae, that praecipisse te ut ex cohortibus, quibus me praesesse voluisti, contentus esset beneficiariis decem, equitibus duobus, centurione uno; this seems to be indicated by an
inscription recently discovered at Ephesus which was erected to honour Bassus by two stratores, who are presumably Pliny's equites, and three cornicularii, two optiones and a tesserarius who describe themselves as praetori(i) eius and are presumably the beneficiarii mentioned in the letter.14

But it is clear that from the early Principate beneficiarius was also a specific rank15 within the various military staffs (officia) which, with the creation of a standing army under Augustus, were now attached to senior officers on a permanent basis.16 It is as a specific rank of officer that beneficiarii are always encountered in the epigraphic evidence from the first century AD onwards,17 and this seems to be the way in which the word is used in most of the papyrus and literary evidence also.18 The idea of promotion to the rank is encapsulated in Vegetius's definition in the fourth century: beneficiarii ab eo appellati quod promoventur beneficio tribunorum.19

The overall rank of a beneficiarius was determined by the rank of the officer to whose officium he was attached.20 Four types of senior officer are known to have had beneficiarii in their officia: first, tribuni, including tribuni of the auxiliary cohorts, tribuni of the City cohorts and legionary tribunes; secondly, the various types of praefecti, including the praefecti of auxiliary units, the praefecti found in the legions, the very important praefecti at the summit of the equestrian career, and the Praefectus Urbi; thirdly, the imperial procurators, almost exclusively provincial procurators; and fourthly, the senatorial legati, both legati legionis
and praetorian and consular governors. It was the duties of the senior officers which determined the duties and functions of their beneficiarii, and each group of beneficiarii must be studied in the light of the requirements of the senior officers whom they served. This study is concerned with the beneficiarii who served provincial governors of whatever rank, the equestrian praesidial procurators and praefecti, and the senatorial legati, both praetorian and consular.

Although most, if not all, provinces had military officia, many of these may have been very small and were drawn from whatever troops were available to the governor, either his own auxiliaries or auxiliary or legionary troops assigned from neighbouring provinces; large numbers of officiales are only attested in some of the legionary provinces where they were almost exclusively legionaries. With only four certain exceptions, all the known beneficiarii of provincial governors are, where their status is indicated, recorded as legionaries. The available evidence thus allows discussion in the main only of the legionary beneficii who are recorded in a limited number of provinces, and this must be remembered in what follows.

There is some evidence to suggest that individual provincial officia had a fixed number of personnel of each rank and that in the legionary provinces this number was related to the number of legions based in a province, with each legion providing a fixed number of officers of each rank; the evidence is particularly clear for the grade of officer known as speculator, of which each legion appears to have supplied ten. The evidence for the beneficii,
However, is very slight and imprecise, and consists of two inscriptions of the early third century found at Lambaesis, capital of the recently-created province of Numidia. One lists four speculatores, thirty beneficiarii consularis, six candidati, five ex frumentariis, four quaestionarii, five beneficiarii sexmestris and a haruspex of the officium, the other, two cornicularii, two commentarienses, four speculatores, thirty beneficiarii consularis, five quaestionarii, five beneficiarii sexmestris and a haruspex.25 The number of speculatores on these inscriptions suggests that the officiales listed were not a full complement from the province's one legion, legio III Augusta; Tacitus tells us that from the time of Caligula the legionary legate and the Proconsul of Africa shared the staff officers derived from the legion,26 and these inscriptions suggest that the arrangement continued after the legate became a provincial governor in the early third century.27 If this is correct, then we must assume that there was a roughly similar number of officiales at Carthage at the time of the erection of the inscriptions, including perhaps another thirty beneficiarii consularis. We can say, therefore, that legio III Augusta, and perhaps every legion, supplied at least thirty bbff cos, probably more, and perhaps as many as sixty.28

As administrative staff officers, the bbff cos ranked as principales of the most exalted group, those classified by A. von Domaszewski as 'Beneficiarierchargen', to be distinguished from the 'taktische Chargen', the junior officers of the century, and the immunes, soldiers whose specialisations released them from ordinary duties.29
Although a career progression from an *immunis* post through the various grades of junior officer to a staff post seems to have been usual amongst the City cohorts, especially the Praetorians,*²³* the legionary career structure appears to have been looser and more flexible, with less need to hold an *immunis* post or the full range of posts in the century before appointment to a staff position.*²¹* Since the *officium consularis* was the most important of the *officia* staffed by legionaries, the *beneficiarii consularis* were amongst the most senior of the legionary *principales*.

Unfortunately, very few inscriptions give any information at all about the career paths which led to an appointment as *beneficiarius consularis*. One records a *miles* of cohors I Urbana recruited in AD 73 and appointed *beneficiarius* of Tettienus Serenus, governor of Lugdunensis, in 79 (?).*³" Two inscriptions, both from Dalmatia, may record promotions from posts in the century, although in neither is it certain that the man was a *bf cos*; the first records a promotion from *tesserarius* to an intermediate rank, perhaps *beneficiarius*, and then to *cornicularius legati Augusti,*³³* and the other that the dedicator was *fac(tus) ex option(e)...beneficia(r(ius))* ...*[Ma?]rcioni...*³* There is, however, unequivocal evidence from a number of inscriptions of promotions to *bf cos* from the rank of *frumentarius*, a junior position in the *officium consularis* (see Ch. III pp. 47-53); these include a memorial,*³⁵* three dedications by *bbff cos* in which they rather unusually choose to make specific mention of their former rank,*³⁶* and one of the inscriptions mentioned above which was erected by the *officulares* of the
governor of Numidia at Lambaesis and which lists immediately after the thirty bbff cos five candidati and five ex frumentariis. The former almost certainly and perhaps also the latter, in view of their designation ex, were awaiting promotion to beneficiarius consularis; if this interpretation is correct, it might indicate that about half of the bbff cos at Lambaesis were recruited from the frumentarii.

The level of experience required to attain the rank of bbff cos can be gauged from the recorded stipendia of such officers (excluding veterans who had served the normal 25 year term): 7, 7, 7, 11, 18, 18, 19, 21, 22, 22(?), 23, 23, 24, 26, 31, 32(?); other bbff cos are known to have died in service at the ages of 30, 33, 37, 38, 40, 40+ and 42 which, given the usual age of recruitment as between 18 and 23, should indicate similar stipendia. These figures suggest that although a legionary might attain this rank relatively early in his career (but even then only after a number of years of experience with perhaps one or two posts held before) the majority will have done so only towards the end of their careers as they came up to retirement. A fairly large number of men are known to have retired in this rank; we have forty certain examples, and another eight with less certainty, out of a total of roughly 600 recorded bbff cos. It is clear, therefore, that the rank of bbff cos could frequently be the culmination of a man's career. Since each legion may have supplied as many as 60 bbff cos, whilst there were only about 20 posts below the centurionate to which they, together with officers of similar rank, could be promoted, it has been suggested by
D.J. Breeze that the rank acted as an efficiency bar: but if most bbff cos did not achieve their rank until perhaps after their twentieth stipendium, and the average duration of service in a legionary post was three to five years, as Breeze claims, then for them further promotion before the completion of their twenty-five years was an unlikely prospect in any event.

Nevertheless, a number of promotions are recorded, presumably of bbff cos who had come to the rank by accelerated promotion at a relatively early stage of their careers. Many of the available promotions were within the officium consularis, and this is reflected in the epigraphic record. One of the men who appears as a bf cos on the earlier of the two officiales inscriptions from Lambaesis, C. Caecilius Felix, appears on the later inscription as a speculator, the next rank up within the officium. Another third-century inscription records a full career within the officium of the governor of Arabia of a θ θ θ who is promoted to ἀρματαρχός then κορυφοτος ἱερός then ἱκαταρχός... τῆς ἡγεμόνιας. A promotion to cornicularius consularis is recorded already in the first century: the soldier of cohors I Urbana mentioned above, who was appointed beneficiarius of Tettienus Serenus, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, in 79(?), four years later became cornicularius Corneli Gallicani leg(ati) Aug(usti) equestr(ibus) stipendiis and served item Minici Rufi leg. Aug. before becoming evocatus in 88 and centurio in 90. In AD 198 an inscription was set up at Ancyra, capital of Galatia, in honour of the governor by two beneficiarii et cornicularii eius, perhaps in gratitude for their promotion, and a
third-century inscription from Vazaïwi in Numidia apparently records a bf cos at the statio there who
ex[pl(eto) tem]pore was promoted corniculari(us).

There were fewer openings for promotion outside the officium consularis, but one of the bbff cos recorded on
the later of the two Lambaesis officiales inscriptions, T. Aelius Victorinus is subsequently recorded as having died,
after 23 years of service, in the rank of cornicul(arius)
pref(ecti) (legionis III Augustae), that is at the head
of (in this case) the main legionary officium. A much
less conventional promotion is recorded at Briæctio where
a bf cos was appointed trierar[cha] class(is) Fl[aviae]
Pann(onicae).

The other three promotions recorded were to
centurion, probably directly in all the cases. The
Flavius Origenes recorded in 196 on the Colossus of Memnon
at Thebes as beneficiarius of the Prefect of the Egypt is
probably identical with the Ινρηγης recorded as a
centurion on an ostrakon of 205 from Pselkis; at Vazaïwi
a man who was probably a bf cos was ex]pleta statione
promotus ad [77] leg(ionis) II Italicae; and at Mourik
in Syria Palaestina a memorial was set up Ρούφω βενε-
ζφικ(ιαρίζ) θαναστ(ατήγος) θαστάτω πρωτω λεγ(ιωνος)
ς αδηνας by his brother who was πρε(ιμο)πειλαρίος λεγ(ιωνος
της αυτης). All three of these promotions date from the
third century and it may be that it was not until this
period that such promotions were generally possible, as
has been suggested by both A. von Domaszewski and D.J.
Breeze; the latter has, furthermore, seen such promotions
as part of a general pattern of the increasing importance
in the third century of staff posts as qualifications for the centurionate. 

A few other inscriptions allow us to further define the ranking of the bbff cos within both the officium consularis and the army as a whole. In the context of the officium, bbff cos are listed immediately before exceptores on an inscription from Vazaivi and quaestionarii on an inscription from Lambaesis, and immediately after speculatores on six inscriptions, all from Lambaesis. Two inscriptions provide information about their ranking relative to army officers outside the officium. One, found at El Gehara in Numidia, was dedicated by a centurio legionis(?), a decurio alae and a bf cos recorded in that order; the other was set up in AD 155 at Montana in Moesia Inferior, in honour of the governor, by a century-strong vexillation of legio XI Claudia under the command of a centurion; it lists a bf cos, then the principals including a tes(serarius), a tub(icen), a cornicem (sic) and a med(icus), then the "imunes" (sic) consisting of two ven(atores), then sixty-seven ordinary soldiers of the first five cohorts of the legion, ending with a decurio... ex eq(uite) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) who clearly stands outside the order of precedence in the rest of the inscription.

As fairly senior principals, bbff cos were relatively well-paid. According to the pay-scales suggested by both A. von Domaszewski and D.J. Breeze they would be duplicarii receiving double the basic rate of pay of a pedes. There is direct evidence for their status from the tombstone of a bf cos duplicarius of legio V Macedonica found at Tomi. It is reasonable to suppose
(although evidence for this is entirely lacking) that as duplicarii, they could look forward to a double or at least increased discharge bonus on retirement compared to that of the common soldier, which was fixed at 3000 denarii under Augustus and 5000 under Caracalla.  

With a sizeable discharge bonus in cash, or its equivalent in land, and with his accumulated savings, the veteran bf cos should have been reasonably comfortable at his chosen place of retirement. Some were perhaps already members of curial families in their home towns: a bf cos of legio I Italica was commemorated at Histria in Moesia Inferior by his brother who was d(ecurio) m(unicipii) Durosteri(sic). Another bf cos set up an inscription at Sarmizegethusa in Dacia in conjunction with his sister and two brothers, one a frumentarius and decurion of the colonia, the other a mil(es) coh(ortis) I Praet(orianae) scriniarius Praef(ectorum) Praetor(i)o and also a decurion, in memory of their father, himself a retired bf cos of legio XIII Gemina Severiana who had become dec(urio) et IIviralis col(oniae) Sarmizegethusae Metrop(olis).  

No doubt family influence would have assisted these men in gaining their positions in the officium consularis. This sort of family background may explain how an early second-century bf cos of legio XIII Gemina who was buried at Salona, capital of Dalmatia, at the age of thirty-nine after nineteen years of service could have become dec(urio) col(oniae) Aequ(i) and flamen, whilst still a serving soldier.  

There may have been other reasons, however, for the election of M. Pompeius Lucius, a serving bf cos of legio I
Italica, probably in the reign of Caracalla, as bouleutēs
Διονυσοπολετῶν Καλατιανῶν Μαρκιανοπολετῶν.

B. Gerov has drawn attention to the honours awarded to T. Aurelius Flavinus, a primipilāris who was made bouleuta
civitātium Tyranorum, Dionysopolitanorum, Marciano-
politanorum, apparently for his prowess at Tyras during an
inroad of the Carpi into Moesia Inferior in AD 214, and
has suggested that Pompeius Lucius was similarly rewarded
for his actions in the same year; these were perhaps
performed at Dionysopolis where he set up the inscription
which records his honours and where he may have been
serving in a statio.

The aedileship of col(onia) Nap(ocensium) in Dacia
held by Valerius Valentinus, a bf cos stationed at Cășeii
in 239, may also have been a reward for special
services. Valentinus is one three bbff cos
ejigrapigraphically recorded as agens sub si[g(nis)] Samum cum
reg(ione) Ans(amensium), implying some sort of the
military organisation of the area to the north of the
fort, perhaps in the reign of Gordian III to which two of
the inscriptions are certainly dated. Cășeii, which
protected the approaches to Napoca along the river Szamos,
seems to have been situated on an active frontier:
another bf cos stationed here in 224 set up two altars,
one dedicated Deae Nemesi... multis insidiis n[um]inis lib[era]tus.
Furthermore, the title Dacicus Maximus
taken by Maximinus in 236 suggests that there had been
recent trouble with the Free Dacians of the Carpathians,
and if Gordian's governors had ordered their bbff to
organise the border tribe of the Ansamenses for defence.
there was ample opportunity for one of them to earn the gratitude of the colonia.

It is likely, however, that most bbff cos who aspired to municipal honours had to wait until retirement. None are recorded in the western frontier provinces but a number are known from the more municipally region. The earliest is a veteran bf cos of the late first century who had served for thirty-two (?) years in legio VII Claudia and died at the age of sixty as qua(es)tor IIvir colon(iae) F(a) (v) (a) iae) F(elis) D(ardanorum), that is of Scupi in Moesia Superior, near which he was buried. Two former bbff cos of legio VII Claudia are known to have become decuriones of municipium Aelium Viminacium, the capital of the same province and the legion's headquarters, one of them commemorated there on an inscription of the mid second century, the other, probably at a later date, recording the rebuilding a temple to Mithras.

In Dalmatia a former bf cos of legio X Gemina buried at Lipa is recorded as dec(urio) municipii, presumably of nearby Pelva, and in Pannonia Superior a veteran of legio I Adiutrix was a dec(urio) coloniae Claudiae Savariae where he was buried.

In Dacia a veteran bf cos of legio V Macedonica erected two inscriptions at Apulum, capital of the Three Dacias, one giving thanks Aesclapio et Hygaea ceterisque diis deabusque huiusq(ue) loci salutarib(us) for the return of his eyesight, the other dedicated Apol[li]ni Dianae et Leto ceterisque diis deab[us]q(ue) huius loci salutar[ib]us ex imperio numi[n]is and recording the construction of a bridge, perhaps across a stream within
the remnants of the probable declension with which both inscriptions are to be associated; the second inscription indicates that the man had become a dec(urio) col(oniae) Apul(ensium). Also found at Apulum was a dedication made by a veteran of legio XIII Gemina who is recorded as dec(urio) col(oniae) Sarmis(egethusae) and is identical with the man already mentioned as a decurio et Ilvralis of Sarmizegethusa in the reign of Severus Alexander, commemorated there by his three sons and a daughter. Again at Sarmizegethusa a veteran of legio XIII Gemina commemorated his wife whilst still a dec(urio) col(oniae) and was himself commemorated on the same stone by his sons having died at the age of 65 as dec(urio) col(oniae) quaest(or) II vir.

Outside the Danube provinces, an inscription from Bostra, capital of the province of Arabia, was set up as Κλημίτους Μιμόσυνου Ουετρανού Σάματος ρφ και Βολευτού and at Lambaesis a dedication was made Fornitunae [Reduci Aug(ustorum)] by a former legati legionis III Augustae whose origo was Carthage but who had become duo[viralicius et pontifex municipii Lambae[sis]].

Some veteran aspired higher still, including perhaps the last mentioned man from Lambaesis who goes on to note that he was pater Hostili Saturnini eq(uo) publico exornavit. Two others sought to enter the militia equestris themselves. One man, buried at Cologne, capital of Germania Inferior, sometime after AD 233 is described as equestris militiae petitor and another who was apparently of the ἐπισημοτάξιον ὑέκοπο τωμάς also calls himself πετετυπο; the ἐπισημοτάξιον to whose son the man
dedicated his inscription at Philippopolis in Arabia was Iulius Priscus, brother of the emperor Philip, who may have held his Prefecture of Mesopotamia during this brother's reign and may therefore have been an exceptional patron for the candidature of his beneficiarius. Both D.J. Breeze and E. Birley see the aspirations of these two men to equestrian status as part of a general phenomenon of the recruitment of equestrian officers from former army principales which first appears in the third century AD.

However, the only veteran bf cos known to have actually obtained a post in the militia equestris is the mid second-century dec(urio) m(unicipii) A(elii) V(iminacii) mentioned above, who became praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Aquet(anorum) (sic) with the army of Britannia, and died in Britain at the age of 55 years; if he was recruited into legio VII Claudia at the usual age of between 18 and 23 years and served the normal term of 25 years, then he will have obtained his prefecture about 5 to 10 years after his retirement.

This evidence shows that about 20% of the known veteran bbff cos were prosperous enough and willing to take on municipal honores with their associated munera; many did so even in the third century when councils were becoming increasingly hard to fill and despite the immunity from compulsory service granted to all veterans, and a few were even able to hope for advancement to the equestrian order.

Most bbff cos would, it appears, have been solid, experienced men in their thirties or forties who were competent enough to have risen from the ranks but were probably not high-fliers. This sort of officer is perhaps
exactly that which we should expect to have formed the

core of those officia which were charged with the minutiae

of the administration of the Roman provinces and the Roman

armies. The structure and functions of these provincial

officia form the subject of the next chapter.

1 Festus, De Verb. Sign., p. 30 (L) s.v. beneficiari.  
2 See Th. Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht II.2 (3rd ed.  
1887), 1126 with note 1.  
3 Beneficium referring to usufruct of land: Hyg. De Lim.  
Const. in K. Lachmann (ed.), Gromatici Veteres (1848), p.  
202; referring to the ius liberorum: Paulus. Sent.,  
IV, 9, 9.  
4 E.g. Cic. Verr. III, 137; IV, 187; pro Mur., c.1; c.2;  
c.40; Phil. XIV, 25; etc.  
5 Cic. ad Fam. V, 20, 7; VII, 5, 3.  
6 Livy IX, 30, 3.  
7 III 335 Apanaea.  
8 Suet. Tib., 12.  
9 Cf. III 10842 with p. 2187 Siscia: IOOM et Cereri C.  
Veratius Hispanus et T. Pl (avius) Campester [slp(e)  
b(ene)f(iciatus) (?); X 410 Volcei (Regio III): C. Coelio  
Aniceto mil(it(iti) coh(ortis) II Pr(aetoriae)  
singularis) trib(unii). spe beneficiatus...  
10 On Festus see R. Helm, RE XXI 2316-9; on M. Verrius  
Flaccus see A. Dihle, RE VIII A 1636-45.  
11 Caes. BC I, 75, 2.  
12 Caes. BC III, 88, 4.  
13 Pliny, Ep. X, 21, 1; the beneficiarii are to be  
understood as Bassus's, not Pliny's; cf. the ten  
beneficiarii assigned by Pliny to the procurator Virdius  
Gemellinus (Ep. X, 27).  
14 AE 1972 n. 573 Ephesus (Asia).  
15 E. Sander, 'Zur Rangordnung des römischen Heeres: die  
gradus ex caliga', Historia 3 (1954/5), 87-105 has  
attempted to show that in the first century AD junior  
officers, the principales, had functions but held no  
actual rank, and that, even in the second century and  
after, within each of the three groups of principales  
recognized by A. von Domaszewski (see below) all officers  
held the same rank; this view has been challenged by G.R.  
Watson, The Roman Soldier (1969), 75ff and M. Clauss,  
Untersuchungen zu den principales des römischen Heeres von  
Augustus bis Diokletian. Cornicularii, Speculatores,  
Frumentarii (1973), 14-16, and it is now generally  
accepted that the principales held ranks and did not  
merely have functions, and that there was differentiation  
in ranking within each of the three groups from the  
beginnings of the Roman army.  
16 On the creation of the military officia see A.H.M.  
Jones, 'The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical  
Grades)', JRS xxxix (1949), 44-6 and below Ch. III pp. 33-  
6.  
17 See Ch. III note 11 for the earliest epigraphically  
attested beneficiarii of provincial governors.
For the papyrus evidence on the beneficiarii of provincial governors see Ch. V pp. 254-5 with notes 6-11; for the literary evidence see Ch. III pp. 45-6.

Vegetius II, 7.

Relative rankings have been established by A. von Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (1908; 2nd ed. B. Dobson, 1967) and are tabulated there pp. 15, 18, 27, 56, 59.

See A. von Domaszewski, op. cit., 313-4 (Register A1), indexing his discussions of the different types of beneficiarii.

See Ch. III pp. 34-5.

The exceptions are III 12679 Doclea (Dalmatia), a bf cos of cohors (VIII) Voluntariorum; XII 2602 Genava (Narbonensis), a former bf of the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis from cohors I Urbana (see pp. 141, 145-6); IGR III 130 Tyana (Cappadocia), a bf cos of the Χρυσή πρωτή; IGR II 677 Patara (Lycia et Pamphylia), a bf cos of Μουσουλάμιων; see also Ch. III note 9 on the likelihood that the twenty-five recorded beneficiarii of the praesidial procurator of Noricum were auxiliaries.

See Ch. III pp. 38 (cornicularii), 40 (commentarienses), 42 (speculatores), 47 (frumentarii), 53-4 (quaestionarii), 55 (librarii), 56 (exceptores), 58 (beneficiarii sexmestris), 60 (haruspex), 61 (stratores), and pp. 63-4 in general.

AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis (Numidia), early third century, and VII 2586 Lambaesis, early third century; the inscriptions can be closely dated both absolutely and relative to each other: AE 1917/18 n. 57 can be dated by Acutius Ingenus, one of the speculatores who appears on VII 2518 Lambaesis, AD 211/2 as a retired centurion, and is the earlier of the two as Iulius Donatus appears on both inscriptions as quaestionarius and Caecilius Felix who appears as a bf cos on this inscription is promoted to speculator on VII 2587; the latter is dated by C. Iulius Dexter who is recorded as beneficiarius tribuni on VII 2564 Lambaesis, AD 199 or 202 but is promoted to speculator in this inscription and on VII 2750 Lambaesis, reign of Caracalla (?) as a cornicularius, and by C. Calventius Iunarius who appears as a cornicularius on this inscription and as a centurion on VII 2742 Lambaesis, reign of Alexander Severus.

Tac. Hist. IV 48: ablatae proconsuli legationem misso in eam rem legato tradidit. aquatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus...; this is confirmed by Hadrian's address to legio III Augusta: VII 2532 Lambaesis, AD 128: quod omnibus annis per vices in officium praeductus sulis mittitur. See Ch. III pp. 34-5.

Numidia was constituted a province between 198/9 and 208: see H.-G. Pflaum, 'A propos de la date de la création de la province de Numidie', Libyca 5 (1957), 61-75; M.P. Speidel, 'The Singulares of Africa and the Establishment of Numidia as a Province', Historia 22 (1973), 125-7. See also below, note 56.

If the correct figure is sixty, this would give an overall ratio of one bf cos per century in the legion, just as the figure of ten speculatores per legion gives one per cohort (though this is not to suggest that each century provided one beneficiarius).

See D.J. Breeze, 'The Career structure below the centurionate during the Principate', ANRW II.1 (1974), 441.

The whole question has been the subject of a number of articles by D.J. Breeze including 'Pay Grades and Ranks below the Centurionate', JRS LXI (1971), 130-35; op. cit. (note 30), 435-51; 'The Organization of the career structure of the immunes and principales of the Roman army', BJ 174 (1974), 245-92; all of these are based on his The Immunes and Principales of the Roman Army (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Durham 1970).

XII 2602 Genava (Gallia Narbonensis), AD 96-8; see below and Ch. IV pp. 141, 145-6 with notes 130, 148.

III 9908 Burnum (Dalmatia): ... milit[iti] leg(ionis) XI [tess[lerar](io) [bf?] corn[i]c[ulario] leg[ati] Aug(usti) [...]

III 1783 Narona (Dalmatia); the identification of the dedicator as a bf cos is made more likely by the fact that the only other serving officers epigraphically attested at Narona are commanders of auxiliary units and beneficiarii consularis, although the apparent name in the last line does not fit any known governor.


III 3020 = 10057 Metul[um] (Dalmatia): ex fru[mentario] bf cos; VIII 17627 Vazaivi (Numidia): [ejx frumentaria]r bf cos; Spomenik LXXI no 209 Kosovska Mitrovica (Moes. Sup.): [bf cos ex fru(mentario)]; it is possible that all these men had recently been promoted but see also Ch. V p. 269.

AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambeasii (Numidia).

Against this it might be argued that none of the candidati or ex frumentarii reappear as bbff cos on VIII 2586, the later of the two officiales inscriptions from Lambeasii (see above note 25), but only two names are common to both inscriptions in any case, which perhaps indicates that they were separated by a number of years or that some of the men on AE 1917/18 n. 57 had been seconded to Carthage when VIII 2586 was set up (see note 26).

For the recorded careers of frumentarii see Ch. III notes 70-1. Note also VIII 10724 = 17635 Vazaivi (Numidia) which appears to have been dedicated by a bf c[los ex]pl[eta]t[ione], 10718 = 17626 ex[pleta] s[tatione], 10723 = 17634 ex[pleta] s[tatione], 17636 ex[pleta]t[ione]; all from Vazaivi), but for which an alternative reading might be bf clos ex[adiutor]e corniculari(orum); on adiutores of the officium consularis see Ch. III pp. 57-8. Two bbff cos are recorded as being additionally adiutores principis, assistants to the princeps praetorii at the head of the officium (see Ch. III pp. 36-7): III 12679 Doclea (Dalmatia) mil(es) coh(ortis) (VIII) Vol(unter) adiunt(or)/princi[pi]s bf cos; AE 1916 n. 29 Djes[ma] (Numidia) bf Subatiani Procui leg(ati) Aug(gg propraeto)re co(n)s(ulis) design(nati) adiutor principis praetorii(i); in both cases, since the men do not call themselves ex adiutore, the
posts seem to have been held simultaneously rather than 
one after another; cf. Ch. III note 16. Note that in AE 
1925 n. 125 El Kantara (Numidia), also erected by a bf 
cos, Adiutor appears to have been the man's cognomen 
and not his rank. A. von Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des 
römischen Heeres (1908; 2nd ed. B. Dobson, 1967), 33 has 
also noted promotions from quaestorius (VIIII 20251 – 
ILS 4496 Satafis (Mauretania Caesariensis)), 2nd/3rd 
cent.: bf dup( larius) ex quaestorio) and duplicarius 
alae (VIIII 21567 Géryville (Mauretania Caesariensis), AD 
174, but the latter seems to be a mistake and neither 
inscription certainly records a bf of the governor, 
although the promotion from quaestorius does seem to 
indicate that the man had been serving in the governor's 
officium (see Ch. III pp. 53-4).

*Recorded stipendia of bbff cos: E. Vorbeck. Militär-
inschriften aus Carnuntum (2nd ed., 1980), no 304 (served 
7 years); AE 1957 n. 191 (served 7 years, died aged 25 
years); IGR III 677 (served 7 years, died aged 27 years); 
III 13807 (served 11 years, died aged 28 years); XIIII 6143 
(served 18 years, died aged 33 years 8 months); Inscr. 
Scyth. Min. I no 302 (served 18 years, died aged 38(?)
years; AE 1979 n. 447 (served 19 years, died aged 39 
years; II 4154 (served 21 years, died aged 40 years); III 
11240 (served 22 years, died aged 40 years); XIIII 1843(?)
(served 22 years, but not certainly a bf); IIII 14214² 
(served 23 years, died aged 40 years); IIII 6300 (served 23 
years, died aged 40 years, 3 months, 18 days); II 4144 
(served 23 years, died aged 45 years); II 4167 (served 24 
years, died aged 41 years); XIIII 6558 (served 26 years);
VII 156 (served 31 years, died aged 52 years); Spomenik 
Lxxi no 650 (a veteran, served 32(? years, died aged 60 
years); note also XII 2602, a miles of cohors I Urbana 
appointed bf of the governor of Lugdunensis after 6(? 
year's service (see p. 13); XIIII 7338 and AE 1962 n. 228 
erected by the same bf cos who had served at least 10 
years; VIIII 27854 was erected by a beneficiarius of two 
successive legati of legio III Augusta 
who had served 6 years and died aged 25 years; note that 
the two quickest recorded appointments to this rank, 
within only 6 years (XII 2602 and VIIII 27854), both date 
to the first century. Recorded ages of serving bbff cos 
at death: IIII 5510 (30 years); IIII 3535 (33 years); 
Inscr. Lat. Alg. I no 2203 (30 years); IIII 3544 (37 
years); G. Alföldy, Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco 
(1975), no 198 (37 years); IIII 6376 = 8656 (38 years); A. 
Aricescu, The Army in Roman Dobrudja (1980), 207 no 40 
(40 years); IIII 8252 (40+ years); II 4164 (42 years); note 
also XIIII 7001 (21 years, 5 months, 26 days, but not 
certainly a bf); the following ages are recorded for 
beneficiarii (legati) legio III Augusta (cf. note 56): 
35 years (VIIII 2901), 37 years (VIIII 2798), 40 years (VIIII 
2854), 41 years (VIIII 4246), 44 years (VIIII 2823), 57 
years (VIIII 2837).

² Retired bbff cos: II 4149; IIII 987; 1091(?); 1485; 
2677(?); 3474; 3543; 3902; 3970; 4057; 4191; 4833(?); 
4860; 4964 = 11524(?); 5815; 6580 (=ILS 2304)(?); 6800; 
7505; 7545; 7692; 7736; 7742; 8745; 9847; 10427; 10522; 
12659; 14216²; 14217²; 14507 (three retired bbff cos); 
VIIII 9380; XIIII 1843(?); 8293; AE 1910 n. 150; 1933 n. 248 
(the same man erected IIII 7742); 1956 n. 252; 1961 n. 332;
1969/70 n. 633 (two retired bbff Praefecti Aegyptii): 1972 n. 440; 1973 n. 447; 1975 n. 652; 1980 n. 735; Inscr. Bostra. 9422; IGR III 1202 (= ILS 8847); SB 9157, 7(?); Spomenik lxxi no 650. Another seven or eight retired beneficiarii (legati) legionis III Augustae (cf. note 56) are recorded: VIII 2829; 2990; 4436 = 18595; 18067 (two bbff leg(ionis); 18087 (?); AE 1937 n. 84 (two bbff (legionis)?). The following papyri record fourth century bbff of the Prefect of Egypt or of the praesides of the Egyptian provinces: BGU 1049, 2 and 24; P. Lips. 22, 3; P. Lips. 41, 3; PSI 469, 4; SB 7756, 14; on the different nature of fourth-century officiales see Ch. III. pp. 66-7.

*D. J. Breeze, BJ 174 (1974), 275-6; he lists the officers holding posts below the centurionate to which a bbf cos could be promoted: "10 speculatores, 1 or 2 commentarienses, one cornicularius praefecti, one cornicularius tribuni, possibly 2 cornicularii procuratoris, 1 or 2 cornicularii consularis", to which should be added 1 cornicularius legati legionis and a limited number of posts as optio spei.

*3 Ibid., 276-8, 289.

*4 See note 42; on the structure of the officium consularis and the place of the bbf cos within it see Ch. III.

*5 AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis (Numidia), early 3rd cent. and VIII 2586 Lambaesis, early 3rd cent.; see note 25. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that the T. Flavius Celsius recorded as a bbf cos of Legio XI Claudia on AE 1967 n. 430 Chersonesus (the Crimea, Note. Inl) and on Inscr. Poen. Chr. Sert. Test. 1 ex C15 is identical with the proprietor of the monument on III 3524 Aquincum (Pann. Inf.), 30 September AD 226.

*6 IGR III 1264 = ILS 8880 Nela (Arabia), 3rd cent.

*7 XII 2602 Genava (Galicia Narbonensis), AD 96-8; see Ch. IV pp. 141, 145-6 with notes 130, 148.

*8 III 252 = 6754 Ancyra (Galatia), AD 198.

*9 VIII 10724 = 17635 Zazaivi (Numidia), 3rd cent.; on the reading see note 38. A. von Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (1908; 2nd ed. B. Dobson, 1967), 33 also assumes that a number of officiales recorded away from the provincial capital were bbff cos outposted to stationes (see Ch. IV) who had just received promotion, including speculatores (III 3021, 3615, 8173, 13719), a commentariensis (V 6867) and a cornicularius legionis (III 10568); von Domaszewski is wrong to call him a "cornicularius des Statthalters"; but there is no reason to suppose that speculatores could not be outposted in their own right (see Ch. III p. 45 with note 60), the commentariensis is recorded at the summit of the Great St. Bernard pass alongside numerous other army officers in transit (see Ch. IV pp. 190-1) and the cornicularius, as well as one of the speculatores (III 3615), is recorded at Transaquincum, just across the Danube from Aquincum, the capital of Pannonia Inferior and the site of the headquarters of legio II Adiutrix.

*10 VIII 2586 Lambaesis (Numidia), early third century and AE 1976 n. 712 Djemorah (Numidia), early third century. A. von Domaszewski, loc. cit. assumes that the cornicularius praefecti legionis who made a dedication at Zazaivi in Numidia (VIII 17825) was also a promoted bbf cos because (op. cit., 33 note 8) "der Stein ist am Orte der statio eines beneficiarius consularis gefunden", but different officers of several units are recorded here and, although two bbff cos record promotions at the end of their time here (VIII 10724 = 17635, see note 38; VIII
There is no need to follow this assumption; nevertheless, it is necessary to explain what one of the heads of the legionary officium (and indeed the bbff cos) were doing here and one might suggest that Vazaivi could have acted as some sort of administrative centre for the forts to the south, the garrisons of which are mostly unknown (Cf. E. Fentress, Numidia and the Roman Army (1979), 96-8) but might be partly legionary; cf. Ch. V p. 261 with note 30.

III 4319 Brigetio (Pannonia Superior/Inferior), 2nd/3rd cent.


VIII 10718 = 17626 Vazaivi (Numidia), 3rd cent.

AE 1932 n. 57 Mourik (Syria Palaestina), 3rd cent. A. von Domaszewski, loc. cit. (note 49) also supposes a promotion to centurion on III 3306=15149 Sophana (Pann. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent. but has restored a centurial sign for no good reason, and takes the centurions recorded on III 10060 Metulum (Dalmatia) and XIII 6429 Hochheim (Germ. Sup.) to be promoted bbff cos, but is again guessing on the assumption that centurions (perhaps with a detachment of troops) cannot be outposted around the provinces in their own right, which is clearly nonsense. He also takes his reading of [s]p(e) b(ene)f(iciatus) on III 10842 cf. p. 2187 Siscia (Pann. Sup.) to imply imminent promotion to the centurionate although both the reading and its interpretation are extremely uncertain; bbff appears to me to be more likely since there are two names on the dedication and Siscia is one of the very few stationes in the empire where several bbff cos are recorded together; see Ch. V notes 15, 26); the bb cos...candidatus on VIII 21056 Caesarea (Mauretania Caesariensis) is not necessarily a candidate for the centurionate or indeed for any military post, and there is no compelling reason to suppose that the miles leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) Alexandrianae candidatus d(ominii) n(ostri) (?) on XIII 2596 Laize (Gallicia Lugdunensis) was a bb cos. Von Domaszewski, op. cit., 34 furthermore seems to take a decurio cohortis who records that he is exple(to) tempore (VIII 17619) and a centurio cohortis (VIII 17631), both from Vazaivi (Numidia) as promoted bbff cos, like, as he believes, the cornicularius praefecti legionis attested there (see note 50); but this is again to suppose that such officers could not have been outposted (again, perhaps with a detachment of troops) in their own right; cf. AE 1975 n. 677, a dec(urio) eq(uitum) coh(ortis) III A[ip(inorum)] iterata statione. It is unlikely that the Ulpius Malchus who was a bb of Q. Rammius Martialis, Prefect of Egypt AD 117-9, recorded in P. Bremen 5 and 6, is identical with the M. Ulpius Malchus who as a centurion of legio XXII Primigenia erected an altar found at Amorbach near Miltenberg in Germania Superior, perhaps in the second half of the second century (XIII 6606 = ILS 2626).

A completely anomalous first-century promotion from pr pr pro st of the praesidial procurator of Judaea to ep xos ep has been proposed by M. Avi-Yonah, 'The Epitaph of T. Mucius Clemens', Israel
that the correct reading should be \( \text{col(legium) i\text{mmunium} et} \) bf on AE 1967 n. 568 Lambaesis, AD 197/8 is far from certain and provides no evidence for ranking. Note that AE 1967 n. 575 and n. 576 show that the legatus legionis III Augustae was entitled to speculatores, usually the prerogative of provincial governors (see Ch. III p. 41-5), before the generally accepted date of between 198/9 and 208 for the creation of the province of Numidia (see above, note 27); consequently we must assume either that Numidia was a province by 174/6, long before its first attestation in 208/10 (AE 1911 n. 107 = ILS 9488), or, more likely, that the legionary legate, as the commander of an independent army district (see above, note 26) was allowed an officium normal to a governor; cf. the singulares of the (as I believe) legionary legate Q. Anicius Faustus attested in 198/9 (AE 1957 n. 122 = 1971 n. 507 = 1973 n. 629) and a pre-Claudian speculator of the commander of the Lower German army district (ILN Fréjus, 162-3 no. 149; see Ch. IV p. 141 with note 128).


**A. von Domaszewski, op. cit.** (note 49), 71; D.J. Breeze, "Pay Grades and Ranks below the Centurionate", JRS 1x1 (1971), 133-4; Breeze suggests that senior principales could receive double pay either as pedites or, for the most senior, as equites, but there is evidence of the latter status only for cornicularii.
Discharge bonus under Augustus: Dio LV, 23, 1; under Caracalla: Dio LXXVIII, 24, 1. On the likelihood that individual discharge bonuses were related to the soldier's position on the pay scale see P. A. Brunt, 'Pay and Superannuation in the Roman Army', PBSR 18 (1950), 63 with notes 92, 68; the only evidence which Brunt can find to cite is V 5832 = ILS 2338 Milan, AD 29 which records an aquilifer...curator vete[ran(orum)] who received praemia dupl[ica].


Inscr. Scyth. Min. I no 302 Histria (Moes. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.; the expansion of the Latin abbreviation is guaranteed by a parallel Greek text. Cf. also the late second-century beneficariorum δικτυσμένος buried at Kobuşlar in Lycia et Pamphylia by his brother who was σέρευς διὰ θεοῦ θεοῦ Σαμαρίτα τοῦ αὐτοκρατοροῦ, and his mother who was σέρευς Σαμαρίτα τοῦ αὐτοκρατοροῦ ηγεμόνας (G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-8 (1970), 68 no 41).

AE 1979 n. 447 Salona (Dalmatia), early 2nd cent.

AE 1972 n. 505 = IG Bulg. 24 bis Dionysopolis (Moës. Inf.), probably reign of Caracalla; the inscription is dated by the legionary epithet

B. Gerov, 'Die Invasion der Carpen im Jahre 214' in Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (1967), 431-6 citing III 14416 = ILS 7178 Oescus, early 3rd cent. One would have to assume that these awards were honorary, requiring little or nothing in the way of munera cf. II 4514 = ILS 6957 Barcelona (Tarrac onensis), reign of Marcus, recording a retired centurion who was atlectus (sic) a Barc(inonensis) immunes (but nevertheless went on to hold several magistracies and make numerous benefactions).

III 827 = 7633 Alsó-Kosály (Cășeii), (Dacia), AD 239.

The other two inscriptions are III 822 Alsó-Kosály, 3rd cent. (reading ag(ens) sub signis r(egione) Ans(amentum) and AE 1957 n. 326 Alsó-Kosály, AD 243: agens Samo cum r(e)g(ione) Ans(amentum) sub segnis(sic). The phrase sub signis means "in military order", "militarily organized"; Cic. ad Att. 16, 18, 2 Antonium... legionem sub signis ducere; Livy III, 51 urbem intravere sub signis; Tac. Hist. II, 14 quingenti Pannonii, nondum sub signis. The bbbf cos seem therefore to have been charged with bringing Samum and the territory of the Ansamenses under arms, presumably by organising a militia; cf. C. Daicoviciu, 'Severus Alexander şi Provincia Dacia', Act. Mus. Nap. iii (1966), 164-70 (in Romanian, with German summary p. 171) who, however, interprets the inscriptions to indicate only annexation and military control of the area.

AE 1957 n. 327 and 328 Alsó-Kosály, AD 224.

See Brandis, RE IV 1975; Stein, RE IV 1976.

Spanenik lxxi (1931) no. 650 Radishana near Skopje (Moës. Sup.), late 1st cent.

III 12659 Viminacium (Moës. Sup.), mid 2nd cent.: dec(urio) m(unicipii) A(elii) V(ininacii): the inscription
TII 14217* Viminacium, 2nd/3rd cent.: ex bf cos nunc dec(urio) Viminacii.
TII 9847 Lipa (Dalmatia), 2nd/3rd cent.: cf. J.J. Wilkes, Dalmatia (1969), 124 with note 6 on the identity of the municipium (although there is no need to believe that this was the site of the man's statio before his retirement).
TII 4191 Savaria (Pann. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
TII 7742 Apulum, reign of Severus Alexander.
TII 1485 Sarmizegethusa (Dacia), 2nd/3rd cent.
TII 1485 Sarmizegethusa (Dacia), 2nd/3rd cent.
Inscr. Bostra 9422 Bostra (Arabia), 2nd/3rd cent.
VIII 4436 = ILS 8847 Lambaesis (Numidia) late 2nd/early 3rd cent.: cf. note 56.
See preceding note.
AE 1956 n. 252 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), after AD 233; see Ch. IV note 162.
IGR III 1202 = ILS 8847 Philippopolis (Arabia), reign of Philip; on Iulius Priscus see H.-G. Pflaum, Les Carrières Procuratoriales Équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain (1960), 831-9 no 324a.
See above note 73. CIL notes that Mommsen read the auxiliary unit as coh(ors) I Ag(uitanorum) Vet(eratorum), a unit of the Upper German army, but since there is no punctum on the stone between AQ and VET one should read Aqueitanorum and take the unit as the British cohors I Aquitanorum (see P.A. Holder, The Roman Army in Britain (1982), 112), which would explain why the man (obiit) in Britannia.
Immunity of veterans from civic duties: Dig. XLIX, 18, 2 (Ulpian) Honeste sacramento solutis data immunitas etiam in eis civitatis, apud quas incolae sunt, valet: nec labefactatur, si quis eorum voluntate sua honorem aut munus susceperit; ibid. L, 5, 7 (Papinian) A muneribus quae non patrimonii indicuntur, veterani post optimi nostri Severi Augusti litteras perpetuo excusantur.
CHAPTER III

THE OFFICUM CONSULARIS

The provincial governors of the Republican era were, like all magistrates, assisted by a civilian staff, described by A.H.M. Jones in his fundamental article on "The Roman Civil Service". Such a staff was drawn from special decuriae at Rome, and would include scribae, who had clerical and judicial duties, and minor officials such as lictores, who performed a ceremonial function and as executioners, viatores (messengers), and praecones (heralds). In addition to these there were attendants known as accensi, who were not drawn from the decuriae but were personal appointments.1

In 27 BC, Augustus, having made himself master of the Roman world, became, in effect, proconsul of those provinces which held the bulk of the legionary and auxiliary forces and ruled them through deputies - legati - appointed by himself, the remaining provinces being governed by proconsuls appointed by the Senate, thus establishing the division of the empire between 'imperial' and 'senatorial' provinces. After AD 39 only the imperial legati controlled legions.2

The evidence suggests that the proconsular governors continued to draw civilian staffs from the decuriae right up to the period of the Late Empire.3 Legati, however, presumably following Republican precedent, were not allowed this privilege.4 Nevertheless, the running of a province did require the assistance of a staff, and since
most of the legati had large bodies of troops to administer they naturally turned to their legions as a source of literate citizens acquainted with the army. The provincial military officia thus came into being, perhaps modelled on legionary officia which were probably developed at about the same time and whose members similarly begin to appear on inscriptions at the turn of the first century. As will be demonstrated, the titles of the individual grades of these military officiales suggest that their origins lay in groups of soldiers who performed special functions at the behest of the army commanders of the late Republic; the beneficiarii were one such group.

Military officia thus became normal for imperial provinces, probably from their inception, and it is clear that even those proconsuls who initially controlled legions had similar officia in addition to their civilian staffs. Indeed, our earliest direct evidence for a provincial military officium refers to the officium of the Proconsul of Africa under Gaius. Tacitus tells us that Caligula removed control of legio III Augusta from the Proconsul and entrusted it to a legate (who seems also to have acted as de facto governor of the territory of Numidia), and that at the same time he divided staff officers from the legion equally between the two. This would seem to imply that the legion was already supplying a fixed number of staff officers, and there is later evidence to suggest that the provincial officia took a specific number of each grade of officer from each legion in the province. The continuation of the arrangement in Africa is confirmed in general terms by Hadrian's address to the legion in 128, which is preserved on stone, and by
two early third-century inscriptions from Lambaesis, capital of Numidia, although the Proconsul no doubt supplemented his officium from the Urban cohort stationed in Carthage perhaps from the time of Vespasian.

The officia of those governors who controlled legions were almost always composed entirely of legionaries, and some imperial legati were evidently allowed to borrow legionaries from neighbouring provinces if they had none of their own. Other legati and the equestrian praesidial procurators probably had to make do with auxiliaries; their officia are often poorly attested (especially in the East) and some were probably quite small. Proconsuls, other than the Proconsul of Africa, some of whom, at least, did have a number of military officiales, may also have had to employ auxiliaries, but precise evidence is lacking.

It is not clear whether all the grades of officiales were present from the beginning or whether new grades were added as greater specialisation was deemed necessary. At any rate, cornicularii, speculatores, beneficiarii, frumentarii and singulares are all attested epigraphically in the first century AD, and by the late second century almost all the known officiales have appeared in our sources. Titles varied according to the rank of governor, consular, praetorian or equestrian, to whom the officiales were attached, but in this context even governors of consular rank are not referred to as consulares before the end of the first century, and the term is not common before the mid-second century. Up to that time officiales attached to a consular governor preferred to refer to themselves as cornicularii(etc.)
legati Augusti pro praetore, often including the actual name of the governor, perhaps to emphasize a personal attachment, and this convention continues to appear sporadically into the third century; by then the simple term consularis had become general, even for governors of praetorian rank.4

The bulk of our evidence for these military officia derives from the second and third centuries, consisting, as it does, mainly of epigraphic material which first becomes widespread in the mid-second century and dries up in the late-third century, supplemented by some literary references and, for Egypt, by papyri. This gives us a considerable amount of information on the constitution of the officia, but rather less about the functions of the various grades of officiales.

It is possible that at all times a centurion, with the title of princeps or similar, stood at the head of the provincial officium, although the evidence for such officers is meagre, only two being directly attested whilst two other men are recorded simply as centurions of the officium; all these testimonies date from the second to the late third century.10 Principes are also indirectly attested through their adiutores, and perhaps through optiones praetorii, recorded in a number of provincial capitals, who may have been deputies to a princeps.10 It is certain that centurions were commonly attached to the provincial officia, and no doubt some of the many centurions attested in provincial capitals were so attached without making specific reference to the fact. By the period of the Late Empire it was normal for many types of officia to be headed by principes who were, by
then, civilians holding military rank. We have very little information about the career structure of these principes or about how they came to their position in the officium, and we hear almost nothing about the functioning of such men, although a passage of the Digest describes how the written statement of a woman's court case should have been handed to a centurion, who might well have been on a provincial staff, ut ad officium transmitterentur.

One reason for supposing that the provincial officium was not always headed by a princeps under the Principate is that it is sometimes referred to on inscriptions as the officium corniculariorum consularis. The cornicularii, recently studied by M. Clauss, were the senior principes of the provincial as they were all military officia, and since the officium of the provincial governor was the senior of all those which could be staffed by legionaries, the cornicularii consularis ranked amongst the highest of all legionary principales, attaining that rank after 10 to 15 years of service or more and almost always being promoted from within the officum. Any subsequent promotion was to evocatus or direct to decurion of an ala or centurion.

The cornicularii perhaps derived their title from a small horn-shaped decoration (corniculum) worn on the helmet, which seems in origin to have been an award for bravery, although another possibility is that it represented a horn inkwell to represent a secretary. In the Late Republic a connection between the award and an attachment to provincial magistrates may be implied when Suetonius tells us that L. Orbilius, the famous
schoolmaster of Horace. *primo apparaturam magistratibus
decit: deinde in Macedonia corniculo, mox equo meruit.*

The earliest epigraphically attested *cornicularius* of a provincial governor dates from the first century AD.* A number of inscriptions seem to indicate that there were two or three *cornicularii* in each provincial *officium*, irrespective of the number of legions serving in the province.* Of their duties we know very little apart from the fact that they were in charge of the *officium* as a whole. We see *cornicularii* operating in this capacity in a passage of Firmicus Maternus which records their involvement, in conjunction with the *commentarienses*, in the execution of death sentences, the *cornicularii* apparently being in charge whilst the *commentarienses* acted as recorders for the court.* In the *Passio* of SS. Tarachus, Probus and Andronicus, a *cornicularius* is similarly present at the trial of martyrs at Tarsus in 303, together with a *commentariensis.*

For the rest we have to deduce their activities by analogy with what we know of the duties of the *cornicularii* of other *officia*. In an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of 103 a *cornicularius* of *cohors III Ituraeorum* records that he has lodged a letter from the Prefect of Egypt listing new recruits, of which the papyrus is a copy, in the *tabularium* of the *cohort.*) Again, in an inscription of the joint reigns of Severus, Caracalla and Geta (209–11) from Bled-Coursi-el-Tahtani in Numidia, a *cornicularius praefecti* of *legio III Augusta* appears to be involved in the recording of territory, flocks and springs, perhaps on an imperial estate.*) It is not unlikely, therefore, that the *cornicularius consularis* too
was involved in the keeping of records and filing of
documents, especially, no doubt, lists of army recruits,
reports sent from the army units of the province and
copies of the governor's correspondence. Thus
involvement with the keeping of records is to a certain
extent confirmed by a papyrus of 107 found in Alexandria.
This is the text of a letter written by a legionary
soldier to his father, telling how, being based in Bostra,
probably with legio VI Ferrata, he went to the governor
and asked him to make him a librarius (an interesting
insight into how promotion to the officium might be
obtained; access to the governor was evidently a great
help). The governor told him that there was no vacancy
for a librarius in his own officium, but that he would
make him a librarius legionis with hope of promotion.

The two posts therefore appear to have been fairly
similar, and since the soldier tells us that he was
eventually attached πρὸς τὸν κορυκουλαρίον in the legion,
it is not unreasonable to suppose that the same sort of
attachment would be made in the officium consularis. So
the cornicularii probably had librarii to help them with
the documents they handled. Epigraphic sources further
reveal that there were adiutores corniculariorum.

The commentarienses (also recorded as a commentariis)
do not appear from their name to have developed from a
Republican group as do the cornicularii and the
speculatores, beneficiarii and frumentarii. It is more
likely that they were brought into being specifically to
keep trial records for military commanders with judicial
duties under the empire; commentarienses of this type only
appear in the officia of provincial governors and of the
Praefectus Urbi and Praefectus Vigilum. In fact, no commentariensis consularis is certainly attested before the middle of the second century, but this may be simply a gap in our sources.

The commentarienses ranked beneath the cornicularii and above all other members of the officium, and their number seems to have corresponded to that of the cornicularii. Like the cornicularii, they probably served at least 10 years before achieving this rank, being promoted from other officia or from within the officium consularis and directly to the rank of optio (spei?) or cornicularius.

Their title and their attachment only to magistrates with judicial powers suggests that all commentarienses were involved in recording the administration of justice. The commentariensis ab actis civilibus attested at Tarraco perhaps implies that commentarienses were usually charged with the recording of criminal trials. The little available literary evidence supports this view. In the Passio of SS. Tarachus, Probus and Andronicus, the commentariensis reports to Numerianus Maximus, the praeses of Cilicia in 303, that Andronicus has had no visitors in prison to heal his wounds, whilst in the Passio Pionii a commentariensis waits while Pionius, arrested in the province of Asia under Decius, prepares for his martyrdom. In the Passio of Claudius, Asterius et al., a commentariensis beings the accused before the tribunal of Lysias, praeses of Cilicia in 285, and in the Acts of S. Crispina another presents the martyr before the Proconsul of Africa, Anulinus, at Theveste in 304. That they were in charge of legal paperwork is confirmed by the Passio of
Artemios asks the praeses of Macedonia, Dulcitius, for permission to read the νοτωρία of the στατιωνάριος reporting on the accused, and by the Passio of S. Tatianus Dulas, where a commentariensis reports to the praeses of Cilicia. Finally, in the Acts of Claudius, Asterius et al., we find a commentariensis cooperating with a speculator in the execution of three martyrs. The regular presence of commentarienses at executions is confirmed by Ulpian's commentary on a rescript of Hadrian forbidding speculatores, optiones (presumably optiones praetorii; see above) and commentarienses to acquire the personal possessions of the condemned. Commentarienses are thus attested as involved with prisoners continuously from their incarceration, through their appearance in court, to execution, at which they presumably read out the sentence.

Next in rank in the provincial officium came the speculatores, like the cornicularii recently studied by M. Clauss. They are to be carefully distinguished, as legionaries seconded to the provincial capitals, from the body of speculatores Augusti of the Praetorian cohorts at Rome, who acted as imperial life-guards. Both groups nevertheless appear to have had a common origin in the scouts employed by republican commanders. It was their personal attachment to such commanders which brought them into the officium and, of course, into the Praetorium at Rome; we are told of Caesar's ordering his speculatores apparitoresque omnes to be ready at his disposal. Several writers of the late Republic refer to speculatores as scouts, whilst Festus and Caesar go further in
distinguishing them from ordinary exploratores by describing them as spies, gaining their information silently and at night. It is recorded that Caesar used them as messengers, in which capacity speculatores occasionally still appear under the Principate.

Provincial speculatores are well attested in the first century AD. They were junior to the cornicularii and commentarienses and known careers involve promotions to both posts as well as to cornicularius legionis and perhaps optio spei. Promotion to speculator is only certainly recorded from beneficiarius consularis. The few inscriptions which give length of service record death in this post, or after promotion from it, 13, 18 and 22 years after enlistment, although the only known speculator Ponticus died at the age of 26, and two ordinary speculatores are recorded as having died aged 28 and 31 respectively, implying a somewhat shorter period of service from enlistment. We may assume, however, that some 5 to 10 years of service were generally necessary to achieve this rank. Inscriptions from Tarraconensis and the two Pannonian provinces seem to indicate that each officium took 10 speculatores from each legion in the province, but we have no information about how many were detached to provinces without a legion.

Like that of most officiales, their work at the officium seems to have involved secretarial duties; the tombstone of a speculator from Salona, capital of Dalmatia, depicts both the lance of the officium (see Appendix I) and a tablet with writing instruments. But it is also evident that they had to travel in their official capacity since the tombstone of a speculator from
Viminacium, capital of Moesia Superior, depicts the deceased travelling on a four-wheeled cart with a servant sitting on the back carrying the *speculator*'s lance of office, indicating that the journey was on official business.°¹ Their role as couriers is attested by Tacitus who tells us how *speculatores* from Syria and Judaea informed Vitellius that the East had recognized him as emperor.°²

We know from this passage that the *speculatores* sometimes travelled from the provincial capitals to Rome. Their travel to and presence in the Capital is additionally attested by a pair of inscriptions which indicate their attachment whilst there to the Castra Peregrinorum on the Mons Caelius, together with the *frumentarii* (see below).°³ That they travelled to Rome as couriers we know from the Tacitus passage, but it is possible that they and the *frumentarii* may have also escorted prisoners to Rome since the Castra seems to have been where such prisoners were housed. These would be either Roman citizens arrested on capital charges, like the Christian citizens sent to Rome by Pliny, or citizens on lesser charges who had deliberately chosen to exercise their right of *provocatio* to Caesar, like St. Paul.

Whilst in the Castra, the *speculatores* were perhaps attached to the *numerus frumentariorum* which was under a *princeps*, *supprinceps* and *optio peregrinorum* and was sufficiently organized to have an *exercitator*.°⁴ The paucity of their inscriptions in the Castra compared with those of the *frumentarii* may imply that they were only occasionally employed as couriers, like the *singulares consularis* (see p. 62).
In the public mind, however, the _speculatores_ were above all executioners, a function which they took over from the _lictores_ who had performed it under the Republic but survived in the Principate and beyond only as ceremonial bearers of the _fasces_. St. Mark even calls the executioner of John the Baptist _σπεκουλίτορα_, although Herod cannot have had such an officer at his disposal. That this was indeed their most important function is confirmed by the fact that only provincial governors, the sole magistrates outside Italy with _ius gladii_, had _speculatores_ in their _officium_. Seneca twice describes _speculatores_ as putting a man to death by decapitation with the sword and Firmicus Maternus confirms that this was still performed by them in the 4th century. Like the _commentarienses_, they were forbidden by a ruling of Hadrian's to profit from this duty by acquiring the personal goods of the condemned; evidently this had been one of the perquisites of their position and was no doubt lucrative.

Finally the notion, sometimes encountered, that the _speculatores_ acted as military policemen should be dispelled. The idea appears to be based on a passage of the _Vita_ of Pescennius Niger where we are told that Niger employed _speculatores_ to ensure that his troops should live on bread and water whilst on campaign. The passage seems to refer to a time when Niger was an army commander, that is a provincial governor, rather than to the period of his attempt on the throne. Thus, if we can put any faith in this _Vita_, the _speculatores_ involved would appear to be members of a provincial staff. Nevertheless, this seems to be a special usage for the enforcement of extraordinary
measures, for officers principally attached as executioners to headquarters in the provincial capital can hardly have been with the army regularly except when, as here, on campaign with the governor.

Occasionally *speculatores* were outposted from the capital in *stationes*, like the *beneficiarii consularis*, although no examples are known from the Western provinces.⁶⁰

The *beneficiarii consularis* ranked next below the *speculatores*. Their origin, rank, number and career structure have been discussed in the previous chapter, and here it will be necessary to consider only the evidence for their duties at the provincial capital; their role in the provincial *stationes* will be considered in the final chapter.

Although the *bbff cos* are by far the best-attested officers of the *officium*, the evidence, mainly epigraphic, sheds very little light on the nature of their activities there. Tertullian tells us that, together with the *curiosi*, the *beneficiarii* kept *matrices* (registers) of people under police surveillance, including Christians, although G. Lopuszanski argues that these are not *beneficiarii* of the governor but rather of the procurator of the province, engaged in exacting the *vectigal lenociniì*.⁶¹

*Beneficiarii consularis* could also be sent to carry out arrests and even, apparently, executions, since we are told in the *Passio Fructuosi* how in 259 six *beneficiarii* of the governor Tarraconensis went to the house of the bishop Fructuosus, arrested him and his two deacons, and threw them into prison. After their condemnation before
the governor, Aemilianus, the Christian martyrs were put to death at the stake by the same beneficiarii."
Possibly it was the method of execution chosen which explains why the speculatores were not called upon.

Clearly the beneficiarii, like most other officiales in the provincial capitals, were employed in assisting the governor in his judicial duties, but they are known to have been employed in other capacities also. In one instance we find a beneficiarius acting as a messenger. The Vita Hadriani records that when Hadrian was on his way to inform Trajan, apparently governor of Lower Germany, that Nerva was dead and that he, Trajan, was Emperor, Servianus, the governor of Upper Germany, delayed him and sent on his own beneficiarius with the news so as to have the honour for himself. Hadrian, however, travelling on foot (which perhaps implies that the beneficiarius was not) nevertheless overtook the man and arrived first." If the tale is accurate in detail, then perhaps Servianus chose a beneficiarius rather than a speculator or frumentarius because the latter were needed for communication with Rome. Beneficiarii consularis also appear on Numidian inscriptions designated as domicurius or domicurator, apparently attendants in the governor's household. In this capacity they honour the governor and the governor's wife and so were perhaps acting as guards for the governor's private house or apartments." Under Gallienus, beneficiarii of the governor, as well as his stratores, are recorded as in charge of the fortification of a city in Arabia." Finally, bbff cos appear to be recorded as attached within the officium to the princeps as his adiutores or
aides, alongside other *adiutores* without this rank and, perhaps, as deputies to the *optio pra etorii*.\(^\text{96}\)

It is convenient to note here that in the two German provinces, and perhaps only there, a number of *officiales* are epigraphically attested with the title *imunis consularis*, apparently outposted like the *beneficiarii* and perhaps, in their duties, indistinguishable from them, although they are not usually attested as stationed in the same place.\(^\text{97}\) They may be a junior but otherwise very similar grade, or they may simply have borne a local variation on the title of *beneficiarius*.

After the *beneficiarii* came the *frumentarii*, the third of the group of *principales* studied by M. Clauss,\(^\text{98}\) whose number from each legion is obscure. Two inscriptions from Rome record three from the same legion together, two more inscriptions two, whilst five *ex frumentariis* are recorded on an inscription set up by the *officiales* at Lambaesis.\(^\text{99}\) Promotion to *frumentarius* was from the ranks and *frumentarii* are known to have been promoted directly to *beneficiarius consularis* and *commentariensis* within the *officium*, to *cornicularius(?) tribuni legionis* in another *officium*, to *optio* within the legion and, exceptionally, to *centurio frumentarius* within the *numerus peregrinorum*.\(^\text{100}\)

Despite their attachment to the *officium consularis* they were thus of a fairly junior rank, although their recorded ages at death, between 19 and 47, and years from enlistment at death, between 6 and 40, suggest that at least a few years' experience was normal before appointment.\(^\text{101}\)
The provincial frumentarii first appear in our sources in the 1st century AD and originated, to judge by their name, from food-supply officers. Their principal employment as couriers can thus be treated as a logical development from supply duties which would obviously involve travel. Attempts to link such duties with their later employment as spies (by analogy with the well-known use of merchants in such a capacity in the Roman period) are less well-founded since the clandestine activities of the frumentarii more likely arose out of their service in the Castra Peregrina.

In the provinces frumentarii acted mainly as couriers and were perhaps organized as such by Augustus when he instituted the vehiculatio. Like the speculatores and beneficiarii consularis, they seem to have carried the lance of office when travelling away from the officium (see Appendix I). Dio actually refers to them as ἀρματοφόροι or ἀγγελιαφόροι, and a tombstone from Salona proclaims that the deceased cucurrit frumentariusannis XL; in the Vita Maximi et Balbini we find that scriptum est praeterea ad omnes provincias missis frumentariis, and an inscription and a papyrus further attest that same function. In this they must to a large extent have replaced the Republican viatores, although the latter are still recorded in senatorial provinces under the Principate. They seem to have carried official messages within their own provinces, between provinces, and to and from Rome, apparently using the vehiculatio.

On journeys to Rome, once arrived in Italy, they may have been assisted by a system of reception centres. Stationes manned by frumentarii are attested at Portus
near Ostia and on the Via Appia Antica, the main road from Brundisium to Rome, at the third milestone outside the city.73 Others may be indicated further along the Via Appia near Velitrae and the port of Formiae, and also at Misenum, headquarters of the Praetorian Fleet. In the North of Italy stationes may be recorded at the summit of the Great St. Bernard pass on the road from Germany, at Verona, where the Via Claudia from Raetia comes down from the Alps, and Aquileia and Emona on the main routes from Noricum, the Balkans and the East.30 The stationes at Portus and just south of Rome were almost certainly charged with the reception and direction of frumentarii coming from the provinces by sea, via Portus and Brundisium. Formiae and Misenum might be other points of arrival by sea, whilst the Great St. Bernard pass, Verona, Aquileia and Emona are obvious points of entry into Italy by land, where shelter could have been provided together with whatever direction and documentation might be required.

While the frumentarii were in Rome, having delivered despatches from the provinces, and were waiting to carry back official letters, they were billeted, like the speculatores, in the Castra Peregrina situated on the Mons Caelius next to the barracks of cohors V Vigilum,81 and were organized with the speculatores, into a numerus with its own officers, including optiones and centurions, and under the command of a senior legionary centurion, usually marked out for the primilipate and beyond, with the title princeps peregrinorum. The existence of an exercitator militum frumentariorum argues for more than a loose organization and implies that the numerus may have been
intended to operate as a proper army unit.\textsuperscript{32}

Nevertheless, the fact that tombstones of frumentarii who died in Rome are always erected by other frumentarii from legions of the same province seems to indicate that the individuals also felt themselves part of their own provincial officium.\textsuperscript{33} This is also implied by their carrying the lance of office which was the badge of the officium (see Appendix I). They therefore appear to have had a dual loyalty, both to their provincial governor and to the numerus frumentariorum in Rome.

In Rome, however, they operated under the orders of the princeps peregrinorum on behalf of the Emperor,\textsuperscript{8*} and appear to have acquired an evil reputation as a result. We first hear of their nefarious activities in the capital under Hadrian. According to the Vita Hadriani, he made use of them to eavesdrop on his friends: \textit{erat enim curiosus non solum domus suae sed etiam amicorum ita ut per frumentarios occulta omnia exploraret, nec adverterent amici sciri ab imperatore suam vitam, priusquam ipse hoc imperator ostenderet.} The passage recounts how Hadrian intercepted via the frumentarii a letter from a wife to her senator husband reproving him for his dissolute life at Rome, and how the Emperor reproached the senator himself, to which the astonished husband replied "\textit{Num et tibi uxor mea, quod et mihi scripsit?}"\textsuperscript{45} We hear of their use as spies again under Macrinus and Gallienus, and in the reigns of Commodus and Severus they appear also in the guise of assassins.\textsuperscript{46} A passage of Dio implies that they may have operated in plain clothes.\textsuperscript{47}

Sometimes frumentarii were not sent back from Rome to their own provinces, but, it would appear, were despatched
for service in *provinciae inermes*. The *frumentarii* recorded as serving in such provinces often came from distant parts of the empire, in contrast with the practice for other *officiales* who were borrowed from neighbouring provinces with a legionary complement or appointed from local auxiliary units." The best explanation for this phenomenon is that the Castra acted as a sort of central distribution point.

The evidence for *frumentarii* sent out from the Castra is most plentiful in the province of Asia in which province, if not in others, these officers again acquired a bad reputation. No doubt the *frumentarii* were employed by the Proconsul in their usual role as couriers, but it is clear that, along with men detached from the Praetorian cohorts in Rome, they were sent to supplement the meagre auxiliary forces available in the province in supplying a provincial police force distributed in *stationes* to assist the police forces of the civic communities. It appears that in carrying out their duties, perhaps hardened by their distasteful employment at Rome, perhaps disdainful of a province which was not their own, or perhaps simply callous in the exercise of power, they made themselves extremely unpopular. A number of inscriptions set up by local communities bear the texts of complaints to the governor or to the emperor about illegal exactions perpetrated by the *frumentarii* among others." As travellers on official business they will have been entitled to demand ἀγγέλω, or transport liturgies, and as police officials they seem to have brought terror to the countryside (διὰ σεισμοῦ), in the words of one inscription, προφάσει εἰρήνης but πολέμου τρόπῳ."
Their activities in Asia may possibly be regarded as an extension of other recorded duties of the frumentarii throughout the empire which are more in line with what we know of the operation of the officium as a whole. Like the beneficiarii consularis and the speculatores they were employed in the provincial capitals as arresting officers; Eusebius tells us that Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria was arrested by a frumentarius of the Prefect of Egypt during the Decian persecutions, and Cyprian, after his arrest, was escorted by some frumentarii to Utica to face trial, according to one of this own letters. They may similarly have escorted prisoners to Rome for trial. In Asia, frumentarii are recorded on inscriptions from Ephesus and Sardis as being in charge of prisons.

It is only in Asia, which may have been sent an unusually large number of frumentarii for special duties, that we hear complaints about these officers, although it is clear that much of the Eastern empire, at least in its more backward parts, suffered greatly from the exactions of government stationarii and the like, together with their municipal counterparts. An inscription of the reign of Gordian III from Scaptopara in Thrace records complaints about the exactions of officials and soldiers which echo those of Asia about the frumentarii; a pair of Egyptian papyri imply the same problem, and F. Millar has recently produced evidence from Apuleius that Achaea suffered also. Vazaivi in Numidia was certainly plagued by the illegal demands of the statio there, manned by beneficiarii consularis and other officials. Whether the Western European provinces had
the same problems with *officiales* and soldiers in general is not attested, but it is likely.

*Frumentarii* and *centuriones frumentarii* also appear in *stationes* in a number of provinces, like the *beneficiarii consularis* and the *speculatores*, and often in the same locations, where they were probably not acting as roving police officers as in Asia.90

*Frumentarii* and especially *centuriones frumentarii* were also used in the direction of building projects, as for instance at Salona and at Delphi, the latter at the direction of Hadrian himself (perhaps our earliest example of an emperor making use of the *numerus frumentariorum* for his own purposes). They were also, on occasion, put in charge of quarrying, as at Luna in Northern Italy.98

Despite these more innocent pursuits it would appear that by the end of the third century their role as spies had become dominant and had spread to the provinces where they were employed in sniffing out rebellion. They eventually became so unpopular that Diocletian was forced to abolish them and replace them by the even more notorious *agentes in rebus*. In recording this, Aurelius Victor, writing in the later fourth century, recalled them as *pestilens frumentariorum genus*.97

Next in rank below the *frumentarii* were the *quaestionarii*, or *a quaestionariis*, about whom we know almost nothing concerning their origin, career-structure or duties. To judge from the two inscriptions set up by *officiales* of Numidia from *legio III Augusta* at Lambaesis, each legion provided at least four or five of these officers, perhaps more since this legion was also responsible for supplying the Proconsul of Africa at
Carthage with his staff officers. Their title implies that they were interrogators, and passages in the Theodosian Code, a scholiast on Juvenal, and also one in St. Jerome, all dating from the late fourth century, imply that they employed torture, as does the normal usage of the quaestionare. They too, perhaps, may sometimes have been outposted in stationes.

This group of officiales, the princeps, cornicularii, commentarienses, speculatores, beneficiarii consularis, frumentarii and quaestionarii (and in some respects also the stratores; see below), can be regarded as the main body of the officium. In addition to these there were three other groups: first, minor grades of a secretarial nature attached both to individual members of the main group and to the officium as a whole, such as librarii, exceptores, notarii, exacti and adiutores; secondly, less regular military officiales who appear intermittently, specially attached to the officium or performing a special function, such as the beneficiarii sexmestris, interpretes, haruspices and others who simply call themselves soldiers of the officium or officiales; and thirdly there were the troops attached to the governor as grooms and guards, his stratores, and singulares and, in the third century, the protectores who may have formed a personal bodyguard.

There is little which can be said about the secretarial grades of the officium. The librarii consularis are attested only in the Danube provinces and were there perhaps the senior secretarial staff of the officium, although this can only be deduced by analogy with the position of the librarii in the legions: a
librarius legionis (?) is apparently ranked as a duplarius on a Lambaesis inscription and in the legions they were senior to exacti but junior to the actarius in the tabularium legionis and to the tesserarii, who were the junior principales of the century. The known ages of librarii consularis mostly fall in the twenties and thirties, and some of them can have served in the army for only four or five years at the time of death. Nothing is known of their career structure before or after they achieved this rank. The number of librarii in the officium is uncertain, but in legio III Augusta they were numerous, a possible 22 being recorded on one Lambaesis inscription and a possible 28 veteran librarii on another.

Vegetius says that the librarii were so called quod in libros referrent rationes ad milites pertinentes, and Festus says of them qui rationes publicas scribunt in tabulis; neither of these definitions, however, relates directly to the officium consularis, the former referring to librarii serving in military units and the latter perhaps to the librarii of fiscal tabularia.

Of more interest for the study of the provincial officia is the letter on papyrus of AD 107 mentioned above, written by a soldier of legio VI Ferrata and telling how he had approached the ὑπατικός of the province of Arabia and asked for an attachment to his staff as librarius. There being no vacancies, he was made a librarius of, presumably, the praefectus legionis and attached to the cornicularius of the legion with the hope of promotion when a vacancy arose. In another letter probably written in the same year he tells his mother that
his promotion had made him *principalis* (though this should perhaps more strictly be *immunis*) and freed him from the chores of the common soldier.\(^{207}\) We may guess that in the governor's *officium* also the *librarii* were under the direct guidance of the *cornicularii*, although the *commentarienses* are also likely to have had some at their disposal.

Other secretarial grades were probably of lower rank, although no doubt still *immunes*. *Exceptores* are attested in a few provinces (none in Western Europe), and were apparently shorthand writers.\(^{108}\) One inscription records some *exceptores* attached to the *statio* of a *beneficiarius* at Vazaivi in Numidia.\(^{109}\) From a tombstone in Rome it appears that they were very junior officers, the deceased apparently serving as *exceptor praesidi provincies* (sic) *M(oesiae) S(uperioris)* from his induction into the army for four years, before being transferred to the Praetorian Guard as an *eques sive tabularius*.\(^{110}\) Six *exceptores consularis* are listed on an inscription from Apulum which is perhaps too small a number to represent the full complement of such secretaries for the *officium* of Dacia.\(^{111}\) In the fourth century *exceptor* became a general term for the most junior grades of the *officium* and appear as such in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

*Notarii* are also recorded, although there was perhaps little difference between their functions and those of the *exceptores*, and the evidence for their always being *military officiales* when attached to a provincial governor is equivocal.\(^{112}\) Two are known from Lambaesis Numidia, one of them a *notarius legati* who had served in the army four years before dying at the age of twenty-two in
officio Juvenalis Praef(ecti) Praetori(o) early in the reign of Septimius Severus and before the formalisation of the legatus of III Augusta as a provincial governor; the other was a dedication for the health of a governor of c.AD 230/2 by a Celsianus act. et not. ; act(arii), though known in the legions, where they kept records, are otherwise unattested in provincial officia, so that he may have been an act(or) or businessman and therefore a civilian not(arius). The only other recorded provincial notarius dedicated an altar for the health of a Diocletianic praeses of Dalmatia by whose time officiales were probably no longer being recruited from the legions and auxilia (see below).

Exacti too were clearly secretarial staff, although, again, the distinction between them and the exceptores is obscure. The etymology from ex actis perhaps suggests recorders of some sort. Once again they seem to have been very junior officers, apparently ranking below librarii, one being recorded as only 22 years old at his death, another two as 24, and others as 27 and 35, although one is known to have retired in this post. Nothing else is known about them.

Adiutores perhaps had more general duties, but these no doubt included secretarial work. Like the exceptores, they appear attached both to the officium as a whole and to the individual officers at its head, the princeps and the cornicularii, perhaps varying in rank. Often they were fairly junior officers, one being recorded as dead at the age of 21 after 5 years in the army, another aged 22 years after 7 years in the army, another aged 25 years, and another at the age of 32 after 13 years in the army.
One, however, appears to be recorded as a duplicarius. One promotion is recorded, outside the officium, to actarius cohortis, clearly implying secretarial skills. Occasionally it appears that beneficiarii consularis could act as adiutores principis. In the Late Empire adiutores appear in most officia of the Notitia Dignitatum and served in the provincial officium on the judicial side, their survival as a grade separate from the exceptores again implying some sort of more general employment.

The group of officiales with special functions includes the beneficiarii sexmestris who appear on both the officium inscriptions from Lambaesis (five are listed on each) as well as a few others. Their appearance on the Lambaesis inscriptions implies that they were the staff officers of men of presumably equestrian rank who were themselves temporarily attached to the governor; all known inscriptions attesting serving bbff sexmestris do in fact come from provincial capitals. It appears, however, that such equestrian officers with half-yearly appointments did not necessarily always serve in the capital since one of the few tribuni sexmestres attested in his own right was promoted from praefectus sexmestris of a cohort. Both Juvenal and Pliny the Younger mention the existence of such posts but do not make it clear exactly what function their holders performed.

The best known example of a tribunus sexmestris is Sennius Sollemnis, the local dignitary of the Marbre de Thorigny who became a friend and client of Claudius Paulinus, the governor of Lugdunensis; Sollemnis subsequently joined Paulinus at York when the latter
became governor of Britannia Inferior c. AD 220.12

Appended to the inscription, erected near Vieux in 238 in honour of Sollemnis, is the text of a letter sent to him by Paulinus recording the dispatch of gifts and promising a commission as sexmestris, presumably referring to a tribunate in legio VI Victrix, as soon as a vacancy has arisen.129 This allows us to say that at this time the officium at York regularly had such an appointment and that the sexmestris was probably on the books of the legion there, although it is difficult to say whether he was supernumerary to the normal complement of five equestrian tribunes or not.130 Paulinus states that Sollemnis will receive a salary of 25000 HS, presumably half the annual salary of a tribunus augusticlavius.

The duties of these officers are obscure, but the existence of a personal staff to assist them suggests that the job was no sinecure. Note that on one of the two Lambaesis inscriptions a distinction appears to be made between the two commentarienses of the governor's officium in that the second has trib leg. after his name.131 This is most unusual since it would be unparalleled for a mere tribune to have a commentariensis on his staff, such officers being otherwise attested only on the staffs of magistrates with capital jurisdiction;132 furthermore, the two commentarienses are listed together on the inscription, so that they were clearly of the same rank, that is commentarienses of the governor, although the latter seems to be attached to a tribune. A. von Domaszewski has suggested that the tribune was the sexmestris, and that the commentariensis was indeed on the tribune's staff,133 but this is very unlikely, since the
beneficiarii sexmestris on the same inscription are listed separately from and after the beneficiarii consularis. It may be best, therefore, to regard the words trib. leg. as a mistake by the stonecutter, perhaps for the man's origo.\footnote{134}

The beneficiarii sexmestris, like the beneficiarii consularis, seem to have been experienced men at the end of their military career but of a very low rank in the officium, being listed after the quaestionrii on the Lambaesis inscriptions and before only the haruspex.\footnote{135}

Interpreters are recorded in the officia of some Danubian frontier provinces and we find, for example, an interpreter of German and another of Sarmatian at Aquincum, capital of Pannonia Inferior.\footnote{136} They probably ranked simply as immunes.

The two Lambaesis officium inscriptions both record a single haruspex, listed at the very end after the beneficiarii sexmestris, and they were probably simple immunes.\footnote{137}

We also find a few men who refer to themselves on inscriptions as soldiers of the officium or simply as officiales,\footnote{138} perhaps supernumerary attachments where there were no vacancies but there was a need for extra men.

The stratores consularis should in some respects be grouped with the main body of officiales. They seem to have been principally employed as grooms and equerries,\footnote{139} and it is perhaps partly as such that they were outposted in stationes, providing horses and transport for officials;\footnote{140} they were probably also in charge of the inspection of horses for use by the army.\footnote{141} They are
also found, like other officiales, acting as arresting officers and gaolers. The Acta of Saint Cyprian record that he was arrested by two principes, of which one, despite some variation in the different recensions, seems to have been a strator officii Galeri Maximi proconsulis (sc. Africae) viri clarissimi, whilst the other was an eques [strator], qui esset a custodibus officii eiusdem clarissimi viri. Under Gallienus stratores and beneficiarii of the governor were in charge of the fortification of a city in Arabia; this is similar to some of the known activities of the frumentarii, and clearly stratores could be used in much the same way as speculatores, beneficiarii and frumentarii for the general purposes of the governor.

What sets the stratores apart from the main body of officiales is that they were sufficiently numerous to be organized to operate alongside the numerus singularium, the governor's guards regiment, sometimes even under the same officers; this and their role in the stables suggests that they were probably not involved in the bureaucratic side of the work of the officium. They were apparently led by auxiliary decurions (in non-legionary provinces) or legionary centurions and optiones, and even had their own tabularium, although they do not seem to have formed a formal numerus. Speidel suggests that the 200 legionary σωματοφύλακες mentioned in the line of march in Arrian's Ektaxis were stratores.

The little evidence there is suggests that the stratores could often be experienced soldiers (legionaries where available), some thirteen being recorded as having retired in rank. Their rank and career structure is
obscure; they were certainly *immunes* at least, and perhaps *principales*.  

The *stratores consularis* disappear from our sources in the late third century, as do the *singulares*. M.P. Speidel has argued that under Gallienus they may have been used to form the basis of the new *stablesiani* units of the field-army.

The *singulares* of the provincial governors have recently been the subject of a monograph by M.P. Speidel. They appear in our sources under the name of *singulares* by the Flavian period, and were, unlike the rest of the *officulares* seconded to the capital, usually from the *alae* and *cohortes* of the provincial army, for a period of something over three years. They were there enrolled into a *numerus singularium* comprising as many as 1500 men in some provinces, half infantry and half cavalry, which had its own officers and was commanded by a legionary centurion as *praepositus*. They served as a guards regiment and, apart from their guard and ceremonial duties, and their service as a unit on campaign, in producing bricks and tiles, and in quarrying, they seem to have been employed individually as messengers and possible even in *stationes*, like the *frumentarii, beneficiarii* and *speculatores*. They disappear from our sources as guards by the later third century, perhaps being replaced by the developing field army.

Finally we now have unequivocal evidence from two recently discovered inscriptions of the third century that provincial governors, like the later emperors, could have what was presumably a personal bodyguard of *protectores* in addition to the *stratores* and *singulares*. They too
seem to have been employed as couriers and in quarrying, and one protector consularis appears to have been outposted to Burnum in Dalmatia where he acted pro b(ene)f(iciario). Our evidence for these officers is sparse and dates entirely from the third century, so that they may not have appeared until that time and there may not have been very many of them; this is likely if they were recruited entirely from the legionary cavalry, as was the only protector for whom we have such evidence. Protectores attached to provincial governors are not heard of again after the end of the third century and they may have disappeared about the same time as the singulares ceased to be guards.

The sizes of provincial officia evidently varied according to the number of troops, and in particular the number of legions, available to and administered by individual governors. In senatorial provinces military officia were probably quite small and few officiales are attested; military provinces garrisoned by auxiliaries probably had larger officia, but it is only from the legionary provinces that we have any information which can allow us to form an estimate, and that only for the late second and early third centuries. The evidence presented in this and the previous chapter suggests that the officium of a single-legion province at that period might have consisted of one princeps and his optio, two cornicularii, two commentarienses, ten speculatores, sixty(?) beneficiarii, twenty(?) frumentarii, and five quaestionarii in the main body, a total of 101 officers, to which we should add perhaps twenty or thirty secretarial officers. The evidence concerning the
relationship between the number of speculatores in a province and the number of its legions (i.e. ten in a single-legion province, twenty in a two-legion province13) may indicate that these figures are to be doubled for a two-legion province and trebled for a three-legion province.

The numbers of stratores and singulares in each province are even more difficult to gauge. Speidel suggests 200 stratores for the two-legion province of Cappadocia under Hadrian and 1500 singulares for the three-legion province of Britain. An establishment of 100 stratores (one century?) and 500 singulares (one cohort?) for each legion in the province may be a reasonable guess, but it is no more than that. Praetorian legates would then have had a total of approximately 750 men at the provincial capital and consular governors some 1500 or 2250.

It has been shown that the junior and secretarial grades were usually ranked as immunes and recruited direct from the legions after only a few years' service, whilst the main body of the officium and the stratores, probably all principales, were recruited from amongst experienced junior officers of the legion or officium; the more senior grades (cornicularii, commentarienses, speculatores) were apparently promoted almost exclusively from within the officium. These latter grades were amongst the most senior positions open to legionary principales and could lead direct to the centurionate. The fact that men, once appointed to the officium, naturally tended to stay within it created a professional body of administrators providing invaluable continuity and
experience to assist the succession of governors in each province. 167

It is clear that the men of the officium had to perform a variety of functions dictated by the needs of the governor. Most grades seem to have had a specific main function, the cornicularii in charge, the commentarienses to keep trial records, the speculatores as executioners, the frumentarii as couriers, the quaestionarii as torturers, the secretarial grades to assist the senior officiales, the stratores as equerries and grooms, the singulares as a garrison for the provincial capital and as guards. Many of these, however, found themselves performing other tasks. The beneficiarii, with the least specific role and at the same time being the most numerous members of the officium apart from the stratores, were undoubtedly the most versatile of all.

The best attested role of the officiales, reflecting the interest of our legal and martyrological sources, was in the administration of the judicial process; officiales were employed in the arrest, escort, gaoling, interrogation, trial and execution of prisoners. The governor's role as the only capital judge of his province, charged with keeping the peace, 168 must have made this an extremely important aspect of the work of the officium. Equally important in the major provinces, though much less well represented in our sources, must have been the administration of the military and of the protection of the frontiers. No doubt the keeping of military records, the writing and filing of letters to local commanders and general liaison with the army formed a large part of the
work of cornicularii, beneficiarii and the secretarial grades. Stratores were probably involved in the acquisition of horses for the army whilst interpreters were certainly employed for diplomacy and the gathering of information from across the frontiers. A necessary part of both judicial and military administration was the carrying by officiales of the governor's correspondence both within the province and to and from Rome.

The judicial and military spheres must have accounted for the larger portion of the work of the officium, and indeed of the governor, but it emerges quite clearly from our evidence that officiales could be made to turn their hands to whatever the governor required of them, be it to act as ad hoc military policemen, body servants, a provincial police force, spies or overseers of building or fortification. The stationes manned by speculatores, beneficiarii, immunes, frumentarii, quaestionarii(?) and stratores also served the purposes of the governor (which undoubtedly varied in time and from province to province) and will be discussed in the last two chapters.

The military provincial officia underwent a fundamental change in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, in the course of which military command passed from the hands of the provincial governors to the new high military officers of the Late Empire. Although the details are obscure, it was probably as a result of these changes that officiales ceased to be recruited from the legions and auxilia, despite their continuing to wear military uniform and their apparent enrolment in a mythical cohort as 'cohortales' or 'cohortalini'. The old ranks within the officium
persisted for the most part, although the stratores seem to have been formed into the stablesiani and Diocletian was forced to abolish the frumentarii. The speculatores and beneficiarii, however, are no longer attested after the early 5th century and the officia as a whole ceased to have any military function, with even the singulares ceasing to perform their old function as guards.\textsuperscript{171} The judicial role of the officia survived, but they also acquired a financial role and special officers to deal with it as provincial governors took over the responsibilities of the earlier provincial procurators.\textsuperscript{172} As provinces were changed and multiplied, so too did their officia. The early fourth century thus marks a convenient point at which to end this study of the officium consularis, as it does for the study of the beneficiarii who served in it.

\textsuperscript{1}A.H.M. Jones, `The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical Grades)\textsuperscript{1}', JRS xxxix (1949), 38-55 esp. 38-44. \textsuperscript{2}After 27 BC, Augustus left legions in the hands of the proconsuls of Illyricum, Macedonia and Africa. Illyricum became an imperial province later in Augustus's reign and Macedonia early in the reign of Tiberius (Vulić, RE XI 1087; Geyer, RE XIV 767), and in AD 39 Gaius made the commander of the single legion in Africa independent of the Proconsul (Tac. Hist. IV, 48; Dio LIX, 20); thereafter, no proconsul again commanded legionary troops, although all governors probably had at least a small body of auxiliaries available; cf. E. Ritterling, `Military Forces in the Senatorial Provinces', JRS xvii (1927), 28-32; R.K. Sherk, `Roman Imperial Troops in Macedonia and Achaea', AJPh lxxviii (1957), 52-62.

\textsuperscript{1}A.H.M. Jones, op. cit., 42 with notes 45-8.

\textsuperscript{2}Jones is unclear on this point. There is certainly ample and unequivocal evidence for the civilian apparitores in the senatorial provinces under the Principate: scribes: II 3423 and 3424 New Carthage (Tarracentensis), time of Trajan, a scriba quaestorius who was honoured both within the Iberian peninsula and in Carthage, Sicily and Greece; X 7852 Saeprum (Sardinia), 18 March 69, a decree of the proconsul recorded by a scriba quaestorius; AE 1921 n. 39 Aunobari (Africa Proconsularis), reign of Marcus(?), a scriba librarius and a scriba quaestorius on the concilium of the Proconsul of Africa; AE 1935 n. 169 Ephesus (Asia), mid 1st cent. AD, scriba librarius; lictores: AE 1933 n. 265 Pergamon (Asia), reign of Marcus, lictor proximus.
Bononi Quintiliani proconsulis: AE 1967 n. 444 Samothrace (Macedonia); AE 1972 n. 578 Ephesus, late 2nd cent. a dedication, apparently to the son of the proconsul of Asia, by a lictor; viatores: AE 1967 n. 444 Samothrace, 1 May 165, viatores of the proconsul of Macedonia; praecones: nothing certain, but note VIII 12903 Carthage (Africa Proconsularis), 1st cent. AD?, a tombstone erected by a praeco; ab epistulis: AE 1895 n. 97 = ILS 8860 Miletus (Asia), AD 58/9, a possible ab epistulis of the proconsul of Asia. Other possible examples exist, but since the decuriae at Rome provided such apparitores for all magistrates, including those such as consuls, praetors and some quaestors who served at Rome itself, it is not always clear where an apparitor served, even if he is recorded in one of the provinces: scribae: VIII 11035 Gigithi (Proconsularis), scriba quaestorius; AE 1913 n. 20 Billi (Proconsularis), scriba librarius; lictores: III 6078 = 12254 Ephesus; 6083 Ephesus; 6987 Nicomedia (Bithynia); accensi: III 7134 Ephesus; AE 1929 n. 89 Tralles (Asia); nomenclator: III 6080 Ephesus. Similarly, apparitores are found in imperial provinces but need not have served there (the scribae quaestorii clearly did not since there were no quaestors in imperial provinces): scribae: II 3596 Ondara (Tarracoensis), scriba librarius quaestorius; III 4027 Poetovio (Pann. Sup.); XIII 1815 Lugdunum, scriba librarius quaestorius; AE 1964 n. 11 Municipium Iasorum (Pann. Sup.), scriba decurialis(?); viator: AE 1928 n. 99 Yaghigilar (Galatia); accensus: XII 2564 uncertain provenance, found at Château de Vence (Narbonensis), accensus consularis (surely attached to the consuls in Rome cf. VI 1933 Rome, accensus cos; AE 1968 n. 33 Rome, accensus cos); AE 1926 n. 61 Pomech-Chebar nr. Beirut (Syria). Note that the garbled text surrounding accensus provinciae [B]elgicae read on a fragmentary inscription from Paestum (AE 1975 n. 251) makes far more sense read as missus et ac (for ad) census provinciae [B]elgicae accipiendo; nomenclator: AE 1935 n. 56 Theveste (Numidia); apparitor: XIII 7551, 3 Kreuznach (Germ. Sup.); XII 11050a Périgneux (Aquitania). The evidence, therefore, does not require us to believe that the imperial legati had a civilian staff and indeed seems to make it unlikely. The exceptions to this rule were the lictores. The legati Augusti were nominally of propraetorian rank and possessed imperium, albeit delegated. As such, they were entitled to five fasces and could even be designated as quinquefasciales: VI 1546 Rome, reign of Caracalla, quinque[fasce(ales) regni Norici(?)]; VIII 18270 Lambaesis (Numidia), 226-7 referring to 220, leg. Aug. vice quinque fascium prov. Belgic[ae]; XIII 3162 Vieux (Lugdunensis), AD 238: In provincia Lugdunensis(i) quinquefascials cum agerem... (text of letter from M. Aedinius Iulianus, a former legatus of Lugdunensis) cf. VIII 7044 Cirta (Numidia), reign of Marcus or Caracalla, ordinato in Gallia at (sic) quinque fasces (i.e. as a special legatus Augusti). The right of such legati to five fasces is expressly attested by Dio LIII, 13, 8 ἓ χατσδουκοίς ἐπὶ πέντε πάντες ἐνταίς οἷοις ὁ χιλιοτέσσερις ἔμπροσθέ ν τοῖς ἐμπρόσθιον διοικητάς καὶ πλῆθος ν ἐν τοῖς ἐπίτροποις τοῖς εἰσιν καὶ ὄνομαζονταί ἐπὶ αὐτών τοῦ ἄρχοντος τουτού cf. id. LVII, 17, 7 ταῖς τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πολείς ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ
Legati thus had lictores to perform ceremonial duties, although the latter's Republican function as executioners passed to the speculatores or other officers of the military staff even apparently in the senatorial provinces (see note 55 on the execution of St. Cyprian in Africa Proconsularis). Of those attested in imperial provinces almost all are recorded in provincial capitals: VIII 21069 Caesarea (Mauretania); XIII 593 Burdigala (Aquitania); XIII 1813 Lugdunum; AE 1967 n. 225 León (Tarraco aggressis). The most significant example is III 6759 Ankara, AD 164-6 dec(urialis) lictor Fufid(ii) Pollionis leg(ati) Galli(atiae).


†Hadrian's address to legio III Augusta: VIII 2532 Lamabaes(Numidia), AD 128: quod omnibus annis per vices in officium proconsulis mittitur. Inscriptions erected by the officiales of the legate of Numidia: AE 1917-18 n. 57 Lamabaes, early 3rd cent.: names of 4 speculatores, 30 bbff cos, 6 candidati, 5 ex frumentariis, 4 quaestionarii, 5 beneficiarii sexmestris, 1 haruspex; VIII 2586 Lamabaes, early 3rd cent. (but later than the preceding inscription; see Ch. II note 25): names of 2 cornicularii, 2 commentarienses, 4 speculatores, 30 bbff cos, 5 quaestionarii, 5 beneficiarii sexmestris, 1 haruspex; figures from similar lists in other provinces suggest that the legion ought to provide 10 speculatores, and it seems likely that the residue of these and other officers was at Carthage. The close correspondence of numbers on the two inscriptions and the appearance of candidati after the bbff cos on the first (presumably men waiting to be appointed to the latter grade), support the idea that there was a fixed number of positions available for this officium cf. P. Mich. 466, 18ff, dated March AD 107, where the Ἱστορίας of Arabia tells an applicant for a post as his librarius that there is no vacancy at present (see p. 39).

‡H. Freis, Epigraphische Studien 2 (1967), 31-6; id. RE Suppl. X 1130-1. Freis' discussion of the size of the Proconsul's officium is highly speculative and it is unlikely that the Proconsul would have needed a very large military officium to administer a province with as few troops as Africa.

The only clear example is the governor of Dalmatia, who drew on the legions of Pannonia (II 1780, 1907, 1909, 1910, 1911, 2015, 2823, 3158, 3161, 6376 = 8656, 8431, 8752, 9401, 9847, 10050, 12802, 13847, 14218, 14219, 14637; AE 1933 n. 76 1979 n. 447; šašel 144, 832), Moesia Inferior (II 14631, 14638; AE 1914 n. 75(?)), 1971 n. 303) and Dacia (AE 1910 n. 214, 1925 n. 130; šašel 81), although occasionally his own auxiliaries also served on the staff (III 2052, 2067, 12679; AE 1904 n. 10); it is instructive that legio II Adjutrix, which was Pannonia Inferior's only standing legion until AD 214 (A. Moczy, RE Suppl. IX 587-9), does not appear to have supplied Dalmatia with officiales, presumably because Aquincum
needed all the men it could supply. Most of the Dalmatian officiales were perhaps drawn directly from the legions in question, although one at least (III 12802 Novae) seems to have been borrowed from the officium of Pannonia Superior (the other bbff cos found in Dalmatia who specify that they are from Pannonia Superior (III 14221 Banjaluka) and Inferior (III 12723 Domavia) were perhaps representing their own respective governors in border areas); cf. the borrowings between the two British provinces (pp. 127-9). Legionary frumentarii could also be sent on occasion from the Castra Peregrina in Rome to help with building work (III 1980, cf. J.J. Wilkes, Dalmatia (1969), 116-7) or perhaps for other reasons (III 2063); cf. III 4787, VII 2867 for similar examples from Noricum and Numidia and below note 87 for others from senatorial provinces. It may be that Dalmatia was allowed these privileges because its governor was (after AD 86) the only legate of consular rank in the empire not to control legiones'.

It is possible that the governors of Lusitania may have borrowed officiales from the legion at León (see Ch. IV p. 134), and other legati may have made similar borrowings (e.g. the bbff cos of III Italica at Osterburken in Germania Superior (see Ch. IV p. 184), of II Italica at Dalj in Pannonia Inferior (III 3270), perhaps those of I Adiutrix at Singidunum in Moesia Superior (AE 1964 n. 261), although Singidunum did lie on the border with Pannonia Inferior and the men may therefore have been representing their own governor, and the bb cos of XII Gemina at Troesmis, capital of Moesia Inferior (III 6161)). In the third century the legate of Lugdunensis employed officiales drawn from the vexillations of the German legions stationed at Lugdunum (p. 143). The only example of a legate who commanded a legion employing an auxiliary officialis is Cassius Apollinaris, consular legate of Capadocia (garrisoned by legio XII Fulminata at Melitene; see RE XII 1707) in AD 151-3; IGR III 130 cf. W. Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II (1933), 69-70 no 3.

"Auxiliary officiales are explicitly attested for the legates of Cappadocia (consular) (IGR III 130; see note 8) and Lycia and Pamphylia (praetorian) (IGR III 677), and for the praesidial procurators of Sardinia (X 7580) and Mauretania Caesariensis (VIII 9370(?), 21779(?); AE 1933 n. 61, 1958 n. 156). The officiales of the praesidial procurators of Noricum are well attested and, by contrast with those of the later legates, none mentions attachment to any legion, so that these too were probably drawn from the province's auxiliary forces; see G. Winkler, Die Reichsbeamten von Noricum und ihr Personal bis zum Ende der römischen Herrschaft (1969), 120-3 cf. 123-34; note that although most of the bbff procuratoris listed on p. 120 were Roman citizens, nos 20-21 and 22 evidently were not.

Military officiales are specifically attested for the Proconsul of Africa: Libyca 7 (1959), 134-40(?); Cyprian, Ep. 81, 1; and see p. 34-5; the Proconsul of Asia: AE 1959 n. 12; the Proconsul of Macedonia: IG X, II, 384, 495, 583; AE 1971 n. 441(?); M. Šašel Kos, JRS lxviii (1978), 22-5(?). See p. 132 on Baetica and p. 140-1 on Gallia Narbonensis.
Note also the group of legionary frumentarii attested in the province of Asia who were evidently sent out from the Castra Peregrina (cf. the Praetorians used as stationarii also known in Asia), perhaps to act as a police force in the province: III 433 (2 frumentarii), 6084, 7041; AE 1933 n. 256; Chr. Habicht, Die Inschriften des Asklepelions (Altertümern von Pergamon VIII, 3) (1960), no 106. Note also the frumentarii who arrested Cyprian at Carthage (Cyprian, Ep. 81, 1), and the legionary frumentarius evidently sent out by Hadrian to oversee construction at Delphi in Achaea: ILS 9473 cf. III 6108 and below note 96. See pp. 47-53.

Cornicularii: XII 2602 Genava AD 96-8 (referring to officium of Lugudunensis in 83); Speculatores: ILN Frejus, 162-3 no 149 La Grand Lauzade (Narbonensis, but a speculator of Germania Inferior). Before Claudius: III 1914 = 8506 Novae (Dalmatia) first half of 1st cent. AD?; AE 1914 n. 75 Salona (Dalmatia) mid 1st cent. AD; III 2910=9996 lader (Dalmatia), 1st cent. AD; IX 7 Callipolis (Regio II, Italy) late 1st cent. AD; III 2915 Salona (Dalmatia), late 1st/early 2nd cent. Beneficiarii: VII 156, Wroxeter (Britain), c. AD 60; Spomenik Ixxi no 650 Radishana nr. Skopljje (Moesia), reign of Domitian(?); XII 2602 Genava(Narbonensis), 96-8 (referring to officium of Lugudunensis in 79); VIII 27854 Theveste (Numidia), c.83.


The earliest attested examples of other grades of provincial officiales are: princeps praetorii: IGR III 1230 Canatha (Arabia), AD 185 or 231; optio praetorii: X 7583-4 Carales (Sardinia), 198-209; commentariensis: VIII 2613 Lambaesis (Numidia), 152, but V 7004 Augusta Taurinorum (Regio XI, but recording an a commentariis of Germania Superior) may be early 2nd cent.; quaestionarius: AE 1917-18 n. 57 Lambaesis, early 3rd cent.; librarius: P. Mich. 466, 18ff, referring to the officium of Arabia, March 107 and III 4215 Apulum (Dacia), 196-8; notarius VIII 2755 Lambaesis, c.193; exactus VIII 9990 Tingi (Mauretania Tingitana), c.109/14 exceptor AE 1916 n. 29 Djemila (Numidia), 210; adiutor centurionis officii(?) AE 1967 n. 444 Samothrace (Macedonia), 1 May, 165; adiutor corniculariorum: IGR III 1008 Khatoura nr. Beroea (Syria Phoenix) 20 July, 195; adiutor officii III 3510 Aquincum (Pann. Inf.) 229; beneficiarius tribuni sexmestris: III 14507 Viminacium (Moes. Sup.), 195; interpex: III 10515 Aquincum, 3rd cent. and 14359 Aquincum, 3rd cent.; note also AE 1978 n. 635 Boldog opposite Carnuntum (Pannonia), late 1st cent., interpex leg(ionis) XV idem (centurio) negotiator; haruspex: AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis, early 3rd cent.; miles epistularius: AE 1967 n. 444 Samothrace, 1 May 165; miles: III 14214 Tomi (Moes. Inf.), 3rd cent.; strator: AE 1977 n. 653 Apulum, 1st half of 2nd cent. and
Most grades thus appear in our sources for the first time at the end of the second or beginning of the third century. This pattern has been noted by R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (1963), 66-8 employing only the inscriptions from CIL III and XIII, with his sample producing an apparently clear impression that provincial officiales did not appear before the mid second century (earliest beneficiarius consularis AD 155, earliest cornicularius, commentariensis, librarius and strator all Severan). MacMullen comes to the conclusion from his figures and from similar figure and conclusions in J.M. Drake, "The Principales of the Early Empire", in *Roman Historical Sources and Institutions*, ed. H.A. Sanders (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Studies 1) (1904), 261-332 esp. 262 and 316 and W.L. Wannemacher, *The Development of the Imperial Civil Officia during the Principate*, unpublished dissertation, University of Michigan (1940), esp. p. 241, that military staffs in general came to oust civilian staffs and that it was in the late Antonine and Severan periods that "the move to militarize the staff of the governors" began (R. MacMullen op. cit., 68). The evidence cited in the preceding note, however, and the evidence to suggest that civilian staffs were not attached to the legati of imperial provinces (see note 4) shows that this statement is incorrect and, in the case of the imperial provinces, meaningless. The imperial provinces had at least the core of their military staffs from the first century AD, but it must remain conjectural how soon the other grades appeared. Those attested in the first century are also the grades which most often appear on inscriptions throughout the Principate, and this is perhaps to be attributed, since inscriptions were expensive commodities, to the fact that the cornicularii, speculatores, beneficiarii and frumentarii would be on a higher pay scale as senior principales than the secretarial and other minor grades, whilst singulares were simply far more numerous. If this interpretation of the evidence is correct, it may nevertheless be significant that no commentariensis, amongst the most senior of the officiales, is certainly attested before AD 152. The apparent emergence of the minor grades and the increased epigraphic evidence for the more senior in the reign of Severus is perhaps to be connected with the army pay rises instituted by that emperor; in this connection one may note that our first reference to the grade of librarius consularis appears on papyrus some 90 years before such an officer is epigraphically attested.

The use of the term in Latin is already attested three or four times in the Vindolanda Tablets (published in A.K. Bowman & J.D. Thomas, *Vindolanda: The Latin Writing Tablets* (1983)), no 21, 9-10 consulari n(ostro) c.AD 103(?); no 30, 5 ad consulararem n. c.AD 103(?); no 36, 2 (?) consulari n. c.AD 103(?); no 37, 14-15 Marcellum clarissum virum consularem meum c.AD 103. The term is also implied of a praetorian governor on a papyrus of AD 107 from Alexandria (Egypt) (P. Mich. 466, 18ff) which refers to Claudius Severus, first governor of the province of Arabia, as ἡ τελείωτη τεσσαρακονταετος some five years before his
consulship of 112 (PIR² II C 1023). The origins of the usage to mean 'governor' can be illustrated from an inscription relating to the same governor who remained in Arabia after holding the consulship in absentia: AE 1927 n. 147 Gerasa (Arabia), AD 114-5 ἐπὶ Κλαύδιον Σεσυνθέντα πρεσβευτὴν Σεβαστὸν ἀντιστράτηγον. Spomenik IXI no 650 Radishana nr. Skopje (Moesia Superior), reign of Domitian(?). benef. leg. consula[r.]; I II 9960 = ILS 1015 Nedinum (Dalmatia) first decade of 2nd century

...Iavoleno Prisco...legato consulari provinc. Syriae...; AE 1908 n. 237 = ILS 1055 Timgad (Numidia), 107/8-110 A. Larcio...Prisco...ped (sic=pro) legato consolare provinc. Syriae...; ILS 8824 Olympia (Achaea), reign of Pius M.

...The earliest epigraphic uses of consularis by itself to mean 'governor' also appear in the late first/early second century: II 491 Emerita (Lusitania) c.100, bf cos of a praetorian governor (? see pp. 133-4); VII 5 Winchester (Britannia) late 1st/early 2nd cent. (?), [bf cos; AE 1947 n. 25 = 1966 n. 294 = 1967 n. 372 Savaria (Pann. Sup.), AD 102-5 Neratius [Priscus cos; AE 1969/70 n. 583 Philippi (Thrace), c. 120 a Terent[io Scaur]iano consolare [exercitus provinciae novae]; AE 1965 n. 152 Charax (Crimea, Moes. Inf.), 121-4 bf Ummidi Quadrati cos (cf. R. Syme, Historia 17 (1968), 88-90); IGR III 110 = AE 1968 n. 504 Cernık (Cappadocia), 127-8 beneficarii[arios] statutorum [seculos] partitique; AE 1927 n. 59 Histria (Moes. Inf.), 129-31 [ouk] ou [seusaph](...ou[ta]...ou[ta]; XII 3168 Nîmes (Narbonensis), c. 133 beneficiarii/tunici Omulli consular; III 5517 Solva (Noricum), 146-9, bf Pont[ii Laeliani cos?]; Laelianus was governor of Pann. Sup.; IGR III 1274 Soada (Arabia), 149 ἐπὶ ...Ἀπικίου Τουλίανδον θυτικοῦ?; XII 5609 Pontailler-sur-Saône (Germ. Sup.), 150, bf Caeserni Statiani cos.

Of the literary sources of this period, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger and Suetonius all use legatus consularis (Tac. Agr. 7; Hist. I, 52; 56; II, 86; Pliny Ep. VII, 31, 4; VII, 31, 2; Suet. Tib. 41; Cal. 14; Claud. 24; Vesp. 4; 6) but it is Tacitus who provides the earliest literary uses of consularis alone to mean 'governor': Agr. 8, 2 brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepti; Agr. 14, 1 consularium (sc. Britanniae) primus Aulus Plautius praepositus; Agr. 40, 1 Syriam provinciam...vacuum tum morte Atili Rui consularis; Hist. I, 9 inferioris Germaniae legiones duitus sine consulari fuere; I, 60 quies provinciae (sc. Britanniae) quamquam remoto consulari mansit; II, 97 neque ex Hispanis properabatur nullo tum ibi consulari; III, 11 digressu consularium (sc. Pannoniae et Moesiae); III, 50 ducebat Pompeius Silvanus consularis (sc. Dalmatiae).

Thus all the evidence converges to suggest that consularis had come to be used to mean a provincial governor by the very beginning of the second century. Much recent work has been done on this question arising out of L. Balla's restoration of AE 1947 n. 25 to read Neratius [Priscus cos in Act. Class. Debrec. VII/I (1959-60), 201-8 and Epigraphische Studien 4 (1967), 61 which would date the inscription to 102-5 when a Neratius Priscus was governor of Pannonia Superior (on his term of
office see AE 1976 n. 195; also R. Syme, ZPE 41 (1981), 141. The reading was questioned by J. Fitz, Epigraphica xxvi (1964), 56 and Alba Regia vi/vii (1965-6), 207-8, who argued that the term consularis was not used of governors until 150, giving a list of inscriptions beginning with those quoted here referring to Ummidius Quadratus and Caesernius Statianus. R. Syme, however, in Historia xvii (1968), 88-90 then dated the Ummidius Quadratus inscription to 121-4 and that of Iunius Omullus (see above) to 133; G. Sanders, Helinium viii (1968), 303-4 and H.-G. Pflaum, Titulaire et rang social sous le Haut Empire (Coll. nationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Sciences Humaines, Caen, 25-6 avril 1969 (1970) followed suit, and Pflaum provided more evidence of consulares antedating 150. Finally L. Balla Act. Class. Debrec. vii (1972), 85-8 and E. Töth, Alba Regia xiii (1972), 163-5 independently reviewed the question and both came to the conclusion arrived at here, although neither presented the evidence in full. Both note that most inscriptions referring to provincial governors were not erected by them but by their staff and troops, and Balla adds that when they did erect inscriptions they usually referred to themselves as legati Augusti pro praetore (L. Balla, op. cit., 87, note 27).

The beneficiarius inscriptions cited in the preceding note represent the earliest references of officiales to themselves as attached to a consularis, the name of the governor still being employed, with consularis merely replacing legati Augusti pro praetore, which had been commonly employed in the earlier period: VII 156 Wroxeter (Britannia), c. AD 60 beneficiarius legati praetore, without the governor's name; XIII 7709 Brohl (Germ. Sup. but referring to a governor of Inferior), c. AD 72 singulares peditis Acili Strabonis leg. Aug.; XII 2602 Genava (Narbonensis, but referring to governors of Lugdunensis), reign of Nerva referring to 77, beneficiar. Tettieni Sereni leg Aug, and to 83 cornicular. Corneli Gallicani leg. Aug.; VIII 27854 Théveste (Numidia), c. 83 beneficiar. Tetti Iuliani et Tavoleni Prisci leg. Aug.; III 7904 Sarnizegethusa (Dacia) 112-7 exerc(itator) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) C. Avidi Nigrini leg Aug pr(o) pr(aetore). The use of the governor's name with either legati Augusti or, from the turn of the second century, consularis, continued for the officiales of both consular and praetorian governors throughout the second century and into the third, e.g. AE 1916 n. 29 Djemila (Numidia), 210 bf Subatiani Proculli leg. Auggg. pr. cos design. and see preceding note; cf. also AE 1971 n. 218 York (Brit. Inf.). AD 216, bf Gordian(i); AE 1905 n. 211 = ILS 9258 Amman (Arabia), 245-6 b Claudi Capitolini; and V 5451 = ILS 2402 Arcisate (Italy) 2nd cent.?, beneficiarius legati consularis. From the mid 2nd century onwards, however, the governor's name is mostly omitted and the officiales simply gave their rank with consularis regardless of whether the governor was consular or praetorian (equestrian governors were referred to by their title, praefectus, procurator or praeses). The earliest example of an officialis who calls himself simply consularis is perhaps the Winchester beneficiarius (see preceding note), of the early second century on the style
of lettering, but the earliest to be firmly dated is III 7449 Montana (Moes. Inf.), 155, bf cos; the earliest example for a praetorian governor is perhaps the bf cos of c.100 from Emerita (see preceding note), but the earliest to be firmly dated is AE 1973 n. 448 Mursa (Pann. Inf.), 164, [bf clos. Such usage for praetorian governors is thereafter attested for Britannia Inferior(?), Lusitania(?), Lugdunensis(?), Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia Inferior, Arabia and Numidia. It even appears that by the late third century άπατειανεύλικος had come to mean simply to govern a province and was so used of an equestrian governor of Moesia Inferior in AD 270/1: IGR I 591, with 1432 Gostilica (Moes. Inf.). 270/1: άπατειανεύλικος άπατειανεύλικος άπατειανεύλικος άπατειανεύλικος άπατειανεύλικος άπατειανεύλικος άπατειανεύλικος άπατειανεύλικος άπατειανεύλικος.

1Principes: IGR III 1230 Canatha (Arabia). 185 or 231 ρ. Πετρόνιον (ο [ονον] Σελεμύνου Βρονδεσίνου;) έκάτονταρχόν κελίου (άνος) έξ Σελεμυνού πρώτην... ήλων (του) Σατορίνιον Πρεσβετεύοντος Εξ Αντιπρατήριου). Ρ. Οξυ. XIV 1637, 10 Όξυρυχνίς (Εύγης), 257-9 Διάμαρτυρω (έκατονταρχώ) του Ασαθνοχατέρατος προξύκτως ης θειομονίας. Centurions of the officium: ΑΕ 1975 n. 813 Satala (Cappadocia), 2nd cent. Κορηνίουλαρχόν και (έκατονταρχώ) του Κορηνίου Λοίκου (ο). IGR III 1264 = ILS 8880 Nela (Arabia) 2nd/3rd cent. Κορηνίου Λοίκου και (έκατονταρχώ) νεκρομενος της Άμυνας). Note also that one of the officiales inscriptions from Lambaesis (VIII 2586) was erected cura agentis C. Memmio Victore (centurio) leg III Aug. On the title principes see M.P. Speidel, 'Princeps as a Title for ad hoc Commanders', Britannia XII (1981), 7-13.

2Adiutores principis cos: II 6111 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent. (?), adiutor principis; III 12679 Doclea (Dalmatia), 2nd/3rd cent., adiut. princ. bf cos: AE 1916 n. 29 Djemila (Numidia), 210, bf Subatiani Proculi leg. Auggg. pr. cos design. adiutor principis praetorii; AE 1982 n. 758 Iuvavum (Noricum), 2nd/3rd cent., adiutori [pr]maticipis cos: M.P. Speidel (op. cit.), 8 note 4 suggests that the Doclea officialis, who was also a bf cos, was in fact a former adiutor of the princeps of his cohort, but the close parallel of the Djemila adiutor principis praetorii, at the same time a bf of the legate of Numidia, makes his argument far less cogent; see Ch. II note 39. Optiones Praetorii: III 1094=7765 Apulum, 2nd/3rd cent., optio praetorii; III 5803 Augusta Vindelicorum (Raetia), 2nd/3rd cent., o[ptio] praetorii[?]; VIII 2947 Lambaesis, 2nd/3rd cent., L. Munatius Repentinus optio prae[torii]; VIII 4294 Lambaesis, 2nd/3rd cent., Munatius Rep[entinus optio pra]torii; X 7583 Carales (Sardinia), 198-209, an optio praetorii erecting a dedication to the governor of Sardinia. Note also AE 1965 n. 170 Die (Narbonensis), 2nd/3rd cent., optio[nis pr]incipis = optio praetorii and the suggestion by M. Šašel Kos, JRS lxviii (1978), 22-5 that a soldier buried at Corinth c.AD 45-70 and depicted carrying a stick and writing tablets may have been such an optio; the first four of these inscriptions, together with the Djemila adiutor, are the best evidence in support of the frequent assertion that the title of the head of the officium was usually princeps praetorii, of whom these would then be the deputies; the same title was certainly used on a number of inscriptions.
for some centurions who were not at the head of provincial officia but probably of legionary officia, although their precise function is disputed; see most recently B. Dobson, Die Primipilares (1978), 161.

After the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine provincial officia, in common with many others, were no longer staffed by true soldiers seconded from real military units but by civilians with military rank who were enrolled in a notional cohort and wore military uniform, so that they were then headed by civilian principes: A.E.R. Boak, RE XVII, 2, 2047-9; A.H.M. Jones, JRS xxxix (1949), 47-9; R. MacMullen, Soldier and Civilian in the Late Roman empire (1963), 70ff. See pp. 66-7.

Our only two career inscriptions, from Nela and Satala (see note 15) indicate promotion through the officium and direct from cornicularius.

Dig. XLVII, 2, 73 (Modestinus).

Officium corniculariorum III 894 = ILS 3035, Potaissa (Dacia); III 1471 Sarmizegethusa (Dacia); 3543 Aquincum (Pann. Inf.); 10437 Aquincum; VIII 1875 Theveste (Numidia).


Rank and promotion of cornicularii: II 4122 Tarraco, listed before commentariensis and speculatores; III 252 Ancyra (Galatia), two beneficiarii promoted to cornicularii; 4452 Carnuntum (Pann. Sup.), listed before commentariensis and speculatores; 7794 Apulum (Dacia), listed before commentariensis and (?) speculatores; 9908 Burnum (Dalmatia), a tesserarius promoted to another rank and thence to cornicularius and perhaps centurion; VII 2554 Lambaesis (Numidia), a possible optio promoted to cornicularius; 2586 Lambaesis listed before commentarienses, speculatores, beneficiarii, quaestionarii, beneficiarii sexmestris and a haruspex; XII 2602 Genava (Narbonensis but referring to the officium of Lugdunensis), a beneficiarius promoted to cornicularius, then to evocatus and centurion; XIII 6542, 6543, Oehringen (Germ. Sup.) and 6598 Miltenberg (Germ. Sup.), a centurion ex corniculario consularis; 6803 Mainz a cornicularius listed before commentarienses and promoted to centurio; AE 1917/18 n. 74-5 Lambaesis, cornicularius promoted to decurio alae; AE 1975 n. 813 Satala (Cappadocia), cornicularius promoted to centurion of the governor; AE 1976 n. 545 Aquincum (Pann. Inf.), cornicularius (?) promoted to centurion IGR III 1264 = ILS 8880 Nela (Arabia), beneficiarius promoted to cornicularius and then to centurion of the governor's headquarters. In VIII 2554 Lambaesis, a cornicularius (who also appears on AE 1895 n. 204 Lambaesis) appears on an inscription erected by a schola of optiones, presumably as a former optio. Cornicularii consularis are thus attested as having been promoted from optiones, beneficiarii consularis, speculatores and commentarienses and as being senior to commentarienses, speculatores, beneficiarii consularis, quaestionarii, bβββ sexmestris and haruspices in that order. They are attested as being promoted to evocatus (for a soldier from the Urban cohort at Lyon), decurio alae, centurion, and centurion of the officium. Their position as the senior principales of the
officium consularis corresponds to that of cornicularii in all other known officia (cf. tables in A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (1908; 1967), 15, 19, 27, 48, 56, 59, 61, with supporting text) and is paralleled in the officia of the Late Empire listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

The only information which we have about how many years of service were usually required to attain this rank comes from XII 2602 where a soldier of cohors I Urbana recruited in 73 became cornicularius of the governor of Lugdunensis in 83. The figure of 10 to 15 years is that suggested by M. Clauss, op. cit., 30 with note 62, and is derived from epigraphic evidence for cornicularii from all the military officia; it is therefore of limited value.

Some cornicularii consularis only achieved this rank as the pinnacle of their careers: II 4155 Tarraco, died in service at the age of 48; III 8752 Salona, veteran; VIII 2892 Lambaesis, veteran; XII 1860 Lugdunum, veteran: AE 1911 n. 221 Niederemmel (Belgica), veteran.

The view that it was a military decoration is expressed most recently by V. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (1981), 97-9, who admits that the corniculum was "probably the most obscure of all military decorations". F. Dolger, 'Der Kodikellos des Christodoulos in Palermo. Ein bisher unerkannter Typus der byzantische Kaiserurkunde.' *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 11 Heft 1 (1929), 44-57, Exkurs III.

wishes to link the cornicularii with the ἐπί τοῦ κανικλίου (= ink) of the Byzantine period. M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 41ff is reluctant to accept the etymology although he does accept that the canicularii, evidently secretarial officers, recorded on some five inscriptions, were analogous to the cornicularii; cf. B. Saria, *RE* Suppl. VII 83-4 s.v. canalicularius.

**Suet. Gramm. 9.**

**Firm. Math. III, 5, 26 ... erunt homicidiis publicis praepositi et exceptores earum sententiārum, quae de hominum capitis proferuntur, aut cornicularii aut...**

Two cornicularii: II 4122 Tarraco, 202-5; III 252 = 6754 Ancyra (Galatia), 198; III 7741 = 14479 Apulum (Dacia), 198-211; VIII 2586 Lambaesis (Numidia), early 3rd cent.; AE 1917/18 n. 71, 211/12 or 246/7. Three cornicularii: III 4452 Carnuntum (Pann. Sup.), 212; III 7394 Perinthos (Thrace), 160 or 161; XIII 6803 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), 213-7. At the respective dates Tarraco had 1 legion, Galatia none, Dacia 2, Numidia 1, Pannonia Superior 3, Thrace none, Germania Superior 2. M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 18-19 rightly argues that most of the inscriptions listing 2 cornicularii are private and need not have been erected by the full complement of cornicularii in the province, which may have been three in all cases. The exceptions are II 4122 from Tarraco and VIII 2586 from Lambaesis, both erected by the whole officium. In the latter case a third cornicularius was probably serving the Proconsul at Carthage (see pp. 34-5 with notes 5-7). Tarraco may similarly have supplied the officium of Lusitania at Emerita (see pp. 133-4 and M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 19, but note that II 4122 records a normal complement of 10 speculatores (see p. 42 with note 49).
commentarienses... Firmicus is probably thinking of the contemporary (c.340) officia of the Praefecti Praetorio, but since provincial governors of the Principate similarly had ius gladii it is reasonable to suppose that their officia operated in the same manner in capital cases.

Pass. Tarach. 6 (Greek). The historical reliability of the Christian Martyr Acts is a notoriously difficult problem, and they evidently varied greatly in this, partly reflecting the reliability of their sources, which in the most trustworthy examples were the actual records of the trials in question, no doubt originally written down by commentarienses (see pp. 40-1) or the reports of eyewitnesses. For the present discussion even the more fanciful of the later Acts may be of value in that they can perhaps be taken to reflect at least contemporary practice in the courts which would not in essence have changed from the time of the actual persecutions. These sources have been put to valuable use for discussion of the process of arrest and trial in the Roman world by G. Lopuszanski, 'La Police romaine et les Chrétiens', L'Antiquité Classique 20 (1951), 5-46, whose lead is followed here. For a useful discussion of the problems of historical veracity in these sources see H. Musurillo, The Acts of the Christian Martyrs (1972). Introduction, 1-lvii.

P. Oxy. 1022 = CPL no 111 = R.O. Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus (1971) no 87 Oxyrhynchus, 24 Feb. 103: Accepta VI K(alendas) Martias ann(o) VI Imp Traiani n. per Priscum singul(arem). Avidius Arrianus cornicul. coh. III Ituraeorum scripsi authenticam epistulam in tabulario cohortis esse; cf. M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 24. The governor was nominally responsible for the approval (probatio) of army recruits (although not directly involved in their actual recruitment) and, as here, for ordering the entry of their names onto unit records); see Liebenam, RE V 619; R.W. Davies, 'Joining the Roman Army', BJ 169 (1969), 208-232.


On the involvement of the officium in recruitment see note 29. On reports to the governor from army units see p. 265. It is probable that the cornicularius consularis would also be responsible for the actual drafting of letters sent by the governor, such as P. Oxy. 1022 (note 29) and that recorded on the Marbre de Thorigny (XIII 3162) sent by the governor of Britain to Sennius Sollemnis.


On librarii see pp. 54-6.
III 2052 Salona (Dalmatia). adi(utor) corn(iculariorum) co(n)s(ularis); AE 1904 n. 10 Gardun-Vojnić (Dalmatia), ex adiutore corniculariorum cos; IGR I 679 = AE 1902 n. 138 Serdica (Thrace), \( \beta \cdot \alpha \\
\text{κωρικουλαρίους} \cdot \alpha \cdot \text{καρπος} \) \( \text{cf.} \) IGR III 1008 Khatoura nr. Beroea (Syria Phoenix) \( \text{καπουκουλαρίους} \), IGR III 894 = ILS 3035 Potaissa (Dacia), adiutor officii corniculariorum; IGR III 1471 Sarmizegethusa (Dacia), adiut. offic(i) cornicul.; IGR III 138 Gardun-Vojnić (Dacia), adiutori officii corniculariorum cos; VII 1875 Theveste (Numidia), adiutor officii corniculariorum(m); Inscr. Bostra 9075 Bostra (Arabia), adiut. offic.

On the magistrates who had commentarienses see A. von Domaszewski, op. cit. (note 22), 17 (Praefectus Urbi) and 8, 9 (Praefectus Vigilum). The a commentariiis Praefecti Praetorio were of equestrian rank (A. von Domaszewski, op. cit. 153, 155, 159, xiiii. xiv. xivii. A commentariensis trib(uni) leg(ionis) appears to be recorded on VIII 2586 and is ascribed to the tribunus sexmestris (see pp. 58-60) by A. von Domaszewski, op. cit. (note 22), 31, 41, 48; but since trib. leg. appears in the position where almost all the other officiales on the stone have their origo recorded, this is perhaps a misunderstanding by the stonecutter of an origo he failed to recognize. (Trip(o)(i)?) on the text he was copying.

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Ranging of commentarienses: II 4122 Tarraco, listed after cornicularii and before speculatores; 4179 Tarraco, tombstone of commentariensis ab actis civilib(us) who appears as a speculator on II 4145; III 2015 Salona (Dalmatia), commentariensis promoted from speculator; 4452 Carnuntum (Pann. Sup.), listed between cornicularii and speculatores; 7794 Apulum (Dacia), listed between cornicularii and (?) speculatores; V 7004 Augusta Taurinorum (Regio XI), a commentariensis [leg. pr. pr. 1 of Germania Superior] promoted from beneficiarius to beneficiarius consularis, quaestionarius, beneficiarius sexmestris and a haruspex; XIII 6803 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), one centurion promoted from cornicularius, two cornicularii, three commentarienses. The normal establishment of commentarienses in a province was thus, as with the cornicularii, two or three regardless of the number of legions it contained; cf. note 26. In this respect these two grades differed from the speculatores (and probably the beneficiarii) whose numbers do show a correlation with the number of legions within a province (see p. 42). This in turn implies that whilst promotion...
up to the rank of speculator (at least in legionary provinces) might be determined by vacancies in a legion's quota of speculatores or beneficiarii (cf. the candidati listed after the bbff cos in AE 1917/18 n. 57), promotion beyond was simply on merit to one of two or three places. This in turn may imply that promotion to either of these two senior grades was almost always from within the officium (the only attested exception is the presumed promotion from optio to cornicularius in VIII 2554). We have no figures for the number of years of experience normally required for promotion to this rank, but their recruitment from within the officium implies that considerable length of service was required; in AE 1939 n. 85 Capidava (Moes. Inf.), recording a commentum c[os(?)], who lived for 80 years and presumably retired in the rank, it was evidently the culmination of a career.


aPass. Tarach. 6,1 June 303; Pass. Pion. 21, AD 250; Pass. Claud. 1, AD 285; Pass. Crispin. 1, 5 Dec. 304; Pass. Agap. 3, AD 304; Pass. Tat. Dul. in Acta Sanctorum Junii II (1698), 1043, 4th cent.? Pass.Claud. 5, AD 285; see G. Lopuszanski, op. cit. (note 28), 41-2. Of the Acts cited H. Musurillo has included the Passiones of Pionius, of Crispina and of Agape in his selection of 28 of the most trustworthy (see his Acts of the Christian Martyrs (1972), Introduction, xlii-xlili and xlv; the Passio of Tatianus Dulas has been regarded as historically worthless but as having used ancient sources. (P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, Note Agiografiche. Fasc 7. (Studi e Testi) 49 (1928), 203 with note 2); the Passio of Tarachus is unfortunately of low reliability (see G. Lopuszanski, loc. cit.)

aDig. XLVIII, 20, 6 )Ulpian, De Officio Proconsulis X, on a rescript of Hadrian to Aquilius Bradua): nec pati (sc. praesides debent) optiones sive commentarienses ea pecunia abuti. On the recipient of Hadrian's rescript see Ch. IV note 18.

aM. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 59-79.

aOn the speculatores of the Praetorian Guard see M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 46-58.

aAuct. B. Afr. 37, 1. Note that Antony appears to have had a cohors speculatorum, attested on one of his coins: E.A. Sydenham, The Coinage of the Roman Republic (1952) no. 1214, cf. M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 46.

aSpeculatores as scouts: Varro, De Ling. Lat., VI, 82; Livy III, 40, 13; XXX, 29, 2; XLII, 13, 1; Curtius Rufus, Hist. Alex. Magni III, 8, 17; VI, 4, 14 and 8; as spies: Festus, De Verb. Sign. p. 69.23 (L); operating by night: Caes. BG II, 11, 2-3.
Speculatores used as messengers by Caesar: Auct. B. Afr. 31, 4; and under the Principate: Suet. Cal. 44 (Praetorians); Tac. Hist. II, 73 (provincial speculatores).

See note 11.

Rank and promotion of speculatores: II 4122 Tarraco, listed after cornicularii and commentarienses; II 4137 Tarraco, L. Alfidius Urbanus, a tribunus militum who appears as a speculator on II 4122 (see H.-G. Pflaum, La Gaule et L'Empire romain (1983), 411-12 and Ch. IV note 87); II 4145 Tarraco, Gargilius Rufus, a speculator who appears as com(mentariensis) ab actis civilib(us) on II 4179; III 2015 Salona (Dalmatia), promoted to commentariensis cos; III 3524 Aquincum (Pann. Inf.), a frumentarius due for promotion to speculator? III 4452 Carnuntum (Pann. Sup.), listed after cornicularii and commentarienses; III 7741 = 14479 Apulum (Dacia), at least 3 centurions and 2 cornicularii consularis(?)!, perhaps former speculatores, involved in the building of a schola speculatorum; III 14137 Bubastis nr. Alexandria (Egypt) optio specul., a promotion from optio (M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 76 makes it to optio) or an optio speculatorum cf. A. von Domaszewski, op. cit. (note 22), 32 who makes him head of the collegium of speculatores cf. id. Die Religion des römischen Heeres (1895), 84; VI 36775=ILS 484 Rome, a speculator who eventually becomes hastatus and princeps peregrinorum; VIII 702 = 12128 Chusira (Africa Proconsularis), a speculator promoted to cornicularius legionis about to be promoted centurion; 2586 Lambaesis (Numidia), speculatores listed after cornicularii and commentarienses, and before bbff cos, quaestionarii, bbff sexmestris and a haruspex; 2518 Lambaesis, an ex-centurion who appears as a speculator on AE 1917/18 n. 57 (M. Acutius Ingenus); 2746 Lambaesis, listed before beneficiarii; 2751 Lambaesis, listed before beneficiarii and quaestionarii; 18276 Lasmbaesis, listed before beneficiarii; XIII 1732 Lugdunum promoted to commentariensis; AE 1917–18 n 57 Lambaesis, listed before bbff cos, ex frumentarior, quaestionarii, bbff sexmestris and a haruspex; one of the speculatores (C. Caecilius Felix) appears as a bf cos on VII 2586; AE 1962 Mainz (Germ. Sup.) promoted to optio spei (?)!; AE 1967 n. 575 and 577, Lambaesis, listed before bbff cos. Note also the extraordinary career of M. Oclatinius Adventus recorded for us in Dio LXXIX, 14, 1 who was speculator, then centurio frumentarius and princeps peregrinorum before going on to be Procurator of Britain, Praetorian Prefect, (yielding the Imperial throne to his co-Prefect, Macrinus), consul ordinarius and Praefectus Urbis, cf. A. von Domaszewski, op. cit. (note 22), 104-5; H.-G. Pflaum, Les Carrières Procuratorienes Equestres (1960) no. 247 + add; B. Dobson, Die Primipilares (1978) no 172 A.R. Birley, The Fasti of Roman Britain (1981), 298-9.

Length of Service of speculatores: III 2015 Salona (Dalmatia), speculator promoted to commentariensis consularis, served 13 years; XIII 6884 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), served 18 years, lived 35 years; AE 1914 n. 75 Salona, served 22 years; AE 1960 n. 348 Tomi (Moes. Inf.) òκηκλητος Ταντικιας died aged 26 years; E. Espérandieu, Inscriptions Latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise) (1929) no 25 Ampus nr. Fréjus (Narb.) lived 28 years; VIII 4381 Seriana (Numidia), lived 31 years, 10 months, 3 days. Some men retired in this
rank: III 1914 = 8506 Novae (Dalm.); 2915 Lader (Dalm.); 7688 Potaissa (Dacia), discharge list; IX 7 Callipolis (Regio II, Italy); AE 1955 n. 238 = 1969/70 n. 633 col. IV, Nicopolis (Egypt), discharge list; AE 1968 n. 646, Lambaeus (Numidia).

Numbers of speculatores: II 4122 Tarraco, 2 cornicularii, 2 commentarienses, 10 speculatores; Tarracennsis had 1 legion at León; III 3524 Aquincum, AD 228, 20 speculatores; Pannonia Inferior had 2 legions at this time; 4452 Carnuntum, AD 212, 3 cornicularii, 3 commentarienses, 30 speculatores; Pannonia Superior had 3 legions at this time. XI 395 Ariminum (Regio VIII, Italy) AD 66, is often quoted in this context, an honorary inscription erected by speculator. X HC, supposedly men of the officium of Hispania Citerior (cf. A. von Domaszewski, op. cit. (note 22), 32; M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 59-60), but these are rather speculatores of the Praetorian Cohorts, who set up the inscription h(onoris) c(ausa); see Ch. IV note 95. The four speculatores on each of the Lambaeus officiales inscriptions, VIII 2586 and AE 1917/18 n. 57, presumably had 6 colleagues at Carthage; see p. 34-5 with note 6. II 4143 Tarraco, records 8 speculatores and VII 24 London (Britannia), at least 4, but both inscriptions are tombstones of speculatores erected by their colleagues and so need not represent the full complements of their respective officia; see M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 69-70.

AE 1914 n. 75 Salona (Dalmatia); see A. Abramic, 'Speculatores i beneficiarii na nekim solinskim spomenicima', Starinar. 3-a Serija, Knjiga 1 (1922), 57-64 and Tab. I, II.


Speculatores as messengers: Tac. Hist. II, 73: Vix credibile memoratu est quantum superbiae socordiaeque Vitellio adoleverit postquam speculatores e Syria Iudaeeque adactum in verba eius Orientem muntiavere. M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 73-4 sees these as Praetorians, but there is no reason why Praetorian speculatores should have been in those provinces and Vitellius' reaction to the news suggests that he did not send them out to administer the oath. Cf Livy XXXI, 24 speculator-hemerodromos vocant Graeci.


Speculatores at the Castra Peregrina: VI 3358 = ILS 2372 Rome, a speculator from Britain commemorated by a frumentarius from a British legion (the legion of the frumentarius is attested on VI 3357 and 3359); VI 36775=ILS 484 Rome, dedication Genio sancto Castrorum...quod speculator leg. III Parth(icae) Severianae votit, hastatus leg. X Fretensis princeps peregrinorum reddedit (sic). Cf. VI 3562 Rome, the grave of a speculator of legio II Adiutrix. Note also S. Panciera, "Il materiale epigrafico dallo scavo di S. Stefano Rotondo" in U. Bianchi (ed.), Mysteria Mithrae (1979), 95. The name of the numerus (VI 3341) may imply
that speculatores were not normally kept on in Rome whilst the frumentarii were. On the organization of the Castra see pp. 49-50.

**Speculatores as executioners:** Act. Proc. Cypr., 5. Cyprian is executed by a speculator. In view of the general accuracy of this Martyr Act (see H. Musurillo, op. cit. (note 28); xxx-xxxii; M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 160 note 123) we can accept this usage as technically correct. The term is frequently used less technically: Mark 6, 27; Act. Alex. XI A ii, 12.

**Though see Ch. II note 56.**


**Dig. XLVIII, 20, 6 (Ulpian on a rescript of Hadrian) ita neque speculatores ultro sibi vindicent neque optiones ea desiderent, quibus spoliatur. Cf. note 40.**

**Stationes of speculatores: III 138 + p. 970 + 14385B = Inscr. grec. et lat. de la Syrie IV (1967) nos 2711, 2712, Baalbek (Syria Phoenix); III 3021, Metulum (Dalmatia); 3615 Transaquincum (Pann. Inf.); 8173 Ulpiana (Moes. Sup.); 13719 Altimir (Moes. Inf.); 14165 Mariamme (Syria); AE 1959 n. 330 Cioroiul-Nov (Dacia); AII 273 Poetovio (Pann. Sup.); Spomenik lxxi no 513 Ulpiana (Moes. Sup.). BBf cos are recorded in all these places except Baalbek, Altimir and Mariamme.

**Beneficiarii domicurius:** VIII 2797 Lambaesis (Numidia), dedication to the governor by bf domicurius; AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis, dedication to the governor's wife and the governor by bf domicurar(ius); AE 1917/18 n. 76, dedication to the governor by bf domicurator.

**Beneficiarii fortifying a city:** IGR III 1286 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 261-2; Syria xxxix (1952), 307ff 1 and 2; Dera'a, AD 259-60; for the stratores see p. 61 with note 143. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie'. Syria xxxix (1952). 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

**BBf cos as adiutores principis:** III 12679 Doclea — (Dalmatia), mil. coh. Vol(untariorum) adiut. princ. bf. cos; AE 1916 n. 29 Djemila (Numidia), bf Subatiani Proculi leg. Augg. pr. cos desig. adiutor principis praetori; see Ch. II note 39.

**The title is unexpected in that immunes appears otherwise as a general term for a group of ranks junior to the principales to which the beneficiarii belonged:** cf. Dig. L, 7 (6) (Tarruntenus Paternus). On these men in the German provinces (and one buried in Lugdunum) see pp. 145, 153, 157, 161, 166, 167; the only possible immunes consularis found outside this area are III 3446 Aquincum (Pann. Inf.); Šasel 1057 Osijek (Pann. Inf.); III 91, 92 Bostra (Arabia) (?).

M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 82-111.
Number of frumentarii: VI 33512 Rome, 3 frumentarii of leg. XXII Primigenia; 3362 Rome, 3 of leg. XXX Ulpii; 3349 Rome, 2 of leg. VII Gemina; 3361 Rome, 2 of leg. XXX Ulpii; AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis (Numidia), 5 ex frumentarii of leg. III Augusta. The figure of a total of 50 frumentarii given by Lydus, De Mens. I, 26 (30) is as unreliable as most of that author's information. M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 83 suggests at least 90-100 frumentarii present in the Castra at any one time, reckoning about 3 in Rome from each legion, but the 1905-9 excavations seem to show perhaps five sets of barracks, implying 5 centuries, i.e. 400 men, or 12-13 men from each legion (leaving speculatores out of account) in Rome and perhaps 20 total; see A.M. Colini, Storia e topografia del Celio nell'Antichità. Att. Pont. ser. III, Mem. 7 (1944), 240-45 with fig. 202 cf. T. Ashby and P.K. Baillie Reynolds, 'The Castra Peregrinorum', JRS xiii (1923), 152-61; P.K. Baillie Reynolds, 'The Troops Quartered in the Castra Peregrinorum', JRS xiii (1923), 168-87 esp. 177.

Rank and promotion of frumentarii: II 4154 = ILS 2369 Tarraco, probato in leg. VI Ferrat(a) tra[n]sllato frum(entario) in leg. VII G(eminam) P.F. facto [bf?] cos; III 2063 Salona (Dalmatia), tombstone of frumentarius leg III Quirenarice (sic) qui cucurrit frum. ann XX et cent(ario) frum. factus modo; III 3020 = 10057 Metulum (Dalmatia), ex fru(mentario) bf co(s); VI 36853 Rome, quod mil. fr. leg. XV Apol. vovit (centurio) fecit; VIII 17627 Vazaivi (Numidia), ex frumen[tario] bf co(s); XI 1322 Luna (Italy), fr. leg II Ital P. F. optio consacrat inv item dedicavit, evidently a dedication in gratitude for a promotion; XIII 1771 Lugdunum, Aur. Secundinius Donatus frumentar. g( = qui) et comment(ariensis); 8282 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), mil. leg. VII G(eminam) P.F. in Hispania [in ead(em) leg.] fact(o) m. prom(oto) cor(niculario) (?)] trib(un) leg. I [Min(erviae) P.F.], but M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 109 with note 182 reads prom(oto) bf l

trib(un)i: AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis (Numidia), 5 ex frumentarii listed after speculatores, bbff cos, and candidati (presumably for the rank of bf cos), and before quaestionarii, bbff sexmestris and a haruspex; the ex frumentarii are perhaps, like the candidati, waiting for promotion to beneficiarius; Spomenik lxxi no 209 Kosovska Mitrovica (Moes. Sup.), bb cos ex fru. Note also that C. Mellonius Severus, a frumentarius of leg. XXII on VI 3351. Rome appears as centurion of the same legion in XIII 6682, Mainz (Germ. Sup.) and that M. Valerius Secundus who appears on AE 1905 n. 25 = ILS 9279 Emerita (Lusitania) - as a frumentarius of leg. VII Gemina is a centurion of the same legion on AE 1930 n. 151 = 1938 n. 20, Tarraco. Promotions from optio peregrinorum and centurio frumentarius are left out of account here as relating to the workings of the Castra Peregrina rather than the officium consularis.

Ages and years from enlistment of frumentarii at death: 19 years, III 1474; 23 years, III 4830; 23 years, VI 3353 (served 6 years); 24 years 4 months 18 days, II 6088 (served 10 years); 28 years, VI 3342 (served 8 years); 28 years 5 months 11 days, VI 3336 (served 10 years 4 months); 31 years, VI 3339 (served 12 years); 33 years, III 3241; 33 years, III 4462 (served 15 years); 35 years, III 6084; 30 years, III 3201 (served 17 years); 35 years 8
days, VI 3365 (served 17 years); 43 years 5 months 20 days, AE 1968 n. 29; 47 years, VI 3344 (served 25 years). Note also III 3466, 9 years service; II 4154, 40 years service; III 2063, 40 years service. Only two men are known to have retired in the rank of frumentarius (VI 3341; IGR III 1300) which implies that these officers could usually expect another promotion.

See note 11.

Cf. P. Gen. Lat. 1 recto part II, 32 (= R.O. Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus (1971) no. 10, 32) Alexandria (Egypt), AD 88 referring to AD 83: exit cum frumentaris, clearly referring to a legionary grain convoy.

M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 10-13 makes the connection with merchants but, in view of the dearth of our knowledge about when the frumentarii in this context ceased to be the supply officers which their name implies and of the beginnings of their espionage activities, this can only be speculation.

Augustus and the vehiculatio (cursus publicus): Suet. Aug. 49 Et quo celerius ac sub manum adnuntiari cognoscisque posset, quid in provincia quaque gereretur, juvenes primo modicis intervallis per militaris vias, dehinc vehicula dispositiut. Commodius id visum est, ut qui a loco idem perferunt litteras, interrogari quoque, si quid res exigent, possent. Note, however, that Tacitus, Hist. II, 73 says that it was speculatores who brought despatches to Rome from the Eastern provinces in AD 69; frumentarii may not have been employed as couriers until later.


See note 4.

Within the province: P. Mich. 472. Between the provinces: Dio XLIX, 18, 5; LXXIX, 34, 7. Between the provinces and Rome: Dio LXII, 11, 4; LXXIX, 39, 3; SHA Max. 19, 3; III 14191 Appia (Asia). Frumentarii and the vehiculatio (cursus publicus); implied by Jerome, In Abd. 1, Fos enim quo nunc agentes in rebus vel veredarios appellant, veteres frumentariorum nominabant, since the veredarii were imperial couriers who used the cursus in the Late Empire, as did the agentes in rebus; see E.J. Holmberg, Zur Geschichte des Cursus Publicus (1933), 104; H.-G. Pflaum, Essai sur le cursus publicus sous le Haut-Empire romain (1940), 331-3; A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire 284-602 (1973), 830-834 with note 14. Macrinus appears to be using the vehiculatio when he attempts to escape from Cilicia to Rome posing as a frumentarius (Dio LXXIX, 39, 3). Further, Aurelius Victor, De Caes. XIII, 5, implies that the emperors relied on the cursus publicus to obtain information from around the empire. Lydus, De Mag. II, 10 implies that the princeps peregrinorum was actually responsible for the cursus, but as always his testimony on institutions of an earlier age
is suspect. Note also the frumentarius shown riding on a cart on a tombstone from Sirmium (Pann. Inf.) (III 3241; cf. note 51 with text on a similar depiction of a speculator from Viminacium (Moes. Sup.).

**Stationes** near Rome: Portus: XIV 7 (Ostia); XIV 125, (Portus), station(is) frumentariorum; XIV 4487 (Portus); L. Vidman, Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiaecae et Sarapiacae (1969) no 536a (Ostia); AE 1977 n. 171 (Portus); cf. XIV 149 (Portus); Rome, at the third milestone of the Via Appia Antica, near the tomb of Caecilia Metella: VI 230 = 36748 stationem; VI 3329, stationem ad mil.]III Vie Appie frumentaris. The statio at Portus was, perhaps, at least partly concerned with the corn supply: AE 1977 n. 171, erected on behalf of the Praefectus Annonae by a 7 fr; cf. VI 3340 (Rome).

**Stationes** in Italy: VI 32875 = X 6575 Velitrae (?), frumentarius of leg. XXII Primigenia commemorated by another of leg. VII Aug; X 6095 Formiae, grave of frumentarius of leg. XXX Ulpia; X 1771 Puteoli near Misenum, grave set up by frumentarius of leg. VII Gemina; V 6869 = ILS 4850d Gt. St. Bernard, bronze tablet dedicated by a frumentarius of leg. III Italica; V 3362 Verona, grave of frumentarius of leg. VI Victrix; V 491 Aquileia, grave of frumentarius of leg. VII Gemina; III 3835 Emona, dedication by a frumentarius of leg. XV Apollinaris.

**Castra Peregrina:** T. Ashby and P.K. Baillie Reynolds, 'The Castra Peregrinorum', JRS XIII (1923), 152-167; A.M. Colini, Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichità. Att. Pont. ser. III, Mem. 7(1944), 240-45. The Castra seems to have housed all troops from the provinces despatched to Rome for whatever purpose. Also attested at the Castra are centuriones deputati and supernumerarii, presumably centurions seconded to Rome for special duties (VI 1110; 36776 = ILS 9080) and provincial singulares evidently being used as couriers (VI 3339, cf. 3614; see below note 154). The date of the founding of the Castra is disputed, excavations showing first century buildings of unilitary character (which could nevertheless be where the troops were billeted) replaced by a more military but nevertheless unorthodox structure in the second. The peregrini were certainly organized by the time of Trajan (AE 1923 n. 28 Henchir-Ksour-Dzemda (Africa Proconsularis), 98-102 a princeps peregrinorum decorated by Trajan), but many scholars would put it back to at least the time of Nero and probably to Augustus: T. Ashby and P.K. Baillie Reynolds, op. cit., 159, 162 note 2; A.M. Colini op. cit., 243; G. Lopuszanski, op. cit. (note 28), 31ff; W.G. Sinnigen, 'The Origins of the Frumentarii', Mem. Amer. Acad. Rom, xxvii (1962). 213-224.

**Numerus frumentariorum:** VI 3341 vet. ex num. frum. leg. IIII Fl. Officers of the Castra Peregrinorum: optio peregrinorum: VI 3324; 3328; VIII 1322 = 14854; XI 1322; exercitator militum frumentariorum VIII 1322 = 14854: centurio frumentarius: II 484; 4150; III 1180 = 7795; 1980 2063; 4787; 4861; 7041; VI 423; 428; 1063; 1636; 3326; 3331; 3351; 30947; 31036; 32870a: 36776(?) 36853; VIII 2825; X 6657; XI 1322, 5215, 5216; AE 1907 n. 35; 1910 n. 77; 1936 n. 61(?) 1977 n. 171; subprinceps peregrinorum: III 1180 = 7795; VI 354; 1110(?) 3329; XI 5215; 5216; princeps peregrinorum: IV 484; VI 354; 428 (agens vice);
The Castra Peregrina was, however, of unorthodox plan (see note 80) and had within it a Mithraeum: F. Coarelli in U. Bianchi (ed.), Mysteria Mithrae (1979), 70 no 2 cf. S. Panciera, ibid., 87-112 (but Mithraea were apparently not unusual in the Urban camps: F. Coarelli, ibid., 71 no 10; 73 no 21).

*F*rumentarii who died in Rome were always buried by their provincial colleagues: VI 3342 = 4881, frumentarius of I Adiutrix commemorated by another of X Gemina (Pann. Sup.); 3334, frumentarius of I Minervia commemorated by another of XXX Ulpia Victrix (Germ. Inf.); 3349, frumentarius of VII Gemina commemorated by another of the same legion (Tarracconensis); 3351, frumentarius of VIII Augusta commemorated by three of XXII Primigenia (Germ. Sup.); 3357, frumentarius of XX Valeria Victrix commemorated by another from the same legion (Germ. Inf.); 3362 frumentarius of XXX Ulpia Victrix commemorated by two of the same legion (Germ. Inf.); 32873 = X 6575, frumentarius of XXII Primigenia commemorated by another of VIII Augusta (Germ. Sup.); cf. III 433 = ILS 2368, Ephesus, frumentarius of X Gemina commemorated by another of I Adiutrix (Pann. Sup.). Frumentarii from different provinces did however associate within the Castra: VI 230 = 36748, a dedication to the genius of the Camp and of the whole army by a frumentarius of VIII Augusta (Germ. Sup.) and one of XIII Gemina (Dacia). See M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 83-4 with notes.

**M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 85; 91, following S.J. de Laet, 'Pouvoirs Militaires des Préfets du Prétoire', Rev. Belg. Phil. xxv (1946/7), 533-36, argues that the princeps peregrinorum should have been responsible to the Praetorian Prefects who were charged with the protection of the emperor and therefore needed the frumentarii as spies, citing also the latter's despatch along with Praetorians to Asia to act as a police force (see note 89) and the Prefect's use of frumentarii in the reign of Commodus to assassinate the Chamberlain Saoterus (SHA Comm. 4, 5). It is equally possible, however, that the princeps reported directly to the Emperor, cf. ILS 9473, a frumentarius sent by Hadrian to direct work at Delphi.

**SHA Hadr. 11.**

**F**rumentarii as spies: SHA Macr. 12, Macrinus learns of the seduction of a maidservant by some soldiers per quendam frumentarium: SHA Claud. 17.1, nuntiatum (sc. Gallieno) per frumentarios Claudium irasci; note also Dio LXXVIII, 17, 1. Frumentarii as assassins: SHA Comm. 4-5, the assassination of Saoterus ; SHA Iul. 5, 8; SHA Nig. 2, 6; Th. Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften. Juristische Schriften III (1907), 104 (from a paper of 1850) was the first to suggest the identity of the Aquilius centurio notus caedibus senatoriis named in these two passages with the M. Aquilius Felix, centurio frumentarius (inter alia) of X 6557 = ILS 1387; Also Herodian III. 5. 4-5, frumentarii sent by Severus to assassinate Clodius Albinus. The unsavoury reputation of the frumentarii in the early third century is illustrated by Dio LXXIX, 15, 1 τὸν ἐν Ωμυλιανὸν τὸν Οὐλίπιον καὶ Ωμυλιανὸν Νέστορα ... πάντων περίβολους ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐν τῇ τῆς Καρνακῆς ἀρχῇ ἀνεφάνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς, ἀνέσεσθαι πολυπραγμονῶς ὑπερετῆς.
Dio LXXIX, 39, 2-3 (Macrinus, escaping from Syria in plain clothes, poses as a frumentarius in Cilicia in order to use the vehiculatio).

**Frumentarii serving in provinciae inermes**: Lusitania: AE 1905 n. 25 = ILS 9279, Emerita, frumentarius of VII Gemina from Tarraconensis; Lugdunensis: XIII 771, Lugdunum; AE 1927 n. 84 = ILS 9476 = IGR III 80 Heraclea Pontica (Bithynia) but referring to a Φρούμενταρις ρυγγωςτος (sic) Χρυσής Αμυσσυνούμενος of I Minervia from Germany Inferior which in the third century sent detachments to Lugdunum (see p. 143). Noricum (inermis until c.171): III 4787 Virunum, 7 frum of I Adiutrix (Pann. Sup.?); on 4861 the same man is 7 frum of II Italia); III 5579 Kornberg (Noricum) but perhaps from Pfaffenhofen, VII Gemina (Tarraconensis); Dalmatia: III 1980. Salona, 7 frum of II Traiana (Egypt); 2063, Salona, III Cyrenaica (Arabia); 2823, Burnum, I Adiutrix (Pann. Sup.?); Achaea: III 6108, Athens, X Pretensis (Palaestina); ILS 9473, Delphi, I Italia (Moes. Inf.).

Asia: III 443, Ephesus, X Gemina and I Adiutrix (Pann. Sup.?); 6084 = ILS 8244, Ephesus, VIII Aug. (Germ. Sup.); 7041 Augustopolis, 7 frum of XIII Gemina (Dacia); AE 1933 n. 256 Sardis, X Gemina (Pann. Sup.). Chr. Habicht, Die Inschriften des Asklepios (1969) no 106 Pergamon, VI Ferrata (Palaestina). Note in the armed provinces of Dacia: III 1474 Samizegethusa, VI Victrix (Britain); Inscr. Dac. Rom. II 35, Drobeta, III Flavia (Moes. Sup.); and of Numidia: VIII 2867 Lambaesis, V Macedonica (Dacia); but all of these are tombstones.

**Complaints about frumentarii in Asia**: AE 1964 n. 231, Kavacik, 247/8, mentioning οὐ καλούμενοι Φρούμενταριοί ... οἱ πρατήριαν ὑπολείποντες; IGR IV 1368, Saettis, 3rd cent. πάρα τῶν σταθμαρίους (?) καὶ τῶν καλούμενων Φρούμενταρίων καὶ καλλήλως ... J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien und den angrenzenden Gebieten Ioniens, ausgeführt 1911 (1914), no 11 Ekiskiu 3rd cent. Εστατωλωτ(ος Ἠμας) Φρούμενταρ(ῶν) ... οἱ προσελήνωται, ἐστε δομοί ταξις ... For individual frumentarii in Asia see note 88 and III 7042 Augustopolis; 14131, Appia; AE 1907 n. 35 = ILS 9474 Aphrodisias Εκατάτορας Φρούμενταριον ἀγνών καὶ Διαφελεὶς Ἀναστρεφόντας ἐκ Θεοῦ ὑπατεύοντας. Praetorians in Asia: III 7136 = ILS 9052 miles cothoritis VII Praetoriae ... stationarius Ephesi; AE 1964 n. 231 Kavacik, 247/8 (see above); C. Petzl, Die Inschriften von Smyrna (1982) no 282 Smyrna mil. cho. VII Pr. ... stat. Zmyr. See M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 103-7 and S. Mitchell, 'Requisitioned transport in the Roman Empire', JRS lxvi (1976), 106-131 esp. 114-5.

**AE 1964 n. 231 Kavacik (Asia), 247/8.**

**Eusebius, HE VI, 11, 22; 40, 4; Cyprian Ep. 81, 1.** See G. Lopuszanski, op. cit. (note 28), 22-3 and 23 note 3.

**III 433 Ephesus (Asia), agens curam carceris; AE 1933 n. 256 Sardis (Asia), frumentarius ... alge curam custod[ia]rum (see M.P. Speidel in S. Mitchell (ed.), Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia (1983), 22).**

**Thrace: SIG 888 = IG Bulg. IV 2236 Scaptoara, 238-44: Egypt: P. Oxy. 240 Oxyrhynchus, AD 37, an oath by a village scribe denying that there has been any extortion;**

**VIII 17639 Vazaivi (Numidia), 224-6, text of a rescript referring to officialium exactionibus.

**Frumentarii in stationes outside Italy: I 11 1474 Sarmizegethusa (Dacia) (grave); 2823 Burnum (Dalmatia); 3020 = 10057 Metulum (Dalmatia); 3241 Sirmium (Pann. Inf.) (grave); 5579, 5592 Bedaenum (Noricum) (graves); 6125 = 7420 Lom (Moes. Inf.), 7 frumentarii; 8201 Scupi (Moes. Sup.) (grave); 12371, Montana (Moes. Inf.), 7 frumentarii; 12402 KaragaČ (Moes. Inf.) (grave?): AE 1892 n. 105 Slatina (Moes. Inf.) (grave?): 1936 n. 61 Djebel Dokhan (Egypt); 1980 n. 828 = Inscr. Scyth. Min. V no 239 Horia (Moes. Inf.), 7 frumentarii; D.S. Crawford, Fuad I Univ. Pap. (1949) no XIV, Memphis (Egypt). Beneficiarii consularis are attested at all these places except Scupi, KaragaČ, Slatina, Djebel Dokhan, Horia and Memphis. For the stationes in Asia see notes 88, 89.

**Frumentarii in charge of building: I 11 1980 = ILS 2287 Salona (Dalmatia), 170, vexillationes leg. II Piae et III concordiae ped. CC sub cura P. Aeli Amyntiani 7 frumentarii(i) leg. II Trajan cf. J.J. Wilkes, Dalmatia (1969) 116-7 with p. 117 note 1; ILS 9473 Delphi (Achaea), 120, Ψρομενταριός λειτουργός (sic) πρωτος Ταλικης εστρωτητης ἐπὶ λεγ. ἐρήμων ὑπὲρ τῶν κατασκευασμένων. Τό Φοίνικαὶ Καραγάρα Τραπεζικοὶ ἀμμαχόνοι Σσμονίν Σίσιτσοι cf. AE 1975 n. 60 Rome, the tombstone of the same man designated frumentario Aug(usti). In charge of quarrying: XI 1322 Luna (Italy) sub cura Fl. Muciani 7 fr. M. Firmidius Spectatus fr. leg. II Ital PF optio... cf. I 11 4787 Tiffen (Noricum) and 4861 Feldkirchen (Noricum), the same 7 frumentarius perhaps in charge of mining nearby, and AE 1936 n. 61 Djebel Dokhan (Egypt), a Φοίνικαὶ Φρομενταριος perhaps in charge of the local porphyry quarries; see M. Clauss, op. cit.(note 21), 94-5.

**Atr. Vict. De Caes. 39, 44 ... remoto pestilentia frumentariorum genere, quorum nunc agentes rerum similli sunt. Qui cum ad explorandum annuntiandum, ecum forte in provinciis motus existent, instituti vidēntur, compositis nefarie criminationibus, inpecchiat peccatior evertunt, praecipue remotissimo cique, cuncta foede diripiebant.

**Ranking and numbers of quaestionarii: VIII 2586 Lambaesis (Numidia), 5 quaestionarii listed after cornicularii, commentarienses, speculatores and bbff cos, and before bbff sexmestris and a haruspex; AE 1917/18 n.- 57 Lambaesis, 4 quaestionarii listed after speculatores, bbff cos, candidati and ex frumentariis, and before bbff sexmestris and a haruspex.

**Quaestionarii as interrogators and torturers: Cod. Theod. XVI, 12, 3 (Sirm. 3), referring to bishops harassing orthodox clergy and handing them over to quaestionarii: Jerome, in Ioel II.21/7 istic modi utita dicam, quaestionarii atque tortoribus tradidit; Schol. in Juv VI 480 "sunt quaere tortoribus annua praestent", id est salaria quaestionariis sive carnificibus. Cf. Cyprian Ep. 66, 7 tot confessores quaestionarii et torti.
Quaestionarii in stationes(?): III 12401 Karagac (Moes. Inf.) (grave?); III 13604, Acre (Syria); 15133 Simanovci (Pann. Inf.); AE 1966 n. 346 Novae (Moes. Inf.).

This is noted by G.R. Watson, 'Immunis Librarius' in M.G. Jarrett and B.Dobson (edd.), Britain and Rome (1966), 52-3; the only exception cited by Watson, VII 1038 = RIB 1271 High Rochester (Britannia Inferior), in fact refers to a lib(ertus) c(um) s(uis). Watson argues from this, that the fact that immunes consularis are only known from the German provinces (with one possible exception from Aquincum), and from the existence of inscriptions referring to immunes librarii, that these were local titles for officers performing the same function; however, a second exception in the case of the immunes may now be known from Pannonia Inferior (see note 66), and whereas the librarii consularis are mostly recorded in provincial capitals, the immunes are almost all outposted like beneficiarii consularis, which argues, with their title, for a similarity to the latter.

Librarii legionis as duplarius: VIII 2564 Lambaesis (Numidia). On the ranking of the librarii legionis cf. VIII 217 Cillium (Africa Proconsularis), a librarius promoted to tesserarius; XIV 2255 = ILS 2398 Albano (Italy), dedication by a cornicularius legionis and an actarius cum imm(unibus) libr(ariis) et exactis; AE 1898 n. 108 Lambaesis, rebuilding of the tabularium legionis by a cornicularius, an actarius and item libr(arii) et exacti legionis.

Ages of librarii consularis at death: 19 years, III 5435; 20 years, III 5631; 21 years?, AE 1967 n. 386; 23 years 8 months 6 days, V 375; 30 years, III 5814; 32 years?, AE 1965 n. 35; 35 years, Inscr. Moes. Sup. VI, 227.

22 librarii legionis: VIII 2560, Lambaesis; 28 veteran librarii legionis: VIII 2626, Lambaesis; it is not clear whether these men would have been on the staff of the legate himself (cf. Ch. II note 56 on the officium of the legate of III Augusta).

Vegetius, II, 7; Festus, De Verb. Sign. p. 446 (L) s.v. scribas.


VIII 10723 = 17634 Vazaivi (Numidia), ...Ianus fr[es] et .../example statione... VI 2977 Rome.


See H.C. Teitler op. cit (note 108), 44-9 who concludes that the terms exceptor and notarius were synonymous and that both of them included civilian as well as military secretaries.

VIII 2755 Lambaesis (Numidia), c. AD 193; on the date of Iuvenalii's prefecture see PIR² III F 300. On the establishment of the province between 198/9 and 208 see H.-G. Priam, 'A propos de la date de la creation de la
province de Numidie', *Libyca* 5 (1957), 61-75; M.P. Speidel, 'The *Singulara* of Africa and the Establishment of Numidia as a Province', *Historia* 22 (1973), 125-7; but see Ch. II note 56 on the *officium* of the legate of *legio III Augusta*.


Fiebiger, *RE* VI, 1547.

Rank of exacti: cf. XIV 2255 = ILS 2396 Albano (Italy) (see note 102); ages at death: 22 years, VIII 4240; 24 years, III 5812; AE 1940 n.177; 27 years, VIII 2596; 35 years, VIII 2977; veteran, VIII 2567, 1.54.

Adiutores of the *officium*: III 894 = ILS 3035; III 1471; 3510; 3543; 4030; VIII 1875; 9002; AE 1967 n.364; Inscr. Bostra 9075; IGR I 1481 (= AE 1907 n.48). Adiutores principis: II 6111; III 12679; AE 1916 n.29; 1967 n.444 = 1965 n.205; 1982 n.758; Adiutores corniculariorum: III 2052; VIII 10724 = 17635(?); AE 1904 n.10; IGR I 679: IGR III 1008.

Ages at death: 21 years after 5 years service, IGR III 1008; 22 years after 7 years service, AE 1982 n.758; 25 years, III 2052; 32 years after 13 years service, IGR 4030 Poetovio (Pann. Sup.) mil. dupl. leg. X Gem. Antonianiae adiut. praeter(ii) (sic).

Promotion to actarius cohortis: AE 1904 n.10 Gardun-Vojnić (Dalmatia) ... actarius coh. VII Vol. ex adiutore corniculariorum cos. Note also a possible promotion to bf cos (VII 10724 = 17635; see Ch. II note 39).


VIII 2586 Lambaesis (Numidia); AE 1917/18 n. 57

Beneficiarii sexmestris: III 101, Bostra (Arabia); 14507 Viminacium (Moes. Sup.); VIII 2586 Lambaesis (Numidia); XIII 1850 Lugdunum; AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis cf. AE 1971 n. 441 Corinth (Achaea); III 6233 = 7598 is of uncertain provenance in Moesia Inferior. The appearance of these men only at provincial capitals argues against the suggestion of A. von Domaszewski (1908; 1967), 47-8 that the *tribuni sexmestris* were the commanders of the legionary cavalry.

IX 4885 and 4886 Trebula Mutuesca (Regio IV. Italy) trib. sem. leg. XXII Primig. prae[.]semens. coh. I Classic.

Pliny, *Ep.* IV, 4, 2; Juv. VII 89.

legionem sext[am] adsedit, ìg[lu]ique e[i] salarium militiae
in auro allaque munera longe pluris missi[t].

12XIII 3162 II, Vieux, Semestris autem epistulam, ubi
propediem vacare coeperit[ ], mittam, cuius militiae
salarium [il]d est (sestertium) xxv n(ummum) in auro
suscip[e].

13Since the post was evidently not a sinecure and
required attendance at the provincial capital it is not
perhaps to be identified with the tribunates instituted by
Claudius and recorded by Suetonius, Claud. 25: stipendia
instituit et imaginariae militae genus quod vocatur supra
nummerum, quo absentes et titulo tenus fungerentur.

13VIII 2566 Lambaeisia (Numidia).

13See pp. 39-40 with note 35.
13See above note 35.

15Age and experience of bbff sexmestris: 24 years
service in the army, III 6233 = 7598; died aged 47 years
after 25 years in the army, III 101; veteran, III 14807.

16Rank of bbff sexmestris: VIII 2586 and AE 1917/18 n. 57,
listed after the quaestionarii and before the haruspex.

16Interpreter of German at Aquincum: III 10505;
interpreter of Sarmatian at Aquincum: III 14349; cf. the
interpreter of Dacian at Brigetio: AE 1947 n. 35. Other
interpreters are recorded at Viminacium (III 14507) and
near Carnuntum (AE 1978 n. 635), the latter also acting as
a centurio negotiator.

17Haruspices at Lambaeisia: VIII 2586; AE 1917/18 n. 57.
For haruspices as immunes cf. Tarruntenus Paternus in Dig.
L, 6, 7 (6) who lists victimarii amongst the immunes.

18Soldiers of the officium: III 14214 mil. off.
pre[sid]; AE 1967 n. 44 = 1965 n. 205, mil.
ep(istularius?); IG XII V(i) n. 697 [ειντραξεττε κενσί ἐκ]
των των πρατιμωρων της ἀνθυπότου. Officiales: Inscr.
Bostra 9083 ὤπατικον Σωραι... ὀφυκαλις των πατρων
P. Oxy. 1648 ἀπό ὀφυκαλιων ἐπάρχου ἀγγέλου.

19Stratores as grooms: SHA Carac. 7, 2, denique cum
illum in equum strator eius levaret;... Amm. Marc. XXIX,
3, 5, Constantius strator paucos militares equos ex his
ausus mutare, ad quos probandos missus est in
Sardiniam;... XXX, 5, 19 cum eum oblatus non susciperet
equos anteriores pedes praeter morem erigens in sublime,
innata feritate concitus. ut erat immanis. dexteram
stratoris militis lussit abscondi: Cod. Theod. VI, 31, 1,
Per omnes provincias editum generale mis. imus ut ab
stratoribus unus tantum solidus probae nomine posceretur
et in offerendis equis certam formam staturam aetatem
provinciales nostri custodiendam esse cognoscerent.

19Stratores consularis in stationes: Dover (Britannia),
AE 1977 n. 497; Scarbantia (Pann. Sup.), III 10945(?);
Arrabona (Pann. Sup.), III 4365; Intercisa (Pann. Inf.),
AE 1975 n. 705 (?); Sirmium (Pann. Inf.), III 10221(?);
Naissus (Moes. Sup.), III 1674, 1675, 1676, 8244, 8249,
12672 = 14561; Vlaško Selo (Moes. Inf.), III 13718; Beirut
(Syria), AE 1957 n. 118; Nela (Arabia), IGR III 1263.
Bbff cos are recorded at Scarbantia, Intercisa, Sirmium,
Naissus and Nela. See Ch. V notes 26, 28, 51.
19See R.W. Davies, 'The Supply of Animals to the Roman
Marc. XXIX, 3, 5 (see note 139).
Act. Proc. Cypr. 2, 2-3; see G. Lopuszanski, op. cit (note 28), 34-7 who suggests that the eques a custodibus was actually a singularis and argues from other known principes that these men should have the rank of principalis (cf. M.P. Speidel, 'Princeps as a title for ad hoc Commanders', Britannia xii (1981), 13 note 30). Note that the officers take Cyprian to Carthage in a wagon, perhaps of the vehiculatio. On the accuracy of this Martyr Act see H. Musurillo, op. cit. (note 28), xxx-xiii.

Stratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

**aStratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

Stratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

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**aStratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

**aStratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

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**aStratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

**aStratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

**aStratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

**aStratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

**aStratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

**aStratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

**aStratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

**aStratores consularis fortifying a city: AE 1922 n. 133, Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-68; IGR III 1287 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 253-6. See H.-G. Pflaum, 'La Fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie', Syria 29 (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.
Recruitment of provincial singulares: M.P. Speidel op. cit. (note 150), 6-11; Speidel is, I think, wrong to deny that singulares consularis were ever recruited from the legions and to attribute all the known singulares legionis (probably drawn from the legionary cavalry) to legionary legates (op. cit. (note 150), 20). Two of these men are recorded in Rome (VI 3339, 3614), one of them commemorating a frumentarius of the same legion, II Augusta, who had died there, which implies his own attachment to the Castra Peregrina; it is unlikely that a legionary legate should have sent his own singulares to Rome (presumably on official business if he was attached to the Castra Peregrina), and thus have by-passed the provincial governor. The employment of Ti. Claudius Maximus as singularis legati legionis (AE 1969/70 n. 583) can, I think, be explained by proposing that the legate of legio VII Claudia was temporarily acting as governor of Moesia (perhaps the upper army area) after the death of Oppius Sabinus in Domitian's Dacian War (contra M.P. Speidel, "The Captor of Decebalus", JRS 1x (1970), 144).


Functions of the singulares: ibid., 42-53. Singulares as messengers: ibid. 44 with note 248 citing P. Oxy. 1022, Oxyrhynchus, AD 103 which records that a letter, of which the papyrus is a copy, was delivered from the Prefect of Egypt to the Prefect of a Cohort within the province per Priscum singularem. The two provincial singulares recorded in Rome (see note 152) were probably there as messengers. Singulares in stationes?: M.P. Speidel op. cit. (note 150) 44-5; 102 citing AE 1937 n. 250, Vasada (Galatia) ἐπενεῳς συγγάλησις σταθερός. For a possible use of a singularis as an arresting officer and gaoler see note 136.


The complete list of protectores of the governor is now: XIII 7535a Kreuznach (Germ. Sup.) 3rd cent.: prot(eector) praes(idis) AE 1979 n. 448, between Splitska and Škrip (Dalmatia), AD 212-17; protector cos; IG Bulg. III 1890 = 884 Philippopolis (Thrace) after 217 ἐξ ηὔστατος τῆς ἱπποτῆς; Šašel 831 Burnum (Dalmatia), 3rd cent. protector(or) cos pro b(en)e(f)icario; P. Amh. CXXXVII.2 Ashmunēn (Egypt), AD 288-9 Ἐπιστρατηγός τῆς Ἱπποτῆς. See M.P. Speidel op. cit. (note 150), 130-3.


Shašel 831 Burnum (Dalmatia): protector(or) cos pro hf; Burnum was the site of a statio of the beneficiarii consularis: III 14989; AE 1925 n. 130; Šašel 830; 832.

M.P. Speidel, op. cit. (note 150), 133.

See note 10.

See p. 42 with note 49.
Numbers of stratores: M.P. Speidel, op. cit. (note 150), 49; of singulares: ibid., 12-15 and 127-9; on the British singulares see below Ch. IV note 18.

Vegetius, II, 19 advises the recruitment into the legions of literate men to deal with military paperwork. There is, however, almost no evidence from the provincial officia (except perhaps VI 2977 = ILS 2173) for the assertion of A.H.M. Jones, op. cit. (note 1), 45 that by the third century clerical officers were recruited direct to the officia without any previous military service. Promotions also from the secretarial grades are likely, but none is attested.

Senior to the speculatores and commentarienses were only the cornicularii of the praefectus legionis, the tribunus laticlavii, the procurator provinciae, the legatus legionis and, of course, the consularis, and senior to the latter were only the optiones spei and the agilifer; see A. von Domaszewski (1908; 1967), 48-9 and D.J. Breeze, 'The organization of the career structure of the immunes and principales of the Roman army', BJ 174 (1974), 275-6; Breeze points out that in the second and third centuries such administrative posts seem to have provided the best opportunities for promotion to the centurionate.

A.H.M. Jones, op. cit. (note 1), 45 suggests that by the third century there had arisen a strong distinction between the officiales and the fighting troops, anticipating the distinctions of the Late Empire: but it will be seen from the preceding note (cf. Ch. II note 42) that almost all the available promotions from bf cos upwards were either in the provincial or in other officia anyway, which means that, from the beginning and throughout the Principate, once a man had joined the officium his further career naturally followed the path of an officialis. See also note 164.

Governors as capital judges: Dig. I, 18, 6, 8 (Ulpian), cf. I, 16, 6 pr. (Ulpian); charged with keeping the peace: Dig. I, 18, 3 (Paulus); I, 18, 13 (Ulpian); XLVIII, 13, 4, 2 (Marcianus).


Ibid., 566, cf. 594.

On the survival of ranks in the officium see A.H.M. Jones, op. cit. (note 1). 48. On the transformation of stratores see above p. 62 with note 149; on the abolition of frumentarii p. 53 with note 97; on the disappearance of speculatores (last attested in P. Oxy. 1214, 2 of the 5th century AD) and beneficiarii after the 4th century see A.H.M. Jones loc. cit. with notes 114-5. The last epigraphically attested bf cos is III 14068 Scarbantia (Pann. Sup.), AD 292/305. All the beneficiarii of governors attested after this date appear on Egyptian papyri, serving in the officia either of the Prefect of Egypt or of the praesides of the new Egyptian provinces (the beneficiarii cited by Jones, loc. cit. note 115 from literary sources served in the officia of Praetorian Prefects). Since military command in Egypt had apparently passed to a dux Aegypti Thebaidos utrarumque Libyram by 308-9 (AE 1934 n. 7-8), the latest attested old-style beneficiarius of a governor may be in P. Oxy. 2187, 8 of AD 304. On the purely nominal military status of the
provincial offcia of the Late Empire see A.H.M. Jones, op. cit. (note 1), 49.

A number of decorated tombstones commemorating frumentarii, beneficiarii consularis and speculatores depict lances or lance-heads which were clearly not functional weapons. As early as 1902 and before, Alfred von Domaszewski had noted that these were in some way a badge of the beneficiarii, but it was not until 1919 that Ernst Ritterling, in discussing an actual lance-head preserved in the Wiesbaden Museum which was similar to those represented on the tombstones, made a study of these depictions and their significance. Such 'benefiziariierlanzen' are shown on inscriptions recording frumentarii from Noricum (Fig.I.28) and Pannonia Inferior, beneficiarii consularis from Lugdunensis (Fig.I.12), Germania Inferior (Fig.I.38) and Superior, and Dalmatia, and speculatores from Dalmatia (Fig.I.23) and Moesia Superior (Fig.I.21). They were obviously badges of office rather than real weapons, having heartshaped heads, sometimes doubled, sometimes pierced by round holes, surmounted by a long rod-like point sometimes ending in a button or with a cross bar at its base. Where the spear-shaft is shown it usually has a hook attached, either to aid its fixing in the ground or as a handle to aid lifting and removal, as sometimes shown on depictions of military signa. One inscription from Obernburg in Germania
Superior shows what appear to be streamer-attachments to the lance-head.*

Ritterling's interest in these inscriptions stemmed from his attempt to explain the significance of a lance-head of similar type found at Ehl an der Ill, 27 km south of Strasbourg, in Germania Superior. (Fig.I.42). This had a highly-decorated, double heart-shaped iron head, 91 cm long and 5 1/2 pounds in weight, pierced by round holes edged in bronze, and surmounted by a long narrow point ending in a button. Other comparable lance-heads pierced by round holes have been found at Niederbieber (Fig.I.20), and Wössingen (Fig.I.7) in Upper Germany, at Weissenburg (Figs.I.44 and 2b, 5), and Pfünz (Fig.I.22) in Raetia, the summit of the Great St. Bernard pass (Fig.2d.1) in the Alpes Poeninae, and at Virunum, capital of Noricum. Variants pierced by slits rather than round holes have been found at Kleinwinterheim (Fig.2a 1) in Upper Germany and at St. Peter im Holz (Teurnia) (Fig.I.15) in Noricum. A lance-shaped plaque with both small holes and incised slits was found in the waggon-grave of a native chieftain at Sárszentmiklós near Aquincum in Pannonia Inferior. Another proper lance-head, without holes and of silver rather than iron or bronze like the rest, was discovered at Caerleon in Britannia, whilst a heart-shaped iron lance-head and probably without holes was discovered in a hoard of iron found in the civilian settlement at Carnuntum, capital of Pannonia Superior. Also found in Pannonia was a lance-shaped bronze plaque, similar to the Sárszentmiklós example but without holes or slits, which came from the legionary camp at Brigetio.* Where they are found, the holes and slits were perhaps to facilitate the
attachment of small plaques, as apparently shown on a relief from Lugdunum, or of streamers as depicted on the Obernburg inscription.7

Some of these lances were certainly votive pieces, the example from the Gt. St. Bernard having been found in the temple of Jupiter Poeninus at the summit of the pass, whilst the example from Kleinwinterheim, 5 miles from Mainz, was associated with a metal plaque dedicated in the temple of Mars Leucetius to the god's consort, Nemetona, by A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento as consul for the third time, probably in 81 or 82.8 Despite the evidence of the inscriptions, it is by no means certain that any or all of the lances were either dedicated or used as badges of office by provincial officiales. Andras Alflöldi has noted that lances of this type were carried before both Republican magistrates and later the emperor himself, as illustrated on an intaglio and on coins and reliefs.0 It has been suggested that the Wiesbaden example was too elaborate for a bf cos,10 and the Kleinwinterheim lance-head appears to be associated with the consul Veiento, whilst the Sárszentmiklós plaque, although presumably a symbol of Roman authority, clearly had nothing to do with the provincial officium. The material of the Caerleon example certainly precludes its use for a mere officialis.11 None of the others were found in places where officiales are epigraphically attested, except the Great St. Bernard, Virunum and Carnuntum lances.12 Nevertheless, it remains a possibility that some of these were indeed 'benefiziarierlanzen' and that they may have been deposited at the sites of stationes. The only such lance-head which can certainly be associated with
beneficiarii consularis was that found in 1983 in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus at Osterburken on the site where at least 28 inscriptions were dedicated by these officers. This lance, with its round holes, small heart-shaped head with a bar above and below, and long rod-like point, does indeed show a remarkable similarity to the epigraphic depictions (Fig.4).

Whilst it is clear that some, at least, of the full-sized lance-heads were associated with higher Roman officials, it seems probable that a number of small brooches or ornaments, perhaps for attachment to leather, which imitate lance-heads of the same type were indeed worn by lesser officials, most likely members of the provincial officium. These miniature lance-heads, usually of bronze and often with a white-metal wash, regularly have heart-shaped heads with round or slit perforations, often with a bar above and a bar or tabula ansata (perhaps representing a label with the rank of the bearer on the full-sized lance) below, and usually a rod-like point often ending in a button. They thus reproduce all the main elements found on the inscriptions and in the full-sized lance-heads (Figs.2a.4 and 6; 2c; 3a.5, 12 and 14; 3b.4 and 5). Most originally had pendant attachments in the shape of sheathed swords (perhaps a reference to the governor's ius gladii) with ring-pommels and box-chapes (Figs.3a, 3b). The form of these sword pendants allows the dating of these ornaments to the late second or early third century, which is the period of the bulk of the epigraphic evidence for the beneficiarii consularis. It may be that some of these finds indicate the sites of citi stationes. Of the eighteen certain
provenances of miniature lances and sword-pendants, one was Mainz, capital of Germania Superior, four (Heddernheim, Stockstadt, Osterburken and Cannstatt), also in that province, are known from epigraphic evidence to have had *bf* stationes, and another five in the same province are spaced along the Rhine-Tanus-Wetterau section of the limes, where there is a surprising gap in the sequence of *bf* inscriptions between those of the Rhine limes in Germania Inferior and those of the Main and Antonine limites in Superior. Another was found at Carnuntum, capital of Pannonia Superior.18

Ritterling regarded the full-sized lances which he studied as the special badges of the provincial officiales, carried by them whenever they operated outside the officium.19 Alföldi, citing the carrying of similar lances before Republican magistrates and the emperors, saw them rather as representative of the 'sovereign power of the state' in general.20 In practice, the two positions are not separated by a great distance since the lance, either full-sized or in miniature, undoubtedly marked out the officialis who bore it as a representative of the provincial governor, who was himself the representative of Roman imperium, whether as the legatus or procurator of the emperor or as the senate's proconsul. Furthermore, the bearing of such a symbol should have served to indicate a direct chain of command from the governor to his officialis and implies the independence of the latter from any military unit or commander in the vicinity of his statio. If this conclusion is correct, the stationes of the beneficiarii consularis and the other officiales must
have been intended to operate specifically on the business of the governor, whatever that might be.


*Lances on inscriptions recording frumentarii: III 5579 Kornberg (Noricum) but perhaps brought from Pons Aeni=Pfaffenhofen (cf. E. Ritterling, op. cit., 13) (Fig.I.25); III 3241 Sirmium (Pann. Inf.); beneficiarii consularis: XIII 1909 Lugdunum (Fig.I.12); XIII 7731 the Vinxtbach (Germ. Inf.) (Fig.I.38); XIII 7400=ILS 4192a Friedberg (Germ. Sup.); XIII 11777 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.) XIII 6628 Obernburg (Germ. Sup.); XIII 6557 Jagsthausen (Germ. Sup.); III 6376-8656 Salona (Dalmatia); III 12895 Salona (Fig.I.45); speculatores: III 9401 Salona; AE 1914 n.75 Salona; AE 1945 n.88 Salona (Fig.I.23); III 1650=ILS 2378 Viminacium (Moes. Sup.) (Fig.I.21). Note also the lance-head on a graveaedicula from Aquincum, capital of Pannonia Inferior (Z. Oroszlan, Arch. Ert. series II, 41 (1927), 96ff, in Hungarian; G. Behrens, 'Mars Weihungen im Mainzer Gebiet', WZ xxxvi (1941), 20 with Abb 21) (Fig.I.24) and the relief of a soldier holding a lance on a broken tombstone from Perinthus, capital of Thracia (E. Kalinka, JOAI I (1898), Beiblatt 117 Abb. 28 cf. E. Ritterling, op. cit., 13 and Abb. 4) (Fig. I. 26); both inscriptions probably commemorated officiales.

*Heart-shaped heads: III 5579 Bedaium; XIII 7731 the Vinxtbach; XIII 9401 Salona; XIII 7731 Salona (doubled); Perinthus tombstone. Round holes: III 5579, XIII 7731, III 9401; III 12895: Perinthus tombstone. Long point: III 5579; XIII 7731; III 6736=8656 Salona; III 9401; III 12895; AE 1945 n.88 Salona. Button: XIII 7731; Perinthus tombstone. Cross-bar: III 12895; AE 1945 n.88. Hook or handle: XIII 7400 Friedberg; XIII 11777 Stockstadt; XIII 6557 Jagsthausen; XIII 12895; AE 1945 n.88; cf. A. von Domaszewski, Die Fahnen im römischen Heer (1885), 50 (reprinted in Aufsätze zur römischen Heeresgeschichte (1972)) on such attachments on tactical signa. Streamers: XIII 6628 Obernburg: cf. the `chain' wrapped around the shaft of the lance on the Perinthus tombstone (see A. von Domaszewski, WZ xii (1902), 158-9, note 2 who believes that the relief shows a chain which was unravelled and used to mark out the area of a statio once the lance had been planted in the ground).


*Full sized lance-heads: Niederbieber (Fig.I.20): E. Ritterling, op. cit. 16-17 with Abb 9; Weissenburg (Figs.1.44 and 2b.5): E. Fabricius, ORL B Nr. 72 (1906) Pl. VIII fig. 53 with text p. 40; E. Ritterling, op. cit.(note 2),15-16 with Abb. 7; and G. Behrens op. cit. (note 3). 20 A with Abb. 19, 5; Pfünz (Fig.I.22): F. Winkelmann, ORL B Nr. 73 (1901) Pl. XV fig. 31: E. Ritterling, op. cit.(note 2), 33-4 and fig. 20; Great St. Bernard pass (Fig.2d.1): E. Ritterling, op. cit.(note 2), 17; Virunum: G. Piccotini, 'Eine Benefiziarierlanzen spitze
aus Virunum', Schild von Steier 15/16 (1978), 167-70;
Kleinwinterheim (Fig.I.13): G. Behrens, op. cit.(note 3), 19 with Abb. 18, 1; St. Peter im Holz (Teurnia)
(Fig.I.15): G. Behrens op. cit.(note 3), 19 with Abb. 18, 3; Sárszentmiklós: A. Mócsy, Folia Archaeologica xiv
(1962), 35-39 with Pl. VIII.1 (Hungarian with German summary), a large bronze plaque in the shape of a pear-shaped lance-head with a delta-shaped tip and pierced by small round holes from which appear to run incised slits. This was found in the waggon grave of a chieftain of the
Eravisci found at Sárszentmiklós (Fejér County) near Aquincum. Caerleon: G.C. Boon, Isca (1972), 67 with fig.
"The Lugdunum relief, XIII 1909 (Fig.I.12), shows a shaft with two circular attachments or, more likely, holes
either side, the actual lance-head perhaps having originally been painted onto the stone (cf. E. Ritterling,
op. cit.(note 2), 18). Within the 'holes' are inscribed the letters B and F, presumably intended to represent
inscriptions on discs within the holes of the lance head (alternatively the lance-head was painted further up the
shaft and what is represented is a disc attached either side of the shaft, the solution apparently adopted by
Alföldi and shown in my Fig.I.12). The two holes in the Wössingen lance-head (Fig.I.7) evidently showed traces of
nails, possibly for the attachment of such discs (E. Ritterling, op. cit.(note 2), 16-17). It is possible that
the bronze 'button' found at Rakovitza-Capaşeni on the limes Alutanus in Dacia (III 13797) and inscribed PAC BF
was such an attachment. However, the Wössingen lance-head also has two small holes at its base through one of which
a ring was attached (E. Ritterling, loc. cit.) probably for streamers as shown on the Obernburg inscription (see
note 4). There appears to be a similar ring attached through a hole in one of the Weissenburg lance-heads
(Fig.2b.5) and the holes in the Virunum lance-head are worn at the bottom as if by metal wire; the Great St.
Bernard lance has a ring attached at the base of the head (Fig.2d.1).
See note 6. For the metal plaque from Kleinwinterheim
(XIII 7253=ILS 1010) see G. Behrens op. cit.(note 3), 16
with Abb. 16.
"A. Alföldi, 'Hasta-Summa Imperii. The Spear as
Embodiment of Sovereignty in Rome', AJA 63,1 (1959), 11-12
citing lances with rod-like points on an intaglio apparently depicting C. Asinius Pollio in 42 B.C.
(Fig.I.4) and coins of M. Volteius M.f dated 81 B.C. and of L. Papius dated slightly later (cf. A. Alföldi, op.
cit., 5-6), the spear-attribute, with slits, of Domitian on the Cancellaria relief (Fig.I.18), and the doubleheaded lance carried in the presence of Trajan on one of
the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine (Fig.I.43).
Alföldi sees his sort of magisterial spear-attribute as
the precursor of the 'benefiziarierlanzen', concurring
with Ritterling's assessment (op. cit.(note 2), 30) that
the latter were essentially different in form from the
tactical signa of the Roman army (but note the head of the standard with slits shown on the Pintalus tombstone from
Bonn, XIII 8098; Fig.I.17). Alföldi draws a parallel between the way in which the lance was apparently carried before magistrates by a subordinate and the depiction on the Viminacium tombstone (III 1650-ILS 2378) of the deceased speculator riding on a cart with a servant behind him carrying the lance. Cf. A. Alföldi, "Von Speerattribut der altrömischen Könige zu den Benefiziarieranzen", Limes Studien. Vorträge des 3. Internationalen Limeskongresses in Rheinfelden/Basel, 1957 (1959), 7-12 esp. 9.

10G. Waurick, loc. cit. (note 5).

21On the significance of the metal used for such lances see A. Alföldi, AJA 63. 1 (1959), 12 with note 119 citing himself, Die Frührömische Reiteradel und seine Ehrenabzeichen (1952), 73-4.

12The Great St. Bernard lance may be associated with the bronze plaques dedicated in the same temple by a frumentarius of legio III Italica (V 6869), by a bf cos (Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 1894, 36) and by a commentariensis consularis (V 6867). The first two may even have been stationed there; see pp. 190-1. Carnuntum was, of course, the capital of Pannonia Superior.

13E. Schallmayer, "Ausgrabung eines Benefiziarier-Weihebezirkes und römischen Holzbauten in Osterburken, Neckar-Odenwald-Kreis", Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg 1983 (1984), 175 and Abb. 165; id. Der Keltenfurst von Hochdorf. Methoden und Ergebnisse der Landesarchäologie in Baden-Württemberg. Katalog zur Ausstellung Stuttgart, Kunstgebäude vom 14. August bis 13. Oktober 1985 (1985), 407 no 15 and Abb. 607 (Fig. 4). The bar across the base of the lance-head has no clear parallel in the epigraphic examples (except perhaps the grave aedicula from Aquincum; see note 3 and Fig.I.24) or in the other full-size lance-heads, but appears on most of the miniature lances (see below), sometimes as a tabula ansata. See p. 185 for a full description.


15Miniature lance-heads are recorded by G. Behrens, K. Raddatz and H.-J. Hundt (see note 14) from Germania Superior at Mainz (Fig.2a.4); Mainz-Weisenau (Fig.2c.1) Niederbieber (Fig.3a.14), Zugmantel (Fig.2c.4,5,6), Saalburg (Fig.2c.7,0) and Watchtower 4/96 between Staden and Altenstadt on the Rhine-Taunus-Wetterau section of the limes (Fig.2c.9); Hedernheim (Fig.3b.4,5); Stockstadt (Fig.2c.10); Osterburken (Fig.2c.11,12,13); Wallstadt (Fig.2c.14); Cannstatt (Fig.2c.15); Vindonissa (Fig.2a.6); and Olten (Fig.2c.20); (for full documentation of the German examples see Ch. IV); from Raetia at Buch (R. Herzog, ORL B Nr. 67 (1898), 12 and Taf 3, 15) (Fig.2c.10) and Kösching (J. Fink, ORL B Nr. 74 (1913), 22 and Taf 4, 3) (Fig.2c.16); from Italy (?) in the form of two miniature lances of unknown provenance preserved in the Museum at Portogruaro between Venice and Trieste (G. Behrens, op. cit. (note 3), 21. C 13; Mus. Portogruaro, Inv. 1254 and 1253) (Fig.2c.18,19); and from Moesia Superior at Paianka, across the Danube from Lederata (Ü.
To these must be added examples from Feldberg in Germania Superior (L. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 10 (1905) 27 no 55 with Taf. VI 16) and the legionary camp at Carnuntum, capital of Pannonia Superior (M. von Groller, Der römische Limes in OSTERREICH VI (1905), 114 no 6 with fig.69.6).

"Sword-shaped pendants are recorded by K. Raddatz and H.-J. Hundt (see note 14) only from Germania Superior at Mainz; Zugmantel (Fig.3a.1-5,10,13), Feldberg (Fig.3a.11) Saalburg (Fig.3a.6-9,15,16) and Butzbach (Fig.3b.3) on the Wetterau limes; Heddernheim (Fig.3b.2); and Osterburken. For full documentation see Ch. IV. This collection of miniature lance-heads and sword-pendants reflects the geographical coverage of ORL, and no doubt many other examples exist both in the listed provinces and the rest of the empire, but have not been recognized or collected for publication.

Date of the miniature lances and sword-pendants: K. Raddatz, op. cit. (note 14), 64-5; H.-J. Hundt, op. cit. (note 14), 59. Dating depends largely on the form of the sword-pendants, all of which imitate full-sized swords with pommels ending in a ring and with round box-chapes to the scabbards; the latter are often richly decorated and both swords and chapes are characteristic of the late second and early third centuries; cf. H.-J. Hundt, "Ein tauschiertes römischer Ringknaufschwert aus Straubing (Sorviodurum), Mainzer Festschrift III (1952), 109-18; id, "Die spätromischen eisernen Dosenortbänder', SJ 12 (1953), 66-79. Such a date corresponds very closely to that of the bulk of the epigraphic evidence for the bf stationes.

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E. Ritterling, op. cit. (note 2), 23ff, esp. 33. On the use of the lance outside the officium, note the relief from Sirmium (Pann. Inf.) (III 3241) showing a frumentarius riding on a cart and carrying a lance, and the similar relief from Viminacium (Moes. Sup.) (III 1650=ILS 2378) showing a speculator riding on a cart and accompanied by a servant carrying his lance (see note 9). See Ch. III notes 51 and 78 with text.

See note 9 and the two articles by A. Alfooldi cited there.
Fig. 1. Types of lance-head; from A. Alfoldi.
Key to Fig.1: Lance-heads cited in the text

4 Lance on an intaglio of Asinius Pollio, c.42 BC
5 Lance on a denarius of M. Volteius M.f., aedilis in 82 BC
7 Iron lancehead found in Wössingen; more than 35cm long
12 Lance-head on conical tip of a grave monument from Lugdunum (XIII 1909)
13 Lance-head from Kleinwinterheim; original length c.60cm
15 Iron lance-head from St.Peter im Holz (Teurnia), Noricum
18 Spear-attribute of Domitian on the Cancellaria relief
20 Iron lance-head from Niederbieber
21 Lance of a speculator on a tombstone from Viminacium (III 1650 = ILS 2378)
22 Iron spearhead from Pfünz in Raetia
23 Lance-head on the tombstone of a speculator from Salona (AE 1945 n.88)
24 Lance-head on a grave aedicula from Aquincum
25 Lance-head on an altar erected by a frumentarius from Pons Aeni = Pfaffenhofen (III 5579)
26 Lance on a tombstone from Perinthus (JOAI I (1898) Beiblatt, 117, Abb.28)
38 Lance-head on an altar erected by a bf cos from the Vinxtbach (XIII 7731)
42 Lance-head of iron and bronze found at Ehl an der Ill; length 91cm
43 Lance on relief illustrating Trajan's Dacian victories on the Arch of Constantine in Rome
44 Iron lance-head from Weissenburg; length 44cm
45 Lance-head on a tombstone of a bf cos from Salona (III 12895)
Fig. 2. Full-sized and Miniature Lance-heads: a) from G. Behrens, MZ xxxvi (1941), 18 Abb.18 b) from ibid., 18 Abb.19 c) from ibid., 20 Abb.22 d) from ibid., 20 Abb.23.
Key to Fig.2: Full-sized and Miniature Lances cited in the text

a) 4  Bronze fibula with silver coat, found in Mainz
     6  Miniature lance-head of bronze, found in Vindonissa, preserved in the Museum at Brugg

b) 5  Iron lance-head from Weissenburg

c) 1  Silver fibula in form of lance-head between two swords from Weisenau
     2  Bronze ornament, once attached to leather, from Zugmantel
     3  Bronze ornament from Buch
     4-6 Bronze ornaments from Zugmantel
     7-8 Bronze ornaments from Saalburg
     9  Bronze ornament from a wooden tower at Watchtower 4/96 on the Wetterau-limes
     10 Bronze ornament from Stockstadt
     11-13 Bronze ornaments from Osterburken
     14 Bronze ornament from Wallstadt
     15 Bronze ornament from Cannstadt
     16 Bronze ornament from Kösching
     17 Bronze ornament from Palanka, opposite Lederata in Moesia Superior
     18-19 Bronze ornaments in the Museum at Portogruaro, Italy
     20 Bronze ornament from Olten

d) 1  Bronze lance-head from the temple of Jupiter Poeninus at the summit of the Great St.Bernard pass; length 40cm
Fig. 3: Miniature Lances and Sword-Pendants: a) from K. Raddatz, SJ 12 (1953), 61 Abb. 1; b) from H.-J. Hundt, SJ 14 (1955), 50 Abb. 1.
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>1-4 Bronze sword-pendants from Zugmantel</td>
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<td>5 Bronze lance-head ornament with broken sword-pendant from Zugmantel</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6-9 Bronze sword-pendants from Saalburg</td>
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<td>10 Bronze sword-pendant from Zugmantel</td>
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<td></td>
<td>11 Bronze sword-pendant from Feldberg</td>
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<td>13 Part of bronze sword-pendant from Zugmantel</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14 Bronze lance-head ornament from Niederbieber</td>
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<td></td>
<td>15-16 Bronze sword-pendants from Saalburg</td>
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<td>b)</td>
<td>2 Bronze sword-pendant from Heddernheim</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3 Bronze sword-pendant from Butzbach</td>
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<td>4 Bronze lance-head ornament from Heddernheim</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5 Bronze lance-head ornament from Heddernheim</td>
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Key to Fig. 3: Miniature Lances and Sword-Pendants cited in the text
CHAPTER IV

BENEFICIARIII CONSULARIS IN THE PROVINCIAL CAPITALS AND STATIONES

a) Introduction

The pattern of distribution of inscriptions recording bbff cos, by far the most substantial evidence for them, varies enormously from province to province according to the nature of the latter and the number of troops, especially legionaries, available to a governor for the formation of his officium. In those provinces where bbff are attested at all, some always appear, as will be demonstrated, at the provincial capital (the term is here used to mean the usual seat of the provincial governor), as, usually, do other grades of officiales. Apart from the few cases where the inscriptions give us special information, there is little which inscriptions found in the provincial capitals can add to the discussion of the duties of bbff at the officium set out in Chapter III. Such inscriptions were erected for individual reasons, especially the dedications to non-"official" deities, although army customs and the desire to express loyalty to emperor or governor evidently influenced the erection of numerous altars and dedications.

However, those inscriptions recording bbff cos which were discovered elsewhere than at the provincial capitals may imply that bbff cos had been sent to particular places on postings, stationes. It is important in identifying
such stationes to leave out of account the inscriptions which are the gravestones or memorials of bbff cos; these can only indicate the place of burial or the presence of family or friends, and rarely imply that the man died on duty. Some of course might have died at their statio and have been commemorated there, but since these stationes would be temporary and of relatively short duration (see Appendix II) it is unlikely that there should have been anyone ready to meet the cost of erecting such an inscription away from the man's home. It is significant that the tombstone of a serving bf cos is nowhere found at a place which can otherwise be shown to have had a statio (leaving aside provincial capitals and legionary bases).  

The majority of inscriptions, however, which mention bbff cos, both away from and within the provincial capitals, were dedications, almost always in the form of an altar, usually private (as indicated by use of the formula pro se et suis or the like), mostly votive, that is erected to a deity in fulfilment of a vow made previously (as indicated by a formula such as v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)) and addressed to a deity or deities, most often the official deities of the Roman army (luppiter Optimus Maximus, Iuno Regina, Minerva, Mars etc.), or deities to whom the soldier was attached and who perhaps had a shrine in the place (e.g. Mithras, Isis, Serapis), or who represented his geographical origins (e.g. Matres Italae), or who were local deities (e.g. Deae Aufaniae at Cologne), or had special interest for the soldier at his statio (e.g. Biviae Triviae Quadriviae). Deities were often grouped together on the inscriptions in order to obtain as wide a range of divine favour as possible, one of
the most frequent deities appealed to, in order to cover all contingencies, being the *genius loci*, usually in conjunction with one or more of the Capitoline deities. Loyalty to the emperors is often expressed by prefixing the inscription with the formula *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae)*.

Beyond the elements listed, the inscriptions rarely provide any information apart from the dedicator's name and rank, sometimes his legion and sometimes the consular date. The usual formula for the inscriptions is the address to the deity or deities, the name of the dedicator, his rank and, the phrase *pro se et suis* or the like, the votive formula, and the date; the order, however, does vary (though the deity almost always comes first) and individual elements are omitted, sometimes reducing the inscription to the bare essentials of the name of the deity (in the dative), the name of the dedicator (in the nominative) and his rank (*bf cos*).

The information which can be extracted from such standardised inscriptions is therefore very limited. A sufficient number of them, however, add significant extra details to allow us to draw general conclusions about the reasons for and circumstances of their erection, and to show that they do imply that the men who erected them were serving a tour of duty outposted from the *officium* at a *stationis*. Some inscriptions specifically state that the dedicator had been outposted, sometimes even naming the *stationis* or recording that this was the man's first, second or, in a single case, third *stationis*. Other inscriptions with the phrase *exacta* or *expleta statione*, or *expleto tempore* make clear the reason for the dedication. It is
reasonable to suppose that some at least of the inscriptions which give a precise day for their dedication also marked the end of the man's tour, and where we have several examples of such precisely dated inscriptions in the same place they may allow us to calculate the normal length of a tour.8

It is not unlikely that the majority of inscriptions erected outside provincial capitals by bbff cos were intended to mark the end of a man's tour of duty; and, since most of the inscriptions bear the votive formula v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus)l(ibens) m(erito), they were no doubt promised to the god or gods in return for bringing the dedicator safe to the end of his posting. This was perhaps a conventional thing to do, also, perhaps, providing an opportunity for the man to demonstrate his personal loyalty to the governor or (with the formula In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae)) to the emperor, and where large numbers of dedications have been found together, as at Stockstadt, Obernburg and Osterburken on the Upper German limes, it is clear that the erection of such an inscription was demanded by the local custom of the statio and became almost automatic, inscriptions often showing a great standardization of wording. The growth of such a custom, however, possibly implies that service at a statio was regarded as hazardous, although this is only made explicit in two instances.10 Sometimes, inscriptions were erected at the direct behest of the deity in a dream or through a vision (ex iussu, ex viso, m(onitus) v(iso)(?)).11

It is reasonable to suppose that since many bbff cos did without doubt erect such altars at the site of their
statio, often to mark its conclusion, these altars and dedications can generally be taken to mark the position of a statio. Where more than one is discovered in a locality this can be accepted beyond any reasonable doubt, and even a single inscription, though it might have been erected by a bf cos in his home town, or on a journey, ought generally to be accepted as strong evidence for a statio. The general correctness of these assumptions is to a certain extent confirmed by the fact that, with the exception of the speculatores and frumentarii (known from other evidence to have operated outside the officium and the only officiales attested with the bbff cos as carrying the lance, see Appendix I), of a very few quaestionarii, and of the stratores and singulares, (who also operated outside the provincial capitals, sometimes in large groups as army units), no other grades of officiales of the governor are attested as erecting such dedications outside the officium.¹²

For the above reasons a grave or memorial to a bf cos occurring by itself is rejected in what follows as evidence for a statio, but even a single dedication by a bf cos is taken as confirmation of such. The inscriptions and other evidence are to be considered province by province.

b) The Evidence from the Provinces

Britannia

i) The Capitals

From the late first century London was the seat of the governor, at first of the whole of Britain, a three-legion province, and then, after the division of the province
around the beginning of the third century, the capital of Britannia Superior, with two legions at Caerleon and Chester respectively, and finally, by the early fourth century, of Maxima Caesariensis. Before the late 1st century the governor was probably mostly with his army, at least in the summer months, as it undertook the conquest of the province. The earliest attested *bf cos* in Britain (and the earliest closely dated example from anywhere in the empire) belongs to this period. A tombstone of c. AD 60 found at Wroxeter commemorates a man of Italian origin of legio XX who calls himself *ben(eficiarius) leg(ati) pr(opraetore)*: this almost certainly represents a man who died whilst serving with the governor's *officium* since Wroxeter was the contemporary base not of legio XX but of legio XIV and is a likely centre from which the governor could have directed operations in Wales and the Midlands.

Twenty years later Agricola seems to have based himself at York since Demetrius of Tarsus who, Plutarch implies, accompanied him on his campaigns, made a dedication

After the withdrawal from Scotland c. AD 87, the governor seems to have settled his permanent base in London, the great palace overlooking the Thames being constructed at this period and the Cripplegate fort which probably housed the governor's bodyguard being built under Trajan or Hadrian. It has been assumed that the *officulares* were housed in the fort alongside the *singulares*; but it is at least as likely that the governor had his inner *officium* to hand in the palace which was certainly large enough to accommodate them. No *bbff cos* are attested from London but the tombstone of a *speculator*
erected by three or four of his colleagues has been discovered, and other sculptured stones have been thought to depict members of the officium.  

There is, however, some evidence to suggest that the governor may have given up London as his seat, at last temporarily, in the second half of the second century: this could only be due to renewed military activity in the north and the governor may well have chosen to base himself again at York, the legionary fortress of VI Victrix. At any rate this city became the capital of the new province of Britannia Inferior, with a single legion, at some time between 197 and 216 and at about the latter date an inscription was dedicated [Genio] collegi[...]b p(promotionem?), apparently by the b(ene)f(iciarii) Gordian(i): the collegium was presumably the local guild of beneficiarii consularis, since Gordian was one of the first praetorian governors of Lower Britain, later to become emperor in AD 238.

At least one, or perhaps as many as three bff cos are recorded outside Britain. One, a soldier of VI Victrix, is certainly attested on a tombstone erected for his father at Timgad in Numidia, whilst a second may be attested on a fragmentary tombstone from Madauros in Africa Proconsularis. The third, a soldier of legio XX Britannica (sic), who may have been a beneficiarius of either the governor or the procurator of the province, was commemorated by his mother at Nîmes in Gallia Narbonensis after his death at the age of 31 years, 5 months and 26 days.
ii) The Stationes

All but two of the *bbff cos* known from Britain are attested in the northern military area of the province and all but one of these were probably serving in the area after it had already become the separate province of Britannia Inferior. The north of England was heavily garrisoned with auxiliary forts, linked by military roads as far south as Derbyshire, but it is only in the northernmost part of the area, between York and the frontier of the province, that *beneficiarii consularis* are attested.

Four *stationes* are attested along what is now known as Leeming Lane, the main road from York north to Hadrian's Wall (where it becomes Dere Street) and beyond. The first lay at Catterick Bridge, about 60 km along the road from York; it is attested by an unusual inscription, now lost, dedicated *Deo qui vias et semitas commentus est.* The actual dedicator is transmitted on the existing copy of the inscription as *T. Irdas SC,* these letters usually being taken as standing for *(ingularis c(onsularis),* but the name is almost certainly corrupt in its transmission and a better reading would be *Aur(elius) Dasso:* he was perhaps a recently enfranchised auxiliary veteran since the text states that the dedication was restored by a *bf cos* in the year 191 (although this might in fact be the date of the original dedication) and the nomen Aurelius would only have been generally available to the newly enfranchised since the accession of Marcus Aurelius in 161. The fact that the *bf cos* in question only restored the inscription vitiates the frequent assertion that he will have chosen the deity in acknowledgement of his own particular concern with the
roads, but such a connection might of course have prompted him to carry out the restoration. Another altar has been found at Catterick Bridge dedicated Deae Syriae by, apparently, a Gaio $. But since the man appears to have only a single nomen (implying that he was not a Roman citizen), and does not call himself $. and since the quality of the inscription is poorer than any erected by a $. anywhere in the empire, it seems most likely that he was an auxiliary, perhaps a Syrian, and presumably the beneficiarius of the prefect of the local auxiliary unit. There was a fort at Catterick Bridge in the Flavian and Trajanic period, situated south of the River Swale at Thornborough Farm, and a vicus with a mansio and baths grew up beside it. At some time between c.125 and c.160 a bridgehead fort was occupied at Brompton on the north bank of the Swale, and after this was abandoned the original fort may have been reoccupied; this is the fort likely to have been held at the time when Q. Varius Vitalis $. restored Aurelius Dasso’s altar on the Thornborough side of the river.

Cataractonium (Catterick Bridge) was evidently a staging post for travellers proceeding further north up Leeming Lane or across the Stainmore pass towards Carlisle, and was marked as such on Iter I of the Antonine Itinerary for Britain. The next staging post on the Itinerary, 31 km to the north at Vinovia (Bincester), is also the site of the next attested statio along Leeming Lane. Here two $. set up votive inscriptions, one Deab(us) Matribu(s) Ollot(otis), the other IOM et Matribus Ollototis sive Transmarinis... pro salute sua et suorum. The inscriptions date from the late second or early third
century at a time when Binchester, which was first occupied in the Flavian period, evacuated under Hadrian, and then reoccupied under the governor Calpurnius Agricola (163/4-7166), was held by the *ala Vettonum C.R.* which as a unit erected another inscription *Matribus Transmarinis*. It is unclear whether the *vicus* here was in existence at the time of the dedications made by the *bbff cos*.

The next *statio* along Leeming Lane lay at Longovicium (Lanchester) 17 km from Binchester. The fort here was constructed c.140 for a milliary cohort, abandoned c.196 and then left empty until rebuilt for a quingenary cohort under Gordian III (238-244); there was a *vicus* of uncertain date. A single inscription attests the *statio*, a votive altar dedicated *Deo Silvano*. Since the inscription can only be dated roughly to the late second or early third century it is unclear whether the fort was occupied at the time of its dedication.

The final *statio* on this road, now known as Dere Street north of Corbridge, lay at Habitancum (Risingham), the first outpost fort north of Hadrian's Wall, situated 51 km from Lanchester and 22 km from the Wall. The fort was first occupied c.AD 140, abandoned perhaps in the 180's, then reoccupied in the early third century under the governor Alfenus Senecio (AD 205-8) and held well into the fourth century; the site of the *vicus* is unknown. The *statio* is attested by a third-century altar dedicated [D]eo *Mogonito Cad. et n(umini) d(omini) n(ostri) Aug(usti)...pro se et suis* by a *bf cos* who proclaims himself to be serving *Habitanci prima stat(ione). Mogonitus Cad...* appears to be a local deity.
The other main route from York to Hadrian's Wall branched off from Leeming Lane at Scotch Corner to the north of Catterick Bridge and led across the Stainmore Pass to Carlisle, near which lay Stanwix, the base of the only milliary ala stationed in Britain, the ala Petriana. A statio is attested at Morbium(?) Greta Bridge, 22 km from Catterick Bridge, the first fort (apart from Carkin Moor) along the trans-Pennine road from Scotch Corner. The fort remains unexcavated but the vicus existed from the Flavian into the Hadrianic period at least and showed renewed activity in the third century up to c.275-300. The fort is assumed to have had a similar history and is known from an inscription to have undergone rebuilding under Alfenus Senecio, like Lanchester. One inscription certainly, and possibly a second, both of them now lost, record the presence of a bf cos here. The first is a votive altar erected by a bf cos provinci[ale] Superior(is), the other records restoration under the supervision of a centurion of legio VI Victrix but also seems to mention a Post(umius ?) Urbanus and in the next line provinciae ? Superioris. The inscriptions have usually been taken to indicate that the consular governor of the Upper Province continued to have a hand in the administration of the praetorian Lower Province after the division of c.213. Certainly troops—-from the Upper Province frequently operated in the Lower, but it should be noted that where a governor could not find sufficient legionary troops from his own province to serve the needs of his officium he could apparently 'borrow' beneficiarii (and this is only certainly attested for beneficiarii consularis) from neighbouring provinces; this happened as a matter of course in Dalmatia where bbff cos.
of the legions of both the Pannonian provinces, of Moesia Superior and of Dacia appear in the capital and in stationes, and on at least one occasion the borrowed beneficiarius, stationed deep in the province at Novae, calls himself Pannoniae Superioris; there also appear to be cases of such borrowing, at least from neighbouring legions, in Lusitania (?), Germania Superior, Pannonia Inferior, and Moesia Superior (?), and Africa Proconsularis is known to have received officiales from legio III Augusta even after the latter's commander had become governor of Numidia in his own right. Since the praetorian governor of Lower Britain had only a single legion at his disposal and, evidently, a large number of stationes to man, whilst the consular governor of Upper Britain had two legions and few or no stationes to man (if the lack of epigraphic evidence is significant), it is clear that the praetorian governor may well have needed to obtain more beneficiarii from the consular governor. There is no reason to suppose that the governors of the other Danubian provinces had any authority in the territory of the consular governor of Dalmatia, despite the presence on loan of their beneficiarii, and the same may well be true of Britain.

Another statio on this road appears to have lain at Brocavum (Brougham), 59 km from Greta Bridge and 34 km south of Stanwix, at the point where the road is joined by the main trunk road running up from Chester to the west of the Pennine range. A fort and vicus lay here from at least the second century and probably from the Flavian period, up to the fourth century, and an inscription shows that it was within the territory of the civitas Car(vetiorum). The inscription attesting the statio was
found built into a house some 2 km away at Clifton and is heavily weathered; the latest reading reveals it to have been dedicated Deo Marti A[ul]g. pro sal[u]te [[Antonini]] Pii Fel(ics) A[ul]g.(?) and erected on 22 September, perhaps in 213 or in the reign of Elagabalus, by a man who was promotus bf cos leg. VI Vic(tricis) [[Ant(oninianae)]...l]ior ex Africa. R.W. Davies has suggested that he was one of a number of men promoted to positions in the recently rebellious British army under Caracalla from more loyal provinces. Another example of such a man may be the bf cos of legio VI Victrix who erected a tombstone, presumably in his home town, to his father at Timgad in Numidia.

A single statio is recorded on the Stanegate to the south of Hadrian's Wall at Vindolanda (Chesterholm), very roughly at the mid-point of the road, 38 km from Luguvalium (Carlisle) and 24 km from Corstopitium (Corbridge). Vindolanda was the site of a cohort-fort first built probably under Agricola in the early 80's and abandoned c.125 on the construction of Hadrian's Wall, but rebuilt under Calpurnius Agricola and occupied thereafter until the end of the fourth century though not necessarily entirely continuously. The vicus was perhaps also built c.160 and continued in use, apart from a break and reconstruction in the third quarter of the third century, until the end of the fourth century; the vicus had a mansio, as at Catterick. The statio is attested by an altar dedicated Silvano (as at Lanchester) by a bf cos provinciae Superioris leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), as on the Greta Bridge inscriptions. It has been suggested that there was another statio only 3 km away at the nearby fort of
Housesteads on the basis of a votive altar of the early 3rd century dedicated Deo Soli Invicto Mytrae Saeculari and found in the Housesteads Mithraeum 300 metres south of the fort, and that he was here to regulate civilian traffic moving through the Wall at the nearby Knag Burn Gate. The Gate, however, was probably not constructed until c.300 long after the date of the inscription. Without such a reason for existence, any statio here seems most unusual, lying as it does off the main east-west road, the Stanegate and so close to another statio at Vindolanda (though of course the two need not have been absolutely contemporary and the close juxtaposition of the forts is in itself unusual). In fact, there is no reason why the man who dedicated the Housesteads inscription should not have come from the Vindolanda statio; Vindolanda had no known Mithraeum of its own and the small distance between the two forts would have been little obstacle to a follower of the god. It therefore seems unlikely that Housesteads had a statio of its own. The statio sometimes assumed at Great Chesters is based on conjectural and unlikely readings of two fragmentary inscriptions.

One final statio is attested in the military area, although right away from the Wall system, at Lancaster, a fort with a vicus held continuously from the late first up to the fourth century. Lancaster lay within Britannia Inferior after the division of the province. The fort was exactly equidistant (108 km) between Hadrian's Wall and the legionary fortress of Chester, the base of legio XX Valeria Victrix. The statio is attested by a single votive altar dedicated Deo Sancto Marti Cocidio, a Romano-British deity particularly common in the region of
Hadrian's Wall. The altar is clearly of the late second or early third century but it is impossible to say whether it was set up before or after the division of the province; here, as with the other stationes of Britain attested by undated inscriptions, the term consularis is of no chronological significance since it had long been used for governors of consular and praetorian rank indiscriminately.

Outside the military area two further stationes are attested as manned by beneficiarii consularis, both in the south of England. At Venta Belgarum (Winchester) a bf cos restored an altar Matrib(us) Ital[i]s Germanis Gallis Brit(annis), dated by the lettering to about the end of the first century AD. One can only speculate as to his role here but there may be a possible connection with local imperial estates, such a connection being attested in other parts of the empire. A wool-working factory may be recorded at Winchester in the fourth century, and such a factory could imply the existence of long-established imperial estates in the area to supply the wool; the villa at Clanville, less than 30 km away, has been thought to have been in imperial ownership. Of course Winchester, as a major town and civitas capital, lay at a route node with roads leading to Salisbury, Silchester, Bitterne and Chichester, although it was not on the main route between London and the South-West. At Dorchester-on-Thames, where there was a small walled town, a bf cos erected an altar (now lost) in the second or third century dedicated I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et numinib(us) Aug(ustorum). There may, again, have been imperial estates in this fertile area of the Thames valley somewhat underpopulated by villas, but there is no evidence.
Finally, mention may be made here of an evident statio at Dover manned by a strator consularis who set up an inscription there recording the votive dedication of a shrine [Mat]rib(us) Italic(is), perhaps reflecting the man's origins. The stratores were, amongst other things, grooms, charged with looking after horses and transport for official travellers (see Chapter III, p. 60). Dover, possibly headquarters of the Classis Britannica, at least in the second century from which the inscription probably dates, would be an obvious point of entry for such visitors from abroad and the strator no doubt provided them with transport to London. Another such statio is often presumed at Irchester in Northamptonshire, but the strator there is recorded by his tombstone which he apparently set up for himself, strongly implying that Irchester was his home.

Hispania Ulterior Baetica

In 27 BC Augustus reorganized the longest-settled part of Spain south and east of the river Anas into a senatorial province without a legion, entitled Hispania Ulterior Baetica: the governor was a proconsul, probably based at Corduba. No officiales are known from Baetica with the exception of a speculator buried at Italica; the tombstone is, of course, no evidence for any sort of statio, and it is not even certain that the man was a speculator of the governor of Baetica or indeed of any Spanish governor.
Lusitania

In 27 BC Augustus divided northern Spain into two army areas, Lusitania and Tarraconensis, and some time later, after the conquest of the northern part of the Iberian peninsula, organized the region west of the Anas, north to the Durius and east to Salamanca into the province of Lusitania under a praetorian legate and without a legion. Hardly any officiales are attested from the province, none of them certainly members of the province's officium. The capital lay at Emerita, a veteran colony founded by Augustus in 25 BC, although the site of the governor's palace is unknown.

The only bf cos attested at the capital is a 70-year old veteran of legio VI Victrix, L. Maelonius Aper, buried here by his freedmen and freedwomen; the tombstone is clearly of early date, as signalled by the funerary formulae employed. Legio VI Victrix was based in Spain in the first half of the first century AD and stationed some 30 km south of Asturica in northern Hispania Citerior until transferred to Germania Inferior in 69/70; it was awarded the cognomina Pia Fidelis Domitiana for its loyalty during the revolt of Saturninus in AD 89, the last name being dropped on the death of Domitian in 96. Given that the legion is called leg. VI Vic. P.F. on the inscription, the date of its erection should be after 96, though the early formulae should suggest not very long after. Since the bf cos died at the age of 70 it is possible that, if he was recruited at the usual age of between 18 and 23, he had served his full 25 years in Spain, in which case his retirement at Emerita would strongly suggest that he served the governor of Lusitania, although the governor of
Tarraconensis is another possibility. On the other hand, the use on the inscription of cognomina not granted to the legion until 89 might suggest that the man was serving with the legion after that date, in which case it is possible that he was recruited in Spain whilst the legion was still there and returned to Emerita, perhaps his home town, on retirement (he bears a Lusitanian name), but that he served as beneficiarius of the governor of Germania Inferior after the legion had moved on.

If this beneficiarius did indeed serve the governor of Lusitania he will have been 'borrowed' either direct from the legion in Hispania Citerior (Tarraconensis) or from the governor of that province; in Lusitania he would have been serving a governor of praetorian rank but, even though on the suggested dating of the inscription it would provide one of the earliest examples of the title bf cos, it is clear from other examples that even at this early date the term consularis could be employed indiscriminately for consulars and praetorians simply to mean governor.

The only other officialis recorded at Emerita was a frumentarius of legio VII Gemina who erected an altar to Mithras there in AD 155. If, as seems in this case very likely, the man was serving on the staff of the governor of Lusitania, it is clear that at this date the latter's officium was supplied from the single legion then in Spain which was stationed in Tarraconensis at León; this would provide an excellent parallel for the proposed service of the bf cos of VI Victrix at Emerita.

No stationes outside the capital are attested in Lusitania.
Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis

i) The Capital

Tarraconensis was made into an army area by Augustus in 27 BC and was, after 19 BC, always governed by a consular legate based at the Caesarian colony of Tarraco. Seven legions were involved in the conquest, of which four were quickly withdrawn, the three remaining being reduced to two in AD 43 and one, legio VI Victrix, in 63. After the upheavals of 69/70 the province was eventually left with a single legion, VII Gemina, sometime after AD 74; it was based at León, over 700 km away from Tarraco in northwestern Spain, although a vexillation of the legion was stationed at the capital.8*

At Tarraco the governor's palace has been identified as a huge rectangular building 160 m by 130 m situated on the middle terrace of the Roman city. An inscription has been found erected by the governor T. Flavius Titianus (199-202 or 205-8) and dedicated genio praetorii consularis.80

Inscriptions recording officiales, all of the late second or early third century, include a dedication by an adiutor principis, possibly, though not certainly, of a princeps praetorii, implying the existence of such an officer at the head of the governor's officium.87

A dedication of 202-5 was erected in honour of the governor Q. Hedius Lollianus Gentianus by two cornicularii, two commentarienses and ten speculatores, providing important evidence for the numbers of these grades to be found in an officium (see Ch. III pp. 38, 40, 42).87 Another inscription apparently in honour of the governor was erected by a cornic(ularius) offic(ii) eius"" and
another cornicul(arius) cos is recorded on a tombstone.80 A tombstone of a c.i. leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o praetore or provinciae) H(ispaniae) C(terioris) c(larissimi) v(iri) may also record a cornicularius80

A commentariensis ab actis civilibus is uniquely recorded here, also on a tombstone; he was presumably entrusted specifically with the recording of civil cases whilst his colleague, the second commentariensis, was no doubt concerned with criminal trials (see Ch. III pp. 40-41).81 Another tombstone was erected for a com. L. VII G.F. quaestionario, possibly a commentariensis promoted from quaestionarius, but, since the inscription was erected by a friend, the correct reading could be com(ilitoni).82

The tombstone of a speculator of legio VII Gemina Felix was erected here by seven of his colleagues83 and another speculator, also recorded, on his own tombstone, as commentariensis ab actis civilibus (see above), erected the tombstone of a fellow-townsman (municeps) who was a bef cos;84 a third speculator is recorded on a fragmentary inscription, apparently also a tombstone.85

Four tombstones from Tarraco were erected for frumentarii, one of them a centurio frumentarius who therefore probably served in the Castra Peregrina at Rome (see Ch. III pp. 49-50) as well as at Tarraco86; another two died in the rank of frumentarius87, whilst one of the bbff cos buried at Tarraco is recorded as having previously served as frumentarius of legio VII Gemina (see below) and so had probably served here in that capacity.88

Two further tombstones of frumentarii of VII Gemina who will have done at least some of their service in that capacity at Tarraco are known from outside the province.
One is the fragmentary tombstone of a man buried at Cologne, capital of Germania Inferior, probably in the third century who served in Spain as a soldier of VII Gemina, was made frumentarius, probably in the same legion, and was then promoted probably to cornicularius of a tribune of legio I Minervia, the legion at Bonn. The other tombstone was found at Kornberg in Austria and may have come from nearby Bedaium (Seebruck) in Noricum, although another suggestion is that it was moved from Pons Aeni (Pfaffenhofen), the Norican-Raetian frontier post only 12 km away. Since the inscription is a tombstone it is of course no good evidence for a statio, but the possibility remains that the man was serving in one of these two provinces; in this case he will have gone to the Castra Peregrina in Rome from Tarraco (see Ch. III pp. 49-53) and been detached to the province from there.

Two stratores of the governor are also recorded at Tarraco. One, a soldier of VII Gemina Felix, perhaps from Bracara, erected a votive altar to Minerva pro salut(e) collegio (sic) strato(rum), and so was presumably a strator himself. The other erected an honorary inscription to Tib. Claudius Candidus, one of Severus' generals during the latter's rise to power and the first governor of Tarraconensis following the victory at Lugdunum in 197, appointed to secure the province. The dedicator was formerly hastatus leg(ionis) X Geminae, the legion then based at Vienna in Pannonia Superior, and had evidently served with Candidus between 193 and 197 in the exercitus Ilyrici of which, the inscription records, the latter was dux; it would appear that he came with Candidus to Tarraco
in 197 to serve as strator eius, obviously as centurio stratorum in view of his previous rank.102

Finally, a centurion of legio VII Gemina Felix, who was praepositus simul et campidactor of the equites singulares of the governor, erected an altar to Mars Campestris pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) M. Aur(elii) Commodi et equit(um) sing(ularium) on 1 March 182.103

No fewer than twelve bbff cos are recorded on inscriptions from Tarraco, all tombstones of the late second and early third century; one was erected by a bf cos for himself and his wife104, another for a veteran bf cos by his wife105, another by his heir for a bf cos who came from Toledo and died aged 42 years.108 A bf cos, together with another man, also erected the tombstone of a verma Tarraconensis, a city slave, whom they describe as colleg(a).107

Four more of the tombstones can be dated to sometime before AD 197, the year of the battle of Lugdunum, when legio VII Gemina, which already had the cognomen Felix (perhaps since the campaign of Clemens in Upper Germany (AD 72/3) just before the legion moved to Spain), was granted the additional cognomen Pia for its loyalty to Severus.108 One was erected for a bf cos by his fellow-townsman, a speculator of the same legion (see above)109, one for a man who died aged 37 by his wife110, and the other two for veterans, one of them from the colony of Sicca Veneria in Africa Proconsularis, by their wives.111

Four other of the tombstones can be dated to after 197. One was erected to the deceased's memory by his wife,112 another for a man who died aged 41 after 24 years service by a woman who describes him as hospiti
benemeredenti, another for a man who was a citizen of Asturica and died aged 45 after 23 (?) years service, by his freedman. The last, of a bf cos who had served as a frumentarius, has already been mentioned; the man came from the colony of Italica in Baetica, was probatus in leg(ione) VI Ferra[t(a)], a legion then stationed in Syria Palaestina, and then returned to Spain when he was trans(latus) frum(entarius) in leg(ionem) VII G.P.F., and was finally factus [bf] cos; he died aged 40 after 21 years of service.

Unusually, bbff cos are also attested at Tarraco in a literary source, the Passio Fructuosii, which records the martyrdom of Fructuosus, bishop of Tarraco, who was arrested there with two deacons in AD 259 by six bbff of the governor, Aemilianus, and later executed at the hands of the same beneficiarii by burning at the stake.

One further bf cos may be mentioned here, known from his tombstone at Nemausus (Nimes) in Gallia Narbonensis which was erected for him as beneficiari lunii Omulli consular(is) cura T. Vitrasi Pollion(is) legati Aug(usti); Iunius Omullus was governor of Tarraconensis c.AD 133 and T. Virasius Pollio apparently legate of the man's legion, VII Gemina Felix. The fact that it was the latter who erected the inscription perhaps implies that the man died on official business, possibly en route from Tarraco to Lugdunum.

ii) The Statio

Only two bbff cos are attested in Tarraconensis outside the capital, both on inscriptions of the second or third century, but one of them from the man's tombstone,
erected by his brother at Emporiae (Ampurias), 120 km north-east of Barcelona.\textsuperscript{118}

The other bf cos dedicated an exedram cum bas(i) at his own expense at what he explicitly states to be a statio at Segisamo (Sasamón), the only statio attested in Spain.\textsuperscript{119} The beginning of the inscription is fragmentary but is probably to be read as genio stat[il]oni[s] Segisamonensis.\textsuperscript{120} Segisamo was a town of the Turmogi, perhaps a tribe of the Vaccaei, and a highly important strategic site in northern Spain; it was used by Augustus as his headquarters for the conquest of the area, and was later the base of legio IV Macedonica (or adjacent to it) until the legion moved to Germania Superior in AD 43.\textsuperscript{121}

It also lay at the crossing of a number of important routes and, significantly, on the main road between the provincial capital and what was, after c.74, the base of legio VII Gemina, some 565 km from the former and 145 km from the latter.\textsuperscript{122}

\textbf{Gallia Narbonensis}

Gallia Narbonensis, having been constituted a province by Augustus in 27 BC was then 'returned' to the senate in 22 BC and governed by a proconsul at Narbo; it is thought by some that during the second century, probably under Antoninus Pius, Nemausus (Nîmes) succeeded Narbo as the capital.\textsuperscript{123} The site of the governor's prætorium is not certainly known in either city.\textsuperscript{124}

Unfortunately, no certain officiales of the province are known and only three of the officiales attested within it could really have served in the officium of the proconsul. A fragmentary inscription from Narbo mentions a
corniculafrius\textsuperscript{126}, but it is not clear that the man served the governor and if the inscription dates, as it may, to the period after the governor had moved to Nemausus, it is not even likely. A speculator of legio VIII who died aged 28 is recorded on a tombstone from Ampus c.35 km north-west of Forum Iulii (Fréjus) and may also have served the proconsul, but could as easily have served in the officium at Lugdunum or that at Mainz in Germania Superior.\textsuperscript{126} And a possible optio pr\textsuperscript{incipis} ex pra\textsuperscript{torio}?], possibly of the proconsul, was buried at Dea Augusta Vocontiorum (Die).\textsuperscript{127}

Other officiales are attested in Narbonensis but served in other provinces. The earliest was a probably pre-Claudian speculato(r) of legio XXI buried at La Grande Lauzade; the man's tribe, Teretina, suggests that his origo was Arles and that La Grande Lauzade, probably his home, was in the territory of the city. Legio XXI (Rapax) was at this period stationed at Vetera in the Lower German military area so that he was probably attached to the officium of the Lower German army commander.\textsuperscript{128} Another was a soldier of cohors I Urbana, a unit stationed at Lugdunum in the later first century, who was buried at Genava at the end of the first century and whose tombstone there records that he was successively beneficiarius and cornicularius of various governors of Lugdunensis between c.AD 77 and 88 (see pp. 145-6)\textsuperscript{128} A beneficiarius of Iunius Omullus, governor of Hispania Tarraconensis c. AD 133, was commemorated at Nemausus by the legate of his legion, VII Gemina having perhaps died en route from Tarraco to Lugdunum.\textsuperscript{130}

Yet another bf cos. of legio VIII Augusta, erected a tombstone together with his wife in the late second/early
third century for their young son, who died aged 1 year 2 months and 7 days, at Antipolis where the couple's home presumably lay (the baby's origo, however, is given as Forum Iulii (?)); although the man was evidently from Narbonensis he will have served either the governor of Lugdunensis or that of Germania Superior. Finally, a beneficiarius of legio XX Britannica (sic), who had served either the governor or procurator of Britain, was commemorated at Nîmes by his mother after his death at the age of 31 years 5 months and 26 days.

**Aquitania**

Aquitania became a separate imperial province under Augustus, either in 27 BC or 16-13 BC, with the praetorian governor based, at least by the third century, at Burdigala (Bordeaux). No bbff cos or any other officiales are known from the capital or anywhere else in Aquitania, although the existence of such officiales is proved by a single inscription erected under Caracalla (AD 212-17) at Interamna in Italy in honour of L. Iulius Iulianus, a former legatus Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) provinciae Aquitaniae by the officiales eius provinciae Aquitaniae.

**Gallia Lugdunensis**

Gallia Lugdunensis became a separate imperial province under Augustus at the same time as Aquitania and Belgica either in 27 BC or 16-13 BC, and was placed under the control of a praetorian governor even though members of the Imperial House continued from time to time to administer all Gaul. The capital lay at Lugdunum (Lyon) and the governor probably resided at the supposed Augustan Imperial
Palace situated north of the forum of the city. From the early first century AD he had a garrison at his disposal in the city (first attested under Tiberius) to protect the mint situated there (XIII 1499). Under Tiberius the garrison consisted of cohors XIII Urbana, whose barracks apparently lay in the south of the city near the theatre district; it changed to cohors XVII Urbana under Claudius (perhaps simply a change in the numbering of the cohorts after Tiberius increased their overall number), and perhaps to cohors XVIII Urbana under Nero if Tacitus is correct (Hist. I, 64). Under the Flavians it became cohors I Flavia Urbana, providing a garrison of 1200 men according to Josephus (Bell. Iud. II, 16, 4) which was replaced by cohors XIII Urbana from Carthage under Hadrian. After this cohort had supported Albinus in 197, Severus replaced it with vexillations of all the four German legions, although the two legions of Germania Inferior, that is I Minervia and XXX Ulpia Victrix, are most frequently represented in the epigraphic evidence. It was from the Lugdunum garrison, it would appear, that the governor drew his officiales, as perhaps did the governors of Narbonensis, Aquitania and Belgica.

Two cornicularii are attested at Lugdunum, one on a third-century tombstone where he is recorded as a veteran of legio VIII Augusta and ex cornuc(lario) praesidis provinciae Lugdunensis, and another probable one on a fragmentary second or third century memorial erected during his lifetime for himself and, apparently, his deceased brother and sister (?); since his brother appears to have been a speculator and certainly, therefore, a member of the governor's officium, it is quite possible that he also
served there, although he designates himself simply *cornuclarius*. Another, certain, *cornicularius* of the governor of Lugdunensis in the Flavian period is recorded on his tombstone at Genava (see below).

Two *commentarienses* are attested at Lugdunum, one on an altar recording the dedication of a shrine to Dea Fortuna on 13 February 221 by a man who had been promoted from the rank of *speculator*, the other on a third-century votive plaque dedicated *Deo Invicto* (i.e. to Mithras) by a man promoted from *frumentarius*.

Another *frumentarius* is attested who certainly served at Lugdunum but is commemorated on a poor-quality inscription, apparently erected by the man’s freedman, at Heraclea Pontica in Bithynia on the shore of the Black Sea. The inscription tells us that he was from the *civitas* of the Veliocasses (?) in Lugdunensis and was *λεγιώνας πρύτανις* *Μενέρβιος Φρομεντάριος Αύγουστος* (sic) *Χώρας Λουσδόνου*. The title *frumentarius* of Augustus is very rare but is not a surprising description for a man who would have served in Rome at the Castra Peregrina (see Ch. III pp. 49-50). The equally odd phrase *Χώρας Λουσδόνου* has been taken to imply that the man had some sort of special responsibility for the territory around Lugdunum, but it is not clear what such a responsibility would entail and it is hardly credible that such a lowly officer had any sort of territorial responsibility for a city as important and well endowed with military and civilian officials as Lugdunum. The phrase is probably no more than a rather odd expression in a generally rather oddly-phrased inscription to indicate where this *frumentarius* of a German legion actually performed his duties.
Other officiales recorded at Lugdunum include a veteran of legio VIII who served, as his second or third century tombstone tells us, as an immunis consularis, possibly in Lugdunensis, although such officers are attested otherwise mostly in the two German provinces, and another soldier of VIII Augusta who appears on a tombstone of similar date, as bf trib(uni) sexm(estris).

Only one possible bf cos, apparently a veteran, is recorded at Lugdunum, on a tombstone, but the inscription is very badly damaged and neither the man's legion nor rank is clear; he was, however, evidently a Thracian and commemorated by a man who can possibly be identified as another Thracian, perhaps his brother, attested at Rome as a soldier of legio I Italica promoted to cohors II Praetoria. There was also found at Lugdunum a pyramidal sculptured stone depicting a lance-head with a small disc either side of the point and the letters B and P carved within the discs, obviously a depiction of a "benefiziarierlanze" (Fig 1.12; see Appendix I), perhaps from the memorial of a bf cos who served here.

A certain beneficiarius of the governor of the Lugdunensis, and one of the earliest bbff cos attested in the empire, is recorded on his tombstone of AD 96-8 at Genava in Narbonensis (see above p. 141). The stone records that he died, evidently sometime during the reign of Nerva, as a centurion of cohors I Urbana, at that time stationed at Lugdunum (see above), having first joined the unit as a miles in 73, become beneficiari(ius) Tettieni Sereni leg. Aug. in 79 (?), and cornicular(ius) Corneli Gallicani leg. Aug. equestri(bus) stipendiis in 83, served.

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item Minici Rufi legati Aug., and then been promoted evocatus Aug(usti) in 88 and centurio in 90.141

No stationes are attested in Lugdunensis.

Gallia Belgica

Like Aquitania and Lugdunensis, Gallia Belgica became a separate imperial province under Augustus in either 27 BC or 16-13 BC, with a praetorian governor based at Durocortorum (Reims); the palace may have been situated in the area of the later Cathedral. At some date he may possibly have moved to Trier where the provincial procurator, who also had financial responsibility for the two German army areas and, later, provinces, had been based since the first century AD at least.149

The move of the governor to Trier is implied by an altar erected in the third century by a veteran soldier to Mercury, at the latter's shrine at Niederemmel, 25 km from Trier, which he had evidently vowed to the god whilst serving as cornicula(rius pr)aesid(is provinciae) Belg(icae).150

The only other certain officialis of the province appears on a first- or second-century inscription from Eporedia in northern Italy, erected by at least fifteen men, most with Greek cognomina and therefore probably freedmen, who were perhaps Augustales or members of a religious collegium; amongst these men is recorded a F. Septicius Varus mil(es) benef(iciarius) leg(ati) Aug(usti) provinciae Belgicae, who was presumably included in this group as a native of the city.161

Another bf cos is recorded on a tombstone of the second or third century, erected by his brother for
himself, his wife and the *beneficiarius*, on the plateau of
the Donjon des Comtes near Namur; the *beneficiarius* may
have served in Belgica or, just as likely, in one of the
Gallic or German provinces, since neither his province nor
his legion is specified.\textsuperscript{102}

**Germania Inferior**

i) The Capital

After the Varian disaster of AD 9 the strengthened
Rhine army was divided into two military commands, each
with four legions and corresponding auxiliaries under a
consular commander.\textsuperscript{103} The legions were concentrated at
Vetere (Xanten), the winter quarters of *V Alaudae* and *XXI
Rapax*, and Cologne (apud aram Ubiorum), winter quarters of
*I* and *XX* and it would appear from Tacitus that during the
campaigns of Germanicus (AD 13-17) A. Caecina Severus, the
consular commander, was based at the former, whilst
Germanicus was based at the latter.\textsuperscript{104} No doubt after the
departure of Germanicus the consular commander divided much
of his time between the two camps, but it is clear that,
despite the departure of the two legions in the 30's, one
to Bonn and one to Neuss, it was Cologne which soon became
the principal seat of the governor. In AD 50, two years
after the marriage of the emperor Claudius to Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, who was born at Cologne, the city
was granted the status of a veteran colony as Colonia
Claudia Ara Agrippinensium.\textsuperscript{105}

A great palace was built for the governor, close to
the new eastern wall of the city and overlooking the Rhine.
It overlay and incorporated a building which was probably
the *principia* of the Tiberian double-legionary camp.\textsuperscript{106}
This was where A. Vitellius, commander of the Lower German army, was proclaimed emperor by his troops in 69 and where Trajan, probably governor of the province of Germania Inferior, which had been established with Superior by Domitian between 82 and 90, learned of the death of Nerva in 98. After the Dacian wars the new province was finally left with only two legions, I Minervia at Bonn and, from 119, the recently raised XXX Ulpia Victrix at Vetera, these remaining until the end of the third century at least.

In about 180 there was a major reconstruction of the palace on the west side, and possibly connected with this phase is an inscription found nearby erected by an otherwise unknown governor: *Dis Conservatorib(us) Q. Tarquitius Catulus leg. Aug. cuiu(s) cura praetor[ium in ruina[m con]lapsum ad [no]vam facie[m est] restitutum.*

This palace was probably a residence of Gallienus during his campaigns against the Franks (254-9) and of the emperors of the Imperium Galliarum (260-73). The building was severely damaged by fire in the early fourth century and rebuilt on the same foundations, with part of the reconstructed palace surviving to the Frankish period.

Even without the abundant literary evidence and that of the great palace, we could be certain that Cologne served as capital of the province of Germania Inferior in the second and third centuries from the numerous inscriptions found here recording officiales. These include memorials and dedications recording a specifier, two centurions in charge of stratores and pedites singulares (one on a dedication found across the river at
Deutz), four singulares consularis and a victimarius (?), spanning a period from 80/100 to 190/2 and after.\textsuperscript{3}\textsuperscript{e}1

In addition some thirteen or perhaps fifteen beneficiarii consularis are attested at Cologne and one more immediately across the Rhine at Deutz (Divitia). Seven (or eight) appear on votive altars, four of them dated 179, 225, 232 and 31 July or 1 August 239, all of them dedicated IOM, all but one et genio loci, and most pro se et suis, one with the inclusion Serapi and two prefaced In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae).\textsuperscript{16}2 Another was dedicated In h d d dis d<at>eabu omnibus...pro [se] et suis omni[bus] emerita statione<m> on 1 September of an unknown year, which implies either that the man occupied a statio at Cologne, perhaps the possible statio on or near the St. Georg Church site discussed below, or that, contrary to normal practice, he chose to mark the end of his tour of duty elsewhere after he had returned to the capital.\textsuperscript{16}3 Across the river at Deutz was found another votive dedication IOM et genio loci...pro se et suis, but not in situ, so that it may have been transported.\textsuperscript{16}4

The remaining bbff appear on tombstones, all of the second or third centuries. One was erected by a bf cos of I Minervia for his father, another for a veteran bf cos of XXX Ulpia Victrix by his daughter and freedman; three more are fragmentary and only probably record bbbff cos, one of them erected for the man's wife.\textsuperscript{16}5 Yet another tombstone was erected after AD 233 for a veteran bf cos who was equestris militiae petitor by his son, wife and friends.\textsuperscript{16}6

One further inscription from Cologne may have recorded a bf cos, a fragmentary dedication IOM et genio loci built into the Caesarius Oratorium of the St. Georg church which
is situated to the east of the road which led out of the
south gate of the colonia. This inscription, so similar
to most of the dedications found at Cologne, has been
associated with a square building of the Claudian-to-
Flavian period situated under the church, in one room of
which were found two swords, and which has been identified
as a statio, in particular by H. von Petrikovits who
compares the shape of the building to that of the late-
Roman burgi which he sees as descendants of the stationes.
However, a Claudian-to-Flavian building is
very early for such a function, no statio being
epigraphically attested at so early a date anywhere in the
empire and the identification is far from certain.
Nevertheless, the unusual reference to on another inscription found nearby makes it possible
that the St. Georg church dedication did come from a statio
in the vicinity. On the possible purpose of such a statio
see Ch. V p. 269.

ii) The Stationes

The majority of the stationes attested in Germania
Inferior were situated on the long limes road running along
the left bank of the Rhine.

Along the lower reaches no good evidence for any stationes has as yet been discovered. A statio has been
postulated at Alphen-Zwammerdam, but this suggestion seems
to be little more than a guess based on finds indicating
some sort of military presence which need not be associated
with cos at all. The possible existence of three
stationes further upstream may be indicated by some
uncertain epigraphic evidence. There may have been a
statio at Rindern, usually identified with the Harenatio of
the Antonine Itinerary (which attests an ala-fort there although no archaeological traces have been found) and the Arenatio of the Peutinger Table; two incomplete votive inscriptions were found at this site dedicated to Dea Vagdaver Custis, one dated AD 213 and the other erected by a soldier of legio XXX Ulpia Victrix, but neither was certainly set up by a bf cos and there appears to be no room for the rank on the legionary's dedication. Another incomplete stone, dedicated IOM et genio loci, at Quaalburg (Quadriburgium), the next settlement 6 km to the south, may have been set up by a bf cos; Quaalburg was settled in the first and second centuries but does not appear to have had any sort of fortification until c. 260. At Burginatium (Altkalkar), 10 km from Quaalburg, which was the site of an ala-fort and vicus from perhaps the Augustan period up to the fourth century, a fragment of an inscription may indicate another statio. Although it would not be surprising to find stationes in any of these places, none of these can be claimed as such with any degree of certainty.

The first statio for which we do have good evidence is attested at Vetera, 17 km from Burginatium; here a votive inscription of the 2nd/3rd century was found in the Birten area dedicated IOM et genio loci...pro se et suis by, apparently, two bbff cos. Vetera was, of course, the site of the fortress of legio XXX Ulpia Victrix.

At Moers-Asberg (Asciburgium), 26 km from Vetera, a stone of AD 230 dedicated IOM, and perhaps another inscription, record a further statio. Here, the local ala had departed at the end of the first century and finds in the vicus only come down to the end of the second
century, so that the place may have been otherwise uninhabited before the construction of a late-Roman burgus under Valentinian I (AD 364-75).

A doubtful statio has been postulated at Krefeld-Gellep (Gelduba), about 15 km from Moers-Asberg, the site of an early-Flavian ala-fort held until the end of the 4th century and a contemporary vicus held until the early 4th century, and another at Neuss (Novaesium), about 11 km further along the limes; this was the site of a cohort-fort from the middle of the second century until the fourth century and of a vicus which originated alongside the legionary fortress given up in the Trajanic period and survived into the fourth century. The evidence for Krefeld-Gellep is a very fragmentary dedication by no means certainly set up by a bf cos, and for Neuss a tombstone probably from there but moved 6 km away across the Rhine to Düsseldorf, erected for his sister and wife by a bf leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) c(onsularis?); a more likely reading is c(uravit) and in any case a man's wife and sister were more likely to be commemorated at his home-town than at his statio.

A more likely statio lay at Dormagen (Durnomagus) 14 km from Neuss, though again attested by a fragmentary votive inscription. Dormagen was the site of an ala-fort with a vicus from the end of the first until the fourth century.

After Cologne, 22 km south of Dormagen, the next attested statio lay at Bonn (Bonna), 25 km south of the capital, headquarters of legio I Minervia from 83 until 295, the camp itself being occupied from the thirties AD until the fourth century. Seven altars erected by bbff
cos are known from here, three of the late second or early third century and four others dated 182, 205, 214 and 233. Of the undated inscriptions one is fragmentary and was erected pro se [et suis], another is a fragmentary votive altar dedicated IOM, and the third comes from the local shrine of the Matres Aufaniae and was a votive altar erected by two bbff cos. The altars of 205 and 233, one votive and both erected pro se et suis, also came from the shrine to the Matres Aufaniae; those of 182 and 214 were dedicated IOM et genio loci, the latter also dis d(eabus)q(ue) omnibus. The first iussu, by a soldier of legio XXX U(lpia) V(ictrix), and the second as a votive pro se et suis. Another votive altar was erected here on 25 September c. 260, under the recently proclaimed Imperium Galliarum, by three army officers, one of them an immunis consularis (see Ch. III p. 47). Three stratores cos are also recorded at Bonn on a votive altar dedicated Fortunae Herculis in the reign of Caracalla (212-17).

The next attested statio lay 22 km further along the limes at Remagen (Rigomagus), the site of a cohort-fort and vicus from the first to the late third century, and of a Late Roman fortification. The statio is attested by eight inscriptions, five of the late second or early third centuries and three others of c. 151/2 or c. 180, of 190 and of 242. Of the undated inscriptions, one is very fragmentary and was dedicated IOM ? et dis de]abus[que omnibus...pro se et suis, another was a votive inscription dedicated IOM by a soldier of legio I Minervia) P.F., and a third was a votive dedication IOM et genio loci ... pro se et (suis) by a bf cos in conjunction with a centurion of legio XXX Ulpia; the two others were
found 3 km from Remagen at Oberwinter but almost certainly represent the same statio; both were dedicated Herculi, one as a votive, which implies that they came from a shrine of Hercules situated there. Of the other inscriptions one is dated only by the fact that it was a votive dedication IOM? et genio loci [fl]umini Rhe[no] by a bf Salvi [Iul]iani cos; this may refer to the governor of c. 151/2 or possibly to one of c. 180. Another votive altar was dedicated IOM et genio loci et Rheno in 190, and in 242 an altar was dedicated Deo S[oli].

A final statio on the limes road before it crosses into Germania Superior has been presumed on the north bank of the Vinxtbach at Ad Fines, 10 km south of Remagen; the Vinxtbach marked the boundary between the two German provinces and flowed into the Rhine opposite the point at which the Upper German limes met the river. Certainly there was a bf statio on the south bank of the stream in Germania Superior, but the only evidence for one on the north bank is a votive dedication Finibus et genio loci et IOM erected by two milites of legio XXX who have been taken to be subordinates of the presumed bf cos in charge of the statio. There is, however, no evidence that bbff cos ever commanded detachments of soldiers at their stationes, and the inscription is more likely evidence simply for the presence of a legionary vexillation here.

There may have been at least one other statio on the limes road, represented by a votive altar of unknown provenance somewhere near the Rhine dedicated In h d d dis deab(us)q(ue) omnib(us) Matribus Vapthiabus et genio loci by a C. Tauricius Verus bf cos who also erected an altar at
Bonn and was buried as a veteran and equestris militiae petitor at Cologne.\textsuperscript{203}

Several other \textit{bf stationes} have been postulated in the interior of Germania Inferior: at Rossum on the Leyden-Nijmegen road along the Waal; at Cuijk, Tegelen and Melenborg on the Nijmegen-Tongeren road along the Maas; at Viller Mühle on a Mass-Quaaburg (?) road; at Herongen, Wankum, Wachtendonk and Aldekerk on a Maas-Caló (?) road; at Heerlen and Jülich on the Bavai-Cologne road; and at Zülpich and Lechenich on the Trier-Cologne road.\textsuperscript{20*}

However, the evidence at all of these places except Melenborg and Zülpich consists entirely of finds of military tile-stamps which cannot be necessarily linked with \textit{bbff cos} but only with a possible military presence of some sort. Neither is the epigraphic evidence cited for \textit{bf stationes} at Melenborg and Zülpich cogent; there is no good reason to believe that the centurion who made a dedication to Mars Halamardus at Melenburg was a promoted \textit{bf cos}, nor are the dedication \textit{Quadrubiis} and those made by \textit{milites} of \textit{I Minervia} at Zülpich any indication of the presence of such an officer.\textsuperscript{20*5}

Sound evidence exists for only a very few \textit{stationes} in the interior. Two of them are recorded on one of the main routes linking Cologne with Trier\textsuperscript{20*7}, seat of the Procurator of Belgica and the Two Germanies, who probably had charge of supply for the German armies, and perhaps also, in the third century, of the governor of Belgica.\textsuperscript{2001}

The first \textit{statio} lay at the village of Belgica vicus (Billig), 57 km from Cologne, which, to judge by its name, at one time lay on the boundary between Germania Inferior and the province of Belgica.\textsuperscript{200} The \textit{statio} is attested by
a single votive altar dedicated *IOM et genio loci... pro se et suis.*\textsuperscript{210} The other *statio* lay another 18 km along the road towards Trier, probably at Marmagen (Marcomagus), which appears in the Antonine Itinerary, although it is attested by nine inscriptions found 2.5 km away off the line of the road near Nettersheim\textsuperscript{211}; since all the inscriptions with legible dedications were set up to the *Matres Aufaniae*, there was almost certainly a shrine to the goddesses there. Of the inscriptions two of the late second or early third centuries were not precisely datable but were surmounted, as all the stones may have been, by a sculptured scene of the three *Matres* with evidence of their fruitfulness; one was very fragmentary and the other was a votive dedication which recorded that the *bf cos* had been serving *iterata statione.*\textsuperscript{212} A third inscription should be datable as having been dedicated by a *bf Novi Prisci legati*, but the identity of the governor is difficult to establish and he could be the suffect consul of 152 or of 165/8 or, as has most recently been suggested, a third consular of the late second or early third century.\textsuperscript{213} The earliest of the inscriptions which can be precisely dated was erected in 196 by a soldier of *legio I H(inervlat;) P.F. pro se et suis.*\textsuperscript{214} A fragmentary votive altar was erected here *pro se et sui* in 206, probably by a *bf cos*, as probably was another, perhaps in 208.\textsuperscript{215} A votive altar was dedicated *In h d d Deabus Aufanis... pro se et sui* in 218 and another *Deabus Aufanis pro salute Invicti Antonini Augusti*, perhaps in the reign of Elagabalus (218-22).\textsuperscript{216} The latest dated inscription was a votive altar dedicated *pro se et sui* in 227.\textsuperscript{217}
Off the line of the same road, a statio is attested at Iversheim, 6 km south of Belgica vicus, by a votive altar dedicated IOM et Miner[vae] by an immunis consularis of legio XXX U(lpia) V(ictrix) Gordiana in 240. Iversheim was the site of lime kilns operated by the Lower German army, as attested by finds of such kilns, near some of which the inscription itself was discovered, and by various inscriptions set up between 145 and 222/35 by men from vexillations of legio I Minervia; the immunis perhaps acted as liaison with the governor's officium to allow control of production and distribution of the material.

A final statio may be attested at Aachen (Aquae Granni) by a fragmentary votive altar found in the city near the Büchelthermen. However, since the city, in addition to being a route centre, served, like Bath (Aquae Sulis) in Britannia, as a spa and rest resort for the military, the dedicator may very well have been on leave during his stay.

One further inscription from Germania Inferior records a veteran bf cos who in 223 dedicated a votive altar In h d d D[ae] [Neh]alenniae...pro se et suis at the shrine of the goddess at Zierikzee in Zeeland; he is probably identical with a serving bf cos who erected an altar at Cologne.

The governor's singulares are also known to have been outposted, alongside vexillations of the Lower German legions, to work at the Brohltal quarries just across the Vinxtbach border in Germania Superior. A centurion of the singulares pedites of Acilius Strabo, governor of Germania Inferior c. 73/8, and another centurion of the singulares pedites of Licinius Sura, governor at the end of
the first century, both dedicated votive altars here Herculi Saxsano.  

Germania Superior

i) The Capital

After AD 9 the military area of the Upper Rhine, like that of the lower river, received a garrison of four legions with auxiliaries and was placed under the command of a separate consular commander.  

There is no reason to doubt that from the first he was principally based where the main concentration of his army lay, at the two-legion fortress of Mainz (Mogontiacum), although there is no direct evidence for this.  

Some support is provided for the Julio-Claudian period by the tombstone of a speculator of legio XIII who died here whilst in service; the legion was stationed in Germany only between AD 9 and 45/6.  

Also, Tacitus tells us that in AD 69 the consular legate Hordeonius Flaccus was resident at the base of legiones IV and XXII which lay at Mainz.

When Germania Superior was constituted a province c. AD 85, Mainz evidently became the provincial capital. After much reorganisation during the first century the province was left after c. AD 101 with two legions, VIII Augusta at Strasbourg (Argentorate) and XXII Primigenia at Mainz where both remained until the 4th century.  

A governor erected an honorary inscription (XIII 6807) at Mainz under Elagabalus (AD 218-22).

The army commander and later the governor probably resided in a praetorium within the legionary camp. Richly ornamented building fragments, dated by epigraphic finds to the Flavian period, were found in secondary use in the city.
wall of Mogontiacum, constructed after the abandonment of the legionary fortress c. 360/70, and are believed to have come from this praetorium. That the fortress continued to contain the palace after AD 92 is implied by the fact that the whole of the area of the double legionary fortress remained in commission even after the reduction of the garrison to a single legion at that date, which would have allowed plenty of room for the extension of such a building.^[231]

The status of Mainz as the seat of the governor is quite clear from the many inscriptions recording his officiales here. These include a dedication of 213-7 in honour of the emperor Caracalla erected by three corniculares and three commentarienses of the officium (providing valuable evidence for the numbers of these officers to be found in an officium; see Ch. III pp. 38, 40);^[232] two tombstones, one of the Julio-Claudian period (see above), one of the second century, and a dedication of the 2nd/3rd century, recording speculatores;^[233] a dedication on an arch erected by a frumentarius and his brother on behalf of their father;^[234] a dedication of AD 223 erected by an exactus consularis;^[235] a dedication erected by a (centurio) strator Cl[... El]gnatiani leg(ati) in 217, another on behalf of the mil(ites) exercitus G(ermaniae) S(uperioris) by a strator consularis, another by at least three veteran stratores consularis, and a tombstone erected by a strator consularis;^[236] and three inscriptions recording singulares, one the tombstone of a veteran eques(?) singularis, another erected by a decurio alae I Scubulor(um) sing(ularis) cos for his wife, and a third across the river at Castel (Castellum Mattiacorum)
of, apparently, a *centurio peditum singularium* (cf. the
*centurio stratorum et peditum singularium* recorded at Deutz
opposite Cologne; see above pp. 148-9). Another
fragmentary inscription from Mainz records an *officialis* of
uncertain, but probably lowly rank, who died aged 21 years
5 months and 26 days.

Nine inscriptions from Mainz record *bbff cos* and
another from Castel an *immunis consularis*. One is a
tombstone of the 2nd/3rd century erected by the man's
wife; another of the same period records restoration of
a shrine and was dedicated *In h d d Deo Mercurio* and
yet another of the same period was an altar dedicated
*Laribus Competalibus sive Quadriviis*. The earliest
dated altar, of AD 151, was one of three found together on
the Arnsburgerhof evidently originating from a shrine to
Silvanus; it was a votive inscription dedicated *[Silv]ano
Deo et genio loci*. Another dated altar was dedicated
*Marti Victoriae Fortunae* by a soldier of *legio XXII
Primigenia* in AD 194. Of the two other
inscriptions from the shrine to Silvanus, one was a votive
altar dedicated on 15 July 205 *In h d d deo Siilvano et
genio loci et Dianae* by a soldier of *legio XXII
Primigenia* P.F., and the other was erected *pro se et suis
on 13 January 208 by a soldier of *legio XXII Pr(imigenia)
In o [d] d IOM Silvano et Dianae Sanctae genio catabul(i)
cos cet(e)rrisque (sic) diis inmortalibusque*; the *catabulum
consularis* was presumably where the governor's transport
animals were kept, the *catablum* at Rome being such a centre
for the *vehiculatio*, and the inscription may therefore
imply that the *bbff cos* were accustomed to make use of
them. A votive altar erected on 15 July 211 *Deah(us)
Aufan(iabus) et tutelae loci pro salute et incol(u)mite sua suorumque omnium evidently came from a shrine of these Matres. The last of the nine bf inscriptions was erected by the bbff cos G(ermaniae) S(uperioris) as a whole in honour of their governor Cl. Aelio Pollioni leg. Aug. pr. pr. C.S. praesidi integerrimo, who held office c.218/9. An immunis consularis erected a votive altar to Mercury at Castel, where there was a bridgehead fort and a vicus, in AD 183.

A further bf cos serving at Mainz may be noted, attested, unusually, in a literary source. In the Vita Hadriani II, 6, the author tells us that, on the death of Nerva in 98, the future emperor Hadrian, who may have been serving in Germania Superior as tribune of legio XXII Primigenia (III 550 = ILS 308), wished to be the first to bring the news to Trajan. The latter was, apparently, serving as governor of Germania Inferior, having transferred from Superior after his adoption by Nerva in 97, and had been succeeded in Inferior by Hadrian's brother-in-law, L. Iulius Ursus Servianus. There was some jealousy between Hadrian and Servianus, and Servianus deliberately wrecked Hadrian's carriage, but Hadrian continued on foot; this entailed a journey from Mainz to Cologne along the bank of the Rhine in the middle of winter, Nerva having died on January 25th. Despite Hadrian's setback, he managed to arrive in Cologne ahead of the messenger sent by Servianus: pedibus iter faciens eiusdem Serviani beneficiarium antevenit. If the story if not merely a malicious fiction and if the author is relying on a precise source who was using the term beneficiarius in more than just the general sense of an
officialis (see Ch. II pp. 9-10), then we have an interesting example of a beneficiarius consularis being employed as a messenger from one province to another and presumably travelling in a carriage of the vehiculatio (to give point to Hadrian's being on foot). It would be unwise, however, to place too much reliance on the precision of the passage.

Finally, the presence of officales at Mainz may further be attested by some small finds from the city and the surrounding area. A bronze fibula, with a silver coat, in the form of a miniature lance-head (Fig. 2a.4) was found here and another, of silver, in the form of a lance-head between two swords (Fig. 2c.1) was found 3.5km to the south-east at the Roman settlement of Weisenau: also, a bronze sword-pendant was found in the area of the legionary camp at Mainz. All of these objects were perhaps worn by men serving in the governor's officium (see Appendix I).

ii) The Stationes

Almost all the stationes of Germania Superior lay along what can be regarded as major military routes, or indeed on the line of the provincial frontier itself. A number lay on the continuation of the Rhine road along which most of the stationes of Germania Inferior lay and which eventually ran over the Great St. Bernard into Italy and to Milan. Unlike the series of stationes in Inferior, however, there is no very clear series here. The most northerly of these stationes lay actually on the frontier with Inferior on the south bank of the Vinxtbach stream, 10km south of the station at Remagen and opposite the point on the right bank of the Rhine where the second- and third-century limes met the river (see above p. 154).
Here a *bf cos* of *legio VIII Augusta* erected a votive altar *IOM et genio loci Lunoni Reginae* with a depiction of 'beneficiarii Libani' on the left side.\textsuperscript{202} (Fig. 1.38; see Appendix I) There are no recorded *stationes* between here and the capital Mainz 110km away, but one has been proposed 75km south of Mainz on the left bank of the Rhine at Altrip, opposite the point at which, in the Roman period, the Neckar flowed into the Rhine, and the site of a Valentinianic fort.\textsuperscript{203} Unfortunately, although one, and perhaps two, *bf* altars were found here and one at Waldsee 6km away, it is by no means certain that this was indeed the site of the *statio* which they represent.

Despite its position at the confluence of the two rivers, Altrip (Alta Ripa) is not an obvious place for a *statio* at this time; it lies 10km off the known line of the Rhine valley road and it is not clear that there was a road running across the river to Heidelberg and the *limes* beyond (although there was one running north-east to Ladenburg-Lopodunum), which is hardly surprising since the place appears to have been uninhabited before the erection of the Late-Roman fort.\textsuperscript{204} The inscriptions themselves were evidently not found in their original position. Of the two found in Altrip one was very fragmentary and not certainly erected by a *bf cos* at all, whilst the other was found in 1835 together with two altars dedicated *IOM*, one dedicated *Marti et Nemetonae* and a tombstone, a set of inscriptions very unlikely to have been found together in their original situation, whilst the inscription found at Waldsee was built into a Merovingian grave.\textsuperscript{205} In fact, numerous inscriptions have been found in secondary use here built into the walls of the Valentinianic fort, and a passage of
Symmachus (Laud. in Val. II, 15-16) tells us that such stones were brought from the ruins of Lopodunum (Ladenburg) 9km away across the Rhine. Lopodunum lay on the line of the main road between Mainz and Cannstatt partly following the line of the Neckar valley (see below). The inscriptions may therefore represent a statio situated on that road at Lopodunum, which was the site of a Vespasianic ala fort abandoned in the early second century and of a vicus which became the centre of the civitas Ulpia Nicretum under Trajan, acquired a wall in the early 3rd century and was destroyed in the Alamannic invasion of 259/60. It may be noted that a bronze ornament in the form of a miniature lance-head was found at Wallstadt, some 8km north-west of Ladenburg (Fig. 2c.14). Alternatively, the inscriptions may represent a statio somewhere else on the left bank of the Rhine, perhaps Rheingönheim 6km from Altrip, the site of a fort with a vicus occupied from the reign of Claudius until that of Vespasian, but where also was found, amongst other later Roman finds, a legionary tile-stamp of the mid-second century.

The actual site of the statio represented by these inscriptions is thus very uncertain, which is unfortunate because although one of the Altrip inscriptions is very fragmentary, the other is of considerable interest; it was erected in AD 181, has a large depiction of a genius and was dedicated In h d d genio bf cos G.S. et loci concordiae variarum stat(ionum), apparently to record the rebuilding of a bridge (pointem[...]) or temple ( [... ]tem[plum]). If the former, and if we read alternatively concordiae duar(um) stat(ionum), then a site at Rheingönheim or Altrip might make sense with a
statio being situated either side of a Rhine bridge, one serving the Rhine road and the other an apparent road to Heidelberg up the Neckar valley; the second statio could however have been of a type other than a bf statio, of the portorium for instance. However, the reading variarum in some loose sense meaning 'several' fits well with the dedication genio b(ene)f(iciariorum) co(n)s(ularis) G(ermaniae) S(uperioris) and would be appropriate at any site.260 The inscription found at Waldsee, evidently removed from Altrip in the Frankish period, is fragmentary, erected by a bf cos of legio VIII Augusta on the Ides of an unknown month in AD 201.261

Thirty kilometres south of Altrip a statio is attested near Germersheim, which was the site of a vicus Iulius originally attached to a Flavian fort,262 by a votive dedication of the 2nd/3rd century recording the construction of a shrine and dedicated Deae Maiiae.263 Another statio is attested at Argentorate (Strasbourg)264 100km south of Germersheim (which thus lay half-way between Mainz and Strasbourg, the legionary fortress of VIII Augusta; cf. the position of the statio at Lancaster in Britain p. 130). Unfortunately the inscription attesting the statio is fragmentary, but it was evidently an altar dedicated I[OM et] geni[o loci?] and erected by three men to mark the end of their tour of duty, ex]pleta st[atione; their rank is recorded as bbff le[... which could mean that they were beneficiarii of the legionary legate of VIII Augusta, and indeed the inscription was found in the area of the legionary principia and so might have come from the sacellum, but the rest of the dedication, and especially the mention of a
statio, makes it likely that they were indeed beneficiarii consularis; if so, then the number recorded again indicates that, as at Vetera, Bonna and Singidunum, the stationes attached to legionary fortresses were manned by more than a single cos.

It was 27km south of Strasbourg on the Rhine valley road, at Ehl and der Ill, the site of the town of Hellellum, that the large iron lance-head which was the subject of E. Ritterling's article on the 'benefiziarier-lanzen' was found (see Appendix I). It is possible, though far from certain, that it was deposited at the site of another statio.

Further along this road towards the Alps and Italy, an immunis consularis was stationed at Salodurum (Solothurn) about 90km from Strasbourg and the site of an early Roman vicus and fourth-century castellum. The statio is attested by a votive altar dedicated Deae Eponae erected on 20 August 219 by a soldier of legio XXII Antoniniana Primigenia P.F.; he describes himself as immu[ni]s cos curas a[ge]ns vico Salod(uro), which probably indicates that he erected the inscription on behalf of the vicus, although a less likely alternative explanation is that he was actually in charge of the vicus. Possibly the man was stationed here to oversee the working of the stone quarries thought to have been exploited here in the Roman period since it is not unusual to find the governor's officiales involved in such activities; although it may have to be interpreted in the context of the network of stationes as a whole.
A second group of two stationes lay along the road leading up the Main valley into the Wetterau, an area finally fully incorporated into the empire c.AD 85 after Domitian's Chattan War. The first statio is attested at Nida (Hedderheim) some 35km from Mainz, originally the site of a Flavian ala fort which perhaps survived into the late Trajanic period and of a vicus which soon became capital of the Civitas Taunensium, was walled in the early third century but overrun in 259/60. An altar was erected here in h d d genio sancto by a soldier of legio VIII Antoniniana Augusta on 13 January 213. The statio may also be attested by two miniature lance-head ornaments (Fig. 3b.4,5) and a sword-pendant found here. An immunis consularis of legio XXII P(rimigenia) Alex- and(riana) P.F also erected a statue of a genius here, with the inscription on the base in h d d genium plateae novi vici, in AD 230, but since this was erected by the man in company with his mother and two brothers who are described as c(ives) R(omani) et Taunenses ex origine patris T. Fl(avi) Materni veterani coh(ortis) III Praet(oriae) Piae Vindicis, it is clear that the man was a local making an offering at his civitas capital and not simply stationed here.

The next statio lay 22km further on at Friedberg in the Wetterau itself, the site of a Vespasianic cohort fort, occupied from c.89 onwards by a milliary unit, which lay behind the frontier line and was held with its vicus until the collapse of the frontier in 259/60. A single bf cos, who also erected an altar at Osterburken, set up two separate altars in the Mithraeum here, possibly after two separate tours of duty; one was dedicated Soli Invicto
Imp(eratori), the other Virtuti Invicti Imp(eratoris); the latter altar bore on its left side a depiction of a 'benefiziarierlanze' (see Appendix I).

The Mainz-Friedberg road was the main route from the capital towards the forts of the Taunus and Wetterau limes. No bf stationes are certainly attested along the frontier which runs south-east from the Rhine opposite the Vinxtbach and along the Taunus range and the Wetterau, thus leaving a curious gap between the stationes of the Rhine limes in Germania Inferior and those of the Main and Antonine limites (see below). That such stationes may have existed despite the absence of epigraphic evidence is suggested by finds of full-sized and miniature lance-heads and sword-pendants at several places along this section of the frontier (see Appendix I).

Both a full-sized and a miniature lance-head (Figs. 1.20; 3a.14) were found at Niederbieber about 15km along the Upper German limes from its starting point on the Rhine opposite the Vinxtbach (see p. 162). This was the site of one of the largest forts on the limes (5.2ha) built by Commodus between 185 and 192 to replace an earlier fort at nearby Heddesdorf, apparently for the presumably very large numerus exploratorum Germanianorum Divitiensium and a numerus Brittonum; it was sacked, together with its vicus, by the Franks in 259/60.

Some 100km further along the limes at Zugmantel no fewer than four miniature lances (Fig. 2c.2,4-6) and nine sword-pendants (Fig. 3a.1-5,10,13) have been found. This was the site of a numerus-fort, founded c.AD 90 to guard a limes crossing, which was rebuilt and enlarged three times, the last time in 223. From the time of
Caracalla it housed the cohors I Treverorum equitata and the final fort was therefore the smallest fort for a cohors equitata (2.1ha) in Upper Germany. The fort and its vicus fell with the collapse of the limes in 259/60.

Another 18km along the limes a miniature lance-head and a sword-pendant (Fig. 3a.11), probably originally attached to each other, were found at the Feldbergkastell, a small numerus-fort of 0.7ha with room for 150 men; it was founded in the middle of the second century on the site of a Domitianic watchpost guarding a minor pass to the north, reconstructed in the early third century, and was probably destroyed or abandoned in 259/60.

Only 11km to the east lay the Saalburg fort where two miniature lance-heads (Fig. 2c.7-8) and six sword-pendants (Fig. 3a.6,7-9,15,16) were found. This fort commanded another road running across the limes and originated as a numerus fort erected c.90. This was replaced in the period 125-139 by a cohort-fort which suffered destruction in the late second-century and again in 233, but was rebuilt on both occasions, only to be abandoned in 259/60. Its early 2nd century vicus failed to survive the attack of 233.

At Butzbach, 22km further along the limes, a sword-pendant (Fig. 3b.3) was found. This was the site of a Domitianic fort rebuilt, probably under Hadrian, for a quingenary cohort and enlarged in the late second century, perhaps for an ala. A subsidiary fortlet, Degerfeld, lay 800m to the north-west guarding the limes crossing; this was constructed in wood c.100, burnt c.160 and rebuilt in stone, then abandoned at the beginning of the 3rd century.
The main fort, which had a vicus, was abandoned in 233, although temporarily reoccupied in 250."

Finally, another 50km along the frontier line, a miniature lance-head ornament (Fig. 2c.9) was found on the site of a wooden tower at Watchpost 4/96, situated 2km north of the numerus-fort at Altenstadt, at the highest point of the eastern Wetterau limes. The wooden tower here was replaced by a stone tower nearby, like the watchtowers of the Odenwald limes, probably in the reign of Pius, but it is not clear whether the lance-head is to be associated with the occupation of the wooden tower or was deposited after it was dismantled."

Of this group of six sites, Zugmantel and Saalburg, with their accumulation of finds of the type under consideration, are particularly likely to have housed by stationes. Furthermore, all of the first five would appear to be typical sites for such stationes with their good road links to Mainz. A road led from close to the Niederbieber fort directly to the Rhine, downstream of Antunnacum (Andernach), some 5km distant."

Zugmantel, the Feldbergkastell, Saalburg and Butzbach were all linked to the Mainz-Friedberg road, the first via Kastel, the next two via Nida-Heddernheim and the last via Friedberg; all three of these intermediate places had their own stationes (see above). Another group of stationes lay along the road leading from Mainz south-east to Heidelberg, across to Neckarburken, then south along the line of the Domitianic Odenwald limes and the valley of the Neckar to König, eastward along the line of the Suebian Alb limes, and finally south to Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), capital of the province of Raetia."

This road, following the
line of the modern Autobahn, was the main route linking the two provincial capitals and also provided the most direct access to the forts of the Antonine limes which lay to the east of the Neckarburken-Köngen section of the road.20

One statio on this road may have lain at Lopodunum (Ladenburg), 72km from Mainz if the inscriptions found at Altriph and Waldsee originally came from there (see pp. 163-5). This is perhaps made slightly less likely by the fact that a statio is certainly attested at Heidelberg only 9km further along the road, but a miniature lance-head ornament (Fig. 2c.14) was found 6km to the north-west of Ladenburg at Wallstadt, off the line of any known Roman road.22e Ladenburg certainly, and Heidelberg probably, were connected by road with a Rhine crossing opposite Altriph,22e Heidelberg being the site of a Flavian cohort fort given up perhaps under Hadrian; the fort had a large vicus either side of the river Neckar, linked by a bridge, which lay near the intersections of a number of roads and close to which was found a group of eight milestones dated 220-253/4.22 The statio is attested by a 2nd/3rd century votive aram et columnam dedicated IOM...pro se et suis and erected by a soldier of legio VIII Augusta near the Neckar bridge on the left bank of the river.22e

The next inscription attesting a statio has since the 16th century been situated in a niche in the St. Michael Chapel on the Michaelsberg, across the Neckar from the settlement at Gundelsheim, some 55km along the river from Heidelberg.22e The original site of the inscription is, however, unknown and it is unlikely to have come from Gundelsheim itself which lay off the line of the main road, here running north-south some kilometres to the east along
the Odenwald limes (unless indeed the bbff were concerned with the control of river traffic). However the stationes at Böckingen, Cannstatt and König, the sites of Flavian forts linked by roads with their Antonine successors on the limes further east (see below), suggest that the inscription may originally have come either from Neckarburken 13km to the north, the site of Domitianic cohort and numerus-forts both (?) given up on the move forward to the Antonine limes and of a small vicus which evidently survived the forts for a period, or, more likely, from Wimpfen, 7km to the south of Gundelsheim, the site of a Domitianic cohort-fort, given up at the same time as Neckarburken, and of a vicus which survived it until the Alamannic invasions of the later third century. Neckarburken was linked by road with its successor Osterburken 21km to the east, and Wimpfen with its successor Jagsthausen 25km to the east. The inscription is a votive altar of the 2nd/3rd century dedicated IOM et lunoni Reginae...pro se et suis.

Another statio is attested 11km south of Wimpfen at Böckingen, site of a late Flavian cohort-fort of the Odenwald limes together with its vicus; the unit here was moved forward to Oehringen 27km to the east at the time of the advance of the limes under Pius, although the Böckingen fort appears to have continued in some sort of official use; the two places were linked by a road. At Böckingen a bf cos erected a votive altar IOM et Marti Caturigi genio loci. Caturix is a deity otherwise attested in the area of Lausanne in the southern portion of Germania Superior, which was perhaps the homeland of the dedicator.
Forty kilometres further on lay a well-attested statio at Cannstatt where a number of roads converged, from the Rhine, from Mainz, from the Antonine limes (Welzheim, some 35km away) and from the Danube. It was the site of a Domitianic ala-fort and vicus, the former being given up on the advance to the frontier of Pius, the latter surviving until the Alamannic invasions of 259/60.

The statio is attested by seven inscriptions, the earliest erected in 182 pro se et suis by a man of legio VIII Augusta, one in the reign of Caracalla In h d d Iovi et Iunoni Reg(inae) et genio loci by a soldier of legio XXII Antoniniana pro salute sua et suorum, another in 213 or 222 In h d d lovi et Iunoni Reg(inae) et genio loci et d(is) d(eabusque) omnib(us)...pro sal(ute) sua et suor(um) by a soldier of legio VIII Augusta Antoniniana who was serving stat(ione) iterat(a), a fourth on 18 July 219 In h d d IOM ceteris dis deabusq(ue)...pro sal(ute) sua et suor(um), a fifth on 13 December 221 In h d d Biviis Triviis Quadriviis ... pro sal(ute) sua et suor(um), a sixth, a votive altar, on 13 January 223 In h d d IOM genio loci et Fortunae dis deabusque...pro se et suis by a soldier of XXII Primigenia P.F. Severiana, and the last In (h) d d Deabus Quadrivis IOM dis deabusque omnib(us) on 29 December AD 230. A miniature lance-head found in Cannstatt (Fig. 2c.15) may also attest the statio.

The last statio attested on this road lay 19km further on at Königgen (Grinario), a probably Domitianic cohort fort, the most southerly known of the Odenwald limes, looking towards the Suebian Alb and given up at the time of the move forward under Pius, although survived by its vicus. It was linked by road with the fort at Lorch.
on the Antonine *limes* some 32km to the north-east.\textsuperscript{313} The *statio* is attested by an inscription erected IO M Dolicheno...ex iussu on 15 (?) July in an unknown year outside the *porta principalis dextra* of the abandoned fort. A building beside the north-south road running immediately to the west of the fort has been identified as the *statio*, but there is no direct evidence for this.\textsuperscript{314}

At Königgen, a road branched off towards the south-west, leading through Rottweil (Arae Flaviae) to Windisch (Vindonissa), and then on via Olten to Solothurn (see above) near where it joined the southward running continuation of the Rhine valley road over the Great St. Bernard to Milan.\textsuperscript{315} Vindonissa was the site of a Tiberian legionary fortress given up in 101, although part was maintained for some time after this, probably by soldiers of *legio VIII Augusta* from Strasbourg; its *canabae* survived and developed into a small town.\textsuperscript{316} The southern portion of the old fortress was refortified in 260\textsuperscript{317} and, after the collapse of the Rhine frontier in that year, the town lay on the main route between Mainz and Augsburg, the capital of Raetia.\textsuperscript{318} Also, perhaps in the late third century, a small fort was built over the north-west side of the former fortress and another nearby on the Altenburg.\textsuperscript{319} Two further forts were built in the Late Roman period further along the Aare valley at Olten, the site of a *vicus* situated 37km from Vindonissa which was burnt by the Alamanni c.250, and at Solothurn, 35km from Olten.\textsuperscript{320} Miniature lance-heads were found at Vindonissa (Fig. 2a.6) and Olten (Fig. 2c.20) possibly indicating *stationes* there.\textsuperscript{321} Such *stationes* are perhaps most likely to have been situated at these two places at a time when they and
the roads on which they lay once again became of military
importance in the late third century (but note the statio
attested at Solothurn in 219; see p. 166).

The last major group of stationes lay along the road
following the line of the southward-running East-
Wetterau/Main limes and the Antonine outer limes of the
province.\textsuperscript{322} The northernmost lay at Grosskrotzenburg,
about 20km south of Altenstadt and 28km from a junction
with the Mainz-Friedberg road at Hedderheim,\textsuperscript{323} at the
point at which the Hadrianic frontier palisade met the
Main;\textsuperscript{324} the river thereafter marked the frontier-line to
the south until the Antonine palisade took over at
Miltenberg. The cohort fort at Grosskrotzenburg was held
from the Trajanic period into the third century; there was
a vicus, tileries and a bridge across the Main 150km from
the fort.\textsuperscript{325} The statio is attested by two inscriptions
found 100m from the northern bridge-head and 50m from the
south-west corner of the fort, one erected \textit{In h d d IOM
Iun(onii) R(egi nae) d(is) d(eabus)q(ue) omni(b(us) gen(io)
loc(i)...pro se et suis} on 13 January 221 by the same
soldier of \textit{legio VIII Augusta} who erected the Hedderheim
inscription of 13 January 213 exactly eight years
before.\textsuperscript{326} The other was a votive altar \textit{pro se et suis}
erected \textit{In h d d IOM Iun(onii) Reginae gen(io) loci} by a
soldier of \textit{VIII Augusta} on 16 January 223.\textsuperscript{327}

The next statio to the south lay 15km away at
Stockstadt, a Domitianic cohort fort with a vicus held
until 260, which suffered at the hands of the Chatti in AD
168/70 and again in the early third century.\textsuperscript{328} The
twenty-two inscriptions from here attesting the statio,
many very fragmentary, were found together, alongside what
are probably fragments of others, in an enclosure by the river Main some 100m distant from the fort. Of the dated inscriptions, the earliest was erected in AD 166 to record the renovation and dedication of a spring of the Nymfae Apollinares...pro se et suis, perhaps indicating that the sacred enclosure originated in a Nymphaeum (cf. the enclosure at Osterburken); fragments of what was probably another altar of the same year have also been found here. Another two votive altars were erected in 167, one dedicated IOM Iun(onii) Reg(inae) et genio loci by a L. Flavius Paternus who also erected an altar at Jagsthausen, the other dedicated to the same deities with the addition Mercurio. Another votive altar was erected to the same deities pro se et suis in September-October 181; a similar votive altar was erected to the same deities pro se et suis on 20 February 182 by a soldier of legio VIII Augusta who was serving stat(ione) prim[a], and another almost identical inscription without, however, mention of a statio, by a bf cos of an unrecorded legion on 26 July 182. A fragmentary votive inscription in two pieces was dedicated probably IOM et lun(onii Reginae et gc[nio loci...e]t Bo[no Eventui] by a probable bf cos of legio XXII Primigenia on the Ides of an unknown month in 183; most unusually the man seems to have recorded the number of his stipendia which were at least ten. A very fragmentary inscription in four pieces which probably had a similar votive dedication pro se et suis with the addition of d(is) [d(eabusque) omnib(us)] was erected by a soldier of legio VIII Augusta (who also appears to have erected another altar here, presumably on another tour of duty) on the Ides of an unknown month in 186; a similar votive
inscription, now fragmentary, was erected in 191, and another fragmentary votive inscription *pro se et suis* in 199 (?) by a soldier of *XXII Primigenia*. The latest known dated inscription from here, also fragmentary, was erected *pro se et suis* in AD 208. Ten undated altars of the late second/early third century are known from the enclosure, one a votive altar dedicated *I[OM] [et] genio lo[ci] ... [p]ro se et suis*, another dedicated to the same deities by a soldier of *VIII Augusta* who also erected the inscription of 186 found here, a third *IOM Iunoni Reg(inae) [d]s deabusq(ue) omnib(us) et genio loci*, and a fourth to the same deities, though not certainly by a *bf cos*; two others are very fragmentary. Another was dedicated *IOM Conservatoridiiis deabusque et genio Iunii Victorini co(n)s(ularis)* (the latter serving as governor perhaps under Marcus) as well as to Isis and Serapis; the unusual dedication to the *genius* of a governor and to the two oriental deities evidently reflects the eastern-empire origins of the dedicant also signalled by his name, C. Secionius Senilis. Of the three other undated altars from Stockstadt, one was a very fragmentary inscription dedicated to the infernal goddess *Erecura*, and two were votive altars dedicated to Mercury. Finally, a miniature lance-head ornament (Fig. 2c.10) was also found here.

Another 16km further on lay a *statio* at the cohort fort and *vicus* of Oberburg am Main. The fort here was built under Trajan to strengthen the Domitianic limes and controlled a ford of the Main and a branch off the *limes* road running towards Höchst; it was destroyed by the Chatti in 162 but was reconstructed and held until 260.
An enclosure for the votive dedications of the **bbff cos** stationed here was found in 1954 to the south of the fort, 110 metres from the **porta principalis dextra**, marked by seven altar-bases laid out alongside the road, the altars themselves being found nearby. Six readable altars were found in the enclosure (the seventh disintegrated on excavation) and two others elsewhere, probably moved from here. Five of them are dated; the earliest, found at Eisenbach, near the church, 2km from Obernburg, was erected in 181 **IOM et genio loci...pro se et suis**, most unusually by two **bbff cos**. This ought to represent a **statio** manned by two men, but it may be significant that both the men were C. Iulii and may therefore have been related (brothers, or father and son) so that they might have succeeded one another and chosen to erect a joint monument; the altar bears a depiction of a 'benefiziarierlanze' on the left side (see Appendix I). Another altar was erected on 15 July 189 **IOM Iunoni Reg(inae) Miner(vae) genio Imp(eratoris) Commodi Aug(usti) Pii Felicis Invicti Britannici** by a soldier of **legio VIII Augusta P(ia) F(idelis) C(onstans) C(ommoda)**, and another was a votive dedicated **dis deabusque omnibus sacrum...pro salute suae et suorum omnium** on 13 January 191 by another soldier of **legio VIII Augusta P.F.C.C.** A fourth votive altar was dedicated **IOM genio loci ceterisque dis immortalibus** on 15 July 201 by a soldier of **XXII P.P.F.** and a fifth **IOM Iunoni Reginae et genio loci** on 15 July 206 or 227 by a soldier of **VIII Augusta**. Of the three undated votive altars from Obernburg, one was dedicated **IOM [et genio] loci** by a soldier of **XXII Primigenia**, another **IOM et gen(io) loc(i)** and the last **IOM et genio loci ceterisque dis deabusque**
immortalibus sacram by a man who appears to describe himself as lectus bf cos, presumably indicating a recent appointment to this rank.  

The next statio probably lay 15km to the south at Miltenberg where the Antonine palisade took over the frontier line from the river Main and where there was a small numerus-fort of uncertain history and another fort for a cohort, with a vicus, 3km further downstream, constructed as part of the new limes installations under Pius; the cohort-fort suffered in the Alammanic attack of 233 and was probably destroyed in 259/60. The statio is attested by a single votive altar found in the cemetery of the mediaeval convent at Amorbach, 9km from Miltenberg, where there was no Roman settlement and through which ran no known Roman road; the inscription was erected on 23 December 231 pro salute sua et suorum by a soldier of legio VIII Augusta and dedicated IOM et Iunoni Reginae g(enio) l(oci) concordiae b(ene)f(iciariorum) G(ermaniae) S(uperioris), an unusual idea underlined by the depiction in the aedicula on top of the altar of two men joining hands; this perhaps implies recent troubles in the officium.

The next statio is attested by the most remarkable collection of bf inscriptions found anywhere in the empire. This was at Osterburken, 40km along the limes from Miltenberg and site of a cohort-fort of the Antonine limes which had an annexe attached between 185 and 192 and was occupied along with its vicus until 259/60. This has long been known as the site of a statio from a single fragmentary altar dedicated IOM et g(enio) l(oci). Then in 1977 five more, all fragmentary, were discovered built
into the local Kilianskirche; one, with the date missing, was dedicated IO\M [et gen]io loci ceteri\s [dis de] abus[que o]mnibus by a soldier of VIII Augusta; another votive altar was set up In h d d IO\M [et gen]io loci Deo Patrio Regine [Mi]nerv[p]e Bono Even[tui ge]ni\o loci Deo Patrio Marti Conservatori d(is) d(eabusque) om(nibus)...pro se et suis by a soldier of VIII Augusta P.F.C.C. Antoniniana on 15 July 212; the latter records that the man was serving ter]tia stat(ione), the only known example of this (see pp. 119-20 and Appendix II); a third was a votive altar erected six months later on 13 January 213 by another soldier of VIII Augusta Antoniniana P.F.C.C., another a votive altar dedicated in 223 or 224 IO\M [et gen]io loci by a Treveran soldier of XXII Primigenia P.P.

Rescue excavations carried out in the vicus from August to November 1982 and resumed in May 1983 have now uncovered what was certainly the original site of these inscriptions, a large enclosure in front of a wooden temple situated in the vicus, 250m north of the porta praetoria of the fort. Unfortunately, only interim reports have appeared to date and, of these, there is inconsistency of detail between the first two, both of which show evident confusion as to the directional orientation of the site so that the texts at times correspond to the layout of the published plan, at others not. Even the limited information provided by these reports is difficult to interpret since it is not always clear precisely where any particular inscription was discovered. A full, accurate

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and detailed publication of this, the most important site anywhere for the study of the beneficiarii consularis, and of the texts of the 28 or more inscriptions discovered here (out of at least 70, as indicated by finds of altar bases) should throw considerable light on these officers. The following account in the main follows the latest report to have been published which appeared in 1985, although even this shows some internal inconsistency of detail.

The earliest wooden building on the site was constructed over an earlier apsidal stone building and has provided a dendrochronological date of AD 160. It appears to have been a small Gallo-Roman style temple with a planked path leading to it; a wooden well structure was subsequently built next to it. Possibly associated with the temple and well was the only inscription discovered on the site not erected by as bf cos but by a decurio, dedicated to the Nymphs, which suggests that the temple was in fact a Nymphaeum (see above on the early dedication to the Nymphs from the bf enclosure at Stockstadt). Further wooden buildings, also dated dendrochronologically to the 160's, and a wooden drainage system were also found in the area of the excavation.

After these buildings had suffered flooding, bbff cos began to erect their altars in the area, and at some point a larger wooden temple, apparently dedicated to Jupiter, was constructed to the south-east of these over the earlier small temple; it was certainly built before the erection of altars dated 200/201 and 202 found immediately in front of it and which evidently took account of its existence. A road led past the area of the altars and temple to the
north, with a branch leading to the main entrance of the temple.

The altars, set on bases, were arranged in six rows one behind the other from south to north chronologically. The first row of seven altars was arranged in a semicircle and included the earliest dated inscription from the site, erected in AD 174 by a bf cos of III Italica (see below). In the second row were found four bases with two altars which had fallen over backwards; from this row came an altar erected in AD 182 and dedicated to, amongst other deities, the genius loci and from which had fallen the head and torso of a genius statue (see below). The third row consisted of eight bases; an altar from this row was badly damaged in the course of the construction work which originally revealed the enclosure and had apparently been erected by another soldier of III Italica. In the fourth row were another eight bases and four surviving altars dated from 202 to 205, in the fifth row seven bases, laid out on ground 0.5-0.7m higher than the ground level of the earlier rows to avoid the periodic flooding which tide marks on some of the stones show to have continued to affect the area, and in the sixth row three bases with a large gap between the most north-westerly and the other two, suggesting that the five altars of 212-238 from the Kilianskirche originally came from here; one of the three bases was a reused altar. This last row lay immediately south of and parallel to the road running past the temple. Another single base was found on the other side of the road to the east, suggesting that the enclosure continued in that area.
In a fenced-off area between the first three rows of altars and the large temple lay a small wooden shrine containing an altar with a relief figure dedicated to *Dea Candida* and in front of it further altars, one of them dated 183 (see below). Immediately in front of the large temple were three bases, two of them still supporting altars dated 200/201 and 202. In the well in front of the temple was another altar of 201 reused as a base, and another base to the west of the well may mark its original position. Further west still lay more bases with an altar collapsed over them. Another four bases were found within the area of the temple. Amongst the altars found in the south-eastern part of the site, excavated in 1983, was apparently an altar of 213, the second of that year from Osterburken.**

Traces of paint on some of the altars show that they were originally painted in a dark colour, then whitewashed and the letters picked out in red. They were decorated in various ways with relief carving; two masks are often carved on the *pulvinar*, one bearded and the other not; one altar shows a scene with a board game; another depicts vines and has five busts over the inscription (see below); on the sides of the altars are depicted legionary standards, eagles, bulls, lightning, trees with nesting birds and sacrificial instruments. Some show the work of a single workshop and many may have been brought in from elsewhere, perhaps without inscriptions.

Of the inscriptions found on the site, twelve have been published to date.* The earliest was probably that found at the beginning of the first row of inscriptions, a votive altar dedicated *IOM et Iunoni Reginae et genio*

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*The text contains some unrecognizable characters that are not transcribed.*

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loci...pro se et suis by a soldier of XXII Primigenia; another from the first row was dedicated IOM...pro se et suas (sic); a third was the earliest dated altar from the enclosure dedicated IOM Iun(oní) Reg(inae) et gen(io) loci...pro se et suis by a soldier of legio III Italica in AD 174. This legion had been raised c.165 and operated in the territory of Northern Italy and Raetia, its commander becoming praetorian governor of the latter province from c.175 onwards. Rbff cos of this legion are not recorded elsewhere in Upper Germany and it may be that this individual had accompanied the governor Caerellius Priscus who had come to the province from Raetia at about this time, although a simple borrowing is also possible; the other altar apparently erected here by a bf cos of the same legion seems to have come from the third row (see above) and so probably dated from the 180's or 190's; the dedicator was most likely similarly attached to the officium of Germania Superior before 175 and remained there even after his legion had become part of the garrison of an independent praetorian province. From the second row came a votive altar dedicated IOM dis deabusque omnibus by a soldier of VIII Augusta on 13 January 182 and, apparently, three others, one dedicated IOM Iunoní Reg(inae) genio loci dis deabusque omnibus...pro se et suis, another IOM et Iunoni Reginae et genio loci dis deabusque om[nibus]...pro se et suis by a soldier of VIII Augusta, and the third IOM et Iunoni Regin(ae) et Marti Exalbiovici dis deabq omnibus et genio loci pro se et suis by a soldier of VIII Augusta. To the south-east of this row, in front of the shrine of Dea Candida, was dedicated another altar on 15 July 183 IOM Iunoni Regin(ae) dis
deabusq(ue) omnibus et genio loci and another, depicting five busts in relief, IOM et Iunoni Reginae...pro se et suos (sic). Within the shrine itself was found an altar with a relief sculpture of the goddess dedicated Diae Candide (sic) Reg(inae) et num(ini) eius...pro se et suis by a soldier of VIII Augusta and another in front of the shrine dedicated Deae Candidae Reg(inae) benemerenti pro se et suis by a soldier of legio XXIT Pr. P.F. The latest of the votive altars whose text has been published is perhaps one of the early third century, found in the vicinity of the second row of altars, though on slightly higher ground, and dedicated In h d d IOM Iun(onii) Reg(inae) Fort(unae) Red(uci) dis deabusq(ue) omnib(us) genio loci...pro se et suos (sic).

Finally, mention must be made of what is perhaps the most remarkable find of all from the Osterburken enclosure, the head of a 'benefiziarierlanze', remarkably similar to those depicted on inscriptions recording officiales throughout the empire and the first instance of an actual lance found in a context which definitely links it with bbff cos (see Appendix I and Fig. 4). The iron lance, found 4m north-east of the large temple, was 29.5cm long with a long point, and had a heart-shaped head with two circular openings decorated with brass, set between a cross bar above and below, on a conical base with slits, itself set on a conical iron shaft bound with bands of bronze; within the shaft were found traces of the main wooden shaft.

The next statio is recorded 12km further along the limes from Osterburken at Jagsthausen a cohort-fort occupied from the reign of Pius until c.259/60, along with
The statio is attested by five inscriptions; the earliest on which a date can be read was dedicated IOM I(uni)R(eginae) et g(enio) l(oci)...pro se et suis by a **bf cos** of VIII Augusta in 179 and bears a depiction of a **bf lance** on the right side (see Appendix I); a dated votive altar was dedicated IOM I(uni) R(eginae) et his sed(ibus)...pro salute sua et sui (sic) omnium in AD 186 by a soldier of XXII Primigenia P.P. whose origo was Aelia Augusta (Augsburg) and who had served for 26 years; but possibly erected earlier than either of these was one dedicated IOM I(uni) Reg(inae) genio loci on 13 March of an unknown year by L. Flavius Paternus, who erected a similar inscription at Stockstadt in 167. The other two inscriptions are both fragmentary votive altars, one of them erected pro se et suis.

The final statio attested on the limes road lay 39km further on at Mainhardt, a cohort-fort and **vicus** of the Antonine limes held either until the Alammanic invasion of the early third century or until 259/60. The fort guarded a crossing of the limes by a pre-Roman road from Schünbosch Hall, the site of rich salt deposits, to Heilbronn on the Neckar. The statio is attested by a single inscription of 181 dedicated In h d d IOM...ex iussu.

Only one other statio manned by a **bf cos** is attested in Germania Superior, by the earliest dated **bf** inscription in the province, erected in 150 and found right away from the contemporary military zone at Pontailler-sur-Saône in the territory of the Lingones, where the Besançon-Langres road crosses the Saône; it is a votive altar dedicated [I]OM et genio loci by a **bf Caeserni Statiani cos.** The purpose of the statio is difficult to ascertain, since it
lay at a minor settlement on a not very major road and very little is known about the site in the Roman period. It has been claimed that it was one of a group of stationes in the area guarding military supply roads against brigandage, but without good foundation. It has been claimed that it was one of a group of stationes in the area guarding military supply roads against brigandage, but without good foundation. Perhaps it was connected with military supply to the German frontier along the Saône, or with imperial estates (cf. Ch. V pp. 253–6).

Note also that in the early third century an immunis consularis is recorded not very far from Pontailler, 35 km to the north-west at Tilena which lay on the Via Agrippina linking Lugdunum with Trier and the Rhine. There a votive altar was dedicated in 226 [In h d [d d]eabus Bivis Trivis Quadrivis by a soldier of XXII Primigenia who describes himself as im(munis) cos Ger[m(aniae)]

Super[i]oris. The presence here of a detachment of legionaries from VIII Augusta and XXII Primigenia is attested by four other inscriptions dated between the reign of Caracalla and 250/1, one recording a strator legionis, another an eques legionis; their camp has been identified beside the Étang de Marcilly. It seems likely that the immunis cos was associated with or even part of this detachment which, with its cavalry element, was perhaps responsible for the escort and protection of supplies from Lugdunensis for the German frontier; possibly he acted as liaison with the officium.

Two further bbff cos are recorded in Germania Superior, both on tombstones; one died at the age of 33 years and 8 months after 18 years service and was buried by his wife at Erpolzheim; the other erected, together with his son, a tombstone for his wife at Oppenheim (Buconica). Other officiales recorded on tombstones in
the province include a *commentariensis* at Rheinzabern (?) and a *protector praesidis* who erected a memorial for his wife at Kreuznach.

Other *stationes* have been postulated for Germania Superior but on no convincing evidence. A. von Domaszewski interpreted a *candidatus* of *VIII Augusta* who made a dedication at Matisco and a centurion of *XXII Primigenia* who dedicated an altar *Bivis Trivis Quadrivis* at Hochheim as promoted *beneficiarii*, and a soldier of *VIII Augusta* who erected another altar at Pforzheim as an *immunis consularis*, but these assumptions are groundless. More recently, Ph. Filtzinger has interpreted a small, rectangular, roadside building on the Brandsteig as a *bf statio*, comparing buildings which have been similarly interpreted at Cannstatt and Königshausen (see above), but the latter interpretations are based on the fallacious assumptions that *beneficiarii* must have been provided with special buildings for their duties rather than simply being billeted in forts and preexisting buildings (an idea stimulated by the desire to see the *bf stationes* as the forerunners of late-Roman *burgi*; see p. 150) and that they must have erected their altars in the immediate vicinities of such buildings rather than at the available shrines and sacred enclosures such as those now identified at Obernburg, Stockstadt and, of course, Osterburken.

Note finally the possible *stationes* at Viviscus and at the summit of the Great St. Bernard pass in the Alpes Graiae et Poeninae which may have been manned by *bbff cos* of Germania Superior (see below).
Alpes Graiae et Poëninae

The territory of the Alpine passes first came under full Roman control in the Augustan period; a military praefectus Raetis Vindolicis vallis Poëninae et levis armaturae is recorded c.AD 16/17, but by the reign of Claudius we find a procurator Augurorum et pro legato provinciæ Raetiae et vallis Poëninae. At some stage, perhaps very soon after this, the vallis Poënina was separated from Raetia and put under an independent procurator, possibly in conjunction with the territory of the Alpes Graiae, as the province of Alpes Graiae et Poëninae, although it appears that in the second century the province was known as Alpes Atrectianae et Poëninae. The principal seat of the governor seems to have lain in the Alpes Graiae at Axima (Aime), also known as Forum Claudii Ceutronum, which has provided most of the inscriptions recording procuratores; hardly anything is known of the ancient city.

It is at Axima that the only known officialis of the province is recorded, a b(eneficiarius) of P. Memmius Clemens, procurator in the late second century, who erected a votive altar dedicated Marti Aug(usto) and renovated the god's temple.

There may, however, be up to three stationes recorded in the province which might be similar in function to the stationes known in Germania Superior to the north, all of them lying on the extension of the Rhine valley road which ran south into the Alpes Poëninae, across the Great St. Bernard pass, and into Italy to Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) and Milan. The first was perhaps to be found at the vicus of Viviscus (Vevey), by Lake Geneva.
south of the statio manned by an immuns cos at Solothurn in Germania Superior. Here, an altar was dedicated Deo Silvano by a benefic(iarius) leg(ionis) XX[II Pr(imigenia)] P.F. who dol(no) ded[it]. It is just possible that this man was a bf cos, but his title should indicate that he was bf legati legionis who would normally have served in the legionary principia at Mainz; the most likely explanation, therefore, is that the altar was a private dedication made at the man's home town. However, another 55km along the road, at the town of Tarnaiae Nantuatium (Massongex), was found a dedication of 222, 226 or 229 In hon(em) d(omus) d(ivinae) genio stat[ionis] made by a miles leg(ionis) XXII Alexandr[ia]ne P.F.. It is perhaps most likely that this soldier's statio was manned by a whole detachment of legio XXII to which he belonged, perhaps to protect the road and area from brigandage, and that it ought not to be associated with the bf stations; nevertheless, it is possible that the governor of Germania Superior needed to employ this miles and perhaps the bf legionis recorded at Viviscus, both taken from the Mainz legion in order to provide full cover for the stationes of the road to the Great St. Bernard pass, which the officiales of the province itself may have been insufficiently numerous to supply.

A third statio may be attested by a bronze votive tablet dedicated by a bf cos (perhaps of Germania Superior, in view of the source of manpower for the other possible stationes of the province) at the shrine of Jupiter Poeninus at the summit of the Great St. Bernard pass. The summit marked the border with Italy and, apart from the shrine, was provided with a mansio for travellers. A
similar votive plaque Iovi Op(timo) M(aximo) Poenino was set up here by a frumentarius of legio III Italica; perhaps attesting another statio, although the man would probably have been detached to the Italian border from the Castra Peregrina rather than from the officium of Raetia: either the bf cos or the frumentarius might have been the dedicator also of the bronze 'benefiziarierlanze' found at the same shrine. The votive tablets dedicated by these men were two of over fifty left here by travellers, a great many of them soldiers, in thanks for their safe crossing and return over the pass; another of them was dedicated by an a com(mentariis) cos who, in view of his legal duties at the officium (see Ch. III pp. 40-1) is most unlikely to have been stationed here; it would be a unique example of such an outposting if he were. Consequently, even the bf cos and the frumentarius need not have manned stationes here, and it must remain uncertain whether any stationes at all are genuinely attested in the Alpes Graiae et Poeninae.

On the numbers of each grade of officialis and its relation to the number of legions stationed in each province see above Chapters II and III, in particular on the cornicularii (p.38), commentarienses (p. 40), speculatores (p. 42) and beneficiarii (pp. 11 12), and the discussion at the end of the Chapter III (pp. 63-4). The word could mean either a posting or tour of duty, or the place itself as is clear from the usages on the inscriptions: e.g. meaning a posting: prima stat(ione), VII 996; XIII 6637; iter(ata) statione, III 3949; XII 6440, 11989; AE 1957 n 329; ter(tia) stat(ione), Bericht RGK 1977 n.44; exacta (stat(ione), VIII 10717=17628; expleta statione, VIII 10718=17626; 10723; XIII 11603; emerita statione<m>, AE 1974 n 446; meaning a place: in munere stationis, III 825 (?); agens curam stationis, AE 1957 n. 327, 328; genio bf cos G S et loci concord(iae) var iarum) stationum, XIII 6127; sta(tioni... Segisamonensium, II 2915 (see p. 140); genio et loci concordiae variarum, VIII 10718=17626; genio stat(ionis) M(unicipii) Dard., AE 1952 n. 193. The distinction is evidently blurred, although when linked with genius we can be certain that the place is meant (cf. the numerous dedications genio loci). Certainly it is never made clear in any inscription that static
refers to a particular building or group of buildings although modern scholars, especially in Germany, have frequently sought to identify such on the ground and refer to them as stationes (see below).

The only exception is III 8252 at Naissus in Moesia Superior on which a bf cos of legio VII Claudia was commemorated by his wife and children, the former erecting the tombstone sibi et coniug[i]; there is good reason to suppose therefore that Naissus was the man’s home.

*See note 2; note also III 827=7633 Alsó-Kosály (Dacia) agens sub sign(is) Samum cum reg(ione) Ans(amentsium); AE 1957 n 326 Alsó-Kosály agens Samo cum r(e)g(ione) Ans(amentsium) sub seg(nis)(sic); Unpublished inscription from Montana (Moesia Inferior) ag(ens) t(erritorio) M(ontanensium); VII 1763 =10724, 17636 ex[pleto tempore (?); cf. P. Amh LXXX 12; P. Oxy 65, 1; P. Oxy 2187.8 all mentioning a ρε στατ(SIONIS), IGR III 748 a βενει εις την στατιουν του(ν), IGR III 812 a στατιουν του(ν), although not all of these are certainly bf cos.

*VII 996 Risingham (Britannia Inferior) Habitanci prima stat(ione); AE 1952 n. 193 Slatina (Moesia Superior) genio stat(ionis) μ(unicipii) Dard; III 827=7633 Alsó-Kosály (Dacia) agens sub sign(is) Samum cum reg(ione) Ans(amentsium); AE 1957 n. 326, Alsó-Kosály (Dacia) agens Samo cum r(e)g(ione) Ans(amentsium) sub seg(nis)(sic); 10718 = 17626 Ain Zoui (Numidia) genioque stationis Vaga(ie)litanae. 

*See note 2.

*See notes 2 and 5 and Appendix II.

*For a full discussion see Appendix II.

*e.g. A. Aricescu, Noi monumente epigrafice din Scythia Minor (1964), 179 no 1: pro salute M. Catoni Vindicis leg. Aug. pro pr.

10III 7447, Montana Dianae et Apolloni...conservatus ab eis; AE 1957 n 328 Deae Nemesi...multis insidiis numinis liberatus; but note also the dedications to deities addressed as adiuvantes (III 7740a; XIII 8015) or conservatores (VIII 20251; XIII 6638; AE 1967 n.430; Inscri. Ant. Or. Sept. Pont. Eux. I no 675; AE 1978 n. 525), and the very many dedications made pro se et suis, or pro salute sua et suorum or pro incolumitate sua.

11Ex iussu: XIII 6383, 7987; ex v.so: Spomenik lxxi no 209; μ(oinitus) v(iso) (?); III 14957.

12*See above Chapter III on speculatores (p. 44), frumentarii (p. 52), quaestorarii (p. 54), stratores (p. 60), and singulares (p. 62). Appendix I on the lances of officiales, and below on officiales in individual provinces.

13London was the seat of the provincial procurator probably by the time of the Boudican revolt (AD 61) since the colonists at Colchester had to send away to ask him for aid (Tac. Ann. XIV. 32), and certainly immediately after since the first procurator after the revolt, Iulius Classicianus, was buried there (VII 30 = RIB 12). The governor’s palace was not, however, built here until c. AD 90 (see note 16). Britain was divided as a province probably in AD 213 (see note 20), with Superior lying in the south with legions at Caerleon and Chester (Dio LV. 23.2 and 6) and London evidently retaining (or returning to) its status as a
provincial capital; there is definite evidence of the governor's presence in the early to mid-third century when he rebuilt a temple of Isis (M.W.C. Hassall and R.S.O. Tomlin, Britannia VII (1976), 378-9 no 1 cf. A.R. Birley, The Fasti of Roman Britain (1981), 176-8 for the date).

Under Diocletian a reorganization of the empire made Britain a diocese of the Praetorian Prefecture of Gaul, under the overall control of a vicarius Britanniarum (Not. Dig. Occ. xxiii) whose capital almost certainly lay in London (cf. Not. Dig. Occ. xi, 37); it was divided into four provinces, attested on the Verona List of AD 312-14 (Lat. Ver. vii). London was named Augusta, probably in 306 (Amm. Marc. xxvii, 8,7; xxviii, 3,1; cf. S.S. Frere, Britannia (1974), 241 with note 24, 401 with note 22), and was the seat of a bishop who attended the Council of Arles in 314 (Acta. Conc. Aral. I, praef.); J.C. Mann (Antiquity xxxv (1961)), 316-20 argues that it should therefore have been capital, not only of the diocese as a whole, but also of one of the four new provinces, probably Maxima Caesariensis since this was later the senior province with a consular governor (Not. Dig. Occ. xxiii, 10).

14 VI 156 = RIB 293 Wroxeter c. AD 60. The man died aged 52 after 31 years service, which may make him the longest serving bf cos on record (see Chapter II p. 14 with note 40). The early date of the inscription is clearly signalled by the use of filiation, tribe (Pollia) and origo (Pollentia), as well as by the funerary formula h(cal) s(itus) e(st). Wroxeter itself was probably not founded until the 50's, fitting best into the activities of Didius Gallus (51-7) or Q. Veranius (57/8) in eastern Wales, but most likely pre-dating Paulinus's campaign in north Wales (58); the other terminus for the inscription is provided by the absence of the cognomina Valeria Victrix from the citation of the man's legion, legio XX, titles awarded for services in the Boudican revolt of AD 61.

14 VII p. 62 = IG XIV 2548 = IGR; I 1 = RIB 662 = ILS 8861. On Demetrius see Plut. De Def. Orac. 2:18 (410a; 419e-420a). Plutarch reports that in 83-4 he met at Delphi a Demetrius who had recently visited the islands round Britain having been sent to inspect them by the emperor; cf. RIB 663, the same man's dedication to Oceanus and Tethys clearly echoing the similar dedication by Alexander the Great on the coast of the Indian Ocean at the other end of the known world (Diod. XVII, 104) and confirming the identity of this Demetrius with Plutarch's traveller; see RCHM City of York I; Eburacum. Roman York (1962), 133; S.S. Frere op. cit. (note 13) 128; 139 note 6.


14 There were evidently, for instance, extensive rooms in the unexcavated entrance courtyard on the northernmost terrace of the palace: P. Marsden op. cit., 82; R. Merrifield op. cit., 72. On the officium's being housed in the Cripplegate fort see M.W.C. Hassall, 'Roman Soldiers in Roman London' in D.E. Strong (ed.), Archaeological Theory and Practice (1973), 255; R. Merrifield op. cit., 77. This suggestion is based partly on the idea that the fort housed the governor's singularares, who would be 1000
strong (see M.P. Speidel, Guards of the Roman Armies (1978) 11-15, especially 14), but the fort could hold up to 1500 men; the officiales would then conveniently take up some of the surplus space. Speidel's figure of 1000 for the bodyguard is, however, only an educated guess as is clear from his text, and since the numbers of officiales in various provinces evidently differed, bearing at least some relation to the number of legions in the province (see note 1), the numbers of singulares no doubt varied also; Britain, as a province with 3 legions and their concomitant auxiliaries, could well be expected to provide its governor with a large bodyguard; see note 18 on singulares.

Speculatores in London: VII 24 = RIB 19 London, late first/early second century; an early date for the inscription is suggested by the use of the unabbreviated formula Dis Manibus and of filiation and tribe for the deceased; cf. J.C. Mann and M.G. Jarrett, JRS livi (1967), 62-3. The dead man, and probably his colleagues also, came from legio II Augusta (although they probably do not represent the full complement of speculatores from that legion; see p. 42).

Another speculator from Britain is attested, along with several frumentarii and a singularis, on gravestones found in Rome and Italy of men who were temporarily attached to the Castra Peregrina (see Ch. III pp. 43, 49-50); speculator in Rome: VI 3358, end of 2nd cent. the grave of a speculator exercitus Britanniae erected by a frumentarius attested on two other stones (VI 3357, 3359) as a member of legio XX, and by the man's servant (cf. the servant apparently accompanying a speculator as a lance bearer on a relief from a Viminacium tombstone (III 1650 = ILS 2378); see Appendix I note 9); frumentarius in Rome: VI 3337, a soldier of II Augusta; 3338, soldier of II Augusta; 3339, soldier of II Augusta commemorated by a singularis of the same legion; 3343, soldier of VI Victrix; 3344, soldier of VI Victrix; 3345, soldier of VI Victrix; 3346, soldier, from Gloucester, of VI Victrix; 3357, soldier of XX Valeria Victrix commemorated by another of the same legion who also erected 3358; 3359, tombstone of the soldier of XX Valeria Victrix who erected 3357 and 3358; frumentarius in Italy: a frumentarius of VI Victrix is recorded on a tombstone in the Maffei Museum in Verona (V 3362); M. Clauss, Untersuchungen zu den 'principalcs' des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diokletian. Cornicularii, speculatores, frumentarii (1973), 86 with note 35 apparently takes the man to have been detached to Verona from the Castra Peregrina (though it is not clear for what purpose), but many of the inscriptions in the Museum came from Rome (CIL V p. 326) and this may have been one of these, although Th. Mommsen in CIL evidently thought not; the man's origo was Flavia Solva in Noricum and he may therefore have been one of the cives Italici et Norici of VI Victrix who erected the famous Castelcary altar (VII 1095 = RIB 2148) and who, it has been suggested, may have been transferred to the British legion from the newly raised legio II Italica in Noricum in the 180's (J.C. Mann, Hermes 91 (1963), 487-8; S.S. Frere op. cit. (note 13), 192 note 31). Another frumentarius of VI Victrix is attested in Italy (CIL XI part I 448* = AE 1977 n 249) not through his secondment to the Castra Peregrina but as a member of
an Italian family recorded on a memorial of the mid-second century which was erected by the man's mother and found at Anguillara Sabazia, probably originating from the villa there (see M. Lyttleton and F. Sear, 'A Roman Villa near Anguillara Sabazia', PBSR xlv NS xxxii (1977), 227-51, esp. p. 247 with note 40; 249 with note 62; Plate XXXIVb); the man's stepfather was a centurion and his half-brother an eques Romanus who perhaps built the villa. A final frumentarius of VI Victrix is commemorated on a family tombstone at Sarmizegethusa in Dacia, having died at the age of 19 (III 1474). All these inscriptions date from between the mid-second and early-third century AD and some of the men of VI Victrix may well have come to Rome from the officium of the governor of Britannia Inferior at York (see note 20).

Note that a man whose origo was Colchester but was buried in London (Ant J xliii (1963), 123-8 may have been a tribunus sexmestris (see Ch. III pp. 58-60) seconded to serve with the governor, in which case the beneficiarius(?) would have been attached to the governor's officium, as at Lambaesis (VIII 2586; AE 1917/18 n 57; see pp. 58-60).

No singulares of the governor are attested from London, or from anywhere else in Britain (contra R.W. Davies, 'Singulares and Roman Britain', Britannia vii (1976), 134-44, who unreasonably takes the epigraphic abbreviation s.c., normally read as s(ummus) c(urator), to represent s(ingularis) c(onsularis), but only in Britain). The only individual British singularis consularis recorded anywhere is the singularis of legio II Augusta who erected the tombstone of a frumentarius of the same legion at Rome (VI 3339) while they were both presumably attached to the Castra Peregrina (see above); he was surely an eques legioni who was appointed singularis of the governor rather than the singularis of a legatus legionis (even if such officers did normally have a bodyguard; see Ch. III note 152) since legati legionis would hardly be allowed to send their own officiales or despatches to Rome over the head of the provincial governor (contra M.P. Speidel, Guards of the Roman Armies (1978), 20). The existence of British singulares is also proved by the pedites singulares Britannici attested by diplomata as stationed in Moesia 103-7 (XVI 54), in Dacia in 110 (XVI 57, 163), in Upper Dacia in 157 (XVI 107), and as late as 245 in Dacia Apolensis as a numerus (AE 1967, 412; III 1396: AE 1967, 410; AE 1967, 411); see M.P. Speidel, op. cit., 65-6; 127, who suggests that the singulares were removed from Britain for complicity in the crime of Sallustius Lucullus who perhaps designed the lancea named after himself and so fell foul of Domitian (Suet. Dom. 10); for his bodyguard cf. E. Birley Roman Britain and the Roman Army (2nd ed. 1961), 22. Speidel op. cit., 127-9 also suggests that the 1500 who marched to Italy in AD 185 to demand the removal of the Praetorian Prefect Perennis (Dio. LXXIII, 9) were in fact the singulares from the Cripplegate fort (see note 19).

Other officiales of Britain in the Hadrianic period, and therefore based in London, may be indirectly referred to in Dig. XLVIII, 20, 6: M.W.C. Hassall, 'Roman Soldiers in Roman London' in F. Strong (ed.) Archaeology in Theory and Practice (1973), 235-7 argues that the Aquilius Bradua
recorded by Ulpian as the recipient of Hadrian's rescript concerning the pannicularea taken, as Ulpian implies, by the governor's speculatores, optiones and commentarienses, is to be identified with M. (Appius) Atilius Bradua (PIR² A 1298), thought to be the consul of AD 108 and recorded on ILS 8824a, erected at Olympia under Antoninus Pius, as having been governor of Lower Germany and Britain with no career attested on the stone after his governorship of Britain; he was possibly, therefore, Trajan's last and Hadrian's first governor of the province and would have received Hadrian's rescript whilst in Britain.

Finally, we may be able to see evidence of officiales in London in the finds of three official seal-boxes, one with a portrait of Vespasian found at Aldgate beside the road to Colchester and two more from the Walbrook stream near the governor's palace, one of them bearing a portrait of Domitian (H.P.A. Chapman, 'Excavations at Aldgate...1972' TLMAS 24 (1973), 48, no 9; P. Marsden op. cit. (note 16), 82).

By the middle of the second century the ditch of the Cripplegate fort was being allowed to silt up (P. Marsden, 'Archaeological finds in the City of London, 1965-6', TLMAS 22 pt. 1 (1968), 9) and Marsden suggests that the abandonment of the governor's palace and demolition of its staterooms may date to this period (id. 'Excavation of a Roman palace site in London, 1961-72', TLMAS 26 (1975), 73-78; cf. id., Roman London (1980), 115-7).

York as capital of Britannia Inferior: York had been the site of a palatium and domus Palatina during the campaigns of Severus in Britain in 208-11 (SHA Sev. 22, 7 cf. Cod. Just. III, 32, 1 issued at York 5 May 210) and Severus, of course, died there (SHA Sev. 22, 7; Aur. Vict. De Caes. 20, 27); also the Marbre de Thorigny (XIII 3162 Vieux (Lugdunensis), AD 238) records that a T. Sennius Sollemnis assisted the governor Ti Claudius Paulinus (AD 220-221 cf. A.R. Birley, The Fasti of Roman Britain (1981), 188-90) as a tribunus sexmestris ad legationem sext[am], that is at York. The inscription erected at York by the beneficiarii of the governor Gordianus (see note 22) is, however, the best direct evidence for the siting of the officium there, together with the fact that the governor of Inferior also acted as legate of VI Victrix; as such he probably continued to occupy the praetorium of the fortress, with his staff working in the principia which lay under the medieval Minster; another possibility, however, is that the governor and his staff occupied the palace of Severus which may have been situated across the river from the fortress in the colonia, under the old railway station; see J. Wacher, The Towns of Roman Britain (1974), 156-61.

Division of the Province: the date is controversial; Herodian III, 8, 2 explicitly states that Severus divided the province immediately after the battle of Lugdunum in 197, but Virius Lupus, C. Valerius Pudens and L. Alfenus Senecio, all consular governors, are attested in the area of the praetorian province of Inferior after that date, Senecio serving between 205 and 207.

AE 1971 n 218 York c. AD 216 (= R.P. Wright, Britannia I (1970), 307 no 12 with note 11 which provides the suggested reading). No other officiales are recorded here, but S.S. Frere op. cit. (note 13). 245 note 5 notes that the highly polished letter from Ti. Claudius Paullinus, governor of
Lower Britain in 220-221, recorded on the Marbre de Thorigny (see note 20), will have been drafted by his officiales at York.


VIII 2401, Timgad (Numidia), early 3rd cent. C. Aelius Tertiolus; Inscr. Lat. Alg. I no 2203, Madauros (Africa Proconsularis), 3rd cent. ... Quirina Saturninus[... provinsiae Britta[nniae ...][...][...][ici praesidis[ben[eficiarius][...]]consularis[is]] noni praec[...monumentum[...].]sib[i]....

XII 3182 Nîmes (Narbonensis), 2nd/3rd cent. ... L. Valerianus mil.[leg.] XX Britannia[en.][leg. or proc.]

Leeming Lane/Dere Street (York-Corbridge-Newstead road): I.D. Margary, Roman Roads in Britain (3rd ed. 1973), nos 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 8e, 8f; pp. 427-30, 439-41, 476-8, 484-5; Itin. Ant. Iter I: A Bremenio (High Rochester) Corstopitum (Corbridge) XX, Vindomora (Ebchester) VIIII, Vinovia (Bchester) XVIII, Cataractoni (Catterick Bridge) XXII, Isurium (Aldborough) XXIII, Eburacum, leg. VI Victrix (York) XVII; Iter II: Cataractone Isurium XXIII, Eburacum XVII; Iter V: Eburaco Isubrigantium XVII, Cataractone XXIII.

VII 271 = ILS 3929 = RIB 725, Catterick Bridge, AD 191: Q. Varius Vitalis; the inscription is known only from a handwritten copy inserted into Camden's own copy of his Britannia (reproduced in RIB) from which it is not clear whether the date inscribed on the base is to be associated with the original dedication or the restoration by Vitalis. On the reading Aurelius Dasso cf. XII 7732, the Vinxtbach (Germ. Sup.) recording a T. Aurelius Dosso. F. Bücheler, Anthologia Latina II. Carmina Epigraphica I (1930) no 25 notes that the line of dedication to the god is an iambic senarius, probably accidental.

E.g. most recently A.R. Birley, The People of Roman Britain (1979), 88.

VII 272 = RIB 727 Catterick Bridge 2nd/3rd cent.: Gaio.

Flavian-Trajanic fort at Thornborough Farm with vicus: M.V. Taylor, JRS 1 (1960), 217-8; mansio: ibid, 218 (House III, 4) and note the stone found in this building inscribed coh(ors) VIII, implying legionary construction and an official purpose, ibid, 237 no 7; Brompton-on-Swale fort: D.R. Wilson, Britannia iv (1973), 278-9; the evidence for possible military reoccupation of the fort at Thornborough Farm c.160 is based on an unpublished survey of pottery evidence by B.R. Hartley, but is very likely in view of the general reoccupation of the Pennine forts under Calpurnius Agricola and after (see note 25). See S.S. Frere, op. cit. (note 13), 178-86 and Map 7 (pp. 183-4) with note 19; 191-2; S.S. Frere and J.K. St. Joseph, Roman Britain from the air (1983), 179-81.

See note 25.

See note 25.

VII 424 = RIB i031 Binchester, 2nd/3rd cent.: Tib(eri)us Cl(audius) Quintianus; EE IX 1133 = ILS 4785 = RIB 1030 Binchester, 2nd/3rd cent.: Pomponius Donatus.


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**VII 425 = RIB 1032 cf. VII 426 = RIB 1033, EE VII 980 = RIB 1034. On the ala see P.A. Holder, The Roman Army in Britain (1982), 110.**

**Binchester vicus:** first described by R.E. Hooppell, Vinovia; a buried Roman city in the County of Durham (1891), 10, 19; little excavation has been carried out since then. See also E. Birley, 'Roman Durham' in Arch J cxi (1954), 195; B. Dobson, 'Roman Durham' in T. Durh & North A. & A. Soc. N.S. ii (1970), 37. R. Goodburn, Britannia ix (1978), 426 notes several buildings recorded in a trench cut south-east of the fort, with finds of first-to fourth-century pottery. There is, however, no conclusive evidence for the date of the vicus.


**Lanchester fort and vicus:** K.A. Steer, T. Durh & North A. & A. Soc. vii (1) (1936), 200-215; id., ibid. ix (1) (1939), 112-22; B. Swinbank, ibid. x (iv) (1953), 394-5; Arch J xci (1954), 220-1. An inscription of AD 175-6 (VII 440 = RIB 1083) recording rebuilding by cohors I Fida Vardullorum equitata milliaria, certainly a unit new to here, is taken by D.J. Breeze and B. Dobson, Hadrian's Wall (1977), 126 as evidence for previous abandonment and reoccupation at this time. The evidence for reoccupation under Gordian III (AD 238-44) consists of inscriptions of cohors I Lingonum equitata (VII 445 = RIB 1091; VII 446 = RIB 1092).

**VII 441 = RIB 1085 Lanchester, 2nd/3rd cent.: Mar(cus) Didius Provincialis; for other dedications to Silvanus in Britain see R. Goodburn and H. Waugh, The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I. Inscriptions on stone: Epigraphic Indexes (1983), 73 who list no fewer than 28 other instances from all parts of the country.

**I.D. Margary, op cit. (note 25) nos 8d, 8c, pp. 439-41, 476-8; Itin. Ant. Iter I (see note 25).**

**Risingham fort:** T.A. Richmond, Arch. Ael. 4th series xiii (1936), 184-98; id., The Romans in Redesdale, overprint from History of Northumberland XV (1940), 63-159; J. Collingwood Bruce, Handbook to the Roman Wall (13th ed. by C.M. Daniels) (1978), 289-94; S.S. Frere and J.K. St. Joseph, op. cit. (note 29), 121. For suggested abandonment under Ulpius Marcellus see D.J. Breeze and B. Dobson, op. cit. (note 37), 128-30). Rebuilding under Alfenus Senecio is attested by VII 1003 = ILS 2618 = RIB 1234. Vicus: attested by the tombstones of civilians, including several children (RIB 1246, 1248, 1250-61); E. Birley, Research on Hadrian's Wall (1961), 238 suggests that it lay to the west of the fort flanking Dere Street.

**VII 986 = ILS 4728 = RIB 1225 Risingham, early 3rd cent. Mar(cus) G(avius?) Secundinus; R.P. Wright, Britannia iii (1972), 363 (= AE 1975 n 580) shows the correct reading of the deity's name to be Mogonito. On prima statione see above pp. 119-20 and note 2 cf E. Birley op cit 222-4.
who suggests that a building near to Watling Street (i.e. Dere Street) might be the site of the static.

**I.D. Margary, op. cit. (note 25) no 82, pp. 433-6; no 7e, p. 392; Itin. Ant. Iter II: Cataractonium (Catterick Bridge) Lavatrae (Bowes) XVI, Verterae (Brough) XIII, Brovonacae (Kirkby Thore) XIII, Voreda (Castlesteads) XIII, Luguvallium (Carlisle) XIII; Iter V: Cataractonium Lavatrae XVIII, Verterae XIII, Brocavum (Brougham) XX, Luguvallium XXII.

**Morbium: the place is not certainly to be identified with Greta Bridge and comes from Not. Dig. Occ. xl, 6; xl, 21; see a.L.F. Rivet and C. Smith, The Place-Names of Roman Britain (1979), 420 s.v. Morbium. Greta Bridge fort and vicus: D.R. Wilson, Britannia v (1974), 413-4; id., ibid. vi (1975), 235 (with report of a Trajanic/Hadrianic mansio); for rebuilding under Senecio see VII 279, add. p. 307 = RIB 746.

**VII 280 = RIB 745 Greta Bridge, after 213: ... ellinus.

**VII 281 = RIB 747 Greta Bridge, after 213: P?[ost(umius?) Urbanus.

**See Ch. III pp. 34-5 with notes 5-8.

**On the legions of each province see above notes 13 and 20.

**Stainmore road: see above note 42; west Pennine road, Chester-Manchester-Ribchester-Low Borrow Bridge-Brougham: I.D. Margary, op. cit. (note 25) nos 7a, 7b, 7c, 7d. pp. 300-302, 370-1, 377-82, 385-7; Itin. Ant. Iter IV: Mamucio (Manchester) Condate (Northwich?) XVIII, Deva. leg. XX Vict. (Chester) XX; Iter V: Brocavo (Brougham) Luguvallio (Carlisle) XXII.

**Brougham fort and vicus: RCHM Westmorland (1936), 54; S.S. Frere, op. cit. (note 13), 139, 150. r(espublica) c(ivitas) Car(vetiorum) : D.R. Wilson, JRS lv (1965), 224 no 11 Brougham, AD 258-68.


**R.W. Davies, loc. cit.

**VII 2401 Timgad (Numidia), early 3rd cent.: C. Aelius Vertius. Note also Inscr. Lat. Alg. I no 2203, Madauros (Africa Proconsularis). See note 23


**Chesterholm fort, vicus and mansio: R.E. Birley, Vindolanda (1977); J. Collingwood Bruce op. cit. (note 40), 156-62; P. Salway in K. Branigan (ed.), Rome and the Brigantes (1980), 14-16 (vicus); S.S. Frere and J.K. St. Joseph op. cit. (note 29), 68 and Pl. 36. Foundation of fort under Agricola and abandonment c. 125: R.E. Birley, op. cit., 108-121; rebuilding implied under Calpurnius Agricola and occupation thereafter: PP VII 1050b = RIB 1703 cf. R.E. Birley op. cit., 31-4, 83-97; Vici I and II: R.E. Birley op. cit., 31-79. P. Salway (loc. cit.) and S.S. Frere and J.K.J. St Joseph (loc. cit.) note that Vicus I (c. AD 160 until the middle of the third century) was defended by a rampart and that its buildings were unusual for a vicus in that very few were of the conventional
strip-type and that this and the mansio, which was levelled before construction of the late 3rd-century Vicus II, suggest that Vicus I was in fact an official administrative area rather than the more normal type of vicus with its strip buildings which existed later; no doubt the statio of the bf cos would have been situated within this area and have had a role to play in its administrative function. Note however that P.T. Bidwell, The Roman Fort at Vindolanda (1985), 88-92, using results from his 1980 excavations (mostly coin evidence), has now provisionally redated Vicus I to the Hadrianic-late Antonine period and Vicus II to the period from Alexander Severus (c.AD 223-5) to c.AD 270, contemporary with Stone Fort 2; if these dates are correct, it would be unclear whether the bf inscriptions were erected at a time when there was no vicus or were contemporary with Vicus II.


VII 645 = ILS 4230 = RIB 1599, Housesteads, early third century: Litorius Pacatianus. The link proposed by F. Cumont, Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mitra II (1896), 161 no 479 of Mithras's title here, Saecularis, with the Ludi Saeculares, which might therefore have helped to date the altar, is incorrect; the title rather has to do with Mithras's religious role in the advancement of the ages; see C.M. Daniels, 'Mithras Saecularis, the Housesteads mithraeum and a fragment from Carrawburgh', Arch. Ael. 4th Series xl (1962), 105-15; E. and J.R. Harris, The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain (1965), 34-5 and note 6 with a slightly different religious interpretation of Saecularis; see also M. Henig, Religion in Roman Britain (1984), 101. The lettering of the inscription suggests an early third-century date and it is perhaps to be connected with the original dedication of the temple which dates from the same period (E. and J.R. Harris, op. cit., 28-36; C.M. Daniels, Mithras and his Temples on the Wall (2nd ed. 1967), 16). On bbff cos and the regulation of traffic through the Knag Burn Gate see F. Graham, The Roman Wall (1979), 97.

Knag Burn Gate: E. Birley, Housesteads Roman Fort, Northumberland (1952), 24-5; D.J. Breeze and B. Dobson, op. cit. (note 37), 219.

Although from the later 2nd century there was, of course, a military way linking the wall forts: D.J. Breeze and B. Dobson, op. cit. (note ), 126.

VII 732 = RIB 1728, AD 225; VII 742 = RIB 1749; the former mentions a man, whose rank appeared in the damaged portion of the inscription, apparently involved in the erection of the inscription for the governor; what have been read as the letters LEGA have been expanded by A. Huebner in CIL to bf] leg[ti Aug, but the A is unclear and a more likely reading is Martia[le C(enturio)] leg(ionis) followed by the number of the legion (the reading adopted by R.P. Wright in RIB). The second inscription has nothing at all to suggest a bf, as proposed by Huebner in CIL.


Cf. note 13.
Note the centurion of *legio VI Victoria* in charge of a *numerus* at Ribchester, south of Lancaster, in the reign of Gordian III (VII 218 = RIB 583). Lancaster lay on a secondary route running north-south to the west of the Pennines, through easier territory than the principal road (see note 49) and actually covering a shorter distance between Chester and Carlisle (216 km as opposed to 230 km):

I.D. Margary, *op. cit.* (note 25), 701, 70b, 70c, 70d, 705, 7c, 7d, 7e, pp. 358, 304-5, 367-9, 375-6, 382, 377-82, 385-7, 392; *Itin. Ant.* *Iter V: Brocavum* (Brougham) *Luguvallum* (Carlisle) XXII. On the situation of the *statio* at Lancaster, cf. that of the *statio* at Germersheim in Germania Superior, p. 165.

VII 286 = RIB 602, Lancaster, 2nd/3rd cent. *Vibinius Lucius*. On Cocidius see R. Goodburn and H. Waugh, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I. Inscriptions on stone: Epigraphic Indexes* (1983), 65 list another 24 inscriptions dedicated to this deity, all from the north of England and in four of which (VII 335 = RIB 1017, Cumberland; VII 886 = RIB 2015, Hadrian's Wall west of Milecastle 59; VII 914 = RIB 2024, Hadrian's Wall near Milecastle 65; VII 977 = RIB 993, Bwich) he is identified with Mars.

VII 5 = ILS 4786 = RIB 88 Winchester, late 1st/early 2nd cent.: *Antonius Cretianus*; the dating, from the lettering, is suggested by A. Huebner, *BJ* 59 (1876), 148. The dedication perhaps indicates the origins of the man's legionary colleagues.


Wool-working factory: *Not. Dig. Occ. xi 60 procurator gynaecii* *in Britannis* (Vlentensis): unfortunately, Winchester is not certainly the Venta referred to in this entry. Imperial ownership at Clanville villa: implied by a dedication of AD 282-3 to Caesar Carinus, *EE* ix 984 = RIB 98; see S.S. Frere, *op. cit.* (note 13), 312.


VII 83 = ILS 5458 = RIB 235 Dorchester-on-Thames, 2nd/3rd cent. *M. Valerius Severus*; the dedication was to the official god of the army, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, and to the divinities of the Emperors, a clear expression of loyalty by the bf *cos*; he erected the *aram cum cancellis* at his own expense (*de sua pecunia*).

On the position of Dorchester as a possible administrative centre for any imperial estates there may
have been in the area cf. the comment of one of the excavators of the town on these inscriptions: "For such an officer, concerned with supplies, Dorchester with its rich surrounding cornlands afforded a centre conveniently placed for road and river transport" (S.S. Frere, 'Excavations at Dorchester on Thames, 1962', Arch J cxxix (1962), 114. On the lack of villas in the area see the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain (4th ed., 1978), South Sheet with topographical index p. 22.


Dover in the second century succeeded Richborough as the principal Channel port (see B.J. Philp, op. cit., 99-100) and would of course have continued to be a major port of entry even after the departure of the Classis in the 3rd century to garrison the east coast forts against the Saxons (B.J. Philp, op. cit., 2).

"VII 78 = RIB 233; P. Salway, Roman Britain (1981), 597 has most recently assumed the existence of such a statio from the tombstone.

"Schulten, RE VIII 2037-8; on Corduba as capital see CIL II, i, pp. 306-7.

"AE 1952 n. 119 Italica, 2nd/3rd cent. = C. Fernandez-Chiccaro de Dios, Memorias de los museos arqueológicos provinciales vii (1946), 121 no 29: D.M...S?...[servando [speculatori...]; if it could be shown that this was indeed the site of the man's statio it might be linked with the statio serrario Augustorum attested here (II 1131) which indicates the existence of imperial marble quarries; cf. the use of speculatores in the mining district of Moesia Superior (see Ch. V pp. 253-4 with note 4).

Note that a tombstone of a bf cos of legio VII Gemina Pia Felix who was a cives Asturicus is recorded in AE 1957 n 41 = A. Garcia Y Bellido, Archivo Español de Arqueología xxviii (1955), 343 as originating from Estepa (Ostippo); Garcia Y Bellido follows J. Hernandez Diaz, A. Sancho Corbacho and F. Collantes de Teran, Catálogo arqueológico y artístico de la provincia de Sevilla IV (Es-H) (1955), 97 note 32 in accepting this as a copy of an unpublished inscription from there, but the text shows it to be obviously identical with II 4144 recorded by several antiquaries as coming from Tarraco and, according to A. Huebner in CIL, preserved in the Museum there; see p. 139 and note 114. If the officium of Baetica was, as seems likely, supplied from men of legio VII Gemina in Tarraco, then some of the four inscriptions recording frumentarii of that legion in Rome and Italy whilst they were attached to the Castra Peregrina (see Ch. III pp. 49-50) may record men detached from Baetica rather than Lusitania or Tarraco, (see below note 98).


"Huebner, RE V 2493-96.

"II 491. Emerita. c.AD 100: L. Maelonius Aner: the formulae used are D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum), d(e) s(uo)
f(aciendum) c(uraverunt), h(ic) s(itus) e(st) and s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis); the last two in particular suggest a first century date.


In view of the suggested late first century date of the inscription it is not possible that the man served the governor of Britannia to which VI Victrix was not transferred until c.122. On the origin of the man's name see P. Le Roux, L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques d'Auguste à l'invasion de 409 (1982), 223 no 183.

On the 'borrowing' of bf cos see Ch. III notes 5-8; on the early use of 'consularis' for praetorian governors see Ch. III note 13. Another example of the use of bf cos on a late first/early second century inscription is VII 5 from Winchester in Britannia (see p. 131 with note 64).

AE 1905 n 25 = ILS 9279 Emerita, AD 155, an aram Genesis Invicti Mithrae; the same man is recorded on his tombstone from Tarraco (AE 1930 n 151 = 1938 n 20) as a centurion first of VII Gemina, then of III Augusta, II Traiana and XIV Gemina successively. If the suggestion that the officium of Lusitania was generally supplied from legio VII Gemina is correct then one or more of the four frumentarii of that legion attested in Rome and Italy in the second and third centuries, presumably on detachment to the Castra Peregrina (see Ch. III pp. 49-50), may have come from the officium of Lusitania rather than of Tarraconensis or Baetica (see below note 98). On ten speculatores, possibly of Hispania Citerior, who might have been detached to Lusitania in AD 66 (XI 395), see below note 95. Note also II 484 = ILS 1372 Emerita, AD 193/4-238, a dedication in honour of a proc(uratori) prov(inciae) Lusitaniae et Vettoniae et curatori reipublicae Emerit(ae) whose earlier cursus includes centurioni frumentar(i0) and who will have served as such in Rome at the Castra Peregrina and perhaps in one or more provinces (see Ch. III pp. 48-53).

It is unlikely that one of the people who set up II 344, a tombstone from Collipo, is recorded as a bf cos; the reading is very unclear.


II 611 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.; the dedication at Tarracon makes it likely that he served the princeps praetorii of the officium consularis there, but note how few such principes praetorii are actually attested (see Ch. III p. 36 with note 15) and that the term princeps was applied to centurions with several different types of special command;

**II 4122 Tarraco, AD 202-5; on the date of the governorship of Q. Hedius Lollianus Gentianus see G. Alfoldy, op. cit. (note 85), 47-8. One of the *speculatores* listed, L. Alfidius Urbanus, was buried at Tarraco in the reign of Caracalla (212-7) and his tombstone (II 4137) reveals that he had attained the rank of trib(unicus) mil., leg. VII G.P.F. Antoninianae; see H.G. Pflaum, *La Gaule et l'Empire Romain* (1983), 411-12.

**II 4159 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.

**II 4155 Tarraco, 2nd cent. (?); the man died aged 48 and was commemorated by his freedman.

**II 4161 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.; A. Huebner in CIL suggests cornicularius immunis, probably a contradiction in terms, cornicularii being principes (cf. Ch. II pp. 12-13). The meaning of the abbreviation is unclear, although the man was certainly a member of the governor's officium.

**II 4179 Tarraco, 2nd cent.; the same man had previously served as *speculator*, as attested by the tombstone he erected whilst in that rank for a beneficiarius consularis who was a fellow-townsman (municeps) (II 4145; see below); on the latter inscription he gives his legion as leg. VII G(emina) F(elix), the cognomina dating it to before 197 (see below p. 138 with note 108).

**II 4156 Tarraco, before 197; dated by the legioary cognomina.

**II 4143 Tarraco, before 197; dated by the legioary cognomina.

**II 4145 Tarraco, before 197; see note 91.

**G. Alfoldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* (1975), no 206 Tarraco, 2nd cent. Yet another *speculator* may be recorded on a tombstone (II 4168 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.) but the reading s1p. leg. VII G. is unclear; another possibility is bif leg. VII G. that is beneficiarius of the legionario legate, but possibly the most likely reading, since the man died aged 60 or 62 and describes himself as ex arm[icul]s(tode), is vlet(eroanus) leg. VII G. (note that II 3587, Dianium is the same inscription incorrectly placed by Huebner). It has also been suggested that a full complement of 20 *speculatores* of Tarraconensis is recorded as having erected an inscription at Ariminum in Italy in AD 66 (XI 335 – ILS 2648) in honour of M. Vettius Valens Proc(urator) Imp(eratoris) [...] Caes(aris) Aug(usti) Prov(inciae) Lusitan(iae); reading *speculator(es) X (decem)* H(ispaniae) C(iterioris) with A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (2nd ed. B. Dobson, 1960), 262 and M. Clauss, *Untersuchungen zu den principales des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diokletian*.

Cornicularii, *speculatores, frumentarii* (1973), 60. Clauss takes the *speculatores* to be from legio VI Victrix, the only legion in Tarraconensis in AD 66 (see p. 133 with note 79); Ritterling, *EE* XII 1602 and notes that the inscription records that Vettius Valens had been [p(rimo) p(ilo)] leg(ionis) VI Vic(tri)cis and was now procurator of Lusitania where, he suggests, the ten *speculatores* were serving; but it is unlikely that all ten of the *speculatores* of Tarraconensis (see Ch. III p. 42 on the number of *speculatores* normally provided by each legion) should have been detached to Lusitania, and it seems
strange that they should have set up such an inscription in Italy; on the other hand Valens had also served as exercitator equit(um) speculatorum at the Praetorium in Rome and hence these speculatores could well be speculatores Augusti (see Ch. III p. 41) and former pupils honouring their riding-master, now a provincial procurator and patron of Ariminum: in this case we should read speculator(es) X (decem) h(onoris) c(ausa). Certainty is impossible on either explanation.

II 4150 Tarraco, late 2nd/early 3rd cent.; cf. II 4118 Tarraco, early 3rd cent. on which the man's brother, Caecilius Dexter appears in a list of several men, probably soldiers, honouring T. Flavius Titianus, governor of Tarraconensis 199-202 or 205-8 (see G. Alfföldy, Fasti Hispanienses (1969). 45-6), now promoted to Proconsul of Asia.

II 4170 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent; II 6088, Tarraco, after 197, dated by the legionary cognomina.

II 4154 Tarraco, after 197 = ILS 2369; dated by the legionary cognomina. Other frumentarii of legio VII Gemina, probably detached from Tarraco, are attested on four inscriptions from Rome and Italy where they will have been attached to the Castra Peregrina (see Ch. III pp. 49-50): VI 3340 Rome, mid 2nd century, tombstone of a frumentarius of VII Gemina erected by another of the same legion; VI 3348 Rome, before 197, tombstone; V 941 Aquileia, 2nd/3rd cent., tombstone. See above notes 75 and 82 on the possibility that some of these men may have been detached from Baetica or Lusitania rather than Tarraconensis. M. Bollini, Riv. Stor. Ant., VI-VII (1976-7), 357 makes the suggestion that a veteran (apparently) who was na(tione) Hispano milit(i) in leg(ione) VII Gemina Felice may have been a frumentarius since he was buried at Settepolesini in Italy (= AE 1978 n. 342).

XII 8282 Cologne, 3rd cent.; the man's career is read mil(i) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) P(iae) F(idelis) in Hispania [Citer(io)re (?)] fact(o) fru[m(entario)] beneficiario (7) trib(uni) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) P(iae) F(idelis] by B. and H. Galsterer, Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln (1975) no 217, but A. von Domaszewski, op. cit, (note 95), 40, 48 takes frumentarii to outrank beneficiarii tribuni, so we should read the final rank as corn(iculario) o trib(uni) with CIL; on legio I Minervia see Ritterling, RE XII 1423-30.


AE 1946 n. 4 Tarraco, before 197, dated by the legionary cognomina; see G. Alfföldy, Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (1975) no 43 for the reading B(racara) of the man's origo.
II 4114 with p. 711 Tarraco, AD 198-9 = ILS 1140; for the date and the historical background to the inscription see G. Alfoldy, Fasti Hispanienses (1969), 43-5 with note 201; i.e., Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (1975) no 130, pp. 67-8; on legio X Gemina see Ritterling, RE XII 1683-4; on the organization of stratores consularis and their centuriones see Ch. III p. 61.

II 4083 Tarraco, 1 March 182; see M.P. Speidel, Guards of the Roman Armies (1978), 71-2 no 1 where it is pointed out that "the find spot of the altar, 3 kilometers from the city in an area otherwise free from finds, suggests the actual location there of the training field of the singulares."

II 4160 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Lutatius.

II 4149 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.: Antonius Saturninus.

II 4164 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.: Cn. Pompeius Fructus.

II 4163 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.: Q(uintius?) Ur(banus?) bf cos; it is possible, however, that the man's name and apparent rank should be read as Q(uintius?) Urbicus and that he was not a bf cos at all.

II 4145 Tarraco, before 197 L. Aufidius Felix.

II 4148 Tarraco, before 197: Aurelius Severus; AE 1961 n. 332 Tarraco, before 197: L. Caecilius Quartus... oriundus Siccae Veneriae).

II 4153 Tarraco, after 197: Firmidius Cecilianus.

II 4167 Tarraco, after 197: Valerius Atticus.

II 4144 Tarraco, after 197: L. Anteius Flavinus (= AE 1957 n. 41 Ostippo; the attribution of this inscription to Ostippo is incorrect, see above note 75).

II 4154 = ILS 2369 Tarraco, after 197 Fulvius Clapratinus. On the base of VI Ferrata at this time, at Caparcotha in Galilee in the province of Syria Palaestina, see Ritterling, RE XII 1591.

Pass. Fruct. 1 and 4 (16 January AD 259); the beneficiarii are named as Aurelius, Festucius, Aelius, Pollentius, Donatus and Maximus. See G. Lopuszanski, "La Police romaine et les Chrétiens", L'Antiquité Classique, xx (1951), 13. See above Ch. III pp. 45-6 with note 62.

XII 3168 Nemausus (Nimès), c. AD 133: Umidius Avitus. On the governorship of T. Iunius Omullus and the date of the inscription see R. Syme, Historia 17 (1968), 89; G. Alfoldy, Fasti Hispanienses (1969), 26-8, cf. 120; the date is arrived at by taking T. Vitrasius Pollio as contemporary legate of VII Gemina and identifying him with the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis a few years later, who received the rescript in Dig. XXVII, 1, 15, 17 at the end of the reign of Hadrian. Note that Nîmes may have become capital of Narbonensis in the second century, most likely under Pius (see p. 140 with note 123), but if it did become capital before the reign of Pius or, alternatively, if the T. Vitrasius Pollio of the inscription has been incorrectly identified with the man who received Hadrian's rescript and the inscription could therefore be later in date, the
bf cos may have died whilst visiting the proconsul of Narbonensis on behalf of Omullus.

II 4624 Emporiae, 2nd cent. M. Val(erius) La[el]vinus; the inscription was actually found in a church at Figueras, 12 km north-east of Ampurias (see M. Almagro, Las Inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibericas y latinas (1952), 247 no 1). Note also II 3323 Tobruela near Castulo, 2nd/3rd cent., the fragmentary tombstone of a man buried at Castulo, near the frontier of Tarraconensis with Baetica, some 120 km east of Corduba, who died aged 40 after apparently serving in Thrace as a cornuc[arius] proc(uratoris) A[ug]usti, and just possibly as a bf cos after that, perhaps in Tarraconensis.

II 2815 Amaya near Burgos, 2nd/3rd cent.: Aelius Maritimus; Amaya lies some 30 km north of Segisamo (Sasamón) whence the inscription probably came since it was not discovered in situ at Amaya but covering part of a tomb in the church (see CIL).

For the suggested reading cf. above note 2.

Segisamo as a town of the Turmogi: Florus II, 33, 48; Orosius VI, 21, 3; as a town of the Vaccaei: Polybius in Strabo III, 4, 13; the town is also listed in Ptol. Geog. II, 6, 49; see Huebner, RE IIA 1074; as base for the Augustan conquest: R. Syme op. cit. (note 76), 87-103; as base of IV Macedonica: A. Garcia y Bellido, 'Exploraciones arqueológicas en la provincia de Santander,' Archivo Español de Arqueología xxix (1956), 184-94 on the boundary stones dividing the prata legionis and the lands of the civitates of Segisamo and Iuliobriga; id., "El exercitus hispanicus desde Augusto a Vespasiano," ibid. 34 (1961), 119 suggesting Segisamo as the actual site of the camp; R.F.J. Jones, op. cit. (note 79), 49-50 with Appendix pp. 63-6 nos 95-108 on the legion in Spain.

Tarraco to Ad Legionem: Itin. Ant. Iter I De Italia in Hispanias...ad leg. VII Geminam, 391.1-395.4: Tarraco Ilerda LXII, Tolous XXXII, Pertusa XVIII, Osca XVIII, Caesaraugusta XLVI, Cascanto L, Calagorxa XXVIII, Vereia XXVIII, Trito XVIII, Lybia XVIII, Segesamunculo VII, Verovesca XI, Segesamone XLVII (394.5), Lacobiaca XXX, Camala XXVII, Lance XXVII, Ad Leg. VII Geminam VIII; see J.M. Roldán Hervás, Itineraria Hispana (1975), 38-45. Segisamo also lay on the main route between the capital and Asturica, a conventus capital (Huebner, RE II 1684; at the point where the road to Ad Legionem branched off to Asturica: Itin. Ant. Iter 32 Ab Asturica Terracane (sic) 449.5-452.5 (Legisamone (sic) 449.5); see J.M. Roldán Hervás, op. cit., 95-8; also on the route from Asturica into Aquitania: Itin. Ant. Iter 34 De Hispania in Aquitaniam, Ab Asturica Burdigalam, 453.4-456.5 (Legisamone (sic) 454.2); see J.M. Roldán Hervás, op. cit., 99-101; also on the route from the extreme north of the Iberian peninsula at Ossaron (Oyarzún) to Emerita, capital of Lusitania: Anon. Rav. IV, 43 (318.4-319.5): Segisamone (318.12); see J.M. Roldán Hervás, op. cit., 134-5. See A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Beneficiarierposten und die römischen Strassenetze', WZ xxi (1902), 191-2.

founded 118 BC (Vell. I, 15; II, 8; Eutrop. IV, 10; Jerome, Chron. Olympiad CLXIII), and the site of the Concilium Gallorum (Sall. Hist. II, 22 = B. Maurenbrecher (ed.), C. Sallustii Crispi Historiarum Reliquiae. Fasc. II. Fragmenta (1893), p. 67 from Cleonidius, Ars Grammatica = H. Keil (ed.), Grammatici Latini. V. Artium Scriptores Minores (1868), p. 22), giving its name to the province as early as the time of Cicero (Cic. Ad Fam. X, 26, 1 written June 43 BC); under the Principate, it was the early seat of the provincial council (XII 6038 11.14 and 22-4) see P. Goessaler, RE Suppl VII 528; M. Gayraud, Narbonne antique des origines à la fin du IIIe siècle (1981), 375-9 (Republic): 380 (Principate). Nîmes as capital: see P. Goessaler, RE Suppl. VII 528-9, 533-4; E. Linckenheld, RE XVI 2306; a move is proposed from the fact that whereas Narbo produced more epigraphy in the first century AD, this declined in the second and third whilst Nîmes began to produce much more (O. Hirschfeld CIL XII p. 521); that whereas Tiberian and Claudian milestones on the Via Domitia between Narbo and Nemausus measure distance from the former (XII 5628, 5638, 5649, 5652, 5657, 5659 (all AD 31/2), 5634 (AD 41), 5666 (AD 47-8)), the Antonine and later milestones (XX 5625, 5626, 5629, 5639, (all AD 145), 5663 (reign of Galerius Caesar, AD 293-305)) all measure distance from Nîmes; and that in the early third century two inscriptions were erected at Nîmes honouring the proconsul of the province (XII 3163, 3170) and a number recording flamines of the provincial cult (XII 3183-4, 3212-3, 3275). The milestones imply a terminus ante of AD 145 for the proposed move, and the reign of Pius would certainly be appropriate since a general decline of Narbo may have followed on a great fire in his reign (SHA Pius IX, 2 et Narbonensis civitas ... arsit) which evoked restoration by the emperor (XII 4342, AD 148 or after) and others (XI 4393, AD 149) (see O. Hirschfeld, CIL XII p. 383 cf. p. 521): a fire which destroyed a large part of Narbo (perhaps even the governor's palace) might well have prompted the governor to move (but see above note 117 on the tombstone of a bf cos of Hispania Tarraconensis erected at Nîmes c. 133 perhaps implying, if the man died there on official business, that Nemausus, if it ever did become seat of the proconsul, may have become so by that date). Some, however, have denied that Narbo ever ceased to be the capital since a flamen was still offering sacrifices there on behalf of the province in the reign of Severus (XII 4323, AD 198-211), SHA Max. et Balb. V, 8 calls M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus (who briefly became emperor in AD 238) proconsul Narbonae under Severus and Caracalla, and, when the province of Narbonensis Prima was set up after the reforms of Diocletian, Narbo was evidently the capital (Not. Gall. xv, 2, Metropolis civitas Narbonensium) while Nîmes was a mere civitas (ibid., civitas Nemausensium): see M. Gayraud, "Narbonne aux trois premiers siècles après Jésus-Christ", ANRW II 3 (1975), 854-5; id., Narbonne Antique des origines à la fin du IIIe siècle (1981), 380.

12*For Narbo, M. Gayraud, op. cit. (1981), 257 suggests that an early forum of the colony lay over the subterranean horrea of the late first century BC, to the south of the later forum complex, and that the praetorium of the proconsuls of the period may have been attached to it (he compares the original 'praetorium' of Lugdunum which has
recently been identified (without any great certainty) in the area in front of the later theatre; see below note 135); for the later period A. Grenier, Carte Archéologique de la Gaule Romaine, Fasc. XII (L'Aude) (1959), 80-1 and M. Gayraud, op. cit. (1981), 288, 376, 381 identify massive foundations beneath the medieval Porte Royale north-east of the forum as a possible site for the governor's palace; in support they assume that the early Visigothic kings will have taken over the palace as their residence, and cite Greg. Tour. De Glor. Mart. xcii who says that Alaric II built the nearby church of Saint-Félix close to his palace as a vantage point because he was unable to see the plain of the Liviére from the latter; neither suggestion is overwhelmingly persuasive. In view of the uncertainty about Nemausus's status as capital, it is not surprising that no praetorium has been identified by modern scholarship.

i20XII 4369 Narbo, 2nd/3rd cent.

128E. Esperandieu, Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise) (1929) no 25 Ampus near Fréjus, 2nd/3rd cent.: R. Cagnat, BACTHS 1924 p. clxxxiii-iv; on the use of men of legio VIII Augusta and the other Rhine legions in the officium of Lugdunensis see p. 143 with note 136; on the officium of Germania Superior see pp. 159-62. If the man did serve the proconsul of Narbonensis he will have been 'borrowed' from the garrisons or officia of one of the two provinces.

AE 1965 n. 170 Die, 2nd/3rd cent.

128EILN Fréjus, 162-3 no 149 La Grande Lauzade, before Claudius. On the tribe Teretina at Arles see ILN Fréjus, loc. cit. On legio XXI (Rapax) at Vetera c.AD 10-41/44 see Ritterling, RE XII 1782-3. On the organisation of Lower Germany at this period see below p. 147.

128XII 2602 = ILS 2118 Genava, AD 96-98; see pp. 145-6; on cohorts I Urbana at Lugdunum, see p. 143 with note 136.

128XII 3168 = ILS 2404 Nimes, c. AD 133: Umidius Avitus; see p. 139 with note 117. The man might even have been visiting the proconsul at Nimes, see above note 123.

128XII 5723 Antipolis, 2nd/3rd cent.: T. Aelius Macrobius; cf. note 126 for his service in Lugdunensis or Germania Superior; his designation as bf consularis should rule out the possibility that he served on the staff of the proconsul, but the term consularis was loosely used to mean simply a governor, even of praetorian rank, and, by the late third century, ὅπλητος τοῦ ἐπικέφαλος ("to be consular governor") could even by used of an equestrian (see Ch. III note 13) and an extension of the usage to a proconsul here is not absolutely out of the question.

Note also the votive altar to Neptune erected at Genava by a miles leg. XXII a curis who might possibly have been an officialis and if so might have served in Narbonensis (cf. note 126), Aquitania (cf. note 134), Lugdunensis (see p. 143 with note 136), Belgica (cf. note 152), or Germania Superior (see pp. 157ff); if he was stationed here, his choice of deity may indicate that he was concerned with control of water traffic on Lake Geneva; see Kornemann, RE IV 1773 s.v. a cura; F. Staehelin, Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit (3rd ed., 1948), 350.

If the proconsul did borrow some of his officiales from Lugdunensis or the German provinces (cf. above note 126) then some of the eighteen frumentarii of the Rhine
legions attested in Rome and Italy where they were attached
to the Castra Peregrina (see Ch. III pp. 49-50) may have
been sent out from Narbonensis.

Note finally the late 3rd century memorial at Arles to
a primus pilus who, after beginning his service in the
Prætorium at Rome, became a centurio frumentarius and may
therefore have served both in Rome and in a province or
provinces, AE 1910 n. 77 = ILS 9074 Arles, second half of
3rd cent.; cf. XII 677 Arles; XII 862 Arles, erected by
the same man; see B. Dobson, Die Primipilares (1978), 321 no
231.

See above p. 123 with note 24.

The date of the division of Gallia Comata is disputed,
the year 27 BC being suggested by Dio LIII, 22, 5, and 16-13
BC by Augustus's sojourn in Gaul at that time (Dio LIV, 19,
1 cf. LIV, 21, 1 referring to his return after conducting
business έν ταύτης Γαλατίας οικείωσθε; see J.F. Drinkwater, Roman
Gaul (1983), 20-1; 95 with notes 15-19. On the capital of
the province see J.F. Drinkwater, op. cit. 95-6 with note
21, suggesting early administration at first from Saintes
then Poitiers; 102 with note 61-4 arguing for
administration from Bordeaux, at least in the 3rd century,
citing Eutrop. IX, 10 on the elevation of Tetricus in AD
270: Tetricus senator qui Aquitaniam honore praesidis
administrans...apud Burdigalam purpuram sumpsit; cf. Ihm,
RE III 1061 s.v. Burdigala.

The date of the division of Gallia Comata under Augustus see note
141. On Lugdunum as capital cf. Ptol. II, 8, 12 Μυτιλήνη;
Tab. Peut. II Route 11: Caput Galliarum; see Cramer, RE
XIII 1718-23; the number of officiales inscriptions found
here alone make the city's status as provincial capital
certain. On the Imperial Palace see A. Audin, La
Topographie de Lugdunum (1956), 104-5: the building may
still be mentioned by Apollinaris Sidonius, Ep. IV, 20, in
the late 5th century.

For the garrisons of Lugdunum, with epigraphic and other
evidence, see M. Freis, RE Suppl. X 1129-30 (Urban
cohorts); P. Wuilleumier, L'Administration de la Lyonnaise
(1948), 22-30; id., Lyon, métropole des Gaules (1953), 26-
7; H. Freis, Die Cohortes Urbanae, Epigraphische Studien 2
(1967), 28-31; A. Audin, Lyon, miroir de Rome (1979), 103-
4 (placing the site of the first-century barracks of the
Urban cohort in the south-east of the city in the modern
Saint-Just area); Wuilleumier and Audin both follow Ph.
Fabia, La Garnison romaine de Lyon (1918).

See notes 126, 134, 152.

XIII 1860 Lugdunum, 3rd cent.
XIII 1869 Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd cent.
14°XII 2602 = ILS 2118 Genava, AD 96-98; see p. 145-6 with note 148. Note also XIII 1832 Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd cent., the tombstone of a centurion of legio I Minervia, who had served as such for seven years, having been promoted ex cornuc(arianio), and died aged 45; the man could have served either as cornicularius consularis, or, more likely, legionis with the legion at Bonn.

14°XIII 1752 Lugdunum, 13 February AD 221.
14°XIII 1771 Lugdunum, 3rd cent., a bronze plaque with gilt lettering. The man's rank is recorded as FRUMENTAR G ET COMMENT, perhaps to be read as frumentar(ius) q(ui) et comment(ariensis).

14°IGR III 80 Heraclea Pontica, 3rd cent. AD = ILS 9476 = AE 1888 n. 49 = 1889 n. 144 = 1927 n. 84. On frumentarius Augusti cf. AE 1975 n. 60 Rome, reign of Hadrian, and note that a lacuna has been postulated on XIII 1771 from Lugdunum (see note 142) between FRUMENTAR and G (D. Vaglieri in E. De Ruggiero(ed.), Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane III (1922), 224 s.v. frumentarius; A. von Donaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (1908; 1967), 272; M. Clauss, Untersuchungen zu den principales des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diokletian. Cornicularii, speculatores, frumentarii (1973), 183 note 112, the first reading frumentar(ius) [le]g(ati), the last two [le]g(ionis)), and if this lacuna exists a possible reading would be frumentar(ius) [Aul]g(usti); but see note 142 for a more likely reading. On Xερη (Δαυδινου), note that Xερη is in fact a normal word for a soldier's post; see H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, Greek-English Lexicon (1940), 2015 s.v. Xερη 3 and 5.


14°XIII 1850 Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd cent.; on bbbf tribuni sexmestris as members of the officium consularis see Ch. III pp. 58-60 and above note 20. The stationarius who erected a very fragmentary votive inscription at Lugdunum (XIII 1786 Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd cent.) may also have been under the control of the officium consularis.


17°XIII 1909 Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd cent.

14°XII 2602 = ILS 2118 Genava, AD 96-8: M. Carantius Macrinus; the date is provided by the fact that the consular date for AD 90 is given as Imp. Nerva II cos, implying that Nerva was already emperor but had not yet died, since Vespasian and Domitian are not granted the title Imp(erator) in the three other consular dates on the inscription. The date of the man's promotion is in doubt since the consular date Vespas. X cos is clearly wrong; Vespasian was cos VIII in AD 79, though O. Hirschfeld in CIL suggests IX (i.e. AD 77) as the correct reading; the former date suits better the normal three years tenure for each of the succession of governors in whose officium the man served. The term equestrib(us) stipendiis indicates that on promotion to cornicularius his salary, since he was already duplicarius as a senior officialis (see Ch. II pp. 17-18 with notes 62-4), would be double that of an eques; see D.J. Breeze, 'Pay Grades and Ranks below the

Note that some of the frumentarii of the German legions attested at Rome and in Italy, where they were serving in the Castra Peregrina (see Ch. III pp. 49-50), may have been detached from the officium at Lugdunum which was drawn from the vexillations of those legions stationed there after AD 197, that is the men of XXX Ulpia Victrix from Vetera (Xanten) (VI 3334, 3361, 3362, X 6095 (Formiae)), I Minervia from Bonn (VI 3333, 3334, 3335 5814, AE 1968 n. 28, AE 1980 n. 128), XXII Primigenia from Mainz (VI 3351, 32873) and VII Augusta from Argentorate (Strasbourg) (VI 3350, 3351, 3352, 3354, 32873); VI 3353 recording a man from VIII Augusta probably dates from before 197.

On the division of Gaul under Augustus see note 141; also W. Meyers, L’Administration de la province romaine de Belgique (1964), 9-12. On Reims as capital; Ihm, RE V 1861-2 Strabo 4, 3 5 (on Reims) s.v. Durocortorum; W. Meyers, op. cit. 12-14; J.F. Drinkwater, Roman Gaul (1983), 95 note 20; both the last two cite E. Stein, Die kaiserliche Beamten und Truppenkörper in römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat (1932), 32. On the site of the palace see C.R. Brühl, Palatium und Civitas I: Gallien (1975), 63-72. A move of the governor's seat to Trier is suggested by E. Wightman, Gallia Belgica (1985), 192 who cites as evidence the Niederemmel dedication (see note 150). If the governor did move to Trier he may well have moved into or taken over the early second-century building thought to have been the residence of the procurator of Belgica and the two Germanies which underlay the great Constantinian 'Basilika'; see K.P. Goethert in Führer RGZM 32 Trier I: Text (1977) 152-3; E. Wightman, op. cit., 87.

XIII 11350 Niederemmel near Trier, 3rd cent.; this was evidently dedicated at a shrine of Mercury and Rosmerta (cf. XIII 4194, 4195 from the same place).

XV 6783 Eporedia, lst/2nd cent.: P. Septicius Varus.

XIII 3620, plateau of the Donjon des Comtes near Namur, overlooking the confluence of the Meuse and the Sambre 2nd/3rd cent.: Victorius Victorinus; on the use of consularis for a praetorian governor see Ch.III note 13.

Note XIII 3547, Bononia (Boulogne), 2nd cent.(?): Lossio Procilavo (?). Lottius Secundus benef.; W. Meyers, L’Administration de la province romaine de Belgique (1964), 102 suggests that he was a bf of the praefectus Classis Britannicae which was partly based at Boulogne. Meyers, op. cit., 48-9, 94 notes AE 1932 n. 41 Trier, AD 71-c.119 a dedication by an eques leg. VI Vic. cornicularius P. Abulli Lucull[i], who, he suggests, might have served in the officium consularis, but he accepts that it is more likely that he served the provincial procurator, who, unlike the governor, was based at Trier at this period; the date is given by the period of the service of legio VI Victrix in lower Germany at Neuss and Vetera, see Ritterling, RE XII 1599, 1602-5, 1823. The two bbff leg. VIII Aug. who erected an inscription at Trier in the late 2nd/early 3rd cent. (XIII 3645) served neither the procurator nor the governor, as Meyers, op. cit., 94-5 suggests, but the legate of the legion and were perhaps in Trier with a detachment of the legion: cf. the garrisoning of Lugdunum by detachments of the German legions in the 3rd century (see p. 143).
If the legate of Belgica, as seems likely, borrowed some of his officiales from Lugdunensis or the German provinces, as the proconsul of Narbonensis (cf. notes 126) and the legate of Aquitania (cf. note 134) may have done, or at least from the German legions if they did indeed provide a small garrison for Trier at some time, then some of the 18 frumentarii of the Rhine legions attested in Italy, where they were serving with the Castra Peregrina (see Ch. III pp. 49-50), may have been detached from Belgica.


108 E. Stein, op. cit. (note 153), 106; E. Ritterling RE XII 1421-30 (I Minervia), 1823-7 (XXX Ulpia Victrix).


12 Speculator: XIII 8299, 2nd/3rd cent. centurio curam agens stratorum et peditum singularium: XIII 8203, AD 164; AE 1935 n. 100 Deutz, AD 190/2. Singulares consularis: AE 1974 n. 455, AD 80-100; XIII 8185, AD 187; XIII 8188, 2nd/3rd cent.; XIII 8223, 2nd/3rd cent.; note also B. and H. Galsterer, Epigraphische Studien 13 (1983), 168-70 no 1, AD 100, recording construction of an armamentarium, possibly for the governor's singulares. Vicitimarius (probably legiones rather than consularis): XIII 8292, by the Rhine near Cologne, 2nd/3rd cent. Note also the probably pre-Claudian speculator of legio XXI, most likely attached to the commander of the Lower German military area, buried at La Grande Lauzade in Gallia Narbonensis (ILN Fréjus, 162-3 no 149; see p. 141), and the speculator promoted to cornicularius legionis and about to be promoted centurion, who served in Germany, died in Gaul, but was commemorated by his wife in Africa (VIII 702 = 12128). A Frisian frumentarius of legio I Minervia P.P. who will have served at Cologne is attested on a fragmentary tombstone at Bonn, his legionary base (XIII 8040, 2nd/3rd cent.). Other frumentarii from Cologne detached to the Castra Peregrina (see Ch. III pp. 49-50) are attested in Rome and Italy (men of XXX Ulpia Victrix: VI 3334, 3361 (two frumentarii), 3362 (three frumentarii), X 6095 (Formiae); men of I Minervia: VI 3333, 3334, 3335, 5614, AE 1968 n. 24, AE 1980 n. 128), all on tombstones of the 2nd/3rd century; some may have been detached from Lugdunensis or other Gallic provinces whose officia may have been drawn from the German legions. See note 193 for a strator cos of the reign of Caracalla recorded at Bonn and a third-century former strator cos, promoted centurion of legio I Minervia, recorded at Hersel near Bonn, and note 224 on two centurions in charge of detachments of singularis cos working the Brohltal quarries in the late first century. See also note 18 on the possibility that the speculatores and commentarienses of M. Appius Bradua recorded in Dig. XLVIII, 20, 6 may have been on his staff in Germany inferior in the reign of Hadrian.

12 XIII 12052 Cologne, AD 179: IOM et Serapi et genio loci L. Caesius Florentinus; XII 8204 Cologne, before AD 223: C. [Jul(ius)] Aprilis cf. AE 1975 n. 652 Zierikzee, AD 223 dedicated by the same man as a veteranulis ex bf cos; XIII 8205 Cologne, AD 225: M. Aurelius Ursulus; XIII 8206 Cologne, AD 232: In h d d...L. Hilarinius Anabilius; XIII 8207 Cologne, 31 July or 1 August AD 239: In h d d...M. Ingenuius Ingenuinus; XIII 12053 Cologne, 2nd/3rd cent.: Sex(tus) Insius Rufus; B. and H. Galsterer, Epigraphische Studien 13 (1983), 172-3 no 4 Cologne, 2nd/3rd cent.: IOM Mar(ius?) Martius. An eighth bf cos may be attested by XIII 12052 Cologne 2nd/3rd cent.: Q. Allectius Marcellus, which is dedicated IOM et Genio Loci, a formula known in Cologne only on bf inscriptions (cf. also the St. Georg church inscription discussed below).

12 AE 1974 n. 446 Cologne, 1 September of an unknown year: Acceptius Maior cf. B. and H. Galsterer, Kölner Jahrbuch 13
(1973), 93-4 no 4 which links this inscription and XIII 12052 found nearby with the suggested bf station on the St. Georg church site (see notes 167-8).


AE 1956 n. 252 Cologne, after AD 233: C. Tauricio Vero vet. ex bf cos equestris militiae petitori; see Ch. II p. 21. Tauricius Verus erected two inscriptions at places where he was stationed, one of unknown provenance (XIII 8841; see note 190), the other at Bonn in AD 233 (AE 1930 n. 25; see note 203).

AE 1929 n. 108 Cologne, 2nd/3rd cent.: T. Bl...; inscriptions dedicated IOXM et genio loci are otherwise dedicated in Cologne only by bbff|cos. Note that XIII 12052 (see note 162) was found nearby outside the city wall on the corner of Blaubach and Wittislingen and AE 1974 n. 446 (see note 163) within the wall on the Hohen Pfork which runs through the south gate, neither being found in situ; see B. and H. Galsterer, KB lner Jahrbuch 13 (1983), 93-4 no 4.


Anno. For the earliest recorded bf stationes in the empire see Ch. V note 11.

See note 167.

Rhine limes road: Itin. Ant. 254.3-256.3 (part of the road from the Alps to the North Sea): Bonna, Colonia Agrippina leugas..., Durnomago (Dormagen) VII|ala, Burungu (Worringen?) V|ala, Nevesnio (Neuss) V|ala, Gelduba (Krefeld-Gellep) VIII|ala, Calone VIII|ala, Veteris XXI Castra leg. XXX Ulpia, Buriginacio VI|ala (Kalkar-Altkalkar), Harenatio (Rindern) X|ala; Itin. Ant. 369.5-370.7 (part of the road A Lugduno Argentorato): Harenatio, Burininatio (mp=leug.) VI, Colonia Traiana V, Veteribus (I), Calone XVIII, Novesiae XVIII, Colonia Agrippina XVI, Bonna XI; Tab. Peut. II Route 3: Noviomagi (Nijmegen) (leug.) X - Arenatio - VI - Burininatio - V - Colo. Traiana - XL (=I) - Veteribus - XIII - Ascurigio (Moers-Asberg) - XIII - Novesio - XVI - Agrippina - XI - Bonnae - VIII - Rigomagus (Remagen) - VIII - Antunnaco (Andernach); Anon. Rav. IV, 24: Rigomagus - Bonnae - Colonia Agrippina - Rungon - Serima (Serm?) - Novesia - Treptitia (Drup?) - Ascrigio - Beurtine (Birten) - Trola; XIII 9158 = ILS 5839, Tongeren: [Col. Agrippina] - [Bonna] Leugas 1X - [Rigomagus Leugas] VIII - [Antunnnacum Leugas] VIII.


XIII 8702 Rindern, AD 213; XIII 8703 Rindern, 2nd/3rd cent.: ..us Justus.

XIII 8700 Quaalburg, 2nd/3rd cent.: Q. Caecilius Secundus.


XIII 8672 Burginatium, 2nd/3rd cent., a very fragmentary inscription perhaps recording a bf? cos.

XIII 8621, Birten near Vetera, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Val(erius) TTe[rrius] et M. Vitalinius Secundus; cf. Ch. V note 15 and below note 29. Note also the strator, probably legati rather than consularis, recorded here (XIII 8627); but cf. note on a strator consularis at Bonn.


XIII 8588 Asberg, AD 230: C. Catonius Respectus. It is possible that XIII 8589 dedicated IOM et genio loci was also set up by a bf cos, although the dedicator, Iun(ius) Valens, who erected a similar inscription at Vetera (XIII 8623), does not explicitly say so.


J.E. Bogaers, Limes. Akten des XI. internationalen Limeskongresses (1977), 610 no. 5 Krefeld-Gellep, AD 206: \ldots Manus [bf co?].

XIII 8566 Neuss, 2nd/3rd cent.: Classius Vi[lctor].

Bericht RGK 1927 n. 370 Dormagen, 2nd/3rd cent.: .. per (bf?) cos.


AE 1931 n. 16 Bonn, AD 205: T. Fl(avius) Severus; inscription was erected in conjunction with a Successinia Tita, presumably the man's wife, which may imply that Bonn was his home and that he was, therefore, a soldier of legio I Minervia; AE 1930 n. 25 Bonn, AD 233: C. Tauricius Verus; the same man set up another altar of unknown provenance to the Matres Vapthiae (XIII 8841; see note 203) and was buried at Cologne as a veteran bf cos and equestris militiae petitor (AE 1956 n. 252; see note 167). On the find-spots of the three inscriptions dedicated to the Matres Aufaniae see H. Lehner, BJ 134 (1929), 166-73; id., BJ 135 (1930), 4-48 esp. 34; id., BJ 136/7 (1932) 136-216.

XIII 7997 Bonn-Dottendorf, AD 182: C. Lucund[ius] Simillis; XIII 7998 Bonn-Dottendorf, AD 214: Aur(elius) Superinius Marcus (it is unlikely that this man is identical with the bf cos of the same name who erected an
altar at Obernburg in Germania Superior; see note 348). These two inscriptions were found built into a church (see CIL) at Dottendorf, 7 km south of Bonn; H. von Petrikovits, Das römische Rheinland (1960), 74 believes them to represent a statio in a similar position to the possible statio at the south gate of Cologne, but since the stones were not found in situ, and since Dottendorf lies not on the main Rhine road but on a western branch to Godesberg (J. Hagen, Römerrstrassen der Rheinprovinz (1931), 94), it is much more likely that they were simply transported from Bonn.

**AE 1930 n. 35 Bonn, 25 September c. 260:** Vi(rius?) Lupulus imm(unis) cos.

**XIII 8008 Bonn, AD 212-7.** Note also XIII 8150, found built into a church at Hersel, 5 km north of Bonn and recording a former strator of a third-century governor of Germania Inferior, now apparently promoted centurion of legio I Minervia.

**Remagen (Rigomagus):** J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, op. cit. (note 20), 208-13 with bibliography.

**XIII 7788 Remagen, 2nd/3rd cent.:** L(...)nius Iu[...]

H. Eiden, Zehn Jahre Ausgrabungen an Mittelrhein und Mosel (1976), 46-7 Remagen, 2nd/3rd cent.: Sex(tus) Senius Secundinus; ibid., 47-8 Remagen, 2nd/3rd cent.: T. Farfenn(ius) Ianuari(uis) bf cos c(um?) Isaur(io) Calendino (centurione) leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae).

**XIII 7817 Oberwinter, 2nd/3rd cent.:** L. Iucundinius Maximus; XIII 7818 Oberwinter, 2nd/3rd cent.: Octavius Curtavius.

**XIII 7991 Remagen, c. AD 151/2 or c. AD 180:** T. Flavius [Sti?]lo; Salvius Iulianus may be the jurist and ordinary consul of 148 who was certainly governor of Germania Inferior under Pius (W. Eck, Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen von 1-3 Jahrhundert. Epigraphische Studien 14 (1985), 171-2 no 32), but also possibly his son(?), the ordinary consul for 175 and army commander in 180 (Dio LXXIII, 5; SHA Comm. 3) executed by Commodus in 182/3 (Dio LXIII, 5; SHA Comm. 4, 8; SHA Iul. 2, 1; see PIR² III S 104).

**XIII 7790 = ILS 3913 Remagen, AD 190:** Cl(audius) Marcellinus; XIII 7794 Remagen, AD 242: M. Supenin(ius) Felix. Note that E. Stein, op. cit. (note 153), 79 note 52 suggests that the four milites of XXX Ulpia Victoria recorded here on XIII 7789 were under the command of the bf cos, but an optio of I Minervia is also attested here, on an inscription (XIII 7795) found together with XIII 7794, and is more likely, as are the milites, to have been part of a legionary vexillation than attached to the bf statio.

**The Vinxtbach:** E. Fabricius, ORL Bd. I A Strecke I (1915), 59-60; C.B. Rüger, Germania Inferior (1968), 47-9.

**See p. 162.**


**See Ch. V p. 256 with note 15; above note 198.**

**XIII 8841 unknown provenance, c. AD 233:** C. Tauricius Verus; cf. notes 167 and 190. A. von Domaszewski in CIL follows J. Gruter, Inscriptionum Romanarum Corpus Absolutissimum (1616), 90,10 in giving the provenance of this inscription as "ad Rhenum alicubi".

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This is suggested by J. E. Bogaers, Berichten van de rijksdienst voor het oudheidkundig bodemonderzoek 12/3 (1962/3), 72-85 esp. 84 with note 140, following a general line of argument initiated by A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Beneficiarierposten und die römischen Strassennetze', WZ xxi (1902), 158-211 (see J. E. Bogaers op. cit., 84 note 140 and cf. below p. 188).

This is suggested by H. von Petrikovits, loc. cit. (note 204), evidently following E. Stein, op. cit. (note 153), 79 note 55 who cites XIII 7928 (dedicated Quadrubiis) and XIII 7854, 7923, 7939 (dedicated by milites of I Minervia); cf. note 199.

Cologne-Trier route: Itin. Ant. 372.3-373.5: A Treviro Agrippinam leugas LXVI sic: Bedia vicus (Bitburg) leugas XII, Ausava vicus (Oos) leugas XII, Egorigio vicus (Jünkerath) XII, Marcomago vicus (Marmagen) leugas VIII, Belgica vicus (Billig) leugas VIII, Tolbiaco vicus Sopenorum (Zülpich) leugas X, Agrippina civitas leugas XVI; Tab. Peat. II Route 11: Agripina - (leug.) VI - [Mionerica] - X - (name missing) - X - Marcomagus - VIII - Icorigium - XII - Ausava - XII - Beda - XII - (River Mosel) - Aug. Tresvirorum.

On Trier see p. 146. On the probable responsibility of provincial procurators for army supply see O. Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian (1905), 402 with note 2.

Belgica vicus (Billig): J. Hagen, Römerstrasse der Rheinprovinz (1931), 150-3.

XIII 7956/7 Billig, 2nd/3rd cent.: M. [I]ul(ius) Maternus.


XIII 11986 Nettersheim 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Lucretius [ ... latius; XIII 11989 = ILS 9327 Nettersheim, 2nd/3rd cent.: M. Petronius (sic) Patroclius of cos iterata statione.


XIII 11991 Nettersheim, AD 196: ... inius [Can]didus.

AE 1911 n. 159 Nettersheim, AD 206; XIII 11985 Nettersheim, AD 208 (?): Inegenius[...].

XIII 11987 Nettersheim, AD 218: M. Massonius Vitalis; XIII 11984 = ILS 9330 Nettersheim, AD 218/22 (?): M. Aurelius Agripinus.

XIII 11988 = ILS 9329 Nettersheim, AD 227: Nepotius Nepotianus.

AE 1968 n. 390 Iversheim, AD 240: ... lin[ ... [S]upe[r]stis mi[l(es) leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae) V(ictricis)


XIII 7835 Aachen, 2nd/3rd cent.: ...]Da[...i us.


AE 1975 n. 652 Zierikzee (Zeeland), AD 223: C. Iul(ius) [Alprilis veteran]ius ex bf cos; cf. XIII 8204 at Cologne (see above note 162). On the shrine of Nehalennia see P. Stuart and J.E. Bogaers, Deae Nehalenniae (1971), and on this inscription ibid., 79-9 no. 46 with Afb. 46.

Brohltal quarries: E. Stein, op. cit. (note 153), 34, 107, 276.


Ibid., 32 with note 24.

XIII 6884 Mainz, AD 9-45/6; on legio XIII Gemina in Germania Superior see Ritterling, RE XII 1712-13.

Tac. Hist. I, 56; on the base of the two legions at Mainz see Ritterling, RE XII 1551-2 (IV Macedonica); 1799-1801 (XXII Primigenia).

See note 157.

On the movement of legions to and from Germany in the first century see E. Stein, op. cit. (note 225), 91-108; Ritterling, RE XII 1652ff (VIII Augusta); 1803ff (XXII Primigenia).

The praetorium in the legionary fortress at Mainz: G. Behrens, 'Nachlese aus den Mainzer Museen', Germania 26 (1942), 36-9; id. 'Mainzer Römerbauten' in MZ 48/9 (1953-4), 74-7; H. Klümper in Führer zu vor-und frühgeschichtliche Denkmälern, Mainz, 11 (1969), 101; K.H. 

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Cornicularii and Commentarienses: XIII 6803 Mainz, AD 213-7; note also the centurio legionis ex corniculario cos who left dedications at Oehringen (XIII 6542, 6543, AD 193/8) and Miltenberg (XIII 6598, c. AD 200), and a possible commentariensis recorded on a fragmentary inscription, perhaps a tombstone, from Rheinzabern (XIII 6089). A further soldier of legio XXII Primigenia was commemorated at his home town of Augusta Taurinorum (Regio XI, Italy) (V 7004) having served as [benefic(iarius)?] legat(i), a comment(ariis) [leg(at)i) pr(o) pr(aetore)], optio, centurio [leg(ionis eius)dem [octa]vus pilus prior, [an]nor(um) XXXIX, stip(endium) XX...

Speculatores: XIII 6884 Mainz, AD 9-45/6 (see note 227); AE 1962 n. 292 = Bericht RGK 1977 n. 71, Mainz, 2nd cent.; XIII 6721 Mainz 2nd/3rd cent.

Frumentarii: XIII 11810 (= 6075+...) Mainz, 3rd cent.; on this so-called Arch of Datiius Victor see H. Wallau, MZ 1 (1906), 51-3; K. Körber, ibid. VII (1902), 12-13; Kähler, RE VII A 418 no 15; G. Behrens, MZ 48/9 (1953/4), 84-5; H. von Gall, Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 15 (1968), 98-119; F.J. Hassel in Führer zu vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmälern, Mainz, 11 (1969), 124-6; H-V. Decker and W. Selzer op. cit. (note 231), 507-9. Other frumentarii who probably served at Mainz (though some may have served in the officia of the Gallic provinces) are attested on detachment to the Castra Peregrina in Rome (see Ch. III p 49-50) by tombstones of the mid second to early third century; soldiers of XXII Primigenia: VI 3351 (grave of a frumentarius of VIII Augusta erected by three frumentarii of XXII Primigenia); VI 32873 = X 6575, found at Velitrae (grave of a frumentarius of XXII Primigenia P.F. erected by a frumentarius of VIII Augusta); soldiers of VIII Augusta: VI 3350, 3351, 3352, 3353, 3354, 32873 = X 6575.

Exactus consularis: XIII 6738 Mainz, 19th April 223.


D(amasconorum) ped(es) sing. cos found at Alzey: XIII 6270
= ILS 2588, 3rd cent.


**XIII 6665 = ILS 4796 Mainz, 15th July 211: L. Maiorius Cogitatus.

**XIII 6807 Mainz, c.218/9; on the date of the governorship of Cl. Aelius Pollio cf. Dio LXXIX, 40, 1; LXXX, 3, 1; see E. Ritterling op. cit. (note 236), 40-1; W. Eck, op. cit. (note 236), 89 no 46.


**We know that Hadrian had earlier been sent to Germany Superior to congratulate Trajan on his adoption by Nerva and had then stayed there (SHA Hadr. II, 5), but we know from another source (Eutrop. VIII, 2, 1) that Trajan received news of Nerva's death at Cologne, which perhaps implies that he had moved to Inferior as governor. This explains why Hadrian had to travel from Mainz to inform Trajan of his accession (SHA Hadr. II, 6). On Servianus as governor in Germania Inferior at this time see Pliny Ep VIII, 23, 5 (a slip); SHA Hadr. II, 6. See R. Syme, Tacitus (1958), 17, contra 636; H.W. Benario, A Commentary on the Vita Hadriani in the Historia Augusta (American Classical Studies 7)( 1980), 48.

**On Hadrian's presence in Germany and the enmity with Servianus (and therefore the journey of the beneficiarius) as a possible fiction, see W.C. McDermott, 'SHA Vita Hadriani II, 1-6,' Mnemosyne 22 (1969), 186-90; H.W. Benario, loc. cit.

**Miniature lance-head from Mainz (Fig. 2a.4): G. Behrens, 'Mars Weihungen im Mainzer Gebiet', MZ xxxvi (1941), 19 citing L. Lindenschmit, MZ I (1906), 80, Taf. Va, 7; the fibula was found in Albinistrasse, Weisenau (Fig. 2c.1): G. Behrens, op. cit., 20,C1 citing L. Lindenschmit, WZ X (1891), 399, Taf. 5,13; on Weisenau see F.J. Hassel in Führer zu vor-und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmälern 11 Mainz (1969), 105-6. Sword-pendant from Mainz: K. Raddatz, 'Anhänger in Form von Ringknaufschertern', SJ 12 (1953), 63 citing MZ VI (1911), 109, Abb. 26, 101.

XXII, Harenatio XXII, Burginatio VI, Colonia Traiana  
(Xanten) - V, Veteribus I, Calone XVIII, Novesiae (Neuss)  
XVIII, Confluentes VIII, Vinco XXVI, Noviomago (Speyer)  
XXXVII. Itin. Ant. 350.4-355.5: Item a Mediolano (Milan)  
per Alpes Penninas (Great St. Bernard Pass) Mogontiacum  
(Mainz) mp CCCXVIII sic: Novaria mp XXXIII, Vercellas  
XVI, Eporedia XXXIII, Vitricio XXI, Augusta Praetoria XXV,  
Summu Pennino (Great St. Bernard Pass) XXV, Octoduro XXV,  
Tarnaias XII, Penne Locos XIII, Vibisco VIII, Uromago  
VIII, Minnodunum (leug.) VI, Aventiculum Helvetiorem  
XIII, Petinesca XIII, Salodurum X, Augusta Rauracum  
(Augst) XXII, Cambete XII, Stabulis VI, Argentovaria XVIII,  
Helvetum XVI, Argentorato (Strasbourg) XII, Saletione VII,  
Taberntis XIII, Noviomago (Speyer) XI, Bormitomago XIII,  
Bauonica XIII, Mogontiacum (Mainz) XI. Tab. Peut. II Route  
3: Lugduno-(leug.) II-Praetorium Agrippine-III-Matilonis-V-  
Albanianis-II-Nigropulio-V-Lauri-X-Fletione-XVI-Levefano-  
VIII-Carvone-XII-Castra Hercules-VIII-Noviomagi (Nijmegen)  
-X-Arenatio-IV-Burginatio-V-Colo, Traiana (Xanten) -I-  
Veteribus-XIII-Asciburgia-XIII-Novesio (Neuss) -XVI-  
Agrippina (Cologne) -XI-Bonnae-VII-Rigomagus-VIIII-  
Antunnaco-VIII-Confluentius-VIIII-Bontobrice-VIIII-Vosavia-  
VIII-Bingiu-XII-Mogontiacum (Mainz) -VIII-Donconica-XI-  
Borgeromagi-VIIII-Novomagi (Speyer) -XII-Tabernis-XI-  
Saletione-VIII-Brocomagus-VII-Argentorat (Strasbourg) -  
XII-Hellellum-XII-Agervario-XII-[Ursicus]-[XII]-  
Cambete-VII-Arialbinnum-VI-Augusta Ruracum (Basel-Augst)  
Route 32: Augusta Ruracum (Basel-Augst) -XXII-Salodurum-X-  
Petenisca-XII-Aventicum Helvetorum; Route 33: Aventicum  
Helvetorum XVIII-Minodunum-VI-Viromagus-VIIII-Vivisco; Route  
7: Vivisco-VIIII-Pennolocus-XII-Tarnaias-XII-Octoduro-  
XXV-In Summo Pennino (Great St. Bernard Pass) -XIII-  
Eudracinum-XXV-Augusta Praetoria.

202XIII 7731 Vinxtbach, 2nd/3rd cent.: Tertinius Severus  
(note another bf cos named Tertinius recorded at Mainz  
(XII 6740b); see above note 243).

203Altrip (Alta Ripa) is recorded in Not. Dig. Occ. xli,  
7=19 (Alta Ripa); Anon. Rav. IV, 26 (Altripe); cf. K.  
Miller, Itineraria Romana (1916). 51 on the possibility  
that it has dropped out of the Tabula Peutingeriana between  
Borgeromagi and Noviomagus (but see my text on the position  
of Altrip relative to the Rhine valley road). On the site  
and the Valenviurian fort: K. Schumacher, `Siedelungs-und  
Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande II (1923), 114-5; F.  
Sprater, Die Pfalz unter den Römern (1929), 38-47; G. Bersu  
in G. Rodenwald, 'Das römische Kastell in Altrip', Neue  
Deutsche Ausgrabungen, Deutschtum und Ausland. Heft 23/4  
(1930), 170-6; J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1975), 14; S.  
Johnson, Late Roman Fortifications (1983), 154-5.

222The Rhine valley road to the north of Speyer has long  
been known to run not by Altrip but over the Rehhütte, and  
investigations in the 1920's showed a road from Wartturm  
near Speyer over the Rehhütte to Mutterstadt, aiming 5km  
to the west of Rheingönheim; see Wihr, Wanderung auf der  
Römischen Hauptstrasse von Hauptbahnhof Mutterstadt über die Rehhütte  
zum Wartturm bei Speyer. Pfalz Museum-Pfalz Heimatkunde  
(1927), cited by F. Sprater, Die Pfalz unter den Römern  
(1929), 75, with Abb 69 and map G.; G. Ulbert, Das  
frühk. Kastell Rheingönheim, Limesforschungen 9  
(1969), 9 with Beilage I.
The road from Altrip to Heidelberg is thought likely to have existed, but to date no road running from that quarter has been traced in Heidelberg: Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 280 with Abb. 113 and Taf. 69, but cf. K. Schumacher, Siedelungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande II (1923), Taf. 10.

On the Altrip to Ladenburg road see K. Schumacher op. cit., 115; id., in ORL A Bd III. Strecke 6 (1933), 77-8; B. Heukemes in Ph. Filtzinger, op. cit., 345.

The inscriptions are XIII 6137a, doubtfully a bf cos; XIII 6127 = Brambach 1791; Bericht RGK 1937 n. 74, found built into a Merovingian grave at Waldsee (see note 261). See under Brambach 1788 for the find-spot of Brambach 1788-92, all found together in 1835 in the garden of the widow Hook.


Miniature lance from Wallstadt (now in the Museum at Mannheim) (Fig. 2c.14): G. Behrens, op. cit. (note 250), 21 citing Cast 4386 in the Zentralmuseum Mainz.

Rheingönheim (Rufiniana): K. Schumacher, op. cit. (note 254), 36-9; F. Sprater, op. cit. (note 254), 25-35; G. Ulbert, op. cit. (note 254). F. Sprater, op. cit., 35-8 suggests Rheingönheim as the site of this statio rather than Ladenburg, on the basis of a second-century tile-stamp of legio VIII and other finds south-east of the earlier fort, and because he believes that the stone of XIII 6127 was quarried at the Brunholdisstuhl near Bad Dürkheim, about 20km west of Rheingönheim. Cf. G. Ulbert, op. cit. (note 254), 14.

XIII 6137a Altrip, 2nd/3rd cent., not certainly a bf cos.

XIII 6127 = ILS 2401 Altrip, AD 181: C. Iulius Adventus. On the reading concor(diae) duar(um), note that there is a larger gap on the stone between the R of CONCOR and the D than between the D and the VAR, but the inscription is not particularly careful about such spacing. For the suggestion that a second statio might be one of the portorium, see S. J. de Laet, Portorium (1949), 140-1, who places such a statio at Altrip on the basis of this inscription. The position of Altrip away from the Rhine Valley road and its lack of habitation before the late 4th century certainly weakens his case.

Bericht RGK 1937 n. 74 Waldsee nr. Altrip, 13 or 15 of ? AD 201: ... Quint[inus]?

Germersheim (vicus Iulius): recorded in Not. Dig. Occ. xli, 5-17. F. Sprater, Die Pfalz unter den Römern I (1929) 47; J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1975), 138-9. Sprater, op. cit., 19 suggests that the three Altrip bf altars originally came from Germersheim, but the distance involved makes this unlikely.

XIII 6095 = ILS 3211 Germersheim, 2nd/3rd cent.: G. Arrius Patruius.


XIII 11603 Argentorate, 3rd cent.: Avitius... Pomp(eius) O...: Sentimiento... On the find-spot of the inscription in the area of the principia of the legionary
fortress see R. Forrer, op. cit., 358-9; the date for the inscription given there (late first to early second century), based on the stone of the inscription, seems to be vitiated by the nomen of the third soldier.

266See on multiple bff cos stationed at legionary fortresses see Ch. V note 15.


268Solothurn (Salodurum): F. Staehelin, Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit (3rd ed., 1948), 621 with bibliography cf. 232-3 with note 5 on the early vicus and 309-12 with Abb. 67 on the Late Roman fort.

269XIII 5170 = ILS 2411 Solothurn, 20 August 219: M[p?]ilius Restio.

270On stone quarries at Salodurum see F. Staehelin, op. cit. (note 268), 425 note 1, citing E. Tatarinoff, Solothurnisches Wochenblatt 1928 Nr. 3 p. 17.

271Cf. the speculator at Italica in Baetica (? see p. 132 with note 75), the frumentarii at Luna in Italy (though these certainly came direct from the Castra Peregrina rather than any provincial officium) and Delphi in Achaea (once again perhaps sent from the Castra Peregrina; see p. 53 with note 96), the protector at the Bratia quarries in Dalmatia (see pp. 623 with note 157 and, by far the firmest example, the singulares of the governor of Germania Inferior who exploited the Brohltal quarries (see pp. 157-8).


274XIII 7338 Hedernheim-Praunheim, 13 January 213: M. Aureli(ius) Cl. Pompeianus; the same man erected an altar on 13 January 221 at Grosskrotzenburg: AE 1962 n. 228 = 1978 n. 581 (see p. 175 with note 326).


276XIII 7335 = ILS 7096 Hedernheim, AD 230: T. Fl(avius) Sanctius...imm. cos.


278XIII 7399 = ILS 4192 Friedberg, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Paulinius Iustus; XIII 7400 = ILS 4192a Friedberg, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Paulinius Iustus; the same man erected an altar at Osterburken (Schallmayer, Kat. no 1), see note 369.
See note 262.

Niederbieber lance-head (Fig. 1.20): see Appendix I p. 101 with note 6. Miniature lance-head (Fig. 3a.14): K. Raddatz, "Anhänger in Form von Ringknaufschwertern", SJ xii (1953), 63 citing Mus. Bonn E 1680.


Zugmantel miniature lance-heads (Fig. 2c.2,4-6): G. Behrens, 'Mars Weiheungen im Mainzer Gebiet', MZ xxxvi (1941), 20 citing H. Jacobi, SJ VII (1930), 50, Taf. XII, 13; L. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 8 (1909), Taf. X, 82 and 68; H. Jacobi, SJ I (1910), 51, Taf. VIII, 3. Sword-pendants (Fig. 3a.1-5,10,13): K. Raddatz, op. cit. (note 280), 60 citing Z 386 (Fig. 3a.1) = L. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 8 (1909), Taf. X, 77; Z 16 (Fig. 3a.2); Z 2753 (Fig. 3a.3) = H. Jacobi, SJ II (1911), 38 upper left (but Taf. XII,7 cited there is totally unlike Fig. 3a.3 taken from Raddatz; the mistake appears to be in SJ); Z 3520 (Fig. 3a.4) = H. Jacobi, SJ V (1913, publ. 1924), 59 upper right and Taf. VII, 8; Z 383 (Fig. 3a.5) = L. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 8 (1909), Taf. X, 68 (i.e. the bottom part of Fig. 2c.5); Z 4073 (Fig. 3a.10) and 4074 (Fig. 3a.13) = H. Jacobi, SJ V (1913, publ. 1924), 59 lower right and Taf. XXVI, 126. Also Z 387a, a fragment similar to Fig. 3a.8,9,15,16 from Saalburg, and another unnumbered, unpublished fragment.


Feldberg miniature lance: L. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 10 (1905), 27 no. 55 with Taf. VI, 16. Sword-pendant (Fig. 3a.11): K. Raddatz op. cit. (note 280), 60 citing L. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 10 (1905), Taf. VI, 11.


Saalburg miniature lance-heads (Fig. 2c.7-8): G. Behrens, 'Mars Weiheungen im Mainzer Gebiet', MZ xxxvi (1941), 20 citing L. Jacobi, Das Römerkastell Saalburg (1897), Taf. LVI, 11 and 12. Sword-pendants (Fig. 3a.9,15,16): K. Raddatz op. cit. (note 280), 60 citing Nr. P 503 = L. Jacobi, op. cit., Taf. LXI, 6 (Fig. 3a.6); L. Jacobi, WZ 26 (1907), 295-6 with Taf. V, 28, and Jahresbericht des Saalburg-Museums 1907 Taf. III, 28 (Fig. 3a.7-9,15); Nr. 1931 (Fig. 3a.16).


Butzbach sword-pendant (Fig. 3b.3): H.-J. Hundt, 'Nachträge zu den römischen Ringsaufschwertern, Dosenortbändern und Miniaturschwertanhängern', SJ xiv (1955), 31; the pendant is in the Landesmuseum Darmstadt.

Butzbach fort: F. Kohlfert, ORL B Nr. 14 (1894); G. Müller, Untersuchungen am Kastell Butzbach. Limes- forschungen 2 (1962); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974),

**Miniature lance-head from Watchpost 4/96:** G. Behrens, 'Mars Weihungen im Mainzer Gebiet', MZ xxxvi (1941), 20 citing E. Fabricius, ORL A Bd II Strecke 4 and 5 (1936), 200, Taf. XVII, 12; Fabricius gives no information on the stratification of the lance-head. On Watchpost 4/96: E. Fabricius, ORL A Bd II Strecke 4 and 5 (1936), 144-5 with Kartenbeilage 5; D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 141-2; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 409 with Abb 360. Although there is no specific evidence on this site, the wooden towers on the Wetterau limes were in general replaced about the middle of the second century, perhaps in the reign of Pius like those of the Odenwald limes where building inscriptions record the erection of stone watchtowers in 145-6: W. Schleiermacher, Der römische Limes in Deutschland 3rd ed (1967), 35-9; H. Schönberger, 'The Roman Frontier in Germany: An Archaeological Survey', JRS lix (1969), 167.


**Road from Niederbieber to Fahr am Rhein, opposite Antunnacum (Andernach):** J. Hagen, Römerrassen der Rheinprovinz (1931), 489.

**On the Mainz-Friedberg road see above, note 272. This road branched at Kastel to Wiesbaden and thence to Zugmantel, a total of some 20km (Kastel-Wiesbaden: E. Ritterling, ORL B Nr 31 (1909), 43-7; E. Fabricius ORL A Bd. II Strecke 3-5 (1936), 236-7; Wiesbaden-Zugmantel: L. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 8 (1909), 2-3; E. Fabricius, ORL A Bd. II Strecke 3 (1935), 60 with Kartengeilage I; id., ORL A Bd. II Strecke 3-5 (1936), 239-40), at Nida-Hedernheim to the Feldbergkastell 16km distant (L. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 10 (1905), 2-3; E. Fabricius ORL A Bd. II Strecke 3-5 (1936), 251) and Saalburg 14km distant (E. Fabricius ORL A Bd. II Strecke 3-5 (1936), 252; H. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 11 (1937), 8-5), and at Friedberg to Butzbach, 13km away (F. Kofler, ORL B Nr. 14 (1894), 16-17; E. Fabricius ORL A Bd. II Strecke 3-5 (1936), 260-262).

**On the road from Mainz to Augsburg, running along the modern Autobahn route Mainz-Ladenburg-Heidelberg-Cannstatt-Urspring-Augsburg see D. Planck in Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 147 with Abb. 45. On the sectio n Mainz-Ladenburg-Heidelberg-south of Heidelberg see K. Schumacher, ORL A Bd. III (1933), 73-6 with Kartengeilage; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 110-11; on the section Heidelberg-Günzburg see F. Hertlein and P. Goessler, Die Römer in Württemberg II (1930), 59 (the branch eastward off the south-running road 15km from Heidelberg near Wiesloch, over the mountains to Sinsheim and Wimpfen) or alternatively 59-60 (Heidelberg-Neckarburken over the Gaisberg) and 101-3 (Neckarburken-Wimpfen southwards straight along the Odenwald limes road); 98-100 (Wimpfen-Böckingen along the
Neckar valley); 94-7 (Böckingen-Walheim along the Neckar); 84-7 (Walheim-Cannstatt, two routes, the main one over the Burgholzberg, the other along the Neckar); 80-2 (Cannstatt- König, along the Neckar and then across to König); 262-6 (Küngen-Alb limes road east of Donnstetten-Urspring, following the eastern branch of the road across the Neckar at Kircheim to Neidlingen, Wiesensteig and then joining the Suebian Alb limes road to Urspring) or alternatively 260-2 (Küngen-Donnstetten, over the Neckar through the Eselsteige up to the Suebian Alb; perhaps the Grinario-Clarenna stretch of Tab. Peut. IV Route 42) 234-8 (Donnstetten-Urspring, south to the Suebian Alb limes road and then along it to Urspring); 240-44, 217-9 (Urspring-Niederstotzingen-Günzburg, along an extension of the Suebian Alb limes road towards Faimingen, then joining the north-south Heidenheim-Günzburg road); on the section Günzburg-Augsburg see B. Eberl, 'Die Römerstrasse Augsburg-Günzburg,' Schwabisches Museum (1927), 137-48 with maps; P. Reinecke, Kleine Schriften zur vor-und frühgeschichtliche Topographie Bayerns (1962), 15 no 12 (cf. Itin. Ant. 250.5-6: Augusta Vindelicum Guntia XXII). An alternative route ran on from Urspring to Faimingen and then south to join the Augsburg-Günzburg road: Tab. Peut IV Route 43 Ad Lunam-XXX-Pomone-XII-Augusta Vindelicu.

On the roads linking the former Odenwald limes road from Neckarburken to König with the Antonine limes see F. Hertlein and P. Goessler, Die Römer in Württemberg II (1930), 125 (Neckarburken-Osterburken); 123-5 (Wimpfen-Jagsthausen); 118-23 (Böckingen-Oehringen); 116-8 (Walheim-Mainhardt); 111-16 (Benningen-Murrhardt); 106-11 (Cannstatt-Welzheim); 104-6 (König via Faurndau to Lorch).

Miniature lance-head from Wallstadt (now in the Museum at Mannheim (Fig. 2c.14): G. Behrens, 'Mars-Weihungen im Mainzer Gebiet', MZ xxxvi (1941), 21 citing Cast 4386 in the Zentralmuseum Mainz.

See note 254.


XIII 6397 Heidelberg, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Vereius [Clemens. On the find-spot see K. Schumacher, Siedlungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande II (1923), 60.


Gundelsheim: O. Paret, Die Römer in Württemberg III (1932), 313; D. Planck in Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 270.

F. Hertlein, Die Römer in Württemberg I (1928), 143 attributes the coloured sandstone of the inscription to the area around Neckarburken and therefore assigns the station to there.


Wimpfen: K. Schumacher, ORL B Nr. 54 und 55 (1900); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 174; R. Koch in Ph.
Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 229-334
with bibliography.

\*\*See note 293.

**Böckingen:** H. Steimle, ORL B Nr. 56 (1898); F. Hertlein, Die Römer in Württemberg III (1932), 286-7; D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 174-5; R. Koch in Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 298-300. On the road to Oehringen see note 68.

**XIII 6474 = ILS 4553 Böckingen, 2nd/3rd cent.:** C. Iul(ius) Quietus.

\*\*For Mars Caturix cf. XIII 5035 Riaz near Lausanne; 5046 Nonfous near Yverdon; 5054 Yverdon; 11473 Yverdon. Quietus perhaps came from this area of southern Germania Superior.

**On roads to Cannstatt:** from the Rhine, see F. Hertlein and P. Goessler, Die Römer in Württemberg II (1930), 45-53; from Mainz, see note 292; from Welzheim, see note 293; from the Danube, see note 292. See also W. Schleiermacher, ORL A Bd. V Strecke II (1935), 14-15.

**Cannstatt:** W. Barthel, ORL B Nr. 60 (1907); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 176; Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 529-34 with bibliography; J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1977), 387.

**XIII 11747a Cannstatt, AD 182:** Vengius Germanus; XIII 6441 Cannstatt, 212-17: S[elverus; XIII 6440 Cannstatt, 213 or 222: P. Sedulius [I]ulianus; AE 1927 n. 65 Cannstatt, 18th July 219: M. Aur(elius) Titius Julianus; XIII 6437 Cannstatt, 13th Dec 221: Sattonius Iuvenilis; XIII 6442 Cannstatt, 13th Jan 223: Emeritius Sextus; AE 1927 n. 66 Cannstatt, 29th Dec 230: Seren[ius] Atticus. Since the inscriptions of 182, 219 and 230 were found near the crossroads in front of the porta principalis dextra of the disused fort (the last dedicated Deabus Quadrivis), Ph.Filtzinger, 'Römische Strassenstation bei Sigmaringen', Fundberichte aus Schwaben N.F. xix (1971), 183-4 argues that the station was situated there; on the validity of such assumptions cf. below p. 188. The other four inscriptions were found, apparently not in situ, 1.5km to the east of Cannstatt, across the River Neckar near the Uffkirche, although it is not clear precisely where (see F. Hertlein, Die Römer in Württemberg II (1930), 84; 107 with note 2; Ph. Filtzinger, Fundberichte aus Schwaben N.F. xix (1971), 184). It is possible that these represent a second station over the river from the main vicus, on the road to Welzheim which run near the Uffkirche, but it is more likely that the stones were brought across in the post-Roman period: note that XIII 6437 was dedicated Biviis Triviis Quadri which would be appropriate in the centre of the vicus (cf. AE 1927 n. 66 dedicated Quadrivis), but not near the Uffkirche where there was merely a fork (Ph. Filtzinger, loc. cit.).

**Miniature lance-head from Cannstatt (Fig. 2c.15):** G. Behrens, 'Mars-Weihungen im Mainzer Gebiet', MZ xxxvi (1941), 21 citing W. Barthel, ORL B Nr. 59 (1907), 27 n. 31 with Taf. VIII, 23.

**Köngen:** A. Mettler, ORL B Nr. 60 (1907); F. Hertlein, Die Römer in Württemberg III (1932), 329-30; D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 176; Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 333-8 with bibliography; J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1977), 228-9; C. Unz, Grinaro: das römische Kastell und Dorf in König (1982); id. in Führer zu römischen Militär- und Kastellbauwerken im Schwaben (1983), 41-4.
XIII 6383 Königken, ? July, sometime in the 2nd/3rd cent.: M. [L[u]c[i]u[s] Mat[e]r[n]lus. On the find-spot and the building identified as the statio: A. Mettler, ORL B Nr. 60 (1907), 21 Nr. 3; 24; Ph. Filtzinger, 'Römische Strassenstation bei Sigmaringen', Fundberichte aus Schwaben N.F. xix (1971), 184-5: Filtzinger places undue emphasis on the proximity of the building in which the inscription was found to the building identified as the statio, since the first was presumably the Dolichenum (another fragmentary inscription found there was dedicated not by a bf cos but by a centurion: A. Mettler, ORL B Nr. 60 (1907), 39 Nr. 2 = XIII 6386) and the site of the inscription would have been determined by the dedicator's choice of temple in which to worship, not by proximity to his place of work.

Köngen-Vindonissa-Ötten-Solothurn-Milan road: Tab. Peut. VI Route 42: Grinarione (Köngen)-(leug)XXII- Samulocensis (Rottenburg)-XIII-Aris Flavis (Rottweil)- XIII-Briegobanne (Hüffingen)-XI-Juliomago (Schleitheim)- XIII-Tenedone (Rheinheim)-VIII-Vindonissa (Windisch) (this gives a total of 83 leagues or 183 kilometres for the section Königken-Vindonissa); the continuation to Olten and Solothurn is missing in Peutinger (see K. Miller, Itineraria Romana (1916), 125) but has been traced on the ground, with the road from Vindonissa joining the continuation of the Rhine valley road at Oensingen north of Solothurn: F. Staehelin, Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit (3rd ed., 1948), 353, 362; on the section from Solothurn to Milan see note 251.


Late Roman Mainz-Augsburg route: For the Mainz-Basel section of the route see note 251; Tab. Peut. II Route 3: Augusta Rauracum (Basel-Augst) -(leug) XXII-Vindonissa-(XXVIII)-Ad Fines (Pfyen)-(leug, or mp?) XXI-Arbor Felix (Arbon); Tab. Peut. II Route 41: Arbor Felix - mp VIII-Ad Renum (Rheinneck) - X-Brigantio (Bregenz); Tab. Peut. IV Route 71: Brigantio-VIII-Ad Renum (? Niederstaufen) - XV- Vemania (Burkwang) - XV-Camboduno (Kempten); Tab. Peut. II Route 71a: Cambodunum-XVIII-Navoe (Eggenthal) - XXIII- Rapis (around Schwabmünchen) - XVIII-Augusta Vindelicum (Augsburg). Also Itin. Ant. 236.5-238.2: Augusta Vindelicum Rostro Nemaviae (Buchloé) mp XXV, Campoduno (XXXV) XXXII, Vemania XV, Brigantia XXXIII, Arbores Felice XX, Ad Fines XX, Vindonissa leug XXX; Itin. Ant. 250.5-251.6: Augusta Vindelicum Gustia (Günzburg) mp XXII, Celio monte (Kellmünz) XVI, Campoduno IIIII, Vemania XV, Brigantia XXXIII, Arbores Felice XX, Finibus XX, Vituduro (Winterthur) mp XXII, leug X[V?], Vindonissa leug XXII, Rauraci XXVII.

The Late Roman Castrum Vindonissense is recorded in Not. Gall. IX, 5, 6. On this and the Brugg-Altenburg fort see note 316 and F. Staehelin, Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit (1948), 262 with note 1 (Castrum Vindonissense): 308-11. 633 (Brugg-Altenburg); Staehelin dates Castrum...
Vindonissense to the period immediately after 260 and Brugg-Altenburg, which reused material from the refortifications at Vindonissa (see note 317), to the Valentinianic period, but S. Johnson, Late Roman Fortifications (1983), 164 points out that none of the Brugg-Alten-Solothurn group of forts, all of similar layout, have been dated archaeologically and suggests (p. 166) the late third century as a possibility for Brugg-Altenburg (and presumably therefore the other two).

Olten: P. Goessler, RE XVII 2502-3; F. Staehelin, op. cit., 308-11 with Abb. 68, 620 with bibliography. Solothurn: see p. 166 with notes 268-70. On a possible date for the two Late Roman forts see note 319.

Miniature lance-head from Vindonissa (Fig. 2a.6): G. Behrens, 'Mars-Weihungen im Mainzer Gebiet', MZ xxxvi (1941), 19 citing Mus. Brugg. Inv. 5453. On the find-spot as Vindonissa see A. Alfoldi, AJA 63, 1 (1959), 26 on Fig. 16. Miniature lance-head from Olten (Fig. 2c.20): G. Behrens, op cit., 21; the ornament is now in the Hist. Museum, Olten.


On the Mainz-Friedberg road see note 272. On the Heddernheim-Grosskrotzenburg road: E. Fabricius, ORL A Bd. II Strecke 3-5 (1936), 248 nr. 3 (Nida/Heddernheim-Frankfurt); 249 nr. 8 (Frankfurt-Kesselstadt, Hanau, along the north bank of the Main); 251 nr. 4 (Hanau, across the Main to Grosskrotzenburg).


A.E. 1962 n. 228 = 1978 n. 551 Grosskrotzenburg, 13 January 221: Cl(audius) P(ompeianus); cf. XIII 7338, Heddernheim-Praunheim (see note 274).


Stockstadt, AD 166: L. Memmius Iuvenis; see p. 181 on the shrine of the Nymphs at Osterburken; F. Drexel, ORL B Nr. 33 (1910), 68 no. 2 Stockstadt, AD 166.


Stockstadt, Sept.-Oct. 181: C. A(...)
C. F(ilius) Iustus[s]; cf. F. Drexel, ORL B Nr. 33 (1910), 69 no 5 for the correct reading.

Stockstadt, 20 Feb., 182: Nobilius L[...i]us;
XIII 6635 Stockstadt, 26 July, 182: C. Iul(ius) Peregr[inus].

Stockstadt, 13 or 15 of an unknown month, 183: ... it .... ni ...; cf. F. Drexel, ORL B Nr. 33 (1910), 69-70 no 8 for the probable reading.

Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.: Val(erius) Maximus; XIII 11776 (=6639 not. + 6654 + 6655) Stockstadt, late 2nd cent.: T. Calven[tius Marcellinus, cf. XIII 11791 (see note 335); XIII 6632 Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.: Ael(ius) Heraclid[a]; XIII 6640 Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent. (?); XIII 6653 Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.; XIII 6656f Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.


Miniature lance-head from Stockstadt (Fig. 2c.10): G. Behrens, 'Mars-Weiheungen in Mainzer Gebiet' MZ xxxvi (1941) 25; citting F. Drexel, ORL B Nr. 33 (1910) 50, Taf. VII, 21.


XIII 6824 Obernburg, 2nd/3rd cent.: A?)ppius [...]s; AE 1957 n. 49 Obernburg, 2nd/3rd cent.: M. Bellius Marcellinus; AE 1957 n. 51 Obernburg, 2nd/3rd cent.: M. Aurelius[ius] Superfinius lectus bf cos; on the use of lectus cf. VI 210 = ILS 2103: lectus in praetorio dd. nn. ex leg. VI Ferr(ata); it is unlikely that the last man is identical with the bf cos of the same name who erected an altar at Bonn-Dottendorf in Germania Inferior (XIII 7998): see note 191.


XIII 6570 Osterburken, 2nd/3rd cent.: Calvinius Titus. XIII 6571 which may have come from the same sacred enclosure was erected by a veteran soldier, but it is unlikely that the man was a former bf cos as suggested by C. Zangemeister in CIL; more likely he was a veteran of the local cohors III Aquitanorum.

AE 1978 n. 529 Osterburken, late 2nd/early 3rd century: ... G?ai fil(ius) [...]a Ara.


AE 1978 n. 526 Osterburken, 13 January AD 213: Calen[ius]...tius.

AE 1978 n. 527 Osterburken, AD 223 or 224: Vic[to]rinus?.


Reported in Denkmal pflege in Baden-Württemberg Vol. 12 No. 3 (July-September, 1983), 139.

Unfortunately, the texts of the other, as yet unpublished, inscriptions have not been made available to me.
Schallmayer, Kat. no 7 Osterburken, late 2nd cent.: Q. Cornelius Sab(atina tribu) Severianus; the tribe suggests that this man or his family originally came from Mantua in Northern Italy.

Schallmayer, Kat. no 12 Osterburken, late 2nd cent.: L. Mansuetius Constans.

Schallmayer, Kat. no 9 Osterburken, AD 174: Titius Tacitus; the main text of the 1985 report (p. 380) like all the other reports, ascribes this inscription to the first row of altars although in the list of inscriptions (p. 402) it is ascribed, apparently erroneously, to the second.


J. Fitz, loc. cit. and G. Winkler, loc. cit. date Caerellius Priscus's arrival in Upper Germany to c.175 but he could have been transferred from Raetia slightly earlier; cf. G. Alföldy, Konsulat und Senatenstand unter den Antoninen (1977), 186-7. On the borrowing of officiales from neighbouring provinces see Ch. III note 8.

Schallmayer, Kat. no 2 Osterburken, 13 January AD 182: T. Iunarius Tertius.

Schallmayer, Kat. no 4 Osterburken, late 2nd cent.: L. Annamatus Atrectus; Schallmayer, Kat. no 6 Osterburken, late 2nd cent.: C. Iul(ius) Iullinius; Schallmayer, Kat. no 8 Osterburken, late 2nd cent.: Q. Melicius Respectus (on Mars Exalbiovix, who also appears as Mars Exalbix at Neckarburken cf. E. Schallmayer, Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg 1982 (1983), 142. The main text of the 1985 report (p. 380) mentions only three inscriptions from the second row but four appear in the list of inscriptions.

Schallmayer, Kat. no 3 Osterburken, 15 July AD 183: P. Ae(lius) Gemellus; Schallmayer, Kat. no 5 Osterburken, late 2nd cent.: T. Essimnius Tertius. Schallmayer's suggestion (op. cit. (1985) (note 358), 388) that the five busts on Essimnius Tertius's altar represent himself and four subordinates at the statio is improbable; it is more likely that they represent his family, the sui for whom he made the dedication.

Schallmayer, Kat. no 11 Osterburken, late 2nd cent.: L. Traianus Ibliomarus; Schallmayer, Kat. no 1, Osterburken, late 2nd cent.: C. Paulinius Justus; the same man erected two altars at Friedberg (XIII 7399 = ILS 4192, XIII 7400 = ILS 4192a), see note 278.

Schallmayer, Kat. no 10 Osterburken, early 3rd cent.: P. Iun(ius) Secundus.


37aXIII 6557 Jagsthhausen, AD 179: L. Pompeius Gratianus.
37bXIII 6558 Jagsthhausen, AD 186: T. Fl(avius) Vitalis
Ael(ius) Aug(usta); Aelia Augusta is Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) cf. C. Zangemeister on XIII 6741.
37cXIII 11762 = 6556 Jagsthhausen, 13 March of unknown year in the late second century: L. Fl(avius) Patern(us) cf. XIII 6634 Stockstadt, AD 167 (see note 331).
37dXIII 6560 Jagsthhausen, 2nd/3rd cent.: ... Vic[tor];
Bericht RGK 1959 n. 142 Jagsthhausen, 2nd/3rd cent.: ...
autus.
37gPontailler-sur-Saône: H. de Villefosse, 'Stations legionnaires de Pontailler-sur-Saône et de La Noue', BACTHS 1908, 131-7; A. Grenier, Manuel d'Archéologie Gallo-Romaine I (1931), 239-41; see also E. Linckenheld, RE VIA 1035-7 s.v. Tilena. Pontailler was perhaps the Admagnetobriga where the Sequani defeated the Aedui (Caes., BG I, 31); see A. Berget, BACTHS 1908, 107-11.
37iA. Grenier, Manuel d'Archéologie Gallo-Romaine I (1931), 236-46, one of the few scholars to discuss the site, follows Villefosse, op. cit. (note 379), in seeing Pontailler as one of a group of military stations in the area, being manned by men of legio VIII Augusta (attested, according to Grenier, 239, by a single tile-stamp on Mont Ardou) detached from Mirebeau and under the command of the bf cos. The evidence he provides for other stations consists of Flavian tile-stamps of seven legions and some possibly later stamps of VIII Augusta at Mirebeau 15km to the north-west (237-9); third-century inscriptions and tile-stamps of VIII Augusta and XXII Primigenia at Tilena 20km north of Mirebeau au (241-2) (see below); tile-stamps of VIII Augusta many as at Mirebeau, recording a Lappius as legate and so dated to AD 88, found at La Noue near Dijon, 27km south of Tilena (242-3); a fragment of a tile-stamp at Nuits (244); three first-century inscriptions of ala troopers at Chalon 70km south of Dijon (244); a dedication by a candidatus d(omi)i n(ostri) of VIII Augusta erected in the reign of Severus Alexander at Laizé (244); and two memorials for legionaries at Autun, one of them killed by brigands (245). The evidence from Nuits, Laizé and Autun is insufficient to prove stations; that from Mirebeau, Dijon and Chalon shows military occupation in the first century but not necessarily later; that from Tilena shows the presence of a vexillation in the early third century. Clearly the Pontailler station of AD 150 need have no connection with any of this, nor does Grenier's evidence properly support his argument for a coherent system of
stationes to protect major supply routes to the Rhine army against brigandage.


**Legionary vexillation at Tilena**: XII 5623, erected by a capsarius of VIII Antoniniana; XII 5626, erected by a strator of XXII Primigenia in 230; XII 5622, erected by a librarius of XXII Primigenia in 250/1. On the location of the camp beside the Etang de Marcilly, see the articles in note 382, all three of which cite Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités de la Côte d'Or XIII, p. cxxitiiii.

**Supplies from Lugdunensis might well be sent to Trier, seat of the Procurator of Belgica and the Two Germanies (see p. 146) for redistribution to the Rhine armies.** Whilst Tilena was in Germania Superior, the vexillation, though drawn from the province's two legions, could have come from the garrison of Lugdunum which they in part supplied (see p. 143); this might explain why a liaison with the governor of Upper Germany was necessary and why he should have chosen to make specific mention of the fact that he was im(munis) cos Ger(maniae)1 Super[ioris]. For an officialis attached to a vexillation cf. III 7449 Montana (Moesia Inferior), AD 155; see N. B. Rankov, 'A Contribution to the Military and Administrative History of Montana in A.G. Poulter (ed.), Ancient Bulgaria. Papers presented to the International Symposium on the Ancient History and Archaeology of Bulgaria, University of Nottingham, 1981 Part 2 (1983), 52-4.

**XII 6143** Erpolzheim, 2nd/3rd cent.

**XII 6279** Oppenheim, 2nd/3rd cent.: Pervincius Romulus.

**Commentariensis (?)**: XII 6089 Rheinzabern, 2nd/3rd cent.

**Protector**: XII 7535a Kreuznach, 3rd cent.: eq(ues) leg(ionis) XXII prot(ector) prf(aes(idis)]

**A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Beneficiarii posten und die römischen Strassennetze'. WZ xxi (1902), 198 with note 292 on XII 2596 (candidatus); 200 with note 307 on XII 6429a (centurion) and note 315 on XII 6334 (miles of VIII Augusta).


**V 3936** = ILS 1348 = G. Winkler, op. cit. 53 nr. 3.

(Ier-IIe siècle apres J.C.'), ANRW II 5.2 (1976), 630-56 esp. 637-8, 642-5, 652-5. The details of the history of the province are far from clear and this summary follows the account of H.-J. Kellner, contra G. Walser who argues that the Alpes Graiae and Alpes Poeninae were separated from Raetia under Domitian and became two independent procuratorial provinces; that under Septimius Severus the Alpes Atrectianae, which he does not identify with the Alpes Graiae, were added to the Alpes Poeninae; and that in the 4th century a united province of the Alpes Poeninae et Graiae appeared for the first time.

H.-J. Kellner, op. cit., 103 and cf. the list of inscriptions recording procurators of the province ibid., 101.

AE 1910 n. 119 Axima, late 2nd cent.: T. Accius T(iti) f(ilius) Q(urina tribu) Secundus Eburon(umi) b(eneficiarius) P. Memmi Clementis Proc(uratoris) Aug(usti); Eburodunum is perhaps Yvorne, north of Aigle (see F. Staehelin, Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit (3rd ed., 1948), 313-4 note 7). On the date of the procuratorship of P. Memmius Clemens see H.-J. Kellner, op. cit. 101.

See above note 251.


XII 164 Viviscus, 2nd/3rd cent.: L. Sper(atius) Ursulus.

See A. von Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (1908, 2nd ed., 1967), 38, 48. The overwhelming majority of these officers are recorded at their own legionary bases.


XII 144 Tarnaiae Nantuatium, AD 222, 226 or 229: Viri[us] Probus.

Cf., for example, the legionary detachment which appears to have been stationed at Tilenia in Germania Superior in the first half of the third century; see p. 187.

Alternatively, legionaries of the Upper German army may have been loaned to the Procurator to provide a provincial garrison and officium, in which case these men would have reported to him; on the borrowing of officiales see Ch. III note 8.

Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 1894, 36 Great St. Bernard pass, 2nd/3rd cent.: Iul(ius) Fortunatus.


V 6869 = ILS 4850d, 2nd/3rd cent.

See Appendix I p. 101 with Fig. 2d.1.

See F. Staehelin, op. cit. (note 406), 345-7 esp. 345 note 2.

V 6867, 2nd/3rd cent.; A. von Domaszewski's suggestion (WZ xxi (1902), 197 note 289) that the man is a promoted b[ef] cos is groundless; cf. above p. 188.
APPENDIX II

DATED INSCRIPTIONS AND THE LENGTH OF THE TOUR OF DUTY

In 1965 H. Lieb produced a paper in which he considered the dates which often appear on \(bf\) dedications and the possibility that they indicated the day on which the dedicator's tour of duty came to an end.\(^1\) There can be no doubt that a number of \(bf\) inscriptions were set up to mark completion of a tour, since this is made explicit by terms such as \textit{exacta statione}, \textit{expleta statione}, \textit{expleto tempore} and \textit{emerita statione},\(^2\) and it seems likely that a great many of the inscriptions were in fact dedicated as a votive thank-offering to a deity or deities, especially Jupiter Optimus Maximus, for bringing the dedicator unharmed to the end of his posting.\(^3\) At some \textit{stationes} it appears to have become a custom amongst successive \textit{bbff cos}, as is apparent from the collections of \(bf\) inscriptions discovered at places like Stockstadt and Osterburken in Germania Superior, Neviodunum in Pannonia Superior and several others throughout the empire;\(^4\) some \textit{bbff cos} are known to have dedicated more than one inscription at the same \textit{statio}, either at the same time or after two separate postings, and others erected inscriptions at more than one \textit{statio} (although no individual is recorded at more than two different \textit{stationes}).\(^5\) In all, we have three inscriptions which make it clear that they were dedicated to mark the completion of a tour and which also record the day of
dedication* and these in particular allow us, in Lieb’s words, "die Weihestage mit dem Wechsel der stationes unmittelbar oder mittelbar zusammenzuhalten," even if this should not be regarded as a universal rule.

Lieb’s paper listed the known **bf** dedications which recorded a specific date, and in 1976 P. Herz updated the list for Germania Superior.* The following further brings the list up to date (1986) for the whole empire and includes inscriptions which in their present state of preservation give a day but no year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Britain:</th>
<th>213 or 218/22 22 Sep</th>
<th>X Kal[l]. Octobr. AE 1977 n.495 (Brougham)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Germania Inferior:**

| ? | 1 Sep | Kal. Sep. AE 1974 n.446 (Cologne) |  |
| 239 31 Jul/1 Aug (c.260 25 Sep) | P(ridie?)Kal. Aug. XIII 8207 (Cologne) | AE 1930 n.35 (Bonn) |  |

**Germania Superior:**

| ? | 13 Mar | III Id. Mar. XIII 11762=6556 (Jagsthausen) |  |
| ? | 15? Jul | [Id.?] Iul. XIII 6383 (Köngen) |  |
| 181 14 Sep-15 Oct | ... Oct. XIII 6633+6656e (Stockstadt) |  |
| 182 13 Jan | Id. Ian. Schallmayer, Kat. no 2 (Osterburken) |  |
| 182 20 Feb | X Kal. Mart[ias] XIII 6637 (Stockstadt) |  |
| 182 26 Jul | VII Ka[l.] Augustas XIII 6635 (Stockstadt) |  |
| 183 13 Jan-13 Dec | Idibus... XIII 11792=6656a+... (Stockstadt) |  |
| 183 15 Jul | Id. Iul. Schallmayer, Kat. no 3 (Osterburken) |  |
| 186 13 Jan-13 Dec | Idibus... XIII 11791=6649a +...+6651 (Stockstadt) | AE 1957 n.50 (Obernburg) |  |
| 189 15 Jul | Idib. Iul. AE 1957 n.52 (Obernburg) |  |
| 191 13 Jan | Id. Ian. Bericht RGK 1937 n.74 (Altrip?) |  |
| 201 13 Jan-13 Dec | Id.[...] AE 1957 n.47 (Obernburg) |  |
| 201 15 Jul | Id. Iul. AE 1976 n.503 (Mainz) |  |
| 205 15 Jul | Idibus Iul. AE 1976 n.502 (Mainz) |  |
| 206 or 227 15 Jul | Idib. Iul. | AE 1957 n.48 (Obernburg) |  |
| 208 13 Jan | Idibus Ian. Idibus Iulius AE 1976 n.502 (Mainz) |  |
| 211 15 Jul |  | XI11 6665=ILS 4796 (Mainz) |  |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>15? Jul</td>
<td>[Id.?] Jul.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>13 Jan</td>
<td>Id. Ian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>13 Jan</td>
<td>Id. Januari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>18 Jul</td>
<td>XV K. Au.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>20 Aug</td>
<td>XIII Kal. Septembris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>13 Jan</td>
<td>Idibus Ian[n.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>13 Dec</td>
<td>Id. Dec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>13 Jan</td>
<td>Idibus Ianuari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>16 Jan</td>
<td>XVII K Fe[b.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>29 Dec</td>
<td>III K. Ian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>23 Dec</td>
<td>X Kal. Ian.</td>
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**Noricum:**

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<th>Reference</th>
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<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>15 May</td>
<td>Idibus Maius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>13 Dec</td>
<td>Idib. Dec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>15 May</td>
<td>Idib. Maius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>15 May</td>
<td>Id. Maius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>14/15 May</td>
<td>P(ridie?) Id. Maius</td>
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<td>238</td>
<td>23 June</td>
<td>VIII Kal. Iulias</td>
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**Pannonia Superior:**

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<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>18 May</td>
<td>XV K. Iun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>15 Oct</td>
<td>Idib. Octosr. (sic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>22 May</td>
<td>XI K. Iun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>6 Oct</td>
<td>Pr. Non. Octobres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>8 Apr</td>
<td>VI Idu. Apriles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>29 Sep</td>
<td>III Kal. Octo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>1 Nov</td>
<td>Kal. Nov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>1 Nov</td>
<td>Kal. Novembrib.</td>
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<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>1 Oct</td>
<td>Kal. Oct.</td>
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<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>15 Oct</td>
<td>Id. Oct.</td>
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**Dalmatia:**

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<th>Event</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>7 Jun</td>
<td>VII Idus [Iulnias]</td>
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<tr>
<td>261</td>
<td>1 Apr</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

**Egypt:**

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<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>24/25 Feb</td>
<td>(VI Kal. Martias) IGLCM no 58 cf.no 57</td>
</tr>
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**Numidia:**

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>4 Apr</td>
<td>Pr. Non. Apr.</td>
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</table>
Some of these inscriptions are perhaps to be left out of account as probably unrelated to stationes; these certainly include the inscription from Thebes in Egypt and perhaps that from Djemila, as well as some of those erected at provincial capitals; however, one of the Cologne inscriptions was dedicatd emerita stationes, either referring to a city statio or set up after the dedicator's return to the officium and the three Mainz inscriptions were all dedicated on the Ides of January or July suggesting that they too may have marked the completion of a tour and return to the capital (see below on the significance of these dates).

The remaining inscriptions can reasonably be used as evidence for the changeover dates and length of the normal tour of duty in individual provinces. Britain and Germania Inferior have supplied insufficient inscriptions to allow any conclusions to be drawn, but in Germania Superior recent discoveries have served only to confirm the pattern noted by Lieb. Of the twenty-eight inscriptions from the province listed above thirteen were certainly dedicated on the Ides of January (seven inscriptions) or July (six inscriptions) as, probably, were five others, whilst one more was dedicatd on 16 January and another on 18 July, which leaves little room for doubt that a changeover of bbff cos in the Upper German stationes regularly occurred on 13 January and 15 July; since these dates were exactly six months apart it is likely that this was the normal length of a tour of duty in the province, which seems to be confirmed by the fact that two of the Osterburken dedications were

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separated by just this period and that at Stockstadt and Osterburken we have, in three instances, two altars dated to the same year.

The evidence for other provinces is less abundant. In Noricum, the four inscriptions to be associated with stationes were all dedicated on the Ides of May or the day before, possibly implying that the normal tour of duty was a year (or, indeed, multiples of a year) ending on that day, but the sample is too small for very firm conclusions to be drawn, especially about the length of the tour.

In the neighbouring province of Pannonia Superior two of the ten inscriptions were similarly dedicated in mid-May, one on the 18th, the other on the 22nd, but of the others, all of a slightly later period than at least one of these two and all from Neviodunum, one was dedicated on 6 October 25, almost exactly six months before another dedicated on 8 April 25, and the remainder were all dedicated between 29 September and 1 November. This may indicate that at Neviodunum, and perhaps in Pannonia Superior in general, the normal tour was about six months in length, as in Upper Germany, and that changeovers usually occurred in April and October, at least from the 220's.

In view of this, it is of interest that of the three inscriptions listed above from Dalmatia, which drew its officiales from the neighbouring legionary provinces, including Pannonia Superior, one certainly and perhaps two were dedicated on 1 April; it is possible, then, that Dalmatia operated with the same changeover periods as its neighbour.
Although there is evidence for six-month tours in some, at least, of the provinces detailed, it remains impossible to say how many provinces similarly had a more or less regular turnover of \textit{bf} \textit{cos} in their \textit{stationes} or at what intervals.\footnote{H. Lieb in M.G. Jarrett and B. Dobson, \textit{Britain and Rome: Studies presented to E. Birley} (1965), 139-44.}

\footnote{Exacta \textit{statione}: VIII 10717=17628 \textit{Vazaivi} (Numidia); \textit{expleta \textit{statione}}: VIII 10718=17626 \textit{Vazaivi}; VIII 10723=17634 \textit{Vazaivi}; XIII 11603 Strasbourg (Germania Superior); \textit{expleto tempore}: VIII 10724=17635 \textit{Vazaivi} (?); VIII 17636 \textit{Vazaivi}; \textit{emerita \textit{statione} m}: \AE 1974 n.446 Cologne (Germania Inferior).}

\footnote{See Ch. IV pp. 119-20.}

\footnote{On Stockstadt see pp. 175-7; Osterburken see pp. 179-85; Nevidonum see Ch. V note 26.}

\footnote{Inscriptions recording the same \textit{bf} \textit{cos} at the same \textit{station}: XIII 7399 and 7400, both dedicated at Friedberg by C. Paulinus Iustus (who also erected Schallmayer, Kat. no 1 at Osterburken); XIII 11791, AD 186 and 11776, both dedicated at Stockstadt (Germania Superior) by T. Calventius Marcellinus; (?) III 3912 and \AE 1934 n.79, both (?) dedicated at Nevidonum (Pannonia Superior) in AD 232 by M. Aurelius Alexander; III 3905 + p. 2328\footnote{3} and III 3909 + p. 2328\footnote{4}, both dedicated at Nevidonum on the same day, 1 November AD 247, by M. Aurelius Valentinus; \AE 1957 n.327 and \AE 1957 n.328, AD 224, both dedicated at Alsó-Kosály (Dacia) by Scantius Lucius, the second \textit{Deae Nemesi} ... \textit{multis insidiis numinis libeleratus} perhaps on a separate occasion from the first; \textit{Syria xxix} (1952), 307ff nos 1 and 2 both recording fortification at Dera'a (Arabia) supervised by a Flavianus in AD 259/60 and IGR III 1286 recording similar work under the same man in AD 261/2. Inscriptions recording the same \textit{bf} \textit{cos} at different \textit{stationes}: XIII 8841 of unknown provenance in Germania Inferior and \AE 1930 n.23 Bonn (Germania Inferior), AD 233, both dedicated by C. Tauricius Verus; XIII 7338 Hedernheim (Germania Superior), 13 January AD 213 and \AE 1978 n.551 Grosskrotzenburg (Germania Superior), 13 January AD 221, both dedicated by M. Aurelius Claudius Pompeianus; XIII 7399=\textit{ILS} 4192 Friedberg (Germania Superior), XIII 7400=\textit{ILS} 4192a Friedberg and Schallmayer Kat. no 1 Osterburken (Germania Superior), all dedicated by C. Paulinus Iustus; XIII 6634 Stockstadt, AD 167 and XIII 11762 = 6556 Jagsthausen (Germania Superior), 13 March of an unknown year, both dedicated by L. Flavius Paternus; III 3617 Transaquincum (Pannonia Inferior) and \AE 1964 n.261 Singidunum (Pannonia Inferior/Moesia Superior border), AD 217, both dedicated by M. Aurelius Severinus; \textit{Inscr. Ant. Or. Sept. Pont. Eux.} I no 675 Charax (Crimea, Moesia Inferior) and \AE 1967 n.430 Chersonesus (Crimea, Moesia Inferior) both dedicated by T. Flavius Celsinus; note also XIII 8589 Asberg (Germania Inferior) and XIII 8623 Vetera (Germania Inferior), both dedicated by Iunius Valens who was possibly but not at all certainly a \textit{bf} \textit{cos}.}

TH. Lieb, op.cit. (note 1), 139.


Erected by an *immunis cos*; see Ch. III p. 47.

Erected by the dedicator also of XIII 6634 Stockstadt (Germania Superior), AD 167 (see above note 5).

The same man also dedicated AE 1962 n.228 = 1978 n.551, Grosskrotzenburg (Germania Superior) exactly 8 years later on 13 January 221 (see above note 5).

Dedicated by an *immunis cos*; see Ch. III p. 47.

Cf. note 11.

This and the preceding inscription were dedicated by the same man (see above note 5).

IGLCLM = A. and E. Bernand, Les Inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon (1960) no 58 is a contemporary postscript to no 57 which provides the date.

The inscription on the Colossus of Memnon at Thebes in Egypt was a postscript to an inscription made by the Prefect, evidently accompanied by the *bf*, on a visit to the Colossus of Memnon; see A. and E. Bernand, op.cit., 141-4 nos 57-8. On the Djemila inscription see Ch. V note 30. Most *bf* inscriptions from provincial capitals must have been erected whilst the dedicator was serving in the *officium*.

AE 1974 n.446 Cologne (Germania Inferior), 1 September of an unknown year; on this inscription and its implications see Ch. IV pp. 149-50; Ch. V p. 269.

H. Lieb, op.cit. (note 1), 141.

P. Herz, op.cit. (note 8), 197 aptly compares the changeover of detachments of the *Vigiles* at Ostia on the Ides of April, August and December, that is at four-monthly intervals, explicitly attested by numerous inscriptions listed by R. Saxer, Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian. Epigraphische Studien 1 (1967), 110-15. The objections of A. Degrassi. Archaeologia Classica 13 (1961), 278-9 and Latomus 23 (1964), 326 to the link between the dedications on the Ides of January and July and the completion of tours of duty are based on the fact that some inscriptions were dedicated on other days, but this is to take too rigid a view both of the link and of the regularity of the changeovers in practice; he prefers to link the dates with the fact that most dedications were to Jupiter whose special days the Ides were (Macrobius, Sat. I,15,15: *Omnis idus Iovis ferias observandas sanxit antiquitas*; cf. Ovid, Fast. I 56; 588ff; see W. Ehlers, RE Suppl. VII 284-5), and no doubt there is a connection (cf. A.D. Nock, 'The Roman Army and the Religious Year', Harvard Theological Review xiv (1952), 231 note 177), but Degrassi himself notes that some of the *bf* inscriptions erected on the Ides were not dedicated to Jupiter (in my list AE 1957 n.52, 13 January AD 191; AE 1976 n.503, 15 July AD 205; XIII 6665 = ILS 4796, 15 July AD 211; XIII 7338, 13 January AD 213; XIII 6437, 13 December AD 221).
cf. W. Schleiermacher, Germania 39 (1961), 168. P. Herz, op. cit. (note 8). 197-9 suggests that the Upper German inscriptions not dedicated on the Ides of January or July were often dedicated on days of political significance and especial importance to the Roman army, in particular 13 March (XII 11762), possibly an imperial festival, 18 July (AE 1927 n.65), also possibly an imperial festival, 23 December (XII 11771), the Laurentalia and 29 December (AE 1927 n.66), possibly another imperial festival, but it is also possible that tours of duty, for practical reasons, did not always end on the usual day: for the same reason it is not necessary to follow his suggestion on p.199 with note 30 (based on XII 6437, 13 December 221, AE 1927 n.66, 29 December 230, and XII 11771, 23 December 231) that there was a third regular terminus in December).


XII 6649 and F. Drexel, ORL B Nr.33 (1910), 68 no 2, both dedicated at Stockstadt in 166; XII 6634 and XII 6636, both dedicated at Stockstadt in 167; AE 1978 n.526 and an unpublished inscription, both dedicated at Osterburken in 213 (the unpublished inscription is noted by E. Schallmayer, Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg, Vol.12 No.3 (July-September 1983), 139).

The inscriptions from Virunum (III 4920, 23 June 238), the provincial capital and Celeia (III 5187, 13 December 211), possibly a secondary administrative centre for the province (see Ch. V notes 11 and 25) are to be left out of account as not necessarily representing stationes.

G. Alfbldy, Noricum (1974), 163 pulling together bf inscriptions from the whole area of the province dated 168, 192, 200, 202, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 219, 226, 230 and 238, concludes unreasonably that beneficiarii in Noricum "normally held their posts for two years, but that between 202 and 209 and again between 219 and 226 there must have been a single-year (or three-year?) tenure."

See Ch. III note 8.

It is probably a coincidence that both were dedicated by men of the Upper Pannonian legio XIII Gemina.

The bf recorded supervising fortification of Dera'a in Arabia in both 259/60 and 261/2 (see note 5) was evidently on a special assignment and the length of his tour of duty (if indeed it was continuous) cannot, therefore, be regarded as typical for this or any other province.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS: THE ROLES OF THE STATIONES

There is no epigraphic evidence for stationes manned by beneficiarii consularis in any of the four provinces of Gaul or in the three provinces of Spain with the single exception of one at Segisamo in Tarragonensis (see pp. 139-40). As with other lacunae in inscriptive evidence it is ultimately impossible to say whether this reflects the real situation or simply a lack of what has been termed 'epigraphic consciousness' amongst the officiales of these provinces. The moderate number of officiales inscriptions found at least in the capitals of these provinces nevertheless suggests that we might have found more inscriptions had there in fact existed a large number of stationes. The same problem is encountered in southern England and in Wales which have together produced bf inscriptions only at Dorchester-on-Thames and at Winchester (p. 131). In contrast, the northern frontier area of Britain and the two German provinces have provided a host of inscriptions, almost all of them ranged along the major military roads of their regions or along the frontier itself, usually in the vicinity of an occupied fort. The impression conveyed is that the distribution of stationes in Western Europe was closely linked with the linear frontiers in this area.

Only a very few stationes in the British and German provinces are not situated on major roads or frontiers. Of only three German examples, two were manned by immunes.
consularis, perhaps because of their relative unimportance. One lay at Iversheim in Germania Inferior, a few kilometres off the line of the Cologne-Trier road where there was military use of lime-kilns (pp. 157); the job of the immunis may have been to coordinate supplies of building material for the army of the province. The other is recorded at Tilena in Germania Superior in 226, where the immunis was perhaps acting as liaison between the governor and the local legionary vexillation, which may have been stationed there to escort supplies from Lugdunensis on their way to the Procurator of Belgica and the Two Germanies at Trier (p. 187). There are no real indications of the significance of the statio at Pontailler-sur-Saône in Germania Superior recorded in AD 150 (though it might be associated with the control of supplies for the frontier being carried up the Saône) or of the two British examples at Dorchester and Winchester. Analogy with stationes in the rest of the empire similarly positioned away from major military roads and installations suggests that one possibility is that they may have been connected with imperial estates. The statio at Domnesti in Dacia lay on the site of imperial pastures and salinae, and in Pannonia Inferior the bf cos who erected an inscription in 225 at Jabapuszta south of Lake Pelso was perhaps stationed on an imperial estate since the inscription was erected on the line of a relatively minor road only 8km west of Sâgvar, the site of a late-Roman fortified settlement which may be Tricciana from which an imperial edict was issued in 379. The best evidence, however, for the stationing of bbff cos (and occasionally speculatores) on imperial land comes from the
gold and silver mines of the Danube provinces. In Dalmatia stationes are found in the Drina valley mining area and at Splonum, in Moesia Superior in the Kosmaj silver mines and the Dardanian gold mines, in Moesia Inferior in the gold and silver mines around Montana, and in Dacia in the Ampelum and Boicza gold-mining district.*

Gold and silver mines were imperial property which by the third century, and often before, were controlled by procuratores metallorum who evidently played some part in the local administration of justice. The districts were garrisoned, at least in the Moesian provinces and in Dacia, by an auxiliary unit, normally a mixed cohort, to provide policing and protect shipments. Each district also had its own customs station, manned by officers of the portorium.°

What would be the role of the bbff cos amongst all these different imperial authorities? A parallel can perhaps be found in the functioning of the beneficiarii of the Prefect of Egypt. Egypt was of course an administrative anomaly within the Empire, where local government was principally effected not through town councils but through the στράτηγοι of the nomes, each of whom was under one of the three district ἕτεροι στράτηγοι, both groups being appointed directly by the Prefect.® The relationship of central to local government was thus far more direct than in the other provinces, even after the former began to encroach on the latter throughout the empire in the second and third centuries. The papyrus evidence suggests that the beneficiarii Praefecti Aegypti operated within this framework as representatives of the judicial side of the officium. It seems probable that
one was stationed in each nome and was referred to as ό ἐν τῷ τόμῳ βενετίκιαριος
or, in the third century, as ὁ βενετίκιαριος στατίς or the like. He seems to have worked
alongside a centurion (ἐκτόναρχος) or decurion (δεκπαρχός), who was the chief police officer for the
nome set over any local police officials, and seems to have performed similar police functions. The
beneficiarii appear in the papyri mostly as the recipients of complaints about robberies, assaults or other
injustices. In some instances the beneficiarius is expected to forward a copy of the complaint to the
Prefect. The beneficiarius can also demand the appearance of a witness or the handing over of prisoners by village
officials, and on one occasion acts as an auditor alongside two local magistrates. In short, the
beneficiarius appears to have acted as one of the senior judicial officers for a nome and to have been a channel
for access to the supreme authority of the Prefect.

It is possible that beneficii cos situated on imperial estates and in mining areas, which were under direct
imperial control, performed much the same function as the beneficiarii Praefecti in Egypt, as judicial officers and
as a means of access to the provincial governor. This role of the beneficiarii may be a relatively early
development since the stationes attested at Winchester and Pontailler are probably the earliest recorded in their
respective provinces and are amongst the seven earliest in the whole empire; the Egyptian stationes also appear
early, the first recorded example perhaps being in Heptakomia in AD 117/9. In the final analysis, however,
it is impossible to have any certainty about the role of
stationes such as those mentioned above, which fall outside the general pattern of a province.\textsuperscript{12}

All the other stationes surveyed in the previous chapter, including the single Spanish example, lay either on major roads or at frontier forts and fortresses, or both. They appear only on a limited number of major military roads and all the epigraphic evidence dates from the late second or early third centuries. Although some are attested only by single inscriptions, many are recorded by several which indicate that they were all held over the same period of about 50 years and probably longer.\textsuperscript{13} Thus, although the body of evidence is uneven, and there are almost certainly gaps within it, there is a consistency in the pattern which suggests that it does reflect the actual situation. If this is correct, then we can begin to search for an explanation of the stationes.

The outposted bbff cos have usually been seen as a kind of police force. This idea was first put forward by O. Hirschfeld in 1891, who associated their stationes with the statement of Tertullian: "latronibus investigandis per universas provincias militaris statio sortitur."\textsuperscript{14} There is nothing to indicate, however, that Tertullian was thinking of the beneficiarii when he made this statement. Even in the martyrological evidence (pp. 45-6) and the Egyptian papyri, where we do find the beneficiarii carrying out police duties, there is no evidence to suggest that they were normally accompanied in their stationes by any other troops or that there were ever more than two or three of them together in a statio at any time; a single officer appears to have been the norm.\textsuperscript{15} A statio, therefore, simply did not have the manpower to
deal with a band of brigands, and where the stationes coincide, as many do, with legionary fortresses or auxiliary forts, the local units would obviously have that responsibility. The bf stationes cannot therefore have been concerned with the suppression of brigandage.10 Beneficiarii certainly did carry out general police duties in Egypt, but this may be a role specific to the anomalous administration of that province and it is unsafe to assume that they fulfilled the same role in the Western provinces. A particular police role for some of the stationes was first postulated by A. von Domaszewski who spoke of the "Ueberwachung des Strassenverkehrs" and connected the growth of stationes in the late second/early third centuries with "die wachsende Unsicherheit des Verkehrs in den Grenzprovinzen seit der Zeit des Marcomannenkrieges".17 He also saw the frontier stationes as controlling traffic across frontier into barbarian territory.18 If von Domaszewski was thinking of brigandage when he spoke of "Unsicherheit" then it again seems unlikely that individual officers could have kept the roads clear by themselves, whilst there is no reason why traffic across the frontiers could not have been controlled by the men of the forts and fortresses where most of the Lower German and many of the British and Upper German bbff cos were stationed.

It seems, then, that all the theories which seek to explain the stationes in the West in terms of policing are beset with difficulties. No less so is the suggestion of S.J. de Laet that beneficiarii were regularly attached to stationes of the portorium to provide protection,19 once again because such protection would be inadequate.
Furthermore, the coincidences of the two types of statio are very few in the Western provinces, the only clear instance being at Bonn, the site of a legionary fortress and major settlement, where both might have been expected anyway.²⁰

A more satisfactory explanation of the stationes can only proceed from very close consideration of their distribution. In the first part of this investigation we may leave aside the Spanish and the British stationes and examine the distribution in the two German provinces and in the Alpes Poeninae, from which we have the most abundant evidence. Here, a very clear pattern emerges, as has already been suggested. In Lower Germany all the stationes, with the exception of that at Iversheim considered above, were situated along two major roads. One was the limes road following the Rhine, with stationes stretching north from Cologne, the provincial capital, at least to Vetera, and south to Remagen, only 10km from the Vinxthbach and the border with Upper Germany; the other was the road linking Cologne with Trier, which was the seat of the Procurator of Belgica and the two Germanies (who probably had responsibility for army supply) and which by the third century was perhaps also the seat of the governor of Belgica.²¹ In Upper Germany the stationes, with the exception of Pontailler-sur-Saône and Tilena (see above), lay along four roads. One was again the limes road which leaves the Rhine opposite the Vinxthbach and travels east along the Taunus range into the Wetterau, then turns south to join the line of the river Main until it meets the straight Antonine palisade running south towards the border with Raetia; on this road
stationes are certainly attested on the Main/Antonine limes section, and finds of full-sized and miniature bifurcated lances suggest that there were others in the sector stretching from the Rhine to the Main. Another road was that running north-east from the provincial capital Mainz towards the Taunus/Wetterau section of the limes, and the third ran south-east through Heidelberg towards the Domitianic Odenwald limes line and the middle Neckar valley, leading towards Raetia and its capital at Augsburg, as well as providing the most direct access to the outer (Antonine) limes beyond the Domitianic line. The fourth road, along which only a few stationes are actually attested, was a continuation of the Rhine valley road from Lower Germany; it ran south from the Vinxtbach through Mainz, and then continued through Solothurn towards the Alps and the Great St. Bernard pass into Italy.22

In the Alpes Graiae (Atrectianae) et Poeninae, although we have no evidence of stationes manned by officiales of the praesidial procurator, we nevertheless have inscriptions attesting possible stationes manned by men from Upper Germany and Raetia along the continuation of the last route south of Solothurn.23

A very similar distribution to that outlined above can be found in a number of the other provinces of the empire. Although no pattern of stationes is discernible in Raetia, with only a single reasonably certain statio recorded within the province,24 in Noricum stationes are to be found on the border with Raetia and along the roads linking the Raetian capital Augsburg with the Noricum capital at Virunum, and linking Virunum itself with the
legionary fortress at Lauriacum(?), with Aquileia in Italy, and with Pannonia Superior; the last road also branched to Celeia which may have acted as a second administrative centre for the province and from which ran another road direct to Emona in Italy, with a statio situated on the border at Atrans. In the Pannonian provinces stationes lay along the road linking Carnuntum, capital of Pannonia Superior, with Emona in Italy, either by way of Celeia and Atrans in Noricum or perhaps via Neviodunum and Praetorium Latobicorum; along the roads branching off this one at Savaria to Aquincum, capital of Pannonia Inferior, and south-east towards Sopianae and Moesia Superior; along the road from Emona through the two provinces to Singidunum in Moesia Superior and eventually to Viminacium capital of that province; along the road from Siscia on the Emona-Singidunum road south into Dalmatia; and along the Danube limes road running south from Aquincum to Teutoburgium and branching to Mursa and thence to the Emona-Singidunum road. In Dalmatia most stationes lay along three roads, one running north from the capital Salona towards the Sava valley, thus covering the shortest route from Salona towards Aquincum and Viminacium, another running north-west from Salona towards Aquileia in Italy and branching northwards to Siscia and thence to Carnuntum, and the last running south-east from Salona to Doclea.

The same sort of pattern can be discerned, if not quite so clearly, in two of the provinces to the east of this block, in Moesia Superior and in Dacia. In Moesia Superior many of the stationes were associated, as were some in Dalmatia, with mining areas, but some also lay on
the major roads of the province; one group of stationes lay along the road from Naissus (itself at the centre of communications between the Danube, on which the provincial capital Viminacium lay, and the interior) towards Thessalonica, capital of Macedonia; another statio situated on the border of the province with Dalmatia lay along a branch road towards Doclea and Salona. In Dacia, apart from stationes associated with mines or imperial estates, all the stationes lay either at forts on the frontiers of the province or along the principal route through it linking both Viminacium and Dierna on the Danube, through Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegethusa, to the seat of the governor of the three Dacias and fortress of legio XIII Gemina at Apulum, and thence to Potaisa, the headquarters of legio V Macedonica, and Porolissum the major army post on the north-west frontier, whence a road may even have run across barbarian territory in the Great Hungarian Plain to Aquincum. In Numidia also there are traces of a similar pattern, where, of the three clear stationes, two lay along the main road south-west from the capital Lambaesis on the line of auxiliary forts protecting that area of the province, whilst the other lay to the east of Lambaesis at Vazaivi where other officiales are also attested and which perhaps acted as a rearward administrative post for the auxiliary forts distributed to the south.

When looked at in detail, then, it appears that the roads in these provinces along which bf stationes were to be found were those which linked the provincial capitals with the frontier forts, with neighbouring provincial capitals, and with Italy and Rome. The parallelism
amongst the European provinces is even more striking when the dates of the stationes are taken into account. In Germania Superior the two earliest inscriptions attesting a statio within this pattern came from Stockstadt and were dated AD 166, in Noricum only two stationes are attested under the praesidial procurators who were replaced by praetorian legati c.171, one at Iuvavum of uncertain date and the other at Unterthörl, on the road linking Virunum with Aquileia in Italy, dated 168: in the Pannonian provinces the earliest recorded statio was at Mursa in Pannonia Inferior in 164. The earliest in Germania Inferior is recorded at Remagen c.180 (although an earlier date is possible), in Dalmatia at Doclea in 187, in Moesia Superior at Runjevo in 196, and in Dacia at Varmezö under Caracalla.

The dates are instructive. In 162, whilst Roman forces were diverted to Parthia, the Chatti had attacked Germania Superior and Raetia, requiring the despatch to Germany of Aufidius Victorinus, and in 170 they attacked again, whilst in 172 the Chauci burst through into Gallia Belgica. At the same time as the Chatti first ravaged the German frontier, a Marcomannian war threatened Noricum, Pannonia and Dacia, although diplomacy averted a breakout until c.167 when various Germanic tribes crossed the Danube, plundered Pannonia and perhaps in that year laid siege to Aquileia at the head of the Adriatic. In 170 the Costoboci burst into Thrace and Macedonia and even raided as far south as Achaea.

It seems to be beyond the bounds of coincidence that the evidence for the first stationes along the major roads of the Germanies, Noricum and the Pannonias, the very
provinces most under threat from this crisis comes precisely in the 160's. The impression that this was the period of the first development of the system of stationes is confirmed, at least for Germania Superior, by the recent find of the sacred enclosure at Osterburken where the earliest dated inscription, which from its position within the enclosure was certainly one of the first to be erected there, was set up in 174. The origins of the network of stationes in the Germanies, Noricum and the Pannonias can thus reasonably be associated with the outbreak of the Chattan and Marcomannic Wars. How quickly the network developed in these provinces, whether the similar networks of Dalmatia, Upper Moesia and Dacia developed at the same time, and whether the same development was to be found in Raetia are questions which cannot be answered with precision on the present state of the evidence, but that the development was relatively swift and more or less simultaneous is at least a reasonable assumption. The coordination of such a development in Upper Germany, Noricum and the Pannonias, which the evidence does seem to suggest, would strongly imply a centralised initiative, and its appearance can probably therefore be put into context of the widespread measures taken at the time by Marcus Aurelius to ensure the security of just the provinces under consideration.

In Upper Germany Marcus's friend Aufidius Victorinus was sent to deal with the Chatti in 162. In Lower Germany a recently-appointed Praetorian Prefect, T. Flavius Constans, seems to have been sent to Cologne about 165. At about the same time two new legions, II and III Italica, were raised to deal with the problem on the
In 168, with forces returned from Parthia, Marcus and Verus set out for northern Italy and Illyricum and a new praetentura Italiae et Alpium was created. In the next year the command of the three Dacian provinces was unified under a single governor, Marcus's close friend Claudius Fronto, and in 170 he also took command of Upper Moesia. Also in 169, Augusta Traiana in Thrace was fortified, and the following year Salona in Dalmatia was refortified by detachments of the new legions II and III Italica under a centurio frumentarius of II Traiana, obviously on the imperial initiative; at about the same time Callatis in Moesia Inferior was fortified; in 172 Marcus ordered walls to be constructed for Philippopolis in Thrace, and in 176/80 Marcus and Commodus did the same for Serdica. Marcus himself remained on the Pannonian frontier until 175 and returned to it from 178 until his death.

The creation of the system of stationes as the result of a centralized initiative may explain why the pattern in Moesia Inferior, relatively lightly affected by the wars in question, appears to be completely different from the other European military provinces, and why, in the very few provinces of the Empire other than those already mentioned which show any stationes at all, there is no obvious similarity.

What, then, was the function of such stationes? If it is correct to associate the development of the system with the outbreak of the Chattan and Marcommanic wars, then their purpose must have been essentially military, a conclusion which is further suggested by their evident association with frontier forts and the roads linking
these with the provincial capitals. We must ask, therefore, what significant military purpose might have been served by stationes manned by a single officer of the governor's staff, set relatively short distances apart along the main roads radiating from the provincial capitals to Rome, to neighbouring provincial capitals and to the frontiers, as well as along the frontiers themselves. An obvious answer would seem to be that the stationes were concerned with communications between the governor and these places and that their purpose was in some way to improve these.**

It is not difficult to see why this might be necessary. The northern frontiers of the empire, having stabilized by the early second century, had been relatively peaceful over the preceding half century under Hadrian and Pius. Frontier commanders will have communicated with the governor by the despatch of men from their own units as couriers, as evidenced in the Vindolanda tablets and the Dura rosters,** whilst the governor will have used his own singulares, beneficiarii and speculatores on an ad hoc basis, and more regularly his frumentarii, especially for communication with Rome.*** The governor's officiales will have been enabled to perform these duties by being supplied with diplomata — allowing them to use the carts and horses of the vehiculatio.*** This arrangement will have been adequate to cope with routine communications whilst there was a relatively low-level threat to the frontiers which could usually be dealt with locally by the standing frontier units. The Chattan and Marcommanic threats, however, simultaneously affecting separate and large areas of the
northern frontiers whilst Roman forces were diverted in the East, evidently took the empire by surprise and were regarded as part of a treacherous conspiracy. It seems likely that they will have revealed deficiencies both in the gathering of information about what was happening beyond the frontier zone and in its forwarding to the provincial capitals and thence to other governors and to Rome.

In fact, we have two incontrovertible pieces of evidence that Marcus did find it necessary to make arrangements to improve the transmission and interpretation of military information. The first is a minor local illustration: an inscription of 175/80 from Dolnitê Stênici (Mihilçi) in Thrace records the rebuilding of stables of the postal system along the road running from Philippopolis to Oescus in Lower Moesia and thence into Dacia, done at the emperor's own expense. The second is much more significant: in the early 160's Marcus dismissed Sextus Caecilius Crescens Volusianus, a man who had followed a purely civilian career, from the post of ab epistulis, the secretary in charge of the correspondence of the emperor to and from the provinces, including all military despatches, and replaced him with T. Varius Clemens, a Norican from Celeia who had passed through the four militiae, commanding a military ala in a Mauretanian campaign, and after two financial procuratorships had been praesidal procurator of Mauretania Caesariensis and then Raetia before taking charge of army supply for Germany as procurator of Belgica and the Two Germanies. After his tenure the post of ab epistulis was divided into Greek and Roman sections for a
period, probably because of the increased volume of correspondence, presumably in Latin, from the provincial governors on the threatened northern frontiers. Although the earlier career of C. Calvisius Statianus, probably the first ab epistulis Latinis after Varius Clemens, is unknown, the next man whom we know to have held the post was Tarruntenus Paternus who accompanied Marcus to Pannonia in this capacity in the campaigns of 169-175 and was certainly both a jurist and a military man, the author of a De Re Militari and Marcus's Praetorian Prefect and army commander in the second expeditio Germanica of 178-80. These appointments show clearly that it was felt that an experienced soldier ought to be processing the information coming in from the frontiers at this time.

In Thrace, Marcus may have thought it enough to refurbish the existing postal system, but Thrace was a provincia inermis with a small garrison and consequently, probably, a small officium. Germany, Noricum and Pannonia were different: not only were they of more immediate concern to a government based in Italy, as is shown by the difference in the general measures taken by Marcus (offensive rather than defensive), but their governors had greater resources of experienced manpower in their officia, which had always been concerned with the despatch, carrying, receipt and filing of the governor's correspondence. These resources, in the persons of the beneficiarii, could be deployed immediately to improve efficiency of communications, supplementing the vehiculatio where it operated and creating a standing system in addition to and alongside it which would cover the crucial routes. It is not clear how the stationes
might have functioned, but since the beneficiarii appear to have been unaccompanied they may simply have been relay riders, supplied with a horse, who would pass on a despatch to the next station and then return.

With the advent of crisis, information would now need to be sent back to the governor on a regular basis, sometimes daily, sometimes even more frequently. The frequent despatch of riders from a fort would be wasteful of manpower and relatively slow over long distances since the rider would need to rest, but a system of relays such as the stationes could have provided would be fast and would allow messages to be passed with considerable frequency if necessary. Fort commanders could still send their own messengers the whole way in the old manner if it were felt that the governor needed to cross-question a man familiar with the local situation at the time; the same would be true of the governors' sending frumentarii to Rome, and no doubt they continued to do so. But from the governor's point of view, the system of relays would allow the circulation of information and instructions to his frontier commanders, to neighbouring governors and to the emperor, whether the latter was elsewhere on the frontier or at Rome, with greater efficiency and, once again, frequency.

A certain amount of circumstantial evidence can be adduced to support the suggested link between the beneficiarii and the carrying of messages. It would be unwise, and perhaps irrelevant, to press too far the details of the story in the Vita Hadriani which mentions a beneficiarius of Servianus, governor of Upper Germany, who was sent to take news of the death of Nerva to Trajan at
However, a connection between the beneficiarii and the road network has long been assumed from the distribution of most of the stationes, and one may also note occasional dedications by bbff cos to the horse-goddess Epona and to the deities of the crossroads—Biviae, Triviae, Quadriviae—as well as the restoration at Catterick Bridge by a bf cos of a dedication originally made Deo qui vías et semitas commentus est. The frequent choice of ex frumentariis, who had certainly served as couriers, for promotion to bbff cos may also be significant, especially since a number of bbff serving at stationes chose to make specific mention of the fact. A possible statio at Cologne, situated just outside the south gate of the city, may be compared with a definite statio manned by frumentarii at the third milestone of the Via Appia outside Rome (near the tomb of Caecilia Metella), whose function seems very likely to have been the reception of incoming frumentarii so that they could be directed to wherever their despatches needed to be delivered. Since Cologne was a walled city from soon after its foundation as a colonia in AD 50, it may have been necessary for messages arriving at night to be received outside and carried through the gates by the beneficiarius on duty. But the most striking piece of evidence must be the altar erected by a bf cos at Mainz and dedicated to, amongst other deities, the genius catabuli co(n)s(ularis), that is to the genius of the governor's stables; clearly the dedicator had an interest in the horses provided for official use.

Furthermore, individual peculiarities of the pattern of stationes are at least consistent with their being part.
of a system of relays. In the first place, the statio attested at Asberg in Germania Inferior in AD 230 appears to have no associated contemporary settlement or fort but lies convenient distances, 26km and 40km, from the nearest stationes either side, at Xanten and Dormagen. Also, at Savaria and Siscia in Pannonia Superior the stationes were, very unusually, manned by more than a single beneficiarius; since Savaria lay at the point at which the road leading from Italy and Noricum to Carnuntum forks both towards Aquincum and towards Singidunum and Viminacium, and since Siscia lay at the crossroads of the main route between Italy and Moesia with that between Pannonia Superior and Dalmatia, extra officers would be necessary to carry the communications traffic in the different directions. Similarly, the extra officers who were apparently stationed at the legionary fortresses would be necessary to cope with the quantity of correspondence which would need to pass between the governor and his immediate military deputies, the legionary legates. Finally, frumentarii are recorded in northern Italy at the first major halts or settlements along the road which lead from the capitals of the Germanies, Raetia, Noricum, the Pannonias and Dalmatia and may represent stationes acting as reception centres for despatches delivered by the relays of the beneficiarii; unfortunately, the nature of the inscriptions in question make certainty about the existence of such stationes impossible.

In addition to operating such a system of relays, the beneficiarii consularis may also have performed a further function. The increased emphasis on the transmission of
information attested by the various measures discussed above and, if I am correct, by the development of the system of stationes, also implies that there may have been a need to improve the efficiency of its collection. This would have to be done from the frontier forts, by regular patrols of the cohortes and alae, perhaps by individual exploratores from amongst their ranks penetrating further afield beyond the normal range of Roman patrols and influence, or by special numeri exploratorum attached to them. In fact, the number of such numeri recorded greatly increases in the three quarters of a century following the Chattan and Marcommanic wars, especially in Upper Germany where several small units are known to have been attached to large forts. The governor's officium had always been the recipient of all information gathered on the frontiers and the filing and storage of this, as of all the governor's correspondence, will have been the responsibility of the cornicularii and their subordinates. These files would in effect have become the principal repository of military intelligence, to be used as necessary by the governor. It would thus be natural, given a need for an improvement in intelligence gathering, for the bbff cos stationed at the frontier forts to have been charged with the coordination of the collection of intelligence as well as with its transmission along the relay network. Such coordination would be necessary precisely because the organised gathering of intelligence, the deliberate development of which is implied by the roughly contemporary creation of new units of exploratores, particularly in Upper Germany, must work through what modern military training manuals call an
intelligence cycle of collection, collation, evaluation and interpretation, and definition. Thus a frontier unit would collect its intelligence and the local \textit{bf cos} would forward it to the provincial capital where it would be collated with intelligence from the rest of the province and evaluated by the governor and his advisors, assisted by the \textit{officium}, who would then disseminate it, with individual instructions, back to the frontier units where the local \textit{bbff cos}, as representatives of the governor trained at the \textit{officium}, would advise the unit commanders what further intelligence was required. A role such as this for the \textit{bbff cos} might explain the otherwise puzzling fact that in Upper Germany, and perhaps elsewhere, these officers apparently occupied their \textit{stationes} for only six months at a time (see Appendix II). On the one hand, whilst they were at the frontier, they would need to be familiar with an overall picture of what was happening, acquired by recent service at the \textit{officium}, and on the other hand, such a rotation would mean that the governor always had to hand at his headquarters one or more experienced officers who knew the topography, strength, morale and commander of every fort within his province.

The evidence thus allows the interpretation of the main network of \textit{stationes} in the Germanies, Noricum, the Pannonias, Dalmatia, and perhaps also Upper Moesia and Dacia, as an attempt to improve the transmission and possibly also the collection of military information from beyond the frontiers, initially in reaction to the shock of the invasions of the Chatti, Marcomanni and other Germanic tribes, with further development thereafter.
It seems likely that in the first instance the general initiative came from the emperor, but that the execution in detail will have been left to the governors, in which case it should be no surprise that either individually, or after consultation with each other and the emperor, they should turn to their own officiales, amongst whom the bbff formed one of the largest groups, had no very specific duties, and had previously been outposted for other purposes. It has not been conclusively shown anywhere that they were normally provided with special buildings and for the role suggested here it seems most likely that those on the frontiers would have been billeted within the forts; those posted along the roads might similarly have been billeted in private houses or preexisting mansiones. Since most inscriptions are not precisely dated, it is difficult to plot the development of the system in each province in detail, and it is even more difficult to be certain about how long the system was maintained. The disappearance of known stationes in the later third century may simply reflect the general disappearance of epigraphic evidence at the same period. The latest dated inscriptions recording stationes in Lower and Upper Germany are from the 230's and 240's respectively, in Noricum from the year 230; in Upper Pannonia stationes are still recorded in the 250's and a single one in the reign of Diocletian; in Lower Pannonia the latest was recorded in 240 and in Dalmatia in 261; in Upper Moesia in the 240's. We can say for certain, however, that in Upper Germany most of the known stationes cannot have been held after the collapse of the frontier and the withdrawal of Roman forces to the Rhine by about 260. Barbarian
pressure all along the Rhine and Danube in the later third century may in fact have made the roads too unsafe for most of the system in the northern frontier provinces to continue to operate. The role of the governors in the defence of the frontiers, and therefore the need for the stationes, may also have diminished at the same time, as the emperors spent more and more of their time in the north and as the precursors of the mobile field army began to develop. The most significant portion of military intelligence-gathering might by then have been in the hands of the forces concentrated around the emperors and their field-commanders, and the stationes, as part of an initial response to the barbarian invasions which relied on making the existing static defensive system, designed to cope with isolated attacks, more efficient, would have had to give way, like the rest of the system, to a completely different, more elastic, method of absorbing external pressure applied all along the frontiers. When Diocletian finally divorced civil and military commands, the provincial governors will no longer have required a military communications system at all.

It remains to consider whether the stationes in Hispania Tarraconensis and Britain can be explained in a similar manner. Clearly, there can be no question of any link between the stationes in these provinces and the Chattan and Marcomannic wars. However, once a network of stationes had been set up in the northern provinces of the empire, it became a potential model for other provinces to follow, either on the imperial initiative or on that of individual governors who had seen the system working in northern Europe earlier in their careers. This may have
been the case in Upper Moesia and Dacia where the earliest
dated stationes are somewhat later than the earliest
stationes in the provinces to the west and where the
network may therefore have been developed to complement
and complete the original system in Noricum, the Pannonias
and Dalmatia. The similar network which appears to have
been set up in Numidia was perhaps the creation of
Severus who himself campaigned in North Africa,
established forts all along the edge of the desert to
to control the movement of the nomads and promoted Numidia to
the status of an official province. But the Roman
empire was not an administrative monolith and we should
not expect, nor do we find, that the same system was
necessarily adopted throughout the remaining military
provinces. Thus, the stationes of Lower Moesia do not
appear to conform at all to the sort of pattern under
discussion here and their significance is probably
entirely different. The evidence for stationes in the
East is too slight to allow any conclusions, though this
might simply reflect the general dearth of epigraphic
evidence available on the Roman army from this part of the
empire. In Egypt we should know of no stationes at all
were it not from the papyri, and these reveal an
involvement of the beneficiarii praefecti Aegypti in a form of provincial administration which was sui generis
within the empire. A great many provinces (mostly,
though not exclusively, those with little or no garrison)
have no stationes recorded at all; of these the most
noteworthy is Syria.

Even in provinces where there is evidence of
stationes, the diversity of tasks we know to have been
assigned to the governor's officiales in general and to the beneficiarii in particular makes interpretation difficult, especially if inscriptions are insufficiently numerous to allow the detection of a pattern. This is the case with the single statio in Tarraconensis, itself explicitly attested at Segisamo, which did lie on the main road linking Tarraco, the capital, with legio VII Gemina at Leon; it may have been part of a system of relays, all other trace of which has disappeared, or it may have had some purely local significance which we can no longer discern.

In Britain, however, we have much more evidence to work with. Apart from those at Winchester and Dorchester-on-Thames, stationes are known along the Leeming Lane/Dere Street route running north from York through Hadrian's Wall and into the eastern lowlands of Scotland; along the road branching off Leeming Lane to the northwest, across the Stainmore pass to Carlisle, and then north across Hadrian's Wall to the western lowlands; at Vindolanda, a reserve fort behind the Wall, roughly halfway along the Stanegate; and at Lancaster, exactly halfway between the legionary fortress at Chester and Hadrian's Wall at Carlisle/Stanwix. The date at which these stationes began to appear is, unfortunately, difficult to assess since only a few of the inscriptions recording them give any precise indication. The earliest dated inscription, from Catterick Bridge, is known only from a copy of the text made by Camden and bore a consular date for AD 191, but the inscription was only restored by a bf cos and it is not absolutely certain whether the date refers to the original erection of the inscription or to
its restoration. Another, from Brougham, is dated 213, or perhaps to the reign of Elagabalus, and others from Greta Bridge and Vindolanda were erected by \textit{bbff cos} borrowed from Britannia Superior and therefore after 213.\textsuperscript{36}

The pattern of \textit{stationes} is indeed similar to that of the Germanies and the northern European provinces and can certainly be interpreted in terms of relays linking Hadrian's Wall and its outpost forts with the legionary fortresses at York (headquarters of the main reserve force for the northern frontier and, after 213, of the praetorian governor of Britannia Inferior) and at Chester.\textsuperscript{37} It is particularly striking that the main concentration of recorded \textit{stationes} is along the two routes which ran from York through Hadrian's Wall to the lowlands of Scotland and must always have been the main channels for reconnaissance north of the Wall. On the western route, Netherby, one of the outpost forts occupied throughout the late second and third centuries, appears in the third-century Antonine Itinerary as \textit{Castra Exploratorum}, whilst on the eastern route a unit of \textit{exploratores} had by 213 been installed at Risingham, the first fort north of the Wall (where a \textit{bf cos} is also attested), and also probably further north at High Rochester where one is certainly attested in the reign of Gordian.\textsuperscript{38} The meagre dating evidence allows us to propose that the network could have been instituted on the German/Pannonian model in the late second century, perhaps as part of the measures taken by Ulpius Marcellus to deal with the crisis of the early 180's,\textsuperscript{39} or in the early third century, perhaps in association with the preparations made in advance of the campaigns of Severus.
in 208-11, which included the reoccupation of Risingham and High Rochester," or after the settlement and division of the province by Caracalla c.213. In short, there is nothing in the evidence to prevent our interpreting the British network of *stationes* as having been developed on the pattern of and to perform the same functions as the earlier network created in northern Europe.

The *beneficiarii consularis* were essentially the governor's men, as their title implies, and could serve in a number of capacities as required. They are found acting as a form of police in Egypt and possibly also on imperial property in Europe. But the greater number of *stationes* attested in the frontier provinces have been shown to be a phenomenon defined both in time and place: they are found to be associated with the military crises of Marcus's reign, and to have continued to perform their function until the barbarian invasions of c.260 in the Western provinces and perhaps longer along the Danube. This function is shown to be most probably connected with the rapid transmission of information between the frontiers, the governors and the emperor, and probably also with the collection of military intelligence.

1See J.C. Mann, 'Epigraphic Consciousness', *JRS* lxxv (1985), 204-6; Mann borrows the phrase from Eric Birley.
2*Statio* at Domneşti: *AE* 1930 n. 11; imperial pastures and salinae: *AE* 1930 n. 10, Domneşti: *conciliation* past(cui) et salina(rum).
4The evidence is collected by N.B. Rankov, 'A Contribution to the Military and Administrative History of Montana', in A.G. Poulter (ed.), *Ancient Bulgaria. Papers Presented to*
the International Symposium on the Ancient History and Archaeology of Bulgaria, University of Nottingham, 1981.


Many of the bbf who appear in the papyri were attached to officials other than the Prefect of Egypt, including the praeses of the 4th century provinces into which Egypt was divided, and are here left out of account.

* ἔπι τῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ: P. Amh. 77,27, Socnopaei Nesus, AD 139 (τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τῶν τłow: 279
Lesquier, L'Armée Romaine d'Égypte (1918), 235-6. The precise relation of the beneficiarii to the centurions and decurions, and of all of these to the ἑκτητορί and local police officials is not entirely clear and requires a study of its own. Centurions, decurions and beneficiarii appear in the papyri performing much the same police functions and especially as the recipients of complaints (see J. Lesquier, op. cit., 235 note 9). On one occasion we even find reference to ἐνεπεξεργάζεσται ἀνευρίσκων τοὺς ἑκτητοράρχους (SB 9185 11.18-19). On the basis of this, A.E.R. Boak and H.C. Youtie Aegyptus xxxi (1951), 323 assert that bbf with the rank of decurion regularly acted as chiefs of police in the Egyptian nomes in the 3rd and early 4th centuries, but this seems unlikely since the beneficiarii Praefecti Aegypti, which these officers certainly seem to be since they forward petitions to the Prefect (see note 10, and cf. P. Brem. 5 Hermopolis, AD 117-9, a letter of recommendation for Δεκαεπισκόπων τῶν περιτείσιον άγγείων ἄμεξον; P. Stud. XXII, 55 Socnopaei Nesus, AD 167, a complaint addressed τῶν τοπίων ἑκτητοράρχου αὖ, ἀνευρίσκων τῆς ἑκτητορί (ἡ) Αἰγύπτου; PSI 807 Oxyrhynchus, AD 280, another to ἐκτητοράρχους ἀνευρίσκων τῶν ἐξ ἑκτητορί (τῶν). P. Oxy. 1121 AD 295, a petition to a ἑκτητοράρχους ἀνευρίσκων, would be legioniaries (cf. AE 1955 n.238 = 1969/70 n.633; Nicopolis, AD 157, a discharge list of legio II Traiana including two bbf pr(aeefecti) and decurion was an auxiliary rank only. Rather, each nome will have had a centurion or decurion in charge of police duties (cf. BGU 522, Fayûm, 2nd cent. ἐν τῶν τοπίων ἑκτητοράρχους; P. Tebt. II 304, AD 167-8 ἑκτητοράρχους Αἰγύπτου; PSI 184, Herakleopolite Nome, AD 292 (ἑκτητοράρχους) ἐπὶ ἐπιφανές ἑκτητοράρχους (του) and a beneficiarius, perhaps as his assistant (cf. P. Oxy. I 62, 3rd cent., a centurion sends τῶν ἑκτητορί ἀνευρίσκων, perhaps a bf, to the acting ἑκτητοράρχους) and as liaison with the Prefect. The bf in SB 9185 will then simply have been acting as chief police officer instead of the usual decurion.

10Complaints addressed to a beneficiarius: P. Amh. 77,27 Socnopaei Nesus, AD 139; P. Stud. XXII, 55 Socnopaei Nesus, AD 167; P. Lond. 342 Socnopaei Nesus, AD 185; SB 9657 Tefhynis, 3rd cent. P. Oxy. 2130,21,23. AD 267 (?): PSI 807 Oxyrhynchus, AD 280; P. Oxy. 1121, AD 295; P. Cair. Boak 21 Karanis, 5th Sept. 296 (?): SB 9185 Karanis, after Nov. 296. Bf forwarding complaints to the Prefect of Egypt: P. Amh. 80,12 Fayûm region, AD 232-3; P. Oxy. 2130,21,23. AD 267 (?); P. Oxy. 1121, AD 295; cf. P. Cair. Boak 21 Karanis, 5th Sept. 296, a petition to be forwarded to the Corrector. Bf sent to demand the appearance of a witness: BGU 388 I,10 Fayûm, 2nd/3rd cent. Bf demanding the handing over of prisoners by village officials: P. Oxy. 65, 3rd/4th cent. Bf acting as an auditor: P. Oxy. 2187,8, AD 304.

11The earliest recorded stationes in the empire are VII 5 = RIB 88 Winchester (Britannia), late 1st/early 2nd cent. (?); P. Bremen 5 and 6 Hermopolis, but indicating a statio in Heptakomia (Egypt), AD 117-9; AE 1965 n.152 Charax (The Crimea, administered from Moesia Inferior), AD 121-4 (cf. R. Syme, Historia 17 (1968), 88-90); IGR III 110 = AE 1968 n.504 Cernik (Cappadocia), AD 126-131; AE 1927 n.59 Histria (Moes. Inf.), AD 129-31 (?); P. Amh.
77,27 Socnopaei Nesus, Arsinoite Nome (Egypt), AD 139; XIII 5609 Pontailler-sur-Saône (Germania Superior), AD 150. The numerous beneficiarii of the early second-century praesidial procurators of Noricum recorded at Celeia (see G. Alföldy, Noricum (1974), 252-3) perhaps represent not the existence of a statio but the presence of the governor and the status of the city as a second administrative capital for the province alongside Virunum, where far fewer such beneficiarii are attested (see the list in G. Winkler, Die Reichsbeamten von Noricum (1969), 121).

Since all of them are attested by single inscriptions which could be off-duty dedications some may not be stationes at all.

Stationes attested over an extended period: Bonn, attested by 7 bf inscriptions covering AD 203-233 and one of an immunis consularis erected c. 260; Remagen, 8 inscriptions, 190-242; Marmagen, 9 inscriptions, c. 167(?) - 227 (see pp. 152-4, 156); Altrip, 2 inscriptions, 181-201; Cannstatt, 7 inscriptions, 182-230; Stockstadt, 22 inscriptions, 166-208; Obernburg, 8 inscriptions, 181-206 or 227; Osterburken, 34 inscriptions, 174-238; Jagsthausen, 5 inscriptions, 179-186 (see pp. 163-5, 173, 175-86).

The only evidence for a bf accompanied in his statio by other officers is VIII 10723 from Vazaivi in Numidia erected by a bf [(cos) et] exceptores [ex]pleta statione. The bf cos on III 7449 from Montana in Moesia Inferior was completely atypical as a member of a vexillation providing the garrison for a mining district; see N.B. Rankov, op.cit. (note 4), esp. 52-4. Two bbff together in a statio are recorded at Vetera (XIII 8621; see p. 151) and Bonn (AE 1930 n.26; see p. 153) in Germania Inferior, Obernburg (?) (XIII 6628; see p. 178) in Germania Superior, Siscia (III 10842(?); 10843; 15181) and Savaria (AE 1947 n.30) in Pannonia Superior, and Singidunum (AE 1964 n.261) on the border of Pannonia Inferior and Moesia Superior; three bbff together in a statio are recorded at Strasbourg (XIII 11630; see pp. 165-6) in Germania Superior. It is surely significant that, of these, Vetera, Bonn, Strasbourg and Singidunum are all the sites of legionary fortresses. On the significance of the stationes at Siscia and Savaria see p. 270. The two μεσατοί who are recorded on AE 1927 n.59 from Histria appear alongside other inhabitants of the city as devotees of Mithras, and one is named as Ἐφιέως, so that one or both may be local citizens rather than stationed here. It is not at all clear that the two men on an inscription from Hippo Regia (Africa Proconsularis) published in Libyca vii (1959), 134-40 are bbff proconsulis.

However, A. Mocsy Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der Römischen Provinz Moesia Superior (1970), 24,197, has linked the distribution of the bf stationes in Moesia Superior, which are mostly confined to the south of the province (see note 28), with the control of brigandage, suggesting that the bbff hindered contacts between unruly elements of the population and the brigands; but a great...
many of the stationes of this province lay in its mining districts which were garrisoned by auxiliary cohorts (cf. pp. 253-4 with notes 4 and 5); these cohorts would make bff redundant in the control of brigandage, though not for more general policing. In the same author's Pannonia and Upper Moesia (1974), 234, he makes the same link for the Pannoniam provinces, arguing that bf stationes are only recorded in backward areas where very few inscriptions were erected, but J. Fitz, 'Beneficiarier in Noricum', Schild von Steier 15/16 (1978/9), 79-81 has already questioned the idea that the bff could have had much to do with brigandage, pointing out that ninety per cent of the bff altars in Pannonia came from major cities and military camps and not from the wilder areas of the provinces at all.


Id., WZ xxi (1902), 205, "Auch an dieser Linie finden sich Beneficiarierposten, die zeigen, dass der Verkehr mit von Land auf wenige Punkte beschränkt war."

S. J. de Laet, Portorium (1949), 140-268, 307 note 4, 376, 417, 449.

On the bf statio at Bonn see pp. 152-3; on the statio of the portorium there see S. J. de Laet, op. cit., 138. The presumed statio of the portorium at Altrip in Germania Superior (S. J. de Laet, op. cit., 140) is far from certain, being suggested only be an inscription dedicated by a bf cos genio... concordiae [duar(um)] stat(ionum) (see pp. 164-5). The statio of the portorium at Ehl an der Ill (S. J. de Laet, op. cit., 141-2) may have been sited near a bf statio, but the latter is attested only by the find of a bf lance (see above p. 166). The statio of the portorium at Mainz, capital of Germania Superior, can hardly be connected with the bff cos attested there, as de Laet does (op. cit., 140), and the same is true of Cologne, capital of Germania Inferior (cf. S. J. de Laet, op. cit., 137-8).

Stationes in Germania Inferior: a) Rhine limes road: Rindern (?)-6km from Quaualburg (?)-10km-Burginatium (?)-17km-Nanten-26km-Moers-Asberg-15km-Krefeld-Cellep (?)-11km-Neuss (?)-14km-Dormagen-22km-Cologne-22km-Remagen-10km-the Vinxtbach (?); see pp. 150-55; b) Cologne-Trier road: Cologne-57km-Belgica-18km-Narmagen-99km-(Trier); see pp. 155-7 and p. 146 on Trier as the seat of the Procurator and as capital of Gallia Belgica. On the only other certain statio in the province, manned by an immunis cos, at Iversheim, see p. 157; Aachen was probably not a statio, see p. 157.

Stationes in Germania superior: a) Rhine-Taunus-Wetterau-Antonine limes road: (Rhine)-15km-Niederheierber (?)-100km-Zugmantel (?) 18km-Feldberg (?)-11km-Saalburg (?)-22km-Butzbach (?)-50km-Watchpost 4/96 (?)-22km-Grosskrotzenburg-15km-Stockstadt-16km-Obernburg-15km-Miltenberg-40km-Unterburken-12km-Jagsthausen-39km-Mainhardt; see pp. 168-70, 175-86; b) Mainz-Wetterau road: (Mainz)-35km-Hedernheim-22km-Friedberg; see pp. 167-8; c) Mainz-Odenwald limes road: (Mainz)-72km-Lopodunum (?)-9km-Heidelberg-55km-Gundelsheim (or -62km Wimpfen)-18km
(or 11km) – Böckingen-40km- Cannstatt-19km- Köngen; see pp. 170-4; note also the possible stationes at Vindonissa and Olten on the branch road from Köngen to Solothurn, pp. 174-5; d) Rhine valley road: the Vinxtbach-110km-(Mainz)-75km Altrip (?)-30km- Gersheim-100km- Strasbourg-27km-Ehl and der II (?)-163km- Solothurn (an immunis cos); see pp. 162-6. On the only other stationes in the province at Pontailler-sur-Saône and Tilena see pp. 186-7.

**Stationes** in the Alpes Graiae et Poeninae: Solothurn-Great St. Bernard road: (Solothurn)-Viviscus (a bf legionis) (?)-33km-Tarnaiæ (a miles) (?)-55km-Great St. Bernard pass (a bf cos and a frumentarius) (?); see pp. 189-91.

**Stationes** in Raetia: Bregenz (III 5768, AD 238/44). There may also have been stationes at the forts of Buch, Weissenburg, Pfünz and Kösching, attested only by finds of lances and brooches (see Appendix I).

**Stationes** in Noricum: a) Boiodurum (?) on the Danube and on the frontier with Raetia (III 5960, AD 230); b) Augsburg-Virunum road: (Augsburg)-Bedaium (III 5580, AD 219; III 5575, AD 226)-luvavum (III 11759, before AD 171; AE 1968 n.411, AD 202)-(Virunum); c) Virunum-Lauriacum road: (Virunum)-Matsucaium (?)(III 143663)-(Lauriacum); d) Virunum-Aquileia road: (Virunum)-Tösching (?)(III 4771 = 11496 ?)-Arnoldstein/Unterthörl area (AE 1977 n.605 AD 168/71; III 14361, AD 209; III 11482, AD 215; III 4776; AE 1956 n.42)-(Aquileia) e) Virunum-Pannonia road: (Virunum)-Juenna (III 5072)-Poetovio (see note 26); f) Virunum-Celeia road: (Virunum)-Juenna-Celeia (bfff procuratoris: III 5165, early 2nd cent.; 5179, c.AD 110; 5163 c.AD 115; 5174 and 5181, c.AD 120-130; 5177, c.AD 140; 5173, before 171; 5170 before 171; 5167, 5168, 5175 and 5176, before 171; 5182, AD 138-60; 5164 and 5172, c.AD 153; 5161 and 5169, c.AD 156; 5162 and 5166, AD 158; 5171, c.AD 160; bfff cos: III 5178, AD 192; 5187, AD 211; 5154, AD 213; 5185, AD 215; 5189, AD 217; 5160; 5180; 5188. (On Celeia as a possible second administrative centre for the province see above note 11); g) Celeia-Emona road: Celeia-Atrans (?) (III 11676)–(Emona). This accounts for all the bf stationes recorded in the province. Note also the same centurio frumentarius recorded at both Tiffen (III 4787) and Feldkirchen (III 4861) near Virunum, perhaps to be associated with local mining; cf. Ch. III note 96).

**Stationes** in the Pannonian provinces: a) Carnuntum-Emona road: (Carnuntum)-Windem am See (?) (III 143593); AE 1951 n.66)-Scarbantia (AE 1913 n.56, AD 227; III 14068, AD 292/305; cf. III 10945(?), a strator cos)-Savaria (AE 1947 n.30, AD 208 (2 bfff cos); AE 1965 n.290; n.291; n.292)-Halicanum (AE 1982 n.794)-Poetovio (III 4048(?); AIJ 344; cf. AIJ 273, a speculator)-Celeia-Atrans(?)-(Emona); or perhaps-Poetovio-Mihaljekov Jarek (III 15187; 15188; AD 189)-Nevidunum (III 3907, AD 217; 3899, AD 224; 3903 (?), AD 225; 3912, AD 232; AE 1934 n.79, AD 222; AE 1934 n.78, AD 225; III 10789, AD 250; III 3906 (?); 3916; 3918; 3919; 3927 (?), 10799; AE 1934 n.76; n.77)-Praetorium Latobicorum (AE 1944 n.134, AD 195 (or perhaps 158); n.135, AD 240; AE 1934 n.73; AE 1944 n.136; n.137; n.138)- (Emona) b) Emona-Aquincum road: (Emona)-Atrans (?)-Celeia-Poetovio-Halicanum-Savaria-Mogentiana (III 10955 (?); 10957)-(Arrabona)(III 4365, a strator cos)-
(Aquincum); c) Carnuntum-Viminacium road: (Carnuntum)-Winden am See (?)-Scarbantia-Savaria-Topusko (frontier with Dalmatia?) (III 3940; AE 1981 n.708); f) Limes road south from Aquincum: (Aquincum)-Campona (?) (Ill 3397)-Intercisa (III 10306, AD 213; III 3329; cf. AE 1975 n.705 (?), a strator (II 3270, AD 226)-Singidunum; or Intercisa-Mursa-Aquae Balissae or Sirmium.

This accounts for all the likely stationes recorded in the two Pannonian provinces except for the probable statio at Ságvár in Pannonia Inferior (see p. 253 with note 3).

Stationes in Dalmatia: a) Salona-Sava valley road: (Salona)-Glamoc' (GZMB 49 (1937), 262, 267, AD 261; III 9862 with 13231 cf. p. 2270 add.)-Banjaluka (III 14221) - (River Sava) b) Salona-Italy/Pannonia Superior road: (Salona)-Magnum (III 9790, 14956, 14957, 14960, 14962)-Burnum (III 14989; AE 1925 n.130; SaSel 830; 831, protector (as pro b(ene)f(iciario); 832; cf. Ill 2823, a frumentarius) - (Aquileia); or Burnum-Avendo (III 10050) - Metulum (III 3020 = 10057; cf. III 3021, AD 238/44, a speculator) - Topus'ko (frontier with Pannonia Superior?) c) Salona-Doclea road: (Salona)-Tilurium (SaSel 144; 734, AD 211)-Novae (III 1009, AD 194; III 12802, AD 195; III 1911, AD 239; III 1906; 1907; 1910; 14636; 14637; 14638)-Ljubuški (III 14631)-Narona (III 1780, AD 209; III 1781, AD 225; III 1783 (?))-Stolac (III 8431; 8435)-Doclea (AE 1933 n.76, AD 187; III 12679; 13828 (?)). This last road may be seen as that linking Salona with Moesia Superior (see note 28), but this and the road towards Italy were also those along which a large portion of the auxiliary forces of the province were concentrated in the late second and third centuries; see J.J. Wilkes, Dalmatia (1969), 135-44 and Appendices VIII, IX. The only other stationes recorded in Dalmatia are those associated with mining (see above note 4 and cf. AE 1979 n.448, AD 212-7 recording a protector cos stationed at Brattia, the site of imperial marble quarries) and the single statio at Raetinium (III 15066) which lay on a Tiberian and Claudian road north from Salona to the Una river and eventually to the Sava, but which seems subsequently to have become disused (see J.J. Wilkes, Dalmatia (1969), 454); the purpose of the statio is obscure.

Stationes in Moesia Superior associated with mining, some of which also lay on major roads, see above note 4. Stationes on a) the Naissus-Thessalonica road: Naissus (AE 1934 n.208 (?), AD 245; III 8252 (?); AE 1980 n.791; cf. inscriptions erected here by Stratores cos: III 12672-14561, AD 220; III 1675, AD 221-2; III 1676. AD 225; III 8244, AD 222/35; III 8249)-Prokuplje, a statio

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possibly associated with local mining (III 14564, AD 234) - (Ulpiana, administrative centre for local mines) (III 8173, AD 226; Spomenik lxxi no 513; both erected by speculator) - Runjevo (III 8184, AD 196 or perhaps 159) - Aquae (III 8237, AD 200) b) the branch road from Runjevo towards Doclea in Dalmatia: Runjevo-Dalmatian border (?) near Prizren (Spomenik lxxi no 321; no 325) - Doclea. A final statio is apparently attested at Ratiaria (III 6291, AD 213) which lay on the Danube near the frontier with Moesia Inferior; it may be associated with nearby imperial estates (V. Velkov, Eirene v (1966), 158), but the position and importance of the city could have attracted a statio for several reasons now irrecoverable.

**On stationes in Dacia associated with mining and imperial estates see above note 4. Stationes on the frontiers of the province: Varmező (III 7645, AD 212-7); Porolissum (N. Gudea and V. Lucăcel, Inscripții și Monumente Sculpturale în Muzeul de Istorie și Artă Zalău (1975), no 12; no 16 (?)); Als-Kosál (AE 1957 n.328, AD 224; n.329, AD 230; III 827 = 7633, AD 239; AE 1957 n.326, AD 243; III 822; 823; 825; 826; AE 1957 n. 327); Hormorōd-Szent-Martón (?) (III 7719); Rakovitza (?) (III 13797). Stationes on the Viminacium-Apulum-Porolissum road: (Viminacium)-(Tibiscum)-Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegethousa (AE 1977 n.674)-(Apulum, capital of tres Dacie)-Potaisa, headquarters of legio V Macedonica (III 878)-(Napoca)-Porolissum; for the possible continuation of this road to Aquincum see E. Condurachi and C. Daicoviciu, Romania (1971), 134-5. The only other statio recorded in Dacia lay at Aquae in southern Dacia Inferior, manned by a speculator of Moesia Inferior (AE 1959 n.330, AD 218) whose role is obscure.

**Stationes in Numidia: a) south-west of Lambaes: (Lambaes)-El Kantara (AE 1925 n.125)-El Gehara (VIII 18025); b) east of Lambaes: Vazaivi (VIII 10716 = 17623; 10717 = 17628; 10718 = 17626; 10723 = 17634 (bf [et] exceptores); 10724 = 17635; 17622; 17627; in addition to the beneficiarii and exceptores recorded here note VIII 17625 erected by a cornicularius praefecti leg. III Aug., and cf. VIII 17639; on Vazaivi as an administrative post for the forts to the south cf. Ch. II note 50). The bf cos who erected an altar at Djemila (AE 1916 n.29, AD 210) was perhaps a local since he dated the inscription by the local magistrates as well as by the consular dates.

**Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Germania Superior: XIII 5509, AD 150 (Pontailler-sur-Sâne); XIII 6649, AD 166 (Stockstadt); F. Drezel, ORL E Nr. 33 (1910), 68 no 2 (?), AD 166 (Stockstadt) XIII 6634, AD 167 (Stockstadt); XIII 6636, AD 167 (Stockstadt); Schallmayer, Kat. no 8, AD 174 (Osterburken): XIII 6557, AD 179 (Jagsthausen); XIII 6127, AD 181 (Altrip or Lopodunum); XIII 6633 + 6656e, AD 181 (Stockstadt); XIII 6628, AD 181 (Obernburg); Fundberichte aus Schwaben N.F. xix (1971), 204 no 12, AD 181 (Mainhardt): XIII 117471, AD 182 (Cannstatt); Schallmayer, Kat. no 2, AD 182 (Osterburken); XIII 6637, AD 182 (Stockstadt); XIII 11792, AD 183 (Stockstadt); Schallmayer, Kat. no 3, AD 183 (Osterburken); XIII 11791, AD 186 (Stockstadt); XIII 6558, AD 186 (Jagsthausen); AE 1957 n.50, AD 189 (Obernburg); XIII 6647, AD 191 (Stockstadt): AE 1957 n.52, AD 191 (Obernburg) XIII 6641, AD 199 (?) (Stockstadt);
Osterburken inscriptions (see p. 183), AD 200/201 (Osterburken); Bericht RGK 1937 n.74, AD 201 (Altrip or Lopodunum); AE 1957 n.47, AD 201 (Obernburg); Osterburken inscriptions (see p. 182), AD 202, 203, 204, 205 (Osterburken); AE 1957 n.48, AD 206 or 227 (Obernburg); XIII 11793, AD 208 (Stockstadt); XIII 6441, AD 212-7 (Cannstatt); AE 1978 n.44, AD 212 (Osterburken); XIII 6440, AD 213 or 222 (Cannstatt); Osterburken inscriptions (see p. 183), AD 213; XIII 7338, AD 213 (Hedernheim); AE 1978 n.526, AD 213 (Osterburken); AE 1927 n.65, AD 219 (Cannstatt); XIII 5170, an immunis cos., AD 219 (Solothurn); AE 1962 n.228 = 1978 n.551, AD 221 (Grosskrotzenburg); XIII 6437, AD 221 (Cannstatt); XIII 6442, AD 223 (Cannstatt); AE 1978 n.550, AD 223 (Grosskrotzenburg); AE 1978 n.527, AD 223 or 224 (Osterburken); XIII 5621, an immunis cos., AD 226 (Tilena); XIII 7335, AD 230, an immunis cos., AD 230 (Hedernheim); AE 1927 n.66, AD 230 (Cannstatt); XIII 11771, AD 231 (Miltenberg); AE 1978 n.528, AD 238 (Osterburken).

**Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Noricum:** III 11759, before 171 (Iuvavum) (see below note 41); AE 1977 n.605, AD 168 (Unterthörli); AE 1968 n.411, AD 202 (Iuvavum); III 14361, AD 209 (St. Leonhard); III 11482, AD 215 (Unterthörli); III 5580, AD 219 (Bedaium); III 5575, AD 226 (Bedaium); III 5690, AD 230 (Boiodurum). On Celeia see above notes 11 and 25.

**Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Pannonia Superior:** III 15188, AD 189 (Mihaljekov Jarek); AE 1944 n.134, AD 195 (or perhaps 158; see note 42) (Praetorium Latobicorum); AE 1947 n.30, AD 208 (Savaria); AE 1978 n.657, AD 208 (Aquae Balissae); III 3907, AD 217 (Nevidondonum); III 15180, AD 217 (Siscia); III 3899, AD 224 (Nevidondonum); III 3903 (?), AD 225 (Nevidondonum); AE 1913 n.56, AD 227 (Scrabantia). III 10843, AD 227 (Siscia); III 15181, AD 222/35 (Siscia); III 392, AD 232 (Nevidondonum); AE 1934 n.79, AD 232 (Nevidondonum); AE 1934 n.78, AD 235 (Nevidodonum); AE 1944 n.134, AD 240 (Praetorium Latobicorum); III 3905 and 3909 with p. 2328**, AD 247 (Nevidodonum); III 10789, AD 250 (Nevidodonum); III 3906, AD 257 (Nevidodonum); III 14068, AD 292/305 (Scrabantia). Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Pannonia Inferior: AE 1973 n.448, AD 164 (Mursa); III 10306, AD 213 (Intercisa); AE 1964 n.261, AD 217 (Singidunum, but manned by bbff cos from Pannonia Inferior); III 3270, AD 226 (Teutoburgium); AE 1974 n.522, AD 240 (Sopianae).

**Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Germania Inferior:** XIII 7791, bf Salvi [lul]iani cos c.151/2 or c.180 (on these dates see Ch IV p. 154 with note 197 and below note 41) (Remagen); XIII 7790, AD 190 (Remagen); XIII 11991, AD 196 (Marmagen); AE 1911 n.159, AD 206 (Marmagen); XIII 11985, AD 208 (?) (Marmagen); XIII 11987, AD 218 (Marmagen); XIII 11984, AD 218/22 (Marmagen); XIII 11988, AD 227 (Marmagen); XIII 8588, AD 230 (Asberg); AE 1968 n.390, an immunis cos., AD 240 (Iverschheim); XIII 7794, AD 242 (Remagen); AE 1930 n.35, an immunis cos., c. AD 260 (Bonn).

**Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Dalmatia:** AE 1933 n.76, AD 187 (Doclea); III 1909, AD 194 (Novae); III 12802, AD 195 (Novae); III 1780, AD 209 (Narona); SaSel 734, AD 211 (Tilurium); III 1781, AD 225 (Narona); III 1911, AD 239 (Novae); III 3021, a speculator, AD 238/44
(Metulum); GZMH 49 (1937), 262, 267, AD 261 (Glamoč).
Other stationes associated with quarrying and mining: III 13487, AD 194 (Plevlje); AE 1979 n.448, a protector cos, AD 212-7 (Brattia).

**Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Moesia Superior:** III 8184, AD 196 (or perhaps 159; see below note 44) (Runjevo); III 8237, AD 200 (Aqua); III 6291, AD 213 (Ratiaria); III 12672 = 14561, a strator cos, AD 220 (Naissus); III 1675, a strator cos, AD 225 (Naissus); III 8173, a speculator, AD 226 (Ulpiana); III 14564, AD 234 (Prokuplje); III 8244, a strator cos, AD 222/35 (Naissus); AE 1934 n.208 (?), AD 245 (Naissus).

**Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Dacia:** III 7645, AD 212-7 (Varmező); AE 1959 n.30, a speculator, AD 218 (Aqua); AE 1957 n.328, AD 224 (Alsó-Kosály); AE 1957 n.329, AD 220 (Alsó-Kosály); III 827=7633, AD 239 (Alsó-Kosály); AE 1957 n.326, AD 243 (Alsó-Kosály).


**Invasion of the Costoboci in 170:** von Premerstein, RE XI 1505-7.

Only four of the inscriptions under consideration might antedate the Chattan/Marcomannic wars, two of them dated only by the name of the governor. At Remagen in Germania Inferior XIII 7791 was erected by a bf Salvi [Julian] cos referring either to a governor of c.151/2 or perhaps to his son who could have been governor c.180 (see Ch. IV note 197). At Iuvavum in Noricum III 11759 was erected by a bf Egnati Prisci proc. Aug., the only known reference to this man of whom we can only say that he governed the province some time before 171, but most likely in the mid second century cf. B.E. Thomasson, Laterculi Praesidum I (1984), 64 no 12. An early inscription at Remagen might possibly be explained by the proximity of the Brohl quarries which were certainly worked by the singulares of the governor of Germania Inferior in the late first century (see pp. 157-8 with note 224), and an early statio at Iuvavum could be associated with the local salt mines for which Iuvavum (modern Salzburg) was renowned (see G. Alfoldy, Noricum (1974), 68, 93). Of the other two inscriptions AE 1944 n.134 from Praetorium Latobicorum (Pannonia Superior) bears consular dates which could equally well refer to either 158 or 195, whilst III 8184 from Runjevo (Moesia Superior) shows a confusion of consular dates of two successive years and could refer to either 159 or 196. Despite these possible exceptions, the impression of a close connection between the development of the stationes and the crisis of the empire, which began
in the 160's and continued through the late second and the third centuries, remains, especially in Upper Germany where the dated inscriptions are most numerous (see note 31).

**For pp. 179-85.
**For the activity of Aufidius Victorinus in Germania Superior in 162 see note 38.


**Raising of II and III Italica: Ritterling, RE XII 1300-1; H. M. D. Parker, The Roman Legions (1928), 116-7; J. C. Mann, 'The Raising of New Legions during the Principate', Hermes 91 (1963), 485-6.


"Claudius Fronto as governor of Tres Daciae and Moesia Superior: III 1457 = ILS 1097; VI 1377 = ILS 1098; cf. A. Stein, Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien (1944), 38-40.

"Fortification of Augusta Traiana: D. Nikolov, 'Augusta Trayana-Vereya (II-VIV.)', Arkheologiya viii, 3 (Sofia, 1965), 11-21; T. Ivanov, 'The Roman Cities of Moesia and Thrace (Modern Bulgaria)' in A. G. Poulter (ed.), op. cit. (note 4), 133. Salona: ILS 8980; III p. 1030 ad ILS 1900 = ILS 2287; cf. III 6374=8655; see J. J. Wilkes, Dalmatia (1969), 116-7; Marcus will have been concerned to protect the sea-link with Italy from here at this time. Callatis: AE 1937 n. 153; n. 246, both AD 169/76. Philippopolis: III 7409 = ILS 5337. Serdica: IG Bulg IV no 1902; G. Mihailov, Epigraphica xxxvii (1976), 21-4. Pizos may also have been fortified at this time (IG Bulg III (2) no 1691) as, probably, was Pautalia (see T. Ivanov in A. G. Poulter (ed.), op. cit. (note 4), 134-3).


"Stationes in Moesia Inferior: those at Montana (III 7449 (?), AD 155: ILS 7447; V. Velkov, IBAI xiv (1940/42), 270 no 3; Unpublished; cf. III 12371, AD 158/60 (a centurio frumentarius) and Almus (III 14208, AD 235/8; cf. III 6125=7420, AD 156/8 (a centurio frumentarius) are to be associated with the local gold mines and imperial estates cf. N. B. Rankov, op. cit. (note 4); the purpose of the stationes at Jenica (III 13723, AD 222/35) and Paulikeni (AE 1935 n. 79.) near Nicopolis-ad-Istrum is obscure, as is that of those manned by a specifier at Altimir (III 13719, AD 222/35) and by a strator cos at Vlaško Selo (III 13718); the stationes at the Crimean ports of Chersonesus (AE 1967 n. 430; n. 434; E. I. Solomonik, Novie Epigraficheskie Pamiatniki Khersonesa (1964), no 70) and Charax (AE 1965 n. 152, AD 121/4; Inscr. Ant. Or. Sept. Pont. Eux I no 675; no 676) were perhaps involved in the civilian administration of the area from Moesia Inferior. Bbfc cos are also recorded on inscriptions in several of the Black Sea ports, including Histria (AE 1927 n. 59, AD 129/31, two Bbfc cos on AE 1927 n. 67; Inscr. Scyth. Min. I no 302), Tomi (III 7545; 7550; 14214 sqq; AE 1957 n. 191), Callatis (AE 1972 n. 545, AD
238/44), Dionysopolis (AE 1972 n.505, c.AD 214) and Odessus (III 14458\(^3\)), but it is not clear that any of these inscriptions actually represents a statio.

BF stationes are also recorded at least in Cappadocia, Arabia, Egypt and perhaps Mauretania Caesariensis. In Cappadocia two are attested, one at Sebastopolis (AE 1968 n.503; n.504 = IGR III 110, AD 126/31) and the other at Comana Pontica (AE 1968 n.505, c.AD 165); IGR III 1443 from Kircheher need not represent a statio. The purpose of these stationes is not clear. Elsewhere in Asia Minor, the beneficiarii stationarii recorded at Olympus in the province of Lycia et Pamphylia (IGR III 748) and at Artanadai in Cilicia (IGR III 812) need not (but may) have been attached to the governor's officium; note, however, the numerous frumentarii seconded from the Castra Peregrina posted round the province of Asia (see Ch. III pp. 51-2 with notes 88-9). In Arabia a statio appears to be attested at Amman (AE 1905 n.211 = ILS 9258, early 3rd century), but its purpose is obscure; note also the beneficiarii consularis (Ch. III note 65) and stratores consularis (Ch. III note 143) involved in the fortification of Adraha (Dera'a) under Gallienus.

In Egypt, beneficiarii Praefecti appear to have been stationed in the nomes as police officers (see pp. 254-5), stationes being attested in Arsinoite (papyri from Sincinnati Nesus, Tebtynis, Karanis and the Fayûm), in Oxyrhynchos, and in Heptakomia (referred to in P.Bremen 5 found at Hermopolis) between 117/9 and 304 (the evidence is collected above in notes 8-10); the inscriptions recording beneficiarii Praefecti Aegypti at Thebes (A. and E. Bernand, Les Inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon (1960) no 58, AD 196) and Philae (E. Bernand, Les Inscriptions grecques et latines de Philae II (1969), no 300) were evidently made at the time of visits by the Prefect; note also the activities of a frumentarius at Memphis (D.S. Crawford, Fuad I University Papyri (1949), no XIV) and the presence of a centurio frumentarius at Djebel Dokhan (AE 1936 n.61), perhaps in connection with the local porphyry quarries. In Mauretania Caesariensis there may be a statio attested at Satafis (VIII 20251), manned by a bf duplicarius ex quaestionario who was perhaps a member of the governor's officium. It seems to me unlikely that the two men recorded on an inscription of AD 165/6 from Hippo Regia in Africa Proconsularis (Libyca 7 (1959), 134-40) were in fact beneficiarii proconsulis.

Cf. H.P.A. Chapman, The Archaeological and Other Evidence for the Organisation and Operation of the Cursus Publicus (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of London, 1978), 56 discussing the distribution of mansiones of the cursus publicus as represented in Roman itineraries: "Likewise if a high percentage of the routes ran from provincial capitals to military stations within the same province, it would suggest that the routes related to the relaying of orders or messages from the legatus or proconsul... to the troops, legionary or auxiliary, in the province."

Cf. Despatch riders from Vindolanda: A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas, Vindolanda: The Latin Writing-Tablets (1983), 118-21 no. 30 ll.3-6 Crispum et Ef[... ] ex coh(orte) I Tungrorum quos cum epistulis ad consularem n(ostrum)
miseras a Bremetennaco...; the commander of the fort at Bremetennacum (Ribchester) c AD 100 reports to the Prefect of cohors I Tungrorum that the latter's men have passed through bearing despatches on their way to the governor, probably at Chester at this time. Dura: P. Dur. 82, ii 7 (AD 223/35) reversi q(uondam) d(e)p(utatus) ad praet(orium) praesidis cum epistul[i]s. There is other papyrus evidence recording the presence of soldiers temporarily away from their units at the praetorium of the governor: P. Lond. 2851, ii 34 (AD 106); P. Vindob. L2 recto, i 8 (AD 115-77) (=? R.O. Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus (1971), no 34, p. 264); P. Berol. 6866 B. frag. A ii 13 (AD 192) (=? R.O. Fink, op. cit. no 70, p. 264); P. Dur. 100, xxi 8; xxxvi 7 (AD 219); P. Dur. 101, xxxiii 11: xl 11 (AD 222); P. Dur. 105, a i 9 (AD 250/56).

See pp. 62 (singulares), 46 (beneficiarii), 42-3 (speculatores) and 48-9 (frumentarii).

See Ch. III note 78 for the evidence which suggests that the frumentarii made use of the carts of the vehiculatio, which should mean that they had to be issued with diplomata: see E.J. Holmberg, Zur Geschichte des Cursus Publicus (1933), 53-8; H.-G. Pflaum, Essai sur le Cursus Publicus sous le Haut-Empire romain (1940), 310ff. The passage in Jerome, In Abd. I (see Ch. III note 77) which equates the frumentarii with contemporary veredarii, riders of veredi (saddle horses of the cursus publicus cf. Cod. Theod. VIII, v 24, AD 365), is the only evidence to suggest that the governor's messengers may have ridden horses.

SHA Marc. 22, 1: gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni Varistae Hermunduri et Quadi Suebi Sarmatae Lacringes et Buri hi alique cum Viciutalis Osi Bessi Cobotes Roxolani Bastarnae Alani Peucini Costoboci.

D. Tsontschev, "La Voie romaine Philippiopolis-Sub Radice", Latomus xviii (1959), 154-70.


On Thrace see A. Betz, RE VI A, 454-5: 458-9 (small garrison). On the relation of the size of garrison to the size of the provincial officium see Ch. III pp. 63-4.

The use of relay riders was known to the Roman world and indeed preceded the use of single couriers carrying messages the whole length of a journey and making use of the vehiculatio: Suet. Aug. 49 Et quo celerius ac sub manum adnuntiari cognoscique posset, quid in provincia guaque gereretur, iuvenes primo modicis intervallis per
militaris vias, dehinc vehicula disposuit. Commodius id visum est, ut qui a loco idem perferunt litteras.

interrogari quoque, si quid res exigant, possint (see E.J. Holmberg, op.cit. (note 55), 37-9; H.-G. Pflaum, op.cit. (note 55), 210-45).

Note also the dispositi, all cavalrymen, listed in P. Dur. 100 of AD 219 (14 times), P. Dur. 101 of AD 222 (15 times), and P. Dur. 102 of AD 222/8 (once) who appear to be relay riders; see R.O. Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus (1971), 15; 539 Index s.v. dispositus. The speed and efficiency of this sort of relay system is recorded in the famous passage of Herodotus (VIII, 98) describing the relay riders of the Persian empire; compare the average distance apart of the Persian στρατιωτοί between Sardis and Susa, recorded in Hdt. V. 52, which comes to 4-5 parasangs or about 25km (E.J. Holmberg, op.cit. (note 55), 19) with the distances separating the recorded bf stationes in the western provinces (notes 21-3).


62A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Beneficiarierposten und die römischen Strassennetze', WZ xxii (1902), 158-211 even attempted (misguidedly) to reconstruct the Roman road system in Europe from finds of bf inscriptions.

63Dedications to Epona: III 4776 (Virunum); III 12679 (Doclea); XII 5170, an immunitas cos (Solothurn); AE 1933 n.76 (Doclea). Dedication to deities of the crossroads: XIII 6437 (Cannstatt); XII 11816 (Mainz); XII 5621, an immunitas cos (Tilena); AE 1927 n.66 (Cannstatt). Deo qui vias et semitas commentus est: VII 271 (Catterick Bridge).

6*See Ch. II pp. 13-14.

6See Ch. IV pp. 149-50 with notes 163, 167-8.

6See Ch. III p. 49 with note 79.


6See p. 160. Note that O. Hirschfeld, 'Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich', Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie 1891, 862-3 = Kleine Schriften (1913), 595 associated the bbff with the cursus publicus on the basis of III 10429, Aquincum AD 210, recording two bbff cos leg. II Adi. agentes curam leg(ionis) et colonia Aq(unicol), comparing XII 5170, Solothurn AD 219, an immunitas cos curas a[ge]ns vlco Salod[urn] (see p. 166) and XIII 5878 Genava, a miles leg. XXII a curis.. all of which he saw as forerunners of the curagendarii or curam agentes of the Late Roman cursus publicus (Cod. Theod. VI, 29, 1 (AD 355) and 2 (AD 357)), but the significance of the terms employed on the inscriptions is in fact far from clear and there is no cogent reason for accepting this association.

6See pp. 151-2. Note also the positioning of the statio at Lancaster in Britannia (p. 130), equidistant between Hadrian's Wall and Chester, and of that at Germersheim in Germania Superior (p. 165), equidistant between Mainz and Strasbourg, but these may be coincidences.

7See above note 15, and cf. note 26 on roads and stationes in Pannonia (routes a), b), d) and e)).

7There may have been both a statio manned by a frumentarius of legio III Italica (V 869 = ILS 4850d) and a bb statio (Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 1894, 36) at the summit of the Great St. Bernard pass which lies at the 291
end of the road coming from the Rhine valley and through the Alpes Poeninae (see pp. 189-91). A *bf* lance was also dedicated here (see Appendix I pp. 101-2), but note also the inscription erected here by a *commentariensis cos* which can hardly represent a *statio* (see Ch. III pp. 40-1 on *commentarienses*); all the inscriptions and the lance may therefore have been dedicated at the temple of Jupiter Poeninus by officers who had crossed the Alps either on official or private business. The memorials to a *frumentarius* of legio VI *Victrix* at Verona (V 3362), where the Via Claudia comes down into Italy from Raetia, and to another of VII *Gemina* at Aquileia, to which city the road from Dalmatia ran (see above note 27), might also represent *stationes*, but the nature of the inscriptions leaves room for doubt. The dedication made by a *frumentarius* of legio XV *Apollinaris* at Emona (III 3835), to which the road from Noricum and Pannonia ran (see above notes 25-6), may also represent a *statio*; Emona had been transferred from Pannonia Superior to Italy perhaps already in the reign of Hadrian (see the discussion by J. Šašel, RE Suppl. XI 571-6). These inscriptions and the others in Italy recording *frumentarii* (see Ch. III p. 49 with notes 79-80) might represent a network of *stationes* manned by *frumentarii* which complemented that of the *bf stationes* in the northern provinces, but the evidence is far from decisive and we would have to suppose that the *frumentarii* were not in the habit of marking their tours of duty in Italy by votive dedications in the manner of the *bbff cos*. If the *bf* relays took over from the *frumentarii* much of the correspondence which passed from the northern provinces to Rome, then it is possible that more of the latter would have spent time at the Castra Peregrina, and this would have provided manpower for the Italian *stationes*; it might also explain the apparent increase in their employment by the emperors in the late second and third centuries as undercover agents. Neither the memorial at Aquileia for a centurion of legio II *Adiutrix* by a *bf offic(i) praesid(is) Pann. Inf.* of the same legion (V 8275) nor the dedication made at Arcisate in the Como region by a L. Cominius Pollio miles leg. XIII *Gem(inae) beneficiarius legati consularis* (V 5451 = ILS 2402), apparently a local (cf. CIL V, Index pp. 1110-11 s.v. Cominius), seems to be connected with the network of *stationes*.

Unfortunately, the evidence for the regular appointment of individual *exploratores* within army units is slight. It is not clear whether a late first-century inscription from Jülich in Lower Germany (XIII 7869) records an *explo(rator)* or an *ex pilo leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis)*. Hunt’s Pridianum (P. Lond. 2851, ii 32) records a detachment of cavalrymen of cohors I Hispanorum Veterana, which was stationed in Lower Moesia in AD 105 during the Dacian War, sent *item* (i.e. trans Danuvium) *exploratum [cl]um Pauliano (centurione)*, which perhaps implies that the unit had no standing *exploratores*. Tiberius Claudius Maximus was factus dupli(carius) a Divo Traiano in ala Secu(n)d(a) Pannoniorum, a quo et fa(c)tus explorator in bello Dacico (AE 1969/70 n.583, referring to AD 105/6); Maximus apparently stayed on the books of ala II Pannoniorum whilst serving, probably detached, as an *explorator*, and was subsequently promoted *decurio* in the
same unit for the capture of Decebalus. On the other hand, two duty rosters (P. Dur. 100 (AD 219) and P. Dur. 101 (AD 222)) of cohors XX Palmyrenorum, based at Dura-Europus in Syria, record fifteen and nine exploratores (or at least men detached exploratum) respectively (see R.O. Fink, op.cit. (note 60), 541 Index s.v. explorator).

Among these, three men appear as exploratores in both rosters, five exploratores from P. Dur. 100 have returned to general duties in P. Dur. 101 and one in P. Dur. 102 (AD 222/8), whilst another has proceeded to another posting in P. Dur. 101; of the exploratores in P. Dur. 101, one at least had had general duties in P. Dur. 100 and another a specific posting, whilst yet another returned to general duties in P. Dur. 102. It would appear from this that an appointment to explorator was a posting rather than a promotion, and that it could be held for up to three years or more (cf. the secondment of singulares, Ch. III p. 62). Clearly, cohors XX Palmyrenorum had a standing detachment of these men at this period (although its size may have varied), but it is impossible to say how general this practice was or when it came into being. The apparently very small number of men so detached and the fact that five of the men in AD 219 and four of those in 222 were infantry, not cavalry, suggest that they were not employed in simple patrolling, which would be the responsibility of the unit as a whole, but special duties, perhaps such as we might categorize as actual "spying".

The earliest recorded exploratores of the Principate are the man from legio VI Victrix buried at Jülich (?), the cavalrymen recorded in Hunt's Pridianum, and Tiberius Claudius Maximus (see preceding note), probably all of them detached for special duties in wartime. Arrian, Ektaxis I mentions an independent unit of kataskeuontos, τανάξας at the head of his army in the Cappadocian campaign of AD 135. A member of such a unit may have been Iulius Secundus, an early explorer from Cologne, buried at Orăști de Sus in Dacia (AE 1972 n.486 = 1974 n.546); a numerus Germanianorum is attested here later (III 12574; AE 1972 n.487 = 1974 n.548; cf. III 1343; AE 1910 n.152) and Secundus's origo suggests that he and the unit came here from Germany, probably in Trajan's Dacian War; cf. N. Gostar, Act. Mus. Nap, vi (1969), 493-5; id., Germania 50 (1972), 241-7. There appears to have been a numerus exploratorum Germanianorum, of which this may have been an offshoot, regularly stationed at Deutz (Divitia), the bridgehead fort of Cologne, at some early period at least (cf. XIII 8329; 8683) since such a unit, sometimes bearing the cognomen Divitiensis is recorded in Mauretania Caesariensis (ILLS 9187) and Thrace (III 14207, 10), presumably whilst functioning as part of an expeditionary force. Another early unit might be the numerus exploratorum Batavorum, stationed at Roomburg in Lower Germany in 205-9 (XIII 8825), but which perhaps accompanied the Germanici to Mauretania somewhat earlier (VIII 21668 = ILS 9187a). A unit of exploratores Triboci et Boi appears alongside cohors XXIV Voluntarium C.R. at Benningen on the Odenwald limes in Upper Germany given up under Pius (XIII 6448) and later at Murrhardt on the Antonine limes (AE 1981 n.692) to which the cohort had advanced (see R. Wiegel, 'Numerus Exploratorum Tribocorum et Boiorum', Epigraphische Studien 12 (1981), 309-31).
Thus perhaps three or, at most, four permanent units of exploratores can be identified before the Marcomannic Wars.

The reign of Marcus certainly saw the formation of new units for campaigning (AE 1956 n.124: M. Valerius Maximianus was c.170 praepos(itus)...equit(um) Afror(um) et Mauror(um) elector(um) ad curam explorationis Pannoniae cf. Hyginus, De. Mun. Cast. 24: 30 and see H.-G. Pflaum, Libya 3 (1955), 135-54,(but note that SS. Frere, Britannia xi(1980), 52-8 makes Hyginus, and therefore his exploratores, Domitianic). In Upper Germany there may have been reorganisation of preexisting numeri Brittonum into units of exploratores which were attached to larger regular auxiliary units. The first recorded instance of this comes from Stockstadt or Obernburg (XIII 6629, AD 178; cf. XIII 6642); the siting of such a unit here at this date is significant since Stockstadt had certainly suffered at the hands of the Chatti in 170 (see p. 175) and was the site of one of the province's earliest recorded bef stationes (see note 31). Other such units are recorded at Miltenberg (XIII 6599; cf. 6606; another unit of exploratores may also be attested here: XI 3104 cf. XIII 6600; 6605; and XIII p. 281) and at Welzheim (XIII 6526); cf. also IGR I 1496. In 185-92 a large fort was built at Niederbieber (see p. 168) probably for a numerus Germanianorum exploratorum Divitiensium (XIII 7750, AD 221; XIII 7751, c.AD 230; XIII 11979 = ILS 9182, AD 238/44; XIII 7761; cf IGR I 10 = ILS 8852), also recorded at Mainz (XIII 6814; 7054 = ILS 2632, AD 212/17; XIII 11828, AD 238), which is apparently an offshoot of the Lower German unit; later it appears in Mauretania (VIII 9059 = ILS 2628; cf. VIII 21814a) and Thrace (III 7387 ad n.728; III 7415) where the whole unit or an offshoot may have become permanently based (Amm. Marc. xxvi, 6, 12; Not. Dig. Or. viii, 43). Other units of exploratores with ethnic names are known at Feldberg (XIII 7495, AD 222/35; cf. XIII 11958) and Walldurn (XIII 6592, AD 232). Exploratores are also recorded on potsherds at Zugmantel (H. Jacobi, SJ v (1913), Taf. XVI, 16 cf. p. 81; Taf. XVI, 19), and an individual of an unknown unit was buried at Heidelberg (XIII 11735). (On exploratores in Germany cf. E. Stein, Die Kaiserliche Beamten und Truppenkrafte im römischen Deutschland unter dem Principat (1932), 260-8; M.P. Speidel, ˘Exploratores. Mobile Elite Units of Roman Germany', Epigraphische Studien 13 (1983), 63-78). In Raetia, coh(ors) IX Ba[t]l(um) appears at Weissenburg with the additional title expl. (III 11918 = ILS 9152); the unit is recorded as milliary but is here commanded by a prefect, which might imply that only a part of it was present, perhaps just a cavalry exploratio; it may have replaced the normal garrison, ala I Hispanorum Auriana, during the latter's absence for the Parthian and Marcomannic wars in the years after 162 (see H.J. Kellner, ˘EXERCITUS RAETICUS', Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 35 (1971), 212, 215) and so could have been sent here as a response to the Chattan attacks. Pannonia Inferior had a unit of exploratores of unknown date perhaps at Aquincum (III 3254 = ILS 2635; III 3648); neither stone was found in situ but both were associated with stones brought from the area of Aquincum: see CIL III p. 420; A.Sz. Burger, Folia Archaeologica xvii (1965), 106-7; note also the
apparently early grave of an explorator from Tata near Brigetio (III 4276) and another from Lugio... (III 3299 = AE 1966 n.303). In Mauretania Tingitana a fort was built at Pomaria under Severus or later (see P. Salama, Libyca 3 (1955), 359 note 124) apparently for an ala exploratorum Pomarensium (VIII 9906, AD 222/35; 9907, AD 238/44; cf. 21704; cf. also Itin. Ant. 2-3). The presence of bbff cos is indicated either by inscriptions or by finds of lances or pendants at Deutz (inscriptions), Niederbieber (lances), Zugmantel (lances and pendants), Feldberg (pendant) (see pp. 168-9); Weissenburg (lances; see Appendix I p. 102); and, of course, at Mainz and Aquincum.

I owe this information to Dr. N.J.E. Austin of Massey University, New Zealand, himself a former army intelligence officer, with whom I am currently preparing a full-length study of Roman military intelligence.

The frumentarii could have performed a similar function at Rome as a source of up-to-date information about their own provinces and governors; their activities in sniffing out rebellion in the provinces which led to their widespread unpopularity and eventual disbandment by Diocletian (see Ch. III p. 53 with note 97) may have been an extension of this.

The evidence is most abundant and convincing in Upper Germany; in contrast, the absence of recorded stationes of any period in Raetia remains puzzling however one interprets their function.

In Pannonia Inferior the date of the earliest statio, recorded at Mursa in AD 164 (see note 33), three years before the actual outbreak of war, should be interpreted as reflecting dispositions made while the provincial governors were still trying to stave off the Marcomannic threat by diplomacy (see note 39); note that the inscription in question (AE 1973 n.448) was found with two others (AE 1973 n.447; 449), the second of which bears the words quod aras in hunc locum recollocaverit, implying that the other two had been disrupted in some way, perhaps by the invasion when it came.

Another obvious group for the governor to have used might have been the stratores, and indeed they do seem to have been employed in stationes from time to time, occasionally, perhaps, as temporary alternatives to beneficiarii (see Ch. III note 140), but their primary role as the governor's grooms and in vetting horses for the army (Ch II notes 139, 141), as well as their secondary organisation as a fighting force alongside the singulares (Ch. III notes 144-5) may have made it difficult to detach relatively large numbers for prolonged periods of six months or more.

In Lower Germany an immunitis cos is recorded at Bonn in 260 (AE 1930 n.35).

See above notes 31 and 34. In Lower Germany an immunitis cos is recorded at Bonn in 260 (AE 1930 n.35).

See above notes 32 (Noricum), 33 (the Pannonias), 35 (Dalmatia), 36 (Moesia Superior) and 37 (Dacia).

See H. Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier in Germany: an Archaeological Survey", JRS lix (1969), 171ff. Schönberger's statement on p. 178 that "the importance of the road posts of the beneficiarii consulares (sic) increased considerably in the third and fourth centuries" is derived from the hypothesis of H. von Petrikovits (Das römische Rheinland. Archäologische Forschungen seit 1945
(1960), 76; 83) that the stationes were the forerunners of the Late Roman burgi, which, he believes, were built to protect the beneficiarii, but in fact none of the third century burgi in the North-Western provinces which von Petrikovits lists in JRS 1xii (1971), 188 coincides with a known bf statio.


Cf. Ch. III pp. 66-7 on associated changes in the recruitment and make-up of the provincial officia.

See above notes 36-7.

On stationes in Numidia see above note 30. Since the officers recorded in charge of these were exclusively beneficiarii consularis (though note the possible exceptions VII 10718 and 10723 at Vazaivi) the stationes may originate only after the constitution of Numidia as a province between 198/9 and 208 (see H.-G. Pflaum, 'A propos de la date de la création de la province de Numidie', Libya 5 (1957), 61-75; M. P. Speidel, 'The Singulares of Africa and the Establishment of Numidia as a Province', Historia 22 (1973), 125-7; but cf. Ch. II note 56); we should not, however, press too far the significance of the term consularis which could be used loosely (see Ch. III note 13). On Severus' activities in North Africa see P. Salama, 'Nouveaux témoignages de l'oeuvre des Sévères dans la Maurétanie Césarienne', Part I, Libya 1 (1953), 231-61; Part II, Libya 3 (1955), 329-67; A. R. Birley, Septimius Severus (1971), 216-9; E. W. B. Pentress, Numidia and the Roman Army (1979), 114-7.

See above note 50.

See above note 51.

70 See above pp. 254-5 with notes 7-10.

Statio in Hispania Tarraconensis: on the Tarraco-León road: (Tarraco)-565km-Segisamo-145km-(León); see pp. 139-40.

On the stationes at Winchester and Dorchester-on-Thames see p. 252 and Ch. IV p. 131.

Other stationes in Britain: a) Leeming Lane/Dere Street: (York)-60km-Catterick Bridge-31km-Binchester-17km-Lancchester-51km-Risingham; see pp 124-6; b) York-Carlisle/Stanwix road: (York)-60km-Catterick Bridge-22km-Greta Bridge-50km-Brougham-34km-(Carlisle/Stanwix); see pp. 127-9; c) Stanegate: (Carlisle)-38km-Vindolanda-24km-(Corbridge on Dere Street); see pp. 129-30; d) Chester-Carlisle/Stanwix road: (Chester)-108km-Lancaster-108km-Carlisle/Stanwix; see pp. 130-1. All these stationes were in the territory of what was, after 213, Britannia Inferior.

Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Britain: VII 271 - ILS 3929 - RIB 725, Catterick Bridge, AD 191 (?) (on the problems of the date see Ch. IV pp. 124-5 with note 26); AE 1977 n. 495 Brougham, AD 213 or 218/22; VII 280 = RIB 745 Greta Bridge, after AD 213; VII 281 = RIB 747 Greta Bridge, after AD 213; AE 1929 n. 128 = AE 1940 n. 108 = RIB 1696 Vindolanda, after AD 213.

On York as a northern base for the governor of undivided Britain and later as capital of Britannia Inferior see Ch.
The governors of undivided Britain and of Britannia Superior may similarly have spent a considerable amount of time at Chester especially when there was trouble in Wales, as perhaps in AD 169 (cf. S.S. Frere, Britannia (1974), 186); note that one of the Vindolanda writing tablets of c.AD 100 is a report by the fort commander at Ribchester to the commander at Vindolanda indicating that the latter's despatch riders have passed through on their way to the governor who is presumably at Chester (see above note 53). On the other hand, it may simply have been necessary to keep the legate of legio XX informed of developments in the north.

*Netherby (Castra Exploratorum: Itin. Ant. 467, 1 (Iter. II); see A.L.F. Rivet and C. Smith, The Place Names of Roman Britain (1979), 302. Exploratores at Risingham: VII 1002 = RIB 1235, AD 213; VII 1010 = RIB 1243. Bf cos at Risingham: VII 996 = RIB 1225. Exploratores at High Rochester: VII 1030 = RIB 1262, AD 238/44; VII 1037 = RIB 1270. Both Risingham and High Rochester were probably reoccupied in 205-7, after abandonment in the 180's, in preparation for the campaigns of Severus (see D.J. Breeze and B. Dobson, Hadrian's Wall (1978), 128-30, 141-3) and their exploratores may have been raised at the same time by M. Oclatinius Adventus, the procurator of Britain at this period, who is very unusually involved in the rebuilding of Chesters (VII 1346 = RIB 1462) and Risingham itself (VII 1003 = ILS 2618 = RIB 1234); in his early career he had served in a provincial officium and had later been princeps peregrinorum (cf. Ch. III p. 50) at Rome (see H.-G. Pflaum, Les Carrières Procuratorielles Equestres sous le Haut-Empire romain (1960), no 247), and he may therefore have been chosen to go to Britain partly as an intelligence expert to prepare for Severus's campaigns (see N.B. Rankov, `M. Oclatinius Adventus in Britain', Britannia XVII (1987), forthcoming).

**On the crisis under Commodus and the governorship of Ulpius Marcellus see S.S. Frere, Britannia (1974), 187-90; we do not know the details of Marcellus's career before he came to Britain (see A.R. Birley, The Fasti of Roman Britain (1981), 140-2) but a progression from Lower Germany to Britain seems to have been quite common (S.S. Frere, op.cit., 223; A.R. Birley, op.cit., 389-90) and he could have seen the use of beneficiarii consularis as relay couriers there.

***See S.S. Frere, op. cit., 198-9 and cf. above note 95.

**See Ch. IV p. 123 with note 20.
CATALOGUE

INSCRIPTIONS RECORDING BENEFICIARII AND IMMUNES CONSULARIS
IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES

This catalogue includes those inscriptions which
certainly or probably refer to beneficiarii and immunes
consularis, but excludes doubtful examples.

a) Beneficiarii Consularis

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

II 491 Emerita (Lusitania), c.AD 100.
D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) L. Maelonius Aper vet(eratorum)
leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) P(iae) F(idelis) an(nis LXX
militavit bf cos L. Maelonius Primitivos et Maelonia
Caesiola et Maelonia Malla lib(erti) patrono piissimo d(e)
s(uo) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it)
t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).

II 2915 Amaya nr. Burgos (Tarraconensis), 2nd/3rd cent.
...
Aelius
Maritimus bf cos exedram cum bas(i) [d(e)] s(uo)
f(aciendum) c(uravit).

II 4144 Tarraco, after AD 197.
L. Anteio Flavino bf cos civi Asturic(o) leg(ionis) VII
G(emiae) P(iae) F(eli) an(nis) XLV stip(endis) XXIII
Anteius Antiochus lib(erti) patrono optimo bene merent(i)
fecit secundum voluntatem suam.

II 4145 Tarraco, before AD 197.
D(is) M(anibus) L. Auffidio Felici bf cos municipi.
Gargilius Ruffus (sic) speculator leg(ionis) VII G(emiae)
P(elicis) benemero.

II 4148 Tarraco, before AD 197.
D(is) M(anibus) Aurel. Severi veterani leg(ionis) VII
G(emiae) Fel(ici) [ex] bf cos Plotia Trophime marito
b(e)e m(erito).

II 4149 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.
Antonio Saturnino ex [bf] cos Abiliana uxor marito
indulgentissimo.

II 4153 Tarraco, after AD 197.
Memoriae Firimidi Ceciliani bf cos leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae)
P(iae) F(elicis) Valeria Primula uxor marito
b(e)e m(erito) f(ecit).

II 4154 = ILS 2369 Tarraco, after AD 197.
D(is) m(anibus) Cn. Fulv(i)o Clapratino ex p[rovinc]ia
Baetic[a Iter]alicensi probato in leg(ione) VI Ferr[itan]
tra(nse)lato frum(entario) in leg(ione) VII G(emiae)
P(iae) F(elicis) facto [bf] cos militavit ann(os) XXI,
vixit ann(os) XXXX Ful(vius) Cornelianus lib(erti)
patrono be(ne)m(ero) f(ecit).
II 4160 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.
C. Lutatiuf[s...] bf cos an[n(is)]... Iuniae Lupu[lae fem(inae)] dignissi[m(ae)]... quae guo [amore mala]trem sor[orem infan]tem pu[er]um servum [servam] libertu[m liber]tam pu[...].

II 4163 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.
D(is) m(anibus) O(vinio?) Arato [v]erne Tarr(aconensi) po(suerunt) Porc(ius) Paris et Q(uintius?) Ur(banus?) bf cos colleg( ae) merito.

II 4164 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.
Cn. Pompeio Fructo bf cos Toletano ann(is) XXXXII Terentius Bassenus heres secundum voluntatem Domitiae Fortunatae matris eius fecit.

II 4167 Tarraco, after AD 197.
Val(erio) Attico bf cos leg(ionis) VII G(emiae) P(iae) F(elicis), stip(endiis) XXIII vixitannis XLI fecit Aelia Parthensi hospiti benemerenti.

II 4624 Emporiae (Tarracoensis), 2nd cent.
D(is) m(anibus) M. Val(erio) La[evi]no bf cos Valerius Geminus fratri optimo.

V 6785 Eporedia (Regio XI, Italy), 1st/2nd cent.

VII 5 = ILS 4786 = RIB 88 Winchester (Britannia), late 1st/early 2nd cent.
Matri(us) Italis Germanis Gal( lies) Brit( annis) Antonius Cretianus [b]f cos rest(ituit).

VII 83 = ILS 5458 = RIB 235 Dorchester-on-Thames (Britannia), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et numinib(us) Aug(ustorum) M. Varius Severus b cos aram cum cancellis d(e) s(uo) p(osuit).

VII 156 = RIB 293 Wroxeter, c AD 60.
C. Mannius C.f. Poll(lia tribu) Secundus Pollen(tia) mil(es) leg(ionis) XX an(norum) LII stip(endiorum) XXXI ben(e)fcicarius) leg(atii) pr(opraetore) h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

VII 271 = ILS 3929 = RIB 725 Catterick Bridge, AD 191.
Deo qui vias et semitas commentus est Aur(elius) Das(so) f(ecit) v(otum) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) O. Varius Vitalis bf cos aram sacram restituit Apronio et Bradua co(n)s(ulibus)
3-4 T. Irdas SCFVLLM CIL

299
VII 280 = RIB 745 Greta Bridge (Britannia Inferior), after AD 213.
...[O]N[I][...][S][...][S][...][ellinus bf cos provincia(ale) superior(is) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

VII 281 = RIB 747 Greta Bridge (Britannia Inferior), after AD 213.
...LING POSI[...][OEVMOLLINI[vetestate di]labs(um) sub cura [...] (centurionis) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) [...] post(umius) Urbanus [bcos? provinciae su]perioris [...] citra [...]EM.

VII 286 = RIB 602 Lancaster (Britannia), 2nd/3rd cent.
Deo Sancto Marti Cocidio Vibinius Lucius bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

VII 424 = RIB 1031 Binchester (Britannia), 2nd/3rd cent.
Dea(bis) Matri(bis) Of(ficiis) T[ilb]berius Cl(audius) Quintianus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

VII 441 = RIB 1085 Lanchester (Britannia), 2nd/3rd cent.
Deo Silvano Marc(us) Didius Provincialis bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

VII 645 = ILS 4230 = RIB 1599 Housesteads (Britannia), early 3rd cent.
Deo Soli Invicto Mytrae Saeculari Litorius Pacatianus bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

VII 996 = ILS 4728 = RIB 1225 Risingham (Britannia), early 3rd cent.
[D]eo Mogonito Cad(...) et n(umini) d(omi)ni n(ostri) Aug(usti) M. G[avius?] Secundinus bf cos Habitanci prima stat(ione) pro se et suis posu[it].

VIII 2401 Timgad (Numidia), early 3rd cent.
[D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) C. Ael(ius) Extri?l[c]atus hic situs est qui post tantum onus multos crebrosg(ue) labores nunc silet et tacito(sic) contentus sede quiescit C. Ael(ius) Tertiolus bf cos leg(ionis) VI Victr(icos) patri plentissimo.

XII 2602 Genava (Gallia Narbonensis), AD 96-8.
M. Carantius Macrinus centurio coh. Premiae Urbanae factus miles in ead(em) cohorte Domitiano II co(n)s(ule) beneficiar(ius) Tettieni Sereni leg(ati) Aug(usti) Vespas(iano) X (sic) co(n)s(ule) cornicular(ius) Corneli Gallicani leg(ati) Aug(usti) equestrib(us) stipendialis Domit(iano) VIII co(n)s(ule) item Minici Rufi legati Aug(usti) evocatus Augusti Domit(iano) XIIII co(n)s(ule) centurio Imp(erator) Nerva II co(n)s(ule) p(oni) i(ussit).

XII 3168 = ILS 2404 Nimes (Gallia Narbonensis), c.AD 133.
D(is) M(anibus) Umidia Aviti militi(s) leg(ionis) VII Gemin(ae) Felicis beneficiari(i) Iunii O multi consular(is) cura T. Vitrasii Pollion(is) legati Aug(usti).
XII 3182 Nîmes (Gallia Narbonensis), 2nd/3rd cent. [D(is) M(anibus)] L. Valeriani mil(itis) [leg(ionis)] XX Britannic(ae) ben(eciarius) [leg(ati) or proc(uratoris)] Aug(usti) miliavit ann(os) X [... mens(es) VII dies XV [... vixit ann(os) XXXI mens(es) V dier XXVI Iulia Iuliana filio sanctissimae pietatis et sibi viva(e) p(osuit).

XII 5723 Antipolis (Gallia Narbonensis), 2nd/3rd cent. [D(is) M(anibus)] et quies aeternae T. Aelii Tucundi For(o) [Iul(ii)?] qui vicesit a(nno) I m(ensibus) II diebus septem T. Aelius Macrobius p(ater) bf con(sularis) I(egionis) VII(I) Aug(ustae) et Numisia Lucilia mater p(arentes) infelicissimi filio dulcissimo m(emento) f(ecerunt).

XII 1843 Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd cent. D(is) M(anibus) [A]urelius Maximus mil(es) leg(ionis) [... bf?] cos stip(endiis) XII [... ex] prov(incia) Thraciae [... ensis qui o(biit stip(endiis) leg(ionis) emeritus(?)] Aurelius Bitus v(eteranus)? [... f(aciendum) c(uravit) et [...].

XII 1909 Ludgunum, 2nd/3rd cent. Bf

XII 3620 plateau of the Donjon des Comtes near Namur, overlooking the confluence of the Meuse and the Sambre, 2nd/3rd cent. D(is) m(anibus) Acceptus Victoris (filius) sibi et Ammai suae co(n)iuce et Victorio Victorino bf cos eratri (sic) posuit.

XIII 5609 Pontailler-sur-Saône (Germ. Sup.), AD 150 I(o(ovi)] Optimo M(aximo) et genio loci Q. Ta[vilius] Saturninus bf Caeserni Statiani con(sularis) Gallicano et Vetere co(n)s(ule) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6095 = ILS 3211 Germersheim (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent. Deae Maiiae aedem a solo fecit G. Arrius Patruitus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(acterius) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6127 = ILS 2401 Altripp (Germ. Sup.). AD 181. I(n) h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) genio bf cos G(ermaniae) S(uperioris) et loci concordiae var(iorum) (or concordiae duarum) sta(tionum) C. Iul(ius) Adventus bf cos Imp(eratoris) C[ommodo] Aug(usti) III et Burro co(n)s(ule) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) [pon]tem [... (or tem[plum...]) rest(ituit).

XIII 6144 Erpolzheim (Germ.Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent. D(is) m(anibus) [... bf cos stipendiiorum XXVIII qui vixit annis XXXII mensibus VIII Prudentia Favorina uxor et heres coniugi dulcissimo f(aciendum) c(uravit).

XIII 6279 Oppenheim (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent. Memoriae aeternitatis Lucaniae Victoriae coniugi pudicissimae adque (sic) castissimae Pervincius Romulus bf cos maritus et Romanus filius ob inmensurabilem pietatem iuus.
XIII 6383 Köngen (Germ. Sup.), ? July sometime in the 2nd/3rd cent.
[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) [D]o[lich]eno M. L[u]ciu[s] Mate[rn]us f. c. e. i. p. l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) [Id(ibus)?] Iul(iis) [...] no [...] co(n)s(ulibus)].

XIII 6397 Heidelberg (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) aram et columnam pro se et [suis] C. Vereius [Cla]mens miles leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) b cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6437 Cannstatt (Germ. Sup.), 13 December AD 221.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) Biviis Triviis Quadriviis Sattonius Iuvenilis f. c. pro salute sua et suorum posuit v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6440 Cannstatt (Germ. Sup.), AD 213 or 222.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) Iovi et Lunoni Reg(inae) et genio loci et d(is) d(eabusque) omni(bus) P. Sedulius Julianus m[ii]es leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) A[n]toninus f. c. pro sal(ute) sua et suor(um) stat(ione) iterat(a) posuit Imp(erator) d(omino) n(ostro) Antonino Aug(usto) III et B[a]libino II co(n)s(ulibus) (AD 213) or Au[r]elio Alexander Caes(are) co(n)s(ulibus) (AD 222).

XIII 6441 Cannstatt (Germ. Sup.), AD 213-22.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) Iovi et Lunoni Reg(inae) et genio loci eT. (sic) Gerionis Sc[er]erus miles leg(ionis) XII Antonio[ni]an(ae) f. c. pro sa[lime] sua et suor(um) d(omino) n(ostro) Antonino et... co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6442 Cannstatt (Germ. Sup.), 13 January AD 223
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) genio loci et Fortunae dis deabusque Emeritius Sextus miles legionis XXII Pr(i)migeniae) P[iae] P(idelis) Severianae f. c. pro se et suis posuit v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Maximo et Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus) Idibus Januari(i)is.

XIII 6474 = ILS 4553 Böckingen (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Marti Catu[ri]gi genio loci C. Iul(ius) Quietus f. c. v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6485 Gundelsheim (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Lunoni Reginae C. Fabius Germanus f. c. pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6557 Jagsthausen (Germ. Sup.). AD 179.
[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) I(unoni) R(eginae) et g(enio) l(oci) L. Pompieus Gratinus miles leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) f. c. pro se et suis Imp(erator) Commodo II et Vero II co(n)s(ulibus).
XIII 6558 Jagsthausen (Germ. Sup.), AD 186.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) I(unoni) R(eginae) et his
sed(libus) T. F(lavius) Vitalis Ael(lia) Aug(usta) mil(es)
leg(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis)
stip(endiis) XXVI pro salute sua et sui(sic) omnium
v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratore)
Com(modo) P(io) F(elice) V et Glabri(o) co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6560 Jagsthausen (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
... Vic?]tor bf cos v(otum) s(olvit).

XIII 6561 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximus) et genio loci Calvlnlus Titus bf
cos [...].

XIII 6564 Obernburg (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) [et ge]nio [loci A?]ppius
[...]s mil(es) [leg(ionis) X]XII Pr(Imigeniae) P(iae)
P(idelis) bf cos [v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens)
merito).

XIII 6568 Eisenbach nr. Obernburg (Germ. Sup.), AD 181.
I(ovi) [O(ptimo)] M(aximo et g(en)io loci C. luf(lus)]
et [sul]is Imp(eratore) [Co]mmendo [Au]g(usto) III et
B[ur(ro)] co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6631a Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
Eraecure [...] O [...] A [...] AI [...] bf [...].

XIII 6632 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) lunonl Reg(inae) [di]ls
deabu[s]q(ue) omnib(us) et genio loci Ael(lia) Heraclida
bf cos l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6633 + 6656b Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), September-
October, AD 181.
[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) [lunonl Reg(i)nae) et ge]nio
loce C. A [...] C.f. Iustu[s] bf cos pro se et [s]uis
[v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)
[Imp(eratore) C[o]mmendo [Au]g(usto) III et
B[ur(ro)] co(n)s(ulibus) [... O]ct.
4 C. A [...] CE CIL
7 mil(itans) [in] m(unere) [st(ationis)] CIL.

XIII 6634 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), AD 167.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) lunonl Reginae Mercurio et genio
loce L. Fl(avius) Paternus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit)
l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratore) Vero III et
Quadrato co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6635 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 26 July AD 182.
[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] lunonl Reg(i)nae) et genio
v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) M[a]lmerin[o]
et Rufo VII Ka[l(endas)] Augustas co(n)s(ulibus).
XIII 6636 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), AD 167.
I(o)vi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iun(oni) Reg(inae) et gen(io) loci G. Iul(ius) Petunnatius bf cos v(otum) s(olvit)
l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(erator) Ver(o) III et Qua dra(to) co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6637 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 20 February, AD 182.
I(o)vi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iun(oni) Reg(inae) et gen(io) loci [...]. Nobilius L[... Jus bf cos m(ani) leg[ionis]
VIII Au(g)ustae stat(ione) prim[a] pro e[t suis omni]bus v(otum) s(olvit) [l(ibens) m(erito) ] Mamertino
[et Rufo] co(n)s(ulibus) X Kal(endas) Mart[ias].

XIII 6638 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(o)vi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Conservat[or] ceteris dlls
dea[busque et genio] Iunii Victorini co(n)s(ularis) C. Secionius Senilis bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)
m(e rito).

XIII 6649 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
[.o]vi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iun(oni) Reg[inae] et gen(i)
loci[e]t dis] dea[busq(ue) omni][bu[s....

XIII 6641 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), AD 199(?)
[...[V]e[...]]s mil(es) le[g(ionis) XXII P(ri migenae) P(iae) F(idelis) bf cos [pro se et s]uis v(otum) s(olvit)
l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) An[ullino II et Frontone]
co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6647 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), AD 191.
...[g]e[nio lo]ci [...]masu[...]s bf cos [Apro]nian(o) et
[Brad]ua co(n)s(ulibus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus)
l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6648 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
Mercur(i)o C. Iul(ius) Iustinus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit)
l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6648a Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
Mercurio T. Fl(avius) C. Avitus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit)
l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6649 = ILS 9263 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.). AD 166.
Nymphae Apollinares renovatae meritoque aris dedicandas
gaudet in utrumque a se factum pro se et suis L. Memmius
Juvenis bf cos Pudente et Polione co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6653 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
[...[...]]c[os [...]ecum [... ] reli[ [...] mil(es)
leg(ionis) [... ]bf cos.

XIII 6656f Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
[...bf] co[s...pro se et] suis[...]

XIII 6665 = ILS 4796 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), 15 July AD 211.
Deab(us) Aufan(iis) et tutelae loci pro salute et
incolumitate sua suorum(ue) omnium L. Maiorius Cogitatus
bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Idibus
Iuli(is) Gentiano et Basso co(n)s(ulibus).
XII 6740b Mainz (Germ. Sup.), AD 194.
Marti Victoriae Fortunae Tertinius Senecio mil(es)
leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) bf cos
Imp(eratore) Severo II et Albino Caesare II
co(n)s(ulibus).

XII 6807 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), c.AD 218/9.
Cl(audio) Aelio Pollioni leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o)
pr(aetore G(ermaniae) S(uperioris) praesidi integerrimo
bf cos G(ermaniae) S(uperioris).

XII 7000 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
Licinio Liciniano bf cos Saecularia Severina coniunx
f(aciendum) c(uravit).

XII 7338 Heddernheim-Praunheim (Germ. Sup.), 13 January
AD 213.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) genio Sancto M. Aurel(ius)
Cl(audius) Pompeianus mil(es) leg(ati) VIII Antoniniannae
Aug(ustae) bf cos Id(ibus) Ianuar(iis) Imp(eratore)
d(omino) n(ostro) Antonino III et Balbino II
co(n)s(ulibus).

XII 7399 = ILS 4192 Friedberg (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
Solf (sic) Invicto Imp(eratori) C. Paulinius Iustus bf
co.

XII 7400 = ILS 4192a Friedberg (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd
cent.
Virtuti Invicto Imp(eratoris) C. Paulinius Iustus bf co.

XII 7731 the Vinxtbach (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(o) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loc(i) Iunoni Reginae
Tertinius Severus mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) bf
co s(ex voto p(osuit) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens)
m(erito).

XII 7788 Remagen (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(o) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loc(i) Iunoni Reginae
Tertinius Severus mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) bf
co s(ex voto p(osuit) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens)
m(erito).

XII 7790 = ILS 3913 Remagen (Germ. Inf.). AD 190.
I(o) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci et Rheni Cl(audius)
Marcellinus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
Imp(eratore) Commodo VI co(n)s(ule).

XII 7791 Remagen (Germ. Inf.), c.AD 151/2 or c.AD 180.
I(o) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci [fl]ulmini Rhe[no]
T. Flavius [Sti?]o bf Salvi [Iul]iani co s(votum) s(olvit)
l(ibens) m(erito).

XII 7794 Remagen (Germ. Inf.), AD 242.
Deo S[oli?] M. Supenin(ius) Felix bf cos Sacr(u)m
Pr(a)e[xtato co(n)sule).

XII 7817 Oberwinter (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
Herculi L. Iucundinius Maximus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit)
l(libens) m(erito).
XIII 7818 Oberwinter (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
Herculi Octavius Curtavius bf cos.

XIII 7835 Aachen (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
...[ius ibf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 7596/7 Billig (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(o) O(p[tim]) M(aximo) et genio l(oci C. Iucund[ius]
Maternus bf cos pro se (et) suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)
m(erito).

XIII 7997 Bonn-Dottendorf (Germ. Inf.), AD 182.
I(o) O(p[tim]) M(aximo) et genio l(oci C. Iucund[ius]
Similis m[i]i(es) leg(ionis) XXX [Ulpiae V(ictricis)] bf
cos iu[ssu] Mamertino et Ru[fo co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 7998 Bonn-Dottendorf (Germ. Inf.), AD 214.
I(o) O(p[tim]) M(aximo) et genio l(oci C. Iucund[ius]
Similis m[i]i(es) leg(ionis) XXX [Ulpiae V(ictricis)] bf
cos iu[ssu] Mamertino et Ru[fo co(n)s(ulibus.

XIII 8012 Bonn (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(o) O(p[tim]) M(aximo) Q. Caesius [I]ustus bf [co]s ex
[votol.

XIII 8204 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), before AD 223.
[It(o) O(p[tim]) M(aximo) et genio l(oci C. Iul[ius]
Aprilis [bf] cos pro [se e]t suis.

XIII 8205 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), AD 225.
I(o) O(p[tim]) M(aximo) et genio l(oci M. Aurellus Ursus
bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Messala et Sabino
c(o)n(s(ulibus.

XIII 8206 Cologne (Ger. Inf.), AD 232.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ionae) I(o) O(p[tim]) M(aximo) et
genio l(oci L. Hilarinus Amabilis bf cos pro se et suis
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Lup(o) et Maximo
c(o)n(s(ulibus.

XIII 8207 Cologne (Ger. Inf.), 31 July or 1 August, AD
239.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ionae) I(o) O(p[tim]) M(aximo) et
genio l(oci L. Hilarinus Ingenuinus bf cos pro se et suis
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit) (or pridie)
Kal(endis) Aug(ustis) Imp(erator) d(omino) n(ostro)
Gordiano Aug(ustus) et Aviola co(n)s(ulibus.

XIII 8278 Cologne (Ger. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
D(is) M(anibus) Aureli(i) Aristaeneto vet(erano) leg(ionis)
I M(inerviae) [Alurellus A[r]is[ti]def[es]
leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) bf [clos patri.

XIII 8293 Cologne (Ger. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
D(is) M(anibus) C. Severinio Viteali veterano honeste
missionis ex bf cos leg(ionis) XXX Ulpiae V(ictricis)
Severinia Severina filia patri karissimo adserente
Vitalinio Hilarione liberto faciundum curavit.
XIII 8297 Cologne (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
... bf? c]os Cassia [...]cerioni S[...]

XIII 8298 Cologne (Germ Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
...tit[i] mil(i) leg(ionis) [...]bf? c]os obito [...]

XIII 8494 Deutz (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(o[v]i) O(ptimo) M(aximi) et genio loci Sextus Val[erius] Verus [bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 8588 Asberg (Germ. Inf.), AD 230.
I(o[v]i) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et gen(io) loci C. Catonius Respectus bf cos Prisciliano et Agricola co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 8621 Birten near Vetera (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(o[v]i) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et gen(io) loci C. Val(erius) T[e]rtius et M. Vitaliius Secundus bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 8841 unknown provenance (Germ. Inf.), before AD 233.
In h(onorem) d[omus] d(livinae) dis deab(us)q(ue) omnib(us) Matris[ibus Vaphthi]us et gen[io] loci sacram C. Tauricius Verus bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) posuit et d[edi]cavit.
Cf. AE 1930 n.25; AE 1956 n.252.

XIII 11603 Argentorate (Germ. Sup.), 3rd cent.
I(o[v]i) [O(ptimo) M(aximo) et geni[o] loci] Avitius[...]
Pomp eius) O[... ] Septimiu[s...] bbff le[g(at)]i Aug(usti) ? ex]pleta st[atione].

XIII 11747a Cannstatt (Germ. Sup.), AD 182.
... Vengius Germanus mil[es] leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) bf cos pro se et suos (sic) posuit Mamert[ino et Rufo]
co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 11762=6556 Jagsthausen (Germ. Sup.), 13 March of an unknown year in the late 2nd century.
I(o[v]i) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Reginae genio loci L. Fl(avius) Patern(us) [bf cos...] v(otum) [s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito)]
On the left side: III Id(us) Mar(tiae).
Cf. XIII 6634.

XIII 11771 Miltenberg (Germ. Sup.), 23 December AD 231.
[I(o[v]i) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] et Iunoni Reginae [et] g(enio) l(oci) concordiae b(ene)ficiariorum) G(ermaniae) S(uperioris) pro salute sua et suorum Petronius Sileniris mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) X Kal(endas) Ian(uarias) Pompeiano et Peli(gniano) co(n) s(ulibus).

XIII 11776=6639 not. + 6654 + 6655 Stockstadt (Germ.
Sup.), late 2nd cent.
M[arcellinus] mil(les) leg(ionis) VIII [Aug(ustae)] [b]f
co(s...]
Cf. XIII 11791=6649a + ... + 6651.

307
XIII 1177 = 6639 + ... + 6656b Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.

[Io(ius)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) [et] genio lo[ci] pro se et su[ius... Val(erius) Maximus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 11791 = 6649a + ... + 6651 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.) 13 or 15 of an unknown month AD 186.

...d [... T] Ca[lven]ius Marc[ellinus] [mil(es] leg(ionis)] VIII Aug(ustae) bf [cos pro] se et su[ius v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)] Id[ibus...]

Imp(erator)[e] C[ommodo] V et Glabrio[ne co(n)s(ulibus)].

Cf. XIII 11776 = 6639 not. + 6654 + 6655.

XIII 11792 = 6656a + ... Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.) 13 or 14 of an unknown month AD 183.

[Io(ius)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) et lun[o(ni] Reginae et genio loci [... Bo[no Eventui... lit[...] ni[ leg(ionis)] XXII Pr[imig(eniae)... stip(endiis) X... pro se et sui s[otum] s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(erator) Co[n]s(ulibus).

XIII 11816 = 6731a + 6768 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.


XIII 11820 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent. In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) deo Mercurio Lucius Potens bf cos aedem vetustate con[lapsam restituit].

XIII 11824 = ILS 9330 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), AD 218/22(?)

Deabus Aufanis pro salute Invicti Antonini Aug(usti) M. Aurelius Agripinus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 11855 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), AD 208 (?) [Ma]tr[ibus] Aufaniab[us... Ingenuus bf cos pro s[e et] sui s[otum] s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)] An[tonino] III et G[eta Caes(are)] II co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 11866 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent. Ma[tribus] Aufanibus C. Lucretiu[s...iatus] bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 1187 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), AD 218. In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) deabus Aufaniis M. Massonianus Vitalis bf cos pro se et sui s[otum] s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(erator) [[Macrino Aug(usti)]] et Advento co(n)s(ulibus).
XIII 11988 = ILS 9329 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), AD 227.
Matribus Aufaniis Nepotinius Nepotianus bf cos pro se et
suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Albino et Maximo
co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 11989 = ILS 9327 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd
cent.
Matronis Aufaniabus M. Petronius (sic) Patroclus bf cos
iterata statione v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 11990 = ILS 9328 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), late
2nd/early 3rd cent.
Matronis Aufaniabus C. Summius Agrestis bf Nov[i] Prisci
legati [Aug(usti)...]

XIII 11991 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), AD 196.
leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) P(iae) F(idelis) bf [cos pr]o se
et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) [Dextr]o
it(umer) et Prisco co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 12052 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), AD 179.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Serapi et genio loci L.
Caesius Florentinus bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit)
l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratore) Comm(odo) II et V(ero) II
c(o)n(s) ulibus).

XIII 12053 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci Sex(tus) Ins(ius)
Rufus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

L'Année Epigraphique

AE 1910 n.119 Axima (Alpes Graiae et Poeninae), late 2nd
cent.
Marti Aug(uste) T. Accius T(itii) f(ilius) Q(uirina tribu)
Secundus Eburuduni b(eneficiarius) P. Memmi Clementis
procuratoris Augusti v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
item templum de suo re(novavit)

AE 1911 n.159 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), AD 206.
...pro se et] su[i] v(otum) [s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]
Albino et Aemilian(o) co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1927 n.65 Cannstatt (Germ. Sup.), 18 July AD 219.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)~
ceteris dis deabusq(ue) M. Aur(elius) Titius Iulianus bf
cos pro salute sua et su orum libens pos(uit) XV
K(alendae) Au(gustae) Imp(eratoris) d(omino) n(ostro) M.
Aur(elio) Antonino Aug(uste) II (consule).

AE 1927 n.66 Cannstatt (Germ. Sup.), 29 December AD 230.
I(n) h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
dis deabusque omnib(us) Sereni(us) Atticus bf cos pro sua
et suorum salute posuit IIII K(alendas) Ian(uarias)
Agricola et Clementino co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1929 n.108 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci T. Bl[...
AE 1929 n.128 = AE 1940 n.108 = RIB 1696 Chesterholm
(Britannia Inferior), after AD 213.
[...] Silvan(o) [M.] Aurelius Modestus bf cos provinciae
superioris leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae).

AE 1930 n.25 Bonn (Germ. Inf.), AD 233.
Sanctis Aufanis C. Tauricius Verus bf cos sacrum pro se et
suis Maximo et Paterno co(n)s(ulibus).
Cf. XIII 8841; AE 1956 n.252.

AE 1930 n.26 Bonn (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
Matronis Aufaniabus C. Iulius Proculeianus et M. Sabinius
Victor bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
6 bp AE (mistakenly)

AE 1931 n.16 Bonn (Germ. Inf.), AD 205.
Aufanis Sanctis T. Fl(avius) Severus bf cos et Successinia
Tita pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
Imperatore Antonino II [et Geta Caes(are)]
co(n)s(ulibus)

AE 1932 n.11 Bonn (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
[...] Victor bf cos pro se [et suis...]

AE 1935 n.252 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), after AD 233.
Ha[ve] Taurici sal(vius sis homo bon[e] quoniam me
salutasti perlege et dicam tibi C. Tauricio Vero
vet(erano) ex bf cos equestris militiae petitori Tauricius
[Ver]lus filius et heres et Iulia Ingenua coni(n)x ex
vo[luntate] testamento faciundum curaverunt heredes amici
hic ego vos specto [bene valet... o]nte.
6 ...]nte AE
Cf. XIII 8841; AE 1930 n.25

AE 1957 n.47 Obernburg (Germ. Sup.), 15 July AD 201.
I(o) O(ptimo) M(aximo) genio loci ceterisque dis
immortalibus T. Atticus Pacatus mil(es) leg(ionis) XXII
P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) bf cos v(otum) s(olvit)
l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Id(ibus) Iul(iis) Muciano et
Fabiano co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1957 n.48 Obernburg (Germ. Sup.), 15 July AD 206 or
227.
I(o) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Reginae et genio loci C.
Iul(ius) Servandus bf cos leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae)
posuit Idib(us) Iul(iis) Albino et Aemlliiano (sic)
co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1957 n.49 Obernburg (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(o) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et gen(io) loc(i) M. Bellius
Marcellinus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens)
m(erito).

AE 1957 n.50 Obernburg (Germ Sup.), 15 July AD 189
I(o) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Reg(inae) Minerviae genio
Imp(eratoris) Commodi Aug(usti) Pii Felicis Invicti
Britannici Quillonius Verecundus mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII
Aug(ustae) P(iae) F(idelis) C(onstantis) C(ommodae) bf cos
duobus Silanis co(n)s(ulibus) Idib(us) Iul(iis) v(otum)
s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

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AE 1957 n.51 Obernburg (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci ceterisque diis deabusque immortalibus sacrum M. Aurelius Superinius lectus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) m(erito).

AE 1957 n.52 Obernburg (Germ. Sup.), 13 January AD 191.
Dis deabusque omnibus sacrum C. Sanctinius Mercator mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) P(iae) P(idelis) C(onstantis) C(ommodae) bf cos pro salute sua et suorum omnium pos(u)it v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) m(erito) Id(ibus) Ian(uariis) Aproniano et Bradua co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1961 n.332 Tarraco, before AD 197.
L. Caecili(o) Quarto vet(erano) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) F(elicis) bf cos oriundo Siccae Veneriae Sempron(a) Fabiana uxor marito indulgentissim(o) et praestantissim(o) b(ene) d(e) s(e) m(erito).

AE 1962 n.228 = AE 1978 n.551 Grosskrotzenburg (Germ. Sup.), 13 January AD 221.
[In] h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) lun(onii) R(eginae) d(is) d(eabus)q(ue) omnibus gen(io) loc(i) C(audius) Pompeianus mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII Ant(onini) Aug(ustae) bf cos pro se et suis o(mnibus) p(osuit) Idibus Ian(uariis) Gratiano et Seleuco co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1971 n.218 York (Britannia Inferior), c.AD 216.
[Genio] collegi [...o] p(romotionem?) b(ene)f(icarii) Gordian(i).

AE 1974 n.446 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), 1 September of an unknown year, 2nd/3rd cent.
[In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) dis] deabusque omnibus Acceptius Maior bf cos pro (se) et suis Omni(bus) emerita statione<cm> t(itulum?) c(uravit?) Kal(endis) Sep(tembris) in d(...) Aug(...?).
2 D<aeabus AE
5 [se] AE

AE 1975 n.652 Zierikzee (Zeeland) (Germ. Inf.), AD 223.
[In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) d(elae Neh]alenniae C. Iul(ius) AP(J)etrius veteran[u]ls ex bf cos pro se et sui[s] v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) m(erito) Maximo et Aelia[n]o co(n)s(ulibus).

Cf. XIII 8204.

AE 1976 n.501 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), AD 151.
[Maximo et Condiano Silvano deo et genio loci M. Petronius Maximinus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) l[In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) AE.

311
In o(norem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Silvano et Dianae sanctae genio catabul(i) co(n)s(ularis)
cet(erris)que (sic) diis inmortalibusque pro se suisque T.
M(aximi)us Felix mil(es) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) bf
cos Idibus Ian(uarii) Imp(erator) Antonino Aug(usto) Pio
III [[P. Geta Caes(are) II]] co(n)s(ularis).

AE 1976 n.503 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), 15 July AD 205
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) deo Silvano et genio loci
et Dianae C. T[i]lius Supe mil(es) leg(ionis) XXII
Pr(imigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) bf cos v(otum) s(olvit)
l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(erator) Antonino Aug(usto)
II [[P. Geta Caes(are) II]] co(n)s(ularis) Idibus Iul(iiis).

AE 1977 n.495 Clifton (Britannia Inferior), 22 September AD 213 or 218/22.
Deo Marti A[u]p(usti) A[...]ius Surus omnes [...] c[u]m
instrumento et [...] quae voverat promotus bf cos
leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) [Ant(omniae)] [...] l(ior ex
Africa po)u(lit) X Ka[lendas] Octob(ers)
l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(erator) Antonino Aug(usto)
II [[P. Geta Caes(are) II]] co(n)s(ularis).

AE 1978 n.525 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), 15? July AD 212.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
patrio Marti Cons(ervator) d(is) d(eabus) om(nibus) C.
Secur[ius Domit[i]nus mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII [Aug(ustae)]
P(iae) F(idelis) C(onstantis) C(omm[odae]) Antonin[ianae]
bf cos pro se et suis ter[ia] stat(ione) [v(otum) s(olvit)
l(ibens) m(erito) Id(ibus)]? Iul(iiis) duob(us) A[spiris]
co(n)s(ularis).

AE 1978 n.526 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), 13 January AD 213.
... linn[u]c[ae] et Calen[ius]i[us] bf [cos leg(ionis) VIIII
C(omm[odae]) [...] d(omino) n(ostro) Antonin[ano Aug(usto)
III] et Caelio [Balbinus II] co(n)s(ularis) Id(ibus)
Ian(uarii) [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) A[elliano et]
Maximo or Iul[iano et] Crispino] co(n)s(ularis).

AE 1978 n.527 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), AD 223 or 224.
[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] Iunon[i] Reg(inae) dis
deabfusqu[el omni]bus [...] l(TOUTIO [...] SIGIOPI [...]]
Victorinus? mil(es) leg(ionis) VIIII [Aug(ustae)
A[lex]andrianae] bf cos [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)
m(erito) [Ae]lliano et [Maximo] or [Iu]lliano et [Crispino]
co(n)s(ularis).

AE 1978 n.528 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), AD 238.
[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunon[i] Reg(ii)ae et gen]io
loc[i [... S]laf]turninus [civis T]rever(icus) [mil(es]
leg(ionis)] XXII Pr(imigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) [bf] cos
[v(otum) s(olvit)] [aet]us l(ibens) m(erito) Pio et 
Proc(ulo) co(n)s(ularis).
AE 1978 n.529 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd/early 3rd cent.
[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et gen[io lo[ci cetelris [dis de]abus[que o]mnib(us) [... G?]ai fil(ius) [...]a Ara [bf co]s mi[[es) leg(ionis) VIII [...]

AE 1978 n.550 Grosskrotzenburg (Germ. Sup.), 16 January AD 223.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) l(un(i) Reginae gen(io) loci M. Cossius Florentinus mil( es) leg(ionis) VII Aug(ustae) Sev(eriannes) bf cos pro se et sui[s] v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) XVII K(alendas) Fe[bruarias] Maximo et Ael(iano) co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1981 n.674 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
... Mode?Tratus bf [cos?] [[ S]ep[t][[i]]m[[iae]] [...] co[ijugi d[u]lciss[i]mae o[bitae]....

Alföldy, G., Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (1975)

Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Komission
Bericht RGK 1927 n.370 Dormagen (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
...]per [bf?] cos [v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito).

Bericht RGK 1937 n.74 Waldsee nr. Altrip (Germ. Sup.), 13 or 15 of an unknown month, AD 201.
... Quintinus? mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII [Aug(ustae) bf cos Id(ibus) [... M]uciano et Fabiano] co(n)s(ulibus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

Bericht RGK 1959 n.142 Jagsthausen (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
...La[tus b cos pro se e[t] suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

Drexel, F., ORL B Nr.33 Das Kastell Stockstadt. (Lieferung XXXIII) (Heidelberg, 1910)
F. Drexel, ORL B Nr.33 (1910), 68 no 2 = ... + XIII 6656d Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), AD 166.
 [...]e[...]m[... pro]l[ise et] su(is?...][s[... Pu[dente et P]ol[lione co(n)s(ulibus)]

Ephemeris Epigraphica
FF IX 1133 = ILS 4785 = RIB 1030 Binchester (Britannia). 2nd/3rd cent. I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Matribus Ollototis sive Transmarinis Pomponius Donatus bf cos pro salute sua et suorum v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) a(nimo).
H. Eiden, Zehn Jahre Ausgrabungen an Mittelrhein und Mosel (1976), 46-7 Remagen (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(o) m(aximo) Sex(tus) Senius Secundinus m(illes) l(eg(ionis)) I M(inerviae) P(iae) F(idelis) b(f) cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

H. Eiden, Zehn Jahre Ausgrabungen an Mittelrhein und Mosel (1976), 47-8 Remagen (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(o) m(aximo) et genio loci T. Farfenna l(anuar(ius)) b(f) cos c(um?) Isaur(io) Calendino (centurione) l(eg(ionis)) XXX U(lpiae) pro se et (suis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Fundberichte aus Schwaben

B. and H. Galsterer, Epigraphische Studien 13 (1983), 172-3 no. 4 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(o) m(aximo) Mar(ius?) Martius b(f) cos [...].

Gsell, S., Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie (1922-76)

Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 1894.36
I(o) m(aximo) Peonino (sic) Iul(ius) Fortunatus b(f) cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).


Schallmayer, Kat. no 1 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd cent.
Deae Candidae Reginae benemerenti pro se et suis C. Paulinius Iustus m(illes) l(eg(ionis)) XXII P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) b(f) cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
Schallmayer, Kat. no 2 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), 13 January AD 182.

I(o) vi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) dis deabusque omnibus T. Ianuarinius Tertius mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII Au(gustae) bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) Id(ibus) Ian(uariis) Mamertino et Rufo co(n)s(ulibus).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 3 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), 15 July AD 183.

I(o) vi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Reg(inae) dis deabusq(ue) omnibus et genio loci P. Ae(lius) Gemellus bf cos Imp(erator) [Commodo Aug(usto)]et Victorino II co(n)s(ulibus) Id(ibus) Iul(iis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 4 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd cent.

I(o) vi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Reg(inae) T. Essimnius Tertius bf cos pro se et suos (sic) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 5 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd cent.

I(o) vi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Reg(inae) et genio loci L. Annamatius Atrectus bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 6 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd cent.

I(o) vi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Reg(inae) et genio loci L. Annamatius Atrectus bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 7 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd cent.

I(o) vi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Reg(inae) et genio loci Q. Cornelius Sab(atina tribu) Severianus mil(es) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 8 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd cent.

I(o) vi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Reg(inae) et Marti Exalbiocici dis deabusq(ue) omnibus et genio loci pro se et suis Q. Melicius Respectus miles leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 9 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), AD 174.

I(o) vi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iun(onii) Reg(inae) et genio loci Titius Tacitus mil(es) leg(ionis) III Ital(iae) bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Flaco(co) et Gal(lo) co(n)s(ulibus).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 10 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), early 3rd cent.

In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinac) I(o) vi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iun(onii) Reg(inae) Fort(una) Red(uici) dis deabusq(ue) omnibus genio loci P. Iun(itus) Secundus bf cos pro se et suos (sic) v(otum) s(olvit).
Schallmayer, Kat. no 11 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd cent.
Diae (sic) Candide Reg(inae) et num(ini) eius L. Traianus Ibliomarus mil(es) leg(ionsis) VIII Aug(ustae) bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 12 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) L. Mansuetius Constans bf cos pro se et suis (sic) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

b) Immunes Consularis

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

XIII 1903 Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd cent.
D(is) M(anibus) et memoriae aeternae Titi Vetti Decimini veterani leg(ionsis) VII immuni[s] consularis hominis optimi et vereundissimi et probissimi Mercuriali Casata coniugi karissimo cum quo vixit annis XXII dieb(us) XV et Decimina filia vivae ponendum curaverunt et sub ascia dedicaverunt.

XIII 5170 Solothurn (Germ. Sup.), 20 August AD 219.
Deae Eponae Mal[p?]liius Restio m(iles) [l]eg(ionsis) XXII Antoni[nila]ne P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) immuni[nis] co(n)s(ularis) curas a Te in Salod(uro) XIII Kal(endas) Septemb(res) d(omlno) n(ostro) Antonino II et Sacerdo[te] II co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 5621 Tilena (Germ. Sup.), AD 226.
[In] h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) delis dea[bus] Bivis Trivis Quadrivis A[u]rel(ius) Victorinus m(iles) leg(ionsis) XXII P(rimigeniae) immuni[nis] co(n)s(ularis) Ger[m(aniae)] Super[i]oris v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratori) Severo A[l]ex[andro] It(erum) et Marcello co(n)s(ularis).

XIII 7277 Castellum Mattiacorum (Germ. Sup.), AD 183.
Mercurio Pat(...) Sanctinus [l]imm(unis) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratori) Commodo III et Victorino II co(n)s(ularis).

XIII 7335 = ILS 7096 Hedderneheim (Germ. Sup.), AD 230
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) genium plateae novi vicĭ-cum (a)edicula et ara T. Fl(avius) Sanctinus mil(es) leg(ionsis) XXII Pr(Imigeniae) Alexan(drianae) P(iae) F(idelis) imm(unis) co(n)s(ularis) et Perpetuus et Felix fratres c(ives) R(oman]i) et Taunenses ex origine patris T. Fl(avi) Materni veterani coh(ortis) III Praet(orianae) Piae Vindicis et Aurelia Ammias mater eorum civis Romana d(ederunt) d(edicaverunt) Agricola et Clementino co(n)s(ularis).
L'Année Epigraphique

AE 1930 n.35 Bonn (Germ. Inf.), 25 September c.AD 260. 
...[Mascellio b(ene)f(iciarius) l(egati) Vi(rius?)]
Lupulus imm(unis) co(n)s(ularis) Veranius Verinus c(ustos)
a(rmorum) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)
[Ce]ns[or]e it(erum) et Lep[i]d[o] co(n)s(ularis) VII
Kal(endas) Oct(obres).

AE 1968 n.390 Iversheim (Germ. Inf.), AD 240.
...[Minor[vae...]]in[iu]s [S]upe[r]stis mi[les]
[Leg(ionis) XXX U(lpia) V(ictrix) Go[r]dian[u]s]
co(n)s(ularis) VII v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

c) Index of Names

i) Beneficiarii Consularis

T. Accius T.f. Q(uirina) Secundus Ebu rodun i
AE 1910 n.119
Acceptius Maior
AE 1974 n.446
P. Ael(ius) Gemellus
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Kat. no 3
Ael(ius) Heraclida
XIII 6632
T. Aelius Macrobius (For(o) [Iul(ii)?])
XII 5723
Aelius Maritimus
II 2915
C. Ael(ius) Tertiolus
VIII 2401
L. Antei us Flavinus
II 4144
Antoni us Cretianus
II 4149
L. Annamati us Arectus
Schallmayer,
Kat. no 4

T. Araius Patruitus
XIII 6095
T. Attici us Pacatus
AE 1957 n.47
L. Autfidius Felix
II 4145
M. Aurelius Agripinus
XIII 6624
Avitiu[s...]
XIII 11603
M. Aurelius Arrius Patruitus
XIII 11984
M. Aurelius Aweius Agripinus
XIII 8278
M. Aurelius Max[l[ius]]
XIII 1843
M. Aurelius Agripinus
AE 1929 n.128
Aurelius Cl(audius) Pompeianus
XIII 7338
M. Aurelius Cl[audius] Pompeianus
AE 1927 n.65
M. Aurelius Ursulus
XIII 8205
M. Aurelius Severus
II 4148
M. Aurelius Modestus
XIII 7998
M. Aurelius Superius
AE 1957 n.51
C. A[..] C.f.Iustus[s]
XIII 6633
+6656e

A[..]us Surus
AE 1977 N.495
M. Bellius Marcellinus
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T. Bl[..]
AE 1929 n.108
L. Caecilius [Caecil]ius Quartus
XIII 12052
L. Caesius Florentinus
XIII 8012
Q. Caesius [I]ustus
AE 1978 n.526
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XIII 11776;
T. Cal[ventius] M[arcellius
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Calvinus Titus
XIII 6570
M. Carantius Macrinus
XII 2602
C. Catoni us Kespectus
XIII 8588

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Cl(audius) Quintianus
Q. Cornelius Sab(atina) Severianus

M. Cossius Florentinus
M. Didius Provincialis
Emeritius Sextus
T. Essimnius Tertius

C. Fabius Germanus
T. Farfenna Iauarius
Firmidius Cecilianus
T. F[l(avius)] Avitus
T. Fl(avius) Paternus

T. Fl(avius) Severus
T. Flavius [Sti?]lo
T. Fl(avius) Vitalis
Cn Ful[vius C]apratinus
M. G[avius?] Secundinus
T. Gerionis S[e]verus
L. Hilarinius Amabilis
T. Iauarinius Tertius

M. Ingenuius Ingenuinus
S. Insius Rufus
C. Iucund[ius] Similis
L. Iucunindeus Maximus
C. Iul(ius) Adventus
C. [Iul(ius)] Aprilis

C. Iul[ius] Bellin[u]s
Iul(ius) Fortunatus

G. Iul(ius) Iullinius
C. Iul(ius) Iustinus
M. [I]ul(ius) Maternus
C. Iul(ius) Peregr[in]us
G. Iul[ius] Petunnatius
C. Iulius Proculeianus
C. Iul(ius) Quietus
C. Iul(ius) Servandus
C Iulius Super
P. Iun(ius) Secundus

Licinius Liciniarius
Litorius Pacatianus
Luc(...? or Tuc...?) Avento

M. L[u]ciu[s] Maternus
Lucius Potens
C. Lucretiu[s]iatus
C. Lutatius [...]ius
L. Maelonius Aper
L. Maiorius Cogitatus

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VII 424
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XIII 6442
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Mar(jus?) Martius

M. Massonius Vitalis
T. M(a)xi(mius) Felix
Q. Melicius Respectus

L. Memmius Iuvenis
Nepotinius Nepotianus
Nobilius L[...]us
Octavius Curtavius
C. Paulinius Iustus

Pervincius Romulus
M. Petronius Maximinus
Petronius Senilis
M. Petronius Patroclius
Cn. Pompeius Fructus
L. Pompeius Gratinus
Pompeius 0[...]nus
Pomponius Donatus
P]ostumius Urbanus
Quillonius Ver[g]undus
Sattonius Iuvenilis
C. Secionius Senilis
C. Securius Domitianus
P. Sedulius Iulianus
S. Senius Secundinus
P. Septicius Varus
Septimius[...]
Serenius Atticus
C. Severinius Vitalis
M. Superninius Felix
C. Summius Agrestis
Q. Ta[v?]ius Saturninus
C. Tauricius Verus

Tertinius Senecio
Tertinius Severus
Titius Tacitus

L. Traianus Ibliomarus

L. Valerianus
Val(eri)us Atticus
L. Valerius Barbarus

M. Val(eri)us La[e]vinus
Val(eri)us Maximus
C. Val(eri)us T[e]rtius
Sex. Val(eri)us Verus
M. Varius Severus
Q. Varius Vitalis
Vergius Germanus
C. Vereius [C]ijemens

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XIII 8494
VII 83
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Vibinius Lucius
Victorius Victorinus
Umidius Avitus
[...]inius Candidus
[...] Da[...]ius
[...] Ingenu[us]
L. [...n]ius Iu[...]
[...] Mod[e?])ratus
[...] Quint[inus?]

[... S]a[t]urninus [civis T]rever(icus)
[...] Quirina Saturninus

[...]l(...) Ver[...]us
[...] Vict[or]
[...] Victo[rinus?]
[...]autus
[...]ellinus
[...G?]ai fil(ius)[...]a Ara
[...]it [...]ni[...]
[...]mas[...]s
[...]per

ii) Immunes Consularis

A[u]rel(ius) Victorinus
T. Fl(avius) Sanctinus
Ma[p?]ilius Restio
Pat(...) Sanctinus
T. Vettius Deciminus
Vi(rius?) Lupulus
[...]in[iu]s [S]upe[r]stis

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XIII 3620
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XIII 11991
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XIII 66412
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XIII 6647
Bericht RGK
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XIII 5621
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XIII 5170
XIII 7277
XIII 1903
AE 1930 n.35
AE 1968 n.390
**ABBREVIATIONS**

See also the first two sections of the Bibliography which give the abbreviations for ancient sources (pp.324-30) and for collections of inscriptions, papyri and coins (pp.330-4).

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>AJA</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJPh</td>
<td>American Journal of Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ant J</td>
<td>Antiquaries Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arch. Ael.</td>
<td>Archaeologia Aeliana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arch. Ert.</td>
<td>Archaeologiae Ertesitö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arch J</td>
<td>Archaeological Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BACTHS</td>
<td>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAR</td>
<td>British Archaeological Reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJ</td>
<td>Bonner Jahrbuch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGH</td>
<td>F. Jacoby (ed.), DieFragmente der griechischen Historiker (Berlin, 1923-30; Leiden, 1940-58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RGF</td>
<td>Römisch-germanische Forschungen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riv. Stor. Ant.</td>
<td>Rivista di Storia Antica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>Saalburg Jahrbuch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TLMAS</td>
<td>Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WZ</td>
<td>Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZPE</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Bibliography of Works Cited

a) Ancient sources (with abbreviations)

Act. Alex. = Acta Alexandrinorum


Amm. Marc. = Ammianus Marcellinus Res Gestae


Arrian = Flavius Arrianus
Ektaxis = De Acie contra Alanos

Auct. B. Afr. = Auctor Belli Africani

Aur. Vict. = S. Aurelius Victor
De Caes. = De Caesaribus
Epit. de Caes. = Epitome de Caesaribus

Caes. = C. Iulius Caesar
BC = Bellum Civile

Cic. = M. Tullius Cicero
ad Att. = Epistulæ ad Atticum
ad fam. = Epistulæ ad familiares
Phil. = Orationes Philippicae in M. Antonium
pro Mur. = Oratio pro L. Murena
Verr. = Actio in Verrem
Cledonius = Cledonius  

Ars Gramm. = Ars Grammatica  
(text: H. Keil (ed.), Grammatici Latini. V. Artium Scriptores Minores. (Leipzig, 1868), 1-79

Cod. Iust. = Codex Justinianus

Cod. Theod. = Codex Theodosianus

Curtius Rufus = A. Curtius Rufus  
Historiae Alexandri Magni

Cyprian = Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus
Ep. = Epistulae

Dig. = Digesta Justiniani Augusti

Dio = Cassius Dio Cocceianus Historiae Romanae  
(text: E. Cary (transl.), Dio's Roman History (Loeb Classical Library). I-IX.  
(London; Cambridge, Mass., 1914-27)

Diod. = Diodorus Siculus  
Bibliotheca Historica

Eusebius = Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica

Eutrop. = Flavius Eutropius  
Breviarium Historiae Romanae

Festus = S. Pompeius Festus  
De Verb. Sign. = De Verborum Significatu  
(text: W.M. Lindsay (ed.), Sexti Pompei Festi De Verborum Significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome (Leipzig, 1913))

Firm. Mat. = Iulius Firmicus Maternus
Math. = Mathesis

Florus = L. Annaeus Florus  
Epitoma de Titio Livio Bellorum Omnium Annorum DCC
Greg. Tour. = St. Gregory, Bishop of Tours

Herodian = Herodianus
Ab Excessu Divi Marci

Hdt. = Herodotus
Historiae

Hyg. = Hyginus Gromaticus
De. Mun. Castr. = De Munitionibus Castrorum


Jerome = St. Jerome
Chron. = Hieronymi Chronicon
In Abd. = Commentarii in Abdiam Prophetam (text: S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera. Pars I. Opera Exegetica. 6 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina LXXVII) (Turnhout, 1969), 349-375
In Ioel. = Commentarii in Ioel Prophetam (text: S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera. Pars I. Opera Exegetica. 6 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina LXXVII) (Turnhout, 1969), 159-209

Josephus = Flavius Josephus
Bell. Iud. = De Bello Iudaico

Juv. = D. Iunius Iuvenalis
Saturae
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liv.</td>
<td>Liv. = T. Livius Ab Urbe Condita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucian</td>
<td>Lucian = Lucian of Samosata Pseudomantis = Alexander vel Pseudomantis (= Libellus 42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macrobius</td>
<td>Macrobius = Aurelius Theodosius Macrobius Sat. = Saturnalia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>Mark = Gospel of St. Mark</td>
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<tr>
<td>Martial</td>
<td>Martial = M. Valerius Martialis Epigrammata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not. Dig. Or.</td>
<td>Not. Dig. Or. = Notitia Dignitatum in partibus Orientis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ovid</td>
<td>Ovid = P. Ovidius Naso Fast. = Fasti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orosius</td>
<td>Orosius = Paulus Orosius Historiae adversum Paganos</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


Paulus = Iulius Paulus Sent. = Sententiae (text: S. Riccobene, J. Baviera et al. (edd.), Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani II (Florence, 2nd ed. 1940), 317-417
Symmachus = Q. Aurelius Symmachus
Laud. in Val. II = Laudatio in Valentinianum Seniorem Augustum Altera


Tac. = Cornelius Tacitus
Agr. = De Vita Agricola
Ann. = Annales
Hist. = Historiae

Tert. = Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus
Apol. = Apologeticum
De Fug. = De Fuga in Persecutione

Varro = M. Terentius Varro
De Ling. Lat. = De Lingua Latina

Vegetius = Flavius Vegetius Renatus
Epitoma Rei Militaris

Vell. = P. Velleius Paterculus
Historia Romana

Zonar. = Ioannes Zonaras
Epitome Historiarum

b) Collections of Inscriptions, Papyri, Coins

i) Cited by abbreviation


Brambach = W. Brambach, Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum. (Elberfeld, 1867).


IG = Inscriptiones Graecae. (Berlin, 1873-1972)


P. Berol.  = Greek papyri in the Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, cited by inventory number.


P. Oxy.  = B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt et al. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman memoirs) I-XLVIII (London, 1898-).

PSI  = Papiri greci e latini (Pubbl. della Societa Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto). I-XIV, XVI. (Florence, 1912-79).


P. Vindob.  = Papyri in the Papyrussammlung der österreichische Nationalbibliothek zu Wien, cited by inventory number.


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