

THE BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

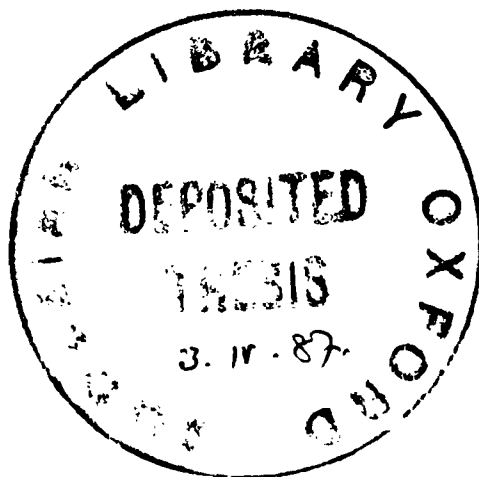
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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	v
Note to the Reader	vi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II: THE <u>BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS</u>	8
CHAPTER III: THE <u>OFFICIUM CONSULARIS</u>	33
APPENDIX I: THE 'BENEFIZIARIERLANZEN' OF THE PROVINCIAL <u>OFFICIALES</u>	100
CHAPTER IV: <u>BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS</u> IN THE CAPITALS AND <u>STATIONES</u>	117
a) Introduction	117
b) The Evidence from the Provinces	121
Britannia	121
Hispania Ulterior Baetica	132
Lusitania	133
Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis	135
Gallia Narbonensis	140
Aquitania	142
Gallia Lugdunensis	142
Gallia Belgica	146
Germania Inferior	147
Germania Superior	158
Alpes Graiae et Poeninae	189
APPENDIX II: DATED INSCRIPTIONS AND THE LENGTH OF THE TOUR OF DUTY	243
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS: THE ROLES OF THE <u>STATIONES</u>	252
CATALOGUE: INSCRIPTIONS RECORDING <u>BENEFICIARII</u> AND <u>IMMUNES CONSULARIS</u> IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES	298
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	321
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS CITED	324
a) Ancient Sources (with Abbreviations)	324
b) Collections of Inscriptions, Papyri, Coins	330
i) Cited by Abbreviation	330
ii) Cited by Author and Title	334
c) Modern Works	337

List of Figures

Fig.1 Types of Lance-head	109
Fig.2 Full-sized and Miniature Lance-heads	111
Fig.3 Miniature Lances and Sword-Pendants	113
Fig.4 'Benefiziariierlanze' from the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus at Osterburken	115

Map

MAP : Bf stationes

end- pocket

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ABSTRACT

THE BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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Beneficarii 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 beneficarii 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.³ 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 duties⁴ 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".⁵ 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 martyrologies as evidence for judicial and police procedure.⁶ 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 beneficarii 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.⁷ 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.⁸ 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'⁹ 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".¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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,¹² in particular S.S. Frere for Britain,¹³ E. Ritterling and E. Stein, and later Ph. Filtzinger, for Germany,¹⁴ G. Alföldy for

Noricum.¹⁵ A. Dobó for Pannonia.¹⁶ A. Betz and later J.J. Wilkes for Dalmatia,¹⁷ A. Mócsy for Moesia Superior¹⁸ and A. Dobó again for Dacia.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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,²¹ 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,²² 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.²³

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 outposts to the stationes came to an end;²⁴ 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 outposts 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 1976.²⁵

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.²⁶

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.

¹The 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.

²J. Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung II (1876), 531-2.

³A. von Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (1908; 2nd ed. by B. Dobson, 1967). esp. 29-37.

⁴A.H.M. Jones, 'The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical Grades)', JRS xxxix (1949), 38-55 esp. 44-6.

⁵Ibid., 41.

⁶G. Lopuszanski, 'La Police romaine et les Chrétiens', L'Antiquité Classique xx (1951), 5-16.

⁷Th. Mommsen, Ephemeris Epigraphica IV (1881), 529-30.

⁸O. Hirschfeld, 'Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich', Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie 1891, 845-77 esp. 862-3 = Kleine Schriften (1913), 576-612, esp. 595-6.

⁹A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Beneficiarierposten und die römischen Strassennetze', WZ xxi (1902), 158-211 with Taf. 3.

¹⁰Ibid., 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 beneficarii of all kinds known to him in Ephemeris Epigraphica IV (1881), 379-401.
- ¹³S.S. Frere, Britannia (1974), 245 note 4.
- ¹⁴E. Ritterling and E. Stein, Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat (1932), 78-83; Ph. Filtzinger, 'Römische Strassenstation bei Sigmaringen: Beneficiarierinschriften im rechtsrheinischen Obergermanien', Fundberichte aus Schwaben N.F. xix (1971), 196-206 with Abb. 11-17.
- ¹⁵G. Alföldy, Noricum (1974), 163, 252-3.
- ¹⁶A. Dobó, Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonia von Augustus bis Diocletianus (1968), 159-66.
- ¹⁷A. Betz, Untersuchungen zur Militärgeschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien (1938), 68; J.J. Wilkes, Dalmatia (1969), 122-7.
- ¹⁸A. Mócsy, Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior (1970), 24 with Abb. 7.
- ¹⁹A. Dobó, 'L'Officium Consularis en Dacie', Act. Class. Debrec. xiv (1971), 59-62.
- ²⁰E. Ritterling, 'Ein Amtsabzeichen der beneficarii consularis im Museum zu Wiesbaden', BJ 125 (1919), 11-37.
- ²¹G. Behrens, 'Mars Weihungen im Mainzer Gebiet', MZ xxxvi (1941), 19-21.
- ²²K. Raddatz, 'Anhänger in form von Ringknaufschwerten', SJ 12 (1953), 60-65; H.-J. Hundt, 'Nachträge zu den römischen Ringknaufschwerten, Dosenortbändern und Miniaturschwertanhängern', SJ 14 (1955), 51-9.
- ²³A. Alföldi, 'Hasta-Summa Imperii', AJA 63 no 1 (1959), 1-27, esp. 11-12, with Plates 1-10; id., 'Vom Speerattribut der altrömischen Könige zu den Benefiziarierlanzen', in Limes-Studien. Vorträge des 3. internationalen Limes-Kongresses in Rheinfelden/Basel, 1957 (1959), 7-12.
- ²⁴H. Lieb, 'Expleta Statione', in M.G. Jarrett and B. Dobson, Britain and Rome: Studies presented to E. Birley (1965), 139-44.
- ²⁵P. Herz, 'Neue Benefiziarieraltäre aus Mainz', ZPE 22 (1976), 191-9.
- ²⁶See Ch. IV pp. 179-85.

CHAPTER II

THE BENEFICIARII CONSULARIS

The word beneficiarius is defined for us by Festus: beneficiari dicebantur milites qui vacabant muneris beneficio; e contrario munifices vocabantur qui non vacabant. sed munus reipublicae faciebant.¹ 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.² It could refer to usufruct of land or privileges such as the ius liberorum.³ It could also be employed to describe the conferment of magistracies and is frequently so used by Cicero.⁴ 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.⁵ Livy similarly speaks of military tribunes as being dictatorum et consulum ferme... beneficia.⁶ An inscription of the first century AD records a tribunus militum legionis IIII Scythicae apparently set upon his equestrian career beneficio Divi Claudii,⁷ and Suetonius tells us that Tiberius venit in suspicionem per quosdam beneficii sui centuriones ... mandata dedisse.⁸ 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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 suis, quos suae custodiae causa habere consueverat, inproviso ad vallum advolat...¹¹ 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 exercituum ad eum convenerant.¹²

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 praecepisse te ut ex cohortibus, quibus me praeesse voluisti, contentus esset beneficiariis decem, equitibus duobus, centurione uno;¹³ 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 ²¹ 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.²² With only four certain exceptions, all the known beneficiarii of provincial governors are, where their status is indicated, recorded as legionaries.²³ The available evidence thus allows discussion in the main only of the legionary bbff cos 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.²⁴ The evidence for the bbff cos,

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,³⁰ 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.³¹ 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 (?).³² 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....³⁴ 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 officiales of the

governor of Numidia at Lambaesis and which lists immediately after the thirty bbff cos five candidati and five ex frum(entariis).³⁷ The former almost certainly and perhaps also the latter, in view of their designation ex, were awaiting promotion to beneficiarius consularis;³⁸ if this interpretation is correct, it might indicate that about half of the bbff cos at Lambaesis were recruited from the frumentarii.³⁹

The level of experience required to attain the rank of bf 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, 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ It is clear, therefore, that the rank of bf 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:⁴² 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,⁴³ 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,⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ Another third-century inscription records a full career within the officium of the governor of Arabia of a βφ who is promoted to ἀκομενταρήσιος then κορνικου-λάριος then ἐκατονταρχος...τῆς ἡγεμονίας.⁴⁶ 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) equestrib(us) stipendiis and served item Minici Rufi leg. Aug. before becoming evocatus in 88 and centurio in 90.⁴⁷ 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,⁴⁸ and a

third-century inscription from Vazaivi in Numidia apparently records a bf cos at the statio there who ex[pl(eto) tem]pore was promoted corniculari(us).⁴⁹

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) praef(ecti) (legionis III Augustae), that is at the head of (in this case) the main legionary officium.⁵⁰ A much less conventional promotion is recorded at Brigetio where a bf cos was appointed trierar[cha] class(is) Fl[aviae] Pann(onicae).⁵¹

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 Ὡρηγένης recorded as a centurion on an ostrakon of 205 from Pselkis;⁵² at Vazaivi a man who was probably a bf cos was ex]pleta statione promotus ad [7?] leg(ionis) II Italicae;⁵³ and at Mourik in Syria Palaestina a memorial was set up Ῥούφω βεγε-
εφικ(ιαρίω) ἀ]ντισ[τρ(ατήγου) ἀ]στάτῳ πρώτῳ λεγιῶ[νος]
ῥ σιδηρᾶς by his brother who was πρε[ιμο]πειλαρῖος λεγιῶνος
τῆς αὐτῆς.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵

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.⁵⁶ 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;⁵⁷ 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 'principales' 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.⁵⁸

As fairly senior principales, 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.⁵⁹ There is direct evidence for their status from the tombstone of a bf cos duplicarius of legio V Macedonica found at Tomi.⁶⁰ 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.⁸¹

With a sizeable discharge bonus in cash, or its equivalent in land, and with his accumulated savings,⁸² 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).⁸³ 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(io) 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 Ilviralis col(oniae) Sarmiz(egethusae) Metrop(olis).⁸⁴ 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 XIIII 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.⁸⁵

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 βουλευτῆς
Διονυσοπολεῖτων Καλατιανῶν Μαρκιανοπολεῖτων.⁶⁶

B. Gerov has drawn attention to the honours awarded to T. Aurelius Flavinus, a primipilaris who was made bouleuta civitatum 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;⁶⁷ 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 Cășei in 239,⁶⁸ may also have been a reward for special services. Valentinus is one three bbff cos epigraphically 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.⁶⁹ Cășei, 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... mu[l]tis insidiis n[u]minibus lib[e]ratus.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the title Dacicus Maximus taken by Maximinus in 236 suggests that there had been recent trouble with the Free Dacians of the Carpathians,⁷¹ 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 municipalised Danube 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 qu(a)es(tor) IIvir col(oniae) F[il(aviae)] F(elicis) D(ardanorum), that is of Scupi in Moesia Superior, near which he was buried.⁷² 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,⁷³ the other, probably at a later date, recording the rebuilding a temple to Mithras.⁷⁴

In Dalmatia a former bf cos of legio X Gemina buried at Lipa is recorded as dec(urio) municipii, presumably of nearby Pelva,⁷⁵ and in Pannonia Superior a veteran of legio I Adiutrix was a dec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae) S(avariae) where he was buried.⁷⁶

In Dacia a veteran bf cos of legio V Macedonica erected two inscriptions at Apulum, capital of the Three Dacias, one giving thanks Aesculapio et Hygiae ceterisque diis deabusque huiusq(ue) loci salutarib(us) for the return of his eyesight, the other dedicated Apol[llini] 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 temenos of the probable Asclepeion with which both inscriptions are to be associated; the second inscription indicates that the man had become a dec(urio) col(oniae) Apul(ensium).⁷⁷ Also found at Apulum was a dedication made by a veteran bf cos of legio XIII Gemina who is recorded as dec(urio) col(oniae) Sarmis(egethusae)⁷⁸ and is identical with the man already mentioned as a decurio et Ilviralis of Sarmizegethusa in the reign of Severus Alexander, commemorated there by his three sons and a daughter.⁷⁹ Again at Sarmizegethusa a veteran bf cos 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.⁸⁰

Outside the Danube provinces, an inscription from Bostra, capital of the province of Arabia, was set up as Φλ. Κλήμεντος μνημόσυρον οὔετρανῶν ἐκπὸ βφ καὶ βουλευτοῦ.⁸¹ and at Lambaesis a dedication was made Fo]rtunae [Re]duci Aug(ustorum) by a former bf legati legionis III Augustae whose origo was Carthage but who had become duo[v]iralicius et pontifex municipii Lambae(sis).⁸²

Some veteran bbff cos aspired higher still, including perhaps the last mentioned man from Lambaesis who goes on to note that he was pater Hostili Saturnini eq(uo) public]o exorna[ti].⁸³ 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 petitor⁸⁴ and another who was apparently ἐκπὸ βφ of the ἐπαρχος Μεσοποταμίας also calls himself πετεῖτορ; the ἐπαρχος 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.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶

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;⁸⁷ 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,⁸⁸ 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.

¹Festus, De Verb. Sign., p. 30 (L) s.v. beneficiarii.

²See Th. Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht II.2 (3rd ed. 1887), 1126 with note 1.

³Beneficium 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.

⁴E.g. Cic. Verr. III, 137; IV, 187; pro Mur. c.1; c.2; c.40; Phil. XIV, 25; etc.

⁵Cic. ad Fam. V, 20, 7; VII, 5, 3.

⁶Livy IX, 30, 3.

⁷III 335 Apamea.

⁸Suet. Tib. 12.

⁹Cf. III 10842 with p. 2187 Siscia: IOM et Cereri C. Veratius Hispanus et T. Fl(avius) Campester [s]p(e)b(ene)f(iciatus) (?); X 410 Volcei (Regio III): C. Coelio Aniceto mil(iti) coh(ortis) II Pr(aetoriae) sing(ularis) trib(uni), spe beneficiatus....

¹⁰On Festus see R. Helm, RE XXI 2316-9; on M. Verrius Flaccus see A. Dihle, RE VIII A 1636-45.

¹¹Caes. BC I, 75, 2.

¹²Caes. BC III, 88, 4.

¹³Pliny, Ep. X, 21, 1; the beneficarii are to be understood as Bassus's, not Pliny's; cf. the ten beneficarii assigned by Pliny to the procurator Viridius Gemellinus (Ep. X, 27).

¹⁴AE 1972 n. 573 Ephesus (Asia).

¹⁵E. 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 right from the beginnings of the Roman army.

¹⁶On 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.

¹⁷See Ch. III note 11 for the earliest epigraphically attested beneficarii of provincial governors.

¹⁸For 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.

¹⁹Vegetius II, 7.

²⁰Relative 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.

²¹See A. von Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, 313-4 (Register A1), indexing his discussions of the different types of beneficiarii.

²²See Ch. III pp. 34-5.

²³The 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 χώρα πρώτη; IGR III 677 Patara (Lycia et Pamphylia), a bf cos of σπίρη πρώτη Μουσουλδαμίων; see also Ch. III note 9 on the likelihood that the twenty-five recorded beneficiarii of the praesidial procurator of Noricum were auxiliaries.

²⁴See 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.

²⁵AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis (Numidia), early third century, and VIII 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 VIII 2618 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 VIII 2587; the latter is dated by C. Iulius Dexter who is recorded as beneficiarius tribuni on VIII 2564 Lambaesis, AD 199 or 202 but is promoted to speculator in this inscription and on VIII 2750 Lambaesis, reign of Caracalla (?) as a cornicularius, and by C. Calventius Ianuarius who appears as a cornicularius on this inscription and as a centurion on VIII 2742 Lambaesis, reign of Alexander Severus.

²⁶Tac. Hist. IV 48: ablatam proconsuli legionem misso in eam rem legato tradidit. aequatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus...; this is confirmed by Hadrian's address to legio III Augusta: VIII 2532 Lambaesis, AD 128: quod omnibus annis per vices in officium pr[ocon]sulis mittitur. See Ch. III pp. 34-5.

²⁷Numidia 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.

²⁸If 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).

²⁹A. von Domaszewski. Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (1908; 2nd ed. B. Dobson, 1967), 1-6.

³⁰See D.J. Breeze, 'The Career structure below the centurionate during the Principate', ANRW II.1 (1974), 441.

³¹The 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).

³²XII 2602 Genava (Gallia Narbonensis), AD 96-8; see below and Ch. IV pp. 141, 145-6 with notes 130, 148.

³³III 9908 Burnum (Dalmatia): ... mil(iti)] leg(ionis) XI [tess]erar(io) [bf?] corni[culario] leg(ati) Aug(usti) [...]

³⁴III 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.

³⁵II 4154 = ILS 2369 Tarraco: probato in leg(ione) VI Ferra[t(a)] tra[ns]lato frumentario in leg(ionem) VII G(eminam) P(iam) F(idelem), facto [bf] cos, militavit ann. XXI vixit ann. XXXX.

³⁶III 3020 = 10057 Metulum (Dalmatia): ex fru(mentario) bf cos; VIII 17627 Vazaivi (Numidia): [e]x frumen[ta]rio 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.

³⁷AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis (Numidia).

³⁸Against this it might be argued that none of the candidati or ex frumentariis reappear as bbff cos on VIII 2586, the later of the two officiales inscriptions from Lambaesis (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).

³⁹For 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(eto) tempore corniculari(us)] (cf. VIII 10717 = 17628 exacta sta(tione), 10718 = 17626 ex]pleta [s]tatione, 10723 = 17634 ex]pleta statione, 17636 ex]pl(eto) temp(ore); all from Vazaivi), but for which an alternative reading might be bf c[los] ex[adiu]tore corniculari(or)um; 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(untariorum) adiu[t(or)]/princ(ipis) bf cos; AE 1916 n. 29 Djemila (Numidia) bf Subatiani Proculi leg(ati) Auggg pr(opraetore) co(n)s(ulis) desig(nati) adiutor principis praetori(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 quaestionarius (VIII 20251 = ILS 4496 Satafis (Mauretania Caesariensis)), 2nd/3rd cent.: bf dup(larius) ex quaestionario and duplicarius alae (VIII 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 quaestionarius does seem to indicate that the man had been serving in the governor's officium (see Ch. III pp. 53-4).

⁴⁰Recorded stipendia of bbff cos: E. Vorbeck, Militärinschriften 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); XIII 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); XIII 1843(?) (served 22 years, but not certainly a bf); III 14214¹⁰ (served 23 years, died aged 40 years); III 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); XIII 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); XIII 7338 and AE 1962 n. 228 erected by the same bf cos who had served at least 10 years; VIII 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 VIII 27854), both date to the first century. Recorded ages of serving bbff cos at death: III 5510 (30 years); III 3535 (33 years); Inscr. Lat. Alg. I no 2203 (30 years); III 3544 (37 years); G. Alföldy, Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (1975), no 198 (37 years); III 6376 = 8656 (38 years); A. Aricescu, The Army in Roman Dobrudja (1980), 207 no 40 (40 years); III 8252 (40+ years); II 4164 (42 years); note also XIII 7001 (21 years, 5 months, 26 days, but not certainly a bf); the following ages are recorded for beneficiarii (legati) legionis III Augustae (cf. note 56): 35 years (VIII 2901), 37 years (VIII 2798), 40 years (VIII 2854), 41 years (VIII 4246), 44 years (VIII 2823), 57 years (VIII 2837).

⁴¹Retired bbff cos: II 4149; III 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; 14216⁰; 14217⁴; 14507 (three retired bbff cos); VIII 9380; XIII 1843(?); 8293; AE 1910 n. 150; 1933 n. 248 (the same man erected III 7742); 1956 n. 252; 1961 n. 332;

1969/70 n. 633 (two retired bbff Praefecti Aegypti): 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.

⁴²D.J. Breeze, BJ 174 (1974), 275-6; he lists the officers holding posts below the centurionate to which a bf 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.

⁴³Ibid., 276-8, 289.

⁴⁴See note 42; on the structure of the officium consularis and the place of the bbff cos within it see Ch. III.

⁴⁵AE 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 Celsinus recorded as a bf cos of legio XI Claudia on AE 1967 n. 430 Chersonesus (the Crimea, Moes. Inf.) and on Inscr. Ant. Or. Sept. Pont. Eux. I no 675 is identical with the speculator of II Adiutrix of the same name on III 3524 Aquincum (Pann. Inf.), 30 September AD 228.

⁴⁶IGR III 1264 = ILS 8880 Nela (Arabia), 3rd cent.

⁴⁷XII 2602 Genava (Gallia Narbonensis), AD 96-8; see Ch. IV pp. 141, 145-6 with notes 130, 148.

⁴⁸III 252 = 6754 Ancyra (Galatia), AD 198.

⁴⁹VIII 10724 = 17635 Vazaivi (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.

⁵⁰VIII 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 Vazaivi in Numidia (VIII 17625) was also a promoted bf 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

10718 = 17626, see p. 16 with note 53) 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.

⁵¹III 4319 Brigetio (Pannonia Superior/Inferior), 2nd/3rd cent.

⁵²A. and E. Bernand, Les Inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon (1960) no 58 cf. no 57 Thebes (Egypt), 24/25 February AD 196, and U. Wilcken, Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien (1899), no 1128 Pselkis in Nubia (Egypt), 30 June AD 205

⁵³VIII 10718 = 17626 Vazaivi (Numidia), 3rd cent.

⁵⁴AE 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 Sopiana (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^a 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; bbf(f) 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 bf 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(omini) n(ostr)i(?) on XIII 2596 Laize (Gallia Lugdunensis) was a bf 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[lp(inorum)] iterata statione. It is unlikely that the Ulpus Malchus who was a bf of Q. Rammus Martialis, Prefect of Egypt AD 117-9, recorded in P. Bremen 5 and 6, is identical with the M. Ulpus 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 β[ε]νεφικ[ι]άρχ[ος] of the praesidial procurator of Judaea to ἐπαρχ[ος] σπείρης has been proposed by M. Avi-Yonah, 'The Epitaph of T. Mucius Clemens', Israel

Exploration Journal 16 (1966), 258-64, but it is clear that the correct reading should be β[οη θός], probably of the procurator of Syria; see AE 1967 n. 525; W. Eck, RE Suppl. XV 291-2 s.v. Mucius, n. 9a; H. Devijver, Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum II (1977), 581-2 (M 68).

⁵⁵A. von Domaszewski, loc. cit. (note 49); D.J. Breeze, BJ 174 (1974), 270-1.

⁵⁶Bbff cos before exceptores: VIII 10723 = 17634 Vazaivi (Numidia); 3rd cent.; before quaestionarii: VIII 2751 Lambaesis (Numidia), reign of Caracalla; after speculatores: AE 1967 n. 575, AD 174/6; AE 1967 n. 577, AD 186; VIII 18276, 2nd/3rd cent.; AE 1917/18 n. 57, early 3rd cent.; VIII 2586, early 3rd cent.; VIII 2751, early 3rd cent.; all from Lambaesis. The reading col(legium) i[m]munium 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).

⁵⁷VIII 18025 El Gehara (Numidia), early 3rd cent.: ...[Iu]lius Florus [7] leg III Aug. [...]us Pastor [de]c(urio) al(ae) I P[ann(onoirum)] [Pom]ponius Ma[xi]mus bf [c]los.... It is not certain that the b[f...] listed after a decurio alae and a decurio cohortis and before a duplicarius alae and four sesquiplicarii of the Numidian army on VIII 21567 Geryville (Mauretania Caesariensis) was a bf cos, as A. von Domaszewski, op. cit. (note 49), 34 takes him to be; it is perhaps more likely that he was b[f pr(aefecti alae or cohortis)].

⁵⁸III 7449 Montana (Moes. Inf.), AD 155; see R. Saxer, Untersuchungen zu den vexillationen des römischen Kaiserreiches von Augustus bis Diokletian. Epigraphische Studien I (1967), 89-90 no. 265; 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; the bf cos may have been operating partly in place of the centurion's optio (N.B. Rankov, op. cit., 54).

⁵⁹A. von Domaszewski, op. cit. (note 49), 71; D.J. Breeze, 'Pay Grades and Ranks below the Centurionate', JRS lxi (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.

⁶⁰III 7550 Tomi (Moes. Inf.); cf. the hf duplicarius on VIII 20251 Satafis (Mauretania Caesariensis) who was not necessarily attached to the officium of a provincial governor.

⁶¹Discharge 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[ranorum] who received praemia dupl[icia].

⁶²See G.R. Watson, The Roman Soldier (1969), 104-7.

⁶³Inscr. 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 Βενεφικιάριος ἡγεμόνος buried at Kobuřlar in Lycia et Pamphylia by his brother who was ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου Θεῶ[ν] Σαμαθράκων, and his mother who was ἱέρεια διὰ βί[ου] Θεῶ[ν] Δημήτρο[ς] τῆς λαμπροτάτης Σιδητῶν πόλεως (G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford, Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-8 (1970), 68 no 41).

⁶⁴AE 1933 n. 248 Sarmizegethusa. reign of Severus Alexander.

⁶⁵AE 1979 n. 447 Salona (Dalmatia), early 2nd cent.

⁶⁶AE 1972 n. 505 = IG Bulg. 24 bis Dionysopolis (Moes. Inf.), probably reign of Caracalla; the inscription is dated by the legionary epithet

⁶⁷B. 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 (Tarraconensis), reign of Marcus, recording a retired centurion who was atlectus (sic) a Barc(inonensibus) inter immunes (but nevertheless went on to hold several magistracies and make numerous benefactions).

⁶⁸III 827 = 7633 Alsó-Kosály (Cășei), (Dacia), AD 239.

⁶⁹The other two inscriptions are III 822 Alsó-Kosály, 3rd cent. (reading ag(ens) sub signis r(egione) Ans(amensium) and AE 1957 n. 326 Alsó-Kosály, AD 243: agens Samo cum r(e)g(ione) Ans(amensium) 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 bbff 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 și Provincia Dacia', Act. Mus. Nap. iii (1966), 164-70 (in Rumanian, with German summary p. 171) who, however, interprets the inscriptions to indicate only annexation and military control of the area.

⁷⁰AE 1957 n. 327 and 328 Alsó-Kosály, AD 224.

⁷¹See Brandis, RE IV 1975; Stein, RE IV 1976.

⁷²Spomenik lxxi (1931) no. 650 Radishana near Skoplje (Moes. Sup.), late 1st cent.

⁷³III 12659 Viminacium (Moes. Sup.), mid 2nd cent.: dec(urio) m(unicipii) A(elii) V(iminacii); the inscription

is dated by the sculptural style (see A. Mócsy, Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior (1970), 148 with note 36).

⁷⁴III 14217⁴ Viminacium, 2nd/3rd cent.: ex bf cos nunc dec(urio) Vim(inacii).

⁷⁵III 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).

⁷⁶III 4191 Savaria (Pann. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.

⁷⁷III 987 and AE 1980 n. 735, Apulum (Dacia), late 2nd/early 3rd cent.; on the context of the inscriptions see V. Moga, Apulum xvii (1979), 201-6 and, with an improved reading, I. Piso, Act. Mus. Nap. xvii (1980), 84-6.

⁷⁸III 7742 Apulum, reign of Severus Alexander.

⁷⁹See note 64.

⁸⁰III 1485 Sarmizegethusa (Dacia), 2nd/3rd cent.

⁸¹Inscr. Bostra 9422 Bostra (Arabia), 2nd/3rd cent.

⁸²VIII 4436=18595 Lambaesis (Numidia) late 2nd/early 3rd cent.: cf. note 56.

⁸³See preceding note.

⁸⁴AE 1956 n. 252 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), after AD 233; see Ch. IV note 162.

⁸⁵IGR III 1202 = ILS 8847 Philippopolis (Arabia), reign of Philip; on Iulius Priscus see H.-G. Pflaum, Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Équestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain (1960), 831-9 no 324a.

⁸⁶D.J. Breeze, 'The organization of the career structure of the immunes and principales of the Roman army', BJ 174 (1974), 270; E. Birley, 'Septimius Severus and the Roman Army' in Epigraphische Studien 8 (1969), 75-6.

⁸⁷See above note 73. CIL notes that Mommsen read the auxiliary unit as coh(ors) I Aq(uitanorum) Vet(erana), a unit of the Upper German army, but since there is no punctum on the stone between AQ and VET one should read Aquet(anorum) 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 Britt(ania).

⁸⁸Immunity of veterans from civic duties: Dig. XLIX, 18, 2 (Ulpian) Honeste sacramento solutis data immunitas etiam in eis civitatibus, 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 patrimoniis indicuntur, veterani post optimi nostri Severi Augusti litteras perpetuo excusantur.

CHAPTER III

THE OFFICIUM 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.^a 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,⁶ although the Proconsul no doubt supplemented his officium from the Urban cohort stationed in Carthage perhaps from the time of Vespasian.⁷

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.⁸ 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

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,¹¹ and by the late second century almost all the known officiales have appeared in our sources.¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴

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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ We have very little information about the career structure of these principes or about how they came to their position in the officium,¹⁸ 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.¹⁹

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.²⁰ The cornicularii, recently studied by M. Clauss,²¹ were the senior principales 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 officium. Any subsequent promotion was to evocatus or direct to decurion of an ala or centurion.²²

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.²³ 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 fecit; deinde in Macedonia corniculo, mox equo meruit.²⁴

The earliest epigraphically attested cornicularius of a provincial governor dates from the first century AD.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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.²⁸

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.²⁹ 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.³⁰ It is not unlikely, therefore, that the cornicularis 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.³¹ 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.³² The two posts therefore appear to have been fairly similar, and since the soldier tells us that he was eventually attached πρὸς τὸν κορνικουλάριον 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.³³ Epigraphic sources further reveal that there were adiutores corniculariorum.³⁴

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.³⁵ 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.³⁶

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.³⁷

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.³⁸ 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 brings 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

SS. Agape, Eirene and Chione, where the κομενταρήσιος Artemios asks the praeses of Macedonia, Dulcitius, for permission to read the νοτορίαν of the στατλωγράφος 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.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ It is recorded that Caesar used them as messengers, in which capacity speculatores occasionally still appear under the Principate.⁴⁵

Provincial speculatores are well attested in the first century AD.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹

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.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹ 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.⁵²

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).⁵³ 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, supbrinceps and optio peregrinorum and was sufficiently organized to have an exercitator.⁵⁴ 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 σπεκουλάτορα, although Herod cannot have had such an officer at his disposal.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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;⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ 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 beneficarii consularis, although no examples are known from the Western provinces.⁸⁰

The beneficarii 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 beneficarii kept matrices (registers) of people under police surveillance, including Christians, although G. Lopuszanski argues that these are not beneficarii of the governor but rather of the procurator of the province, engaged in exacting the vectigal lenocinii.⁸¹

Beneficarii 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 beneficarii 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.⁸²

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.⁸³ 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.⁸⁴ Under Gallienus, beneficiarii of the governor, as well as his stratores, are recorded as in charge of the fortification of a city in Arabia.⁸⁵

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 praetorii.⁶⁶

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 immunis 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.⁶⁷ 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,⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰

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.⁷¹

The provincial frumentarii first appear in our sources in the 1st century AD⁷² and originated, to judge by their name, from food-supply officers.⁷³ 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*.⁷⁴

In the provinces frumentarii acted mainly as couriers and were perhaps organized as such by Augustus when he instituted the vehiculatio.⁷⁵ 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 γραμματοφόροι or ἀγγελιαφόροι, and a tombstone from Salona proclaims that the deceased cucurrit frumentarius annis 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.⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷ They seem to have carried official messages within their own provinces, between provinces, and to and from Rome, apparently using the vehiculatio.⁷⁸

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.⁷⁹ Others may be indicated further along the Via Appia near Velitrae⁸⁰ 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.⁸⁰ 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.⁸²

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.⁸³ 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,⁸⁴ 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: 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 "Num et tibi uxor mea, quod et mihi scripsit?"⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ A passage of Dio implies that they may have operated in plain clothes.⁸⁷

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.⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ As travellers on official business they will have been entitled to demand ἀγγραφαί, or transport liturgies, and as police officials they seem to have brought terror to the countryside (διασεισμοί), in the words of one inscription, προφάσει εἰρήνης but πολέμου τρόπῳ.⁹⁰

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 his own letters.⁹¹ 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.⁹²

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 Achaëa suffered also.⁹³ Vazaivi in Numidia was certainly plagued by the illegal demands of the statio there, manned by beneficiarii consularis and other officials.⁹⁴ 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.⁹⁵

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.⁹⁶

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.⁹⁹ 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.⁹⁹ They too, perhaps, may sometimes have been outposted in stationes.¹⁰⁰

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 provinces¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² 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.¹⁰³ 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.¹⁰⁴

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.¹⁰⁵

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.¹⁰⁶ 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.¹⁰⁷ 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 provinciae (sic) M(oesia) 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 Iuvenalis 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;¹¹³ 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).¹¹⁴ The only other recorded provincial notarius dedicated an altar for the health of a Diocletianic praeses of Dalmatia¹¹⁵ 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.¹¹⁶ 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.¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹

One, however, appears to be recorded as a duplicarius.¹²⁰ One promotion is recorded, outside the officium, to actarius cohortis, clearly implying secretarial skills.¹²¹ Occasionally it appears that beneficiarii consularis could act as adiutores principis.¹²² In the Late Empire adiutores appear in most officia of the Notitia Dignitatum and served in the provincial officium on the judicial side,¹²³ 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;¹²⁴ all known inscriptions attesting serving bbff sexmestris do in fact come from provincial capitals.¹²⁵ 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.¹²⁶ Both Juvenal and Pliny the Younger mention the existence of such posts but do not make it clear exactly what function their holders performed.¹²⁷

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 220.¹²⁸

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 tribunis augusticlavus.

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.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 quaestionarii on the Lambaesis inscriptions and before only the haruspex.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.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.¹³⁷

We also find a few men who refer to themselves on inscriptions as soldiers of the officium or simply as officiales,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,¹³⁹ and it is perhaps partly as such that they were outposted in stationes, providing horses and transport for officials;¹⁴⁰ they were probably also in charge of the inspection of horses for use by the army.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.¹⁴² 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,¹⁴³ 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;¹⁴⁴ 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.¹⁴⁵ Speidel suggests that the 200 legionary σωματοφύλακες mentioned in the line of march in Arrian's Ektaxis were stratores.¹⁴⁶

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.¹⁴⁷ Their rank and career structure is

obscure; they were certainly immunes at least, and perhaps principales.¹⁴⁸

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.¹⁴⁹

The singulares of the provincial governors have recently been the subject of a monograph by M.P. Speidel.¹⁵⁰ They appear in our sources under the name of singulares by the Flavian period,¹⁵¹ and were, unlike the rest of the officiales seconded to the capital, usually from the alae and cohortes of the provincial army, for a period of something over three years;¹⁵² 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.¹⁵³ 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.¹⁵⁴ They disappear from our sources as guards by the later third century, perhaps being replaced by the developing field army.¹⁵⁵

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.¹⁵⁶ They too

seem to have been employed as couriers and in quarrying,¹⁵⁷ and one protector consularis appears to have been outposted to Burnum in Dalmatia where he acted pro b(ene)f(iciario).¹⁵⁸ 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.¹⁵⁹ 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.¹⁶⁰

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;¹⁶¹ 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 province¹⁸²) 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.¹⁸³ 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,¹⁸⁴ 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;¹⁸⁵ 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.¹⁸⁶ 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.¹⁸⁷

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,¹⁸⁸ 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.¹⁶⁹ 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'.¹⁷⁰ 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.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.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.

¹A.H.M. Jones, 'The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical Grades)', JRS xxxix (1949), 38-55 esp. 38-44.

²After 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 Achaëa', AJPh lxxviii (1957), 52-62.

³A.H.M. Jones, op. cit., 42 with notes 45-8.

⁴Jones is unclear on this point. There is certainly ample and unequivocal evidence for the civilian apparitores in the senatorial provinces under the Principate: scribae: II 3423 and 3424 New Carthage (Tarraconensis), time of Trajan, a scriba quaestorius who was honoured both within the Iberian peninsula and in Carthage, Sicily and Greece; X 7852 Saepurum (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; lictors: AE 1933 n. 265 Pergamon (Asia), reign of Marcus, lictor proximus

Bononi Quintiliani proconsulis: AE 1967 n. 444 Samothrace (Macedonia), 1 May 165, lictors of the Proconsul of 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 11033 Gigithi (Proconsularis), scriba quaestorius; AE 1913 n. 20 Billi (Proconsularis), scriba librarius; lictors: 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 (Tarraconensis), 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 Foumech-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 acc[ipiendos]; nomenclator: AE 1935 n. 56 Theveste (Numidia); apparitor: XIII 7551, 3 Kreuznach (Germ. Sup.); XII 11050a Périgeux (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 lictors. The legati Augusti were nominally of propraetorian rank and possessed imperium, albeit delegated. As such, they were entitled to five fascēs and could even be designated as quinquefascēles: VI 1546 Rome, reign of Caracalla, quin]que[f]asc(ales) reg[ni Norici?]; VIII 18270 Lambaesis(Numidia), 226-7 referring to 220, leg. Aug. vice quinque fascium prov. Belgi[cael]; XIII 3162 Vieux (Lugdunensis), AD 238: In provincia Lugdunens(i) quinquefascal(is) 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 fascēs (i.e. as a special legatus Augusti). The right of such legati to five fascēs is expressly attested by Dio LIII, 13, 8 ῥαβδούχοις δὲ δὴ πέντε πάντες ὁμοίως οἱ ἀντι-στράτηγοι χρώνται, καὶ ὅσοι γε οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκῶτων εἰσὶ· καὶ ὀνομάζονται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου cf. id. LVII, 17, 7 ταῖς τε ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ

σελευσίου κακωθείσας ἀνὸρ ἐστρατηγικῶς σὺν πέντε (see Th. Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht I (3rd ed. 1887), 385-6, 386 note 1) ῥαβδούχοις προσετάχθη; cf. Tac. Ann. II, 47 delectus est M. Ateius e praetoriis; see Th. Mommsen, op. cit., 385-8. Legati thus had lictors 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 (Tarraconensis). The most significant example is III 6759 Ankara, AD 164-6 dec(urialis) lictor Fufid(ii) Pollionis leg(at)i Gal(atiae).

⁶Tac. Hist. IV, 48: ablatam proconsuli legionem misso in eam rem legato tradidit. aequatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus... Cf. Dio LIX, 20, 7.

⁶Hadrian's address to legio III Augusta: VIII 2532 Lambaesis(Numidia), AD 128: quod omnibus annis per vices in officium pr[ocon]sulis mittitur. Inscriptions erected by the officiales of the legate of Numidia: AE 1917-18 n. 57 Lambaesis, early 3rd cent.: names of 4 speculatores, 30 bbff cos, 6 candidati, 5 ex frumentariis, 4 quaestionarii, 5 beneficiarii sexmestris, 1 haruspex; VIII 2586 Lambaesis, 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 ὑπάτικός of Arabia tells an applicant for a post as his librarius that there is no vacancy at present (see p. 39).

⁷H. 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.

⁸The only clear example is the governor of Dalmatia, who drew on the legions of Pannonia (III 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 (III 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 Adiutrix, which was Pannonia Inferior's only standing legion until AD 214 (A. Mócsy, RE Suppl. IX 587-8), 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, VIII 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 legionaries.

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 bf cos of XIII 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 Cappadocia (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.

⁹Auxiliary 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.

¹⁰Military 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 lxxviii (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 Asklepeions (Altertümer 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 Achaëa: ILS 9473 cf. III 6108 and below note 96. See pp. 47-53.

¹¹Cornicularii: XII 2602 Genava AD 96-8 (referring to officium of Lugdunensis 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 Iader (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 lxxi no 650 Radishana nr. Skoplje (Moesia), reign of Domitian(?); XII 2602 Genava (Narbonensis), 96-8 (referring to officium of Lugdunensis in 79); VIII 27854 Theveste (Numidia), c.83. Frumentarii: III 3241 Sirmium (Pannonia), c.100. Cf. AE 1923 n. 28 Henchir-Ksour-Dzemda (Africa Proconsularis), 98-102). Singulares: XIII 7709 Brohl (referring to singulares of Germania Inferior), c.AD 72; XVI 23 Wiesbaden (Germ. Sup.) 15 April 78, a diploma referring to a cohors singularium, that is recruited from a province's singulares; AE 1923 n. 33 Brohlthal (referring to singulares of Germ. Inf.), AD 98; AE 1974 n. 455 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), AD 80-100; Vjesn. Arh. Hist. Dalm. 53 (1950-1), 226 no 35 Salona, 1st century; AE 1968 n. 412 Ovilava (Noricum), c.100.

¹²The 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; interpretex: III 10515 Aquincum, 3rd cent. and 14359 Aquincum, 3rd cent.; note also AE 1978 n. 635 Boldog opposite Carnuntum (Pannonia), late 1st cent., interpretex 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

XIII 8203 Cologne, 164; protector: AE 1979 n. 448 Brač (Dalmatia), 212-17.

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 I) (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.

¹⁵The 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 consularem n. c.AD 103(?); no 36, 2 (?) consula]ri n. c.AD 103(?); no 37, 14-15 Marcellum clarissim[um 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 τον ὑπατικόν 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 Κλλαυδίου Σεουήρου
Εὐπ[α]τικῶν πρεσβευτῶν Σεβαστῶν ἀντιστρατήγου cf. Spomenik Ixxi no 650 Radishana nr. Skoplje (Moesia Superior), reign of Domitian(?) benef. leg. consula[r.]; III 9960 = ILS 1015 Nedinum (Dalmatia) first decade of 2nd century
...Iavoleno Prisco...legato consulari provinc. Syriae...;
AE 1908 n. 237 = ILS 1055 Tingad (Numidia), 107/8-110 A. Larcio...Priscio...ped (sic=pro) legato consulare provinc. Syriae...;
ILS 8824 Olympia (Achaea), reign of Pius M.
Ἀππίων Βραδούαν Επρεσβευτὴν καὶ Ἀντιστράτηγον Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ὑπατικῶν Γερμανίας καὶ Βρεταννίας

The earliest epigraphic uses of consularis by itself to mean 'governor' also appear in the late first/early second century: I 491 Emerita (Lusitania) c.100, bf cos of a praetorian governor (? see pp. 133-4); VII 5 Winchester (Britannia) late 1st/early 2nd cent.(?), [b]f cos;
AE 1947 n. 25 = 1966 n. 294 = 1967 n. 378 Savaria (Pann. Sup.), AD 102-5 Neratilius [P]riscus cos;
AE 1969/70 n. 583 Philippi (Thrace), c. 120 a Terent[io Scau]riano consulare [exerci]tus provinciae nov[ae];
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 Cernik (Cappadocia), 127-8
Βενεφικ(ι)ῶν Στατωρίου Σεκού[μ]δου ὑπατικῶν;
AE 1927 n. 59 Histria (Moes. Inf.), 129-31
Ιουλίου Σεουήρου ὑπατικῶν...β ὑπατικῶν;
XII 3168 Nîmes (Narbonensis), c. 133 beneficiari/Iunii 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 Ιουλιανῶν ὑπατικῶν ?;
XIII 5609 Pontailier-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 accepit;
Agr. 14, 1 consularium (sc. Britanniae) primus Aulus Plautius praepositus;
Agr. 40, 1 Syriam provinciam...vacuam tum morte Atili Rufi consularis;
Hist. I, 9 inferioris Germaniae legiones diutius 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 Neratilius [P]riscus cos in Act. Class. Debrec. VI/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. viii (1972), 85-8 and E. Tóth, 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).

¹⁴The 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 ben(eficiarius) leg(ati) pr(o)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 Theveste (Numidia), c. 83 benef. Tetti Iuliani et Iavoleni 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 Proculi leg. Auggg. pr. cos desig. 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 Claudii 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 c]os. 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 ὑπατεύειν 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: ὑπ]α[τε]ύον[τ]ο[ς τῆς] ἐπαρχείας] το[ῦ] δια[τομή]οτάτου Αὐρ. Σεβαστιαν[οῦ] cf. A. Stein die Legaten von Moesien (1940), 106-7.

^{1*}Principes: IGR III 1230 Canatha (Arabia). 185 or 231 Γ. Πετρώνιον Γ [υῖόν] Σεκούνδον Βρονδεσῖνον? ἐκατόνταρχον λευ(ιῶνος) δ' Σκυθικῆς πρίνκιπα... Ἰουλ(ίου) Σατορνείνου [πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ. ἀντιστράτηγου]; P.Oxy. XIV 1637, 10 Oxyrhynchus (Egypt), 257-9 Δημητρίου (ἐκατοντάρχου) τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου πρίγκιπος τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Centurions of the officium: AE 1975 n. 813 Satala (Cappadocia), 2nd cent. κορν(κουλάριον) καὶ (ἐκατόνταρχον) τοῦ ἡγεμόνο[ς]; IGR III 1264 = ILS 8880 Nela (Arabia) 2nd/3rd cent. βφ καὶ ἀκομενταρήσιος καὶ κορνικουλάριος καὶ (ἐκατόνταρχος) γενόμενος τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Note also that one of the officiales inscriptions from Lambaesis (VIII 2586) was erected cura agente C. Memmio Victore (centurio) leg III Aug. On the title princeps see M.P. Speidel, 'Princeps as a Title for ad hoc Commanders', Britannia XII (1981), 7-13.

^{1*}Adiutores 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 desig. adiutor principis praetori; AE 1982 n. 758 Iuvavum (Noricum), 2nd/3rd cent., adiutori [pri]nc(ipis) 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 praetori, 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 praet(orii); III 5803 Augusta Vindelicorum (Raetia). 2nd/3rd cent., o]ptio p]raeteri[i(?)]; VIII 2947 Lambaesis, 2nd/3rd cent., L. Munatius Repentinus optio praeteritor (= praetorii); VIII 4294 Lambaesis, 2nd/3rd cent., Munatius Re[pe]ntinus optio pr(aetorii); X 7583 Carales (Sardinia), 198-209, an optio praetori erecting a dedication to the governor of Sardinia. Note also AE 1965 n. 170 Die (Narbonensis), 2nd/3rd cent., optio]nis pr(incipis?) ex prae(torio?) 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.

¹⁷After 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.

¹⁸Our only two career inscriptions, from Nela and Satala (see note 15) indicate promotion through the officium and direct from cornicularius.

¹⁹Dig. XLVII, 2, 73 (Modestinus).

²⁰Officium corniculariorum III 894 = ILS 3035, Potaissa (Dacia); III 1471 Sarmizegethusa (Dacia); 3543 Aquincum (Pann. Inf.); 10437 Aquincum; VIII 1875 Theveste (Numidia).

²¹M. Clauss, Untersuchungen zu den Principales des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diokletian. Cornicularii, speculatores, frumentarii (1973), 17-45.

²²Rank 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; VIII 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 ἀνομενταρχίσιος and 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, bbff 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 2962 Lambaesis, veteran; XIII 1860 Lugdunum, veteran: AE 1911 n. 221 Niederemmel (Belgica), veteran.

²³The 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 ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου (= 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 analagous to the cornicularii; cf. B. Saria, RE Suppl. VII 83-4 s.v. canaliclarius.

²⁴Suet. Gramm. 9.

²⁵See note 11.

²⁶Two 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 Perinthus (Thrace), 160 or 161; XIII 6803 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), 213-7. At the respective dates Tarraconensis 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).

²⁷Firm. Math. III, 5, 26 ... erunt homicidiis publicis praepositi et exceptores earum sententiarum, quae de hominum capitibus proferuntur, aut cornicularii aut

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.

²⁸Pass. 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 eye-witnesses. 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.

²⁹P. 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 JArmy', BJ 169 (1969), 208-232.

³⁰AE 1946 n. 38 Bled-Coursi-el-Tahtani (Numidia), 209-11 Ex auctoritate Imppp. Caes L. Septimi Severi et M Aurelii Antonini et P Septimi Getae Augg. agri et pascua et fontes adsignata[...] ma[...] curantibus Epagatho et Marsilio Caeciliano corniculario praef. iussu Anici Fausti leg. cos per M Gennium Felicem evocatum leg. III Aug.; cf. M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 24-5.

³¹On 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.

³²P. Mich. 466 cf. G.B. Pighi, Lettere latine d'un soldato di Traiano, P. Mich. 467-472 (1964), 98-102 ...ἀλλὰ [καὶ ἐρω]τήσαντος μου Κλαύδιον Σε[λοῦη]ρ[ο]ν τὸν ὑπατικὸν εἶνα με λιβράριον αὐτοῦ ποιήσῃ, εἰπόντος δὲ [αὐ]τοῦ ὅτι τόπος οὐ σ[χολά]σ[ει], ἐν τούτοις δὲ λιβράριον σε λεγεῶνος ποιήσω ἐφ' ἐλπίδων, κλήρω δὲ ἐγεγυμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ τῆς λεγεῶνος πρὸς τὸν κορνικουλάριον; cf. M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 23-4.

³³On librarii see pp. 54-6.

³⁴III 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), βοηθὸς κορνικουλάρι[ων]; IGR III 1008 Khatoura nr. Beroea (Syria Phoenix) βοηθὸς κορνικουλάριων ὑπατικῶν cf. III 894 = ILS 3035 Potaissa (Dacia), adiutor officii corniculariorum; III 1471 Sarmizegethusa (Dacia), adiut. offic(i) cornicul.; III 3543 Aquincum (Pann. Inf.), adiutori officii corniculariorum cos; VIII 1875 Theveste (Numidia), adiutor ofici corniculorioru(m); Inscr. Bostra 9075 Bostra (Arabia), adiut. off. cos.

³⁵On the magistrates who had commentarienses see A. von Domaszewski, op. cit. (note 22), 17 (Praefectus Urbi) and 8,9 (Praefectus Vigilum). The a commentariis Praefecti Praetorio were of equestrian rank (A. von Domaszewski, op. cit. 153, 155, 159, xliii. xlv, xlvii. 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)l(i)?) on the text he was copying.

³⁶See note 12.

³⁷Ranking of commentarienses: II 4122 Tarraco, listed after cornicularii and before speculatores; 4179 Tarraco, tombstone of com(mentariensis) 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), an a comment(ariis) [leg. pr. pr.] of Germania Superior promoted from [benef(iciarius)?] legat(i) of legio XXII Primigenia and then to optio (spei?) and centurio...[oct]a(v)us pilus prior; VIII 2586 Lambaesis (Numidia) listed after cornicularii and before speculatores, beneficiarii consularis, quaestionarii, beneficiarii sexmestris and a haruspex; XIII 1732 Lugdunum, a speculator promoted to commentarienses; IGR III 1264 = ILS 8880 Nela (Arabia), 2nd/3rd cent., a βφ promoted to ἀκομενταρήσιος to κορνικουλάριος to (ἐκατοντάρχος) τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

Numbers of commentarienses: II 4122 Tarraco, 2 cornicularii and 2 commentarienses 10 speculatores; III 4452 Carnuntum (Pann. Sup.), 3 cornicularii, 3 commentarienses, 30 speculatores; VIII 2586 Lambaesis (Numidia), 2 cornicularii, 2 commentarienses, 4 speculatores, 30 beneficiarii, 5 quaestionarii, 5 beneficiarii sexmestris, 1 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 comment c[os](?), who lived for 80 years and presumably retired in the rank, it was evidently the culmination of a career.

³⁸II 4179 Tarraco D.M. L. Gargilio Rufo com. ab actis civilib(us) homini optimo et honestissimo. Cf. the use of commentarium to mean an official record e.g. A.J.B. Wace and M.S. Thompson, Ann. Brit. Sch. Athens xvii (1910/11), 194 ...[d]escriptum et re[cognitum e]x commentario [Ve]rgini [P]ul[liani] iudicis. Non-juridical records were perhaps kept by the cornicularii (see p. 38-9), although still known as commentarii, e.g. Inscr. Scyth. Min. I no 68, 61ff Histria (Moes. Inf.) Exemplum [decreti]...[descriptum] et cognitum factum ex comm(entariis) M[ani] Laberi Maximi leg. Aug. pr. pr.

³⁹Pass. 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-xliii and xliiv; 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.)

⁴⁰Dig. 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.

⁴¹M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 59-79.

⁴²On the speculatores of the Praetorian Guard see M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 46-58.

⁴³Auct. 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.

⁴⁴Speculatores 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.

⁴⁵Speculatores used as messengers by Caesar: Auct. B. Afr. 31, 4; and under the Principate: Suet. Cal. 44 (Praetorians); Tac. Hist. II, 73 (provincial speculatores).

⁴⁶See note 11.

⁴⁷Rank 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; 2618 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 frumentariis, quaestionarii, bbff sexmestris and a haruspex; one of the speculatores (C. Caecilius Felix) appears as a bf cos on VIII 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. Oclatinus 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 Urbi, cf. A. von Domaszewski, op. cit. (note 22), 104-5; H.-G. Pflaum, Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Equestres (1960) no. 247 + add; B. Dobson, Die Primipilares (1978) no 172 A.R. Birley, The Fasti of Roman Britain (1981), 298-9.

⁴⁸Length 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.) σπεκλάτορι Ποντικῷ 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 Iader (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, Lambaesis (Numidia).

⁴⁰Numbers of speculatores: II 4122 Tarraco, 2 cornicularii, 2 commentarienses, 10 speculatores; Tarraconensis 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 Lambaesis 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.

⁵⁰AE 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.

⁵¹III 1650 add. Viminiacium (Moes. Sup.); see M. Rostovzeff, 'Ein Speculator auf der Reise, ein Geschaeftsmann bei der Abrechnung', Mitt. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. Röm. Abt. xxvi (1911), 267-8. Cf. the similar depiction of a frumentarius from Sirmium (Pann. Inf.), III 3241.

⁵²Speculatores as messengers: Tac. Hist. II, 73: Vix credibile memoratu est quantum superbiae socordiaequae Vitellio adoleverit postquam speculatores e Syria Iudaeaque adactum in verba eius Orientem nuntiavere. 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.

⁵³See. P.K. Baillie Reynolds, "The Troops quartered in the Castra Peregrinorum", JRS xiii (1923), 168-89.

⁵⁴Speculatores 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 Castror[um] Peregrinorum...quod speculator leg. III Parth(icae) Severianae vovit, 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.

⁵⁵Speculatores 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-xxxi; 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.

⁵⁶Though see Ch. II note 56.

⁵⁷Use of the sword: Sen. De Ben. III, 25, referring to the late Republican period cf. Sen. De Ira I, 18, 4 (cf. I, 16, 15); Firm. Math. VIII, 26, 6 (cf. IV, 11, 4).

⁵⁸Dig. XLVIII, 20, 6 (Ulpian on a rescript of Hadrian) ita neque speculatores ultro sibi vindicent neque optiones ea desiderent, quibus spoliatur. Cf. note 40.

⁵⁹SHA Nig. 10: addito eo ut...pane ac frigida vescerentur (sc. milites) adpositis speculatoribus qui id curarent.

⁶⁰Stationes 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.); 14165¹² Mariamme (Syria); AE 1959 n. 330 Cioroiul-Nou (Dacia); AIJ 273 Poetovio (Pann. Sup.); Spomenik lxxi no 513 Ulpiana (Moes. Sup.). Bbf cos are recorded in all these places except Baalbek, Altimir and Mariamme.

⁶¹Tert. De Fug. 13; cf. G. Lopuszanski, op. cit. (note 28), 6-13.

⁶²Acta Fructuosi, 1; cf. G. Lopuszanski, op. cit. (note 28), 13. See p. 139. On the reliability of this set of Acts see H. Musurillo, op. cit. (note 32), xxxii.

⁶³SHA Hadr. 2.

⁶⁴Beneficiarius 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 domicur(ius); AE 1917/18 n. 76, dedication to the governor by bf domicurator.

⁶⁵Beneficiarii fortifying a city: IGR III 1286 Dera'a (Arabia), AD 261-2; Syria xxix (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 xxix (1952), 307-30. For similar activity under the direction of frumentarii see p. 53 with note 96.

⁶⁶Bbff 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. Auggg. pr. cos desig. adiutor principis praetori; see Ch. II note 39.

⁶⁷The 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.); Šašel 1057 Osijek (Pann. Inf.); III 91, 92 Bostra (Arabia) (?).

⁶⁸M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 82-111.

⁶⁰Number of frumentarii: VI 33512 Rome, 3 frumentarii of leg. XXII Primigenia; 3362 Rome, 3 of leg. XXX Ulpia; 3349 Rome, 2 of leg. VII Gemina; 3361 Rome, 2 of leg. XXX Ulpia; AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis (Numidia), 5 ex frumentariis 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.

⁷⁰Rank and promotion of frumentarii: II 4154 = ILS 2369 Tarraco, probato in leg. VI Ferrat(a) tra[ns]lato 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 XL et (centurio) 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[ta]rio bf cos; XI 1322 Luna (Italy), fr. leg II Ital P. F. optio consacravit 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 Ge[m] P.F. in] Hispania [in ead(em) leg.] fact(o) fru[m. prom(oto) cor(niculario) (?)] trib(uni) leg. I [Min(erviae) P.F.], but M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 109 with note 182 reads prom(oto) bf] trib(uni); AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis (Numidia), 5 ex frumentariis listed after speculatores, bbff cos, and candidati (presumably for the rank of bf cos), and before quaestionarii, bbff sexmestris and a haruspex; the ex frumentariis are perhaps, like the candidati, waiting for promotion to beneficiarius; Spomenik lxxi no 209 Kosovska Mitrovica (Moes. Sup.), bf 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.

⁷¹Ages 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; 35 years, III 8201 (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.

⁷²See note 11.

⁷³Cf. 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 frumentariis, clearly referring to a legionary grain convoy.

⁷⁴M. 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.

⁷⁵Augustus and the vehiculatio (cursus publicus): Suet. Aug. 49 Et quo celerius ac sub manum adnuntiari cognoscique posset, quid in provincia quaque 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 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.

⁷⁶Frumentarii as couriers: γραμματοφόροι, Dio LXXIX, 14, 1; LXXIX, 34, 7; ἀγγελιαφόροι, LXXIX, 15, 1; LXXIX, 39, 3; III 2063 with 8581 = ILS 2370, Salona, cucurrit frum. ann XL; SHA Max. et Balb. 10, 3 cf. Herod. VII, 7, 5; III 14191 Appia (Asia) (Iulius P[hilippus P.F. Aug.]...M. Au[r. Eglecto] pe[r] Didymum mili[t]e[m f[rum.]; P. Mich. 472 Karanis (Egypt), Cl. Tiberian[us] Longino Prisco domin[o]...quam [tibi] da[tu]rus est epis[tula]m qui est [Se]m[pro]nius Clemen[s] frument[ar]ius (P. Mich. 469, Karanis, reveals that Cl. Tiberianus was a speculator).

⁷⁷See note 4.

⁷⁸Within 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. I, Eos enim quos nunc agentes in rebus vel veredarios appellant, veteres frumentarios 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.).

⁷⁹Stationes near Rome: Portus: XIV 7 (Ostia); XIV 125, (Portus), station(is) frumentariorum; XIV 4487 (Portus); L. Vidman, Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae 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).

⁸⁰Stationes in Italy: VI 32873 = X 6575 Velitrae (?), frumentarius of leg. XXII Primigenia commemorated by another of leg. VIII 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.

⁸¹Castra 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 unmilitary 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.

⁸²Numerus 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: II 484; VI 354; 428 (agens vice);

1110(?); 3325 3326 (v(icem) a(gens)); 3327; 30423(?); 36775; AE 1923 n. 28. 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).

⁸³Frumentarii 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 (Tarraconensis); 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.

⁸⁴M. Clauss, *op. cit.* (note 21), 85; 91, following S.J. de Laet, 'Pouvoirs Militaires des Préfets du Pretoire', 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.

⁸⁵SHA Hadr. 11.

⁸⁶Frumentarii 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 6657 = 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 τόν τε Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν Οὐλπίον καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν Νέστορα ... πάγυ περιβοήτους ἐπὶ πονηρία ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καρακάλλου ἀρχῇ γενομένους διὰ τὸ πολλὰ αὐτῶ τῶν ἀγγελιαφόρων σφᾶς ἡγουμένους πρὸς τὰς ἀγοαίας πολυπραγμοσύνας ὑπηρετῆσαι.

⁷Dio LXXIX, 39, 2-3 (Macrinus, escaping from Syria in plain clothes, poses as a frumentarius in Cilicia in order to use the vehiculatio).

⁸Frumentarii 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 φρουμентаρις Αὐγουστοῦ (sic) Χώρας Λουγδούνου of I Minervia from Germania 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 Italica); 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 Fretensis (Palaestina); ILS 9473, Delphi, I Italica (Moes. Inf.); Asia: III 433, 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 Asklepions (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, IIII Flavia (Moes. Sup.); and of Numidia: VIII 2867 Lambaesis, V Macedonica (Dacia); but all of these are tombstones.

⁹Complaints about frumentarii in Asia: AE 1964 n. 231, Kavacik, 247/8, mentioning οἱ καλούμενοι φρουμენტάριοι . . . οἱ πραιτωριανοὶ; IGR IV 1368, Saettis, 3rd cent. παρὰ τῶν στατιωναρίων (?) καὶ τῶν καλουμένων φρουμენტαρίων καὶ κολλητιῶνων; J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien und den angrenzenden Gebieten Ioniens, ausgeführt 1911 (1914), no 11 Ekiskiju 3rd cent. [στατιωναρίων καὶ] φρουμენტαρίων; ibid., no 28 Mendechora, 3rd cent. εἴτε φρουμენტάριοις προμ[ε]μνηνύτο, εἴτε δμοικίς ταξέειν. For individual frumentarii in Asia see note 88 and III 7042 Augustopolis; 14191, Appia; AE 1907 n. 35 = ILS 9474 Aphrodisias ἐκατόνταρχον φρουμენტάριον ἀγνώως καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀναστραφέντα ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἀσίας ἑσθῇ. Praetorians in Asia: III 7136 = ILS 9052 miles cohortis VII Praetoriae... stationarius Ephesi; AE 1964 n.231 Kavacik, 247/8 (see above); G. Petzl, Die Inschriften von Smyrna (1982) no 382 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.

¹⁰AE 1964 n. 231 Kavacik (Asia), 247/8.

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

¹²III 433 Ephesus (Asia), agens curam carceris; AE 1933 n. 256 Sardis (Asia), frumenta[rius] . . . a[gens] cu[ram] custod[ia]rum (see M.P. Speidel in S. Mitchell (ed.), Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia (1983), 22).

¹³Thrace: SIG⁹ 888 = IG Bulg. IV 2236 Scaptopara, 238-44; Egypt: P. Oxy. 240 Oxyrhynchus, AD 37, an oath by a village scribe denying that there has been any extortion;

M. Hombert and C. Preaux, Chronique d'Egypte 16 (1941), 256-59 unknown provenance, 2nd/3rd cent. mentioning a tax ὁ (πὲρ) διασελισμοῦ; Achaea: see F. Millar, 'The World of the Golden Ass', JRS lxxi (1981), 63-75 esp. 67-8.

°⁴VIII 17639 Vazaivi (Numidia), 224-6, text of a rescript referring to officialium exactionibus.

°⁵Frumentarii in stationes outside Italy: III 1474 Sarmizegethusa (Dacia) (grave); 2823 Burnum (Dalmatia); 3020 = 10057 Metulum (Dalmatia); 3241 Sirmium (Pann. Inf.) (grave); 5579, 5592 Bedaium (Noricum) (graves); 6125 = 7420 Lom (Moes. Inf.), 7 frumentarius; 8201 Scupi (Moes. Sup.) (grave); 12371, Montana (Moes. Inf.), 7 frumentarius; 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 frumentarius; 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.

°⁶Frumentarii in charge of building: III 1980 = ILS 2287 Salona (Dalmatia), 170, vexillationes leg. II Piaae et III concordiae ped. CC sub cura P. Aeli Amyntiani 7 frumentari(i) leg. II Trajan cf. J.J. Wilkes, Dalmatia (1969) 116-7 with p. 117 note 1; ILS 9473 Delphi (Achaea), 120 φρουμενταρίω λεγιώνης (sic) πρώτης Ἰταλικῆς στρατιῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ὄντι τῶν κατασκευαζομένων διὰ τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος Τραϊανῶου Ἀδριανῶου Σεβαστοῦ 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. III 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 ἐκατόνταρχος φρουμεντάριος perhaps in charge of the local porphyry quarries; see M. Clauss, op. cit. (note 21), 94-5.

°⁷Aur. Vict. De Caes. 39, 44 ... remoto pestilenti frumentariorum genere, quorum nunc agentes rerum simillimi sunt. Qui cum ad explorandum annuntiandumque, ecqui forte in provinciis motus exsisterent, instituti viderentur, compositis nefarie criminationibus, iniecto passim metu, praecipue remotissimo cuique, cuncta foede diripiebant.

°⁸Ranking 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 bbbf sexmestris and a haruspex.

°⁹Quaestionarii 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 istius modi, ut ita dicam, quaestionariis atque tortoribus tradidit; Schol. in Juv VI 480 "sunt quae tortoribus annua praestent", id est salaria quaestionariis sive carnificibus. Cf. Cyprian Ep. 66, 7 tot confessores quaestionati et torti.

- ¹⁰⁰Quaestionarii in stationes(?): III 12401 Karagač (Moes. Inf.) (grave?); 13604, Aere (Syria); 15133 Šimanovci (Pann. Inf.); AE 1966 n. 346 Novae (Moes. Inf.).
- ¹⁰¹This 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, from 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.
- ¹⁰²Librarius 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 actuarius 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 leg(ionis).
- ¹⁰³Ages 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.
- ¹⁰⁴22 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).
- ¹⁰⁵Vegetius, II, 7; Festus, De Verb. Sign. p.446(L) s.v. scribas.
- ¹⁰⁶P. Mich. 466, 18ff; see p. 39 with note 32.
- ¹⁰⁷P. Mich. 465, 13ff esp. 16-17 ἐγὼ ὡς πρυγκύπταλιν διακινῶ μὲν πρὸς cf. G.R. Watson. op. cit. (note 101), 48-50.
- ¹⁰⁸Cf. Firm. Math. III, 5, 26 exceptores earum sententiarum, quae de hominum capitibus proferuntur. See now H.C. Teitler, Notarii et Exceptores (1985) esp. 44-9.
- ¹⁰⁹VIII 10723 = 17634 Vazaivi (Numidia), ...llianus bf [cos et] exceptores [ex]pleta statione...
- ¹¹⁰VI 2977 Rome.
- ¹¹¹AE 1964 n. 193 = 1965 n. 30 cf. I. Berciu and A. Popa, 'Exceptores Consularis in Dacia', Latomus 23 (1964), 302-10.
- ¹¹²See 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.
- ¹¹³VIII 2755 Lambaesis (Numidia), c.AD 193; on the date of Iuvenalis's prefecture see PIR² III F300. On the establishment of the 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; but see Ch. II note 56 on the officium of the legate of legio III Augusta.

¹¹⁴AE 1955 n.80 Lambaesis, AD 230/2; on the date cf. E. Birley, JRS xl (1950), 64 no 13. On actarii see Seeck, RE I 301-2; A. von Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (1908; 1967), 38, 48. On actores see Habel, RE I 329-30. See also H.C. Teitler, op. cit. (note 108), 47, 243 note 30.

¹¹⁵III 1938 = 8565 Salona, time of Diocletian; on the date cf. J.J. Wilkes, Dalmatia (1969), 422 with note 4.

¹¹⁶Fiebiger, RE VI, 1547.

¹¹⁷Rank 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, l.54.

¹¹⁸Adiutores 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.

¹¹⁹Ages 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, III 3543

¹²⁰III 4030 Poetovio (Pann. Sup.) mil. dupl. leg. X Gem. Antoniniane adiut. praeter(ii) (sic).

¹²¹Promotion to actarius cohortis: AE 1904 n.10 Gardun-Vojnić (Dalmatia) ... actarius coh. VIII Vol. ex adiutore corniculariorum cos. Note also a possible promotion to bf cos (VIII 10724 = 17635; see Ch. II note 39).

¹²²Bbff cos as adiutores principis: III 12679 Doclea (Dalmatia): mil. coh. Vol. adiu[t]. princ. bf cos; AE 1916 n. 29 Djemila (Numidia) ... bf Subatiani Proculi leg. Auggg. Pr. Cos Desig. adiutor principis praetori. See Ch. II note 39.

¹²³A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire 242-602, (1973), 593 cf. 1242 note 58.

¹²⁴VIII 2586 Lambaesis (Numidia); AE 1917/18 n. 57 Lambaesis.

¹²⁵Beneficiarii 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 (Achaia); 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.

¹²⁶IX 4885 and 4886 Trebula Mutuesca (Regio IV. Italy) trib. sem. leg. XXII Primig. praef.'semens. coh. I Classic.

¹²⁷Pliny, Ep. IV, 4, 2; Juv. VII 89.

¹²⁸XIII 3162, I Vieux (Lugdunensis), Is Sollemnis amicus Tib. Claud. Paulini leg. Aug. pro pr. provinc. Lugd. et cliens fuit, cui postea [l]eg. Aug. p. p. in Brit. ad

legionem sext[am] adsedit, [q]uique e[i] salarium militiae in auro aliaque munera longe pluris missi[t].

¹²⁹XIII 3162 II, Vieux, Semestris autem epistulam, ubi propediem vacare coeperi[t], mittam, cuius militiae salarium [i]d est (sestertium) xxv n(ummum) in auro suscip[e].

¹³⁰Since 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 militiae genus quod vocatur supra numerum, quo absentes et titulo tenus fungerentur.

¹³¹VIII 2586 Lambaesis (Numidia).

¹³²See pp. 39-40 with note 35.

¹³³A. von Domaszewski (1908; 1967), 31.

¹³⁴See above note 35.

¹³⁵Age 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. Rank of bbff sexmestris: VIII 2586 and AE 1917/18 n. 57, listed after the quaestionarii and before the haruspex.

¹³⁶Interpreter 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.

¹³⁷Haruspices at Lambaesis: 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.

¹³⁸Soldiers 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 [ἑ]ρα[τιώ]τ[η]ς [ἐκ] τῶν τοῦ πρακτορίου τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου. Officiales: Inscr. Bostra 9083 ὑπατικὸν Συρίας... ὀφφικιᾶλῖς τὸν πάτρωνα P. Oxy. 1648 ἀπὸ ὀφφικιᾶλίων ἐπαρχοῦ Αἰγύπτου.

¹³⁹Stratores 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 equus anteriores pedes praeter morem erigens in sublime, innata feritate concitus, ut erat immanis, dexteram stratoris militis iussit abscindi; Cod. Theod. VI, 31, 1. Per omnes provincias edictum generale misimus ut ab stratoribus unus tantum solidus probae nomine posceretur et in offerendis equis certam formam staturam aetatem provinciales nostri custodiendam esse cognoscerent.

¹⁴⁰Stratores 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.

¹⁴¹See R.W. Davies, 'The Supply of Animals to the Roman Army', Latomus 28 (1969), 429-59 esp. 451-2 citing Amm. Marc. XXIX, 3, 5 (see note 139).

¹⁴²Act. 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-xxxi.

¹⁴³Stratores 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.

¹⁴⁴XIII 8203 = ILS 2418 Cologne, AD 164 = 7 leg. XXX Ulp. curam agens stratorum et peditum cos; AE 1935 n.100 Deutz, second half of second century, 7 leg. I M(inervae) [P.] F. c[u]ram agens stratorum leg. I M et XXX U(lpiae) V(ictricis) et peditum singularium Alli Fusci cos.

¹⁴⁵Decurio strator: VIII 9002 Dellys (Mauretania Caesariensis); 9370 = ILS 1357a Caesarea (Mauretania Caesariensis); X 7580 = ILS 1358 Carales (Sardinia); AE 1958 n.156 = 1960 n.245 Caesarea (Mauretania Caesariensis). Centurio strator: II 4114 with 711 = ILS 1140 Tarraco; VIII 7050 Cirta (Numidia); XIII 8150 Hersel (Germ. Inf.); XIII 6747 Mainz (Germ. Sup.); AE 1947 n.164 Bostra (Arabia); AE 1966 n.495 Caesarea (Syria Palaestina); AE 1967 n.385 = 1977 n.653 Apulum (Dacia). Optio stratorum: AE 1975 n.691 Forest of Kamaraerdö, south of Aquincum (Pann. Inf.). In Egypt the stratores may have been led by an equestrian archistrator: AE 1929 n. 125 Termessus (Asia) ἀρχιστράτορα ἐπὶ Ὀζαλερίου Εὐδαίμονος ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου but this is the only evidence for such an officer and is perhaps a mistake on the stone for ἀρχιστάτορα cf. AE 1958 n. 156; P. Oxy. 294; and B. Dobson in A. von Domaszewski (1908, 1967), xi.

Tabularium: C. Aur Festinus 7 strat. C. I[ulii] Egnatiani leg. tabularium pensilem a solo fecti. M.P. Speidel, Guards of the Roman Armies (1978), 49 note 269 argues from the fact that the stratores formed a collegium (G. Alföldy, Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (1975) no 43 = AE 1946 n. 4, Tarraco pro salut(e) collegio (sic) strato(rum)) that they did not form a unit as such.

¹⁴⁶M.P. Speidel loc. cit. on Arrian Ektaxis 22 = FHG II B, 156. The use of these officers as bodyguards probably explains why Ulpian Dig. I, 16, 4 forbids governors to employ their own men as stratores and insists that soldiers be appointed instead; the rule is a prohibition against private armies.

¹⁴⁷Veteran stratores consularis: III, 5449; 14507.b20; b21; b12; VIII 2565; 2567.32; 2568.15; 30; 37; 2569.18; 2597; AE 1930 n. 5; 1959 n. 316; 1979 n. 472.

¹⁴⁸Stratores as immunes: Dig. L, 6, 7 (6) (Tarruntenus Paternus); as principales: see p. 61 with note 142.

¹⁴⁹M.P. Speidel, 'Stablesiani. The Raising of New Cavalry Units during the Crisis of the Roman Empire', Chiron 4 (1974), 541-6.

¹⁵⁰M.P. Speidel, Guards of the Roman Armies (1978), 5-6.

¹⁵¹See note 11 and M.P. Speidel, op. cit., 5-6.

- ¹⁵²Recruitment 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 lx (1970), 144).
- ¹⁵³Strength of the numerus singularium: M.P. Speidel op. cit. (note 150), 11-15, 127-9. Composition of the numerus singularium: ibid., 22-6. Commanders and officers: ibid., 26-35.
- ¹⁵⁴Functions 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) ἐπὶ τοῦ συνγλήριου στατ[ιωνά]ριος. For a possible use of a singularis as an arresting officer and gaoler see note 136.
- ¹⁵⁵Disappearance of singulares as guards: M.P. Speidel op. cit. (note 150), 40-1, 67-9.
- ¹⁵⁶The complete list of protectores of the governor is now: XIII 7535a Kreuznach (Germ. Sup.) 3rd cent.: prot(ector) pr[aes(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 πρωτῆκ(τόρων); Šašel 831 Burnum (Dalmatia), 3rd cent. protect(or) cos pro b(ene)f(iciario); P. Amh. CXXXVII.2 Ashmunên (Egypt), AD 288-9 διὰ Θεοδώρου πρωτῆκτορος. See M.P. Speidel op. cit. (note 150), 130-3.
- ¹⁵⁷Courier: P. Amh. CXXXVII.2 Ashmunên (Egypt) AD 288-9: copy of a letter from the Prefect to the Epistratēgos of Heptanomis and the Small Oasis delivered διὰ Θεοδώρου πρωτῆκτορος. Quarrying: AE 1979 n. 448, between Splitska and Škrip (Dalmatia), AD 212-7, from the site of the Brattia marble quarries.
- ¹⁵⁸Šašel 831 Burnum (Dalmatia): protect(or) cos pro bf; Burnum was the site of a statio of the beneficarii consularis: III 14989; AE 1925 n. 130; Šašel 830; 832.
- ¹⁵⁹XIII 7535a: eq(ues) leg. XXII prot. pr[aes(idis)?].
- ¹⁶⁰M.P. Speidel, op. cit. (note 150), 133.
- ¹⁶¹See note 10.
- ¹⁶²See p. 42 with note 49.

¹⁶³Numbers 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.

¹⁶⁴Vegetius, 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.

¹⁶⁵Promotions also from the secretarial grades are likely, but none is attested.

¹⁶⁶Senior to the speculatores and commentarienses were only the cornicularii of the praefectus legionis, the tribunus laticlavus, the procurator provinciae, the legatus legionis and, of course, the consularis, and senior to the latter were only the optiones spei and the aquilifer; 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.

¹⁶⁷A.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.

¹⁶⁸Governors 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).

¹⁶⁹See A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire 284-602 (1973), 43-4; 101.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., 566, cf. 594.

¹⁷¹On 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 Libyarum 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 officia of the Late Empire see A.H.M. Jones,
op. cit. (note 1), 49.
¹⁷²A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire 284-602 (1973),
565, 593-4; cf. 44-5.

APPENDIX I

THE 'BENEFIZIARIERLANZEN' OF THE PROVINCIAL OFFICIALES

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,¹ 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.² Such 'benefiziarierlanzen' 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).³ 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.⁴

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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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 Alföldi 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.⁹ 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).¹³

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.¹⁴ 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).¹⁵ 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).¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ It may be that some of these finds indicate the sites of bi 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.

¹A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Beneficiarierposten und die römischen Strassennetze', WZ xxi (1902), 158-9, note 2; cf. E. Kalinka, JOAI I (1898), Beiblatt 117-8.

²E. Ritterling, 'Ein Amtsabzeichen der beneficarii consularis im Museum zu Wiesbaden', BJ 125 (1919), 9-37.

³Lances 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.); beneficarii 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 grave aedicula from Aquincum, capital of Pannonia Inferior (Z. Oroszlán, Arch. Ert. series II, 41 (1927), 96ff, in Hungarian; G. Behrens, 'Mars Weihungen im Mainzer Gebiet', MZ 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.

⁴Heart-shaped heads: III 5579 Bedaium; XIII 7731 the Vinxtbach; III 9401 Salona; 12895 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; III 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).

⁵See note 2. Cf. now G. Waurick, 'Zum Wiesbadener "Benefiziarierabzeichen"', Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt I (1971) 111-12 with Taf. 24-5.

⁶Full sized lance-heads: Niederbieber (Fig. I.20): E. Ritterling, op. cit. 16-17 with Abb 9; Weissenburg (Figs. I.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 Benefiziarierlanzenspitze

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. 38; Carnuntum: R.M. Swoboda-Milenović, 'Ausgrabungen in der Zivilstadt 1953/1954 und 1958', Carnuntum Jahrbuch 1958, 53 no 13 with Taf. XVII, 18g. Brigetio: A. Mócsy, loc. cit. with Pl. VIII.2.

⁷The 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 Rakovitz-Capačeni 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).

⁸See note 6. For the metal plaque from Kleinwinterheim (XIII 7253=ILS 1010) see G. Behrens op. cit.(note 3), 16 with Abb. 16.

⁹A. 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 double-headed 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 Pintaius 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 Speer-attribut der altrömischen Könige zu den Benefiziarierlanzen', Limes Studien. Vorträge des 3. Internationalen Limeskongresses in Rheinfelden/Basel, 1957 (1959), 7-12 esp. 9.

¹⁰G. Waurick, loc. cit. (note 5).

¹¹On the significance of the metal used for such lances see A. Alföldi, AJA 63, 1 (1959), 12 with note 119 citing himself, Die Frühromische 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 Keltenfürst 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.

¹⁴The miniature lance-heads were first collected by G. Behrens, op. cit. (note 3), 19-21 with additions by K. Raddatz, 'Anhänger in Form von Ringknaufschwertern', SJ 12 (1953), 60-65 and H.-J. Hundt, 'Nachträge zu den römischen Ringknaufschwertern, Dosenortbändern und Miniaturschwertanhängern', SJ 14 (1955), 50-59.

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.7,8) and Watchtower 4/96 between Staden and Altenstadt on the Rhine-Taunus-Wetterau section of the limes (Fig.2c.9); Heddernheim (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 Palanka, across the Danube from Lederata (G.

Behrens, op. cit. (note 3), 21. C 12; Mus. Uršac, Inv. 240) (Fig. 2c.17). 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 Österreich vi (1905), 114 no 6 with fig. 69.6).

¹⁶Sword-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.

¹⁷Date 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 römisches 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.

¹⁸See notes 15 and 16. For the epigraphically attested bf stationes see Ch. IV pp. 167, 173, 175-7, 179-85.

¹⁹E. 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.

²⁰See note 9 and the two articles by A. Alföldi cited there.

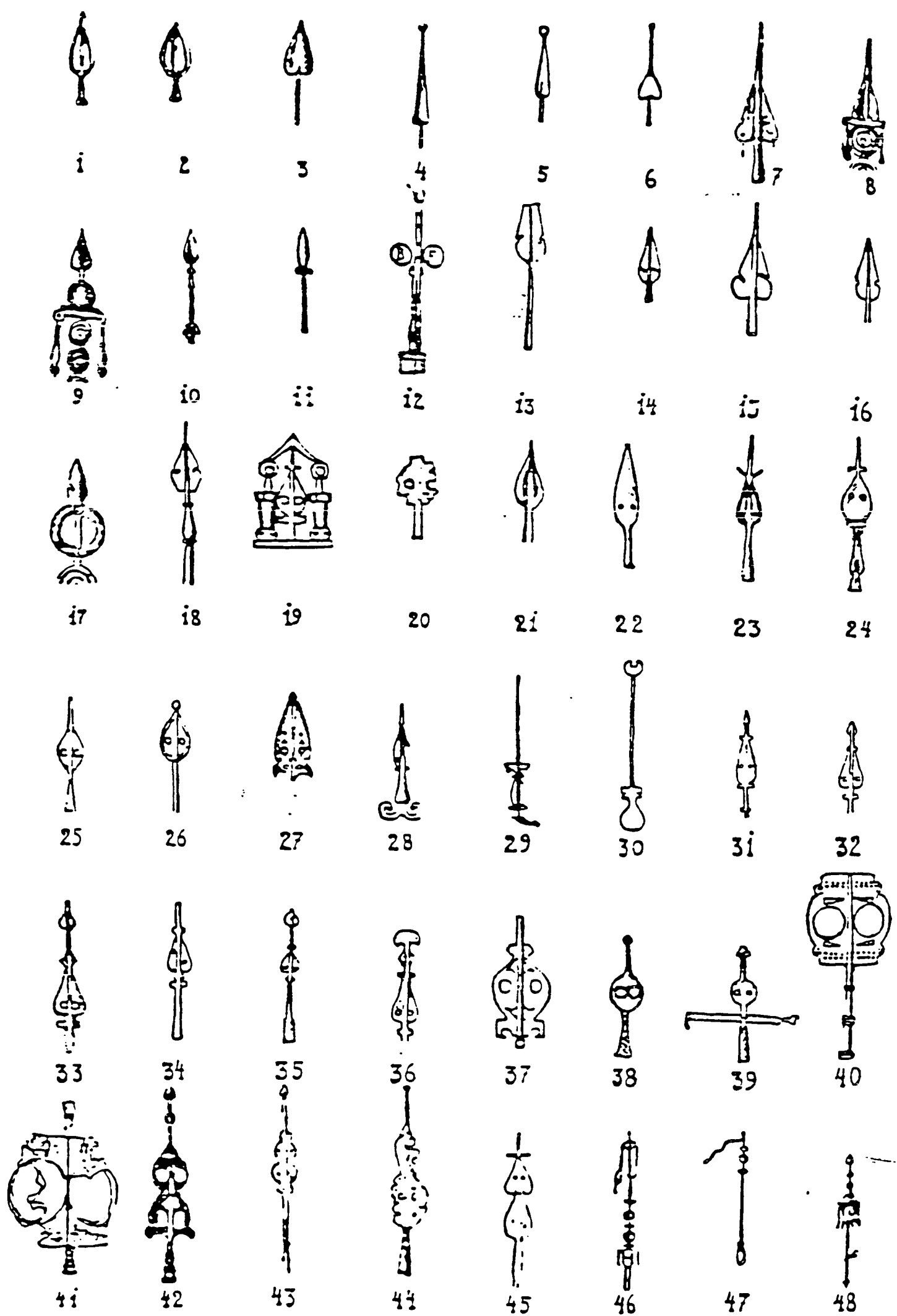
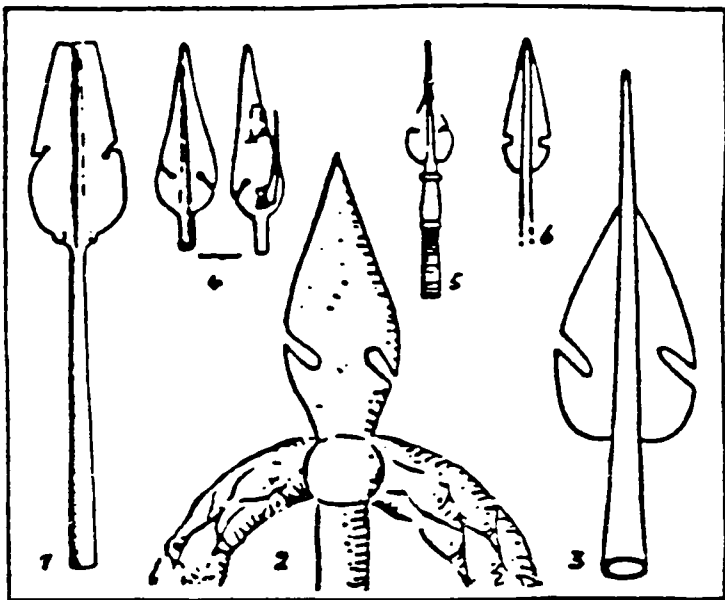


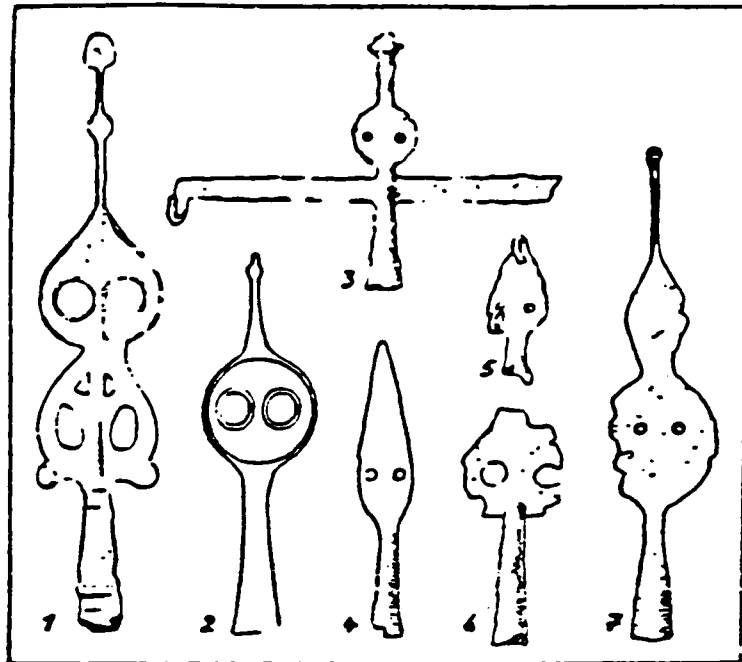
Fig.1. Types of lance-head; from A. Alföldi.
AJA 63.1 (1959). Plate 10.

Key to Fig.1: Lance-heads cited in the text

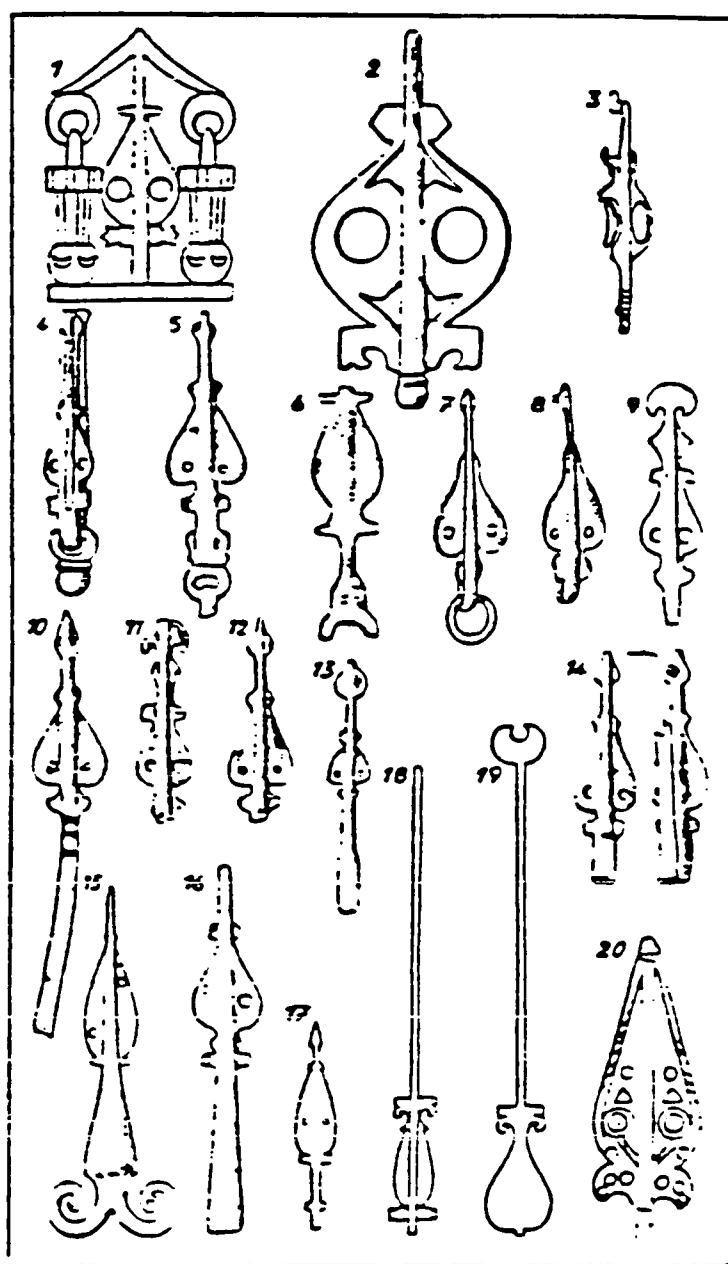
- 4 Lance on an intaglio of Asinius Pollio, c.42 BC
- 5 Lance on a denarius of M. Volteius M.f., aedilis in 82 BC
- 7 Iron lancehead found in Wössingen; more than 35cm long
- 12 Lance-head on conical tip of a grave monument from Lugdunum (XIII 1909)
- 13 Lance-head from Kleinwinterheim; original length 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-head 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)



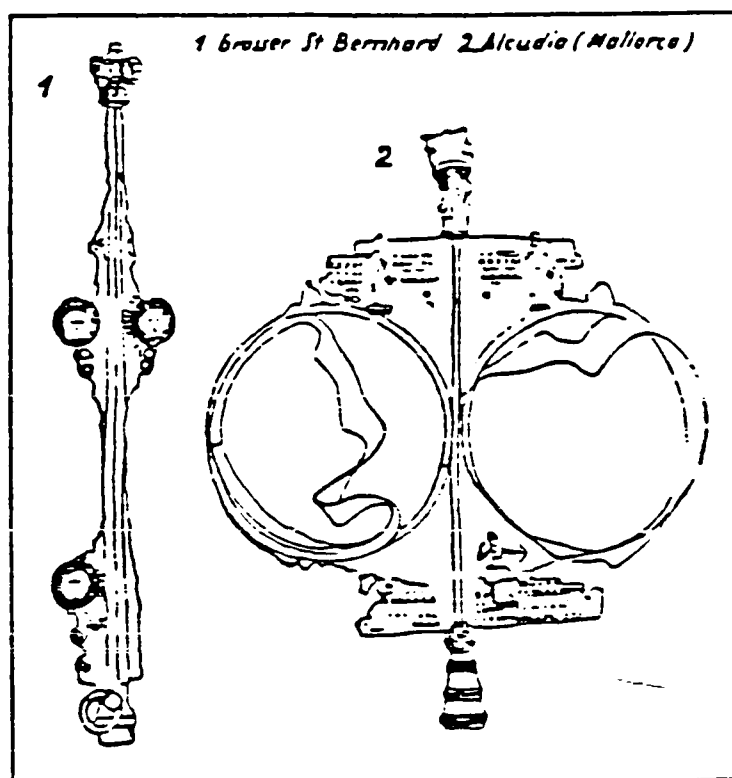
a.



b.



c.

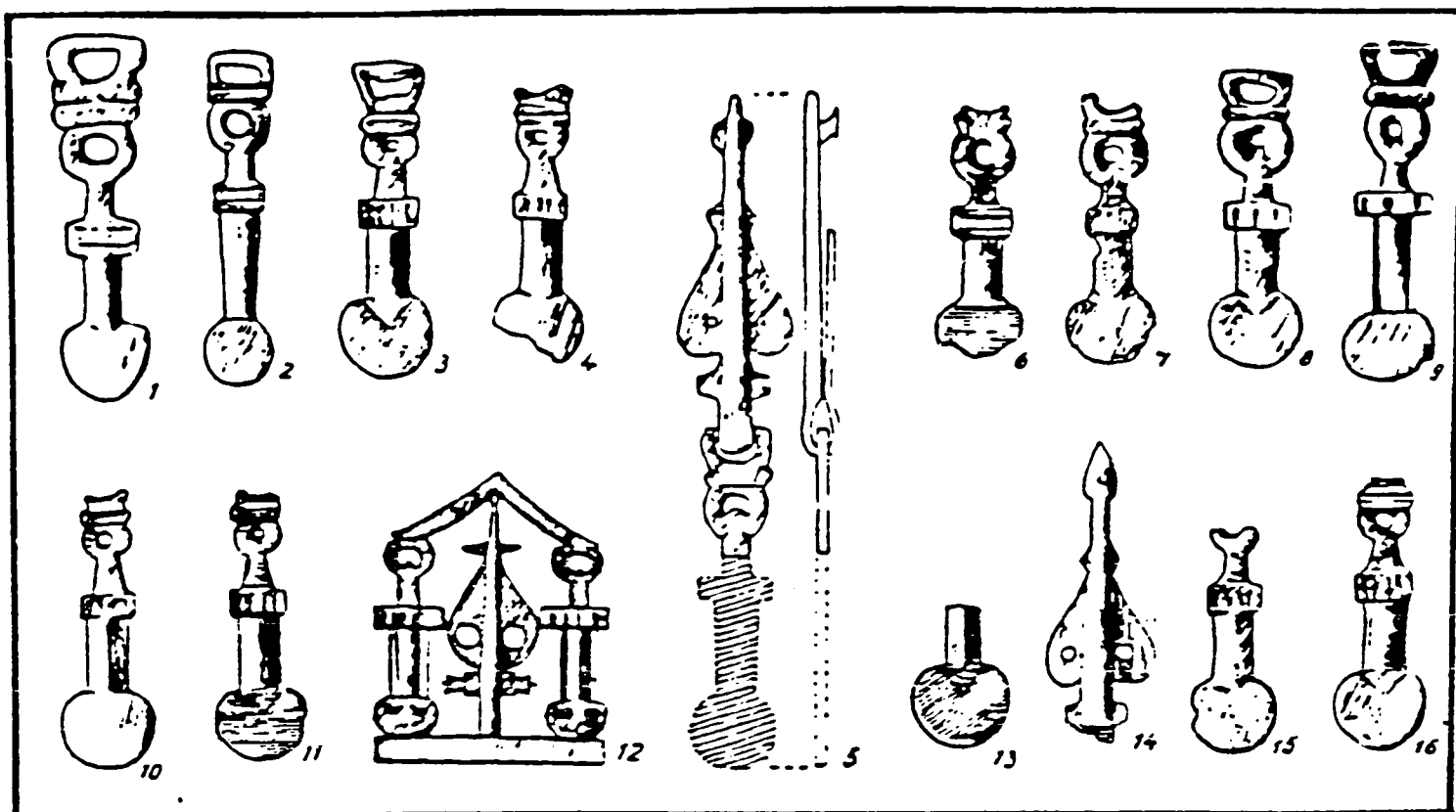


d.

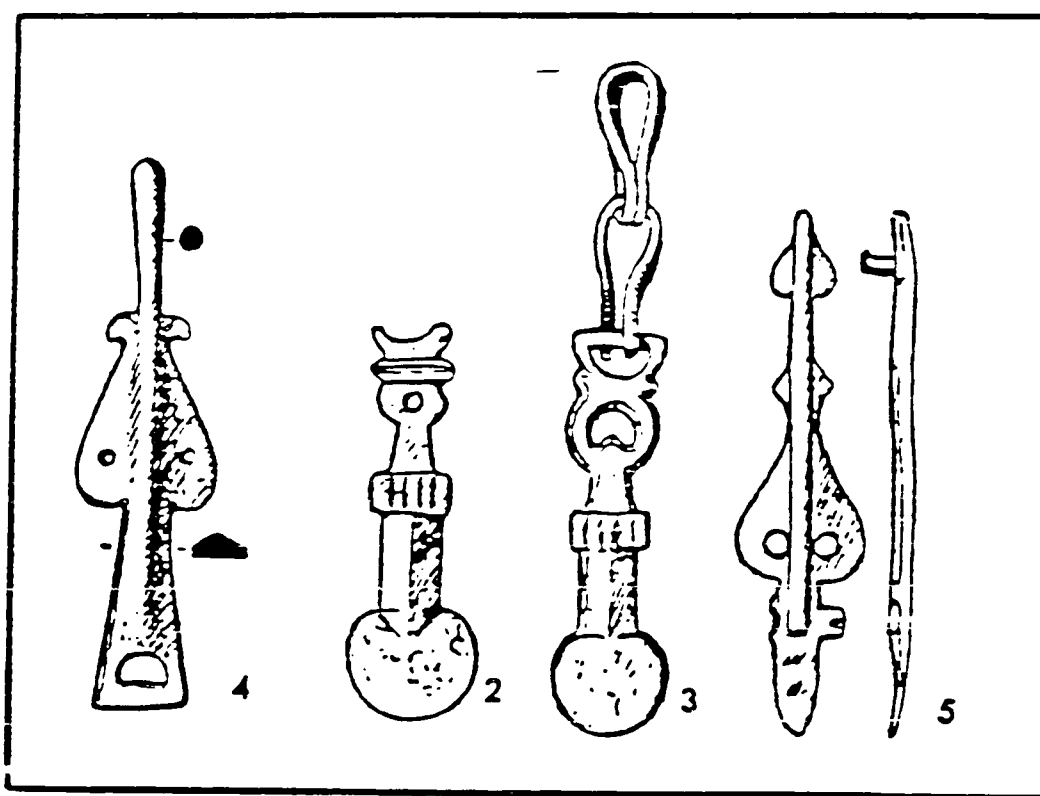
Fig.2. Full-sized and Miniature Lance-heads: a) from G. Behrens, MZ xxxvi (1941), 18 Abb.18 b) from *ibid.*, 18 Abb.19 c) from *ibid.*, 20 Abb.22 d) from *ibid.*, 20 Abb.23.

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



a.



b.

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.

Key to Fig.3: Miniature Lances and Sword-Pendants
cited in the text

- a) 1-4 Bronze sword-pendants from Zugmantel
 5 Bronze lance-head ornament with broken sword-
 pendant from Zugmantel
 6-9 Bronze sword-pendants from Saalburg
 10 Bronze sword-pendant from Zugmantel
 11 Bronze sword-pendant from Feldberg
 13 Part of bronze sword-pendant from Zugmantel
 14 Bronze lance-head ornament from Niederbieber
 15-16 Bronze sword-pendants from Saalburg
- b) 2 Bronze sword-pendant from Heddernheim
 3 Bronze sword-pendant from Butzbach
 4 Bronze lance-head ornament from Heddernheim
 5 Bronze lance-head ornament from Heddernheim

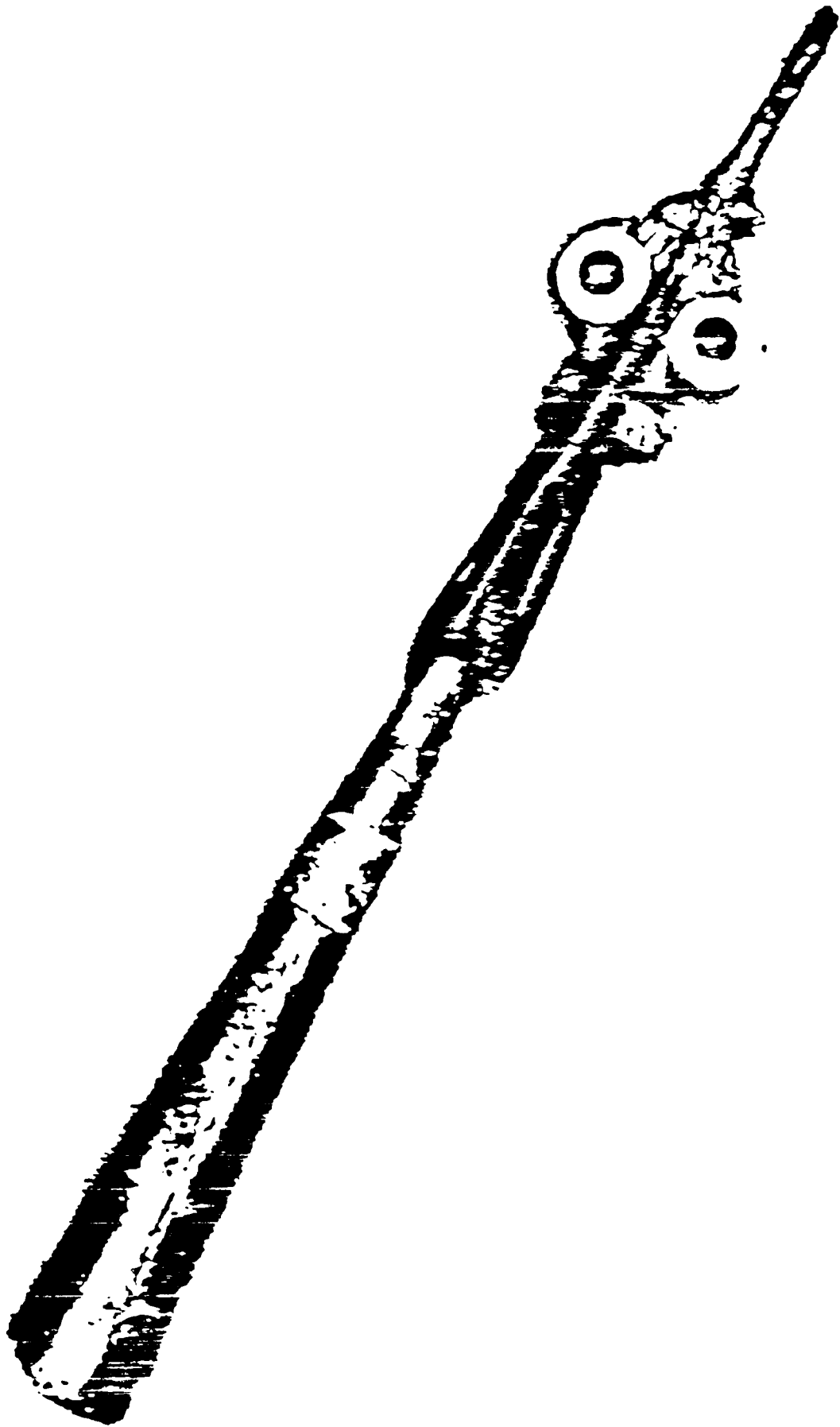


Fig.4: 'Benefiziarierlanze' from the temple of Jupiter
Optimus Maximus at Osterburken. Length 29.5cm; from
E. Schallmayer in Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf. Methoden
und Ergebnisse der Landesarchäologie. Katalog zur
Ausstellung Stuttgart, Kunstgebäude vom 14. August bis
13. Oktober 1985 (1985), 407 Abb.607

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.¹ 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.² 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).³

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 (Iuppiter 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 Italiae), 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 statio. Some inscriptions specifically state that the dedicator had been outposted,⁴ sometimes even naming the statio⁵ or recording that this was the man's first, second or, in a single case, third statio.⁶ Other inscriptions with the phrase exacta or expleta statione, or expleto tempore⁷ 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 governor⁹ 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, how ever, 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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 there θεοῖς τοῖς τοῦ ἡγεμονικῆς πραιτωρίου.¹⁵

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.¹⁶ It has been assumed that the officiales 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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

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 century¹⁹; 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 216²⁰ and at about the latter date an inscription was dedicated [Genio] collegi[...o]b p(romotionem?), apparently by the b(ene)f(iciarii) Gordian(i); ²¹ 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 238.²²

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.²³ 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.²⁴

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.²⁵ The first lay at Catter ick 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.²⁶ The actual dedicator is transmitted on the existing copy of the inscription as T. Irdas SC, these letters usually being taken as standing for s(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,²⁷ 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 bf;²⁸ but since the man appears to have only a single nomen (implying that he was not a Roman citizen), and does not call himself bf cos, and since the quality of the inscription is poorer than any erected by a bf cos 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 bf cos restored Aurelius Dasso's altar on the Thornborough side of the river.²⁹

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.³⁰ The next staging post on the Itinerary, 31 km to the north at Vinovia (Binchester),³¹ is also the site of the next attested statio along Leeming Lane. Here two bbff cos set up votive inscriptions, one Deab(us) Matrib(us) Ollot(otis), the other IOM et Matribus Ollototis sive Transmarinis... pro salute sua et suorum.³² 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-?166)³³, was held by the ala Vettonum C.R. which as a unit erected another inscription Matribus Transmarinis.³⁴ It is unclear whether the vicus here was in existence at the time of the dedications made by the bbff cos.³⁵

The next statio along Leeming Lane lay at Longovicium (Lanchester) 17 km from Binchester.³⁶ 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.³⁷ A single inscription attests the statio, a votive altar dedicated Deo Silvano.³⁸ 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 51km from Lanchester and 22 km from the Wall.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

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.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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[a]e Superior(is)⁴⁴, the other records restoration under the supervision of a centurion of legio VI Victrix but also seems to mention a P]ost(umius ?) Urbanus and in the next line provinciae ? Su]perioris.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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 c(ivitas) Car(vetiorum).⁴⁹ 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[u]g. pro sal[u]te [[Antonini]] Pii Fel(icis) A[u]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(oniniana)]]. . .]ior ex Africa.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹ 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 Tingad in Numidia.⁵²

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).⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ The statio is attested by an altar dedicated Silvano (as at Lanchester) by a b|f cos provinciae Superioris leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), as on the Greta Bridge inscriptions.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ The Gate, however, was probably not constructed until c.300 long after the date of the inscription.⁵⁷ Without such a reason for existence, any statio here seems most unusual, lying as it does off the main east-west road, the Stanegate⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹

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.⁶⁰ Lancaster lay within Britannia Inferior after the division of the province.⁶¹ The fort was exactly equidistant (108 km) between Hadrian's Wall and the legionary fortress of Chester, the base of legio XX Valeria Victrix.⁶² 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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ At Dorchester-on-Thames, where there was a small walled town,⁶⁸ 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).⁶⁹ There may, again, have been imperial estates in this fertile area of the Thames valley somewhat underpopulated by villas, but there is no evidence.⁷⁰

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.⁷¹ 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.⁷² 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.⁷³

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.⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵

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.⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷

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.⁷⁸ 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 96.⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁰

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.⁸¹

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.⁸²

No stationes outside the capital are attested in Lusitania.⁸³

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 north-western Spain, although a vexillation of the legion was stationed at the capital.⁸⁴

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.⁸⁵

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.⁸⁶

A dedication of 202-5 was erected in honour of the governor Q. Hadius 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) off(icii) eius⁸⁸ and

another cornicul(arius) cos is recorded on a tombstone.⁸⁹
A tombstone of a c.i. leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o praetore or
provinciae) H(ispaniae) C(iterioris) c(larissimi) v(iri)
may also record a cornicularius⁹⁰

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).⁹¹ Another tombstone was erected for a com. L. VII
G.F. quaestionario, possibly a commentariensis promoted
from quaestorius, but, since the inscription was erected
by a friend, the correct reading could be com(ilitoni).⁹²

The tombstone of a speculator of legio VII Gemina
Felix was erected here by seven of his colleagues⁹³ and
another speculator, also recorded, on his own tombstone, as
commentariensis ab actis civilibus (see above), erected the
tombstone of a fellow-townsmen (municipis) who was a bf
cos;⁹⁴ a third speculator is recorded on a fragmentary
inscription, apparently also a tombstone.⁹⁵

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 Tarraco⁹⁶; another
two died in the rank of frumentarius⁹⁷, 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.⁹⁸

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.⁹⁹ 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.¹⁰⁰

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.¹⁰¹ 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 197,¹⁰² 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 Illyrici 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 campidoctor 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.¹⁰⁶ A bf cos, together with another man, also erected the tombstone of a verna 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-townsmen, 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

benemerenti,¹¹³ and another for a man who was a citizen of Asturica and died aged 45 after 23 (?) years service, by his freedman.¹¹⁴ 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 Ferrat(a)], a legion then stationed in Syria Palaestina, and then returned to Spain when he was translatus frumentarius in leg(ionem) VII G.P.F., and was finally factus [bf] cos; he died aged 40 after 21 years of service.¹¹⁵

Unusually, bbff cos are also attested at Tarraco in a literary source, the Passio Fructuosi, 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.¹¹⁶

One further bf cos may be mentioned here, known from his tombstone at Nemausus (Nîmes) in Gallia Narbonensis which was erected for him as beneficiari Iunii Omulli consular(is) cura T. Vitrasii 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.¹¹⁷

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.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.¹¹⁹ The beginning of the inscription is fragmentary but is probably to be read as genio] sta[tiloni[s] Segisamonensium.¹²⁰ Segisamo was a town of the Turmogi, perhaps a tribe of the Vaccaeii, 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 43.¹²¹ 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.¹²²

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.¹²³ The site of the governor's praetorium is not certainly known in either city.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

cornicula[rius]¹²⁵, 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.¹²⁶ And a possible optio pr[incipis] ex prae[torio?], possibly of the proconsul, was buried at Dea Augusta Vocontiorum (Die).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.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)¹²⁹ 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.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.¹³¹ 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.¹³²

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).¹³³ 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.¹³⁴

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.¹³⁵ 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.¹³⁶ 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.¹³⁷

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 Lugduncensis¹³⁸, 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 cornucl(arius).¹³⁹ Another, certain, cornicularius of the governor of Lugdunensis in the Flavian period is recorded on his tombstone at Genava (see below).¹⁴⁰

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,¹⁴¹ the other on a third-century votive plaque dedicated Deo Invicto (i.e. to Mithras) by a man promoted from frumentarius.¹⁴²

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 λεγιῶνος πρώτης
Μελνέρβα[ς] φρουμεντάρης Αὐγούστου (sic) χώρας Λουγδούνου.
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 Λουγδούνου 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.¹⁴³

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 provinces¹⁴⁴, and another soldier of VIII Augusta who appears on a tombstone of similar date, as bf trib(uni) sexm(estris).¹⁴⁵

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.¹⁴⁶ 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 F carved within the discs, obviously a depiction of a 'benefiziarierlanze' (Fig I.12; see Appendix I), perhaps from the memorial of a bf cos who served here.¹⁴⁷

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 beneficiar(ius) Tettieni Sereni leg. Aug. in 79 (?), and cornicular(ius) Corneli Gallicani leg. Aug. equestrib(us) stipendiis in 83, served

item Minici Rufi legati Aug., and then been promoted evocatus Aug(usti) in 88 and centurio in 90.¹⁴⁸

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 corn]icula[rius pr]aesid[is prov(inciae)] 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 P. Septicius Varus mil(es) benef(iciarius) leg(ati) Aug(usti) provinc(iae) Belgic(ae), who was presumably included in this group as a native of the city.¹⁵¹

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.¹⁵²

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.¹⁵³ The legions were concentrated at Vetera (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.¹⁵⁴ 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.¹⁵⁵

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.¹⁵⁶

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 98.¹⁵⁷ 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.¹⁵⁸

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. Tarquitiu(s) Catulus leg. Aug. cuiu(s) cura praeto[r]ium in ruina[m] co[n]lapsu(m) ad [no]vam facie[m] est restitutu(m).¹⁵⁹

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.¹⁶⁰

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 speculator, 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.¹⁶¹

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).¹⁶² Another was dedicated In h d d dis d<at>eabus 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.¹⁶³ 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.¹⁶⁴

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.¹⁶⁵ Yet another tombstone was erected after AD 233 for a veteran bf cos who was equestris militiae petitor by his son, wife and friends.¹⁶⁶

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.¹⁶⁷ This inscription, so similar to most of the bf 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 bf stationes.¹⁶⁸ 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 empire¹⁶⁹ and the identification is far from certain. Nevertheless, the unusual reference to emerita statione^{<m>} on another inscription found nearby¹⁷⁰ 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.¹⁷¹

Along the lower reaches no good evidence for any bf 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 bbff cos at all.¹⁷² 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 Table¹⁷³; 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.¹⁷⁴ 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 cos¹⁷⁵; Quaalburg was settled in the first and second centuries but does not appear to have had any sort of fortification until c. 260.¹⁷⁶ At Burginatum (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,¹⁷⁷ a fragment of an inscription may indicate another statio.¹⁷⁸ 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 Burginatum; 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.¹⁷⁹ Vetera was, of course, the site of the fortress of legio XXX Ulpia Victrix.¹⁸⁰

At Moers-Asberg (Asciburgium), 26 km from Vetera, a stone of AD 230 dedicated IOM, and perhaps another inscription, record a further statio.¹⁸¹ 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).¹⁸²

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.¹⁸³ The evidence for Krefeld-Gellep is a very fragmentary dedication by no means certainly set up by a bf cos¹⁸⁴, 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 blf leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) c(onsularis?)¹⁸⁵; 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) 14km from Neuss, though again attested by a fragmentary votive inscription.¹⁸⁶ Dormagen was the site of an ala-fort with a vicus from the end of the first until the fourth century.¹⁸⁷

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.¹⁸⁸ 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.¹⁸⁹ The altars of 205 and 233, one votive and both erected pro se et suis, also came from the shrine to the Matres Aufaniae¹⁹⁰; 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.¹⁹¹ 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).¹⁹² Three stratores cos are also recorded at Bonn on a votive altar dedicated Fo[r]tun[ae] He[r]cu[li] in the reign of Caracalla (212-17).¹⁹³

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.¹⁹⁴ 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 omnib]us...pro [se et suis], another was a votive inscription dedicated IOM by a soldier of legio I M(inervia) 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 Ulpia¹⁹⁵; 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.¹⁹⁶ 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. 180.¹⁹⁷ Another votive altar was dedicated IOM et genio loci et Rheno in 190, and in 242 an altar was dedicated Deo S[oli?].¹⁹⁸

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.¹⁹⁹ Certainly there was a bf statio on the south bank of the stream in Germania Superior²⁰⁰, 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.²⁰¹ 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.²⁰²

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.²⁰³

Several other 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-Calo (?) road; at Heerlen and Jülich on the Bavai-Cologne road; and at Zülpich and Lechenich on the Trier-Cologne road.²⁰⁴ 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 bbff cos but only with a possible military presence of some sort. Neither is the epigraphic evidence cited for 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 bf cos²⁰⁵, nor are the dedication Quadrubiis and those made by milites of I Minervia at Zülpich any indication of the presence of such an officer.²⁰⁶

Sound evidence exists for only a very few stationes in the interior. Two of them are recorded on one of the main routes linking Cologne with Trier²⁰⁷, 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.²⁰⁸ The first 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.²⁰⁹ The statio is attested by

a single votive altar dedicated IOM et genio loci...pro se et suis.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 Nettersheim²¹¹; 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.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.²¹³ The earliest of the inscriptions which can be precisely dated was erected in 196 by a soldier of legio I M(inerviae) P.F. pro se et suis.²¹⁴ A fragmentary votive altar was erected here pro se et] suis in 206, probably by a bf cos, as probably was another, perhaps in 208.²¹⁵ A votive altar was dedicated In h d d Deabus Aufanis ... pro se et suis in 218 and another Deabus Aufanis pro salute Invicti Antonini Augusti, perhaps in the reign of Elagabalus (218-22).²¹⁶ The latest dated inscription was a votive altar dedicated pro se et suis in 227.²¹⁷

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 240.²¹⁸ 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 Minervia²¹⁹; 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.²²⁰ 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.²²¹

One further inscription from Germania Inferior records a veteran bf cos who in 223 dedicated a votive altar In h d d D[eae] [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.²²²

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.²²³ 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.²²⁴

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.²²⁵ 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.²²⁶ 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 45/6.²²⁷ 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.²²⁸

When Germania Superior was constituted a province c. AD 85,²²⁹ 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.²³⁰ 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 cornicularii 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).²³⁷ Another fragmentary inscription from Mainz records an officialis of uncertain, but probably lowly rank, who died aged 21 years 5 months and 26 days.²³⁸

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;²³⁹ another of the same period records restoration of a shrine and was dedicated In h d d Deo Mercurio,²⁴⁰ and yet another of the same period was an altar dedicated Laribus Competalibus sive Quadriviis.²⁴¹ 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.²⁴² Another dated altar was dedicated Marti Victoriae Fortunae by a soldier of legio XXII Primigenia P.F. in AD 194.²⁴³ 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 Pr(imigenia) 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)rrique (sic) diis immortalibusque; the catabulum consularis was presumably where the governor's transport animals were kept, the catabulum 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.²⁴⁴ A votive altar erected on 15 July 211 Deab(us)

Aufan(iabus) et tutelae loci pro salute et incol(u)mitate sua suorumque omnium evidently came from a shrine of these Matres.²⁴⁵ 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. G.S. praesidi integerrimo, who held office c.218/9.²⁴⁶ An immunis consularis erected a votive altar to Mercury at Castel, where there was a bridgehead fort and a vicus, in AD 183.²⁴⁷

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.²⁴⁸ If the story is not merely a malicious fiction²⁴⁹ 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.²⁵⁰ All of these objects were perhaps worn by men serving in the governor's officium (see Appendix I).

ii) The Stationes

Almost all the bf 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.²⁵¹ 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 Vinxbach stream, 10km south of the statio 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 Iunoni Reginae with a depiction of 'benefiziarierlanze' on the left side.²⁵² (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.²⁵³ 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.²⁵⁴ 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 Nemetona 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.²⁵⁵ 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;²⁵⁶ 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).²⁵⁷ 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.²⁵⁸

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,²⁵⁹ 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 concord(iae) var(iarum) stat(ionum), apparently to record the rebuilding of a bridge (po]ntem[...]) or temple ([...]tem[plum]). If the former, and if we read alternatively concor(diae) 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[at]ione; 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 bbff
le[g(ati) Aug(usti) G(ermaniae) S(uperioris)], that is
beneficiarii consularis; ²⁶⁵ 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 bf cos. ²⁶⁶

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). ²⁶⁷ It is possible,
though far from certain, that it was deposited at the site
of another bf 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. ²⁶⁸ 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. ²⁶⁹ Possibly
the man was stationed here to oversee the working of the
stone quarries thought to have been exploited here in the
Roman period ²⁷⁰ since it is not unusual to find the
governor's officiales involved in such activities; ²⁷¹
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.²⁷² 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 259/60.²⁷³ An altar was erected here In h d d genio sancto by a soldier of legio VIII Antoniniana Augusta on 13 January 213.²⁷⁴ The statio may also be attested by two miniature lance-head ornaments (Fig. 3b.4,5) and a sword-pendant found here.²⁷⁵ 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(or)iae Piaae Vindicis, it is clear that the man was a local making an offering at his civitas capital and not simply stationed here.²⁷⁶

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 259/60.²⁷⁷ 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).²⁷⁸

The Mainz-Friedberg road was the main route from the capital towards the forts of the Taunus and Wetterau limes.²⁷⁹ 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. I.20; 3a.14) were found at Niederbieber²⁸⁰ 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 Germanicianorum Divitiensium and a numerus Brittonum; it was sacked, together with its vicus, by the Franks in 259/60.²⁸¹

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.²⁸² 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 259/60.²⁸³

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,²⁸⁴ 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 259/60.²⁸⁵

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.²⁸⁶ 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 233.²⁸⁷

At Butzbach, 22km further along the limes, a sword-pendant (Fig. 3b.3) was found.²⁸⁸ 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 250.²⁸⁹

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.²⁹⁰

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 bf 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.²⁹¹ 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;²⁹² 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 Köngen, eastward along the line of the Suebian Alb limes, and finally south to Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), capital of the province of Raetia.²⁹³ 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.²⁹⁴

One statio on this road may have lain at Lopodunum (Ladenburg), 72km from Mainz if the inscriptions found at Altrip 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.²⁹⁵ Ladenburg certainly, and Heidelberg probably, were connected by road with a Rhine crossing opposite Altrip,²⁹⁶ 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 220-253/4.²⁹⁷ The statio is attested by a 2nd/3rd century votive aram et columnam dedicated IO M...pro se et suis and erected by a soldier of legio VIII Augusta near the Neckar bridge on the left bank of the river.²⁹⁸

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.²⁹⁹ 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).³⁰⁰ However the stationes at Böckingen, Cannstatt and Königen, 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,³⁰¹ 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,³⁰² 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;³⁰³ Neckarburken was linked by road with its successor Osterburken 21km to the east, and Wimpfen with its successor Jagsthausen 25km to the east.³⁰⁴ 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.³⁰⁵ At Böckingen a bf cos erected a votive altar IOM et Marti Caturigi genio loci.³⁰⁶ 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.³⁰⁷

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.³⁰⁸ 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 259/60.³⁰⁹

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 Iovi 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 salute sua et suorum, a fifth on 13 December 221 In h d d Biviis Triviis Quadriviis ... pro salute sua et suorum, 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 230.³¹⁰ A miniature lance-head found in Cannstatt (Fig. 2c.15) may also attest the statio.³¹¹

The last statio attested on this road lay 19km further on at Köngen (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.³¹² It was linked by road with the fort at Lorch

on the Antonine limes some 32km to the north-east.³¹³ The statio is attested by an inscription erected IOM 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.³¹⁴

At Köngen, 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.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.³¹⁶ The southern portion of the old fortress was refortified in 260³¹⁷ 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.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.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.³²⁰ Miniature lance-heads were found at Vindonissa (Fig. 2a.6) and Olten (Fig. 2c.20) possibly indicating stationes there.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.³²² The northernmost lay at Grosskrotzenburg, about 20km south of Altenstadt and 28km from a junction with the Mainz-Friedberg road at Heddernheim,³²³ at the point at which the Hadrianic frontier palisade met the Main;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.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 In h d d IOM Iun(oni) R(egi nae) d(is) d(eabus)q(ue) omnib(us) gen(io) loc(i)...pro se et suis on 13 January 221 by the same soldier of legio VIII Augusta who erected the Heddernheim inscription of 13 January 213 exactly eight years before.³²⁶ The other was a votive altar pro se et suis erected In h d d IOM Iun(oni) Reginae gen(io) loci by a soldier of VIII Augusta on 16 January 223.³²⁷

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.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.³²⁹ Of the dated inscriptions, the earliest was erected in AD 166 to record the renovation and dedication of a spring of the Nymphae 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 bf altar of the same year have also been found here.³³⁰ Another two votive altars were erected in 167, one dedicated IOM Iun(oni) 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.³³¹ Another votive altar was erected to the same deities pro se et suis in September-October 181;³³² 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 182.³³³ A fragmentary votive inscription in two pieces was dedicated probably IOM et Iun]o[ni Reginae et gc[nio loci...e]t Bo[n]o 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.³³⁴ 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;³³⁵ 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.³³⁶ The latest known dated inscription from here, also fragmentary, was erected pro se et suis in AD 208.³³⁷ 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.³³⁸ Another was dedicated IOM Conservatori diis deabusque et genio Iunii Victorini co(n)s(ularis) (the latter serving as governor perhaps under Marcus) as well as to Isis and Serapis;³³⁹ 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,³⁴⁰ and two were votive altars dedicated to Mercury.³⁴¹ Finally, a miniature lance-head ornament (Fig. 2c.10) was also found here.³⁴²

Another 16km further on lay a statio at the cohort fort and vicus of Obernburg 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 260.³⁴³

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.³⁴⁴ 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.³⁴⁵ 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 sua et suorum omnium on 13 January 191 by another soldier of legio VIII Augusta P.F.C.C.³⁴⁶ 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.³⁴⁷ Of the three undated votive altars from Obernburg, one was dedicated IOM [et ge]nio [loci] by a soldier of XXII Primigenia, another IOM et gen(io) loc(i) and the last IOM et genio loci ceterisque diis deabusque

immortalibus sacrum by a man who appears to describe himself as lectus bf cos, presumably indicating a recent appointment to this rank.³⁴⁸

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 259/60.³⁴⁹ 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;³⁵⁰ 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 259/60.³⁵¹ This has long been known as the site of a statio from a single fragmentary altar dedicated IOM et g(enio) l(oci),³⁵² 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 lo[ci ceter]is [dis de]abus[que o]mnibus by a soldier of VIII Augusta;³⁵³ another votive altar was set up In h d d IO]M Iunon[i] Regine [Mi]nerv[e] Bono Even[tui ge]nio 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;³⁵⁴ 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.,³⁵⁵ another a votive altar dedicated in 223 or 224 IO]M Iu]noni[...]dis deab[usque] omnibus[...]lo Toutio[...]sigiopi,³⁵⁶ and the last a votive altar erected in 238 IO]M Iuno]n(i) Reg(inae) [et gen]io loci by a Treveran soldier of XXII Primigenia P.F.³⁵⁷

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.³⁵⁸ Unfortunately, only iterim 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

and detailed publication of this, the most important site anywhere for the study of the beneficarii 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.³⁵⁹

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.³⁶⁰ 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

loci...pro se et suis by a soldier of XXII Primigenia; ³⁶¹
 another from the first row was dedicated IOM...pro se et
suis (sic); ³⁶² a third was the earliest dated altar from
 the enclosure dedicated IOM Iun(oni) Reg(inae) et gen(io)
loci...pro se et suis by a soldier of legio III Italica in
 AD 174. ³⁶³ 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. ³⁶⁴ Bbff 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; ³⁶⁵ 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 182 ³⁶⁶ and,
 apparently, three others, one dedicated IOM Iunoni
Reg(inae) genio loci dis deabusque omnibus...pro se et
suis, another IOM et Iunoni Reginae et genio loci dis
deabusque om[ni]bus...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. ³⁶⁷ 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 Reginae dis

deabusq(ue) omnibus et genio loci and another, depicting five busts in relief, IOM et Iunoni Reginae...pro se et suos (sic).³⁶⁸ 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 Reginae benemerenti pro se et suis by a soldier of legio XXII Pr. P.F.³⁶⁹ 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(oni) Reg(inae) Fort(unae) Red(uci) dis deabusq(ue) omnib(us) genio loci...pro se et suos (sic).³⁷⁰

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.³⁷¹

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

a vicus.³⁷² The statio is attested by five inscriptions; the earliest on which a date can be read was dedicated IOM I(unoni)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);³⁷³ a dated votive altar was dedicated IOM I(unoni) R(eginae) et his sed(ibus)...pro salute sua et sui (sic) omnium in AD 186 by a soldier of XXII Primigenia P.F. whose origo was Aelia Augusta (Augsburg) and who had served for 26 years;³⁷⁴ but possibly erected earlier than either of these was one dedicated IOM Iunoni Reg(inae) genio loci on 13 March of an unknown year by L. Flavius Paternus, who erected a similar inscription at Stockstadt in 167.³⁷⁵ The other two inscriptions are both fragmentary votive altars, one of them erected pro se et suis.³⁷⁶

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.³⁷⁷ The statio is attested by a single inscription of 181 dedicated In h d d IOM...ex iussu.³⁷⁸

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 Pontailier-sur-Saône in the territory of the Lingones, where the Besançon-Langres road crosses the Saône;³⁷⁹ it is a votive altar dedicated [I]OM et genio loci by a bf Caeserni Statiani cos.³⁸⁰ 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.³⁸¹ 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 Pontailier, 35km to the north-west at Tilena which lay on the Via Agrippina linking Lugdunum with Trier and the Rhine.³⁸² There a votive altar was dedicated in 226 [In] h d [d de]is deabus Bivis Trivis Quadrivis by a soldier of XXII Primigenia who describes himself as im(munis) cos Ger[m(an)iae] Super[il]oris.³⁸³ 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.³⁸⁴ 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.³⁸⁵

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;³⁸⁶ the other erected, together with his son, a tombstone for his wife at Oppenheim (Buconica).³⁸⁷ Other officiales recorded on tombstones in

the province include a commentariensis at Rheinzabern (?)³⁸⁸ and a protector praesidis who erected a memorial for his wife at Kreuznach.³⁸⁹

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.³⁹⁰ 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 Köngen (see above),³⁹¹ 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 Poeninae

The territory of the Alpine passes first came under full Roman control in the Augustan period; a military praefectus Raetis Vindolicis vallis Poeninae et levis armaturae is recorded c.AD 16/17,³⁹² but by the reign of Claudius we find a procurator Augustorum et pro legato provinciae Raetiae et vallis Poeninae.³⁹³ At some stage, perhaps very soon after this, the vallis Poenina 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 Poeninae, although it appears that in the second century the province was known as Alpes Atrectianae et Poeninae.³⁹⁴ 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.³⁹⁵

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.³⁹⁶

There may, however, be up to three stationes recorded in the province which might be similar in function to the bf 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 Poeninae, across the Great St. Bernard pass, and into Italy to Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) and Milan.³⁹⁷ The first was perhaps to be found at the vicus of Viviscus (Vevey), by Lake Geneva,³⁹⁸ 33km

south of the statio manned by an immunis 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 do[n(o) ded[it].³⁹⁹ 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;⁴⁰⁰ 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 Nantuatum (Massongex),⁴⁰¹ was found a dedication of 222, 226 or 229 In h]onor(em) d(omus) d(ivinae) genio sta[t]ionis made by a miles leg(ionis) XXII Alexandr[ia]ne P.F..⁴⁰² 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,⁴⁰³ 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.⁴⁰⁴

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.⁴⁰⁵ The summit marked the border with Italy and, apart from the shrine, was provided with a mansio for travellers.⁴⁰⁶ A

similar votive plaque Iovi Op(timo) M(aximo) Poenino was set up here by a frumentarius of legio III Italica,⁴⁰⁷ 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.⁴⁰⁸ 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;⁴⁰⁹ another of them was dedicated by an a com(mentariis) cos⁴¹⁰ 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.

¹On 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).

²The 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; XIII 6440, 11989; AE 1957 n. 329; ter[tia] stat(ione), Bericht RGK 1977 n. 44; exacta (sta(tione)), 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) stat(ionum), XIII 6127; sta[ti]oni... Segisamonensium, II 2915 (see p. 140); ge[nio]que stationis Vaza[iv]itanae, 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 statio

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).

^aThe 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 si]bi et coniug[i]; there is good reason to suppose therefore that Naissus was the man's home.

⁴See note 2; note also III 827=7633 Alsó-Kosály (Dacia) agens sub sign(is) Samum cum reg(ione) Ans(amensium); AE 1957 n 326 Alsó-Kosály agens Samo cum r(e)g(ione) Ans(amensium) sub seg(nis)(sic); Unpublished inscription from Montana (Moesia Inferior) ag(ens) t(erritorio) M(ontanensium); VIII 17635 =10724, 17636 ex[pleto tem]pore (?); cf. P. Amh LXXX.12; P. Oxy 65.1; P Oxy 2187.8 all mentioning a βφ στατί(ζ)ων, IGR III 748 a βερεφ. ἐχόντι στατιώνων ἐν Ὀλυμπῷ, IGR III 812 a β στατιωνάριον, although not all of these are certainly bbff cos.

⁵VII 996 Risingham (Britannia Inferior) Habitanci prima stat(ione); AE 1952 n.193 Slatina (Moesia Superior) genio stat(ionis) m(unicipii) Dard; III 827=7633 Alsó-Kosály (Dacia) agens sub sig(nis) Samum cum reg(ione) Ans(amensium); AE 1957 n.326, Alsó-Kosály (Dacia) agens Samo cum r(e)g(ione) Ans(amensium) sub seg(nis) (sic); 10718 = 17626 Ain Zoui (Numidia) genioque stationis Vaza[iv]itanae.

⁶See note 2.

⁷See notes 2 and 5 and Appendix II.

⁸For a full discussion see Appendix II.

⁹e.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 numinibus 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; Inscr. 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 6363, 7997; ex v.so: Spomenik lxxi no 209; m(onitus) v(iso) (?): III 14957.

¹²See above Chapter III on speculatores (p. 44), frumentarii (p. 52), quaestionarii (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. Arel. 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).

¹⁴VII 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(ic) 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.

¹⁵VII 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 (Diocd. XVII, 104) and confirming the identity of this Demetrius with Plutarch's traveller; see RCHM City of York I: Eboracum. Roman York (1962), 133; S.S. Frere op. cit. (note 13) 128; 139 note 6.

¹⁶Governor's palace: P. Marsden, Roman London (1980), 88-93; R. Merrifield, London, City of the Romans (1983), 72-7. Cripplegate fort: P. Marsden op. cit., 81-7; R. Merrifield op. cit., 77-83.

¹⁷There 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), 235; R. Merrifield op. cit., 77. This suggestion is based partly on the idea that the fort housed the governor's singulares, who would be 1000

strong (see M.P. Speidel, Guards of the Roman Armies (1978), pp. 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.

¹⁸Speculatores 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 lvii (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 specul(ator) exercit(us) Britann(iae) 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); frumentarii 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; frumentarii 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 principalis 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 Castlebury 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 Anguillar a Sabazia, probably originating from the villa there (see M. Lyttleton and F. Sear, 'A Roman Villa near Anguillar a Sabazia', PBSR xlv NS xxxii (1977), 227-51, esp. p. 247 with note 40; 249 with note 62; Plate XXXXIVb); 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 legionis 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 n(umerus) (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 ἀκοντιστὰς 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 D.E. 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 pannicularia 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).

¹⁹By 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).

²⁰York 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. Iust. 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 legionem sext[am], that is at York. The inscription erected at York by the b(ene)f(iciarii) 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. Wachter, 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.

²¹AE 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 Thionville (see note 20) will have been drafted by his officiales at York.

²²See A.R. Birley, *op. cit.* (note 20), 181-6.

²³VIII 2401, Timgad (Numidia), early 3rd cent. C. Aelius Tertiolus; Inscr. Lat. Alg. I no 2203, Madauros (Africa Proconsularis), 3rd cent. ...]Quirina Saturninus[...]
provinciae Britta[n]niae...]i[...]a[...]ici praesidis
ben[ef(iciarius)...]consular[is...] noni
prae[...monymmentum[...].sib(i)....

²⁴XII 3182 Nîmes (Narbonensis), 2nd/3rd cent. ...]L.
Valeriani mil. [leg.] XX Britannic. ben. [leg. or proc.]
Aug.

²⁵Leeming 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 (Eborac) VIII, Vinovia
(Bever) XVIII, Cataracton (Catterick Bridge) XXII,
Isurium (Aldborough) XXIII, Eburacum, leg. VI Victrix
(York) XVII; Iter II: Cataractone Isurium XXIII, Eburacum
XVII; Iter V: Eburaco Isurionum XVII, Cataractone
XXIII.

²⁶VII 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 Aur(elius) Dasso cf. XIII 7732, the
Vinxbach (Germ. Sup.) recording a T. Aurelius Dasso. 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.

²⁷E.g. most recently A.R. Birley, The People of Roman
Britain (1979), 88.

²⁸VII 272 = RIB 727 Catterick Bridge 2nd/3rd cent.: Gaio.

²⁹Flavian-Trajanic fort at Thornborough Farm with vicus:
M.V. Taylor, JRS I (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.

³⁰See note 25.

³¹See note 25.

³²VII 424 = RIB 1031 Bever, 2nd/3rd cent.: Tib(erius)
Cl(audius) Quintianus; EE IX 1133 = ILS 4785 = RIB 1030
Bever, 2nd/3rd cent.: Pomponius Donatus.

³³Bever Fort: B. Dobson & M.G. Jarrett,
'Excavations at Bever, 1955' in T. Durh. & North. A. &
A. Soc. xi (i and ii) (1958). 115-24; on p. 123 they
suggest, on the pottery evidence, a reoccupation, after

Hadrianic abandonment, under Marcus ; J. Gillam in T. Durh. & North A. & A. Soc. x (iv) (1953), 363 had already suggested reoccupation under Calpurnius Agricola. See also R. Goodburn, Britannia ix (1978), 425-6; I.M. Ferris and R.F.J. Jones in W.S. Hanson and L.J.F. Keppie (edd.), Roman Frontier Studies 1979 (BAR International Series 71(i) 1980), 233-53; F.O. Grew, Britannia xi (1980), 361.

³⁴VII 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.

³⁵Binchester 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.

³⁶I.D. Margary, op. cit. (note 25) no 8d, pp. 439-41; Itin. Ant. Iter I (see note 25).

³⁷Lanchester fort and vicus: K.A. Steer, T. Durh & North A. & A. Soc. vii (i) (1936), 200-215; id., ibid. ix (i) (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).

³⁸VII 441 = RIB 1085 Lanchester, 2nd/3rd cent.: Marc(us) 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.

³⁹I.D. Margary, op. cit. (note 25) nos 8d, 8c, pp. 439-41, 476-8; Itin. Ant. Iter I (see note 25).

⁴⁰Risingham fort: I.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 Ulpus 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.

⁴¹VII 986 = ILS 4728 = RIB 1225 Risingham, early 3rd cent. M(arcus) 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 statio.

⁴²I.D. Margary, op. cit. (note 25) no 82, pp. 433-6; no 7e, p. 392; Itin. Ant. Iter II: Cataractonium (Catterick Bridge) Lavatrac (Bowes) XVI, Verterae (Brough) XIIII, Brovonacae (Kirkby Thore) XIII, Voreda (Castlesteads) XIII, Luguvallium (Carlisle) XIIII; Iter V: Cataractonium Lavatrac XVIII, Verterae XIIII, Brocavum (Brougham) XX, Luguvallium XXII.

⁴³Morbium: 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.

⁴⁴VII 280 = RIB 745 Greta Bridge, after 213: ... ellinus.

⁴⁵VII 281 = RIB 747 Greta Bridge, after 213:

P?lost(umius?) Urbanus.

⁴⁶See Ch. III pp. 34-5 with notes 5-8.

⁴⁷On the legions of each province see above notes 13 and 20.

⁴⁸Stainmore 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) Luguvalio (Carlisle) XXII.

⁴⁹Brougham 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.

⁵⁰AE 1977 n 495 Clifton 22 Sep. 213 or 218-22: A[...]ius Surus, following R.W. Davies, Klio 59 (1977), 155-174 who reads promotus ce[nt]ur[i]lo leg. VI Vic[t]r. ex leg. [III] A[ug.] ex Africa, and the newer and better reading from autopsy of G. Alföldy (which Davies accepts in an addendum, op. cit. (1977), 171-2) in BJ 166 (1966), 642-3 who reads promotus bf cos leg. VI Vic. [[Ant.]] [...]ior ex Africa.

⁵¹R.W. Davies, loc. cit..

⁵²VIII 2401 Timgad (Numidia), early 3rd cent.: C. Aelius Tertioius. Note also Inscr. Lat. Alg. I no 2203, Madauros (Africa Proconsularis). See note 23

⁵³I.D. Margary, op. cit. (note 25), nos 85a, 85b, pp. 445-8.

⁵⁴Chesterholm 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: EE 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 third-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.

⁵⁵AE 1929 n 128 = AE 1940 n 108 = RIB 1696 Chesterholm, after AD 213: M.] Aurelius Modestus. On Silvanus see note 38. On provincia Superior see pp. 127-8.

⁵⁶VII 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.

⁵⁷Knag Burn Gate: E. Birley, Housesteads Roman Fort, Northumberland (1952), 24-5; D.J. Breeze and B. Dobson, op. cit. (note 37), 219.

⁵⁸Although from the later second century there was, of course, a military way linking the wall forts: D.J. Breeze and B. Dobson, op. cit. (note), 126.

⁵⁹VII 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] lega[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.

⁶⁰Lancaster fort and vicus: T. Hist. Soc. Lanc. & Ches. cv (1953), 1-23; D.R. Wilson, Britannia v (1974), 418; id., ibid. vi (1975), 239; ibid. ix (1978), 429; ibid. x (1979), 290-1; ibid. xii (1981), 331; ibid. xiv (1983), 270-1.

⁶¹Cf. note 13.

⁶²Note the centurion of legio VI Victrix 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) Luguwallium (Carlisle) XXII. On the situation of the statio at Lancaster, cf. that of the statio at Germersheim in Germania Superior, p. 165.

⁶³VII 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, Bewcastle) he is identified with Mars.

⁶⁴VII 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.

⁶⁵See Ch. V pp. 253-6.

⁶⁶Wool-working factory: Not. Dig. Occ. xi 60 procurator gynaeicii (in Britannis) [V]entensis; 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.

⁶⁷Winchester-Salisbury road: I.D. Margary, op. cit. (note 25), no 45a pp. 100-1; Itin. Ant. Iter XV: Venta Belgarum (Winchester) Brige (Buckholt Farm) XI, Sorbioduni (Salisbury) VIII; Winchester-Silchester road: I.D. Margary, op. cit. (note 25), no 42a pp. 89-90; Itin. Ant. Iter VII: Venta Belgarum Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester) XXII; Itin. Ant. Iter XV: Calleva Vindomi (?) XV, Venta Belgarum XXI; Winchester-Bitterne road: I.D. Margary, op. cit. (note 25), no 42b pp. 90-1; Winchester-Chichester road: I.D. Margary, op. cit. (note 25), nos 420, 421 pp. 91-4; Itin. Ant. Iter VII: Regno (Chichester) Clausentum (Bitterne?) XX, Venta Belgarum X. Main roads from London to the south-west ran to the north, through Silchester: I.D. Margary, op. cit. (note 25), no 4a pp. 57, 84-9; Itin. Ant. Iter VII: Calleva Atrebatum Pontibus (Staines) XXII, Londinio (London) XXII.

⁶⁸See T. Rowley, 'The Roman Towns of Oxfordshire' in W. Rodwell and T. Rowley (edd.), The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain (BAR 15) (1975), 115-8.

⁶⁹VII 83 = ILS 5458 = RIB 235 Dorchester-on-Thames, 2nd/3rd cent. M. Vari(us) 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 (d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)).

⁷⁰On 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 cxix (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.

⁷¹AE 1977 n. 497 Dover, 2nd/3rd cent. = M.W.C. Hassall and R.S.O. Tomlin, Britannia viii (1977), 426-7 no 4.

⁷²Dover as base for the Classis Britannica: B.J. Philp, The Roman Forts of the Classis Britannica (1981), 1-2.

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).

⁷³VII 78 = RIB 233; P. Salway, Roman Britain (1981), 597 has most recently assumed the existence of such a statio from the tombstone.

⁷⁴Schulten, RE VIII 2037-8; on Corduba as capital see CIL II, I, pp. 306-7.

⁷⁵AE 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?]ervando [spec]ulatori...; if it could be shown that this was indeed the site of the man's statio it might be linked with the statio serrariorum 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 Arqueologia 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 Tarraconensis, 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 Tarraconensis (see below note 98).

⁷⁶Conquest 27-19 BC: R. Syme, 'The conquest of north-west Spain' in Legio VII Gemina (1970), 83-107, esp. 85-7. Administration after the conquest: Schulten RE VIII 2037-8; N. Mackie, Local Administration in Roman Spain AD 14-212 (BAR 172) (1983), 8 with note 23.

⁷⁷Huebner, RE V 2493-96.

⁷⁸II 491. Emerita. c.AD 100: L. Maelonius Aper: 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.

⁷⁹Camp of VI Victrix: R. Syme, op. cit. (note 76), 105-6; R.F.J. Jones, 'The Roman Military Occupation of North-West Spain', JRS lxvi (1976), 50-1. Legio VI Victrix: Ritterling, RE XII 1598-1603.

⁸⁰In 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.

⁸¹On 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).

⁸²AE 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 curator reipublicae Emerit(ae) whose earlier cursus includes centurioni frumentar(io) 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).

⁸³It 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.

⁸⁴Administration of Tarraconensis: Schulten, RE VIII 2037-8; G. Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses (1969), 3-66 (governors); N. Mackie, op. cit. (note 76), 8 with note 23. Tarraco: Schulten RE IV A 2398-2403. Legions in Spain: R.F.J. Jones, 'The Roman Military Occupation of North-West Spain', JRS lxvi (1976), 48-54. Vexillation at Tarraco: Schulten RE IV A 2400 cf. R.F.J. Jones, op. cit., 53 with note 72.

⁸⁵Governor's palace: A. Schulten, Tarraco (1948), 44-7. Dedication genio praetorii consularis: II 4076 Tarraco, 199-202 or 205-8; on the date see G. Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses (1969), 45-6.

⁸⁶II 6111 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.; the dedication at Tarraco 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;

see M.P. Speidel, Princeps as a title for ad hoc Commanders, Britannia xii (1981), 7-13.

⁶⁷II 4122 Tarraco, AD 202-5; on the date of the governorship of Q. Hadius Lollianus Gentianus see G. Alföldy, 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(unus) mil. leg. VII G.P.F. Antoniniana; see H.G. Pflaum, La Gaule et l'Empire Romain (1983), 411-12.

⁶⁸II 4159 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.

⁶⁹II 4155 Tarraco, 2nd cent. (?); the man died aged 48 and was commemorated by his freedman.

⁷⁰II 4161 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.; A. Huebner in CIL suggests c(ornicularius) i(mmunis), probably a contradiction in terms, cornicularii being principales (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.

⁷¹II 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-townsmen (muncipis) (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).

⁷²II 4156 Tarraco, before 197; dated by the legionary cognomina.

⁷³II 4143 Tarraco, before 197; dated by the legionary cognomina.

⁷⁴II 4145 Tarraco, before 197; see note 91.

⁷⁵G. Alföldy, 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 slp. leg. VII G. is unclear; another possibility is b|f leg. VII G. that is beneficiarius of the legionary legate, but possibly the most likely reading, since the man died aged 60 or 62 and describes himself as ex armi[culs](tode), is v|et(eranus) 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 395 - 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, RE XII 1602) and notes that the inscription records that Vettius Valens had been [p(rimo) p(ilo)] leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis) 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.

⁹⁶II 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. Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses (1969). 45-6), now promoted to Proconsul of Asia.

⁹⁷II 4170 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent; II 6088, Tarraco, after 197, dated by the legionary cognomina.

⁹⁸II 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).

⁹⁹XIII 8282 Cologne, 3rd cent.; the man's career is read mil(iti)] leg(ionis) VII Ge[m(inae) P(iae) F(idelis) in] Hispania [Citer(iore) (?)] fact(o) fru[m(entario) benef(iciario) ?] trib(uni) leg(ionis) I [Min(erviae) 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(iculari)o trib(uni) with CIL; on legio I Minervia see Ritterling, RE XII 1420-30.

¹⁰⁰III 5579 Kornberg (Noricum), 2nd/3rd cent.; the ascription to Bedaïum is made by A. von Domaszewski WZ xxi (1902), 166 with note 53, and to Pons Aeni by P. Reinecke cf. E. Ritterling, 'Ein Amtsabzeichen der beneficiarii consularis im Museum zu Wiesbaden,' BJ 125 (1919), 13. On the frontier post at Pons Aeni see G. Alföldy, Noricum (1974), 54, 254, 300 note 32. On the man's detachment to Raetia as a provincia inermis from the Castra Peregrina see M. Clauss, Untersuchungen zu den principales des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diokletian. Cornicularii, speculatores, frumentarii (1973), 175 note 37; on such detachments to provinciae inermes in general *ibid*, 85-6. See Ch. III note 88.

¹⁰¹AE 1946 n. 4 Tarraco, before 197, dated by the legionary cognomina; see G. Alföldy, Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (1975) no 43 for the reading B(racara) of the man's origo.

¹⁰²II 4114 with p. 711 Tarraco, AD 198-9 = ILS 1140; for the date and the historical background to the inscription see G. Alföldy, Fasti Hispanienses (1969), 43-5 with note 201; id., 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.

¹⁰³II 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."

¹⁰⁴II 4160 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Lutatius....

¹⁰⁵II 4149 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.: Antonius Saturninus.

¹⁰⁶II 4164 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.: Cn. Pompeius Fructus.

¹⁰⁷II 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.

¹⁰⁸On the granting of Felix see Ritterling, RE xii 1630-2; on the addition of Pia, ibid., 1637.

¹⁰⁹II 4145 Tarraco, before 197 L. Aufidius Felix.

¹¹⁰G. Alföldy, Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (1975) no 198, Tarraco, before 197: L. Valerius Barbarus (= J. Serra Vilario, Excavaciones en la necrópolis romano-cristiana de Tarragona. Junta superior del tesoro artistico. Sección de excavaciones. Memoria 133, 1934 (1935), 63 with lám. XXXII, 5).

¹¹¹II 4148 Tarraco, before 197: Aurelius Severus; AE 1961 n. 332 Tarraco, before 197: L. Caecilius Quartus... oriundus Siccae Veneriae).

¹¹²II 4153 Tarraco, after 197: Firמידius Cecilianus.

¹¹³II 4167 Tarraco, after 197: Valerius Atticus.

¹¹⁴II 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).

¹¹⁵II 4154 = ILS 2369 Tarraco, after 197 Fulv[ius Clapratinus]. On the base of VI Ferrata at this time, at Caparcotna in Galilee in the province of Syria Palaestina, see Ritterling, RE XII 1591.

¹¹⁶Pass. 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.

¹¹⁷XII 3168 Nemausus (Nîmes), c. AD 133: Umidius Avitus. On the governorship of Iunius Omullus and the date of the inscription see R. Syme, Historia 17 (1968), 89; G. Alföldy, 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.

¹¹⁹II 4624 Emporiae, 2nd cent. M. Val(erius) La[e]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 Tobrueia 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[lar]ius proc(uratoris) A[ug(usti)], and just possibly as a b[ff cos] after that, perhaps in Tarraconensis.

¹²⁰II 2915 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).

¹²¹For the suggested reading cf. above note 2.

¹²²Segisamo as a town of the Turmogi: Florus II, 33, 48; Orosius VI, 21, 3; as a town of the Vaccaeii: 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.

¹²³Tarraco to Ad Legionem: Itin. Ant. Iter I De Italia in Hispanias...ad leg. VII Geminam, 391.1-395.4: Tarracone Ilerda LXII, Tolous XXXII, Pertusa XVIII, Osca XVIII, Caesaraugusta XLVI, Cascanto L, Calagorra XXVIII, Vereia XXVIII, Tritio XVIII, Lybia XVIII, Segesamunculo VII, Verovesca XI, Segesamone XLVII (394.5), Lacobrica XXX, Camala XXIII, Lance XXVIII, Ad Leg. VII Geminam VIII; see J.M. Roldán Hervás, Itineraria Hispana (1975), 38-45. Segesamo also lay on the main route between the capital and Asturica, a conventus capital (Huebner, RE II 1864), at the point where the road to Ad Legionem branched off to Asturica: Itin. Ant. Iter 32 Ab Asturica Terracone (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 Beneficiariierposten und die römischen Strassennetze', WZ xxi (1902), 191-2.

¹²⁴Constitution of 27 BC: Dio LIII, 22, 5. Reversion to senatorial control in 22 BC: Dio LIV, 4, 1 cf. Weiss, RE VII 657; J.F. Drinkwater, Roman Gaul (1983), 20-21. Narbo as capital: the city was capital of Gallia Transalpina in the Republican period as the only colony of the province.

founded 118 BC (Vell. I, 15; II, 8; Eutrop. IV, 10; Jerome, Chron. Olympiad CLXIIII), and the site of the Concilium Gallorum (Sall. Hist. II, 22 =B. Maurenbrecher (ed.), C. Sallusti Crispi Historiarum Reliquiae. Fasc. II. Fragmenta (1893), p. 67 from Cledonius, 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 ll.14 and 22-4) see P. Goessler, RE Suppl VII 528; M. Gayraud, Narbonne antique des origines à la fin du III^e siècle (1981), 375-9 (Republic); 380 (Principate). Nîmes as capital: see P. Goessler, 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 apres Jésus-Christ', ANRW II 3 (1975), 854-5; id., Narbonne Antique des origines à la fin du III^e siècle (1981), 380.

¹²⁴For 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 Livière 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.

¹²⁵XII 4369 Narbo, 2nd/3rd cent.

¹²⁶E. 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.

¹²⁷AE 1965 n. 170 Die, 2nd/3rd cent.

¹²⁸ILN 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.

¹²⁹XII 2602 = ILS 2118 Genava, AD 96-98; see pp. 145-6; on cohorts I Urbana at Lugdunum, see p. 143 with note 136.

¹³⁰XII 3168 = ILS 2404 Nîmes, c. AD 133: Umidius Avitus; see p. 139 with note 117. The man might even have been visiting the proconsul at Nîmes, see above note 123.

¹³¹XII 5723 Antipolis, 2nd/3rd cent.: T. Aelius Macrobius; cf. note 126 for his service in Lugdunensis or Germania Superior; his designation as bf con(sularis) 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, ὀπατεύων ('to be consular governor') could even be 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 Praetorium 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.

¹³²See above p. 123 with note 24.

¹³³The 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 ἐν ταῖς Γαλαταῖς); 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 and 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.

¹³⁴XI 4182 Interamna, AD 212-17; on the date cf. R.W. Davies, 'L. Iulius Iulianus in Roman Britain', Latomus 35 (1976), 399-403; A.R. Birley, The Fasti of Roman Britain (1981), 265-6.

If the legate of Aquitania, as is possible, borrowed some of his officiales from Lugdunensis or the German provinces, as the proconsul of Narbonensis (cf. notes 126, 140) and the legate of Belgica (cf. note 152) may have done, then again 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 Aquitania.

¹³⁵On the division of Gallia Comata under Augustus see note 141. On Lugdunum as capital cf. Ptol. II, 8, 12 Μετρόπολις; 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.

¹³⁶For 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).

¹³⁷See notes 126, 134, 152.

¹³⁸XIII 1860 Lugdunum, 3rd cent.

¹³⁹XIII 1869 Lugdunum. 2nd/3rd cent.

¹⁴⁰XII 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 cornucl(ario), and died aged 45; the man could have served either as cornicularius consularis, or, more likely, legionis with the legion at Bonn.

¹⁴¹XIII 1732 Lugdunum, 13 February AD 221.

¹⁴²XIII 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).

¹⁴³IGR 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 Domaszewski, 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) [Au]g(usti); but see note 142 for a more likely reading. On Χώρας Λουγδούνου, note that Χώρα 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. Χώρα 3 and 5.

¹⁴⁴XIII 1903 Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd cent.; cf. pp. 153, 157, 161, 166, 167, 187 for the German immunes consularis. On the use of consularis for praetorian governors see Ch. III note 13.

¹⁴⁵XIII 1850 Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd cent.; on bbff 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.

¹⁴⁶XIII 1843 Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd cent. [A]urel(ius) Max[imus]; cf. VI 2601 Rome, 2nd/3rd cent. for the man's brother.

¹⁴⁷XIII 1909 Lugdunum, 2nd/3rd cent.

¹⁴⁸XII 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 VIIII in AD 79, though O. Hirschfeld in CIL suggests IIX (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

Centurionate', JRS lxi (1971), 133. On the inscription see now J.L. Maier, Genavae Augustae (1983) no 92.

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 VIII Augusta from Argentorate (Strasbourg) (VI 3350, 3351, 3352, 3354, 32873); VI 3353 recording a man from VIII Augusta probably dates from before 197.

¹⁴⁰On 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 Niederremmel 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.

¹⁵⁰XIII 11350 Niederremmel near Trier, 3rd cent.; this was evidently dedicated at a shrine of Mercury and Rosmerta (cf. XIII 4194, 4195 from the same place).

¹⁵¹V 6783 Eporedia, 1st/2nd cent.: P. Septicius Varus.

¹⁵²XIII 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.

¹⁵³E. Stein, Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Principat (1932), 25ff quoting E. Ritterling; C.B. Rüter, Germania Inferior (1968), 20; J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüter, Der nieder-germanische Limes (1974), 9.

¹⁵⁴Legions at Vetera: Tac., Ann. I, 45; Ritterling, RE XII 1567 (V Alaudae), 1782 (XXI Rapax). Legions at Cologne: Tac., Ann. I, 37; 39; Ritterling, RE XII 1377-8 (Legio I), 1771-2 (Legio XX). Caecina at Vetera: Tac., Ann. I, 45; 48. Germanicus at Cologne: Tac., Ann. I, 39 cf. 40-44 mentioning the presence of his wife Agrippina and son Caligula.

¹⁵⁵Departure of legions from Cologne to Bonn and Neuss: Ritterling, RE XII 1378-80 (legio I to Bonn), 1772 (legio XX to Neuss); H. Schönberger, 'The Roman Frontier in Germany: an Archaeological Survey', JRS lix (1969), 151; J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüter, Der Niedergermanische Limes (1974), 140 (Neuss), 198 (Bonn); H. Schönberger, 'Die römischen Truppenlager der frühen und mittleren Kaiserzeit zwischen Nordsee und Inn', Bericht der Römisch-Germanisch Kommission 66 (1985), 346. Marriage of Agrippina the younger: Tac. Ann. XII, 1-7. Cologne created a colonia: Tac. Ann. XII, 27.

¹⁵⁶Praetorium overlying the principia of the legionary fortress: Ph. Filtzinger, 'Zur Lokalisierung der Zweilegionenfestung apud aram Ubiorum', Kölner Jahrbuch 6 (1962/3), 31 cf. A. Camps & Ph. Filtzinger, Kölner Jahrbuch (1969), 54 note 2; G. Precht, Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum römischen Praetorium in Köln. Rheinische Ausgrabungen 14 (1973), 16-24; P. La Baume and W. Meier-Arendt, 'Das Praetorium', Führer zu vor-und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmälern 38 (1980), 92-112; Gerta Wolff, Das römisch-germanische Köln: Führer zu Museum und Stadt (1981), 160-5. Note that G. Precht, op cit., 114 cf. 29 and 76-9, following O. Doppelfeld, 'Römische Grossbauten unter dem Kölner Rathaus', Germania xxxiv (1956) 98, interprets some small rooms running west between the two courtyards of the palace as the administrative rooms where the officiales would have worked.

¹⁵⁷Proclamation of Vitellius: Suet., Vit., 7-8. Creation of the two German Provinces: see H. Schönberger op cit. (1985) (note 155), 366 with note 189. Trajan at Cologne: see below p. 161 with note 248.

¹⁵⁸E. Stein, op. cit. (note 153), 106; E. Ritterling RE XII 1421-30 (I Minervia), 1823-7 (XXX Ulpia Victrix).

¹⁵⁹Reconstruction of c. 180: G. Precht, op. cit. (note 156), 24-7; G. Wolff, op. cit. (note 156), 165, 166-7 (dated by tiles of Didius Iulianus, governor c. 180/1-184/5 cf. W. Eck, Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen vom 1-3 Jahrhundert. Epigraphische Studien 14 (1985) 184-6 no

38) Inscription of Q. Tarquitiu Catulus: XIII 8170 = ILS 2298 cf. W.Eck, op. cit., 218-9 no 59.

¹⁸⁰Gallienus and the Gallic Emperors at Cologne: Zonar. XII, 24; Aur. Vict., De Caes. 33,12. The Praetorium in the Late Roman period: G. Precht, op. cit. (note 156), 27-9; G. Wolff, op. cit. (note 156), 165-70.

¹⁸¹Speculator: 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. Vicarius (probably legionis 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.F. 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, 5814, 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 singulares cos working the Brohlthal 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 Germania Inferior in the reign of Hadrian.

¹⁸²XIII 12052 Cologne, AD 179: IOM et Serapi et genio loci L. Caesius Florentinus; XIII 8204 Cologne, before AD 223: C. [Iul(ius)] Aprilis cf. AE 1975 n. 652 Zierikzee, AD 223 dedicated by the same man as a veteran[us] ex bf cos; XIII 8205 Cologne, AD 225: M. Aurelius Ursulus; XIII 8206 Cologne, AD 232: In h d d...L. Hilarinius Anabilis; 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 12051 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).

¹⁸³AE 1974 n. 446 Cologne. 1 September of an unknown year: Acceptus 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 statio on the St. Georg church site (see notes 167-8).

¹⁶⁴XIII 8494 Deutz, 2nd/3rd cent.: Sextus Val(erius) Verus cf. E. Stein, op. cit. (note 153), 80 note 59.

¹⁶⁵XIII 8278 Cologne, 2nd/3rd cent.: M. [A]urelius A[ris]tide[s m]i[l(l)es] leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) bf cos; XIII 8293 Cologne, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Severinio Viteali veterano honeste missionis ex bf cos leg. XXX U(lpiae)V(ictricis); XIII 8297 Cologne, 2nd/3rd cent. (?); XIII 8298 Cologne, 2nd/3rd cent.: ...]tes; AE 1981 n. 674 Cologne, 2nd/3rd cent.: ...Mode/]ratus.

¹⁶⁶AE 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).

¹⁶⁷AE 1929 n. 108 Cologne, 2nd/3rd cent.: T. Bl...; inscriptions dedicated IOM 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 Weissshuttengasse and AE 1974 n. 446 (see note 163) within the wall on the Hohen Pforck which runs through the south gate, neither being found in situ; see B. and H. Galsterer, Kö lner Jahrbuch 13 (1983), 93-4 no 4.

¹⁶⁸See O. Doppelfeld, 'Zur Vorgeschichte der Georgskirche in Köln. Erster Bericht über die Grabungen der Jahre 1928-31' in W. Zimmermann (ed.), Kö lner Untersuchungen. Festgabe zur 1900-Jahrfeier der Stadtgründung (Die Kunstdenkmäler im Landesteil Nordrhein. Beiheft 2) (1950), 90-104; H. von Petrikovits, Germania 30 (1952), 125ff; id., Das römische Rheinland (1960), 74 ff; H. Hellenkemper, 'Römische Benefiziarierstation', Führer zu vor- and frühgeschichtlichen Denkmälern 39 (1980), 46, 47; Gerta Wolff, op. cit. (note 156), 247-8.

¹⁶⁹For the earliest recorded bf stationes in the empire see Ch. V note 11.

¹⁷⁰See note 167.

¹⁷¹Rhine 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, Burungo (Worringen?) V ala, Nevensio (Neuss) V ala, Gelduba (Krefeld-Gellep) VIIII ala, Calone VIIII ala, Veteris XXI Castra leg. XXX Ulpia, Burginatio VI ala (Kalkar-Altalkar), Harenatio (Rindern) X ala; Itin. Ant. 369.5-370.7 (part of the road A Lugduno Argentorato): Harenatio, Burginatio (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 - Burginatio - V - Colo. Traiana - XL (=I) - Veteribus - XIII - Asciburgio (Moers-Asberg) - XIII - Novesio - XVI - Agripina - XI - Bonnae - VIII - Rigomagus (Remagen) - VIII - Antunnaco (Andernach); Anon. Rav. IV, 24: Rigomagus - Bonnae - Colonia Agripina - Rungon - Serima (Serm?) - Novesia - Trepitia (Drupt?) - Asciburgio - Beurtime (Birten) - Troia; XIII 9158 = ILS 5839, Tongeren: [Col. Agrippina] - [Bonna] L(eugas) IX - [Rigo]magus L(eugas) VIII - [Antu]nnacum L(eugas) VIII.

¹⁷²Suggested statio at Alphen-Zwammerdam: J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, Der niedergermanische Limes (1974), 52.

¹⁷³Rindern (Harenatium): J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, op. cit. (note 172), 93-5 with bibliography.

¹⁷⁴XIII 8702 Rindern, AD 213; XIII 8703 Rindern, 2nd/3rd cent.: ...us Iustus.

¹⁷⁵XIII 8700 Quaalburg, 2nd/3rd cent.: Q. Caecilius Secundus.

¹⁷⁶Quaalburg (Quadriburgium): J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, op. cit. (note 172), 96-8 with bibliography.

¹⁷⁷Burginatum (Altkalkar): J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, op. cit. (note 172), 101-3 with bibliography.

¹⁷⁸XIII 8672 Burginatum, 2nd/3rd cent., a very fragmentary inscription perhaps recording a bf? cos.

¹⁷⁹XIII 8621, Birten near Vetera, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Val(erius) T[e]rtiu[s] 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.

¹⁸⁰Vetera: J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, op. cit. (note 172), 106-11 with bibliography.

¹⁸¹XIII 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.

¹⁸²Moers-Asberg (Asciburgium): J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, op. cit. (note 172), 128-31 with bibliography.

¹⁸³Krefeld-Gellep (Gelduba): J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, op. cit. (note 172), 135-8 with bibliography. Neuss (Novaesium): ibid., 139-43 with bibliography.

¹⁸⁴J.E. Bogaers, Limes. Akten des XI. internationalen Limeskongresses (1977), 610 no. 5 Krefeld-Gellep, AD 206: ...[ranus [bf co?]]s.

¹⁸⁵XIII 8566 Neuss, 2nd/3rd cent.: Classius Vi[c]tor.

¹⁸⁶Bericht RGK 1927 n. 370 Dormagen, 2nd/3rd cent.: ... per [bf?] cos.

¹⁸⁷Dormagen (Durnomagus): J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, op. cit. (note 172), 151-2 with bibliography.

¹⁸⁸Bonn (Bonna): J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, op. cit. (note 172), 196-9 with bibliography.

¹⁸⁹AE 1932 n. 11 Bonn, 2nd/3rd cent.: ... Victor; XIII 8012 Bonn, 2nd/3rd cent.: Q. Caesius [I]ustus; AE 1930 n. 26 Bonn, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Iulius Proculeianus ei M. Sabinius Victor; cf. Ch. V note 15.

¹⁹⁰AE 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), 1-48 esp. 34; id., BJ 136/7 (1932) 136-216.

¹⁹¹XIII 7997 Bonn-Dottendorf, AD 182: C. Iucund[ius] Similis; 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, Römerstrassen der Rheinprovinz (1931), 94), it is much more likely that they were simply transported from Bonn.

¹⁹²AE 1930 n. 35 Bonn, 25 September c. 260: Vi(rius?) Lupulus imm(unis) cos.

¹⁹³XIII 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.

¹⁹⁴Remagen (Rigomagus): J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, op. cit. (note 20), 208-13 with bibliography.

¹⁹⁵XIII 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. Farfenna Ianuar(ius) bf cos c(um?) Isaur(io) Calendino (centurione) leg(ionis) XXX U(lpia).

¹⁹⁶XIII 7817 Oberwinter, 2nd/3rd cent.: L. Iucundinius Maximus; XIII 7818 Oberwinter, 2nd/3rd cent.: Octavius Curtavius.

¹⁹⁷XIII 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 LXXIII, 5; SHA Comm. 4, 8; SHA Iul. 2, 1; see PIR² III S 104).

¹⁹⁸XIII 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 Victrix 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.

¹⁹⁹The Vinxtbach: E. Fabricius, ORL Bd. I A Strecke I (1915), 59-60; C.B. Rüger, Germania Inferior (1968), 47-9.

²⁰⁰See p. 162.

²⁰¹XIII 7732 the Vinxtbach, 2nd/3rd cent.; cf. E. Stein, op. cit. (note 153), 79 with note 512. On the find-spot see J. Hagen, Römerstrassen der Rheinprovinz (1931), 31-2.

²⁰²See Ch. V p. 256 with note 15; cf. above note 198.

²⁰³XIII 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".

²⁰⁴Suggested stationes at Rossum, Cuijk: J.E. Bogaers, Der niedergermanische Limes (1974), 74-5; 84-6. Tegelen, Melenborg, Heerlen: id., 'Ruraemundensia', Berichten van de rijksdienst voor het oudheidkundig bodemonderzoek 12/13 (1962/3), 57-85 esp. 72ff. (in Dutch; French summary 85-6); Viller-Mühle, Herongen, Wankum, Wachtendonk, Aldekerk, Jülich, Zülpich, Lechenich: H. von Petrikovits, Das römische Rheinland (1960), 72-4 with Abb. 23.

²⁰⁵This 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 Beneficiärerposten und die römischen Strassennetze', WZ xxi (1902), 158-211 (see J.E. Bogaers op. cit., 84 note 140 and cf. below p. 188).

²⁰⁶This 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.

²⁰⁷Cologne-Trier route: Itin. Ant. 372.3-373.5: A Treviros 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. Peut. II Route 11: Agripina - (leug.) VI - [Mionerica] - X - (name missing) - X - Marcomagus - VIII - Icorigium - XII - Ausava - XII - Beda - XII - (River Mosel) - Aug. Tresviorum.

²⁰⁸On 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.

²⁰⁹Belgica vicus (Billig): J. Hagen, Römerstrasse der Rheinprovinz (1931), 150-3.

²¹⁰XIII 7956/7 Billig, 2nd/3rd cent.: M. [I]ul(ius) Maternus.

²¹¹Marmagen: J. Hagen, op. cit. (note 209), 123-8.

²¹²XIII 11986 Nettersheim 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Lucretiu[s] ...]atius; XIII 11989 = ILS 9327 Nettersheim, 2nd/3rd cent.: M. Petronius (sic) Patroclus bf cos iterata statione.

²¹³XIII 11990 = ILS 9328 Nettersheim late 2nd/early 3rd cent.: C. Summius Agrestis. On the dates of the governorship of Novius Priscus see W. Eck, BJ 184 (1984), 111-5; id., Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen von 1-3. Jahrhundert. Epigraphische Studien 14 (1985), 191-2 no 42, arguing that this man is perhaps identical with neither the suffect consul of 152 nor that of 165/8 but with a third man.

²¹⁴XIII 11991 Nettersheim, AD 196: ... inius [Can]didus.

²¹⁵AE 1911 n. 159 Nettersheim, AD 206; XIII 11985 Nettersheim, AD 208 (?): Ingenu[us...].

²¹⁶XIII 11987 Nettersheim, AD 218: M. Massonius Vitalis; XIII 11984 = ILS 9330 Nettersheim, AD 218/22 (?): M. Aurelius Agripinus.

²¹⁷XIII 11988 = ILS 9329 Nettersheim, AD 227: Nepotinius Nepotianus.

²¹⁸AE 1968 n. 390 Iversheim. AD 240: ...lin[ius] [S]upe[r]stis mi[l(es) l]eg(ionis) XXX U(lpia) V(ictricis)

Go[r]dian[ale im(munis) co[s]; cf. G. Alföldy, 'Epigraphisches aus dem Rheinland III', Epigraphische Studien 5 (1968), 21-2 no 7.

²¹⁹Iversheim (lime kilns and vexillations): G. Alföldy, op. cit., 17-27.

²²⁰XIII 7835 Aachen, 2nd/3rd cent.: ...]Da[...]ius.

²²¹Aachen (Aquae Granni): J. Hagen, Römerstrasse der Rheinprovinz (1931), 246-50; H. Christ, 'Das karolingische Thermalbad der Aachener Pfalz', Germania xxxvi (1958), 119-32; H. von Petrikovits, Das römische Rheinland (1960), 108-9; L. Hugot, 'Die römischen Büchelthermen in Aachen', BJ 163 (1963), 188-97; W. Sage, 'Ausgrabungen und Funde der Jahre 1962 bis 1965 im Stadtgebiet Aachen', Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins 77, 1965 (1966), 239-51; J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, Der niedergermanische Limes (1974), 190-2. On Aachen as a route centre see J. Hagen, op. cit., 163, 240-5 (Cologne-Aachen-Maastricht road), 245-6, 252-4, 271, 273; J.E. Bogaers and C.B. Rüger, op. cit., 190. On Aachen as a spa and rest-resort for the military cf. the dedication in the Schwertbad of the springs at Aachen-Burtscheid, erected by a primus pilus and praefectus castrorum of legio IX Hispana in 108/119 (BJ 167 (1967), 268-79 = AE 1968 n. 323).

²²²AE 1975 n. 652 Zierikzee (Zeeland), AD 223: C. Iul(ius) [A]prilis vetera[n]us 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.*, 78-9 no. 46 with Afb. 46.

²²³Brohltal quarries: E. Stein, op. cit. (note 153), 34, 107, 276.

²²⁴XIII 7709 Brohl, c. AD 73/8 (?); on Acilius Strabo see W. Eck, Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen von 1-3. Jahrhundert. Epigraphische Studien 14 (1985), 139-40 no 15; AE 1923 n. 23 Brohl, end of 1st century; on Licinius Sura see W. Eck, op. cit., 155-6 no 23. On the two inscriptions see M.P. Speidel, Guards of the Roman Armies (1978), 75-6 nos 7 and 8. On the use of singulares in quarrying cf. the pedites singulares who refortified Kastellum Sablonetum (Ellingen) in Raetia in AD 182 (AE 1983 n. 730) who may have been employed in the nearby sandstone quarries (see K. Dietz, 'Kastellum Sablonetum und der Ausbau des rätische limes unter Kaiser Commodus', Chiron 13 (1983), 497-536, esp. 533-4).

²²⁵E. Stein, Die kaiserliche Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat (1932). 25ff.

²²⁶*Ibid.*, 32 with note 24.

²²⁷XIII 6884 Mainz, AD 9-45/6; on legio XIII Gemina in Germania Superior see Ritterling, RE XII 1712-13.

²²⁸Tac. Hist. I, 56; on the base of the two legions at Mainz see Ritterling, RE XII 1551-2 (IV Macedonica); 1799-1801 (XXII Primigenia).

²²⁹See note 157.

²³⁰On 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).

²³¹The 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. Klumbach in Führer zu vor- und frühgeschichtliche Denkmälern, Mainz, 11 (1969), 101; K.H.

Essex, Mogontiacum', BJ 172 (1972), 215; K-V. Decker and W. Selzer, 'Mogontiacum', ANRW II 5.1 (1976), 488-9. See H. Büsing, 'Römische Militärarchitektur in Mainz', RGF 40 (1982) on the correct interpretation of the fragments of the supposed octagonal building from this praetorium as in fact part of the porta praetoria of the legionary fortress.

²³²Cornicularii 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(ati) pr(o) pr(aetore)], optio, centurio [legionis eiusdem [oct]a(v)us pilus prior, [an]nor(um) XXXIX, stip(endiorum) XX....

²³³Speculatores: 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.

²³⁴Frumentarius: XIII 11810 (= 6075+...) Mainz, 3rd cent.; on this so-called Arch of Dativius 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.

²³⁵Exactus consularis: XIII 6738 Mainz, 19th April 223.

²³⁶Stratores consularis: XIII 6746 = ILS 3138 Mainz, AD 217 (centurio strator Cl[... E]lgnatiani leg.; cf. E. Stein in E. Ritterling, Fasti des römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat (1932). 40); W. Eck, Die Statthalter der Germanischen Provinzen. Epigraphische Studien 14 (1985), 87-8 no 45; XIII 6670 Mainz, 198-211 (?); XIII 6732 Mainz, 2nd/3rd cent. (three(?) veteran stratores cos); XIII 7007 Mainz, 2nd/3rd cent.

²³⁷Singulares consularis: XIII 7057 (+7111) Mainz, 2nd/3rd cent.; XIII 7032 Mainz, 3rd cent. (decurio alae I Scubulor(um) sin. cos); XIII 7299 Castellum Mattiacorum, 2nd/3rd cent. (centurio? peditum singularium). On Castellum Mattiacorum, site of a Domitianic bridgehead fort, probably given up in the early 2nd century and reoccupied in the late 3rd century, and a vicus occupied in to the fourth century, see E. Schmidt ORL B Nr. 30 (1912); D. Baatz, Limesforschungen 4 (1962), 82; H. Schoppa, Aquae Mattiacae (1974) 65ff, 102ff; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.R. Herrmann. Die Römer in Hessen (1982). 369-71. Note also the tombstone of a mil(es) coh(ortis) I F(laviae)

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

²³⁸? consularis: XIII 7001 Mainz, 2nd/3rd cent.

²³⁹XIII 7000 Mainz 2nd/3rd cent.: Licinius Licinianus.

²⁴⁰XIII 11820 Mainz 2nd/3rd cent.: Lucius Potens.

²⁴¹XIII 11816 (= 6731a +6768) Mainz, 2nd/3rd cent.: T. Fl(avius) Castus.

²⁴²AE 1976 n. 501 Mainz, AD 151: M. Petronius Maximinus; on the date see H.G. Frenz, Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt 14 (1984), 401-2 with Taf. 48.

²⁴³XIII 6740b Mainz, AD 194: Tertinius Senecio.

²⁴⁴AE 1976 n. 503 Mainz, 15th July 205: C. Iulius Super; AE 1976 n. 502 = 1979 n. 423 Mainz, 13th January 208: T. M(a)ximius Felix. On the Catabulum (κατάβολον) at Rome see Hülse, RE III 1782 s.v. catabulum; also M. Rostovzeff, Mitt. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. Röm. Abt. ii (1896), 317=21; S.B. Platner and T. Ashby, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (1929), 109. On the catabulum consularis at Mainz see P. Herz, 'Neue Beneficiariier-Altäre aus Mainz', ZPE 22 (1976), 193; 195-6.

²⁴⁵XIII 6665 = ILS 4796 Mainz, 15th July 211: L. Maiorius Cogitatus.

²⁴⁶XIII 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.

²⁴⁷XIII 7277 Castellum Mattiacorum AD 183: Pat (?) Sanctinus [i]mm.cos. On Castellum Mattiacorum see note 237.

²⁴⁸We know that Hadrian had earlier been sent to Germania 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.

²⁴⁹On 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.

²⁵⁰Miniature 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 Ringknäufschwertern', SJ 12 (1953), 63 citing MZ VI (1911), 109, Abb. 26, 101.

²⁵¹The Rhine road and its continuation to Milan: Itin. Ant 369.1-371 4: Caput Germaniarum A Lugduno Argentorato: Albinianis mp. X, Traiecto XVII, Mannaritio XV, Carvone

XXII, Harenatio XXII, Burginatio VI, Colonia Traiana (Xanten) ²⁵²V, Veteribus I, Calone XVIII, Novesiae (Neuss) XVIII, Colonia Agrippina (Cologne) XVI, Bonna XI, Antunnaco XVII, Confluentilus VIIII, 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 CCCCXVIII sic: Novaria mp XXXIII, Vercellas XVI, Eporedia XXXIII, Vitricio XXI, Augusta Praetoria XXV, Summo Pennino (Great St. Bernard Pass) XXV, Octoduro XXV, Tarnaias XII, Penne Locos XIII, Vibisco VIIII, Uromago VIIII, Minnodunum (leug.) VI, Aventiculum Helvetiorum XIIII, Petinesca XIII, Salodurum X, Augusta Rauracum (Augst) XXII, Cambete XII, Stabulis VI, Argentovaria XVIII, Helvetum XVI, Argentorato (Strasbourg) XII, Saletione VII, Tabernis XIII, Noviomago (Speyer) XI, Bormitomago XIIII, Bauconica XIII, Mogontiacum (Mainz) XI. Tab. Peut. II Route 3: Lugduno-(leug.) II-Praetoriu Agrippine-III-Matilone-V-Albanianis-II-Nigropullo-V-Lauri-XII-Fletione-XVI-Levefano-VIII-Carvone-XIII-Castra Herculis-VIII-Noviomagi (Nijmegen) -X-Arenatio-VI-Burginatio-V-Colo. Traiana (Xanten) -I-Veteribus-XIII-Asciburgia-XIIII-Novesio (Neuss) -XVI-Agripina (Cologne) -XI-Bonnae-VIII-Rigomagus-VIIII-Antunnaco-VIIII-Confluentes-VIII-Bontobrince-VIIII-Vosavia-VIIII-Bingiu-XII-Mogontiacum (Mainz) -VIIII-Bonconica-XI-Borgetomagi-XIII-Noviomagus (Speyer) -XII-Tabernis-XI-Saletione-XVIII-Brocomacus-VII-Argentorate (Strasbourg) -XII-Hellellum-XII-Argentovario-XII-[Urincis]-[XII]-Cambete-VII-Arialbinnum-VI-Augusta Ruracum (Basel-Augst); Route 32: Augusta Ruracum (Basel-Augst) -XXII-Salodurum-X-Petenisca-XIIII-Aventicum Heletiorum; Route 33: Aventicum Heletiorum-XVIII-Minodum-VI-Viromagus-VIIII-Vivisco; Route 7: Vivisco-VIIII-Pennolucos-XIIII-Tarnaias-XII-Octoduro-XXV-In Summo Pennino (Great St. Bernard Pass) -XIII-Eudracinum-XXV-Augusta Praetoria.

²⁵²XIII 7731 Vinxtbach, 2nd/3rd cent.: Tertinius Severus (note another bf cos named Tertinius recorded at Mainz (XIII 6740b); see above note 243).

²⁵³Altrip (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 Borgetomagi and Noviomagus (but see my text on the position of Altrip relative to the Rhine valley road). On the site and the Valentinianic 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.

²⁵⁴The 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 Römerstrasse von Hauptbahnhof Mutterstadt über die Rehhütte zum Wartturm bei Speier. 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 früh-römische 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.

²⁵⁵The inscriptions are XIII 6137a, doubtfully a bf cos; XIII 6127 = Brambach 1791; Bericht RKG 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.

²⁵⁶Ladenburg (Lopodunum): D. Baatz, Badische Fundberichte Sonderheft 1. Lopodunum-Ladenburg a.N (1962). B. Heukemes in Ph. Filtzinger, op. cit. (note 254), 341-51 with bibliography.

²⁵⁷Miniature 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.

²⁵⁸Rheingönheim (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.

²⁵⁹XIII 6137a Altrip, 2nd/3rd cent., not certainly a bf cos.

²⁶⁰XIII 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.

²⁶¹Bericht RKG 1937 n. 74 Waldsee nr. Altrip, 13 or 15 of ? AD 201: ... Quint[inus?].

²⁶²Germersheim (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.

²⁶³XIII 6095 = ILS 3211 Germersheim, 2nd/3rd cent.: G. Arrius Patruitus.

²⁶⁴Strasbourg (Argentorate): R. Forrer, Strassburg-Argentorate I (1927); J.J. Hatt, Strasbourg au temps des Romains (1953).

²⁶⁵XIII 11603 Argentorate, 3rd cent.: Avitius...; Pomp(eius) O...: Septimius... 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.

²⁶⁶On multiple bbff cos stationed at legionary fortresses see Ch. V note 15.

²⁶⁷See E. Ritterling, 'Ein Amtsabzeichen der beneficarii consularis im Museum zu Wiesbaden', BJ 125 (1919), 9-12.

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: Ma[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 Achaia (once again perhaps sent from the Castra Peregrina; see p. 53 with note 96), the protector at the Brattia quarries in Dalmatia (see pp. 62-3 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)).

²⁷²On the road from Mainz to Friedberg via Kastel, Hofheim, Heddernheim and Okarben (the Elisabethenstrasse): E. Fabricius, ORL A Bd II Strecke 3-5 (1936), 136 nr. A1; 237-8 nr. A3; 243 nr. C6; 252 nr. K6; 254 nr. M5 with Kartenbeilage; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 110 with Abb. 35. On the conquest of the Wetterau under Domitian see H. Schönberger, 'The Roman Frontier in Germany: An Archaeological Survey', JRS lix (1969), 158-60.

²⁷³Heddernheim (Nida): G. Wolff, Die Römerstadt Nida (1908); *id.*, ORL B Nr. 27 (1915); K. Woelcke, Der neue Stadtplan von Nida-Heddernheim, Germania 22 (1938), 161ff; D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 289-90; I. Huld-Zetsche in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 275-93, with bibliography.

²⁷⁴XIII 7338 Heddernheim-Praunheim, 13 January 213: M. Aurel(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).

²⁷⁵Miniature lances from Heddernheim (Fig. 3b.4,5): H.-J. Hundt, 'Nachträge zu den römischen Ringknaufschwertern, Dosenortbändern und Miniaturschwertanhängern', SJ xiv (1955), 31-2, citing Museum für heimische Vor- u. Frühgeschichte Frankfurt a. M. X 2018, 7479. Sword-pendant: H.-J. Hundt, *op. cit.*, 31, citing Museum für heimische Vor- u. Frühgeschichte Frankfurt a. M. X 20787.

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

²⁷⁷Friedberg: E. Schmidt, ORL B Nr. 26 (1913); D. Baatz, Der Römische Limes (1974), 135-6; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 306-7.

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.

²⁷⁹See note 262.

²⁸⁰Niederbieber 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 Ringknaufschwerten', SJ xii (1953), 63 citing Mus. Bonn E 1680.

²⁸¹Niederbieber fort: E. Ritterling, ORL B Nr 1a (1937); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974) 79-80; J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1975), 293-6.

²⁸²Zugmantel miniature lance-heads (Fig. 2c.2,4-6): G. Behrens, 'Mars Weihungen 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.

²⁸³Zugmantel fort: L. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 8 (1909); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 103; J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1975), 529-30; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 501-4, with bibliography.

²⁸⁴Feldberg 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.

²⁸⁵The Feldbergkasattel: L. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 10 (1905); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 110-11; J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1975), 122-5; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 266-9, with bibliography.

²⁸⁶Saalburg miniature lance-heads (Fig. 2c.7-8): G. Behrens, 'Mars Weihungen im Mainzer Gebiet', MZ xxxvi (1941), 20 citing L. Jacobi, Das Römerkastell Saalburg (1897), Taf. LVI, 11 and 12. Sword-pendants (Fig. 3a.6,9,15,16): K. Raddatz op. cit.(note 280), 60 citing Nr. P503 = 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).

²⁸⁷Saalburg fort: L. Jacobi, Das Römerkastell Saalburg (1897); H. Jacobi, ORL B Nr. 11 (1937); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 117-21; J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1975), 342-52; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 469-74, with bibliography.

²⁸⁸Butzbach sword-pendant (Fig. 3b.3): H.-J. Hundt, 'Nachträge zu den römischen Ringsaufschwerten, Dosenortbändern und Miniaturschwertanhängern', SJ xiv (1955), 31; the pendant is in the Landesmuseum Darmstadt.

²⁸⁹Butzbach fort: F. Kofler, ORL B Nr. 14 (1894); G. Muller, Untersuchungen am Kastell Butzbach. Limesforschungen 2 (1962); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974),

131; J. von Elbe: Roman Germany (1977), 104-6; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 246-8 with bibliography. Degerfeld: E. Fabricius, ORL A Bd II Strecke 4 and 5 (1936) 48-9, 90 (there called Degenfeld), D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 131-2.

²⁹⁰ 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. On the numerus-fort at Altenstadt: E. Anthes, ORL B Nr. 20 (1912); E. Fabricius, ORL A Bd II Strecke 4 and 5 (1936), 146; D. Baatz op. cit. (1974), 142; H. Schönberger in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, op. cit. (1982), 227-; H. Schönberger and H. G. Simon, Die Kastelle in Altenstadt. Limesforschungen 22 (1983).

²⁹¹ Road from Niederbieber to Fahr am Rhein, opposite Antunnacum (Andernach): J. Hagen, Römerstrassen der Rheinprovinz (1931), 489.

²⁹² 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-Hedderheim 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), 8-9), 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).

²⁹³ 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 section Mainz-Ladenburg-Heidelberg-south of Heidelberg see K. Schumacher, ORL A Bd. III (1933), 73-6 with Kartenbeilage; 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-Köngen, along the Neckar and then across to Köngen); 262-6 (Köngen-Alb limes road east of Donnstetten-Urspring, following the eastern branch of the road across the Neckar at Kirchheim to Neidlingen, Wiesensteig and then joining the Suebian Alb limes road to Urspring) or alternatively 260-2 (Köngen-Donnstetten, over the Neckar through the Eselsteige up to the Suebian Alb; perhaps the Grinario-Clarena 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-XXXX-Pomone-XII-Augusta Vindelicu.

²⁹⁴On the roads linking the former Odenwald limes road from Neckarburken to Köngen 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 (Benningnen-Murrhardt); 106-11 (Cannstatt-Welzheim); 104-6 (Köngen via Faurndau to Lorch).

²⁹⁵Miniature 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.

²⁹⁶See note 254.

²⁹⁷Heidelberg: D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 291; B. Heukemes in Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 278-87 (with information on the road intersections and bibliography); J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1977), 145-6.

²⁹⁸XIII 6397 Heidelberg, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Vereius [C]lemens. On the find-spot see K. Schumacher, Siedlungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande II (1923), 60.

²⁹⁹XIII 6485 Gundelsheim, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Fabius Germanus. On the find-spot in the St. Michael Chapel see D. Planck in Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 270.

³⁰⁰Gundelsheim: O. Paret, Die Römer in Württemberg III (1932), 313; D. Planck in Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 270.

³⁰¹F. Hertlein, Die Römer in Württemberg I (1928), 143 attributes the coloured sandstone of the inscription to the area around Neckarburken and therefore assigns the statio to there.

³⁰²Neckarburken: K. Schumacher, ORL B Nr. 53 und 53¹ (1909); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 171-2; A. Dauber in Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 425-9 with bibliography.

³⁰³Wimpfen: 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.

³⁰⁴See note 293.

³⁰⁵Böckingen: 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.

³⁰⁶XIII 6474 = ILS 4553 Böckingen, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Iul(ius) Quietus.

³⁰⁷For 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.

³⁰⁸On 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.

³⁰⁹Cannstatt: 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.

³¹⁰XIII 11747a Cannstatt, AD 182: Vengius Germanus; XIII 6441 Cannstatt, 212-17: S[e]verus; XIII 6440 Cannstatt, 213 or 222: P. Sedulius [I]ulianus; AE 1927 n. 65 Cannstatt, 18th July 219: M. Aur(elius) Titius Iulianus; XIII 6437 Cannstatt, 13th Dec 221: Sattonius Iuvenilis; XIII 6442 Cannstatt, 13th Jan 223: Emeritius Sextus; AE 1927 n. 66 Cannstatt, 29th Dec 230: Sereni(us) 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 statio 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 statio over the river from the main vicus, on the road to Welzheim which ran 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 Quadiuiis 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.).

³¹¹Miniature 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.

³¹²Köngen: 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, Grinario: das römische Kastell und Dorf in Köngen (1982); id. in Führer zu römischen Militäranlagen in Süddeutschland (1983), 41-4.

³¹³See note 293.

³¹⁴XIII 6383 Königen, ? July, sometime in the 2nd/3rd cent.: M. L[u]ciu[s] Mate[rn]us. 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.

³¹⁵Königen-Vindonissa-Olten-Solothurn-Milan road: Tab. Peut. VI Route 42: Grinarione (Kongen)-(leug)XXII-Samulocensis (Rottenburg)-XIIII-Aris Flavis (Rottweil)-XIIII-Briogobanne (Hüfingen)-XI-Iuliomago (Schleitheim)-XIIII-Tenedone (Rheinheim)-VIII-Vindonissa (Windisch) (this gives a total of 83 leagues or 183 kilometres for the section Königen-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.

³¹⁶Vindonissa: E. Ettlinger, RE IXA, 82-105; F. Staehelin, op. cit., 623-33 with bibliography; R. Laur-Belart, Vindonissa-Kleiner Führer durch das römische Legionslager und seine Umgebung (4th ed., 1969); M. Hartmann and C. Unz, Das römische Legionslager von Vindonissa (1975).

³¹⁷Refortification at Vindonissa: XIII 5203 Brugg-Altenburg (but removed from Vindonissa), AD 260. See F. Staehelin, op. cit. (note 315), 261-2.

³¹⁸Late 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 (Pfyn)-(leug. or mp?)XXI-Arbor Felix (Arbon); Tab. Peut. II Route 41: Arbor Felix-mp VIIII-Ad Renum (Rheineck) -X-Brigantio (Bregenz); Tab. Peut. IV Route 71: Brigantio-VIIII-Ad Renum (? Niederstaufen) -XV-Vemania (Burkwang) -XV-Camboduno (Kempten); Tab. Peut. II Route 71a: Camboduno-XVIII-Navoe (Eggenthal) -XXIIII-Rapis (around Schwabmünchen) -XVIII-Augusta Vindelicum (Augsburg). Also Itin. Ant. 236.5-238.2: Augusta Vindelicum Rostro Nemaviae (Buchloë) mp XXV, Campoduno (XXXV) XXXII, Vemania XV, Brigantia XXIIII, Arbore Felice XX, Ad Fines XX, Vindonissa leug XXX; Itin. Ant. 250.5-251.6: Augusta Vindelicum Guntia (Günzburg) mp XXII, Celio monte (Kellmünz) XVI, Campoduno XIIII, Vemania XV, Brigantia XXIIII, Arbore Felice XX, Finibus XX, Vituduro (Winterthur) mp XXII, leug X[V?], Vindonissa leug XXII, Rauracis XXVII.

³¹⁹The 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-Olten-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).

³²⁰Olten: 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.

³²¹Miniature 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. Alföldi, 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.

³²²East-Wetterau to the Main: E. Fabricius, ORL A Bd. II Strecke 4 und 5 (1936), 126-75 with Kartenbeilagen 5 and 6; D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 141-8; D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 407-13. Main limes: K. Stade, ORL A Bd. III Strecke 6 (1933), 1-29 with Kartenbeilage. D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 148-152, 177-9; D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 414-5. Antonine limes: E. Fabricius, ORL A Bd. IV A Strecke 7-9 (1931) with Kartenbeilagen 1-5; D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 179-206; B. Cämmerer in Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 370-77; R. Koch, *ibid.*, 377-82; H. Clauss, *ibid.*, 382-6; R. Schweizer, *ibid.*, 386-91.

³²³On 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).

³²⁴On the position of Grosskrotzenburg: E. Fabricius, ORL A Bd. II Strecke 4 und 5 (1936), 173.

³²⁵Grosskrotzenburg: G. Wolff, ORL B Nr. 23 (1903); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 147-8; J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1977), 139-40; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 325-8 with bibliography.

³²⁶AE 1962 n. 228 = 1978 n. 551 Grosskrotzenburg, 13 January 221: Cl(audius) P(ompeianus); cf. XIII 7338, Heddernheim-Praunheim (see note 274).

³²⁷AE 1978 n. 550 Grosskrotzenburg, 16 January, 223: M. Cassius Florentinus. On the find-spot of the two inscriptions see D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Hermann, Die Römer In Hessen (1982), 327 with Abb. 263.

³²⁸Stockstadt: F. Drexel, ORL B Nr. 33 (1910); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 150-1; J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1977), 374-7; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Heermann, Die Römer In Hessen (1982), 479-81 with bibliography.

³²⁹Riverside enclosure at Stockstadt: F. Drexel, ORL B Nr. 33 (1910). 28. 66-76; D. Baatz in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer In Hessen (1982), 481 with Abb. 454.

- ³³⁰XIII 6649 = ILS 9263 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.
- ³³¹XIII 6634 Stockstadt, AD 167: L. Fl(avius) Paternus cf. XIII 117762 = 6556 Jagsthausen (see note 375); XIII 6636 Stockstadt, AD 167: G. Iuli(us) Petunnatius.
- ³³²XIII 6633+ 6656e Stockstadt, Sept.-Oct. 181: C. A[...] C. F(ilius) Iustu[s]; cf. F. Drexel, ORL B Nr. 33 (1910), 69 no 5 for the correct reading.
- ³³³XIII 6637 Stockstadt, 20 Feb., 182: Nobilius L[...]us; XIII 6635 Stockstadt, 26 July, 182: C. Iul(ius) Peregr[in]us.
- ³³⁴XIII 11792 (= 6656a+...) 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.
- ³³⁵XIII 11791f = 6649a+...+ 6651) Stockstadt, 13 or 15 of an unknown month, 186: T. Calven[tius Marc]ellinus; cf. XIII 11776 (see note 338).
- ³³⁶XIII 6647 Stockstadt, AD 191: ...Masu...s; XIII 6641 Stockstadt, AD 199 (?): ...ll(...?) Ve ...us.
- ³³⁷XIII 11793, Stockstadt, AD 208.
- ³³⁸XIII 11777 (= 6639 + ... + 6656b) Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.: Val(erius) Maximus; XIII 11776 (=6639 not. + 6654 + 6655) Stockstadt, late 2nd cent.: T. Calve[ntius Mar]cellinus, cf. XIII 11791 (see note 335); XIII 6632 Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.: Ael(ius) Heraclida; XIII 6640 Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.(?); XIII 6653 Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.; XIII 6656f Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.
- ³³⁹XIII 6638 Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Secionius Senilis. On Iunius Victorinus see E. Ritterling, Fasti des römischen Deutschland unter den Prinzipat (1932), 36 no 34; W. Eck, Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen von 1.-3. Jahrhundert, Epigraphische Studien 14 (1985), 70 no 35; cf. A.R. Birley, The Fasti of Roman Britain (1981), 253-4.
- ³⁴⁰XIII 6631a Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.: it is not clear from CIL whether this inscription came from the enclosure or not. On Erecura (Aeracura) see Wissowa, RE I 667.
- ³⁴¹XIII 6648 Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.: C. Iulius Iustinus; XIII 6648a Stockstadt, 2nd/3rd cent.: T. Fl(avius)] Avitus.
- ³⁴²Miniature lance-head from Stockstadt (Fig. 2c.10): G. Behrens, 'Mars-Weihungen in Mainzer Gebiet' MZ xxxvi (1941) 20 citing F. Drexel, ORL B Nr. 33 (1910) 50, Taf. VII, 21.
- ³⁴³Obernburg am Main: W. Conrady, ORL B Nr. 35 (1903); L. Hefner, 'Obernburg' in Führer RGZM 8. Miltenberg, Amorbach, Obernburg, Aschaffenburg, Seligenstadt (1967), 149-55; D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 151-2; J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1977), 297-301; B. Beckmann in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 457-8 with bibliography.
- ³⁴⁴Bf enclosure at Obernburg: W. Schleiermacher, 'Zu den römischen Weihestein von Obernburg am Main', Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 21 (1956), 115-22.
- ³⁴⁵XIII 6628 Eisenbach near Obernburg, AD 181: C. Iu[l (ius)] Bellin[uls et C. Iu[l(ius) M]ontan[uls].
- ³⁴⁶AE 1957 n. 50 Obernburg, 15 July 189: Quillonius Verecundus; AE 1957 n. 52 Obernburg, 13 January 191: C. Sanctinius Mercator.

- ³⁴⁷AE 1957 n. 47 Obernburg, 15 July, 201: T. Atticius Pacatus; AE 1957 n. 48 Obernburg, 15 July 206 or 227: C Iul(ius) Servandus.
- ³⁴⁸XIII 6624 Obernburg, 2nd/3rd cent.: A?lppius [...]s; AE 1957 n. 49 Obernburg, 2nd/3rd cent.: M. Bellius Marcellinus; AE 1957 n.51 Obernburg, 2nd/3rd cent.: M. Aurel(ius) Superinius 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.
- ³⁴⁹Miltenberg: F. Leonhard, ORL B Nr. 38 (1911); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 177-9; W. Beck & D. Planck, Der Limes in Südwestdeutschland (1980), 39-42; B. Beckmann in D. Baatz and F.-R. Herrmann, Die Römer in Hessen (1982), 437-40 with bibliography.
- ³⁵⁰XIII 11771 Amorbach, 23 December 231: Petronius Senilis. On Amorbach see J. von Elbe, Roman Germany (1977), 19-20.
- ³⁵¹Osterburken: K. Schumacher, ORL B Nr. 40 (1895); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 190-1; H. Neumaier in Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 444-8; W. Beck and D. Planck, Der Limes in Südwestdeutschland (1980), 49-54; E. Schallmayer in Führer zu römischen Militäranlagen in Süddeutschland (1983), 83-90.
- ³⁵²XIII 6570 Osterburken, 2nd/3rd cent.: Calvinus 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.
- ³⁵³AE 1978 n. 529 Osterburken, late 2nd/early 3rd century: ... G?lai fil(ius) [...]a Ara.
- ³⁵⁴AE 1978 n. 525 Osterburken, 15? July AD 212: C. Securius Domit[ia]nus.
- ³⁵⁵AE 1978 n. 526 Osterburken, 13 January AD 213: Calen[us...]tius.
- ³⁵⁶AE 1978 n. 527 Osterburken, AD 223 or 224: ... Victo[rinus?].
- ³⁵⁷AE 1978 n. 528 Osterburken, AD 238: ... S[a[t]urninus [civis T]rever.
- ³⁵⁸Interim reports of the 1982/3 excavations at Osterburken: E. Schallmayer, Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg 1982 (1983), 138-46; id., Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg, Vol. 12 No. 3 (July-September 1983), 136-40; id., in Führer zu römischen Militäranlagen in süddeutschland (1983), 83-90; id., Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg 1983 (1984), 171-6; id., in Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf. Methoden und Ergebnisse der Landesarchäologie in Baden-Württemberg. Katalog zur Ausstellung Stuttgart, Kunstgebäude vom 14. August bis 13. Oktober 1985 (1985), 379-407 (the inscriptions published in this report pp. 394-405 are cited below as Schallmayer, Kat. nos 1-12).
- ³⁵⁹Reported in Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg Vol. 12 No. 3 (July-September, 1983), 139.
- ³⁶⁰Unfortunately, the texts of the other, as yet unpublished, inscriptions have not been made available to me.

³⁶¹Schallmayer, 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.

³⁶²Schallmayer, Kat. no 12 Osterburken, late 2nd cent.: L. Mansuetius Constans.

³⁶³Schallmayer, 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.

³⁶⁴Raising of 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. Constitution of Raetia as a praetorian province: J. Fitz, 'Pertinax in Raetien', Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 32 (1967), 44; G. Winkler, 'Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Raetien unter dem Prinzipat', Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 36 (1971), 75-6.

³⁶⁵J. 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 Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen (1977), 186-7. On the borrowing of officiales from neighbouring provinces see Ch. III note 8.

³⁶⁶Schallmayer, Kat. no 2 Osterburken, 13 January AD 182: T. Ianuarinius Tertius.

³⁶⁷Schallmayer, 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.

³⁶⁸Schallmayer, 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.

³⁶⁹Schallmayer, Kat. no 11 Osterburken, late 2nd cent.: L. Traianus Ibliomarus; Schallmayer, Kat. no 1, Osterburken, late 2nd cent.: C. Paulinius Iustus; the same man erected two altars at Friedberg (XIII 7399 = ILS 4192, XIII 7400 = ILS 4192a), see note 278.

³⁷⁰Schallmayer, Kat. no 10 Osterburken, early 3rd cent.: P. Iun(ius) Secundus.

³⁷¹E. Schallmayer, op. cit. (1985) (note 358), 407 no. 15 with Abb. 607.

³⁷²Jagsthausen: H. Mettler, ORL B Nr. 41 (1909); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 194-5; R. Koch in Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 315-8; W. Beck and D. Planck, Der Limes in Südwestdeutschland (1980). 58: H. Kaiser in Führer zu römischen Militäranlagen in Süddeutschland (1983), 81-3.

³⁷³XIII 6557 Jagsthausen, AD 179: L. Pompeius Gratinus.

³⁷⁴XIII 6558 Jagsthausen, AD 186: T. Fl(avius) Vitalis Ael)(ia) Aug(usta); Aelia Augusta is Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) cf. C. Zangemeister on XIII 6741.

³⁷⁵XIII 11762 = 6556 Jagsthausen, 13 March of unknown year in the late second century: L. Fl(avius) Patern(us) cf. XIII 6634 Stockstadt, AD 167 (see note 331).

³⁷⁶XIII 6560 Jagsthausen, 2nd/3rd cent.: ... Vic?l]tor; Bericht RGK 1959 n. 142 Jagsthausen, 2nd/3rd cent.: ...l] autus.

³⁷⁷Mainhardt: A. Mettler, ORL B Nr. 43 (1909); D. Baatz, Der römische Limes (1974), 199; H. Clauss in Ph. Filtzinger, Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg (1976), 412-4; W. Beck and D. Planck, Der Limes in Südwestdeutschland (1980), 72-3.

³⁷⁸Ph. Filtzinger, Fundberichte aus Schwaben N.F. xix (1971), 204 no 12 with Abb. 16 Mainhardt, AD 181: Luc (...) or Tuc(...) Avento cf. H. Clauss, Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg 2 (1975), 178 with Abb. 102.

³⁷⁹Pontailleur-sur-Saône: H. de Villefosse, 'Stations legionnaires de Pontailleur-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. Pontailleur was perhaps the Admagetobriga where the Sequani defeated the Aedui (Caes., BG I, 31); see A. Berget, BACTHS 1908, 107-11.

³⁸⁰XIII 5609 Pontailleur-sur-Saône, AD 150: Q. Ta[v?]lius Saturnin[us]. On Caesernius Statianus see E. Ritterling, Fasti des römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat (1932), 30 no 26; W. Eck, Die Statthalter der Germanischen Provinzen. Epigraphische Studien 14 (1985), 59 no 30.

³⁸¹A. 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 Pontailleur as one of a group of military stationes 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 stationes 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 (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(omini) 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 stationes; 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 Pontailleur statio 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.

³⁸²Tilena: E.Linckenheld, RE VIA 1035-7; H. de Villefosse, op. cit. (note 379), 135; A. Grenier, op. cit. (note 379), 241-2. Via Agrippina: Strabo IV, 6, 11; Tab. Peut. II Route 11: Aug. Tresvirorum (Trier)-(leug.) X-Ricciaco-X-Caranusca-XLII (=XVII?)-Divo. Durimedio Matricorum (Metz) -XIIII-Scarponna-X-Tullio-XV-[Solimariaca]-[VII]-Noviomagus-VIIII-Mose-XI-Andemantunno (Langres) -XXVIII (=XVIII)-Filena (sic)-XVIIII-Vidubia-XX-Cabillone-XII-Tenurcio-XII-Matisco (Mâcon) -XIIII-Ludnam-XVI-Lugduno (Lyon) -caput Galliarum usque his legas.

³⁸³XIII 5621 Tilena, AD 226: A[u]rel(ius) Victorinus.

³⁸⁴Legionary vexillation at Tilena: XIII 5623, erected by a capsarius of VIII Antoniniana; XIII 5626, erected by a strator of XXII Primigenia in 230; XIII 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. cxxxiii.

³⁸⁵Supplies 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[m(aniae)] Super[il]oris. 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.

³⁸⁶XIII 6143 Erpolzheim, 2nd/3rd cent.

³⁸⁷XIII 6279 Oppenheim, 2nd/3rd cent.: Pervincius Romulus.

³⁸⁸Commentariensis (?): XIII 6089 Rheinzabern, 2nd/3rd cent.

³⁸⁹Protector: XIII 7535a Kreuznach, 3rd cent.: eq(ues) leg(ionis) XXII prot(ector) pr[aes(idis)].

³⁹⁰A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Beneficiariierposten und die römischen Strassennetze'. WZ xxi (1902), 198 with note 292 on XIII 2596 (candidatus); 200 with note 307 on XIII 6429a (centurion) and note 315 on XIII 6334 (miles of VIII Augusta).

³⁹¹Ph. Filtzinger, 'Römische Strassenstation bei Sigmaringen', Fundberichte aus Schwaben N.F. xix (1971), 175-206 esp. 178-83 on the Brandsteig statio.

³⁹²IX 3044 = G. Winkler, 'Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Raetien unter dem Prinzipat', Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 36 (1971), 53 no 2.

³⁹³V 3936 = ILS 1348 = G. Winkler, op. cit. 53 nr. 3.

³⁹⁴See G. Walser, 'Zur römischen Verwaltung der Vallis Poenina', Museum Helveticum 31, 3 (1974), 169-78; H.-J. Kellner, 'Zur römischen Verwaltung in den Zentralalpen', Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter 329 (1974), 92-104; cf. J. Priour, 'L'histoire des régions alpestres (Alpes Maritimes, Cottiennes, Graies et Pennines) sous le haut-empire romain

(Ier-IIIe 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.

³⁹⁵H.-J. Kellner, op. cit., 103 and cf. the list of inscriptions recording procurators of the province ibid., 101.

³⁹⁶AE 1910 n. 119 Axima, late 2nd cent.: T. Accius T(iti) f(ilius) Q(urina tribu) Secundus Eburoduni b(eneficiarius) P. Memmi Clementis Proc(uratoris) Aug(usti); Eburodunum is perhaps Yvorne, north of Aigle (see F. Staehelin, Die Schweiz in romischer 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.

³⁹⁷See above note 251.

³⁹⁸Viviscus (Vevey): E. Meyer, RE XI A 503-4.

³⁹⁹XII 164 Viviscus, 2nd/3rd cent.: L. Sper(atius) Ursulus.

⁴⁰⁰See 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.

⁴⁰¹Tarnariae Nantuatum (Massongex): Zeiss, RE IV A 2326-7.

⁴⁰²XII 144 Tarnariae Nantuatum, AD 222, 226 or 229:

Viri[us] Probus.

⁴⁰³Cf., for example, the legionary detachment which appears to have been stationed at Tilena in Germania Superior in the first half of the third century; see p. 187.

⁴⁰⁴Alternatively, 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.

⁴⁰⁵Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 1894, 36 Great St. Bernard pass, 2nd/3rd cent.: Iul(ius) Fortunatus.

⁴⁰⁶Great St. Bernard pass: F. Staehelin, Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit (3rd ed., 1948), 344-8.

⁴⁰⁷V 6869 = ILS 4850d, 2nd/3rd cent.

⁴⁰⁸See Appendix I p. 101 with Fig. 2d.1.

⁴⁰⁹See F. Staehelin, op. cit. (note 406), 345-7 esp. 345 note 2.

⁴¹⁰V 6867, 2nd/3rd cent.; A. von Domaszewski's suggestion (WZ xxi (1902), 197 note 289) that the man is a promoted bf 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 exacta statione, expleta statione, expleto tempore and 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 stationes it appears to have become a custom amongst successive 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 bbff cos are known to have dedicated more than one inscription at the same statio, either at the same time or after two separate postings, and others erected inscriptions at more than one statio (although no individual is recorded at more than two different 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^a and these in particular allow us, in Lieb's words, "die Weihetage mit dem Wechsel der stationes unmittelbar oder mittelbar zusammenzuhalten",⁷ 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.^a 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:

Britain:

213 or 218/22	22 Sep	<u>X Ka[l]. Octobr.</u>	<u>AE</u> 1977 n.495 (Brougham)
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Germania Inferior:

?	1 Sep	<u>Kal. Sep.</u>	<u>AE</u> 1974 n.446 (Cologne)
239	31 Jul/1 Aug	<u>P(ridie?)Kal. Aug.</u>	XIII 8207 (Cologne)
(c.260	25 Sep	<u>VII Kal. Oct.</u>	<u>AE</u> 1930 n.35 (Bonn)) ^a

Germania Superior:

?	13 Mar	<u>III Id. Mar.</u>	XIII 11762=6556 (Jagsthausen) ¹⁰
?	15? Jul	<u>[Id.?] Iul.</u>	XIII 6383 (Köngen)
181	14 Sep-15 Oct	<u>... Oct.</u>	XIII 6633+6656e (Stockstadt)
182	13 Jan	<u>Id. Ian.</u>	Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no 2 (Osterburken)
182	20 Feb	<u>X Kal. Mart[ias]</u>	XIII 6637 (Stockstadt)
182	26 Jul	<u>VII Ka[l.] Augustas</u>	XIII 6635 (Stockstadt)
183	13 Jan-13 Dec	<u>Idi[b]us...</u>	XIII 11792=6656a+... (Stockstadt)
183	15 Jul	<u>Id. Iul.</u>	Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no 3 (Osterburken)
186	13 Jan-13 Dec	<u>Id[ibus]...</u>	XIII 11791=6649a +...+6651 (Stockstadt)
189	15 Jul	<u>Idib. Iul.</u>	<u>AE</u> 1957 n.50 (Obernbург)
191	13 Jan	<u>Id. Ian.</u>	<u>AE</u> 1957 n.52 (Obernbург)
201	13 Jan-13 Dec	<u>Id.[...]</u>	<u>Bericht RGK</u> 1937 n.74 (Altrip?)
201	15 Jul	<u>Id. Iul.</u>	<u>AE</u> 1957 n.47 (Obernbург)
205	15 Jul	<u>Idibus Iul.</u>	<u>AE</u> 1976 n.503 (Mainz)
206			
or 227	15 Jul	<u>Idib. Iul.</u>	<u>AE</u> 1957 n.48 (Obernbург)
208	13 Jan	<u>Idibus Ian.</u>	<u>AE</u> 1976 n.502 (Mainz)
211	15 Jul	<u>Idibus Iulis</u>	XIII 6665= <u>ILS</u> 4796 (Mainz)

212	15? Jul	<u>[Id.?] Iul.</u>	AE 1978 n.525 (Osterburken)
213	13 Jan	<u>Id. Ian.</u>	AE 1978 n.526 (Osterburken)
213	13 Jan	<u>Id. Ianuar.</u>	XIII 7338 (Heddernheim) ¹¹
219	18 Jul	<u>XV K. Au.</u>	AE 1927 n.65 (Cannstatt)
(219	20 Aug	<u>XIII Kal. Septemb.</u>	XIII 5170 (Solothurn) ¹²
221	13 Jan	<u>Idibus Ia[n.]</u>	AE 1962 n.228=1978 n.551 (Grosskrotzenburg) ¹³
221	13 Dec	<u>Id. Dec.</u>	XIII 6437 (Cannstatt)
223	13 Jan	<u>Idibus Ianuaris</u>	XIII 6442 (Cannstatt)
223	16 Jan	<u>XVII K Fe[b.]</u>	AE 1978 n.550 (Grosskrotzenburg)
230	29 Dec	<u>IIII K. Ian.</u>	AE 1927 n.66 (Cannstatt)
231	23 Dec	<u>X Kal. Ian.</u>	XIII 11771 (Milttenberg)

Noricum:

209	15 May	<u>Idibus Mais</u>	III 14361 (Sankt Leonhard)
211	13 Dec	<u>Idib. Dec.</u>	III 5187 (Celeia)
219	15 May	<u>Idib. Mais</u>	III 5580= <u>ILS</u> 4853 (Bedaum)
226	15 May	<u>Id. Mais</u>	III 5575 (Bedaum)
230	14/15 May	<u>P(ridie?) Id. Mais</u>	III 5690 (Boiodurum)
238	23 June	<u>VIIII Kal. Iulias</u>	III 4820 (Virunum)

Pannonia Superior:

?	18 May	<u>XV K. Iun.</u>	III 3904 (Neviodunum)
?	15 Oct	<u>Idib. Octosr. (sic)</u>	AE 1934 n.73 (Neviodunum)
217	22 May	<u>XI K. Iun.</u>	III 15180 (Siscia)
224	6 Oct	<u>Pr. Non. Octobres</u>	III 3899 (Neviodunum)
225	8 Apr	<u>VI Idu. Apriles</u>	III 3903 (Neviodunum)
240	29 Sep	<u>III Kal. Octo.</u>	AE 1944 n.135 (Neviodunum)
247	1 Nov	<u>Kal. Nov.</u>	III 3905+p2328 ²⁸ (Neviodunum)
247	1 Nov	<u>Kal. Novembrib.</u>	III 3909+p2328 ²⁸ (Neviodunum) ¹⁴
250	1 Oct	<u>Kal. Oct.</u>	III 10789 (Neviodunum)
257	15 Oct	<u>Id. Oct.</u>	III 3906 (Neviodunum)

Dalmatia:

195	7 Jun	<u>VII Idus [Iu]nias</u>	III 12802 (Novae)
239	1? Apr or Aug	<u>[K.] A[pr.] or A[ug.]</u>	III 1911 (Novae)
261	1 Apr		GZMBH 39 (1937), 262,267 (Glamoč)

Egypt:

196	24/25 Feb	<u>(VI Kal. Martias)</u>	IGLCM no 58 cf.no 57 (Thebes) ¹⁵
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Numidia:

210	4 Apr	<u>Pr. Non. Apr.</u>	AE 1916 n.29 (Djemila)
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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;¹⁶ however, one of the Cologne inscriptions was dedicatd emerita statione<m>, either referring to a city statio or set up after the dedicator's return to the officium,¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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;¹⁹ 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

separated by just this period²⁰ and that at Stockstadt and Osterburken we have, in three instances, two altars dated to the same year.²¹

The evidence for other provinces is less abundant. In Noricum, the four inscriptions to be associated with stationes²² 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.²³

In the neighbouring province of Pannonia Superior two of the ten incipitions 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 224, almost exactly six months before another dedicated on 8 April 225, 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,²⁴ one certainly and perhaps two were dedicated on 1 April;²⁵ 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 bbff in their stationes or at what intervals.^{2e}

¹H. Lieb in M.G. Jarrett and B. Dobson, Britain and Rome: Studies presented to E. Birley (1965), 139-44.

²Exacta statione: VIII 10717=17628 Vazaivi (Numidia); expleta statione: VIII 10718=17626 Vazaivi; VIII 10723=17634 Vazaivi; XIII 11603 Strasbourg (Germania Superior); expleto tempore: VIII 10724=17635 Vazaivi (?); VIII 17636 Vazaivi; emerita statione<m>: AE 1974 n.446 Cologne (Germania Inferior).

³See Ch. IV pp. 119-20.

⁴On Stockstadt see pp. 175-7 ; Osterburken see pp. 179-85; Neviodunum see Ch. V note 26.

⁵Inscriptions recording the same bf cos at the same statio: 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 Neviodunum (Pannonia Superior) in AD 232 by M. Aurelius Alexander; III 3905 + p. 2328^{2e} and III 3909 + p. 2328^{2e}, both dedicated at Neviodunum 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 Deae Nemesei ... multis insidiis numinibus lib[e]ratus perhaps on a separate occasion from the first; 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 bf cos at different stationes: XIII 8841 of unknown provenance in Germania Inferior and AE 1930 n.25 Bonn (Germania Inferior), AD 233, both dedicated by C. Tauricius Verus; XIII 7338 Heddernheim (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=ILS 4192 Friedberg (Germania Superior), XIII 7400=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; 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 bf cos.

⁶AE 1974 n.446 Cologne (Germania Inferior), 1 September of an unknown year: emerita statione<m>...Kal. Sep; XIII 6637 Stockstadt (Germania Superior), 20 September AD 182: stat(ione) prim[a]...Mamertino [et Rufo] cos X Kal. Mart[ias]; AE 1978 n.525 Osterburken (Germania Superior), 15? July AD 212: ter]tia stat(ione) [...ld.?] Iul. Duob(us) A[spris cos].

⁷H. Lieb, op.cit. (note 1), 139.

⁸P. Herz, 'Neue Benefiziarier-Altäre aus Mainz', ZPE 22 (1976), 191-9.

⁹Dedicated by an immunis cos; see Ch. III p. 47.

¹⁰Erected by the dedicator also of XIII 6634 Stockstadt (Germania Superior), AD 167 (see above note 5).

¹¹The 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).

¹²Dedicated by an immunis cos; see Ch. III p. 47.

¹³Cf. note 11.

¹⁴This and the preceding inscription were dedicated by the same man (see above note 5).

¹⁵IGLCM = 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.

¹⁶The 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.

¹⁷AE 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.

¹⁸H. Lieb, op.cit. (note 1), 141.

¹⁹P. 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: Omnes 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 xlv (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 (XIII 11762), possibly an imperial festival, 18 July (AE 1927 n.65), also possibly an imperial festival, 23 December (XIII 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 XIII 6437, 13 December 221, AE 1927 n.66, 29 December 230, and XIII 11771, 23 December 231) that there was a third regular terminus in December).

²⁰AE 1978 n.525 Osterburken, 15 July AD 212 and AE 1978 n.526 Osterburken, 13 January AD 213. Cf. the sets of inscriptions from Cannstatt dated 18 July 219, 13 December 221 and 13 January 223, Grosskrotzenburg dated 13 January 221 and 16 January 223, Stockstadt dated 14 September-15 October 1281, 20 February 182, 13 January-13 December 183 and 13 January-13 December 186, Obernburg dated 15 July 189 and 13 January 191, and Osterburken dated 13 January 182 and 15 July 183.

²¹XIII 6649 and F. Drexel, ORL B Nr.33 (1910), 68 no 2, both dedicated at Stockstadt in 166; XIII 6634 and XIII 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).

²²The 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.

²³G. Alföldy, 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 one single-year (or three-year?) tenure."

²⁴See Ch. III note 8.

²⁵It is probably a coincidence that both were dedicated by men of the Upper Pannonian legio XIII Gemina.

²⁶The 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 Tarraconensis (see pp. 139-40). As with other lacunae in inscriptional evidence it is ultimately impossible to say whether this reflects the real situation or simply a lack of what has been termed 'epigraphic consciousness'¹ 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 Pontailier-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 Domneşti in Dacia lay on the site of imperial pastures and salinae², 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 Ságvár, the site of a late-Roman fortified settlement which may be Tricciana from which an imperial edict was issued in 379.³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵

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 στρατηγός of the nomes, each of whom was under one of the three district ἐπιστράτηγος, both groups being appointed directly by the Prefect.⁶ 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.⁷ It seems probable that

one was stationed in each nome and was referred to as

ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων βενεφικιάριος
or, in the third century, as ὁ βενεφικιάριος

στατίσεων or the like.⁸ He seems to have worked

alongside a centurion (ἐκατόνταρχος) or decurion

(δεκαδάρχης), who was the chief police officer for the

nome set over any local police officials, and seems to

have performed similar police functions.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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 bbff 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 117/9.¹¹ 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.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.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."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.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.¹⁶

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 Vinxtbach 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 Vinxtbach 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 bullae 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.²⁶ 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷

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.²⁸ 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 Porolisum 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.²⁹ 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.³⁰

When looked at in detail, then, it appears that the roads in these provinces along which 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 166,³¹ 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;³² in the Pannonian provinces the earliest recorded statio was at Mursa in Pannonia Inferior in 164.³³ The earliest in Germania Inferior is recorded at Remagen c.180 (although an earlier date is possible),³⁴ in Dalmatia at Doclea in 187,³⁵ in Moesia Superior at Runjevo in 196,³⁶ and in Dacia at Varmezö under Caracalla.³⁷

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.³⁸ At the same time as the Chatti first ravaged the German frontier, a Marcomannic 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.³⁹ In 170 the Costoboci burst into Thrace and Macedonia and even raided as far south as Achaëa.⁴⁰

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.⁴¹ 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 bf inscription, which from its position within the enclosure was certainly one of the first to be erected there, was set up in 174.⁴² 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 162.⁴³ In Lower Germany a recently-appointed Praetorian Prefect, T. Flavius Constans, seems to have been sent to Cologne about 165.⁴⁴ At about the same time two new legions, II and III Italica, were raised to deal with the problem on the

Danube.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ Marcus himself remained on the Pannonian frontier until 175 and returned to it from 178 until his death.⁴⁹

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,⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹

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.⁵²

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,⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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 Dolnité Sténici (Mihilci) 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.⁵⁷ 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 milliary ala in a Mauretanian campaign, and after two financial procuratorships had been praesidial 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 178-80.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ 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 statio and then return.⁶⁰

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

Cologne.⁶¹ However, a connection between the beneficiarii and the road network has long been assumed from the distribution of most of the stationes,⁶² 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 vias et semitas commentus est.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ A possible statio at Cologne, situated just outside the south gate of the city,⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ Since Cologne was a walled city from soon after its foundation as a colonia in AD 50,⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

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.⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹

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,⁷² 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.⁷³ 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.⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵ Thus a frontier unit would collect its intelligence and the local 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 officium, who would then disseminate it, with individual instructions, back to the frontier units where the local bbff cos, as representatives of the governor trained at the officium, would advise the unit commanders what further intelligence was required. A role such as this for the bbff cos might explain the otherwise puzzling fact that in Upper Germany, and perhaps elsewhere, these officers apparently occupied their 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 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.⁷⁶

The evidence thus allows the interpretation of the main network of stationes in the Germanies, Noricum, the Pannonias, Dalmatia, and perhaps also Upper Moesia and Dacia,⁷⁷ 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,⁷⁸ 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.⁷⁹ 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,⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ 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 260.⁸² 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.⁸³ 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.⁸⁴

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 west⁸⁵ 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 Septimius Severus who himself campaigned in North Africa, established forts all along the edge of the desert to control the movement of the nomads and promoted Numidia to the status of an official province.⁸⁶ 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 here⁸⁷ and their significance is probably entirely different. The evidence for stationes in the East is too slight to allow any conclusions,⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ 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;⁹⁰ 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,⁹¹ 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 north-west, 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/Stannix.⁹² 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 bbff cos borrowed from Britannia Superior and therefore after 213.⁹³

The pattern of 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.⁹⁴ It is particularly striking that the main concentration of recorded 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 Castra Exploratorum, whilst on the eastern route a unit of exploratores had by 213 been installed at Risingham, the first fort north of the Wall (where a bf cos is also attested), and also probably further north at High Rochester where one is certainly attested in the reign of Gordian.⁹⁵ 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 Ulpian Marcellus to deal with the crisis of the early 180's,⁹⁶ 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,⁹⁷ or after the settlement and division of the province by Caracalla c.213.⁹⁸ 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.

⁹⁷See J.C. Mann, 'Epigraphic Consciousness', JRS lxxv (1985), 204-6; Mann borrows the phrase from Eric Birley.

⁹⁸Statio at Domneşti: AE 1930 n.11; imperial pastures and salinae: AE 1930 n. 10, Domneşti: clonduc(tor) pas(cui) et salina(rum).

⁹⁹Bf cos at Jabapuszta: III 13364 Jabapuszta, AD 225. On the situation of Jabapuszta and Săgvâr see J. Fitz, Alba Regia xvi (1978), 80-1, although Fitz himself prefers to connect the statio with Silacenae 38km to the west. On the identification of Săgvâr as Tricciana see A. Mócsy, Pannonia and Upper Moesia (1974), 305 with note 42 citing A. Radnóti, RE VIIa 82-3. For the edict issued at Tricciana see Cod. Theod. XI, 36, 26 (AD 379); cf. O. Seeck, Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste (1919), 109.

¹⁰⁰The 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. Part 2 (1983), 40-73 esp. 49-50 with notes; to these should be added the statio at Splonum in Dalmatia: III 13847, Plevlje, AD 194; AE 1971 n.303 Komine; AE 1979 n.454, Komine (?). On the mines at Splonum see J.J. Wilkes, Dalmatia (1969), 281-2 citing O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe (1935), 191 and the dedication to Mercurius argenti actor from Plevlje, Vjesnik Hrvatskog Arheološkog Društva 15 (1928), 37f.

*On Roman mining in general see O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe (1935), esp. 1-62. On the imperial organisation of mines see O. Hirschfeld, Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian (1905), 145-80, esp. 160 with note 5 citing the Lex Metalli Vipascensis ll.30-1 on the judicial powers of the procurator of mines and his right to exact fines. On auxiliary units and stationes of the portorium in the mining districts see S. Dušanić, 'Aspects of Roman Mining in Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Moesia Superior', ANRW II 6 (1977), 52-94 esp. 75 note 148 on cohortes equitatae.

*On the στρατηγός see Bilabel, RE IV A 183-232; N. Hohlwein, Le Stratège du Nome (1926; rev. 1969).

*Many of the bbff who appear in the papyri were attached to officials other than the Prefect of Egypt, including the praesides of the 4th century provinces into which Egypt was divided, and are here left out of account.

* ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ββ : P. Amh. 77,27, Socnopaei Nesus, AD 139 (τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων τότε ὄντι βεβηλικιάρχῳ (sic)); P. Stud XXII,55,1, Socnopaei Nesus, AD 167 (ἡρῶν τῶν τόπων βεβηλικιάρχῳ του λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος); P.Lond. 342,1, Socnopaei Nesus, AD 185 (τῷ ἐπὶ τόπων διακειμένῳ β); SB 9657, 1-2, Tebtynis, 3rd cent. (τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων βεβηλικιάρχῳ). ὁ ββ στατίζων : P.Amh. 80,12 Fayûm region, AD 232-3 (ὕπὸ τῷ στατιωνεῖ[ς]οντος βεβηλικιάρχου); P. Ox. 2130,21,23, AD 267 (?) (ὕπὸ τοῦ στατίζοντος ... τῷ στατίζοντι); P. Ox. 65,1 3rd/4th cent. (π(α)ρὰ τοῦ στατίζοντος ββ); P. Cair.Boak 21 = Etudes de Papyrologie V (1939), 85-93, Karanis, 5th Sept. AD 296 (?) (... στατίζοντι ἐν τῷ Αρσι(νοίτῃ)); SB 9185,1 Karanis, after Nov. AD 296 (ββ στατίζοντω (sic)); P. Ox. 2187,8 AD 304 (τόν τε τότε στατίζοντο ββ). The title ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων indicates that the authority of the bf was geographically extensive since a τόπος was a sub-district of a nome, which could be divided into as few as two τόποι (N. Hohlwein, L'Egypte Romaine (1912), 404 s.v.

τοπαρχία); it is thus quite likely that one bf was stationed in each nome (cf. P. Brem. 5 Hermopolis, but addressed to the στρατηγός of Heptakomia, AD 117-19 βεβηλικιάρχον [Ῥαμ]μίου τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος ἡμῶν ἐπιμελόμενον τῆς ὑπὸ δὲ περιμέτρου ; PSI 807 Oxyrhynchus AD 280, ββ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου διακειμένῳ ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυγχίτῃ); P. Cair. Boak 21 Karanis, 5th Sept. AD 296, a petition to be forwarded to the Corrector, delivered Αἰρηλίῳ Λεοντίῳ τῷ καὶ Ιουδῳ[ρ]... καὶ []ν στατίζοντι ἐν τῷ

Ἀρσι(νοίτῃ), one of a series of documents concerning the same case which includes SB 9185 addressed to a ββ στατίζοντω (sic)).

*See L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde I,I (1912), 411-16; J.

Lesquier, L'Armée Romaine d'Egypte (1918), 235-6. The precise relation of the beneficiarii to the centurions and decurions, and of all of these to the στρατηγός 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 τῷ ἐν πενιόστου μένῳ τῇν δεκατάρχῳ βφ (SB 9185 ll.18-19). On the basis of this, A.E.R. Boak and H.C. Youtie Aegyptus xxxi (1951), 323 assert that bbff 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 βενεφικιάριον Ἰσαμίου τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος ἡμῶν ; P. Stud. XXII, 55 Socnopaei Nesus, AD 167, a complaint addressed τῶν τόπων βενεφικιάρῳ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡ [γε]μόνος ; PSI 807 Oxyrhynchus, AD 280, another to βφ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου διακειμένῳ ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυχίῳ ; P. Ox. 1121 AD 295, a petition to a βφ ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου), would be legionaries (cf. AE 1955 n.238 = 1969/70 n.633; Nicopolis, AD 157, a discharge list of legio II Traiana including two bbff pr(aefecti)) 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. τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων (ἐκατοντάρχῳ) ; P. Tebt. II 304, AD 167-8 δεκαδάρχη Ἀρσινόου ; PSI 184, Herakleopolite Nome, AD 292 (δεκαδάρχη) ἐπὶ ἐρήνης Ἡρακλεοπολίτου) and a beneficiarius, perhaps as his assistant (cf. P. Ox. I 62, 3rd cent., a centurion sends τὸν στατιωνάριον, perhaps a bf, to the acting στρατηγός) 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 Tebtynis, 3rd cent. P. Ox. 2130,21,23, AD 267 (?); PSI 807 Oxyrhynchus, AD 280; P. Ox. 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. Ox. 2130,21,23, AD 267 (?); P. Ox. 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. Ox. 65, 3rd/4th cent. Bf acting as an auditor: P. Ox. 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 Pontailier-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).

¹²Since all of them are attested by single inscriptions which could be off-duty dedications some may not be stationes at all.

¹³Stationes 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).

¹⁴O. Hirschfeld, 'Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich', Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie, (1891), 862-3 = Kleine Schriften (1913), 594-6, citing Tert. Apol. c.2.

¹⁵The 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 ββφφ ἑταίροι 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 Ἰερέως, 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.

¹⁶However, A. Mócsy 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 bbff 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 Pannonian provinces, arguing that bf stationes are only recorded in backward areas where very few inscriptions were erected, but J. Fitz, 'Beneficiarius in Noricum', Schild von Steier 15/16 (1978/9), 79-81 has already questioned the idea that the bbff could have had much to do with brigandage, pointing out that ninety per cent of the bbff altars in Pannonia came from major cities and military camps and not from the wilder areas of the provinces at all.

¹⁷A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Beneficiariusposten und die römischen Strassennetze', WZ xxi (1902), 210-11; cf. id., 'Die Religion des römischen Heeres', WZ xiv (1895), 99, "die andere Stationen liegen an Punkte welche für den Verkehr auf den Reichsstrassen wichtig sind."

¹⁸Id., WZ xxi (1902), 205, "Auch an dieser Linie finden sich Beneficiariusposten, die zeigen, dass der Verkehr mit den Vorlande auf wenige Punkte beschränkt war."

¹⁹S.J. de Laet, Portorium (1949), 140-268, 307 note 4, 376, 417, 449.

²⁰On 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 by an inscription dedicated by a bf cos genio...concordiae [d]uar(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 bbff 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).

²¹Stationes in Germania Inferior: a) Rhine limes road: Rindern (?) - 6km from Quaalburg (?) - 10km - Burginatum (?) - 17km - Xanten - 26km - Moers - Asberg - 15km - Krefeld - Gellep (?) - 11km - Neuss (?) - 14km - Dormagen - 22km - Cologne - 22km - Remagen - 10km - the Vinxtbach (?); see pp. 150-55; b) Cologne-Trier road: Cologne - 57km - Belgica - 18km - Marmagen - 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.

²²Stationes in Germania superior: a) Rhine-Taunus-Wetterau-Antonine limes road: (Rhine) - 15km - Niederbieber (?) - 100km - Zugmantel (?) - 18km - Feldberg (?) - 11km - Saalburg (?) - 22km - Butzbach (?) - 50km - Watchpost 4/96 (?) - 22km - Grosskrotzenburg - 15km - Stockstadt - 16km - Obernburg - 15km - Miltenberg - 40km - Osterburken - 12km - Jagsthausen - 39km - Mainhardt; see pp. 168-70, 175-86; b) Mainz-Wetterau road: (Mainz) - 35km - Heddernheim - 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-Germersheim-100km-Strasbourg-27km-Ehl and der Ill (?) -163km-Solothurn (an immunis cos); see pp. 162-6. On the only other stationes in the province at Pontailier-sur-Saône and Tilena see pp. 186-7.

²³Stationes in the Alpes Graiae et Poeninae: Solothurn-Great St. Bernard road: (Solothurn)-Viviscus (a bf legionis) (?) -33km-Tarnaiae (a miles) (?) -55km-Great St. Bernard pass (a bf cos and a frumentarius) (?); see pp. 189-91.

²⁴Statio 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).

²⁵Stationes in Noricum: a) Boiodurum (?) on the Danube and on the frontier with Raetia (III 5960, AD 230); b) Augsburg-Virunum road: (Augsburg)-Bedaum (III 5580, AD 219; III 5575, AD 226)-Iuvavum (III 11759, before AD 171; AE 1968 n.411, AD 202)-(Virunum); c) Virunum-Lauriacum road: (Virunum)-Matucaium (?) (III 14366¹)-(Lauriacum); d) Virunum-Aquileia road: (Virunum)-Töschling (?) (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)-Iuenna (III 5072)-Poetovio (see note 26); f) Virunum-Celeia road: (Virunum)-Iuenna-Celeia (bbff 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; bbff 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).

²⁶Stationes in the Pannonian provinces: a) Carnuntum-Emona road: (Carnuntum)-Winden am See (?) (III 14359¹⁵; 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 bbff 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 232; AE 1934 n.78, AD 235; 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-Sopianae (AE 1974 n.522, AD 240; III 3306 = 15149)-Mursa (AE 1974 n.448, AD 164; AE 1973 n.447; n.449; AE 1974 n.536; Šašel 1057, an immunis cos)-Sirmium (III 6640; Šašel 1037; cf. III 10221 (?)) a strator)-Singidunum (AE 1964 n.261, AD 217, 2 bbff cos of Pannonia Inferior)-(Viminacium); d) Emona-Viminacium road: (Emona)-Praetorium Latobicorum-Neviodunum-Siscia (III 15180, AD 217; III 10843, AD 227, 2 bbff cos; III 15181, AD 222/35, several bbff cos; III 10842, 2 bbff cos(?))-Aquae Balissae (AE 1978 n.657, AD 208)-Sirmium-Singidunum-(Viminacium); e) Carnuntum-Dalmatia road: (Carnuntum)-Winden am See (?)-Scarbantia-Savaria-Halicanum-crossroads near Aquae Iasae (?) (III 10890)-Siscia-Petrinja (III 3938)-Topuško (frontier with Dalmatia?) (III 3940; AE 1981 n.708); f) Limes road south from Aquincum: (Aquincum)-Campona (?) (III 3397)-Intercisa (III 10306, AD 213; III 3329; cf. AE 1975 n.705 (?)), a strator cos)-Teutoburgium (III 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 Săgvâr in Pannonia Inferior (see p. 253 with note 3).

²⁷Stationes in Dalmatia: a) Salona-Sava valley road: (Salona)-Glamoč (GZMBH 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, 14961, 14962)-Burnum (III 14989; AE 1925 n.130; Šašel 830; 831, protector (as pro b(ene)f(iciario); 832; cf. III 2823, a frumentarius)-(Aquileia); or Burnum-Avendo (III 10050)-Metulum (III 3020 = 10057; cf. III 3021, AD 238/44, a speculator)-Topuško (frontier with Pannonia Superior?) c) Salona-Doclea road: (Salona)-Tilurium (Šašel 144; 734, AD 211)-Novae (III 1909, 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.

²⁸On 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

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 speculatores)-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.

²⁰On stationes in Dacia associated with mining and imperial estates see above note 4. Stationes on the frontiers of the province: Varmezö (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 (?)); Alsó-Kosály (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); Hormoród-Szent-Martón (?) (III 7719); Rakovitzá (?) (III 13797). Stationes on the Viminacium-Apulum-Porolissum road: (Viminacium)-(Tibiscum)-Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegethusa (AE 1977 n.674)-(Apulum, capital of tres Daciae)-Potaissa, 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.

²⁰Stationes in Numidia: a) south-west of Lambaesis: (Lambaesis)-El Kantara (AE 1925 n.125)-El Gehara (VIII 18025); b) east of Lambaesis: Vazaivi (VIII 10716 = 17623; 10717 = 17628; 10718 = 17626; 10723 = 17634 (bf [et] exceptores); 10724 = 17635; 17622; 17627; in addition to the beneficiarii and exemptores 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.

²¹Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Germania Superior: XIII 5609, AD 150 (Pontailleur-sur-Saône); XIII 6649, AD 166 (Stockstadt); F. Drexel, ORL B 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 (Obernbург); Osterburken inscriptions (see p. 182), AD 202, 203, 204, 205 (Osterburken); AE 1957 n.48, AD 206 or 227 (Obernbург); 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 (Heddernheim); 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 (Heddernheim); AE 1927 n.66, AD 230 (Cannstatt); XIII 11771, AD 231 (Miltenberg); AE 1978 n.528, AD 238 (Osterburken).

³²Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Noricum: III 11759, before 171 (Iuvavum) (see below note 41); AE 1977 n.605, AD 168 (Unterthörl); AE 1968 n.411, AD 202 (Iuvavum); III 14361, AD 209 (St. Leonhard); III 11482, AD 215 (Unterthörl); III 5580, AD 219 (Bedaum); III 5575, AD 226 (Bedaum); III 5690, AD 230 (Boiodurum). On Celeia see above notes 11 and 25.

³³Dated 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 (Neviodunum); III 15180, AD 217 (Siscia); III 3899, AD 224 (Neviodunum); III 3903 (?), AD 225 (Neviodunum); AE 1913 n.56, AD 227 (Scarbantia), III 10843, AD 227 (Siscia); III 15181, AD 222/35 (Siscia); III 392, AD 232 (Neviodunum); AE 1934 n.79, AD 232 (Neviodunum); AE 1934 n.78, AD 235 (Neviodunum); AE 1944 n.134, AD 240 (Praetorium Latobicorum); III 3905 and 3909 with p. 2328²⁸, AD 247 (Neviodunum); III 10789, AD 250 (Neviodunum); III 3906, AD 257 (Neviodunum); III 14068, AD 292/305 (Scarbantia).

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).

³⁴Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Germania Inferior: XIII 7791, bf Salvi [Iul]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 (Iversheim); XIII 7794, AD 242 (Remagen); AE 1930 n.35, an immunis cos, c. AD 260 (Bonn).

³⁵Dated 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); Šašel 734, AD 211 (Tilurium); III 1781, AD 225 (Narona); III 1911, AD 239 (Novae); III 3021, a speculator, AD 238/44

(Metulum); GZMBH 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).

³⁶Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Moesia Superior: III 8184, AD 196 (or perhaps 159; see below note 41) (Runjevo); III 8237, AD 200 (Aquae); 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).

³⁷Dated inscriptions recording stationes in Dacia: III 7645, AD 212-7 (Varmezö); AE 1959 n.30, a speculator, AD 218 (Aquae); AE 1957 n.328, AD 224 (Alsó-Kosály); AE 1957 n.329, AD 230 (Alsó-Kosály); III 827=7633, AD 239 (Alsó-Kosály); AE 1957 n.326, AD 243 (Alsó-Kosály).

³⁸Chattan invasion of 162: SHA Marc. VIII, 7f cf. W. Eck, Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen vom 1-3 Jahrhundert. Epigraphische Studien 14 (1985), 67-9. Invasions of 170 and 172: SHA Iul. I, 6-8; see G. Alföldy, Die Legionslegaten der römischen Rheinarmeen. Epigraphische Studien 3 (1967), 38-40.

³⁹Outbreak of Marcomannic war: SHA Marc. XII, 13: Dum Parthicum bellum geritur, natum est Marcomannicum, quod diu eorum, qui aderant, arte suspensum est, ut finito iam orientali bello, Marcomannicum agi posset. Invasions of c.167: Dio LXXII, 3, 1^a cf. SHA Marc. XXII, 1f. Siege of Aquileia: Lucian, Pseudomantis 48; Amm. Marc. xxix, 6. In general see A. Mócsy, Pannonia and Upper Moesia (1974), 183ff and cf. A.R. Birley, Marcus Aurelius (1966), 323-5 for a discussion of the problems of the chronology.

⁴⁰Invasion of the Costoboci in 170: von Premerstein, RE XI 1505-7.

⁴¹Only 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 [Iul]liani 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), 84 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. Alföldy, 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).

⁴²See pp. 179-85.

⁴³For the activity of Aufidius Victorinus in Germania Superior in 162 see note 38.

⁴⁴T. Flavius Constans at Cologne: XIII 12057 = ILS 9000 cf. H.-G. Pflaum, Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Equestres sous le Haut-Empire romain (1960), 348-52 no 149.

⁴⁵Raising 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.

⁴⁶Marcus and Verus at the front: SHA Marc. 14. 6: transcensis Alpibus longius processerunt (sc. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus) composueruntque omnia quae ad munimen Italiae atque Illyrici pertinebant. Praetentura Italiae et Alpium: ILS 8977 cf. J. Šašel, 'Die Militärzone Praetentura Italiae et Alpium zur Zeit Mark Aurels', Museum Helveticum 31 (1974), 225-33.

⁴⁷Claudius 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.

⁴⁸Fortification of Augusta Traiana: D. Nikolov, 'Avgusta Trayana-Vereya (II-VIv.)', Arkheologiya vii,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: III 1980; III p. 1030 ad III 1980 = 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 xxxviii (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), 133-4).

⁴⁹See A.R. Birley, Marcus Aurelius (1966), 217-51, 281-88.

⁵⁰Stationes in Moesia Inferior: those at Montana (III 7449 (?), AD 155; III 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 speculator 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 Pamyatniki 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. Bbff cos are also recorded on inscriptions in several of the Black Sea ports, including Histria (AE 1927 n.59, AD 129/31, two ββφφ υπατικου; Inscr. Scyth. Min. I no 302), Tomi (III 7545; 7550; 14214⁵⁰; AE 1957 n.191), Callatis (AE 1972 n.545, AD

238/44), Dionysopolis (AE 1972 n.505, c.AD 214) and Odessus (III 14458¹), but it is not clear that any of these inscriptions actually represents a statio.

¹Bf 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 beneficarii stationarii recorded at Olympus in the province of Lycia et Pamphylia (IGR III 748) and at Artanadae 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 beneficarii consularis (Ch. III note 65) and stratores consularis (Ch. III note 143) involved in the fortification of Adraha (Dera'a) under Gallienus. In Egypt, beneficarii Praefecti appear to have been stationed in the nomes as police officers (see pp. 254-5), stationes being attested in Arsinoite (papyri from Socnopaei Nesus, Tebtynis, Karanis and the Fayûm), in Oxyrhynchus, 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 beneficarii 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 165/8 from Hippo Regia in Africa Proconsularis (Libyca 7 (1959), 134-40) were in fact beneficarii proconsulis.

²Cf. 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."

³Despatch 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 E[....] ex coh(orte) I Tungrorum quos cum epistulis ad consularem n(ost)rum

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[is]. 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 115-7?) (?) (= 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).

⁵⁴See pp. 62 (singulares), 46 (beneficarii), 42-3 (speculatores) and 48-9 (frumentarii).

⁵⁵See 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.

⁵⁶SHA Marc. 22, 1: gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni Varistae Hermunduri et Quadi Suebi Sarmatae Lacringes et Buri hi aliiq(u)e cum Victualis Osi Bessi Cobotes Roxolani Bastarnae Alani Peucini Costoboci.

⁵⁷D. Tzontschev, 'La Voie romaine Philippopolis-Sub Radice', Latomus xviii (1959), 154-70.

⁵⁸Sextus Caecilius Crescens Volusianus: H.-G. Pflaum, Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Equestres sous le Haut-Empire romain (1961), no 142; T. Varius Clemens: ibid., no 156; Tarruntenus Paternus: ibid., no 172; cf. A.R. Birley, Marcus Aurelius (1966), 162-3, 232-3. On the functions of the ab epistulis: O. Hirschfeld, Die kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian (1905), 321-5. On the division of the post of ab epistulis: G.R. Townend, 'The Post of ab epistulis in the Second Century', Historia x (1961), 375-81; cf. E. Birley, Roman Britain and the Roman Army (1953), 142-3, 150-3. Note that in the period 169-175 when Tarruntenus Paternus was chosen to act as ab epistulis Latinis in Pannonia, Marcus chose Alexander of Seleucia, a sophist with no knowledge of military or administrative affairs to join him as ab epistulis Graecis (Philost. Vit. Soph. II, 5 (571)).

⁵⁹On 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.

⁶⁰The 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 manu adnuntiari cognoscique posset, quid in provincia quaque 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 στρατοὶ 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).

⁶¹See pp. 161-2.

⁶²A. von Domaszewski, 'Die Beneficiarierposten und die römischen Strassennetze', WZ xxi (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); XIII 5170, an immunis cos (Solothurn); AE 1933 n.76 (Doclea). Dedication to deities of the crossroads: XIII 6437 (Cannstatt); XIII 11816 (Mainz); XIII 5621, an immunis cos (Tilena); AE 1927 n.66 (Cannstatt). Deo qui vias et semitas commentus est: VII 271 (Catterick Bridge).

⁶⁴See Ch. II pp. 13-14.

⁶⁵See Ch. IV pp. 149-50 with notes 163, 167-8.

⁶⁶See Ch. III p. 49 with note 79.

⁶⁷Walls of Cologne: Gerta Wolff, Das römisch-germanische Köln: Führer zu Museum und Stadt (1981), 123-57.

⁶⁸See 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(uinco), comparing XIII 5170, Solothurn AD 219, an immu[n]is cos curas a[gel]ns vico Salod[un]ensi (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.

⁶⁹See 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.

⁷⁰See above note 15, and cf. note 26 on roads and stationes in Pannonia (routes a), b), d) and e)).

⁷¹There may have been both a statio manned by a frumentarius of legio III Italica (V 869 = ILS 4850d) and a bf statio (Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 1894, 36) at the summit of the Great St. Bernard pass which lies at the

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.

⁷²Unfortunately, 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 cavalymen 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 [clum 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".

⁷³The 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 κατασκόπους ἐπὶ πύλας 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 explorator from Cologne, buried at Orăştioara de Sus in Dacia (AE 1972 n.486 = 1974 n.546); a numerus Germanicianorum 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 Germanicianorum, 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 (ILS 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 Germanicani to Mauretania somewhat earlier (VIII 21668 = ILS 9187a). A unit of exploratores Triboci et Boi appears alongside cohors XXIV Voluntariorum 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. Wiegels, '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, Libyca 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 bf 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 Germanicianorum 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 Walldürn (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 Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat (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](av orum) 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', Bayrische Vorgeschichtsblätter 36 (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 2633; 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.
⁷⁴See Ch. III pp. 38-9.

⁷⁵I 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.

⁷⁶The 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.

⁷⁷The 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.

⁷⁸In 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.

⁷⁹Another 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 III 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.

⁸⁰See above notes 31 and 34. In Lower Germany an immunis cos is recorded at Bonn in 260 (AE 1930 n.35).

⁸¹See above notes 32 (Noricum), 33 (the Pannonias), 35 (Dalmatia), 36 (Moesia Superior) and 37 (Dacia).

⁸²See 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 lxi (1971), 188 coincides with a known bf statio.

⁸³For recent surveys of third-century developments in frontier defence and the beginnings of the use of mobile field forces see E.N. Luttwak, The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire (196), 127-90 esp. 182-88; A. Ferrill, The Fall of the Roman Empire. The Military Explanation (1986), 25-41.

⁸⁴Cf. Ch. III pp. 66-7 on associated changes in the recruitment and make-up of the provincial officia.

⁸⁵See above notes 36-7.

⁸⁶On stationes in Numidia see above note 30. Since the officers recorded in charge of these were exclusively beneficiarii consularis (though note the possible exceptions VIII 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', 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; 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, Libyca 1 (1953), 231-61; Part II, Libyca 3 (1955), 329-67; A.R. Birley, Septimius Severus (1971), 216-9; E.W.B. Fentress, Numidia and the Roman Army (1979), 114-7.

⁸⁷See above note 50.

⁸⁸See above note 51.

⁸⁹See above pp. 254-5 with notes 7-10.

⁹⁰Statio in Hispania Tarraconensis: on the Tarraco-León road: (Tarraco)-565km-Segisamo-145km-(León); see pp. 139-40.

⁹¹On the stationes at Winchester and Dorchester-on-Thames see p. 252 and Ch. IV p. 131.

⁹²Other stationes in Britain: a) Leeming Lane/Dere Street: (York)-60km-Catterick Bridge-31km-Binchester-17km-Lanchester-51km-Risingham; see pp. 124-6; b) York-Carlisle/Stanwix road: (York)-60km-Catterick Bridge-22km-Greta Bridge-59km-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.

⁹³Dated 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.

⁹⁴On York as a northern base for the governor of undivided Britain and later as capital of Britannia Inferior see Ch.

IV p. 123. 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.

⁶⁶Netherby (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. Oclatinus 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 Procuratoriennes 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. Oclatinus Adventus in Britain', Britannia XVII (1987), forthcoming).

⁶⁷On 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.

⁶⁸See S.S. Frere, op. cit., 198-9 and cf. above note 95.

⁶⁹See 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 beneficarii and immunes consularis, but excludes doubtful examples.

a) Beneficarii Consularis

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

II 491 Emerita (Lusitania), c.AD 100.

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) L. Maelonius Aper vet(eranus)
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.

...] a [... genio?] sta[ti]oni[s] Segisamonensium 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(eminae) P(iae) Fel(icis) an(nis) XLV stip(endiis) XXIII
Anteius Antiochus lib(ertus) patrono optimo bene merent(i)
fecit secundum voluntatem suam.

II 4145 Tarraco, before AD 197.

D(is) M(anibus) L. Aufidio Felici bf cos municipi.
Gargilius Ruffus (sic) speculator leg(ionis) VII G(eminae)
F(elicis) benemerito.

II 4148 Tarraco, before AD 197.

D(is) M(anibus) Aurel. Severi veterani leg(ionis) VII
G(eminae) Fel(icis) [e]x bf cos Plotia Trophime marito
b(ene) m(erito).

II 4149 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.

Antonio Saturnino ex [bf] cos Abiliana uxor marito
indulgentissimo.

II 4153 Tarraco, after AD 197.

Memoriae Firmidi Cecilianii bf cos leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae)
P(iae) F(elicis) Valeria Primula uxor marito
b(ene)m(erito) f(ecit).

II 4154 = ILS 2369 Tarraco, after AD 197.

D(is) m(anibus) Cn. Fulv[io] Clapratino ex p[rovi]ncia
Baetic[a] It[alicensi] probato in leg(ione) VI Ferr[t(a)]
tra[ns]lato frum(entario) in leg(ione) VII G(eminae)
P(iae) F(elicis) facto [bf] cos militavit ann(os) XXI,
vixit ann(os) XXXX Ful(vius) Cornelianus lib(ertus)
pat(rono) be(ne)me(rito) fec(it).

II 4160 Tarraco, 2nd/3rd cent.
C. Lutatiu[s...] bf cos an[n(is)...] Iunia Lupu[lae
fem(inae)] dignissi[mae...] quae quo [amore ma]ltrem
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(eminae) P(iae)
F(elicis), stip(endiis) XXIIII vixit annis XLI fecit Aelia
Parthensis hospiti benemerenti.

II 4624 Emporiae (Tarraconensis), 2nd cent.
D(is) m(anibus) M. Val(erio) La[e]vino bf cos Valerius
Geminus fratri optimo.

V 6785 Eporedia (Regio XI, Italy), 1st/2nd cent.
...] Fortunatus P. Vibius Helius T. Baebius Hermes P.
Pontius Placidus L. Anicius Tychicus C. Annius
Fortunatus P. Livius Savinus C. Vergilius Apollo M.
Volusius Hermes T. Mettius Hermes Servandus Fidius P.
Septicius Varus mil(es) benef(iciarius) leg(ati) Aug(usti)
provinc(iae) Belgic(ae) P. Atil(ius) Epaphrodit(us)
[...] Hermes T. Mettius Eutyches.

VII 5 = ILS 4786 = RIB 88 Winchester (Britannia), late
1st/early 2nd cent.
Matrib(us) Ital(is) Germanis Gal(lis) 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. Pol(lia tribu) Secundus Pollen(tia)
mil(es) leg(ionis) XX an(n)oru(m) LII stip(endiorum) XXXI
ben(eficiarius) leg(ati) pr(o)praetore) 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) Q. Varius
Vitalis bf cos aram sacram restituit Aproniano et Bradua
co(n)s(ulib)us
3-4 T. Irdas SCFVLLM CIL

VII 280 = RIB 745 Greta Bridge (Britannia Inferior), after AD 213.

...]ONI[...]RS[...]SEI[...]ellinus bf cos provinci(a)e superior(is) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

VII 281 = RIB 747 Greta Bridge (Britannia Inferior), after AD 213.

...]IING POSI[...]HOEVMOLLINI[vetustate d]ilabs(um) sub cura [...] (centurionis) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) [...]P]ost(umius) Urbanus [bfcos? 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. Deab(us) Matrib(us) O[l]lot(otis) T[i]lb(erius) 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(omini) n(ostri) Aug(usti) M. G(avius?) Secundinus [b]f cos Habitanci prima stat(ione) pro se et suis posu[it].

1 Deo Mogonti CIL

VIII 2401 Tingad (Numidia), early 3rd cent.

[D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) C. Ael(ius) Extri?]catus h[ic] situs est qui post tantum onus multos crebrosq(ue) labores nunc silet et tacito(sic) contentus sede quiescit C. Ael(ius) Tertiolus bf cos leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis) patri pientissimo.

XII 2602 Genava (Gallia Narbonensis), AD 96-8.

M. Carantius Macrinus centurio coh. Primae 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) stipendiis Domit(iano) VIIII co(n)s(ule) item Minici Rufi legati Aug(usti) evocatus Augusti Domit(iano) XIIII co(n)s(ule) centurio Imp(eratore) Nerva II cos t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit).

XII 3168 = ILS 2404 Nîmes (Gallia Narbonensis), c.AD 133.

D(is) M(anibus) Umidii Aviti militi(s) leg(ionis) VII Gemin(ae) Felicis beneficiari(i) Iunii Omulli 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(eficiarius) [leg(ati) or proc(uratoris)]
Aug(usti) militavit ann(os) X [...] mens(es) VII dies XXV
[...] vixit ann(os) XXXI mens(es) V dies XXVI Iulia
Iul[iana] filio sanctissimae pietatis et sibi viva(e)
p(osuit).

XII 5723 Antipolis (Gallia Narbonensis), 2nd/3rd cent.
[D(is) M(anibus)] et quieti aeterne T. Aeli Iucundi For(o)
[Iul(ii)?] qui vicsit a(nno) I m(ensibus) II diebus septem
T. Aelius Macrobius p(ater) bf con(sularis) l(egionis)
VII[I] Aug(ustae) et Numisia Lucilia mater p(arentes)
infelicissimi filio dulcissimo m(onumentum) f(ecerunt).

XIII 1843 Lugdunum. 2nd/3rd cent.
D(is) M(anibus) [A]urel(ius) Max[imu]s mil(es) leg(ionis)
[... bf?] cos stip(endiis) XII [...] ex] prov(incia)
Thra[cia ...]ensis qui o[biit stip(endiis) leg]ionis
eme[ritis(?) A]urel(ius) Bitus v[et(eranus)? ...]
f(aciendum) c(uravit) et [...].

XIII 1909 Ludgunum, 2nd/3rd cent.
Bf

XIII 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 Pontailier-sur-Saône (Germ. Sup.), AD 150
[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci Q. Ta[v?]ius
Saturninus bf Caeserni Statiani co(n)s(ularis) 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(actus) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6127 = ILS 2401 Altrip (Germ. Sup.). AD 181.
I(n) h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) genio bf cos G(ermaniae)
S(uperioris) et loci concord(iae) var(iorum) (or
concor(diae) duar(um)) stat(ionum) C. Iul(ius) Adventus bf
cos Imp(eratore) C[[ommodo]] Aug(usto) III et Burro
co(n)s(ulibus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)
[pon]tem[...] (or tem[plum...]) rest(ituit).

XIII 6143 Erpolzheim (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
D(is) m(anibus) [...] bf cos stipendiorum XXVIII qui vixit
annis XXXIII mensibus VIII Prudentia Favorina uxor et
heres coniugi dulcissimo f(aciendum) c(uravit)

XIII 6279 Oppenheim (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
Memoriae aeternitatis Lucaniae Victorinae coniugi
pudicissimae adque (sic) castissimae Pervincius Romulus bf
cos maritus et Romanus filius ob inmensurabilem pietatem
eius.

XIII 6383 Köngen (Germ. Sup.), ? July sometime in the 2nd/3rd cent.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [D]o[l]ich[en]o M. L[u]ciu[s] Mate[rn]us bf cos ex iussu posuit 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 [C]lemens 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 bf cos pro salute sua et suorum posuit v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Id(ibus) Dec(embribus) Grato et Seleuco co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6440 Cannstatt (Germ. Sup.), AD 213 or 222.

In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) Iovi et Iunoni Reg(inae) et genio loci et d(is) d(eabusque) omnib(us) P. Sedulius Iulianus m[i]ll(es) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) A[n]toniniane bf cos pro sal(ute) sua et suor(um) stat(ione) iterat(a) posuit Imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) Antonino Aug(usto) IIII et Ba[lb]ino II co(n)s(ulibus) (AD 213) or Au[re]lio Alexandro 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 Iunoni Reg(inae) et genio loci et. (sic) Gerionis S[e]verus mil(es) leg(ionis) XII Antoni[ni]an(ae) b[f] cos pro [sal(ute)] sua et suor(um) d(omino) [n(ostro)] Anton[ino] 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(imigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) Severianae bf cos pro se et suis posuit v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Maximo et Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus) Idibus Ianuari(i)s.

XIII 6474 = ILS 4553 Böckingen (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Marti Caturigi genio loci C. Iul(ius) Quietus bf cos 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 Iunoni Reginae C. Fabius Germanus bf cos 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. Pompeius Gratinus miles leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) bf cos pro se et suis Imp(eratore) Commodus 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(ibus) T. Fl(avius) Vitalis Ael(ia) 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 6570 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximus) et genio loci Calvinus Titus bf
cos [....]

XIII 6624 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)
F(idelis) bf c]os [v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus)] l(ibens)
m(erito).

XIII 6628 Eisenbach nr. Obernburg (Germ. Sup.), AD 181.
I(ovi) [O(ptimo)] M(aximo et g[e]nio loci C. Iu[l(ius)]
Bellin[u]s et C. Iu[l(ius) M]ontan[u]s bbff cos [pr]o se
et [su]lis Imp(eratore) [Co]mmodo [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) Iunoni Reg(inae) [di]s
deabu[s]q(ue) omnib(us) et genio loci Ael(ius) Heraclida
bf cos l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 6633 + 6656e Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), September-
October, AD 181.
[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) [Iuno]ni Reg(inae) e[st ge]nio
loci C. A [...] C.f. Iustu[s] bf cos pro se et [s]uis
[v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens)] m(erito)
[Im]p(eratore) C[o]mmo[do] II[I et B]urro
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) Iunoni Reginae Mercurio et genio
loci 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)] Iunon[i Reg(inae)] et genio
loc[i] C. Iul(ius) Peregr[in]us bf co[s] pro se et s[u]lis
v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) M[a]m[er]tin[o]
et Rufo VII Ka[l(endas)] Augustas co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6636 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), AD 167.
I(ovi) 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(eratore) Ver(o) III et
Qua(drato) co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6637 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 20 February, AD 182.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] Iunoni Reg(inae) e[t genio]
loci [...] Nobilius L[...]us bf cos mil(es) le[g(ionis)]
VIII Aug(ustae) stat(ione) prim[a] pro se e[t suis
omnibus] 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(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Conserva[t]ori ceteris diis
deabusque et genio Iunii Victorini co(n)s(ularis) C.
Secionius Senilis bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)
m(erito).

XIII 6649 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iun(oni) Reg(inae) et genio]
loc[i et dis] dea[busq(ue) om]nibu[s....]

XIII 6641 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), AD 199(?)
...]l Ve[...]us mil(es) le[g(ionis) XXII] P(rimigeniae)
P(iae) F(idelis) b 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(io) 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. F[l(avius)] 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 dedicandae
quod utrumque a se factum gaudet pro se et suis L. Memmius
Iuvenis b cos Pudente et Polione co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6653 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
...] [...] cos...[...]
leg(ionis) [...]b]f cos.

XIII 6656f Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
...bf] co[s...pro se et] sui[s....]

XIII 6665 = ILS 4796 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), 15 July AD 211.
Deab(us) Aufan(iis) et tutelae loci pro salute et
incolumitate sua suorumq(ue) omnium L. Maiorius Cogitatus
bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Idibus
Iuli(i)s Gentiano et Basso co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 6740b Mainz (Germ. Sup.), AD 194.

Marti Victoriae Fortun(ae) Tertinius Senecio mil(es)
leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) [b]f cos
Imp(eratore) Severo II et Albino Caesare II
co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 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
bbff cos G(ermaniae) S(uperioris).

XIII 7000 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.

Licinio Liciniano bf cos Saecularia Severina coniunx
f(aciendum) c(uravit).

XIII 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 Antoninianae
Aug(ustae) bf cos Id(ibus) Ianuar(iis) Imp(eratore)
d(omino) n(ostro) Antonino IIII et Balbino II
co(n)s(ulibus).

Cf. AE 1962 n.228 = AE 1978 n.551.

XIII 7399 = ILS 4192 Friedberg (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.

Solf (sic) Invicto Imp(eratori) C. Paulinus Iustus bf
cos.

XIII 7400 = ILS 4192a Friedberg (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd
cent.

Virtuti Invicto Imp(eratoris) C. Paulinus Iustus bf cos.

XIII 7731 the Vinxtbach (Germ. Sup.), 2nd.3rd cent.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loc(i) Iunoni Reginae
Tertinius Severus mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) bf
cos ex voto p(osuit) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens)
m(erito).

XIII 7788 Remagen (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) dis de]labus[que omnib]us L.
[...]ninus Iu[...bf] cos pro [se et suis.

XIII 7790 = ILS 3913 Remagen (Germ. Inf.). AD 190.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci et Rheno Cl(audius)
Marcellinus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
Imp(eratore) Commodo VI co(n)s(ule).

XIII 7791 Remagen (Germ. Inf.), c.AD 151/2 or c.AD 180.

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et] genio loci [fl]umini Rhe[no]
T. Flavius [Sti?]lo bf Salvi [Iul]iani cos [v(otum)]
s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 7794 Remagen (Germ. Inf.), AD 242.

Deo S[oli?] M. Supenin(ius) Felix bf cos Sacr(u)m
Pr(a)[e]textato co(n)s(ule).

XIII 7817 Oberwinter (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.

Herculi L. Iucundinius Maximus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit)
l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 7818 Oberwinter (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
Herculi Octavius Curtavius bf cos.

XIII 7835 Aachen (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
...] Da[...]ius bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 7596/7 Billig (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio [l]oci M. [I]ul(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(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [et] genio l[oci] C. Iucund[ius]
Similis m[il(es)] leg(ionis) XXX [U(lpiae) V(ictricis)] bf
cos iu[ssu] Mamertino et Ru[fo co(n)s(ulibus)].

XIII 7998 Bonn-Dottendorf (Germ. Inf.), AD 214.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci diis d(eabus)q(ue)
omnibus Aur(elius) Superinius Marcus bf cos pro se et suis
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Messala et Sabino
co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 8012 Bonn (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Q. Caesius [I]ustus bf [co]s ex
[voto].

XIII 8204 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), before AD 223.
[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [et] genio [l]oci C. [I]ul(ius)]
Aprilis [bf] cos pro [se e]t suis.

XIII 8205 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), AD 225.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci M. Aurelius Ursulus
bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
Fusco II et Dextro co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 8206 Cologne (Ger. Inf.), AD 232.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et
genio loci L. Hilarinius Amabilis bf cos pro se et suis
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Lup(o) et Maximo
co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 8207 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), 31 July or 1 August, AD 239.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et
genio loci M. Ingenuius Ingenuinus bf cos pro se et suis
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit) (or pridie))
Kal(endis) Aug(ustis) Imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro)
Gordiano Aug(usto) et Aviola co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 8278 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
D(is) M(anibus) Aurel(i) Aristaeneto vet(erano) leg(ionis)
I M(inerviae) [A]urelius A[ris]tide[s m]i[l(l)es]]
leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) bf [c]los patri.

XIII 8293 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
D(is) M(anibus) C. Severinio Viteali veterano honeste
missionis ex bf cos leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae) 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 [...S]locerioni S[....

XIII 8298 Cologne (Germ Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
...]titi mil(iti) leg(ionis) [...bf? c]os obito [....

XIII 8494 Deutz (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximi) et genio loci Sextus Val(erius)
Verus [b]f cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)
m(erito).

XIII 8588 Asberg (Germ. Inf.), AD 230.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) C. Catonius Respectus bf cos
Prisciliano et Agricola co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 8621 Birten near Vetera (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et gen(io) loci C. Val(erius)
T[e]rtiu[s] et M. Vitalinius 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(ivinae) dis deab(us)q(ue) omnib(us)
Matribus Vapthiabus et genio loci sacrum C. Tauricius
Verus bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)
m(erito) posuit et dedi(cavit).
Cf. AE 1930 n.25; AE 1956 n.252.

XIII 11603 Argentorate (Germ. Sup.), 3rd cent.
I(ovi) [O(ptimo) M(aximo) et geni[o loci] Avitiu[s...]
Pomp(eius) O[...] Septimiu[s...] bbff le[g(ati)
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(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Reginae genio loci L.
Fl(avius) Patern(us) [b]f [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(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] et Iunoni Reginae [et] g(enio)
l(oci) concordiae b(ene)f(iciariorum) G(ermaniae)
S(uperioris) pro salute sua et suorum Petronius Senilis
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.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio[lo]ci T. Cal(ventius)
M[ar]cellinus m[i]ll(es) leg(ionis) VIII [Aug(ustae) [b]f
c[os]....
Cf. XIII 11791=6649a + ... + 6651.

XIII 11777=6639 + ... + 6656b Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) [et] genio lo[ci p]ro se et su[is...] 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. C]alven[tius Marc]ellinus [mil(es) leg(ionis)] VIII Aug(ustae) bf [cos pro] se et su[is v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens)] m(erito) Id[ibus...] Imp(eratore) 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.

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iun]o[ni Reginae et] ge[nio loci [...] Bo[no Eventui...] it[...]] ni[leg(ionis) XX] II Pr[imig(eniae)...] stip(endiis) X[...pro se et s]uis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratore) C[ommo]do Aug(usto) Pio II] II et C. [Aufidio Vic]torin[o II co(n)s(ulibus)] Idi[b]us [...].

XIII 11793 Stockstadt (Germ. Sup.), AD 208.

...] mil(es) [leg(ionis)...] bf co[s pro se] et sui[s v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)] Imp(eratore) An[tonino] III et G[eta Caes(are)] II co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 11816 = 6731a + 6768 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.

Laribus Competalibus sive Quadriviis T. Fl(avius) Castus be (sic) cos c. vil. p. (= cum vilico posuit?).

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 11984 = 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 11985 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), AD 208 (?)

[Ma]tr[ibus Aufa]niab[us...] Ingenu[us bf co]s pro s[e et] suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) [l(ibens) m(erito)] An[t]oni[no et Get]a Imp(eratoribus) co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 11986 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.

Ma(tribus) Aufaniabu[s] C. Lucretiu[s...]atius bf c[os v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 11987 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), AD 218.

In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) deabus Aufaniis M. Massonius Vitalis bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratore) [[Macrino Aug(usto)]] 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. Pettronus (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.
Matronis [Auf]anis [...]inius [Can]didus [mil(es)
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(erum) 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[er]o II
co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 12053 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci Sex(tus) Insius
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(usto) T. Accius T(iti) f(ilius) Q(uirina tribu)
Secundus Eburoduni b(eneficiarius) P. Memmi Clementis
procuratoris Augusti v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
item templum de suo reno(vavit)

AE 1911 n.159 Nettersheim (Germ. Inf.), AD 206.
...pro se et] su[i]s 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 suorum libens pos(u)it XV
K(alendas) Au(gustas) Imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) M.
Aur(elio) Antonino Aug(usto) 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. Sabinus
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)
Imp(eratore) 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 1956 n.252 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), after AD 233.
Ha[ve] Taurici sal(v)us sis homo bon[e] quoniam me
salutasti perlege et dicam tibi C. Tauricio Vero
vet(erano) ex bf cos equestris militiae petitori Tauricius
[Ver]ulus filius et heres et Iulia Ingenua coniu(n)x ex
vo[lunta]te testamenti 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(ovi) 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(ovi) 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 Aemlliano (sic)
co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1957 n.49 Obernburg (Germ. Sup.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) 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(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Reg(inae) Miner(vae) genio
Imp(eratoris) Commodi Aug(usti) Pii Felicis Invicti
Britannici Quillionius 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).

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. Aurel(ius) 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) F(idelis)
C(onstantis) C(ommodae) bf cos pro salute sua et suorum
omnium pos(u)it v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)
Id(ibus) Ian(uariis) Aproniano et Bradua co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1961 n.332 Tarraco, before AD 197.
L. Caecil(io) Quarto vet(erano) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae)
F(elicis) bf cos oriundo Siccae Veneriae Sempr(onia)
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)
Iun(oni) R(eginae) d(is) d(eabus)q(ue) omnib(us) gen(io)
loc(i) Cl(audius) Pompeianus mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII
Ant(oniniana) Aug(ustae) bf cos pro se et suis o(mnibus)
p(osuit) Idibus Ia[n(uariis) Gr]ato et Seleuco
co(n)s(ulibus).
Cf. XIII 7338.

AE 1971 n.218 York (Britannia Inferior), c.AD 216.
[Genio] collegi [...o]b p(romotionem?) b(ene)f(iciarii)
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 d<at>eabusque omnibus
Acceptius Maior bf cos pro (se) et suis omni(bus) emerita
statione<m> t(itulum?) c(uravit?) Kal(endis)
Sep(tembribus) in d(...?) Aug(...?).
2 D<a>eabus AE
5 [se] AE

AE 1975 n.652 Zierikzee (Zeeland) (Germ. Inf.), AD 223.
[I]n h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) d[e]ae [Neh]alenniae C.
Iul(ius) [A]prilis veteran[us] ex bf cos pro se et sui[s]
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Maximo et Aelia[n]o
co(n)s(ulibus).
Cf. XIII 8204.

AE 1976 n.501 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), AD 151.
[M]aximo et Condiano Silvano deo et genio loci M.
Petronius Maximinus bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus)
l(ibens) m(erito)
1 [In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) AE.

AE 1976 n.502 = AE 1979 n.423 Mainz (Germ. Sup.), 13 January AD 208.

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(e)rrisque (sic) diis immortalibusque pro se suisque T. M(a)ximius Felix mil(es) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) bf cos Idibus Ian(uariis) Imp(eratore) Antonino Aug(usto) Pio III [[Geta Caes(are) II]] co(n)s(ulibus).

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. Iulius Super mil(es) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratore) Antonino Aug(usto) II [[P. Geta Caes(are)]] co(n)s(ulibus) Idibus Iul(iis).

AE 1977 n.495 Clifton (Britannia Inferior), 22 September AD 213 or 218/22.

Deo Marti A[u]g(usti) A[...]ius Surus omnes [...] c[u]m instrumento et [...] quae voverat promotus bf cos leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) [[Ant(onniana)]] [...]ior ex Africa pos(uit) X Ka[l(endas)] Octobr(es) [I]m[p(eratore)?] An[tonino...?] co(n)s(ule).

AE 1978 n.525 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), 15? July AD 212.

In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunon[i] Regine [Mi]nerv[e] Bono Even[tui] ge[n]io loci deo patrio Marti Conservatori d(is) d(eabus) om(nibus) C. Securius Domit[ia]nus mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII [Aug(ustae)] P(iae) F(idelis) C(onstantis) C(ommodae) Antonin[iana]e bf co[]s pro [se et suis ter]tia stat(ione) [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Id(ibus)?] Iul(iis) duob(us) A[spris co(n)s(ulibus)].

AE 1978 n.526 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), 13 January AD 213.

[...]innu[...] Calen[us...]tius bf [cos leg(ionis) VI]II Aug(ustae) An[toninian]ae P(iae) F(idelis) C(onstantis) C(ommodae) [...] d(omino) n(ostro) Anton[ino Aug(usto) IIII] et Caelio [Balbino II] co(n)s(ulibus) Id(ibus) Ian(uariis) [v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)].

AE 1978 n.527 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), AD 223 or 224.

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iu]noni [Reg(inae)] dis deab[usque] omnibus [...]o TOUTIO[...]SIGIOPI[...] Victo[rinus?] mil(l)es leg(ionis) VIII [Aug(ustae) Ale]xandri[anae] bf cos [v(otum) s(olvit)] l(ibens) m(erito) [Ae]lliano et [Maximo] or [Iu]lliano et [Crispino] co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1978 n.528 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), AD 238.

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iuno]n(i) Reg(inae) [et gen]io loci [...] Sla[t]urninus [civis T]rever(icus) [mil(es) leg(ionis)] XXII Pr(imigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) [bf] cos [v(otum) s(olvit)] l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) [Pio e]lt Proc(ulo) co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1978 n.529 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd/early 3rd cent.

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et gen]io lo[ci cete]ris [dis
de]labus[que o]mnib(us) [... G?]ai fil(ius) [...]a Ara [bf
co]s mi[l(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)
Iun(oni) Reginae gen(io) loci M. Cossius Florentinus
mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) Sev(erianae) bf cos pro
se et su[is] v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)
XVII K(alendas) Fe[b(ruarias) Maximo e]t Ael(iano)
co(n)s(ulibus).

AE 1981 n.674 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.

... Mode?]ratus bf [cos?] [[S]]ep[t] [[i]]m[[ia]]e [...]]
coiugi d[ulciss]imae o[bit]ae....

Alföldy, G., Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (1975)

G. Alföldy, Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (1975),
no.198 Tarraco, before AD 197

L. Valerio Barbaro militi leg(ionis) VII G(eminae)
F(elicis) an(nis) XXXVII bf cos Hiberia Materna coniugi
karissimo.

Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission

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.

...] Quint[inus?] mil(es) l]eg(ionis) VIII [Aug(ustae) b]lf
cos Id(ibus) [...] M]uciano e]t 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.

...]autus 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]s[e et] su[is?]...]s[...] Pu[dente et
P]ol[lione co(n)s(ulibus)].

Ephemeris Epigraphica

EE 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).

Eiden, H., Zehn Jahre Ausgrabungen an Mittelrhein und Mosel (1976)

H. Eiden, Zehn Jahre Ausgrabungen an Mittelrhein und Mosel (1976), 46-7 Remagen (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Sex(tus) Senius Secundinus
mil(es) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) P(iae) F(idelis) bf cos
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

H. Eiden, Zehn Jahre Ausgrabungen an Mittelrhien und Mosel (1976), 47-8 Remagen (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et genio loci T. Farfenna
Ianuar(ius) bf cos c(um?) Isaur(io) Calendino (centurione)
leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae) pro se et (suis) v(otum) s(olvit)
l(ibens) m(erito).

Fundberichte aus Schwaben

Fundberichte aus Schwaben N.F. xix (1971), 204 no 12 with
Abb. 16 Mainhardt (Germ. Sup.), AD 181.
In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
Luc(...? or Tuc...?) Avento bf cos ex iuss(u) posu(i)t
Com(modus) Aug(usto) III co(n)s(ule).

Galsterer, B. and H., Epigraphische Studien 13 (1983)

B. and H. Galsterer, Epigraphische Studien 13 (1983), 172-
3 no.4 Cologne (Germ. Inf.), 2nd/3rd cent.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Mar(ius?) Martius b[f] cos [...].

Gsell, S., Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie (1922-76)

Inscr. Lat. Alg. I no 2203 Madaurus (Africa
Proconsularis), 3rd cent.
...] Quirina (tribu) Saturninus [...] provinciae
Britta[niae...]i[...]ai[...]ici praesidis ben[ef(iciarius)]
consular[is...]noni prae[...] monymentum [...] sib(i) ex
s(umptu) suo XXX m(ilibus) [n]ummu[m...] et se vivo
dedicavit et decessit annorum XXXV h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità

Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 1894.36
I(ovi) Peonino (sic) Iul(ius) Fortunatus bf cos v(otum)
s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Schallmayer, E., Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf. Methoden
und Ergebnisse der Landesarchäologie in Baden-Württemberg
Katalog zur Ausstellung Stuttgart, Kunstgebäude vom 14.
August bis 13. Oktober 1985 (1985), 394-405

Schallmayer, Kat. no 1 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd
cent.
Deae Candidae Reginae benemerenti pro se et suis C.
Paulinius Iustus mil(es) leg(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae)
P(iae) F(idelis) bf cos v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens)
m(erito).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 2 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), 13 January AD 182.

I(ovi) 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(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Reginae dis deabusq(ue) omnibus et genio loci P. Ael(ius) Gemellus bf cos Imp(eratore [[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(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iunoni Reg(inae) genio loci dis deabusque omnib(us) L. Annamatius Atrectus bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 5 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd cent.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Reginae T. Essimnius Tertius bf cos pro se et suos (sic) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 6 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd cent.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Reginae et genio loci dis deabusque om[ni]bus G. Iul(ius) Iullinius mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) 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(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Reginae 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(ibens) m(erito).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 8 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), late 2nd cent.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Regin(ae) et Marti Exalbiovici dis deab(us)q(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(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iun(oni) Reg(inae) et gen(io) loci Titius Tacitus mil(es) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae) bf cos pro se et suis v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Flac(co) et Gal(lo) co(n)s(ulibus).

Schallmayer, Kat. no 10 Osterburken (Germ. Sup.), early 3rd cent.

In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iun(oni) Reg(inae) Fort(unae) Red(uci) dis deabusq(ue) omnib(us) genio loci P. Iun(ius) 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(ionis) 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(ionis) VIII immuni[s] consularis hominis optimi et verecundissimi et probissimi Mercurialia Casata coniugi karissimo cum quo vixit annis XXIII dieb(us) XV et Decimina filia vivae ponendum curaverunt et sub ascia dedicaverunt.

XIII 5170 Solothurn (Germ. Sup.), 20 August AD 219.

Deae Eponae Ma[p?]ilius Restio m(iles) [l]eg(ionis) XXII Antoni[ni]anae P(rimigeniae) P(iae) F(idelis) immu[ni]s co(n)s(ularis) curas a[ge]ns vico Salod(uro) XIII Kal(endas) Sepemb(res) d(omino) n(ostro) Antonino II et Sacerdo[te] II co(n)s(ulibus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

XIII 5621 Tilena (Germ. Sup.), AD 226.

[In] h(onorem) d(omus) [d(ivinae) de]is dea[bus] Bivis Trivis Quadrivis A[u]rel(ius) Victorinus mil(es) leg(ionis) XXI[I] P[r(imigeniae)] im(munis) co(n)s(ularis) Ger[m(aniae)] Super[i]oris v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratore) Severo A[l]lex[andro] it(erum) et Marcello co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 7277 Castellum Mattiacorum (Germ. Sup.), AD 183.

Mercurio Pat(...?) Sanctinus [i]mm(unis) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) Imp(eratore) Commodo IIII et Victorino II co(n)s(ulibus).

XIII 7335 = ILS 7096 Heddernheim (Germ. Sup.), AD 230

In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) genium plateae novi vicium (a)edicula et ara T. Fl(avius) Sanctinus mil(es) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) Alexan(drianae) P(iae) F(idelis) imm(unis) co(n)s(ularis) et Perpetuus et Felix fratres c(ives) R(omani) et Taunenses ex origine patris T. Fl(avi) Materni veterani coh(ortis) III Praet(orianae) Piaae Vindicis et Aurelia Ammias mater eorum civis Romana d(ederunt) d(edicaverunt) Agricola et Clementino co(n)s(ulibus).

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(ulibus) VII
Kal(endas) Oct(obres).

AE 1968 n.390 Iversheim (Germ. Inf.), AD 240.
...] Miner[vae...]in[iu]s [Slupe[r]stis mi[l]l(es)
l]leg(ionis) XXX U(lpia) V(ictrix) Go[r]dian[ale] im(munis)
co(n)[s(ularis)] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)
[S]labino [II] et V[en]usto co(n)s(ulibus).

c) Index of Names

i) Beneficiarii Consularis

T. Accius T.f. Q(uirina) Secundus Eburoduni	<u>AE 1910 n.119</u>
Acceptius Maior	<u>AE 1974 n.446</u>
P. Ael(ius) Gemellus	Schallmayer,
	<u>Kat. no 3</u>
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. Anteius Flavinus	II 4144
Antonius Cretianus	VII 5
Antonius Saturninus	II 4149
L. Annamatius Atrectus	Schallmayer,
	<u>Kat. no 4</u>
A?]ppius [...]	XIII 6624
G. Arrius Patruitus	XIII 6095
T. Atticius Pacatus	<u>AE 1957 n.47</u>
L. Aufidius Felix	II 4145
Avitiu[s...]	XIII 11603
M. Aurelius Agripinus	XIII 11984
[A]urelius A[ris]tide[s]	XIII 8278
[A]urel(ius) Max[imu]s	XIII 1843
[M.]Aurelius Modestus	<u>AE 1929 n.128</u>
M. Aurel(ius) Cl(audius) Pompeianus	XIII 7338
M. Aur(elius) Titius Iulianus	<u>AE 1927 n.65</u>
M. Aurelius Ursulus	XIII 8205
Aurelius Severus	II 4148
M. Aur(elius) Superinius	XIII 7998
M. Aurel(ius) Superinius	<u>AE 1957 n.51</u>
C. A[...] C.f.Iustu[s]	XIII 6633
	+6656e
A[...]ius Surus	<u>AE 1977 N.495</u>
M. Bellius Marcellinus	<u>AE 1957 n.49</u>
T. Bl[...]	<u>AE 1929 n.108</u>
L. Caecil(ius) Quartus	<u>AE 1961 n.332</u>
L. Caesius Florentinus	XIII 12052
Q. Caesius [I]ustus	XIII 8012
Calen[us ...]tius	<u>AE 1978 n.526</u>
T. Cal(ventius) M[ar]cellinus	XIII 11776;
	XIII 11791
Calvinus Titus	XIII 6570
M. Carantius Macrinus	XII 2602
C. Catonius Respectus	XIII 8588

Cl(audius) Marcellinus	XIII 7790
Cl(audius) Pompeianus	<u>AE</u> 1962 n.228
Cl(audius) Quintianus	VII 424
Q. Cornelius Sab(atina) Severianus	Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no 7
M. Cossius Florentinus	<u>AE</u> 1978 n.550
M. Didius Provincialis	VII 441
Emeritius Sextus	XIII 6442
T. Essimnius Tertius	Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no 5
C. Fabius Germanus	XIII 6485
T. Farfenna Ianuarius	Eiden, H., 47-8
Firמידius Cecilianus	II 4153
T. Fl(avius) Avitus	XIII 6648a
T. Fl(avius) Paternus	XIII 6634;
	XIII 11762
T. Fl(avius) Severus	<u>AE</u> 1931 n.16
T. Flavius [Sti?]lo	XIII 7791
T. Fl(avius) Vitalis	XIII 6558
Cn Ful[vius C]apratinus	II 4154
M. G(avius?) Secundinus	VII 996
T. Gerionis S[e]verus	XIII 6441
L. Hilarinius Amabilis	XIII 8206
T. Ianuarinius Tertius	Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no.2
M. Ingenuius Ingenuinus	XIII 8207
S. Insius Rufus	XIII 12053
C. Iucund[ius] Similis	XIII 7997
L. Iucundinius Maximus	XIII 7817
C. Iul(ius) Adventus	XIII 6127
C. [Iul(ius)] Aprilis	XIII 8204;
	<u>AE</u> 1975 n.652
C. Iu[l(ius)] Bellin[u]s	XIII 6624
Iul(ius) Fortunatus	<u>Notizie degli</u> <u>Scavi</u> 1894,36
G. Iul(ius) Iullinius	Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no.6
C. Iul(ius) Iustinus	XIII 6648
M. [I]ul(ius) Maternus	XIII 7956/7
C. Iu[l(ius)] M]ontan[u]s	XIII 6628
C. Iul(ius) Peregr[in]us	XIII 6635
G. Iul(ius) Petunnatius	XIII 6636
C. Iulius Proculeianus	<u>AE</u> 1930 n.26
C. Iul(ius) Quietus	XIII 6474
C. Iul(ius) Servandus	<u>AE</u> 1957 n.48
C Iulius Super	<u>AE</u> 1976 n.503
P. Iun(ius) Secundus	Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no.10
	XIII 7000
Licinius Licinianus	VII 645
Litorius Pacatianus	<u>Fundberichte</u> <u>aus Schwaben</u>
Luc(...? or Tuc...?) Avento	N.F. xix (1971), 204 no 12
M. L[u]ciu[s] Mate[rn]us	XIII 6383
Lucius Potens	XIII 11820
C. Lucretiu[s ...]atius	XIII 11986
C. Lutatius [...]	II 4160
L. Maelonius Aper	II 491
L. Malorius Cogitatus	XIII 6665

C. Mannius C.f. Pol(lia) Secundus Pollen(tia)	VII 156
L. Mansuetius Constans	Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no 12
Mar(jus?) Martius	Galsterer, B. and H., 172-3 no 4
M. Massonius Vitalis	XIII 11987
T. M(a)ximius Felix	<u>AE</u> 1976 n.502
Q. Melicius Respectus	Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no.8
L. Memmius Iuvenis	XIII 6649
Nepotinius Nepotianus	XIII 11988
Nobilius L[...]us	XIII 6637
Octavius Curtavius	XIII 7818
C. Paulinius Iustus	XIII 7399; XIII 7400; Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no.1
Pervincius Romulus	XIII 6279
M. Petronius Maximinus	<u>AE</u> 1976 n.501
Petronius Senilis	XIII 11771
M. Pettronus Patroclus	XIII 11989
Cn.Pompeius Fructus	II 4164
L. Pompeius Gratinus	XIII 6557
Pompeius O[...]	XIII 11603
Pomponius Donatus	<u>EE</u> IX 1133
P]ostumius Urbanus	VII 218
Quillonius Verecundus	<u>AE</u> 1957 n.52
Sattonius Iuvenilis	XIII 6437
C. Secionius Senilis	XIII 6638
C. Securius Domit[ia]nus	<u>AE</u> 1978 n.525
P. Sedulius Iulianus	XIII 6440
S. Senius Secundinus	Eiden, H., 46-7
P. Septicius Varus	V 6785
Septimiu[s...]	XIII 11603
Serenius Atticus	<u>AE</u> 1927 n.66
C. Severinius Vitealis	XIII 8293
M. Supeninius Felix	XIII 7794
C. Summius Agrestis	XIII 11990
Q. Ta[v?]ius Saturninus	XIII 5609
C. Tauricius Verus	XIII 8841; <u>AE</u> 1930 n.25; <u>AE</u> 1956 n.252
Tertinius Senecio	XIII 6740b
Tertinius Severus	XIII 7731
Titius Tacitus	Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no.9
L. Traianus Ibliomarus	Schallmayer, <u>Kat.</u> no.11
L. Valerianus	XII 3182
Val(erius) Atticus	II 4167
L. Valerius Barbarus	Alföldy, G., no 198
M. Val(erius) La[e]vinus	II 4624
Val(erius) Maximus	XIII 11777
C. Val(erius) T[e]rtiu[s]	XIII 8621
Sex.Val(erius) Verus	XIII 8494
M. Varius Severus	VII 83
Q. Varius Vitalis	VII 271
Vengius Germanus	VIII 11747a
C. Vereius [C]jemens	XIII 6397

Vibinius Lucius	VII 286
Victorius Victorinus	XIII 3620
Umidius Avitus	XIII 3168
[...]inius Candidus	XIII 11991
[...] Da[...]ius	XIII 7835
[...] Ingenu[us]	XIII 11985
L. [...]nius Iu[...]	XIII 7788
[...] Mode?]ratus	<u>AE</u> 1981 n.674
[...] Quint[inus?]	<u>Bericht RGK</u> 1937 n.74
[...] S]a[t]urninus [civis T]rever(icus)	<u>AE</u> 1978 n.528
[...] Quirina Saturninus	<u>Inscr.Lat.Alg.</u> I no 2203
[...]l(...?) Ver[...]us	XIII 66412
[...] Vic?]tor	XIII 6560
[...] Victor	<u>AE</u> 1932 n.11
[...] Victo[rinus?]	<u>AE</u> 1978 n.527
[...]autus	<u>AE</u> 1959 n.142
[...]ellinus	VII 280
[...]G?]ai fil(ius)[...]a Ara	<u>AE</u> 1978 n.529
[...]it [...]ni[...]	XIII 11792
[...]mas[...]	XIII 6647
[...]per	<u>Bericht RGK</u> 1927 n.370

ii) Immunes Consularis

A[u]rel(ius) Victorinus	XIII 5621
T. Fl(avius) Sanctinus	XIII 7335
Ma[p?]ilius Restio	XIII 5170
Pat(...?) Sanctinus	XIII 7277
T. Vettius Deciminius	XIII 1903
Vi(rius?) Lupulus	<u>AE</u> 1930 n.35
[...]in[iu]s [S]upe[r]stis	<u>AE</u> 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).

<u>Act. Class. Debrec.</u>	=	<u>Acta Classica</u> <u>Universitatis Scientiarum</u> <u>Debreceniensis</u>
<u>Act. Mus. Napoc.</u>	=	<u>Acta Musei Napocensis</u>
<u>AJA</u>	=	<u>American Journal of</u> <u>Archaeology</u>
<u>AJPh</u>	=	<u>American Journal of</u> <u>Philology</u>
<u>Ann. Brit. Sch. Athens</u>	=	<u>Annual of the British</u> <u>School at Athens</u>
<u>ANRW</u>	=	H. Temporini (ed.), <u>Aufstieg und Niedergang</u> <u>der römischen Welt:</u> <u>Geschichte und Kultur Roms</u> <u>im Spiegel der neueren</u> <u>Forschung</u> (Joseph Vogt zu seinem 75.-Geburtstag). I, 1-4; II, 1- . (Berlin, 1972-).
<u>Ant J</u>	=	<u>Antiquaries Journal</u>
<u>Arch. Ael.</u>	=	<u>Archaeologia Aeliana</u>
<u>Arch. Ert.</u>	=	<u>Archaeologiai Ertesitő</u>
<u>Arch J</u>	=	<u>Archaeological Journal</u>
<u>BACTHS</u>	=	<u>Bulletin archéologique du</u> <u>Comité des Travaux</u> <u>Historiques et</u> <u>Scientifiques</u>
BAR	=	British Archaeological Reports
<u>BJ</u>	=	<u>Bonner Jahrbuch</u>
<u>FGH</u>	=	F. Jacoby (ed.), <u>Die</u> <u>Fragmente der griechischen</u> <u>Historiker</u> (Berlin, 1923- 30; Leiden, 1940-58)

<u>Führer RGZM</u>	= <u>Führer zu vor-und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmälern. Römisch- Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz. 1-50. (Mainz, 1965- 82)</u>
<u>GZMBH</u>	= <u>Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovine</u>
<u>IBAI</u>	= <u>Izvestiya na Blgarskiya Arkheologicheski Instituta</u>
<u>JRS</u>	= <u>Journal of Roman Studies</u>
<u>Libyca</u>	= <u>Libyca. Série archéologie et épigraphie</u>
<u>Mainzer Festschrift</u>	= <u>Festschrift des Römisch- Germanischen Zentralmuseums in Mainz zur Feier seines hundertjährigen Bestehens, 1952. I-III (Mainz), 1952- 3)</u>
<u>Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome</u>	= <u>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</u>
<u>Mitt. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. Röm. Abt.</u>	= <u>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung</u>
<u>MZ</u>	= <u>Mainzer Zeitschrift</u>
<u>ORL</u>	= <u>Der Obergermanisch- raetische Limes des Römerreiches. Im Auftrage der Reichs- Limeskommission. Lieferungen I-LVI. (Heidelberg. 1894-1937)</u>
<u>PBSR</u>	= <u>Papers of the British School at Rome</u>
<u>PIR²</u>	= <u>E. Groag and E. Stein (edd.) Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec I, II, III Partes I - (Editio altera. Berlin, Leipzig, 1933-)</u>
<u>RCHM</u>	= <u>Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England</u>

<u>RE</u>	=	A.F. von Pauly and G. Wissowa (edd.), <u>Real-Encyclopädie des classischen Altertumswissenschaft</u> . I-XXIV; IA-XA; Suppl. I-XV. (Stuttgart, 1894-1978)
<u>RGF</u>	=	<u>Römisch-germanische Forschungen</u>
<u>Riv. Stor. Ant.</u>	=	<u>Rivista di Storia Antica</u>
<u>SJ</u>	=	<u>Saalburg Jahrbuch</u>
<u>T. Durh. & North. A. & A. Soc.</u>	=	<u>Transactions of the Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society</u>
<u>T. Hist. Soc. Lanc. & Ches.</u>	=	<u>Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire</u>
<u>TLMAS</u>	=	<u>Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society</u>
<u>Vjesn. Arh. Hist. Dalm.</u>	=	<u>Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku</u>
<u>WZ</u>	=	<u>Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst</u>
<u>ZPE</u>	=	<u>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</u>

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a) Ancient sources (with abbreviations)

- Act. Alex. = Acta Alexandrinorum
- Act. Conc. Arel. I = Acta Concilii Arelatensis I (AD 314) (text: C. Munier (ed.)), Concilia Galliae (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CXLVIII) (Turnhout, 1963), 3-25)
- Act. Proc. Cypr. = Acta Proconsularia Sancti Cypriani (text: H. Musurillo, The Acts of the Christian Martyrs. Introduction, texts and translations (Oxford early Christian texts) (Oxford, 1972), 168-75 no.11)
- Amm. Marc. = Ammianus Marcellinus Res Gestae
- Anon. Rav. = Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia (text: J. Schnetz (ed.)), Itineraria Romana II. Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica. (Leipzig, 1939), 1-110)
- 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. = Epistulae ad Atticum
ad fam. = Epistulae ad familiares
Phil. = Orationes Philippicae in M. Antonium
pro Mur. = Oratio pro L. Murena
Verr. = Actio in Verrrem

Cledonius	= Cledonius <u>Ars Gramm. = Ars Grammatica</u> (text: H. Keil (ed.), <u>Grammatici Latini. V. Artium Scriptores Minores.</u> (Leipzig, 1868), 1-79
<u>Cod. Iust.</u>	= <u>Codex Iustinianus</u>
<u>Cod. Theod.</u>	= <u>Codex Theodosianus</u>
Curtius Rufus	= A. Curtius Rufus <u>Historiae Alexandri Magni</u>
Cyprian	= Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus <u>Ep. = Epistulae</u>
<u>Dig.</u>	= <u>Digesta Iustiniani Augusti</u>
Dio	= Cassius Dio Cocceianus <u>Historiae Romanae</u> (text: E. Cary (transl.), <u>Dio's Roman History</u> (Loeb Classical Library). I-IX. (London; Cambridge, Mass., 1914-27)
Diod.	= Diodorus Siculus <u>Bibliotheca Historica</u>
Eusebius	= Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea <u>HE = Historia Ecclesiastica</u>
Eutrop.	= Flavius Eutropius <u>Breviarium Historiae Romanae</u>
Festus	= S. Pompeius Festus <u>De Verb. Sign. = De Verborum Significatu</u> (text: W.M. Lindsay (ed.), <u>Sexti Pompei Festi De Verborum Significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome</u> (Leipzig, 1913))
Firm. Mat.	= Iulius Firmicus Maternus <u>Math. = Mathesis</u>
Florus	= L. Annaeus Florus <u>Epitoma de Titio Livio Bellorum Omnium Annorum DCC</u>

Greg. Tour.	= St. Gregory, Bishop of Tours <u>De Glor. Mart.</u> = <u>De Gloria</u> <u>Beatorum Martyrum</u> (= <u>Liber I</u> <u>Miraculorum</u>) (text: J.P. Migne (ed.), <u>S. Georgii Florentini</u> <u>Gregorii Turonensis Episcopi</u> <u>Opera Omnia.</u> (Patrologia Latina, Tom. LXXI). (Paris, 1849), 704- 799)
Herodian	= Herodianus <u>Ab Excessu Divi Marci</u>
Hdt.	= Herodotus <u>Historiae</u>
Hyg.	= Hyginus Gromaticus <u>De Lim. Const.</u> = <u>De Limitibus</u> <u>Constituendis</u> (text: K. Lachmann (ed.), <u>Gromatici Veteres</u> (= F. Blume, K. Lachmann and A. Rudorff (edd.), <u>Die Schriften der</u> <u>römischen Feldmesser.</u> I) (Berlin, 1848), 166-208) <u>De. Mun. Castr.</u> = <u>De Munitionibus</u> <u>Castrorum</u>
<u>Itin. Ant.</u>	= <u>Itineraria Antonini Augusti</u> (text: O. Cuntz (ed.), <u>Itineraria</u> <u>Romana I. Itineraria Antonini</u> <u>Augusti et Burdigalense.</u> (Leipzig, 1929))
Jerome	= St. Jerome <u>Chron.</u> = <u>Hieronymi Chronicon</u> (text: R. Helm (ed.), <u>Eusebius</u> <u>Werke.</u> 7 Band: <u>Die Chronik des</u> <u>Hieronymus.</u> (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte) (Berlin, 1956) <u>In Abd.</u> = <u>Commentarii in Abdiam</u> <u>Prophetam</u> (text: <u>S. Hieronymi</u> <u>Presbyteri Opera. Pars I. Opera</u> <u>Exegetica, 6</u> (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina LXXVII) (Turnhout, 1969), 349-375 <u>In Ioel.</u> = <u>Commentarii in Ioel</u> <u>Prophetam</u> (text: <u>S. Hieronymi</u> <u>Presbyteri Opera. Pars I. Opera</u> <u>Exegetica, 6</u> (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina LXXVII) (Turnhout, 1969), 159-209)
Josephus	= Flavius Iosephus <u>Bell. Iud.</u> = <u>De Bello Iudaico</u>
Juv.	= D. Iunius Iuvenalis <u>Saturae</u>

<u>Lat. Ver.</u>	= <u>Laterculus Veronensis</u> (text: O. Seeck, <u>Notitia Dignitatum. Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et latercula provinciarum.</u> (Berlin, 1876, repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1962), 247-53)
Liv.	= T. Livius <u>Ab Urbe Condita</u>
Lucian	= Lucian of Samosata <u>Pseudomantis</u> = <u>Alexander vel Pseudomantis</u> (= Libellus 42)
Lyd.	= Ioannes Lydus <u>De Mag.</u> = <u>De Magistratibus Populi Romani</u> <u>De. Mens.</u> = <u>De Mensibus</u>
Macrobius	= Aurelius Theodosius Macrobius <u>Sat.</u> = <u>Saturnalia</u>
Mark	= <u>Gospel of St. Mark</u>
Martial	= M. Valerius Martialis <u>Epigrammata</u>
<u>Not. Dig. Occ.</u>	= <u>Notitia Dignitatum in partibus Occidentis</u>
<u>Not. Dig. Or.</u>	= <u>Notitia Dignitatum in partibus Orientis</u>
<u>Not. Gall.</u>	= <u>Notitia Galliarum</u> (text: O. Seeck, <u>Notitia Dignitatum. Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et latercula provinciarum.</u> (Berlin, 1876, repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1962), 261-74)
Ovid	= P. Ovidius Naso <u>Fast.</u> = <u>Fasti</u>
Orosius	= Paulus Orosius <u>Historiae adversum Paganos</u>
<u>Pass. Agap.</u>	= <u>Passio Sanctarum Agapes, Irenes, Chiones et aliorum</u> (text: H. Musurillo, <u>The Acts of the Christian Martyrs. Introduction, texts and translations</u> (Oxford early Christian texts) (Oxford, 1972), 280-93 no.22)

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- Pass. Fruct. = Passio Sanctorum Martyrum Fructuosi Episcopi, Auguri et Eulogi Diaconorum (text: H. Musurillo, The Acts of the Christian Martyrs. Introduction, texts and translations (Oxford early Christian texts) (Oxford, 1972), 176-85 no.12
- Pass. Pion. = Passio Sancti Pionii Presbyteri et aliorum (text: H. Musurillo, The Acts of the Christian Martyrs. Introduction, texts and translations (Oxford early Christian texts) (Oxford, 1972), 136-67 no.10
- Pass. Tarach. = Passio Sanctorum Tarachi, Probi et Andronici (text: Th. Ruinart, Acta Primorum Martyrum Sincera et Selecta. (Amsterdam, 2nd ed. 1713), 422-48)
- Pass. Tat. Dul. = Passio Tatiani Dulae (= Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur. vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur, quae ex Latinis et Graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis collegit... Ioannes Bollandus... Operam et studium contulit G. Henschenius, D. Papebrochius, F. Baertius et C. Janningus. Iunii Tom. II. (Antwerp, 1698), 1043-8)
- Paulus = Iulius Paulus Sent. = Sententiae (text: S. Riccobene, J. Baviera et al. (edd.), Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiusustiniani II (Florence, 2nd ed. 1940), 317-417

Philost.	= Flavius Philostratus <u>Vit. Soph.</u> = <u>Vitae Sophistarum</u>
Pliny	= C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus (minor) <u>Ep.</u> = <u>Epistulae</u>
Plut.	= Plutarch <u>De Def. Orac.</u> = <u>De Defectu</u> <u>Oraculorum</u> (= <u>Moralia</u> 409E-438E)
Ptol.	= Claudius Ptolemaeus <u>Geographia</u>
Sall.	= C. Sallustius Crispus <u>Hist.</u> = <u>Historiarum Reliquiae</u> (text: B. Maurenbrecher (ed.), <u>C.</u> <u>Sallusti Crispi Historiarum</u> <u>Reliquiae. Fasc. II. Fragmenta.</u> (Leipzig, 1893))
<u>Schol. in Juv.</u>	= <u>Scholia in Iuvenalem</u> (text: P. Wessner (ed.), <u>Scholia in</u> <u>Iuvenalem Vetustiora</u> (Leipzig, 1931))
Sen.	= L. Annaeus Seneca <u>De Ben.</u> = <u>De Beneficiis</u> <u>De Ira</u> (= <u>Dialogorum libri III-V</u>)
<u>SHA</u>	= <u>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</u> <u>Carac.</u> = <u>Vita Antonini Caracallae</u> <u>Comm.</u> = <u>Vita Commodi Antonini</u> <u>Claud.</u> = <u>Vita Divi Claudii</u> <u>Hadr.</u> = <u>Vita Hadriani</u> <u>Iul.</u> = <u>Vita Didii Iuliani</u> <u>Macr.</u> = <u>Vita Opellii Macrini</u> <u>Marc.</u> = <u>Vita Marci Antonini</u> <u>Max.</u> = <u>Vitae Maximini Duorum</u> <u>Max. et Balb.</u> = <u>Vitae Maximi et</u> <u>Balbini</u> <u>Nig.</u> = <u>Vita Pescenni Nigri</u> <u>Pius</u> = <u>Vita Antonini Pii</u> <u>Sev.</u> = <u>Vita Severi</u>
Sid.	= C. Sullius Apollinaris Sidonius <u>Ep.</u> = <u>Epistulae</u>
Strab.	= Strabo <u>Geographica</u>
Suet.	= C. Suetonius Tranquillus <u>Aug.</u> = <u>Vita Divi Augusti</u> <u>Cal.</u> = <u>Vita C. Caligulae</u> <u>Claud.</u> = <u>Vita Divi Claudii</u> <u>Dom.</u> = <u>Vita Domitiani</u> <u>Gramm.</u> = <u>De Grammaticis et</u> <u>Rhetoribus</u> <u>Tib.</u> = <u>Vita Tiberii</u> <u>Vesp.</u> = <u>Vita Divi Vespasiani</u> <u>Vit.</u> = <u>Vita Vitellii</u>

- Symmachus = Q. Aurelius Symmachus
Laud. in Val. II = Laudatio in
Valentinianum Seniore Augustum
Altera
- Tab. Peut. = Tabula Peutingeriana (text: K.
 Miller (ed.), Die Peutingerische
Tafel oder Weltkarte des
Castorius (Stuttgart, 1916; new
 edn. Stuttgart, 1962) with K.
 Miller, Itineraria Romana.
Römische Reisewege an der Hand
der Tabula Peutingeriana.
 (Stuttgart, 1916))
- Tac. = Cornelius Tacitus
Agr. = De Vita Agricolae
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
- AE = L'Année Epigraphique. Revue des
publications épigraphiques relatives a
l'Antiquité romaine. (Paris, 1889-)
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- CPL = R. Cavenaile, Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum. (Wiesbaden, 1958).
- EE = Ephemeris Epigraphica: Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum. I-IX. (Berlin, 1872-1913).
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- IG = Inscriptiones Graecae. (Berlin, 1873-1972)

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- ILN Fréjus = J. Gascoü and M. Janon, Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise, I.L.N.: Fréjus. (Gallia, supplément 44). (Paris, 1985).
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