

D. C. BLOMMAERT

TRIBUNUS EQUITUM SINGULARIUM?

Two Fragmentary Inscriptions Concerning Egyptian Legionary Prefects

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 79 (1989) 297–307

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn



## VORBEMERKUNG DER HERAUSGEBER

Im Band 78, 1989, 185ff. wurde der nachfolgende Artikel von D.C.Blommaert versehentlich in unkorrigierter Fassung publiziert. Die Herausgeber bedauern dies sehr. Wir veröffentlichen den Aufsatz in diesem Band nochmals, nunmehr in korrigierter Form. Wir bitten, den Erstdruck auch bibliographisch zu ignorieren.

## TRIBUNUS EQUITUM SINGULARIUM?

Two Fragmentary Inscriptions Concerning Egyptian Legionary Prefects.\*

CIL XIV 191 + 4471 = AE 1971, 65; Ostia.<sup>1</sup>

CIL VI 31871 = CIL XIV \*289 (c); Roma.

The function of *tribunus equitum singularium* is not frequently attested. Brian Dobson<sup>2</sup> gives thirteen names, and there is only one case where we can be sure of the position of the function in the course of the man's career. This man is Q. Marcius Turbo.<sup>3</sup>

During the rapid progress of his career,<sup>4</sup> Turbo was first *primuspilus*, then *praefectus vehiculorum*,<sup>5</sup> followed by the tribunate in Rome: "trib. coh. VII vigil., trib. equ. sin[g.] Aug., trib. pr[ae]t." It is striking that the inscription does not mention a cohort for the third tribunate, that of the praetorians. This could be interpreted as a rank, without the actual command of a unit.<sup>6</sup> After his second primipilate, Turbo's career maintained its succession of quick promotions. He occupied three successive procuratorial posts, namely *proc. ludi magni*, prefect of the fleet at Misenum (AD 113/114) and governor of Mauretania Caesariensis.<sup>7</sup> All this, from the first primipilate on, took no more than 8 years. The *cursus* may have followed the usual route, but the speed and efficiency make it quite special.

---

\* I wish to thank Prof. Dr. H. Devijver for his valuable advice.

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions mentioned without specification are in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

<sup>2</sup> B.Dobson, *Die Primipilares*, Köln 1978, 77 (hereafter cited as *Primipilares*).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, M 249; A.Stein, *RE* 14, 1930, 1597-1600 & 2585; H.-G.Pflaum, *Carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain I*, Paris 1960, 199-216 (no. 94) (hereafter cited as *Carrières*).

<sup>4</sup> For the phase of his career, concerning us most, see AE 1955, 225 (Cyrhus, Syria).

<sup>5</sup> A remarkable promotion for a *vir militaris* who just fulfilled his primipilate (*Carrières*, 212).

<sup>6</sup> *Carrières*, 214-215.

<sup>7</sup> HA, Hadrianus 5, 8.

Later, we also find signs of more than normal favours: shortly after Trajan's death, he was given a command in Dacia (and Pannonia Inferior), "combined with the rank of praefectus Aegypti,"<sup>8</sup> and in 119 he became the praefectus praetorio of Hadrian.<sup>9</sup>

Possibly, this is not just the normal career of a gifted man. Dobson<sup>10</sup> noted the centurionate that Marcius fulfilled in the legion II Adiutrix in Aquincum.<sup>11</sup> This may have been the starting point of the favour Marcius Turbo enjoyed with Hadrian. The future emperor was tribunus laticlavus in the same legion in 95 (but more probably in Moesia Superior), and in 106-108 he was governor of Pannonia Inferior. One of these functions may have brought the men together and created some kind of personal tie, a relation which was of considerable importance for Turbo's rise to the highest equestrian function, praefectus praetorio.<sup>12</sup>

It is not my intention to present here a detailed status quaestionis of the controversy concerning Q. Marcius Turbo's exact title and the powers with which he was endowed. However, it seems likely that his presence in Dacia is connected with the reorganisation of the trans-Danubian territory from one consular province into two provinces, Dacia Inferior (governed by a procurator) and Dacia Superior (with a praetorian legate as governor).<sup>13</sup>

Also not clear is the fact that Turbo's presence in Dacia is mentioned twice in the *Historia Augusta*. Is this just a repetition, or did the author indicate two separate parts of the mission: (1) a joint rule in Dacia and Pannonia (with the emphasis on the military aspects), to take the lazyges (who defeated the previous governor of Dacia) in a pincer movement, and (2) the reorganisation of Dacia after the end of the war?<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> HA, Hadrianus 6, 7: "Marcium Turbonem post Mauretanium praefecturae infulis ornatum Pannoniae Daciae ad tempus praefecit;" HA, Hadrianus 7, 3: "Dacia Turboni credita titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae, quo plus auctoritatis haberet, ornato." The inscription from Mauretania (AE 1946, 113; Caesarea) does not allude to this person. Although the inscription mentions a comparable career, the Marcius Turbo in the inscription is not the same person (cf. W.Seston, REL 32, 451-452; Carrières, 207-211).

<sup>9</sup> Although a recently discovered diploma from Dacia names Turbo as the commander in the area in AD 123: "dimiss[is honesta] miss(ione) per Marcium Turbo[nem];" AE 1973, 459 = M.M.Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas 1954-77*, London 1978, 21. G.Alföldy (ZPE 36, 1979, 233-246) argues this is only a delayed administrative act, referring to the actual discharges several years earlier. For this reason, the date of 119 for the praetorian prefecture has to be maintained.

<sup>10</sup> Primipilares 227-228.

<sup>11</sup> 14349.2 = AE 1933, 31 = AE 1948, 202 (Aquincum, Pannonia Inf.).

<sup>12</sup> R.Syme, JRS 52, 1962, 90-91 = *Roman Papers II*, Oxford 1979, 547-548 (no. 41).

At the same time, Syme moderates this situation: there are no other indications which may give us the certainty that this centurion is indeed the same person, the praefectus praetorio of Hadrian (cf. JRS 70, 1980, 77 = *Roman Papers III*, Oxford 1984, 1295 (no. 90): "Identity is assumed"). Since the first function mentioned in the inscription from Cyrrhus in Syria is the primipilate, this cannot give us any indication either. The development of Turbo's career makes such a personal encounter probable, but to say that Turbo was "Hadrian's old mess-mate and trusted friend" (J.Fitz, *AAntHung* 11, 1963, 251) is to go further than the information available allows.

<sup>13</sup> A.Stein, *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien*, Budapest 1944, 17 and especially R.Syme, JRS 36, 1946, 161-165 = *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest 1971, 164-168 (review of Stein's work; cf. also JRS 52, 1962, 88 = *Roman Papers II*, 543 (nr. 41); BHAC 1979/80, 306-307).

<sup>14</sup> J.Fitz art. cit., 251-252.

Especially the artifice "with the rank of praefectus Aegypti, so that he would have more authority,"<sup>15</sup> gives the impression that this is an exception made for an exceptional man. If this is indeed the case, it could mean that Turbo's career is not a reliable source for locating the different elements in a normal career. It is clear that he did not hold the function of tribunus coh. praet. in the usual way. Switching the other tribunates could have been another unusual step in his career, but one needed to attain the rank of primuspilus II. Having achieved this, he was qualified for higher functions at the level of procurator. This seems to me a rather weak basis for accepting that the tribunate of the equites singulares was usually fulfilled between the tribunates of cohortes vigilum and praetoriae, where we normally find a cohors urbana.<sup>16</sup>

However, some fragmentary inscriptions offer an opportunity to insert this function in another place in the equestrian career structure.

First there are the fragments CIL XIV 191 and 4471, brought together by Fausto Zevi.<sup>17</sup> Although the pieces are not adjoining, Zevi's propositions look convincing and coherent. The inscription describes a career in descending order: prefect of the praetorian fleets of Misenum and Ravenna, governor of Mauretania Tingitana, procurator vicesimae hereditatum, prefect of the legion II Traiana Fortis (in Egypt), primuspilus bis and the tribunates in Rome. The author considers the possibility that this may be the career of M. Gavius Maximus, the praefectus praetorio of Antoninus Pius.<sup>18</sup> Until the restoration of this inscription, the government of Mauretania Tingitana was the only function known to be held by Maximus before his rise to the prefecture of the Guard.

With the exception of the tribunates, there is little or no doubt that this is indeed the original text. The only discussion concerns the redaction (terminology and abbreviations), because more than half of the text consists of the completion of large voids. It is possible to

---

<sup>15</sup> HA, Hadrianus 7, 3.

One can argue that he was not the governor of a consular province, but only an "imperial commissioner" with a specific mission. An argument that still implies that Hadrian put an exceptional faith in his abilities.

However, I do not think this would have any consequences as far as his title is concerned, since all governors of imperial provinces are (in the original meaning of these governorships) personal delegates of the emperor. Considering the fact that the title of legatus is usually reserved for senators, the term procurator pro legato would do (proposed by R.Syme, JRS 36, 1946, 162 = Roman Papers I, Oxford 1979, 164-165, recently repeated: BHAC, 1979/81, 303 & 307). But it should be noted that Sir Ronald Syme did not exclude praefectus pro legato either (JRS 70, 1980, 70 = Roman Papers III, 1286). This exceptional terminology for an equestrian governor (but nonetheless possible, cf. A.H.M.Jones, Studies in Roman Government and Law, Oxford 1960, 117-225) could justify the repeated mentioning in this direction in the Historia Augusta (Hadrianus 6, 7; 7, 3: praefecturae infulis, praefecit, titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae). Professor W.Eck drew my attention to the possibility that Turbo was acting in the Danube-provinces as praefectus praetorio. This would provide a tempting solution, and could clarify his authority as well as his title.

<sup>16</sup> B.Dobson, ANRW 2.1, 1974, 419, note 120. M.P.Speidel, Die Equites Singulares Augusti, Bonn 1965, 28-29.

<sup>17</sup> F.Zevi, RAL (s. 8) 26, 1971, 449-467 (cf. AE 1971, 65). See this article for an extensive review of M. Gavius Maximus' career and its date.

<sup>18</sup> A.Stein, RE 7, 1912, 868-869 (no. 18); W.Eck, RE Suppl. 15, 1978, 109-110; Carrières, 247-251 (no. 105 bis); cf. also PIR<sup>2</sup>, G 104.

estimate the space between the right side (191) and the middle piece (4471), but there are many alternatives available to complete the left side. On the right side, we have the edge of the stone, but on the other side, there is a total lack of information. Dobson<sup>19</sup> accepts the following restoration of the text:

[praef(ecto) clas]s(ium) [praet(oriae) Misenen]s(is) et Raven(natis),  
 [proc(uratori) Ma]uret(aniae) Tin[git(anae), proc(uratori) XX he]r(editatum), praef(ecto)  
 [castr(orum) i]n Aegypto, p(rimo)[p(ilo) II, trib(uno) co]h(ortis) III pr(aetoriae), trib(uno)  
 [eq(uitum) sin]g(ularium) divi Hadria[ni, trib(uno) coh(ortis) vi]g(illum).

He considers (and rejects) some alternative redactions for the first parts of the second and third line, as "[proc. prov. Ma]uret. Tin[git.]" and "praef. I [leg. II Tr. i]n Aegypto." His argument is the lack of space. The space used for the restoration of the last line fits entirely in the available space. It goes without saying that all this is interrelated. The tribunate of the equites singulares does not need a lot of space, making that same amount of space available for the other lines. Dobson also accepts that this primipilaris was "praef. [ - - - i]n Aeg." in the period before the arrival of the legion II Traiana Fortis in Egypt at the beginning of Hadrian's rule. From this starting point, "praef(ectus) [castr(orum) i]n Aegypto" is a satisfactory solution. But the only parallels worth mentioning are over one century older than these fragments. They are: A. Virgiius Marsus, praef. castr. Aegy.<sup>20</sup> and P. Anicius Maximus, praef. exercitu qui est in Aegypto.<sup>21</sup> Zevi too admits that Dobson's hypothesis implies several difficulties. Since this anonymous knight was tribunus equitum singularium during Hadrian's rule, we have to date the praefectura [ - - - i]n Aegypto some years later. Although we do not know when the legion II Traiana arrived in Egypt, the available time span before the legion's arrival is very short.<sup>22</sup> If the function does concern this legion, Dobson's construction is not satisfactory. In Egyptian inscriptions, the title is just "praef. castr.," but inscriptions from outside Egypt name the legion in the second century by its full name.

The left side becomes a lot wider (and gives more possibilities for interpretation) if we write the man's government in Mauretania Tingitana as follows: "proc. prov." or even "proc.

<sup>19</sup> Primipilares 237-239 (no. 118 a).

<sup>20</sup> 1978, 286; Tiberius' reign.

<sup>21</sup> III 6809 = ILS 2696; Claudius' reign.

<sup>22</sup> F.Zevi, art.cit., 457, note 21: Pflaum proposed that the legion II Traiana Fortis became the only legion in Egypt in AD 123 (according to Zevi, quoting a personal message). The known termini for the legion's presence in Egypte are: still in Iudaea in 118 (III 151; cf. E.Ritterling, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 58, 1903, 476-480), certainly in Egypt in 127 (III 42). The text of an inscription, mentioning the legion in Iudaea in 120, is disputed: cf. B.Isaac & I.Roll, *ZPE* 33, 1979, 149-156. J.R.Rea (*ZPE* 40, 1980, 220-221) rejects this restoration; Isaac and Roll (*ZPE* 47, 1982, 131-132) maintain their version of the damaged stone. 123 as the date of the final settlement of the legion was already mentioned by others, such as E.Ritterling (*RE* 12, 1925, 1486-1487) and J.F.Gilliam (*AJPh* 77, 1956, 366, note 28). Recently, W.Eck (*Chiron* 12, 1982, 354) suggested the period 119-123.

provinc.," and if we go back to one of the known second century parallels for the legionary command in Egypt:

praef. leg. II Tra.[F.]	V 867 = ILS 1339; Hadrian
praef. leg. II Traian. F.	AE 1934,232; Hadrian
[praef.] kast. leg. II Tr. F.	VI 31871 = XIV *289c; divi fratres
praef. leg. II Troianae (sic!) Fortis $\overline{CC}$	XIV 3626 = ILS 2742; Marcus
praef. leg. II Tr. Fort.	III 14137 = ILS 8998; AD 184/5

If Dobson insists on referring to the inscription of P. Anicius Maximus (see above), he will find another and even better parallel in the same inscription: "praef. l castror. leg. II Aug. in l Britannia." In our Egyptian context "praef. l [castror. (vel cast(r.) leg. II Traian. F. i]n Aegypto" seems a very good option. Fausto Zevi considered a similar solution:<sup>23</sup> the mention of the location of the legion can be explained by the fact that the legion was only just settled in the area. On the other hand, there is also the particular authority of the praefectus castrorum legionis in Egypt. If the inscription mentions "in Aegypto," this does not only mean the place where the function was fulfilled, but also the unique function in itself. Zevi rejected this solution for the lack of space.

My conclusion is that the left side might not have been as narrow as Dobson and Zevi thought it was. For this reason, the fourth line might have contained much more text than the one extraordinary tribunate in Rome, held between the tribunate of the vigiles ( ?; restoration of the text) and that of the praetorians ("[trib. coh.] III pr."). Contrary to the previous lines, it is not possible to fill the open space only by lengthening the terminology of the functions proposed by Dobson. But it is possible to insert a complete new function.

Tribunus equitum singularium may seem to be a rather extraordinary function, but it also appears to be one of the tribunates exercised in Rome.<sup>24</sup> If this is the case, and if we accept the tribunate of the third praetorian cohort as third and last in the series, we should also agree with the possibility that M. Gavius Maximus (or any other knight, whatever his name may be) was first "[trib(unus) eq(uitum) sin]g(ularium) divi Hadria[ni]," then fulfilled a second tribunate in Rome, followed by the command of the third praetorian cohort. Logically, this second tribunate must have been "trib(unus) l [coh(ortis) - - urb(anae)]" (see Fig. 1). There are no indications whatsoever for inserting the tribunate of a cohort of vigiles at the end of the fourth line, as Zevi and Dobson did. The upper half of the curve which Zevi recognized as the last letter of this line could have been a G, but O, C or Q are other possibilities.

<sup>23</sup> F.Zevi, art.cit., 455-456.

<sup>24</sup> M.P.Speidel, op.cit., 28: "Er ist also einer der hauptstädtischen Tribunat der militia equestris, (...) steht auf der Rangstufe der cohortes urbanae."

Probably the inscription mentioned the primipilate that preceded the tribunates in Rome in full. If we go through the legions at this time of the empire, the available options are the following:<sup>25</sup>

- legio II Augusta (Isca Silurum, Britannia)
- legio III Augusta (Theveste or Lambaesis, Numidia)
- legio VIII Augusta (Argentorate, Germania Sup.)
- legio III Gallica (presumably in the East)
- legio I Italica (Moesia)
- legio V Macedonica (Oescus or Troesmis, Moesia Inf.)
- legio XXII Primigenia (Moguntiacum, Germania Sup.)
- legio VI Victrix (Novaesium or Castra Vetera, Germania Inf.)

Assuming that primuspilus was abbreviated "p.p." (as it presumably was in the previous line) the V Macedonica cannot be inserted: "Mac." is too short, "Macedonic." is too long. The usual abbreviations for the legiones II and III Augusta ("Aug.") and VI Victrix ("Vic.") also seem too short. The Rhine-legions VIII Augusta and XXII Primigenia remain, as well as the legions III Gallica and I Italica. There are no conclusive indications for any one of them.

It is also possible that the primipilate was not separately mentioned, but that it was included in "p.p.II." In this case, the end of the line may have mentioned a centurionate, with the same legions. However, an eques Romanus bearing the rank of ducenarius usually did not report his functions before the primipilate.<sup>26</sup>

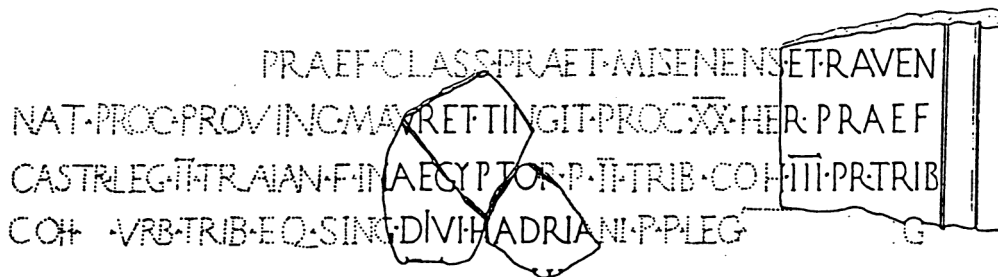


FIG. 1

Fausto Zevi, RAL (s. 8) 26, 1971, 452, Fig. 1 (with changes).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. E. Ritterling, art.cit., for the legions concerned.

<sup>26</sup> F. Zevi, art.cit., 453-454.

The possibility that the career may have mentioned a centurionate or even lesser functions must not be completely excluded. Several other inscriptions concerning primipilares mention centurionates, as well as high functions (procurator): XI 5696 (C. Caesius Silvester); XIV 3626 = ILS 2742 (L. Cominius Maximus); III 1919 = ILS 2770 add (L. Artorius Castus).



FIG. 2

PROC PROV GALLIAR·PRAEPOSIT·VEXILL  
 PER· ET·RAET·ET·NORIC·BELLO  
 GERMAN·PRAEF·KAST·LEG·II·TR·F·TRIB  
 COHORT· PRAET·XII·VRB·EQVIT  
 SING·AVGVSTOR ✱ DDLM

FIG. 3

PROC  
 PROVINCIA·GALLIAR·PRAEPOSIT·VEXILLAT  
 PER· ET·RAET·ET·NORIC·BELLO ✱  
 GERMAN·PRAEF·KAST·LEG·II·TR·F·P·ITER  
 TRIB·COH· PRAET·XII·VRB·EQVITVM  
 SINGVL·AVGVSTOR ✱ DDLM

It is clear that a theoretical thesis based on one fragmentary inscription cannot provide an irrevocable solution. But the next inscription, for a long time subject to different interpretations, also shows a lacuna on the place where the Roman tribunates may have been written.

The inscription VI 31871 = XIV \*289(c) (from Rome) is (like the previous one) a very damaged text concerning a primipilaris. His rank is even more disputed. The published text in CIL is only the middle piece of the inscription; both the left and right sides are missing. But we can assume that the "palma" on the last line (between "JTOD" and "D.D.L.[") indicates the middle of the inscription.

Here too, Dobson's interpretation is the starting point:<sup>27</sup>

[--- proc(urator) XXXX] Galliar(um), praeposit(us)  
 v[exillat(ionum) / [per ---] et Raet(iam) et Noric(um)  
 [bello / Germanico, praef(ectus)] kast(orum) leg(ionis)  
 II Tr(aianae) [F(ortis), p(rimus)p(ilus) leg(ionis) ---, /  
 (centurio) coh(ortis) --- p]raet(oriae), XII urb(anae)  
 [, --- vig(illum), evoc(atus) a commentar(iis) / cus]to-  
 d(iarum), d(onum) d(edit) l(ibens) [m(erito)].<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Primipilares, 263-264 (no. 147).

<sup>28</sup> The version published in CIL deviates in the following points: "[proc. XL] Galliar." in the beginning and "[evoc. Augus]to<r.>" at the end.

If we agree with this restoration, we also have to accept that there is no room available for the tribunates in Rome. Although these are indispensable in the career between a first primipilate and a primipilate iterum, while this last function (also rejected by Dobson) is mandatory for those who take command of the legionary camp in Egypt or the Egyptian legion II Traiana Fortis in the second century.<sup>29</sup>

The fact that Dobson rejects the second primipilate implies that it is only possible to agree with the anonymous primuspilus' prefecture of the legion II Traiana, if we assume that the legion was not active in Egypt at this time.<sup>30</sup> In this case, the man's rank is the same as any legionary prefect everywhere else in the empire: primuspilus, but not iterum.<sup>31</sup> However, there are no opportunities available: possible activities of the legion II Traiana Fortis outside Egypt in the second half of the second century are little known, and the legion's presence in the war against the Marcomans (probably the occasion for the vexillatio meant by the inscription) is very doubtful.<sup>32</sup>

There is no solid basis for accepting the legion's involvement in the Marcomannic war. Jean Lesquier<sup>33</sup> based this assumption on the senatorial career of [---]nius L.f.Stel. Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanius Marcellinus Numisius [S]abinus, which mentions: "leg(atus) legionum I Italicae et I [I] Traianae Fortis."<sup>34</sup> According to him, this career goes back to the rule of Marcus. But nowadays others, such as Emil Ritterling and Bengt E.Thomasson, have accepted that Gallus' career has to be dated in Trajan's reign (legatio legionum: between 111/112 and 114).<sup>35</sup>

The fact that Gallus was a senator makes it clear that the legion was not settled in Egypt at that time, since no member of the ordo senatorius was allowed to enter this country.<sup>36</sup> This shows that the argument that situates the legion on the Danube during Marcus is unfounded. Lesquier's deduction, namely that our anonymous primuspilus was present in this area with the whole legion and acted at the same time as praepositus vexillationis,<sup>37</sup> loses all foundation. All other arguments that he brings forward are secondary or can be discarded.

---

<sup>29</sup> Primipilares calling themselves primuspilus bis, as well as praefectus castrorum in Egypt:

1st century: IX 5748 = ILS 2687 (L. Cirpinus); AE 1954, 163 (C. Musanus); AE 1978, 286 (A. Virgus Marsus).

2nd century: V 867 = ILS 1339 & AE 1934, 232 (Ti. Claudius Secundinus); XIV 3626 = ILS 2742 (L. Cominius Maximus).

<sup>30</sup> Primipilares 263-264 (no. 147); also B.Dobson, ANRW 2.1, 1974, 416. Implicit also in Carrières, 533-534 (no. 95).

<sup>31</sup> J.Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien*, Le Caire 1918, 125.

<sup>32</sup> E.Ritterling, art.cit., 1486-1487.

<sup>33</sup> J.Lesquier, op.cit., 68-69.

<sup>34</sup> III 6813 = ILS 1038 (Antiochia Pisidiae).

<sup>35</sup> The most recent synthesis of the career of this senator can be found in: K.Strobel, ZPE 71, 1988, 273-275 (also: *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans*, Bonn 1984, 98). E.Ritterling, art.cit., 1485-1486 (cf. also *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 58, 1903, 478-479). B.Thomae, *Laterculi praesidium*, 2. Sardinia, 3. Cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> G 71.

<sup>36</sup> Tac., Ann. 2, 59.

<sup>37</sup> J.Lesquier, op.cit., 70.

The fact that the legion bears the cognomen Germanica, for example, does not refer to these Danube campaigns but, according to Ritterling, to the Germanic wars of Caracalla.<sup>38</sup>

The combination of the two military commands has also to be put aside, since there is no proof to support it. The procuratela XXXX Galliarum,<sup>39</sup> a centenarian function, must also be cancelled: the praefectura legionis II Traianae Fortis in Egypt, the preceding function, implies the rank of ducenarius.<sup>40</sup> A higher function (also ducenarian), including several Gallic provinces, or even a succession of functions in the area, seems appropriate.<sup>41</sup>

If we accept that the legionary prefecture was exercised in Egypt,<sup>42</sup> Dobson's interpretation loses its reliability regarding the centurionates in Rome and the succeeding primipilate as the functions preceding immediately the praefectura legionis. Since there is certainly not enough place to insert the centurionates as well as the tribunates, another solution has to be found.

The most obvious possibility is that the inscription only mentioned the tribunates. The two primipilates that the man must have fulfilled (before and after the tribunates) can be summarized to "p.p.II," "p.p.bis" or "p.p.iterum," as is often done. This could have been inserted on the chronological place of the second primipilate, after the praefectura legionis II Traianae in the inscription (since it follows a descending order),<sup>43</sup> or maybe immediately after the name.<sup>44</sup>

We could read lines 3 and 4, changing the centurionates to tribunates, as follows (see Fig. 2 and 3):

[Germ(anico), praef(ectus)] kast(rorum) leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae) [F(ortis), p(rimus)p(ilus) iter(um),] |

[trib(unus) coh(ortis) -- p]raet(oriae), XII urb(anae), [ -- vigil(um)]

Or, if both primipilates are inserted in the beginning:

[Germ(anico), praef(ectus)] kast(rorum) leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae) [F(ortis), trib(unus)] |

[coh(ortis) -- p]raet(oriae), XII urb(anae), [ -- vigil(um)]

<sup>38</sup> E.Ritterling, RE 15, 1925, 1498.

<sup>39</sup> Carrières, 535.

<sup>40</sup> XIV 3626 = ILS 2742.

Cf. A.von Domaszewski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres, Köln 1962<sup>2</sup>, 121 & 141: the rank of the praefectus legionis in Egypt is equal to that of the later praefecti of the three legiones Parthicae (cf. also W.Ensslin, RE 44, 1954, 1324-1325).

According to O.Hirschfeld (Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian, Berlin 1905, 437438), the explicit mention of the rank may indicate a personal promotion. J.Lesquier (op.cit., 125) follows this view.

<sup>41</sup> C.Letta, Athenaeum 65, 1978, 9, note 26. A procurator of two praetorian provinces, governed by praetorian legati Augusti pro praetore, bears the rank of ducenarius. The combination of Gallia Lugdunensis and Aquitania is acceptable (A.von Domaszewski, op.cit., 147-149).

<sup>42</sup> C.Letta, loc.cit.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. IX 5748 = ILS 2687; AE 1955, 225; V 6513.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. XIV 3626 = ILS 2742 (e.g.).

The final line reveals little information: only the letters "TOD" remain (in CIL, following Domaszewski, changed to "TOR," but there is no certainty about exact text, because the stone is lost and the only available version is provided by a manuscript). However, it is important to note that a lot of the primuspilus careers start with the primipilate. This half line cannot have contained the Rome centurionates, as well as one or more preceding functions, like the career of L. Cominius Maximus.<sup>45</sup> Such an extended cursus is only acceptable if we assume that he became praefectus legionis II Traianae just after the first primipilate, but we have already rejected this proposition by Dobson.<sup>46</sup>

Pflaum suggests "[evoc(atus) a commentar(iis) cus]tod(iarum)" as the only possibility for this level of the career, but his starting point is the same as Dobson's: a centenarian prefecture outside Egypt.<sup>47</sup> It does not seem possible to use the original letters "TOD", and restore a function immediately preceding the Roman tribunates. But if we accept Domaszewski's alteration, it would be possible to insert the solution proposed by the previous inscription (see Fig. 2):

[trib(unus)] /  
 [cohort(is) -- p]raet(oriae), XII urb(anae), [equit(um) ?] /  
 [sing(ularium) ? Augus]to<r(um)>, d(onum) d(edit) l(ibens) [m(erito)]

By doing this, we obtain a coherent career from the primipilate on. The career also allows us to accept that the praefectura legionis II Traianae Fortis exercised by this primuspilus did not differ in any way from the other known prefectures of this legion in the second century.

## CONCLUSIONS

Both inscriptions are the subject of more or less hypothetical restorations, but it is significant that we are able to restore in both the same functions, leading to the posts of primuspilus iterum and praefectus legionis II Traianae.

In the first inscription, possibly referring to M. Gavius Maximus, Dobson already restored the function of tribunus equitum singularium. But because he assumed only a small strip to the left of the fragment XIV 4471, this post would have been immediately followed by the tribunate of a praetorian cohort, as attested in Turbo's career. However, since some of the stages of the career of Hadrian's praefectus praetorio are clearly exceptional, we have to ask ourselves if this can be considered as a representative career. Therefore, I do not

---

<sup>45</sup> XIV 3626 = ILS 2742: "p.p. bis, procuratori M.Antonini Aug., praef. leg. II Troianae (sic) Fortis CC, trib. chor. VII praetoriae, XIII urbanae, III vigul., centurio chortis I pr., urb., V vig., evocato Augustorum, beneficiar. praef. praetorio."

<sup>46</sup> A.von Domaszewski (CTh, ad tit.) adds another function; he changes "d.d.l.[m.]" on the last line into "b.f.pr.[pr.]" i.e. beneficiarius praefecti praetorio.

<sup>47</sup> Carrières, 533.

exclude the possibility of two tribunates in Rome changing places, considering the pace at which he obtained the necessary qualifications for further promotion.

The other prefect of the legion II Traiana Fortis fulfilled exactly the same function as the previous primipilaris. But we know with certainty that he was a tribune of an urban cohort (cohors XII) and a praetorian cohort. We can use the remaining letters to restore the tribunate of the equites singulares as first of the tribunates. Contrary to Maximus' career, there is only one available location, chronologically before the cohors XII urbana. Since the inscription states explicitly that the tribunate of the urban cohort preceded that of the praetorian cohort, it would be obvious to insert the same function in the same place in the other inscription. If we accept the tribunate of the equites singulares was exercised as an equivalent of a tribunate of a cohors vigilum, this would be a logical solution, although there is at the moment no epigraphical or other evidence to prove it.

The fact that the three inscriptions belong to different periods adds to the uncertainty. While Turbo's tribunate of the equites singulares can be dated in Trajan's reign, the other tribunes held the function later: M. Gavius Maximus under Hadrian and the man named in VI 31871 under Marcus and Verus. We cannot be certain that the place of the function in the cursus remained unchanged throughout this period. Nor can we exclude the possibility that the completion of the damaged inscriptions (as presented in this paper) is right, while Turbo held the office at another period, but also in conformity with the contemporary rules.

Although the career of Q. Marcius Turbo is the only one completely transmitted, the mentioning of the post of tribunus equitum may be an exception:

	1st tribunate	2nd tribunate	3rd tribunate
TURBO	trib. coh. VII vigil.	trib. equ. sin[g.] Aug.	trib. pr[ae]t.
AE 1971 65	[trib. eq. sin]g. divi Hadria[ni]	trib. [coh. — urb.]	[trib. coh.] III praet.
CIL VI 31871	(trib.) [equit. sing. Augus]to<r.>	(trib. coh.) XII urb.	[trib. cohort. — p]raet.

But until an inscription is discovered, mentioning the career of a tribunus equitum singularium in an acceptable and representative context, this remains a hypothetical construction.