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DIRECT PROMOTIONS FROM PROCONSUL TO CONSUL UNDER THE PRINCIPATE

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1. Introduction

That the way to the consulship was normally paved with offices 'in the emperor's service' is an almost universally accepted view, based upon the results of numerous, not to say: innumerable, prosopographical studies. Among the clearly less prestigious posts, on the whole, were those held by the praetorian governors of *publicae provinciae* or *provinciae populi Romani* with the title of proconsul.¹ Some thirty years ago, H.-G.Pflaum compiled a list of praetorian proconsuls who advanced directly to the consulship - the enumeration was to be frequently cited by prosopographers in the years to follow. The varying frequency with which such proconsulships subsequently were followed with a consulship was taken by Pflaum as an indication for the existence of a ranking-system amongst these public provinces, a view which has been criticized and rejected afterwards.²

Against the background of the immense prosopographical progress since Pflaum's publication, it will hardly be surprising that the list in question needs several modifications and adjustments. Not only have some further, partially new, cases of this type of promotion been discovered (or at least proposed), but also new interpretations of known careers have been presented. Most important, however, is the fact that much more refined criteria can and must be applied to discern a senator as directly proceeding from proconsulship to consulship. These criteria can be indicated in a few words. First and foremost, those cases come into consideration, in which a complete *cursus*-inscription is at hand, one that permits us to establish this promotion with a fair degree of certainty. Besides these, only cases where proconsulship and consulship can be dated exactly, leaving no room for any intermediary office, can be included. Simple as they may seem, the application of these criteria brings about many modifications and corrections.

In the present paper, Pflaum's list is first to be scrutinized and adjusted; then the cases brought forward by other scholars, including new findings, will undergo the same procedure.³ These analyses will result in a new list, which will permit us to reconsider the

¹ See F.Millar, *Ancient World* 20,1989,93ff. against the common modern description of these provinces as 'senatorial provinces' or 'provinces of the Senate'.

² BJ 163,1963,226f. = La Gaule et l'Empire romain. *Scripta Varia* II, Paris 1981,87f. (list *ibid.* 225 = 86) and *Isr.Expl.Journ.* 19,1969,226 = *Scripta Varia* II 201. For criticism and rejection, see n.113.

³ For surveys of praetorian proconsulships under the Principate see W.Eck, *Zephyrus* 23/24,1972/1973,233ff., with lists on p.236ff.; to this should be added E.Groag, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, Wien 1939; D.Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ*, Princeton 1950, Vol.II 1599f., for Lycia Pamphylia; G.Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*. Senatorische Reichsbeamte und Offiziere in den spanischen Provinzen des römischen Reiches von Augustus bis Diokletian, Wiesbaden 1969,149ff.; 261ff., for Baetica; H.-G.Pflaum, *Les Fastes de la*

problem of the ranking of the praetorian proconsulships. Finally, some observations will be made about the status of praetorian proconsulships within the senatorial career.

2. Some preliminary considerations

Initially, however, some critical remarks are apposite to remind us of the fickleness of our source material, even in those cases, in which a cursus inscription is extant. Some examples may illustrate this. Of C. Iulius Asper, eponymous consul of the year 212, no less than 4 inscriptions (CIL XIV 2505-2508) record his career in an apparently descending order, suggesting his *cura* of the *via Appia* preceding his *praetura*. Only one inscription (CIL XIV 2509) places his curatorship between his position as *praetor peregrinus* and his consulship, i.e. in the praetorian rank which was to be expected for it. A sixth document (CIL XIV 2510) can be adduced to confirm the latter arrangement: the stone gives his career up to his praetorship, and the *cura viae Appiae* is lacking. A more complex illustration, of a rather disturbing kind, is offered by the cursus inscriptions of L. Ovinus Rusticus Cornelianus, *consul designatus* in some year between 170 and 250. In a text to his memory from Tarraco (CIL II 4126 = RIT 144) the magistracies are grouped together - *co(n)s(ul) desig(natus), praet(or), inter tribunicios adlectus* -, followed by the offices - *curat(or) viae Flamin(iae), leg(atus) leg(ionis) Mys(iae) (sic) inferior(is), curat(or) viae Tiburtin(ae), cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae) Riciniens(ium)* -, which in a diminishing order could be taken to fit in neatly between *praetura* and consulship. Another inscription (AE 1935,21, Minturnae), however, presents his career as follows (in descending order): *co(n)s(ul) design(atus) - curat(or) viae Flamin(iae) - leg(atus) leg(ionis) prim(ae) Italic(ae) - praet(or) - curat(or) viae Val(eriae) - allect(us) inter tribunic(ios) - quaest(or)*. From this, one should at least take into consideration that the lower curatorship of the *via Valeria* (i.e. *Tiburtina* in the Tarraco-inscription, which was a continuation of the *via Valeria*) was held before his praetorship, unless one assumes this magistracy to have been recorded in an erroneous place.⁴

Province de Narbonnaise, Paris 1978; A.Aichinger, Die Reichsbeamten der römischen [Provinz] Macedonia der Prinzipatsepoche, *Arh.Vestnik* 30,1979,603ff.; T.B.Mitford, Roman Cyprus, ANRW II 7,2 (Berlin-New York 1980,1299ff. See also the *fasti* of these provinces in studies comprising different periods of the Principate: e.g. W.Eck, Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian. Prosopographische Untersuchungen mit Einschluss der Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der Statthalter. *Vestigia* 13, München 1970; revised edition of his *fasti* in *Chiron* 12,1982,281ff.; *Chiron* 13,1983,147ff.; G.Alföldy, Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht, Bonn 1977,260ff.; P.M.M.Leunissen, Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180-235 n.Chr.). Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Elite im römischen Kaiserreich, Amsterdam 1989,293ff.; and, of course, the relevant parts of B.E.Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum*, Vol. I, Arlöv 1984 (= LP, hereafter). The province of Sardinia has been left out here, as it was only for a relatively short time a proconsular province, see esp. Eck, *Historia* 20,1971,510ff.

⁴ As to the ranking of *curae viae* see Leunissen, *Konsuln* 20. Another example of a *cura viae* before the praetorship might be Q. Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus (CIL VIII 22721 = ILS 8978, cf. ILTun 33), although here too one must have strong doubts about the order of the offices, as according to the text his post as *iuridicus* of Calabria, Lucania, Apulia and Bruttium also should have fallen before his praetorship. Compare

These are, of course, only a few illustrations, and many more might easily be added. Several cases, directly connected with the subject studied here, will follow.

3. Pflaum's list revised

a) 'Drop-outs'

No better start perhaps, than the very career which prompted Pflaum to produce his list, and which, in his opinion, could be added to it.⁵ The senator in question is the seemingly anonymous [---]us [---]lus on a fragmentary inscription from Capua (CIL X 3872); the characters FA indicate the *tribus Falerna* of Capua, which undoubtedly was the man's hometown. According to Pflaum, the text could be reconstructed in the following way (preserved part in bold capitals):

O L F FAI
LO Cos
procos proV **MACEDONIAE**
leg Aug leg VIII **AVG ET TRACTUS**
Sumel leg AuG **LEG I ITALICAE**
praefecto **FRVM DAND ex s.c.**

G. Alföldy, however, deemed it equally possible that this senator might be identical with L. Varius Ambibulus from Capua, *consul designatus* in the year 132, whose career showed very many similarities to that of [---]us [---]lus. The improved reading of the cursus inscription of this Varius Ambibulus (AE 1911,111,⁶ Cuicul), as proposed by Alföldy, runs as follows:

Q. Planio Sardo [.f. Fal. L. Vario] / Ambibulo, cos., tr[ib. mil. leg. ---] / p[ro]p[ri]e fidelis, Xvir. [stilitib. iudic.], / quaestori, trib. p[l., pr., praef. frum.]⁵ / dandi ex s.c., proc[os. provinc. Mace]/doniae, leg. leg. I I[talic. in Moesia] / inferiore, leg. leg. [III Aug. pr. pr., cos. des.] / patrono [col.] / d.d.[p.p.]

It has to be noted that Pflaum too (l.c. 231f.) did consider an identification of the Capuan Ignotus with L. Varius Ambibulus; but he rejected the possibility, because Varius' *cursus* did not correspond with the - reconstructed - career of the quasi-anonymous. This was not

to this the heavily damaged inscription CIL VIII 11028 = ILTun 12, which at least seems to permit the assumption that his offices are mentioned in another order). See: Thomasson, *SPQR*, Göteborg 1975,76f.; Eck, RE Suppl. 14 (1974), 663 and esp. id., Chiron 4,1974,535f.; also Q. Pomponius Munat[ianus?] Clodianus, below. It should be noted, that the curatorship of Ricina in the inscription of Tarraco forms a problem on its own. See F.Jacques, Les curateurs des cités dans l'Occident romain de Trajan à Gallien. Études prosopographiques, Paris 1983,82ff. no.30.

⁵ BJ 163,1963,224ff. = *Scripta varia* II 85ff.

⁶ Epigr. Studien 3,1967,40 n.214. Alföldy unintentionally mentions no.142, which is actually the page in Cagnat's publication of the text in "Inscriptions diverses d'Algérie", see also ILS 9486.

so much an example of circular reasoning as it might seem at first glance. Pflaum's view can be understood, if one recalls that he could only find two common posts in both careers, viz. the *praefectura frumenti dandi* and the proconsulship of Macedonia (AE 1911,111 read *leg. leg. III*[---], whereas *leg. leg. I I*[*italic*] was ascertained by later autopsy of H.-G.Kolbe).⁷

The decisive point is, of course, that whereas Pflaum suggested a legionary command of [V]III *Augusta*, L. Varius Ambibulus happened to be legate of III *Augusta*, being virtually governor of Numidia, a post leading frequently straight to the consulship. Ambibulus is also known from other inscriptions, where he is recorded as proconsul of Macedonia in 124 and as legate of the *legio III Augusta* in 132;⁸ the order of his praetorian career can be no other than *praef. frum. dandi - procos. Macedoniae - leg. leg. I Italicae - leg. Aug. pr. pr. leg. III Augustae*. Alföldy's alternative restoration of CIL X 3872 would read:

**L. VariO L F FAI
AmbibuLO Cos
procos proV MACEDONiae
leg Aug leg III AVG ET TRActus
Numid leg AuG LEG I ITALicae
praefecto fRVM DAND ex s.c.**

If one accepts this reading as well as the identification of both men, which in my opinion hardly can be doubted, the consequence must be that the Macedonian proconsulship in CIL X 3872 has not been recorded at its proper place. At any rate, and that is what matters most in this context, the above discussion weakens Pflaum's reconstruction of the career of [---]us [---]lus to such an extent that he cannot longer be maintained as a certain case for direct advancement from proconsulship to consulship.

Several other senators in Pflaum's list, whose careers are partially or completely preserved, have to be discarded as equally uncertain or even plainly inapplicable cases. Before revealing them, and anticipating all further analysis, a presentation of Pflaum's series might be convenient (dates of consulships adjusted, if necessary):

<i>Name</i>	<i>Proconsulship</i>	<i>Consulship</i>
1. <i>C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus</i>	<i>Macedonia</i>	<i>before 87</i>
2. <i>Senecio Memmius Afer</i>	<i>Sicilia</i>	<i>99</i>
3. <i>L. Iulius Marinus Caecilius Simplex</i>	<i>Achaia</i>	<i>101</i>
4. <i>C. Oppius Sabinus Iulius Nepos</i>	<i>Baetica</i>	<i>?shortly</i>
<i>M.' Vibius Sollemnis Severus</i>		<i>after 130</i>
5. <i>P. Coelius Festus</i>	<i>Pontus et Bithynia</i>	<i>148</i>

⁷ See Alföldy l.c.

⁸ Macedonia in 124: CIL III 7371 = AE 1939,4; *leg. Aug. pr. pr. leg. III Aug.* in 132: (e.g.) AE 1950,59; for further references see Alföldy l.c.

6.	<i>Sex. Quintilius Condius</i>	<i>Achaia</i>	<i>ord. 151</i>
7.	<i>C. Iavolenus Calvinus Geminius Kapito</i> <i>Cornelius Pollio Squilla Q. Vulkacius</i> <i>Scupidius Verus</i>	<i>Baetica</i>	<i>ca. 140/3</i>
8.	<i>Q. Cornelius Senecio Annianus</i>	<i>Pontus et Bithynia</i>	<i>?138/161</i>
9.	<i>P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus</i>	<i>Macedonia</i>	<i>?ca.164/5</i>
10.	<i>L. Albinus Saturninus</i>	<i>Achaia</i>	<i>175/182</i>
11.	<i>C. Sabucius Maior Caecilianus</i>	<i>Achaia</i>	<i>186</i>
12.	<i>L. Septimius Severus</i>	<i>Sicilia</i>	<i>190</i>
13.	<i>[M. Umbrius] Primus</i>	<i>Lycia Pamphylia</i>	<i>ca.?186</i>
14.	<i>L. Ranius Optatus signo Acontius</i>	<i>Narbonensis</i>	<i>193/217</i>
15.	<i>M. Antius Crescens Calpurnianus</i>	<i>Macedonia</i>	<i>180/after204</i>
16.	<i>C. Porcius Priscus Longinus</i>	<i>Lycia Pamphylia</i>	<i>before 224</i>
17.	<i>P. Aelius Coeranus</i>	<i>Macedonia</i>	<i>ca.225</i>
18.	<i>C. Aemilius Berenicianus Maximus</i>	<i>Narbonensis</i>	<i>218/235</i>
19.	<i>Q. vel Cl. Valerius Rufrius Iustus</i>	<i>Macedonia</i>	<i>220/230</i>
20.	<i>Ti. Pollienus Armenius Peregrinus</i>	<i>Lycia Pamphylia</i>	<i>ord.244</i>
21.	<i>Ignotus CIL X 3761</i>	<i>Cyprus</i>	<i>161/211</i>
22.	<i>C. Bultius Geminius Titianus</i>	<i>Sicilia</i>	<i>193/250</i>
23.	<i>C. Mevius Donatus Iunianus</i>	<i>Sicilia</i>	<i>200/250</i>

The first problematical case is Senecio Memmius Afer. An inscription from Tivoli (CIL XIV 3597 = ILS 1042) commemorates consecutively his consulship, his proconsulship of Sicily and his governorship of Aquitania:

Senecioni / Memmio Gal(eria tribu) / Afro, co(n)s(uli), proc(onsuli) / Sicil(iae), leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) ⁵/ provinc(iae) Aquitan(iae), / L. Memmius Tuscillus / Senecio, / patri optumo (sic).

No further stations of his career are indicated. Here, one can only agree with W.Eck's (former) opinion that the order of the offices cannot be absolutely certain.⁹

L. Coelius Festus, suff. 148, has to be deleted for an entirely different reason. According to Alföldy's interpretation of his career-inscription from Veleia (CIL XI 1183 = ILS 1079) the consulship, as usual, has been mentioned apart from the order of the career.

L(ucio) C(óelio) F(esto), / co(n)s(uli), praetóri, proco(n)s(uli) / provinciae Ponti et Bithyn(iae), / praef(ecto) aerári Saturni, ⁵/ lég(ato) [i]mp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) / Astu[ri]ae et

⁹ ANRW II 1,1974,201 n.209; cf., however, his remark in Chiron 13,1983,189 n.490: "Denn in der Ehreninschrift für Memmius Afer (D. 1042) sind ganz offensichtlich die Ämter in absteigender Reihenfolge aufgeführt". See also PIR² M 457 with references to the governorships: "fortasse autem ordine inverso inter annos 94 et 97/98".

Calláeciae, / praef(ecto) fr[u]menti dandi ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), / adlect[o i]nter tribunicios, / res publica Velleiát(ensis) ¹⁰/ patrono.

The same would apply to the praetorship, probably because this was Festus' first senatorial magistracy. The offices following were taken as being obviously rendered in descending order. Alföldy stated that there are no conclusive arguments to show that the proconsulship was not the highest praetorian office of Festus, all the more so because between the *praefectura aerarii* and the consulship some four years seem to have passed.¹⁰ It has to be observed, however, that this prefecture has no exact date. Another possibility as to the interpretation of the stone, suggested to me by W.Eck, is worth mentioning, viz. that consulship, praetorship and proconsulship as **Republican** offices might have been taken together at the beginning of the inscription. In that case the order of the praetorian offices is no longer certain and Festus might have come to the consulship from another post, for example from the prefecture of the *aerarium Saturni*.

Next comes P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus, suff. ca. ?164/165.

[P. I]ulio P(ublili) fil(io) Quir(ina tribu) / [Ge]minio Marciano, / [co(n)s(uli)], sodali Titio, proco(n)s(uli) provin/[cia]e Macedoniae, leg(ato) Aug(ustorum duorum) pro pr(aetore) ⁵/ [pro]vinciae Arabiae, leg(ato) Aug(ustorum duorum) su[l]per vexillationes in Cappal[do]cia, leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) X Geminae, / [leg(ato)] pro pr(aetore) provinc(iae) Africae, / [pr]aetori, trib(uno) pleb(is), quaestori, ¹⁰/ [tri]buno laticlavio leg(ionis) X / [Fr]etensis et leg(ionis) III Scyl[th]icae, III viro kapitali, / [op]timo constantissimo, / [. D]urmius Felix, primi¹⁰ / [pi]llaris leg(ionis) III Cyreneicae, / [st]rator in Arabia maioris / [te]mporis legationis eius, / [h]on(oris) causa, d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Although his career-inscription from Cirta (CIL VIII 7050 = ILS 1102 = ILAlg II 634) might suggest a direct promotion from his proconsulship of Macedonia to the consulship, we know case of inscriptions, mentioning him as *consul designatus* during his governorship of Arabia (162-?165).¹¹ It has therefore been assumed that he must have held the proconsulship irregularly **after** his consulship, i.e. about 170, and that this was done because of the prevailing distress in recruiting personel for the government in times of war and plague.¹² Of course, this could be possible, yet it should be noted that this would be the only known case of an appointment of a consular to a post of fundamentally praetorian rank, and as - again - Eck suggested to me, perhaps one could also think of a clustering of consulship, priesthood and proconsulship (as offices of Republican times) at the beginning of the inscription. One

¹⁰ *Fasti Hispanienses* 85; for this interpretation of the career see also Alföldy, *Konsulat* 351ff. with n.2 (Pontus-Bithynia: p.266; career: p.342). As to the order of the career he also refers to Groag, *PIR*² C 1243. See also M.Corbier, *L'aerarium Saturni et l'aerarium militare. Administration et prosopographie sénatoriale*, Paris-Roma 1974, 213ff. no.44 and - as to Baetica - Thomasson, *LP* 248,35: "*Paullo ante a. 148*".

¹¹ CIL III 96 and IGRR III 1370; the numerous inscriptions of the years 162 and 163 (see *PIR*² I 340) do not yet mention him as consul designate. See Alföldy, *Konsulat* 182 and n.181 with further literature and 243 with n.197.

¹² See Alföldy, *Konsulat* 265 n.322; career on p.337.

might wonder why Pflaum included Marcianus in his list at all, since he accepted an order of proconsulship and consulship which was exactly the reverse of the advancements which he intended to collect.

The *cursus*-inscription of M. Antius Crescens Calpurnianus (CIL VI 1336 = ILS 1151), known as *XVvir sacris faciundis* in the year 204 (CIL VI 3236,50), presents another problem.

M · AN ·
 C R E S C E N T ·
 CALPVRNIANO · *cos*
 PROCOS · PROV · *Maced*
 5 X̄V̄VIRo. s. F · IVRID · BRIT
 VICE · LEG · LEG · PR · PR
 PROV · I *cur. R. p*
 MARSorum *marrucinor*
 PR *aet.* ·
 CIL VI 1336

True, the damaged stone obviously carried his full career, and it was most probably recorded in descending order. But the consulship is restored, and, as A.R. Birley recently noticed, [*c.v.*] would be equally possible, pointing conveniently to ILS 1150, another *XVvir*. Indeed, his referring to this inscription (= CIL V 4341), set up in honour of M. Nonius Arrius Paulinus Aper, is very much to the point, as it displays in an equally thorough way the man's career, without mentioning a consulship. This magistracy is not known for Aper from other sources; neither is it for Crescens. There may be some truth in Birley's observation that, "if Antius Crescens was indeed *iuridicus* [i.e. *Britanniae vice legati*] in the 180s, he no doubt did achieve the consulship eventually, whether or not it was recorded on ILS 1151". But even then, we still cannot say with certainty that the consulship came directly after the proconsulship of Macedonia, which can be regarded as his last known praetorian post.¹³

The last person in Pflaum's list, C. Mevius Donatus Iunianus, is also the last case with a problematic career-inscription. CIL XIV 2107 seems to record his consulship first, then his

¹³ A.R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain*, Oxford 1981, 138 n.9; ib. 137 the end of line 3 in the inscription is rightly rendered as [*cos.?*]. In his description of Crescens' career Birley accepts the consulship without any reservation (see esp. 138), as I did too, see *Konsuln* 61. 72. 147. 233. 302 (Macedonia "wahrscheinlich sein letztes Amt vor seinem Suffektkonsulat"); in the survey of his career on p.391 [*suff.*] is given wrongly without a question mark. Cf. also Jacques, *Curateurs* 79 where *co(n)s(uli)* is rendered, as if the indication is preserved on the stone.

offices from his proconsulship of Sicily down to his *quaestura* in reverse order, and finally a *cura civitatum* and a legateship of Cilicia.¹⁴

C(aio) Mevio C(aii) f(ilio) Donato / Iuniano, consuli / proconsuli Siciliae provinciae, pr(aetori),⁵ / aedili , q[uaes]tori Si[ciliae] provinciae, / cura[tor]i c[i]v[i]tatium / univers[aru]m provinciae [Sici?][i]ae, leg(ato) Aug(usti)¹⁰ / pr(o) [praet]or(e) Cilic(iae), / [---] fel / [---] erga fil. / [---].

The two last posts "*extra ordinem collocata in inscriptione incerti loci sunt*", according to H.Dessau in the first edition of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (I 410). In succession Fluss (1932), P.Lambrechts (1937) and G.Barbieri (1952) took these offices as being of consular rank, and the proconsulship as the last post before the consulship.¹⁵ This interpretation seems to have been followed by Pflaum. Only very shortly before Pflaum's article was published, however, Barbieri somewhat loosened his view, referring to the possibility of the curatorship being held with praetorian rank, and admitting that the case for a consular governorship of Cilicia must remain dubious. Normally, this province without a legion was held by an imperial legate of praetorian rank, who then proceeded directly to the consulship. If Cilicia was a consular province, it lasted only for a very short period, viz. from Caracalla till Severus Alexander, or exclusively under this last emperor; however, the few cases which seem to point to a consular status of the province, might just as well be taken as governors who were designated consul (or better: *consul in absentia* - Leunissen) during their term of office.¹⁶ Eck, in his survey of proconsuls (1972/73), ordered the extant offices as praetorian posts: *proconsul - curator civit. - leg. Aug. pr. pr. - cos. suff.*; the same order has been retained in PIR² (M 575), published in 1983. The most recent interpretation of Mevius Donatus' career has been presented by F.Jacques (1983), and it is worth mentioning. According to Jacques, the inscription seems to give first the magistracies and the 'senate's' office, i.e. the proconsulship of Sicily, then the posts entrusted to him by the emperor, the curatorship of the cities of an entire province, the government of Cilicia, and perhaps the legateship of a legion with the honorary title *fel[ix]*. The curatorship, still after Jacques, might have been consular in rank, if the offices granted by the emperor were enumerated in an inverse order, analogous to the magistracies and the proconsulship.¹⁷ According to this interpretation, the career after the praetorship might be rendered as: *proconsul - leg. legionis (?) - leg. Aug. pr. pr. - cos. suff. - curator civit.* Of course, this order of Donatus' *cursus* depends heavily upon the question, whether he was a legionary

¹⁴ The remains in line 11 might be restored to a command of a legion, surnamed *fel[ix]*, as has recently been suggested by Jacques, *Curateurs* 214 (see below).

¹⁵ Fluss, RE 15 (1932), 1509 no.6; P.Lambrechts, *La composition du sénat romain de Septime Sévère à Dioclétien*, Budapest 1937, 54 no.631 a; G.Barbieri, *L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino (193-285)*, Roma 1952, 2059.

¹⁶ Barbieri, *Kokalos* 7, 1961, 45ff. = *Scritti minori*, Roma 1988, 385ff.; id. *Kokalos* 14/15, 1968/69, 188. As to the status of Cilicia, see also Leunissen, *Konsuln* 235; cf. 189.

¹⁷ *Curateurs* 213ff.

legate or not, and only new evidence can be of any help here. As far as the present issue is concerned, the discussion above may at least have made clear that Mevius Donatus should be removed as a certain case from Pflaum's list.

Several more men, without extant *cursus*-inscriptions, have to be removed, three of them for identical reasons: Q./Cl.(?) Valerius Rufrius Iustus, suff. 220/230 (IG X 2,1,143. 144), Ti. Pollienus Armenius Peregrinus, ord. 244 (IGRR III 556 = ILS 8840 = TAM II 572)¹⁸ and C. Bultius Geminius Titianus, suff. 193/250 (CIL X 7233 = ILS 6770 a). The inscriptions concerned record beside their proconsulships also their consulships, which, however, renders no certainty whatsoever as to a direct ascent from office to magistracy. Such a stone may have been set up in honour of the former proconsul upon his reaching the consulship; in between these stations one or more offices might have been held. For purposes of comparison one may turn (e.g.) to the case of Sex. Furnius Iulianus. In an inscription from Emerita, which otherwise mentions his praetorian legateship in Lusitania only, he is styled *co(n)s(ul)*, although it is almost certain that he occupied his consulship not until his next governorship in Arabia (213-214) *in absentia*.¹⁹ Alföldy explained: "Dass er in der Inschrift aus Emerita consul genannt wurde, ist damit zu erklären, dass ihm die Inschrift nach seiner lusitanischen Legatio, wohl zum Zeitpunkt seines Konsulates gewidmet wurde: als ehemaliger Legat der Provinz Lusitania blieb er auch weiterhin patronus der Provinzialhauptstadt Emerita".²⁰

A fourth senator, Sex. Quintilius Condianus, ord. 151, falls away because he (just as his brother and colleague in the eponymous consulship) was in Achaia not before 170/175 approximately, and most probably as a *corrector* of the province, not as a proconsul.²¹

b) Those who can stay

Having displayed the 'drop-outs' from Pflaum's list, let us now turn to the cases which may be retained, examining them against the criteria mentioned at the beginning of this paper. It may be noticed in advance that the remaining instances encompass without an exception full careers. Of course, the cases already considered should remind us of the potential difficulties in any interpretation of a senatorial *cursus* - difficulties that become the more urgent if only one *cursus*-inscription has been transmitted, leaving us without any means to check the correctness of our view. We can only be aware of the problem, admitting

¹⁸ The assumption of a direct promotion from proconsulship to consulship has recently been maintained by K.Dietz, *Senatus contra principem*. Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Opposition gegen Kaiser Maximinus Thrax (235-238 n.Chr.), München 1980,200ff.

¹⁹ Lusitania: AE 1952,116; Arabia: CIL III 14149^{16, 17, 46, 51}, etc. See A.Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*, Roma 1952,60; Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 147f.; and Leunissen, *Konsuln* 174. 268. 289f. with further references.

²⁰ *Fasti Hispanienses* 148.

²¹ See Alföldy, *Konsulat* 131. 260f. and esp.n.293, and most recently Thomasson, *Opusc.Rom.* 15,1985,133ff.

- with a slightly hypercritical overstatement - that we can only conclude the things which the accidentally preserved stone leads us to believe.

Following Pflaum's order, C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus, suff. before 87, is the first case.

[C(aio) Salv]io C(aii) f(ilio) Vel(ina tribu) Liberali / [Nonio] Basso, co(n)s(uli), proco(n)s(uli) provin/[ciae Ma]cedoniae, legato Augustorum / [iuridi]c(o) Britann(iae), legato leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae),^{5/} [fratri Ar]vali allecto ab divo Vespasiano / [et divo Ti]to inter tribunicios ab isdem / [promoto] inter praetorios ...

His *cursus* (CIL IX 5533 = ILS 1011; only the relevant part is reproduced) is given in descending order - the fact that his tribunician rank is recorded anterior to his praetorian status may, with A.R.Birley, be seen as a divergence to that order.²² As has been clearly explained by Eck, Salvius' proconsulship must be placed between his presence amongst the Arval Brethern in Rome on 1 October 81 (CIL VI 2060) and later on 3 January 86 (CIL VI 2064). Therefore, his term in Macedonia can belong, at the earliest, to the year 82/83, and at the latest to the year 84/85. Since he must have been consul before 87 (from that year until 92 all consuls are known), or rather before 86 (all consuls known except one), Eck prefers to date the consulship in 85. Then, he should have been proconsul either in 82/83 or in 83/84, especially if one assumes that the regulation that no senator should hold any office during the year in which he returned home after a proconsulship, applied to Salvius Liberalis too.²³ If one adds Birley's observation that also in the year 85 there appears to be only one vacancy in the consular *fasti*, and if the reasoning so far is carried on, Salvius' consulship could be assigned to 84 and his proconsulship to 82/83.²⁴

Next L. Iulius Marinus Caecilius Simplex, suff. ?101,²⁵ whose ascending *cursus*-inscription has been preserved (CIL IX 4965 = ILS 1026):

L(ucio) Iulio L(ucii) f(ilio) Fab(ia tribu) Marin[o] / Caecilio Simplici, IIII viro viarum curandarum, tr(ibunus) mil(itum) / leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae, q(uaestori) pro pr(aetore) provinciae Macedoniae, aedili pleb(is),^{5/} praetori, leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) provinciae Cypri, / leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) provinciae Ponti et / Bithyniae proconsulatu patris sui, / curatori viae Tiburtinae, fratri Arvali, / leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis), leg(ato)

²² *Fasti* 211.

²³ See Eck, *Senatoren* 133 and n.97; *Chiron* 12,1982,307f. and n.112; *Chiron* 13,1983,199 n.557 (where he favours 83/84). As to the officeless year after a proconsulship see: *Pauli Sententiarum Fragm. Leidense* § 5, cited by Eck, *ANRW* II 1,1974,202; *Senatoren* 148 n.152 and *Chiron* 12 l.c., here also referring to *Dio* 60,25,4

²⁴ *Fasti* 213 n.14, on the year 85 referring to S.Modugno, S.Pancieria and F.Zevi, *Riv.stor.ant.* 3,1973,87ff., esp.108 n.20. One may notice that the last dates of proconsulship and consulship would coincide perfectly with Birley's third chronology of Salvius' career (*Fasti* 212f.).

²⁵ Consulship (in the month of October): CIL VI 1492 = ILS 6106 (the imperial titulature in his *cursus*-inscription leaves only a minor theoretical possibility for 102, see hereafter). For a full discussion of chronology and for further references see Eck, *Chiron* 12,1982,327 n.181.

Imp(eratoris) Nervae Traiani ¹⁰ / *Aug(usti) Germ(anici) provincia (sic) Lyciae et / Pamphyliae, proco(n)s(uli) provinciae Achaiae, / co(n)s(uli).*

The date of his proconsulship - as has been argued convincingly by Eck - can most probably be put in the year 99/100, seeing that the preceding legateship of Lycia et Pamphylia was held already under Trajan (though, of course, he might have been sent there by Nerva or even by Domitian), and that 100/101 can be discarded, since in the spring of 101 Iulius Marinus has been attested in the *collegium* of the *fratres Arvales* in Rome (CIL VI 2074). The year 101/102, which might also be considered, has likewise to be rejected, if one takes into account that in the year after the proconsulship no office was to be accepted, including a consulship. This would imply that Marinus would not have become a consul until 103, for which year, however, all consuls seem to be known. Furthermore, it has to be observed that in Marinus' *cursus*-inscription Trajan is called *Germanicus*, but not yet *Dacicus*, which title was granted to him in 102.

Likewise to be maintained is C. Oppius Sabinus, of whom an ascending *cursus*-inscription from Auximum (CIL IX 5833 = ILS 1059) has been preserved:

C(aio) Oppiό C(aii) f(ilio) Vel(ina) tribu / Sabinό Iuliό Nepoti / M(anio) Vibiό Sollemni Sevéro, / co(n)s(uli), ⁵ / *adlectό a sacratissimό imp(eratore) / Hadriano Aug(usto) / inter tribunicios, pr(aetori) peregr(ino) / candidato Aug(usti), / leg(ato) prov(inciae) Baeticae, cur(atori) viár(um)* ¹⁰ / *Clodiae Anniae Cassiae / Ciminiae trium Traianarum / et Amerinae, leg(ato) legion(is) XI / Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis), leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) / provinc(iae) Lusitaniae,* ¹⁵ / *procons(uli) prov(inciae) Baeticae, / patróno col(oniae), / Leonas lib(ertus) / adcensus patroni / et in dedic(ationem) statuae* ²⁰ / *colonis cenam dedit.*

His consulship can be placed either shortly after 130, as Alföldy suggested, or some years later, around 140, as has been proposed by Pflaum, the date of the proconsulship, of course, varying according to this.²⁶

Following on Sabinus another proconsul of Baetica, C. Iavolenus Calvinus, must be mentioned. His career is recorded, in descending order this time, in an inscription from ager Tusculanus (CIL XIV 2499 = ILS 1060):

C(aio) Iavoleno Calvino / Geminio Kapitoni / Cornelio Pollioni / Squillae Q(uinto) Vulkaco ⁵ / *Scuppidio Vero, co(n)s(uli) / proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Baetic(ae), leg(ato) Aug(usti) / pro pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Lusitan(iae), leg(ato) leg(ionis) III / Gallic(ae), pr(aetori) cand(idato) Divi Hadriani, / trib(uno) pl(ebis) cand(idato), q(uaestori) prov(inciae) Afric(ae), trib(uno)* ¹⁰ / *mil(itum) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae), Xvir(o) stlitib(us) iud(icandis).*

Calvinus' proconsulship and consulship were dated under Hadrian by Degrassi, whereas Alföldy preferred to place these posts in the first years of Antoninus Pius' reign; Eck

²⁶ Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 141; Pflaum, in: *Cahiers Alsaciens d'Archéologie, d'Art et d'Histoire* 14, 1970, 85ff. = *Scripta Varia* II, Paris 1981, 328ff. See also Eck, *ANRW* II 1, 1974, 201 n.209; id., *Chiron* 13, 1983, 190 with n.500 and Thomasson, *LP* 23, 21.

indicated that the only criterium for dating is formed by his praetorship, which he received as *candidatus Hadriani*.²⁷

Next, a proconsul of Pontus et Bithynia: Q. Cornelius Senecio Annianus, suff. perhaps under Antoninus Pius, governing the province around 160 at the latest,²⁸ with a career-inscription in reverse order (CIL II 1929, from Carteia):

Q(uito) Cornelio [. f(ilio)] Gal(eria tribu) Senecioni / Anniano, co(n)s(uli) proco(n)s(uli) / Ponti et Bit[h]yniae, / curatori viae Appiae, ⁵/ legato legionis VII / geminae feli[c]is, curatori / viae Latinae, pr[a]etori, tribun[o] / plebis, qu[a]estori urbano, / sacerdoti Herculis.

Further, L. Albinus Saturninus, must be mentioned; he was *consul suffectus* approximately between 175 and 182, and immediately before proconsul of Achaia. It is worth noticing, in reading his descending *cursus*-inscription (CIL X 4750, from Suessa Aurunca), that the status of Pontus et Bithynia had changed into a consular imperial province, around 160.²⁹

L(ucio) Albinio A(uli) f(ilio) Quir(ina tribu) Saturnino, / co(n)s(uli), proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Asiae, / leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) Ponti et Bith(yniae) prov(inciae) (sic), / proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Achaiae, praef(ecto) aer(arii) Sat(urni) ⁵/ leg(ato) Aug(usti) Asturicae et Callaec(iae), / pr(aetori) urb(ano), aed(ili) pl(ebis), sod(ali) Antoninian(o), / q(uaestori) urb(ano), p(atrono) c(oloniae), curatori col(oniae), / decr(eto) dec(urionum).

Another proconsul of Achaia, and *consul suffectus* directly thereafter, was C. Sabucius Maior Caecilianus, respectively in 184/185 and 186.³⁰ In his descending *cursus*-inscription (CIL VI 1509 = ILS 1123, Roma) his priesthood as *sodalis Augustalis Claudialis* is mentioned at the usual prominent place, following the consulship, though not necessarily in its chronologically correct position within the *cursus*:³¹

C(aio) Sabucio C(aii) f(ilio) Quir(ina tribu) Maiori / Caeciliano, co(n)s(uli), / sodali August(ali) Claudial(i), proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) / Acha(iae), leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Belgicae, ⁵/ praef(ecto) aerari(i) mil(itaris), leg(ato) iurid(ico)

²⁷ Degrassi, *Fasti* 126; Alföldy l.c. 142 and id., *Konsulat* 262 (ca. 138/143); Eck l.c. 190f. n.502; 198 n.552; see also Thomasson, LP 23,23.

²⁸ See esp. Alföldy, *Konsulat* 201. 266 (career: 340); Eck, *Chiron* 13,1983,201f. n.570 and Thomasson, LP 248,36.

²⁹ See Alföldy, *Konsulat* 238. 266 and Thomasson, LP 248f. With regard to the change of status of Pontus-Bithynia cf. Chr.Marek, EA 6,1985,144ff. As to this senator see, most recently, Leunissen, *Konsuln* 195f. 222. 261. 296 with further literature. Career: Alföldy l.c. 341.

³⁰ See Leunissen, *Konsuln* 131. 293 with further references (this applies also to the following notes, where this work is referred to); career: *ibid.* 386.

³¹ It cannot be totally excluded that, just like in the case of P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus, consulship, priesthood and proconsulship have been grouped at the beginning of the inscription. However, it should be observed that with regard to Marcianus' career this could be suggested as an 'extra' possibility of interpreting an order, which already seemed to be dubious for another reason. In the present case there are no other indications which might lead to doubts about the given order, and it is hard to see where the proconsulship should have to be fit in otherwise.

prov(inciae) / Britanniae, iurid(ico) per Flamin(iam) et / Umbriam, curat(ori) viae Salar(iae) et / alimentorum, praet(ori) candid(ato), tr(ibunus) pleb(is) [---].

Completely based upon a literary source is the direct ascent from proconsulship to consulship of L. Septimius Severus. The information about the career of the future emperor comes mainly from his *vita* in the *Historia Augusta*, which is generally accepted as trustworthy.³² His proconsular year, then, fell after his term in Gallia Lugdunensis, during which, on 4 April 188, his eldest son Bassianus (Caracalla) was born in Lugdunum (*HA S* 3,8ff.). By the time of Geta's birth, 27 May 189, Septimius had returned to Rome already, where he participated, probably before the middle of the year, in the ballots for a proconsulship: "*Siciliam proconsularem sorte meruit*", as we are told by his biographer (*HA S* 4,2). He was almost certainly one of the twenty-five consuls of the year 190, who had been appointed by Cleander (*HA S* 4,4; cf. Dio 72,12,4). Having been "without employment for about a year after his consulship" (*HA ibid.*), Septimius was made governor of Upper Pannonia on the recommendation of Commodus' newly appointed *praefectus praetorio* Laetus. In this command he was proclaimed emperor by his troops on 9 April 193 (*HA ibid.*; Dio 73,14,3 etc.).³³ Clearly, the schedule for the end of his praetorian career until his first and last consular office is so tight that a direct promotion from proconsul to consul may be accepted with certainty.

On epigraphic record, again, is [---] Primus (CIL IX 973, Compsa), generally identified with the *proconsul Africae* M. Umbrius Primus under Septimius Severus; he was *consul suffectus* probably around the year 186.³⁴

[M(arco) Umbrio] / M(arco) f(ilio) Gal(eria tribu) Primo, X vir(o) stl(itibus) / iud(icandis), trib(unus) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) fellicis Hispan(iae) citerioris, ⁵/ q(uaestori) urban(o), aedili curul(i), / praetori, curat(ori) viae / Aureliae, proco(n)s(uli) Ly/ciae Pamph[y]liae, co(n)s(uli), / Poly[t]imus ¹⁰/ lib(ertus).

More copious notes need to be made in the case of L. Ranius Optatus [N]ovat[us] (signo) Acontius, suff. probably between the end of the second century and 215/216 at the latest. Two *cursus*-inscriptions have been preserved:

1. CIL VI 1507, Roma

[N]ov - Acontio - at / L(ucio) Ranio Optato, c(larissimo) v(iro), co(n)s(uli), / curator(i) rei p(ublicae) Mediolanensium, curat(ori) / rei p(ublicae) Nolanorum, proco(n)s(uli) provinciae ⁵/ Narbonens[is], legato Aug(usti) et iuridico / Astyriae et Cal(l)aeciae, curator(i) viae /

³² See T.D.Barnes, *Historia* 16,1967,87ff.; id., *The Sources of the Historia Augusta*, Coll.Latomus 155, Bruxelles 1978,39 and 42; A.R.Birley, *BHAC* 1968/69 (1970), 59ff.; id., *The African Emperor: Septimius Severus*, London 1988,38ff. (with further references).

³³ See Leunissen, *Konsuln* 288 (Gallia Lugdunensis); 305 (Sicilia); 132 (consulship); 258, cf.59 (Pannonia superior) and 386 (career).

³⁴ See Leunissen, *Konsuln* 141 (consulship); 300f. (Lycia-Pamphylia); 215f. (Africa); 393 (career - see also *ibid.* 71).

Salariae, cur[at]ori rei p(ublicae) Urvinatium / Mataure(n)sium, legato provinciae / Asiae, praeto[r]i, tribuno plebi[s], ¹⁰/ quaestori [provi]nciae Sici[liae] - / --].

2. CIL XII 3170, Nemausus

L(ucio) R(ano) Optato co(n)s(uli), proco(n)[s(uli) pro]vinc(iae) Narb(onensis), c(larissimo) v(iro), leg(ato) Aug(usti) iuridico Astur[iae] et Cal]l(a)eciae, curator[is] viae Salariae, curat[or]i rei p(ublicae)] / Urbinatis Mataurensis, leg(ato) dioeceseos [---] ⁵/ praetori, trib(uno) pleb(is), q(uaestori) provinc(iae) Siciliae, X[vir(o) stl(itibus) iud(icandis)] / praesidi integerrimo Nemausenses p[ublice?].

Here we have the rather odd situation that a senator, who had been included by Pflaum in his list, should have to be discarded because of the later interpretation of the man's career by the same scholar. In his monograph on the province of Narbonensis, Pflaum argued that Optatus after his proconsulship served as *curator* of Nola and Mediolanum, before holding the consulship. Both *cursus*-inscriptions are in descending order, but Pflaum, in the second instance, seems to overlook that CIL XII 3170 mentions Optatus' full career including the consulship, though without the curatorships. Therefore, it has to be assumed that this stone is somewhat older than CIL VI 1507 and that the curatorships concerned were performed in consular rank (unless one should accept the unlikely supposition that in the first inscription these offices would have been simply left out).³⁵

A clearly more unambiguous case of a proconsul of Narbonensis, proceeding directly to a consulship, can be added, viz. C. Aemilius Berenicianus Maximus, *consul suffectus* under Elagabalus or Severus Alexander (CIL XII 3163 = ILS 1168, Nemausus):³⁶

C(aio) Aemilio Bere[ni]ciáno Maxim[o], / co(n)s(uli), VII viró epulón(um), próc[o(n)s(uli)] / splendidissimáe provinciá[e] / Nárbonénsis, lég(ato) pró pr(aetore) próvin[c(iae)] ⁵/ Asiáe, práetori suprémár(um), allecto / inter tribúnic(ios) a divó Magn(o) Antólnino, q(uaestori) urbáno, tribún(o) láticlavíó / leg(ionis) III Scythicáe item VII Gemináe / iteráto tribunátu, X viró stlitibus ¹⁰/ iu[d]icandis, / [---].

³⁵ See Leunissen, *Konsuln* 171 (consulship); 304 (Narbonensis); 388 (career - see also *ibid.* 333 n.155). As to a consular status of Nola and Mediolanum see also PIR R 17; Nagl, *RE* I (1914), 228f. no.1 (with reference to CIL XII 3170: "Als er die Provinz [= Narbonensis] verliess, wie Hirschfeld annimmt, um das Consulat zu übernehmen, setzte die Stadt Nemausus ihrem *praeses integerrimus* die oben erwähnte Inschrift"); Barbieri, *Albo* 2088; R.Duthoy, *Anc.Soc.* 10,1979,182 and 194 and esp. Jacques, *Curateurs* 96 n.1 and 97 (cf. also *ibid.* 41 with n.8). Apart from Pflaum, *Narbonnaise* 38 the curatorships are indicated as praetorian also by Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 248 and by Eck, *Zephyrus* l.c. 238f. In Pflaum's survey of ensuing careers of proconsuls of Narbonensis, the offices in Nola and Mediolanum are neither mentioned before nor after the consulship, and Optatus is explicitly mentioned as having become consul without holding any other post after the proconsulship (l.c. 56). Another inconsistency with Pflaum might be referred to here: whereas he (l.c. 37) thinks Ranius not to have cumulated a legionary command with his post of iuridicus in Spain, his final argument for dating the career under Septimius Severus and Caracalla is based on the fact "parce que c'est justement au cours de cette période que nous observons cette suite des postes de *iuridicus* d'Asturie et Galice et de légat de la légion VII Gemina." (l.c. 38).

³⁶ See Leunissen, *Konsuln* 180f. (consulship); 304 (Narbonensis); 393 (career - see also *ibid.* 72).

Equally unquestionable appears to be the *cursus*-inscription of P. Aelius Coeranus (minor), proconsul of Macedonia, immediately before his suffect consulship around 225 (CIL XIV 3586 = ILS 1158 = Inscr.It. IV 1,99, Tibur):³⁷

P(ublio) Aelio Coerano, / co(n)s(uli), proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Mac(edoniae), / leg(ato) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), iuridico / per Flaminiam et Umbri⁵lam, praet(ori) urb(ano), trib(uno) plebei / kand(idato), quaest(ori), IIIvir(o) iur(e) dic(undo), / fr(atri) Arvali, curat(ori) civit(atum) / Antiatium et Aquinatium, / patrono et flamini Diali T/ib(ure), ¹⁰/ decuriones Tiburtes.

Nor is there reason for doubt as regards to C. Porcius Priscus Longinus and his career-inscription (CIL XIV 3611 = Inscr.It. I 1,128, Tibur): obviously, the proconsulship of Lycia et Pamphylia was the only office between *praetura* and consulship, (*suffectus* presumably before 224):³⁸

C(aio) Porcio C(aii) f(ilio) Quir(ina tribu) Prisco / Longino, c(larissimo) v(iro), X vir(o) stlitib(us) / iud(icandis), allecto inter quaes/torios, ab actis sen(atus), aedili ⁵/ curuli, allecto inter / praetorios, proconsuli / Lyciae Pamphyliae, co(n)s(uli), / fratri Arvali ...

Preserved only by a fragmentary inscription, though not less certain is the case of the anonymous senator of CIL X 3761 (from Suessula), *consul suffectus* between 161 and 211.

[co(n)s(uli),] proco[(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) / Afri?]c(ae), leg(ato) Aug[ustorum duorum or trium?] pr(o) pr(aetore) --- / ---]r(ioris?), curat(ori) alvei [Tiberis / proc]o(n)s(uli) Cypri, leg(ato) Au[g(usti)] or Au[g(ustorum duorum or trium?) pr(o) pr(aetore) ---, ⁵/ leg(ato)] leg(ionis) X Gemin[ae, curat(ori) viae / Tibu]rtinae, prae[t(ori), trib(uno) pleb(is) / c]urioni, qu[aest(ori) ---].

Although the indication of his consulship has been restored, it is beyond dispute that the senator obtained the *fasces*: in descending order the fragment records first his offices in consular rank, ending with the *cura alvei Tiberis*, which as a rule was held shortly after the consulship. Then comes the proconsulship of Cyprus, clearly as the highest praetorian post.³⁹

4. Other cases to be discarded

The *ignotus* of CIL X 3761 concludes the cases listed by Pflaum in 1963. Since then, more have been found, which rightly or wrongly, were taken to be specimens of the same type of promotion. To follow the plan set out above, we will first examine the unlikely and possible, yet uncertain cases, then the likely cases, so that, finally, we will be able to present a new list.

³⁷ See Leunissen, *Konsuln* 182f. (consulship); 303 (Macedonia); 389 (career).

³⁸ See Leunissen, *Konsuln* 193 (consulship); 301 (Lycia et Pamphylia); 393 (career - see also *ibid.* 72).

³⁹ As to the position of the *cura alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis*, as was the full title of this post, see Leunissen, *Konsuln* 17 n.75 with further references; with regard to this *ignotus* see *ibid.* 211 with n.356.

It is again Pflaum himself, who provides us with the first case: T. Mussidius Pollianus, proconsul of Narbonensis, *consul suffectus* probably after 38.⁴⁰ As Pflaum observed: "Le texte de cette inscription est rédigé dans un ordre assez confus puisque les différentes fonctions de rang prétorienne ne sont pas placées entre la préture et le consulat, mais un peu n'importe où." This is correct, as the inscription shows (CIL VI 1466 = ILS 913, Roma):

T(ito) Mussidio Polliano, / co(n)s(uli), pr(aetori), proco(n)s(uli) provinc(iae) / Gall(iae) Narbon(ensis), tr(ibunus) pl(ebis), q(uaestori), / X vir(o) stl(itibus) iudic(andis), cur(ator) viarum, / praef(ecto) frumenti dandi ex s(enatus) c(onsulto).

Seeing this, it comes as something of a surprise that Pflaum states with certainty that the proconsulship must have been the last of the three praetorian functions, only because of the obligatory five years' intervall between such a governorship and the *praetura*.⁴¹ True, we only know of one case, in which the *praefectura frumenti dandi* gave access to the consulship; and the senator concerned undoubtedly belonged to quite a different time.⁴² But as to the *cura viarum* one has to be more cautious: as long as we cannot specify this office, we should at least consider the possibility that here one of the higher *curae viarum* was occupied, which came at the end of the praetorian career.⁴³

A tempting case, which nonetheless has to be turned down, because no absolute certainty about a direct ascent from proconsulship to consulship can be obtained, is that of T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus. The (first) suffect consulship of this senator belongs to the year 62 (he was II suff. 74). Through Tacitus (*ann.* 13.33) he was already known as governor of the imperial province of Lycia-Pamphylia, being sued unsuccessfully for *repetundae* by the Lycians in 57; that he had been proconsul of Cyprus could be deduced from an honorary inscription, set up in his native city Capua by the *provincia Cypros*, after his triple term as *proconsul Asiae* and after his second consulship (CIL X 3853 = ILS 992):

T(ito) Clodio M(arci) f(ilio) Fal(erna tribu) / Eprio Marcello, / co(n)s(uli) II, auguri, / curioni maximo, / sodali Augustali, / pr(aetori) per(egrino), pro co(n)s(uli) / Asiae III, / provincia Cypros.

Through an inscription of Paphos (AE 1956,186 = SEG 18,587) we have come to know more of Marcellus' career up to his proconsulship of Cyprus:

[Ἀπόλλ]ωνι [Ἰλάτηι](?)·
[Τίτω Κλωδίω Ἐπρίω] Μαρκέλλω, [ταμίᾳ, δημάρχῳ],
[στρατηγῶ, πρεσβ]εϋτῆ λεγιῶνος τε[σσαρακαίδεκάτης]

⁴⁰ Pflaum, Narbonnaise 6f. See now AE 1982,192 and esp. Eck, ZPE 42,1981,252ff.

⁴¹ See Dio 53,14,2 and hereafter.

⁴² See the career of L. Marius Vegetinus Marcianus Minicianus Myrtilianus, suff. 180/250, towards the end of this paper. Recently on this senator: Leunissen, ZPE 68,1987,263ff.; see also id., *Konsuln* 54. 71.

⁴³ Pflaum, Narbonnaise 6f. indicates, that both the *praefectura frumenti dandi* and the *cura viarum* could be the first as well as the second praetorian office (cf. BJ 163,1963,234).

- 5 [Γεμίνης(?) Γα]ίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, π[ρεσβευτῆ ἀντι]-
 [στρατ]ήγῳ Λυκίας Τ(ι)βερίου Κλαυδ[ίου Καίσαρος Γερ]-
 [μανι]κοῦ καὶ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Κα[ίσαρος Γερ]-
 [μανι]κοῦ, ἀνθυπάτῳ Κύπρου, Ἄριστοκ - - -
 [Ἄρισ]τοκ(λ)έους τιμῆς χάριν.

This text shows that his governorship of Lycia-Pamphylia, in which he is ascertained for the year 54, preceded his proconsulship of Cyprus. According to T.B.Mitford, the publisher of the Paphos-inscription, the proconsulship might be assigned to the year 58/59, his consulship to 60 or 61.⁴⁴ B.Kreiler too had no doubts about the way Marcellus reached the *fascēs*: "Nach dem Prokonsulat in Zypern (58/59) erreichte er Ende 62 das Suffektkonsulat".⁴⁵ What can we be sure of? His term in Cyprus must belong to a year between ca. 58 and 61, since he was consul in December 62. In this schedule, admittedly, little time is left for Marcellus to undertake still another office before the consulship; however, the absence of an indication of this highest magistracy in the Paphos-inscription should make us cautious, and it forbids us to classify this senator as a certain case of promotion from proconsul to consul.

A most cautious suggestion of a consulship directly following upon a proconsulship, with regard to the anonymous senator of Syll.³ 821 C, has been made by Eck.⁴⁶ The inscription is a letter of Domitian to Delphi, and it can be dated to the year 90 because of the imperial titulature mentioned in it; this places the proconsular year of our unknown senator either in 89/90 or 90/91.⁴⁷ Some remains of his name in l. 4 have been rendered by the first publisher B.Haussoulier,⁴⁸ and by Dittenberger in the third edition of the *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum* respectively as follows:

Ἰ Ε Ξ Ν Α Ν Θ Υ Π Α Τ Ω and ε. 10-13 ι -]Ι Ε Ξ - ε. 5 ι - Ν ἀνθυπάτῳ

"Mit aller Vorsicht", Eck suggested the possibility of an identification of this man with L. Venuleius Montanus Apronianus, who was *consul suffectus* in January 92, and who had not

⁴⁴ In: Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus 1940-1948 (1954), 1ff., esp.6; as to the date of the consulship, he argued that the consuls of 58 and 59 are known, and that in the time of Nero an interval of nine or ten years between consulship and proconsulship of Asia (which he held during three consecutive years from 70/71 onwards) was normal.

⁴⁵ Die Statthalter Kleinasiens unter den Flaviern, München 1975, 21. As to the consulship in December 62: tab.Hercul. 73; see R.Hanslik, RE Suppl. 12 (1970), 363.

⁴⁶ Chiron 12, 1982, 316f. n.145.

⁴⁷ Since the 9th year of Domitian's tribunician *potestas* ran from 14 September 89 Groag, Achaia 43 thought that the proconsulship might rather belong to 89/90 than to 90/91; Eck, Chiron l.c. ranged this senator under the year 89/90 with reservation, noting that because of the titulature of the emperor 90/91 is possible too. See also Thomasson, LP 192, 17: "A. 90 (89/90 *potius quam* 90/91)."

⁴⁸ BCH 6, 1882, 451 no.82.

been present at the sessions of the Arval Brethren probably from June 90 until November 91.⁴⁹ Eck subsequently remarks that in Flavian-Trajanic times the consulship frequently followed immediately upon the governorship of Achaia (with examples, among which the ones following hereafter). Of course, as Eck indicated clearly, this must be taken as a hypothetical case. In addition, one should beware of the fact that even if the identification should be correct, the possible date of the man's proconsulship in 89/90 would still leave room for doubts as to a direct promotion from this post to the consulship.

T. Avidius Quietus, suff. 93, and L. Herennius Saturninus, suff. 100, are mentioned by Eck in his revised "Jahreslisten" of the period 69-138 as being two of the Flavian-Trajanic instances of Achaian proconsuls, who subsequently became consuls. In his earlier study of the 'Beförderungskriterien' in the same period, however, a direct promotion from proconsulship to consulship was deemed "möglich, aber nicht gerade wahrscheinlich."⁵⁰ For neither of these men, however, do we have a full career. As to Avidius Quietus, Eck rightly assumes that the latest date for the proconsulship must have been 91/92.⁵¹ He further argues that this also fits well with the mention in the relevant inscription of one Kyllos, son of Eubiotos, who was epimeletes in Delphi, and who most probably held this position from 91 till 95;⁵² consequently the year 91/92 could be rather certain, if not at the earliest 90/91. One must conclude, with all strictness, that a straight step from proconsul to consul seems to be as good as certain here, yet the chance of some office in between cannot be excluded altogether. A similar conclusion might apply to Herennius Saturninus, whose proconsulship, because of the indication of the second *tribunicia potestas* of Trajan in the inscription concerned, could belong either to the year 97/98 or 98/99.⁵³ With the first option, there is some time between proconsulship and consulship, though it is little. In this instance, it must be admitted, there is more plausibility for the dates for consulship and proconsulship to be nearer to one another than in the foregoing case.

Alföldy assumed that five proconsuls of Baetica could be added to Pflaum's list; and the relatively high number of governors of Baetica proceeding subsequently to the consulship was taken as an indication of the high rank of this province among the praetorian proconsulships.⁵⁴ Four of these cases, however, have to be discarded.⁵⁵ The first senator is

⁴⁹ Eck, l.c. referring to M. McCrum-A.G.Woodhead, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors Including the Years of the Revolution*, Cambridge 1961, nos.16 and 17.

⁵⁰ Eck, *Chiron* 12,1982,317 n.145 and ANRW II 1,1974,201f.; see also the list on p.203.

⁵¹ Cf. n.23 above.

⁵² Syll.³ 822; see Eck, *Chiron* 12,1982,319 n.150, referring to Groag, *Achaia* 44.

⁵³ Fouilles de Delphes III: 4,287 and 288; see Eck, *Chiron* 12,1982,331 n.202, according to P.Anello, in: Studi E.Manni, Roma 1976,15ff., who established 10 December 97 as the beginning of Trajan's *tribunicia potestas II*.

⁵⁴ Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 270 and n.13: see the list on p.273.

⁵⁵ The one case that can be maintained: A. Caecina Tacitus (see below).

Macer, generally identified with Q. Baebius Macer, *consul suffectus* in 103.⁵⁶ He is the only one of the four for whom no *cursus*-inscription has been preserved. Macer is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of one Instan{t}ius Rufus the beginning of whose proconsulship is celebrated in a poem by Martial (12,98,7). The publication of these verses can exactly be dated to December 101; this, indeed, would place Rufus' proconsular year in 101/102 and that of Macer in 100/101. However, there can be no absolute certainty that the proconsulship was Macer's last praetorian office.⁵⁷

The second proconsul of Baetica to be considered is M. Ulpius Traianus, suff. ?70, the father of the later emperor. Two praetorian offices are known. One of them was the command of the *legio X Fretensis*, until recently preserved only through Flavius Iosephus [BJ 3,289 (cf. 3, 458. 485) and 4,450], attesting him under Vespasian in the East in the years 67 and 68. His other praetorian post was the proconsulship of Hispania Baetica, known from a fragmentary *cursus*-inscription in which the offices are recorded in an inconsistent order, giving no clues as to the chronology of his career (ILS 8970, Miletos):⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Alföldy, l.c. 164 with further references; cf. also more recently Eck, Chiron 12,1982,335, considering (and rightly rejecting) an identification of this proconsul with the consul of the year 100 [---]cius Macer.

⁵⁷ It should be noted that the identification with Q. Baebius Macer is not completely certain, cf. - more cautiously - Eck, Senatoren 157 n.193 and id., Chiron l.c. Thomasson LP 22,16 by mistake gives the proconsul's name in full, i.e. *praenomen* and *gentilicium* without brackets and question mark.

⁵⁸ Here, the first emendation of this fragmentary inscription is rendered, which was followed by Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 157. The inconsistent order of the inscription was noticed by Alföldy l.c. 158. Several other attempts to restore this inscription have been undertaken, but they are of no direct concern in this context. See for a recent survey Thomasson, *Opusc.Rom.* 15,1985,137; the most important propositions, given hereafter for the sake of completeness, are mainly taken from his account. After Dessau (in: *Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899, I:5*), Syme assumed that also [*pro pr. Cappadociae or Galatiae*] *et provinciae Syriae* could be restored, instead of [*pro praet. provinciae Syriae*] (Tacitus I, Oxford 1958,31 n.1; JRS 48,1958,7; also mentioned by Alföldy l.c. 158 n.53). The option of Cappadocia was followed by G.Bowersock, JRS 63,1973,134f., who proposed furthermore the restoration *lega[tum] divi Vespas[iani et divi Titi C]aesa[r]is divi Vespasia[ni] f. Vespa[siani bello Iudaico legatum divi Vespasiani Cappadociae] et provinciae Syriae*. A complete new arrangement of the inscription has been given by Kreiler, *Statthalter* 34ff., departing from the observation, that *lega[tum]* in all previous restorations cannot be maintained, since the writing LEG.A has been preserved in the fragment concerned. Kreiler proposed the following reconstruction: [*Imp. T. C]aesa[r] d]ivi Vespa[sia]ni f. Vespa[sianus Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. IX imp. XV p.p. cos. VIII censor nymphaeum extruxit per M. Ulp]ium Traianum cos. leg. A[ug. pro pr. provinciae ---] et provinciae Syriae etc. Following Kreiler's reading *leg. A[ug]*., Thomasson l.c. 138 adds another variant, in which the legionary command is included, though in a less spacious way than in Bowersock's emendation: *leg. A[ug. leg. X Fret. or Fretens.] et provinciae Syriae* (ibid. n.128 accounting for the lack of *pr(o) pr(aetore)* in this option). By courtesy of Alföldy, his revision of the Miletos-inscription after autopsy can be rendered here, including some accompanying remarks (letter of 8.10.1990): "Der Textaufbau mit 5 Segmenten, von denen das mittlere länger ist, ist sicher. Eine zweite Zeile gab es nur in diesem längeren mittleren Segment, offenbar mit Hinweis auf die Errichtung des Nymphäums." (the segments have been numbered): (1) [*Aus]pic[iis Imp. T. C]aesa[r]is D]ivi Vespa[sia]ni f. Vespa[siani Aug., (2) pontif. max., tribunic. potest. IX, imp. XV, cos. VII des. VIII, censoris, (3) per M. Ulp]ium Traianum, cos., leg. A[ug. leg. X Fretensis bello Iudaico(?)], (4) et provinciae Syriae, procos. Asiae et Hispaniae Baeticae, XVvir (5) [s.f., soda]lem Flaviallem (sic), triumphalibus ornamentis ex s.c. [ornatum] / (under segment 3 only) [--- vi aqua]amplius in eo [---nymphaeum extractum]. Alföldy notified me, that now he is inclined too to range Traianus proconsulship before his legionary command.**

[--- *M(arcum) Ulp]ium Traianum, co(n)sulem, lega[tum imp(eratoris) Titi C]aesa[ris D]ivi Vespas[ia]ni filii Vespas[iani Aug(usti) pro pra]et(ore) provinciae Syriae, proco(n)s(ulem) Asiae et Hispaniae B[a]eticae, XV vi[rum s(acris) f(aciundis), sodal]em F[l]avialem, triumphalibus ornamen[tis] ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) [honoratum ---].*

Alföldy argued that the known proconsuls of Baetica, who were legionary legates, held their army command before their proconsulship. The only exception was P. Cornelius Anullinus, suff. ?174, though under very special circumstances.⁵⁹ Therefore, Alföldy preferred to locate Traianus' proconsulship between his command of the *legio X Fretensis* and his suffect consulship, that is in 68/69 or 69/70. Against this, Eck maintained the possibility that the proconsulship could still be placed before the legionary command, referring to L. Annius Bassus, who equally seems to have been *legatus legionis* in the Jewish War after having held the proconsulship of Cyprus in 66. Eck referred to Syme's opinion that the elder Trajan might have accompanied Vespasian, the new emperor, to Egypt.⁶⁰ Both cases might have to be explained by military demands. Very recently, B.Thomasson has reconsidered the career of Traianus on the basis of new evidence, which indeed seems to support Eck's hypothesis. A milestone recently discovered in Iudaea (JRS 66,1976,15ff. = AE 1977,829) shows him as a commander of *X Fretensis* still in the second half of 69, i.e. after Vespasian had been proclaimed emperor on 1 July.⁶¹ If the almost universally accepted year of Trajan's consulship (?70) is maintained, there is not enough time left to range his proconsulship between army command and consulship, and we will have to assume that his time in Baetica still fell before his post of legionary legate, in 65/66 at the latest. Thomasson does not fail to recall that a slightly later date for the consulship (in 71 or 72) has been put forward by some scholars.⁶² Against this he observes that then the intervall with Traianus' proconsulship of Asia in 79/80 would appear to be extremely short; Thomasson, therefore, prefers the sequence *proconsul Baeticae - legatus legionis - cos.* At any rate, one must conclude that there is no certainty about a direct sequence *proconsul - consul* in the case of Traianus *pater*.

The third proconsul of Baetica to be called in question is Galeo Tettienus Severus M. Eppuleius Proculus L. f. Claud. Ti. Caepio Hispo, suff. probably in 101 or 102. Two *cursus*-inscriptions have to be looked at here:

⁵⁹ Most recently on the career of Anullinus: Alföldy, *Fundber. B.-W.* 12,1987,303ff. (= AE 1987,502 and 784) and 14,1989,289ff.; cf. Dietz, *Chiron* 19,1989,407ff. esp. 419f.

⁶⁰ Eck, *ANRW II* 1,1974,203 n.230; Syme, *JRS* 48,1958,6f. The suggestions of these two scholars are also followed by Kreiler l.c. 32f.; his argument to reject Alföldy's date of the proconsulship, viz. "das Konsulat folgte jedoch sonst nicht direkt auf das prätorische Prokonsulat", from a methodological point of view can be taken as of no value whatsoever.

⁶¹ The inscription reads: *Imp. / Caesar [Ve]spas[ianus Aug. M. [Ul]pio Tr[ai]an[o] leg. / leg. X Fret. / XXXIV.* Ibid., n.124, Thomasson suggests: "Wahrscheinlich ist Trajanus schon vom Anfang des jüdischen Aufruhrs an mit Vespasianus nach Iudaea gezogen."

⁶² Referred to l.c. 138 and n.126.

CIL V 5813, Mediolanum

[Galeoni / Tettieno / Se]yε̄ρo (?), / pr(aetori), trib(uno) pleb(is), / quaestori urb(ano), / [p]raef(ecto) aerari militar(is), / proco(n)s(uli) provinc(iae) Asiae / et provinciae Hispaniae / Baeticae, Xvir(o) stlit(ibus) iud(icandis), / trib(uno) milit(um) leg(ionis) VII Claud(iae) / piae fidelis, / Patavini.

CIL XI 14 (cf. p.1227) = ILS 1027, Ravenna

[Galeoni / Tettieno / Severo (?)] / M(arco) Eppuleio / Proculo L(ucii) f(ilio) / Claud(ia) tribu / Ti(berio) Caepioni / Hisponi, co(n)s(uli), pont(ifici), / proco(n)s(uli) provinc(iae) Asiae / et Hispaniae Baeticae, / praef(ecto) aerari militar(is), / [---].

Alföldy suggested that, whereas in the inscription of Mediolanum the offices of this senator were recorded in a completely inconsistent way, in the inscription of Ravenna his *cursus*, to all appearances, was preserved in a regular descending order. Consequently he would have been *praefectus aerari militaris*, then proconsul of Baetica and next consul.⁶³ Eck, however, pleaded that the order should rather be *proconsul Baeticae*, *praefectus aerari militaris*, *consul*, because in this period there is no case in which (with two praetorian offices at hand) a praetorian proconsulship came after the *praefectura* of the military treasury, whereas examples do exist for the reverse order.⁶⁴ He further argued that one might doubt, whether the career in CIL V 5813 is complete altogether. Two posts between *praetura* and consulship normally would be held by marked *virii militares* (Plinius being a special case); in fact one would rather expect a legionary command still. The last argument put forward by Eck seems to be decisive in my opinion. The proconsulship of Baetica presumably is mentioned before the *praefectura aerari*, because it has been arranged together with the governorship of Asia, as for example was the case in the *cursus*-inscription of Cornutus Tertullus too, where, counter to the chronological order, it records: *proconsuli provinci[ae Africae]*, *proconsuli provinciae Narbo[nensis]* (ILS 1024). A closer example can be added, viz. *proco(n)s(ulem) Asiae et Hispaniae B[a]eticae* in the inscription of the elder Traianus above.

Fourth and last in this series of proconsuls of Baetica is [-. Cas?]sius [Agrippa/ Agrippinus?]. The senator is known from a very fragmentary *cursus*-inscription from Nicaea (AE 1950,251 = Inschr. v. Iznik 57), which is rendered here in Alföldy's reading:⁶⁵

[Γάϊον (?) Κάσ]σιον [Ἄγρίππαν (?) Μάρκου (?) Κασσίου]
 [Ἄγρί]ππου (?) υἱὸν [ὑπατον ἀνθύπατον Ἰσπα]-
 [νίας] Βαιτικῆς πρεσ[βευτὴν Αὐτοκράτορος]
 [λεγ]ιῶνος κ' Οὐαλε[ρίας Νικηφόρου στρατηγὸν]
⁵ πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντι[στράτηγον ἐπαρχίας]
 Κρήτης καὶ Κυρή[νης ἀγορανόμον (?) ταμίαν]
 ἐπαρχίας [---- χειλίαρχον]
 λεγιῶν[ος----].

⁶³ *Fasti Hispanienses* 162f. The same sequence had been maintained by Syme, Tacitus II 667.

⁶⁴ Eck, ANRW II 1,1974,195 n.171 referring to ILS 8971; CIL XIV 155 and Zevi, MEFRA 82,1970,298ff.; CIL XI 4647.

⁶⁵ *Fasti Hispanienses* 168; see also id., Epigr.Studien 3,1967,88.

The man of the stone has been identified with one Cassius Agrippa or Agrippinus, who was *consul suffectus* on 15 March of the year 130.⁶⁶ However, this identification has been criticized by Pflaum and Eck, because of the very poor remains of the name.⁶⁷ Without the name, however, any indication for dating the *cursus* falls away. Eck furthermore maintained that the sequence, *praetura - legatus legionis - proconsul - consul*, would be rather unusual in Trajanic-Hadrianic times, an argument which, of course, loses strength, since there seem to be no clues at all to date this senator. In fact, most important in this context is another argument mentioned by Eck, i.e. that the consulship in AE 1950,251 is only based upon a restoration,⁶⁸ consequently any suggestion of a direct move from praetorian proconsulship to consulship in this case must remain purely hypothetical.

Another problematic case is that of C. Calpurnius Flaccus, who is attested by a rather recently discovered inscription from Salamis in Cyprus as proconsul of that island for the year 123.⁶⁹ He can unimpeachably be identified with one Flaccus, from the *tribus Quirina*, whose long known *cursus*-inscription (or rather what was left of it) was also found in the city of Salamis (CIG 2638 = IGRR III 991):

- - - - -

Κυρεΐνα, Φλάκκον - - - - - [πρεσβευτήν
καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον Αὐτοκ[ράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανῶ Ἀδρ-
ιανῶ Σεβαστοῦ ἐπαρχείας Λου[σιτανίας, ἡγεμόνα λεγ. γ̄ Σε-
β]αστῆς, ἐπιμελητὴν ὁδῶν Αὐρηλίας κα[ὶ Τριουμφάλης, στρατηγόν, δῆ-
5 μαρ]χον, ταμίαν Ῥωμαίων, χιλίαρχον [λεγ. - - ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα
δ̄ ἀνδρῶν ὁδῶν ἐπιμελητῆ[ν - - - - ἢ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
Σα]λ[α]μινίων τιμῆς χάριν.

CIG 2638

.... [Καλπούρνιον?] | Κυρεΐνα Φλάκκον [ὑπατον ἰ ... πρεσβευτήν] | καὶ
ἀντιστράτηγον Αὐτοκ[ράτορος Καίσαρος Τραιανῶ Ἀδρ]ιανῶ Σεβαστοῦ ἐπαρ-
5 χείας Λου[σιτανίας, ἡγεμόνα λεγ(εῶνος) . Σε]β]αστῆς, ἐπιμελητὴν ὁδῶν Αὐρη-
λίας κα[ὶ Τριουμφάλης, στρατηγόν, δῆ]μαρ]χον, ταμίαν Ῥωμαίων, χιλίαρχον

⁶⁶ PIR² C 481; cf. Degrassi, *Fasti* 37 as to CIL VI 2083 (cf. 32377).

⁶⁷ Pflaum, *Arch.Esp.Arq.* 39,1966,3ff. = *Scripta Varia* II 373ff.; Eck, *ANRW* II 1,1974,202 n.213; id., *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 86f. and *Chiron* 13,1983,190 n.501. Cf. also A.B.Bosworth, *GRBS* 17,1976,61 with n.26 and Birley, *Fasti* 241f.

⁶⁸ In spite of this a consulship is retained for this senator by Syme, *HSPH* 86,1982,191f.

⁶⁹ BCH 86,1962,404 = SEG 23,609 = Mitford-Nicolaou, *Salamis* no.92. See Eck, *Chiron* 13,1983,157: his proconsulship is dated by Hadrian's seventh *tribunicia potestas* (10 December 122-9 December 123) and seventh year of reign (after Egyptian chronology between 29 August 122 and 28 August 123), so his proconsular year was 122/123 rather than 123/124.

[λεγ(εῶνος)....., ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα] | τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν ὁδῶν ἐπιμελητῆ[ν..... ...ή
βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Σα]λ[α]μινίων τιμῆς χάριν.

IGRR III 991

That this senator's full nomenclature might have been C. Calpurnius Flaccus had already been proposed by Borghesi, who suggested an identification with a *consul suffectus* by that name from the times of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.⁷⁰ The lacuna after Φλάκκων undoubtedly must end with [πρεσβευτήν]; several proposals have been made to fill the rest of it. Borghesi restored ὑπάτον, οἰωνιστήν, whereas Groag would like ὑπάτον, ἀνθύπατον Κύπρου.⁷¹ Alföldy suggested that at the beginning of line 2 one could complete the text by ἀνθύπατον instead of ὑπάτον, and he stated explicitly that Flaccus held his proconsulship at the end of his praetorian career, becoming *consul suffectus* directly afterwards.⁷² It should be noted that Alföldy's reconstruction of this *cursus*-inscription somewhat deviates from the earlier publications:

[Γ. Καλπούρνιον Γ. (?) υἰὸν] Κυρεῖνα Φλάκκων
[ἀνθύπατον πρεσβευτήν] καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον Αὐτοκ[ράτορος]
[Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἐπαρχείας Λου[σιτανίας]
[ἡγεμόνα λεγ. ---- Σεβ]αστῆς ἐπιμελητῆν ὁδῶν Αὐρηλίας κα[ὶ Τριουμ-
φάλης (?)]

⁵ [στρατηγὸν δῆμαρχον ταμίαν Ῥωμαίων χιλιάρχον [λεγ. ----]
[ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα] τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν ὁδῶν ἐπιμελητῆ[ν----].

In the comment *ap.* CIG 2638, it has been observed that almost all of the supplements to the text had been added to the right, since the left part of the stone did not seem to have suffered much damage. In Alföldy's version, in fact, the restorations are concentrated on the left side.⁷³ Actually, it does not seem to matter much, because in either case the restorations are as good as identical, and only through autopsy could one hope to establish which is correct. But what does matter, is that one cannot determine sufficiently the dimension of the lacuna discussed here; i.e., one cannot know whether there was only enough space for ἀνθύπατον (Κύπρου), or whether ὑπάτον might have preceded or if some other function might have followed still. Be this as it may, for the moment one can only conclude that if the proconsul and the consul by the name of C. Calpurnius Flaccus are identical,⁷⁴ he must have become *suffectus* after 123; but it is not possible to determine how long after that year the *fascēs* were obtained.

⁷⁰ See CIG and IGRR l.c.; Groag, PIR² F 171; C 268. As to the consul: CIL VI 10241 = ILS 7912; Groag, l.c.; Degraasi, Fasti 116.

⁷¹ See esp. PIR² C 268.

⁷² *Fasti Hispanienses* 140; cf. Eck, ANRW II 1,1974,201 with n.209.

⁷³ Obviously Groag, PIR² F 171 already thought of a lay-out as given by Alföldy later: "v. 2 *restituerim*" etc. Note also, that in Alföldy's reconstruction the public honouring of Flaccus by the city of Salamis in the last line is lacking.

⁷⁴ For other Calpurnii Flacci see Alföldy l.c.

A case worth considering is that of T. Prifernius Paetus Rosianus Geminus. That he was proconsul of Achaia is given us by the *cursus*-inscription of his son-in-law, P. Pactumeius Clemens, who served under him in that province as *legatus proconsulis* (CIL VIII 7059 = ILS 1067 = ILS II 645):

P(ublio) Pactumeio P(ublilii) f(ilio) / Quir(ina tribu) Clementi, / Xvirum (sic) stlitibus iudicand(is), / quaest(ori), leg(atus) Rosiani Gemini ⁵/ [s]oceri sui proco(n)s(uli) in Achaia, / [t]rib(un)o pleb(is), fetiali, legato divi / Hadriani Athenis Thespiis / Plataeis item in Thessalia, / praetori urbano, legato ¹⁰/ divi Hadriani ad rationes / civitatium Syriae putandas, / legato eiusdem in Cilicia, / consuli, legato in Cilicia / imperator(is) Antonini Aug(usti), leg(ato) Rosiani ¹⁵/ Gemini proco(n)s(uli) in Africa, / iuris consulto, / patrono IIII coloniarum, / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica).

This inscription is of further importance to our knowledge of Geminus' career, for it indicates that Pactumeius, shortly after his governorship of Cilicia, evidently during which he was *consul suffectus* in 138,⁷⁵ once more served as a proconsular legate under his father-in-law, this time in the province of Africa. The proconsular year is usually dated around 140, and Rosianus' consulship, given the normal interval with the proconsulship of about fifteen years, is placed ca. 125. His proconsulship of Achaia must have fallen some time before, ca. 122/123 being the generally accepted date.⁷⁶ In view of Pactumeius' career this date cannot easily be pushed much earlier, since he fulfilled his post in Achaia as *ex-quaestor*, and held only two offices between *praetura* and consulship.⁷⁷ On the other hand, with regard to Geminus' consulship Syme already pointed out that the *fasti* of the years 127 and 128 are full.⁷⁸ And recently, further corroboration of the date of this magistracy has turned up, since Geminus is attested as governor of the consular province of Cappadocia during the 13th tribunician year of Hadrian, i.e. from 10 December 128 until 9 December 129. Eck suggested placing his term in the *fasti* of this province during the three years from 127/128 onwards.⁷⁹ In fact, proconsulship of Achaia ca. 123 and consulship ca. 125 might have come one after the other, though given the present state of the evidence, this can only be suggested.

⁷⁵ Shortly after Cilicia: see Alföldy, *Konsulat* 253; as to his consulship *in absentia*, in 138 (CIL XVI 84): *ibid.* 137 n.1.

⁷⁶ See Groag, *Achaia* 59f. (Prifernius) and 104f. (Pactumeius); Hanslik, *RE* 22 (1954), 1968f. (dating the consulship in 124); Syme, *Historia* 9,1960,371 = *Roman Papers* II, Oxford 1979,486; *id.* *REA* 68,1965,350; *ZPE* 37,1980,13; *HSPH* 86,1982,202; M.Torelli, *MEFRA* 81,1969,612. 622f.; Eck, *Senatoren* 193; *id.*, *Epigr.Studien* 9,1972,18; *id.*, *Chiron* 13,1983,157. 211; Alföldy, *Konsulat* 44. 111. 208; cf. B.E.Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diocletianus*, II, Lund 1960, 70f. and LP 193,29: in the beginning of Hadrian's reign.

⁷⁷ See for a survey of his career Alföldy, *Konsulat* 329.

⁷⁸ Syme, *Historia* 9,1960,371 = *Roman Papers* II 486.

⁷⁹ *AE* 1976,675; see Eck, *RE Suppl.* 15 (1978) 444; *id.*, *Chiron* 13,1983,164.

Very recently Eck has devoted an article to another possible case from Achaia.⁸⁰ An inscription from Attaleia (SEG 17,570 = AE 1972,620) preserves a 'stripped' career of L. Celer M. Calpurnius Longus: the stone records only a military tribunate, a *legatio* with the proconsul of Pontus et Bithynia, then - according to the restored text - a second *legatio* in Achaia, and a consulship. As Eck indicates, the curiosity of this enumeration may partly be explained by the fact that the inscription had been set up by his 'house slaves'. A new imperial letter from Koroneia (SEG 32,466), which refers to τῶι κρατίτῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ Καλπουρνίῳ Λόνγῳ, makes it clear that (as had been supposed by some scholars before) Calpurnius Longus was proconsul in Achaia. There are no reasons to doubt the identity of the proconsul and the polyonymous senator of the inscription from Attaleia. Moreover, a rather clear chronological convergence can be established. From detailed observations, Eck argues that Longus' proconsulship could well have fallen between 125/127 and 135, his consulship a little later, but under Hadrian still. He might have reached the consulship directly after the proconsulship; yet, in view of the poor state of the text this is all but compelling, and another post could easily have followed in between.

Λούκιον [Κέλερα]
 [Μ]ἄρκον Καλ[πούρνιον]
 Λόγγον, χιλία[ρχον πλατύση]-
 μον λεγεῶν[ος πρώτης Ἴτα]-
 5 λικῆς, πρεσβε[υτήν Πόντου]
 καὶ Βιθυνίας, [ἀνθυπάτον]
 [Ἀ]χαιίας, ὑπ[ατον, τὰ οἴκε(?)]-
 τικά παιδία τὰ [ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνα]-
 [τ]ρεφόμενα [τὸν ἑαυτῶν αἰ]-
 10 ώνιον τροφ[έα τε καὶ πά]-
 τρωνα καὶ ε[ὐεργέτην].

SEG 17,570 = AE 1972,620 = W.Eck, ZPE 86,1991,97ff.

Next, two proconsuls of Lycia et Pamphylia have to be considered. The first is M. Gavius Crispus Num[isi]us Iunior, who perhaps was *consul suffectus* somewhere in the second half of the second century.⁸¹ By combining fragments of several inscriptions (CIL VI 1556 (= CIL X 6663) + CIL X 6665 + CIL X 8292) and by giving a new reading of a recently discovered inscription from Ephesos (now IvEph III 682), Eck could propose a partial reconstruction of this senator's career.⁸²

⁸⁰ ZPE 86,1991,97ff. I would like to thank Eck for his permission to consult the manuscript of his article.

⁸¹ See Leunissen, Konsuln 197.

⁸² ZPE 37,1980,32ff.

[M. Gav]io M.f. V[el.] Crispo Numi
 [sio Iu]niori, feti[ali, consuli,]
 pro[cos. pro]vinciae Asi[ae, pro]
 cos. [provinci]ae Lycia[e et Pam-]
 [phyliae, ---- - -]
 [1 line missing ?]
 [ca. 3, le]g. X Gemin[ae, pr]aetori[i]
 [candida]t., trib. plebi ca[ndi]dat,
 [quaestori] candidat., trib. [la]ticl.
 [leg. IIII F]laviae, X viro
 [stl]itibus iudican[dis]
 [--- Pr]iscilla c.f. m[arito]
 [inc]ompara[bili]
 l. d. [d. d.]

ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ
 τοῦ δήμου Μ. Γαουῖου
 Κρίσπου Νουμ[εῖ]ος Ἰουνιόρι
 ἀνθυπάτω [Ἄσι]ας, ὑπάτω,]
 [ἀ]νθυπάτω Λυκίας [Παμφυλίας]
 [- - -]
 [- - -]
 [- - -]
 [- - - , ἡγεμόνι, λεγιῶνος δε-]
 κ[ά]της Γεμίνης, στρατ. δη]
 μίου Ρωμαίων, δη]
 μάργ[χ]ψ, ταμί[α] [κανδι-]
 δάτω, χειλιάρχ[ω] πλατω-]
 σήμψ λεγιῶ[νο]ς τετάρ-]
 τῆς Φλαου[ί]ας, δεκέμου[ι]ρω ?]
 φητι [ἄ]λι - - -]
 [- - - -]

CIL VI 1556 (+ CIL X 6663) +
 CIL X 6665 + CIL X 8292

W.Eck, ZPE 37, 1980, 40
 (= IvEph III 682)

From these one might conclude that the proconsulship of Lycia et Pamphylia was Gavius' last praetorian office before the consulship. This is stated by Eck explicitly, though not without the apt provision, "Falls die Zusammenfügung der Fragmente und die Rekonstruktion zutrifft ..." ⁸³ Besides this, Eck in a letter stressed the fact that we still do not know part of this senator's career.

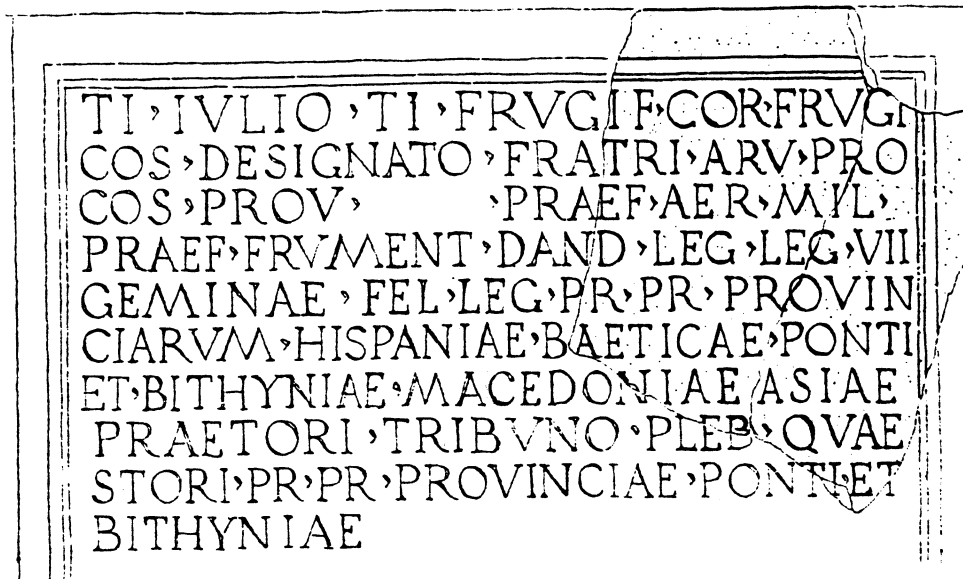
The second proconsul of Lycia et Pamphylia to be mentioned here is Ti. Iulius Frugi, who is attested between 161 and 169 in this province by a new inscription from Arykanda. ⁸⁴ This senator may be identified with the homonymous *consul suffectus* of ca. 178 ⁸⁵ and with one [---] Frugi of the inscription from Rome commemorating his *cursus*, CIL VI 31717. In line 3 of this fragmentary preserved document, Eck, in a publication of 1973, had already suggested the reading *pro/[cos. prov. ---]*, instead of the restoration *pro/[mag(ister)?]*, accepted hitherto. ⁸⁶ Eck proposed the following reconstruction of the stone:

⁸³ L.c. 37.

⁸⁴ S.Şahin, EA 3,1984,39ff. = SEG 34,1309. The inscription was first mentioned by Eck, Chiron 13,1983,210. Thomasson, LP (Vol. I, 1984), 285, 60 mistakenly dated this proconsulship "*sub Commodo vel Septimio Severo (vix postea)*"; see his correction in Vol. III (1990), 40: "*sub Marco et Vero (161-169) positus*".

⁸⁵ CIL XVI 188 and H.Nesselhauf, Gnomon 26,1954,267.

⁸⁶ Eck, Hispania Antiqua III, 1973,299ff. = AE 1973,15 (where by mistake, however, *pro[mag.?*] has been retained, whereas the legatio of Macedonia has fallen away!). As Eck observed correctly, the indication of a promagistership in a *cursus*-inscription is unparalleled, and therefore unacceptable (see further Eck, l.c. 300 n.4). All the same, the identification of this man with one Ti. Iulius Frugi, who had been *promagister* of the



[Ti. Iulio Ti. Frugi] f. Cor. Frugi
 [cos. designato (?), fra]tri Arv., pro-
 [cos. prov. ..., pra]ef. aer. mil.,
 [praef. frument. dan]d., leg. leg. VII
 [Geminae fel. (?), leg. p]r. pr. provin-
 [ciarum Hispaniae B]aeticae, Ponti
 [et Bithyniae, Macedo]niae, Asiae,
 [praetori, tribuno ple]b., quae-
 [stori pr. pr. provinc. Pont]i et
 [Bithyniae]

Whereas (e.g.) Alföldy in a later study just accepted the order of Frugi's career as it is given in this inscription, Eck paid ample attention to two remarkable aspects of this *cursus*.⁸⁷ First, the series of *legationes* under four different proconsuls, second, the legionary command, which unusually would have been entrusted to him before the *praefectura frumenti dandi*.⁸⁸ As Eck put forward, it would be uncommon that Frugi in fact would have occupied all of the

Arval Brethren under Marcus (CIL VI 2095, cf. 32385; AE 1930,61 - from the year 176) must be regarded quite certain. Şahin l.c. suggested that there might be too little space for the name of this province; however, some short indication is possible: *Lyciae* or even *Lyc.*, or - without *prov.* - *pro[cos. Lyc. Pamph.]*.

⁸⁷ Alföldy, *Konsulat* 52f. and 344, although he refers to Eck's comprehensive article l.c. (Alföldy, *ibid.* 52 n.47).

⁸⁸ Eck, l.c. 304f.; as to the last anomaly esp. 305 with n.21.

four proconsular legateships one after the other, and this after the praetorship. He assumed it to be more likely that these posts were held at different stages of the career, and that they here were summed up together. In that case, Eck argued further, it might be possible too that the *legatio* of the VIIth legion (Gemina?) was added to these proconsular *legationes*, and that also both prefectures were ranged together. And, summarizing his hypothesis, "Es könnte also sein, dass sowohl die prokonsularen Legaturen als auch Legionskommando und *praefectura frumenti dandi* nicht rein nach chronologischen, sondern nach gruppierenden Kriterien angeordnet sind."⁸⁹ Like the suggestion regarding P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus (p.223), one might think of yet another block, formed by consulship, priesthood and proconsulship at the beginning of the inscription. This, however, has to remain a mere possibility for still another reason. Eck notified me that some revision of his reading of CIL VI 31717 might be needed, since in his opinion the text is a grave-inscription. In that case, when holding to an identification with the suffect consul of ca. 178, the restoration of *designato* in line 2 cannot be maintained; and thus, there would be room enough for some other office, which might have been held between consulship and proconsulship (or one of the many other offices of this senator).

Also to be mentioned in this context is the well-known "*praeses* of Sbeitla". His heavily damaged *cursus*-inscription (AE 1949,61 = AE 1952,95 = AE 1957,325) has provoked much comment.⁹⁰

[...]tricus, quaestor[i, ---] / i]uridico per Flaminiam et P[icenum, XVvir. sa]/cris faciundis, praes(idi) prov(inciae) Pan[noniae ---] / Ma[c]edo[n]iae, Dalmatiae, agenti vice <p>raef[---] / universus populus [curiarum].

Most recently, I argued in favour of an ascending order for this career, assuming that the anonymous senator had held Pannonia inferior before this province changed to consular status (probably under Caracalla, 215/216 at the latest). This would imply that he reached the consulship after his term in Macedonia,⁹¹ Dalmatia being of consular rank. However, certainty as to this step of promotion cannot be obtained. There remains too much room for discussion with regard to the status of Pannonia, as well as to the nature of his posts in that province and in Macedonia.⁹²

The last case to be considered here is that of M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus. From the fact that Philostratus in the *praefatio* of the *Vitae Sophistarum* (479f.) addressed him, τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ὑπάτῳ and ἄριστε ἀνθυπάτων, Groag deemed it not improbable that Gordianus was *consul designatus* while proconsul of Achaia. It would go too far to summarize the numerous scholarly discussions, which have been delivered on this person and on the passage in particular; it may suffice to indicate here what seems to be the

⁸⁹ Eck, l.c. 305.

⁹⁰ For full references see Leunissen, *Konsuln* 172f. n.194.

⁹¹ *Konsuln* l.c. and 58.388.

⁹² See *Konsuln* 172f. n.194.

most plausible interpretation, viz. that ὑπατος stands for ὑπατικός and that Gordianus' proconsulship of Africa in the year 237/238 is referred to, a view for which most recently I. Avotins has put forward strong arguments.⁹³

5. Other cases to be accepted

Nine senators, who either were left out of Pflaum's list or who have come to our knowledge through new findings, have to be taken as advancing directly from praetorian proconsulship to consulship. There can hardly be any doubt about T. Iunius Montanus, suff. 81, whose proconsulship of Sicilia, according to his *cursus*-inscription (AE 1973,500, Alexandria Troas), seems to have been his only praetorian post, which he most probably held under Vespasian:⁹⁴

T(ito) Iunio C(aii) f(ilio) Ani(ensi tribu) Montano, / III vir(o) a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo), tri(buno) / mil(itum) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae), q(uaestori) / Ponti et Bithyniae, 5/ tr(ibun) pl(ebis), pr(aetori), sodali Titio, / proco(n)s(uli) provinc(iae) Sicilia[e], / co(n)s(uli), / patrono coloniae, / decreto d(ecurionum).

With regard to A. Larcus Priscus, suff. 110, Pflaum claimed without clear arguments that he held his proconsulship of the province of Gallia Narbonensis ca. 103/104, before his command of the *legio II Augusta* and of the African army (the *legio III Augusta*, i.e. the *de facto* governorship of the province of Numidia).⁹⁵ Two *cursus*-inscriptions of Priscus are known:

AE 1908,237 (Foum-Merial, between Lambesis and Timgad):

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), A(ulus) Larcus A(uli) f(ilius) Quir(ina tribu) Priscus, sev(iri) (sic), / decemvirum (sic) stlitib(us) iudicandis, / quaestor provinciae Asiae, / legatus Augusti leg(ionis) III Scythicae / pro legato consulare provinc(iae) Syriae, 5/ tribunus plebei (sic), praetor, / leg(at)us provinciae Hispaniae Baeticae, / praefectus frumenti dandi, / legatus Aug(usti) legionis II Aug(ustae), / legatus Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) exercitus Africae, 10 / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).

CIL VIII 17891 = ILS 1055 (Timgad):

A(ulo) Larcio A(uli) filio Quirina (tribu) Prisco, VIvir(o) equitum / Romanor(um), X vir(o) stlitib(us) iudicand(is), quaestor(i) / provinciae Asiae, leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) <leg(ionis)> III (sic) Scythicae / ped (sic, = pro) leg(ato) consulare provinciae Syriae,

⁹³ Groag, *Achaia* 87f. 171; cf. also Thomasson, LP 200, 83. See now I. Avotins, *Hermes* 106,1978,242ff. and most recently Leunissen, *Konsuln* 296 (also 181 and 264f.) with further literature.

⁹⁴ See PIR² I 781; Groag, RE 10 (1917), 1068 no.105; Thomasson, *SPQR* 39; LP 3,14; Eck, RE Suppl. 15 (1978) 125f. no.105; id., *Chiron* 13,1983,203 and n.578; R.J.A.Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome*, Princeton 1984,351.

⁹⁵ Narbonnaise 16f.; see also Thomasson, *Statthalter* II 164f., who only observes (n.73) that the order of the posts of *praefectus frumenti dandi* and *legatus proconsulis Baeticae* in the two inscriptions varies (see Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 176 and the comments by Birley, *Fasti* 236 n.6), and (n.74) that the proconsulship of Narbonensis is absent in the first inscription (cf. now n.93 below). As to the consulship, between 1 September and 31 December 110: *Inscr.It.* XIII 1, 200, 229.

trib(uno) pleb(is), ⁵/ praetori, praef(ecto) frumenti dandi ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), leg(ato) provinciae Baeticae Hispaniae, proco(n)s(uli) provin/ciae) Galliae Narbon(ensis), leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), leg(ato) / Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) exercitus provinciae Afric(ae), VIIvir(o) / epulonum, co(n)s(uli) design(ato), patrono col(oniae) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica).

It has been argued convincingly by E.Birley, more recently followed by A.R.Birley, that the proconsulship immediately preceded his designation to the consulship.⁹⁶ As both Birleys observed, the second text must be the later of the two, since it indicates our senator as *consul designatus* and as *VIIvir epulonum*, one of the Roman priesthoods of the *quattuor collegia amplissima*. The fact that the proconsulship of Narbonensis is lacking on the earlier inscription, dedicated to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* by Priscus himself when legate in Numidia, can only mean that he moved up from his African to his Gallic post, during which he was appointed to the consulship. The second inscription was obviously set up by the city of Timgad to honour its patron and former governor when the news of his advancement to the highest magistracy arrived. As A.R.Birley concluded, "In the Thamugadi inscription the proconsulship is placed out of order, to make a block of senatorial appointments, followed by two posts in the Emperor's service."⁹⁷

With regard to another case, M. Pompeius Macrinus, Pflaum had published an article one year before he compiled his list.⁹⁸ From this senator's *cursus*-inscription (IG V 2, 151 = AE 1913,168, Tegea) we can learn that he proceeded directly from his proconsulship of Sicilia to his consulship; and the latter is now to be placed in 115.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ JRS 52,1962,224f. and *Fasti* 235ff., respectively, the latter passing over, though, the interpretations by Thomasson and Pflaum.

⁹⁷ L.c. 236. See also Eck, *Senatoren* 164f. n.226 and Chiron 12,1982,346 n.250: "Die Interpretation der beiden Inschriften durch Birley, JRS 52,1962,24f. ist überzeugender als die durch Thomasson II 164f. und Pflaum, *Narbonnais* 16f." Cf. now Thomasson, LP 32, 7: "*sub Traiano (ante a. 110) - Proconsulatum Galliae Narbonensis inter legationem in Africa et consulatum (109/110?) posuit E.Birley, JRS 1962: 224, fortasse recte; ante legationes autem Pflaum (c.a.103-104).*"

⁹⁸ *Germania* 37,1959,150ff. = *Scripta Varia* II 129ff.; as to Pompeius' advancement to the consulship, *ibid.* 152 = 131.

⁹⁹ See also his newly discovered *cursus*-inscription from Mytilene: R.Hodot, ZPE 34,1979,221ff. esp. 224 = AE 1979,595 = SEG 29,1979,741. As this text shows that his *praenomen* was Marcus, and as it also demonstrates that Trajan's imperial titulature "*Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus*" has no value as a *terminus post quem* for his Cilician legateship (which would have been 20 February 116), B.E. Thomasson too (*OpuscRom* 15,1985,130ff. no.17), has become definitely convinced that our senator is identical with the *consul suffectus* of 115, whose name has been preserved in the *Fasti Potentini* (AE 1949,23 right column l.16) *M. Pom[---]*, and in the *Fasti Ostienses* (Inscr.It.XIII 1, p.210f. fragm. XXXV) *[---]rinu[---]*. The date had already been suggested on the basis of these remains by R.Syme, REA 67,1965,346ff. and Barbieri, MEFRA 1970,271f. See also: Alföldy, *Epigr.Studien* 3,1967,25; L.Schumacher, *Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur Besetzung der vier hohen Priesterkollegien im Zeitalter der Antonine und der Severer (96-235 n.Chr.)*, Mainz 1973,226; Eck, *Senatoren* 172f. n.252; 177 n.269; 204 n.379; *id.*, Chiron 12,1982,355f. n.300 and esp. 350 n.279; Thomasson, *SPQR* 60f.; *id.*, LP 380,75. For the older view see Pflaum, *Germania* l.c.; *id.*, *Corolla mem. E.Swoboda dedicata* (1966), 184; Thomasson, *Statthalter* II 60f.; K.Wachtel, *Klio* 48,1967,171 n.4; 175. On the additions to his name "neos Theophanes" see L.Robert, REA 62,1960,280 n.6 and also Hodot l.c.

[M.] Πομπήϊο[ν M. υἱὸν tribus]
 [ending with] να Μικρεῖν[ον Θεοφάνην. δ' ἀν-]
 δρωῶν, ταμίαν καὶ ἀ[ντιστρά-]
 τηγον Πόντου καὶ [Βειθνίας,]
 δήμαρχον, στρατη[γὸν Ῥώμης,]
 ἐπιμελητὴν Λατείνης, ἡγε-
 μόνα λεγιῶνος ἕκτης Νεικηφό-
 ρου, πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτη-
 τηγον Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Τραϊανοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ
 Παρθικοῦ ἐπαρχείας Κιλικίας,
 ἀνθύπατον Σικελίας, ὕπατον,
 ἱερέα ἐν τοῖς Ἀγουσταλίοις,
 ἱερέα ἐν τοῖς ἰε' ἀνδράσι
 ἀνθύπατον Ῥ' Ἀφρικός Μ. Πομ-
 πήϊος Εἰσαῖς Αἰλιανὸς τὸν ἴδι-
 [ο]ν φίλον ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλής)

Pflaum's name is also attached to the fourth case to be mentioned here, Q. Licinius [Quartinus?] Modestinus [Sex.?] Attius Labeo, suff. 146.¹⁰⁰ From the fact that this senator was recorded in an inscription from Corinth (CIL III 7270), Pflaum deduced, as actually E. Groag had suspected before him, that he had been in some official function in Achaia (the Latin inscriptions relating to senators found in this city, always honour Roman magistrates of the province).¹⁰¹ According to the rest of Licinius' fragmentarily preserved career (CIL XIV 2405, Bovillae), his function here could only have been a proconsulship, which must have fallen in the year 144/145.

Q(uinto) Licinio [Quartino?] / Modestin[o Sex(to) Attio] / Labeoni, XV/viro sacr(is) fac(iundis), / fetiali, consuli, [proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Achaiae], ⁵/ praef(ecto) aerari(i) [militaris?, curator] / viae Salariae, [praetori, tribuno] / plebis, quaesto[ri provinciae Afri? or Baeti?]/cae, Xvir(o) stliti[bus iudicandis,] sodali Augustali, / Albani [Longani] / Bovillen[ses patr(ono)].

The restoration has met with common consent,¹⁰² and it seems indeed to be quite certain. Therefore, although in general one should refrain from reasoning based on restored lacuna's, it will hardly meet with prohibitive objections of this senator is accepted as a case of direct advancement from proconsulship to consulship.

¹⁰⁰ Inscr.It. XIII 1,5; see L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* 22.

¹⁰¹ CRAI 1967,194ff. = AE 1967,72; cf. Groag, *Achaia* 2 (1946), 7.

¹⁰² See Corbier, *L'aerarium* 209ff. no.43; Alföldy, *Konsulat* 260. 293. 339. With slight reservations: Eck, *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974) 233 no.116; Thomasson, *LP* 194,38. In the rendering of the inscription above I preferred the reading *militaris* to *Saturni* (Alföldy l.c. 293 and Eck l.c. contra Pflaum l.c. and Corbier l.c.). As to the theoretical possibility that priesthood, consulship and proconsulship were grouped at the beginning of the inscription see n.31 above.

Next, C. Asinius (Protimus) Quadratus, suff. under Commodus or Septimius Severus should be considered. In an inscription of Olympia he is styled ἀνθύπατος and ὑπατος ἀποδεδειγμένος. To doubt that this truly represents a designation to the consulship in a proconsular province, as Eck did, seems hypercritical; this would imply that we should have to question every case, in which an appointment to the consulship in an imperial praetorian province is mentioned. Yet, here a direct advancement or even a consulship in absence is generally taken for granted, undoubtedly so because of the - in itself correct - presupposition that these high praetorian posts 'in the emperor's service' normally gave direct access to the *fascēs*. The fact that Quadratus is the only known case of a praetorian proconsul who is honoured as *consul designatus* in his province can hardly be taken as an argument to doubt such a direct advancement here.¹⁰³

Also to be accepted is the *ignotus* of the Ephesian inscription AE 1972,593 = IvEph III 805, suff. probably in the first half of the third century. His *cursus*-inscription has been preserved only fragmentarily, and in particular our knowledge of the beginning of his career seems to remain incomplete, since the lower part of the text in descending order is lacking:

[—] ὑπατικὸς [ν καὶ ἐπανορθωτὴν] | τῆς Ἐφεσιακῆς διοικησεως, | ἀνθύπατον |
 Λυκίας καὶ Παμφυλίας, ἱο[υ]ρ[ι]δικὸν Πεικῆνου καὶ | Ἀπουληίας ἀλιμένων καὶ |
 [ὁ]δῶν, π[ρ]α[ι]τ[ο]ρα, λογιστ[ή]ν | τῆς πόλεως ?, κουαίστο]ρα.

On what remains of the stone, he is first indicated as *consularis* and as *corrector* of the Ephesian *dioecesis*, which was definitely a consular post. Therefore, his proconsulship of Lycia et Pamphylia must be regarded as his last praetorian post before becoming consul.¹⁰⁴

Beyond all doubt, further, is the case of Rutilius Pudens Crispinus, suff. 234/238. By kind permission of Alföldy Pudens' *cursus*-inscription from Rome can be rendered here after his recent - unpublished - revision of the text; the offices are enumerated in reverse order:

[. Ruti]lio Pud[en]t[i] Cri[spi]no, c.v., / [leg.] Aug. pr. pr. ad [cens]us acceptandos / prov. Lugdunens[is et H]isp[er]a[n]i[a]e Baeti]ca[e], / curator[i] Teanen[sium] Interamnatium 5/

¹⁰³ Inschr. v. Olympia 356 = Syll.³ 887. See Eck, ANRW II 1, 1974,202 n.216. For further references see Leunissen, Konsuln 147; as to his proconsulship *ibid.* 294. The inscription of Quadratus somewhat modifies Avotins' presupposition (Hermes 106,1978,244), "if there is no evidence of designation in senatorial praetorian provinces".

¹⁰⁴ As to the consular status of his *correctura* cf. the anonymous senator of ILS 8842 = IGRR IV 1714; AE 1911,136 = IGRR IV 1212, suff. ?211/222, who served as a consular *corrector Asiae* of the Pergamene *dioecesis*, see Leunissen, Konsuln 177. 384 (erroneously "cur." instead of "cor."). Further literature to the Ephesian Anonymous: Corbier, MEFRA 85,1973,671ff. no.28; cf. Eck, ZPE 18,1975,159; *id.*, Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit. Vestigia 28, München 1979,68f. n.217. 86. 172f. 184; *id.*, ZPE 37,1980,46f. and n.47 (suggesting, that this senator might have been named P. Attius Clementinus Rufinus); Thomasson, LP 286,70. According to M.Christol, Essai sur l'évolution des carrières sénatoriales dans la deuxième moitié du III^e s. ap.J.-C., Paris 1986,315ff. this career would belong to the time after the military reforms of Gallienus, because the office of *iuridicus* is not followed by a legionary command or by a legateship in an imperial province; cf. his list with the careers of *iuridici* of the third century *ibid.* 68ff.

Venafranor[um] Aquinatium, / leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. [His]paniae citerioris / et Gallaecia[e, elect]o duci ex s.c. / bello Aquil[eien]si, cos., procos. / prov. Achaiae, [leg.] Aug. pr. pr. prov. ¹⁰/ Syriae Phoenic[es], leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. / Thraciae, leg. Au[g. pr. p]rov. Lusitaniae, / leg. leg. XV Apollina[ris, s]odali Marciano / Antoniniano [Comm]odiano Helviano / Severiano Ant[onini]ano, iuridico ¹⁵/ Aemiliae et L[iguri]a(e) (sic) et Tusciae, / curatori viarum [Clodiae] Cassiae Cimin.,/ curatori Fanestr[ium P]isaurensium, / praetori, aed. [pleb. Ce]riali, quaestori / urbano, IIII vir [v. c., p]r. urbi feriarum ²⁰ / Latinarum, p[raef]. coh. I Lusitano / eq. q.

Rutilius' special mission as *dux ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) Bello Aquil[eien]si* (i.e. being one of the *vigintiviri ex senatus consulto rei publicae curandae* of the year 238, he being entrusted with the command against the troops of Maximinus Thrax in Aquileia) is clearly his first task in consular rank, his proconsulship of Achaia his last one as *praetorius*. On the basis of the available evidence on Rutilius it cannot be established, whether he held the post under Severus Alexander or under Maximinus Thrax.¹⁰⁵

Two proconsuls of Baetica to end with. For A. Caecina Tacitus, suff. 200/250, the governorship of this province was the only administrative post between *praetura* and consulship, according to his (restored) *cursus*-inscription (CIL VIII 10988 = ILMaroc 33 [Sala in Mauretania]):¹⁰⁶

[--- in]noçentiæ et / iustitiæ sin/gularis Aulo / Caecinae Tacito cos. ⁵/ praes. prov. Baet. / VIIvir. epulorum (sic) / p[ro] candidato / [q]uaest. candida[to] / Sept. Caruleian(us) ¹⁰/ eq. Romanus / patrono / incomparabili.

Finally, Q. Pomponius Munat[ianus?] Clodianus, *suff.* around the middle of the third century, whose career has only recently come to our knowledge (AE 1974,129, Castel di Decima):

Q(uinto) Pomponio Munat[iano?] / Clodiano, cons(uli), XVvir(o) [s(acris) f(aciundis)], / praesidi prov(inciae) Baetic[ae], / sodali Titiali, praet[ori], ⁵/ curatori viae Latina[e], / trib(uno) pleb(is), quaestori / [p]rovinciae Macedonia[e], / [Pompon]ii Marcellinus et Aprilis / [lib(erti) pat]rono praestantissim[o].

The place of the *cura viae* in this descending *cursus*-inscription has been variously interpreted. Eck, who devoted a detailed study to this career, expressed serious doubts as to whether this *cura* preceded the praetorship, referring to equally doubtful cases like L. Ovinus Rusticus Cornelianus and Q. Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus.¹⁰⁷ Reservations were

¹⁰⁵ As to the consular rank of the *vigintiviri* of the year 238 see esp. Dietz, *Senatus* 327. Dietz, *ibid.* 220 n.613 states explicitly: "in der Liste bei Pflaum, BJ 163,1963,226, fehlt Crispinus". For further references see Leunissen, *Konsuln* 200 n.312; Crispinus' career: *ibid.* 390.

¹⁰⁶ After J.Marion, BCTH 1946/9, 45, who after autopsy could establish that the reading is secure. For the most recent discussions of this senator and for further references see Dietz, *Senatus* 96f. and Christol, *Essai* 153ff.

¹⁰⁷ Chiron 4,1974,533ff. esp. 535f.; *id.*, RE Suppl. 14 (1974), 441f.; see at the beginning of this paper and n.4.

also had by Thomasson- "*eum viae cura ante praeturam functum esse sane miremur*".¹⁰⁸ L.Schumacher mentioned Pomponius among his *addenda*, rendering the *cursus* in the order of the inscription.¹⁰⁹ Most recently M.Christol explicitly took the *cura* as Pomponius' first praetorian office.¹¹⁰ The problem may be regarded as of minor importance to the subject matter: for even if we were to assume that the curatorship fell after the *praetura*, thus accepting that the order of the inscription does not correspond with the chronological sequence of the career, there cannot be any doubt that the proconsulship of Baetica was the last office before the consulship. As Christol rightly stressed, it has been established that the curatorship of the *via Latina* was one of the lower *curae viarum*, which normally were held as the first post after the praetorship.¹¹¹ Against this, the praetorian proconsulship unquestionably ranked as a rather senior post, which could be occupied only after a five year interval with the *praetura*. Pomponius, therefore, can safely be accepted as the 'youngest' case that has to be added to our list of proconsuls becoming consuls without holding any office in-between.

6. A new list

As a result of our analyses the following names can be listed as certain cases for direct promotion from praetorian proconsulship to consulship:

Name	Proconsulship	Consulship
1. T. Iunius Montanus	Sicilia	81
2. C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus	Macedonia	before 87
3. L. Iulius Marinus Caecilius Simplex	Achaia	101
4. A. Larcus Priscus	Narbonensis	110
5. M. Pompeius Macrinus	Sicilia	115
6. C. Oppius Sabinus Iulius Nepos M'. Vibius Sollemnis Severus	Baetica	?shortly after 130
7. C. Iavolenus Calvinus Geminius Kapito Cornelius Pollio Squilla Q. Vulkacius Scuppidius Verus	Baetica	ca. 140/43
8. Q. Licinius Modestinus Sex. Attius Labeo	Achaia	146
9. Q. Cornelius Senecio Annianus	Pontus et Bithynia	?138/161
10. L. Albinus Saturninus	Achaia	175/182
11. C. Sabucius Maior Caecilianus	Achaia	186
12. L. Septimius Severus	Sicilia	190
13. [M. Umbrus] Primus	Lycia et Pamphylia	ca. ?186

¹⁰⁸ *SPQR* 62.

¹⁰⁹ Priesterkollegien 487f. C 85 A.

¹¹⁰ Essai 224f.

¹¹¹ L.c. 225; see further n.4 above.

14. L. Ranius Optatus signo Acontius	Narbonensis	193/217
15. C. Asinius Protimus Quadratus	Achaia	180/211
16. C. Aemilius Berenicianus Maximus	Narbonensis	218/235
17. P. Aelius Coeranus	Macedonia	ca. 225
18. C. Porcius Priscus Longinus	Lycia et Pamphylia	before 224
19. Ignotus AE 1972,593	Lycia et Pamphylia	220/250
20. Rutilius Pudens Crispinus	Achaia	234/238
21. Ignotus CIL X 3761	Cyprus	161/211
22. A. Caecina Tacitus	Baetica	200/250
23. Q. Pomponius Munat[ianus?] Clodianus	Baetica	mid 3rd century

This results in the following figures for the step of promotion studied here according to each province (in alphabetical order):

Achaia	6
Baetica	4
Creta et Cyrenae	0
Cyprus	1
Lycia et Pamphylia	3
Macedonia	2
Narbonensis	3
Pontus et Bithynia	1
Sicilia	3

What can we conclude from this? The only province which stands out more or less clearly is Achaia, whereas it looks as if the claim, "dass die Baetica in dieser Hinsicht das vornehmste Prokonsulat prätorischen Ranges zu sein scheint."¹¹² can no longer be upheld. On the other hand, Cyprus, Crete with Cyrene and Pontus-Bithynia seem to offer low scores. However, the number of ascertained cases remains low altogether and the differences between individual provinces are too small to justify any conclusion in the direction of ranking-differences between them: we cannot grasp properly the factors which might be the cause of differences in the tradition of our evidence, and only a few testimonia could bring about considerable shifts.¹¹³ Apart from that, differences in ranking among praetorian

¹¹² Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 270 n.13.

¹¹³ The same conclusion has already been reached by Eck, *Zephyrus* 23/24, 1972/1973,259; id., *ANRW* II 1,1974,234. See also Talbert, *Senate* 351, whose rendering of Eck's standpoint as to a lower rating of Cyprus and Crete with Cyrene, however, is quite the contrary of what was meant by the latter. Talbert, *ibid.* 352 has some interesting observations on the varying desirability of different provinces from a senator's point of view.

proconsulships cannot be brought into line with the information we have on the partition of public provinces by way of *sortitio*.¹¹⁴

This outcome of our investigations may look somewhat disappointing. Yet, the detailed analyses performed here bring about an important by-product, which deserves to be stressed explicitly. By concentrating on a specific step of promotion it is almost startling to see how many problems and uncertainties are connected with the interpretation of career-inscriptions, which form the major part of our evidence, and which partly have been interpreted in the same manner over and over again in various contexts. Perhaps it is especially from this isolated approach of the advancement from proconsulship to consulship that this complexity of our sources comes to the fore; but it is tempting to undertake systematic investigations of other sequences of posts too. At any rate, the present case-study may have made abundantly clear that we have to be much more careful in determining whether the offices in inscriptions are enumerated in a strict order and whether they are mentioned completely or not.

7. Direct promotions from proconsul to consul: looking for explanations

The motives, which may have played a role with regard to the promotion at hand, remain obscure. Explicit statements about reasons underlying such advancements cannot be found, as far as I can see. K.Dietz has demonstrated in an exemplary way the almost impenetrable complexity of factors which one should take into account in the case of the late proconsulship of Rutilius Pudens (after no less than seven previous praetorian posts, the last 3 of which being governorships of imperial provinces). Not the least of those is the problem as to whether his participation in the *sortitio* for Achaia took place under Severus Alexander or under Maximinus Thrax.¹¹⁵

Observing how the proconsulship, immediately preceding the consulship, was related to the praetorian career as a whole does not bring us much further either. Among the cases which could be singled out here, the governorship in a public province could follow after 2, 3, 4, 5 or even (as has just been indicated) after 7 foregoing posts. But the proconsulship could also come after one other function or it even might be the only praetorian office occupied. In the latter case, admittedly, one senator - A. Caecina Tacitus, suff. 200/250 -presumably belonged to the ranks of the patricians,¹¹⁶ who as a rule were exempted from holding any praetorian offices, and other men were at least demonstrably favoured senators: C. Porcius Priscus Longinus, suff. probably before 224, was adlected *inter quaestorios* as well as *inter praetorios*, though his social origins remain unknown; C. Aemilius Berenicianus, suff. at the beginning of Severus Alexander's reign, was adlected *inter*

¹¹⁴ Dio 53,14,2ff.; cf. Eck's hypothesis on the working of *sortitio*, ANRW II 1, 1974,204. As to the consular proconsulships: Alföldy, Konsulat 122ff.

¹¹⁵ Dietz, *Senatus* 220ff. (with a scheme on p.221).

¹¹⁶ See Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 174 and Dietz, *Senatus* 196; Christol, *Essai* 153 has no doubts as to his patrician rank.

tribunicios, and he possibly descended from an old family of oriental client-kings.¹¹⁷ T. Iunius Montanus, suff. 81, started in the highest office of the vigintivirate as *triumvir monetalis*. That he reached the consulship after having held only a praetorian proconsulship is commonly considered as a negative development of his career, implying that he did not enjoy any support from Vespasian;¹¹⁸ the consulship, then, was given to him only by Titus. Halfmann suggested still another option, which he, though, considered to be less probable, viz. that Montanus after his praetorship might have been adlected *inter patricios* by Vespasian. The assumption that he might be identical with one Montanus, whom Juvenal (IV 107. 131) mentions among the fictitious *consilium* of Domitian in the year 83, could be taken as an indication that - at least by that time - he was held in the highest esteem by the emperor.¹¹⁹

Searching for motives, one has to bear in mind, of course, that praetorian proconsulships simply were the senatorial posts which had to be fulfilled most frequently: each year some 8 vacancies had to be manned. And strictly speaking, only rather senior *praetorii*, men of 35 years or older, were eligible for these positions.¹²⁰ The number of praetors from the time of Trajan onwards was 18 per year; the number of candidates for the proconsulships must have been somewhat lower: a small percentage has to be deleted, due to illness and death during the minimum-interval of five years. On top of that, one has to reckon with patricians who did not have to hold any office between praetorship and consulship, and with incidental cases of men who, for one reason or another, did not aspire to a career or fell into disgrace. Consequently, every second *praetorius* - at the least - simply had to become a proconsul, seeing that we know of no senator occupying more than one of these posts. In part, they held the office somewhere in the course of their praetorian career, which in not a few cases would end without a consulship. Things seem to have been different if the proconsulship fell at the end of a longer praetorian career, especially if it came after offices which normally gave access to the consulship. In those cases, as Alföldy observed, the consulship was reached two years later than normally might have been expected.¹²¹ Was there any need to put these senators on the sidelines, because temporarily no consulships were vacant? Could it be a matter of degradation after a career 'in the emperor's service', in which, eventually, not enough had been accomplished? Perhaps it could be so that special tribute had to be paid to the senate, as has been suggested in the case of Rutilius Pudens, who simultaneously may have displayed a lack of willingness to hold functions 'in the emperor's service' under the successor to the throne. Or was it just so that the last opportunity was seized to fulfill another

¹¹⁷ Yet, as it seems, neither of the two was a patrician; see Leunissen, *Konsuln* 72 and n.203.

¹¹⁸ See the comments with AE 1973,500, and further: Eck, *RE Suppl.* 15 (1978), 125f. no.105; H.Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n.Chr.*, Göttingen 1979, 103 no.6; cf. also Kreiler, *Statthalter* 63.

¹¹⁹ *PIR*² I 781; Thomasson, *SPQR* 39; Halfmann l.c.; Kreiler l.c. 64.

¹²⁰ Dio 53,14,2.

¹²¹ *Konsulat* 51; see also Leunissen, *Konsuln* 58.

office before the consulship and with the prospect of "retirement"?¹²² Of course, if a series of offices preceded the proconsulship, one might take this as an indication of a relatively high status of the province concerned,¹²³ but one might equally conclude that senators in such cases simply had come to such an age that a consulship could hardly be put off any longer. Perhaps, we should not make too much of it altogether, and return to Groag's remarkably sober and neutral statement that a senator of praetorian rank, having returned to Rome after posts 'in the emperor's service', still could participate in the *sortitio*, if he did not obtain the consular *fasces* beforehand.¹²⁴

More generally, yet another thought might be worth considering. The list established here seems to show a rising tendency of ascertained cases, at least from about the middle of the second century onwards. Approximately one third of the cases belong to the first period of more than one and a half centuries, and about two thirds fall in the roughly 100 following years until the middle of the third century, i.e. within a smaller period and even then with a considerable worsening of our source material. As I have indicated elsewhere, the break in the tradition of our source material, and of complete careers in particular - which, in fact, form the bulk of our evidence here -, can be situated just around the middle of the reign of Antoninus Pius, i.e. around the middle of the second century.¹²⁵ Therefore, it may be assumed that in the latter period, the actual increase of the advancement under investigation was still substantially higher than happens to be suggested by the preserved cases alone. Now, there can also be observed a clear and almost dramatic growth of the number of consulships in the course of the Principate. Could it be that a direct relation between these two tendencies existed? I should like to make that suggestion here. It has been shown by Alföldy that the number of yearly appointed consuls grew slowly but steadily from 3 or 4 consuls during Augustus' last years to 10 or 12 per year by the end of the second century. Alföldy stressed the fact that in the period from 138 to 180, the number of regular candidate-posts leading towards a consulship did not, to say the least, increase with the same tempo as the consulships did. For the following period from 180 to 235, which I recently have been investigating, the number of consuls rose further, from an average of 11 or 12 under Commodus to some 13 every year under the Severi.¹²⁶

Now, the senators who generally are considered to be the regular candidates for a consulship were yearly 1 or 2 patricians, 1 or 2 *praefecti aerarii*, 1 holder of one of the higher *curae viarum* at the most, and 3 to 4 governors of imperial praetorian provinces, also at the most, making a total of some 6 to 9 candidates. True, by means of *adlectio* ever more

¹²² Dietz, *Senatus* 220ff.

¹²³ See e.g. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 270 as to the proconsulship of Baetica.

¹²⁴ Achaia 155.

¹²⁵ Leunissen, *Konsuln* 25 and n.9.

¹²⁶ See Alföldy, *Konsulat* 11ff. (explicitly as to a disproportionate growth of the number of consulships under the Principate see 17ff.); Leunissen, *Konsuln* 6ff. esp. 10f.

homines novi were caught up in the *ordo senatorius*, but mainly these were men who were entrusted with the politically and military important functions.¹²⁷ As the number of consulships grew disproportionately, the *fascēs* could be - or rather, had to be - granted more frequently after posts other than the "traditional" ones; and it may be considered as only logical that proconsulships were 'resorted to', seeing that there were 8 of them each year, normally held by senators of a rather senior age.

In a recent publication, C. Bruun made a case for a reevaluation of the praetorian proconsulship, strictly limiting his account and ensuing conclusions to the period 27 B.C.-A.D. 54.¹²⁸ I should like to offer some remarks as to Bruun's arguments. In his plea to discard the sharp distinction between imperial and public provinces, he seems to be oversimplifying the matter by blaming modern prosopographers for upholding such a contrast; and he is definitely wrong in suggesting some relics here of Theodor Mommsen's concept of a "Dyarchie" (emperor *versus* senate) as a characteristic feature of the Roman Principate - he may be most kindly referred to a marked rejection of Mommsen's view by a prominent prosopographer.¹²⁹

Of more importance to Bruun's argumentation, however, is the fact that his handling of statistics is misconceived or too suggestive in some points. He first refers to Eck's conclusion that the holders of praetorian proconsulships were men with poor prospects, and that almost all cases, in which consular posts were reached, were due to major political events, frequently a change of emperors.¹³⁰ Bruun then puts forward a figure of 74 known proconsuls over a period of 80 years (out of 530 men in office). After having stated correctly that we can gain really valuable knowledge about the career of these men when *cursus*-inscriptions are at hand, he gives the figure of 15 of such inscriptions. Next he observes that, mainly on the basis of these *cursus*-inscriptions, we know that 13 of these 74 proconsuls had been governors in imperial provinces, either of praetorian or of consular

¹²⁷ On this see Alföldy, *Konsulat* 100. 105f. 125ff.; Leunissen, *Konsuln* 107. 110ff. 117ff.

¹²⁸ *Arctos* 20, 1986, 5ff.

¹²⁹ Alföldy, *Konsulat* 7f. Some corrective remarks may be appropriate as to Bruun's labeling of prosopographers as traditionalists, who would think above all in meritocratic terms and 'Karriereschemata' (p. 5f. 21ff.), neglecting favours and patronage in the careers of senators. In modern prosopographical studies the importance of protection, commendation, friendship, family relations and closeness to the emperor is fully recognized, as well as other factors like ambition, capacities, experience, education, loyalty, wealth, social and geographical origin, coincidence and arbitrariness. All of this is considered - as far as possible - against specific and changing historical backgrounds. That not all of these factors are dwelled on at great length by 'traditional prosopographers' is quite a different matter, and stems from the nature of prosopographical works themselves, but demonstrably cannot be ascribed to a lack of awareness among their compilers. Conversely, there seem to be more grounds to reproach the 'more sociologically minded, primarily English school' (Bruun l.c. 5, see his references in n.1) for overconcentrating on patronage etc., and ignoring almost completely the undeniable existence of objective criteria for promotion. All in all, it may be clear, though, that two different approaches have developed; a comprehensive study which tries to combine them is being prepared by the present author.

¹³⁰ *Arctos* l.c. 14; see Eck, *Zephyrus* 23/24, 1972/1973, 233 and also Alföldy, *Konsulat* 52; Leunissen, *Konsuln* 59f.

rank. It is indeed very suggestive to connect this with the conclusion that: "Following Eck, we could then say that in a little less than 20% of all the known cases the Emperor himself has changed his mind about their usefulness, or the Emperor himself has changed." Equally suggestive is the ensuing question: "Is this a large or small percentage?"¹³¹ However, Bruun seems to overlook the fact that the very reason why we know of these men is that they actually obtained the *fascēs* and that they held further important offices besides the proconsulship before or after the consulship. There can be no justification whatsoever for setting the number of known proconsuls and the number of those with complete careers alongside each other with the aim of detecting an interrelation of the kind above.¹³² Somewhat further on, dealing with praetorian imperial governors in fact, Bruun shows that he is aware of the fact that, "The more succesful a person has been during his life-time, the greater the possibility that some trace of him will have survived."¹³³

More elucidating is another of Bruun's calculations. On the assumption that some 20% of the proconsuls of his period became consuls (the percentage among the known proconsuls being 23), he gathers somewhat circumstantially that in the whole group of 540 proconsuls (where he first mentions 530 proconsuls) 108 senators became consuls. Then he changes the perspective by looking at the number of 290 consuls in the same period, and establishes that 37% of the consuls (108 out of 290) had held a praetorian proconsulship. Bruun concludes: "This seems to be rather a large number, it would indeed look as though the proconsulship was not a sign of failure, if a third of all the consuls were former proconsuls".¹³⁴ Here again, his conclusion looks more spectacular than it really is. Eck, as Bruun himself indicates, investigating a longer period of some three centuries (not: a 'later' one, as Bruun indicates), found that about 34% of the proconsuls listed (102 at the most, out of 303) reached the consulship, which in fact is considerably higher than Bruun's percentage of 20. But the figure, being of only limited value in itself, is placed in its proper perspective by Eck, who contrasts it with the 76% of the known governors of praetorian imperial provinces who reached the consulship (some 94 out of ca. 124) in the period between 69 and 138.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Arctos l.c. 15f.

¹³² Cf. below and n.135.

¹³³ L.c. 17.

¹³⁴ L.c. 19f.; quotation on p.20.

¹³⁵ Eck, Zephyrus 260. This also is an illustration of how numbers of known officers and numbers of those reaching the consulship can be interrelated in a legitimate and meaningful way; cf. above. On statistical methods see the review-article by J.Hahn and me in Phoenix 44,1990,60ff., which deals with K.Hopkins (Death and Renewal, Cambridge 1983), who apparently made a profound impression on Bruun. For the sake of completeness, the following figures have been established for legates of imperial praetorian provinces reaching the consulship in other periods: for the years 27 BC-AD 54, ca. 50% (according to Bruun l.c. 18 and 22); between 138 and 180, 80 at the least out of 101 (= 80%); between 180 and 235, 68 out of 121 (= 56%, this percentage being somewhat distorted, because holders of more than one praetorian legateship, which occurred more frequently in the time after Marcus, are counted only once); see for these figures Alföldy, Konsulat 55 and Leunissen, Konsuln 69, respectively, where a distinction is made between praetorian provinces with and without a legion.

Within the framework of his 'reconsideration' of the praetorian proconsulship, Bruun, of course, rightly refers to a study by F. Millar, in which this scholar established that there were hardly any decisive differences in the emperor's control of and contacts with the governors of imperial or public provinces.¹³⁶ It has been widely accepted that the emperors also had a firm grip on the *sortitio* of proconsuls.¹³⁷ As Bruun puts it, "It might thus be more correct to regard the proconsuls too as being 'in the Emperor's service'". Bruun is right in stating that the tasks of a praetorian proconsul and *legatus Aug. pro praetore* must have been rather similar, since also in provinces with a legion the governor as a rule was mainly occupied with civil administration - of course, it should be noted that the term of office of the proconsul was considerably shorter than that of the 'imperial' governor.

Looking for indications which might point in the direction of an upgrading of praetorian proconsulships Eck's conclusions in a very recent study should be noticed carefully. His investigations led him to a revision of the question of military command of the proconsuls, since he deduced that we have to reckon with auxiliary troops in all public provinces. As Eck rightly suggested, some modifications of our idea of the activities of proconsuls under the Empire are necessary. "Die militärische Administration ... hat in ihrem vollen Umfang, freilich auf zahlenmässig geringem Niveau, zu ihren Tätigkeitsbereichen gehört. Ein inhaltlicher Unterschied gegenüber den kaiserlichen Statthaltern in legionslosen Provinzen ist damit kaum mehr zu sehen".¹³⁸

As I have observed in my study of the senatorial élite in the years 180-235, sons of consuls are also found holding praetorian proconsulships, whereas in the previous period

¹³⁶ Bruun l.c. 12f. see F. Millar, JRS 56, 1966, 156ff. and now Ancient World 20, 1989, 93ff.

¹³⁷ Dio 53, 14, 2ff. Dio's description has raised some controversy as to the time by which the emperor's influence on the selection of proconsuls became real; see Groag, Achaia 155. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* 268 assumed that this measure was already taken by Augustus; see also Thomasson, Statthalter I 19, who suggested the beginning of the first century; minor reservations to this are had by U. Vogel-Weidemann, Die Statthalter von Africa und Asia in den Jahren 14-68 n. Chr. Eine Untersuchung zum Verhältnis Princeps und Senat, Antiquitas I:31, Bonn 1982, 12f. with n. 51, referring to Tac. *ann.* 3, 69; she believes (*ibid.* 548 and n. 142. 575), that the influence of the Emperor at the latest from AD 26 onwards generally applied to this area of personal policy too, referring to Tac. *ann.* 11, 5 cf. 1, 2: '*Cuncta legum et magistratum munia in se trahens princeps ...*'. Cf. Alföldy, Konsulat 122, where the arrangement is believed to apply to Dio's own time of the Severi, yet not necessarily already to that of the Antonines. Specifically with regards to imperial intervention with *sortitio*, see Millar, Emperor 309 and n. 67 (Velleius II, iii, 4, does not belong here, as far as I can see). As to the consular proconsulships one may refer to several appointments under the Severi, criticized by Dio (78, 22, 2ff.) because of the irregularities involved; not, however, because of the actual interference by the emperors. On these occasions see most recently Leunissen, Konsuln 225f.; cf. *ibid.* 31f. and in the Atti of the FIAEC Congress, Pisa 1989 (forthcoming).

¹³⁸ In: W. Eck, H. Wolff (eds.), Heer und Integrationspolitik: Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle, Passauer Historische Forschungen 2, Köln 1986, 518ff.; quotation: 531f. *Ibid.* 532 n. 178 Eck observes that this also must have its effects upon the evaluation of experience among praetorian proconsuls and legates of imperial provinces. "Ein solcher praktischer Unterschied kann eigentlich nicht bestanden haben. Dann aber müssen es andere Gründe gewesen sein, die in erheblich grösserem Umfang eine spätere Beförderung der ehemaligen kaiserlichen Legaten als der ehemaligen prätorischen Prokonsuln verursachten".

(138-180) no such case was attested in our sources.¹³⁹ Perhaps this might, at least to some extent, be taken as a sign of the growing prestige of these offices.

An indication of a tendency that praetorian proconsulships under the Principate gave access to the consulship to an increasing degree, as might be deduced from the list compiled here, would at least partially give another dimension to the 'Auflockerung' of the relation between the emperor's service and the consulship, which I think to have established for the period from 180 till 235.¹⁴⁰ This could be gathered most clearly from: a) the discrepancy between the number of governors of imperial provinces and of the consulships occupied by them; and, b) the discrepancy between the number of 'konsulfähige' patricians, and the holders of the highest praetorian offices on the one hand and the estimated sum of consuls (without members of the imperial family and *consules II*) on the other hand.¹⁴¹ Several explanations were suggested. Here, perhaps, one of the changes in the system of promotions could be seen, which only were to be expected *a priori* in this period, emanating from the emperor himself or from the influence of his protégés; or, possibly, the imperial administration had to deal with temporary or continuous manpower shortage, as a result of wars, plagues, exiles and executions. Hence, under the force of such circumstances, not a few senators could have been designated to the consulship who had not yet completed a career "as required".¹⁴² To these considerations I would like to add the suggestion that emperors might have called upon holders of praetorian proconsulships in order to meet the disproportionate growth of the number of consulships under the Principate, as a consequence of which these governorships of public provinces may have enjoyed a certain upgrading.

In my prosopographical study of the years 180-235 I mentioned several cases, which might be regarded as explicit examples of this relaxation of the *nexus* 'imperial service - consulship';¹⁴³ almost all of them have passed in review here too. Let us start with M. Umbrius Primus, suff. around ?186, holding as his first praetorian office the *cura viae Aureliae*, which did not belong to the higher *curae viarum*, and being promoted to the consulship after having occupied only a proconsulship. As I have indicated, an advancement to the consulship after a praetorian career with only one post in the emperor's and one in the senate's (or rather 'in public') service has not been attested in the foregoing period between 138 and 180. And for the rest I can think of one comparable career only, viz. that of L. Marius Vegetinus Marcianus Minicianus Myrtilianus, suff. ca. 180/250, on condition that his *praefectura frumenti dandi* is taken as an office "in the senate's service";¹⁴⁴ apart from this

¹³⁹ Konsuln 55. 106; cf. Alföldy, Konsulat 49.

¹⁴⁰ Konsuln 68ff.; (the term 'Auflockerung' on p.71).

¹⁴¹ Konsuln 69ff.

¹⁴² Konsuln 64f. 71.

¹⁴³ Konsuln 71f.

¹⁴⁴ To this see G.Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1980,194. 255 and most recently Leunissen, *Konsuln* 54 with further references in n.132f.

post his only praetorian occupation, leaving a proconsular legateship aside, was a legionary command. Here one may add the case of Q. Pomponius Munat[ianus?] Clodianus, suff. around the middle of the third century, provided that his *cura viae Latinae*, equally one of the lower-ranking of these curatorships, fell after the *praetura*. If not, his career would resemble most the *cursus* of two other senators mentioned: C. Porcius Longinus, suff. probably before 224, and C. Aemilius Berenicianus, suff. at the beginning of Severus Alexander's reign, who both became consuls after holding only a proconsulship, although, as it seems, they were not of patrician rank.¹⁴⁵

That the praetorian proconsulship became something like an 'Anwärterstelle' for the consulship is an option which should be considered seriously.

Conclusion

The detailed analyses which have been undertaken here, have resulted in a new list of cases for direct promotions from praetorian proconsulship to consulship, which, I hope, can be accepted as a revision of Pflaum's list of 1963. Ten cases were discarded from the original list, fourteen were maintained and nine others were added to it. Besides, sixteen cases were discussed, which have been (or might be) proposed as representatives of this type of advancement, but which either have to be rejected immediately, or at least cannot be ascertained sufficiently. It follows that, apart from anything else, the number of certain cases for individual provinces is too low to give any support to Pflaum's hypothesis of ranking-differences amongst these proconsulships. From a methodological point of view, focusing on the particular step of promotion from proconsul to consul happened to stress the many difficulties which the interpretation of *cursus*-inscriptions can entail.

¹⁴⁵ The case of M. Antius Crescens Calpurnianus, suff. ca. 180/shortly after 204, which I mentioned in this context (Konsuln 72), is left out here for reasons discussed above.

There seem to be some indications that praetorian proconsulships were not much lower-rated than governorships of imperial provinces, as has long been assumed almost universally. The investigations which have been undertaken here show that under the Principate there was a constant and, as it seems, even slightly increasing number of cases in which proconsulships were the direct gate to the consulship. This might add an argument to recent publications, pleading for a reconsideration of the status and prestige of praetorian proconsulships within the senatorial career. On the other hand, one should be reminded of the fact that the motives for direct promotions from proconsulship to consulship are lacking altogether and that the cases which could be ascertained for this kind of promotion still make up a very modest figure against the bulk of certified advancements to the highest senatorial magistracy from offices 'in the emperor's service'.

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