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T. CALESTRIUS TIRO PROCONSUL OF ACHAIA?

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A little more than thirty years ago George Bean and Terence Mitford published a Greek inscription which they had found at the coastal city of Iotape in Rough Cilicia;<sup>1</sup> this important, very difficult to read, text provided the *cursus honorum* of the imperial legate, Titus Calestrius Tiro.<sup>2</sup> The inscription listed his successive offices as [tribune (χειλίαρχος) of Legion VI] *Ferrata*, quaestor (ταμίας) in Pontus and Bithynia, legate (πρεσβευ/[τῆς καὶ ἀντι]στράτηγος, i.e. *legatus proconsulis*) of the province of Narbonese Gaul, tribune of the plebs (δήμαρχος), [praetor (στρατηγός)], curator (ἐπιμελη-τῆς ὁδῶν) of the *Via Valeria Tiburtina* [and *\_ca.5\_ na*,<sup>3</sup> legate (πρεσβευτής) of Legion V *Macedonica*, and legate (πρεσβευτής καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος) of Trajan [over Cilicia].<sup>4</sup>

They printed the following text.

[Τίτον Καλέστριον, - - - υἰόν, Πολία, Τείρωνα, χειλίαρχον]  
 [λεγεῶνος ς'] Σιδηρᾶς, ταμίαν Πόντου καὶ Βειθυνίας, πρεσβευ-  
 [τὴν καὶ ἀντι]στράτηγον Γαλλίας Ναρβωνησίας, δήμαρχον,  
 [στρατηγόν], ἐπιμελητὴν ὁδῶν Οὐαλερίας Τειβουρτείνης  
 5 [καὶ Λαβικά]νης?, πρεσβευτὴν λεγιῶνος ε' Μακεδονικῆς  
 [Πιστῆς Βεβ]αίας, πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον Αὐτοκ[ρά]-  
 [τορος Νέρου]α Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ [Κιλ]-  
 [ικίας, τὸν ἑα]υτοῦ εὐεργέτην ὁ δῆμος. Τίτον Καλέ[στρι]-  
 [ον Καλέ]στρ[ί]ου? Τείρωνος υἰόν, Πολία, Τείρωνα Ἴω[ταπει]-  
 10 [τῶν ὁ δ]ῆμος.

The readings and restorations were all more or less straightforward, with the significant exception of the restoration at the opening of line 6 of the legion's honorary epithets [Πιστῆς Βεβ]αίας (meant to stand, the authors suggested, for *pia fidelis*).<sup>5</sup> Hans-Georg Pflaum soon pointed out, citing E. Ritterling's article on the legions in Pauly–Wissowa,<sup>6</sup> that this legion did not receive these epithets until the time of Commodus (180–192 A.D.). He suggested the alternative restoration [ἀνθύπατον Ἀχ]αίας for the beginning of line 6, but admitted that the number of letters exceeded those of the lines preceding. He supported his case for Tiro's proconsulship of Achaia by citing the careers of two other proconsuls of Achaia.<sup>7</sup> Without knowledge of Pflaum's work, K. Wachtel discussed the identity of the man and his family and hesitantly accepted the possibility that the legion had received the epithets already under

<sup>1</sup> I owe thanks to Christian Habicht for many helpful suggestions on an early draft of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, 85. Band, Vienna 1965, 27–29 no. 31. See also their *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, 102. Band, Vienna 1970, 161 for the significant correction of the last two lines of this text to include Tiro's son.

<sup>3</sup> There has been much discussion of the identity of this road. The initial editors' tentative supplement of [*Labica*]na has not found favor. See P. Culham, *Calestrius the Curator*, *ZPE* 85, 1985, 177–181, for a review of the literature and the suggestion [*Peda*]na.

<sup>4</sup> Syme pointed out (n. 10) 358 that restoration of the province was not obligatory and that the lacuna might, therefore, be filled with Trajan's honorary epithet [Παρ]θικοῦ].

<sup>5</sup> Of course, the rendering is odd, for εὐσεβής is the proper translation of *pia*, as Pflaum (n. 7) 186, among others (see *AE* 1965, 320), remarked.

<sup>6</sup> *RE* XII.2 (1925), col. 1580.

<sup>7</sup> Deux gouverneurs de la province de Cilicie, *Corolla Memoriae Erich Swoboda Dedicata*, Graz–Köln 1966, 183–194, esp. 186. He adduces C. Julius Severus who became proconsul *ca.* the year 135 after his command of IV *Scythica* (*IGR* 3, 174) and C. Julius Scapula who did the same *ca.* 137 (*IGR* 3, 178).

Trajan.<sup>8</sup> Both he and Pflaum agreed that this Tiro was identical with the man of that name who is known as *consul suffectus* in 122 A.D.<sup>9</sup>

In 1969 Sir Ronald Syme took up the discussion of the career and identity of Calestrius Tiro.<sup>10</sup> He doubted Pflaum's restoration of the proconsulship, mentioning the lack of space in the inscription; kept open the possibility that the honorary titles of V *Macedonica* were conferred for valour in the Dacian War; and suggested that for a time between *ca.* 108 and 116/117, viz. exactly in those years when Tiro must have been proconsul on Pflaum's argument, Achaia was put under imperial legates.<sup>11</sup> All this notwithstanding, Werner Eck and Bengt Thomasson have discussed the career of Calestrius Tiro in several influential studies and, while being careful to note Syme's doubts, have accepted Pflaum's restoration.<sup>12</sup> In short, recent scholarly opinion has accepted the restoration of Tiro's proconsulship of Achaia at the opening of line 6 of the inscription from Iotape.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, the questionable nature of the restoration remained, whether scholars were actively aware of it or not. Anyone who paid attention to the physical facts of the inscription from Iotape had to have serious doubts, as did Pflaum and Syme. In point of fact, based on the restorations of the openings of the other lines and the relative positions of the initial letter legible in each line, 9 letters at most can be restored at the opening of line 6. Pflaum's restoration, ANΘΥΠΙΑΤΟΝΑΧ, includes no iotas and requires 11 full spaces. It will not fit and, however attractive it might be, must be rejected. Short of positing an inscribing error of some kind, that was the only possible conclusion based on the available evidence.

Restudy of the inscription has now revealed that the text can be improved and the problem resolved.<sup>14</sup> Although the inscription is very worn and difficult to read, it is possible to confirm the text of Bean and Mitford except in the last two lines (a matter which they themselves corrected in 1970<sup>15</sup>) and in line five.<sup>16</sup> Instead of λεγιῶνος in the middle of that line, λεγεῶνος should be read and, all importantly, there are letters at the end of line 5 which were missed by Bean and Mitford. One can make out AN. Only a small bit of the upper left corner of the nu is legible at the break. The alpha, however, is clear (see fig.); it is situated directly under the second beta in line 2. Read then the end of this line and the beginning of the next as AN[.]/[ \_\_ *ca.* 8 \_\_ ]AΙΑΣ. Pflaum is shown to have been exactly correct! The initial letters of the title occurred at the end of line 5. Now that we know this fact, the concern about the available space at the opening of line 6 disappears. Read and restore the end of line 5 and beginning of 6 as ἀγ[θ/ύ]πατον Ἀχ]αίας. One can now be certain based on solid textual evidence that Tiro served

<sup>8</sup> Ein neuer Calestrius Tiro?, *Klio* 48, 1967, 169–176, esp. 174.

<sup>9</sup> *CIL* XVI 81 and 169.

<sup>10</sup> Legates of Cilicia under Trajan, *Historia* 18, 1969, 352–366, esp. 357–363.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 359–360.

<sup>12</sup> Eck: *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, Vestigia 13, München 1970, 174 and n. 260; *RE* Suppl. XIV (1974), cols. 84–85 no. 4; Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139, *Chiron* 12, 1982, 281–362, esp. 351 and n. 286. Thomasson: *Senatores Procuratoresque Romani*, Göteborg 1975, 27–28; *Laterculi Praesidium* I, Göteborg 1984, 193 no. 25.

<sup>13</sup> C. C. Petolescu, Tiro Leg(atus) *CIL* III 8048, *ZPE* 58, 1985, 207–210, esp. 209–210. He plausibly identifies T. Calestrius Tiro with the Tiro leg(atus) mentioned on *CIL* III 8048 and suggests that his command of Legion V *Macedonica* should be dated either soon after the year 105/106 or a few years earlier during Trajan's first Dacian campaign.

<sup>14</sup> I had the opportunity in July of 1996 to examine the inscriptions at Iotape as part of a surface-survey team. I am indebted to the Ministry of Culture of the Turkish Republic for permission to undertake this fieldwork, to Dr. Ismail Karamut, Director of the Alanya Museum, for his strong support of the project, and to Nursel Uckan, Project Representative from the Turkish Archaeological Service, for help in the field. This work could never have been undertaken without the efforts of the Directors of the project, Professors Nicholas Rauh and Richard Blanton of Purdue University. My own participation was supported in part by travel grants from the College of Humanities and the Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies at Ohio State University.

<sup>15</sup> See n. 2 above.

<sup>16</sup> There are also vacant spaces to be noted in this text, a single *vacat* before the numeral in line 5 and a double *vacat* before the name in line 8.

as proconsul of Achaia and, furthermore, at the time that he did so it was a Senatorial appointment.<sup>17</sup>



His proconsulship came in his *cursus* after his command of Legion V *Macedonica* and before his service as imperial legate of Cilicia. He was imperial legate under Trajan, i.e. ca. 115, and suffect consul in November of 122. The dates of his tenure in his other offices can only be estimated.<sup>18</sup>

#### Addendum

Calestrius Tiro served as tribune of *Legio VI Ferrata* stationed in Commagene and later in lower Moesia as commander of *Legio V Macedonica*. With the latter he no doubt saw action in the Dacian wars. Since E. Ritterling's study of the legions and listing of their known officers,<sup>19</sup> much new evidence has come to light on both legions. Concerning VI *Ferrata*, Ch. Habicht noted in 1969 16 additional members, mostly officers.<sup>20</sup> There are at least 16 others known to me: 2 legates,<sup>21</sup> 3 tribunes,<sup>22</sup> a *primuspilus*,<sup>23</sup> 4 centurions<sup>24</sup> (probably 5<sup>25</sup>), and 6 soldiers or veterans.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>17</sup> R. Syme's observation (n. 10, 359) that Achaia for a time in these very years was put under imperial legates has been questioned by W. Eck (*Senatoren*, n. 12, 258). There does not, after all, seem to have been a change in the status of the province under Trajan.

<sup>18</sup> W. Eck, *Chiron* 12, 1982, 351, places his proconsulship tentatively in 111/112. See now for a discussion of his career, T. Franke, *Die Legionslegaten der römischen Armee in der Zeit von Augustus bis Traian*, Bochum 1991, 123–126, 381–382, 415. Franke realized (from study of Bean and Mitford's photograph) that the spatial problem could be resolved by restoring the initial letters of the title at the end of line 5 (124–125).

<sup>19</sup> *RE* XII.2 (1925) s.v.

<sup>20</sup> *Altertümer von Pergamon* VIII.3: *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions*, Berlin 1969, 125–126.

<sup>21</sup> [C. Bruttius P]raesens L. Fulvius Rus[ticus] (*AE* 1950, 66; see also J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, London 1952, 545) and [T. Settidius] Firmus (*AE* 1987, 421).

<sup>22</sup> Q. Cornilius (*sic*) Aquinus (*ISyrie* III 813), C. Herennius Capito (*AE* 1941, 105), and Proculus (*AE* 1976, 265).

<sup>23</sup> Κόιντος Ἀνάτιος Παῦλος (*ZPE* 91, 1992, 229–231).

<sup>24</sup> M. Pulfennius (*AA* 55, 1940, cols. 521–526), Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Στράβων (*AS* 9, 1959, 97), Mevius Romanus (*CPh* 80, 1985, 321–326), and Ῥούφος Βεβε[ουεντ]αν[ός] (*ZPE* 91, 1992, 229–231).

<sup>25</sup> [M. Aur(elius)] Iustus (G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlin 1975, no. 177).

<sup>26</sup> C. Numisius (*Epigraphica* 30, 1968, 140), name lost (*AE* 1968, 511), Γάιος Τρώλλιο[ς]? Κακλουμεύς? (Bean and

Extensive archaeological activity in the Danube region where Legion V *Macedonica* was stationed for most of its existence has resulted in the publication/republication of many texts referring to that legion.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, there is so much new evidence that I limit the references given here to the rank of centurion and higher. There are now known to me no less than 27 additional officers of the legion, viz. 5 legates<sup>28</sup> and perhaps a sixth,<sup>29</sup> 2 tribunes,<sup>30</sup> 1 *primuspilus*,<sup>31</sup> and 19 centurions.<sup>32</sup>

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Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, Vienna 1970, 21 no. 4), L. Caienus (*AE* 1975, 203), Τίτος Φλάουιος Ἐρένιος (C. Naour, *Tyriaion en Cabalide*, Amsterdam 1980, 89 no. 43), and Πόπλιος Ἰαλίτιος (*EA* 1, 1983, 141–142 no. 1 = *I. Prusias ad Hypium* no. 31).

<sup>27</sup> See the indices of *ISM* I and V, of *IDR* I–III.3, and of *IDS*M.

<sup>28</sup> M. Valerius Maximianus (*AE* 1956, 124), Q. Caecilius Redditus (*ISM* V 155), Aelius Optatus (*ISM* V 158), Domitius Antiochus (*AE* 1965, 242), and Cominius Secundus (*JRS* 61, 1971, 144–145).

<sup>29</sup> Q. Pomponius Rufus (*AE* 1948, 3).

<sup>30</sup> P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus (*AE* 1940, 99) and C. Nonius Flaccus (*AE* 1975, 353).

<sup>31</sup> L. Pontius (*AS* 27, 1977, 87 no. 28).

<sup>32</sup> Resius Albanus (*AE* 1927, 51), M. Ulpius Cl. Magnus (*AE* 1927, 146), Fl(avius) Moderatus (*AE* 1927, 146), Iul(ius) Ingenus (*AE* 1927, 146), [Au]rel(ius) Licini[a]nus (*Epigraphica* 7, 1945, 119), C. Val(erius) Paternus (*AE* 1946, 51), T. Rasius Crispus (*AE* 1950, 15), [U]lp(ius) Max[i]minus (*IDR* III.3 237), Cassius Severin(us) (*AE* 1971, 366), C. Cassius Vitalis (*Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy Cambridge 1967*, Oxford 1971, 349–356), C. Val(erius) Lu[canus?] (*AE* 1976, 574), L. Valerius Fuscus (*ISM* V 221), Annaeus Pulcher (*ISM* V 239), [M]jaecius Domitius (*IDR* II 36), T. Fl(avius) Saturn[inus] (*ZPE* 40, 1980, 277–282), Q. Cassius Saturninus (*SEG* 32, 1276), M. Caesius Verus (*ZPE* 71, 1988, 176–178 no. 12), M. Ennius Illadianus (*AE* 1990, 868, 869), and P. Aelius Firmus (*AE* 1991, 1475).