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The organisation of the career structure of the immunes and principales of the Roman army\*

Introduction

In his great work on the officers of the Roman army, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*<sup>1</sup>, Alfred von Domaszewski carefully examined the ranking of the individual posts below the centurionate and their relationship to each other. This work, however, paid but scant attention to the career structure and certainly made no attempt to investigate the idiosyncracies of the individual units. Nevertheless Domaszewski did offer a framework for the *cursus*, dividing it into three stages, promotion being through them to the centurionate<sup>2</sup>. Each stage contained a number of posts; the lowest included the *immunes*, that is the soldiers immune from heavier fatigues in return for carrying out other duties, the second the 'taktische Chargen' or the posts in the century, and the third the senior staff and administrative posts. I have recently argued that the three groups of posts do not constitute separate stages on the *cursus*, but only have the general usefulness of grouping together posts of similar status and/or function<sup>3</sup>. Separate stages, if any indeed formally existed, are more likely to be found in the pay grades.

For convenience my scheme of pay grades, ranks and posts for the period from Hadrian to Severus Alexander is set down below.

rank	pay	post
<i>miles</i>	basic	technicians, specialists, clerks
<i>immunis</i>		
<i>principalis</i>	pay and a half ( <i>sesquiplarius</i> )	junior staff officers, <i>tesserarius</i> , <i>custos armorum</i> ? (in the third century some <i>librarii</i> and <i>exacti</i> )
	double pay ( <i>duplicarius</i> )	<i>optio</i> , standard bearers, senior staff officers (some of whom may have been <i>equites</i> )

\* This paper is based on my unpublished Ph. D. thesis, *The Immunes and Principales of the Roman Army* (Durham University 1970). Reference to CIL is by volume and inscription number only, thus VI 3263. – Das Manuskript wurde Ende 1972 abgeschlossen.

<sup>1</sup> Domaszewski-Dobson 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Domaszewski-Dobson 1–6.

<sup>3</sup> Breeze 1971, 130–135.

In his article 'The Advancement of Officers in the Roman Army', published in the same year as the Rangordnung, G. H. Allen listed a number of careers of soldiers below the centurionate but made no attempt to draw any conclusions from them<sup>4</sup>. Since the publication of the Rangordnung there has in fact been no examination of these soldiers as complete and all-embracing as Domaszewski's. In works on the various branches of the army the posts below the centurionate have been studied but the conclusions have all been based upon Domaszewski's and his thesis has not been materially affected, while none have attempted to discuss the career structure in depth<sup>5</sup>. This latter problem was partly tackled by E. Sander in 'Zur Rangordnung des römischen Heeres: die gradus ex caliga'. Sander, however, discussed the army as a whole, not distinguishing between the career structures of the different units, though he did add a new dimension, chronology. In this paper I intend to examine the career structure of each unit in the army, insofar as the evidence allows, and to follow Sander in approaching the subject chronologically<sup>6</sup>. The praetorian career structure was the model for the other Rome cohorts and is the best surviving of all units in the army, therefore it is discussed first, followed by the other Rome cohorts, the legions and the *auxilia*.

I would like to record my thanks to Dr. Brian Dobson for the help I have received from him in the preparation of this paper, and in particular his encouragement seven years ago that I should take up the problems of the *immunes* and *principales*.

#### T H E P R A E T O R I A N C O H O R T S

The posts in the praetorian *cursus* fall clearly into Domaszewski's three groups – junior staff and specialist posts, the posts in the century and the senior staff posts – and in the main soldiers progressed from one group to the next though these three groups cut across the three pay grades. The backbone to the career below the posts in the century were the junior staff posts, *singularis tribuni*, *beneficiarius tribuni* and *singularis praefecti praetorio*. From either of the two latter posts advancement was to *tesserarius* or *optio*. The posts in the century – *tesserarius*, *optio* and *signifer* – formed one self-contained group and as Domaszewski pointed out<sup>7</sup>, no other post intervened between any two of them. They were also an indispensable condition for further promotion, which was usually to the senior staff posts. Here the promotion path divided. Depending upon the number of posts in the century already held a soldier might either be promoted *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio* or *fisci curator* and *cornicularius tribuni* or *cornicularius praefecti praetorio*. The *cornicularius praefecti praetorio* was apparently promoted directly to the centurionate, probably automatically. Other soldiers destined for the cen-

<sup>4</sup> Allen 1908.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Durry 1938, Freis 1967, Baillie-Reynolds 1923 and 1926, Speidel 1965.

<sup>6</sup> Sander 1957.

<sup>7</sup> Domaszewski-Dobson 10.



turionate had first to serve a term as *evocatus*. The study of the career structure may be divided into three periods: the first century, the second century to the end of the Severan dynasty, and the third century.

### The First Century

Name and reference	Approximate date	Career summary
M. Vettius Valens XI 395 = ILS 2648	Tiberius-Claudius	bf. pr. pr., <i>evoc.</i> , centurio rising to procurator.
Sex. Cetrius Severus XI 6343 add = ILS 2073 Tac. Hist. I 31.	Tiberius-Claudius	speculator, bf. pr. pr., ab comment. custod., . . . tribune.
L. Tatinius Cnosus AE 1933, 87	Flavian	singul., bf. trib., <i>optio</i> , bf. pr. pr., <i>evoc.</i> , centurio.
M. Coelius Clemens V 7160 = ILS 2086	Flavian	<i>optio</i> , <i>evoc.</i> , centurio.
C. Lucilius Vindex IX 5809 = ILS 2078	I cent?	principalis, bf. trib., <i>optio</i> , stip. XII.
L. Trosius Maximus VI 2755 = ILS 2145	I cent?	speculator, a <i>quaestion</i> . pr. pr., <i>evoc.</i> , centurio.
C. Iulius Ingenuus VI 2578 = ILS 2143	I cent?	signifer stip. XIX, <i>evoc.</i> XII.
L. Octavius Marcellinus V 3371	I cent?	bf. pr. pr., <i>evoc.</i>

On the basis of the career of L. Tatinius Cnosus it is clear that the pattern of promotion from the junior staff posts through the posts in the century to the senior staff posts is already established in the Flavian period though in a more simplified form than was common later. Cnosus, it may be noted, held only one of the posts in the century, *optio*, in contrast to the two or three usually held in the second century, and the same post was also held by Clemens and Vindex. The only other post in the century to appear in a first century career is *signifer*, and then only once. Promotion from *optio* and *signifer* to *evocatus*, only recorded once in the second and third centuries, is attested twice in the first<sup>8</sup>. The posts of *speculator* and a *quaestionibus praefecti praetorio* appear in these two first century careers but in no later ones.

<sup>8</sup> The rather enigmatic career inscription of M. Apicius Tiro (XI 19 = ILS 2664) may include promotion from *optio* to *evocatus*, though the post may have been *optio evoc(atorum)* as Domaszewski considered. It is not impossible that his career was *optio, a commentariis custodiarum, evocatus*.

The careers of the reign of Trajan belong to a more formalised *cursus* and while it is possible that Trajan himself was responsible for reforms to the career structure of the praetorians it is perhaps more probable that they antedate him and should be attributed to Domitian who added another praetorian cohort and was reputedly popular with the guard.

#### The Second Century

C. Arrius Clemens XI 5646 = ILS 2081	Trajan	eques, singul. pr. pr., tess., optio, fisci cur., corn. trib., evoc., centurio, p.p.
C. Caesius Silvester XI 5696	Trajan	bf. pr. pr., evoc., centurio, p.p., pf. castr.
Q. Albius Felix XI 3108	Trajan	corn. pr. pr., centurio.
A. Saufeius Emax III 2887 = ILS 9067	Trajan?	bf. trib., tesser., o[ptio] <sup>9</sup> .
C. Ligustinius Disertus XI 5960	Trajan – Hadrian <sup>10</sup>	bf. pr. pr., evoc., centurio.
Ti. Claudius Firmus IX 5358 = ILS 1325	Trajan – Hadrian	corn. pr. pr., . . . . p.p.
C. Oppius Bassus IX 5839, 5830 = ILS 2085	Hadrian	mil. urb., mil. praet., tess., optio, signifer, bf. pr. pr., evoc., centurio, p.p.
Octavius Secundus III 7334 = ILS 2080	Hadrian	mil. urb., mil. praet., singul. trib., bf. trib., singul. pr. pr., optio, signifer, fisci cur., corn. trib., evoc., centurio, p.p.
Sextilius Marcianus XIII 6728	140–157	principalis? 146, tess., optio, signifer, bf. pr. pr., evoc?, centurio.
M. Atilius Successus VI 32520, a, 2, 21	143–160	signifer, evoc.
L. Cominius Maximus XIV 3626 = ILS 2742	Pius – Verus	bf. pr. pr., centurio rising to procurator.
L. Petronius Sabinus XI 6055 = ILS 2743 IX 5898 = ILS 1386	Pius – Verus	corn. pr. pr., centurio rising to procurator.

<sup>9</sup> Emax' last post is usually restored as *cornicularius* but this is unlikely. The C, dotted in CIL, is probably a leaf-stop, as is found between most words on the inscription, and the O can then be the first letter of *optio* for which there is room on the stone, but not for *cornicularius*.

<sup>10</sup> Birley 1965, 29 f.



Sueto Marcellinus XI 6350 = ILS 9066	c. 154–160	miles an. I, eques an. II m. IX, tess. an. II m. XI.
P. Cleusius Proculus Pais 1253		corn. pr. pr., . . . p.p.
]ninus X 1763 add		li]b., tess., signifer, fisci cur., corn. pr. pr., centurio.
Unknown VI 3661		tess., optio, signifer, fisci cur., corn. trib.
Amblasius Secundus XI 710		tess., optio, signifer, bf. pr. pr., evoc., centurio.
L. Pompeius Reburus II 2160 = ILS 2079		bf. trib., tess., optio, signifer, fisci cur., corn. trib., evoc.
Unknown VI 2794		sing. pr. pr., tess., optio, signifer, bf. pr. pr., evoc., centurio.
T. Flavius Rufus XI 20 = ILS 2082		architectus, tess., bf. pr. pr., corn. pf. annonae, centurio.
C. Aelius Aelianus VI 2454 = ILS 2060		librator, tess., evoc.
L. Naevius Paullinus VI 2440 = ILS 2077		eques, optio eq., corn. trib., evoc. an. III.
L. Laelius Fuscus VI 37191 = ILS 9190		optio eq., vex. eq., fisci cur., evoc., centurio.
M. Titius Titianus III 3846 = ILS 2652		corn. pr. pr., centurio.
Unknown VI 32887	enlisted 182	mil. leg., tess., mil. praet. 194, . . . bf. pr. pr., evoc., centurio, p.p.
Florus IX 1609	200–222?	mil. leg. 200, mil. praet. 205, principalis 209, tess. 213, optio 214, signifer 215, sa[cerdos]? 217, centurio 222? <sup>11</sup> .

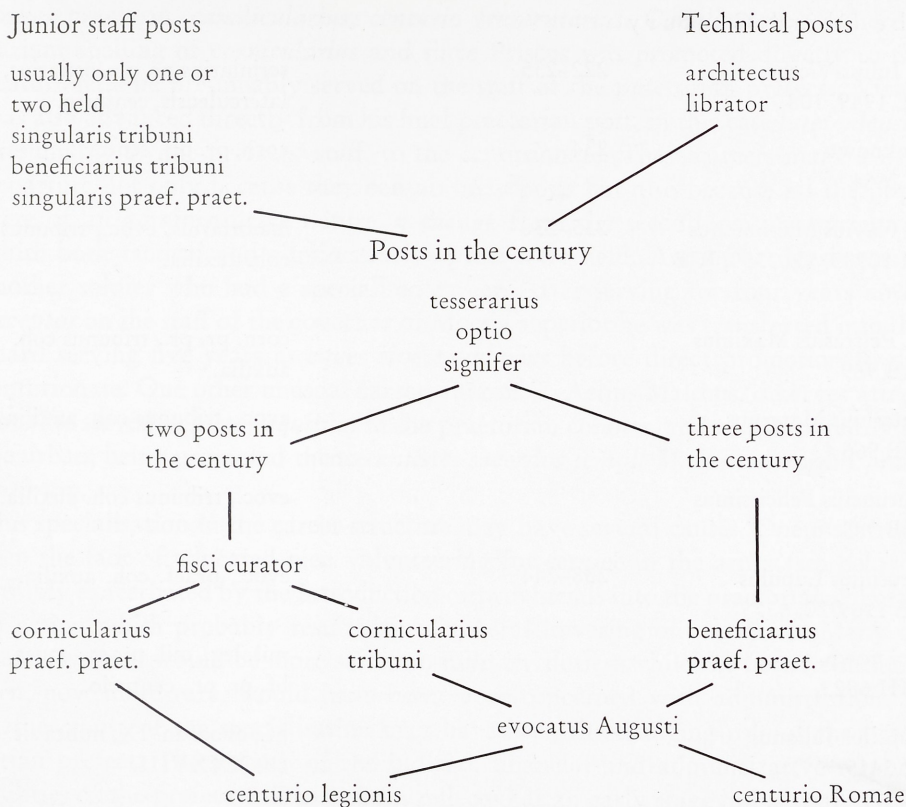
<sup>11</sup> The fragmentary consular date of Florus' promotion to centurion was restored by Domaszewski (p. 251) to 218. The stone reads *ATVNO IIII [ ]TO COS*. G. R. Watson has suggested to me that this may be restored as *ANTONINO IIII [et August]TO COS (222)*.

The careers of the soldiers in the guard from Trajan to Severus Alexander form the most homogeneous of all groups of careers in any branch of the army. The first recorded appointment in a career was usually to one of the junior staff posts. Sometimes three posts, *singularis tribuni*, *beneficiarius tribuni*, *singularis praefecti praetorio*, were held, as in the case of Octavius Secundus, but more usually apparently only one of these posts, as demonstrated by Arrius Clemens, Saufeius Emax, Pompeius Reburus and the unknown soldier of VI 2794. Occasionally the first post was of a more technical nature, *architectus* or *librator*. The three *equites*, Arrius Clemens, Sueto Marcellinus and Naevius Paullinus, held none of the more junior staff posts but were promoted to *singularis praefecti praetorio*, *tesserarius* and *optio equitum*. In view of the higher status and pay of the *equites* this is perhaps to be expected. A position as *eques* may have been roughly equivalent to holding one of the junior posts on the tribune's staff.

After promotion to one of the posts in the century the careers fall into two main groups. Four soldiers, Oppius Bassus, Sextilius Marcius, Amblasius Secundus and the unknown of VI 2794, hold all three of the posts in the century and then pass on to be *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio* – and a fifth, Florus, who was *sa[cerdos]* instead of the usual final post, may be added to this group – while three soldiers, Arrius Clemens, Octavius Secundus and Jninus, hold only two of the posts in the century and then the posts of *fisci curator* and *cornicularius tribuni* or *cornicularius praefecti praetorio*. Most of the other, less detailed, careers conform to this rule with two exceptions, those of Pompeius Reburus and the unknown soldier of VI 3661, who held all three of the posts in the century and then *fisci curator* and *cornicularius tribuni*; Reburus, it may be noted, is recorded as holding only one junior staff post. It would appear that after initial service in one or more junior staff posts *principales* usually held four posts between *tesserarius* and *evocatus*, centurion or retirement. If all three posts in the century were held the fourth post was usually *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio*, and if only two, each of the three recorded careers omitting a different post, two senior staff posts, *fisci curator* and *cornicularius tribuni* or *cornicularius praefecti praetorio*, were held; only one soldier, to be discussed later, crossed from one branch of the senior staff posts to another. Since there were more *beneficarii praefecti praetorio* than *cornicularii tribuni* and *cornicularii praefecti praetorio* it might be expected that more soldiers would take this path than the other and indeed the evidence as cited above supports this. Also in this career structure the prospective centurion saw service on the tactical side in the posts in the century and on the administrative side in the posts of *signifer* and the senior staff posts.

Not all the careers conform to the above 'rules'. Both the *equites* held less than four posts: Laelius Fuscus was *optio equitum*, *vexillarius equitum*, *fisci curator* and Naevius Paullinus *eques*, *optio equitum*, *cornicularius tribuni*. The *equites* received more pay and training than the *pedites* and were of higher status; the unusual nature of these two careers may be connected with this. Whatever the reason both soldiers saw service in both types of posts, administrative and military. Another *eques*, Sueto Marcellinus, was advanced directly to *tesserarius* without holding any of the junior staff posts, while a fourth, Arrius Clemens, was





The praetorian career structure in the second century

a *singularis praefecti praetorio* – surely a coveted post – and rose to be a *primuspilus*.

One career, that of T. Flavius Rufus, cuts strikingly across the normal pattern. Beginning his career in the urban cohorts and terminating it as a centurion in the legions he was one of the few technical officers who can be shown to have taken up a professional military career as opposed to a technical career in the army. After service as *architectus* he became a *tesserarius* and then, holding neither of the two senior posts in the century, was promoted to *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio*. His final post before advancement to the centurionate was *cornicularius praefecti annonae*, being the only soldier attested with this post. His change from one branch of the senior staff posts to another is unparalleled. As an *architectus* Rufus must have been an educated man and this may have had an effect on his career, for instance in his omission of two of the posts in the century. Aelius Aelianus, a *librator* promoted to *tesserarius*, also had an unusual career in that he was next appointed *evocatus*. Only one other holder of one of the posts in the century in the second century received the *evocatio*, M. Acilius Successus, and he was a *signifer*, rather more senior to a *tesserarius*. The fact that most of the careers which do not correspond to the normal paths of promotion are of *equites* and specialists tends to emphasis that there were rules governing promotions.

## The Third Century

L. Iulius Victor AE 1949, 108	222–235	scriniarius pr. pr., ostiarius, laterculensis, centurio.
Unknown II 2664	234	corn. pr. pr., centurio.
T. Flavius Maximianus VI 10983, IX 3350, RIB 1896	235–238	maiorianus, evoc., tribunus coh. auxilia.
Q. Peltradius Maximus RIB 989		corn. pr. pr., tribunus coh. auxilia.
Paternius Maternus RIB 966		evoc., tribunus coh. auxilia.
Auruncius Felicissimus RIB 988		evoc., tribunus coh. auxilia.
Drusinius Lupulus AE 1969/70, 637	238–244	evoc., praef. coh. auxilia.
Unknown XIII 6823		mil. leg., mil. praet., eques, bf. pr. pr., centurio.
Aurelius Iulianus VI 3419		bf., evoc. an. IX, militavit an. XXXVIII.
T. Aelius Malchus VI 2556 = ILS 2090		tector eq. praet. coh. III pr. qui et urb., antistes sacerdos.
M. Aurelius Priscus ILG 107 = ILS 9074		primiscrinus, ostiarius, pr. pr., canalicularius, centurio frum.
C. Cornelius Florentinus VIII 2852, p. 954		bf. pr. pr?, evoc., [ ]a tabul. castr., centurio.
M. Aurelius Augustianus VI 2977 = ILS 2173		exceptor praesidis an. IV, in praet. eques sive tabularius an. V, centurio an. VIII.
Traianus Mucianus IGB III 2 1570	late III cent.	mil. aux., mil. leg., eq. praet., evoc., centurio rising to procurator.

The early third century was manifestly a time of change. The career of Florus in the first two decades of the third century is the last known to follow the second century pattern while the contemporary career of L. Iulius Victor is completely new containing three hitherto unattested posts. This career, *scriniarius praefectorum praetorio, ostiarius, laterculensis, centurio*, can be paralleled by that of M. Aurelius Priscus, *primiscrinus castrorum praetorianorum, ostiarius praefec-*



*torum praetorio, canalicularius, centurio frumentarius. Canalicularius* is here a variant spelling of *cornicularius* and since Priscus was promoted directly to the centurionate he presumably served on the staff of the praetorian prefects. Victor was also advanced directly from his final praetorian post, in this case *laterculensis*, presumably on the prefects' staff, to the centurionate. These careers mark a new departure not only because they contain new posts but also because all the posts were of an administrative nature, a change from the second century system in which both tactical and administrative posts were held. Aurelius Augustianus is another soldier who had a specialised career. After serving for four years as an *exceptor* on the staff of the governor of Moesia superior he was transferred into the guard serving five years as *equus sive tabularius* before direct promotion to the centurionate. One other unusual career, that of T. Aelius Malchus, deserves attention. He served as *tector equitum* in the praetorian cohorts, and also apparently in the urban, being promoted thence *antistes sacerdos templi Martis castrorum praetoriorum*.

This specialisation in the career structure may have several causes. One may have been the lack of educated men volunteering for service in the army (see below), possibly exacerbated by the introduction of provincials into the praetorian cohorts, an action which probably resulted in a general lowering of standards. Many of these new men would be more suited to military duties, while the better educated men, now more rare, would have been more concerned with administration. A further cause of the specialisation may have been the changing role of the praetorian prefect. The growth of the judicial, financial and administrative responsibilities of the prefect will have been reflected at an early stage in his staff. These factors may have helped the growth of purely military and purely administrative career structures, which was part of the general increasing dichotomy between the two branches of the army in the third century. Moreover the educated soldiers in the administration would be more likely to record their careers on inscriptions and thus be over-represented in the surviving records; the lack of third century military careers may be noted in this context<sup>12</sup> though there is no evidence that the posts in the century were abolished before the disbanding of the guard by Constantine.

At the end of their careers in the praetorian cohorts a number of soldiers received the *evocatio* and many, though not all<sup>13</sup>, were then advanced to the centurionate. No *cornicularius praefecti praetorio*, however, is known to have served as *evocatus*, all were promoted directly to the centurionate, in every recorded case in a legion, while the *cornicularius praefecti annonae*, Flavius Rufus, fits into the same pattern<sup>14</sup>. The direct promotion may be taken to imply that these officers were usually promoted to the centurionate before the completion of their sixteen years service and, since no *cornicularii praefecti praetorio* are mentioned on the discharge lists, that promotion was usually automatic. All other soldiers in the first and

<sup>12</sup> The latest dated references to *optio* and *signifer* are in 221 and 222 (VI 323).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Dobson and Breeze 1969, 106, n. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Dobson and Breeze 1969, 104–105.

second centuries served a term as *evocatus* before promotion to the centurionate which could either be in Rome or in a legion. In the third century while *cornicularii praefecti praetorio* continued to be promoted directly to the centurionate some soldiers as before served as *evocati* first but others by-passed *evocatus* and were directly advanced from a senior staff post to the centurionate. There are four such promotions known, from *sa[cerdos]*, *laterculensis*, *tabularius* and even *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio*. In the case of the *tabularius*, Aurelius Augustianus, the promotion was after only nine years service, though in the early third century Florus served for 22 years in *XIII Gemina* and the guard before his promotion.

In the third century there was some difficulty in filling all the places in the *militia equestris* from the traditional sources. Hence a *cornicularius praefecti praetorio*, Peltradius Maximus, an *evocatus* from the praetorian cohorts, Flavius Maximianus, and three *evocati* presumably from the praetorian cohorts, Paternius Maternus, Auruncius Felicissimus and Drusinius Lupulus, appear to be promoted directly to the post of tribune or prefect in an auxiliary cohort. Two of these careers are dated, that of Drusinius Lupulus to 238 to 244 and that of Flavius Maximianus to 235 to 238, but the similar style of the other three inscriptions to that of Maximianus, all four being erected at three forts in north-west Britain, suggests that they are all roughly contemporary. It is clear that in the third century the opportunities of the praetorians for advancement were increasing. Not only was promotion to the centurionate easier, but advancement to the command of an auxiliary unit was possible in the changing conditions of the period.

It is possible to estimate the *stipendia* at which a soldier in the guard might have expected to reach a certain rank. This can be no more than an estimate for extant careers clearly reveal that some soldiers were promoted earlier and quicker than others while the duration of individual posts varied both with the post and the soldier. This is demonstrated on the two surviving fragments of what appears to have been a complete list of the soldiers in a praetorian century recorded in order of enlistment (76 names have survived)<sup>15</sup>. The earliest date on the stone is 168 and the latest 179. The inscription was therefore erected between 179 and 184. In the section comprising soldiers who had enlisted in 170 there appear a *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio*, a *signifer* and a *beneficiarius tribuni*<sup>16</sup>, each a member of a different one of Domaszewski's three groups and soldiers whose *stipendia* it might be thought would have differed by several years. Similarly the *optio* who had enlisted in 168 was making slow progress compared to the *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio* who had enlisted two years later<sup>17</sup>.

The information regarding the *stipendia* of holders of career posts and their ages is set down in the following table.

<sup>15</sup> VI 32638 and AE 1964, 120.

<sup>16</sup> AE 1964, 120, a, 3; 6; 7.

<sup>17</sup> AE 1964, 120, a, 2; 3.



rank	reference	stipendia	age	date
sing. trib. principalis	X 410		24	early III cent.
	XIII 6728	6		146
bf. trib.	AE 1921, 83	7	30	c. 200
	XI 1842	8	25	early II cent.
	VI 2527		26	III cent.
	V 8274	18	38	I–II cent.
tesserarius	XI 6350	4–6		c. 160
	IX 1609	13 (8 in guard)		213
	VI 2705		35	late I–II cent.
optio	VI 2747	11	28	II cent.
	IX 5809	12	30	II cent.
	IX 1609	14 (9 in guard)		214
	VI 2716	14	32	late I–early III cent.
	III 7072	15		II–III cent.
	VI 2447 XI 1803		30 34	early III cent. early III cent.
signifer	IX 1609	15 (10 in guard)		215
	V 4371	7–12		late II–III cent.
	VI 2578	19		late I cent.
fisci curator	VI 2544	15	35	III cent.
corn. trib.	VI 2560		18	late II – early III cent.
corn. pr. pr.	XI 5702	13		II cent.
	VI 2776		32	late II–III cent.
bf. pr. pr.	VI 2644	12	44	late II–early III cent
	VI 32707	6 or 11		I cent.
	VI 2643	19 (14 in guard)	45	III cent.
	III 645		34	late I – early III cent.
sa[cerdos]	IX 1609	17 (12 in guard)		217.

The clearest group are the *optiones* whose *stipendia* range from 11 to 15 and their ages from 28 to 34. The *tesserarii* are little help – Florus (IX 1609) probably had an accelerated career in the guard because he had first spent five years in a legion, so if this is allowed he would fit better the *stipendia* of the *optiones*; Marcellinus (XI 6350), on the other hand, clearly had received early promotion. The *beneficarii tribuni*, however, form a coherent group with two *stipendia*, 7 and 8, and

ages of 25, 26 and 30 – one long serving soldier of this rank with 18 *stipendia* is not unexpected – and the age of the *singularis tribuni*, 24, is also convenient. 15 *stipendia* is what might be expected for the *fisci curator*, but little can be said of the other senior staff officers except that they all had long service. One other post deserves mention, *eques*. The position of the *eques* as being roughly equal to *singularis* or *beneficiarius tribuni* has already been determined and comparison of the *stipendia* agrees with this. The *stipendia* of twenty *equites* are known and three more are recorded on discharge lists<sup>18</sup>. 15 of the 20 *stipendia* are between 7 and 13, two are below, 1 and 3, while three are above, 16 (2) and 17. Most soldiers did not reach the post of *eques* until they had 7 years service or more<sup>19</sup>. With regard to discharge lists it may be remarked that no *tesserarii* are recorded on them, four *optiones* and seven or eight *signiferi*<sup>20</sup>. Since there were the same number of these officers it is natural that there should be more of the higher grade than the lower and suggests that the *tesserarius* might reasonably hope for at least one more promotion. Although eight *fisci curatores* are recorded on discharge lists<sup>21</sup> no *cornicularii tribuni*, *cornicularii praefecti praetorio* or *beneficarii praefecti praetorio* appear suggesting that by the time these most senior posts had been reached advancement to *evocatus* or a centurionate was almost automatic.

We may now sum up the promotion prospects of the praetorian soldier. It would seem that most soldiers advanced to one of the junior staff posts would receive further promotion, as would holders of the next post, *tesserarius*. Thereafter, however, the chances of further promotion would gradually and progressively decline until the final posts of *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio*, *cornicularius tribuni* and *cornicularius praefecti praetorio*. Soldiers holding these posts would almost automatically receive the *evocatio* or, in the case of the *cornicularius* of the prefect, a centurionate.

It is not easy to determine the number of years a soldier might serve in any one post. The careers of Florus and Marcellinus are in stark contrast, the former with promotion to *tesserarius* after 13 years service, albeit the first five in a legion, and each succeeding post held for one or two years, the latter with advancement to *eques* after only one year, then to *tesserarius* just under three years later, a post which he held for nearly three years before his death. If a soldier was normally promoted *beneficiarius tribuni* after about seven years service, as the available evidence suggests, and the following five posts held for an equal length of time each will have been held for about two years. Bearing in mind all the uncertainties the following table has been drawn up.

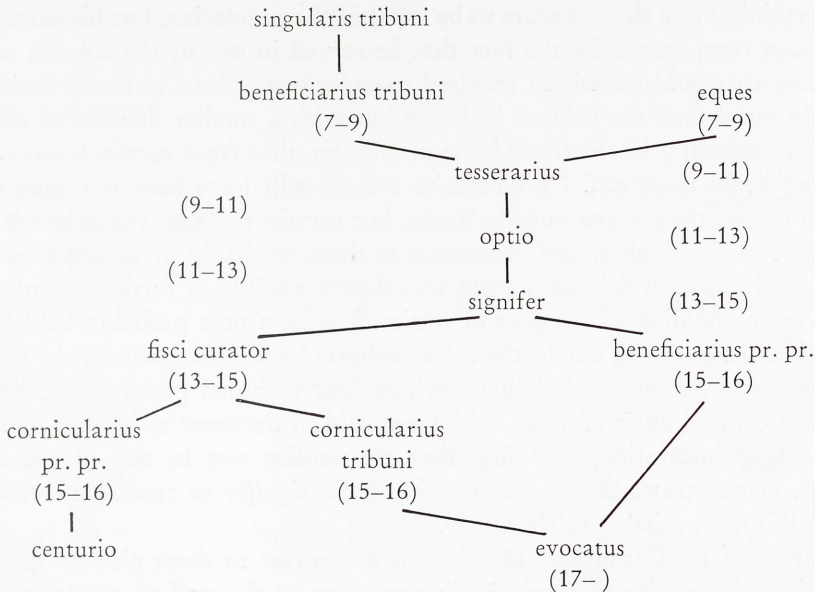
<sup>18</sup> XI 6350; VI 2695; AE 1923, 80; VI 2591; ILJ 332; VI 2519; VI 2559; VI 2572; III 5642; VI 2678; V 918; VI 2751; VI 2679; VI 2765; IX 650; III 6704; VI 2439; XI 2594; VI 2601; XI 2594; VI 32515, a, 2, 14; 3, 30; e, 2, 16.

<sup>19</sup> This agrees with the age of the *equites legionis*. With the exception of Etuvius Capreolus (AE 1902, 41 = ILS 9090), dated to the period Tiberius–Claudius, no legionary *eques* is known to have had less than 7 years service. The *equites* in *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* mostly had over 10 years service. Durry 1938, 191 suggested that a *pedes* could be promoted *eques* after only 5 years service. This is clearly an underestimate. Durry suggested 8 years service before promotion to one of the posts in the century, I would suggest 9.

<sup>20</sup> VI 32520, a, 52; b, 42; VI 32523, a, 20; VI 32527, 1; VI 32520, a, 2, 13; 3, 44; 61; 4, 6; 46; b, 2, 37; VI 32519, a, 5, 8 and also possibly VI 2400, 2, 2.

<sup>21</sup> VI 32515, a, 2, 27; 31; c, 2, 2; e, 2, 9; VI 32520, a, 2, 40; 4, 41; b, 2, 2; VI 32527, 4.





Calculated hypothetical stipendia of the soldiers on the praetorian cursus

## The Urban Cohorts

M. Caranthius Macrinus XII 2602 = ILS 2118	73-88	mil. 73, bf. leg. Aug. 77, corn. leg. equestris. stipendis 83, evoc. 88, centurio 90.
C. Luccius Sabinus IX 1617 = ILS 2117	114-134	mil. coh. I urb., ad latus tribunor., secutor, opt. val., opt. carceris, singul., bf. trib., a quaest., tess., optio, signifer, fisci cur., opt. ab actis, corn. trib., bf. pr.
C. Vasidius Bellicus VIII 4874 = ILS 2116	late I-II cent.	mil. coh. X urb., optio, signifer, fisci cur., opt. ab actis urbi.
Unknown VI 2794	II cent?	signifer, evoc. an. IIII m. III.

The *cursus* of the soldiers in the urban cohorts would appear to be based on that of the praetorian cohorts, as is to be expected. This is illustrated by the career of C. Luccius Sabinus, the most detailed known in the Roman army. Sabinus held six junior staff posts, *secutor tribuni*, *optio valetudinarii*, *optio carceris*, *singularis tribuni*, *beneficiarius tribuni*, *a quaestionibus*, then all three of the posts in the century and finally four senior staff posts, *fisci curator*, *optio ab actis*, *cornicularius tribuni* and *beneficiarius praefecti*, all presumably within a period of twenty years. Sabinus may have held more posts than was usual in the urban cohorts,

and certainly more than appears to be usual in the praetorian, but his career may have been complicated by the fact that he served in one of the cohorts outside Rome which would have been required to carry out at least as many duties and possibly more than the cohorts in Rome but with a smaller number of soldiers. This may certainly have affected one promotion, that from *cornicularius tribuni* to *beneficiarius praefecti*. *Cornicularius tribuni* will have been the most senior post in one of the cohorts outside Rome, but certain posts on the prefect's staff will have ranked higher, and promotion to these, probably involving a move to Rome on the basis of Sabinus' career, was clearly possible. A further complication comes in the holding of the post of *optio ab actis*, a post probably held by the *evocati* in the guard<sup>22</sup>, but in the urban cohorts by a *principalis* on the basis of the careers of Sabinus and Bellicus, whose four recorded posts, *optio*, *signifer*, *fisci curator*, and *optio ab actis urbi*, were held in the same order as Sabinus. A fragmentary inscription, assuming that the soldier was in one of the urban cohorts, demonstrates that it was possible for a *signifer* to receive the *evocatio*, though this was probably fairly rare<sup>23</sup>.

The career of M. Caranthius Macrinus is a contrast to those already discussed since his entire service as a *principalis* was spent on the staff of the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis. Macrinus enlisted in 73 and became an *evocatus* fifteen years later. In that time he served as *beneficiarius* and *cornicularius* to three governors of Lugdunensis. His first appointment came only four years after his enlistment and lasted for six years, the duration of his service as *cornicularius* being five. The latter post carried with it the *stipendia* of an *eques*. This career – in the tenure of the two posts successively on the staff of the governor, their duration and the early promotion – is unusual. This may be due in part to the position of the men of the urban cohorts outside Rome serving on the staff of the governor and procurator of the province, but the early date of the career, before the formalisation of the praetorian career structure, may help to explain its peculiarities.

One final point about the career prospects of the soldiers of the urban cohorts may be made. The appearance of three *cornicularii tribuni* on laterculi<sup>24</sup>, while none are known on praetorian laterculi, and three *beneficarii praefecti* in comparison to one praetorian<sup>25</sup> would suggest that promotion to the centurionate from the urban cohorts was difficult. Indeed the only such recorded promotion is of M. Caranthius Macrinus. However, with so little evidence, and so few careers, on which to work it is difficult to be dogmatic about this point, and indeed all others relating to the urban *cursus*.

<sup>22</sup> IX 5839 and 5840 = ILS 2085; X 3733 = ILS 2083.

<sup>23</sup> VI 2946.

<sup>24</sup> VI 32521, a, 3, 14; VI 32526, a, 3, 12; VI 37184, b, 1.

<sup>25</sup> VI 32519, a, 3, 13; 15; VI 37184, a, 13; VI 32523, b, II, 19.



## The Vigiles

Q. Iulius Galatus VI 2987 = ILS 2169	late I–II cent.	mil. an. XIV, secutor trib. an. II, bf. trib. an. II, vex. an. III.
Sex. Aetrius Ferox XI 5693 and 5694 = ILS 2666 and 2666a	Hadrian	corn. pr. vig., centurio 138– 141.
M. Caecilius Rufus VI 414b	late II cent	corn. pr. vig., centurio.
C. Aelius Similis X 3880 = ILS 2171	II cent?	bf. trib., optio, mil. urb.
C. Virrius Lucundus XI 1438	II cent?	mil. an. VI m. VII, tess., optio, vex.
Unknown VI 37295	II – early III cent.	vex., bf. subpr., bf. pr. vig., tabularius bf. pr., comm. pr., corn. pr.

The following soldiers all appear on the two great inscriptions VI 1057 (dated to 205) and VI 1058 (210), here referred to as A and B.

M. Sattius Felix A (4) 11; B (7) 15	CPC, cacus.	C. Firmius Firmianus A (2) 36; B (4) 8	se. tr., opt. c.
C. Calius Martialis A (6) 11; B (4) 15	aba., har.	Q. Nutrius Paulinus A (4) 44; B (7) 10	s. tr., opt. conv.
T. Aelius Livianus A (7) 34; B (5) 7	ex. tr., l. sp.	C. Valerius Raeticus A (1) 3; B (4) 7	bf. tr., tess. 7.
L. Aufidius Gaetulicus A (1) 108; B (1) 13	c. tr., s. tr.	M. Aurelius Eutychianus A (6) 13; B (4) 7	op. co., t. 7.
C. Iulius Dignus A (6) 48; B (3) 8	c. tr., s. tr.	P. Decimius Primianus A (3) 8; B (3) 4	tes., vex.
L. Papirius Festus A (6) 48; B (4) 11	c. tr., sec. tr.	L. Silicius Augustalis A (6) 6; B (4) 6	tes. 7., opt. 7.
C. Audenius Iustus A (1) 73; B (1) 11	s. tr., bf. tr.	L. Clodius Macrinus A (2) 10; B (3) 5	op. ca., op. 7.
C. Vettius Primus A (3) 35; B (3) 7	s. tr., bf. tr.		
L. Iulius Geminus A (4) 40; B (7) 7	s. tr., bf. tr.		

L. Aurelius Donatus A (3) 3; B (3) 3	op. 7., ac. pr.	M. Pontius Diodorus A (3) 24; B (3) 2	bf. pr., bf. pr.
C. Pomponius Felix A (7) 15; B (5) 3	op. 7., vex.	Iul. Boatius Rusticus A (7) 5; B (5) 6	<h> em. b., em. b.
M. Iulius Rufus A (4) 7; B (7) 3	vex., vex.	P. Decimius Macrinus A (3) 5; B (3) 1	tab., cor. pr.
P. Iulius Faustinus A (6) 4; B (4) 4	vex., op. ba.	C. Rasinius Ianuarius A (6) 5; B (4) 1	ima., cor. pr.
Ti. Claudius Speratianus A (4) 6; B (7) 2	op. b., bf. spr.	C. Iulius Zoticus A (6) 2; B (4) 3	imc., aq. pr.

These careers allow a reasonably comprehensive career structure to be drawn up, following broadly the lines laid down by Domaszewski already seen in the praetorian cohorts. The posts in the century formed a self-contained group with junior staff posts below them and senior staff posts above, and they were a prerequisite for further promotion.

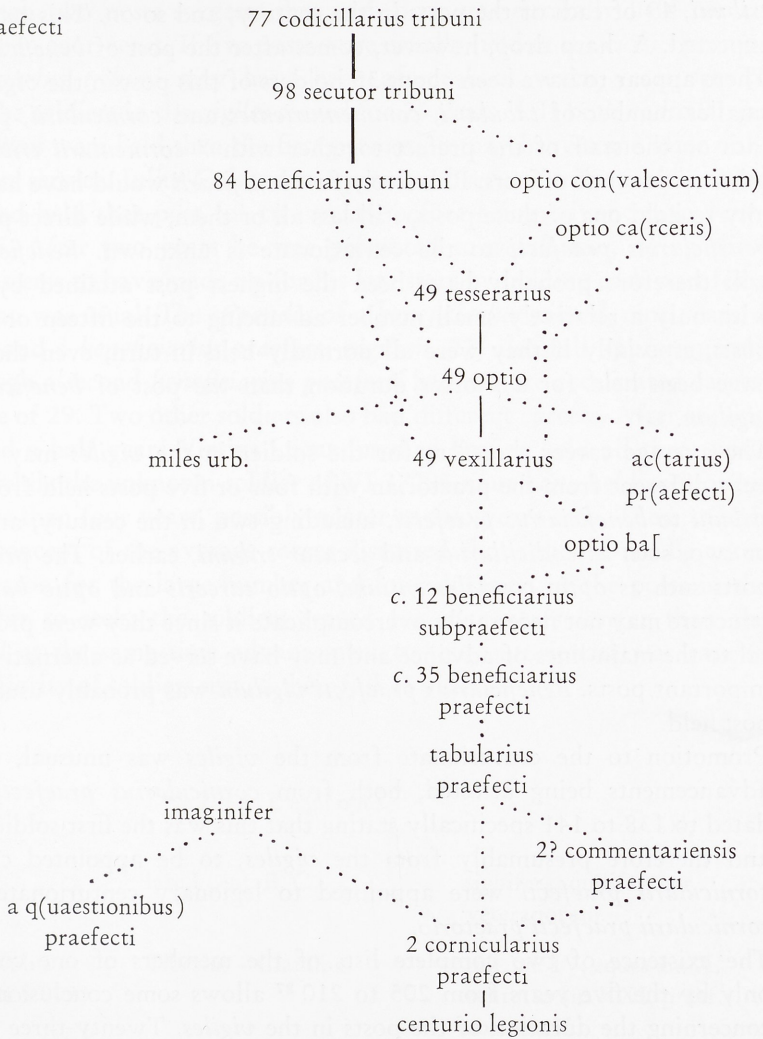
With so few detailed careers surviving it is not possible to be as specific about the career structure of the *vigiles* as it was about the praetorian. In addition to the post of *beneficiarius tribuni* two other posts on the tribune's staff appear in careers, *codicillarius* and *secutor tribuni*; mention may also be made of the *exactus tribuni*. The posts of *optio convalescentium* and *optio carceris* both fall into the category of junior staff posts. From these promotion was to one of the posts in the century. Direct advancement of *beneficarii tribuni* is attested to each of the posts in the century though it was probably more usual to hold two, or three, of these posts such as Virrius Lucundus.

There are more senior staff posts and other posts of similar rank recorded on careers of the *vigiles* than on those of the praetorians but this in part may reflect the nature of the evidence which relies heavily upon one career inscription and two cohort lists, and the unusual nature of the unit itself. The career of the unknown soldier of VI 37295 may itself be unusual. This soldier held six posts from *vexillarius* to *cornicularius praefecti vigilum* where the praetorian would only expect to hold three, but his career is perhaps more comparable to the unique career of Lucius Sabinus in the urban cohorts. His senior staff posts were *beneficiarius subpraefecti*, *beneficiarius*, *tabularius*, *commentariensis* and *cornicularius*, all on the prefect's staff. With the exception of *commentariensis* these posts occur in the careers of soldiers on the two lists of 205 and 210.

The number of posts available decreased gradually as a man advanced upwards through the career structure. At the lowest level were the 77 *codicillarii tribuni*, to which should possibly be added the *exacti* and *librarii* to create over 100



exactus tribuni  
 librarius subpraefecti



..... one promotion

———— two or more promotions

The figures refer to the number of holders of each post.

The career structure in the vigiles

posts<sup>26</sup>. The 98 *secutores tribuni* of the next stage were reduced to 84 *beneficarii tribuni*, 49 of each of the posts in the century, and so on. This reduction is to be expected. A sharp drop, however, comes after the post of *beneficiarius praefecti*. There appear to have been about 35 holders of this post in the *vigiles* and a much smaller number of *tabularii*, *commentarienses* and *cornicularii*, possibly two of each on the staff of the prefect together with 7 *cornicularii tribuni* and a few other senior staff officers. Relatively few *beneficarii* would have had the opportunity to hold one of these posts, still less all of them, while direct promotion from *beneficiarius praefecti* to the centurionate is unknown. *Beneficiarius praefecti* will therefore probably have been the highest post attained by most soldiers with only a relatively small number advancing to the fifteen or so most senior posts, especially if they were all normally held in turn, even though they may have been held for a shorter duration than the post of *beneficiarius praefecti vigilum*.

The average career therefore for the soldier in the *vigiles* may not have been very different from the praetorian with four or five posts held from *beneficiarius tribuni* to *beneficiarius praefecti*, including two in the century, and possibly one or two, such as *codicillarius* and *secutor tribuni*, earlier. The presence of other posts such as *optio convalescentium*, *optio carceris* and *optio ba[* in the career structure may not necessarily overcomplicate it since they were probably peripheral to the main lines of advance and may have served as alternatives to the more important posts. *Beneficiarius praefecti vigilum* was probably usually the highest post held.

Promotion to the centurionate from the *vigiles* was unusual, only two such advancements being attested, both from *cornicularius praefecti vigilum*, one dated to 138 to 141 specifically stating that this was the first soldier of that rank, and therefore presumably from the *vigiles*, to be appointed centurion. Both *cornicularii praefecti* were appointed to legionary centurionates as were the *cornicularii praefecti praetorio*.

The existence of two complete lists of the members of one cohort separated only by the five years from 205 to 210<sup>27</sup> allows some conclusions to be drawn concerning the duration of the posts in the *vigiles*. Twenty-three of the twenty-nine soldiers who appear on both inscriptions holding a post received promotion in those five years<sup>28</sup>. Two of the six who were not advanced were *bucinatores*, the expansion of a third, *HO*, is uncertain, two were *beneficarii*, and the sixth a *vexillarius*. Most of the soldiers who held a new appointment can be shown, where the rank of both posts is known, to have advanced to the next most senior post. One soldier, however, P. Decimius Primianus, was promoted from *tesserarius* to *vexillarius* and it is possible that he had held the post of *optio* in between. This is by no means certain for both Aelius Similis and Iulius Galatus omitted one or two posts in the century. The fact that most soldiers advanced only

<sup>26</sup> These figures are based on VI 1057 and 1058; cf. Domaszewski–Dobson 1967, 7–13.

<sup>27</sup> VI 1057 and 1058.

<sup>28</sup> In addition to the 26 soldiers cited above add VI 1057 (6) 24 with VI 1058 (4) 10; VI 1057 (7) 8 with VI 1058 (5) 9; VI 1057 (2) 87 with VI 1058 (2) 4.



one post in the five years, three retained the same post and only one may have advanced through two posts suggests that each post was normally held for an average of three to four years. If five posts were usually held in the *cursus* promotion to *beneficiarius tribuni* may have been after about seven years service assuming that the soldiers in the *vigiles* served for 25 years<sup>29</sup>. If both *codicillarius* and *secutor tribuni* were held then the first promotion may have come after only one to four years service. Iulius Galatus was promoted *secutor tribuni* after seven years service and held that post for two years, before being advanced to *beneficiarius tribuni*. After two years he was promoted to *vexillarius*, dying three years later. He seems to have made up for his late start by holding each post for a shorter time than was usual. The *stipendia* of a *beneficiarius tribuni*, nine years, a *tesserarius*, 11, and a *beneficiarius praefecti vigilum*, 22, also fall approximately into place, though a second *beneficiarius praefecti* had a more accelerated career, dying at the age of 29. Two other soldiers also had different careers. After serving for only six and a half years Virrius Lucundus died having held all three posts in the century while the unknown soldier of VI 37295 must have held each of his six posts for less than four years, possibly nearer to two years each. These careers stress that the concept of the average career discussed above should not be taken too far. The reason for the large number and long duration of the posts in the *vigiles* is not far to seek; the soldiers served for nine years longer than the praetorians and at the same time advancement to the centurionate was rare so that the vast majority of soldiers served their full 25 years.

### The Legions

P. Tutilius V 5832	late I cent. B. C.	signifer, aquilifer, cur. veteranorum.
Q. Euvius Capreolus AE 1902, 41 = ILS 9090	Tiberius – Claudius	mil. an. IV, eques an. X, centurio an. XXI, praef. coh. an. V.
Sex. Sammius Severus XII 2234 = ILS 2342	38–50	aquilifer XIII an., centurio.
Unknown III 9908	pre 60	[tess]erarius, . . . corn. leg. Aug., [. . .]pio.
L. Sertorius Firmus V 3375 = ILS 2339	second half I cent.	signifer, aquilifer, cur. veteranorum.
L. Attius Lucanus XII 3177, 3178	second half I cent.	signifer, centurio, trib. coh., p.p.?

<sup>29</sup> VI 2966 records a *beneficiarius praefecti vigilum* with 22 years service. Mr. J. S. Rainbird has suggested to me that, based on his study of the two lists VI 1057 and 1058, most soldiers served for 6 years, only the *immunes* and *principales* stayed on longer. In general his conclusions concerning the career structure are in agreement with mine.

L. Campanius Verecundus V 8185 = ILS 9172	I cent.	signifer leg., centurio coh.
T. Calidius Severus III 11213 = ILS 2596	late I cent?	eques, optio, decurio coh., centurio leg.
M. Valerius Crescens AE 1932, 41	70–122	eques, corn. (procuratoris?).
T. Claudius Maximus AE 1969/70, 583	101	eques, quaestor eq., sing. leg. leg., vex. eq., dupl. alae, decurio alae.
L. Valerius Proculus III 12411 = ILS 2666b	Trajan	bf. leg., optio spei, centurio leg.
M. Sabidi[us] Ma[ximus] AE 1937, 101	Hadrian	signifer, corn., optio spei, centurio leg.
Pomponius Herculanus III 7449	155	eques leg., decurio.
Petronius Fortunatus VIII 217 = 11301 = ILS 2658	first half II cent.	librarius, tess., optio, signifer, centurio leg.
P. Enistalius Paternus V 7872	early – mid II cent?	optio spei, centurio leg.
L. Porcius Karus XII 2929	early – mid II cent?	optio, signifer.
G. Valerius Titus XIII 6542, 6543, 5498	Marcus	corn. cos., centurio leg.
P. Ferrasius Avitus XIII 6646	191	aquilifer, centurio leg.
T. Albanus Primanus XIII 6714 = ILS 2435	185	optio navaliorum, signifer.
L. Septimius Bellus XIII 6712	198	optio navali, signifer.
Peregrinus V 7004		[bf]. leg., a comment . . . f., optio, centurio leg., stip. XX.
Unknown XIII 6952	II cent.	aquilifer, centurio leg.
Unknown VI 3409 + p. 3393	197–214	di[sc. equit.], eques an. XI, optio an. XIII, defunctus an. XVII.
L. Caecilius Urbanus VIII 2563 = ILS 2437	209–211	opt. val., cur. operis arm.



L. Cornelius Cato VIII 2554 = 18084 = ILS 2445 add, VIII 2848	198–209	optio an. XIV, centurio.
C. Iulius Crescentianus AE 1898, 108–9 = ILS 9100, AE 1902, 147a = ILS 9097, VIII 4522	c. 200	exactus, armorum custos.
C. Caecilius Felix AE 1917/8, 57, VIII 2586 = ILS 2381	200–214	bf. cos., speculator.
Aurelius Titianus XIII 6803	213–217	corn. cos., centurio leg.
C. Aemilius Demetrianus VIII 2564, 2568, 2796	218–220	d. s., aquilifer.
Respectius Hilarianus XIII 1732	221	speculator, commentariensis.
Amandianus III 11135 = ILS 4311	235–238	librarius numeris, custos armorum, signifer, optio, candidatus.
]fidius Victorinus P. Mich. 164 = Fink 20, lines 1–3	217–242	eques, decurio aux.
C. Iulius Rogatianus AE 1917/8, 74	c. 244–249	corn. cos., decurio alae.
Aurelius Iustinus V 896 = ILS 2332	III cent.	munifex an. VII, eques an. VIII.
Unknown XIII 6948		eques . . . vexillarius an. XV.
M. Ulpius Flavinus III 1202	III cent.	optio, signifer, stip. XXV.
Aurelius Marius III 1124	III cent.	optio, signifer.
Unknown III 14178	III cent.	optio, centurio leg.
Valerius Longianus V 942 = ILS 2670	III cent?	optio an. XV, centurio an. VI.
M. Valerius Flavius II 4168, 3587		armenis, [bf]. leg.
Claudius Macer III 1783		optio, bf. cos.

Mommius Cattianus AE 1951, 194		bf. leg., corn. leg., optio cohortis I.
Flavius Maximus ILS 8880	III cent?	βφ και ἀκομενταρησιος και κορνικουλαριος και (ἐκατονταρχος) γενομενος της ἡγεμ.
Iulius Flavinus II 4156 = ILS 2383	III cent.	comment. leg., quaestiona- rius.
Q. Carinius [Am]abilis VI 36776 = ILS 9080		optio, (centurio) frum.
Cn. Fulvius Capratinus II 4154 = ILS 2369		frum., [bf]. cos., stip. XXI.
Postumius Carius VIII 17627		frum., bf. cos.
M. Ulpius Viator S. Spomenik 1931, 209		frum., bf. cos.
Saturninus VIII 17626	III cent.	[bf]. leg. (cos?), (centurio) leg.
Aurelius Secundinus Donatus XIII 1771		frum., commentariensis.
Claudius Victor XIII 8282	III cent.	frum., corn. trib.
T. Varronius Maro III 2063 = ILS 2370		frum., centurio frum.
T. Claudius Ianuarius III 2015 = ILS 2379		speculator, comment. cos., stip. XIII.
Unknown VIII 17635		[bf.] cos., corn.
Iulius Ingenus VIII 12128		speculator, corn., appointed centurion.
Unknown XIII 1832		corn., centurio leg.
Rufus AE 1932, 57		βενε[φικ. ἀ]ντισ[τ]. αστατοι πρωτοι λεγιω[νος].
Iulius V 8278 = ILS 2333	late III cent.	disces equitum, magister equitum, centurio.
Cassius Teimotheus ILS 8847		βφ. πετειτοϋ.



C. Tauricius Verus  
XIII Nachtrag 221

bf. cos., veteranus, equestris  
militiae petitori.

M. Valerius Speratus  
III 12659 = ILS 7173

bf. cos., veteranus, dec. m.  
A. V., praef. coh.

The legionary career structure would undoubtedly be the most interesting of all units in the army due to its age and complexity if sufficient evidence was available. However, relatively little material survives. The longest career below the centurionate, that of Petronius Fortunatus, contains only four posts, compared to the 13 of Luccius Sabinus in the urban cohorts, while there are more than double the number of posts attested in the legions than in the praetorian cohorts. The relationship of most of these posts to each other and to the career structure is uncertain. The legionary career structure appears to be very complicated but in fact during the second century and the early third it has a simple basis only complicated by the large number of posts.

The known careers listed above have been set down in tabular form. Little can be said of the posts below *tesserarius*. None of the junior staff posts are represented on career inscriptions, only the *equites*, the *armorum custodes* and the clerical posts of *librarius* and *exactus*. These inscriptions do no more than approximately fix the place of these posts in the career structure. Holders of the clerical posts were promoted to *tesserarius* and to *armorum custos*. The former were *immunes* and the *tesserarius a principalis*. The appearance of *tesserarii* and *armorum custodes* on one of a series of dedications of the reign of Gallienus made by soldiers of roughly the same rank suggests that the *armorum custos* was also a *principalis*<sup>30</sup>. The careers of Petronius Fortunatus and in particular Iulius Apollinaris<sup>31</sup> suggest that many soldiers would have commenced their careers with a clerical post and thence moved on to *tesserarius* or a post of similar status. The letters of Apollinaris remind us of the subtle distinctions of status between apparently similar posts which are not made clear by inscriptions.

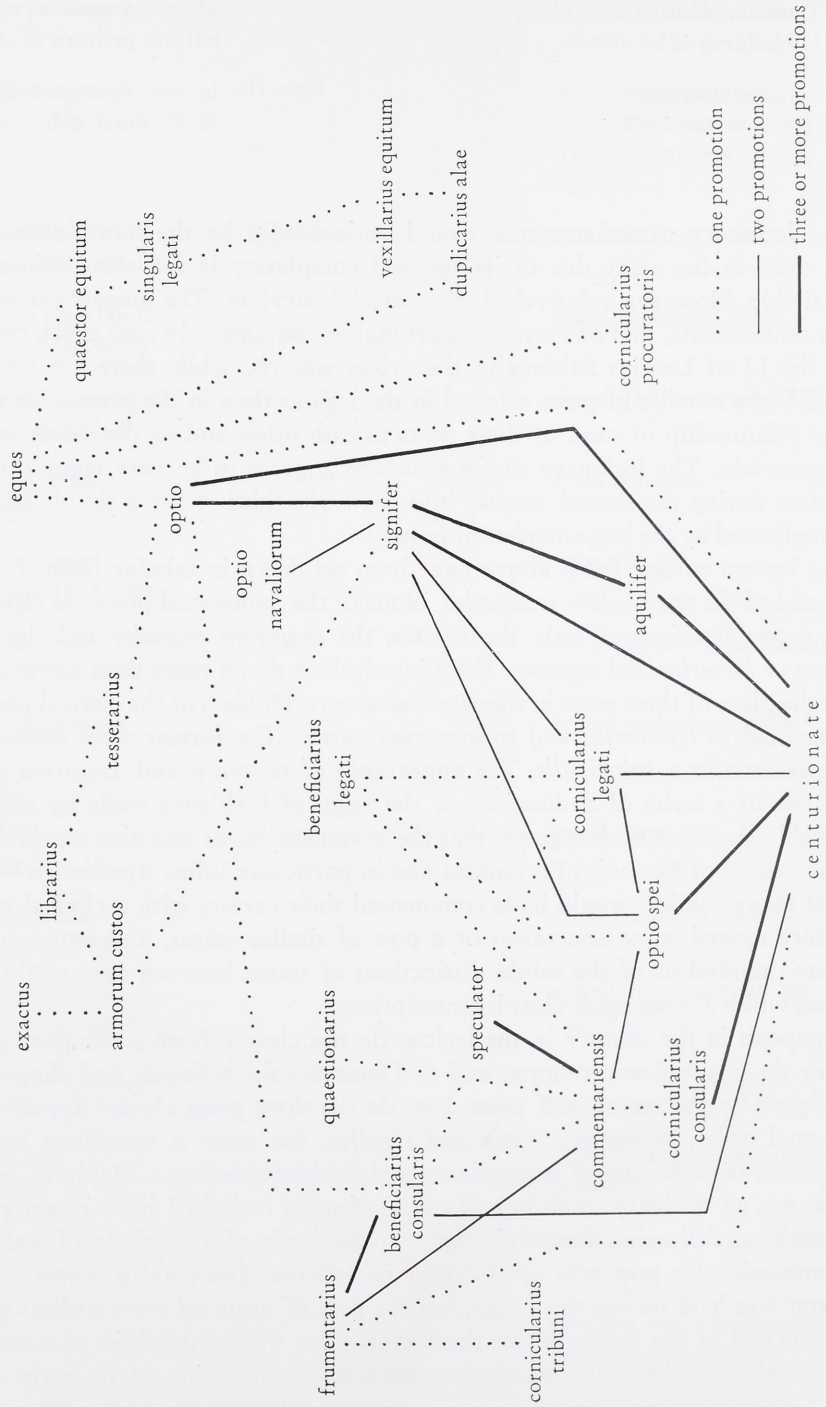
The posts in the century in the legions do not clearly form a compact group as they do in the Rome cohorts, and as Domaszewski believed, and they are outweighed by the senior staff posts. Nor do the three posts always appear in their normal order, *tesserarius*, *optio* and *signifer*, for *optio* is sometimes held after *signifer*, as in the case of Amandianus and Sabidius Maximus. Maximus, however, was not an ordinary *optio* but an *optio ad spem ordinis*. I have recently argued elsewhere, following Passerini, that, on the basis of the *schola* of *optiones* at Lambaesis, this post was no different in function from *optio centuriae*<sup>32</sup>. The latter was held during the career, but the post of *optio ad spem ordinis* was held at the end of the career before the centurionate when the soldier was assured of promotion to the centurionate on satisfactory completion of his term as *optio*

<sup>30</sup> AE 1936, 55.

<sup>31</sup> P. Mich. VIII 465 and 466 (dating to 107). Now P. Mich. IX 562 shows that by 119 he had become a *frumentarius*.

<sup>32</sup> Breeze 1971, 130 ff.; Passerini 1950, 595; VIII 2554.

The career structure in the legions





as soon as a vacancy occurred and given a special title to distinguish its holder. No soldier, it may be said, is known to have been both an *optio centuriae* and an *optio ad spem ordinis*.

It seems probable that the posts of *optio* and above were all held by soldiers receiving double pay, and therefore in theory of the same rank, though I have suggested elsewhere that the more senior posts may have been held by men receiving the extra pay of *equites*<sup>33</sup>. In theory too promotion to the centurionate was probably possible from any of these posts, though in practice this did not take place until the soldier had gained sufficient experience.

There are a number of instructive promotions which provide the backbone of the organisation of the senior staff posts. These promotions, listed above, are from *frumentarius* to *beneficiarius consularis*, *beneficiarius consularis* to *speculator*, *speculator* to *commentariensis*, *commentariensis* to *cornicularius consularis* and *cornicularius consularis* to centurion. The relationship of a number of other posts to these can be determined. The *quaestionarius* ranked below the *commentariensis* because Iulius Flavinus was promoted from the former to the latter, while two lists of the staff of the governor of Numidia further demonstrate that it was below the *speculator*, *beneficiarius consularis*, *candidatus*, and *ex frumentaris*, but above the *beneficiarius sexmestris*<sup>34</sup>. It may therefore have been on a par with *frumentarius*. A *beneficiarius legati* was promoted to *commentariensis*, but must have ranked lower than *beneficiarius consularis*, while *cornicularius legati* may have been level with the *commentariensis* for *speculatores* were advanced to both posts, and soldiers were promoted thence to *optio ad spem ordinis*.

The posts in the century, *optio centuriae*, *optio ad spem ordinis* and *signifer*, were closely interwoven with the senior staff posts. A soldier presumed to be a legionary, Claudius Macer, was promoted from *optio* to *beneficiarius consularis*. Promotions from *signifer* to *cornicularius legati* and from *beneficiarius legati*, *cornicularius legati* and *commentariensis* to *optio (ad spem ordinis)* are attested. *Signiferi* were also promoted to *aquilifer*, from which advancement to the centurionate was usual. The list of soldiers at Adamclissi places the *actarius* and the *imaginifer* between the *optio* and the *signifer*<sup>35</sup>. The position of the former compares well with that of the *ac[tarius] pr[ae]fecti vigilum*, but the *imaginifer* is placed a little lower than his counterpart in the *vigiles*. Neither post is represented on a career.

This discussion has simply demonstrated the relationship of certain posts to each other, it is now necessary to discuss the career itself. There appears on superficial examination to be no order or pattern to the legionary career apart from the relative seniority of posts. Partly this may be due to the fact that no single career contains more than four posts below the centurionate while no two careers containing more than two posts are the same. It is clear that soldiers did not necessarily move up to the next most senior post in the hierarchy when promoted, as indeed might be expected when so many posts received the same pay. Soldiers

<sup>33</sup> Breeze 1971, 133.

<sup>34</sup> VIII 2586 and AE 1917/8, 57.

<sup>35</sup> ILS 9107.

when chosen for promotion were presumably advanced wherever there was a vacancy.

If the early first and later third century careers are excluded and only those careers containing three or more posts including the centurionate or *optio (ad spem ordinis)* are taken a pattern does emerge.

These careers are set down below:

L. Valerius Proculus	bf. leg., optio spei, centurio.
M. Sabidius Maximus	signifer, corn., optio spei, centurio.
Petronius Fortunatus	librarius, tess., optio, signifer, centurio.
Peregrinus	[bf]. leg., a comment . . . f., optio, centurio.
Amandianus	librarius, custos armorum, signifer, optio, candidatus.
Mommius Cattianus	bf. leg., corn. leg., optio cohortis I.
Flavius Maximus	bf. cos., comment. cos., corn. cos., centurio cos.
Iulius Ingenus	speculator, corn., appointed centurio.

Six of the eight soldiers held both the post of *optio*, the duties of which seem to be purely military in character, and a post with administrative duties, whether *signifer* or a senior staff post. The careers of Iulius Ingenus, which may be third century, and Flavius Maximus, are exceptions. Maximus had a most interesting career for after holding the posts of *beneficiarius*, *commentariensis* and *cornicularius* on the staff of the governor of Arabia he proceeded to a centurionate on the same staff. In a way this is the career which proves the rule. The 'rule' seems to have been to try to ensure that prospective centurions were trained in both sides of army life, the military and the administrative. It did not appear to matter when the post of *optio* was held. If it was held after the senior staff posts and the soldier had accordingly completed his all-round experience he would usually be termed an *optio ad spem ordinis* and his name placed upon the promotion list. The earliest career following this pattern is that of Valerius Proculus, which may be dated to the last decade of the first century and the first decade of the second, the last dated career is that of Amandianus which ended 235–238.

It is possible now to turn to study the relationship of the career structure to the centurionate. The promotions from a legionary post to the centurionate are listed below.



name	post	centurionate	date
First century			
Etuvius Capreolus	eques	7 leg.	Tiberius – Claudius
Sammius Severus	aquilifer	7 leg.	38–50
Campanius Verecundus	signifer	7 aux.	I cent.
Attius Lucanus	signifer	7 leg.	late I cent.
Calidius Severus	optio	decurio coh.	late I cent.
Second century			
Valerius Proculus	optio spei	7 leg.	Trajan
Sabidius Maximus	optio spei	7 leg.	Hadrian
Pomponius Herculanus	eques	decurio	155
Petronius Fortunatus	signifer	7 leg.	early II cent.
Enistalius Paternus	optio spei	7 leg.	II cent.
Valerius Titus	corn. cos.	7 leg.	Marcus
Ferrasius Avitus	aquilifer	7 leg.	191
Peregrinus	optio	7 leg.	II cent.
XIII 6952	aquilifer	7 leg.	II cent.
Late second century – third century			
Cornelius Cato	optio	7 leg.	198–209
Aurelius Titianus	corn. cos.	7 leg.	213–217
Jfidius Victorinus	eques	decurio aux.	242
Iulius Rogatianus	corn. cos.	decurio alae	244–249
III 14178	optio	7 leg.	III cent.
Valerius Longianus	optio	7 leg.	III cent.
Flavius Maximus	corn. cos.	7 leg.	III cent.
Saturninus	[bf]. cos.	7 leg.	III cent.
Varronius Maro	frumentarius	7 frum.	III cent.
Iulius Ingenus	corn. (leg.)	7 leg.	III cent.
XIII 1832	corn.	7 leg.	III cent.
Rufus	bf.	7 leg.	III cent.

It was clearly possible to be advanced to the centurionate from a large number of posts, from *eques* to *cornicularius consularis*, though with the exception of *eques* they were all held by soldiers receiving double pay. In the first century promotion to the legionary centurionate is attested from the senior post in the century, *signifer*, the important post of *aquilifer*, and *eques*. The last promotion is probably more closely related to the republican system of advancement than the imperial. In later years *equites* continue to be promoted to the centurionate but never in a legion, always in an auxiliary unit. During the second century *aquiliferi* continue to be promoted to legionary centurionates and this in fact continues right up to the end of the century. The advancements from *signifer*, *optio* and *optio spei* all concerned men of experience, with one exception where the earlier career is not known<sup>36</sup>. Towards the end of the century the pattern begins to change. Under Marcus is attested the first promotion of a *cornicularius consularis* to centurion and this becomes much more common in the third century<sup>37</sup>. There is a possible promotion from *cornicularius legati* in the third century and two from *beneficiarius consularis*<sup>38</sup>; the promotion of the *frumentarius* was an internal appointment within the *castra peregrina*. *Optiones* continue to receive advancement to the centurionate, but none specifically state they were *optiones spei*; the latest dated reference to *optio spei* is 218<sup>39</sup>. Although the third century inscriptions tend to be more sparing in detail no centurion in the third century can be shown to have had that comprehensive training in administration and command that his predecessors had usually received, though it will be remembered that Amandianus was a *candidatus*. This change in the third century should be viewed against the increasing division between the administrative and the purely military branches of the army at this time. Another change found in both the praetorian cohorts and the legions was the possibility of advancement from *principalis* to the *militia equestris*, as the career of Cassius Teimotheus, supported by those of Tauridius Verus and M. Valerius Speratus, demonstrates<sup>40</sup>.

These changes in promotion to the centurionate have also to be related to the changes in the careers of the legionary *principales*. In the first century there is a great emphasis on the old established posts of *eques*, *optio*, *signifer* and *aquilifer*; *cornicularius* appears twice on pre-Flavian careers and again with *beneficiarius* at the turn of the century<sup>41</sup>. These older posts continue to form part of the career

<sup>36</sup> Enistalius Paternus (V 7872) is the exception.

<sup>37</sup> To the above promotions now add the possibility of AE 1969/70, 612.

<sup>38</sup> Both promotions contain some uncertainty. In the inscription recording Saturninus (VIII 17626) both *bf.* and the centurial sign are restored, while it is possible that Rufus was not a *beneficiarius consularis* but that the inscription was recording his gratitude to the governor for using his influence to obtain for him a centurionate. The other promotions recorded by Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 33 are not certain: III 3306, centurion sign restored; III 10060, no mention of *beneficiarius*; XIII 6429a, again with no mention of *beneficiarius*, is Diocletianic; VIII 21056 may have been an auxiliary.

<sup>39</sup> III 3445.

<sup>40</sup> Birley 1969, 75–76.

<sup>41</sup> L. Sertorius Firmus (V 3375 = ILS 2339), M. Valerius Crescens (AE 1932, 41) and L. Valerius Proculus (III 12411 = ILS 2666 b).



structure through the second century and, apparently with the exception of *aquilifer*, into the third. But the staff posts assume a greater importance; rare in the first century, they appear to dominate the career structure, and promotion to the centurionate, in the third. At first entrance to the centurionate from the staff posts was through *optio ad spem ordinis* – first appearing under Trajan – but this becomes more unusual in the third century and the post is last attested in 218. Direct promotion to the centurionate from *cornicularius consularis* was possible from Marcus onwards, if not before, and from other staff posts in the third century when the system of training prospective centurions was breaking down.

The problem of the length of service of legionaries before promotion to the centurionate has been considered by W. Baehr<sup>42</sup> and by G. Forni<sup>43</sup>. The former came to the conclusion that between 10 and 15 years service was the norm, the latter at least 14 to 15. In the following table is given the known *stipendia* of soldiers upon their promotion to the centurionate.

name	reference	stipendia	date
In a legion			
Petronius Fortunatus	VIII 217	4	early II cent.
Sammius Severus	XII 2234	13	38–50
Valerius Aulucentius	V 940	14	II–III cent.
Cornelius Cato	VIII 2848	14	198–209
Etuvius Capreolus	AE 1902, 41	14	Tiberius – Claudius
Peregrinus	V 7004	20	II–III cent.
Sabidius Maximus	AE 1937, 101	20	Hadrian
Unknown	XIII 7556	23	Augustus – Tiberius
Iulius	V 8278	–24	late III cent.
In the auxilia			
]fidius Victorinus	P. Mich. 164	25	217–242

Soldiers could be promoted to the centurionate at any time but the most common stage was between their thirteenth and twentieth *stipendia*, probably usually nearer the beginning of this period than the end; promotion for the praetorian came after 15 or 16 years service. When a soldier had reached his twentieth *stipendium* his chances of promotion to the centurionate were slim – the unknown soldier of XIII 7556 was promoted in the early principate. Hence most of the

<sup>42</sup> Baehr 1900, 4.

<sup>43</sup> Forni 1952, 47.

known careers of *immunes* and *principales* involving promotion to the centurionate would have been completed within a maximum of twenty years, and often less. It is interesting to examine the promotion prospects of the legionaries with this in mind.

Valuable light can be thrown on the promotion prospects of soldiers in certain posts when the number of soldiers holding these posts is compared to the number retiring with that rank. This information is set down in the following table. The first figure refers to the number of soldiers of that rank in one legion, the second to the number of soldiers who are known to have retired with that rank.

60	armorum custos	29 <sup>44</sup>
60	tesserarius	5 <sup>45</sup>
60	optio	19 <sup>46</sup>
60	signifer	39 <sup>47</sup>
1?	aquilifer	5 <sup>48</sup>
?	frumentarius	2 <sup>49</sup>
20?	beneficiarius legati	12 <sup>50</sup>
30 + ?	beneficiarius consularis	25 <sup>51</sup>
10	speculator	1 <sup>52</sup>
1?	cornicularius praefecti	1 <sup>53</sup>
1?	cornicularius tribuni	3 <sup>54</sup>
2/3	cornicularius consularis	2 <sup>55</sup>

<sup>44</sup> III 6179, 2, 10 (?); 3, 10 (?); 7688, a, 10 (?); b, 12; 13; 15; 16; d, 14; 14507, b, 30; 32; lat. dex., b, 53; VIII 2567, 35 (?); 56 (?); 18067, a, 3; 18085, b, 13 (?); d, 13 (?); 18087, b, 31 (?); and III 3560; 4275; 5106; 10270; 11189; 13375; V 5270; VIII 2840; 2982; XIII 8102; AE 1951, 65; AE 1965, 43.

<sup>45</sup> III 6581, I, 27; 7688, e, 15; 14507; lat. dex., a, 8; VIII 2567, 51; 18084, 50.

<sup>46</sup> III 6178, 1, 24; 5, 3; 6580, I, 26; 7688, a, 14; 15; b, 10; c, 16; 14507, b, 35; lat. dex., a, 6; VIII 18084, 34; and V 7561; VIII 2684; 2885; 2894; 2948; XIII 1887; 4331; IGRR III 1183; AE 1939, 238.

<sup>47</sup> III 6179, 3, 18; 6580, a, 12; 24; 14507, b, 37; lat. dex., a, 52; b, 46; lat. sin., 44; VIII 18067, a, 16; 28; 18068, b, 29; 18084, 97; 18085, b, 8; 17; e, 3; f, 3 (?); 18087, sin., 1; 60; dex., 65; and III 3321; 3538; 4056; 4298; 4478; 5818; 5956; 7657; 12658; 14354.1; VIII 2528; 2596; 3000; 18294; XIII 6076; 6769; 8650; 8654; AE 1910, 172; AE 1914, 135; AE 1927, 61.

<sup>48</sup> III 1663; III 4231; V 899; VIII 2904; VIII 18085, f, 6.

<sup>49</sup> VI 3341; III 3344.

<sup>50</sup> III 2677; III 12408; XIII 8011; AE 1959, 159; AE 1965, 120; III 6178, 5, 4; III 6179, 1, 23; 2, 26; III 6180, 1, 16; VIII 18067, a, 26; 30; and also possibly VIII 18087, a, 20.

<sup>51</sup> III 14507, a, 12; 36; 38; VIII 2567, 18; AE 1955, 238 *cohors* VIII (2); II 4148; III 196; 987; 3474; 3543; 4057; 4191; 6800; 7505; 7545; 8745; 9847; 10427; 12659; 14216.6; 14217.4; XIII 8293; AE 1928, 196; AE 1933, 248.

<sup>52</sup> AE 1955, 238.

<sup>53</sup> III 14507, a, 48.

<sup>54</sup> III 11027; VIII 18068, 33; XIII 8282.

<sup>55</sup> III 8752 and XIII 1860.



This information is such as to prevent any calculations in absolute terms of the promotion prospects of legionaries but it does allow certain posts to be compared with each other. The holders of the posts in the century provide the clearest insight into their promotion prospects. There were the same number of soldiers of each rank yet the number retiring at that rank are strikingly different – 5 *tesserarii*, 19 *optiones* and 39 *signiferi*. This suggests that many *tesserarii* could normally hope for further advancement, fewer *optiones* and even fewer *signiferi*. In other words the prospects for promotion for *tesserarii* were much greater, perhaps eight times as great, than those of the *signiferi*, as indeed might be expected. On the other hand the same was not true for the *armorum custodes* who were roughly of the same rank as the *tesserarii* and equalled them in strength. Their promotion prospects seem to be about five times worse than the *tesserarii*.

The *beneficarii legati* would appear to be in a similar position to the *signiferi* since the relationship between the holders of the posts and the veterans is about the same. The *frumentarii* are in a different position. Although it is not known how many soldiers of this rank there were, the paucity of reference to them suggests that normally they could expect promotion to a higher rank. In this context it may be noted that the highest *stipendia* recorded for a *frumentarius* is 17. No *quaestionarii*, *actarii* or *imaginiferi* are known to have retired with that rank. Though soldiers of this rank would be few in number – there seem to have been about 4 or 5 *quaestionarii* and one *actarius* in each legion<sup>56</sup> – it may be suggested that holders of the posts might normally expect promotion.

Unfortunately the number of *beneficarii consularis* in each legion is uncertain but it was probably at least 30, and possibly nearer 60<sup>57</sup>. 25 *beneficarii consularis* are known to have retired with that rank. This suggests that the promotion prospects of holders of this post were worse than the *optiones* and possibly even the *signiferi*. This is probably connected with the position of the post in the hierarchy. There are, if the posts of *optio spei* and *aquilifer* (the known promotions to this post are from *signifer*) are omitted, at least six posts of more senior status in the legions, but the aggregate number of soldiers holding these posts is much less than the number of *beneficarii consularis* – 10 *speculatores*<sup>58</sup>, 1 or 2 *commentarienses*<sup>59</sup>, one *cornicularius praefecti*<sup>60</sup>, one *cornicularius tribuni*<sup>61</sup>,

<sup>56</sup> *Quaestionarii* in *III Augusta* in the period 200–216: VIII 2586; AE 1917/8, 57. *Actarius*: VI 3401; XIV 2255; AE 1898, 108.

<sup>57</sup> There were 30 *beneficarii consularis* in *III Augusta* in the period 200–216: VIII 2586 and AE 1917/8, 57.

<sup>58</sup> Each legion within a province provided 10 *speculatores* to the staff of the provincial governor: Lusitania in 65 and Tarraconensis in 198–209 with one legion each had 10 (XI 395 and II 4122); Pannonia inferior with 2 legions in 228 had 20 (III 3524); Pannonia superior with 3 legions in 212 had 30 (III 4452); Numidia with one legion and its staff split between Numidia and Africa proconsularis had in 200–216 four (VIII 2586 and AE 1917/8, 57).

<sup>59</sup> Each governor had either 2 or 3 *commentarienses*: Tarraconensis had 2 in 198–209 (II 4122); Numidia probably 2 in 214–216 (VIII 2586); Pannonia superior 3 in 212 (III 4452); Germania superior 3 in 213–217 (XIII 6803).

<sup>60</sup> There was probably only one since the legionary legate and the *tribunus laticlavus* only had one *cornicularius* each.

<sup>61</sup> VIII 2551 reveals that the tribune only had one *cornicularius*.



possibly 2 *cornicularii procuratoris*, 1 or 2 *cornicularii consularis*<sup>62</sup>, a maximum total of 18, though perhaps less in practice. Even the addition of the *optiones spei* will not have increased this number much, while one soldier might hold two of these senior posts in his career. Only two probable promotions from *beneficiarius consularis* to centurion are known, remarkable when the vast number of references to the post are considered. This can only mean that this promotion was unusual. In that case, with promotion to higher posts of *principalis* status impeded by the small number of these posts and advancement to the centurionate unusual many *beneficarii consularis* must have retired with that rank, in fact the post must have acted as an efficiency bar. The same was probably true of the post of *signifer*. Promotion to the centurionate was possible though only three are known and one of these to an auxiliary centurionate, but there were still only 20 posts or thereabouts of *principalis* grade open to the *signiferi*. There are so many imponderables, such as the length of time each post was held and the difference in the size of staffs of provincial governors, that it is not possible to go further than this tentative suggestion.

There are so few figures relating to the more senior posts that it is difficult to generalise about them. After passing the efficiency bar it might be expected that most soldiers would go on to a centurionate, but this was not the case. Some *aquiliferi* retired as such, for example, and also some *cornicularii consularis* and *cornicularii tribuni*. Two soldiers holding this last post died with 23 and 24 *stipendia*, while a third retired with 26 years service, the last 16 spent as *cornicularius tribuni*<sup>63</sup>. It might be that often this post was held by a good steady soldier, such as an *aquilifer* would also have to be, but not centurion material. The two *stipendia* known for *cornicularii legati*, on the other hand, are 14 and 17<sup>64</sup>. This post might usually have been held by soldiers who were centurion material before their twentieth *stipendium*.

There are clearly two types of careers, one aiming at a centurionate after about 14 years service but before 20, and the other lasting for 25 years. This makes it difficult to calculate the average duration of each post. It is possible, for example, that this was usually about four years, the soldiers not picked out for the centurionate starting their careers later than the others. On the other hand each post would not have been held for the same length of time by each soldier, while soldiers themselves may have petitioned for a centurionate presumably at any stage of their career as a *duplicarius*. Possibly most soldiers held four or five posts below the centurionate which might suggest an average duration of about three years each, but those not advanced to the centurionate may have held each post rather longer, and their final post for many years. Petronius Fortunatus held four posts in as many years, Sammius Severus was an *aquilifer* for thirteen years,

<sup>62</sup> Thrace had 3 *cornicularii* in 161–164 (III 7394); Galatia 2 c. 174–176 and in the third century (AE 1969/70, 601 and III 6754); Tarraconensis 2 in 198–209 (II 4122); Dacia 2 (+) in 198–209 (III 14479); Pannonia superior 3 in 212 (III 4452); Numidia 2 in 214–216 (VIII 2586); Germania superior 3 in 213–217 (XIII 6803). Domaszewski considered that the norm was 3, but this was not the case (Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 29).

<sup>63</sup> III 5974; VIII 2930; III 11027.

<sup>64</sup> AE 1934, 267; XIII 6962.



Iulius Proculus a *cornicularius tribuni* for 16 years<sup>65</sup> and Aurelius Flavinus an *optio* for 10<sup>66</sup>. Two *optiones*, however, had served for only two years before their deaths<sup>67</sup>. It is impossible to generalise. The known *stipendia* of the holders of certain posts are given below.

tesserarius	-4, 15, 18 (2), 20 <sup>68</sup> .
optio	-4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20 (2) <sup>69</sup> .
signifer	4, 6, 8, 10 (2), 12, 13, 14 (3), 15, 17 (2), 18, 20, 25, 26 (2), 35 <sup>70</sup> .
custos armorum	9, 10, 13, 14, 22 (2), 23, 26 <sup>71</sup> .
beneficiarius consularis	6, 7, 11, 21, 22, 23 (3), 24, 22-25, 31 <sup>72</sup> .

These figures suggest that it was unusual to be made a *duplicarius* with less than 6 years service, and normal to have more. A prospective centurion therefore holding probably two posts receiving double pay before his promotion can only have held each for about three years. In that case it is possible that promotion to *principalis* for the prospective centurion, at least, and possibly many other soldiers, came after about six years service.

The career structure from the late first to the early third century may now be summarised. Some soldiers held a post as an *immunis* at the beginning of their service, often perhaps as a clerk on the staff of a senior officer. Thence they could be promoted to one of the posts in the century, usually *tesserarius* but sometimes *optio*, or *armorum custos*, normally after about six years service. Other *gregarii* would seem to have been promoted directly to these posts. From *optio* or *signifer* it was possible to be promoted to a centurionate or, more frequently, to a senior staff post. It is probably also possible to be advanced straight from *immunis* to one of these staff posts. After holding one or two of the senior staff posts, usually culminating in the post of *optio ad spem ordinis*, if *optio* had not already been held, a procedure designed to increase the all-round experience of the prospective centurion, a soldier could be promoted to the centurionate. This promotion normally took place between the thirteenth and

<sup>65</sup> III 11027.

<sup>66</sup> III 895.

<sup>67</sup> RIB 362; III 5976.

<sup>68</sup> VIII 217 add; XIII 6955; XIII 6681; XIII 7293; III 8118.

<sup>69</sup> VIII 217 add; III 10525; III 5976; VI 3625; V 895; V 942; XIII 6849; V 7004; III 4491; III 1202.

<sup>70</sup> VIII 217 add; III 4375; III 2716; III 2708; III 5952; III 8155; III 6592; XII 685; RIB 257; III 15001; III 414; III 6706; RIB 365; RIB 294; III 2832; III 1202; III 2040; VI 3637; AE 1961, 22.

<sup>71</sup> III 10518; AE 1929, 207; XIII 8071; III 3556; III 11218; AE 1962, 112; III 3549; II 5684.

<sup>72</sup> AE 1957, 191; VIII 27854; III 13807; II 4154; III 11240; III 14212, 19; III 6300; II 4144; II 4167; XIII 1843; RIB 293.

twentieth *stipendium*, perhaps normally after 14 to 16 years service, though exceptional soldiers could pass swiftly through the qualifying ranks. Many soldiers did not progress as far as the centurionate. Many were content with reaching the posts of *signifer* or *beneficiarius consularis*, which acted as a kind of efficiency bar, and others the quietness of the *tabularium* or the *praetorium*. Even those who advanced to the very highest grades in the legion, the *cornicularii* and the *aquiliferi*, were not always promoted to the centurionate. They were content with their honourable discharge.

#### The Auxilia

C. Iulius Macer XIII 1041 = ILS 2531	Augustus	duplicarius alae, evoc.
M. Licinius Fidelis AE 1969/70, 661	55/58–71/74	eq. leg. an. 16, dupl. alae. mens IV.
Gemellus XIII 7705 add	Domitian	imaginifer, vexillarius.
T. Claudius Maximus AE 1969/70, 583	101	eq. leg., quaestor eq., sing. leg. leg., vex. eq., dupl. alae, decurio alae.
M. Annius Martialis VIII 2354 add = ILS 305	Flavian – Trajan	mil. leg., dupl. alae, decurio alae, centurio leg.
C. Valerius Proculus III 8762 = ILS 2594	Flavian – Hadrian	eq. coh. I Alp., vex. coh. I Belg., decurio.
M. Ulpus Super III 10257 = ILS 2539	early II cent.	s(ing). c(os). alae, decurio alae, stip. XVI.
C. Iulius Dexter VIII 2094 = ILS 2518	II cent.	eq., curator turmae, armorum custos, signifer turmae alae.
Ision BGU 696 ii 33 = Fink 64	141 or 155–156	pedes, eq. coh.
Unknown BGU 696 ii 36 = Fink 64	152–156	pedes, eq. coh.
T. Ulpus Acutus XIII 8185 = ILS 4743	187	sing. cos., dupl. alae.
L. Iulius Serenus P. Hamb. 39, 10, 1; 40–53 = Fink 76	179	summus curator, decurio coh.
Cornelius Primus VIII 9370 = ILS 1357a	209–211	[str]atore proc., d[ecurio] alae.



The following 11 soldiers all appear on the two rosters of *cobors XX Palmyrenorum* in 219 and 222, P. Dura 100 and P. Dura 101. The first reference refers to the earlier document, and the second the later. Most soldiers held the same rank in 222 as they had three years previously; these soldiers are not discussed below, only actual changes of rank are listed. Nor are advancements from *pedes* to *eques* listed. The date is the year of enlistment.

Abedsalmas Ierhaei xiv 4; xlv 14	214	pedes, dromedarius.
Macrinus Maximus xviii 12; xlv 7.	212	pedes, dromedarius.
Aurelius Domittius xv 3; xxx 15	215	pedes, singularis.
Ulpus Gaianus xl 23; xxxviii 28	214	eques, sesquiplicarius.
Aelius Licinius xxxiii 17; xxxvi 18	209	eques, duplicarius
Themarsus Zebida xli 25; xli 13	198	eques (ad opinio), signifer.
Iulius Soemus vii 10; xii 24	204	singularis, officio.
Domitius Proculus xl 12; xl 19.	204	officio, vexillarius.
Ulpus Silvanus xl 1, xl 9.	203	eques (Parthia), vexillarius 7.
Zabathes Malchi xxxix 16, xxxix 19.	201	vexillarius, (ad mamm).
Zebidas Eglā xxxix 9, xxxix 14.	201	vexillarius, (Chafer A).
Apollonius Mesenus P. Dura 100 xxx 17; 115 b i 7.	215–232	pedes, duplicarius turmae.
Idimus Petosiris P. Mich. 164, 4–6 = Fink 20.	221–242	sesquiplicarius alae, decurio.
Antonius Ammonianus P. Mich. 164, 7–9 = Fink 20	234–242	sesquiplicarius alae, decurio.
Aurelius Hierax P. Mich. 164, 10–12 = Fink 20	242	duplicarius alae, decurio.

Origines P. Mich. 164, 13–15 = Fink 20	229–243	eques cohortis, decurio.
L. Sulpicius Proculus AE 1904, 10	II cent?	adiutor corn. cos., actarius coh. VIII Vol.
P. Bennius Egregius III 12679	II cent?	adiutor principis, bf. cos. coh. Vol.
Maximus AE 1926, 74	II–III cent.	ἑστρατευσαμ[ην] ΦΥ χωρτ(ην), πεξος, ἱππ[ευς] σινγ(λ)αρις, σινγ(λ)αριος(ς) εἰ[λη]ς, [ ]ΡΙΟΥΣ, λιβραο(ιος), ἀκταο(ιος), κορνικ(ου)λαριος(ς).
Ianuarius Potens XIII 7032	III cent.	sing. cos., decurio alae.
Aurelius Secundinus III 3350	III cent.	sing., decurio coh., stip. XX.
Aurelius Valens III 12356	III cent.	sing., stator eques. (no unit given).
Sallustius Saturninus VIII 20251	II–III cent.	quaestionarius, bf. dupl. (no unit given).
T. Attonius Fortio XIII 6575	II–III cent.	cornicularius, centurio. (no unit given).
Moca V 898	III cent.	mil. aux?, bf. trib., mil. leg?, signifer an. XII., mil. XXIII.

There is little evidence for an organised auxiliary career structure. Only four careers contain more than three posts and with one enigmatic exception, that of Maximus, none more than four. The documents from Dura, so useful in many ways, are of little help in examining the career structure: the two rosters indicate the length of service of a number of *principales* but they are so close together in date that few soldiers were promoted in the intervening years. The career structure is also complicated by the existence of a number of different types of auxiliary units. Most of the evidence for the *cursus* is provided by the *alae*, with the *equites* in *cohortes* next, though this is mainly due to the evidence from Dura, and the *pedites* last. This reflects the differences in the pay of the soldiers in these units.

Most of the known career structure centres round the posts of *singularis consularis*, *sesquiplicarius* and *duplicarius*, and of course decurion. Both *pedites* and *equites* could be promoted to *singularis consularis*, and one, Maximus, was





uniquely promoted from *singularis* in a cohort to *singularis* in an *ala*. From *singularis consularis* Maximus was promoted to a post possibly expanded as *tesserarius*, Ulpius Acutus to *duplicarius alae* and three other soldiers directly to decurion. The position of holders of this post, on the staff of the governor, may have given them an advantage in gaining promotion to the centurionate. At Dura one *singularis* in 219 three years later served in the *officium*, while another soldier in the *officium* in 219 was a *vexillarius* in 222. There are two promotions to *vexillarius* from *eques* and another from *imaginifer*, though it is possible that this soldier held both posts at the same time<sup>73</sup>. Two *vexillarii* at Dura in 219 had returned to the ranks three years later and it is possible, as Fink suggested, that this post was of a temporary nature<sup>74</sup>. One soldier was promoted to *sesquuplicarius* directly from *eques*, and Maximus possibly from *singularis*, while two soldiers passed from it to decurion. In addition to the promotion to *duplicarius* from *singularis consularis* there was also one from *eques* and three from the legions in the first century, while *duplicarii* themselves were advanced to decurion.

Two careers are unique, those of Iulius Dexter and Maximus. The former was successively *eques*, *curator turmae*, *armorum custos*, and *signifer turmae* in the second century, and Maximus *pedes*, *eques*, *singularis cohortis*, *singularis alae*, possibly *tesserarius*, *librarius*, *actarius* and *cornicularius*. G. R. Watson has suggested to me that Maximus may have been prepared to accept a drop in pay in moving from *tesserarius* to *librarius* in order to be promoted *actarius* and *cornicularius*. It is difficult to know whether these careers are normal or not since so little evidence is available. If the soldiers in *XX Palmyrenorum* are excluded most careers contain the post of decurion. This suggests that most auxiliary soldiers, probably due to lack of money, would not have had elaborate career inscriptions erected; when they reached the centurionate they would be able to afford this luxury. The soldiers who did not usually erect inscriptions may have had a more normal type of career and it is noticeable that the careers of both Dexter and Maximus are very similar to those of soldiers in the praetorian cohorts and the legions. The promotion of Maximus from *librarius* to *actarius* can be paralleled in the *auxilia* by the advancement of Sulpicius Proculus from *adiutor corniculariorum* in the *praetorium* of the governor of Dalmatia to *actarius*. Another promotion on the staff of the governor of the same province was that of Bennius Egregius from *adiutor principis* to *beneficiarius consularis*.

The most remarkable attribute of the career structure of the *auxilia* is its flexibility. It was possible to be promoted to *singularis consularis* a few months after enlistment<sup>75</sup> while soldiers of the same rank were promoted from the post directly to decurion. However, the total amount of evidence is small. Probably there were conditions to fulfil before promotion to the command of a century or *turma* was possible, though certainly in the legions sometimes only the minimal conditions

<sup>73</sup> Gemellus, XIII 7705 add.

<sup>74</sup> Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959, 33.

<sup>75</sup> The *singulares* were doubled in number in *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* between 219 and 222. All 10 men known to have enlisted in 222 were surprisingly promoted directly to this post. Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959, 33–34.



were fulfilled. The careers of Iulius Dexter and Maximus demonstrate that it was possible to have a long career in the auxilia, holding a number of posts and that there was some logic in the order in which they were held.

Promotion to the post of decurion was possible from various posts:

Annius Martialis	duplicarius	Flavian – Trajan
Claudius Maximus	duplicarius	101
Valerius Proculus	vexillarius	Flavian – Hadrian
Ulpianus Super	s(ing). c(os).	early II cent.
Iulius Serenus	summus curator (possibly not direct)	179
Cornelius Primus	[str]atore proc.	209–211
]dinus Petosiris	sesquiplicarius	242
Antonius Ammonianus	sesquiplicarius	242
Aurelius Hierax	duplicarius	242
Origines	eques	243
Ianuarius Potens	sing. cos.	III cent.
Aurelius Secundus	sing. cos.	III cent.
Attonius Fortio	cornicularius (possibly not an auxiliary)	II–III cent.

Three *singulares consularis*, who were probably *immunes* as opposed to *principales*, a *strator* and two *sesquiplicarii* were promoted to decurion, a total of six. Against this only four soldiers receiving double pay, six if the *summus curator* and the *cornicularius* are included, were promoted decurion. This is very different from the situation in the legions where, with the exception of one *eques*, all the soldiers advanced to legionary centurionates were *duplicarii*. This partly reflects the advantageous position of the *singularis* – and the *strator* – who were presumably the cream of the provincial auxiliary army, on the staff of the governor, as well as the large number of *singulares*, and also the flexibility of the career structure in general.

The two great Dura rosters provide useful evidence concerning the *stipendia* of *equites*, *immunes* and *principales* and the length of time each post was held. These rosters, however, have drawbacks. Firstly they are incomplete, for example the *stipendia* of only one *sesquiplicarius centuriae* is known out of a possible 12. Secondly the rosters are close together in date and consequently there are few promotions from one to the other. Thirdly the information that can be gleaned from the rosters relates to but one cohort and moreover one with a unique organisation and in which there were special circumstances due to war. It is necessary to consider the *equites* and the *pedites* separately.

Most *equites* in the cohort had over 10 years service though a few had less – five is the lowest recorded *stipendia*. Elsewhere Ision had only four but only one *eques*, Hermacis Apynchis, is known to have enlisted as such <sup>76</sup>. All but one of the *singulares* had over 13 years service, and all but one of the soldiers marked by the notation *officio* and therefore presumably clerks had over 14. Both posts were held by soldiers near to their retirement <sup>77</sup>. The years of service of the cavalry *principales* are listed below.

sesquiplicarius (6)	8 (2), 13, 15, 17–20, 27 <sup>78</sup> .
duplicarius (7)	12–15, 13 (2), 16–19, 17, 18–21, 26 <sup>79</sup> .
signifer (3)	12–15, 18, 24 <sup>80</sup> .
vepillarius (10)	14, 14 or 17, 17, 18 (4), 19, 24 (2) <sup>81</sup> .
cornicularius (1)	16–19 <sup>82</sup> .

Of the 27 *principales* listed 19 had between 12 and 20 years service, 6 had more and 2 less. As might be expected the *sesquiplicarii* had the lowest *stipendia*, while a *duplicarius* and a *signifer* had 12 *stipendia*. It is probable that soldiers would be picked out as promising material at a fairly early stage and therefore would be made *equites* rather earlier than most of their fellows. The six *principales* with over 20 years service may have missed their chances of advancement to decurion, one *sesquiplicarius* almost certainly for in his twentyseventh year of service in 219 his name was cancelled in the roster <sup>83</sup>, though a legionary, Victorinus, was promoted to an auxiliary centurionate after 25 years service. Ulpius Super, Petosiris, Origines and Aurelius Secundinus had between 14 and 21 years service on their promotion to decurion, though Antonius Ammonianus had only eight, while the length of service of the centurions and decurions on the two Dura rosters of 219 and 222 range from 12 to 20 years <sup>84</sup>.

Apart from promotion to *eques* it was possible for the *pedites* to join the ranks of the *dromedarii*. At Dura, unlike the appointment to *eques*, this did not involve transfer from a century into a *turma*, the *dromedarius* being carried on the books

<sup>76</sup> BGU 696 ii 7 = Fink 64.

<sup>77</sup> The *singularis* had 7 *stipendia* (P. Dura 100 xxxviii 8) and the clerk 5 (P. Dura 100 xl 24). For soldiers near retirement e. g. P. Dura 101 xli 10; 100 xxxvi 17, 24; xli 20.

<sup>78</sup> P. Dura 101 xxxvi 20; xxxviii 28; 100 xxxiii 30; xxxvi 6, xli 8 = 101 xli 8; 100 xxxviii 15.

<sup>79</sup> P. Dura 100 xxxiii 28 = 101 xxxiv 6; 101 xxxvi 18; xli 6; 100 xxxiii 26 = 101 xxxio 4; xxxi 26; xxxviii 13 = 101 xxxviii 26; 100 xxxvi 4. Note also Apollonius Mesenus who was promoted *duplicarius turmae* from *pedes* between his seventh and seventeenth *stipendia* (P. Dura 100 xxx 17; P. Dura 115 b, i, 7 [dated to 232]).

<sup>80</sup> P. Dura 100 xl 19 = 101 xl 26; xxxii 17; 101 xli 13.

<sup>81</sup> P. Dura 101 xxxviii 8; 101 xliii 3; 100 xxxii 21; xxxix 9, 13, 17; 101 xxxix 19; xl 9; 100 xxxvi 18; xxxviii 23.

<sup>82</sup> P. Dura 100 xxxii 29 = 101 xxxiii 10.

<sup>83</sup> P. Dura 100 xxxviii 15.

<sup>84</sup> P. Dura 100 i 1; xi 1; xvi 8; xxi 1; xxvi 13; xxxi 21; xxxiii 23; xxxvi 1; xxxviii 11; xli 1; 101 xi 14. For other centurions and decurions with short service see Gilliam 1957, 164.



of the century, as were the *equites legionis*<sup>85</sup>, though elsewhere one *dromedarius* was enrolled in a *turma*<sup>86</sup>. With one exception, a soldier appointed in his first year of service<sup>87</sup>, all *dromedarii* had over 6 years service in *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*<sup>88</sup>. Elsewhere only one soldier is known to have enlisted as a *dromedarius*<sup>89</sup>. Most *singulares pedites* had between 4 and 26 years service, though it was possible to be promoted soon after enlistment. Soldiers in the *officium* had between 3 and 23 years service, but one was appointed in his year of enlistment<sup>90</sup>. The *stipendia* of the infantry *principales* are as follows:

sesquiplicarius (1)	15 <sup>91</sup> .
duplicarius (5)	5–8, 12, 16–19, 21, 25 <sup>92</sup> .
signifer (2)	15–20, 26 <sup>93</sup> .
vexillarius (2)	10, 13 <sup>94</sup> .
actarius (1)	16–19 <sup>95</sup> .
imaginifer? (1)	12 <sup>96</sup> .

The lowest *stipendia* of these *principales* is three years lower than the lowest in the *equites*, but for the most part there is little difference between the two sets of figures.

*Pedites* could be promoted *singularis consularis* and into the *officium* after three or four years service, though exceptionally also only a few months after enlistment. *Equites* usually had over 10 years service, though again it was possible to enlist as an *eques*. In *cohors XX Palmyrenorum equites singulares* usually had over 13 *stipendia* and clerks over 14. There is no known case of a clerk or *pedes singularis* being appointed *eques* but this was presumably possible since it would involve an increase in pay. One *eques*, Ulpianus Silvanus, returned to a century on promotion to *vexillarius*, and this also would have meant a pay increase. Most *principales* would have at least 12 years service, though prospective centurions were probably selected at an early stage and promoted fairly rapidly – these are presumably the *sesquiplicarii* and the *duplicarius* with eight and five *stipendia*. Advancement to the centurionate was apparently at the same time as in the legions, that is usually between the fourteenth and the twentieth *stipendia*.

<sup>85</sup> Breeze 1969, 53–54.

<sup>86</sup> BGU 696 ii 10–11 = Fink 64.

<sup>87</sup> P. Dura 100 xlv 19.

<sup>88</sup> P. Dura 100 xliii 18 – xlv 19; 101 xliii 15 – xlv 14; 102 iii 3–5; v 5–7; ix 27–29.

<sup>89</sup> See n. 86.

<sup>90</sup> P. Dura 101 vi 8.

<sup>91</sup> P. Dura 100 xxi 6.

<sup>92</sup> P. Dura 100 i 4 = 101 vi 21; 100 xi 4; xxi 4 = 101 xvi 19; xi 16; 100 xxxvi 14.

<sup>93</sup> P. Dura 100 xxvii 7 = 101 i 12; 101 vi 23.

<sup>94</sup> P. Dura 100 xxiii 12; 101 xviii 19.

<sup>95</sup> P. Dura 100 xvii 3 = 101 xxii 13.

<sup>96</sup> P. Dura 100 xxviii 21.

It is difficult to know how long each post would be held, but it was clearly longer than three years since most soldiers held the same post in 219 and 222 in *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*. If the first appointment came after 3 or 4 years service and 3 or 4 posts were held for about 4 years each promotion to the centurionate will have been after 15 to 20 years service. The soldier not advanced to the centurionate may have held more posts, each for a greater duration.

The Equites Singulares Augusti

P. Aelius Valens VI 31151, c, 1	143	eq. sing. (probably sesq. or dupl.), decurion.
Aurelius Ianuarius VI 228, 17	205	singularis, decurion.
Aurelius Maximinus VI 228, 18	205	singularis, decurion.
M. Aurelius Lucillus II 4147	III cent.	sing. imp., centurion leg.
Unknown VI 31185		tablifer, decurion.

Very little evidence survives for the career of the soldiers in the *equites singulares Augusti*. All that the above inscriptions relate is that advancement to decurion was possible from the unit, one soldier in particular being promoted from *tablifer*. However, there survives a series of discharge lists for the years 133 to 145. The total number of soldiers holding the four posts of *armorum custos*, *sesquiplarius*, *duplicarius* and *signifer* is known to be the same and this information can be related to the number of times these soldiers appear on the discharge lists.

armorum custos	20 <sup>97</sup>
sesquiplarius	0
duplicarius	5 <sup>98</sup>
signifer	41 <sup>99</sup>

Other units demonstrate the relative position of these posts and there is no need to assume that the *equites singulares Augusti* were different. Domaszewski made the point that since there are no *sesquiplarii* mentioned on the discharge lists soldiers

<sup>97</sup> VI 31142, b, 2; 31143, c, 7; 31144, b, 1; c, 1; 31145, b, 11; 16; c, 10; 19; 31146, b, 4; 31147, b, 16; 31149, b, 7; 17; c, 7; 12; 17; 31150, c, 6; 31151, b, 7; c, 13; 14; 31153, c, 5.

<sup>98</sup> VI 31141, c, 1; 31146, b, 1; 2; 31147, b, 10; 31150, b, 1.

<sup>99</sup> VI 31142, b, 1; c, 1; 31143, b, 5; 7; 9; 31144, b, 4; 6; 8; 31145, b, 9; 14; 17; 19; c, 4; 11; 12; 14; 31146, b, 3; 31147, b, 2; 31148, 13; 31149, b, 5; 11; 18; 21; c, 3; 5; 6; 11; 31150, b, 8; 16; 20; c, 9; 13; 31151, b, 4; 13; 15; c, 7; 11; 31152, b, 5; 9; 10; c, 3.



of this rank must have been regularly promoted to *duplicarius* and decurion<sup>100</sup>; to these two promotions may be added the possibility of advancement to *signifer*. Similarly the small number of *duplicarii* presumably points to the promotion of most of these soldiers to decurion and possibly also to *signifer*, though no actual promotion of either is known. The possibility of reaching the post of *sesquipliarius*, and to a lesser extent *duplicarius*, and not receiving further advancement would therefore seem slight, though the number of soldiers of these ranks with over twenty *stipendia* in *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* suggests that some soldiers would not receive such promotion.

It would appear, however, that many *signiferi* retired as such. Over the thirteen years 41 *signiferi* retired, that is an average of just over three a year. By analogy with the legions and the *auxilia* a *signifer* would probably usually hold that post for about 4 years, and if there were at least 18 *turmae* in the *equites singulares Augusti*<sup>101</sup> at this time there would therefore be an average of 5 *signiferi* being promoted or retiring each year. These figures, approximate though they are, suggest that three out of five *signiferi* would retire each year and in connection with this it is interesting that there are no known promotions in the *auxilia* from *signifer* to decurion. On the other hand there is little internal evidence in either the *auxilia* or the *equites singulares* for the immediate origins of the *signiferi* – only one inscription records promotion to the post, from *armorum custos*, though another may have been promoted directly from the ranks. There seems to be no reason why *signiferi* could not previously have served as *duplicarii* and/or *sesquipliarii* though no such case is attested.

The promotion prospects of the *armorum custos* in this unit seem to have been similar to those of the *armorum custos* in the legions, not very good. It was not a post held by the ambitious.

Since the total number of soldiers holding the other posts is not known it is difficult to evaluate the importance of their presence or absence on the discharge lists. Domaszewski thought that the absence of *vexillarii* from the list suggested that they were usually promoted<sup>102</sup>, and this seems probable. On the other hand the situation is not so clear for the *beneficiarius tribuni*. Domaszewski considered that the soldier was usually promoted to a higher rank<sup>103</sup>. The argument is sound but for the fact that there is no proof that it was intended that soldiers holding this rank should be mentioned on the list. It is conceivable, though perhaps unlikely, that the *beneficiarius tribuni* would not be specifically mentioned, as on the Dura rosters. The *curator* is in a similar position.

<sup>100</sup> Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 51.

<sup>101</sup> Speidel 1965, 10–12.

<sup>102</sup> Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 53.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

## General Conclusions

Some kind of career structure presumably existed in the Roman army from its earliest days. The career of Tullius in the late first century B. C. and others of the period Tiberius to Claudius at least demonstrate that the hierarchy clear in later careers was already established at this time. The careers which have survived from the first century are all simpler than those of the second century and although it might be argued that this was in part due to the fact that fewer details seem to be recorded on these earlier careers the presence of some careers, such as those of Capreolus, Calidius Severus, Cetrius Severus and Cnosus, clearly given in full, or almost in full, demonstrates that this is not the whole reason.

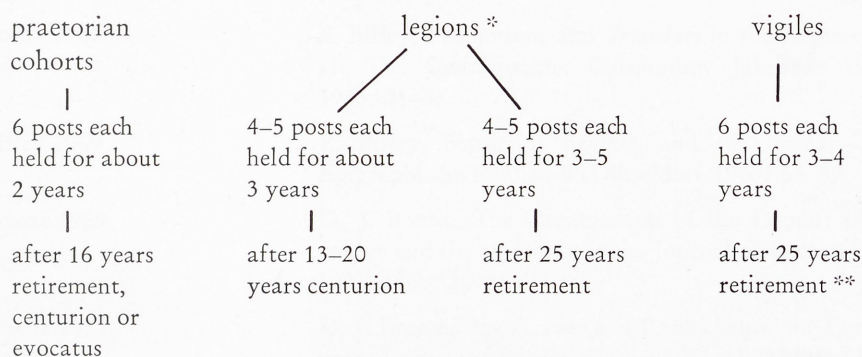
Towards the end of the first century the career structure seems to have been formalised. There is a suggestion that the praetorian *cursus* was the first to be organised, possibly by Domitian, though the evidence first emerges in careers erected by Trajan's veterans. The legions, being older, were probably more hide-bound by their traditions, but it may be noted that the *cornicularius* appears on a pre-Flavian legionary career, before its first appearance on a praetorian career, though other staff posts are found on early first century praetorian careers. Certainly the older established posts retained their predominance in the legionary career structure longer than in the Rome cohorts, reflecting the strength of traditions in the legions.

Where the evidence is available it appears that there was an attempt in all units of the Roman army from the end of the first century to the early years of the third century to give prospective centurions training by promoting them successively through both administrative and military posts. A highly organised system existed in the praetorian cohorts, there being two recognised paths of promotion: three posts in the century, *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio* and two posts in the century, *fisci curator*, *cornicularius tribuni* or *cornicularius praefecti praetorio*. This career structure is unique in that the *beneficiarius praefecti* is on a different path from the administrative posts. In the urban cohorts, the *vigiles* and the legion soldiers could hold both the post of *beneficiarius* of the senior officer and the senior administrative posts. The legions, with their larger number of posts, longer service and traditions, did not have such an organised *cursus* as the praetorian. However, most prospective centurions saw service both in administrative and tactical posts being promoted through the posts of *optio*, and *signifer* and/or one or more senior staff posts, though there were apparently no rules as to when the post of *optio* should be held. Sometimes it was held first, sometimes last when the soldier having almost completed his training would be placed on the promotion lists and entitled *optio ad spem ordinis*.

Most prospective centurions would probably hold three or four posts, or even five in the praetorian cohorts, as *principalis*, usually preceded by one or two positions as *immunis*. Most *immunes* had at least 3 or 4 years service and most *principales* at least 6 or 7. Each post was probably normally held for 3 or 4 years, though in the praetorian cohorts probably as little as 2 years. Soldiers who were not promoted to the centurionate probably held each post for rather longer in the *vigiles*, the legions and the *auxilia*, and the last post before retirement possibly for



many years. In the *vigiles* and the legions the posts of *signifer* and *beneficiarius vigilum* and *beneficiarius consularis* seem to have acted as efficiency bars, though soldiers could halt at any stage of their careers staying in one post for many years. Promotion to *evocatus* for the soldiers in the praetorian cohorts came after the completion of their 16 years service, or a little earlier for the *cornicularii praefecti*, who were always advanced to a legionary centurionate, while in the legions and the *auxilia* promotion to the centurionate usually was apparently between 13 and 20 years service. Few promotions of soldiers in the urban cohorts and the *vigiles* to the centurionate are attested; the only two recorded *cornicularii praefecti vigilum* advanced to the centurionate both went to the legions.



Summary of the career structure

In the early years of the third century the well organised career structure began to break down. The last comprehensive career in the guard is attested under Caracalla, the first purely administrative one under Severus Alexander. In the legions the last known comprehensive career was recorded under Maximinus. The changes are first attested in the praetorian cohorts, as was the formalisation of the career structure over 100 years before. In part they may have resulted from the changing function of the praetorian prefect which would have been early reflected in changes in his staff. Further the introduction of less educated provincials into the guard by Severus may have enhanced the importance of the better educated soldiers and aided the growth of specialisation in the career structure. However, this was part of a general decline in the number of educated men volunteering for service in all units of the army in the second and third centuries, a decline which Vegetius hints at in his emphasis on the army's need for educated recruits, while part of the reason for Severus' improvements to army pay and conditions, recorded by Herodian, may have been the need to encourage lagging recruiting to the army and in parti-

\* The auxiliary career seems to correspond to the legionary career structure with 3-4 posts held for about 4 years.

\*\* After the time of Antoninus Pius promotion to the centurionate was possible from *cornicularius praefecti vigilum*.

cular attract more educated men<sup>104</sup>. A lack of educated soldiers would have created the ideal situation to give rise to specialisation in the career structure. After the end of the Severan dynasty no soldier is known to have had the overall training in administration and command that his predecessors had received; he would usually have either a purely administrative or a purely tactical career. This was part of the increasing division between the chairborne administration and the army proper in the third century. Once specialisation had started its growth would have been helped by the discords of the time. Both praetorians and legionaries now often held fewer posts as *immunis* or *principalis*, could be promoted earlier, and might receive advancement into the *militia equestris* as well as the centurionate.

<sup>104</sup> Vegetius, *de re militari* II 19; Herodian III, 8, 4. Forni 1953, 125; Salmon 1958, 55; Birley 1969, 63–64, 69; Smith 1972, 489–491, 498–499. Smith, whose article was published after this paper was written, suggests that one of the reasons for Severus' reforms was to improve recruiting, and 'that the type of man being recruited into the army by the time of Marcus and Commodus was a somewhat uneducated type'.



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