

MILITARY TRIBUNATE IN THE CAREERS OF ROMAN SENATORS OF THE SEVERAN PERIOD.

PART I: INTRODUCTORY ISSUES*

by

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ABSTRACT: During the 42 years of the rule of the Severan dynasty (193–235), several thousand people with the title of military tribune probably served in troops of the Roman Empire. Some of them then entered the Roman Senate, starting a public career (often a long-term career) and forming the core of the State government. The aim of this paper is to answer the following questions: What were the terms used in the inscriptions for military tribunate? How were tribunes appointed and how long did they hold their offices? How many military tribunes were there in the Severan Period? How many of them are currently known and what territorial and social circles did they come from?

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

What we find in the *cursus honorum* of Roman senators are offices of a religious, civil and military nature. Much as the religious offices were important and prestigious, they remained outside the basic course of promotions, regardless of whether they were of local or higher rank. Other offices (civil and military) often intertwined with each other, creating different individual structures (relevant to a specific person), which lays the foundation for contemporary researchers to generalise and construct various typologies of senatorial careers¹. In my latest publication, *Album senatorum*, I suggested a typology based on the criteria of social origin and the course of subsequent stages of a given career, with a particular focus on the praetorian stage (terminated with a consulship, because it is only then that

* This article opens a series of publications dedicated to military offices in the *cursus honorum* of Roman senators. Papers about the influence of military tribunate on subsequent senatorial career are being prepared. I would like to extend my gratitude to Anthony R. BIRLEY for email correspondence and sending me one of his papers (BIRLEY 2003) as well as to Leszek MROZEWICZ for consultations regarding the present study.

¹ See, for instance, ALFÖLDY 1977; BARBIERI 1952; A.R. BIRLEY 1981: 4 f.; ECK 2015; LEUNISSEN 1989; OKOŃ 2016 and 2018.

we know the total number of offices of the praetorian rank that had been held by a given senator)². I find searching the source material of *virī militares*, which was initiated by R. SYME³ and B. CAMPBELL⁴, inspiring, although I must agree that the Romans did not distinguish between civil and military careers, considering all these functions simply as public service. Equally inspiring is the analysis of senatorial careers from the point of view of one office, as has recently been done by R. DUNCAN-JONES⁵ focusing on the vigintivirate – although it should be noted that this was an optional office, held only by some of the *clarissimi viri*. Analyses done by these authors cast interesting light on senatorial careers, although I think that creating a classification based on their observations is unjustified.

In this article, an effort will be made to analyse the group of senators of the Severan period who before their promotion to the Senate held military tribunate, although I am fully aware of the fact that it was an optional office, held at a young age. However, the significance of this office and the experience gained along with the indispensable favouritism of influential people at this stage make it, in my opinion, important to the future career of these people⁶. I will take into account all tribunes, both senatorial and equestrian (the latter only if they were subsequently awarded *adlectio in amplissimum ordinem*). I will make an attempt to answer, among others, the following questions: what terms were used in inscriptions for military tribunate, how tribunes were appointed and how long they served in office, how many military tribunes there were in the Severan Period, how many of them are currently known and what territorial and social circles they came from.

II. NOMENCLATURE OF MILITARY TRIBUNES IN INSCRIPTIONS

In the inscriptions presenting the *cursus honorum* of senators from the Severan period, those holding military tribunate⁷ are most frequently referred to

² OKOŃ 2018, particularly ch. 4. OKOŃ 2017 is a collection of the careers of 1682 senators of the Severan period, which became the basis of the analyses contained in OKOŃ 2018.

³ SYME 1957 and 1958.

⁴ CAMPBELL 1975.

⁵ DUNCAN-JONES 2016.

⁶ I do not agree with the opinion expressed, for instance, by B. DOBSON about the very little impact of holding the tribunate on someone's future career, especially on promotion to the post of legionary legate. See DOBSON 1993a: 123: "Deliberate selection of individuals to command legions involved in present or planned campaign is very difficult to demonstrate. It is even harder to show that such selection was a direct result of military ability demonstrated as much as 10 years previously". This general statement, without detailed analyses of careers, is in my opinion unsubstantiated.

⁷ According to Varro (*Ling.* V 81) the word *tribunus* is derived from the term *tribus* 'tribe' and is referred by the author to three major Roman tribes: Ramnes, Tities, Luceres, who selected officers (tribunes) to lead troops.

as *tribunus militum*, *tribunus legionis* or *tribunus laticlavius*⁸. These terms cannot be treated as synonyms. The differences are quite significant:

- *tribunatus militum* (i.e., generally, military tribunate) could be held in various types of military units, while *tribunatus legionis* and *laticlavius* only in legions,
- the post of *tribunus militum* and *tribunus legionis* could be awarded to people of senatorial or equestrian rank, whereas *tribunus laticlavius* was a title awarded only to people from the senatorial order.

Interestingly, I have not come across the title of *tribunus angusticlavius* in the inscriptions of senators (promoted from the equestrian order). From a formal standpoint, there should be many inscriptions with such a title, since *equites* served as tribunes in legions (in legions commanded by senators – five⁹ equestrian *angusticlavii* as opposed to one senatorial *laticlavius*), auxiliary troops, the praetorian guard, *cohortes urbanae*, *cohortes vigilum* and *numeri*¹⁰ troops. It can therefore be assumed that they can be found among *tribuni militum* or *tribuni legionis*. Let me add that these titles were also used by members of the senatorial order, who were obviously *laticlavii*¹¹ – in their case the use of the title *tribunus militum* or *legionis* could have been due to the fact that they came from well-known families (and there was no need to additionally emphasise that their representative served as *tribunus laticlavius*). This meant that those promoted from the equestrian order, owing to the use of the same wording, had an opportunity to conceal their origins. It is worth adding that most of the honorific inscriptions were given at the final stages of careers, when meritorious senators

⁸ As a rule, the name *tribunus* was shortened in inscriptions to the letters TR or TRIB, *militum* to MIL or MILIT, *legionis* to LEG or L, *laticlavius* to LATICL, LATIC, LATI, LAT, LC. Other forms were rare, e.g. *tribunus militum laticlavius* (e.g. Julius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius [...]atus Laevillus Berenicianus: *CIL* VIII 2582 = *ILS* 1111); *tribunus militum legionis* (e.g. C. Iulius Septimius Castinus: *CIL* III 10471 = *AE* 1972, 378; P. Catius Sabinus: *AE* 1956, 204). It is possible that in the Severan period the title *tribunus sexmenstris/semestris*, mentioned indirectly in the inscription from Thorigny (*CIL* XIII 3162 = *PfLAUM* 1948), was also used. For more details, see n. 27 below.

⁹ Assuming that *tribunus sexmenstris/semestris*, found in a few inscriptions, was not identical to that of the *tribuni angusticlavii*, there would be six of them.

¹⁰ For an inscription mentioning *tribunus numeri*, see HOŠEK 1985: 41 f. (no. 14). The inscription contains the notation TR N, which was expanded by the author as *tr(ibunus) n(umeri)*.

¹¹ In the Severan period: Claudius Pompeianus, son of a consul for the second time, *tribunus militum* (*CIL* XIII 1766); T. Flavius Victorinus Philippianus, son of a legate of Gallia Lugdunensis, *tribunus militum* (*CIL* XIII 1673 = *ILS* 1152 – an inscription which featured him with his father the legate and his brother); Q. Hedi Rufus Lollianus Gentianus, son of an ordinary consul, *tribunus legionis* (*CIL* II 4121 = *ILS* 1145 = *RIT* 139); M. Iuventius Secundus Rixa Postumius Pansa Valerianus[s ...] Severus, son of a consul, *tribunus legionis* (*CIL* V 4335); L. Valerius Publicola Messalla Helvidius Thrasea Priscus Minicius Natalis, a descendant of an old consular family, *tribunus militum* (*AE* 1998, 280); C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus, son of a consul, *tribunus militum legionis* (*CIL* VIII 823 cf. 12346); (H)aterius Latronianus, son of a legate of Pannonia, *tribunus militum* (*AE* 1962, 118 – mentioned along with his father); M. Roscius Lupus Murena, grandson of the proconsul of Pontus-Bithynia, *tribunus legionis* (*IGR* I 909 = *ILS* 8834 a = *I. Cret.* IV 296); Q. Servilius Pudens, son of an ordinary consul, *tribunus militum* (*CIL* VIII 5354 = 17492 = *ILAlg* I 281 = *ILS* 1084).

(for propaganda reasons) were particularly interested in showing their *cursus honorum* in the most positive light. In view of the above conditions, it is understandable why the title of *tribunus angusticlavius* is not found in honorific inscriptions, as opposed to the term *tribunus laticlavius*.

Another possibility is to assume that only the titles *tribunus militum* or *tribunus legionis* were commonly used and given to tribunes regardless of their social status. The title *tribunus laticlavius*, on the other hand, started to be used by those concerned as a way of emphasising their senatorial status¹². In such a case, the term *tribunus angusticlavius* would merely be an opposition to the term *laticlavius* and would be of a formal nature; in practice, since it was not used, it was not found in inscriptions. It is found only in literary sources¹³, a circumstance which provides a (sometimes unjustified) basis for contemporary researchers to use it in the literature of the subject. In my opinion, this term can be used in literature analysing Roman social structure, but it should be approached with caution in the case of research on the Roman army.

To sum up, in the case of the title *tribunus laticlavius*, we are certain as to the social status of the honoured person. In the case of other titles (e.g. *tribunus militum*, *tribunus legionis*), additional information about the family background is needed. Only in the case of tribunes who subsequently served equestrian functions is it possible to determine with certainty (without the verification of their *gens*) that we are dealing with an *eques*.

Despite the differences in terms of social status and functions in the army, they all later formed a group of senators with military experience, and were thus potentially human resources for appointments to command legions and to take governorships of provinces.

III. APPOINTMENTS OF TRIBUNES

It is worth considering how the recruitment and appointment of tribunes was carried out. As a rule, this office was held by people of the senatorial order after the vigintivirate¹⁴, while people of the equestrian order held it after a cohort prefec-

¹² *Equites* who became *adlecti in ordinem senatorium* at an early age and then served as military tribunes (e.g. the brothers L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus and L. Marius Perpetuus) appeared in inscriptions already as *tribuni laticlavii*, which emphasises their new, senatorial social status.

¹³ Velleius Paterculus (II 88, 2) mentions Maecenas, an equestrian, who “erat tunc urbis custodiis praepositus” and “vixit angusti clavi paene contentus” (perhaps “honore contentus”), while Suetonius (*Otho* 10, 1) speaks about his father: “interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Laetus, tertiae decimae legionis tribunus angusticlavius”. It should be noted that in the case of Maecenas, the point was to emphasise the fact that he did not want to become a senator, and in the case of Suetonius’ father, to indicate his high (equestrian) rank. In both cases, the term was used to point to the social status of the characters described.

¹⁴ The vigintivirate has been attested in the case of the vast majority of the tribunes in the Severan period. It is missing in the inscriptions of some tribunes: Ti. Cl(audius) Me[vius? P]riscus

ture as a part of *tres/quattuor militiae*. In both cases, the office was held by young people without much experience or merit. Thus, external factors such as the support of the *gens* and the patronage of influential people were decisive with regard to their promotion¹⁵. The official appointment was made by the emperor¹⁶ who knew some of those keen to obtain *tribunatus laticlavius* from the office of the vigintivirate which they had previously held in Rome. This fact could have influenced the choice. Given the fact that he was unfamiliar with all the candidates, the emperor probably relied on the opinion of his entourage¹⁷ or the administrative staff of the province (its legate, to be more specific)¹⁸. The choice of the candidates for the post

Ruffinus Iunior (*tribunus militum*); M. Domitius Valerianus (*tribunus laticlavius*); T. Flavius Secundus Philippianus (*tribunus militum*); L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus (*tribunus laticlavius*); C. Iulius Septimius Castinus (*tribunus militum*); C. Luxilius Sabinus Egnatius Proculus (*tribunus laticlavius*); L. Marius Perpetuus (*tribunus laticlavius*); [... Bassidius?] [Cor]nelianus Agrippinus (*tribunus militum*); C. Mar(i)us Etruscus Gal(l)ianus (*tribunus laticlavius*); M. Roscius Lupus Murena (*tribunus legionis*); Q. Servilius Pudens (*tribunus militum*); [...]Tursidius (aut T. Ursidius) [...] ManilianusTitule[ius] Aelianus (*tribunus laticlavius*). The lack of a reference to the vigintivirate may be due to two reasons: the office was not mentioned (not enough space available on the stone) or it had not been held. In the case of one anonymous senator, an inscription (CIL VI 1541 = 41133) provides a reverse sequence (“[trib. la]t. leg. V Maced., III vir a. a. a. f. f.”), which may (but does not have to) be the stonecutter’s mistake.

¹⁵ This is well illustrated by Pliny the Younger’s letters (from the times of Traianus), e.g. *Epist.* VII 22 to Q. Pompeius Falco, the legate of the province of Iudaea and the Legio X Fretensis, with a request for the tribunate (*angusticlavius*) for his fellow countryman and friend, C. Cornelius Minicianus; III 8 to Suetonius Tranquillus who asks Pliny to substitute Caesennius Silvanus (described as Suetonius’ *propinquus*) for the post of military tribune, which was given to Suetonius by the legate Neratius Priscus; IV 4, in which the author requests that the legate Sosius Senecio give a six-month tribunate to Varisidius Nepos, a friend’s nephew. In a similar fashion, Fronto, when writing to the provincial legate Claudius Iulianus (*Ad amicos* I 5), praises Faustianianus, a friend’s son, to aid his promotion. – For the promotion of tribunes see, for example, E. BIRLEY 1953 and 1988; A.R. BIRLEY 1981: 3 and 2005: 10 and 2003; COTTON 1981; DOBSON 1993b: 131; ECK 1995: 138 f.; HANDY 2009: 204; SALLER 1982: 45, 132; SYME 1988: 564.

¹⁶ It is worth recalling that even centurions were appointed by the emperor – see, for example, the reference to the refusal to appoint a centurion which was to lead to the murder of Emperor Caracalla by the offended soldier, Iulius Martialis (Cass. Dio LXXVIII 5, 4). However, this took place during an expedition which was personally commanded by the emperor. Under different circumstances, centurions were probably promoted by the legionary legate, and the emperor approved the appointments.

¹⁷ From the circle of relatives of the closest collaborators of the emperors, the office of military tribune was held by Q. Hedi Rufus Lollianus Gentianus and L. Marius Perpetuus, whose fathers were members of Septimius Severus’ *consilium principis*. The mechanism of such favouritism is also revealed by Pliny, a trusted associate of Emperor Traianus, asking him in one of his letters (*Epist.* X 87) for the office of tribune to be given to Nymphidius Lupus, son of his former comrade-in-arms. Thus, the system of favouritism included not only people from close and distant families, but also a wide circle of friends and their children. – For the appointment procedure of officers of legions and auxiliary troops, see A.R. BIRLEY 2003; DEVIJVER 1992: 66 ff.; DOBSON 1993b; SALLER 1982; SYME 1988.

¹⁸ Pliny the Younger (*Epist.* II 13) openly writes to the legate Neratius Priscus: “Regis exercitum amplissimum: hinc tibi beneficiorum larga materia, longum praeterea tempus, quo amicos tuos

of *tribunatus angusticlavius* could have been determined by factors similar to those of the *laticlavii*, although it must be borne in mind that *equites* could have been more closely related to both the province in which they served and the legate who supported them. In the case of a transfer of a legate to another province, what sometimes happened was that his equestrian officers went along with him¹⁹. Thus, legateships of provinces and legions were in the immediate area of interest of the emperor. The remaining people had to be awarded appointments to lower officer functions (with the formal approval of the princeps).

The source material provides evidence that province legates had a large impact on the appointments of legionary tribunes. What sometimes happened was that a governor aided the promotion of his son, nephew or cousin. In the biographical data relating to the senators of the Severan period, I have found 10 cases of coincidences pointing to such an appointment model.

Table 1: Military tribunes holding office in provinces governed by their relatives

No.	<i>Nomen</i> of the tribune	<i>Nomen</i> of the province legate	Province
1.	M. Caecilius Rufinus Marianus	Q. Caecilius Rufinus Crepereianus	Pannonia Inferior
2.	Cass[ius ...]ens <i>vel</i> Cass[ius ...]nus	L. Cassius Marcellinus	Pannonia Inferior
3.	Iulius Maximianus	C. Iulius Maximinus	III Daciae
4.	C. Iulius Septimius Castinus	L. Septimius Severus ----- P. Septimius Geta	Pannonia Superior ----- III Daciae
5.	C. Luxilius Sabinus Egnatius Proculus	Egnatius (Victor) Marinianus	Moesia Superior
6.	(Pomponius) Bassus	Pomponius Bassus	Moesia
7.	M. Valerius Florus	M. Valerius Senecio	Numidia
8.	L. Calpurnius Proculus	P. Calpurnius Proculus Cornelianus	Dacia Superior
9.	(H)aterius Latronianus	Ti. Haterius Saturninus	Pannonia Inferior
10.	C. Postumius Africanus	C. Iunius Faustinus Postumianus	Hispania

exornare potuisti”, emphasising the great impact the legate has on the appointment to the tribunate. Significant words, addressed to the legate Neratius Marcellus, are also contained on one of the tablets from Vindolanda: “ut beneficio tuo militiam possim iucundam experiri” (TV II no. 21, 225).

¹⁹ See, for example, the career of M. Statius Priscus Licinius Italicus (cos. ord. a. 159), who served in Britain under Sex. Iulius Severus as *praefectus cohortis*, and later moved with him to Syria, where he is already found as holding the rank of *tribunus militum*.

The above list was based on literary and epigraphic data, the convergence of family nomenclature and of dates of stays of tribunes and legates in the same province (see OKOŃ 2017). Similar cases can be found in the epigraphic material (including relatives and kinsmen in the feminine line²⁰); it seems that the cited examples sufficiently illustrate the general mechanisms and conditions. It is worth noting that in the praetorian provinces with one legion (e.g., Arabia, Pannonia Inferior until the times of Caracalla, Dacia Superior until Marcus Aurelius, Raetia and Noricum under Marcus Aurelius, Syria Phoenicia under Septimius Severus, Britannia Inferior under Caracalla, Numidia) the governor was also the commander of the legion and therefore the tribune's immediate superior. Given this situation, it should be surmised that commanders of the legions had an influence on the appointment of military tribunes. It may be assumed, following E. BIRLEY and H. DEVIJVER, that the appointments were handed over to the emperor through the imperial secretariat *ab epistulis*²¹ which was responsible for archiving military documents²².

From a formal standpoint, the tribune *laticlavus* was the officer who was second-in-rank in the legion and who, if circumstances required, commanded the legion or its detachments (*vexillationes*) in place of the legate. This is openly stated in reference to one of the senators from the Severan period [...]us L.f. Fab. Annian[us]: "in [quo honore vi]c(es) legati sustinuit"²³; these words show that senatorial tribunes had a high position in the legion and might play an important role in it.

It had not always been the case that the service of one's relative in a province brought such results. Tacitus (*Ann.* I 19 f.) provides an account of a situation (under Tiberius) when rebellious soldiers forced the governor Iunius Blaesus to send a young tribune, his son, to Rome as an envoy to present their demands to the emperor a young tribune – his son a young tribune – his son. We also know (from the times of Macrinus) the case of a young tribune (Pomponius) Bassus accused by an informer, Sulpicius Arrenianus, who wished to take revenge on his father, the legate of Moesia (Cass. Dio LXXVIII 21, 2). These cases, provided in literary sources, complement the picture of the appointments known from epigraphic material.

²⁰ For instance, C. Calpurnius Ceius Aemilianus served in the Legio II Adiutrix, in the province of Pannonia Inferior, probably during the term of office of his father-in-law C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albius. It is not known, however, whether he was already then the husband of the legate's daughter or whether the legate noticed the promising young man during his service. The case of L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus, who commanded the Legio I Adiutrix in Pannonia Inferior during the governorship of his father-in-law L. Alfenius Avitianus, was probably similar.

²¹ DEVIJVER 1992: 69. He follows E. BIRLEY in this respect.

²² See A.R. BIRLEY 2003: 3 f.

²³ *CIL* XIII 6763 = *ILS* 1188 = ALFÖLDY 1967: 61 f. An example of such a replacement had been previously attested, for example, in the inscriptions from Cordoba (1st cent. AD) to honour the senator P. Axius Naso as *trib(unus) milit(um) proleg(atus)* (*AE* 1981, 495).

IV. NUMERICAL LISTINGS

In the Severan period, the Empire had 32 legions, of which 28²⁴ were commanded by senatorial legates and 4²⁵ by equestrian prefects. Each of the senatorial legions included lower-ranking officers: one from the senatorial order (*tribunus laticlavius*) and five from the equestrian order (*tribuni angusticlavii*). In other types of troop groupings, there were no senatorial tribunes, only equestrian ones.

In the senatorial *cursus honorum*, especially in the case of lower-ranking functions (*quaestor*, *tribunus plebis/aedilis*, *praetor*), the principle of a one year term of office had been in force since republican times. However, the tribunate was a pre-senatorial function and did not belong to the group of municipal magistratures. Even if it was a one year appointment during the Republic, the expansion of the army during the Empire forced a change in this state of affairs. It is worth noticing that the term *tribunus militum bis* is found in honorary inscriptions from the beginnings of the Principate²⁶, which evidently testifies to the lack of staff and ways to deal with this problem by iterating the tribune's term of service. In fact, this resulted in the extension of this term (by one year). Thus, it can be assumed that the title *tribunus militum bis* with no indication of two specific legions defined a tribune serving two years in the same legion. During the Severan period we do not find a similar phrase recorded, which may mean that the two-year term of service became the norm. One should notice that if the tribune served in two legions successively, it was marked in his inscription by enumerating their names (see below).

The conclusion on the extension of the tribunes' period of service is based on other premises as well. It is hard to assume that a tribune sent to the *limes* (often far away) served there for only one year²⁷. Taking into account the duration of the journey, such an appointment would have been ineffective.

²⁴ This number does not include the Legio VI Hispana, whose existence in the Severan period has not been attested in our sources.

²⁵ These were the following legions: I, II, III Parthica and II Traiana.

²⁶ *CIL* III 14707; *CIL* VI 31596 = *CIL* I 198 = *InscrIt* XIII 3, 6 = *ILS* 48; *CIL* VI 40955; *CIL* VI 40978; *CIL* IX 5838; *CIL* XI 1054; *CIL* XI 4359 = *Supplementa Italica* NS XVIII 2000, p. 224 ad no; *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure* VI 24.

²⁷ A similar conclusion was reached by A.R. BIRLEY (2005: 73 f.) based on the information provided by Tacitus, *Agr.* 5, 1–3, and epigraphical sources. According to the British scholar, it is highly probable that tribunes without the *vigintivirate* held the military tribunate longer. A list of such tribunes was provided in A.R. BIRLEY 2000: 104 ff. – Found in some inscriptions (*CIL* III 101; *CIL* III 6233; *CIL* VIII 2586 = *ILS* 2381; *CIL* IX 4886 = *ILS* 2744; *CIL* IX 4485 = *ILS* 2745; *ILS* 2405), the title *tribunus sexmenstris/semestris* is usually interpreted on the basis of the inscription from Thorigny (*CIL* XIII 3162) as referring to positions held in legions for the period of six months. In my opinion, however, it should be seen as evidence for the permanent rotation (every six months) of equestrian tribunes in the legion as part of a two-year appointment. Thus I disagree with the opinion held by A.R. BIRLEY (2003: 2 f.) that equestrian tribunes served approximately one year and did not command soldiers directly (“[a tribunate] not involving direct command

Assuming hypothetically that the average duration of the tribunes' term of service was two years, with 28 legions there would be 14 tribunes *laticlavii* appointed annually²⁸. With 28 legions and 42 years of Severan rule, we should know of 588 *laticlavii* and five times as many *angusticlavii*. Bearing in mind that *angusticlavii* also served in other formations, it must be assumed that there were thousands of people with the title of the tribune, although only a part of them later held senatorial offices. Currently, I can list the names of 123 senators from the Severan period (of the 1682 that are known) whose preserved *cursus* features the above-mentioned tribunate (see the Appendix)²⁹. Objectively speaking this is not a significant number, but it must be remembered that it was a low-ranking and non-obligatory office, which explains why it did not always feature in honorific inscriptions, particularly in the case of people with a long and full career.

Twelve tribunes (out of the 123) were definitely *angusticlavii*, i.e. they started their careers as *equites* and later advanced to the senatorial order. Their *cursus* was of a mixed type – it started with equestrian offices which were followed by *adlectio* and senatorial offices³⁰. Of the remaining 111, almost half (53) are described with the term *tribunus laticlavius*, so they belonged to the senatorial order from the start. The rest are referred to with such words as *tribunus militum* or *tribunus legionis*; among them were descendants of old senatorial families (9)³¹, but also individuals whose provenance remains uncertain (49). Thus, the analysis of the sources leads to the conclusion that in the case of 74 tribunes (60.1%) we can determine their social status at the time when they served this

of troops"). Approaching the subject from the point of view of logic, tribunes must have changed in the command of individual cohorts (each commanded two of them at the same time), so as to get to know legionaries and the specifics of being in command of teams undergoing change. The post of *tribunus sexmenstris/semestris* would not be an additional or exceptional office in the Roman army. In exceptional cases, six-month rotations gave an officer who was inept or unwilling to serve the opportunity to resign (see the famous case of Columella). Also ZEHETNER (2015: 20) is wrong when he claims that these were only tribunes found in equestrian legions in Egypt. It is worth adding that inscriptions attesting the title *tribunus sexmenstris/semestris* refer also to the legions of XXII Primigenia, VIII Augusta and III Augusta, commanded by senators. – For *tribunus sexmenstris/semestris*, see e.g. VON DOMASZEWSKI 1908: 47 f.; MATTINGLY 1910; DOBSON 1972; PFLAUM 1948; DEVIJVER 1999; LE BOHEC 2002; SYVÄNNE 2016.

²⁸ In this way, more than half (14 out of 20) of the *vigintiviri* had a chance to be awarded the military tribunate in a given year. The fact that the careers of some of the tribunes did not include the *vigintivirate* is evidence that various paths could lead to the quaestorship. For problems with appointments to the tribunate, see, for example, A.R. BIRLEY 1981: 8; SYME 1981.

²⁹ Up-to-date biographical entries on people listed in the Appendix can be found in OKOŃ 2017.

³⁰ This applies to the following people: Q. Cerellius Apollinaris, Tib. Claudius Candidus, Ti. Claudius Claudianus, Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus, L. Didius Marinus, C. Domitius Antigonus, C. Iulius Avitus, [L.? S]ept(imius) Maria[nus], C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes, M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex, M. Valerius Maximianus, Anonymus legatus Aquitaniae (AE 1992, 1794).

³¹ See n. 11 above.

function. Out of this number, 62 held the office as members of the senatorial order³² and 12 had an equestrian background.

It should be noted that the office of the tribune *laticlavus* was usually held in one legion, although for the Severan period I can cite cases of 13³³ senators whose inscriptions feature tribunates in two legions. This provides the basis for determining the probable duration of the tribunate. It could not have been longer than three years because then (with the vigintivirate, two tribunates and the necessary interval) people holding the office would not have been able to run for the quaestorship at the required age of 25–26 years and should have been *adlecti inter quaestorios*. However, the low number of these *adlecti* excludes such a possibility³⁴. It could not have been a one-year term of office either, because then the Empire would have needed so many tribunes that most of them would have served this office in two or three legions³⁵. Undoubtedly, the status of the tribunate would have increased, and the number of preserved *cursus* featuring this office would have been definitely greater. Thus, the average duration for holding the office of *tribunus laticlavus* was two years. In the case of *tribunatus angusticlavius* it should be noted that, as an element of *tres/quattuor militiae*, it was held only once. The entire military service had to end before the age of 25–26, as we know of *equites* who, after its completion, were promoted to the senatorial order and held the quaestorship in the ordinary way³⁶. It is likely that the length

³² This group comprises both those who were born in the senatorial order and those who were promoted to it prior to the tribunate.

³³ C. Aemilius Berenicianus, [...]us L.f. Fab. Annian[us], T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus, Clodius Marcellinus, C. Iulius Septimius Castinus, L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus, P. Plotius Romanus Cassianus Neo, Anonymus (*AE* 1922, 38 = *ILJug* 2080), P. Flavonius Paulinus, P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus, Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius [...]atus Laevillus Berenicianus, [...]anus S[...], Anonymus (*CIL* VI 1553 = 41200). In some cases, this may have been connected with personal relations between tribunes and provincial governors. For example, C. Iulius Septimius Castinus served as a tribune successively in two legions stationed in the provinces of his cousins: L. Septimius Severus (Pannonia) and P. Septimius Geta (III Daciae).

³⁴ Among the senators of the Severan period, the following became *adlecti inter quaestorios*: Ti. Cl(audius) Me[vius? P]riscus Ruf[inius I]unior, Cuspidius Flaminus Severus, L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus, Anonymus consul (*PIR*¹ P–Z, incerti 24; BARBIERI, n. 439, OKOŃ, n. 1076). The last of these was also created a patrician, but due to the fact that it is impossible to identify him with certainty, we cannot determine in what circumstances such a distinction was made.

³⁵ Otherwise, inevitable vacancies and problems with staffing would have arisen. However, Pliny's correspondence proves that the tribunate was achieved thanks to the support of influential people, and such support would have been completely unnecessary if places were waiting for those willing to serve. See n. 15 above.

³⁶ See, for instance, the case of Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus, who became quaestor after *quattuor militiae*. Another *eques*, C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes, was transferred to the senatorial order after serving two functions featuring *tres/quattuor militiae* and he also held a regular quaestorship. Epigraphical material attests to numerous cases of the *adlectio* of *equites* to the higher levels of a senatorial career, which was due to the fact that after completing their military

of service for the office of *tribunus angusticlavius* in a legion was similar to that of *tribunus laticlavius*.

V. TERRITORIAL AND SOCIAL ORIGINS OF TRIBUNES

We know the territorial origins of 89 (out of the 123) tribunes and it is as follows: 35³⁷ came from Italy, 24³⁸ from the East, 22³⁹ from Africa, and 8⁴⁰ from the West. Such a numerical distribution reflects the structure of the Senate – under the Severans, the most numerous among its members were representatives of Italy, senators from the East ranked second, those from Africa third, and the fewest representatives came from the Western provinces⁴¹. Thus, the relationship between the position of the regions and the appointments to military tribunate is clearly visible – and this should be interpreted as a result of the system of favouritism.

service they held various types of procuratorial offices; such a solution was necessary due to the age of the individuals who were promoted and the general conditions.

³⁷ L. Aconius Callistus, Ti. Attius Iulianus, C. Caerellius Fufidius Annius Ravus Pollitianus, C. Caesonius Macer Rufinianus, P. Cadius Sabinus, Ti. Cl(audius) Me[vius? P]riscus Ruff[inus I]unior, Q. Cerellius Apollinaris, T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus, M. Gavius Crispus Num[isi]us Iunior, Q. Hedius Lollianus Plautius Avitus, Q. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus, M. Herennius Faustus [...] Iulius Clemens Tadius Flaccus, [Iasdius], M. Iuventius Secundus Rixa Postumius Pansa Valerianu[s...] Severus, C. Luxilius Sabinus Egnatius Proculus, M. Marius Titius Rufinus, Q. Petronius Melior, (Pomponius) Bassus, C. Praecellius Augurinus Vettius Festus Crispinianus Vibius Verus Cassianus, [Rubrenus], Saevinus Proculus, L. Valerius Publicola Messalla Helvidius Thrasea Priscus Minicius Natalis, M. Umbrius Primus, Anonymus consul, [L. Allius...], L. Allius Volusianus, M. Cassius (Agrippa Sanctus?) Paullinus (Augustianus Alpinus?), L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis, [...] Egr[ilius Plarianus Larcus Lep]idus [Flavius ...?], T. Marcus [C]le[mens?], [...] P. Neratius M[acer aut -arcellus], C. Novius Rusticus Venuleius Apronianus, C. Vesnius Vindex, Anonymus legatus Pannoniae aut Thraciae, Anonymus legatus Aquitaniae.

³⁸ Aelius Diodotus, P. Aelius Symmachus, C. Aemilius Berenicianus, (M?) Antonius Memmius Hiero, Ti. Cl(audius) Pompeianus, L. Didius Marinus, C. Domitius Antigonus, M. Domitius Valerianus, T. Fl(avius) Claudianus, T. Flavius Secundus Philippianus, T. Flavius Victorinus Philippianus, L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus, C. Iulius Avitus, Iulius Maximianus, Pompe[ius Cassianus?], Tib. Pontius Pontianus, [L.? S]ept(imius) Maria[nus], L. Calpurnius Proculus, [...]us Claud[ius] Corneli[anus vel] Cornelia (tribu)?, Sex. Cornelius Felix Pacatus, (Fabius?), P. Flavonius Paulinus, Tib. Iulius Frugi, Ulpius Flavius Claudius Ponticus.

³⁹ C. Arrius Calpurnius Longinus, M. Caecilius Rufinus Marianus, C. Calpurnius Ceius Aemilianus, Tib. Claudius Candidus, Ti. Claudius Claudianus, Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus, C. Iulius Septimius Castinus, L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus, L. Marius Perpetuus (cos. suff. ante a. 203–205), L. Marius Perpetuus (cos. ord. a. 237), C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albius, P. Mevius Saturninus Honoratianus, P. Septimius Geta, Anonymus praeses Pannoniae inferioris, M. Annaeus Saturninus Clodianus Aelianus, Q. Gargilius Macer Aufidianus, P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus, L. Iunius Aurelius Neratius Gallus Fulvius Macer, [Lusius Laberius? S]eptius [Ruti]lianus, C. Postumius Africanus, [P. P]os[t]umius Romulus, Q. Servilius Pudens.

⁴⁰ L. Aurelius Gallus, L. Fabius Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus, M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex, Petronius Priscus, M. Valerius Maximianus, Anonymus, senator et consul? (*AE* 1922, 38 = *ILJug* 2080), L. Matucius Maximus, [...]us T[...].

⁴¹ See Okoń 2018 (ch. 2).

We also know of the social origins of 84 tribunes (out of the 123), of whom 45⁴² were descended from *gentes senatoriae*, and the remaining 39 from lower social classes (mostly of equestrian origin). Members of old families dominated (although slightly), the ratio being approximately 1.1: 1. This does not reflect the balance of power in the Senate, in which the proportion (identified in this respect) of members of *gentes senatoriae* to *homines novi* exceeded 2: 1⁴³. Thus, it is evident that for the *clarissimi viri* the path through the military tribunate was only one of the ways of getting promotion to the Senate. It is interesting that as many as 23⁴⁴ tribunes (out of the 45) were descendants of consuls who, as a rule, were guaranteed quick promotion to consulship at the minimum age of 32 without the need for military service. Therefore it can be concluded that the military tribunate, despite its inconveniences, was an important stage in one's career and that senatorial families, owing to their connections, aided in the promotion of their youth to this office. In this way, a young man was taught to take important responsibilities and his good reputation in the eyes of the emperor was developed – service impeccably fulfilled could reflect positively not only on the tribune himself, but also on his relatives. As can be seen, military service was not an inferior route for promotion – convincing evidence is provided by the statistical information presented above.

⁴² C. Arrius Calpurnius Longinus, L. Aurelius Gallus, M. Caecilius Rufinus Marianus?, C. Caerellius Fufidius Annius Ravus Pollitianus, Cass[ius ...]ens *vel* Cass[ius ...]nus, P. Catius Sabinus, Ti. Cl(audius) Pompeianus, Clodius Marcellinus?, M. Fabius Magnus Valerianus, T. Flavius Victorinus Philippianus, M. Gavius Crispus Num[isi]us Iunior, Q. Hedi[us] Lollianus Plautius Avitus, Q. Hedi[us] Rufus Lollianus Gentianus, M. Herennius Faustus [...] Iulius Clemens Tadius Flaccus, Iulius Maximianus?, C. Iulius (Scapula?) Lepidus Tertullus, M. Iuventius Secundus Rixa Postumius Pansa Valerianu[s ...] Severus, L. Marius Perpetuus (cos. ord. 237), P. Mevius Saturninus Honoratianus, Pompe[ius] Cas[sianus?], (Pomponius) Bassus, Saevinius Proculus, M. Valerius Florus, L. Valerius Publicola Messalla Helvidius Thræsea Priscus Minicius Natalis, C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus, L. Calpurnius Proculus, M. Cassius (Agrippa Sanctus?) Paullinus (Augustianus Alpinus?), [...]us Claud[ius] Corneli[anus] *vel* Cornelia (tribu?)], Sex. Cornelius Felix Pacatus, [...] Egr[ilius] Plarianus Larcus Lep[idi]us [Flavius ...?], (H) aterius Latronianus, Tib. Iulius Frugi, Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius [...]atus Laevillus Berenicianus, L. Iunius Aurelius Neratius Gallus Fulvius Macer, L. Iunius Rufinus Proculianus, [Lusius Laberius? S]eptius [Ruti]lianus, L. Matucius Maximus, [...]P. Neratius M[acer] *aut* -arcellus], C. Novius Rusticus Venuleius Apronianus, [P. P]os[t]umius Romulus, M. Roscius Lupus Murena, Q. Servilius Pudens, Anonymus consul (*CIL* VI 1553 = 41200), Anonymus praetor (*CIL* VI 31780 = 41202/41203), Anonymus tribunus militum (*CIL* VI 1541 = 41133).

⁴³ See Okoń 2018 (ch. 3).

⁴⁴ L. Aurelius Gallus, C. Arrius Calpurnius Longinus, Ti. Cl(audius) Pompeianus, M. Gavius Crispus Num[isi]us Iunior, Q. Hedi[us] Lollianus Plautius Avitus, Q. Hedi[us] Rufus Lollianus Gentianus, M. Herennius Faustus [...] Iulius Clemens Tadius Flaccus, C. Iulius (Scapula?) Lepidus Tertullus, M. Iuventius Secundus Rixa Postumius PansaValerianu[s ...] Severus, L. Marius Perpetuus (cos. ord. a. 237), (Pomponius) Bassus, Saevinius Proculus, M. Valerius Florus, L. Valerius Publicola Messalla Helvidius Thræsea Priscus Minicius Natalis, C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus, M. Cassius (Agrippa Sanctus?) Paullinus (Augustianus Alpinus?), [...]us Claud[ius] Corneli[anus] *aut* Cornelia (tribu?)], Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius [...]atus Laevillus Berenicianus, L. Iunius Rufinus Proculianus, [Lusius Laberius? S]eptius [Ruti]lianus, L. Matucius Maximus, C. Novius Rusticus Venuleius Apronianus, Q. Servilius Pudens.

Summing up, both the *origo* and the *ordo* of people holding the military tribunate prove the dominant role of favouritism in people's efforts to obtain this office.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of this article are as follows:

- the following terms were generally used in the inscriptions to refer to the office of military tribune: *tribunus militum*, *tribunus legionis*, *tribunus laticlavus*,
- the title of *tribunus angusticlavus* is not found in the epigraphic material, but only in literary sources,
- the appointment to the tribunate was formally made by the emperor, following the recommendations of people from his entourage and staff from the provinces (governors),
- during the Severan Period, about 588 *tribuni laticlavii* and five times as many *angusticlavii* served in the legions,
- the majority of the tribunes served in one legion, but 13 tribunes are attested who served in two legions,
- sources do not document the length of the tribunes' term of service, but there are indications that in the Severan times the period was two years,
- we know of 123 senators from the Severan period whose *cursus* featured the military tribunate; 62 of them served in this office as members of the senatorial order and 12 as equestrians,
- 23 military tribunes were descendants of consuls,
- the territorial structure of the group of tribunes is in line with the structure of the Senate,
- the social structure of the group of tribunes is not in line with the structure of the Senate, because the ratio of people from the senatorial order to those from the equestrian order in the group of tribunes is approx. 1.1: 1, and among the senators that have been identified it exceeds 2: 1, which means that for future senators the tribunate was one of many career paths,
- both the *origo* and the *ordo* of tribunes prove the dominant role of favouritism in efforts to be promoted to this office.

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APPENDIX

1. L. Aconius Callistus (*PIR*² A 94; BARBIERI, nn. 922 et 1404; OKOŃ, n. 5) – *tribunus militum*.
2. Aelius Diodotus (*PIR*² A 168; BARBIERI, nn. 8 et 1213; OKOŃ, n. 14) – *tribunus*?
3. P. Aelius Symmachus (*PIR*² A 268; OKOŃ, n. 22) – *syngletikos* (*laticlavus*?).
4. C. Aemilius Berenicianus (*PIR*² A 336; BARBIERI, nn. 13 et 927 et 1797; OKOŃ, n. 26) – *cos. suff. aetate Severi Alexandri* – *tribunus laticlavus*.

5. [...]us L.f. Fab. Annian[us] (*PIR*² A 622; BARBIERI, nn. 1219 et 1428; OKOŃ, n. 58) – tribunus militum.
6. (M?) Antonius Memmius Hiero (*PIR*² A 851; BARBIERI, nn. 1225 et 1439; OKOŃ, n. 84) – cos. suff. ca a. 244 – tribunus [legionis ...].
7. C. Arrius Calpurnius Longinus (*PIR*² A 1096; BARBIERI, nn. 951 et 1448; OKOŃ, n. 109) – cos. suff. aetate Gordiani III – tribunus legionis.
8. Ti. Attius Iulianus (*PIR*² A 1357; BARBIERI, n. 65; OKOŃ, n. 134) – tribunus militum.
9. L. Aurelius Gallus (*PIR*² A 1517; BARBIERI, nn. 76 et 1976; OKOŃ, n. 158) – cos. ord. a. 198 – tribunus laticlavus.
10. M. Caecilius Rufinus Marianus (*PIR*² C 77; BARBIERI, nn. 97 et 1239; OKOŃ, n. 205) – tribunus laticlavus.
11. C. Caerellius Fufidius Annius Ravus Pollitianus (*PIR*² C 157; BARBIERI, nn. 101 et 976; OKOŃ, n. 205) – tribunus laticlavus.
12. C. Caesonius Macer Rufinianus (*PIR*² C 210; BARBIERI, nn. 106 et 979; OKOŃ, n. 205) – cos. suff. ca a. 197–198 – tribunus legionis.
13. C. Calpurnius Ceius Aemilianus (*AE* 1998, 1058; OKOŃ, n. 226) – tribunus laticlavus leg(ionis).
14. Cass[ius ...]ens vel Cass[ius ...]nus (*AE* 1990, 814; OKOŃ, n. 247) – tribunus laticlavus leg(ionis).
15. P. Catius Sabinus (*PIR*² C 571; BARBIERI, nn. 126 et 1245; OKOŃ, n. 261) – cos. suff. ante a. 210, cos. II ord. a. 216 – tribunus militum legionis.
16. Q. Cerellius Apollinaris (*PIR*² C 665; OKOŃ, n. 265) – tribunus cohortis V praetoriae.
17. Tib. Claudius Candidus (*PIR*² C 823; BARBIERI, n. 143; OKOŃ, n. 291) – cos. suff. post a. 195 – tribunus militum.
18. Ti. Claudius Claudianus (*PIR*² C 834; BARBIERI, n. 147; OKOŃ, n. 296) – cos. suff. ca a. 199 – tribunus legionis.
19. Ti. Cl(audius) Me[vius? P]riscus Ruf[inus I]unior (*PIR*² C 935; BARBIERI, n. 998; OKOŃ, n. 316) – tribunus militum.
20. Ti. Cl(audius) Pompeianus (*PIR*² C 974; BARBIERI, n. 169; OKOŃ, n. 330) – tribunus militum.
21. Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus (*PIR*² S 938; BARBIERI, nn. 173 et 1252; OKOŃ, n. 342) – cos. suff. a. 210 aut 211 – tribunus cohortis.
22. T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus (*I.Eph.* III 657 et 817; OKOŃ, n. 353) – cos. suff. ca a. 223 – tribunus militum.
23. Clodius Marcellinus (*PIR*² C 1171; BARBIERI, nn. 178 et 1255; OKOŃ, n. 354) – tribunus laticlavus?
24. T? Cuspidius Flaminius Severus (*PIR*² C 1633; BARBIERI, nn. 1011 et 1545; OKOŃ, n. 393) – cos. suff. ante a. 238 – tribunus [militum?].
25. L. Didius Marinus (*PIR*² D 71; BARBIERI, nn. 199, 1013 et 1836; OKOŃ, n. 396) – tribunus cohortis primae praetoriae.
26. C. Domitius Antigonus (*PIR*² A 736; BARBIERI, nn. 33 et 1017 et 1222 et 1553; OKOŃ, n. 401) – cos. suff. ca a. 225 – tribunus militum.
27. M. Domitius Valerianus (*PIR*² D 168; BARBIERI, n. 1019 et 1554; OKOŃ, n. 407) – cos. suff. a. 238–239 – tribunus militum laticlavus.
28. L. Fabius Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus (*PIR*² F 27; BARBIERI, n. 213; OKOŃ, n. 424) – cos. suff. a. 193, cos. II ord. a. 204 – tribunus militum laticlavus.
29. M. Fabius Magnus Valerianus (*PIR*² F 43; BARBIERI, n. 215; OKOŃ, n. 428) – cos. suff. ca a. 180 – tribunus laticlavus.
30. Q. Flavius Balbus (*PIR*² F 227; BARBIERI, nn. 228 et 1041; OKOŃ, n. 454) – cos. suff. sub Severis – tribunus laticlavus.
31. T. Fl(avius) Claudianus (*PIR*² F 236; BARBIERI, n. 230; OKOŃ, n. 458) – tribunus militum legionis.
32. T. Flavius Secundus Philippianus (*PIR*² F 362; BARBIERI, n. 241; OKOŃ, n. 480) – tribunus militum.
33. T. Flavius Victorinus Philippianus (*PIR*² F 400; BARBIERI, n. 245; OKOŃ, n. 491) – tribunus militum.
34. M. Gavius Crispus Num[isi]us Iunior (*PIR*² N 208; BARBIERI, n. 2036; OKOŃ, n. 522) – cos. suff. ante a. 200 – tribunus laticlavus.
35. Hedius Lollianus Plautius Avitus (*PIR*² H 36; BARBIERI, nn. 330 et 1311; OKOŃ, n. 534) – cos. ord. a. 209 – tribunus laticlavus.

36. Q. Hadius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus (*PIR*² H 42; BARBIERI, n. 267; OKOŃ, n. 536) – cos. suff. ante a. 193 – tribunus legionis.
37. M. Herennius Faustus [...] Iulius Clemens Tadius Flaccus (*PIR*² H 107; BARBIERI, nn. 270 et 1282; OKOŃ, n. 543) – cos. suff. ca a. 205 – tribunus militum.
38. [Iasdius] (*PIR*² I 10; BARBIERI, nn. 274 et 1284; OKOŃ, n. 547) – cos. suff. sub Severis – tribunus laticlavus.
39. L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus (*PIR*² I 161; BARBIERI, nn. 1065 et 1866; OKOŃ, n. 557) – cos. suff. a. 226 aut 227 – tribunus laticlavus.
40. C. Iulius Avitus (*PIR*² I 190; BARBIERI, nn. 281 et 286 et 1287 et 1288; OKOŃ, n. 563) – cos. suff. sub Septimio Severo – tribunus legionis.
41. Iulius Maximianus (*PIR*² I 416; BARBIERI, n. 765; OKOŃ, n. 587) – tribunus militum (laticlavus?).
42. C. Iulius (Scapula?) Lepidus Tertullus (*PIR*² I 554; BARBIERI, n. 298; OKOŃ, n. 601) – cos. suff. ca a. 195–197 – tribunus laticlavus.
43. C. Iulius Septimius Castinus (*PIR*² I 566; BARBIERI, nn. 308 et 1075; OKOŃ, n. 604) – cos. suff. ca a. 212–213 – tribunus militum legionis.
44. M. Iuventius Secundus Rixa Postumius Pansa Valerianu[s ...] Severus (*PIR*² I 888; BARBIERI, nn. 319 et 1080; OKOŃ, n. 630) – cos. suff. sub Severo Alexandro – tribunus legionis.
45. C. Luxilius Sabinus Egnatius Proculus (*PIR*² L 452; BARBIERI, nn. 1091 et 1637; OKOŃ, n. 657) – tribunus laticlavus.
46. L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus (*PIR*² M 308; BARBIERI, nn. 356 et 1100; OKOŃ, n. 699) – cos. suff. ca a. 199, cos. II ord. a. 223 – tribunus laticlavus.
47. L. Marius Perpetuus (*PIR*² M 311; BARBIERI, nn. 357 et 1320; OKOŃ, n. 700) – cos. suff. ante a. 203–205 – tribunus laticlavus.
48. L. Marius Perpetuus (*PIR*² M 312; BARBIERI, n. 1101; OKOŃ, n. 701) – cos. ord. a. 237 – [trib. mil. leg., ...].
49. M. Marius Titius Rufinus (*PIR*² M 320; BARBIERI, nn. 792 et 1104 et 1891; OKOŃ, n. 704) – cos. suff. post a. 231 – tribunus laticlavus.
50. C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albius (*PIR*² M 462; BARBIERI, n. 367; OKOŃ, n. 718) – cos. suff. a. 191 aut a. 192 – tribunus laticlavus.
51. P. Mevius Saturninus Honoratianus (*PIR*² M 579; BARBIERI, nn. 801 et 1325; OKOŃ, n. 727) – tribunus laticlavus.
52. Q. Petronius Melior (*PIR*² P 290; BARBIERI, nn. 1126 et 1689; OKOŃ, n. 796) – cos. suff. post a. 240 – tribunus laticlavus.
53. Petronius Priscus (*PIR*² P 298 et 299; BARBIERI, n. 407; OKOŃ, n. 798) – tribunus laticlavus.
54. P. Plotius Romanus Cassianus Neo (*PIR*² P 515; BARBIERI, n. 2077; OKOŃ, n. 808) – cos. suff. ante Alexandrum Severum – tribunus militum.
55. Pompe[ius Cassianus?] (*PIR*² P 596; BARBIERI, n. 2258 c; OKOŃ, n. 820) – tribunus laticlavus.
56. (Pomponius) Bassus (*PIR*² P 701; BARBIERI, nn. 422 et 1340; OKOŃ, n. 828) – tribunus militum?
57. Tib. Pontius Pontianus (*PIR*² P 816; BARBIERI, nn. 427 et 428 et 1136; OKOŃ, n. 842) – cos. suff. sub Antonino (Elagabalo) – tribunus laticlavus.
58. C. Praecellius Augurinus Vettius Festus Crispinianus Vibius Verus Cassianus (*PIR*² P 919; BARBIERI, nn. 435 et 1345; OKOŃ, n. 853) – tribunus legionis.
59. [Rubrenus] (*PIR*² R 117; BARBIERI, n. 2090; OKOŃ, n. 876) – tribunus militum.
60. (Iunius) Rufinus (*PIR*² R 141; OKOŃ, n. 880) – tribunus laticlavus.
61. Saevinus Proculus (*PIR*² S 62; BARBIERI, nn. 457 et 1354; OKOŃ, n. 898) – tribunus laticlavus.
62. P. Septimius Geta (*PIR*² S 453; BARBIERI, n. 469; OKOŃ, n. 914) – cos. suff. ante a. 191, cos. II ord. a. 203 – tribunus laticlavus.
63. [L.?] Sept(imius) Maria[nus] (*PIR*² S 469; OKOŃ, n. 916) – cos. suff. saec. II exeunte aut saec. III ineunte – [tribunus angusticlavus *vel* praefectus alae] tert[iae...].
64. T. Statilius Barbarus (*PIR*² S 819; BARBIERI, n. 483; OKOŃ, n. 937) – cos. suff. a. 198 aut 199 – tribunus militum laticlavus.
65. M. Valerius Florus (*PIR*² V 85; OKOŃ, n. 981) – tribunus militum.

66. L. Valerius Publicola Messalla Helvidius Thrasea Priscus Minicius Natalis (*PIR*² V 182; BARBIERI, n. 511; OKOŃ, n. 988) – cos. ord. a. 196 – tribunus militum.
67. C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus (*PIR*² V 473; BARBIERI, nn. 523 et 1182; OKOŃ, n. 1010) – cos. ord. a. 221 – tribunus militum legionis.
68. M. Umbrius Primus (*PIR*² V 897; BARBIERI, nn. 539 et 605; OKOŃ, n. 1046) – cos. suff. ca a. 185–190 – tribunus legionis.
69. Anonymus, consul (*PIR*¹ P–Z, incerti 24; BARBIERI, n. 439; OKOŃ, n. 1076) – cos. suff. sub Septimio Severo? – tribunus laticlavus legionis.
70. Anonymus, senator et consul? (BARBIERI, n. 895 a; OKOŃ, n. 1077) – cos. suff. sub Septimio Severo? – [trib. mil. bi?]s leg(ionis).
71. Anonymus (BARBIERI, n. 550 a; OKOŃ, n. 1119) – cos. suff. sub Septimio Severo? – [tribunus legionis...].
72. Anonymus (*AE* 2003, 365; OKOŃ, n. 1125) – tribunus laticlavus.
73. Anonymus (*PIR*² V 701; BARBIERI, n. 895; OKOŃ, n. 1135) – [trib. la]t. leg(ionis)
74. T. Aelius Naevius Antonius Severus (*PIR*² N 5; BARBIERI, n. 1410; OKOŃ, n. 1206) – tribunus laticlavus.
75. [L. Allius...] (*PIR*² A 542; BARBIERI, n. 1421; OKOŃ, n. 1225) – tribunus legionis.
76. L. Allius Volusianus (*AE* 1972, 179; OKOŃ, n. 1226) – tribunus laticlavus legionis.
77. M. Annaeus Saturninus Clodianus Aelianus (*PIR*² A 615; BARBIERI, n. 640; OKOŃ, n. 1231) – tribunus legionis.
78. M. Aureli[us ...] (*PIR*² A 1433; BARBIERI, n. 1975; OKOŃ, n. 1257) – tribunus laticlavus.
79. [...] Axilius [H]onoratus (*PIR*² A 1684; BARBIERI, n. 1485; OKOŃ, n. 1265) – tribunus laticlavus.
80. [...] Bassidius? [Cor]nelianus Agrippinus (*AE* 2007, 256; OKOŃ, n. 1266) – tribunus legionis.
81. M. Caelius Flavius Proculus (*PIR*² C 133; BARBIERI, n. 673; OKOŃ, n. 1276) – tribunus laticlavus.
82. L. Calpurnius Proculus (*PIR*² C 303; BARBIERI, n. 1987; OKOŃ, n. 1282) – tribunus militum.
83. M. Cassius (Agrippa Sanctus?) Paullinus (Augustianus Alpinus?) (*PIR*² C 513; BARBIERI, n. 2225; OKOŃ, n. 1289) – tribunus militum.
84. L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis (*PIR*² C 692; OKOŃ, n. 1298) – cos. suff. saec. II/III – tribunus laticlavus.
85. [...]us Claud[ius] Corneli[anus vel] Cornelia (tribu?) (*PIR*² C 843; BARBIERI, n. 694; OKOŃ, n. 1309) – tribunus [...].
86. Sex. Cornelius Felix Pacatus (*PIR*² C 1358; BARBIERI, n. 715; OKOŃ, n. 1336) – tribunus laticlavus.
87. Sex. Decimius Verus Barbarus (*AE* 1990, 819; OKOŃ, n. 1345) – tribunus legionis.
88. [...] Egr[i]lius Plarianus Larcus Lep[i]dus [Flavius ...?] (*AE* 1969/1970, 87 = *AE* 2003, 284; OKOŃ, n. 1352) – cos. suff. sub Commodus? – [tribunus legionis].
89. (Fabius?) (*PIR*² F 14; BARBIERI, n. 728; OKOŃ, n. 1354) – tribunus militum.
90. P. Flavonius Paulinus (*PIR*² F 448; BARBIERI, n. 747; OKOŃ, n. 1386) – tribunus laticlavus.
91. Q. Gargilius Macer Aufidianus (*PIR*² G 81; OKOŃ, n. 1393) – tribunus militum.
92. (H)aterius Latronianus (*PIR*² H 28; BARBIERI, nn. 750/751; OKOŃ, n. 1398) – tribunus militum.
93. Tib. Iulius Frugi (*PIR*² I 330; OKOŃ, n. 1414) – cos. suff. sub Severis? – [tribunus militum?].
94. P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus (*PIR*² I 340; BARBIERI, n. 764; OKOŃ, n. 1415) – cos. suff. ca a. 165–167 – tribunus laticlavus.
95. Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius [...]atus Laevillus Berenicianus (*PIR*² I 477; BARBIERI, n. 767; OKOŃ, n. 1421) – cos. suff. ca a. 178 – tribunus militum laticlavus.
96. L. Iunius Aurelius Neratius Gallus Fulvius Macer (*PIR*² I 732; BARBIERI, n. 2047; OKOŃ, n. 1432) – tribunus militum.
97. L. Iunius Rufinus Proculianus (*PIR*² I 810; BARBIERI, n. 776; OKOŃ, n. 1437) – cos. suff. ca a. 180 – tribunus laticlavus.
98. [Lusius Laberius ? S]eptius [Ruti]lianus (*PIR*² L 437; BARBIERI, n. 2253; OKOŃ, n. 1447) – tribunus laticlavus.
99. M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex (*PIR*² M 22; BARBIERI, n. 633; OKOŃ, n. 1451) – cos. suff. ca a. 175 – tribunus militum.

100. T. Marcius [C]le[mens?] (*PIR*² M 225; BARBIERI, n. 791; OKOŃ, n. 1458) – tribunus militum.
101. Mar(i)us Etruscus Gal(l)ianus (*TitAq*, n. 198; OKOŃ, n. 1460) – tribunus militum laticlavus legionis.
102. L. Matucius Maximus (*ILN* II, Antibes, 4; OKOŃ, n. 1465) – tribunus militum.
103. Cn. Minicius Ticianus Annii Faustus (*AE* 1990, 818; OKOŃ, n. 1472) – tribunus laticlavus legionis.
104. [...]P. Neratius M[acer aut -arcellus] (*PIR*² N 54; BARBIERI, n. 2065; OKOŃ, n. 1480) – tribunus laticlavus.
105. C. Novius Rusticus Venuleius Apronianus (*PIR*² N 191; BARBIERI, n. 806, OKOŃ, n. 1483) – tribunus laticlavus.
106. C. Postumius Africanus (*AE* 1988, 1119; OKOŃ, n. 1505) – tribunus legionis.
107. [P.]P[os]t[um]ius Romulus (*PIR*² P 891; BARBIERI, n. 829; OKOŃ, n. 1506) – tribunus militum.
108. [P.]riscus (*PIR*² P 959; OKOŃ, n. 1509) – tr[ibunus militum].
109. M. Roscius Lupus Murena (*PIR*² R 95; BARBIERI, n. 838; OKOŃ, n. 1519) – tribunus militum.
110. Q. Servilius Pudens (*PIR*² S 596; OKOŃ, n. 1547) – tribunus militum.
111. [...]us T[...] (*PIR*² T 1; OKOŃ, n. 1559) – tribunus militum.
112. [...]Tursidius (aut T. Ursidius) [...] Manilianus Titule[us] Aelianus (*PIR*² V 1013; BARBIERI, n. 2124 a; OKOŃ, n. 1566) – tribunus laticlavus legionis.
113. Ulpius Flavius Claudius Ponticus (*AE* 1976, 664; OKOŃ, n. 1572) – tribunus laticlavus legionis.
114. M. Valerius Maximianus (*PIR*² V 125; BARBIERI, n. 873; OKOŃ, n. 1578) – cos. suff. ca a. 185 – tribunus cohortis.
115. C. Vesnius Vindex (*PIR*² V 435; BARBIERI, n. 876; OKOŃ, n. 1582) – tribunus militum.
116. C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes (*PIR*² V 485; BARBIERI, n. 524; OKOŃ, n. 1012) – cos. suff. ca a. 175–176 – tribunus militum.
117. [...]anus S[...] (*AE* 2003, 1189 = *AE* 2004, 930 = *AE* 2011, 764; OKOŃ, n. 1593) – tr[ibunus] leg(ionis).
118. Anonymus (BARBIERI, n. 1771; OKOŃ, n. 1606) – cos. suff. saec. II exeunte aut saec. III ineunte – tribunus militum legionis.
119. Anonymus (*AE* 1950, 91 = *AE* 1974, 344; OKOŃ, n. 1618) – tribunus militum legionis.
120. Anonymus (BARBIERI, n. 1775; OKOŃ, n. 1620) – [tribunus] laticlavus l[egionis].
121. Anonymus, legatus Aquitaniae (*AE* 1992, 1794; OKOŃ, n. 1611) – [trib(unus)] mi[l(itum)] leg(ionis) ...].
122. Anonymus, praetor (*CIL* VI 31780 = 41202/41203; OKOŃ, n. 1623) – [trib(unus)] mil(itum)] leg(ionis).
123. Anonymus, praetor (*CIL* VI 1554 = 41215; OKOŃ, n. 1624) – [trib(unus)] mil(itum)] leg(ionis)].

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