

***SPECULATORES* IN DACIA. MISSIONS AND CAREERS**

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Beginning with 168, the Dacian consular governor recruited his personal staff out of the two legions under his command, *XIII Gemina* and *V Macedonica*. The number of officials attested as belonging to his staff is close to one hundred, which explains why in Dacia we encounter one of the best substantiated *officium consularis*.

It should be mentioned, right from the beginning, that such a staff gathered at least two hundred people, mostly legionaires, standing on very different ranks, and having their own internal hierarchy. The men serving in this staff were divided into at least two categories. The superior part of the *officium* is crewed only with *principales*, high-ranked soldiers, receiving one and a half or double pay. They had passed the basic training in a legion, provided by the lower posts and the tactical ranks. The inferior part is occupied only by low-rank soldiers, *immunes*, most of them at the beginning of their careers, either technicians or secretaries¹. The higher ranks have more general duties and larger responsibilities, and the lower, more specialized activities².

A partial reconstruction of the superior part of an *officium consularis*, in a province with only one legion, would look as follows: two *cornicularii*, two

¹ Also called senior-staff and junior-staff posts. Breeze 1974, *passim*.

² Austin, Rankov 1995, 151. The evidence for this *staff* is summoned by a series of epigraphical resources, throughout the Empire. CIL VIII 2586 and AE 1917/18, 57, at Lambaesis, count two *cornicularii*, two *commentarienses*, four *speculatores*, thirty *beneficarii consularis*, four or five *quaestionarii* and a *haruspex*. No mention of the lower posts, and probably only half of a regular staff are attested, because it is well-known that the governor of Numidia (also legionary legate of *III Augusta*) shared his staff with the African proconsul. Another example is Tarraco, the capital of a one-legion province, where CIL II 4122 counts two *cornicularii*, two *commentarienses* and ten *speculatores*. CIL III 3524, at Aquincum, counts twenty *speculatores*, and CIL III 4452 from Carnuntum reveals three *cornicularii*, three *commentarienses*, and thirty *speculatores*.

commentarienses, ten *speculatores*, around sixty *beneficarii*, about ten *quaestores* and maybe a *haruspex*, altogether about two hundred men having their own officers, plus the *singulares*³.

The tasks of this staff were numerous and identical to those of the governor. The bureaucrats assist the governor in his most important mission, the administration and implementation of provincial justice. Thus, literary and epigraphical sources reveal these officers taking part in the actual enforcement of justice: centurions inquire, *cornicularii* supervise capital executions, *commentarienses* record every decision taken by the governor, *speculatores* carry out the death penalty, and *beneficarii* or *frumentarii* assist it, *quaestionarii* lead inquiries or even tortures. Additionally, one of the main common task of all these *officiales* was to act as messengers throughout the province, or even the Empire.

The subject of this paper, *speculatores*, are a very interesting category in the governor staff, attending very different and important tasks. Their origin goes back to late Republic. They first appear in Caesar's writings, involved in espionage missions, as their name implies, (*BG* II.11.2–3, V.49.8, 50.3; *BC* III.66.1, 67.1)⁴. Evidence of *speculatores praetorii* dates back to the time of the second triumvirate, consisting in a coin of Mark Anthony, or the use of such special troops by Augustus (a visit of such a *speculator* to Augustus is revealed by Suetonius, *Aug.* 74). He later instated them, together with the praetorian cohorts, and they begin to appear on monuments at about that time⁵. They seem to have had a special position in the *praetorium*. A praetorian soldier could become a *speculator* after he held at least one of the tactical ranks. He then became mounted and enlisted in the special corps of *speculatores praetoriani*, counting about three hundred men⁶. They acted as a campaign guard for the emperor and attend to special espionage missions (as those revealed by Suetonius, *Calig.* 44, or Festus 69.L⁷). They continued to be enlisted in the praetorian cohorts, even if, on several occasions, they seem to have been granted a special position (the separate mention of the praetorian cohorts and the *equites speculatores* by emperor Otho is listed in Tacitus, *Hist.* II.1, II.33)⁸.

³ Austin, Rankov 1995, 152–153. Even if these calculations appear too mechanical, in fact, the size of the *officium consularis* depended on the size of the army that the governor had in command.

⁴ Austin, Rankov 1995, 154; Ducos 1995, 51.

⁵ Clauss 1973, 46. For the early history of the praetorian guard, see Keppie 1996.

⁶ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 20; Durry 1968, 109. However, B. Dobson argues that their numbers are not exactly known (Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, X).

⁷ An important explanation of *speculator* and *explorator* is provided by Festus, 69.L: *speculator hostilia silentio perspicit, explorator pacata clamore cognoscit*. Ducos 1995, 50.

⁸ Durry 1968, 108; Clauss 1973, 47–48.

They most probably stand higher than the regular praetorians, on the same level as a tactical rank and can be promoted to a *quaestionibus praefecti* or *beneficiarius praefecti*. Furthermore, they have their own ranks, as revealed by Tacitus (*Hist.* I.25): *optio* and *tesserarius*⁹, the existence of a *vexillarius* and the possibility of promotion to the centurionate being only presumed¹⁰.

When Trajan became emperor, in the year 98, he brought to Rome his newly created guard, the *equites singulares Augusti*. He did not garrison them in the same fort as the praetorians, but had the *castra priora* built for them, on mount Caelius¹¹. At about the same time, the corps of *speculatores* in the praetorian cohorts lost their role and importance, and maybe even disappeared as a distinct unit¹². At one time in the 3rd Century they seemed to have re-emerged, in the time of emperor Philippus Arabs, bearing the name of *tectores*¹³, but this thesis proved itself wrong, being based only on the analogy with *protectores* made by A. von Domaszewski¹⁴.

By the time of mid-second century, when the consular governors' *officia* were established, came into light the other kind of *speculator* appointed to this staff, the one picked out from the legions of the province, the *speculator legionis*. The first to notice that this kind of officer is part of the *officium consularis* was A. von Domaszewski, due to the place of discovery for most of the monuments belonging to these *speculatores*, the *praetoria* of the governors¹⁵. Moreover, he was the first to state that these *speculatores* served only in the *officium consularis*, because only the governor possessed the capital jurisdiction¹⁶.

The literary and epigraphical sources have revealed a great variety of tasks assigned to *speculatores*, as well as their organization and numbers. Inscriptions discovered at Tarraco, Carnuntum or Aquincum, which were mentioned earlier in this text¹⁷, enumerate the *speculatores* present in every *officium* of these provinces. Due to the different number of legions in these provinces, one can say that ten *speculatores* were recruited out of each legion to participate in the *officium*

⁹ Ducos 1995, 50.

¹⁰ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 20; Durry 1968, 108–110.

¹¹ Speidel 1994, 39.

¹² Durry 1968, 32; Speidel 1994, 43. They continue to be a simple rank in the praetorian cohorts, but are replaced by *frumentarii* and *equites singulares Augusti* (Clauss 1973, 56–57).

¹³ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 20; Durry 1968, 110.

¹⁴ Clauss 1973, 78–79. In fact, these *tectores* are a kind of *immunes* – technicians or workers.

¹⁵ *Apud* Clauss 1973, 59.

¹⁶ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32.

¹⁷ *Supra*, no. 1.

*consularis*¹⁸. A very important fact is that they are also present in the staff of the governors in provinces with no legions. In this case, the recruitment was made from legions in the adjacent provinces, as is the case of Dalmatia (three legions), Lugdunensis (four legions), or Africa *proconsularis* (one legion – *III Augusta*)¹⁹.

Their main task is to assist the governor in the implementation of justice in the province. This is why governors with no legion have such officers in their staff²⁰. Most of the monuments attesting the *speculatores* were discovered in the *praetoria* of the provincial governors. Next to those, we encounter discoveries in other places, where *speculatores* were sent in their missions, the *stationes*. Such *stationes*, crewed with *speculatores*, were found in Dalmatia, at Metulum (CIL III 3021), in Upper Moesia, at Ulpiana (CIL III 8173), or in Lower Dacia, at Aquae - Cioroiu Nou (AE 1959, 330 = IDR II 141)²¹.

The role of the *speculator* as a legal officer has been mentioned several times by literary sources, and assumed by most of the modern day scholars, beginning with A. von Domaszewski²². He attended to tasks concerning legal trials, in which case he had clerical duties. This is also certified by the perspective promotions of *speculatores* to other higher clerical ranks, like the *commentariensis* or the *cornicularius*²³.

Another very delicate mission of the *speculatores* was that of public executioner. This is mainly revealed by literary sources, like the *Digest* 48.20.6 or *St. Mark's Gospel* 6.27. They chose the place and organized the execution, even if supervised by a centurion, and they also applied the death penalty (Seneca, *De benef.* 3.25)²⁴.

Their most commonly mentioned task was, nevertheless, that of messengers, which arises from literary and epigraphical sources, throughout the 1st and 2nd centuries (Tacitus, *Hist.* II.73, *Ann.* II.12; *Livy* XXXI.24.4)²⁵. They acted as messengers not only inside the provinces, but also outside them, being sent even to Rome to dispatch important messages to the emperor, together with the *frumentarii* and *singulares*. For their time spent in Rome, they were garrisoned alongside the other emissaries, in the *castra peregrina*²⁶.

¹⁸ Clauss 1973, 69; Austin, Rankov 1995, 151.

¹⁹ Clauss 1973, 70.

²⁰ Clauss 1973, 69.

²¹ Clauss 1973, 71. For the development of provincial *stationes*, see Dise 1996 and Dise 1997.

²² Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32.

²³ Clauss 1973, 72.

²⁴ Clauss 1973, 72–73; Austin, Rankov 1995, 151–155.

²⁵ Austin, Rankov 1995, 155.

²⁶ Rankov 1990, 180.

Some *speculatores* are attested as performing local police missions. Such is the case of a *speculator* in Lower Moesia, Tomis (AE 1960, 348), who handled the local police work of a district along the Black Sea shore²⁷. All these various missions that we encounter in the case of *speculatores* indicate the full availability of these officials to any task that would appear and that they would have been entrusted with by the governor, regardless of the fact that it was, most of the time, some dirty job.

Most of the provincial *officia* throughout the empire have one or more active *speculatores* attested at one time. As previously mentioned, all kinds of governors, with or without legions in command, had a similar *officium* and recruited their men from where it was most available: Lusitania, Tarraconensis, Britannia, Upper and Lower Germany, Dalmatia, Upper and Lower Pannonia, Upper and Lower Moesia, Aegyptus, Africa *proconsularis*, Numidia, and, of course, Dacia²⁸.

No.	Name	Rank	Legion	Source	Location
1	P. Aelius Valerianus	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	IDR III/5, 721	Apulum
2	Ulpus Proculus	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 990=IDR III/5, 31	Apulum
3	Staius Alexander	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	Apulum 40, 2007, 176–177	Apulum
	<i>Collective</i>	<i>speculatores</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 7794b=IDR III/5, 435	Apulum
4	Caius	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
5	Cocceius	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
6	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
7	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
8	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
9	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
10	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
11	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
12	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
13	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>XIII Gemina</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
14	Maximianus	<i>speculator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
15	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
16	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
17	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
18	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
19	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
20	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
21	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum

²⁷ Claus 1973, 74, 99: *σπεκλάτωρ Ποντικός*.

²⁸ For detailed information of *speculatores* in other provinces, see Claus 1973, 59–68.

No.	Name	Rank	Legion	Source	Location
22	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
23	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	CIL III 14479=IDR III/5, 426	Apulum
24	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>speculator</i>	<i>V Macedonica</i>	CIL III 7688	Potaissa
25	A[ur.?] Germanus	<i>speculator</i>	<i>VII Claudia</i>	AE 1959, 330=IDR II 141	Aquae

In Dacia, this rank is very well attested, mostly because of one particular monument. A total number of twenty-four *speculatores* are known, plus a collective dedication. Each legion had an almost identical number of documented *speculatores*: *XIII Gemina* – twelve, *V Macedonica* – eleven, and in the unusual case of *VII Claudia* – one. The vast majority of these officers were present in the provincial capital, at the *praetorium consularis* – twenty-three cases, and only two such characters in other locations, Potaissa or Aquae-Cioroiu Nou. A unique monument caught the attention of every scholar previously interested in this matter. It is a marble plate²⁹, documenting the building of a *schola speculatorum*, the headquarters of their own *collegium*, part of the *praetorium consularis*. It also testifies for a number of twenty *speculatores* probably in place at that time.

Outside this monument, only five others attest this rank. A statue basis in Apulum³⁰, raised by **Ulpus Proculus**, *speculator legionis XIII Geminae Gordianae*, tells about a dream order issued by Apollo for the reconstruction of the fountain of *Deus Aeternus*³¹.

Another example comes from Apulum as well, where a votive altar or statue basis³² is dedicated by **P. Aelius Valerianus**, called simply *speculator*, to a god/godess unknown, due to the bad state of the monument.

The next case is the outcome of a confusion. Two fragments of monuments were mistakently associated, and the result was a dedication to the governor P. Septimius Geta, brother of emperor Severus, by groups of *cornicularii*, *commentarienses* and *speculatores*. In fact, the two fragments do not belong together, leaving only the actual mention of the three officer groups, with no other information available³³.

²⁹ CIL III 14479 = AE 1901, 154 = IDR III/5, 426.

³⁰ CIL III 990 = IDR III/5, 31.

³¹ A common practice in Apulum, according to Popescu 2004, 281. Dated between 238–244.

³² IDR III/5, 721.

³³ CIL III 7794a = IDR III/5, 434 and III 7794b = IDR III/5, 435. The association was initially made by A. von Domaszewski, later asumed by M. Clauss (Clauss 1973, 64 and note no. 111), but the clarification came from I. Piso, in IDR III/5, where he argued that the two fragments do not belong together simply because the stone material is different. Therefore, the only fragment that remains in our interest is the second, CIL III 7794b = IDR III/5, 435.

At the other location of a legionary fortress in Dacia, Potaiſsa, on a list of veterans honouring a *sacerdotalis Daciae* dating from the 3rd century, an unknown veteran, former *speculator*, arrogates the highest position attested in the soldier staff posts of *V Macedonica*³⁴.

A more recent discovery reveals a soldier list engraved on a marble plate, also in Apulum, coming from the area around the *porta principalis dextra*, in the legionary fortress.³⁵ The list contains about forty soldier names, and, for some of them, their ranks. Most of them are *principales*, standing on very different ranks. Out of the forty, one single *speculator* is attested, **Staius Alexander**. There is not much more to be said about this monument, due to the scarce analysis in the publication, except the fact that it also contains three centurial symbols, engraved on the marble plate, which enables us to establish the sub-unit of most of the legionaries mentioned.³⁶ The *speculator* seems to be part of the century of the *princeps prior*. This is very important, stating, once again, that these *officiales* remain in their legions, even if on duty elsewhere.

A very special case is encountered in Aquae-Cioroiu Nou, in Lower Dacia. **A[urelius?] Germanus** is a *speculator legionis VII Claudiae [[Philippianae?]]* who dedicates an altar³⁷ to three divinities, Diana, Mercurius *gubernator* and the *genius stationis*. It seems to stand as a testimony for a *statio* located at Aquae, also proving the fact that not only the *beneficiarii consularis* managed these posts, as it has been confirmed by discoveries in other provinces³⁸. Left to be discussed is the presence of a *speculator* coming from a legion not garrisoned in Dacia in one of the *stationes* in this province, and even his association to the *officium consularis* of Dacia. The latter is assumed by Clauss, who compared it to the situation found in provinces with no legions, like Dalmatia or Lugdunensis.³⁹ However, there is a small probability that this is the case here, because Dacia is in a completely different situation than the other two examples provided by Clauss, having two legions of its own, which was more than enough for the governor to draw his *officiales* from. Germanus is most likely a *speculator* coming from the *officium consularis Moesiae superioris*, dispatched on a mission in Dacia⁴⁰.

³⁴ CIL III 7688.

³⁵ Moga, Drâmbărean 2007, 175–179. The authors date the inscription at the beginning of the 3rd century.

³⁶ Faure 2008, 297–299.

³⁷ AE 1959, 330 = IDR II 141.

³⁸ *Supra*, no. 21.

³⁹ Clauss 1973, 71.

⁴⁰ Moreover, his dedication towards Mercurius *gubernator* would indicate a voyage that he has taken successfully, or is about to take. Popescu 2004, 282.

Back to the marble plate previously mentioned⁴¹, we can certify that this is one of the most important epigraphical pieces of evidence for the superior part of an *officium consularis*. The soldier list revealed on this plate is as valuable as any other list in Lambaesis, Aquincum or Tarraco. The monument marks the construction of a *collegium speculatorum* headquarters inside the *praetorium consularis*⁴² at Apulum, following an order of the governor, Mevius Surus⁴³, dedicated to the health of the two emperors, Severus and Caracalla, and the *Caesar* Geta. The men who actually paid for this edifice, are written on three columns, of which only few names and ranks are clearly visible.

On the first column, the names and ranks of three centurions and two *cornicularii* are mentioned, followed by other five partial names, with no mention of the ranks. On the second and third columns, the names of twenty *speculatores* are written, from which only three are exactly known. These *speculatores* are thought to have been the actual officers in state at that particular time, ten from each legion. If this is so, then we know about yet another twenty *speculatores*, even if not all of them have their name mentioned. The only three known officers are **Caius** and **Cocceius** from *XIII Gemina*, and **Maximianus** from *V Macedonica*. This fact is very important, and has been taken into consideration rather early on. A. von Domaszewski was the first to realize the importance of this list and compared it to the ones found in other provinces⁴⁴. The confirmation for the number of *speculatores* each legion had to provide to the *officium consularis* came also from M. Clauss⁴⁵. Finally, I. Piso also discussed the matter several times, revealing and completing the older discussions⁴⁶.

If the contents of the last two columns was a bit obvious to decrypt, the first one poses the important question: who are these higher officers, centurions and *cornicularii*? Since the beginning, they have been considered to be former *speculatores* who were promoted to these ranks. If this is so, than new and valuable information is available on the careers of the *principales*. The rank of *speculator* is considered to stand above the *beneficiarius consularis*, evidence for this being the number of promotions from the latter to the former.⁴⁷ Also, the *speculatores* attested at one time in a *statio* are thought to be former *beneficiarii*

⁴¹ *Supra*, no. 29.

⁴² As this is the place of discovery, according to Piso 1993, 158 and IDR III/5, XX.

⁴³ He governed Dacia in 198–199, Piso 1993, 156.

⁴⁴ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32.

⁴⁵ Clauss 1973, 64.

⁴⁶ Piso 1993, 156–158 and IDR III/5, XX and no. 426.

⁴⁷ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32; Clauss 1973, 75.

having returned with some kind of a mission in a familiar place after their promotion, but this is not necessarily appropriate for each case⁴⁸. However, on several lists, one can recognize more than one *beneficiarius* that would later become *speculator* and is attested elsewhere⁴⁹.

The rank stands under the *commentariensis* and *cornicularius* and can be promoted to them⁵⁰. These kinds of promotions inside an *officium* are clearly visible in many cases. The promotion to *commentariensis* is very well-documented⁵¹, as well as the one to *cornicularius*⁵². The promotion to *optio speculatorum*⁵³, the headmaster of their *collegium*, is also possible and, beginning with Severus' reign, even directly to the legionary centurionate⁵⁴.

To these examples it is proper to add the ones provided by the inscription from Apulum. In the first column, both the fourth and fifth soldier stand on the rank of *cornicularius*, **Aelius Valerius** and **Antonius Va(—)**. Had they been *speculatores* previously, than the two promotions would confirm the thesis about the direct promotion to *cornicularius* in the same *officium*. Following these two, we know nothing about the last five soldiers whose names are written in the first column. By assumption, one of them could as well be another *cornicularius*, for there should be three *cornicularii* in the *officium consularis* of every province with two legions⁵⁵. On the other hand, this is not necessarily true, because there is no need for the third *cornicularius* to be a former *speculator* and therefore, part of their *collegium*. Leaving this as it is, there are still another four vacant places in the first column. They have been assumed to be *commentarienses*, former *speculatores* promoted to this rank⁵⁶. This is highly probable and would indicate once again the fact that the promotion of *speculatores* to the next rank in the hierarchy, the *commentariensis*, is the most regularly used practice for this kind of *officiales*⁵⁷. However, a small problem arises: only three *commentarienses* are attested for a

⁴⁸ Claus 1973, 75.

⁴⁹ As it is the case of C. Caecilius Felix, in CIL VIII 2586 and AE 1917/18, 57, from Lambaesis. Claus 1973, 75 and note no. 179; Breeze 1974, 265.

⁵⁰ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 30.

⁵¹ CIL II 4145 and 4179 in Tarraco; CIL XIII 1732 and III 2015 in Salona. Claus 1973, 76; Breeze 1974, 265–266.

⁵² CIL VIII 12128, Chusira. Claus 1973, 76; Breeze 1974, 266.

⁵³ CIL III 14137, Alexandria. Claus 1973, 76.

⁵⁴ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32.

⁵⁵ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 30. By comparison to other two-legions provinces, he states that at least two *cornicularii* are attested in this case, in Dacia.

⁵⁶ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 31; Piso 1993, 158 and IDR III/5, 426.

⁵⁷ For a detailed discussion about *commentarienses*, see Haensch 1995.

province with two legions and, since Dacia follows the main pattern, at least in this case, should display only three such clerks. This leaves room for yet another officer, placed at the end of the first column, but necessarily higher in rank than the twenty *speculatores*, and lower than the two already discussed.

This could only be the proper position for an *optio speculatorum*. This is the headmaster of their *collegium*⁵⁸, probably not higher in rank, but only in prestige, anyway, holding a post of mostly sacral duties. The promotion to this post is known from Alexandria, as well⁵⁹; even if the actual promotion is doubtful, should we consider it only a special title grant⁶⁰. Nevertheless, whether this title/rank was granted to one of the twenty *speculatores* in function at one time, or whether another officer was promoted to it, it is not actually known.

Another option for this position comes from elsewhere, but in the same manner. A marble plate from Aquincum⁶¹ marks the rebuilding of the *schola speculatorum* in the *praetorium* of the governor Flavius Aelianus, in the year 228. It mentions the fact that the *schola* is being rebuilt by the people whose names are written lower on the monument. Following the name of the governor and the consuls in function, there is a list of twenty *speculatores*, ten from each of the legions in Lower Pannonia. Actually, the building is called *schola speculatorum legionum I et II Adiutricium piarum fidelium Severianarum*. No mentions of any higher rank, just like in the Apulum case, but the interesting fact comes from the end of the monument. The last row reads: *curante Aur. Pertinace frumentario*. As it can clearly be seen, the *collegium* had some prospective candidates, lower in rank, who probably expected the promotion to *speculator*, and have been trying to ensure tight relations and had a reputation built for. In the case of Aquincum, there is a *frumentarius*, one of the ranks standing lower in the hierarchy of the *officium consularis*, Aurelius Pertinax. He attends to the reconstruction of the *schola*, probably delegated by the *collegium speculatorum*. This can easily be the case for the monument in Apulum, as well. The only problem is that a *frumentarius* could not stand higher on the soldier list than a *speculator*. This being the case, it is possible for the list of the twenty *speculatores* to actually begin on the last row in the first column, hence leaving the last place available for the junior-rank officer that would have been attended to the construction.

Both of the solutions presented above are possible, though neither of them highly probable. A single fact remains: in the first column, there is at least one

⁵⁸ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32.

⁵⁹ *Supra*, no. 51.

⁶⁰ Clauss 1973, 76 and note no. 183.

⁶¹ CIL III 3524.

place available for another soldier, obviously bearing a high rank in the *officium consularis*, connected in some manner to the *collegium speculorum* and its *schola*.

There is still a very important matter that is left to be commented on. The first three officers mentioned on the list are all legionary centurions. Only **Ulpus Bacchius** is a centurion of *XIII Gemina*, and both **Iulius Tacitus** and **Claudius Claudianus** are from *V Macedonica*. It has been said, quite a long time ago, that beginning with Severus' reign, the *speculatores* could have been promoted directly to the centurionate⁶². However, other opinions tend to affirm that the examples provided by A. von Domaszewski are mere exceptions. Moreover, M. Claus states that the case of the inscription in Apulum, being a clear validation for such promotions, is an accident caused by the civil wars that occurred when Severus came into reign⁶³. Not even D. J. Breeze takes into consideration this version, when he says that in the *officium consularis* only promotions to the next, higher post, are possible, following a precise pattern: *frumentarius – beneficiarius consularis, beneficiarius consularis – speculator, speculator – commentariensis, commentariensis – cornicularius consularis, cornicularius consularis – centurio legionis*⁶⁴.

Nevertheless, the three cases of such a promotion occurring in Dacia, exactly at the end of the 2nd century cannot be ignored. At one time, we have three confirmations, that before the year 198, at least three *speculatores* from the *officium consularis III Daciae* were promoted directly to the legionary centurionate. The cause for this promotion is, of course, only assumed. However, the practice was not to be used if it had been considered unacceptable for that period of time. Therefore, to say that this case is only an exception is not quite accurate. More likely, at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries, the changes that occur in the internal administration of the Roman army also include promotion practices, this being reflected by the cases of promotions such as these exposed earlier.

Last, but not least, a short debate is necessary, regarding the organization of these *speculatores*. Military *collegia* are well-known throughout the Empire. These 'associations of people involved in the same occupation' were thought to have been available only to *principales*, but other discoveries seem to reveal that

⁶² Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 32. For other similar ranks in the *officium consularis*, like *beneficiarius*, see Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 33.

⁶³ Claus 1973, 76.

⁶⁴ Breeze 1974, 269.

immunes were also allowed to do so. They appeared about the time of Hadrian's reign and multiplied considerably by the time of Severus⁶⁵. It has been revealed that the military musicians, *tubicen*, *cornicen* or *bucinator*, who were clearly *immunes*, have an *optio* as a headmaster of their *collegium*⁶⁶. Within the *cohortes equitatae*, the only clear attribute that indicates a special status of the *equites* is simply their ability to associate into a *collegium* and own a *schola equitum*⁶⁷. Another category of simple soldiers that are able to associate like this are the military doctors. Of course, there are many kinds of *medici*, some of them *immunes*, other non-military, called *medici ordinarii*. However, they seem to be allowed to associate in such *collegia*⁶⁸. Even veterans do it, although one could say that theirs is a civilian *collegium*⁶⁹. It seems, however, that simple soldiers did not have this right, except for the legionaries in the first cohort, at least according to Hyginus⁷⁰.

In Dacia we have more than one civil *collegium* attested in the main cities of the province and, of course, some military ones. One of the most important is that one attested in the inscription at Apulum, revealing the construction of their headquarters⁷¹. It is a *collegium speculatorum*, confirmed elsewhere, as it has been presented above, having the same manner of organization and composition. Another inscription revealing the three apparently very well-connected groups of *cornicularii*, *commentarienses* and *speculatores*⁷² seems to attest a *collegium* as well, maybe the same as in the previous case, especially if we take into consideration the place of discovery, which is also the *praetorium consularis*. Lower in the *officium consularis* stands the *quaestionarius*, a rank reserved only to the governor's staff, due to its police duties. Six such *quaestionarii* are attested on a list discovered in the *praetorium consularis* at Apulum, again revealing their attendance to a *collegium*⁷³. There is only one other case of a *collegium* that has been confirmed in Dacia, that of *duplicarii alae*. Such a *duplicarius* dedicates a marble relief to the *optimum collegium duplariorum* from *ala I Hispanorum*, at Slăveni, in Lower Dacia⁷⁴.

⁶⁵ Campbell 1994, 136.

⁶⁶ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 44.

⁶⁷ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 58.

⁶⁸ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 45. For more information about military *medici*, see Davies 1969 and Davies 1970.

⁶⁹ CIL III 11189, Carnuntum; Campbell 1994, 139.

⁷⁰ *Apud Marcu* 2006, 255.

⁷¹ *Supra*, no. 29.

⁷² CIL III 7794b = IDR III/5, 435.

⁷³ CIL III 7803 = IDR III/5, 459.

⁷⁴ AE 1963, 125 = IDR II 505.

About the headquarters of these *collegia*, there are some things to be said. They are called *scholae*, and are attested in inscriptions in various places in Dacia⁷⁵. Outside the cases in Apulum, a few *scholae* are mentioned, in very different circumstances. A group of *beneficiarii* belonging to the office of governor L. Octavius Iulianus raise an altar to the *genius* of their own *schola*, in the legionary fortress' *principia*, at Potaissa⁷⁶. This is the case of yet another *collegium* of *officiales* from the governor's staff⁷⁷, which, in a peculiar manner, have their headquarters in the legionary fortress, instead of the *praetorium consularis*. Perhaps this *schola* is only for the *beneficiarii consularis* that come from *V Macedonica*, and thus their meeting place here.

In the auxiliary units of Dacia, two cases of *scholae* are confirmed. In the first situation, two centurions *principes* dedicate an altar⁷⁸ to the *genius* of a *schola ordinatorum*, in Samum-Cășei, probably the headquarters of the *collegium* gathering the centurions and decurions of the unit stationed here, *cohors I Britannica* ∞ *c. R. equitata*⁷⁹. A second dedication to *genius scholae* is made by a decurion of *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, in Ilișua⁸⁰, who constructs a temple, outside the auxiliary fort.

Returning to the most important inscription discussed in this paper, this is the foundation plate for a *schola speculatorum*. The rather later construction date – the years 198–199 – tends to induce the opinion that only by the time of Severus had the soldiers enough money and favor, that they were able to build a headquarters for their association. Thirty years later, we can witness the reconstruction of a similar *schola* in the provincial capital of Lower Pannonia, probably built at about the same time. This is to show that, most likely, the armies that fought for Severus in the civil wars were compensated in many ways. In any case, the role of these *speculatores* must have been very important in the administration of the province, since they are granted such privileges, as to keep their headquarters in the *praetorium consularis*, or since former such *officiales*,

⁷⁵ For the archaeological description of such buildings, and their presence in Dacia, see Marcu 2006, *passim*.

⁷⁶ CIL III 876. Octavius Iulianus governs the three *Daciae* between 200 and 202/203, Piso 1993, 159–161.

⁷⁷ Even if M. Bărbulescu considers them *beneficiarii legati legionis*. In such case, they should have expressed their gratitude towards their legate. Bărbulescu 1987, 73.

⁷⁸ CIL III 830 = 7631.

⁷⁹ Domaszewski-Dobson 1967, 56–57. Especially because in the 3rd century auxiliary centurions are also called *ordinati*. However, D. Isac considers that this monument is raised by two *princip(ales)*, which not probable, though, Isac 2003, 45–46.

⁸⁰ CIL III 7626.

who later become even legionary centurions, do not forget their origin and actively participate in the organization of their association.

The *speculatores* of Dacia are in no way different from the ones in other provinces. They are attested regularly, to this contributing the soldier list in Apulum. We also encounter special situations, like that of Germanus, of *speculatores* in the time of their mission, dispatched in adjacent provinces by their governor. The monuments in Apulum stand witness for very important aspects of their organization. On the one hand, we have the tight connection between them and their other colleagues in the superior part of the *officium consularis*, the *commentarienses* and the *cornicularii*. They were close even to the inferior ranks, like the *beneficiarius* or the *frumentarius*, as it was demonstrated in Aquincum. On the other hand, the right to associate in military *collegia* that can have their own headquarters built in the *praetorium* is also quite revealing. We should assume that favor was the main condition for a successful career and that, once admitted in this highest of circles, the governor's staff, a soldier would face a challenging but prolific service, that would eventually culminate in the promotion to the legionary centurionate. For the case of *speculatores*, this promotion would seem very close. As it can clearly be seen from the epigraphical discoveries, most of the *officiales* in the governor's staff are *beneficiarii*. One can assume that at least sixty of them were dispatched from every legion of the province. From this point onwards, the selection is very rigorous, because out of the sixty, only ten would eventually become *speculatores*. This can indicate that only the best of them would be selected for the highest post in the *officium* and for the prospective legionary centurionate⁸¹.

The positions of *speculatores*, as well as other higher ones, are clearly a distinct part of the *officium*. Out of the twenty *speculatores*, three will become *commentarienses* at one time, other three *cornicularii*, and maybe some of the most meritorious, even centurions. Naturally, we cannot deny the possibility of promotion to other outside ranks, like the auxiliary centurions or decurions, but such promotions have not been attested. The Apulum example is just one of the many of its kind confirming this high circle of *officiales* granted with substantial privileges, as that of the right to gather in a venue inside the *praetorium consularis*.

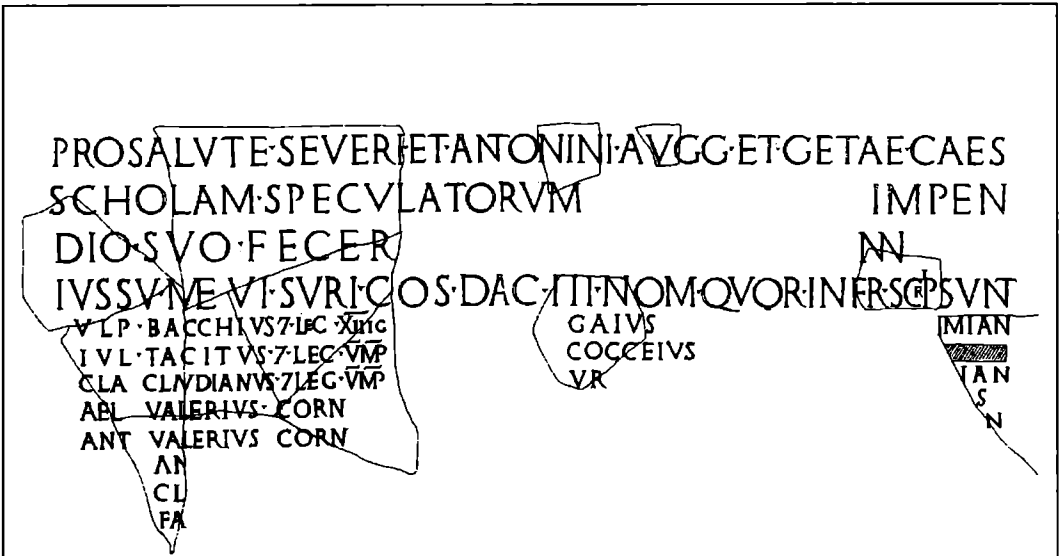
⁸¹ M. Claus thinks otherwise, due to a certain number of inscriptions mentioning *veteranus ex speculatore*. Claus 1973, 77 and note no. 191. This should be looked upon especially from the chronological point of view, because, as it was clearly demonstrated, promotions into and from the *officium consularis* occurred only in the second half of the 2nd century, and proliferated at its end and the beginning of the 3rd, Breeze 1974, 271.

The admittance in this superior part of the staff was not easy. It was very selective and many would seek it. It is most probable that the access to it would grant one the actual prospective promotion to the centurionate, this being the source of technical and clerical officers for the Roman army. Mainly at the end of the 2nd century, promotion practice would seek to procure centurions that are trained in tactics and command, as are those coming from the ranks of *signifer*, *optio* or *aquilifer*, and centurions trained in law and justice practices, or police and intelligence matters, as those coming from the *officium consularis*.

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[Pro salute Severi [et Anto]nin[i Augusti] et [Getae Caesaris]]
 sc[holam speculatoru]m [..... impen]-
 dio suo feceru[n]t]NN[.....]
 iussu Me[i] S[uric]o[rum] s[ularis] Dac[iarum]] III n[om]i[n]a ? quor[um] in]fr[as] cr[ip]ta [sunt]
 5 Vlp[er]ius Bacchius [centurio] leg[ionis] XIII [...] Gaius [...] ? Max]imian[us]
 G[en]inae
 Iul[ius] Tacitus [centurio] leg[ionis] V [...] Cocc[ae]us [...] [---]
 M[acedonicae] p[ro] iae
 Claudius Clau[di]anus [centurio] leg[ionis] V [...] Vr[---] [...] [---]ian[us]
 M[acedonicae] p[ro] iae
 [A]el[ius] Valerius corn[icularius] [...] [---] [---]s
 [?] An[t]onius Val[er]ius corn[icularius] [...] [---] [---]n[us]
 10 [...] An[---] [...] [---] [---]
 [...] Cl[---] [...] [---] [---]
 [...] Fa[---] [...] [---] [---]
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