

LEGATES OF MOESIA

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Lists of governors may tell little or nothing about a province. Their utility is wider and deeper. They furnish precious guidance to the imperial system in its working — and, though so many of the persons are bare names, they help to build up the structure of social and political history. Furthermore, statistics come into play, as rarely in ancient history. Most instructive are the legates governing the consular provinces in the portion of Caesar, either when put on register through a long run of years, or (better) taken together for comparison in some significant or manageable section of history. By province or by period, the information varies enormously. Moesia Superior makes a poor showing, in contrast to the other province which is rich in inscriptions and coins from the Greek cities.

In 1940 appeared the model work of Arthur Stein, *Die Legaten von Moesien*. Since then, fresh evidence has accrued, direct or indirect, which modifies Stein's list in a number of particulars. Moesia was divided in the year 86, during Domitian's war against the Dacians — and because of it. By good fortune the first two legates of Moesia Superior are attested, viz. Funiculanus Vettonianus (coming there from the Pannonian command) and Tettius Julianus, who won the great victory at Tapae in 88.

In the sequel the annals of Moesia Superior are rather meagre. In fact, this province forfeited importance after Trajan's annexation of Dacia; and, under Hadrian it has two legions, while Moesia Inferior has three, with a frontier to guard. There is a dearth of new inscriptions. However, conjecture or combination can produce three more legates, before the accession of Marcus Aurelius.

1. Q. Sosius Senecio (*cos.* 99). Pliny, writing c. 103, commends an aspirant to the military tribunate. This governor was not at the beginning of his tenure — 'multa beneficia in multos contulisti' (Epp. III 4.3). Inspection of the nine consular provinces that had legions shows only two vacancies in 102 and 103, namely Moesia Superior and Germania Superior. There is a chance (nothing more) that Cornelius Tacitus (*-suff.* 97) was governor of Germania Superior¹. The two Germanies, now falling to a garrison of two legions apiece, were coming to rank as peaceful provinces; and the consular legates of Caesar were not all 'viri militares'. Sosius Senecio may be installed without discomfort as legate of Moesia Superior. That is to say, he followed C. Cilnius Proculus (*suff.* 87), who is attested as governor in 100 (CIL XVI. 46), and who won *dona militaria* in Trajan's First Dacian War (NotScav. 1925, 224), and his successor was L. Herennius Saturninus (*suff.* 100), known from a diploma dated between 103 and 106 (CIL XVI. 54).

It was infortunate that Stein failed to notice the Plinian epistle. He saw, it is true, that Sosius Senecio ought to have held a Danubian command in the season of Trajan's Dacian Wars, and he assigned him to Moesia Inferior in 105 and 106². Groag had made the same assumption³. A

¹ R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958).

XLVII, 1957, 132.

² A. Stein, *c.*, 62 f. Against, JRS, XXXV, 1945, 112;

³ E. Groag, P-W, III A. 1183.

different explanation avails. Senecio got a second consulship in 107, sharing the *fasces* with Licius Sura, now consul for the third time. That points to military laurels. Senecio was not a provincial governor, rather the commander of an independent army corps, as was also Julius Quadratus Bassus in that war (*suff.* 105)⁴. Nothing therefore precludes the notion that a few years earlier Sosius Senecio took over the command in Moesia Superior, succeeding Cilnius Proculus during or after Trajan's First Dacian War⁴.

2. M. Cornelius M.f.Gal. Nigrinus Curiatius Maternus. Two inscriptions from Liria in Tarraconensis attest this Spanish senator of consular rank (CIL II.6013, cf. 3783). He is designated 'leg. Aug. pro pr. provinc. Moes. /provinc. Syriae'. He should belong to the first half of the Second Century. That was Groag's suggestion (PIR², C 407)⁵. Groag duly pointed to the 'Curiatius Maternus' in the man's names, which item recalls the orator and author of tragedies high on show in the *Dialogus* of Cornelius Tacitus — and which crops up in the full nomenclature of C. Clodius Nummus, consul suffect in 114 (PIR², A 83). Something might be added: the chance that the parent of the enigmatic consular legate may be discoverable in the pair of *suffecti* 'Sex Carminio Vetere M. Co' (CIL XIV. 4725). Sex. Carminius Vetus (PIR², C 436), attested as proconsul of Asia, probably for the tenure 97/8, was consul suffect c. 83.

For the rest, the man of Liria has attracted little attention. The neglect should be redressed, even at the cost of conjecture. Two consular commands, that is something. The first stand as 'Moesia', without specifying which province. There are parallels for the omission, as on the inscription from Lepcis (IRT 537) recording the provincial posts of Q. Pomponius Rufus (*suff.* 95). In that instance 'Moesia' was Moesia Inferior (CIL XVI, 44 f.). The *Fasti* of that province being almost complete (see below), Cornelius Nigrinus may be assigned (in default of other evidence) to Moesia Superior. One falls back on his second post, which helps — on a negative criterion. Catilius Severus (*suff.* 110) vacated Syria in 119 to hold the *fasces* in 120 for the second time. The next legate on record is Publicius Marcellus (*suff.* 120), holding Syria when the Jewish War began in 132 (ILS 8826). That interval offers free space for conjecture. Let Cornelius Nigrinus therefore be put in the twenties, governor of Moesia Superior and of Syria. That is valuable. Few legates of the consular provinces stand on attestation in this period. Hadrian's choice of consular legates in any season is likely to be variously instructive; and Cornelius Nigrinus might not have belonged to the category of 'viri militares'.

3. M. Valerius Etruscus. The gravestone of a veteran of VII Claudia at Scupi in Moesia Superior after registering his years of service, continues with the item 'BMVELEGCONSULA'⁶. When in the army this soldier had clearly been the *beneficiarius* of a consular legate. Compare the soldier in the Spanish legion VII Gemina, 'beneficiari/Iuni Omulli consular' (ILS 2404: Nemausus).

This document, which gives the formula for the first time, is variously instructive. The consular is clearly a son of M. Iunius Homullus (*suff.* 102), and the legionary legate who is also named, T. Vitrasius Pollio, should be identified with the Vitrasius Pollio who received a rescript from Hadrian (*Dig.* XXVII.1.15.17). Hence a date c. 133⁷.

The letters 'MVE' need not baffle. Other examples of this extreme type of abbreviation occur⁸. There is advantage if it be interpreted as 'M. Valerius Etruscus', a known senator. He is attested as legate of Numidia in 151 (ILS 5351) and in 152 (CIL VIII 2543; AE 1904, 21; 1954, 151). Governors of that province normally proceed at once to a consulship, often already designate before they depart. Between the middle years of Trajan and the accession of Marcus (the list is complete save

⁴ JRS, XLVII, 1957, 132; « Latomus », XXIII, 1964, 755 f.

⁵ Stein's remarks were rather undecided (*o.c.*, III).

⁶ *Srpska Kraljevska Akademija*, « Spomenik », LXXI, 1931, p. 243, n. 650.

⁷ As argued in JRS, XLIII, 1953, 159.

⁸ e.g. 'C.H.M.' (ILS, 3225: Rome); 'C.H.C.' (3586: Verona); 'C. V(alerius?) V(alerianus?) Sanctus', a quaestor of Baetica (CIL, XIII, 395: Tarbes in Aquitania).

for about four gaps) no other legate of Numidia has failed to find admittance to the *Fasti*⁹. The inscriptions of Valerius Etruscus set up in 152 lack 'cos. des'. Only one place is free in that year, and none that fits his nomenclature in either 153 or 154. The next year, 155, therefore has a preference over 152. Valerius Etruscus can be fitted into a brief tenure of Moesia Superior before C. Curtius Justus (*suff.* c.151, cf. PIR², C 1613), who is attested in either 158 or 159 (ILS 2302).



For Moesia Inferior, the record to begin with was much fuller, and many new inscriptions join the dossier. J. Fitz has recently devoted a comprehensive study to the *Fasti* of this province¹⁰. He supplies a revised list of the governors and adds a discussion about the patterns of promotion. That list in its turn cannot evade scrutiny — and some revision. The present survey goes back to remarks about Fabius Justus and the other governors in the reign of Trajan¹¹. It will be expedient to begin earlier, with the year 92 (the first attested legate), and go down to 162, when quick changes of governors reflect the crisis in the East.

It is a convenient tract of time. To Stein's catalogue Fitz adds three items, viz. Fabius Justus, the *Ignotus* in 109, and Bruttius Praesens. And he expels three. Sosius Senecto must go, that is certain (Fabius Justus now rules him out): two Julii Severi in 159 and 160 should be reduced to one; and Prastina Messallinus (*cos.* 147) is denied admittance.

However, Prastina Messallinus can be vindicated; and for some other legates a different order or dating can be proposed, notably for Ummidius Quadratus. Hence a revised list, provisionally: let it be hoped that fresh evidence will emerge, for or against. For brevity and convenience each item carries the minimum piece of evidence requisite to establish a governorship or its date (when that happens to stand precisely attested). The detail will be found in Stein, along with the supplement of the new inscriptions provided by Fitz. At the end, summary annotation indicates the reasons for revision or precision.

THE LEGATES OF MOESIA INFERIOR, 92—162

- 92 Sex. Octavius Fronto (*cos. suff.* 86). CIL XVI. 37
 97 (L.) Julius Marinus (? 93). CIL XVI. 41
 99 Q. Pomponius Rufus (95). CIL XVI. 44 f.
 100 M. Laberius Maximus (89). SEG I. 329, 1. 62
 103 Q. Fabius Postuminus (96). CIL III. 14451
 105 A. Caecilius Faustinus (99). CIL XV. 50
 105 L. Fabius Justus (102). BM Pap. 2851
 109 *Ignotus*. CIL III. 14267
 112 P. Calpurnius Macer Caulius Rufus (103). CIL III. 777
 116, 117 Q. Pompeius Falco (108). CIL III. 12470; 7537
 120 (Se)rtorius (? Brocchus) (?). CIL III. 12493
 C. Ummidius Quadratus (118). ArchAnz, XXVI, 1911, 23c
 C. Bruttius Praesens (? 119). AE 1950, 66, cf. IRT 545
 Cn. Minicius Faustinus Sex. Iulius Severus (127). ILS 1056

⁹ «Historia», XIV, 1965, 357. Fourteen legates are registered from c. 106 to 161. For the details, Bengt E. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diokletianus*, II, 1960.

¹⁰ J. Fitz, *Die Laufbahn der Statthalter in der römischen Provinz Moesia Inferior*, Weimar, 1966.

¹¹ JRS, XLIX, 1957, 131 ff.; XLIX, 1959, 26 ff. Cf. also XXXV, 1945, 108 ff. (review of Stein) and the paper 'Pliny and the Dacian Wars' («Latomus», XXIII, 1964, 750 ff.).

- 134 Sex. Julius Maior (? 126 or 129). CIL XVI. 78
 M. Antonius Hiberus (*cos.* 133). ILS 423, 1.15
 Julius Crassus (?). CIL III. 13727
 L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus (139). ILS 1061
- 145 Ti. Claudius Saturninus (c. 136–140). AE 1916, 85
 C. Ulpius Pacatus Prastina Messallinus (*cos.* 147). CIL III. 7529; AE 1959, 323
 Q. Fuficius Cornutus (147). ILS 8975; AE 1957, 266
- 155 T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo (c. 150). AE 1919, 12; CIL III. 7449
- 157 T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius (? c. 155). AE 1937, 247
- 159, 160 L. Julius Statilius Severus (155). CIL III. 12513
 M. Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus (? 159). CIL III. 6169, f. 12387
- 162 M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus (158). CIL III. 12514

Annotation :

1. L. Fabius Justus (*suff.* 102). Writing c. 106 to a man called Justus, Pliny assumes that for him and for others the summer is an exacting and anxious season — ‘patiar ergo aestatem inquietam vobis exercitamque transcurrere’ (Epp. VII. 2). Hence the rational conjecture that Fabius Justus was at the seat of war, either governor of one of the two Moesian provinces or commanding an army corps in the Second Dacian War (JRS XLVII, 1957, 131 ff.). Not everybody has been willing to admit the inference from Pliny’s language. However, a document brought confirmation. On ‘Hunt’s *Pridianum*’ (BM Pap. 2851) is detected the name of the legate Fabius Justus (JRS, XLIX, 1959, 27). He may therefore be assumed governor of Moesia Inferior from 105 to 108, succeeding Caecilius Faustinus (whose name also occurs on the papyrus)¹². A milestone shows Fabius in Syria in 109 (AE, 1940, 210). This experienced ‘vir militaris’ replaced A. Cornelius Palma (*cos.* II 109).

2. *Ignotus*. A fragmentary inscription reveals the fact that the governor in 109 had a *cognomen* ending, in the ablative, in ‘e’ (CIL III. 12467). Not many among the recent consuls had a cognomen of that type. Attention should go to a letter of Pliny, from which it emerges that c. 109 an equestrian officer had served in succession under Julius Ferox and Fuscus Salinator (Epp. x. 87.3). Hence the conjecture that either Ti. Julius Ferox (*suff.*? 99) or Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator (*suff.* c. 84) was legate of Moesia Inferior in 109 (JRS, XLIX, 1959, 29). The item has some value, there being a sad lack of information about consular governors in this part of Trajan’s reign. The next legate is patently Calpurnius Macer (*suff.* 103), attested in 112 (CIL III. 777).

3. (Se)rtorius (? Brocchus). The legate on record in 120 (CIL III 12493: bilingual) is generally taken to be an ‘Artorius’ (thus PIR², A 1180). ‘Sertorius’ is more plausible, and even a ‘Sertorius Brocchus’ (cf. remarks in « Historia », XVII, 1968, 89 f.). An inscription at Doclea in Dalmatia discloses ‘Cn. Serto[rius] C.f. Brocc[hus] Aquilius Agricola Ped[an]sius [Fuscus] Salinat(or) Iulius Servia[nus]’ (CIL III 13826. cf. PIR¹ S 395). Apart from brief remarks by Groag (P–W X. 890; XIX. 23) this *polyonymus* tends to be neglected. His nomenclature is portentous: Julius Servianus (*suff.* 90) was Hadrian’s brother-in-law, and his daughter Julia married Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator (*cos.* 118). It suggests sundry speculations about kinship and ancestry. For present purposes, however, the precise date and identity of the *polyonymus* is irrelevant. His first names

¹² The *Pridianum* itself is now dated to September of 105 (LVI, 1962, 749).
 by J. F. Gilliam, *Hommages à Albert Grenier*, (Coll. Latomus,

justify the production of a Sertorius Brocchus, legate in 120, presumably consul suffect c. 117. Hadrian's choice of governors in the early season of his reign is a topic of some significance (cf. *Tacitus* (1958), 243).

4. C. Ummidius Quadratus (suff. 118). The *beneficiarius* of an Ummidius Quadratus set up a dedication at Charax (ArchAnz XXVI, 1911, 236). Further, an 'Umi. Quadratus' is discovered among the soldiers of a *vexillatio* of the legion XI Claudia in 155 (CIL III. 7449). The soldier, it was supposed, took the governor's name on enlistment. The governorship was therefore dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius, not long before 155. That has been the general assumption. Thus A. Stein, *o.c.* 70; R. Hanslik, P—W, Supp. IX. 1931 f. Fitz has sought to fortify it in a long and thorough disquisition («*Epigraphica*» XXVI, 1964, 45 ff.). He suggests 149—151/2 for the date. Fitz puts special emphasis on the formula 'bf. Ummidi Quadrati cos.', which (he argues) only came into circulation shortly before the accession of Marcus Aurelius. The precision is implausible, and can be ruled out. Fitz missed the true date of the inscription at Nemausus mentioned above (about the year 133); the gravestone of the *beneficiarius* 'Iuni Omulli consular' (ILS, 2304). Nor is the argument from the legionary 'Umi. Quadratus' valid. The name may be 'Umi'; but observe in close vicinity on the same list 'Mum. Celer' and 'Mu [.] Niger'. That need not matter. In any event, the practice of a recruit's taking the governor's name seems to have faded out well before this time; and it had never been normal for clients to assume the *cognomen* as well as the *nomen*.

The Moesian governorship can therefore be thrown back a generation earlier and assigned to the *suffectus* of 118 (cf. «*Historia*», XVII, 1968, 89). This notable person had taken a wife (not identifiable) c. 106 (Pliny, *Epp.* VII.24.3); and c. 137 his son married Annia Cornificia Faustina, the sister of Marcus (PIR², A 708), whence M. Ummidius Quadratus (*cos.* 167)¹³. His tenure of Moesia Inferior may be put c. 121—4, after '(Se)rtorius (? Brocchus)' and before another friend of Hadrian, viz. Bruttius Praesens.

5. C. Bruttius Praesens (*suff.*? 119). Two inscriptions reveal his *cursus* (AE 1950, 66; Mactar; IRT, 545: Lepcis, acephalous). In each, his consular provincial posts are bunched together; and in the first the precious word '*item*' survives, linking Cappadocia to Moesia Inferior. That is decisive for the order in time (cf. JRS XLVIII, 1968, 9; «*Historia*» IX, 1960, 375). Fitz concurs (*o.c.* 140). The contrary order had in fact been assumed by others¹⁴. Bruttius Praesens can be assigned without discomfort to Cappadocia from 121 to 124, then to Moesia Inferior, where he may well have stayed until the arrival of Sex. Julius Severus (*suff.* 127).

6. Julius Crassus. Since nothing stands on record save his governorship in the reign of Antoninus Pius (CIL III. 13727), he can go anywhere convenient and not restricted by the tenures of other legates. Therefore early in the reign, preceding L. Minicius Natalis (*suff.* 139), who before his province held the *cura operum publicorum*. Fitz allocates Crassus either 140—2 or 146—8 (*o.c.* 14).

7. L. Minicius Natalis (*suff.* 139). An inscription found at Troesmis and now in the Museum at Constanța was published in the "Contemporanul" of August 30, 1968. Honour is paid to the Emperor Pius and to Verus Caesar by the 'C(ives) R(omani)' at the *Canabae* of the legion V Macedonica, under the authority of Minicius Natalis, 'leg. Aug. pr. pr.', the dedication being made by the 'leg. Aug.' Cominius Secundus. The name of Pius is followed by the indication of his third consulate, i.e. 141 : his *fasta* was in 145. Therefore Minicius Natalis fits in as governor from 142 to 144 (thus Fitz, *o.c.* 15), and perhaps to 145. The next governor, Claudius Saturninus, is attached in 145 by the milestone at Sexaginta Prista (AE 1916, 65).

¹³ Fitz by aberration argues that M. Ummidius Quadratus (*cos.* 167) married Cornificia (*o.c.* 14). For the vexatious problem of her husband's consulship see «*Historia*», XVII,

1968, 98 f.

¹⁴ G. Ch. Picard, «*Revue africaine*», XCIV, 1950, 41; and with H. G. Pflaum, «*Karthago*», II, 1951, 97.

The name of the legate commanding V Macedonica, Cominius Secundus, is a welcome occasion to knowledge. He was soon after governor of Pannonia Inferior, on attestation in 148 and in 150 (CIL XVI. 179 f.; 99).

8. C. Ulpius Pacatus Prastina Messallinus (*cos.* 147). Problems of nomenclature and identity arise. In documents registering his consulship he is either 'C. Prastina Messallinus' or 'C. Prastina Pacatus' (cf. PIR¹, P 686 and the *Fasti Ostienses*). In Numidia, which he governed from 143 to 146, he is styled 'C. Prastina Messallinus' (CIL VIII.2536; 17723; AE 1902, 146). Likewise on the inscription locating him in Moesia Inferior (CIL III, 7529). A new document discovered at Oescus now gives him 'C. Ulp. [Pacatus/P]rastina Mess[allinus]' (AE 1959, 343). That need not disturb. On the contrary, since his possession of two *cognomina* implied another *gentilicium* apart from 'Prastina'.

The *cognomen* 'Pacatus' is not common among senators at any time. It may occur in the nomenclature of a polyonymous proconsul of Africa under Hadrian, '[catus P. Valerius Priscus]' (CIL VIII.98), on whom see RÉA, LXVII, 1965, 348). A legate of Lugdunensis called Pacatus received a rescript from Pius (*Coll. leg. Mos. et Rom.* XV 2.4.). There is also in support a local decree 'ex auctoritate viri clarissimi [C. Prastinae P]acati leg. Aug.' (CIL, XIII. 3202= ILS 5594). Hence the unchallenged persuasion that this legate is one person with the consul of 147¹⁶. Two objections arise. First, governing Numidia before his consulship, he would not have previously held another praetorian service. Second, though a consular with the function 'ad consus accipiendos' is admissible, Lugdunensis seems already to have adequate provision. About 146 M. Aemilius Carus (*suff.* 143 or 144) held the post (ILS 1071); and C. Popillius Carus Peto (*suff.* 147) had it at a much later stage in his career, at the beginning of the reign of Marcus, as an Ephesian inscription shows (AE 1924, 70), just before his proconsulate of Asia which should fall in 162/3 (cf. RÉA, LXI (1959) 319). Fourteen years is a suitable interval from one provincial census to another.

That is not all. Inspection of CIL XIII, 3202, which consists of two fragments, indicates that the supplement '[C. Prastinae P]acati' introduced in l.3 is too long by four or five letters. It would be preferable to read '[C.Ulpi P]acati'. Nothing therefore subsists to commend Prastina Pacatus Messallinus as a governor of Lugdunensis, whether consular or praetorian. That governor is a different Pacatus.

So far the *consul ordinarius* of 147. It was expedient to examine nomenclature and career, since Fitz (*o.c.*16) denies him the governorship of Moesia Inferior. He prefers to assign the documents to the Prast(ina) Messallinus attested by coins of Marcianopolis as governor c. 245 (Stein, *o.c.* 102). The conclusion was premature. There is space for the consul of 147 if he be put c. 148–151, after Ti. Claudius Saturninus (attested in 145), and before Q. Fuficius Cornutus (*suff.* 147).

9. T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo (*suff.* c. 150). Stein put his consulate c. 145 (*o.c.*71 and PIR² F 305). That is much too early, cf. JRS LII, 1962, 95). This man was quaestor of L. Aelius Caesar (IGR I, 622): that is, in 137. He is doubly attested for the year 155 in Moesia Inferior (CIL III, 7449; AE 1919, 12). His tenure may be taken to run from 153 or 154 to 156, after Fuficius Cornutus.

10. T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio (*suff.* ? c. 155, *cos.* II 176). The son, it may be assumed, of the Vitrasius Pollio who was legate of the Spanish legion VII Gemina c. 133 (ILS 2404), governor of Lugdunensis (*Dig.* XXVII.1.15.17), acceding presumably to the consulship (JRS, XLIII (1953), 157). He married Annia Fundania Faustina, a cousin of Marcus (PIR²,

¹⁶ W. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius*, II, 1933, 104 f.; R. Hanslik, P–W, XXII, 1720. The latter article is defective.

A 713). His first consulship may fall as late as 155; various factors rule out 153 and 154. As governor of Moesia Inferior he stands as precise attestation in 157 (AE 1937, 247). That document failed to gain entry to P—W XXI, 2344 ff., an article otherwise defective and erroneous.

11. L. Julius Statilius Severus (*suff.* 155). Stein registered two legates, viz. Statilius Julius Severus in 159 and L. Julius Statilius Severus in 160 (*o.c.* 75 f.). Objection was raised by H. Nesselhauf (« Athenaeum », XXXVI, 1958, 227). Fitz (who missed Nesselhauf's contribution) offers a full discussion of the problem and likewise amalgamates the two (*o.c.* 17 ff.).

12. M. Iallius Bassus Fabius Valerianus (*suff.*? 159). Stein put him in 163 and 164 (*o.c.* 77 f.), as successor to M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus (*suff.* 158). Fitz concurs, without comment (*o.c.* 48). The reverse order is to be preferred. Attention should have been given to the arguments of W. Zwickler, *Studien zur Markussäule*, I, 1941, 77 ff. This governor and Martius Verus, the commander of V Macedonica, are named together in an inscription honouring the emperors Marcus and Verus (CIL III.6169: Troesmis). Martius Verus won signal fame in the eastern wars (PIR¹, M 261; and Iallius Bassus is on record as a 'comes' in the 'Parthica expeditio' (CIL XII, 2718 . f.). Moesia Inferior would be the first of the Danubian provinces to respond to a crisis in the eastern lands. Both the consular governor and the legionary legate may have been under order to depart, at no long interval. The name of Iallius Bassus stands on a dedication made when he was *curator operum publicorum* at Rome, in December of 161 (CIL VI, III, 9 b.). His tenure of the province perhaps embraced only a few months in the spring of 162.

13. M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus (*suff.* 158). He is attested for the year 162 (CIL III, 12514). Further, under his governorship soldiers of XI Claudia were dismissed, who entered service in 136, 137, 138 and 139 (AE 1925, 109; Durostorum). Stein put that action at the accession of Marcus, in March of 161 (*o.c.* 76). Surely too early. And he assigns Servilius to 161—3, with Moesia Superior as his next province (*o.c.* 45 f.). That is peculiar and perverse. The inscription recording the *cursus* of Servilius has 'leg. Augustorum pro praetore provinciarum Mysiae superioris item inferioris' (ILS 1080). That certifies the order in time. Compare, as noted above, Cappadocia and Moesia Inferior on the inscription of Bruttius Praesens (AE 1950, 66).

Servilius therefore left Moesia Superior before the end of 162 to take the place of Iallius Bassus in the other province (and he may have remained there for three or four years). Moesia Superior had had a rapid change of governors. C. Curtius Justus (*suff.* ? c. 151) was there in 158 or 159 (ILS 2302). In 160 M. Pontius Sabinus (*suff.* 153) is attested (CIL XVI. III), and not heard of in the sequel. M. Staius Priscus (*cos.* 159) had a brief tenure after his curatorship of the Tiber: he governed Moesia Superior under the two Augusti, but was transferred thence to Britain and from Britain to Cappadocia (ILS 1092). His successor was Servilius Fabianus, who departed for Moesia Inferior before the end of 162 (cf. above).



Epilogue. The catalogue carries twenty six names and one *Ignotus*. Sundry questions arise, for summary comment.

First, how close to completion is the list? One legate must be added between Octavius Fronto in 92 and Julius Marinus, who is attested on a military diploma dated to January, 97 (CIL XVI, 41). It is a reasonable conjecture that a Moesian command was held towards the end of Domitian's reign by Ser. Julius Servianus (*suff.* 90), or by M. Ulpus Traianus (*cos.* 90): by either, and perhaps by both¹⁶. The military service of P. Aelius Hadrianus (questor in 101) is a clue (HA,

¹⁶ JRS, XXXV, 1945, 115; LIV, 1964, 143; *Tacitus*, 1958, Vestnik», XIX, 1968, forthcoming.
34. On the question of a province for Trajan, cf. « Arheološki

Hadr. 2.2f. cf. ILS, 308). After being *laticlavus* of the legion II *Adiutrix* (presumably in Moesia Superior), he passes to V *Macedonica* in Moesia Inferior, 'extremis iam Domitiani temporibus'. That indication must suffice for this place.

Furthermore, there might well be a gap between Calpurnius Macer (attested in 112) and Pompeius Falco (in 116). Macer succeeds *Ignotus*, who replaced Fabius Justus in 108. For parallel to Falco (*suff.* 108) stands L. Minicius Natalis (*suff.* 106), likewise first on record in 116, for Pannonia Superior (CIL XVI.64). For each the first command since the consulate. The interval is a noteworthy fact. Each might have taken up his post in 115, it is true. The inception of Natalis' tenure is relevant to the early career of his son, which, as with that of Hadrian, provokes speculation. Quaestor in 121, he had served in three legions in succession (ILS, 1061, cf. 1029). Namely I *Adiutrix* (in Dacia, one assumes), XI *Claudia* (in Moesia Inferior), XIV *Gemina* (in Pannonia Superior).

Again there is the chance to be admitted of another governor in the middle twenties after Bruttius Praesens. But probably not in the middle thirties. M. Antonius Hiberus (*cos.* 133) may have acceded rapidly to his command. Compare his consular colleague P. Mummius Sisenna, governor of Britain by April of 134 (CIL XVI, 82).

Second, duration of tenure. Close on thirty legates occupy the seventy years under review. The total may surprise. Various factors come into reckoning, such as the rapid turnover entailed by Trajan's accession and his Dacian Wars; and by the changes ensuing (in both Moesian commands) soon after the accession of Marcus. And, two minor points. Octavius Fronto in 92 was probably close to the end of his tenure, whereas Servilius Fabianus began his precisely in 162. Nor should decease in office be left out. Though Moesia Inferior was not as insalubrious as Syria (or its governors so elderly), the space of seventy years may have witnessed one or two deaths from disease or pestilence.

No impediment therefore to a normal tenure of three years at least. A passage in the *Historia Augusta* alleges that Antoninus Pius kept 'good governors' in office for seven or nine years (Pius 5.3). The notion has found wide acceptance. It is pernicious and fallacious. The practice would wreck the system — and annoy legitimate aspirations¹⁷. And, if need be, the facts refute. The records of certain praetorian provinces in the period happen to be almost complete¹⁸. And, along with Moesia Inferior (though none so full), the other consular provinces in the reign of Pius will suitably be adduced¹⁹.

Third, social quality. So far as known, only two belong to the neopatriciate, viz. Ummidius Quadratus and Vitrasius Pollio. They and two others have consular parentage (blood or adoption), viz. Julius Severus and a younger Minicius Natalis. There are two *ordinarii* on the list, viz. Antonius Hiberus and Prastina Messallinus. Another indication is the proconsulate of Asia or Africa, where birth has a preference. When the record is nearly complete, as for Asia 103/4 to 137/8, it is instructive²⁰. For more reasons than one, the consular legates tend to be sparsely on show. Of the twenty six named legates of Moesia Inferior eight or nine held these proconsulates²¹. Finally, local or regional origin. Six are Italian for certain. Evidence, or more often the type of nomenclature, suggests that about two thirds of the total came from the provinces.

Fourth, careers and promotion. To know a man's previous occupation is vital. A system had been built up. One of the notable features is the career which takes the future legate in a clear run

¹⁷ cf. remarks in JRS, XLIII, 1958, 149; «*Historia*», XIV, 1965, 345 f., etc.

¹⁸ For Pannonia Inferior (Numidia and Dacia being also adduced), «*Historia*», XIV, 1965, 355 ff.

¹⁹ A. R. Birley, *Corolla Memoriae Erich Swoboda Dedicata*,

1966, 43 ff.

²⁰ RÉA, LXVII, 1965, 351.

²¹ An African proconsulate for Ummidius Quadratus (*suff.* 118), can be conjectured and assigned to 133/4, cf. «*Historia*», XVII, 1968, 91 f.

to the consulate, with no or few posts after the praetorship except the legionary command and the praetorian province²². Under Hadrian and Pius there were twelve such provinces, in the first place Numidia, Dacia, Arabia, Pannonia Inferior, where the governorship is combined with command of a legion. Again, it is of interest to notice legates of Moesia who hold other consular commands, before or after. These matters and other, however, would demand a long disquisition²³.

The twenty six names inspire salutary reflection on the hazards of documentation and survival. Outside the pages of Pliny only five have entry in any written source. Laberius Maximus won signal glory in the First Dacian War (Dio LXVIII 8.3.) and a second consulate, eponymous, in 103; when Trajan died he is discovered in exile on an island (HA, *Hadr.* 5.5.) The dedication of the *Dialogus* commemorates Fabius Justus, one of the few certified friend of Tacitus. Pompeius Falco, living in retirement and occupied with arboriculture, received a visit from Pius and young Marcus in 140 or 141 (Fronto, p. 35 N = Haines, II 141). Ummidius Quadratus is named among friends with whom Hadrian quarrelled before the end (HA, *Hadr.* 15.7). As for Bruttius Praesens, there is his exploit in Armenia when legionary legate (Arrian, *Parthica*, fr. 85 Roos); and he may be identical (nothing forbids) with the historian Bruttius whom Christian writers cite as testifying to the persecution at the end of Domitian's reign (PIR², B 159).

Laberius Maximus was referred to in a dispatch of Pliny to Trajan (*Epp.* X. 74.1). Further, Calpurnius Macer (*suff.* 103) comes into the Bithynian context, being governor of Moesia Inferior at the time of Pliny's mission (X. 42; 61,5; 62; 77). Macer had received personal letters from Pliny, previously, and so had all of the five named above, except Laberius Maximus²⁴. Hence useful evidence for the circle of his friends. Also for the dearth of other written sources. Even such persons of note and consequence as Minicius Natalis (*suff.* 106) or Julius Severus (*suff.* 127), a great general, owe their existence to epigraphical evidence; and no author names Vitrasius Pollio, who married a cousin of Marcus. Only the inscriptions reveal twenty one legates of Moesia Inferior from 92 to 162; and inscriptions are essential for understanding most of the other five. What Pliny says about Pompeius Falco and Bruttius Praesens comes to very little when set against the full and splendid record of their careers.

The four letters to Falco (I. 23; IV, 27; VII, 22; IX, 15) fail to carry adequate information about his personality and habits, origin and kinship. Only inscriptions show him the son-in-law of Sosius Senecio (*cos.* II 107), who had himself married the daughter of the great Julius Frontinus (cf. ILS, 1037; 1105); and further, legate of Moesia Inferior and of Britain, proconsul of Asia (1035 f.).

Praesens got only one letter, written c. 107 (VII. 3). But, by paradox, highly instructive. For origin, 'ipse cuim (inquis) Lucanus, uxor Campana'. Moreover, Pliny gently rebukes his neglect of public life. The language deserves attention. Pliny emphasizes friendships not exclusively in high society, pleasure and the pursuit of ease — 'amicitiae tam superiores quam inferiores'; 'voluptates istae'; 'iucundissimum genus vitae'. It would not be excessive to claim Bruttius Praesens for an Epicurean. Recent discoveries at Mactar (AE 1950, 66) and at Lepcis (IRT 545; acephalous) confirm a period of retreat. The long *cursus* from the military tribunate in 89 to the proconsulate of Africa (? 134/5) indicates retardation somewhere in the middle years, well before the legionary command of 114. Even without Pliny it called for explanation; and there may be reasons not in Pliny.

²² JRS, XLVIII, 1958, 1 ff.; « *Historia* », XIV, 1965, 342 ff.

²³ Fitz produces elaborate patterns (*o.c.*, 55 f.) which some may find too schematic.

²⁴ viz. Calpurnius Macer (V. 18 and probably VI. 24);

Fabius Justus (I, II; VII, 2); Pompeius Falco (I, 23; IV, 27; VII, 22; IX, 15); Ummidius Quadratus (VI. 29; VII, 24; IX, 13); Bruttius Praesens (VII, 3).

The life and career thus disclosed is noteworthy from a variety of aspects. If that were not enough, Praesens emerges late and anomalously for a brief tenure of Syria towards the end of Hadrian's reign (AE, 1938, 137: Palmyra); to end as *cons.* II, the colleague of Antoninus Pius in 139. Other evidence now accrues, the name of his wife. Like his coeval Falco, Praesens acquired an heiress, the daughter of a *consul bis*. She is Laberia Crispina, daughter of M. Laberius Maximus (« Epigraphica », XXIV (1962) 58; Trebula Mutuesca). Is she the 'uxor Campana' in Pliny? Perhaps not. Laberia might be a later wife; the son of Bruttius Praesens, *consul ordinarius* in 153, was born c.119. In any event, new light — and sundry problems, among them the disgrace of the famous marshal Laberius Maximus, which will call for careful scrutiny²⁵.

²⁵ The article on senators in Pauly-Wissowa show a sharp declension from the days of Groag. The treatment meted out to the Ummidii is eloquent testimony (IX, 597 ff.; Supp. IX, 1827 ff.). In the present context compare brief comment above on Prastina Messallinus (XXII, 1720 f.) and Vitrasius

Pollio (XXI, 2344 ff.). The same holds for Pomponius Rufus (XXI, 2347 f.) and Pompeius Falco (2270 f.). Furthermore, amendment must be applied to several legates as discussed by A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny. A Historical and Social Commentary*, 1966.