

The governor's men: the *officium consularis* in provincial administration

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Introduction

In the scholarship of the English-speaking world, Roman administration is regularly portrayed as understaffed, amateurish and often corrupt,¹ while the post-modern obsession with the symbolic has ensured that the reputation of Roman archives has fared worse still. We are frequently presented with a picture of imposing mounds of writing tablets and papyrus lying unread and irretrievable in dark, dusty corners of monumental public buildings. The main function of these archives was supposedly to legitimize Roman rule simply by their existence, rather than to allow it to function in any practical way.²

Scepticism about the efficacy of the Roman administration has to a certain extent been conditioned by a concentration upon the magisterial staffs of the republic and their poor showing in Cicero's Verrine orations and elsewhere. Roman republican magistrates drew their staffs from panels (*decuriae*) of paid functionaries (*apparitores*). The panels usually consisted of educated freedmen and were divided up according to function. From these *decuriae*, magistrates chose or were allocated one *scriba* (secretary), several *viatores* (messengers) and *praecones* (heralds or announcers, whose duties were perhaps similar to those of a *nomenclator* in a private household), and the appropriate number of *lictors*, twelve for a consul, six for a praetor (but only two within the city of Rome). The *apparitores* remained in Rome or followed their magistrates out to the provinces as required, and continued to serve when the magistracy was prorogued. There is no clear indication of the number of men assigned, apart from the *scribae* and *lictors*, but it was certainly not large. Further assistance was provided by the magistrate's own slaves or freedmen, one of whom would be designated as private secretary (*accensus*).³ It was Verres' freedman and *accensus* Timarchides who was the agent for much of the scandalous extortion attacked by Cicero.⁴

Outside Italy, a governor had to run his entire province aided only by a *quaestor* who had his own *scriba*, a *consilium* of friends and relations, one or two of whom might have official recognition as his deputies (*legati*), and his *apparitores*.⁵ We may guess that the average proconsul or propraeator might be assisted by as few as twenty or thirty officials of all ranks, although, in truth, we have no reliable data for their number. Amongst these, only the *accensus* and the two *scribae* had any obvious secretarial and perhaps archival function, although private slaves and freedmen probably lent a hand. Governors evidently kept private *commentarii* or day-books recording judicial activity - Cicero, for instance, was able to quote from Verres' *commentarii* - but there is no evidence that these were kept in any provincial archive.⁶ At least by the *lex Julia de repetundis* of 59 B.C., accounts had to be kept by the provincial *quaestor* and deposited at the end of his term of office in two principal cities of the province and with the *quaestors* of the treasury at Rome.⁷ Nevertheless, our overall impression is of a small-scale operation, run on an ad hoc, day-to-day basis by experienced amateurs.

Most modern accounts have, however, failed to appreciate the extent to which the advent of the principate changed the face of Roman administration in the provinces and even within Rome itself. It is true that the development of an imperial civil service out of the *familia Caesaris* has been well recognised. The slaves and

¹ For a recent exposition of this view of Roman administration, see P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman empire. Economy, society and culture* (London 1987) 20-40 (a chapter significantly entitled "Government without bureaucracy").

² For examples, see E. Posner, *Archives in the ancient world* (Cambridge, Mass. 1972) 160-85; M. Beard, "Writing and ritual: a study of diversity and expansion in the Arval acts," *BSR* 53 (1985) 114-62; N. Purcell, "The arts of government" in J. Boardman, J. Griffin, O. Murray (edd.), *The Oxford history of the Classical world* (Oxford 1986) 560-91, esp. 580ff; P. Culham, "Archives and alternatives in republican Rome," *CP* 84 (1989) 100-15; N. Purcell, "Atrium libertatis," *BSR* 61 (1993) 125-55, esp. 140-42.

³ N. Purcell, "The *apparitores*: a study in social mobility," *BSR* 51 (1983) 125-73.

⁴ Cic., *2Verr.* 2.69-80; 133-34; 144; 3.154-57; 175-76; 4.22; 94; 5.120.

⁵ A. Jones, "The Roman civil service (clerical and sub-clerical grades)," *JRS* 39 (1949) 38-55; A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum. Politics and administration* (London-New York 1993) 50-52.

⁶ R. Haensch, "Das Statthalterarchiv," *ZSav* 109 (1993) 209-317, esp. 219-45; Verres' *commentarii*: Cic., *2Verr.* 5.54-55; cf., 2.101, 104-6; 3.25-35.

⁷ Cic., *Att.* 6.7.2; *Fam.* 5.20; cf., *Fam.* 2.17.4; *Pis.* 61. See A. Lintott, "The *leges de repetundis* and associate measures under the republic," *ZSav* 98 (1981) 202-3.

freedmen of Julius Caesar as dictator, and of Octavian and his fellow triumvirs, must already have found themselves involved in what was in effect state business. As soon as Augustus was assigned a province covering the greater part of the Roman world, acquired huge private estates in Egypt and elsewhere, and began to subsidise the treasury from his own pocket, the administration of his private affairs automatically took on a public dimension. The various departments of his private household gradually became departments of state. These were still manned by slaves and freedmen, although by the end of the first century A.D. most of them were headed by Roman knights who nevertheless retained the household title of *procurator*.⁸ On the other hand, the changes surrounding provincial governors have been almost entirely ignored. This is partly because there was no change at all in the provinces governed by proconsuls. These continued to be administered with the assistance of tiny staffs of civilian *apparitores*.⁹ But the emperor's provinces followed a completely different path, instituting a new, military model of both administration and record-keeping. And because the new model had the practical function of running the permanent, professional army which came into being Augustus, it was equally practical when applied to provincial administration.

Origins of the *officium*

The new departure in provincial administration appears to have arisen out of a legal technicality. In 67 B.C., in order to facilitate the defeat of piracy, the *lex Gabinia* had given Pompey a Mediterranean-wide command with the specific right to appoint local *legati* with the rank of propraetors. This extended a long-standing practice whereby proconsuls had been able temporarily to delegate their *imperium* to subordinates. Pompey had later extended the principle still further in order to govern Spain between 55 and 52 B.C. while he himself remained just outside Rome to monitor the political situation. On the same model, the triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus had subsequently appointed their own *legati pro praetore* to administer their provinces.¹⁰ The precedent was thus well established when, in 27 B.C., Augustus was granted his gigantic new province, covering Spain, Gaul and Syria. The individual commands were placed under the control of men who became known *legati Augusti pro praetore*.

Unlike the *privati cum imperio* of the middle and late Republic, such *legati* held their power not directly from the Senate, but delegated from the magistrate. Because of this, they do not appear to have been eligible to draw their own *apparitores* from the *decuriae*. The key passage for the understanding of this situation comes from a letter of Cicero to his friend Atticus in 49 B.C. Cicero describes how he had challenged Caesar's partisan Curio, who had paid him a visit, about his six *fascēs* adorned with laurel:

“What are you doing with those six sets of rods?” I said. “If you got them from the senate, why are they wreathed in laurel? If you got them from the man himself (Caesar), why are there six of them?” “I wanted to get them by a snap decision of the senate - there was no other way. But *he* is now far more hostile to the senate. “Everything is going to be down to me from now on,” he says.” “So, why six?” “Because I didn't want twelve. I could have had them.”¹¹

The letter reveals that, although Curio had been granted *imperium pro praetore* at a meeting of the senate in early April, Caesar preferred to regard him as his own *legatus* rather than as being dependent upon the Senate. Curio was evidently acknowledging this by the laurels on his *fascēs* - playing it both ways, in fact - but Cicero is pointing out, ironically, that he should then have fewer than the propraetor's complement of six. We may guess that the appropriate number would have been five, since that was the number allocated to the *legati Augusti pro praetore*

⁸ A. Duff, *Freedmen in the early Roman empire* (Oxford 1926); G. Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le haut-empire romain: rôle politique et administratif* (Naples 1970); P. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris* (Cambridge 1972); H.-G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres* (Paris 1972); G. Boulvert, *Domestique et fonctionnaire sous le haut-empire romain: la condition de l'affranchi et de l'esclave du prince* (Naples 1974), cf., P. Weaver, *Antichthon* 13 (1979) 70-102 and G. Burton, *JRS* 67 (1977) 162-66.

⁹ A. Jones 1949 (supra n.5), 38-42; N. Purcell 1983 (supra n.3); N. Austin and B. Rankov, *Exploratio* (London-New York 1995) 154-55, 161.

¹⁰ *Legati* appointed under the *lex Gabinia*: App., *Mith.* 94-95; Flor., 1.41.7-12; cf., *SIG*³ 750; Pompey's *legati* in Spain: Vell. Pat., 2.48.1; Plut., *Pomp.* 53.1; *Cat. Min.* 45.4; *legati* of the triumvirs: Livy, *Epit.* 127-28; Vell. Pat., 2.78.1; Flor., 2.19.4-5; see W. Jashemski, *The origins and history of the proconsular and the propraetorian imperium to 27 B.C.* (Chicago 1950) 89-91.

¹¹ Cic., *Att.* 10.4.9 (14th April, 49 B.C.): “*quid isti*” inquam “*sex tui fascēs? si a senatu, cur laureati? si ab ipso, cur sex?*” “*cupivi*” inquit “*ex senatus consulto surrupto; nam aliter <non> poterat. at ille impendio nunc magis odit senatum. “a me” inquit “omnia proficiscentur.” “cur autem sex?” “quia duodecim nolui; nam licebat.”*”

under the principate.¹² The significance of the passage for our purposes is that it makes clear that laurelled *fasces*, and presumably the lictors who bore them, would have come from Caesar rather than the senate. Curio's disdain for constitutional niceties should remind us that the late republic was a period when the legalities were daily being elided and overlooked. Nevertheless, the anecdote does help to explain why *legati* had no *apparitores* other than lictors. It was the delegating magistrate who provided the insignia and trappings of office. Indeed, the private provision of lictors was nothing new. Cicero reveals in a letter of 44/43 B.C. that, as proconsul of Cilicia in 51 B.C., he had provided two lictors, presumably without rods, for each senator present in his province, and that he had previously received this privilege himself.¹³ Since lictors could be provided in this way, the principle could have been extended to *scribae*, *praecones* and *viatores*, but apparently wasn't. In the imperial period, the only *apparitor* who is certainly attested in the service of *legatus pro praetore* is a lictor of the governor of Galatia in the later second century AD.¹⁴ With the exception of lictors, at no period do *legati* appear to have been granted civilian *apparitores*.

All the *legati* of Pompey, of Caesar, of the triumvirs and of Augustus did, however, dispose of several legions, and would therefore have had a number of troops attached to themselves for personal service in the late Republican manner.¹⁵ These troops would have been occupied, in part, with the administration of the army, and in the absence of civilian *apparitores*, it would have been entirely natural for them to take on the latter's administrative duties as well. Most, if not all, such men would have been Roman citizens, and it is notable that under the Principate *legati* normally employed only legionaries as *officiales*. The formation in the relevant provinces of a military staff with some civilian duties probably happened as soon as the need arose, perhaps first in Spain in the fifties. Like the later transformation of the *familia Caesaris*, it is likely to have been an organic and unpremeditated development, but the form of the Augustan settlement ensured that it had far-reaching implications for imperial administration. By the middle of the first century A.D., three-quarters of the Empire was governed by *legati Augusti pro praetore*,¹⁶ whose officials were drawn entirely from the Roman army.

Development of the *officium*

The basic structure of the governor's staff, or *officium*, probably developed quite quickly. The key grades bore titles which evidently derived from late Republican troops who had a close attachment to their commanders but seem to have had nothing to do with administration as such. The main group around which the *officium* was built appears to have been the *beneficarii*. In origin, their title simply refers to troops relieved of general duties by the *beneficium* of a commander.¹⁷ In Caesar's *Bellum Civile*, we find the Pompeian legate Petreius employing as a personal bodyguard a small number of barbarian cavalry, who are described as *beneficarii sui*. Later in the work, Caesar refers to 2,000 *evocati* joining Pompey from the *beneficarii* of his former armies.¹⁸ There is no implication that these were staff officers as such, although service in that capacity would not have been precluded. Whilst the term certainly designated a specific staff rank by the early first century AD, if not before,¹⁹ it also

¹² Cass. Dio, 53.13.8; cf., Tac., *Ann.* 2.47; Cass. Dio, 57.17.7; also *CIL* VI 1546; VIII 7044; 18270; XIII 3162; see Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* 1³ (Leipzig 1887) 385-8, esp. 385 n.3.

¹³ Cic., *Fam.* 12.21 to Cornificius (44/43 B.C.).

¹⁴ *CIL* III 6759 (Ankara, A.D. 164-6); the man is specifically described as '*dec(urialis) lictor Fufid(ii) Pollionis leg(ati) Gal(atiae)*'. It is not clear at what stage lictors came to be provided for *legati* from the *decuriae* at Rome. It seems highly unlikely that those casually provided by Cicero in Cilicia (see above n.13) could have been, while Cicero's ironic challenge to Curio implies that in his case Caesar might have been providing the *fasces* and, we should therefore assume, the lictors also. The development is thus likely to have come about in the reign of Augustus, at part of the gradual de facto recognition of his special position in the constitution.

¹⁵ See below n.18.

¹⁶ A. Birley, *The fasti of Roman Britain* (Oxford 1981) 16-17 with nn.9 and 12; 26-7 with n.6 calculates that by A.D. 70 there were 14 imperial legates (7 ex-praetors and 7 ex-consuls), rising by the reign of Caracalla to 28 (14 of each), compared with 10 proconsuls (8 ex-praetors and 2 ex-consuls) throughout this period. The extra *legati* arose out of the annexation of new territory, the division of large provinces, especially under the Severans, and the upgrading of procuratorial provinces. All the remaining provinces were ruled by equestrian procurators (e.g. Corsica, the Mauretania) or *praefecti* (Egypt and, from the reign of Septimius Severus, Mesopotamia); *procuratores* were assisted in part by members of the *familia Caesaris*, and in part by military staffs; the staffs of *praefecti* were similar to those of the *legati*. By the early third century, much of the imperial administration of Italy was also in the hands of senior officials with military staffs (see below p.000 with n.124).

¹⁷ Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* p.30 s.v. *beneficarii*: '*beneficarii dicebantur milites qui vacabant muneris beneficio; e contrario munifices vocabantur qui non vacabant, sed munus reipublicae faciebant*'.

¹⁸ Caes., *B Civ.* 1.75.2 (Petreius), 3.88.4 (Pompey).

¹⁹ The earliest *beneficarii* attested in documentary sources are perhaps those referred to in a fragment of papyrus written in Greek from Qasr Ibrîm (Primis) in the south of Egypt, which may date from the late first century BC (*Sammelbuch*

continued to have the much more general meaning and seems to have been so used of ten troops attached by the younger Pliny to the *praefectus orae Ponticae*, and another ten attached to the provincial procurator in Bithynia.²⁰ Gradually, the commanders of individual army units acquired their own staffs. This development is unlikely to have been earlier than the establishment of the standing army with its permanent units under Augustus. The staffs of the senior commanders of the republican, triumviral and early Augustan period presumably acted as the model, although the epigraphic record indicates that most junior commanders were allowed only a *cornicularius* and a limited number of *beneficarii*. In all the military *officia* of the Principate, the *beneficarii* always formed by far the largest group and had the most diverse duties.²¹

Slightly senior to the *beneficarii*, and only appearing in the *officia* of provincial governors, were the *speculatores*. The word means ‘spies’, and it is in this capacity that they appear in the pages of Caesar’s *Galic War* and *Civil War* in close attendance upon Caesar and other commanders.²² Once again, it appears that it designated a staff rank by the early first century AD.²³ The ad hoc nature of this transformation is illustrated by the fact that the *speculatores* of the emperor, by contrast, became élite cavalry within the Praetorian Cohorts.²⁴ This was perhaps a development of the triumviral period, when Octavian was still operating personally in the field, and when we know that Antony certainly had a *cohors speculatorum* under his command.²⁵

At the head of the all military staffs, including the governor’s, stood the *cornicularii*.²⁶ Although a governor would normally have had some centurions in attendance, the title of the senior centurion - *princeps praetorii* - and that of his deputy - *optio praetorii* - suggest that he was in overall charge of the governor’s headquarters (*praetorium*) rather than his staff (*officium*) as such.²⁷ That it was the *cornicularii* who controlled the

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- XIV 11935.11=P. *Qasr Ibrîm* inv. no. 7.3). More precisely dated are the soldier of *cohors VI praetoria* who is described on his funerary monument of the Claudian period as having served as ‘*Drusi Caesaris ben<e>fic(iarius)*’, probably in A.D. 14 (*CIL IX 4121*); a *b(eneficiarius) tribuni* and a *b(eneficiarius) nauarchi* recorded as witnesses on an unpublished fleet diploma of the reign of Claudius (M. Roxan, “An emperor rewards his supporters: the earliest extant diploma issued by Vespasian,” *JRA* 9 (1996) 253 n.5; a *benephiarios tou idiou logou* on an Egyptian papyrus of A.D. 41/42 (*P. Oxy. Hels.* 11,2.7); and M. Vettius Valens, who rose to be *procurator provinciae Lusitaniae* by A.D. 66, having gained *dona* as *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio* during Claudius’ invasion of Britain in A.D. 43 (*CIL XI 395*); see J. Ott, *Die Beneficiarii* *Historia Einzelschriften* 92 (Stuttgart 1995) 64-65. The earliest absolutely datable *beneficiarius* of a provincial governor is a soldier of *cohors I urbana* who served as *beneficiarius Tettieni Sereni* when the latter was governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, apparently in A.D. 79 (?) (*CIL XII 2602*; see *infra* n.34).
- ²⁰ Pliny, *Ep.* 10.21; cf., *AE* 1972 no.573 (*praefectus orae Ponticae*); Pliny, *Ep.* 10.27 (*procurator Bithyniae*).
- ²¹ See the basic collection of evidence for military staff officers (‘Beneficiarierchargen’) in A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (Bonn 1908; 2nd ed. by B. Dobson, Köln 1967); the general patterns discerned by von Domaszewski are still valid despite the enormous epigraphic and payrological discoveries of the last ninety years. For *beneficarii*, see now E. Schallmayer (ed.), *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I. Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des römischen Reiches* Forschungen und Berichtungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg Bd 40 (Stuttgart 1990); *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken II. Kolloquium 1990 und paläobotanische-osteologische Untersuchungen* Forschungen und Berichtungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg Bd 49 (Stuttgart 1994); J. Ott, *Die Beneficiarii* (*supra* n.19).
- ²² M. Clauss, *Untersuchungen zu den principales des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diokletian*. *Cornicularii, speculatores, frumentarii*. (Bochum 1973) 59-77; *Exploratio* (*supra* n.9) 9-10; 54-60; 150-53; 168; 189; 200-1.
- ²³ The earliest evidence is literary: the younger Seneca already uses *speculator* to mean an executioner (*Ben.* 3.25, cf., *Dial.* 3.18.4; *Tranq.* 14), apparently derived from the employment of these officers in this capacity by provincial governors (see below p.000), and in one case he is specifically referring to a *speculator* of Cn. Piso as governor of Syria A.D. 17-19 (Sen., *De ira* 1.18; cf., *SC de Cn. Pisone patre* lines 51-52); the *Gospel of St Mark* similarly refers to the executioner of John the Baptist as *spekulatora* (6.27). The earliest datable *speculator* of a provincial governor recorded on an inscription served in *legio IIII Macedonica*, which was disbanded by Vespasian after the civil war of A.D. 68-69 (*AE* 1956 no.75).
- ²⁴ *Untersuchungen* (*supra* n.22) 46-58. The earliest epigraphically recorded *speculator* of the emperor is dated by his appearance also on a monument of A.D 5 (*CIL VI 1921a=2782* (cf., p.2332 ad 32661); cf., VI 10294). Note also Suet., *Aug.* 74: *ipse* (sc. Augustus) *scribit invitasse se quondam, in cuius villa maneret, qui speculator suus olim fuisset*.
- ²⁵ Evidenced by a coin inscribed with this legend which was issued as part of Antony’s ‘military’ series: *BMCRR* II p.527, nos.185-86.
- ²⁶ *Untersuchungen* (*supra* n.22) 17-45.
- ²⁷ *Princeps praetorii*: *AE* 1916 no.29 (*adiutor principis praetorii*); *P. Oxy.* XIV 1637 (*prinkipos tes he[ge]monias*); cf., B. Dobson, *Die Primipilares* (Köln 1978) 161; M. Speidel, “*Princeps* as a title for *ad hoc* commanders,” *Britannia* 12 (1981), 7-13. *Optio praetorii*: *CIL* III 1094=7765; 5803; VIII 2947; 4294; X 7583. G. Alföldy, “Ein Soldat des britannischen Heeres aus Madauros (*J.L.Alg.* I, 2203),” *L’Africa romana* 6 (1988), 135-45, has attempted to read *princeps officii praesidis* in *CIL* III 7549=IGRR I 629 and *AE* 1989 no.830=ILAlg. I 2203, but both stones are so badly damaged that the formulation remains conjectural.

latter is confirmed by the fact that, in the third century A.D., the full title of the governor's staff was *officium corniculariorum consularis*.²⁸ Unlike the *beneficiarii* and *speculatores*, the rank of *cornicularius* is not directly attested under the republic. The title has usually been derived from a republican military decoration for valour, the *corniculum* or 'little horn', which was worn on the helmet.²⁹ A passage of Suetonius, however, tells us that the poet Horace's schoolmaster, L. Orbilius Pupillus, 'first acted as *apparitor* to the magistrates, then did military service in Macedonia with the *corniculum*, and soon after in the cavalry';³⁰ the phrasing is undoubtedly strange if an honorific helmet decoration is meant. Some other type of 'little horn' may therefore lie behind this rank, although we have no obvious indication as to what it might be.³¹ Nevertheless, the passage, which is presumably based on Orbilius' own writings of the mid 1st century B.C., does seem to indicate that there were *cornicularii* in the Roman army by the time he served in Macedonia, between about 89 and 73 B.C.³² Further evidence for *cornicularii* in the late republic/early principate comes from Valerius Maximus, writing under Tiberius, who recounts, presumably anachronistically, an incident datable to 292/290 B.C. during the Third Samnite War and involving the *cornicularius* of a military tribune. More plausibly, Frontinus describes how a Pompeian agent disguised himself as a Caesarian *cornicularius tribuni* in order to make his way through Caesar's siege lines in Spain in 45 B.C.³³ The earliest epigraphic record of a *cornicularius*, however, refers to the *officium* of the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis in AD 83.³⁴

In the standing army of the principate *beneficiarii*, *speculatores* and *cornicularii* were ranked amongst the most senior of all *principales*, and were probably on double pay.³⁵ A fourth group, junior to the other three, probably also had an early origin. This was the *frumentarii*, whose title suggests that they began as commissary officers concerned with the supply of corn (*frumentum*). Under the Principate, however, they are attested not in this role but as couriers.³⁶ They were also employed on occasion in outposts around the provinces and to make arrests and escort prisoners. In an unusual further development, perhaps from the reign of Trajan, they began to act as a sort of Secret Service operating directly on the orders of the emperor.³⁷ They ranked perhaps as junior *principales*, on pay-and-a-half.³⁸

²⁸ CIL III 894(=ILS 3035); 1471; 3543(=ILS 2391); 10437; VIII 1875; AE 1989 no.893=1992 no.1867b.

²⁹ ILS 8888; Livy, 10.44.5; Suet., *Gram.* 9; [Aur. Vict.], *De vir. ill.* 3.72.3; cf., Pliny, *NH* 10.124. See V. Maxfield, *The military decorations of the Roman army* (London 1981) 97-9, who describes the *corniculum* as "probably the most obscure of all military decorations".

³⁰ Suet., *Gram.* 9: '*primo apparituram magistratibus fecit, deinde in Macedonia corniculo, mox equo meruit*'; see R. Kasler (ed.), *C. Suetonius Tranquillus. De grammaticis et rhetoribus* (Oxford 1995) 130-31, who notes the awkward phrasing but accepts the connection with the military decoration, referring to a forthcoming study of the *corniculum* to be published by J. Linderski.

³¹ Something connected with bureaucracy and administration, a pen or an ink-horn, say, would suit the passage on Orbilius who went to his post from a civilian *apparitura*, though this interpretation must remain entirely conjectural. Note, however, the similar post of *canalicularius* which is epigraphically attested in a few *officia* of the later third century A.D. and which may have been derived from *canicula*, a quill-pen: see M. Clauss, *Untersuchungen* (supra n.22) 41-45; id., 'Der *canalicularius*,' *Anc. Soc.* 6 (1975) 251-256; J. Gilliam, 'Canalicularius and Kananicularius (P. Oxy. 2925),' *Bull. Am. Soc. Pap.* 13 (1976) 49-52 (= id., *Roman Army Papers* (Amsterdam 1986) 373-76.

³² On Suetonius' method of compilation and sources for the *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, see Kasler, *De grammaticis* (supra n.30) xxix-xxxix; on the date of Orbilius' service in Macedonia, *ibid.* 129.

³³ Val. Max., 6.1.11 (cf., Dion. Hal., 16.4.1-3): '*M. Laetorii Mergi tribuni militaris ... cui Cominius tribunus plebis diem ad populum dixit, quod cornicularium suum stupri causa appellasset*'; Frontin., *Str.* 3.14.1 (cf., Cass. Dio, 43.33.4-34.2): '*tamquam Caesarianus tribuni cornicularius vigiles quosdam excitavit*'.

³⁴ CIL XII 2602: the monument of a soldier of *cohors I urbana* (which formed the garrison of Lugdunum in the later first century A.D.), which tells us that, having joined the cohort in A.D. 73, he served on the governor's staff from 79 (?), first as *beneficiarius* of Tettienus Serenus, and then, from 83, as *cornicularius* of Cornelius Gallicianus and Minicius Rufus, before becoming *evocatus* in 88 and centurion in 90.

³⁵ *Rangordnung* (supra n.21) 29-34; D. Breeze, "Pay grades and ranks below the centurionate," *JRS* 51 (1971) 130-35; id., "The organisation of the career structure of the *immunes* and *principales* of the Roman army," *BJ* 174 (1974) 245-92, esp. 265-78; id., "The career structure below the centurionate during the principate," *ANRW* II.1 (1974) 435-51, esp. 441-45, 448-51.

³⁶ Origins of the *frumentarii*: M. Clauss, *Untersuchungen* (supra n.22) 10-13, but the attempt to link their supposed origins as corn-supply officers with their role in internal surveillance under the principate is misguided since the latter was undoubtedly a separate development; see below p.000. The earliest closely datable documentary evidence for *frumentarii* is a Trajanic papyrus from Egypt (*P. Mich.* VIII 472) and an inscription of A.D. 120 from Delphi in Achaëa (*ILS* 9473), while another inscription records that a *princeps peregrinorum*, the centurion in charge of the *numerus frumentariorum* (see below n.108), received *dona* in Trajan's *bellum Germanicum* of A.D. 97-9 (*AE* 1923 no. 28).

³⁷ On the functions of the *frumentarii*, see below p.000

³⁸ Direct evidence for their status and pay is lacking, but they were apparently promoted from the ranks, and could themselves be promoted to senior staff posts, especially *beneficiarii consularis*, or even to *optio* or *centurio frumentarius*:

It is most likely from the core of these four grades - *frumentarii*, *beneficarii*, *speculatores*, *cornicularii* - that the provincial *officia* grew. All of them are epigraphically attested by the end of the Flavian period. Literary evidence, and epigraphic evidence from other staffs, however, suggests that, having developed from staff officers of the triumviral or late republican period, they were probably already in place under the Julio-Claudians, and one may reasonably suppose that regular provincial *officia* were operating by then.

Until about the middle of the second century, individual *officiales* tend to refer to themselves on inscriptions by their rank together with the name of the governor whom they served in the genitive. By the Antonine period, however, it becomes common to replace the governor's name with the simple term *consularis*, used as a noun in the genitive and meaning 'of the governor', regardless of whether he was of consular or praetorian rank.³⁹ R. Dize has recently argued from this shift in usage that, until this period, there were no standing *officia*, but each *officialis* was personally appointed, rarely served more than a single governor, and normally returned to his legion when that governor's term of office ended. Only with the Antonines was there a deliberate (and imperially directed) weakening of the personal bond between governor and *officialis* and thus the emergence of standing provincial *officia*.⁴⁰ There is, however, no evidence that *officiales* normally served only a single governor, and some evidence to the contrary.⁴¹ It is, moreover, inherently unlikely that a governor new to a province should have chosen to construct his staff from scratch on each occasion. The hypothesis also goes against our usual understanding of how promotions worked in the Roman army, namely that while *immunis* posts could be temporary appointments and were more or less of equal rank, *principales* posts were normally permanent and had a reasonably well-defined hierarchy of progression. Certainly no inscription suggests that soldiers reverted to being ordinary *milites* after or between *principales* posts, although some appear to have been classified as *candidati* whilst waiting for a opening.⁴² On Dize's hypothesis, we should have to postulate an increase in the total number of *principales* upon the arrival of every new governor, but with many of them holding no corresponding posts.⁴³ The hypothesis should therefore be rejected, and we should regard standing *officia* as in existence throughout the armed provinces from the Julio-Claudian period onwards.

The extent to which the early *officia* were fully developed is, on the other hand, less clear. By contrast with the *frumentarii*, *beneficarii*, *speculatores* and *cornicularii*, the other recorded grades bear titles which cannot obviously be traced back to the republic, are unattested epigraphically before the middle of the second century A.D., and often imply highly specialised administrative functions. They are therefore likely to have been brought into being at a later stage of development.

see A. von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* (supra n.21) 34-35; M. Clauss, *Untersuchungen* (supra n.22) 109-13; D. Breeze, "The organisation," (1974) (supra n.34) 263-78; id., "The career structure," (1974) (supra n.35) 443 with n.41. Within the developed *officium consularis* some promotions to *beneficiarius* appear to have been reserved for men who had been *frumentarii*; see below n.59.

³⁹ *Consularis* is in origin an adjective meaning 'consular', but by the beginning of the second century it had also become a noun meaning 'governor'. It appears as such in both literary and epigraphic texts, and in the latter, at least, it does not (in this writer's opinion) necessarily imply that the individual indicated had held a consulship. This has been a matter of intense debate, but the evidence that it could be used of praetorian and even, on occasion, of equestrian governors can only really be dismissed through special pleading. It would be impracticable and fruitless to pursue the matter here. See L. Balla, "A Szombathelyi hatszögű bázis és Savaria történetek néhány problémája (Die sechseckige Basis von Szombathely und einige Probleme der Geschichte von Savaria)," *ActUnivDebrec.* 6/7 (1959/60) 201-8, esp. 201; id., "Die Inschrift eines Senators aus Savaria," *EpSt* 4 (1967) 61-2; J. Fitz, "Ummidio Quadrato governatore della Moesia Inferiore," *Epigraphica* 26 (1964) 45-58 esp. 56; id., "Epigraphica I," *Alba Regia* 6-7 (1965-66), 207-9 esp. 207; R. Syme, "The Ummidii," *Historia* 17 (1968) 72-105 esp. 69; G. Sanders, review of *EpSt* 4 in *Helinium* 8 (1968) 302-4 esp. 303-4; H.-G. Pflaum, "Titulaire et rang social sous le Haut-Empire" in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* (Paris 1970) 159-85; E. Tóth, "Zur Entwicklung der Bezeichnung *consularis* der Statthalter," *Alba Regia* 13 (1972) 163-5; L. Vidman, "Zu den ältesten Belegen *consularis*-Statthalter" in *Studi in onore di C. Sanfilippo* (Milan 1982) 657-666; B. Rémy, "*Hypatikoï* et *consulares* dans les provinces impériales prétoriennes aux II^e et III^e siècles," *Latomus* 45 (1986) 311-38.

⁴⁰ R. Dize, "Trajan, the Antonines and the governor's staff," *ZPE* 116 (1997) 273-83.

⁴¹ Most notably *CIL* XII 2602; see above n.34.

⁴² See below n.58, and cf., the *candidati duplares* and *simples* at the end of Vegetius' (slightly confused) list of *principales* (II 7), which is best interpreted as men awaiting promotion to one or other grade of *principales* rank. Note also *AE* 1992 no.1872 I, a discharge list including a *cand(idatus) speciu(lator)*.

⁴³ For *immunes* and *principales* see the works cited in n.35 above, and E. Sander, "Zur Rangordnung des römischen Heeres: die *gradus ex caliga*," *Historia* 3 (1954/55) 87-105; Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire. Actes du Congrès de Lyon (15-18 septembre 1994)* (Paris 1995).

The most important of these later accretions were the *commentarienses*, who came to rank second only to the *cornicularii* and above the *speculatores* and were apparently in charge of the governor's judicial *commentarii*.⁴⁴ Although *commentarii* were certainly kept by republican governors,⁴⁵ the balance of probability is that specialised *commentarienses* to keep them did not appear until the principate, and perhaps only once the military provinces had become reasonably fully Romanised in the course of the first century A.D.. They are not attested epigraphically until the middle of the second century, and there is some reason to think that the model may have come from the procuratorial provinces. In the latter, the praesidial procurator, who combined the financial and gubernatorial functions which were separated in the other provinces, disposed of both servile staffs, drawn from the *familia Caesaris*, and military staffs, drawn from the provincial garrison. It would appear that the *commentarii* of these procurators were originally kept by imperial slaves with the typically servile title of a *commentariis*, but that these were eventually replaced by soldiers who bore the more military title of *commentariensis*.⁴⁶

Other additions to the *officium* were of lower ranks, perhaps all of them only *immunes*.⁴⁷ Assistants (*adiutores*)⁴⁸ and a variety of secretarial grades appear in second- and third-century inscriptions: short-hand secretaries (*exceptores* and *notarii*), book-keepers (*librarii*) and archivists (*exacti*).⁴⁹ By the same period, diplomatic work along the Danube was being facilitated by interpreters (*interpretes*), including men expert in German, Sarmatian and Dacian.⁵⁰ In the German provinces, and possibly elsewhere, the *beneficiarii* were supplemented with *immunes consularis*.⁵¹ Most junior of all, perhaps, were men who describe themselves merely as soldiers (*milites*) of the *officium* or even just as *officiales*.⁵² Less certainly, governors may have acquired *quaestionarii* (judicial interrogators) and *haruspices* (seers) by the end of the second century.⁵³ A variety of minor servants is also attested - a boatman (*barcarius*), a personal groom (*equisio*) and a doorman (*ostiarius*) - but these should not, perhaps, be regarded as regular members of the *officium*, and the last two may even be civilians.⁵⁴

⁴⁴ *Rangordnung* (supra n.21) 31; D. Breeze, "The organisation," (1974) (supra n.35) 263-78.

⁴⁵ See above n.6.

⁴⁶ This line of development is far from certain, but is convincingly argued in detail by R. Haensch, "A *commentariis* and *commentariensis*: Geschichte und Aufgaben eines Amtes im Spiegel seiner Titulaturen" in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *La hiérarchie* (supra n.43) 267-83.

⁴⁷ Of those cited here, *librarii*, *adiutores corniculariorum* and *stratores* appear in Tarutienus Paternus' list of *immunes* (Dig. 50.6.7).

⁴⁸ *Adiutores*: CIL III 894=ILS 3035; CIL III 1471; 2052; 3510; 3543; 4030; VIII 1875; 9002; 10724=17635?); AE 1904 no.10; 1967 no.364; 1989.893; *I.Bostra* 9075; *IGRR*.I 679; I 1481=AE 1907 no.48(?); III 1008.

⁴⁹ *Exceptores*: e.g. CIL VI 2977; VIII 10723=17634 (?); AE 1964no.193=1965 no.30; see H. Fiebiger, *RE* VI 2 (Stuttgart 1909) 1565-66 s.v. *exceptor*; A. Popa, "Exceptores consularis in Dacia," *Latomus* 23 (1964), 302-10; H. Teitler, *Notarii et exceptores: an inquiry into the role and significance of shorthand writers in the imperial and ecclesiastical bureaucracy of the Roman empire, from the early principate to c.450 AD* (Amsterdam 1985) esp. 44-49. *Notarii*: e.g. CIL III 1938=8565; VIII 2755; AE 1955 no.80 (?); see H. Teitler, loc. cit. *Librarii*: e.g. *P. Mich.* VIII 465; 466; CIL III 5435; 5631; 5814; V 375; AE 1965 no.35; 1967 no.386; *IMoesSup*.VI 227; cf. Veg., *Mil.* 2.7; Festus, *Gloss. Lat.* p.446; see G.R. Watson, "Immunis librarius" in M. Jarrett and B. Dobson (edd.), *Britain and Rome: essays presented to Eric Birley on his sixtieth birthday* (Kendal 1965) 45-55. *Exacti*: e.g. CIL III 5812; VIII 2596; 2567; 2977; 4240; XIV 2255=ILS 2396; AE 1940 no.177; see H. Fiebiger, *RE* VI 2 (Stuttgart 1909) 1547 s.v. *exactus*.

⁵⁰ *Interpretes*: CIL III 10505 (German); 14349^s (Sarmatian?); 14507 *dextr.* a 11; *sinistr.* 40; AE 1947 no.35 (Dacian); 1978 no.635

⁵¹ *Immunes consularis*: CIL III 91 (?); 92 (?); 3446 (?); XIII 1903; 5170=ILS 2411; CIL XIII 7277; 7335=ILS 7096; AE 1930 no.35; 1968 no.390; *ILJug.* 1057, cf. AE 1974 no.535 (?).

⁵² *Milites*: CIL III 14214; AE 1965 no.205=1967.44 (?); *IG* XII v (i) 697 (*stratiotes*); *officiales*: *IBostra* 9083; *P. Oxy.* XIV 1648.

⁵³ *Quaestionarii*: CIL VIII 2586; 2751; AE 1917/18 no.57; *haruspices*: VIII 2586; AE 1917/18 no.57; all these men, however, served the governor of Numidia, who was simultaneously commander of *legio III Augusta*; Several other *quaestionarii*, all legionaries, are recorded throughout the empire, but none of their inscriptions makes clear that they were attached to a provincial *officium* rather than that of their legionary commander. If it could be demonstrated that they served in the latter rather than the former, then this would have interesting implications about the judicial competence of legionary legates. For *quaestionarii* as interrogators, see *Cod. Theod.* 16.12.3 (Sirm. 3); Jer. *In Ioel* 2.21/7; Schol. in *Juv.*, 6 480; cf., Cyprian, *Ep.* 66.7. For *haruspices* in the service of Roman magistrates, see C. Thulin, *RE* VII 2 (Stuttgart 1912) 2431-68 s.v. *haruspices*, esp. 2434 on *haruspices* serving republican commanders. It is similarly unclear whether other *haruspices* recorded in a military context (all but one from Lambaesis) are serving their commander as a governor or as a legionary legate.

⁵⁴ *Barcarius*: AE 1990 no.721 (a *mil(es) n(umeri) exp(loratorum) Bat(avorum)* serving the governor of Lower Germany at Cologne). *Equisio*: AE 1990 no.670b=Tab. *Vindol.* II 310.24. *Ostiarius*: AE 1990 no.733.

Standing a little apart were the *stratores* (grooms), who were normally legionaries (in legionary provinces) and perhaps ranked as *immunes*, and *singulares* (bodyguards) who were auxiliaries, temporarily detached from their units for up to three years,⁵⁵ and who perhaps remained ordinary *milites*. Both groups were sufficiently numerous to be organised as élite fighting units serving the governor. In the third-century, we also have evidence for legionary *protectores* (personal bodyguards), whose status is unclear.⁵⁶ All three groups, however, are occasionally found carrying out staff duties similar to those of other members of the *officium*, including *principales*.⁵⁷

In summary, therefore, the structure of the developed, third-century *officium consularis* was something like this

<i>principales:</i>	<i>cornicularii</i>	<i>commentarienses</i>
		<i>speculatores</i>
		<i>beneficarii</i>
		<i>frumentarii</i>
<i>immunes:</i>	<i>adiutores</i>	<i>stratores</i>
		<i>exceptores; notarii; librarii; exacti</i>
	<i>protectores</i>	<i>interpretes</i>
		<i>immunes</i>
		[<i>quaestionarii</i> (?)]
		[<i>haruspices</i> (?)]
<i>milites:</i>	<i>officiales/milites</i>	
	<i>singulares</i>	

Size of the *officium*

There appears to have been some regulation of the size of the provincial *officia* as early as the Julio-Claudian period. This can be deduced from a passage of Tacitus, who tells us that in A.D. 39, Caius Caligula removed the last remaining legion under senatorial control from the proconsul of Africa and gave it to an independent *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, who became de facto governor of Numidia. The number of staff appointments, however, was split equally between the two ('*aequatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus*').⁵⁸ The passage implies that there was a fixed number of *beneficia* in the gift of a provincial governor.⁵⁹ This was perhaps because the core appointments involved promotions to *principalis* rank, which carried double pay.

⁵⁵ This is deduced from comparison of the Dura rosters by M. Speidel, *Guards* (supra n.47) 6-11, esp. 7..

⁵⁶ *Stratores, singulares and protectores*: M. Speidel, "Stablesiani. The raising of new cavalry units during the crisis of the Roman empire," *Chiron* 4 (1974) 541-6; id., *Guards* (supra n.55).

⁵⁷ *Stratores* as grooms: SHA *Caracallae*, 7.2; Amm. Marc., 29.3.5; 30.5.19; *Cod. Theod.* 6.31.1; *stratores* inspecting horses for the army: Amm. Marc., 29.3.5; cf., R. Davies, "The supply of animals to the Roman army," *Latomus* 28 (1969), 429-59 esp. 451-52; *stratores* making arrests and as gaolers: *Act.Cypr.* 2.2-3; *stratores* in charge of fortifying a city: *AE* 1922 no.133; *IGRR* III 1287; cf., H.-G. Pflaum, "La fortification de la ville d'Adraha d'Arabie," *Syria* 29 (1952), 307-30; *stratores* outposted in *stationes*: *CIL* III 1674-6; 4365; 8244; 8249; 10221(?); 10945(?); 12672=14561; 13718; *AE* 1957 no.118; 1975 no.705(?); 1977 no.497; 1991 no.1379; *IGRR* III 1263. *Protector* as a courier: *P. Amh.* II 137.2; at the Brattia marble quarries: *AE* 1979 no.448; acting as a *beneficiarius* ('*pro bf*'): *ILJug.* 831. *Singulares* as messengers: *P.Oxy.* VII 1022; cf., *CIL* VI 3339; 3614; see M. Speidel, *Guards* (supra n.55) 44 with n.248; note also official lead sealings found at Carlisle whose stamps indicate that they were carried by *singulares*: *AE* 1988 no.842; 1991.1150; *RIB* 2411.91-3; *singularis* outposted in a *statio*: *AE* 1937 no.250; see M. Speidel, op. cit. 44-5, 102.

⁵⁸ Tac., *Hist.* IV 48; cf., Cass. Dio, LIX 20.7 and *CIL* VIII 2532, Hadrian's address to *legio III Augusta* in AD 128: '*quod omnibus annis per vices in officium pr[ocon]sulis mittitur*'.

⁵⁹ This is confirmed by two inscriptions of the early third century from Lambaesis: *AE* 1917/18 no.57 and *CIL* VIII 2586. The inscriptions list the governor's *officium* at two separate dates separated by a few years, with a Iulius Donatus appearing *quaestionarius* on both and a Caecilius Felix as *beneficiarius consularis* on *AE* 1917/18 no.57 but promoted to *speculator* on *CIL* VIII 2586. The lists nevertheless show exactly the same numbers of personnel for the core members

Inscriptions of the second and third centuries give some hint as to numbers appointed to the senior grades. An inscription from the one-legion province of Hispania Tarraconensis lists two *cornicularii*, two *commentarienses* and ten *speculatores*. Another (after A.D. 214) from the two-legion province of Lower Pannonia has twenty *speculatores*. A third (before A.D. 214) from the three-legion province of Upper Pannonia has three *cornicularii*, three *commentarienses*, and thirty *speculatores*. This strongly suggests that there was a normal allocation of one *cornicularius*, one *commentariensis*, and ten *speculatores* per legion, although other inscriptions suggest that, regardless of the number of legions, there were always either two or three each of the senior grades.⁶⁰

This may be compared with two inscriptions from Lambaesis, the capital of single-legion Numidia, which, as we have seen, shared its *officiales* with Africa Proconsularis. Both of the inscriptions list four *speculatores* and thirty *beneficiarii*, but these presumably represent only half the normal allocation of *officiales*. The other half, perhaps six *speculatores*, and thirty *beneficiarii*, were probably at the proconsul's headquarters in Carthage.⁶¹ If this is correct, then the full allocation of *beneficiarii* per legion would be sixty.

Although these calculations are partly speculative, they have the attraction of producing the satisfying ratios of one *speculator* per legionary cohort, and one *beneficiarius* per legionary century. Together with the *cornicularii* and *commentarienses*, they result in figures of 72-76 *principales* per legion for the core of the *officium*. To these must be added the *frumentarii*, for whose numbers our evidence is even slighter. The camp in Rome where they were housed while visiting on courier duties has capacity for at least ten *frumentarii* per legion, although a significant number must simultaneously have remained in the provinces.⁶² In the appointment of junior grades, for whom, as *immunes*, there were no cost implications, a governor may have had more leeway. Numbers are likely to have been quite large: we may compare an inscription from Lambaesis which lists 22 *librarii legionis*

of the *officium*: AE 1917/18 no.57 (of which the first section is missing) has 4 *speculatores*, 30 *beneficiarii consularis*, 6 *candidati*, 5 *ex frumentariis*, plus 4 *quaestionarii*, 5 *beneficiarii sexmestris* and 1 *haruspex*; CIL VIII 2586 has 2 *cornicularii*, 2 *commentarienses*, 4 *speculatores*, 30 *beneficiarii consularis*, plus 5 *quaestionarii*, 5 *beneficiarii sexmestris* and 1 *haruspex* (*quaestionarii* and *haruspices* perhaps appear because the governor was also the legionary legate; see above n.53; the *beneficiarii sexmestris* represent the staff of a *tribunus sexmestris*, attached to the governor for a six-month period; cf., CIL XIII 3162 and H.-G. Pflaum, *Le Marbre de Thorigny* (Paris 1948). The passage of Tacitus and comparison with *officia* elsewhere suggest that this was only a half allocation (see below). Further confirmation of the existence of a fixed quota of *beneficia* comes from the appearance on AE 1917/18 no.57 of *candidati* and *ex frumentariis* listed immediately after the *beneficiarii consularis*; both groups were presumably waiting for an opening amongst the *beneficiarii*. The phrase *ex frumentario* only ever appears attached to the rank of *beneficiarius consularis*, which seems to indicate that a number of promotions to *beneficiarius consularis* were reserved for former *frumentarii*: CIL III 3020=10057; VIII 17627; *Spomenik* 71(1931) no. 209; M. Mirkovic, "Beneficiarii consularis in Sirmium," *Chiron* 24 (1994) nos. 44; 47; cf., CIL II 4154=ILS 2369. Note also P. Mich. VIII 466, a papyrus letter of AD 107 in which a legionary who has applied to become a *librarius* on the staff of the governor of Arabia is told that there was no vacancy, but is appointed *librarius legionis* with hope of eventual promotion; see below with n.74.

⁶⁰ Hispania Tarraconensis: CIL II 4122. Lower Pannonia: CIL III 3524 (A.D. 228). Upper Pannonia: CIL III 4452 (A.D. 212). The following inscriptions have two *cornicularii*: CIL II 4122 (Hispania Tarraconensis, one legion); III 252=6754 (Galatia, no legions); III 7741=14479 (Dacia, two legions); VIII 2586; AE 1917/18.71 (Numidia, one legion); three *cornicularii*: CIL III 4452 (Upper Pannonia, 3 legions); 7394 (Thrace, no legions); XIII 6803 (Upper Germany, 2 legions); two *commentarienses*: CIL II 4122 (Hispania Tarraconensis, one legion) VIII 2586 (Numidia, one legion); cf., also II 4179 (Hispania Tarraconensis) referring to a *commentariensis ab actis civilibus*, which may imply the existence of another *commentariensis* dealing with military *acta*; three *commentarienses*: CIL III 4452 (Upper Pannonia, 3 legions); XIII 6803 (Upper Germany, 2 legions). On *speculatores*, CIL II 4143 (Hispania Tarraconensis, one legion) has eight and VII 24=RIB 19 (Britannia, three legions) has at least four, but both inscriptions are private monuments for dead colleagues, and may therefore not record a full complement.

⁶¹ See above n.59.

⁶² AE 1917/18 no.57 lists five *ex frumentariis* at Lambaesis, while a few inscriptions from Rome record the presence of three (CIL VI 3362; 33512) or two (CIL VI 3349; 3361) *frumentarii* from the same legion. For the evidence of the capacity of the Castra Peregrina, see T. Ashby and P. Baillie Reynolds "The Castra Peregrinorum," *JRS* 13 (1923) 152-67; A. Colini, *Storia e topografia del Celio nell'antichità* Att. Pont. ser. III, Mem. 7 (Roma 1944) 240-45 with fig. 202. The 1905-9 excavations revealed up to five sets of barracks, albeit of unusual plan, which implies room for at least five centuries or c.400 men. They would have housed men from up to 32 provincial legions, but not all of these will have been *frumentarii* since provincial *speculatores* are also recorded in the Castra. Nevertheless, the figure of 90-100 *frumentarii* present in the Castra at any one time, suggested by M. Clauss, *Untersuchungen* (supra n.20) 83 on the basis of the Rome inscriptions, appears to be too low. The empire-wide total of 50 *frumentarii* supplied by Lydus, *Mens.*I 26 (30) is as unreliable as most of that author's information concerning the principate.

on the staff of *legio III Augusta*.⁶³ Outside the main body were the *stratores*, who may have numbered one hundred per legion, and the auxiliary *singulares* who may have numbered five hundred for each legion in a province.⁶⁴

Overall, what evidence we have suggests that the main body of a provincial *officium* would have taken well over 100 personnel from each provincial legion. Thus there would have been 100 plus in a province like Hispania Tarraconensis or Arabia, 200 plus in the Germanies or the Pannonias (after A.D. 214), and 300 plus in provinces such as Britain or Syria.

Functions of the *officium*

The evident proportionality between a province's *officium* and its legions is of considerable significance, since it implies that its main task was to administer the army. The evidence for army bureaucracy under the Republic is very slight,⁶⁵ but as we have seen the early imperial staffs seem to have been put together from troops who had not previously had a specific staff function. The establishment of a standing army with permanent units under Augustus must have had a major impact on the army's bureaucratic requirements. Already in 13 B.C., when the retirement of the men recruited after Actium saw the replenishment rather than the disbanding of legions, the need for a continuing staff structure and permanent records would have become clear. A further stimulus would have been the reforms in the terms of service in A.D. 5 and the regularisation of discharge payments through the establishment of the *aerarium militare* in the following year. Once army units had developed annual or biennial recruitment and discharge of troops in order to keep up numbers, together with regular acquisition and supply of animals and equipment, a well-ordered bureaucracy became essential.⁶⁶

It is quite clear from the papyri found in Egypt and at Dura Europos in Syria, and now also the wooden tablets from Vindolanda and ostraca from Bu Njem, that the army developed bureaucratic systems to meet the demand. Individual units produced daily duty rosters and monthly or annual strength reports (*pridiana*). Accounts were kept and recruitment and transfers of both men and horses were recorded. Casualty lists were compiled and troop lists emended. Letters were sent and received, and copies filed. *Commentarii* and reference materials were archived.⁶⁷ With the governor's office responsible for the assignment of all new recruits and even of horses, and likewise for discharges,⁶⁸ and at the same time receiving, processing and filing reports and correspondence from, say, three legions and more than fifty auxiliary units in the case of a province like Britain, it is easy to see how more than 300 men could have been kept busy. All this was done for a thoroughly practical purpose, and filing systems had to and did work.

Reports and letters sent or received were individually docketed and glued together into rolls according to subject; the rolls were labelled or numbered and filed in numbered boxes or pigeon-holes.⁶⁹ That they could be and were retrieved is proved by documents bearing marks and amendments in several hands.⁷⁰ Whilst the construction of palaces for governors in many of the military provinces in the course of the first century A.D. would have facilitated the building-up of such archives,⁷¹ we know that documents could also be moved around the province. This is demonstrated by a glued roll of letters from the governor of Syria in 207-8, Marius Maximus, assigning horses to individual troopers of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*. Whilst at least one of these was sent from

⁶³ *CIL* VIII 2560; cf. 2626 with 28 veteran *librarii legionis*.

⁶⁴ Figures based on the discussion in M. Speidel, *Guards* (supra n.55) 11, 49 (*stratores*); 11-15 (*singulares*).

⁶⁵ R.Fink, *Roman military records on papyrus* (Cleveland, Ohio 1971) 6-8.

⁶⁶ On the emergence of a standing professional army under Augustus, see L. Keppie, *The making of the Roman army* (London 1984) 145-54.

⁶⁷ Papyri from Egypt and Dura: R. Fink, *Roman military records* (supra n.65), esp. 9-178 (duty rosters), 179-240 (strength reports), 241-347 (accounts and personnel records), 348-419 (correspondence), 420-29 (archives). Wooden tablets from Vindolanda: A. Bowman and J. Thomas, *Vindolanda: the Latin writing-tablets* (= *Tab. Vindol. I*) (London 1983); id., *The Vindolanda writing-tablets* (= *Tab. Vindol. II*) (London 1994); A. Bowman, *Life and letters on the Roman frontier* (London 1994). Ostraca from Bu Njem: R. Rebuffat and R. Marichal, "Les ostraca de Bu Njem," *REL* 51 (1973) 281-86; R. Marichal, *Les ostraca de Bu Njem. Libya Antiqua* Suppl. 9 (Tripoli 1992).

⁶⁸ Assignment of recruits: R. Fink, *Roman military records* (supra n.65) nos. 29 (= *P. Dur.* 121); 50, i 4 (= *P. Dur.* 89); 64, i 19-21, 31-3; ii 13-15 (= *BGU* II 696); 87 (= *P. Oxy.* VII 1022). Assignment of horses: idid. no. 83 (= *P. Dur.* 97); 99 (= *P. Dur.* 56); 100 (= *P. Dur.* 58). Discharges: *P. Oxy.* I 39.

⁶⁹ See E. Turner, *Greek papyri. An introduction* (Oxford 1968) 136-46.

⁷⁰ See R. Fink, *Roman military records* (supra n.65) 11-17.

⁷¹ N. Austin and B. Rankov, *Exploratio* (supra n.9) 161-69.

the provincial capital, Antioch, another was sent from Hierapolis (Membij) 20 miles west of the Euphrates, implying that Marius was still able to identify from there which men in the unit required horses.⁷²

There is thus incontrovertible evidence that Roman army bureaucracy was sophisticated and highly practical, because it had to be. There can be little doubt that its maintenance was one of the chief *raison d'être* and occupations of the governor's staff. Of course, once this bureaucracy and the concomitant administrative staff had been developed for the army and was in use in the provincial *officia*, it also became available for the administration of the governor's civilian functions. This is the great importance of the replacement of proconsuls with *legati Augusti*, and therefore of the *apparitores* with military *officiales* in most of the empire. It gave most of the empire a bureaucracy and administration which really worked.

We know that the military *officiales* were employed in a huge variety of activities reflecting the full range of a governor's responsibilities. Although it is certain that *cornicularii* headed the *officium*,⁷³ direct evidence for their duties is scarce. Their oversight of the archives is implied in the well-known letter of AD 107 sent by the newly recruited legionary soldier Julius Apollinaris to his father in Alexandria. The young man describes how he went to his commander, the governor of Arabia, and asked him to make him his *librarius*. The governor told him that there was no vacancy in his own *officium*, but that he would appoint him *librarius legionis* with hope of promotion. He was therefore attached '*pros ton kornikoularion*' in the legion.⁷⁴ In general, we may assume that *cornicularii* were involved in all aspects of the governor's work.

Commentarienses were probably more narrowly involved with keeping records of the governor's activities (*commentarii*).⁷⁵ The title of a *commentariensis* at Tarraco who is designated as *ab actis civilibus* implies that he was concerned with the governor's civil activity while his colleague in the post dealt with the military.⁷⁶ Mostly, they appear in a judicial context. In a papyrus of the early third century, the Prefect of Egypt orders his *commentarienses* to take a soldier accused of extortion into custody, and Ulpian quotes a rescript of Hadrian's in which the emperor forbids *optiones*, *speculatores* and *commentarienses* to profit from the personal effects of executed prisoners ('*pannicularia*', literally 'rags').⁷⁷ In connection with this, we may note that in the *Martyrdom of St Pionius*, which took place in Asia under Decius, the martyr disrobes in the presence of the *commentariensis* as he prepares for execution. Several other Martyr Acts record similar activity by *commentarienses* under the Tetrarchy.⁷⁸

Speculatores in the provincial *officia* were certainly used as couriers, especially between the provinces and Rome, occasionally on outpost duty like the *beneficiarii*, and in one instance as a sort of military police.⁷⁹ But their best known duty was as executioners, a task they apparently took over from the lictors. Their method was decapitation by the sword. They acquired this role very early on, since Seneca twice describes *speculatores* decapitating criminals, and St Mark even uses the word *spekoulatora* to describe the executioner of John the

⁷² R. Fink, *Roman military records* (supra n.65) no. 99.2 (Hierapolis) and 3 (Antioch) (= *P. Dur.* 56).

⁷³ On *cornicularii* at the head of the *officium consularis*, see above p.000 with nn.26-28 On *cornicularii* in general, see M. Clauss, *Untersuchungen* (supra n.22) 17-45.

⁷⁴ *Cornicularii* and archives: *P. Mich.* VIII 466; see G. Pighi, *Lettere latine d'un soldato di Traiano*, *P. Mich.* 467-72. *Nuova ed. critica e commento con la trad. latina di P Mich.* 465-466, 473-481, 485-387 (Bologna 1964) 98-102 and cf., R. Fink, *Roman military records* (supra n.65) no. 87 (= *P. Oxy.* VII 1022) in which the *cornicularius* of a cohort in Egypt notes on a copy of a document that the original is in the cohort archive ('*Avidius Arrianus cornicul(arius) coh(ortis) III Ituraeorum scripsi authenticam epistulam in tabulario cohortis esse*').

⁷⁵ On *commentarienses*, see R. Haensch 1995 (supra n.46). On *commentarii*, see A. von Premerstein, *RE* IV (Stuttgart 1901) 733ff s.v. *commentarii*; R. Haensch 1992 (supra n.6)

⁷⁶ *Commentariensis ab actis civilibus*: *CIL* II 4179

⁷⁷ *Sammelbuch* XIV 12949.27; *Dig.* 48.20.6 (Ulpian).

⁷⁸ *Pass. Pionii* 21; cf., *Pass. Claudii.* 1 and 5; *Pass. Crispinae* 1; *Pass. Agapes* 3; also Firm. Mat., *Math.* 3.5.26

⁷⁹ *Speculatores* as couriers: Tac. *Hist.* II 73; cf., [Caes.], *B.Afr.* 31.4 and Livy, 31.24 ('*speculator - hemerodromos vocant Graeci*'); note also a funerary monument depicting a *speculator* riding on a cart (*CIL* III 1650 with p.1021=*ILS* 2378) and the presence of *speculatores* at the Castra Peregrina in Rome: P. Baillie Reynolds, "The troops quartered in the Castra Peregrinorum," *JRS* 13 (1923) 168-89; S. Panciera, "Il materiale epigrafico dallo scavo di S. Stefano Rotondo," in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae* (Leiden 1979), 87-112, esp. 95; id., "*Genio castrorum peregrinorum*," *Acta Acad Hung.* 41 (1989) 365-83; *speculatores* in *stationes*: *CIL* III 138 + p.270 + 14385b (= *IGLS* IV (1967) nos. 2711-12); 3021; 3615; 8173; 13719; 14165¹¹; *AE* 1959.330; *AIJug.* 273; *Spomenik* 71 (1931) no. 513; *speculatores* as military police: SHA *Pescenni Nigri* 10. On provincial *speculatores* in general, see M. Clauss, *Untersuchungen* (supra n.22) 59-81.

Baptist under Herod.⁸⁰ We have already noted their association with executions in the rescript of Hadrian quoted by Ulpian, and St Cyprian was executed by a *speculator*.⁸¹

Most versatile of all were the *beneficarii consularis*.⁸² Inscriptions record their acting as custodians of the governor's household (*domicurius* or *domicurator*) and as assistants to the centurion in charge of his headquarters (*adiutor principis praetori(i)*) in Numidia.⁸³ The *Historia Augusta* tells how Servianus, the governor of Upper Germany, sent a *beneficiarius* to Trajan at Cologne to inform him of the death of Nerva.⁸⁴ Like other *officiales*, they were also employed as officers of the governor's court. In A.D. 259, Fructuosus, the bishop of Tarraco, and his two deacons were arrested by six *beneficarii* who were later charged with putting the martyrs to death at the stake.⁸⁵

A slightly more detailed, but not necessarily typical, picture can be derived from the Egyptian papyri. These reveal that there were epigraphically unattested *stationes* stretching all the way up the Nile from the Memphis to Ombos Elephantine, with the earliest, Apollinopolis Heptakomias, dating from the Prefecture of Q. Rammius Martialis between 117 and 119. The distribution does not lead us to expect involvement in military activity, nor is any recorded in the papyri. It appears that one officer was stationed in each nome, undertaking police duties, and receiving complaints about frauds, thefts and burglaries, conducting investigations and arresting wrongdoers.⁸⁶ We know that similar duties were also undertaken in Egypt by military decurions and centurions, and in one instance a *beneficiarius* is described as 'enepisteumenoï ten dekadarkhian', that is 'entrusted with the decurionate'.⁸⁷ It was, moreover, a special part of the duties of the *beneficiarius* to act as the local representative of the governor. Several papyri record payments being made to *beneficarii*, in the form of cash, clothing or provisions. Some of these were clearly 'sweeteners', but others were collected as *annona militaris* for the use of the *beneficiarius* himself or, in the case of larger payments, on behalf of the governor.⁸⁸ In 295, a woman demanded that a copy of her complaint to the *beneficiarius* about a robbery be forwarded to the governor's headquarters (*hegemonia*). Two other papyri reveal that it was the custom for those wishing to address a petition to the Prefect of Egypt to lay it at the feet of the imperial statue in the local temple of the imperial cult, from where it would be collected and forwarded by the local *beneficiarius*.⁸⁹

⁸⁰ *Speculatores* as executioners: Sen., *Ben.* III 25; *Ira* 1.18.4, cf., 1.16.15; Mark, *Evang.* 6.27; also *Act. Alex.* 11 A 2.12; Firm. Mat., *Math.* 8.26.6, cf., 4.11.4.

⁸¹ *Dig.* 48.20.6; *Act. Proc. Cypr.* 5.

⁸² On *beneficarii consularis* in general, see O. Hirschfeld, "Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich," *SitzBerlAkad.* (1891) 845-77, esp. 862-63 (= *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin 1913) 576-612, esp. 595-96); A. von Domaszewski, "Die Beneficiariereposten und die römischen Strassennetze," *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 21 (1902) 158-211; B. Rankov, *The beneficarii consularis in the western provinces of the Roman empire* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Oxford 1986); J. Nelis-Clément, *Les beneficarii de l'armée romaine* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Fribourg 1990); E. Schallmayer (ed.), *Osterburken I* (supra n.21); *Osterburken II* (supra n.21); J. Ott, *Die Beneficiariere* (supra n.19); R. Dize, "A reassessment of the functions of *beneficarii consularis*," *AncHistBull* 9 no. 2 (1995) 72-85; id., "Variation in Roman administrative practice: the assignments of *beneficarii consularis*," *ZPE* 116 (1997) 284-99.

⁸³ *Beneficarii domicurii*: *CIL VIII* 2797; *AE* 1917/18 no.52 and 76. *Beneficiarius..adiutor principis praetori(i)*: *AE* 1916.29; cf., *CIL III* 12679.

⁸⁴ *Beneficiarius* as messenger: SHA *Hadriani* 2; cf., *AE* 1976.503, a *beneficiarius consularis* of Upper Germany making a dedication to 'the presiding deity of the governor's stables' ('*genio catabul(i) co(n)s(ularis)*'), which implies that he had occasion to make use of them.

⁸⁵ *Beneficarii* as arresting officers: *Pass. Fructuosi* 1; cf., G. Lopuszanski, "La police romaine et les Chrétiens," *AntCl* 20 (1951) 13.

⁸⁶ See B. Rankov, "Die Beneficiariere in den literarischen und papyrologischen Texten" in *Osterburken II* (supra n.21) 219-32, esp. 227ff.

⁸⁷ See S. Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto* (Milan 1964) 156-57; R. MacMullen, *Soldier and civilian in the later Roman empire* (Cambridge, Mass. 1963) 52-53; R. Davies, "The investigation of some crimes in Roman Egypt," *Anc Soc* 4 (1973) 199-212 (= R. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army* (Edinburgh 1989) 175-85; R. Alston, *Soldier and society in Roman Egypt* (London-New York 1995) 86-96. '*Enepisteumenoï ten dekadarkhian*': *P.Cair.Isid.* 63.18-19.

⁸⁸ B. Rankov 1994 (supra n.86) 228-29

⁸⁹ *Beneficiarius* forwarding a complaint to the governor: *P. Oxy.* VIII 1121 r. 2 and 33; *beneficarii* collecting petitions from the temple of the imperial cult: *P. Amh.* II 80.12; *P. Oxy.* XVII 2130.21 and 23; see B. Rankov 1994 (supra n.86) 231. On petitions in Egypt, see R. Haensch, "Die Bearbeitungsweisen von Petitionen in der Provinz Aegyptus," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 487-546.

Beneficarii were similarly outposted from the capital in most of the frontier provinces. The earliest recorded instances appear to be Trajanic,⁹⁰ but there was a dense network of these *stationes* in several provinces by the late second and early third centuries.⁹¹ Since the majority of our evidence for the *stationes* in place comes from somewhat uninformative private dedications, their precise rôle in provincial administration has always been difficult to determine. Part of the problem is that they can have served no single purpose. In Dalmatia, Upper and Lower Moesia and Dacia, there are clear concentrations in the vicinity of silver and gold mines, and in Noricum in the territory of the iron workings around Virunum. Since silver and gold mines were normally an imperial monopoly, and iron workings were not infrequently exploited by the army, the *beneficarii* would probably have been operating within imperial estates.⁹² There are certainly *stationes* elsewhere which may have been situated on other types of imperial estate.⁹³

The majority of the *stationes*, however, is recorded in the vicinity of the military frontiers with *barbaricum*, and because of this they have been seen as customs posts.⁹⁴ There is no good evidence for this and hardly any overlap between the known *stationes* of the *beneficarii* and those of the *portorium*, most of which are located between provinces and customs districts rather than between the empire and the outside world. On the other, hand, a great many *stationes* are situated either on major military roads or in the vicinity of auxiliary forts.⁹⁵ There is also evidence that two or three *beneficarii* might simultaneously be stationed together at major route nodes and at legionary fortresses.⁹⁶ These considerations, and the apparent spread of the network at the time of the crises of the late second and early third centuries, suggest a more military purpose.

One explanation consistent with this pattern is that they were involved in liaison between the governor and his army. Since *beneficarii* usually undertook only a limited tour of duty at such posts before returning to the provincial capital (six months in Upper Germany),⁹⁷ a governor could usually expect to have men with up-to-date knowledge of his frontier installations and districts present at his headquarters. This would have been invaluable in a situation where governors regularly came from outside the province and changed every three years. In

⁹⁰ M. Mirkovic 1984 (supra n.59) nos.25; 37 (Sirmium, Lower Pannonia).

⁹¹ See A. von Domaszewski 1902 (supra n.82) (whole empire); E. Ritterling and E. Stein, *Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat* (Wien 1932) 78-83; A. Betz, *Untersuchungen zur Militärgeschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien* (Baden 1938) 68; Á. Dobó, *Die Verwaltung der römischen Provinz Pannonia von Augustus bis Diocletianus* (Budapest-Amsterdam 1968) 159-66; J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London 1969) 122-27; A. Mócsy, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior* (Amsterdam 1970) 24 with Abb. 7; Á. Dobó, "L'officium consularis en Dacie," *ActClassDebrec.* 14 (1971) 59-62; Ph. Filtzinger, "Römische Strassenstation bei Sigmaringen: Beneficiarierinschriften im rechtsrheinischen Obergermanien," *Fundberichte aus Schwaben* NF 19 (1971) 196-206 with Abb. 11-17; G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (London-Boston 1974) 163, 252-53; S. Frere, *Britannia* (3rd ed. London-New York 1978) 202 n.4; B. Rankov, *Beneficarii consularis* (supra n.81) (western provinces); R. Dize, *Cultural change and imperial administration: the middle Danube provinces of the Roman empire* (New York 1991); E. Schallmayer, "Die Beneficiarier in Obergermanien" in *Osterburken II* (supra n.21) 161-91; B. Rankov 1994 (supra n.86) 222-32 (Egypt); J. Ott, *Die Beneficiarier* (supra n.19) 85-113 (whole empire); N. Austin and B. Rankov, *Exploratio* (supra n.9) (whole empire); 195-204; R. Dize, "The *beneficarii procuratoris* of Celeia and the early development of the *statio* network," *ZPE* 95 (1996) 286-92 (Noricum); id., "The recruitment and deployment of *beneficarii consularis* in the Danube provinces," *AncW*(forthcoming).

⁹² On *beneficarii consularis* in mining districts, see B. Rankov, "A contribution to the military and administrative history of Montana," in A. Poulter (ed.), *Ancient Bulgaria. Papers presented to the international symposium on the ancient history and archaeology of Bulgaria, University of Nottingham, 1981* Part 2 (Nottingham 1983) 40-73, esp. 49-51; J. Ott, *Die Beneficiarier* (supra n.19) 151-5.

⁹³ E.g. at Tricciana (Ságvár) in Lower Pannonia (*CIL* III 13364; cf., *Cod. Theod.* 11.36.26) and at Domnesti in Dacia (*AE* 1930 no.11; cf., 1930 no.10). See B. Rankov 1983 (supra n.92) 49; J. Ott, *Die Beneficiarier* (supra n.19) 151.

⁹⁴ S. de Laet, *Portorium: étude sur l'organisation de douanière chez les Romains, surtout à l'époque du Haut- Empire* (Bruges 1949), 140, 208, 266, 268, 307, 337, 376, 417, 449.

⁹⁵ See above n.91.

⁹⁶ Two *beneficarii* in *stationes* at major route nodes: Siscia (Upper Pannonia): *CIL* III 10842(?); 10843; 15181; Savaria (Upper Pannonia): *AE* 1947 no.30; Sirmium (Lower Pannonia): M. Mirkovic 1984 (supra n.59) nos. 16; 17; 18; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 32; 53; 74; 76. Note also, *CIL* XIII 6628, a dedication by two *beneficarii consularis* at Obernburg am Main on the Upper German frontier (it is possible, however, that the reason for the joint dedication may not have been that they served together, since they both men were C. Iulii and may therefore have been related). Two or three *beneficarii* at legionary bases: Vetera (Lower Germany): *CIL* XIII 8621; Bonna (Lower Germany): *AE* 1930 no.26; Argentorate (Upper Germany): *CIL* XIII 11630 (three *beneficarii*); Singidunum (Upper Moesia): *AE* 1964 no.261.

⁹⁷ Length of tours of duty: H. Lieb, "Expleta statione" in M. Jarrett and B. Dobson, *Britain and Rome: studies presented to Eric Birley on his sixtieth birthday* (Kendal 1965) 139-44; P. Herz, "Neue Benefiziarier-Altäre aus Mainz," *ZPE* 22 (1976) 191-99; B. Rankov, *Beneficarii consularis* (supra n.81) 243-50; M. Mirkovic 1994 (supra n.59) 248-51; R. Dize 1997 ("Variation") (supra n.81).

particular, the *beneficarii* would have been useful in ensuring the maintenance of a flow of intelligence from the frontiers.⁹⁸ In this context, one may note the *beneficarii* recorded at Risingham north of Hadrian's Wall, at Deutz across the Rhine from Cologne, the capital of Lower Germany, at Transaquincum, across the Danube from the capital of Upper Pannonia, in the El Kantara gap in Numidia, and at the outpost fort of El Gahra in Mauretania Caesariensis.⁹⁹ Also of possible relevance is the former *beneficiarius consularis* who was appointed to be *trierarcha* at Brigetio, the site of a legionary fortress opposite which the outpost fort of Celamantia was constructed on the northern bank of the Danube under Marcus.¹⁰⁰ A similar purpose must have been one of the reasons behind the stationing of *beneficarii* of the governor of Lower Moesia at Charax and Chersonesos in the Crimea in the second century. They presumably oversaw the supply of corn to the empire from this region and at the same time kept a watch on the adjoining Bosporan kingdom and its Scythian neighbours.¹⁰¹

A number of *beneficarii consularis* had previously served as *frumentarii*,¹⁰² who are, indeed, sometimes found performing similar functions. Under the Decian persecutions, for instance, Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, was arrested by a *frumentarius* of the Prefect of Egypt, and, according to one of his own letters, Cyprian, after his arrest, was escorted by *frumentarii* to face trial at Utica.¹⁰³ *Frumentarii* could also sometimes be outposted in *stationes*.¹⁰⁴ Their primary function, however, was to act as couriers, especially between the provincial governor and the emperor at Rome.¹⁰⁵ In this, they acted alongside the *speculatores*,¹⁰⁶ and both may have been employed to accompany Roman citizen prisoners to Rome. A special camp was built to house them in Rome, apparently in early second century A.D., possibly by Trajan.¹⁰⁷ Probably at the same time, they were organised into a unit, known as the *numerus frumentariorum*, while they were based at Rome.¹⁰⁸ The *numerus* had its own *centuriones frumentarii* and a commander who was a senior legionary centurion and held the title *princeps peregrinorum*.¹⁰⁹ Emperors soon began to use the *frumentarii* for their own purposes, including political espionage and even, apparently, assassinations.¹¹⁰ More mundanely, they were employed to oversee imperial building

⁹⁸ See N. Austin and B. Rankov, *Exploratio* (supra n.9) 195-204.

⁹⁹ Risingham: *CIL* VII 996=RIB 1225; Deutz: *CIL* XIII 8494; Transaquincum: *CIL* III 3617; El Kantara: *AE* 1925.125; El Gahra: *CIL* VIII 18025.

¹⁰⁰ 'Trierar[cha]... ex b(ene)ff(iciario) c[o(n)s(ularis)]' at Brigetio: *CIL* III 4319

¹⁰¹ Charax: *IAntOrSeptPontEux*. I 674; 675; 676; *AE* 1967 no.430; Chersonesos: *AE* 1967 no.434.

¹⁰² See above n.59. On *frumentarii* in general, see P. Baillie Reynolds, "The Castra Peregrinorum," *JRS* 13 (1923) 152-67; id., "The troops quartered in the Castra Peregrina," *ibid.*, 168-89; W. Sinnigen, "The origins of the *frumentarii*," *MAAR* 27 (1962) 213-24; J. Mann, "The organization of the *frumentarii*," *ZPE* 74 (1988) 149-50; B. Rankov, "Frumentarii, the Castra Peregrina and the provincial *officia*," *ZPE* 80 (1990) 176-82.

¹⁰³ Arrest of Dionysius of Alexandria: Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 6.11.22; 40.4; escort of Cyprian to Utica: *Cypr. Ep.* 81.1; see G. Lopuszanski 1951 (supra n.85) 22-23 with 23 n.3.

¹⁰⁴ *Frumentarii* in provincial *stationes*: *CIL* III 2823; 3020=10057 (Dalmatia); *AE* 1980no.828=*IScythMin.* V 239 (centurion, Lower Moesia); *CIL* III 7041; *AE* 1907 no.35=*ILS* 9474 (centurion) (Asia); further *frumentarii* are attested on grave monuments or in other contexts where it is less clear that a *statio* is indicated. It should be noted that neither Dalmatia nor Asia had its own legionary garrison, and that the governor of the former had to borrow his *officiales* from neighbouring provinces, while the variety of recorded legions of the Asian *frumentarii* suggests that the proconsul received his from Rome. It may be that the use of *frumentarii* in *stationes* was not the norm for governors who had their own body of *beneficarii*.

¹⁰⁵ *Frumentarii* as couriers: *CIL* III 2063 with 8581=*ILS* 2370 (Dalmatia): ('*cucurrit frum(entarius) ann(is) XL*'); *CIL* III 14191 (Asia): ('*Iulius P]hi[lippus P.F. Aug(ustus)]...M. Au[r(elio) Neglecto] pe[r] Didymum mili[t]e[m] f]rum(entarium)*'); *P. Mich.* 472 (Egypt): '*Cl(audius) Tiberian[us] Longino Prisco domin[o]...quam [tibi] da[tur]us est epis[tula]m qui est [Se]m[pro]nius Clemen[s] frument[ar]ius*', cf., *P. Mich.* 469 which reveals that Claudius Tiberianus was a *speculator*; *SHA Maximi et Balbini* 10.3, cf., Herodian 7.7.5. Cassius Dio calls the *frumentarii* either *grammatophoroi* (79.14.1; 34.7) or *angeliaphoroi* (79.15.1; 39.3). Note also the *frumentarius* shown riding on a cart on a funeral monument from Lower Pannonia: *CIL* III 3241; cf., below p.000 with n117. for a similar depiction of a *speculator*.

¹⁰⁶ See above n.79.

¹⁰⁷ See above n.62.

¹⁰⁸ *Numerus frumentariorum*: *CIL* VI 3341; XIV 125=*ILS* 2223; M. Mirkovic 1994 (supra n.59) 44; 47.

¹⁰⁹ Officers of the *numerus frumentariorum*: *optio peregrinorum*: *CIL* VI 3324; 3328; VIII 1322=14854; XI 1322; *exercitator militum frumentariorum*: *CIL* VIII 1322=14854; *centurio frumentarius*: *CIL* II 484; 4150; III 1180=7795; 1980; 2063; 4787; 7041; VI 423; 428; 1063; 1636; 3326; 3331; 3351; 30947; 31036; 32870a; 36776(?); 36853; VIII 2825; X 6657; XI 1322; 5215; 5216; *AE* 1907 no.35; 1910 no.77; 1936 no.61(?); 1977 no.171; *subprinceps peregrinorum*: *CIL* III 1180=7795; VI 354; 1110(?) 3329; XI 5215; 5216; *princeps peregrinorum*: *CIL* II 484; VI 354; 428 (*agens vice*); 1110(?); 3325; 3326 (*v(icem) a(gens)*); 3327; 30423(?).

¹¹⁰ Political espionage: *SHA Hadriani* 11; *Macrini* 12; *Claudii* 17.1; cf., Cass. Dio 78.17.1; 79.15.1. Assassins: *SHA Commodi* 4.5; *Didii Iuliani* 5.8; *Pescennii Nigri* 2.6, cf., *CIL* X 6657=*ILS* 1387 and see Th. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften. Juristische Schriften III* (Berlin 1907) 104; Herodian 3.5.4-5. The doubts about the value of the evidence in

projects and quarrying, and groups were apparently sent out from Rome to Asia where they acted as a sort of police force and were the subject of a number of epigraphically recorded complaints of extortion.¹¹¹ They may also have acted as a sort of political police on the emperor's behalf when they returned to their own provinces and rejoined their provincial *officia*. The ethos engendered at the Castra Peregrina may explain why some appointments to *beneficiarius consularis* seem to have been reserved for *frumentarii*,¹¹² thus planting a cadre loyal to the emperor within the staff of every military (and therefore potentially rebellious) governor in the empire. By the end of the third century, the *frumentarii* had become deeply unpopular throughout the provinces and were disbanded by Diocletian, to be replaced by the even more notorious *agentes in rebus*.¹¹³

About the activities of the rest of the *officiales* we know relatively little. *Stratores* sometimes carried out duties like those of the *beneficarii* when not acting as grooms or as an elite guard; *singulares* could carry messages when not performing as the governor's bodyguard.¹¹⁴ The *adiutores* presumably acted as general assistants to the *princeps praetorii* and the *cornicularii*. The *notarii* and *exceptores* presumably took shorthand and did much of the writing; the *librarii* and *exacti* presumably kept the accounts and looked after all the records discussed earlier. The various supernumerary members carried out the special tasks assigned to them.¹¹⁵

What is striking is the great variety of jobs being undertaken by the third century, when our evidence is fullest. This reflects not only the natural tendency of bureaucracies to mushroom, but also perhaps the growing complexity of job of the provincial governor. It is not easy to divide up into neat categories all the tasks of the *officium* which are recorded or can be deduced. Army command and administration, cross-border diplomacy, internal political security, civilian administration, the processing and execution of criminal justice, day-to-day policing and simple liaison with the provincial population are all represented in the recorded work of the *officiales*. The senior ranks, in particular, did not concentrate on any one area, although there does appear to be greater specialisation amongst the *immunis* grades. But whatever their grade, they were expected to carry out whatsoever the governor required of them, which would vary from time to time and province to province. They were the governor's men.

The *officium* and its symbol

As the governor's men, the *officiales* were the executive branch of Roman government in the provinces. The symbol of this appears to have been the lance, an ancient symbol of Roman might.¹¹⁶ Ceremonial lances (so-called 'Beneficiarierlanzen') are depicted on a number of inscriptions of the *frumentarii*, *beneficarii consularis* and *speculatores*.¹¹⁷ The memorial stone of a *speculator* from Viminacium, capital of Upper Moesia even shows the deceased riding on a cart with a servant behind him carrying his lance.¹¹⁸ The depictions frequently show a

the Historia Augusta which are expressed by F. Paschoud, "Frumentarii, agentes in rebus, magistriani, curiosi, veredarii: problèmes de terminologie" in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1979/81* (Bonn 1983) 215-43, ignore the corroborating evidence of Dio and Herodian, and in particular Dio's remarks about the unsavoury reputation of the *frumentarii* in his day (79.15.1).

¹¹¹ *Frumentarii* overseeing building: *CIL* III 1980=ILS 2287 (Dalmatia); ILS 9473 (Achaëa); overseeing quarrying: *CIL* XI 1322 (Luna, Italy); cf., III 4787; 4861 in an iron mining region of Noricum and *AE* 1936 no.61 near the Djebel Dokhan porphyry quarries in Egypt; policing in Asia: *CIL* III 433 ('agens curam carceris'); 7041; 7042; 14191; *AE* 1907 no.35=ILS 9474 ('hekatontarkhon phroumentarion hagnos kai andreios anastraphenta en toi tes Asias ethnei'); *AE* 1933 no.256=1984 no.838 ('frument[arius] ... a]gens cu[ram] custod[ia]rum'); complaints about *frumentarii* in Asia: *AE* 1964 no.231; *IGRR* IV 1368; J.Keil and A von. Premerstein, *Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien und den angrenzenden Gebieten Ioniens, ausgeführt 1911* (Wien 1914) nos.11; 28.

¹¹² See above n.59.

¹¹³ *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 39.44: 'remoto pestilenti frumentariorum genere, quorum nunc agentes rerum simillimi sunt. Qui cum ad explorandum annuntiandumque equi forte in provinciis motus existerent instituti viderentur, compositis nefarie criminationibus, iniecto passim metu, praecipue remotissimo cuique, cuncta foede diripiebant.'

¹¹⁴ See above p.000 with nn.55-56.

¹¹⁵ See above p.000 with nn. 47-54.

¹¹⁶ See A. Alföldi, "Hasta - summa imperii. The spear as embodiment of sovereignty in Rome," *AJA* 63.1 (1959) 1-27; id., "Vom Speerattribut der altrömischen Könige zu den Benefiziarierlanzen" in *Limes-Studien. Vorträge des Internationalen Limes-Kongresses in Rheinfelden/Basel 1957* (Basel 1959) 7-12.

¹¹⁷ *Frumentarii*: *CIL* III 3241 (showing a *frumentarius* sitting on a cart and carrying a lance); 5579; *beneficarii consularis*: *CIL* III 6376=8656; 12895; XIII 1909; 6557; 6628; 7400(= ILS 4192a); 7731; 11777; *speculatores*: *CIL* III 1650 with p.1021 (= ILS 2378) (showing a *speculator* sitting on a cart with a servant carrying his lance); 9401; *AE* 1914 no.75; 1945 no.88.

¹¹⁸ *CIL* III 1650 with p.1021 (= ILS 2378).

bulbous lance-head perforated with decorative slits or holes, perhaps with a small cross-bar just below the point, while the shaft often has a hooked handle attached, as on a military standard, to facilitate lifting and fixing in the ground.¹¹⁹ It has been suggested that such lances were carried by these three grades because only they operated away from headquarters.¹²⁰ But these are also the most numerous and best attested grades epigraphically, and it may be that all the *principales* at least in the *officium* were entitled to one. Moreover, small bronze belt-fittings in the form of perforated lance-heads, and pendants in the form of similar lance-head from which is suspended a miniature sword of third-century type, have been discovered in several provinces.¹²¹ These were perhaps worn by the governor's *officiales* in general as a badge of their status. A bronze seal-box in the form of a 'Beneficiarierlanze' has been found in Ostia, where there was a *statio* of *frumentarii*, perhaps to receive fellow couriers arriving from around the empire.¹²² Finally, a few full-size perforated lanceheads have been discovered which can justifiably be claimed as 'Beneficiarierlanzen.' The most convincing of these are both from Upper Germany, one from Ehl an der Ill (now in the Wiesbaden Museum), and the other from Osterburken, found on the very edge of a sacred precinct full of *beneficiarius*-altars which was discovered there in 1982.¹²³

Conclusion

The lance told any civilian who saw it, or any soldier for that matter, that he was dealing with the representative of the governor, and ultimately of the emperor. The power it implied was awesome and backed by military force. The *officialis* who held it was always a soldier, usually a legionary, and ensured that, for the majority of the inhabitants of the empire, Roman administration and bureaucracy had a military face. By the late second century, this was, indeed, true not only for the provinces but for Italy also. The grandees who had become the three most senior judicial officers of the empire - the *Praefectus vigilum*, the *Praefectus praetorio* and the *Praefectus urbi* - were all served by military staffs, drawn from their own cohorts.¹²⁴ It can be no accident that, following the separation of civilian and military command in the later third century, even the civilian *officia* adopted or maintained a military form, with *officiales* enrolled in nominal military units, wearing military uniform and bearing military ranks.¹²⁵ This was, in part, a reflection of the success of the military *officia*. Like the republican *apparitores*, their officers may not have been averse to a little graft and extortion. And sometimes, they may have become bogged down by the sheer weight of the bureaucracy which grew up around them, although that is not really obvious from the evidence which we possess. But there is no doubt that the military *officia* were fully and professionally manned, that their filing systems could and often did work, and that they got things done, in the civilian as in the military sphere. For many provincials, the most potent symbol of Roman rule would not have been a dusty archive in the capital, but the governor's man and his lance.

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¹¹⁹ See K. Eibl, "Gibt es eine spezifische Ausrüstung der Beneficiarier?" in *Osterburken II* (supra n.21) 273-91.

¹²⁰ E. Ritterling, "Ein Amtsabzeichen der *beneficiarii consularis* im Museum zu Wiesbaden," *BJb* 125 (1919) 23ff, esp. 33.

¹²¹ Belt fittings and pendants: G. Behrens, "Mars-Weihungen in Mainzer Gebiet," *MZ* 36 (1941) 8-21; K. Raddatz, "Anhänger in Form von Ringknaufschwerten," *SaalbJb* 12 (1953) 60-65; H. Hundt, "Nachträge zu den römischen Ringknaufschwerten, Dosenortbändern und Miniaturschwertanhängern," *SaalbJb* 14 (1955) 50-59; J. Oldenstein, "Zur Ausrüstung römischer Auxiliareinheiten," *BerRGK* 57 (1976) 152-57.

¹²² Seal box from Ostia: Museum Ostiense Inv. 3940 (photograph in K. Eibl 1994 (supra n.118) 285 Abb. 16); *statio n(umeri) frumentariorum* at Ostia: *CIL* XIV 125=ILS 2223.

¹²³ Ehl an der Ill: E. Ritterling 1919 (supra n.119) 9-37; Osterburken: E. Schallmayer, *Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg 1983* (1984) 175 with Abb. 165; id., *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf* (Stuttgart 1985) 407 no.15 with Abb. 607; K. Eibl 1994 (supra n.118) 278-79 with Abb. 6 a-b; 294 Anhang Nr. 3.

¹²⁴ *Praefectus vigilum*: W. Ensslin, *RE* XXII 2 (Stuttgart 1955) 1340-47 s.v. *Praefectus vigilum*; R. Sablayrolles, *Libertinus miles. Les cohortes de vigiles* (Paris 1996) 67-136, esp. 103-21. *Praefectus praetorio*: L. Howe, *The Pretorian Prefect from Commodus to Diocletian (A.D. 180-305)* (Chicago 1942); S de Laet, "Les pouvoirs militaires des préfets du prétoire et leur développement progressif," *RBPh* 25 (1946/47) 509-54; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977) 122-31. *Praefectus urbi*: E. Sanders, *RE* XXII 2 (Stuttgart 1955) 2502-34 s.v. *Praefectus urbi*; G. Vitucci, *Ricerche sulla praefectura urbi in età imperiale (saec.I-III)* (Roma 1956).

¹²⁵ A. Jones 1949 (supra n.3); id. *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* (Oxford 1964) 563-606, esp. 586-601.