INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106
STEINER, Albert Paul, Jr., 1938-
THE VIGINTIVIRATE DURING THE EMPIRE: A
STUDY OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1973
History, ancient

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

© 1974
ALBERT PAUL STEINER, JR.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED.
THE VIGINTIVIRATE DURING THE EMPIRE
A STUDY OF THE EPIGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Albert Paul Steiner Jr., A.B., M.S.

The Ohio State University
1973

Reading Committee: Approved By
Professor Charles L. Babcock
Professor Mark P. O. Morford
Professor Kenneth M. Abbott

Advisor
Department of Classics
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to Professor A. E. Gordon and my adviser, Professor C. L. Babcock, for their initial suggestion which led to this dissertation. In addition, Professors Babcock, Mark P. O. Morford, and Kenneth M. Abbott have furnished careful guidance and appreciated cooperation in all stages of this work. I am also grateful for the kind assistance of Mrs. Inez Longobardi, the librarian of the American Academy in Rome where the major portion of the dissertation was completed.

Most of all, however, I must thank my wife, Mary Ann for her patience, encouragement, and sharing in the long years of study without which this dissertation could not have been possible.
VITA

July 3, 1938 . . . Born-Cincinnati, Ohio

1960 . . . . . . . . A.B., Saint Meinrad College, Saint Meinrad, Indiana


1964 . . . . . . . M.S. Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana

1966 . . . . . . . Fulbright Scholarship to the summer session at the American Academy in Rome.

1968-1973 . . . . Teaching and Research Associate, Department of Classics, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ............................................. ii
VITA ........................................................................ iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ......................................... v
INTRODUCTION ................................................... 1

Chapter

I. THE VIGINTISEXVIRATE ..................................... 6
   The Individual Offices
   Triumviratus Capitalis
   Triumviratus Consularis
   Quattuorviratus Viarum Curandarum
   Duumviratus Viis Extra Urbem Furqandis
   Quattuor Praefecti Capuan Cumas
   Decemviratus Stlitibus Iudicandis
   Summary

II. THE EMPIRE ................................................ 57
   The Development under the Julio-Claudians
   The Imperial Concept of the Vigintivirate
   Ranking among the Offices
   Age for Office Holders
   The Vigintivirate and the Tribunatus Militum
   The End of the Vigintivirate
   The Holders of Multiple Offices
   Fragments Assigned to Specific Offices
   Summary Remarks

III. PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE VIGINTIVIRI ............ 108

IV. CONCLUSIONS ............................................. 156

APPENDIX

A. ............................................................... 169
B. ............................................................... 190

BIBLIOGRAPHY ................................................ 199
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE
L'Annee Epigraphique.

Birley

Bruns

CAP
triumvir capitalis

CIL
Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

EE
Ephemeris Epigraphica.

I fasti

II
Inscriptiones Italicae.

ILA
Inscriptions latines d'Afrique.

ILLRP

ILS

JAEOI
Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien.

JRS
Journal of Roman Studies.

Leges
see Bruns7.

MON
triumvir monetalis

MRR

OCD2

PBA
Proceedings of the British Academy.


RE  Pauly's Real-Encyclopedia der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Rh. Mus.  Rheinisches Museum.

Scriptores  see Bruns7.

STL  decemvir_stlitibus_judicandis

StR  T. Mommsen. Roemisches Staatsrecht. Leipzig, 1887.


VIA  guattuorvir_viarum_curandarum

( )  numbers in parentheses following inscriptions, the names of individuals, and footnotes refer to the individual identification numbers in Appendix A.
This investigation is primarily designed to examine the epigraphical evidence for the history of the Vigintivirate during the Empire. While it is focused on the Empire, a chapter concerning the origins and development will assist in understanding the imperial Vigintivirate, and will serve as a foil to it. I have not concerned myself with a detailed investigation of the peculiarities and everyday workings of the various offices. I have, rather, attempted to present a sketch of the origins and development of the various offices through the use of epigraphical, numismatic, and literary sources. This has been done to familiarize the reader with the status of the magistratus minores at the beginning of the Empire, and to identify all known republican vigintisexviri.

The investigation of the imperial Vigintivirate will in general follow the same format as the chapter dealing with the Republic, i.e. a discussion of the development of the Vigintivirate from the Vigintisexvirate. This will include the reasons for the dating
of the initial change, the role of the Vigintivirate in the senatorial cursus honorum, the connection between the vigintiviri, and the tribuni militum, the age and requirements for becoming a vigintivir, and the reasons for the date of the termination of the Vigintivirate.

At the same time a corpus of all known vigintiviri will be presented,\(^1\) together with as complete a chronological list by individual office as is possible.\(^2\) This will permit consideration of the following areas:

1. the relationship between social rank and the individual offices in the Vigintivirate;
2. the holding of the Vigintivirate and the tribunatus militum as it affects the subsequent senatorial career;\(^3\)
3. the relationship between the individual offices of the Vigintivirate and the subsequent senatorial career.

These data will show the gradual development of unique characteristics within the careers of the individual vigintiviri by which it will become possible to demonstrate that each office in the Vigintivirate led to a

---

\(^1\)Appendix A, pp. 169-189.
\(^2\)Appendix B, pp. 190-198.

\(^3\)By senatorial career I mean the senatorial cursus honorum, the senatorial priesthoods, and the various imperial appointments which were reserved for members of the Senate.
slightly different career pattern. It will be shown that this is based on family status, military service, and administrative aptitudes. With regard to the first two relationships, there can be no doubt. A person was either partician or plebeian, he either served as a *tribunus militum* or he did not. These two criteria played a major role in the development of his career. The third is more of an enigma. We do not know the bases on which the young men were chosen for the Vigintivirate during the Principate. Certainly family background and imperial favor must have played a large part, but in a quest for a loyal and competent Senate a view of the administrative potential of a young political aspirant who might one day be *legatus legionis* or *proconsul Africae* must also have weighed heavily in the criteria for selection. Unfortunately we can only speculate on the selection process, and remark that it seems to have been successful, whatever it was, since for some 250 years it consistently produced senators who were adequate to the various imperial assignments given them. The long progress through the *cursus honorum* must have eliminated a number of the less capable, but since the Senate was basically responsible for replenishing
itself, it seems probable that this initial selection process was done after careful scrutiny.

There have been studies concerning the individual offices of the Vigintivirate and their relationship to other positions in the senatorial career. These studies, however, are based on a much more limited body of evidence than I have been able to assemble. While their findings are important for a basic understanding of the relationship involved, they must be reexamined and altered in the face of newly discovered evidence. It must be noted that although I have collected over four hundred individuals who held an office of the Vigintivirate, this represents roughly 8% of the total.


It is possible that some of the fragments listed on pages 187-189 are actually duplicates of identifiable inscriptions. None of these fragments, however, has to my knowledge been assigned to individuals known in PIR.
number of vigintiviri during the Empire. While this does present a sizeable body of material with which to work, it must be kept in mind that it only represents a small, yet significant, portion.

My intent, then, is to establish a corpus of the vigintiviri, to determine as far as possible their chronological sequence, and to determine the career tendencies or patterns for each of the offices of the Vigintivirate, through an examination of identifiable elements in the careers of individual vigintiviri and the career characteristics of each of the four offices of the Vigintivirate.

---

6 If the twenty posts were filled each year from 13 B.C. until A.D. 250, there would have been some 5260 vigintiviri.
CHAPTER ONE
THE VIGINTISEXVIRATE

The term Vigintisexvirate is a late specification for twenty-six minores magistratus who ranked below the office of quaestor. This term may not have existed until after the time of Cicero. The fact that the offices were established at various periods would indicate that the collective term did not come into being until after the individual offices were created and their permanence assured. The term appears in literary sources only twice. Dio Cassius mentions it in connection with the Augustan political reforms of 13 B.C., which included the abolition of the Vigintisexvirate and the establishment of the Vigintivirate.\footnote{Dio Cass. 54. 26. 6; cf. n. 11.} It is also used by Festus concerning the word praefecturae.

Quarum genera fuerunt duo: alterum, in quae solemant ire praefecti quattuor, qui viginti sex virum numero populi suffragio creati erant,
in haec oppida: Capuam, Cumas, Casilinum, Volturnum, Liternum, Puteolos, Acerras, Suessulam, Atellam, Calatiam.

I know in inscriptions of only five surviving examples of *vigintisexviri* and all have been dated to the end of the Republic or the beginning of the Empire.

1. [T(itus)] Titius T(iti) f(ilius) Ser(gia tribu) Tappo XXVI vir/...(362)

2. C(aius) Papirius C(aii) f(ilius) Clu-(stumina tribu) Carbo tr(ibunus) mil-(itum)/ XXVI vir q uaestor) pro pr(aetore)/...(281)

3. A(ulus) Castricius Myrio/ Talenti f(ilius) tr(ibunus) mil(itum) praef(ectus) eq uitum)/ et classis mag(norum) colleg(iorum) Luper cor(um) et Capitolinor(um) et Mercurial(um) et paga/nor(um) Aventin(orum) XXVI vir/...(81)

4. ...lius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Pup(inia tribu) Clemens Scr(iba) XXVI/ [virum trib(unus)] mil(itum) a populo IIvir iure dicundo Carsulis...(97)

5. Q(uinto) Caecilio Q(uinti) f(ilio) A[nien(si tribu)] tr(ibuno) mil(itum) XXVI viru[m]...(53)
The main points to be noted in these inscriptions are that the office occurs at the beginning of the *cursus honorum*, either before or after the *tribunatus militum*, and that in none of the examples is it in any way connected with a specific office within the aggregate college.

Both the inscriptions and the literary references tell us little more than that the *minores magistratus* during the time of Augustus or shortly before were known collectively as the Vigintisexvirate. There are instances of the specific epigraphic and numismatic mention of the individual offices during this same period, but there has been no satisfactory explanation for the coeval use of the collective and the individual term. Mommsen is uncertain as to the date when the term first began to be used, but he is of the opinion that it came very late in the development of the offices.10 It is clear, however, that the term must have existed for some time prior to the reforms of Augustus, who, by abolishing two now unnecessary offices and reducing the remaining offices to their pre-Caesarean level, created the Vigintivirate. Thus he was able to maintain a semblance of connection between the new regime and the traditional republican

offices.

Dio Cassius gives us both titles, calling the magistrates: οἱ δὲ δὴ εἰκοσιοί οὕτωι ἀνδρεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἔξ' καὶ εἰκοσίων εἶσιν.11

The general duties of these minores magistratus were outlined by Cicero while describing his concept of the ideal government, but without mentioning either their collective or individual titles. There is no doubt that Cicero is reflecting those good and necessary elements of the res publica Romana in his imagined state. These abstractions became much more specific in Dio Cassius.

**CICERO**12

Minoris magistratus partiti
iuris plures in ploera
sunt. Militiae quibus
iussi erunt, imperanto
eorumque tribuni sunt:
domi pecuniam publicam
custodiunto,

vincula sontium servanto,
capitalis vindicanto,

**DIO CASSIUS**13

οἱ δὲ δὴ εἰκοσιοί οὕ-
tοι ἀνδρεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἔξ'
καὶ εἰκοσίων εἶσιν.

1. οἱ τε τρεῖς οἱ τὰς τοῦ
θανάτου δίκας προστεταγ-
μένοι,

12Cicero _De leg._ 3. 3. 6.
aes, argentum, aurumve
publice signanto,

litis contractas iudicanto

quodcumque senatus creverit, agunto.

The Latin titles of the offices of the Vigintisex
virate, in the order listed above from Dio, are:

1. IIIviri capitales;
2. IIIviri monetales;
3. IIIviri viarum curandarum;
4. Xviri stilitibus iudicandis;
5. IIviri viis extra urtem purgandis;
6. IIII praefecti Capuam Cumas.14

---

For a further discussion of the Greek rendering of Latin words, cf. David Magie, De Romanorum iuris
publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum
sermonem conversis (Leipzig 1905) 28-29 and 97-98.
Magie has cited thirty-two examples of either the aggregate college or individual magistracies of the Viginti- and Vigintisexvirate. H. J. Mason, "The Roman govern-
ment in Greek sources," Phoenix 29 (1970) 150-159, defends the varied Greek translations of precise Roman
terms on the basis of literary respectability, although he gives no examples relating to the above mentioned
offices. By literary respectability Mason means that the Greeks were less concerned with the accurate descrip-
tion of the office involved than they were in the classical form of their language.
Although these titles will be used throughout the general discussion, they are not the only ones which were employed by the Romans. The various forms in which they appear will be treated in the discussion of the several offices.

Although the evidence for the Vigintisexvirate *per se* is limited and can do little more than point to its existence as a college at some point in the late Republic, the development of the individual offices which comprised the college can be based on sounder evidence.

The following is a brief sketch of the individual offices of the Vigintisexvirate summarizing their origin, development, and range of competence up to the reforms of Augustus. It will provide the backdrop against which to discuss the Vigintivirate as it developed during the first two and one-half centuries of the Empire. There is a major problem concerning the dating of the original offices, and evidence which seemingly gives conclusive proof for one office will be inappropriate for another. This will become abundantly clear in the ensuing discussion.
THE INDIVIDUAL OFFICES:

TRIUMVIRATUS CAPITALIS

The **triumviratus capitalis** appears to have been established in 290 B.C., in the consulship of Curius Dentatus: **triumviri capitales tunc primus creati sunt**.\(^{15}\) It must be pointed out that this source must be used with caution, as it is considered 'slightly 'contaminated' \(^{16}\) 'with further chronological, anecdotal, and antiquarian data.'\(^{17}\) There is, however, general consensus that these men were also known as **triumviri nocturni**.\(^{18}\) Their duties under this title are quite specific.

\[\text{Apud vetustiores incendiis arcendis triumviri praerant, qui ab eo quod excubias agebant nocturni dicti sunt: interveniebant nonnumquam et aediles et tribuni plebis.}\(^{19}\)

---

\(^{15}\) *Livy Per. 11.*

\(^{16}\) A. H. McDonald, *OCD* \(^2\) **s.v.** 'Livius.'

\(^{17}\) A. H. McDonald, *OCD* \(^2\) **s.v.** 'Periochae.'

\(^{18}\) Cf. Hans Schaefer, *RE* 8 A. 2, col. 2572, who is in full accord with the identification of the two offices as one.

\(^{19}\) Paulus, *Dig.* 1. 15. 1.
Possumus et ad illos brevi deverticulo trans-gredi, quos leves ob causas damnationis incursus abripuit. M. Mulvius (251), Cn. Lollius (222), L. Sextilius (342) triumviri, quod ad incendiam sacra via ortum extinguendum tardius venerant, a tribunis pl. die dicta apud populum damnati sunt.20

Item P. Villius(379) triumvir nocturnus a P. Aquilio tribuno pl. accusatus populi iudicio concidit, quia vigilias negligentius circumierat.21

The connection is also established in the account of the incidents which led up to the Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus of 186 B.C.

Triumviris capitalibus mandatum est, ut vigilias disponerent per urbem servarentque, ne qui nocturni coetus fierent, utque ab incendiis caveretur; adiutores triumviris quinqueviri uls cis Tiberim suae quisque regionis aedificiis praessent.22

Their connection with the cursus honorum is also related:

vigiliarum nocturnarum curam per urbem minoribus magistratibus mandavimus.23

---

20 Val. Max. 8. 1. Damn. 5. The context clearly indicates that the triumviri involved can only be the triumviri nocturni. The date is 241 B.C.

21 Val. Max. 8. 1. Damn. 6. The date is 211 B.C.


If we accept the date of 290 B.C. for the establishment of the *triumviratus capitalis*, a major problem develops with Cn. Flavius Cn. f. (144), who is reported to have been a *triumvir nocturnus* sometime between 312 and 305 B.C. Concerning him we find:

> quem aliquanto ante desisse scriptum facere arguit Macer Licinius tribunatu ante gesto triumviratibusque, nocturno altero, altero coloniae deducendae. ²⁴

Because of the conflicting evidence, it would seem better to accept the existence of the office prior to 290 B.C., especially since the *Periochae* have been considered to be suspect in some of their material. It has, however, been pointed out ²⁵ that Livy himself has earlier questioned the reliability of his source, Gaius Licinius Macer: *Quaesita ea propriae familiae laus leviorem auctorem Licinium facit.* ²⁶

If the 290 B.C. date is rejected, the earlier passage is probably a truer reflection of the actual situation that there was in existence at Rome, far earlier than 290 B.C., a college of men who were responsible for the *carcer* and night vigilance. If the epitome, however, is not rejected, but the words *creati*

²⁴Livy 9. 46. 3.
²⁵Mommsen, StR 2. 1³, 594, n. 4.
²⁶Livy 7. 9. 5.
sunt are interpreted as meaning "electo" rather than "established", the problem is then greatly lessened. This could then indicate not only the pre-existence of the office, but also the fact that in 290 B.C., it became an elective rather than an appointive position.

A later source, Pomponius, yields little to assist in the problem of dating. In a seemingly chronological account of the origin of all the magistrates is found:

...creatus est et alius praetor, qui peregrinus appellatus est ab eo, quod plerumque inter peregrinos ius dicebat. Deinde cum esset necessarius magistratus qui hastae praecessent, decemviri litibus iudicandis sunt constituti. Constituti sunt eodem tempore et quattuorviri qui curam viarum agerent, et triumviris monetales aeris argenti auri flatores, et triumviri capitales qui carceris custodiam haberent, ut cum animadvertere oporteret intervenire eorum fieret. Et quia magistratibus vespertinis temporibus in publicam esse inconveniens erat, quinqueviri constituati sunt cis Tiberim et ultis Tiberim, qui possint pro magistratibus fungi. Capta deinde Sardinia, mox Sicilia, item Hispania...  

This puts the establishment of the offices which were later to comprise the Vigintivirate in the Empire to some time between 242 and 227 B.C.

Because there is no independent evidence to support or reject any of the above dates, this must remain for

27Pomponius, Dig. 1. 2. 28-32.
us as much of a problem as it seemingly was for the Romans. The Roman tradition unquestionably reflects the probable gradual development from rudimentary offices in the very early Republic. From a group of colleges which may not have been fixed in number of members, duration, qualification, or competence, there slowly evolved the various offices of the republican Vigintisexvirate sometime during the third century B.C. This same problem will occur again in the discussion of the remaining offices, with the exception of those of the IIII praefecti Capuam Cumas, and the IIvirii viis extra urbem purgandis, evidence for which is not based on these same sources.

The basic function of the triumviri capitales was with the carcer and the execution of criminals, as their title capitalis clearly indicates. The Lex Papiria de sacramentis, which Mommsen dates to between 242 and 123 B.C., shows their ability to attach bail and level fines for the state and individuals.

Sacramentum aes significat, quod poenae nomine penditur, sive eo quis interrogatur, sive contendit; id in aliis rebus quinquaginta asium est in alius rebus quingentorum inter eos, qui iudic(io) inter se contenderent. Qua de re lege L. Papiri tri(ibu)ni pl(ebis) sanctum est his verbis: 'Quicumque praetor posthac factus erit,

---

28 Str R 2. 13, 580.
qui inter cives ius dicet, tres viros capi­
tales populum rogato, hique tres viri [capi­
sunto, uti ex legibus plebeique scitis exi­
gere iudicantque, esse esseque oportet".29

This law also shows that they were elected by the
Comitia Tributa. They had the authority to question and
arrest:... in eum invadunt et hominem ante pedes C.
Manli (232), qui tum erat triumvir constituunt.30 The
poet Naevius came under their jurisdiction because of
his taunts of the Metelli.

Sicuti de Naevio quoque accepimus fabulas eum
in carcere duas scripsisse, Hariolum et Leontem,
cum ob assiduam maledicentiam et probra in
principes civitatis de Graecorum poetarum more
dicta in vincula Romae a triumviris coniectus
esset.31

The Catilinarian conspirators also were their charge:

tresviros quaе [ad] supplicium postulabat parare iubet.32

They seem to have enjoyed some prominence during
the Republic as they are mentioned ahead of the IIIiviri

28 Festus in Bru. Scriptores, 34.
30 Cicero Pro Cluent. 13. 38. The date is 77 B.C.
31 Gellius 3. 3. 15.
32 Sallust Cat. 55. 1.
agris dandis assignandis in the *Lex Latina tabulae Bantinae* and the *Lex Acilia repetundarum*, both of which date from the last third of the second century B.C. This ranking could, however, place all ordinary or annual offices ahead of *ad hoc* offices. This then would put the *triumviri capitales* at the lowest rank of the ordinary magistracies, and thus no significance can be attached to their mention before the *Ilii viri agris dandis assignandis*. It must also be pointed out that the above lists make mention only of the *triumviri capitales*, and no other magistrates of the Vigintisexvirate. Because of the nature of the laws and the other magistrates mentioned, the only public officials involved seem to be those who by virtue of their office either possess *imperium*, have *imperium* delegated to them, or are involved in the executive or legislative branches of government.

We also know that the following were republican *triumviri capitales*:

- C. Pescennius (286)\(^{34}\)
- M. Terentius Varro Reatinus (361)\(^{35}\)

\(^{33}\)Bruns: *Leges*, 54 and 59-78.

\(^{34}\)Val. Max. 6. 1. 10 (149 B.C.?).

\(^{35}\)Gell. 13. 12. 6 (ca. 95-90 B.C.).
L. Calpurnius (66); C. Lucilius (226); L. Sernveilius L(uci) f(ilius) L(uici) n(epos) (339).

In 44 B.C. Julius Caesar increased the number of members within several of the colleges of the magistracies: *minorum etiam magistratum numerum ampliavit.*

P. Paquius Scaeva (282), who was *praefectus aerarii* some time before 13 B.C. is the only recorded *IIIvir capitalis.* Not only is the office itself unusual but its position in his *cursus honorum* is so rare that the inscription spells it out in precise detail.

---

36 Val. Max. 8. 4. 2.
37 CIL 12, 2204.
38 CIL 12, 841. The dates of the last three magistrates are uncertain, as is the field of competence of Servilius. He is only known to have been a *IIIvir.*
39 Suet. Caesar 41.
Cypri fetialis consobrinus idemque vir Flaviae
Consi filiae/ Scaepulae neptis/ Barbi proneptis
simul cum ea conditus

This shows without doubt the serious political uncertainty during the early Augustan period. Not only was it necessary for one man to serve in several offices of the Vigintisextvirate, but these offices were also held after the office of quaestor and not necessarily in ascending order of importance.

Another example of this uncertainty is shown by the early career of C. Propertius Postumus (312).

C(aius) Propertius Q(uinti) f(ilius) T(itii)
n(epos) Fab(ia tribu) Postumus/ IIIvir cap-
(italis) et in sequenti anno pro/ IIIvir(o
capitali) q(uaestor) pr(aetor) desig(natus)
ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) viar(um) cur(ator)
pr(aetor)/ ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) pro
aed(ilibus) cur(ulibus) ius dixit
proco(n)s(ule)41

---

CIL 9. 2845.

41 CIL 6. 1501. It has been suggested that this Postumus and the one mentioned in Propertius 3. 12 may be same. This is possible if the reduction of the offices is separated from the reforms of 13 B.C. Cf. n. 37. If he was in his late teens when setting out to the East with Augustus in 22 B.C., a date ca. 20 B.C. would be appropriate for holding the initial offices, but a date after 13 B.C. would make him too old for these. It may be assumed that the reason for the abolition of the two offices was to prevent the recurrence of instances like those of Paquius and Postumus, who may have been required to serve a second year at this level because of a dearth of candidates.
This office must then have been held and repeated after the augumented colleges were reduced in size and may well have come before the abolition of two of the offices of the Vigintisexvire in 13 B.C.\(^{42}\) Because there is numismatic evidence for the existence of the **IIIviri monetales**, another of the augumented offices, by 20 B.C.,\(^{43}\) it can be held that all the augumented offices were first reduced to their original number ca. 20 B.C. and then in 13 B.C. the Vigintisexvire was dissolved and replaced by the Vigintivire. This permits the acceptance of both the numismatic and literary evidence.

It can be safely held that the **triumviri capitales** were minor police officials who were in charge of the **carcer**, were responsible for executions, collected bail and fines for the state, and were also charged with fire watches, chiefly at night. The office existed at least by the end of the fourth century B.C., if not earlier. A fourth member was added to the college in 44 B.C. by C. Julius Caesar. About 20 B.C. it was again a **triumviratus** and in 13 B.C. it became one of the offices of the Vigintivire. The **triumviri capitales** functioned

\(^{42}\)Cf. n. 13.

\(^{43}\)Karl Pink, "The Triumviri Monetales and the structure of the coinage of the Roman Republic," *Numismatic Studies* 7 (1952) 1-78, esp. 44-46.
out of their headquarters near the *columna Maenia* at the Basilica Porcia.\textsuperscript{44}

**TRIUMVIRATUS MONETALIS**

Numismatic studies have established that Roman coinage probably began in the first decade of the third century B.C.\textsuperscript{45} This necessarily calls for some office which was to supervise the process of coinage. If the chronology of Pomponius\textsuperscript{46} is rejected, but the idea of codevelopment is not, a date of 290 B.C. can perhaps be accepted for the *triumviri monetales* by using Livy *Per.* 11.\textsuperscript{47} The full title for the *triumviri monetales* was *triumviri aere argento auro flando feriundo* which is

\textsuperscript{44}Cicero *In Caec.* 16. 50; Ps. Ascon. *In Caec.* 16. 50.


\textsuperscript{46}Cf. n. 27.

\textsuperscript{47}There is some confusion in the literature as to whether the statement of Livy refers to 289 or 290 B.C. I am following the consular dating of T. Robert S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* 1 (New York 1951) 183.
normally abbreviated IIIvir a.a.a.f.f. This could have been the original title because all three metals came to be used for coinage at about the same time, although it is more probable that coinage in bronze antedated that of silver and gold. Sydenham puts little trust in the theory of the origin of the office in 290 B.C. based upon a "circumstantial statement such as that of Pomponius."

Another view, however, while accepting the beginning of the third century B.C. as the initial stage in the development of Roman coinage, assigns the emergence of the triumviri monetales to 210 B.C. or later, and names

---

48 H. Keil, Grammatici Latini 4 (Leipzig 1864) 273. This is a citation from M. Valerius Probus, De litteris singularibus. Cicero, De leg. 3. 3. 6 (cf. n. 12) has the same order in his discussion of the minores magistratus. Hans Schaefer, RE 8 A. 2, col. 2574, erroneously cites it as auro argento aere flando feriundo. Purser in OCT, Cic. Ad fam. 7. 13. 2 has the order aere argento auro, although the MS tradition varies on this point. He suggests that Cicero may have written AAA. While there are only a few instances in inscriptions where this abbreviation is filled out, in most cases it reads aere argento auro.

49 E. A. Sydenham, The Coinage of the Roman Republic, (London 1952) xlviii-xl. H. Mattingly, however, rightly points out that IIIvir a.a.a.f.f. only very rarely occurs and then only in the late Republic, but that those men who appear on coins are considered to be IIIvir monetales unless otherwise designated (Appendix H, 274 of the same book).
the **triumviri mensarii**, who functioned from 216 to 210 B.C., as their predecessors.\(^50\) These men formed an *ad hoc* college to meet a specific crisis during the Second Punic War.

et Romae quoque propter penuriam argenti trium-
viri mensarii rogatione M. Minuci tribuni plebis
facti, L. Aemilius Papus, qui consul censorque
fuerat, et M. Atilius Regulus, qui bis consul
fuerat, et L. Scribonius Libo, qui tum tribunus
plebis erat.\(^51\)

Schaefer, however, rightly points out that the existence
of the **triumviri mensarii** does not preclude the existence
of the **triumviri monetales**, because, in fact, their
duties do not really coincide.\(^52\) They could very easily
have functioned side by side, or the **triumviri mensarii**
could have temporarily replaced the **triumviri monetales**.
It must be noted also that those who held the **triumvir-
atus mensarius** are far different in their political
make-up from what would be expected for **minores magis-
tratus**. This college had members of too much authority
and experience for it to become the source of the **trium-
viratus monetalis**, an office which was an entry point to

\(^{50}\) Pink 50.

\(^{51}\) Livy 23. 21. 6.

\(^{52}\) RE 8 A. 2, col. 2575.
the *cursus honorum*. The linking of the new currency system to a new office *ca.* 210 B.C. is an interesting hypothesis, but not the only answer. The new currency system could also coincide with the beginning of annual tenure in office by the *triumviri monetales*, the date of which has been suggested to be as late as the Social War.\(^{53}\) It is obvious that the *triumviri monetales* had duties to carry out in connection with the mint and treasury—other than those attested in their formal title. The mere lack of coinage in a particular year does not demonstrate the non-existence of the college, but only that there was no need for new coinage. They also were responsible for the issuance of money from the *aerarium* and for the proper withdrawal of coinage being called in. In all respects they functioned under the quaestor and were charged with the regular coinage.\(^{54}\) It has thus been long assumed that any coin not indicating the contrary is the product of the *triumviri monetales*.

In addition to years when apparently there was no new issue of coinage, Mommsen uses the absence of their title in the *Lex Latina tabulae Bantinae* and the *Lex*

\(^{53}\)Mommsen, *StR* 2. 1\(^3\), 601.

\(^{54}\)Pink 63.
Acilia repetundarum\textsuperscript{55} to reason that the triumviratus capitalis was the only permanent office of the Vigintisextvirate before at least 118 B.C.\textsuperscript{56}

The triumviri monetales were originally appointed to their posts, but later in the Republic the office became elective. Although they were subject to the quaestor, they were not appointed by him, because he too was a minor magistratus.\textsuperscript{57}

While numismatic evidence presents us with a sizeable list of triumviri monetales,\textsuperscript{58} literary and epigraphic remains are scarce. In addition to the ones cited above, a punning mention of them is found in Cicero: Treviros vites censeo; audio capitalis esse; mallem aere argento auro essent.\textsuperscript{59} This indicates quite pointedly the

\textsuperscript{55}Bruns\textsuperscript{7}; \textit{Leges}, 53-55 and 55-72.

\textsuperscript{56}For a complete discussion cf. CIL\textsuperscript{1\textsuperscript{2}} p. 441. Mommsen contends that the offices of the Vigintisextvirate with the exception of the triumviratus capitalis, were either not yet yearly or were appointed by higher magistrates.

\textsuperscript{57}Pink 53. Cicero, \textit{De leg.} 3. 3. 6, clearly indicates that the quaestor is also a minor magistratus: domi pecuniam publicam custodiunto. Cf. my discussion of this problem on pp. 53-55.


\textsuperscript{59}Cicero \textit{Ad fam.} 7. 13. 2.
differing roles of the *triumviri capitales* and *triumviri monetales*.

On the basis of two passages from Cicero, Mattingly and Pink have suggested that Vettienus was the only Republican moneyer who did not issue coins in his name.  

Vettienum mihi amicum, ut scribis, ita puto esse. Cum eo, quod ἄπορόμως ad me scripserat de nummis curandis, ἑυμικάτερον eram iocatus; id tu, si ille aliter accepit ac debuit, lenies. ΜΟΝΕΤΑΛΙ autem adscripsi, quod ille ad me PRO COS: sed quoniam est homo et nos diligit, ipse quotque a nobis diligatur.

Vettienum accusat *(tricatur scilicet ut monetalis)*. Cicero himself has said that he used the title *monetalis* as a joke, and had previously used the correct title in a situation where a pun on *capitales monetales* would have been in place. There is no evidence during the Republic for the use of *monetalis* either within the title, or as the entire title. The question of the joke involved in the title is the pointing out that Vettienus is money-hungry, and not that he is a *triumvir 'monetalis'*.  

61 Cicero *Ad Att.* 10. 11. 5.  
Another factor to be considered in the debate in that *monetalis* is an emendation probably proposed by Schütz. MSS M, s, and R, read *ut homo talis*.\(^64\) The reading of M, s, and R fits the character of a money-hungry Vettienus much better and confirms the joke.

The earliest epigraphic evidence for the existence of the office is:

\[
[C(aius) Claudius Ap(pii) f(ilius) C(aii) n(epos) Pulcher] quae\v is \text{IIIvir a(ere) argento a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo) aedi\(lis\) cur(ulis) iudex quaestionis venefici\(s\) pr\(aetor\)/ repetund\(is\) curator v\(I\)s sternund\(i\)s co\(n\)s\(u\)l cum M\(a\)rco\]
\]

Claudius (85) was consul in 92 B.C. Coins bearing his name have been found and dated to ca. 106 B.C.\(^66\)

This inscription must indicate that the title was considered to be *triumvir a\(e\)\(r\)e\_\(a\)rgento\_\(a\)uro\_\(f\)\(a\)ndo\_\(f\)\(e\)riundo* by this time, and the use of the abbreviated form on an inscription suggests that the office is fairly


\(^{65}\) CIL 6. 1283=31586.

well established under this title by the beginning of the first century B.C.

Marcus Fonteius (153) has been described in terms which suggest that he could have been a *triumvir monetalis*.

Duorum magistratum, quorum uterque in pecunia maxima tractanda procurandaque versatus est, triumviratus et quaesturae ratio sic redditur... 67

By evidence in the speech he is known to have been quaestor in 86 B.C. It has been noted, however, that the description of Fonteius as a *triumvir* also fits that of a *triumvir agris dandis assignandis*. 68 There are, unfortunately, no coins issued in the name of Marcus Fonteius. He is, however, listed as a *monetalis* by Broughton. 69

The first occurrence of the legend *IIIvir* on coinage is noted ca. 70 B.C. 70 It is found on coins of regular issue until 44 B.C. when the *triumviratus monetalis* was

---

67 Cicero *Pro Font.* 3. 5.
68 Pink 7-8.
69 MRR 2. 440.
70 Pink 37-38.
increased in number to four, as was the *triumviratus capitalis*. This is clearly evidenced in coins of the years 44-41 B.C., during which period the legend *IIIvir a.a.a.f.f.* first appears.\(^7^1\) The office then disappears from coins until it reemerges ca. 20 B.C. and continues until ca. 3 B.C.\(^7^2\) In 8 and 7 B.C. there are in fact *IIIvir monetales* at work, although the legend *IIIvir* is on the coins.\(^7^3\) During the Empire the office is attested only epigraphically.

The *triumvir monetales* had headquarters at the Temple of Juno Moneta on the Arx. It was here that the mint was located, and from the epithet 'Moneta' the mint and the moneyers derived their names. The *triumvir monetales* usually assumed their office at age 27,\(^7^4\) but there is epigraphical evidence for the holding of the office at a younger age, before military service, at least in the Empire.

Roman coinage, then, developed during the first decade of the third century B.C. Sometime between ca.

\(^7^1\) Pink 39-44.
\(^7^2\) Pink 44-48.
\(^7^3\) Pink 48.

\(^7^4\) H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, 1 (London 1910), lxiii.
290 B.C. and 210 B.C. the **triumviratus monetalis** developed as a college, although the office was not unquestionably annual. It became an annual office at the latest by the Social War, but probably much earlier. The **triumviri** are first attested epigraphically by CIL 6 1283=31586, and the first numismatic evidence points to ca. 70 B.C. for the initial use of the legend **IIIvir a.a.a.f.f.** A fourth member was added to the college in 44 B.C. and this number remained for several years. The mint was closed at Rome during the Civil War, so that the **triumviri monetales** ceased to function. About 20 B.C. the mint was again opened and regular coinage was issued showing the abbreviation **IIIvir a.a.a.f.f.** until ca. 3 B.C. Most of the moneyers known are from the last two centuries of the Republic.  

Although Schaefer contends that little importance was attached to the office as an entry point to the senatorial **cursus honorum,** recent studies have shown an increasing connection between the **triumviri monetales** and the later **cursus honorum,** especially during the period

---

75 For a more detailed discussion, Pink 48-66, is extremely valuable. It is the most detailed and recent account of the office. As a supplement, Hans Schaefer, RE 8 A. 2, col. 2574-2578 should be consulted.

76 RE 8 A. 2, col. 2576.
80 to 50 B.C., a time when the prominent use of coinage as propaganda developed. This trend seems to point to this office as the most influential of the minor magistracies, even during the Republic.

**QUATTUORVIRATUS VIARUM CURANDARUM**

The earliest possible dating for the *IIIviratus viarum curandarum* can be either ca. 290 B.C. on the evidence of Livy or the period 242-227 B.C. on the evidence of Pomponius. The office is not mentioned by Cicero, although it may be included in the phrase: *quodcumque senatus creverit agunto*. The title is then attested in the account of Dio Cassius. The earliest date that can be established epigraphically for the existence of the office is 45 B.C. In the *Lex Julia Municipalis* is found:


78 Per. 11.
79 Cf. n. 27.
80 Cf. n. 12.
81 Cf. n. 13.
Quo minus aed(iles) et IIIvir(ei) vieis in urbem purgandeis, IIvir(ei) vieis extra pro-
piusve urbem Rom(am) passus (M) purgandeis, queiquomque erunt, vias publicas purgandas
curent eiusque erunt, vias publicas purgandas
uraent eiusque rei potestatem habeant, ita
ter legibus pl(erei)ve sc(itis) s(enatus) (ve)
c(onsultis) oportet oportebit, eum h(ac)
lege) n(ihilum) r(ogatur) 82

In the same lex the quattuorviri are also called
the magistrates of the aediles:

... aedilium eorumve mag(istratum), quei vieis
loceisque publiceis u(rbis) R(omas) p(ropius)ve
u(rbeis) R(omae) p(assus) M purgandeis
praerunt...83

On the basis of this law, their original title seems
to have been quattuorviri viis in urbem purgandis. This
later became quattuorviri viarum curandarum. There is
no evidence to indicate whether the number of members in
the college was increased by Caesar in 44 B.C. When the
Vigintisexvirate was reduced in number by Augustus, the
quattuorviri viarum curandarum were retained as magis-
trates of the Vigintivirate.

I have found the name of no holder of this magis-
tracy during the Republic, although there is a substan-
tial number to be found during the Empire. The lack of

82 Bruns7: Leges, 105.
83 Bruns7: Leges, 106.
epigraphical evidence for holders of the office has been taken to indicate that it developed later in the Republic, although the paucity of inscriptions from the Republic gives no firm basis for such an assertion. The quattuorviri seem to have had a close administrative connection with the triumviri capitales, since both functioned under the aedile. Later epigraphical evidence points to the fact that the triumviri capitales and the quattuorviri viarum curandarum had the same assistance.

1. ...Ti(berius) Claudius Secundus coactor cum Ti(berio) Claudio Tiberio Quir(ina tribu) Secundo f(ilio) viatoribus IIIvir(is) et IIIIvir(is)...

2. ...viat(or) IIIvir(um)/ cap(italium) et/ IIIIvir(um) via[r(um)]/ cur(anderum)

3. C(aii) Valerii C(aii) fil(i) A/nie(nsi tribu) Karini fil(i) piis/simi q(ui) v(ixit) a(nnis) XXX/ m(ensibus) X d(iebus) XXV Karinus/ p(ater) viat(or) IIIvir(um) IIIIvir(um)/...

---

84 Schaefer, RE 8 A. 2, col. 2574.
85 Mommsen, 'De apparitoribus magistratum', Rh. Mus. 6 (1848) 1-57.
86 CIL 6. 1936.
87 CIL 6. 1938.
88 CIL 6. 1937.
4. Libe[r]o patri Procliiano sacrum/ C(aius)
Avillius C(aii) f(ilius) Romilia (tribu)
Ligurius/ Lucanus pater viator III viralis/
IIII viralis sacerdos Isis et/...89

5. Sex(to) Caecilio/ Epagatho/ scrib(ae) lib-
(r(ario) tribunicio/ apparitori Caesarum/
scrib(ae) libr(ario) quaestorio) III
decur(iarum) viat(or) III vir(um) et IIII
vir(um) scrib(ae) libr(ario) aed(ilium)
curulium/...90

Karlowa is of the same opinion as Mommsen regarding
the sharing of assistants by the triumviri capitales and
the quattuorviri viarum curandarum.91

---

89CIL 6. 466.
90CIL 6. 1808.
91Otto Karlowa, Römische Rechtsgeschichte, (Leipzig
1885) 1. 264. One inscription, however, does cause some
confusion in this matter.
L(ucio) Mario L(uci) fil(io),/ Gal(eria tribu),
Vegetino/ Mariano Mini/ciano, co(n)s(uli),
c(larissimo) v(iro),/ praet(or), leg(at)o
provin(ciae) Baetic(ae), leg(at)o leg(ionis)/
XXII Primig(eniae), praef(ecto) frum(enti)
dand(i), trib(uno)/ pleb(i), quaest(or) urb(a-
no),/ triumvir(o) kapit(ali), a(ere) a(rgento)
a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo) f(ormando?),/ viatores
qui ei/ apparu[erunt]. (CIL 6. 1456)
Mommsen suggests (ad loc.) that the third F may be inter-
preted as meaning formando as a part of the proper title,
and also that this inscription indicates the holding of
both offices because of a lack of suitable candidates.
It is quite possible that Marius Vegetinus (238)
held both offices, so whether the viatores were the ones
assigned to the individual offices or were shared between
the triumviri capitales and the triumviri monetales can-
not be determined. The phrase c.V. and the reference to
legio XXII Primigenia without the epithet pia fidelis
indicates a date in the late first or early second century
prior to Hadrian. There seems to be no other indication
of a lack of candidates during this period. For a further
mention of Marius Vegetinus see pp. 92-93.
Closely associated with the *quattuorviri viarum curandarum* are the *duoviri viis extra urbem purgandis*. They are first mentioned in the *Lex Iulia Municipalis* of 45 B.C. The office probably existed earlier than this, but is later in origin than the *quattuorviris viarum curandarum*, having been formed to cope with the developing city. The office of the *duoviri viis extra urbem purgandis* was abolished by Augustus in 13 B.C. Mommsen, however, suggests that the date of the elimination of the office may have been as early as 20 B.C. when the *curator viarum* was established.

No holders of the *duumviratus viis extra urbem purgandis* have as yet been identified by name.

---

92 Cf. nn. 82. and 83.
93 Cf. n. 13.
94 StR. 2. 13, 604.
95 Dio Cass. 54. 8. 4.
Livy records the establishment of this magistracy in 318 B.C.

Eodem anno primum praefecti Capuam creari coepti legibus ab L. Furio praetore datis, cum utrumque ipsi pro remedio aegris rebus discordia intestina petissent.96

Fortunately, since this was one of the offices of the Vigintisexvirate which was abolished by Augustus, there is no mention of it in Pomponius. As a result there is no conflicting evidence as to its origin. Its existence is again recorded in 211 B.C.: (Capuam) praefectum ad iura reddenda ab Roma quotannis missuros.97 This magistracy in actuality controlled ten Campanian cities.

In addition to the fact that this office belongs to the Vigintisexvirate, Festus lists the cities.98 The magistracy is finally cited by Dio Cassius in explaining the renewed Vigintivirate.99 Although the quattuor praefecti

96Livy 26. 16. 10.
97Livy 26. 16. 10.
98Bruns: Scriptores, 25; cf. n. 8.
99Dio Cass. 54. 26. 6-7; cf. n. 13.
Capuaem Cumas were not mentioned in the *Lex Latina tabulae Bantinae* or the *Lex Acilia repetundarum*, there is no reason to suppose that they were not annual at that time. Their absence merely points to the fact that the scope of these two laws did not encompass these magistracies. There is no indication that the magistrates were annual from 318 B.C., but they are recorded as being annual from 211 B.C. onwards.\(^{100}\) They received their jurisdiction from the *praetor urbanus*, and as such were probably appointed by him, but were later elected by the *Comitia Tributa*. Mommsen believes that elections for this office were first held during the period of the Gracchi.\(^{101}\)

When the municipal administrations were reorganized as a result of the Social War, and the local office of *quattuorvir iure dicundo* was created, the *quattuor praefecti Capuaem Cumas*, who were primarily responsible for the administration of justice in the previously-named ten Campanian cities, soon became unnecessary. Their role as magistrates in the realm of law is clearly stated.

\(^{100}\) Livy 26. 16. 10; cf. n. 97.

\(^{101}\) Ludwig Lange, *Römische Alterthumer*, (Berlin 1876) 903; cf. n. 56.
Praefecturae eae appellabantur in Italia, in quibus et ius diceabantur, et nundinae agebantur; et erat quaedam earum res publica, neque tamen magistratus suos habebant; in quas legibus praefecti mittebantur quodannis, qui ius dicerent.

Although the office remained, at least in name, until 13 B.C., there may well have been a long period when no magistrates actually filled these offices. Mommsen contends that the office was abolished, perhaps as early as 20 B.C., together with the duoviri viis extra urbem purgandis. The municipal magistrates, quattuorviri iure dicundo, who succeeded to the duties of the quattuor praefecti Capuam Cumas, must surely indicate by their title the role of their predecessors.

There is only one epigraphical record of this office.

M(arcus) Herennius M(arci) f(ilius)/ Mae(cia tribu) Rufus/ praef(ectus) Cap(uam) Cum(as) quaestor.

Herennius (174) held the office prior to 90 B.C. It should be noted that the office may have been held before the quaestorship, as was later to become the norm.

---

102 Bruns: Scriptores, 25; cf. also nn. 8 and 106.
103 Str 2. 13, 609-610; cf. nn. 84 and 95.
104 CIL 11. 3717=ILLRP 441.
105 MRR 2, 483.
There are two other inscriptions which record magistrates similar to the quattuor praefecti Capuam Cumas. They are described by Festus in this manner:

Praefecturae...alterum; in quas ibant, quos praetor urbanus quodannis in quaeque loca miserat legibus, ut Fundos, Formias, Caere, Venafrum, Allifas, Privernum, Anagniam, Frusinonem, Reate, Saturniam, Nursiam, Arpinum aliaque conplura.106

Some of the cities listed by Festus came into Roman control as early as 338 B.C. as civitates sine suffragio. The orthography of the first inscription seems to point to dating in the late third or early second century B.C.

Q(uintos) Lainio(s) Q(uinti) f(ilios) praifectos pro trebibos fecit.107

Dessau describes the office in this fashion:

Praefectus videtur esse ex genere eorum, qui sexto septimoque urbis saeculo ab urbe missi oppidis Italiae praerant; id quod Amiterno recte convenit.108

---

106 Bruns: Scriptores, 25-26; cf. also nn. 8 and 102.
108 ILS 6127.
The second inscription, found at Capua, is very problematic.

L(ucius) Sora(nus) L(uci) f(ilius)/ L(ucius) Arrius M(arci) f(ilius)/ IIII vir(i)
pr(aetores) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia)/
term(inandus) c(urat)erunt/109

Mommsen first believed this to refer to quattuor praefecti Capuam Cumas,110 but later contended that it referred to the magistrates sent to the town of Cales, a Latin colony since 334 B.C. and not one of the ten towns included within the jurisdiction of the quattuor praefecti Capuam Cumas. At the same time he also adopted the reading praetores for praefecti. Degrassi also accepts this latter reading, but suggests that Cales is not the only city whose administration would fit the wording of the inscription.111

DECEMVIRATUS STLITIBUS IUDICANDIS

The magistracy is considered by Mommsen, among others, to be the earliest of the offices which comprised

---

109 CIL 1. 637=10. 3923=ILLRP 560. See also P. V. Rohden, "Arrius" (5) RE 2. 1, coll. 1251-1252.

110 Cf. note on CIL 1. 637.

the Vigintisexvirate. There are, however, conflicting theories on its origin and later development. The very title stlitibus is a vestige of archaic Latin. By the fourth century B.C. the combination stl- had modified linguistically to sl- to l- to 1-. The fact that the term stlitibus is used rather than litibus attests to age of the office. Although the remoter history of stlis is somewhat obscure, the form itself is undoubtedly ancient. Aucun rapprochement sûr pour ce terme technique pas plus que pour caus(s)a; une initial stl- a peu de chances d'être indo-européenne. L'initiale de locus fait la même difficulté. The word stlis has been surmised unacceptably by Franciosi to be a compound of st(atus) lis, a trial concerning civil status.

112 Str 2. 13, 605; Schaefer, RE 8 A. 2, col. 2571.
114 Gennaio Franciosi, 'Sui 'Decemviri Stlitibus Iudicandis', Labeo 9 (1963) 163-202, esp. 176. He uses stlitibus as his sole argument for showing that compounding is: 'un fenomeno non ignoto al latino epigrafico.' This circular argument cannot be accepted. I have seen only two inscriptions where stlitibus is divided in a manner as to indicate this compounding. In CIL 6. 1439, a handsome inscription to M. Iunius Silanus (206) from the time of Claudius or Nero, a very definite interpunct is found between the T and L of stlitib(us). The interpunct is identical in form with the others in this inscription, but must be considered an engraver's error, perhaps on the thought that he had carved quaest(or). The interpunct is not shown in CIL. Cf. p. 75 for the text of this inscription. In CIL 14. 3996 to M. Valerius
grammarians give us little insight into the development of the word.

stlatta genus navigii latum magis quam altum, et a latitudine sic appellatum; sed ea consuetudine, qua stlocum pro locum et stlitum (antiqui) pro litem dicebant.\footnote{115}

All evidence indicates that the st- is not an abbreviation for status, but simply an older form of the word. In any case, the office must have been firmly established before the stl- modification to l- occurred.

The first clearly established literary dating for the \textit{decemviratus stlitibus iudicandis} is either 290 B.C. or the period 242 to 227 B.C.\footnote{116} In addition to the linguistic there are other indications that the office antedated both of these periods. Mommsen has placed the foundation of the office in 449 B.C. with the \textit{Lex Valeria Horatia} in connection with the second secession of the plebs.\footnote{117} In recording this event Livy has stated the

\textit{Quadratus} (369) dating from the reign of Antoninus Pius, the same phenomenon occurs. For further discussion regarding \textit{stlis} cf. A. Walde and J. B. Hofmann, \textit{Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch} 4 (Heidelberg 1965) 1. 813-814, 2. 559-600.

\footnote{115} Paulus, \textit{Ex. Fest.} (L) 410-412.

\footnote{116} Pomponius, \textit{Dig.} 1. 2. 29-32; cf. n. 27. Livy, \textit{Per.} 11; cf. n. 15.

\footnote{117} \textit{StR} 2. 13, 605.
following sanctio: ut qui tribunis plebis aedilibus
iudicibus decemviris nocuisset, eius caput Iovi sacrum
esset. The term iudicibus decemviris is taken to be
the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis, in this case a
purely plebeian court. The fact that the court was
primarily responsible for hearing cases regarding liberty
and civil status would reasonably be considered evidence
for the creation of a plebeian court in 449 B.C. Evolution
during the Republic can well account for the
later patrician holders of this magistracy.

Another theory names Servius Tullius as the
founder of this court.

Evgenios Dilewán apo tōv ίδιωτικῶν (ἔγκληματων)
ta dēmōsia, tōn mēn eis tō koivūn ferenytovn
adiknymatōn autōs epoieito tās διαγνώσεις, tōn
δ’ ίδιωτικῶν ίδιωτας έταξεν εινας δικαστάς,
όφοις καὶ κανόνας αυτοῖς τάξας, οὓς αυτός
έγραψε νόμους.

Livy 3. 55. 7.

For objections to Mommsen, cf. R. M. Ogilvie,
Enrico Cocchia, "I iudices decemviri e la loro funzione
guidiziaria, "Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia,
lingua, antichità 5 (1921) 25-28, has presented another
interpretation of this passage, that the decemviri here
mentioned are those commissioned to prepare the laws of
the XII Tables.


Dion. Hal. 4. 25. 2.
This account gives all private cases to the unspecified judges. Those cases regarding liberty and civil status would surely fall into the realm of private suits, but we have no evidence to suggest that the *decemviri stiltibus iudicandis* enjoyed such a wide competence. Although the wide competence is not likely, there is other evidence that suggests it is still possible to retain a date in the period of Tullius for the court.

The existence of slaves and the fact that they could be freed and enjoy equal rights would certainly call for some court to decide on the liberty and civil status of individuals. This is also pointed out in the *Lex duodecim tabularum*.

**122** Dion. Hal. 4. 22. 4.

**123** Bruns: *Leges*, 20; cf. n.29 for a discussion of *sacramentum*. 
If we accept the archaeological evidence for the dating of the reign of Servius Tullius to the first half of the fifth century B.C., there is a sound basis to combine the facts relating to Tullius and the year 449 B.C. Soon after manumission of slaves was allowed, there arose a need for a court to decide on cases of liberty and civil rights. The officers of this court were the *iusdices decemviri*, who are either the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* or their predecessors.

These magistrates and their duties are mentioned by Cicero and Dio Cassius in terms of the *minores magistratus* and the Vigintivirate. They are not mentioned in either the *Lex Latina tabulae Bantinae* or the *Lex Acilia repetundarum*, but this does not preclude their existence during the Gracchan period. There is clear evidence that their main concern during the late Republic was civil

---


125 Cf. no. 12 and 13.
rights and personal freedom.

cum Arretinae mulieris libertatem defenderem et C. Cotta decemviris religionem inieci
non posse nostrum sacramentum iustum iudici
... decemviri prima actione non iudicaverunt. Postea re quaesita et deliberata sacramentum nostrum iustum iudicaverunt.\textsuperscript{126}

si decemviri sacramentum in libertatem iniustum iudicassent, tamen, quotienscumque vellet quis, hoc in genere solo rem iudicatam referre posse voluerunt.\textsuperscript{127}

These show a continued relationship between the sacramentum and libertas from the time of the Twelve Tables to Cicero's time. The \textit{decemviri stlitibus iudicandis} must have been influential, at least in their capacity as judges: \textit{planeque duorum virorum iudicium aut trium virorum capitalium aut decem virorum stlitibus iudicandis dico numquam}.\textsuperscript{128}

There is no evidence to suggest that their number was increased by Caesar in 44 B.C., although he is known to have increased the size of other colleges. They continued to function as a part of the Vigintisextvirate and became one of the surviving colleges of the imperial Vigintivirate.

\textsuperscript{126}Cicero \textit{Pro Caec.} 33. 97.
\textsuperscript{127}Cicero \textit{De domo} 29. 78.
\textsuperscript{128}Cicero \textit{Orator} 46. 156.
There are several inscriptions which record magistrates who held this office during the Republic. The oldest epigraphical recording of the office is that of Scipio Hispanus (113).

Cn. Cornelius Hispanus is known to have been praetor in 139 B.C.: Cn. Cornelius Hispanus praetor peregrinus M. Popilio Laenate L. Calpurnio coss. edicto Chaldaeos citra decimum diem abire ex urbe atque Italia iussit.130

He was decemvir stlitibus iudicandis probably prior to 150 B.C.131

A partial cursus honorum of C. Iulius Caesar, father of the Dictator, reads as follows:

[C(aius) Iulius C(aii) f(ilius) C(aii) n(epos)] Caesar/ [avus Augusti],/ [X vir stlit(ibus) iul-dic(andis), q(uaestor), pr(aetor),/ [X vir agr(is) dand(is) adsign(andis), pro]co(n)s(ul) in Asia.132

129 CIL 1. 38. It must be noted that stlitibus in this inscription is abbreviated sl rather than stl. (stl>sl>zl>l.)
130 Val. Max. 1. 3. 3.
131 MRR 2. 485.
132 II 13. 3. 75.
Although fragmentary, the nature of the inscription with the ascending **cursus honorum** gives a sound basis for the above reading. The elder Caesar was a **decemvir stlitibus iudicandis ca. 100 B.C.**

\[
\begin{align*}
M(\text{arcus}) \text{ Livius } M(\text{arci}) \ f(\text{ilius}) \ n(\text{epos}) \\
\text{Drusus, pontifex,} / \ tr(\text{ibunus}) \ m(\text{il(itum)}), \ X \\
\text{vir stlit(ibus) iudic(andis)}, / \ tr(\text{ibunus}) \\
pl(\text{ebis}), \ X \text{vir a(gris) d(andis) a(dsignandis)} \\
\text{lege sua/ et eodem anno V vir a(gris) d(andis)} \\
a(dsignandis) \text{lege Saufeia/ in magistratu} \\
\text{occisus est/134}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{M. Livius Drusus (220) was a decemvir stlitibus iudicandis ca. 104 B.C.**135**}

According to his own testimony, the poet Ovid (277) held two of the magistracies of the Vigintisexvirate.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cepimus et tenerae primos aetatis honores} \\
deque \text{viris quondam pars tribus una fui} \ 136
\end{align*}
\]

There is no indication whether he was a **triumvir monetalis** or **capitalis**. Since, however, he probably held the office between 23 and 18 B.C.,**137** the office of **triumvir**

---

133 **MRR 2. 574.**
134 **II 13. 3. 74.** It must be noted that Drusus did not hold the quaestorship before being **tribunus plebis.**
135 **MRR 1. 560.**
136 **Trist. 4. 10. 34.**
137 **Schaefer, RE 8 A. 2, col. 2580.**
capitalis would be the better choice, since the mints at Rome were closed for part of this period, and his name does not occur on coins after the mints were reopened. The triumviri monetales for this period are virtually complete according to Pink's reconstruction. Ovid also makes it clear that he was a decemvir stlitibus iudicandis:

inter bis quinos usus honore viros.

This testimony also points to the political confusion prior to the reforms of the Vigintisexvirate in 13 B.C.

The decemviratus stlitibus iudicandis, then, was established no later than 227 B.C. There is, however, good evidence for placing its foundation in the first half of the fifth century B.C. Although the office was not mentioned in laws of the Gracchan period, there is no reason to suspect that it was not annual or elective at this time. The original nature of the office points to its being purely plebeian, but a gradual evolution in Roman politics allowed the patricians to hold it during the later Republic as is evidenced by inscriptions. The prime concern of the decemviratus stlitibus iudicandis

---

139 Fast. 4. 384.
was in the realm of liberty and civil rights. Apparently untouched by Julius Caesar, the office became one of those retained in the imperial Vigintivirate.  

**SUMMARY**

The origin of the offices of the Vigintisexvirate has been shown to be obscure. Although later literary evidence points to the early to middle portion of the third century B.C. for the establishment of the offices which were later to be included in the imperial Vigintivirate, there is conflicting evidence in the case of the *triumviri capitales* and the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*. These offices can be dated earlier, the former to at least 312 B.C. and the latter to ca. 475-449 B.C. The *quattuor praefecti Capuam Cumas* are reported in 318 B.C. This conflicting evidence points to the fact that the Romans in the later Republic and early Empire did not know when or how the individual offices developed. It also suggests that the offices evolved from an earlier form into the form known during later republican times. In origin they were undoubtedly *ad hoc* appointive offices of undetermined number. These offices later

---

140 For a thorough discussion of the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*, particularly their judicial development, cf. Gennaio Franciosi cited in n. 114 above.
developed an annual role and a fixed number of members as their competences became more sharply defined, and were later elective by the **Comitia Tributa**. It is quite possible that the evolution of the several offices was completed during the third century B.C., and that this final stage is what the literary sources are describing. It must be remembered, however, that not all agree that the offices were permanent and elective in nature this early. This development is placed as late as the 70's B.C. for the **triumviri monetales** by Mommsen.

The term **Vigintisexvirate** as a name for the collective magistracies must have come after all the offices became annual. There is no evidence for the existence of the term before the closing years of the Republic. The fact that the term expresses the number of members in the aggregate college before its increase by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. indicates that for some time before this date all the offices had been established and were permanent, that they all were still being filled, and that **vigintisexviri** had become a common, if not official, name for the holders of one of the several offices. The use of the name of the individual office was the preferred manner of designating the magistrates.

During the Republic there seems to have been no requirement for holding an office of the Vigintisexvirate
as a prerequisite for entering the senatorial cursus honorum, although in times of crisis the holding of such an office was one of the criteria for joining senatorial ranks. Such an event may have occurred in 216 B.C.

recitato vetere senatu inde primos in demortuorum locum legit, qui post L. Aemilium C. Flaminium censesores curulem magistratum cepissent neodum in senatum lecti essent, ut quisque eorum primus creatus erat; tum legit, qui aedilis, tribuni plebis quaestoresve fuerant; tum ex iis, qui minores magistratus cepissent...141

The MS tradition on this passage is confused. The editors agree only that something is missing in the next clause, where most MSS read ex his qui magistratus cepissent. Mueller has accepted the insertion of minores after qui by Stroth. Conway would insert non at this point in his Oxford Classical Text. In a passage which catalogues the magistrates in descending order from consul to quaestor, the next logical step would seem to be <minores> magistratus rather than <non> magistratus. I take it that the continuation of this passage, qui spolia ex hoste fixa domi haberen aut civicam coronam accepissent, refers to individuals who may have achieved these honors as tribuni militum. After the choice of

141Livy 23. 23. 5-6. In this citation I have used the Teubner text of Mueller.
those who had held higher office, therefore, the
dictator turned to those who had held a minor magis-
tracy and who had distinguished themselves in battle,
presumably while serving as tribuni militum. This
logical choice of the best and most experienced of those
who had not yet served as quaestor leads me to believe
that minores is the more probable emendation.

That Cicero lists the quaestor (De leg. 3. 3. 6;
Ad fam. 7. 30.) as a minor magistratus must be noted.
Other Latin authors list officials as high as the aedilis
and tribunus plebis as minores magistratus (cf. Gellius
13. 15; 13. 16; Livy 25. 1. 10.). These distinctions
are based on the possession of imperium and the auspicia
maiora. Cicero is arguing from a strictly legalistic
viewpoint making the constitutional distinction, while
Livy in 23. 23. 5-6 is writing for a more general audi-
ence who would be more likely to make the distinction
between the cursus honorum and those who had not yet
entered the cursus.

By using the term minores magistratus, Livy would
confirm that the term Vigintisexviri had not yet become
a fixed title for these officials. Yet in the light of
Cicero's use of the term minores magistratus,142 we can

142 Cf. n. 12.
assume that this passage indicates the existence of the decemviratus stlitibus iudicandis, triumviratus capitales, and triumviratus monetalis, in addition to the office of the quattuor praefecti Capuam Cumas prior to 216 B.C.

The five epigraphical examples of vigintisexviri have all been dated to the end of the Republic or the begining of the Empire.\textsuperscript{143} It is reasonable to assume that they belong to the period immediately preceding the reforms of 13 B.C. That the five known examples of the term vigintisexviri are coeval can be more an indication of possible appointment or election to unspecified offices during this period of political unrest than chance survival. They can help strengthen the evidence of lack of candidacy for the offices, and perhaps of resistance to Augustus, which the careers of Ovid,\textsuperscript{144} P. Paquius Scaeva,\textsuperscript{145} and C. Propertius Postumus\textsuperscript{146} have previously indicated through repeated service in the Vigintisexvirate.

The offices of the triumviri monetales and triumviri

\textsuperscript{143}Cf. pp. 7-8.
\textsuperscript{144}Cf. pp. 49-50.
\textsuperscript{145}Cf. pp. 19-20.
\textsuperscript{146}Cf. pp. 20-21.
capitales each were increased to quattuorviratus by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. It is not known whether any other of the vigintisexviratus were increased. The offices remained in a state of confusion until they were first reduced to their original number ca. 20 B.C. The Vigintisexvirate then lasted until 13 B.C. when the duumviratus viis extra urbem purgandis and the office of the quattuor praefecti Capuam Cumas were abolished and the triumviratus capitalis, triumviratus monetalis, quattuorviratus viarum curandarum, and the decemviratus stlitibus iudicandis became collectively known as the vigintiviratus.
CHAPTER TWO
THE EMPIRE

In the previous chapter the development of the republican Vigintisexviris was discussed up to its abolition by Augustus and the Senate in 13 B.C., and the creation in its stead of the Vigintiviratus. This aggregate college, then, at the beginning of the Empire was composed of the offices triumviratus monetalis, decemviratus stlitibus iudicandis, quattuorviratus viarum curandarum, and triumviratus capitalis.

THE DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS

In addition to the creation of the Vigintiviratus, there were two other aspects of these political reforms which were important for both the Vigintiviratus and the Senate. The senatorial cursus honorum now became more readily accessible to the ordo equester: δόγμα ἐγένετο τοῦς εἰκόσι καλομέσους ἄνδρας ἐν τῶν ἱππεῶν ἀποδείξεσθαι. 147

147 Dio Cass. 54. 26. 5.
It is apparent that this passage refers to those young men who possessed the legal financial requirements, but were not of senatorial families. Young men of senatorial families were also considered *equites* prior to their entrance to the political career, but had the right to wear the *latus clavus*, a senatorial badge of distinction. Augustus could bestow the *latus clavus* on *equites* and thus enable them to merit consideration as future senators. This bestowal of the *latus clavus* marked the transfer from equestrian to senatorial rank. The power to make this transfer may have been developed from that of the *censor*, among whose duties was the periodic review and revision of the senatorial roll. Moreover, the holding of an office in the Vigintivirate was established as a legal requirement for entrance to the Senate.

\[\text{Schaefer, RE 8 A 2. col. 2580.} \]

\[\text{Dio Cass. 54. 26. 5.} \]

The political exigencies which arose from the lack of suitable or willing candidates during the early years...
of Augustus' reign have been detailed in the previous chapter. The holding of multiple offices, the establishment of a promagistracy, the interruption of a senatorial cursus, and the use of the collegiate title vigintisexvir are more than ample evidence of this.

There seem to be two major causes for the lack of aspirants to the cursus honorum. One was strictly legal. There was a minimum financial prerequisite for entry to the Senate.

For those who failed to meet the necessary financial requirements, there was no chance to enter or remain in the political cursus, except in those instances where the Princeps might intercede with a grant of the needed funds.

Propertio Celeri praetorio veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti decies sesterium largitus est, satis comperto paternas ei angustias esse. 151

---

150 Dio Cass. 54. 17. 3.
151 Tacitus Ann. 1. 75. 3.
Hortensii, inlectus a divo Augusto liberalitate decies sestertii ducere uxorem, suscipere liberos, ne clarissima familia exstingueretur. 152

This financial requirement not only prevented those willing but the impoverished from serving, but was also used as a convenient excuse by those who did not want to associate themselves with the reign of Augustus.

These measures, then, were adopted by the Senate in 13 B.C., while Augustus was absent from Rome, an indication of the serious nature of the problem. Without discounting the role Augustus’ agents in the Senate may have played in this legislation, it may also be considered an attempt by the Senate to strengthen its position. Augustus had previously conducted two lectiones senatus

152 Tacitus Ann. 2. 37. 1.
153 Dio Cass. 54. 26. 3-4.
in 28 and 18 B.C. By this process he was able to strike from the rolls those senators who were unworthy or ineligible, to reduce the total number of senators, and to fill vacancies. Except for these measures the Senate was responsible for filling vacancies. As such any measure which provided preliminary training and scrutiny may be considered as strengthening the Senate. That these measures were approved by Augustus points to one of those too infrequent examples of unanimity between Princeps and Senate. Both the Senate and Augustus recognized the importance of the continuance of the Senate in a more or less active role in the constitutional development of the Empire. These measures ensured that there would be senators who would be both loyal to the Princeps and active and competent in their offices. In this manner the Senate was more than a formal reminder of the Republic, and a new group of active supporters was found. By making active military duty and a position in the Vigintivirate prerequisite for entrance to the Senate, both Augustus and the Senate were assured of competent and loyal men.

Liberis senatorum, quo celerius rei p(ublicae) assuescerent, protinus virili toga latum clavum induere et curiae interesse permisit militiamque auspicanibus non tribunatum modo legionum, sed et praefecturas alarum deit;
ac ne qui expers castrorum esset, binos plerumque laticlavios praeposuit singulis alis.154

These two obligatory preliminary positions, one civil and the other military, became the proving ground for the aspirant to the senatorial cursus. Great care must have been exercised in the selection of young men to fill these positions, because theoretically these twenty men would be the only persons eligible for the twenty quaestorships at each election. Although these offices remained elective during Augustus' reign, they became appointive by the Senate under Tiberius: tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translate sunt.155 This, then, means that the Senate, from the time of Tiberius onwards, became responsible for the selection of its new members. While there is ample evidence of imperial commendatio and adlectio to the higher offices, there is no evidence to suggest that these measures occurred in the case of the Vigintivirate.156 There must have been, however,

---

154 Suet. Aug. 38. 2.
155 Tacitus Ann. 1. 15. 1.
156 Commendatio is the written listing of candidates favored for an office. It originally was not legally binding, but was based on the auctoritas of the person commending. Tacitus (Ann. 1. 15. 1.) intimates that those commended by Tiberius were automatically advanced to office: ... moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commenderet, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos. B. M. Levick, however, successfully questions the
numerous instances in which there were "unofficial" imperial suggestions for members of this college. The granting by the Emperor of the latus clavus to a young man of the ordo equester can be considered a form of commendatio, for by this act an eques became eligible to be considered for the Senate. By using his power to elevate equites, the Emperor was able to control, to a great extent, the character of the Senate.

The legal requirement for holding one of these preliminary offices must still have been in effect in A.D. 20.

per idem tempus Neronem e liberis Germanici, iam ingressum iuventam, commendavit patribus,

binding nature of commendatio by Julio-Claudians, 'Imperial control of the elections under the Early Principate: Commendatio, Suffragatio, and "Nominatio"' Historia 16 (1967) 207-230. As late as Vespasian, the imperial commendatio only demanded a vote extra ordinem for those so favored. In the Lex de imperio Vespasiani is found: utique quos magistratum potestatem imperium curationemve cuius rei petentes senatui populoque Romano commendaverit quibusque suffragationem suam dederit promiserit eorum comitis quibusque extra ordinem ratio habeatur. CIL 6. 930. Although imperial auctoritas was not binding de iure, it was de facto. Commendatio differs from suffragatio in that the former was written while the latter was personal. Adlectio is the appointing of a person to a position for which he has normally not completed the requirements, and is legally binding. This power parallels that of the censor. Persons who received commendatio were called candidati or designati, while those who were adlected are so designated, e.g., senator adlectus, adlectus in senatum. Although there are numerous instances of both of these imperial prerogatives in inscriptions, I know of none recorded for the Vigintivirate.
utque munere capessendi vigintiviratus solve-retur et quinquennio maturius quam per leges quaesturam peteret, non sine inrisu audientium postulavit.157

For a member of the imperial family to be required to hold an office in the aggregate college, or even to go through the motions of seeking a dispensation, is a clear indication of the purpose of this law. The Vigintivirate was meant to be a device for gaining experience in politics.

Even later, in A.D. 41, Claudius was disposed to follow the dictates of this legislation.

Claudius realized the importance of this preliminary experience for the young political aspirant, and he also knew that for the Senate to function properly the best candidates, no matter what their origin, must be selected

---


158 Dio Cass. 50. 5. 7-9.
for this body.

\[\text{Latum clavum, quamvis initio affirmasset non lecturum se senatorem nisi civis R(omani) ab nepotem, etiam libertini filio tribuit, sed sub condicione si prius ab equite R(omano) adoptatus esset.}\]

**DUTIES OF THE VIGINTIVIRATE**

There are indications that the duties of the various offices may have been altered during the initial stages of the Empire. The \textit{decemviri stlitibus iudicandis} replaced the quaestors as presiding officers of the individual sections of the centumviral court: \textit{ut centumviralem hastam quam quaesturam functi consuerant cogere decemviri cogerent.} \[160\] The entire court, however, remained under the jurisdiction of the \textit{praetor hastarius}. \[161\] These courts must have held their sessions

---

\[159\] Suet. Claud. 24. 1.

\[160\] Suet. Aug. 36.

\[161\] This office is an imperial development and was originated by Augustus, (RE 22. 2. col. 1600). I know in inscriptions of only four \textit{praetores hastarii}: Torquatus Novellius Atticus (267), a \textit{decemvir stlitibus iudicandis}, was \textit{praetor ad hastam} during Tiberius' reign, (CIL 14. 3602); C. Caerellius Fufidius Annius Ravus Polliitanus (58), a \textit{triumvir monetalis}, was \textit{praetor hastarius} between A.D. 217-225, (CIL 6. 1365); Q. Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus was \textit{praetor hastarius}. He held no recorded offices in the Vigintivirate, (CIL 8. 22721). The holding of the office of \textit{praetor de liberalibus causis}, attested in the same inscription, indicates date of the early third century A.D. (RE 22. 2. col. 1600);
in the several basilicas and temples of the Fora.

Descenderam in basilicam Iuliam auditurus, quibus proxima compersendinatone respondere debem. Sedebant iudices, decemviri venerant, observabantur advocati; silentium longum, tamen a praetore nuntius. Demittuntur centumviri...162

There is also epigraphical evidence for the connection between the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis and the centumviral court. On a fragmentary inscription is found:

C(aius) Paccius C(aii) f(ilius)/ X vir ad hastam/...163

This is, however, the only example I have found where the expression X vir ad hastam is used to designate a decemvire stlitibus iudicandis. Although this in itself is insufficient for establishing the connection, it does corroborate the literary evidence. On the basis of this inscription Mommsen has conjectured a similar reading in another fragmentary inscription.

leg(ato) leg(ionis) X Gemin[ae, pr]aetor[i,]/ candidalt(o), trib(uno) plebi ca[ndi]dat(o),/  

P. Septimus Geta (338), the brother of Septimius Severus, a decemvire stlitibus iudicandis, was praetor hastarius et tutelarius. (Epigraphica 4 (1952) 105-126=AE 1946.131).  

162 Pliny Ep. 5. 9. 1-2.  
163 CIL 10. 8260 (278).
This anonymous *decemvir* was also a *tribunus_laticlavius* of either the fourth or sixteenth legion *Flavia* after being *decemvir* and was a legate of the tenth legion *Gemina* after his praetorship. The legions with the epithet *Flavia* were formed by Vespasian in A.D. 71. The fourth *Flavia* was called the *Flavia_felix* by Hadrian, and the sixteenth *Flavia*, the *Flavia_pia_fidelis* by Trajan. This means that the *decemvir* in question served as a *tribunus_militum* sometime between A.D. 71 and ca. 120.  

The tenth *Gemina* was probably given the epithet *pia fidelis* during the latter portion of the reign of Trajan or the beginning of the reign of Hadrian. A date ca. A.D. 115 seems appropriate for this change. Because, in a normal career, it would take about fifteen to twenty years to advance from *tribunus_militum* through the *cursus praetor*, and then be appointed *legatus_legionis*, a date for this man's *decemviratus_stlitibus_iudicandis*

---

164 CIL 10. 8292. His note erroneously refers to CIL 10. 8258 as the basis of this conjecture (399).

must be set between A.D. 71 and 100.

There is also literary evidence to suggest that the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis were connected with the centumviral court during the Republic. The court may well have existed earlier, but its title "centumviral" presumably is to be dated to 241 B.C., when the number of tribes was increased to thirty-five, each of which supplied three members to the court. Without mentioning the decemviri, Cicero provides the first reference to the court by name.

quid vero? clarissima M'. Curii causa Marcique Coponii nuper apud centumviros...

... quod maximas centumvirales causas iure positas protulisti...

The triumviri capitales continued in their role of executioners:

tradunt temporis eius auctores, quia triumvirali supplicio adfici virgine inauditum habebatur, a carnifice laqueum iuxta compressam.

---

166 Pomponius Dig. 1. 2. 29; cf. p. 15, where the reference is given in full.
168 Cicero De oratore 1. 56. 238.
169 Tacitus Ann. 5. 9. 2. (A.D. 31).
Not only were criminals their charge, but also the goods of the condemned.

Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur.170

Their function and authority were greatly curtailed in A.D. 6 by the creation of the praefectus vigilum, an equestrian office which ranked below the praefecti praetorio, Aegypti, and annonae, and further in A.D. 13 by the creation of the praefectus urbi, a senatorial office of consular rank. It is probable that the triumviri capitales functioned under the praefectus urbi.

The quattuorviri viarum curandarum continued in their duties generally in the fashion of the Republic as outlined in the Lex Julia Municipalis of 45 B.C. I have found no evidence to suggest that their duties were in any way altered, either in 13 B.C. or at any other period of their existence during the Empire.

The triumviri monetales continued to function in the mint at Rome during the Empire, although the authority to mint coins no longer lay in the hands of the Senate,

---

170Tacitus Agr. 2. 1. (A.D. 93).
but was the prerogative of the Princeps. While they then were under the command of the Princeps and lost the authority to place their names on the coins, I have found no evidence which precludes their continued service at the mint.

The individual offices of the Vigintivirate continued until the third century A.D., presumably through the reign of Severus Alexander, A.D. 222-235.

Dans la deuxième moitié du troisième siècle, les institutions romaines subirent d'importantes transformations: le cursus honorum sénatorial en est par suite modifié. Depuis Caracalla, le tribunat légionnaire n'est plus obligatoire avant la questura; à partir de Sévère Alexandre, le vigintivirat disparaît; le tribunat et l'édilité ne sont guère exercés non plus après cette époque...171

It has been suggested that the Vigintivirate was a mere title without function during the Empire.172 This seems to be unlikely in view of its recorded existence for more than two centuries of the Empire. What is likely is that the official titles may not have changed during this period to reflect a change in function and responsibility. The changes were more in the nature of

171 Cagnat, Cours d'épigraphie Latine, ed. 4, 101. This summary of the status of the senatorial cursus is presumably based primarily on the inscriptionsal evidence which was available.

172 Pink 66.
the creation of upper level bureaucrats and supervisors, while the lower posts continued much as they had been, but with greater supervision and control as they were pushed down in rank. No matter where the supreme authority lay, the purpose and functions for which the Vigintivirate was established were even more necessary as the Empire expanded.

THE IMPERIAL CONCEPT OF THE VIGINTIVIRATE

The offices were envisioned by Augustus as a means of gaining political experience for the young aspirants to the Senate. So long as this body provided a major portion of the Princeps' appointees throughout the Empire, the idea of sinecure positions at the initial stages of career development cannot be considered. "... the great majority of high imperial appointments continued to be reserved for senators until the second half of the third century." This is some fifteen years after the death of Severus Alexander in A.D. 235. It is only when the Senate was no longer used as a principal source for these appointments that the Vigintivirate, which had served as a senatorial apprenticeship, became less necessary and ceased to exist.

\footnote{173}{M.T.W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire*, (Oxford 1972) 30.}
The major switch in civil-military commands from the Senate to the *ordo equester* was achieved by the mid-third century A.D. By this time there were at least 182 posts attested in the equestrian *cursus*. Major senatorial provinces became imperial, and senators either no longer governed the provinces, or at most were given only civil commands. The military aspect of rule now passed over to the *equites* who were considered more loyal to the Emperor. Legionary legates and provincial governors were now *equites*. The normal term for the provincial governor now became *praeses*. Most of these *equites* were those who had worked their way up through the ranks. They owed their positions to the Emperors, and as such it was in their best interests to remain loyal.

With the extension by Caracalla of citizenship to

---

174 F. Millar, OCD s.v. 'Procurator." For a notion of the range of offices involved in this *cursus*, cf. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie Latine*, ed. 4, (1914) 120-125.

175 A. H. McDonald, OCD s.v. 'Senatus.'

176 There are no known *legati legionis* during the reign of Gallienus. Equites were appointed with the title *praefectus agens vices legati*. The equestrian governors were known as *procurators agentes vices praesides*. cf. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire: 284-602*, (Oxford 1964) 24.

177 loc. cit. above n. 174.

178 The *equites* in general seem to have begun their careers at a later age than the senators (Cagnat 124).
entire Empire, the composition of the Senate became increasingly less Italian. This new class of citizens who met the qualifications for senatorial membership gradually diminished the hereditary nature of the Senate. As the senators were gradually excluded from their former administrative posts, the system which had been established to develop such competence disappeared. As soon as it was no longer vital to the Emperor's interest to have a loyal and competent Senate, the system requiring junior training magistracies ceased to have importance. The equites now became the major administrative personnel in the imperial service.

RANKING AMONG THE OFFICES

There is general agreement that there was during the Empire, if not also during the late Republic, a hierarchy within the Vigintivirate. The observation is based on both the social connections of the family and the later careers of the office holders. The hierarchy is as follows in descending order of prestige:

1. **triumviri monetales**
2. **decemviri stlitibus iudicandis**
3. **quattuorviri viarum curandarum**
4. **triumviri capitales**

The major gap in rank in this hierarchy occurred between
the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis and the quattuorviri viarum curandarum. This hierarchy probably was also partially based on the abilities of the aspirants and is to be considered more a de facto than de iure arrangement.\textsuperscript{179}

Another indication of this hierarchy in the Vigintivirate is the fact that the triumviri capitales and the quattuorviri viarum curandarum had the same apparitores.\textsuperscript{180} The nature of the several offices is ample proof of the various levels of prestige which were enjoyed by the vigintiviri. Once the initial grading and selection system established by Augustus had been proved to work, each vigintivir had a good idea as to where his future in the Emperor's service lay, provided he performed effectively in each office.

**AGE FOR OFFICE HOLDERS**

The minimum legal age for holding the quaestorship during the Empire was twenty-five. There is evidence

\textsuperscript{179} Although Schaefer uses this hierarchy to establish that Ovid (277) was a triumvir monetalis, (RE 8 A 2. col. 2582), he must be considered a triumvir capitalis both on the basis of the available numismatic evidence, (cf. pp. 49-50), and on the analogy of the career of the contemporary, P. Paquius Scaeva(282), (cf. pp. 19-20).

\textsuperscript{180} Cf. pp. 34-35 for the discussion of this point.
that the *vigintiviri* were often in their late teens when appointed.\(^\text{181}\) The youngest *vigintivir* I know of from inscriptions is C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Flaccus (209), who died when he was eighteen years old.\(^\text{182}\) Jones has stated that "twenty-four is the earliest age otherwise firmly documented for the Vigintivirate..."\(^\text{183}\) The following holders of offices in the Vigintivirate must, however, be mentioned as further substantiation of officials younger than twenty-four.

\[\ldots/Q\text{(uinto) Iul(io) Claro c(larissimo)}\]
\[i(uveni) IIII viro/ viarum curandarum/\]
\[ann(is) XXI/\ldots.\]\(^\text{184}\)

\[\ldots/Q\text{(uint) Iul(io) Nepotiano c(larissimo)}\]
\[i(uveni)/ IIII viro viarum curandarum/\]
\[ann(is) XX...\]\(^\text{185}\)

M(arcus) Iunius Silanus/ D(ecimi) Silani
f(ilius) Gaetulici/ nepos Cossi pron(epos)/
Lutatius Catulus X vir/ stlitib(us) iudic-
(andis) salius Collin(us) vixit/ annis XX
mensibus VIII\(\text{I}\)\(^\text{186}\)


\(^{182}\) CIL 9. 39.


\(^{184}\) CIL 2. 112 (181).

\(^{185}\) CIL 2. 112 (190).

\(^{186}\) CIL 6. 1439 (206).
If one accepts the conclusion of Birley that the normal tenure as tribunus militum was "nearer three years than one," the late teens becomes a reasonable period for the holding of posts preliminary to the quaestorship. The fact that the offices of the Vigintivirate could precede or follow the tribunatus militum accounts for the long period of about seven years during which the office could be held. Nero Iulius Caesar (180) was fifteen when Tiberius requested an exemption from the Vigintivirate for him. L. Iunius Silanus (205) was fourteen or fifteen and Cn. Pompeius Magnus (298) was fifteen or sixteen when each entered the vigintivirate.

---

187AE 1913. 172 (345).

188CIL 3. 6755. It should be noted that at less than twenty-two, Salvius (263) had already been a vigintivir and had been a tribunus militum in two different legions.

189Birley 200.

190Tacitus Ann. 3. 29. 1.

191Dio Cass. 60. 5. 8.
If we consider that all three of these young men held other offices five years before the legal age, an age of eighteen to twenty can be held as normal for the office holder before the *tribunatus militum* and twenty-one to twenty-four on completion of that service.

**THE VIGINTIVIRATE AND THE TRIBUNATUS MILITUM**

Although it has been stated that the holding of both an office in the Vigintivirate and the *tribunatus militum* were essential preliminary steps prior to entry to the *cursus honorum*,

\[192\] epigraphical evidence strongly suggests that there was no hard and fast rule.

Because I have not concerned myself with those individuals who entered the *cursus honorum* without recording the holding an office in the Vigintivirate, I have no accurate figures with which to compare the total number of known holders of offices of the *cursus honorum* and those who certainly did begin their careers with the Vigintivirate. A check through the *tituli virorum et mulierum ordinis senatori* of ILS, however, clearly shows that during the Empire entry to the *cursus honorum* without recording the holding of an office of the

\[192\] Cf. pp. 61-62.
Vigintivirate was not unknown.\textsuperscript{193} This does appear to be more of a phenomenon under the Julio-Claudians than later. It must also be remembered that the mere lack of epigraphical evidence for the Vigintivirate within a career does not preclude the fact that it actually was held. Nevertheless, we cannot assume offices which are not recorded.

With regard to the \textit{tribunatus militum}, nineteen or 46.5\% of those forty-three who are known to have been \textit{triumviri capitales} do not display their preliminary military service in their \textit{cursus}. Of the seventy-five who are known to have been \textit{quattuorviri viarum curandarum}, thirty, or 40\%, do not list themselves as \textit{tribuni militum}. Of the one hundred and ninety-nine who are known to have been \textit{decemviri stlitibus iudicandis}, eighty-nine, or 44.7\%, do not show the office of \textit{tribunus militum}. Of the eighty-five who are known to have been \textit{triumviri monetales}, forty-seven, or 55.3\%, do not list themselves as \textit{tribuni militum}.

As Birley has pointed out,\textsuperscript{194} the \textit{tribunatus militum}...

\textsuperscript{193}D. McAlindon, "Entry to the Senate in the Early Empire," \textit{JRS} 47 (1957) 191-195. In this article McAlindon lists seven such examples during the Julio-Claudian period.

\textsuperscript{194}Birley 197-214.
was not a requirement for entrance to the Senate, but only for imperial service. Those offices which were not part of the senatorial cursus, but were held only by senators, were, on the whole, closed to those who had not been tribuni militum. The holding of both preliminary offices, the tribunatus militum and a position within the Vigintivirate, was only the usual requirement for those who wished both to enter the Senate and to be considered for those additional imperial appointments at Rome and in the provinces. Offices such as ab actis senatus et imperatoris, legatus legionis, legatus provinciae, curator viarum, various curatores at Rome, sodalis (except for those who began their careers as triumviri monetales), praefectus aerarii, were essentially closed to those who had not served as tribunus militum. The data derived from the individual careers of the vigintiviri will clearly establish this fact.

It will be demonstrated that the normal sequence of the preliminary offices was first the holding for one year of an office of the Vigintivirate, followed by the tribunatus militum for a period of up to three years. In this manner the youthful political aspirant was carefully groomed at Rome in the civil aspect of his career, and if he so desired, or if he demonstrated the necessary
qualities, he began the preliminary phase of his military and imperial service with the *tribunatus militum*. The youth who was content with senatorial service at home, or proved to be lacking in administrative capabilities, could omit the military phase of his career and enter the senate as quaestor when he attained the minimum legal age. He may, indeed, have had some foreign service later in his career, especially within the framework of the *cursus honorum*, but the imperial appointments, which would detail administrative capabilities best developed through a combined civil-military career, were closed to him. It will also be seen that some positions, which were basically reserved for those in the imperial service, could almost be considered furlough at Rome between foreign assignments. Foremost among these would be the *curatores viarum* and other *curatores* at Rome. The developing equestrian civil service would function competently without much need of outside supervision. The *curatores* were overseers of a professional class of workers.

There seem, in general, to be four basic kinds of careers: the patrician who does not become *tribunus militum*; the plebeian who does not become *tribunus militum*; the patrician *tribunus militum*; and the plebeian
A few careers from each group will indicate the potential prospects to which a young man in his late teens could look forward.

Cornelius Dolabella (108), a patrician, was consul in A.D. 113. It must be noted that the inscription does not record the tribunatus militum. This did not prevent him from advancing through the cursus honorum. As a patrician he could not hold the tribunatus plebis and was exempt from the aedilitas. He also held a position in two of the exclusively patrician priesthhoods, those of the salii and the flamines. He was favored with the imperial quaestorship, and led the third squadron of Roman equites in review. The lack of any senior position in the imperial service is very obvious. Civil and religious positions were open to all, but the civil-military career was closed to those who were not tribuni militum.

---

\(^\text{195}^\) **CIL** 9. 3154.
Gaius Seius Calpurnius Quadratus Sittianus pursued his career sometime during the latter half of the first century A.D. As a plebeian who does not record the office of *tribunus militum* he shows no position of imperial service in his career but is quaestor and proconsul in senatorial provinces. It must be noted that he functioned in positions of lesser importance than Sergius Cornelius Dolabella. As a plebeian he held the position of *tribunus plebis*. There is also an obvious lack of religious offices in his *cursus*.

---

*CIL* 14. 2831.

*CIL* 6. 32412.
Q. Lollianus Plautius Avitus (169) was perhaps consul in A.D. 209. His 
cursus is typical of that of a patrician who held the tribunatus militum, 
showing that he held neither the office of tribunus plebis nor aedilis. In 
addition to a full senatorial cursus, he was augur, and held three positions 
in the imperial service: legatus legionis, iuridicus, and legatus Augustorum 
provinciae Asiae. The fact that Asia was a senatorial province does not 
preclude his being sent there on special assignment as an imperial legate. 
The civil wars and the Eastern campaign of A.D. 197-199 make it quite 
probable that the organization of the senatorial provinces was beginning 
to come more under the influence of the Emperor. An appointment such as 
the one recorded here clearly reflects this change of policy.

[C(aio)] Calpe[tano]/ Rant[io]/ Quirinal[i/ Valerio P(ublii) f(ilio) Pomp(tina tribu)
F[esto,/ IIII] vir(o) viar(um) curand(aru)
t[r(ibuno) mil(itum)/ le]g(ionis) VI victr-
(icis), quaestori, se[viro/equ] lit(um) Roman-
or(um), tr(ibuno) pleb(is), praet[t(ori),/
sodali]li August(ali), leg(ato) pro praet(ore)
ex[ercit(us)/ Afril]cae, co(n)s(uli), donato ab 
Imper[atore/ hastis] puris IIII vexillis IIII 
c[oronis/ IIII] va[llari murali classica a]urea,/
cura]tori alvei Tiberis et ripa[rum,/ pon]ti-
f(iici), leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore)

---

198 A. Degrassi, I fasti consolari dell' impero Romano, (Rome 1952) 58.
Valerius Festus (65) was consul in A.D. 71. His career is fairly typical of the plebeian holders of the tribunatus militum. He advanced through the senatorial cursus, and held several positions in the imperial service: those of legatus pro praetore exercitus Africae, curator alvei Tiberis et riparum, and legatus Augusti. He was also pontifex and sodalis Augustalis.

In the foregoing examples I have tried to illustrate the varied types of careers which would be expected by those entering the senatorial cursus honorum through the Vigintivirate. This does not mean that there were only four possible careers available, but that there were varied expectations for the patrician and plebeian, and for those who served as tribunus militum and for those who did not. The distinction between patrician and plebeian was beyond the control of the individual. If he was not patrician by birth, his only hope was imperial adlection. The tribunatus militum was another matter. The individual could to some extent choose whether or not he wanted to be a tribunus militum and thus have some control over his career, especially with respect to the

---

199 CIL 5. 531.
imperial service. This does not mean that one who was not *tribunus militum* never held a position in the imperial service, it rather means that his chances of doing so were less probable, because those positions were based on a military-oriented training experience. Because these men were expected to lead legions in the provinces, the preliminary training in the lower military ranks was essential.

The period best representing such careers began with the Flavians and continued through Marcus Aurelius. During the period of the Julio-Claudians the system, as evidenced by the careers of many persons involved, was still being formulated, and after M. Aurelius a combination of serious internal and external pressures, in addition to a diminution of the role of the Senate, produced unusual careers.

**THE END OF THE VIGINTIVIRATE**

Following this consideration of the early imperial development of the Vigintivirate from the republican Vigintisexvirate, the next problem is that of the final date for the Vigintivirate. As has been previously pointed out, the general consensus is that the Vigintivirate ceased to exist with the end of the reign of

---

200 Cf. p. 70.
Severus Alexander, A.D. 235.

There is strong epigraphical evidence, however, to indicate that the Vigintivirate lasted at least until A.D. 250. Because this is a crucial point in the history of the Vigintivirate, I will present in full the careers of those who began their careers during or after the reign of Severus Alexander. This will show both the continuity of the college and the gradual breakdown of the hierarchy of the individual offices.

Although the fragmentary nature of the inscription gives us a rather clouded view of Annianus' entire cursus, the consular date is A.D. 242. On the basis of this an
appropriate date for holding the office of decemvir stlitibus iudicandis is ca. A.D. 220-225. The fact that he was quaestor pro praetore and possibly adlectus inter tribunicios does not preclude a career during the reign of Severus Alexander. The elimination of the offices of tribunus plebis and aedilis seems to have extended only to the quaestores candidati, an extension of the privilege which was at one time limited only to patricians.

L(uicio) Aradio Roscio/ Rufino Saturni/no Tiberiano/ auguri, curioni, c(larissimo) v(iro)/ triumviro stliti/bus iudicandis, se/viro equestrium/ turmarum, q(uaestori) k(andidato)/ Privernantes pa/trono dignissimo/ et prestantissimo

L. Aradius (36) is probably the father of P. Aradius Roscius Rufinus Saturninus Tiberianus, the praefectus urbi from January 4, 305 until February 12, 305. A date, therefore, of ca. A.D. 240-250 is not inappropriate for the holding of the office of decemvir stlitibus iudicandis. The fact that the office is recorded as

---


204 CIL 10. 6439.

205 RE 2. 1. col. 370-1; PLRE Rufinus 10, 775.
being a triumvirate rather than a decemvirate is significant. The Vigintivirate seems to have undergone modifications in hierarchy, membership in multiple offices and number in the individual office during the final period of its existence.

M(arco) Aelio Aurelio/ Theoni, v(iro) c(laris­simo),/ iurid(ico) de infinito per Flaminianam/ et Umbriam Picenum, sodali/ Hadrianali, prae­tori, tribun(o) plebis,/ adlecto inter quae­storios, trib(uno)/ militum laticlavio leg(i­onis) XI Claud(iae)/ item tribuno militum­ laticl(avio)/ leg(ionis) XII Fulminatae, de­cem/vir sclitibus iudicandis/ ob singularem abstinentiam/ industriae(ue) ehititae iudicat/ ordo Arminensium/ patrono/206.

M. Aelius Aurelius Theo (2) is also known to have been legatus Augurorum pro praetore provinciae Arabiae and consul designatus.207 The Augusti in this instance are Valerianus and Gallienus who ruled jointly from A.D. 253 until 259. This puts the beginning of the career at ca. A.D. 235-240. The variant spelling of sclitibus (sclitibus) from the third century A.D. is not uncommon.


206 CIL 11. 376.
207 CIL 3. 89.
Titus Flavius Vedius Antoninus (149) and his brother Titus Flavius Vedius Apellas (150) were both IIIiviri viarum curandarum (Ἰόκουρος). Antoninus also a quaestor candidatus and praetor candidatus, while Apellas was only a quaestor candidatus. Their father, Titus Flavius Vedius Antoninus was consul sometime during the reign of the Severans. Groag has suggested a date for Vedius the praetor "sub medium fere saec. III". A date in the A.D. 240's is not inappropriate for them.

---

208 Keil, Forschungen in Ephesos 3, 165, 84-85.
209 PIR² F 392; Degrassi, I fasti, 124.
210 PIR² 393.
211 Cf. p. 92 for a contemporary of those who held multiple offices in the Vigintivirate.
212 CIL 6. 1332.
In a Greek inscription, T. Aelius Naevius Antonius Severus (8) is recorded as being consul. Lanciani has dated this inscription to A.D. 250-251\(^213\) in the reign of Decius. A date in the early A.D. 230'\(^\prime\)s is then appropriate for the holding of the office of **triumvyr capitalis**.

L(ucio) Caesonio Ovinio Manlio/ Rufiniano Basso, c(larissimo) v(iro), cons(uli) II/ pontif(ici) maior, pontif(ici) dei/ solis, salio Falatio, praef/ecto urbis, comiti Aug(ustorum duorum)/ iudici sacrarum cogni- tio/num vice Caesaris sine appel/lationem (sic)/ cognoscenti inter fiscum et privatis, (sic)/ item inter privatos Roma et in provin- c(ia)/ Afric(ae), electo a divo Probo/ ad pre- [side]ndum iud(icio) mag(no),/ proco(n)s(uli) provinciae Afric(ae) tertiun,/ curat(ori) col(oniae) Cathag(iniensium), leg(ato) pro/- vinc(iae) Afric(ae) Cathag(iniensis), cura- t(ori)/ albei Tiberi(s) et cluacerum (sic)/ sac(rae) urb(is), curat(ori) r(ei) p(ublicae) Venvent(anorum) (sic)/ praet(ori) cand(idato), quaes(tori) cand(ato), seviro turmae dedu- cendae,/ triumviro kapitali,/ patrono praes- stantissimo/ Caesonius Achilleus lib[ertlus pos(uit)/214

Barberi has dated the holding of the office of **triumvyr capitalis** to A.D. 250- ca. 255.\(^215\) This is the

\(^{213}\)CIL 6. 31652. Degrassi (I fasti, 208) records this consulship as being in the third century.

\(^{214}\)AE 1964. 223.

latest senatorial *cursus* which has been found in which an office of the Vigintivirate is mentioned. Bassus (49) is only the second *triumvir capitalis* to have been a *salius Palatinus*. The other was L. Virius Lupus Iulianus (382), consul in A.D. 238. This is a clear indication of the weakening of the hierarchy within the Vigintivirate. The patricians no longer held a position of marked political importance except in the traditional religious offices, and the hierarchy of the Vigintivirate was no longer in force.

The foregoing careers, which are considered in chronological order, clearly demonstrate the existence of the Vigintivirate until at least A.D. 250. While it is possible that L. Caesonius Bassus was the last holder of an office in the Vigintivirate, chance makes it extremely unlikely. I must, however, until additional inscriptional information points to the contrary, conclude that after ca. A.D. 250 the Vigintivirate ceased to exist.

The final date of A.D. 260 is suggested by Aurelius Victor: 216 *Senatum militia vetuit et adire exercitum*. This statement in reference to Gallienus, A.D. 253-268, clearly reflects the end of the system which for some 250 years had developed those competent civilian military

216 Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 33-34.
leaders who enjoyed full careers both in the senate and in imperial service. Once a dichotomy was established between the senate and the military, this phase of Roman bureaucracy ended.

THE HOLDERS OF MULTIPLE OFFICES

Although in the normal course of events the holding of only one of the offices of the Vigintivirate was the accepted practice, I have found seven individuals who according to epigraphical evidence held more than one position in the Vigintivirate.

L. Allius (15) was quattuorvir viarum curandarum (οὐδόκουντος), and triumvir monetalis (μονηταλίς). He seems to have pursued his career ca. A.D. 240-250. As has been previously mentioned, this coincides with the final stages of the Vigintivirate. This breakdown in the normal functioning of the Vigintivirate clearly reflects the gradual dissolution of the office. The same characteristics were present in the final stages of the Vigintisexvirate.

L. Marius Vegetinus (238) is recorded as being a

\[^{217}\text{J. Keil and A. Premerstein, "Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien," Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien 57 (1914) 93.}\]

\[^{218}\text{Groag, PIR}^2 \text{ A 542.}\]
triumvir kapit(alis)/ a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo) f(ormando)/, \(^{219}\) and III vir kapitalis a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo) f(ormando)/. \(^{220}\) He pursued his career during the early part of the second century A.D. The slightly compressed styling, in which triumvir is used once for two offices, indicates that he was triumvir capitalis and triumvir montalis. The real significance of the third f in the abbreviation is unknown. It is unique that during a period of stability within the senatorial cursus he would have held two of the offices of the Vigintivirate, especially those two which were at opposite ends of the normal hierarchy of the Vigintivirate. \(^{221}\)

P. Ovidius Naso (277) was triumvir capitalis and decemvir stlitibus iudicandis. \(^{222}\)

P. Paquius Scaeva (282) was decemvir stlitibus iudicandis and quattuorvir capitalis. \(^{223}\)

C. Postumius Propertius (312) held the office of triumvir capitalis and had a prorogation of his

\(^{219}\)CIL 6. 1456.
\(^{220}\)CIL 6. 1455.
\(^{221}\)Cf. p. 35 n. 91.
\(^{222}\)Cf. pp. 49-50 for the discussion concerning Ovid.
\(^{223}\)Cf. pp. 19-20 for a discussion of the career of P. Paquius Scaeva.
triumvirate for a second year.\textsuperscript{224}

An anonymous individual (398) of the Pomptina tribus was \textit{decemvir_stlitibus_iudicandis, triumvir_a.a. a.f.f.,} and \textit{quattuorvir_viarum_curandarum.}\textsuperscript{225} His \textit{cursus,} which is given in ascending order, indicates that he was of plebeian origin, since he held the \textit{tribunatus_plebis.} There is mention of the patrician priesthood, salius Palatinus before the \textit{cursus}, so it is quite probable that he was adlected to the patricians after being \textit{tribunus_plebis}, although there is no mention of this elevation in the inscription. As often, the religious office is displayed not in chronological order, but simply in a position of prominence.

I have found nothing unusual or significant in the remainder of this career which allows a conjecture as to possible date.

On another fragmentary inscription is recorded both the \textit{decemviratus_stlitibus_iudicandis,} and the \textit{quattuorviratus_viarum_curandarum.}\textsuperscript{226} The holder (407) of these two offices is anonymous. There is nothing of significance in the inscription which would allow a

\textsuperscript{224}Cf. pp. 20-21 for a discussion of the career of C. Postumius Propertius.

\textsuperscript{225}\textit{CIL} 11. 1837.

\textsuperscript{226}\textit{CIL} 5. 36.
possible dating.

FRAGMENTS ASSIGNED TO SPECIFIC OFFICES

In addition to those individuals who held multiple offices within the Vigintivirate, although three of the seven careers cited belong to the final decade of the Vigintisexvirate, there is a number of inscriptions whose fragmentary nature does not present a positive identification of the particular office held within the Vigintivirate. This is particularly true in the case of the triumviri_monetales and the triumviri_capitales. For those offices the mere survival of the number is of no help. On the basis of their entire careers, however, it is possible to make a reasonable assertion for a majority of those in question. 227

The following individuals were either triumvir_monetales or triumvir_capitales on the basis of epigraphical evidence.

M(arcus) Annaeus Saturninus Clo/dianus Aelianus v(ir) c(larissimus), leg(atus) leg(ionis) XI Claudiae, cur(ator) viae Latinae, pr(aetor) kandi/datus, trib(unus) pleb(is) kand(idatus),/ [ab ac]tis senatus, quaestor/ [urbam]nus, tri-

b(unus) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae)/ [VI vir eq(uitum) Rom(anorum) triumvirum/...228

227 All statistics used in the following discussion exclude the individual in question.
228 CIL 6. 1337.
Because he held the office of ab actis senatus, M. Annaeus Saturninus (16) was undoubtedly a triumvir monetalis. There are no triumviri capitales who are known to have held the position of ab actis senatus, while four other triumviri monetales did so.  

[L(ucius) Funisulanul]s L(ucl) f(ilius)  
[Anl]i(ensi tribu) Vet[tonianus, co(n)s(ul)],  
[VII vir epulonum, s]godalis Aug(ustalis), pro-
[co(n)s(ul)] pr[ovinc(iae) A[f]rica,  
[leg(a-
tus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provin-
c(iae)  
Delmatiae ite[m provin]ciae Pannoniae/ [item  
Moesiae super(ioris), cura]tor aquar[u[m, cura-
t]or viae Ae[mil(iae)], praet(or)/  
[trib(unus)  
p]leb(is), praef(ectus) aera3ri, quaes[t(or)  
prov(ince) Sic(iliae), trib(unus) mil(itum)  
leg(ionis) V]I vict(ricis), III v[ir a(ere)  
argent]o) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo)]  

L(ucl)io) Funisulano/ L(ucl) f(ilico) Ani(ensi  
tribu) Vettoniano,/ trib(un) mil(itum) leg(i-
onis) VI vict(ricis), quaes/ tori provinciae  
Siciliae/ trib(un) pleb(is), praet(ori),  
leg(at) leg(ionis) III/ Scythic(ae), praef-
f(ecto) aerari Satur/ni, curatori vise Aemi-
liae, co(n)s(ul)/ VII vir(o) epulonum, leg(a-
tus) pro pr(aetore)/ provinc(iae) Delmatiae  
item pro/ vinc(iae) Pannoniae item Moesiae/  
superioris, donato [ab/ imp(erator) Domitiano  
Aug(usto) Germanico]/ bello Dacico coronis  
III/ murali vallari classica aurea/ hastis  
puris IIII vexilis (sic) IIII/ patrono/  
d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)  

---

229 Cf. p. 121.  
230 CIL 11. 571.  
231 CIL 3. 4013.
The holding of the offices of *septemvir epulonum*, *sodalis Augustalis*, and *praefectus aerariorum* makes it probable that L. Funisulanus Vettonianus (156) was a *triumvir monetalis*. There is no *triumvir capitalis* known to have been a *septemvir epulonum*, while there is but one *triumvir monetalis*. There is only one *triumvir capitalis* who was a *praefectus aerarius*, while four *triumviri monetales* held that position. There are five *triumviri captales* who were *sodales*, while thirteen *triumviri monetales* received that honor.

By assigning this fragment to C. Iulius Maximus (187), a known *frater Arvalis* of A.D. 155, and possible consul of A.D. 153 it is possible to list him as a *triumvir monetalis*. There is no known *triumvir capitalis* who was a *frater Arvalis*, while two *triumviri monetales* held that position. On the same basis I have also listed P. Metilius Secundus as a *triumvir monetalis* (see pp. 99–100)

---


233 Cf. p. 125.


235 *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 4. 824.

236 Cf. p. 151.
Even without assigning the fragment to C. Iulius Maximus, it is still probable that the individual in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 4. 824 was a *triumvir_monetalis*. Although there are thirteen *triumviri_capitales* who were *legati legionis* there are none who held this position immediately following the quaestorship. Two *triumviri monetales* are known to have been *legati_legionis* between the quaestorship and praetorship.\

L(ucius) Licinius... [...XV vir s(acris)] f(aciundis), III vir, tr[ib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) V]/ Macedonic[ae et ...Je, adlec[tus a divo]/ Claudio inte[r quaestorios tes]tam-en-[to fieri iussit]/

This is one of several fragments which have been assigned to L. Licinius (214), who began his career during the reign of Claudius. The fragment has been restored to read [...*quindecimvir(o) s(acris)] f(aciundis), *triumvir(o), tr[ib(unus) [mil(itum)]. Although it is clear that the office within the Vigintivirate is not mentioned *in_toto*, the position of *triumvir* in the *cursus* leaves little doubt that this is one of the offices of the Vigintivirate. If this is the case, the significant clue is assessing the vigintiviral office is the holding

---

237Cf. (169) (292).
238Cf. 141.
239CIL 6. 1442.
of the priesthood *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*; only two *triumviri capitales* enjoyed such a distinction. C. Brutius Praesens (50), consul of A.D. 124, and L. Valerius Balbinus (368), consul between A.D. 233 and 256. Because these two careers fall much later in time than that of L. Licinius, and the office under consideration was mainly held by the *triumviri monetales* and *decemviri stritibus iudicandis*, it is likely that L. Licinius was a *triumvire monetalis*.

Although the editors of *CIL* have restored this as *tribuno militum*, it is correctly pointed out in *PIR* that it should read *triumviro*. The basis for this reading is the previous mention of *tribuno militum* in *CIL 11. 3718.*
in the inscription and the location of tri in the fragment. Because P. Metilius Secundus (245) was a quaestor Imperatoris and a frater Arvalis, he must have been a triumvir monetalis. With the exception of the above mentioned C. Iulius Maximus (187), there is no possible triumvir capitalis who was a frater Arvalis.242

niamc oriciv.../ I quaestori k(candidato), triumviro monetal, seviro eq(uitum) R(omanorum) turmae prima, salio Collino[...]/ ... praeplosito iter[u]m.../ ...al]imentor(um) Ru[...243

The anonymous (410) holder of an office in the Vigintivirate is also known to have been a quaestor candidatus, a sevir equitum Romanorum turmae primae, and a salius Collinu. On the basis of these three positions he was a triumvir monetalis. Only two triumvir capi-
tales were salii, while twenty triumvir monetales held that patrician priesthood.244 Eight triumvir capita-
tales were seviri equitum Romanorum, while nineteen triumviri monetales held that position.245 The discussion regard-
ing the quaestor candidatus is found in CIL 9. 3649 which follows.

242 It must be noted that I have listed C. Iulius Maximus (187) as a triumvir monetalis.

243 CIL 6. 1573.

244 Cf. p. 149-150.

245 Cf. p. 139-140.
Ser. Scato (332) seems to me to have been a *triumvir monetalis*. I take the *designatio* in the fragmentary inscription to refer to *quaestor designato* by its position on the fragment. Although five *triumviri capitales* were in fact *quaestores designati*, *candidati*, or *imperatoris*, the far greater occurrence of these designations for the *triumviri monetales* make it more possible that Ser. Scato was a *triumvir monetalis*.

*Marco Metil[io...]/ Siculo [...] III vir(o) [...] trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) [...] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

M. Metilius Siculus (246) is also known to have been a *tribunus militum* of an undetermined legion. The fragmentary nature of the inscription makes it impossible to do more than assign him to the category of *vigintiviri*.

---

246. CIL 9. 3649.
247. CIL 5. 6420.
248. CIL 8. 24597.
It is impossible to make any definite statement regarding which office in the Vigintivirate the practically anonymous -onius (428) enjoyed. He is simply assigned to the category vigintiviri.

The editors of CIL have restored this fragmentary c (141) to mean III Viro viarum curandarum. This is not the usual abbreviation for this office. The abbreviation [X vir(o) stl(itibus) iudi] c(andidis), which is a common form of abbreviation, not only fits on the stone, but is confirmed by the fact that Firmus (141) was a quaestor Augusti, and did not hold the tribunatus plebis. This indication that he was probably a patrician makes it unlikely that he was a quattuorvir viarum curandarum.

L(ucio) Fulvio C(aii) f(ilio) P(omptina tribu)[...]/ Bruttio Praesenti Min[...]/ Valerio Maximo Pompeio L(ucio) [...]/ Valenti Cornelio Proculo [...]/ Aquilio Veientoni

CIL 11. 1834.
The career of C. Brutius Praesens (51), consul for the second time in A.D. 180, is known mainly from CIL 10. 408. There is no mention of his being a vigintivir, although the inscription is destroyed in the portion where such mention would normally be made. Groag has made the assertion in PIR that in fact the mention of an office in the Vigintivirate has actually been lost. On this basis I am considering him to be a vigintivir, notwithstanding the fact that there is no fragmentary suggestion of such an office. He seems to have begun his career during the A.D. 130's. Although a plebeian by birth, he later became a patrician, as is evidenced by his omission of the office of tribunus plebis, and on the basis of being adlected inter patricios. This latter honor is the conjecture of various editors. If this restoration is in fact correct, we must name C. Brutius Praesens a decemvir stilitus iudicandis, or a triumvir monetalis. Of the twenty-three adlected
only two did not begin their careers with one of these offices, a quattuorvir viarum curandarum, and a triumvir capitalis. On the same basis of probability I must name Praesens a triumvir monetalis. Although eleven decemviri stlitibus iudicandis mention adlection to the patricians in their cursus, while only ten triumviri monetales do so, this mention occurs in a far greater proportion for the triumviri monetales.

There are three individuals whose careers are known primarily from literature, and whose position within the Vigintivirate is nowhere attested. These individuals are Nero Iulius Caesar (180), L. Iunius Silanus (205), and Cn. Pompeius Magnus (298). While it is true that Nero was quite possibly excused from the requirement, on the basis of his being flamen, frater Arvalis, pontifex, sodalis, and fetialis, and a member of the imperial family, I am listing him as a triumvir monetalis. For similar reasons I am listing both L. Iunius Silanus and Cn. Pompeius Magnus as triumviri monetales. Each was a patrician and member of the imperial family, each was a frater Arvalis, and the former was a salius Palatinus while the latter was a pontifex. The careers of the latter two seem to indicate that they were triumviri monetales. The only question with regard to Nero Iulius

---

Cf. p. 154.
Caesar is whether he was actually excused from the Vigintivirate.\textsuperscript{252}

While there are several fragmentary inscriptions which have been included within the corpus of vigintiviri, there are three which I am rejecting on epigraphical grounds.

\begin{verbatim}
Itricis leg(ato) leg(ionis) XI Claud(iae)
sodal(i) Tit[i/] [s quaest(ori) vrb(ano)]
qui vix(it) ann(is) X[/ ]...iani c pr...[/
\end{verbatim}

This anonymous individual has been presented by the editors as a \textit{decemvir stlitibus iudicandis}. This listing is based on the survival of the letter \textit{s}, representing \textit{[iudicandis]}. I have two reasons for rejecting this reading. In the inscription which lists the \textit{cursus} in descending order, the \textit{s} comes before \textit{quaestor}. It should follow the quaestorship in descending order. Secondly, the inscription has several abbreviations in it, and I would expect \textit{stlitibus iudicandis} to be abbreviated also. This would rule out such an office.

A fragmentary inscription to L. Tampius Flavianus in \textit{CIL} 10. 6225 has been recently restored with the

\begin{verbatim}
252Cf. pp. 63-64 for a further discussion of these three individuals.
253\textit{CIL} 14. 3518.
\end{verbatim}
suggestion that Flavianus was a **triumvir**, with no further specification. There is no evidence for this in the inscription. While the restoration is, in fact, quite satisfactory for a holder of the Vigintivirate, and perhaps a **triumvir monetalis**, I must reject the restoration as having no basis other than total conjecture.

...vir.../...rib.../...tori.../...

This inscription is too fragmentary to be certain that it actually refers to a **vigintivir**.

**SUMMARY REMARKS**

The complete system, then, has as its main purpose the gradual development of competent military statesmen whose function it was to maintain and govern the Empire, especially the various provinces, in the name of the Emperor and the Senate. So long as competent individuals were produced, the system continued in existence. So long as the Empire was not severely threatened from without, the system functioned in spite of serious internal upheavals. So long as the Senate was the body from which

---


these leaders came, the system continued. When serious external pressures arose and forced a too rapid advancement and the utilization of the nearest and not the most qualified general, the system began to deteriorate. When the Senate became alienated from the Emperor and its removal from the military occurred, the system of career development which began with Vigintivirate and \textit{tribunatus militum} became meaningless. At that time, the Vigintivirate ceased to exist.
In this chapter will be presented lists containing prosopographical material which relates to the individual vigintiviri and the various civil, military, and religious offices and honors which fall within the scope of the senatorial career. These lists contain the identification numbers of the vigintiviri\(^{256}\) arranged by individual office within the Vigintivirate. Each list will be accompanied by those statistical data and preliminary remarks which will assist the reader in following the arguments in the concluding chapter. The remarks relating to the statistical data in this chapter will be limited to those significant deviations among individual offices, but will not encompass the broader concept of career tendencies or patterns which will be presented in the conclusions.

The reader must bear in mind that all data presented here are derived from epigraphical remains, and that a great portion is fragmentary. Roughly 8% of the total possible number of holders have been collected in this study. While it is hoped that this group is

\(^{256}\)See Appendix A pp. 169-189.
statistically significant, all remarks based on these data will be cautiously stated. New epigraphical finds may indeed alter the findings of this study, but the new insights on various aspects of the senatorial career and its relationships to the Vigintivirate are based on the most complete body of evidence which is available. While it is possible that certain individuals held offices and honors which were not recorded, the data presented here reflect only those offices which were recorded or reasonably conjectured on the basis of epigraphical fragments.

The lists will be presented in the following order:

**Civil offices at Rome:**

- cursus honorum
- quaestor
- tribunus plebis
- aedilis
- praetor
- consul

**Other offices:**

- ab actis senatus
- curator viarum
- curator of other public works
- praefectus frumenti dandi ex senatus consulto
- praefectus aerarii
- praefectus urbi
- praefectus urbi feriarum Latinarum

**Civil offices in Italy:**

- praefectus alimentorum
- curator rei publicae
- iuridicus
Civil-military offices in the provinces:

- **legatus provinciae**
- **proconsul**
- **censor**
- unspecified **legatus**

Military offices and honors:

- **tribunus militum**
- **sevir turmae equitum Romanorum**
- **legatus legionis**
- **dona militaria**
- **ornamenta triumphalia**

Religious offices:

Major priesthoods:

- **pontifex**
- **flamen**
- **augur**
- **quindecimvir sacris faciundis**
- **septemvir epulonum**

Minor priesthoods:

- **salius**
- **frater Arvalis**
- **fetialis**
- **sodalis**

Others honors:

- adlected patricians
- **comes**

The statistics in the following lists are to be interpreted thusly:

the first ratio represents the number of individuals in the vigintiviral office who held the office in question, e.g., 69 of 85 or 81.3% of the **monetales** were quaestors. Of these 69, 43 or 62.4% were **quaestores Augusti** or **candidati**; of the 69, 32 or 46.4% served as **tribunus militum**.
### QUAESTOR


*quaestor Augusti or candidatus*

| tribunus militum |

| 69/85=81.3% | 43/69=62.4% | 32/69=46.4% |

### VIA


*quaestor Augusti or candidatus*

| tribunus militum |

| 56/75=74.7% | 8/56=14.3% |

*quaestor Augusti or candidatus*

| tribunus militum |

| 8/56=14.3% |

### STL


*quaestor Augusti or candidatus*

| tribunus militum |

| 69/85=81.3% | 43/69=62.4% | 32/69=46.4% |

*quaestor Augusti or candidatus*

| tribunus militum |

| 148/199=73.7% | 49/148=33.1% | 90/148=60.8% |

*quaestor Augusti or candidatus*

| tribunus militum |

| 56/75=74.7% | 8/56=14.3% | 8/56=14.3% |
There is no justification on the basis of epigraphical evidence to the statement that the tribunatus militum and the vigintiviratus were both requirements for entry to the cursus honorum. There was a tendency for both positions to be held, with 57.5% of those who were quaestores recording both positions. There seems to be a stronger tendency for the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis and quattuorviri viarum curandarum to hold both. The variation between the individual offices of the Vigintivirate and tribunatus militum is roughly the same as that between the tribunatus militum and the quaestorship.

There is, however, a very definite connection between the Vigintivirate and the cursus honorum, with at least 75% of those who record an office in the Vigintivirate also showing the quaestorship in their career. This suggests that while the tribunatus militum may have may have been helpful for entry to the cursus, the Vigintivirate was practically essential.
The *triumviri monetales* most frequently entered the *cursus honorum* as *quaestor Augusti* or *candidatus* with almost two of every three holding one of these positions. Only one-third of the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* and one of seven *quattuorviri viarum curandarum* and *triumviri capitales* record either of these titles.
There is no significant variation between holding the individual offices of the Vigintivirate and the tribunatus plebis. Approximately 40% of those who record the Vigintivirate list the tribunatus plebis.
The patricians were excluded from this office. This accounts for the low percentage of *triumviri monetales* who served as *tribuni plebis*. The *quattuorviri viarum curandarum* show a very slightly higher percentage of advancement than do the other magistrates, but the difference does not seem to be significant.

Of the sub-group *candidati* the percentage definitely reflects the hierarchy descending from *triumviratus monetalis* to *triumviratus capitalis*. 
The office of aedile seems to be evenly divided among the decemviri stipitibus iudicandis, quattuorviri viarum curandarum, and triumviri capitaes, with the triumviri capitaes showing the slightly higher percentage. The patricians were exempt from this office. This accounts for the low percentage of triumviri monetales who served as aedile. Only two individuals, both decemviri stipitibus iudicandis, record being candidati.

Those individuals who had previously served in the tribunatus militum appear to have been preferred for this office, as 64% of the aediles recorded preliminary military experience.
PRAETOR


56/85 = 65.6%
candidatus 13/56 = 23.2%
tribunus militum 25/56 = 44.7%


114/199 = 57.3%
candidatus 30/114 = 26.3%
tribunus militum 76/114 = 66.7%


47/75 = 62.7%
candidatus 2/47 = 4.3%
tribunus militum 31/47 = 66.0%

CAP 11, 20, 50, 52, 57, 63, 64, 77, 98, 124, 126, 128, 148, 160, 163, 171, 185, 201, 238, 250, 255, 282, 290, 312, 331, 368, 382, 446

29/43 = 67.4%
candidatus 3/29 = 10.3%
tribunus militum 16/29 = 55.4%

246/402 = 61.5%
The praetorship seems to be fairly evenly distributed among the holders of the Vigintivirate. The decemviri stlitibus iudicandis do show a slightly lower percentage of advancement than do the holders of the other offices. The triumviri monetales and the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis represent a far greater proportion of the subgroup candidati than the holders of the other two magistracies. This indicates that at this stage of their careers, the successful triumviri monetales and decemviri stlitibus iudicandis were more apt to be chosen for advancement.

The decemviri stlitibus iudicandis and the quattuorviri viarum curandarum show a greater tendency to have had previous service as tribuni militum. Approximately 25 of the triumviri monetales and decemviri stlitibus iudicandis record being candidati. Even at this stage of their careers, these two groups seem to be singled out for advancement.
In considering the relationship between the individual offices of the Vigintivirate and the *cursus honorum*, I have found no significant variations until the office of *consul*. The deviation with regard to the *tribunus plebis* and the *aedilitas* is to be expected, because the patricians, who for the most part were *triumviri monetales*, were ineligible for the tribunate
and exempt from the office of aedile. While slightly more than 50% of the *triumviri monetales* achieved the rank of *consul*, the percentage for the *vigintiviri* as a whole is only 32.6 and it drops to a low of 26 in the case of the *triumviri capitales*. This indicates that although all *vigintiviri* had relatively the same opportunity of advancing through the praetorship, the consulate was more difficult to achieve for those whose rank and qualities had not brought them service as *triumviri monetales*. The *quattuorviri viarum curandarum* also show a stronger tendency toward the consulship than do the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* and the *triumviri capitales*. One parallel to this prominence for the *quattuorviri* is found among those who held the *tribunatus militum* (q.v. pp. 114-115). 60% of the *quattuorviri* record the tribunate, while 55.3% of the *decemviri* and 55.8% of the *triumviri capitales* do so. Modest as these differences are, in the light of the slight advantage of the *quattuorviri* for the consulship, they may reflect the preference for the military and public works experience these offices provide.

Previous service as *tribunus militum* seems to have been almost an essential prerequisite for all but the *triumviri monetales*. The *quattuorviri viarum curandarum* show the greatest relationship between the *tribunatus militum* and the consulship.
Although there are only sixteen recorded holders of this office, evidence suggests that there was a greater tendency for the holder of the ab_actis_senatus to be selected from among the triumviri_monetales or quattuorviri_viarum_curandarum. Service as tribunus_militum was apparently helpful in the early careers of the holders of the ab_actis_senatus.
### CURATOR VIARUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MON</th>
<th>16, 30, 60, 67, 69, 156, 249, 271, 391, 433</th>
<th>10/85 = 11.8%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tribunus militum</td>
<td></td>
<td>7/10 = 70.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribunus militum</td>
<td></td>
<td>15/22 = 68.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIA</td>
<td>22, 37, 102, 116, 121, 142, 186, 236, 241, 294, 297, 313, 341, 349, 393</td>
<td>15/75 = 20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribunus militum</td>
<td></td>
<td>9/15 = 60.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAP</td>
<td>20, 50, 52, 160, 282, 290, 312</td>
<td>7/43 = 16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribunus militum</td>
<td></td>
<td>5/7 = 72.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54/402 = 13.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Preliminary service under the supervision of the aedile is indicated as beneficial for being selected as a \textit{curator viarum}. Both the \textit{quattuorviri viarum curandarum} and the \textit{triurnviri capitales} by the nature of their preliminary experience were those most qualified for the office of \textit{curator viarum}. Previous service as a \textit{tribunus militum} can be considered to have been a prerequisite for this position for all but the \textit{quattuorviri viarum curandarum} whose experience in road maintenance seems to have given them an advantage for this position of \textit{curator viarum}. 
CURATOR OF OTHER PUBLIC WORKS

MON 69, 100, 122, 156, 194, 245, 249, 264, 366, 373, 394

tribunus militum 11/85=12.9%
8/11=72.8%

STL 62, 75, 89, 138, 266, 267, 293, 336, 364, 371, 384, 461

tribunus militum 12/199=6.0%
7/12=58.3%

VIA 22, 26, 65, 121, 248, 341, 349

tribunus militum 7/75=9.3%
5/7=72.5%

CAP 50, 52, 63, 64, 105, 126, 368

tribunus militum 7/43=16.3%
6/7=85.7%

37/402=9.2%

With the exception of the curator viarum, the triumvir monetales and triumvir capitales show a greater tendency to hold service in the various curatorships at Rome. Evidence suggests that service as tribunus militum was a necessary prerequisite for this office.

When all the curatorships are considered together, eighteen or 21.3% of the triumvir monetales, thirty-three or 16.6% of the decemvir stilitibus iudicandis, eighteen or 24% of the quattuorvir viarum curanderum, and twelve or 22.9% of the triumvir capitales, held at least one curatorship.
**PRAEFECTUS FRUMENTI DANDI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MON 184, 238, 347</th>
<th>3/85 = 3.6%</th>
<th>tribunus_militum 1/3 = 33.3%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STL 17, 75, 83, 87, 212, 258, 274, 287, 303, 323, 358, 371, 384</td>
<td>14/199 = 7.0%</td>
<td>tribunus_militum 9/14 = 64.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIA 76, 102, 116, 196</td>
<td>4/75 = 5.3%</td>
<td>tribunus_militum 3/4 = 75.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAP 11, 57, 160, 238</td>
<td>4/43 = 9.1%</td>
<td>tribunus_militum 1/4 = 25.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25/402 = 6.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The **triumviri capitales** and **decemviri stlitibus iudicandis** show a slightly greater tendency to have served as **praefectus frumenti dandi**. The **decemviri stlitibus iudicandis** and **quattuorviri viarum curandarum** record a much higher percentage of individuals who had previously held the **tribunatus militum**.
The triumviri capitales demonstrate little connection with the office of praefectus aerarii. The holders of this office are fairly evenly distributed among the other magistrates of the Vigintivirate, although relative few record service as a praefectus aerarii. The tribunatus militum is a virtual requirement for the position as praefectus aerarii. When the subgroups praefectus aerarii Saturni and praefectus aerarii militaris are considered, they are evenly divided among the holders of an office in the Vigintivirate, so no significance can be drawn regarding these subgroups in career tendencies for the vigintiviri.
PRAEFECTUS URBI

MON 224
tribunus militum 1/85 = 1.8%
0/1 = 0%

STL 62, 138, 166, 301
tribunus militum 4/199 = 2.0%
2/4 = 50.0%

VIA 225, 236
tribunus militum 2/75 = 2.7%
2/2 = 100.0%

CAP 212
tribunus militum 1/43 = 2.3%
1/1 = 100.0%
8/462 = 1.8%

The office of praefectus urbi seems to be evenly distributed among the holders of the individual offices of the Vigintivirate. While the quattuorviri viarum curandarum and triumviri capitales who held this position do record the tribunatus militum more often, there are not enough praefecti urbi to make any positive statements about this relationship.
This honorary position was almost the exclusive privilege of the *triumviri monetales*. While the few holders of this position who were not *triumviri monetales* all display service as *tribuni militum*, none of the *triumviri monetales* do so. 70% of the holders of this honor are known to have been patricians.
Those individuals who began their careers as triumviri monetales were praefecti alimentorum in greater proportion than the holders of the other offices of the Vigintivirate. There is not a sufficient number of holders of this office to allow any positive statements concerning its relationship with the tribunatus militum.
The quattuorviri viarum curandarum and the trium-viri capitales record the office of curator rei publicae slightly more frequently than do the other vigintiviri. The triumviri capitales show the greatest tendency toward this office. Service as tribunus militum becomes more of a factor in selection as curator rei publicae as the individual's rank within the Vigintivirate decreases.
The office of *iuridicus* is recorded by a greater proportion of the *quattuorviri viraum curandarum* than of the remaining members of the Vigintivirate. The holding of the *tribunatus militum* seems to have been important in the early careers of the *iuridici*, except for those who were *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*. 
There is no significant variation among the legati provinciae with respect to their individual offices in the Vigintivirate. The quattuorviri viarum curandarum and the triumviri capitales, however, do show a slightly greater tendency to hold this position. There is a
close relationship between the *triumviratus militum* and service as *legatus provinciae* in that almost 70% of the legati record the *tribunatus militum*.
There is a definite relationship between the individual offices of the Vigintivirate and the office of proconsul. This relationship does not show itself clearly in the total group of proconsuls where approximately 24 of the vigintiviri record a proconsulate.
However, when the subgroups listing the proconsulate of Asia or Africa is considered, 60% of the *triumviri monetales* who were proconsuls held the office in either Asia or Africa. This is in sharp contrast to the overall percentage of 34.3. The *quattuorviri viarum curanderum* and the *triumviri capitales* also show a greater tendency to proconsulate of Asia and Africa than of the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*.

There is also a strong relationship between the holding of the *tribunatus militum* and the proconsulate of Asia and Africa for all but the *triumviri monetales*. While the other magistrates of the Vigintivirate show a percentage of 75 or above for this position, only 55.6% of the *triumviri monetales* who list themselves as *proconsul Asiae or Africae* record the *tribunatus militum*. 
The office of *censor* was evenly distributed among the holders of the Vigintivirate. There are not enough holders of this office among the *vigintiviri* to establish any career tendencies. Previous service as *tribunus militum* seems to have a positive relationship with the office of *censor*. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MON</td>
<td>100, 170, 194</td>
<td>3/85 = 3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STL</td>
<td>10, 211, 267, 461</td>
<td>4/199 = 2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIA</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>1/75 = 1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAP</td>
<td>98, 250</td>
<td>2/43 = 4.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Those individuals whose office as legatus survives only in fragmentary condition are in a majority of the instances decemviri stlitibus iudicandis. These individuals also indicate by the remainder of their careers that service as tribunus militum was a positive factor in consideration of candidates for the position as legatus.
**TRIBUNUS MILITUM**

**MON** 1, 15, 16, 30, 40, 51, 58, 60, 69, 70, 71, 80, 118, 122, 152, 156, 160, 170, 172, 194, 195, 197, 202, 204, 214, 217, 233, 245, 246, 249, 264, 332, 347, 373, 398, 401, 409, 433


**CAP** 8, 12, 20, 41, 50, 52, 63, 64, 105, 124, 126, 148, 160, 163, 167, 171, 178, 185, 201, 250, 255, 263, 290, 309

**TRIBUNUS MILITUM**

\[
\text{tribunus_militum}^* \frac{38}{85} = 44.7\%
\]

\[
\text{tribunus_militum}^* \frac{2}{38} = 5.3\%
\]

\[
\text{tribunus_militum}^* \frac{110}{199} = 55.3\%
\]

\[
\text{tribunus_militum}^* \frac{45}{75} = 60.0\%
\]

\[
\text{tribunus_militum}^* \frac{4}{45} = 8.9\%
\]

\[
\text{tribunus_militum}^* \frac{24}{43} = 55.8\%
\]

\[
\text{tribunus_militum}^* \frac{8}{24} = 33.3\%
\]

\[
\text{tribunus_militum}^* \frac{217}{402} = 54.0\%
\]

*tribunatus held before the Vigintivirate
Service as *tribunus militum* was a regular but not necessary feature of the careers of the *decemviri stlitibus iuricandis*, *quattuorviri viarum curandarum*, and *triumviri capitales*. The *triumviri monetales* held the *tribunatus militum* far less regularly than did the other members of the Vigintivirate. For those who held both offices, the normal sequence was a position in the Vigintivirate followed by the *tribunatus militum*. It was, however, more common for the *triumviri capitales* to record their service as *tribunus militum* prior to their position in the Vigintivirate much more frequently than the holders of the other offices of the Vigintivirate. Of those individuals whom I have been able to date, this phenomenon of holding prior service as *tribunus militum*, occurs during the first century A.D. in 79 of the cases with a majority of these having begun their careers under the Julio-Claudians.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEVIR TURMAE EQUITUM ROMANORUM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MON 1, 7, 16, 58, 69, 70, 108, 118, 155, 204, 240, 245, 253, 268, 271, 299, 366, 394, 401, 410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribunus militum 20/85=23.5% 9/20=45.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STL 3, 17, 19, 21, 25, 36, 46, 56, 103, 104, 106, 132, 139, 147, 166, 173, 177, 188, 198, 210, 211, 212, 237, 247, 252, 272, 273, 283, 287, 293, 296, 304, 305, 348, 352, 353, 357, 369, 400, 420, 434, 451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribunus militum 42/199=21.0% 23/42=54.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIA 22, 26, 38, 59, 65, 102, 116, 196, 199, 241, 269, 294, 415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribunus militum 13/75=17.5% 9/13=69.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAP 8, 64, 77, 124, 368, 382, 416, 446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribunus militum 8/43=18.6% 3/8=37.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The holders of the seviratus equitum Romanorum show no significant variation in their distribution among the individual offices of the Vigintivirate. This is contrary to the contention of Brassloff\textsuperscript{257} who stated that this position was closed to the triumviri capitales.

There seems to be no definite relationship between the sevir and the tribunatus militum since approximately 50\% of the vigintiviri and 50\% of the seviri record service as tribuni militum.

The triumviri monetales do show a slightly greater tendency toward this honor than do the rest of the vigintiviri. This is possibly because the patricians, who for the most part were triumviri monetales, were favored with positions of honor.

\textsuperscript{257}S. Brassloff, "Sevirat und Vigintivirat," \textit{Wiener Studien} 32 (1910) 117-121.
The quattuorviri viarum curandarum record the office of legatus legionis in a greater proportion than do the other holders of the other offices of the Vigintivirate. The great majority of all vigintiviri who were legati legionis also record the tribunatus militum. This latter office evidently was a requirement for even the triumviri monetales.
The *quattuorviri viarum curandarum* received this military honor in a greater proportion than did the rest of the *vigintiviri*. There seems to be a positive relationship between the *tribunatus militum* and the awarding of *dona militarum* for all but the *triumviri monetales*. 
None of the holders of the decemviratus stlitibus iudicandis or triumviratus capitalis record receiving the ornamenta triumphalia. It is unusual that the triumviri monetales, who have consistently shown a lower proportion of service in military-oriented positions, should record the higher percentage of reception of the ornamenta triumphalia.

Tacitus (Ann. 15. 72. 1.) records the fact that Nero bestowed ornamenta triumphalia on three individuals who assisted in the progression of the Pisonian conspiracy. Inasmuch as one of these was the future emperor Nerva as praetor designatus and another a consular, it is apparent that the ornamenta were not granted only for achievement in battle or on military campaign.
The office of pontifex while open to all after 300 B.C., remained primarily a patrician office. This accounts for the almost exclusive holding of the pontificate by those who served as triumviri monetales. It is also significant that although 50% of the other holders of the pontificate record service as tribunus militum, only 20% of the triumviri monetales do so. A satisfactory patrician career was evidently available without the tribunatus militum and could include such a choice priesthood as the pontificate.
The office of flamen as a section of the pontifical college seems to be the prerogative of the patricians. As was the case of the office of pontifex, the tribunus militum was apparently not required for the triumviri monetales.
The office of augur was practically limited to those who began their careers as triumviri monetales or decemviri stlitibus iudicandis, with the triumviri monetales holding this office in a much higher proportion. The tribunatus militum does appear to have been helpful for the triumviri monetales, especially for the quattuorviri viarum curandarum and triumviri capitales, on very limited evidence.
Of less prestige than the offices of pontifex or flamen, the quindecimvir sacris faciundis was more available to those who began their careers as decemviri stlitibus iudicandis, quattuorviri viarum curandarum, and triumviri capitales. A higher percentage of the triumviri monetales, however, held this office. While the serving as tribunus militia does not seem to be a requirement for the triumviri monetales, it does so far the rest of the vigintiviri, particularly the quattuorviri viarum curandarum.
The youngest and least prestigious of the major priesthoods, the *septemvir epulonum* was more readily open to those who began their careers as *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* and *quattuorviri viarum curandarum*. It did remain closed to the *triumviri capitales*, who were the lowest ranking of the *vigintiviri*. Service as *tribunus militum* does appear to have been a requirement for attaining this priesthood.
The office of salius was the only priesthood which remained closed to the plebeians. It must be noted that those individuals who were quattuorviri viarum curandarum or triumviri capitales held these offices during the last twenty-five years of the Vigintivirate, a period when the hierarchy of the offices was no longer important, but the traditional religious requirements were still demanded. It is evident that most patricians gravitated to the office of triumvir moneytales, while those who were perhaps less able were chosen to be decemvir stlitibus iudicandis, more on the basis of family background than on ability. While
service as *tribunus_militum* was not required for the *triumviri_monetales*, it does seem to be for the *decemviri_stlitibus_iudicandis*.
The triumviri monetales show a greater tendency toward the office of frater Arvalis than do the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis and quattuorviri viarum curandarum. Service as tribunus militum does not appear to have been necessary for the triumviri monetales and decemviri stlitibus iudicandis.
The office of fetialis was evenly divided among the offices of the Vigintivirate. The triumviri monetales and guattuorviri viarum curandarum who were fetiales show a much greater tendency to have had service as tribunus militum.
The triumviri monetales and quattuorviri viarum curandarum show a greater proportion of membership in the office of sodalis than do the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis. Previous service as tribunus militum is important in the appointment of sodales for those vigintivirii who were not triumviri monetales.
ADLECTED PATRICIANS

MON  39, 51, 69, 162, 172, 240, 264, 291, 373, 392, 394
tribunus militia 11/85=13.0%
tribunus militum 5/11=45.5%

STL  31, 62, 104, 130, 132, 283, 284, 391, 402, 429
tribunus militum 10/199= 5.0%
tribunus militum 5/10=50.0%

VIA  129
tribunus militum 1/85= 1.3%
tribunus militum 1/1=100.0%

CAP  148
tribunus militum 1/43= 2.3%
tribunus militum 1/1=100.0%
237/402= 5.7%

Those individuals who begun their careers as triumviri monetales show the highest rate of achievement of this office. Together with the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis they show a lesser degree of involvement with the tribunatus militum than of the quattuorviri viarum curandarum and triumviri capitales who were adlected.
A higher percentage of the *triumviri monetales* record receiving the title *comes*. All members of the Vigintivirate with the exception of the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* show a definite relationship between the title *comes* and the *tribunatus militum*. 

| COMES       | MON 51, 60, 122, 170, 195, 292, 296, 302, 377 | 9/85 = 10.5% |
|            | STL 3, 61, 89, 138, 203, 266, 272, 280, 315, 335, 419, 461 | 5/9 = 55.6% |
|            | VIA 219, 390 | 12/199 = 6.0% |
|            | CAP 63, 64 | 2/43 = 4.5% |
|            |             | 2/75 = 2.6% |
|            |             | 2/75 = 2.6% |
|            |             | 1/2 = 50.0% |
|            |             | 2/2 = 100.0% |
|            |             | 25/402 = 6.2% |
CHAPTER FOUR
CONCLUSIONS

The stated intention of this investigation was to examine the epigraphical evidence for the history of the Vigintiviratus during the Empire. In the gathering of data I have been able to compile a list of all known imperial vigintiviri,\textsuperscript{258} and all republican vigintisexviri with the exception of those monetales who fall before the scope of FIR. These monetales may be found in MRR 2, pp. 427-461. I have also attempted to establish a chronological list of all the vigintiviri by individual office.\textsuperscript{259} At the end of the listing for each office I have placed those individuals whom I have not been able to date to a specific period.\textsuperscript{260}

The data regarding the vigintiviri have permitted consideration of the following areas:

- the relationship between social rank and the individual offices in the Vigintiviratus;
- the holding of the Vigintiviratus and the tribunatus militum as it affected the subsequent senatorial career;

\textsuperscript{258} Appendix A, pp. 169-189
\textsuperscript{259} Appendix B, pp. 190-198
\textsuperscript{260} For a sample of dating procedures and caution regarding the relative dating cf. Appendix B, pp. 190-191.
the relationship between the individual offices of the Vigintivirate and the subsequent senatorial career.

**SOCIAL RANK AND THE VIGINTIVIRATE**

Epigraphical evidence clearly demonstrates that a positive relationship existed between patrician rank and the *triumviratus monetalis* and, to a lesser degree, the *decemviratus stlitibus iudicandis*. Although a majority of the patricians who record the Vigintivirate also record serving as *triumviri monetales*, more than a few did serve as *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*. This substantiates the ranking among the individual offices of the Vigintivirate. The most promising patrician candidates were selected to be *triumviri monetales*. Those less promising patricians were selected to be *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*. Of the thirty-five *triumviri monetales* who indicate patrician rank by advancement to the praetorship without holding the *tribunatus plebis* or aedileship, twenty-four were also consuls, while only ten of the nineteen patrician praetors who began their careers as *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* advanced to the consulship.

The major priesthoods, while open to both patrician and plebeian, were held in most instances by individuals who had begun their careers as *triumviri monetales* or
decemviri stlitibus iudicandis, with the triumviri monetales recording a higher percentage of membership in all but the septemviratus epulonum. This latter priesthood was of more recent origin than the other major priesthoods and was instituted with a view toward the expansion of plebeian potential in office.

Of those individuals who served in the patrician priesthood, the salii, 59.1% were triumviri monetales and 32.4% were decemviri stlitibus iudicandis. This overwhelming percentage of patricians in the two colleges further confirms the ranking among the vigintiviral offices.

The social rank of the individual seems to have played a more important role in selection of the vigintiviri than did ability. Normally patricians were selected first for the favored colleges, and then plebeians. Later careers of individuals reveal, however, that outstanding plebeian candidates were selected as triumviri monetales ahead of patricians of lesser ability. There was a tendency for the patricians to serve as triumviri monetales, and for all but a few plebeians to begin their careers in the other three offices of the Vigintivirate. Ninety-one percent of those vigintiviri, however, who record being adlected inter patricios were either triumviri monetales or decemviri stlitibus.
Both of these aspects of the relationship between high social rank and the Vigintivirate substantiate the assumption that the political aspirants of the patrician and most influential plebeian families were selected to serve as vigintiviri in one of the two highest ranking offices of the Vigintivirate, the triumviratus monetalis or the decemviratus stlitibus iudicandis.

It must be kept in mind, however, that the most prestigious offices of the Vigintivirate did not necessarily lead to the most complete or distinguished political careers.

THE VIGINTIVIRATE AND THE TRIBUNATUS MILITUM

Although a major aspect of the Roman political career development was the combined civil-military service, there are very few offices where the vigintiviri as a group display service as tribunatus militum in a percentage which would indicate that such preliminary military service was actually a requirement.

Epigraphical evidence indicates that this service was a common, but not necessary factor for entering a senatorial career. The triumviri monetales show the least percentage of recorded service in the tribunatus militum and the quattuorviri viarum curandarum, the
highest. The **triumviri_monetales** consistently record the lowest percentage of service in the **tribunatus militum** in all the offices considered.

In advancing to the consulship, only 36.4% of the **triumviri_monetales** record service in the **tribunatus militum**, while 72.5% of the **quattuorviri_viarum_curandarum** do so.

**Vigintiviri** who served as **tribuni_plebis**, **aedilis**, **curatores** of public works other than the **viae**, **praefecti aerarii**, **censitores**, **legati_provinciae**, **legati_legionis**, **augures**, and **septemviri_epulonum** record service as **tribuni_militum** in more than 50% of the cases in each college. For all other offices considered in this study, the members of at least one of the colleges in the Vigintivirate, usually the **triumviri_monetales**, record less than 50% participation in the **tribunatus_militum**.

This evidence suggests that the **tribunatus_militum** was not a necessary feature of preliminary service required for entry to the **cursus_honorum**, but that it was only one factor which was taken into consideration for the advancement of a particular individual. For all but the **triumviri_monetales**, the **tribunatus_militum** was a regular feature of the initial stage of career development. The patrician **vigintiviri**, as a privileged class, were apparently not required to have the same
qualifications and military experience for career development as the other members of the Vigintivirate. When the *triumviri monetales* are excluded from consideration, the remaining *vigintiviri* record at least 50% participation in the *tribunatus militum* in all positions but those of *praefectus frumenti dandi, sevir turmae equitum Romanorum, flamen, fetialis, frater Arvalis, and comes*. This indicates that the patricians, who usually held a position in the favored *triumviratus monetalis*, received special consideration in most aspects of their public careers.

Epigraphical evidence indicates that the normal sequence for holding the two preliminary positions was the Vigintivirate followed by the *tribunatus militum*. Where both offices are recorded, 89% recorded the Vigintivirate before the tribunate. All datable examples in which the *tribunatus militum* is recorded as being held first fall within the first century and a half of the Empire, with the majority of these occurring under the Julio-Claudians. The holding of the *tribunatus militum* before the Vigintivirate was rare for all but the *triumviri capitales*, of whom 33.3% record this sequence.
The triumviri monetales show the most favorable ratio of advancement in the cursus honorum, with 51.8% achieving the consulship. In every priesthood but the septemviratus epulonum and the office of fetialis, a higher percentage of the triumviri monetales hold membership. This exceptional achievement in the cursus honorum and the religious offices suggests that the triumviratus monetalis was both distinctive and desirable, and perhaps more than any other office of the Vigintivirate could assure in these two branches of public service.

Conversely, however, in the areas which I have designated as other offices at Rome, civil offices in Italy, and civil-military offices in the provinces, the triumviri monetales rank third in percentage of achievement and fourth in achievement of military offices and honors.

They rank first in ratio of advancement in all areas of the cursus honorum with the exception of the tribunatus plebis and aedileship for reasons which have been previously discussed. In the other areas they rank first among the praefecti frumenti dandi, proconsules Africae or Asiae, seviri turmae equitum Romanorum, those who received ornamenta triumphalia, all priesthoods but
the septemviratus epulonum and office of fetialis, comites, and adlected patricians.

The decemviri stlitibus iudicandis, although they were either patricians or presumably from the most influential plebeian families, record the lowest ratio of achievement in the cursus honorum, other offices at Rome, civil offices in Italy, civil-military offices in the provinces, and they rank third in military offices and honors and religious offices. There are only two positions in which they rank first in percentage of attainment, the group of unspecified legati and the septemviratus epulonum. Of the six vigintiviri who record receiving ornamenta triumphalia, none is a decemvir.

The only area where the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis achieved the success that their position in the hierarchy of the Vigintivirate would seem to warrant was in the major priesthoods and that of salius where they rank second in percentage of achievement overall. However, they rank fourth in the case of pontificate.

I have been able to find no satisfactory explanation as to why a group of individuals composed of patricians and presumably the more influential plebeians would display so consistently such lackluster careers. Perhaps the quirk of epigraphical finds may play some role in the unexpected picture of career development among the
decemviri_stlitibus_iudicandis, but until evidence to
the contrary is discovered, I must accept the ranking of
decemviratus_stlitibus_iudicandis as second in the
hierarchy of the Vigintivirate. The decemviri_stlitibus
iudicandis, however, in general did not advance in their
later careers to the degree indicated by the rank of
their initial office. One possible explanation is that
election of the decemviratus_stlitibus_iudicandis was
based on family prestige rather than demonstrated ability.
When ability became more important than family background,
other members of the Vigintivirate show a greater per-
centage of achievement.

The quattuorviri_viarum_curandarum rank second in
ratio of achievement in the cursus_honorum. They
achieved the tribunatus_plebis most often and nearly
39 of the quattuorviri_viarum_curandarum record service
as consul. In the six general categories which I have
previously discussed, the quattuorviri_viarum_curandarum
ranked either first or second in ratio of achievement.
Their percentage is highest in the other offices at Rome,
civil-military offices in the provinces, and military
offices and honors, and second in the cursus_honorum,
civil offices in Italy, and religious offices. They
were most likely to hold positions as ab_actis_senatus,
curatores_viarum, praefecti_aerarii, praefecti_urbi,
iuridicis, tribuni_militum, legati_legionis, legati
provinciae, fetialis and receive dona militaria. They were least likely to become censitores, seviri turmae equitum Romanorum and salii. None of the quattuorviri viarum curandarum record service among the twelve praefecti alimentorum in the lists.

The general characteristics of the career development from the quattuorviri viarum curandarum suggests that the holders of this office were selected not on the basis of family background as were the triumviri monetales and decemviri stlitibus iudicandis, but rather on their abilities.

Only in that group of offices in which family background was the major factor in selection, the major priesthoods and the office salius, do the quattuorviri viarum curandarum show a consistent drop in rank below the triumviri monetales and decemviri stlitibus iudicandis.

The triumviri capitales, by their overall careers, indicate that they were selected more on the basis of ability than family background. That an unexpected high percentage of them served as tribuni militum before the Vigintivirate seems to substantiate that because of their performance, they were selected to become vigintiviri. They show the lowest ratio of achievement in the priesthoods, positions in which family background played an important role. They do, however, rank second in
percentage of achievement as pontifex and fetialis. They rank first in ratio of achievement among the offices I have listed as civil offices in Italy and first together with the quattuorviri viarum curandarum in ratio of achievement in civil-military offices in the provinces. They rank third in ratio of achievement in the cursus honorum and second in the other civil offices at Rome and military offices and honors.

The triumviri capitales show the highest ratio of achievement as aediles, curatores of public works other than roads, praefecti frumenti dandi, curatores rei publicae, proconsules with the exception of those of Asia or Africa and censitores.

They show the lowest ratio of achievement as consules, ab actis senatus, praefecti aerarii, the group listed as unspecified legati, flamines, augures, quindecemviri sacris faciundis, septemviri epulonum, and frater Arvalis.

Despite the generally low ranking of the office and the tendency of downgrade the potential of the triumviri capitales, our evidence shows that the able individual, despite limited family background could achieve well using this triumvirate as a first step.

During assembly and evaluation of epigraphical evidence upon which this investigation is based, it
became clear that a reassessment of the role of the Vigintivirate in the senatorial career was needed. While the ranking of the offices of the Vigintivirate is valid as an indication of family background, it becomes less important in consideration of future careers in those areas in which ability and performance were the major consideration for advancement.

Career characteristics seem to be more accurately expressed in terms of percentage than by sheer numbers. In an instance where there are eleven *triumviri_monetales* and eleven *decemviri_stlitibus_iudicandis* recorded holding the same office, the real significance is that this represents 13% of the *triumviri_monetales*, but only 5.5% of the *decemviri_stlitibus_iudicandis*. This method of investigation of the nature of the Roman political system necessarily calls for a reevaluation of certain concepts regarding the Vigintivirate and the later senatorial career.

Because the findings herein are based on roughly 8% of the total possible holders of positions in the Vigintivirate, I have necessarily been cautious in stating the conclusions. Nevertheless, it represents a sizable enough body of material to warrant tentative acceptance of these new views of the offices of the Vigintivirate as they relate to the subsequent senatorial
careers.

The Vigintivirate, although the first civil office held by those aspiring to senatorial careers, played a more significant role in the detail and success of those careers than has been recognized. As new inscriptions recording these offices are found, I believe that they will substantiate the general assessment this dissertation has presented.
APPENDIX A

VIGINTISEXVIRI AND VIGINTIVIRI

The following appendix includes in alphabetical order the names of all known holders of the Vigintisexvirate and the Vigintivirate with the exception of those monetales from the Republic who are known only from coins and are not included in PIR. These monetales who are excluded may be found in MRR 2, 429-461. In addition to those individuals whom we know by name, I have included all fragments which can be reasonably assigned to vigintiviri.

Each vigintivir has been identified as to specific office within the aggregate college and has been assigned a number that will be used for identification purposes throughout the paper. This number will be placed in parentheses after the name of the individual or the epigraphical citation in the footnote. Those individuals who are listed in PIR have been so designated; those not found in PIR have been identified by AE publication, by CIL number or by other epigraphical collection as appropriate.

169
GUIDELINES

1. The PIR numbers used in this list are from PIR^2A-L, and PIR^1 M-Incerti with the following exception. Seven individuals who are listed in PIR^1 A-L have been assigned in PIR^2 to M-Z which has not yet been published. These individuals are designated PIR* in the lists. (A161, C184, C316, C696, C1342, F300, and I295)

2. Where an individual is listed as INC(ertus) in PIR^1 and has been identified more definitely in PIR^2, I have assigned a number from the PIR^2 alphabetical listing and have repeated that number when the listing is repeated under INC(ertus) starting with number 389. (C428=INC. 30; I618=INC. 19; L98=INC. 14)

3. A few individuals appear under one nomen in PIR^1 and under another in PIR^2. Each nomen is noted in the alphabetical list with the number assigned from the PIR^2 listing repeated (e.g., number 7, listed as Plautius in PIR^1 and as Aelius in PIR^2, appears in both alphabetical locations as number 7). (A206=P347; G65=M531; G79=F800; C1342=M376.)

In the lists of individual offices and honors the following groups of individuals have been excluded from consideration: the republican holders of the Vigintisexvirate, and those monetales of the Republic and the early Empire before 3 B.C., after which date their names were excluded from coinage. The first group has been designated either by their offices with the legend (R) appended, or by the legend XXVI. The second group has been designated MON^1.
With the exceptions noted, all other individuals of the list have been included in the lists of offices and honors.

Because this investigation has been designed to examine the epigraphical evidence for the history of the Vigintivirate during the Empire, the republican holders of the Vigintisexvirate, with the exception of P. Paquius Scaeva, P. Ovidius Naso, and C. Propertius Postumus, have been excluded from the statistical consideration. These three individuals have been included because they fall within the critical period of evolution from Vigintisexvirate to Vigintivirate and because we know entire careers of each.

The *triumviri monetales* who are known as such only from coins and fall within the period of evolution from Vigintisexvirate to Vigintivirate, however, have been excluded from consideration in the data for the following reasons:

1. The nature of this evidence precludes the knowledge of the development of the subsequent careers of those individuals involved;
2. The evidence is confined to a very brief period at the beginning of the imperial Vigintivirate;
3. The evidence is confined to only one of the offices of the Vigintivirate.
Any data generated from this evidence will therefore distort the total picture of the development of subsequent careers. Such a group would not be rejected from consideration if it fell within the major period of time being considered, if it continued throughout the Empire, if it presented new or altered findings in the investigation, or if the other offices of the Vigintivirate were represented by a similar type of evidence.

This list, then, contains the names of all known holders of the Vigintisex- and Vigintivirate, with the exception of the republican *triumviri monetales* who may be found in *MRR 2. 429-461*. An index has been appended which contains the reference numbers of holders of the republican Vigintisexvirate, the holders of multiple offices within the Vigintisex- and Vigintivirate, and the *monetales* who have been excluded from consideration in data relating to subsequent career pattern.
1. PIR A 73-MON
   M'. Acilius Glabrio
   Cn. Cornelius Severus

2. PIR A 150-STL
   M. Aelius Aurelius Theo

3. PIR A 184-STL
   P. Aelius Hadrianus=Imp.
   Caesar Traianus
   Hadrianus Aug.

4. PIR A 195-STL
   Aelius (?) Iulianus

5. PIR A 200-MON
   L. Aelius Lamia

6. PIR A 203-MON
   Q. Aelius Lamia

7. PIR A 206-MON=
   PIR P 347
   ...Plautius L. [Aelius Lamia Silvanus
   [Aelianus?]

8. PIR*A 161-CAP
   T. Aelius Naevius
   Antonius Severus

9. PIR A 336-STL
   C. Aemilius Bere[ni]-
   cianus Maxim[us]

10. PIR A 338-STL
    L. Aemilius Carus

11. PIR A 350-CAP
    L. Aemilius Honoratus

12. PIR A 386-CAP
    L. Aemilius Naso
    Fabullinus

13. PIR A 448-STL
    [A]fricanus

14. PIR A 535-STL
    P. Alfius Maximus
    Numer(ius) Licin-
    ianus

15. PIR A 542-VIA/MON
    [L. Allius (?)]...

16. PIR A 615-MON
    M. Anaeus Saturninus
    Clodianus Aelianus

17. PIR A 622-STL
    ...us L. f.
    Annian[us]

18. PIR A 626-MON
    Annius

19. PIR A 638-STL
    ...[An]nius Camars

20. PIR A 643-CAP
    L. Annius Fabianus

21. PIR A 658-STL
    L. Annius Italicus
    ...atus

22. PIR A 659-VIA
    L. Annius Italicus
    Honoratus

23. PIR A 666-CAP
    C. Annius C.
    Lepidus Marcellus

24. PIR A 684-MON
    L. Annius Ravus

25. PIR A 725-STL
    L. Ant...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>PIR A 754-VIA</td>
<td>Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>PIR A 763-MON</td>
<td>C. Antistius Reginus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>PIR A 765-STL</td>
<td>L. Antistius Rusticus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>PIR A 775-STL</td>
<td>L. Antistius Vetus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>PIR A 810-MON</td>
<td>L. Antonius Albus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>PIR A 812-STL</td>
<td>M. Antonius Antius Lupus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>PIR A 953-VIA</td>
<td>Sex. Appius Severus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>PIR A 970-MON</td>
<td>Apronius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>PIR A 991-MON</td>
<td>L. Aquillius Florus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>PIR A 993-STL</td>
<td>L. Aquillius Florus Turcianus Gallus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>PIR A 1013-STL</td>
<td>L. Aradius Roscius Rufinus Saturninus Tiberianus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>PIR A 1080-VIA</td>
<td>Arrianus Aper Veturius S[leverus]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>PIR A 1088-VIA</td>
<td>C. Arrius Antoninus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>PIR A 1095-MON</td>
<td>C. Arrius Calpurnius Frontinus Honoratus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>PIR A 1096-MON</td>
<td>C. Arrius Calpurnius Longinus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>PIR A 1099-CAP</td>
<td>M. Arrius Maximus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>PIR A 1139-MON</td>
<td>M. Arruntius Aquila</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>PIR A 1225-STL</td>
<td>Ser. Asinius Celer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>PIR A 1229-MON</td>
<td>C. Asinius Gallus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>PIR A 1234-STL</td>
<td>Q. Asinius Marcellus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>PIR A 1357-STL</td>
<td>Ti. Attius Iulianus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>PIR B 8-STL</td>
<td>[.. Baebius? L. f...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>PIR B 28-MON</td>
<td>Cn. Baebius Tampilus Vala Numonianus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>PIR B 115-MON</td>
<td>P. Betilienus Bassus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>PIR B 164-CAP</td>
<td>C. Bruttius Praesens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>PIR B 165-MON</td>
<td>C. Bruttius Praesens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>PIR B 174-CAP</td>
<td>L. Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Q. Caecilius XXVI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>PIR C 17-STL</td>
<td>Sex. Caecilius Aemilianus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
55. PIR C 56-STL
Q. Caecilius Marcellus
Dentilianus

56. PIR C 133-STL
M. Caelius Flavus
Proculus

57. PIR C 155-CAP
Q. Caerellius

58. PIR C 157-MON
C. Caerellius Fufidius
Annius Ravus Pollitianus

59. M. Caesellius Laelianus-VIA AE 1967. 56

60. PIR C 182-MON
T. Caesernius Statius
Quinctius Macedo
Quintianus

61. PIR C 183-STL
T. Caesernius Statius
Quintius Statianus
Memmius Macrinus

62. PIR C 209-STL
L. Caesonius Lucillus
Macer Rufinianus

63. PIR C 210-CAP
C. Caesonius Macer
Rufinianus

64. PIR C 212-CAP
L. Caesonius Quintus
Rufinus Manlius Bassus

65. PIR C 184-VIA
C. Calpetanus Rantius
Quirinalis Valerius
Festus

66. L. Calpurnius-CAP (R)

67. PIR C 261-MON
Ser. Calpurnius
Domitius Dexter

68. PIR C 287-MON
Cn. Calpurnius Piso

69. PIR C 350-MON
P. Calvisius Ruso
Iulius Frontinus

70. PIR C 377-MON
Sex. Campatius

71. PIR C 316-MON
Q. Camurius Numisius
Junior

72. PIR C 390-MON
C. Caninius Gallus

73. PIR C 406-VIA
...Capito

74. PIR C 422-MON
P. Carisius

75. PIR C 428-STL=
PIR Inc. 30
L. Calventius Vetus
Carminius

76. PIR C 457-VIA
...Cascellius

77. PIR C 480-CAP
Q. Cassius Agrianus
Aelianus

78. PIR C 481-MON
C. Cassius Celer

79. PIR C 490-STL
P. Cassius Dexter

80. PIR C 513-MON
M. Cassius Paullinus
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>PIR Entry</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81.</td>
<td>PIR C 541-XXVI</td>
<td>A. Castricius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82.</td>
<td>PIR C 626-STL</td>
<td>...us Celer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.</td>
<td>PIR C 629-STL</td>
<td>... Celer? ... [M]aximus Cornelius ... L. Sinus...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.</td>
<td>PIR C 692-VIA</td>
<td>L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lu[t]atius Natalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85.</td>
<td>PIR C 760-MON</td>
<td>Appius Claudius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.</td>
<td>PIR C 843-STL</td>
<td>...us Claud[i]us..... Corneli[an]us?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87.</td>
<td>PIR* C 696-STL</td>
<td>Ti. Cl(audius) Flavianus Titianus Q. Vilius Proculus L. Marcius Celer M. Calpurnius Longus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88.</td>
<td>PIR C 873-STL</td>
<td>Ti. Claudius Frontinus Niceratus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89.</td>
<td>PIR C 874-STL</td>
<td>M. Claudius Fronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90.</td>
<td>PIR C 967-STL</td>
<td>L. Cl(audius) Pollio Iulius Iulianus Gallicanus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91.</td>
<td>M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Phaidrus Sabinus XX. AE 1935.166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92.</td>
<td>C. Claudius Pulcher</td>
<td>MON (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93.</td>
<td>PIR C 992-MON</td>
<td>Ti. Claudius Quintianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94.</td>
<td>PIR C 1002-STL</td>
<td>Ti. Claudius Rufus Statius Macedo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95.</td>
<td>PIR C 1004a-STL</td>
<td>Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96.</td>
<td>PIR C 1044-STL</td>
<td>C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97.</td>
<td>...lius Clemens XXVI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98.</td>
<td>PIR C 1158-CAP</td>
<td>[Clodius Cap]ito ...nus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99.</td>
<td>PIR C 1175-STL</td>
<td>C. Clodius Nummus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.</td>
<td>PIR C 1180-MON</td>
<td>T. Clodius Pupienus Pulcher M[aximus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101.</td>
<td>PIR C 1191-STL</td>
<td>...[Clodius]s Vestalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102.</td>
<td>PIR C 1204a-VIA</td>
<td>P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103.</td>
<td>PIR C 1222-STL</td>
<td>M. Cocceius Nepos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104.</td>
<td>PIR C 1241-STL</td>
<td>P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105.</td>
<td>PIR C 1257-CAP</td>
<td>L. Coledius Candidus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106.</td>
<td>PIR C 1274-STL</td>
<td>Q. Comius Armiger Crescens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
107. PIR C 1290-MON
M. Cordius Rufus

108. PIR C 1350-MON
Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Metilianus Pompeius Marcellus

109. PIR C 1358-VIA
Sex. Cornelius Felix Pacatus

110. PIR C 1364-CAP
M. Cornelius Fronto

111. PIR C 1380-MON
Cossus Cornelius Lentulus

112. PIR C 1425-VIA
L. Cornelius Fusio Annius Messalla

113. Cn. Cornelius Scipio
Hispanus-STL (R)

114. PIR C 1456-MON
Cornelius Sisenna

115. PIR C 1540-MON
PIR E 10
L. Cossonnius

116. PIR C 1613-VIA
C. Curtius Iustus

117. PIR C 1614-STL
Q. (?) Curtius
Iustus

118. PIR C 1617-MON
C. Curtius Rufinus

119. PIR C 1633-STL
Cuspidius Flaminius Severus

120. PIR C 1642-VIA
D. Cutius Balbinus M.
Cornelius Potitus L.
Attius Iunianus
Romulus

121. PIR C 1342-VIA
PIR M 376
M. Cutius Priscus
Messius Rusticus
Aemilius Papus Arrius
Proculus Iulius Celsus

122. PIR D 16-MON
L. Dasumius Tullius Tuscus

123. PIR D 55-STL
[...Desticius? Iulba
... [M]acer ...
[Rufus ... Tilius
... Avius

124. PIR D 73-CAP
T. Didius Priscus

125. PIR D 77-STL
Imp. Caes. M. Didius
Severus Iulianus
Augustus

126. PIR D 89-CAP
C. Dillius Aponianus

127. PIR D 90-VIA
C. Dillius Vocula

128. PIR D 143-CAP
[T.?] Domitius
Decidius

129. PIR D 152-VIA
Cn. Domitius Lucanus

130. PIR D 167-STL
Cn. Domitius Tullus
131. PIR D 209-MON
M. Durmius

132. PIR E 6-STL
[C. Eggius] Ambibulus
Pom[ponius Lor]ginius
Cassianus L. Maecius
Pos[tumus]

133. PIR E 28-VIA
Egnatius Proclianus

134. PIR E 48-VIA
M. Acilius Priscus A.
Egrilius Flarianus

135. PIR E 83-STL
M. Eppuleius Proculus
Ti. Caepio Hispo

136. PIR F 3-STL
...elius Fa...

137. PIR F 20-VIA
C. Fabius Agrippinus

138. PIR F 27-STL
L. Fabius Cilo
Septimius Catinius
Acilianus Lepidus
Fulcinianus

139. PIR F 43-STL
M. Fabius Magnus
Valerianus

140. PIR F 98-VIA
M. Fadius Priscus

141. PIR F 159-STL
...Firmus

142. PIR F 171-VIA
... Flaccus

143. PIR F 173-MON
L. Flamin(ius)

144. Cn. Flavius-CAP (R)

145. PIR F 220-VIA
M. Flavius Arrius
Osci[ius] Honoratus

146. PIR F 321-VIA
P. Flavius Menander
Africanus

147. PIR F 365-STL
L. Flavius(s) Septimi-
us Aper Octavianus

148. PIR F 368-CAP
L. Flavius Silva
Nonius Bassus

149. PIR F 393-VIA
T. Flavius Vedius
Antoninus

150. PIR F 394-VIA
T. Flavius Vedius
Apellas

151. PIR F 448-VIA
P. Flav(onius)
Paulinus

152. PIR F 300-MON
...inius Sextus
Florentinus

153. M. Fonteius-MON (R)

154. PIR F 526-MON
L. Fulvius Aburnius
Valens

155. PIR F 541-MON
L. Fulvius Gavius
Numisius Petronius
Aemilianus

156. PIR F 570-MON
L. Funisulanus
Vettonianus

157. PIR G 29-STL
Galerius Maximus
158. PIR G 45-MON
   P. Gallus Lupercus

159. PIR G 65-STL=
   PIR M 531
   L. ... M. f., Ter.
   Gallus

160. PIR G 71-CAP
   ...nius Gallus
   VECILIUS CRISPINUS
   MANSUANUS MARCELLINUS
   NUMISIUS [S]ABINUS

161. PIR G 79-STL=
   PIR P 800
   L. Puliaiuenus Gargilius Antiquus

162. PIR G 80-MON
   L. Puliaiuenus Gargilius Antiquus

163. PIR G 81-CAP
   Q. Gargilius Macer
   [cludinus]

164. PIR G 89-STL
   (Gavius)

165. PIR G 163-VIA
   ... Geminus

166. PIR G 181-STL
   Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola

167. PIR G 184-CAP
   P. Glitius Gallus

168. PIR G 185-MON
   P. Glitius

169. PIR H 36-MON
   Q. (Hedius) Lollianus
   Plautius Avitus

170. PIR H 42-MON
   Q. Hedius Rufus
   Lollianus Gentianus

171. PIR H 65-CAP
   M. Accenna Helvius
   Agrippa

172. PIR H 71-MON
   M. Helvius Geminus

173. PIR H 107-STL
   M. Herennius Faustus
   Ti.? Iulius Clemens
   Tadius Flaccus

174. M. Herennius Rufus
   PRAEF. CAP. CUM.

175. PIR H 215-VIA
   [Hosidius] Geta

176. PIR I 13-STL
   C. Iavolenus Calvinus
   Geminius Capito Cornelius Pollio Squilla
   Q. Vulcacius Scuppidius Verus

177. PIR I 33-STL
   L. Insteius
   Flaccianus

178. PIR I 34-CAP
   ...[I]ulius I...
   [Insteius Paulinus]

179. C. Iulius Caesar-STL
   (R)

180. PIR I 223-MON
   Nero Iulius Caesar

181. PIR I 266-VIA
   Q. Iul(ius) Clarus

182. PIR*I 295-STL
   C. Iulius Oppius
   Clemens
180

183. PIR I 329-STL
   Ti. Iulius Frugi

184. PIR I 330-MON
   Ti. Iulius Frugi

185. PIR I 340-CAP
   P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus

186. PIR I 408-VIA
   L. Iulius Marinus Caecilius Simplex

187. PIR I 422-MON
   C. Iulius Maximus

188. PIR I 426-STL
   T. Iulius Maximus
   Manlianus Broccus
   Servianus A. Quadrioni [Verus?] L.
   Servilius Vatia Cassius Cam[ars?] 

189. PIR I 435-STL
   C. Iulius Montanus

190. PIR I 439-VIA
   Q. Iul(ius) Nepotianus

191. PIR I 442-VIA
   [C. Iullius [Oct]avi-
   anus

192. PIR I 452-MON
   Iulius Paulus

193. PIR I 477-STL
   A. Iulius Pompilius
   Piso T. Vibius (Varus?)
   Laevillus Berenicianus

194. PIR I 497-MON
   C. Iulius Proculus

195. PIR I 508-MON
   C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus

196. PIR I 523-VIA
   M. Iul[ius] Ro[mu]lus

197. PIR I 552-MON
   C. Iulius Scapula

198. PIR I 574-STL
   C. Iulius Severus

199. PIR I 576-VIA
   Sex. Iulius Severus=
   Cn. Minicius Faustinus
   Sex. Iulius Severus

200. PIR I 596-STL
   Iul(ius) Taurus

201. PIR I 600-CAP
   C. Iulius Thraso
   Alexander

202. PIR I 618-MON=
   PIR Inc. 19
   Cn. Iulius Verus

203. PIR I 751-STL
   C. Iunius Faustinus
   [Pl?] a[ci?] dus
   Postumianus

204. PIR I 796-MON
   A. Iunius Pastor L.
   Caessennius Sospes

205. PIR I 829-MON
   L. Iunius Silanus

206. PIR I 836-STL
   M. Iunius Silanus
   Lutatius Catulus

207. PIR I 837-MON
   D. Iunius Silvanus
   Torquatus

208. PIR I 7-STL
   Q. Laberius Justus
   Cocceius Lepidus
209. PIR L 32-MON
   C. Laecanius Bassus
   Caecina Flaccus

210. PIR L 94-STL
   A. Larcius Lepidus
   Sulpicianus

211. PIR L 98-STL=
   PIR Inc. 14
   A. Larcius Macedo

212. PIR L 103-STL
   A. Larcius Friscus

213. PIR L 126-VIA
   Ti. Latinius Pandusa

214. PIR L 171-MON
   L. Licinius

215. PIR L 213-STL
   Q. Licinius ...
   Modestinus [Sex?]
   Attius Labeo

216. PIR L 224-MON1
   A. Licinius Nerva
   Silianus

217. PIR L 249-MON
   Q. Licinius Silvanus
   Granianus Quadrionius
   Proculus

218. PIR L 251-MON1
   P. Licinius Stolo

219. PIR L 253-VIA
   L. Licinius Sura

220. M. Livius Drusus-STL
    (R)

221. PIR L 290-MON1
    Livineius Regulus

222. Cn. Lollius-CAP (R)

223. PIR L 319-MON1
    (Lollius?) Palik(anus)

224. PIR L 320-MON
    M. Lollius Paulinus
    D. Valerius Asiaticus
    Saturninus

225. PIR L 327-VIA
    Q. Lollius Urbicus

226. PIR L 377-CAP (R)
    C. Lucilius

227. PIR L 426-MON1
    P. Lurius Agrippa

228. PIR L 437-STL
    [Lusius Labeerius?
    [S]eptius (vel [L]ep-
    [tius) [Rutilianus

229. PIR M 36-MON1
    M. Maecilius Tullus

230. PIR M 46-STL
    L. Maecius Postumus

231. PIR M 62-STL
    C. Maesius Picatianus

232. C. Manlius-CAP (R)

233. PIR M 103-MON
    P. Manilius Vopiscus
    Vicinillianus L.
    Elufrius Severus
    Iul[ius] Quadratus
    Bassus

234. PIR M 163-MON1
    C. Marcius Censor-
    inus

235. PIR M 229-STL
    Sex. Marius Ligus-
    tinus

236. PIR M 233-VIA
    L. Marius Maximus
    Perpetuus Aurelianus

237. PIR M 242-STL
    M. Marius Titius
    Rufinus
PIR M 245-CAP/MON
L. Marius Vegetinus
Marcianus Minicianus
Myrtilianus

PIR M 258-VIA
.. Martius Macer

PIR M 279-MON
C. Matius (vel Mat-
tius) Sabinus Sulli-
nus Vatinianus Anic-
ius Maximus Caesule
us Martialis Pisibanus
Lepidus

PIR M 298-VIA
... Maximus

PIR M 375-STL
M. Messius Rusticus
Aemilius Afer Cutius
Romulus Priscianus
Arrius Proculus

PIR M 376-VIA=
PIR C 1342
M. Cutius Priscus
Messius Rusticus
Aemilius Papus Arrius
Proculus Iulius Celsus

L. Messius Rufinus
CAP AE 1908. 124

PIR M 385-MON
M. Metilius Aquilius
Regulus Nepos Volusius
Torquatus Fronto

PIR M 391-MON
P. Metilius Secundus
Pon....

PIR M 392-XXVIR
M. Metilius Siculo

PIR M 430-STL
M. Minicius Annianus

PIR M 439-VIA
L. Minicius Natalis

PIR M 440-MON
L. Minicius Natalis
Quadronius Verus

PIR M 465-CAP
C. Mocconius Verus

M. Mulvius-CAP (R)

PIR M 512-STL
L. Mummius Felix
Cornelianus

PIR M 514-MON
L. Mummius Maxi[mus]
Fa[ust]ianus

PIR M 519-STL
P. Mummius Sisenna
Rutilianus

PIR M 531-STL=
PIR G 65
L. Munatius Gallus

Mamius Murrius-CAP
Eph. Ep. 8. 144

PIR M 551-VIA
T. Mussi[dius]...

PIR M 552-MON1
L. Mussidius Longus

PIR M 553-STL
T. Mussidius Pollianus

PIR M 558-STL
Q. Mutilli[lus] Sura
Accianus Nepos

PIR N 4-MON1
C. Naevius Capella

PIR N 11-MON1
L. Naevius Surdinus
262. PIR N 25-VIA =
PIR V 97
...ale... Naso

263. PIR N 30-CAP
Salvius Nen[sius] L.
(H)alius Camp[ani]anus
Cn. Pl[o]tius Maximi-
nus T. (H)oenius
Sever[us] Servei[en]us
U[rus]

264. PIR N 43-MON
L. Neratius Marcellus

265. PIR N 49-STL
L. Neratius Proculus

266. PIR N 108-STL
M. Nonius Macrinus

267. PIR N 141-STL
Torquatus Novellius
Atticus

268. L. Novius Asprenas
MON AE 1952. 232

269. PIR N 144-VIA
L. Novius Crispinus
Martialis Saturninus

270. PIR N 153-STL
C. Novius Rusticus
Venu(eius)
Apronianus

271. PIR N 89-MON
M. Nummius Umbrius
Primus Senecio
Albanus

272. PIR O 19-STL
O. Octavius Appius
Suetrius Sabinus

273. PIR O 42-STL
Q. Octavius Volusius
Thusceni[us]...

274. PIR O 82-STL
M. Opsius Navius
Fannianus

275. PIR O 97-MON
M. Orfius Rufus

276. L. Otacilius-STL
AE 1898. 68

277. PIR O 119-CAP/STL
P. Cvidius Naso

278. PIR P 7-STL
C. Pac[ius]

279. PIR P 25-STL
P. Pactumeius Clemens

280. PIR P 53-STL
Sex. Palpellius
Hister

281. PIR P 84-XXVI
C. Papirius Carbo-

282. PIR P 93-STL/CAP
P. Paquius Scaeva

283. PIR P 107-STL
C. Passienius
Cossonius Scipio
Orfitus

284. L. Pedianus Secundus
Pompeius Festus
Munatius-STL
AE 1968. 482

285. ...Perp...Proc...-STL
AE 1964. 18

286. C. Pescenius-CAP (R)

287. PIR P 214-STL
Q. Petronius Melior

288. PIR P 223-VIA
Cn. Petronius Probatus
Iunior Iustus
289. Q. Planius Sardus
   Eggius Ambibulus-STL
   AE 1911. 111

289. Q. Planius Sardus
   Lucius Varius Ambibulus-STL
   AE 1966. 545

290. PIR P 337-CAP
    A. Flatorius Nepos
    Aponius Italicus Manillianus C. Licinius Pollio

7. PIR P 347-MON=
   PIR A 206
   Plautius [Aelius?
   Lajmia Silvanus [Aelianus]

291. PIR P 355-MON
    P. Plautius Pulcher

292. PIR P 363-MON
    Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus

293. PIR P 370-STL
    C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus

294. PIR P 391-VIA
    P. Plotius Romanus

295. PIR P 392-MON¹
    C. Plotius Rufus

296. PIR P 393-STL
    A. Plotius Sabinus

297. PIR P 475-VIA
    [M. Plompeius
    Macr[nu]s Neos
    Theophanes

298. PIR P 477-MON
    Cn. Pompeius Magnus

299. PIR P 492-MON
    Q. Pompeius Senecio
    Roscius Murena Coelius
    Sex. Iulius Frontinus
    Silius Decianus C.
    Iulius Eurycles Herculanus L. Vibullius
    Pius Augustanus
    Alpinus Bellicius
    Sollers Iulius Aper
    Ducenius Proculus
    Rutilianus Rufinus
    Silius Valens Valerius
    Niger Cl. Fuscus Saxa
    Amynianus Sosius
    Friscus

300. PIR P 512-VIA
    ... Pomponianus

301. PIR P 539-STL=
    PIR P 540
    [P]omponius Graecinus

302. PIR P 558-MON
    T. Pomponius Proculus
    Vitrasius Pollio

303. PIR P 568-STL
    [Q. Pom?]on[ius.
    T]us[us]?

304. PIR P 585-STL
    C. Pompusidius Fabius Fraternus

305. A. Pontius Quietus
    STL AE 1934. 182

306. PIR P 623-STL
    C. Popilius Carus Pedo

307. PIR P 643-STL
    C. Procilius Friscus Longinus

308. P. Postumius Romulus
    VIA AE 1906. 6
309. PIR P 679-CAP
   C. Praecellius Augurinus Vettius Festus
   Crispianus Vibius Verus Cassianus

310. PIR P 696-STL
   ... Primus

311. PIR P 710-STL
   [...] Priscus

312. PIR P 754-CAP
   C. Propertius Postumus

313. ...lius Pu...il-VIA
   AE 1929. 158

314. PIR P 799-VIA
   Sex. Pu[I]fennius
   Salutarius M. Lucius Valerius Severus
   Plotius Cilo

315. PIR P 802-STL
   Cn. Pullius Pollio

316. PIR Q 6-STL
   [...] Qu[adratus]
   Maessianus Celsus

317. PIR Q 24-VIA
   Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus

318. PIR Q 37-MON
   Ti. Quinctius Crispinus
   Sulpicianus

319. PIR R 17-STL
   L. Ranius Optatus Acontianus

320. PIR R 65-STL
   L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer

321. PIR R 68-STL
   Q. Roscius Coelius
   Murena Silius Decianus
   Vibull(i)us Pius
   Iulius Eurycles Hercules Pompeius
   Falco

322. PIR R 81-MON
   C. Rubellius Blandus

323. [Rubrenius]-STL
   AE 1938. 177

324. PIR R 88-STL
   M. Rubrenus Virus
   Priscus Pomponianus
   Magianus Proculus

325. PIR R 160-MON
   Q. Rusticus

326. PIR S 29-STL
   ...ius ...tus Sabinus

327. PIR S 55-STL
   C. Sallius Aristaenetus

328. PIR S 113-STL
   [...]Salvius Satria-
   n[u]s ... Minicius...

329. PIR S 134-MON
   M. Sanquinius

330. PIR S 146-STL
   An. Satr... Sal...

331. PIR S 152-VIA
   [...]Satrius Se)...tus

332. Ser. Scato-MON
   CIL 9 3649
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td>PIR S 241-CAP</td>
<td>C. Seius Calpurnius Quadratus Sittianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>334</td>
<td>PIR S 267-MON¹</td>
<td>Ti. Sempronius Gracchus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>335</td>
<td>PIR S 268-STL</td>
<td>Ti. Sempronius Gracchus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td>PIR S 291-STL</td>
<td>Sex. Sentius Caecilianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>337</td>
<td>Sex. Sentius Fabrius Proculus-VIA AE 1959. 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>338</td>
<td>PIR S 326-STL</td>
<td>P. Septimius Geta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>339</td>
<td>L. Serveilius-XX (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>PIR S 404-STL</td>
<td>L. Servenius Cornutus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>PIR S 415-VIA</td>
<td>M. Servilius Fabianus Maximus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>342</td>
<td>L. Sextilius-CAP (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>343</td>
<td>PIR S 456-MON</td>
<td>M. Sextilius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>344</td>
<td>PIR S 470-STL</td>
<td>P. Sextius Lippinus Tarquitianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>Q. Sicinius Maximus STL AE 1913. 172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>346</td>
<td>PIR S 506-MON¹</td>
<td>P. Silius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>347</td>
<td>PIR S 567-MON</td>
<td>... Sosp[e]s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>348</td>
<td>PIR S 591-STL</td>
<td>T. Statilius Barbarus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349</td>
<td>PIR S 602-VIA</td>
<td>T. Statilius Maximus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>T. Statilius Maximus Severus L. Iuventus Munitus-STL AE 1939. 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351</td>
<td>PIR S 616-MON¹</td>
<td>T. (Statilius) Taurus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>352</td>
<td>PIR S 636-STL</td>
<td>P. Statius Paulus Postumius Iunior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>353</td>
<td>PIR S 638-STL</td>
<td>L. Statius Prosper Iulianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>354</td>
<td>PIR S 660-STL= PIR S 661 Stertinius Maximus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355</td>
<td>PIR S 661-STL</td>
<td>C. Stertinius Maximus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>356</td>
<td>PIR S 724-MON¹</td>
<td>(Sulpicius) Galus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>357</td>
<td>PIR S 728-MON¹</td>
<td>C. Sulpicius Platorinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>PIR S 729-STL</td>
<td>C. Sulpicius Platorinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359</td>
<td>PIR T 2-STL</td>
<td>Sex. Tadius Lusius Nepos Paulinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>PIR T 34-STL</td>
<td>P. Tebanus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
360. PIR T 35-STL=
P. Tebanus Gavi
dius Latiar
is
361. M. Terentius Varro
Reatinus-CAP (R)
362. PIR T 204-XXVI
T. Titius Tappo
363. PIR T 283-STL
Tullius Varro
364. PIR T 284-STL
P. Tullius Varro
365. PIR V 38-MON¹
L. Valerius Catullus
366. ... Valerius Claudia
us Acilius Priscilianus
MON AE 1903. 337
367. PIR V 96-MON¹
Volusus Valerius
Messalla=L. Valerius
Messalla Volesus
262. PIR V 97-VIA=
PIR N 25
Valerius Naso
368. PIR V 121-CAP
L. Valerius Publicola
Balbinus Maximus
369. PIR V 124-STL
M. Valerius Quadratus
370. PIR V 140-STL
C. Valerius
Terentianus
371. PIR V 187-STL
Q. Varius Geminus
372. PIR V 253-MON
L. Venuleius Aproniana
mus Octavius
373. PIR V 266-MON
Q. Veranius
374. PIR V 273-STL
... Vergilia[nus]...
375. PIR V 297-VIA
C. Vesnius Vindex
376. PIR V 342-STL
L. Vettius Satura
377. M. Vettulenus Civica
Barbarus-MON
AE 1958. 15
378. [Vibusius-STL
AE 1937. 132
379. P. Villius-CAP (R)
380. PIR V 435-VIA
Q. Vil[ius] Titia[nus]
Quadratvus
381. PIR V 472-MON
L. Vipstanus Publi-
cola Messalla
382. PIR V 481-CAP
L. Virius Lupus
Iulianus
383. C. Vit... Flavius-STL
AE 1968. 166
384. PIR V 600-STL
C. Ummidius Durmius
Quadratus
385. PIR V 614-MON¹
Q. Vosconius Vitulus
386. PIR Inc. 2-VIA
387. PIR Inc. 4-STL
388. PIR Inc. 7-STL
389. PIR Inc. 11-VIA
211. PIR Inc. 14-STL=PIR L 98
202. PIR Inc. 19-MON=PIR I 618
390. PIR Inc. 23-VIA
391. PIR Inc. 24-STL
392. PIR Inc. 26-MON
393. PIR Inc. 27-VIA
394. PIR Inc. 28-MON
75. PIR Inc. 30-STL=PIR C 428
395. PIR Inc. 31-STL
396. PIR Inc. 32-STL
397. PIR Inc. 33-MON
398. PIR Inc. 34STL/MON/VIA
399. PIR Inc. 39-STL
400. PIR Inc. 44-STL
401. PIR Inc. 45-MON
402. PIR Inc. 46-STL
403. CIL 2 113-STL
404. CIL 2 3533-STL
405. CIL 3 554-VIA
406. CIL 3 7059-VIA...quo...
407. CIL 5 36-STL/VIA
408. CIL 5 4362-VIA...elio i...
409. CIL 6 1541-MON
410. CIL 6 1573-MON
411. CIL 6 1574-STL...cito ci...
412. CIL 6 1575-STL...aniae...
413. CIL 6 1576-STL
414. CIL 6 1579-STL
415. CIL 6 1580-VIA
416. CIL 6 1581-CAP
417. CIL 6 31765-STLQ. Septicius...?
418. CIL 6 31812-STL
419. CIL 6 31813-STL
420. CIL 6 31815-STL
421. CIL 6 31816-STL
422. CIL 6 31817-STL...rno...
423. CIL 6 31818-STL...0. Iul.../
424. CIL 6 31818a-MON
425. CIL 6 31819-MON
426. CIL 6 31820-CAP
S.M.F. Em. Salan.
427. CIL 8 14288-STL
428. CIL 8 24597-XXVIR
429. CIL 9 1124-STL...L. Ma...
430. CIL 9 5704-STL
431. CIL 9 6365-STL
432. CIL 10 525-VIA
433. CIL 10 1259-MON
...C. F. Q...
434. CIL 10 5762-STL
435. CIL 10 3873-STL
...cla...
436. CIL 10 4639-STL
...oni Po...
437. CIL 10 4640-STL
438. CIL 10 4749-STL
439. CIL 10 4757-STL
...iano...
440. CIL 10 5181-STL
441. CIL 10 5579-MON
442. CIL 10 6089-STL
...M. F. A...
443. CIL 11 1154-STL
444. CIL 11 3103-STL
445. CIL 11 4782-STL
446. CIL 11 6339-STL
447. CIL 12-1861-STL
...trio Q...
448. CIL 12 1863-STL
449. CIL 13 2662-VIA
450. CIL 13 2663-VIA
451. CIL 14 2942-STL
452. CIL 14 4193-STL
...eram...
453. ILS 8980-STL
454. Eph. Ep. 9 612-STL
455. Eph. Ep. 9 613-STL
456. ILA 324-STL
457. Olympia 350-MON
458. Olympia 359-STL
459. AE 1903. 251-STL
460. AE 1950. 145-VIA
461. AE 1957. 161-STL
462. AE 1961. 132-MON
APPENDIX B
THE CHRONOLOGICAL LISTINGS

GUIDELINES

In the following appendix I have listed in relative chronological order according to individual office within the Vigintivirate those individuals whom I could reasonably date within a ten year period. The individuals are arranged according to the period when they held an office of the Vigintivirate. In determining dates I have used first of all any dating evidence contained in inscriptions, such as consular dates, imperial nomenclature, and such historical events as imperial exercise of censorial powers to adlect plebeians among the patricians or military encounters. I have relied heavily on those dates listed in PIR, CIL, and Ritterling, RE 12. 1. 1186-12. 2. 1829 s.v. "legio". When more than one date was available for an individual's career, I selected the date closed to the Vigintivirate. I have for convenience' sake predated the Vigintivirate twenty years from the consulate, fifteen from the praetorship, ten from the aedileship and tribunate of the plebs, and five from the quaestorship. If dates between these offices are known, such as for a legatus legionis after the
praetorship, I assumed a predating of roughly seventeen years. These assumed dates can be no more than rough estimates of the actual dates because some positions could be held for more than a year's duration, and careers could be delayed or compressed on the basis of need, ability, and political influence. Those individuals for whom I could not establish in my own mind a date plus or minus five years, I have listed as incertus at the end of each chronology. While general periods are known for some of these individuals, I have not attempted to date them if they did not fall within a ten year period.

The lists therefore are to be used as guides. They are accurate enough to be used to determine gradual shifts within the Vigintivirate and the subsequent careers of vigintiviri, but in most cases are not accurate enough to exclude the possibility that individuals listed consecutively in rank may not in fact be reversed.
The Chronology of the TRIUMVIRI MONETALES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JULIO-CLAUDIANS (29 B.C.-69 A.D.)</th>
<th>347</th>
<th>202</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>343</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>292</td>
<td>204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NERVA-HADRIAN (96-138 A.D.)</td>
<td>197</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>372</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLAVIANS (69-96 A.D.)</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTONINES (138-192 A.D.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERTINAX-SEVERUS ALEXANDER (192-235 A.D.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Of Uncertain Date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>392</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>394</td>
<td>253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>332</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>381</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>397</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>398</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MAXIMINUS-GALLIENUS**
*(235-268 A.D.)*

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Julio-Claudians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>417</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>388</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>340</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>336</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Maximinus-Gallienus: 235-268 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>461</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>328</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>353</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>370</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>376</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>383</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>395</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>396</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>398</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>399</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>402</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>403</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>407</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Chronology of the QUATTUORVIRI VIARUM CURANDARUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JULIO-CLAUDIANS (29 B.C.-69 A.D.)</th>
<th>FLAVIANS (69-96 A.D.)</th>
<th>NERVA-HADRIAN (96-138 A.D.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>386</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313</td>
<td>241</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Antonines**

(138-192 A.D.)

- MAXIMUS-GALLIENUS
  (235-268 A.D.)
  - 26
  - 38
  - 37
  - 84
  - 390
  - OF UNCERTAIN DATE
  - 375
  - 236

**Pertinax-Severus**

ALEXANDER

(192-235 A.D.)

- 460
- 294
- 393
- 181
- 190
- 22

**The Chronology of the Triumviri Capitales**

**Julio-Claudians**

(29 B.C.-69 A.D.)

- 282
- 277
- 312
- 41

**Flavians**

(69-96 A.D.)

- 57
- 128
- 105
- 126
- 167
- 148
- 16
- 171
- 290
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Year Ranges</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nerva-Hadrian</td>
<td>96-138 A.D.</td>
<td>50, 98, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximinus-Gallienus</td>
<td>235-268 A.D.</td>
<td>238, 263, 63, 309, 8, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of Uncertain Date</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pertinax-Severus-Alexander</td>
<td>192-235 A.D.</td>
<td>163, 446, 382, 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonines</td>
<td>138-192 A.D.</td>
<td>110, 201, 243, 368, 11, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXviri Incerti</td>
<td></td>
<td>91, 246, 428</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

EPIGRAPHICAL SOURCES


Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Berlin, 1863-____.

Inscriptiones Italiae. Rome, 1932-____.


L'Année Epigraphique. Paris, 1888-____.

Ephemeris Epigraphica. Berlin, 1892-____.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Andresen, G. P. Cornelii Taciti libri qui supersunt. Leipzig, 1923.


199


BOOKS


Karlowa, O. Römische Rechtsgeschichte. Leipzig, 1885.


Lambrechts, F. La composition du Sénat Romain de l'accession sur le trône à Hadrien à la mort de Commodo. Antwerp, 1936.


Magie, D. De Romanorum juris publici sacri ius vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum conversis. Leipzig, 1905.


PERIODICALS


"Die Grundsätze bei der Commendation der Fiebejer." *JAEOL* 8 (1905), 60-70.


Charneu, P. "M. Vettulenus Civica Barbarus." Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique 81, (1957), 121-140.


Levick, B.M. "Imperial control of the elections under the early Principate: commendatio, suffragatio and "hominatio"." Historia 16 (1967), 207-230.


Mommsen, T. "De apparitoribus magistratum." Rh. Mus. 6 (1848), 1-59.

Paribeni, R. "Roma." Notizie degli Scavi (1928), 343-353.

Pariente, A. "El problema de las formas stlocus, stlis, stlat(t)a y stlatarius." Emerita 36 (1968), 249-269.


Pink, K. "The Triumviri Monetales and the structure of the coinage of the Roman Republic." Numismatic Studies 7 (1952), 1-78.


Steck, B. "Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum." Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte 10 (1912), 1-205.


Vulic, N. "Antike denkmaler in Serbien." JAEOI (1912), 213-238.