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***AEDILICIUS, CONSULARIS, DUUMVIRALIS***  
**AND SIMILAR TITLES IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS**

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Alongside Latin titles such as *consul* or *praetor* there normally exist terms derived, with the use of different suffixes, from the names of these titles; corresponding to *consul* or *praetor*, we thus find *consularis* and *praetorius*. These terms exist both as adjectives (e.g., *consularis dignitas* or *familia praetoria*) or as nouns; as nouns they are used to indicate that someone had held an office in the past (this is why the derived titles exist mainly in the case of offices which were held for a limited time), *consularis* thus being translatable as "ex-consul", *praetorius* as "ex-praetor" (the adjectives can, of course, also be used in this way if combined with expressions such as *vir*).

Terms of this type are common when reference is made to categories of persons having the rank of ex-consul or ex-praetor, etc. (e.g., Cic. *p. red. ad Quir.* 17: *omnes consulares, omnes praetorios*) and in literary sources when reference is made to individuals with a certain rank (e.g., *Cato censorius*; Cic. *Catil.* 1,4: *M. Fulvius consularis*, to be contrasted with *L. Opimius consul* in the same paragraph; the reader thus learns that Opimius held the consulship at the moment to which the story refers whereas Fulvius had held the consulate previously). But if one moves from literary sources to inscriptions, one observes that different habits obtain. In inscriptions, titles are given in the form *consul* or *praetor* (or *aedilis*, etc.) also in the case where the person mentioned had in fact already held the office, this happening both in the case where only one office is mentioned (e.g., *Ser. Sulpicius Ser. f. Galba co(n)s(ul)* in the funerary inscription of Galba, the consul of (probably) 108 BC, *CIL* VI 31617 = *ILS* 863) and in the case where an office is referred to as an element of this person's career (e.g., *L. Munatius ... Plancus co(n)s(ul), cens(or), imp(erator) iter(um)*, etc. in the funerary inscription of Plan-

cus, consul in 42 and censor in 22 BC, *CIL* X 6087 = *ILS* 886).<sup>1</sup> It is of course true that the titles are normally abbreviated, but I think that we can consider it as absolutely certain that one has to understand *co(n)s(ul)* and *cens(or)*, not *co(n)s(ularis)* and *cens(orius)*, in the instances quoted above and in similar cases from the Republican and (normally) in those of the imperial period (this is also shown by some inscriptions in which the titles are not abbreviated, for instance, in the funerary inscription of the Augustan senator P. Paquius Scaeva *CIL* IX 2845 = *ILS* 915, where we find *quaestor*, etc.).

However, it is also true that, from the early imperial period onwards, one begins to observe expressions of the type *consularis* being introduced into epigraphy in personal titles referring to individuals,<sup>2</sup> and this phenomenon will be the object of this article. I shall also deal with municipal titles of this type but shall start with an overview of expressions referring to senatorial offices, of which the most important and most common is *consularis*, an expression which has the special distinction of having ended up as a title of its own with a special meaning in late Antiquity (cf. *consularis Campaniae*, etc.) and, moreover, usefully from my point of view, of having secured the interest of H.-G. Pflaum and of other scholars.<sup>3</sup> To sum up what Pflaum says and concentrating on points of interest from my point of view, the author starts by observing that the earliest known epigraphical attestation of *consularis* applied to an individual is *AE* 1935, 169 from Ephesus (= *I. Ephesos* 4123), *C. Stertinius C. Stertini Maximi consularis l(ibertus) Orpex*, Stertinius Maximus having been consul in AD 23 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 908). The next inscription quoted by Pflaum is *AE* 1964, 35 from Pisidian Antioch (which also offers an attestation of *(senator) praetorius*), *Iuliae Agrippinae Iuli Paulli senatoris pre-*

<sup>1</sup> The inscription *L. Licinius L. f. Crassus consularis, orator* (*CIL* VI 41026), referring to the consul of 95 BC, is from the imperial period.

<sup>2</sup> The use of *consularis* in references to categories of persons (in expressions of the type *adlectus inter consulares*) is another matter and not of interest here. Note that there are also some other ways of expressing the fact that a person had held an office in the past; cf., e.g., *Iiviratu ... functus* (below n. 29), *curatura functo* (F. Bérard, in *Rites funéraires à Lugdunum* [2009] 105 no. 2; for the phrase *omnibus honoribus functus* cf. L. Wierschowski, *ZPE* 64 [1986] 287–94). But the most important way of indicating service in the past is, at least if one has an eye on later developments, surely the construction with *ex* (*ex consule ordinario*, etc.), on which see *TLL* V 2, 1102, 10ff.; V. Väänänen, *Recherches et récréations latino-romanes* (1981) 177–88.

<sup>3</sup> H.-G. Pflaum, "Titulature et rang social sous le Haut-Empire", in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* (1970) 159–85, at p. 166–77. For the articles of M. Christol and B. Rémy, see nn. 5 and 6.

tori (sic) ... *fil(iae), uxor(i) Servi Corneli Dolabellae Pompei Marcelli pat[ris] consular[is], flaminis] Quir[inalis]*; the approximate date is established by the fact that Dolabella (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1350) was consul in AD 113. A list of further second- and third-century instances of the use *consularis* as the title indicating the rank of an individual follows. Pflaum then goes on to the use, attested from about the middle of the second century onwards,<sup>4</sup> of the expression *consularis* in the sense "governor" both as a generic term (in *beneficiarius consularis*, etc.) and as applied to individual governors (in *co(n)s(ularis) III Daciarum*, etc.).<sup>5</sup> His exposition ends with a list of examples of the expression *vir consularis* used to indicate the consular rank of a senator, attested from the earlier third century onwards.<sup>6</sup>

One could add a number of instances to all of Pflaum's lists, but let me point out here only the existence of some other early attestations. From Tarraco, there is *CIL* II 4129 = *RIT* 137 as reconstructed recently by G. Alföldy (*AE* 2006, 693), [*Caninia Galla L. Canini] Galli XVvir(i) [sacris faciundis, consu]laris filia, [L. Canini Galli VIIvi]ri epulonum, [consularis neptis, C. Antoni] consularis [proneptis]*, an inscription which may still be of Augustan date as the father of

<sup>4</sup> In literary sources we find earlier attestations, as Tacitus already uses *consularis* in this way (*TLL* IV 572, 54ff.). As for Greek inscriptions, ὑπατικός is attested from the time of Trajan onwards, for this title is applied, in addition to the normal title πρεσβευτῆς Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστράτηγος, to C. Claudius Severus, legate of Arabia, in an inscription of AD 115 (*Gerasa* [1938] no. 56/57), cf. Rémy (see next n.) 311 (for *P. Mich.* VIII 466, see Rémy 311f. n. 3). For other instances from the first half of the second century note, e.g., *AE* 1971, 437 = *SEG* 30, 159 (Athens), Λ. Φλ. Ἀρριανὸ[ν] ὑπατικὸν, φιλό[σο]φον (Arrian was consul around 129); *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 4208, Λ. Οὔει[ψτανὸν] Μεσσάλα[ν] Οὔειψτανοῦ Μεσ[σάλα] ὑπατικο[ῦ] υἱόν (apparently the son of Vipstanus Messalla cos. 115). On the other hand, it is surely a mistake to restore Πόπλιον Μέμμιον Ῥήγλον [ὑπατικὸν, πρεσβευ]τὴν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ etc. in *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 4174 (cf. ὕπατον in other inscriptions in honour of this man, *FD* III 1, 532; *IG* IV 1<sup>2</sup> 667 + 669 = W. Peek, *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros* (1969) no. 290).

<sup>5</sup> *Recherches* p. 169ff. Examples of the latter use of *consularis* are cited from Dacia, Britain, Germania Superior and Inferior, Pannonia and Lower Moesia, but one could of course add other provinces as well (e.g., "Numidia"). On the use of *consularis* (and ὑπατικός) in praetorian provinces, see B. Rémy, *Latomus* 45 (1986) 311–38, who shows that governors in these provinces were referred to as *consulares* only if they had held the consulate *in absentia* when in the province or if they were at least designated consuls (but *consularis* in *beneficiarius consularis* might in some cases refer to men of only praetorian status: p. 326).

<sup>6</sup> *Recherches* p. 174f. Pflaum's list also includes instances of *consularis memoriae vir* (on which, see now M. Christol, *ZPE* 163 [2007] 276–80, who points out that this expression is attested from about AD 200 onwards) and of *consularis femina* (*CIL* IX 6414b = *ILS* 1166; add, e.g., *CIL* VIII 8993 = *ILS* 1200; *ILAfr.* 414, and note *I. Central Pisidia* 45 from Cremna, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(eminae) consular(i)*).

Galla (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 390) held the consulate in 2 BC; *CIL* XIV 178 = *AE* 2007, 282 (Ostia), [*L. V*]olusius *L. f. Celer [qui] et Ancharius ex domo Roma* (Roma seems an addition) [*Vol*]usi *Saturnini consularis* will be about contemporary, as we seem to be dealing with the consul of 12 BC.<sup>7</sup>

What emerges from all this is that beginning with the Augustan period, the title *co(n)s(ul)* is, if referring to persons who were in fact ex-consuls, in some cases, and later more often, replaced in inscriptions with *consularis*, no doubt following the usage of normal speech and writing. This is also clear from the fact that *consularis* is in the beginning used only in contexts in which a less formal style is used (as in the enumeration of the ancestors of Caninia Galla, above) and in which the term is used alone or perhaps combined with a priesthood (as, again, in the inscription of Caninia Galla). It is only with time that one observes *consularis* being introduced in a more formal context, namely as an element of the *cursus*; this seems to be attested from about the time of Caracalla onwards.<sup>8</sup> From about the reign of Severus Alexander onwards, men referred to as *consulares* are joined by men appearing in inscriptions as *viri consulares*;<sup>9</sup> the appearance of this

<sup>7</sup> For some second-century examples not quoted by Pflaum, note *CIL* VIII 24586 = *ILS* 4462a, *pronepoti Memmi Senecionis consularis* (in AD 99, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 457); *CIL* VI 1344, *D. M. Q. Antoni Cassi Cassiani consularis* (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 819); *CIL* XI 1431 = *Inscr. It.* VII 1, 122 (Pisae), *Sabinus ... nepos Prif(erni) Paeti cons(ularis)* (apparently the consul of AD 146, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 939), *filius Iul(ii) Lucani pr(a)et(orii)*; *AE* 2004, 467 from Iuvavum, [---]sidio Vinc(?)[---], *co]nsulari, pro[---, pa]trono* (dated to the later second century by M. Buonocore in *Epigrafia di confine* [2004] 291–5); *AE* 1997, 482 (Casuentum in Umbria). (As for *CIL* IX 1121 from Aeclanum, *Betitio Pio Maximilliano co(n)sulari* [---], a date in the early Severan period is proposed for this inscription by G. Camodeca in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II [1982] 132, but to me the inscription seems of later date).

<sup>8</sup> Pflaum p. 169, referring to nos. 8, 9, 11, 13 and 15 on his list on p. 168. Cf. now also G. Camodeca, in M. L. Caldelli et al. (eds.), *Epigrafia 2006. Atti della XIV<sup>e</sup> rencontre sur l'épigraphie in onore di Silvio Panciera* (2008) 940f. For an example, note *CIL* XIV 3900 = *ILS* 1182 = *Inscr. It.* IV 1, 102 (Tibur), *consulari, sodali Augustali, comiti Imp. Severi Alexandri Aug., cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae) Lanivino(rum) II, procos. prov. Africae*, etc.

<sup>9</sup> To the instances cited by Pflaum on p. 174f. and Camodeca (n. 8) 941 n. 14 add, e.g., *CIL*<sup>2</sup> II 7, 274; *ILAlg.* I 1287. For an interesting inscription not noted by Pflaum or Camodeca, observe *EE* IX 593 cf. p. 706 (= *ILS* 8979, but without the corrected reading of *EE* IX on p. 706, *c.] v., cur(ator)* from Lavinium, [*L. V*]alerio *Claud(ia) [Maximo] Acilio Priscillian[o c.] v., cur(ator) Laur(entium) Labi[natium, comiti Augg(ustorum)] nn(ostrorum) inter XX co(n)s(ulares)* (in AD 238), [*cur(ator) alvei Ti]beris riparum [cloacarum] quae (sic) sacrae [urbis, cons]ulari ordinar(io)* (in AD 233), [*praet(ori) tut]elari, quaest(ori) / [urb(ano) ...]*, where I am quite sure that *viro* (or *v(iro)*) should be added in the lacuna before *cons]ulari*. As for the date of the appearance in inscriptions of *vir consularis*, note that according to M. Christol, *ZPE* 163

combination is, as observed by Pflaum,<sup>10</sup> undoubtedly influenced by the title *vir clarissimus*,<sup>11</sup> which had established itself by the second half of the second century, and which made clear that the person in question belonged to the senatorial order but did not specify the exact rank of the person within the *ordo senatorius*. From the later second century onwards, one observes other titles being combined with *vir*, e.g., *vir praetorius* or, in a municipal context, *vir duumviralis* (cf. below).

As I am also interested in other titles expressing the fact that an office had been held previously, this will be enough of *consularis*, which is a complicated topic also because *consularis* is often abbreviated "cos.", making it often uncertain whether "consul" or "consularis" is meant.<sup>12</sup>

As for *praetorius*,<sup>13</sup> this title is also attested from the earliest empire onwards, but *praetorius* differs from *consularis* in that one of its earliest attestations most notably seems to be within a *cursus*, namely in in the acephalous inscription from Rusguniae in Mauretania Caesariensis known only from a 19th-century copy, *CIL VIII 9247*, [---] *quaestori, tribun[o p]lebi, legato Alfidi Sabini proco(n) - s(ulis) Siciliae, praetorio, legato M'. (VE the copy) Lepidi proco(n)s(ulis) Asiae*. As Lepidus was proconsul of Asia in 21/22,<sup>14</sup> it follows that this inscription must be dated to the early years of Tiberius. However, in view of the early date and of the fact that *praetorio* is not the last office (when it could be interpreted as indicating the man's rank at the time when the inscription was inscribed), I cannot help assuming that *praetorio* might be a mistake and that the intended wording may in fact have been *praetori*.<sup>15</sup> Be that as it may, an inscription which is clearly earlyish from the sanctuary at Samothrace, *CIL III 7372* = N. Dimitrova, *Theoroi*

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[2007] 279 n. 24, *Perpetuus cons(ularis) vir* in *CIL IX 6414b* = *ILS 1166* is not the consul of AD 237 (Pflaum and others) but his father, consul around AD 200.

<sup>10</sup> *Recherches* p. 173, 175f.

<sup>11</sup> Observe the combination of both in *CIL VIII 7012* = *ILS 1235* = *ILAlg. II 589* (AD 340–350), *clarissimo atque consulari viro* and in *CIL VIII 7013* = *ILS 1236* = *ILAlg. II 590*, *v(iro) c(larissimo) et consulari*. Cf. the cases cited by Camodeca (n. 8) 941 n. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Note that Pflaum understands *cos.* in *CIL V 3338* = *ILS 1031* as "*cos(ularis)*" in his article cited above (p. 168), but as "*cos(ulis)*" in his *Carrières procuratoriennes équestres* (1960/61) 160; *cos.* in *CIL II 4124* = *RIT 142* is interpreted as "*co(n)s(ularis)*" by G. Alföldy in *RIT*, but as "*co(n)s(ulis)*" in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 59.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. H. Solin, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 179; *TLL* X 2, 1969, 35ff., 1970, 14ff.

<sup>14</sup> B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* I (1984) 210 no. 29.

<sup>15</sup> However, no doubts are registered, e.g., in *PIR*<sup>1</sup> Incerti no. 3.



and *Initiates in Samothrace* (2008) no. 88 (now lost) mentioning a certain [---] *Rufus praetorius*, [*myst*]es *pius* seems to be of about the same date, as this person is likely to be identical with T. Trebellenus Rufus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> T 308) of whom we learn from Tacitus that he was in AD 18 the *tutor* to the children of Cotys, king of Thracia (Tac. *ann.* 3,38,3), a position from which one could probably fairly easily visit Samothrace.

To move on to the second century, the next time we find *praetorius* applied to an individual is in an inscription already quoted above, with the *terminus post quem* AD 113, from Pisidian Antioch *AE* 1964, 35, where *pr(a)etorius* is combined with *senator*. The funerary inscription from Interamna Lirenas, *AE* 1969/70, 93 = 1987, 240,<sup>16</sup> *L. Valerio Saturnino praetorio opti(mo) patri filia Brocchilla [ --- ]* also seems to date from the earlier 2nd century. From the time of Antoninus Pius (between 141 and 161) there is *CIL* IX 5428 = *ILS* 5652 (Falerio), set up by *Antonia Cn. fil. Picentina C. C[---] Secundi (PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 3) *praetori, patron[fi colo]niae (uxor)*. The inscriptions *CIL* XI 1431 = *Inscr. It.* VII 1, 122 (Pisae, with the mention of *Iul(ius) Lucanus pret(orius)*), quoted in n. 7, and *CIL* V 1875 = F. Broilo, *Iscrizioni lapidarie latine del museo nazionale Concordiese I* (1980) no. 18 (Concordia),<sup>17</sup> *T. Desticio T. f. Cl. Iubae (PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 54) *c(larissimo) v(iro), praetorio ordo Concord(iensium) patrono*, are from the later 2nd century, and about the same goes for *CIL* II 1262 = *CILA* II 3, 915 from near Hispalis, where we find *praetorius* once again as part of a *cursus*: *M. Accenna M. f. Gal. Helvius Agrippa (PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 65) *praetorius, trib(unus) pleb(is), leg(atus) provinciae Africae ... item quaestori (sic) provinciae Africae, IIIviro capitali (sic), trib(unus) ... vixit annis*, etc.<sup>18</sup>

As in the case of *consularis*, one observes, in the earlier third century, *praetorius* being attached to *vir*: *CIL* VIII 7054 = *ILAlg.* II 641 (Cirta), *matri ... Naevillae c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(eminae), nuptae Fulvio Faustino praetorio viro (PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 538; also mentioned in *CIL* VIII 7055. 7056 = *ILAlg.* II 639. 640),

<sup>16</sup> The only epigraphical instance of *praetorius* in the category "apponitur nomini proprio" cited in the *TLL* (X 2, 1070, 26ff.).

<sup>17</sup> According to Broilo (p. 52), Iuba might have been a knight adlected *inter praetorios*.

<sup>18</sup> According to H. Solin, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 179, who may have had an eye on the datives which follow, *praetorius* might be a mistake; but inscribing datives by mistake in a context in which the dative is normally the default case is not quite the same thing as inscribing a nominative and other scholars have not expressed any doubt about the reading (e.g., A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanorromanos I* [1990] 27ff. no. 1; B. E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani* [1996] 118 no. 59; cf. *PIR*: "praetorius obiit").

aviae ... Celsinae c(larissimae) f(eminae), nuptae Geminio Modesto praetorio viro (PIR<sup>2</sup> G 150). The rest of the examples of *praetorius* are later.<sup>19</sup>

With these observations on *praetorius*, the section on senatorial titles is about to be concluded, since in the two attestations of *tribunicius*, one may assume that the expression is to be interpreted as referring to an *adlectio inter tribunicios*, not a tribunate held previously,<sup>20</sup> and the same goes for an attestation of *quaestorius*.<sup>21</sup> Only in the inscription CIL II 1270 = CILA II 4, 1034 quoted in n. 19, *quaestorius* seems to refer to an office held actually, but this is a text which has been lost and the interpretation of which remains uncertain.

Taking into account later developments, there are also two late-antique epigraphical instances of *pr(a)esidialis* applied to a person; the mid-fourth-century *tabula patronatus* from Thamugadi AE 1913, 25 = ILS 9510 is addressed Elio Iuliano (PLRE I Iulianus 22) *fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) pr(a)esidali*. According to J. Carcopino, *Rev. Afr.* 57 (1913) 170–2, *fl. pp.* and *presidialis* belong together, *pr(a)esidialis* somehow indicating the sphere of the *flamen's* operations, i.e. the province (which, of course, was governed by a *praeses*); but Dessau in his commentary on ILS 9510 assumes that Iulianus had been "praeses provinciae alicuius", and the same view is taken in PLRE and by C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire* II (1981) 452ff. who also refers to other scholars (and who says that Iulianus is a honorary *praeses*). That this is the correct interpretation is shown by CIL XIII 1796 = ILCV 89 from Lugdunum, where we

<sup>19</sup> CIL II 1270 = CILA II 4, 1034 (Baetica), [ --- ] *quaestorio* [ --- ] *praetorio* [ --- ] (cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> C 1283; end of the 3rd century); ILS 4012 (Madauros) [G]eze(i)o Largo c. v ... *prae[t]orio viro, ex consula[ri B]yzacena* etc. ("M IV", PLRE I Maternianus). The fact that *praetoricus* is sometimes used in the same sense as *praetorius* (see TLL X 2, 1067, 57ff.; M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften* [1959] 6; for the grammarian Caper's opinion on this formation, see below n. 23) takes one's thoughts to P. Caelius Victor Pretoricus in CIL VIII 346 (Ammaedara); but I. Kajanto (*The Latin Cognomina* [1965] 317) is surely correct in interpreting *Pr(a)etoricus* here as a cognomen.

<sup>20</sup> This is clearly the case in AE 1999, 968 (Tarraco), L. Fulvio ... Numisiano Tarrac(onensi) *c(larissimo) v(iro), tribunicio allecto in amplissimum ordinem [[ab Imp. ... Commodo]]* (cf. J. López Vilar, *AEA* 72 [1999] 282), and the same may well go for CIL VIII 11332 = ILS 6836 (Sufetula), L. Caelio Plautio Catullino c. v. *tribunicio, curator rei publicae* etc. (PIR<sup>2</sup> C 139; cf. F. Jacques, *Les curateurs des cités dans l'occident romain* [1983] 189, considering an *adlectio inter tribunicios* as an alternative).

<sup>21</sup> CIL VIII 21451 (Gunugu in Mauretania Caesariensis), C. Fulcinio Fabio Maximo Optato c. v. *quaestorio trib(uno) plebis praet(ori)* etc. (for the interpretation of *quaestorius* as *adlectus inter quaestorios*, see PIR<sup>2</sup> F 514; G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* [1969] 179f.).

find a certain *Aelianus, filius Pauli* (*PLRE* II Aelianus 5) *vir praesidialis* (sic) ... *cives Remus*.<sup>22</sup>

Let us now move on to the municipal and (in some cases) provincial level. As with senators, we observe that also in this context titles referring to offices held in the past make their appearance in imperial inscriptions, some of these titles becoming fairly common by the third century. Some of them are attested from the Julio-Claudian period onwards (it was observed above that the term *consularis* is found applied to individuals in inscriptions from the time of Augustus onwards), some only later. At the municipal and the provincial level, there were also priesthoods which were held only for a certain time, and thus we find at this level various titles referring to priesthoods held in the past. What strikes one is that in the case of some offices, there existed two (or, in the case of *flamen*, three) different versions of the title indicating service in the past, this no doubt reflecting the fact that these titles originated in everyday speech and were only later introduced into "official" diction.

In the following overview of what we find in inscriptions, my aim is to start with what seems to be the earliest (or at least an early) attestation and then to move on to offer observations on the diffusion of the title in question.

**Quaestorius** (cf. below *quaestoricus*).<sup>23</sup> The earliest attestation of this title applied to a former *quaestor* seems to be *CIL* III 5092 = 11654 (from the "Vallis Lavantina" in Noricum), *M. Longinio Vero quaestorio et Porciae C. fil. Ritumarae coniugi filiae fecer(unt)* (dated by G. Alföldy, *Noricum* [1974] to "c. A.D. 100"). The other instances, from Britain, Pannonia Inferior and Africa, all seem approximately Severan or later.<sup>24</sup> In *IL Afr.* 165 from Ammaedara, *quaestorius* is combined with *vir* (*decurio col(oniae) Ammaed(arensium), vir quaestorius*).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the article on *praesidialis* (also *-dialis*) in *TLL* X 2, 876–7. For *praesidialis* as a noun referring to an *ex-praeses*, see *Amm.* 22,14,4; 29,1,6; *Symm. epist.* 4,70,1: *Bonosos praesidali viro*.

<sup>23</sup> *quaestorius* is of course well attested both as a noun and as an adjective; *quaestoricus*, obviously formed on the analogy of *aedilicius* etc. (cf. M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften* [1959] 6; this means that the *i* must have been short; "*quaestōricus*" in *OLD* is a mistake) and criticized by the grammarian Caper (*GL* VII 101 *vir praetorius et quaestorius, non praetoricus aut quaestoricus dicendum*), is otherwise attested only in inscriptions. As a term referring to a category of persons with quaestorian rank, one finds it in the *album* of Canusium, *CIL* IX 338 = *ILS* 6121; as an adjective it is attested in *CIL* VIII 7105 = *IL Alg.* II 683 (Cirta, *qua[e]storiciae potestatis*).

<sup>24</sup> *RIB* 933 (*Fl(avio) Martio sen(atori) in c(ivitate?) Carvetior(um), questorio*) (but this inscription may belong to a fourth-century military context, cf. the commentary); Pannonia

**Quaestoricus** (cf. n. 23). There seem to be seven examples of this title, from Germania Inferior, Dacia and Africa; they all give the impression of being rather late.<sup>25</sup>

**Aedilicius**.<sup>26</sup> The earliest dated attestation of *aedilicius* as the title of a former *aedilis* is (as far as I can see) *AE* 1971, 367 = *IDR* III 3 245 from Germisara in Dacia, with the mention of the emperors Marcus and Verus (AD 161/169: *praef(ectus) q(uin)q(uennalis) pro Imp. Antonino et Vero Augg., aedilic(ius), dec(urio)*). But the inscription from Regium Lepidum, unfortunately now lost, *CIL* XI 972 = *ILS* 6670 (*Cn. Bienus L. f. Pol. Broccus Vviral(is), aedilicius, Ilvir Regio Lepido*) gives the impression of being much earlier; in fact, a date in the first century seems likely. In any case, this title is much more common than *quaestorius*, the number of instances I have been able to trace being about 75. The other inscriptions mentioning *aedilicii* with a date of sorts are from between

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Inferior: *AE* 1980, 725 (*Cibalae, dec(urio) col(oniae) Cibal(ensium), quaestorius*); *AE* 1982, 807 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 304 (*dec. col. Aq(uincensium), questorius*); from Africa: *CIL* VIII 829 = 12348; 23085 = *ILS* 6815; *IL Afr.* 165. Whether one should read *Ael(io) Candido que[storio ---]* in *AE* 2003, 1376 = *RIU* Suppl. 111 remains uncertain. Note that I have taken into account only those cases in which *quaestorius* is written out in full; but in fact it seems more than probable that the abbreviations *q.* and *quaest.* should, in many cases, be interpreted as representing *quaestorius* rather than *quaestor*, especially when these abbreviations appear alongside titles which do refer to offices held in the past; cf. below n. 114.

<sup>25</sup> Germania Inferior: 17. *BRGK* (1927) 306 = *AE* 1926, 128 (*Vetera, dec(urioni) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raianae), qu[ae]storio, Ilvir[o]*); Dacia: *AE* 1957, 334 = *IDR* II 357 (*dec(urioni), quaestoric(io), aedilic(io) col. Romul(ensis)*); *IDR* III 1, 140; Africa: *CIL* VIII 12354 = *ILS* 6826 (*quaestorio, Ilviralicio*); the rest are from the city of Giufi: *CIL* VIII 859 = 12376; *CIL* VIII 862 = 12382 = *ILS* 6821 (probably *q(uaestoricus)* rather than *q(uaestorius)*); *AE* 2003, 1985.

<sup>26</sup> For *aedilicius* both as a noun and as an adjective (in *aedilicia potestas*, etc.) see *TLL* I 927f.; cf. M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften* (1959) 5. Note that, in the following, only cases in which *aedilicius* is written out in full are considered; for cases where it seems more than probable that the abbreviations *aed.* and *aedil.* stand for *aedilicius* rather than *aedilis*, see below n. 114.

the years 193 and 395/408.<sup>27</sup> Persons referred to as *aedilicii* are found in Italy,<sup>28</sup> Hispania Tarraconensis,<sup>29</sup> Germania Inferior,<sup>30</sup> *Alpes Maritimae* and *Poeninae*,<sup>31</sup> Noricum (six instances), Pannonia Superior,<sup>32</sup> Pannonia Inferior (many instances), Dacia (many instances), Moesia Superior,<sup>33</sup> Moesia Inferior,<sup>34</sup> Africa (more than 25 instances), Numidia (nine instances), Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana.<sup>35</sup> The expression *aedilicius* (combined with *duoviralicus*) *vir* is perhaps attested in *CIL* VIII 12260 = *ILCV* 310 = *ILTun.* 675.<sup>36</sup> An *aedilicius bis* is attested in Nicopolis ad Istrum (n. 34).<sup>37</sup> In inscriptions from the city of Giufi in Africa, we

<sup>27</sup> AD 193: *CIL* III 10398 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 54; *AE* 2003, 1420 (both from Pannonia Inferior); the other attestations with a date: *CIL* VIII 9024; *IL Afr.* 451; *IDR* III 2, 124 (Dacia); *IDR* III 5, 225 (Dacia; the inscriptions which precede all have a Severan date); *AE* 1934, 118 (Aquincum, AD 228); *CIL* VIII 826 (AD 230); *AE* 2003, 1414 = 2006, 1096 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 250); *AE* 2003, 1416 = 2006, 1097 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 252); *CIL* III 10440 = *ILS* 3742 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 268 (AD 259); *AE* 2006, 1762 (Africa, AD 265); *AE* 2003, 1418 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 271); *CIL* VIII 25836 = *ILS* 8926 = *I. Bardo* 389 (AD 275/6); *AE* 2003, 1420 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 284). The fourth century is represented only by an inscription of AD 352 from Germania Inferior (n. 30) and by *AE* 1914, 57 = *IL Afr.* 276 (Thuburbo Maius, an inscription in honour of [---]inius Salvianus *edilicius, p(atronus) a(lmae) K(arthaginis)* from AD 395/408) and by the Christian inscription *CIL* VIII 12260 = *ILCV* 310 = *ILTun.* 675 (two men with the title *edilicius et duoviralicus vir*).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. above; and (from a much later period) *CIL* IX 2775 (Bovianum Vetus), *M. Cufio Marcel(lo) aedilicio M. Cufius Rufillus fratri*.

<sup>29</sup> *CIL* II 3711 = *ILS* 6959 = C. Veny, *Corpus de las inscripciones baleáricas* (1965) 123: *aedilicius, ter Ilviratu in insula functus* (note the combination of two styles in indicating that the offices had been held in the past).

<sup>30</sup> Five examples, one of the from AD 352 (cf. below at n. 73).

<sup>31</sup> *CIL* V 7919 = G. Laguerre, *Inscriptions antiques de Nice-Cimiez* (1975) 67b; *AE* 1988, 856.

<sup>32</sup> *AE* 1965, 294 = *RIU* 139 (Savaria).

<sup>33</sup> *CIL* III 8088 (*ILS* 7176), 8090, 8205 (= *IMS* VI 67); *AE* 1952, 195 = *IL Jug.* III 1370.

<sup>34</sup> *AE* 1991, 1376.

<sup>35</sup> Caesariensis: *CIL* VIII 9024, 9664; Tingitana: *IAM* II 431, 446.

<sup>36</sup> *Manilius Faustianus ... edilicius et duoviralicus vir h(onestus) pius ... Manilius Fortunatianus edilicius et duoviralicus vir honestus pius ...*; but it seems probable that *vir* goes with *honestus* rather than with *edilicius et duoviralicus*. Cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 79; *Phil.* 8,24 *hominem aedilicium*; *HA Max. Balb.* 10,1 *quaestorios, aedilicios, tribunicios etiam viros*; Oros. 5,22,4 *viros ... praetorios ... aedilicios*.

<sup>37</sup> In the inscription quoted in n. 29, *ter* certainly goes with *Ilviratu ... functus*, not with *aedilicius*.

find *aediles* being referred to as sons of *aedilicii* (*CIL* VIII 858 = *ILS* 5073; *CIL* VIII 859 = 12376).

***Iiviralis*** (***duoviralis***, ***duumviralis***; cf. below *Iiviralicus*).<sup>38</sup> The earliest dated attestation seems to be *AE* 2001, 1918 of AD 45/46 from Pisidian Antioch (*Ti. Claudio Caisari Aug. Germanico ... G. Caristianus Fronto Caisianus Iullus duumviralis III, pontifex*); but because of the mention of a man without a cognomen, *AE* 1989, 341m from Catina in Sicily may be even earlier.<sup>39</sup> There are exactly dated attestations from the reign of Nerva and AD 157/158 (see n. 39) and several from between the reign of Commodus and AD 284.<sup>40</sup> Persons referred to as *Iivirales* are attested in Sicily,<sup>41</sup> Hispania Tarraconensis and Lusitania,<sup>42</sup> Gallia Narbonensis,<sup>43</sup> Aquitania (*CIL* XIII 1391, [---duumvi]ral(is), aug(ur) [---]),

<sup>38</sup> For *Iiviralis* used as an adjective or as a noun indicating rank cf. *TLL* V 1, 2315f. Note that here, too (as in the case of *quaestorius* and *aedilicius*), I only consider cases in which *Iiviralis* is written out in full (or abbreviated *Iivira.*, *Iiviral.*). But the abbreviation *Iivir.* could also be used for *Iiviralis* or *Iiviralicus*, cf. *CIL* VIII 883 = 12386 = *ILS* 6816, where we must, because of *quinquennialicio*, surely understand *aed(ilicio)*, *Iivir(ali)*, *quinquennialicio* rather than *aed(ili)*, *Iivir(ali)*; cf. below n. 114.

<sup>39</sup> *Grattia C. f. Paulla uxor C. Ofilli, mater C. Ofill[i] Veri duumviralium* etc.; *ILAlg.* I 2064b from Madauros ([---]nius [---] f. [Quir]ina Honoratus [---]anus Iivi[r]a[li]s) is from the time of Nerva, *AE* 1993, 1617 = *Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (1999) 15 (*mandatu Sex. Corneli Quirina Taurini Iiviral(is)*) from 157/158 (B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* 2 [2009] 133 no. 34:032 a; for a later instance from the same city, see *CIL* III 12082 = *ILS* 7206 = *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (1999) 3, *M. Fl(avium) Agrippam pontif(icem), Iiviral(em) col(oniae) ... Caesareae, oratorem*). There are several other attestations of *Iiviralis* which seem to date from the second century (e.g., *CIL* II 4468 = *ILS* 6949 = *IRC* II 32 from Aeso in Hispania Tarraconensis; note that according to G. Fabre, M. Mayer and I. Rodà in *IRC*, the man is not an ex-duovir but someone who had received the "honours du duumvirat").

<sup>40</sup> *CIL* VIII 12039 = *ILS* 6812 (the same man appears in an inscription of 183/185); *AE* 1957, 294 = *ILBulg.* 17 (Moesia Inferior; the *legio I Italica* is called *Severiana*); *AE* 1973, 437 = *RIU* VI 1501 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 213); *CIL* III 6170 = *ILS* 468 = *ISM* V 151 (Moesia Inferior, AD 218/222); *CIL* VIII 2620 (AD 222/235); *CIL* VIII 826 (AD 232); *CIL* III 10440 = *ILS* 3742 = *Tituli Aquincenses* 268 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 259); *AE* 2003, 1420 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 284).

<sup>41</sup> See n. 39 (*AE* 1989, 341m from Catina).

<sup>42</sup> Tarraconensis: n. 39; Lusitania: *I. Conventus Pacensis* 305; *AE* 1952, 117 = L. García Iglesias, *Epigrafía Romana de Augusta Emerita* (1997) 145 (*L. Antestio Persico ... Iivirali, pont(ifici) perpetuo*).

<sup>43</sup> *CIL* VI 36835 (*Numini deae Vienna ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) M. Nigidius Paternus Iiviral(is)*). The inscription is from Rome, but Nigidius Paternus probably uses a formulation

Gallia Lugdunensis,<sup>44</sup> Germania Inferior,<sup>45</sup> Britain (*AE* 2000, 809 = *RIB* 3046), *Alpes Maritimae* and *Poeninae*,<sup>46</sup> Pannonia Superior (*CIL* III 3936 = *ILS* 7116 = *AIJ* 500), Pannonia Inferior (at least eight instances),<sup>47</sup> Dacia (more than 20 instances),<sup>48</sup> Moesia Superior,<sup>49</sup> Moesia Inferior (more than ten instances),<sup>50</sup> Galatia (cf. above), Syria Palaestina (n. 39), Africa (more than ten instances),<sup>51</sup> Numidia (more than five instances),<sup>52</sup> Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana.<sup>53</sup> In some of the instances, we find persons called *Iivirales bis* or even *ter*.<sup>54</sup> In *AE*

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which would have been correct in Vienna.

<sup>44</sup> *CIL* XI 716 (Bononia), *P. Vettio Perenni Carnutino ex provincia Lugdunensi dumvirali, sacerdot(ali?)*. The titles are, I think, to be referred to Gaul rather than to Bononia (thus M. Dondin-Payre, in Ead. – M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Cités, municipes, colonies* [1999] 162).

<sup>45</sup> *BRGK* 40, 1959, 228 (Cologne); *BRGK* 27, 1937, 162 = *AE* 1931, 20 (Bonn: *Tib. Claudius [I]ustus Iiviralis, [sa]cerdotalis [c(oloniae) C(laudiae)] A(rae) A(grippinensis)*); dated "après 150" by W. van Andringa, in M. Dondin-Payre – M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (eds.), *Cités, municipes, colonies* [1999] 446). For the inscription of AD 352 from Tolbiacum (Zülpich), see below at n. 73.

<sup>46</sup> *Alpes Maritimae* (Vintium): *CIL* XII 18b (*Cremonio Albucio decur(ioni) Vint(iensium), Iivirali, sacerdotali et omnibus honoribus functo*); *ILGN* 1 (*C. Fla(vius) Secundus ... Iiviralis et sacerdot(alis)*). – *Alpes Poeninae*: *CIL* XII 140 = *I. Schweiz* 257; *ILS* 4685 = *I. Schweiz* 278 (*T. Vinelius Vegetinus Iiviral(is)*); this inscription gives the impression of not being very late); *AE* 1988, 856 (*L. Sentio Secundo aedilicio, Iivirali*); *AE* 1988, 867b (*Condiu[s] Paternu[s] flamen, Iiviralis*).

<sup>47</sup> E.g., *CIL* III 3438 = *ILS* 7254 = *Tituli Aquincenses* 126 (*Cl(audius) Pompeius Faustus dec(urio) col. Aq(uincensium), aedil(icius), Iiviral(is)*).

<sup>48</sup> E.g., *CIL* III 1209 = *ILS* 7147 = *IDR* III 5, 2, 443 (Apulum) *P. Ael. P. fil. Pap. Strenuo eq(uo) p(ublico) sacerdot(i) arae Aug(usti), auguri et Iiviral(i) col. Sarm(izegetusae), augur(i) col. Apul(ensis), dec(urioni) col. Drob(etensis)*.

<sup>49</sup> *CIL* III 1672 = *ILJug.* III 1488 (*dec(urioni) m(unicipii) Ma(rgensis), Iivirali*); *AE* 1979, 520 cf. 1983, 867 (*bis Iiviralis*); *ILJug.* III 1420.

<sup>50</sup> E.g., *CIL* III 7560 = *ISM* II 244 (Tomoi; *C. Arrius Quintianus bis duumviralis et augur mun(icipii) Troesmens(is)*).

<sup>51</sup> E.g., *CIL* VIII 4888 = *ILAlg.* I 1344 (*C. Iulius ... Thallianus dec(urio), aedil(icius), Iiviralis*).

<sup>52</sup> E.g., *ILAlg.* I 2145 (Madauros), father *fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), bis Iiviralis*, son *fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), Iivi[ral]is*. For Madauros cf. also *Apul. apol. 24: patrem habui loco principis Iiviralem cunctis honoribus perfunctum*.

<sup>53</sup> Caesariensis: *CIL* VIII 20706 (*L. An[n]io Maximo ... aedili, q(uaestori), flaminicio [du]umviraliq(ue)*). Tingitana: *IAM* II 250. 435. 446 (*dec(urioni), aedilicio, Iivirali*).

<sup>54</sup> In Pisidian Antioch in AD 45/46: see above; *AE* 1979, 520 = 1983, 867 (above n. 49); *CIL* III 6170 = *ILS* 468 = *ISM* V 151 (AD 218/222: *bis duumviral(is)*); *CIL* III 7560 = *ISM* II 244

1992, 1800 (Abbir in Africa; cf. n. 102) a certain Cn. Apertius L. fil. Gaetulicus is referred to as *duoviralis vir*. In *CIL* III 14214,6 (Tropaeum Traiani in Moesia inferior) the father is *duumviralis*, the son *duumvir*.

***Iiviralicus*** (***duoviralicus***, ***duumviralicus***; cf. above *Iiviralis*).<sup>55</sup> Found once in Augustine (*cur. mort.* 12,15, *curialis pauper, vix illius loci duumviralicus*), this expression is attested as an adjective in Philippi (*CIL* III 650, *honoratus ... ornamentis ... Iiviralicis*) and as a noun referring to the category of former *duoviri* in Canusium in 223 and in the fourth century in Thamugadi.<sup>56</sup> As a personal title, it seems to be found only in the African provinces and once in Dalmatia (?).<sup>57</sup> The earliest dated attestation seems to be in an inscription from Curubis in Africa from about the time of Marcus because of the mention of *divus Pius* (*ILS* 9407 = *IL Afr.* 320 = *ILTun.* 839 = *I. Bardo* 373, *fl(amini) perp(etuo), Iiviralic(io) et curator(i) alimentorum*). The other dated instances are from the period between the Severans and about AD 380.<sup>58</sup> There are more than twenty attestations from Africa, about ten from Numidia and three from Caesarea in Mauretania.<sup>59</sup> Concerning the exact meaning of the term *Iiviralicus*, let me ob-

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(above n. 50); *CIL* III 12473 (*bis Iiviralis*); *CIL* III 14211,2 = *ILBulg.* 16 (*Iivirali iter(um)*); *ILAlg.* I 2145 (*bis Iiviralis*). Four of the instances are from Moesia Inferior.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *TLL* V 1, 2315, 25–52.

<sup>56</sup> Canusium: n. 23; *CIL* VIII 2403 cf. 17824 = *ILS* 6122 (Thamugadi, from the time of Valentinian). It is not clear to me why one should read *Iivir(aliciis)* (thus *TLL* V 1, 2315, 50; *Inscr. It.*) rather than *Iivir(alibus)* in the inscription from Eburum, *CIL* X 451 = *Inscr. It.* III 1, 5 cf. *AE* 1989, 187.

<sup>57</sup> *CIL* III 1502 = 14610, *Aurel(ius) Augustianus dec(urio), duumviralicus m(unicipii) Cel()* (this inscription comes from a place in Dalmatia, but the *municipium* might in fact belong to Moesia Superior, cf. *ILJug.* I 77).

<sup>58</sup> *CIL* VIII 9353 = 20985 (Severus and Caracalla); *CIL* VIII 2741 = 18126 (a similar text *AE* 1987, 1067; from the years 202/205 because of the mention of the legate Claudius Gallus, cf. B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum* I<sup>2</sup> [2009] p. 167 n. 40:057) *CIL* VIII 10980 = 20983 (Caracalla); *CIL* VIII 10620 = *ILTun.* 1416 = M. Khanoussi – L. Maurin (eds.), *Dougga. Fragments d'histoire* (2000) no. 62 (Gallienus); *CIL* VIII 25836 = *ILS* 8926 = *I. Bardo* I 389 (Tacitus). Inscriptions from the later fourth century from Lambaesis in Numidia: *AE* 1917/18, 58; *AE* 1987, 1062 cf. 2003, 1889 (from the 360s); *CIL* VIII 18328 = *ILS* 5520 (between 379 and 383). In Calama (Numidia) in 376/7: *CIL* VIII 17519 = *ILAlg.* I 257 (for the interpretation [*duumvir*]alic[io], see C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire* I [1979] 154f. no. 31). Note also the Christian inscription from somewhere in (the province of) Africa, *CIL* VIII 12260 = *ILCV* 310 = *ILTun.* 675; *AE* 1961, 200 (Vina in Africa, *decurioni, aedi[l]i(cio), q(uaestori(cio), duoviralicio*) may perhaps also be assigned to the earlier fourth century.

<sup>59</sup> *CIL* VIII 9353 = 20985; *CIL* VIII 9398 = 20984; *CIL* VIII 10980 = 20983.



serve that nothing seems to point to the conclusion that the term could mean anything other than "former *Iivir*", *Iiviralicus* thus being just a variant of *Iiviralis*. That *Iiviralicus* does not, or at least not necessarily, refer, e.g., to someone who had only been adlected to the category of former *Iiviri* is clear from inscriptions in which *Iiviralicii* are described as having held a duovirate.<sup>60</sup> But it cannot be concealed that there is an inscription from Lepcis which has a mention of both a *duoviralicus* and of a *duoviralis*.<sup>61</sup> However, one wonders if this has any significance and, if it has, what the significance might be. In any case, one can perhaps assume that the use of either *Iiviralis* or *Iiviralicus* may have depended on local custom. One finds only *Iivirales* in Africa, e.g., in Abbir, Bulla Regia, Sufetula and Thubursicu Numidarum, in Numidia in Thamugadi, and in the cities of the Mauretaniae other than Caesarea; on the other hand, one finds only *Iiviralicii* in Africa, e.g., in Ammaedara, Calama, Carthage, Mactar, Thugga, Uchi, Ureu, Uthina and Vina, in Numidia, e.g., in Cuicul and Thamugadi, and in Caesarea in Mauretania. However, the numbers of inscriptions are normally small (in many cases, we have only one relevant text from each city), and so things remain fairly uncertain, especially as there are some cities in the inscriptions of which one finds both *Iivirales* and *Iiviralicii*. In this category, we have at least Curubis (?),<sup>62</sup> Municipium Turcetanum,<sup>63</sup> in Numidia Lambaesis<sup>64</sup> and Madauros.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>60</sup> CIL VIII 863 (Giufi: *C. Gemnius ... Felix Iiviralicus ob honorem aedilitatis intermissae et Iiviratus sui*; no doubt, about the same wording in CIL VIII 862 = 12382 = ILS 6821); CIL VIII 4418 (Lambiridi in Numidia: *L. An[t]is[t]ius Antoninus duumviralicus mun(icipii) Lambiridi[t(ani)] in honorem civium suorum quod in se ... duumviratum contulissent* etc.).

<sup>61</sup> IRT 579: (...) *Clementillae Aemili Arriani Caeciliani duoviralicis, pontif(icis) filiae ... Gallus eq. R. pontifex duoviralis* etc.

<sup>62</sup> CIL VIII 24101 (*[a]ed(ilicio), Iivir(a)l[i]*; but the reading seems a bit uncertain); ILS 9407 (see above at n. 58).

<sup>63</sup> *Iiviralicii*: CIL VIII 829 = 12348; CIL VIII 12354 = ILS 6826; *Iiviralis*: CIL VIII 826 (*aedilicio, Iivirali*).

<sup>64</sup> *Iiviralicii*: CIL VIII 2677; 3301 and instances from the later fourth century (above n. 58). *Iiviralis*: CIL VIII 18241 = ILS 6847a. In CIL VIII 2620, the interpretation of the abbreviation *Iivira*. (thus according to the photo) is uncertain.

<sup>65</sup> *Iiviralicii*: ILS I 2052a; *Iivirales*: ILS I 2145. In ILS I 2064b and 2131, it is uncertain which of the two titles is meant.

**IIIviralis.**<sup>66</sup> This title seems to be attested only in three inscriptions from Dacia<sup>67</sup> and in one from Raetia.<sup>68</sup> The instances do not seem to date from before the Severans.

**Quinquennialicius.**<sup>69</sup> Interestingly, this title is attested only in Italy and in the African provinces. The earliest dated example is *CIL* VIII 16530 = *ILAlg.* I 3032 (Theveste) from the time of Commodus; however, *CIL* XI 6225 = *ILS* 5679 = *I. Fano* 5 (*T. Varius T. f. Pol. Rufinus Geganius Facundus Vibius Marcellinus equo publ(ico), quinquennialic(ius)* etc.) is said by R. Bernardelli Calavalle in *I. Fano* to be from the end of the 1st century (in my view, the inscription could, however, be somewhat later). In addition to this inscription, the title is apparently also attested in Italy in Fabrateria Vetus (*CIL* X 5654, [*C.*] *Fl(avio) C. f. Procu-leiano quinq(uennialicio) viro* (approxomately Severan; I do not think that the interpretation should be simply *quinq(uenniali) viro*) and, in the context of local *collegia*, in Ostia.<sup>70</sup> The rest of the instances, most of them leaving the impression of being about Severan or a bit later, but two being from the fourth century, come from the African provinces.<sup>71</sup> The term *quinquennialicius vir* is found in the inscription from Fabrateria referred to above and in *CIL* VIII 20872 from Tipasa

<sup>66</sup> For *IIIviralis* used as an adjective or as a noun indicating rank cf. *CIL* VI 466 (= 32309 + 32472) = *ILS* 1930 *viator IIIviralis, IIIviralis*; *CIL* IX 2629 = *ILS* 5419, [*IIIvi*]r *i(ure) d(icundo) pro cena IIIvi[rali]*; *quattuorviralis potestas* (only in Carmo in Baetica, *CIL* II 1380 [*ILS* 5080a], 5120).

<sup>67</sup> *CIL* III 985 = *IDR* III 5, 1, 19 (*M. Ulp(ius) Valens IIIviralis munic(ipii) Sept(im)i Apul(ensis)*) and *AE* 1992, 1485 (Apulum); *CIL* III 7678 (Potaissa).

<sup>68</sup> *CIL* III 5825 = *ILB* 136 (Augusta Vindelicorum: *C. Iulianus Iulius dec(urio) mun(icipii), IIIviralis*).

<sup>69</sup> As an adjective and as a noun indicating rank, *quinquennialicius* is attested in a number of inscriptions, but mainly abbreviated (*qq.*, *quinq.*, etc.); for the adjective, note (to quote only inscriptions in which the title is written out in full), *praef(ecto) Germanic[i] Caesaris quinquennialici iuris* (*CIL* IX 3044 = *ILS* 2689 cf. *AE* 1986, 221]), *quinquennialicia potestas* (*EE* VIII 819 = *ILS* 6527 from Teate Marrucinatorum) and [*ornamenta* (?) *quinq*]uennialicia (*CIL* III 376 = *I. Parion* 14). For the noun, cf. the *album* of Canusium (above n. 23), with a list of *quinquennialicii*; *CIL* VIII 262 = 11430 = *ILS* 6835, *inter quinq[ennali]cios adlecto*; cf. also *CIL* XI 7591 (Castrum Novum) and *Suppl. It.* I Ferentinum 6 = *AE* 1982, 308, apparently mentioning *quinquennialici(i)* among dedicators of statues.

<sup>70</sup> *CIL* XIV 246, 5374, 5380 = *AE* 1987, 197, etc.

<sup>71</sup> In Africa: *CIL* VIII 883 = 12386 = *ILS* 6816 (*decurioni Karthag(ine), aed(ilicio), Ilvir(alicio), quinquennialicio*); *CIL* VIII 16406 = *ILS* 4471 = *ILTun.* 1564 (*aedilic(ius), quinq(uennialicius), sacerd(os) dei Ditis*); *ILAlg.* I 1363 (*Q. Vetidi Iuvenalis quinquennialici filius*). Numidia: *CIL* VIII 16530 = *ILAlg.* I 3032; *ILAlg.* II 7949/50 (fourth century); *AE* 1987, 1083 (fourth century,

in Mauretania Caesariensis (*L. Saedio Octavio Felic[i] vet(erano), quinquennalicio viro Octavia Africana patri*).

Before moving on to priesthoods, let me point out the attestation in an inscription of AD 352, in many ways striking, from Tolbiacum (Zülpich) west of Cologne of the term *curatoricius*: *CIL XIII 7918 = ILS 7069: D. M. Masclinio Materno dec(urioni) c(oloniae) A(grippinensis), aedilicio, dumvirali (sic), curatoricio, sacerdotali et ex comitibus*.<sup>72</sup>

*Se(x)viralis*. The inscription from Regium Lepidum, unfortunately now lost, *CIL XI 972 = ILS 6670 (Cn. Bienus L. f. Pol. Broccus VVirali(is), aedilicius, Iivir Regio Lepido)*, already quoted above (at n. 27) and assigned there to the first century, must be the earliest attestation. The rest of the attestations, of which there are only four and which seem to date from the later second century or from the Severan period, come from Baetica, Tarraconensis, Aquitania and Germania Inferior;<sup>73</sup> interestingly, in the inscription cited in n. 73 from Aquae Granni in the last-mentioned province, a former *sevir* of Cologne adds that the sexvirate pertains to *Augusti* but calls himself not *Augustalis* but *Augustorum*.

*Sacerdotalis*.<sup>74</sup> The earliest attestation of this title (the exact significance of which in each case cannot be taken under consideration here) must be *AE*

[*curante ---*] *quinquennalicio, fl(amine) [p(er)p(etuo)]*. Mauretania Caesariensis: *CIL VIII 20872*.

<sup>72</sup> Note the combination of the type ending in *-alis* or *-icius* with the more modern type *ex + ablative*.

<sup>73</sup> *CIL II 1473 = II<sup>2</sup> 5, 1164 = CILA II 3, 689 (Astigi), P. Numerius Martialis Astigitanus seviralis signum Panthei ... fieri ... iussit; RIT 420: M. Iunio Celso VVirali, honoribus functo etc.; CIL XIII 586 (Burdigala): M. Sulpicius Primulus Turiassonesis seviral(is); 17. BRGK (1927) no. 262 (Aquae Granni), M. Fucissius Secundus (sic) sexviralis Augustorum c(oloniae) C(laudiae) A(rae) A(grippinensium)* (this inscription is dated to the later second or the earlier third century by W. Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit* [2004] 346, to the second or third century by W. Spickermann, *Germania Inferior* [Religion der römischen Provinzen 3, 2008] 94 n. 96).

<sup>74</sup> As an adjective, *sacerdotalis* is attested for the first time in literary sources in Velleius (*a nobilissimis ac sacerdotalibus viris* 2,124,4) and then in Pliny the Younger (*proximis sacerdotalibus ludis, ep.* 7,24,6). There are later instances in Tertullian and in late antiquity (e.g., *collegia sacerdotalia, HA Comm.* 12,1). As for inscriptions, the earliest instance may well be *CIL VI 9044 = ILS 7355* mentioning a freedman of Augustus (or possibly Caligula) and referring to *sacerdotales decuriones* (i.e., decurions with the rank of *sacerdotales*) of a *collegium*; the *publicus sacerdotalis* (sic) in *CIL VI 2332 = ILS 4991* is clearly also earlyish. For other instances, note *libri sacerdotales CIL VI 8878 = ILS 1685; ornamenta sacerdotalia CIL VI 8955; CIL III 499 = I. Patras 4 (ornam(entis) [sace]rdotal(ibus)); I. Patras 129; Corinth VIII 2, 168; 3, 192; I. Alexandria Troas 39, 74, 135; CIL III 7429 = ILS 1465 = ILBulg. 20;*

1964, 1 = *ILJug.* 944A (*Turus Longini f. dec(urio) et sacerdotali(s)*) from Varvaria in Dalmatia, no doubt from the early imperial period.<sup>75</sup> The earliest exactly dated instance seems to be *ILAlg.* II 3, 7942 of AD 161/169 from Cuicul in Numidia mentioning a certain *Q. Iulifus --- sacer]dotalis provin[ciae Africae]*. By this time, the expression *sacerdotalis* had begun to be often used to refer to the provincial priesthood in particular, especially in Pannonia Superior and in the African provinces. The other dated attestations come from the period between Commodus and the 380s,<sup>76</sup> but there are African inscriptions which must be even later.<sup>77</sup> As for the geographic distribution of the *sacerdotes*, one finds that there

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*honor(es) sacerdotalis (-les)* *AE* 1954, 165 = 1982, 267 (Capena, referring to a female *sacerdos Cereris*); *CIL* XIII 11047 = *ILA Pétrucores* 18. For *sacerdotalis* as a noun indicating the rank of a category of persons, note *CIL* VI 10348; *adlectus inter sacerdotales* *CIL* X 7518 = *ILS* 6764 (Sulci in Sardinia, clearly not very late); *CIL* III 4178 = 10919 = *RIU* 45 (Savaria, the *sacer]dota]l(es)* setting up a statue of Trajan in AD 103/111; *CIL* VIII 10569 = 14394 (Vaga in Africa, the *sacerdotales* building something in AD 197); *EE* IX 593 (cf. p. 706) and 594 (= *ILS* 8979 and 6185), ca. mid-third-century inscriptions from Lavinium mentioning *sacerdotales et populus* as setting up honorific inscriptions (for Lavinium cf. also *AE* 1998, 282 which also mentions *consacerdotales*, an expression not in *TLL*); *Cod. Theod.* 12, 5,2 (*sacerdotales et flamines perpetuos atque etiam duumvirales ... innumes esse praecipimus*). The *album* of Thamugadi (n. 57) also includes a category of *sacerdotales*. Cf. also *Aurel(ius) Audentius ... e sacer(dotalibus) provinci(ae)* *CIL* III 3485 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 286.

<sup>75</sup> G. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien* (1965) 86.

<sup>76</sup> *CIL* VIII 4600 (referring to offices held in Poetovio in Pannonia Superior), *M. Valerio Maximiano M. Valeri Maximiani q(uin)q(uennalis)* (or *-nnalicii?*), *sacerdotalis fil(io)* (AD 183/185); *IRT* 397 (Lepcis, a *sacerdotalis provinciae Africae* in AD 197/209; note a possible *sac(er)d(otalis) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)* in apparently 211 in *CIL* X 7917 cf. *AE* 1997, 753); *AE* 1968, 422 = 1983, 766 (a *sacerdotalis p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) s(uperioris)* in Karnuntum in 219); *AE* 1998, 282 (Lavinium, a *v. e.*, *sacerdotalis* in 227/228); *CIL* III 3936 = 10820 = *ILS* 7116 = *AIJ* 500 (a female *sacerdotalis* in Pannonia Superior in 238); *AE* 1922, 23 (Sitifis in Mauretania Caesariensis in 261 [?]). In the fourth century, we find *sacerdotales* in *CIL* X 4559 (Trebula Balliensis, from the time of Constantine: *L. Alfio Fannio Primo ... sacer(dotali) viro*), in *CIL* XIII 7918 = *ILS* 7069 (cf. above at n. 73), and in the African provinces: *CIL* VIII 27 = 11025 = *ILTun.* 11 = *ILS* 787; *CIL* VIII 7014 = *ILAlg.* II 591 = *ILS* 758; *CIL* VIII 7034 = *ILAlg.* II 619 = *ILS* 5789; *CIL* VIII 7035 = *ILAlg.* II 621; *ILAlg.* II 620. There are also some inscriptions of *sacerdotales* in *IRT* which do not have an exact date but because of their wording, must be from the fourth century (at least 578, 588).

<sup>77</sup> African inscriptions apparently not earlier than the fifth century: *AE* 1972, 691 (Ammaedara, *Astius Dinamius [sacer]dotalis provin[ciae] Africe*); *CIL* VIII 8348 = *ILAlg.* II 3, 8296 = *ILCV* 392 (Cuijul in Numidia, *Tulius Adeodatus sacerdotalis*). For the date, cf. A. Chastagnol – N. Duval, in J. Tréheux (ed.), *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à W. Seston* (1974) 88ff. (*ILAlg.* II 3, 8296, with facsimile), 100ff. (*AE* 1972, 691, with photo); Lepelley, op. cit. (n.

are attestations from Italy (see n. 76), Sardinia (n. 76), Gallia Lugdunensis,<sup>78</sup> Gallia Belgica,<sup>79</sup> Germania Inferior,<sup>80</sup> Germania Superior,<sup>81</sup> *Alpes Maritimae*,<sup>82</sup> Raetia,<sup>83</sup> Dalmatia,<sup>84</sup> Pannonia Superior (about 10 instances),<sup>85</sup> Pannonia Inferior (at least 5 instances), Dacia,<sup>86</sup> Moesia Inferior (*CIL* III 12428 = *ILBulg.* 410), Africa (more than ten instances),<sup>87</sup> Numidia,<sup>88</sup> Mauretania Caesariensis (n. 76). The combination *vir sacerdotalis* is attested in Moguntiacum (*CIL* XIII 7064) and, in the time of Constantine, in Trebula Balliensis in Italy (n. 75: *sacerdotalis vir*).

**Flaminalis.** This title seems to be attested only in inscriptions (*TLL* VI 1, 861, 50ff.: "qui flamonio municipali vel provinciali functus est");<sup>89</sup> the earliest example is surely *CIL* V 5132 = M. Vavassori, *Le antiche lapidi di Bergamo*

58) I [1979] 368 (cf. p. 362ff. on *sacerdotes* in general, with references on p. 364 n. 149 to mentions of African *sacerdotes* in the *Codex Theodosianus* at the end of the fourth and in the early fifth century).

<sup>78</sup> *CIL* XIII 1632. One also wonders whether one should not read *P. Vettio Perenni Carnutino ex provincia Lugdunensi dumvirali, sacerdot(ali)* (rather than *sacerdot(i)*) in *CIL* XI 716 (but W. van Andringa, in M. Dondin-Payre – M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier [eds.], *Cités, municipes, colonies* [1999] 443 prefers *sacerdot(i)*).

<sup>79</sup> *CIL* VI 29692; *AE* 1929, 173.

<sup>80</sup> *CIL* XIII 8244 = *ILS* 3384; *AE* 1931, 20 = *BRGK* 27, 1937, 98 no. 162

<sup>81</sup> *CIL* XIII 6705 (= *ILS* 7080), 7064.

<sup>82</sup> *CIL* XII 18b; *ILGN* 1; probably also *AE* 2000, 850, all these inscriptions being from Vintium (Vence).

<sup>83</sup> *CIL* III 5826; 5827 = *ILS* 7109 (a female).

<sup>84</sup> *AE* 1964, 1 = *ILJug.* 944A (see above); *CIL* III 6344 = 8310.

<sup>85</sup> *CIL* III 3936 = 10820 = *ILS* 7116 = *AIJ* 500 of 238 referring to a woman.

<sup>86</sup> *CIL* III 7962 = *ILS* 7130 = *IDR* III 2, 353; *CIL* III 7688; *AE* 2006, 1178; probably also *CIL* III 1207 = *IDR* III 5, 483.

<sup>87</sup> E.g., *CIL* VIII 1827 = 16472 = *ILTun.* 1647 (Althiburus), *fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), sacerdotal(is) prov(inciae) / Afric(ae)*; cf. next note.

<sup>88</sup> Attested apparently only in the fourth century and only in Cirta (*ILAlg.* II 591. 619. 620. 621); the earlier *sacerdotes* appearing in inscriptions from Numidia (officially a part of the province of Africa until Severus) are *sacerdotes provinciae Africae* (*ILAlg.* II 3, 7903. 7942. 8296; *CIL* VIII 2343 = *ILS* 6840; *AE* 1979, 670).

<sup>89</sup> For *flaminalis* as an adjective referring to persons belonging to a certain category, see *CIL* II 4248 = *ILS* 6937 = *RIT* 333, *statuam inter flaminales viros positam*. Other instances of the adjective: *CIL* II 4523 = *IRC* IV 55 (*honores flaminales*); *CILA* II 2, 358 = *AE* 1983, 521 (Italice, *corona(m) ... flaminal(em)*). For *Flaminalis* as a cognomen cf. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) 318.

(1994) no. 29 from Bergomum, *L. Blandius C. f. Vot. IIIIIvir et Augustalis et flaminialis*, an early date, probably before Claudius, being indicated by the absence of a cognomen. It must, however, be noted that *et flaminialis* is a later addition. In addition to this early instance, the title is attested in Italy in Terventum<sup>90</sup> and Peltuinum.<sup>91</sup> Otherwise, *flaminialis* is attested as a personal title in Baetica,<sup>92</sup> Africa<sup>93</sup> and Mauretania Caesariensis,<sup>94</sup> a province which offers us (see n. 94) not only a *flaminialis vir* but also (quite strikingly) a *flaminialis vir p(er)p(etuus)*, that is (if the interpretation *p(er)p(etuus)* is correct), a *flamen perpetuus* (holder of a priesthood normally held for life) for some reason (or perhaps rather erroneously) referred to as having held the title earlier.<sup>95</sup>

**Flaminicius** and **flaminicus**.<sup>96</sup> The earliest attestation is perhaps *CIL* XII 140 = G. Walser, *Römische Inschriften in der Schweiz* III (1980) no. 257 from modern Sion in the Alpes Poeninae, perhaps, because of *v(ivus) f(ecit)*, from the earlier second century: *M. Floreius Ingenuus IIviral(is), flaminicus*.<sup>97</sup> This title is also attested in Carales in Sardinia (*CIL* X 7602, an uncertain case; either *flaminicius* or *flaminicus*) and, in the form *flaminicius*, in Aquincum and in Mauretania Caesariensis.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>90</sup> *CIL* IX 2597, *L. Lucretius L. f. Volt. Cordus IIvir quinq(uennalis), flaminialis*.

<sup>91</sup> *CIL* IX 3437 = *ILS* 5063 = *EAOR* III 35 (dated by Buonocore in *EAOR* III to the mid-second century), *C. Pausculano C. f. Quir(ina) Maximo aedili quinq(uennali), praef(ecto) iuris dic(undi), quaestori alim(entorum), flaminiali Aug(ustali)*.

<sup>92</sup> Person referred to as *flaminales provinciae Baeticae* in *CIL* II 983 = *ILS* 6904 = A. M. Canto, *Epigrafía Romana de la Beturia céltica* (1997) 113; *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 7, 297 = Canto 35a; *CILA* II 2, 343 = *AE* 1982, 520 (note that in this inscription, *flaminialis provin[ciae] Baeticae* is contrasted with *flamen perpetuus divi Traiani*).

<sup>93</sup> *IL Afr.* 426 = *I. Bardo* 444 (Utica); *ILTun.* 1081 (Carthage).

<sup>94</sup> *AE* 1898, 99 (*Sex. Marci Marciani flaminiali<s> viri p(er)p(etui)*); 1937, 57; 1958, 134 ([--] *filio Q(uirina) Valenti flaminiali viro, sacerdoti urbis Romae, patrono provinciae*).

<sup>95</sup> This is the only instance of this kind I have been able to find.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. *TLL* VI 1, 864, 44ff. For *flaminicus* as an adjective cf. Festus p. 65 L.; *CIL* II 2344 = II<sup>2</sup> 7, 799 (*peracto honore flaminico*).

<sup>97</sup> However, Walser thinks that *flaminicus* may indicate not that Ingenuus had been a *flamen* but that he was the husband of a *flaminica* (mentioned in the same inscription).

<sup>98</sup> *Tituli Aquincenses* I 32 and 347 (the same man; 32: *dec(urio) m(unicipii) Aq(uincensium), IIvir q(uin)q(uennalis), flaminicius*). Mauretania: *CIL* VIII 20706 (Rusippisir), *L. An[n]io Maximo ... equiti Ro[m]ano, aedili, q(uaestori), flaminicio, [du]m(virali)q(ue) (sic?) ... Modest[us] patri ... , IIvirum (partitive equivalent to the nominative) q(uin)q(uennalis), flaminic(ius)*.

**Flamoni**.<sup>99</sup> This title is attested only in Madauros in Numidia (*ILAlg.* I 2147 and 2148), the two instances (both with the combination *flamoni*, *aedilicius*) not giving the impression of being pre-Severan.

**Pontificalis**. Attested as a personal title only in Acinipo in Baetica (*CIL* II 1348, 1349 cf. *HEp* 1, 475). Both examples can perhaps be dated to the earlier second century.<sup>100</sup>

**Cerealicus**. This expression, otherwise attested only once as an adjective and once as a noun referring to the category of persons who had been *Cereales*,<sup>101</sup> is now attested as a personal title in the inscription from Abbir in Africa, *AE* 1992, 1800, where we find a certain *Cn. Apertius L. fil. Gaetulicus duoviralis vir, Cerealicus splendidissimae col(oniae) Karthaginis*.<sup>102</sup>

This overview of the material may suitably be concluded with the observation that titles of a similar nature can be found in Greek inscriptions. In addition to ὑπατικός = *consularis* (cf. above n. 4), which is, of course, common, one also finds στρατηγικός = *praetorius*. This title is attested not only as the only title in second-century inscriptions from Olympia and Crete<sup>103</sup> but also, most strikingly, within a senatorial cursus from Cyrene from the time of Trajan.<sup>104</sup> Among titles referring to non-senators, note ἐπίτροπικός (from ἐπίτροπος = *procurator*;

<sup>99</sup> Cf. *TLL* VI 1, 876, 50ff. As an adjective, *flamoni* seems to be attested only in *ILGN* 573 = *ILS* 6969 (*[flamoni] ... ornament[is] honorato*, referring to honours held in Sicilian cities).

<sup>100</sup> 1348 (*M. Mario M. f. M. n. Quir. Frontoni pontificali, Ilvir(o)* etc.) is, according to R. Wiegels, *Die Tribusinschriften des römischen Hispanien* (1985) 12, "kaum vor dem 2. Jh."

<sup>101</sup> *TLL* Onom. II 345, 71–5, with a reference to *ludi Cerealicii* in the calendar of Philocalus and to *CIL* VIII 16417 = A. Beschtaouch, *Mustitana. Recueil des nouvelles inscriptions de Mustis* (1968) no. 14 (*AE* 1968, 609): *[o]b cuius dedicatione ... epulum curiis et Caerealicis exhibuerunt* ("a offert un banquet aux curies et (au collègue) des Cerealicii" Beschtaouch). For the *Cereales* in Africa, see, e.g., J. B. Rives, *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage* (1995) 159.

<sup>102</sup> Note that this inscription has not yet been edited; the text given in the *AE* is based on the rendering of the inscription's contents by the future editor, A. Beschtaouch, in which the datives seem to have been replaced by the nominative.

<sup>103</sup> *I. Olympia* 236 cf. *SEG* 53/1, 435, [Λούκιος Μινίκιος] Νατᾶλις στρατηγικός (the future consul of AD 139 [*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 620] setting up a *quadriga* having, as ex-praetor, won the chariot race in 129); *IC* IV 296 = *ILS* 8834a = *IGR* I 969, Μ. Ῥώσκιον Κυρείνα Λοῦπον Μουρήναν, Μ. Μουρήνα στρατηγικοῦ υἱόν (apparently from the later second century).

<sup>104</sup> *AE* 1960, 199 = *SEG* 18, 744, Π. Σήστιος Πωλλίων (priest of Apollo in Cyrene in AD 111) ... συνκλητικὸς καὶ ταμίας Ῥώμης, ἀγ[ορα]νόμος κορούλης, στρατηγικός, πρ[εσβε]υτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Κρήτ[ης καὶ] Κυρήνης. One wonders, though, whether we could not be dealing with a mistake or miscomprehension.

*procuratorius* is not attested as a noun) in an inscription from Ephesos from the time of Severus Alexander<sup>105</sup> and ἀγορανομικός and ἀρχοντικός in an inscription from Naples.<sup>106</sup>

However, let us return to the Latin material and proceed to some concluding observations, concentrating on the non-senatorial titles. First of all, the impression one gets from the material as presented above is that titles referring to offices held in the past are not altogether uncommon in some provinces – e.g., in Pannonia Inferior, Dacia and in the African provinces – whereas there are provinces in which this type is only rarely found. Thus, there do not seem to be many examples from, e.g., Dalmatia and from the Gallic provinces and from Germania Superior, and what there is seems to consist mainly of a handful of *sacerdotes*.<sup>107</sup> There is also not much from the Spanish provinces.<sup>108</sup> However, it seems obvious that what we are dealing with here is not really a question belonging to the sphere of geography but rather one belonging to the sphere of chronology since from the material presented above, it appears clearly that titles of the type *aedilicius* and *Iviralis* become more common only during the latter half of the second century and that the main period when they are attested is that between the Severans and the later third century. Whereas in this period inscriptions likely to include attestations of the said titles pretty much dry out in many parts of the empire, in some provinces of the Balkans, especially in Pannonia Inferior and Dacia, and in the African provinces (with perhaps the exception of Mauretania Tingitana) it is exactly this period in which inscriptions, and especially inscriptions of relevance here, seem to be most numerous. We may thus conclude this section by observing that if one is likely to find inscriptions with titles of the type *duoviralis* in the Balkans and in Africa rather than in Spain and in Gaul, it is because in the

<sup>105</sup> *I. Ephesos* 3049, Γ. Ἰούλιον Φίλιππον ἐπιτροπικόν, πατέρα Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου τοῦ κρατίστου λογιστοῦ etc.

<sup>106</sup> *IG XIV* 756a = *IGI Napoli I* 34, Κομινίαι Πλουτογενεΐαι ... γυναικὶ Πακκίου Καλήδου ἀρχοντικοῦ καὶ μητρὶ Πακκίου Καληδιανοῦ ἀγορανομικοῦ. There is also ἐπαρχικός (e.g., *SEG* 37, 500), but this term is known only as a Byzantine title.

<sup>107</sup> Only *sacerdotes* are attested in Gallia Belgica and Germania Superior, and the only *dumviralis* pertaining to Gallia Lugdunensis is attested in an inscription from Bononia (n. 44); in addition to the two *sacerdotes* attested in Dalmatia (n. 84) there is only one *dumviralicius* who seems to belong not to Dalmatia but to Moesia Superior (n. 57).

<sup>108</sup> And in Baetica, for example, only titles referring to earlier priesthoods seem to be attested: in addition to provincial *flaminales*, we have there two *pontificales* from a single city (above at n. 100) and one *seviralis* (n. 73).



latter areas, inscriptions in general tend to concentrate in periods earlier than the proliferation of the said titles.

Speaking of chronology, it may be noted here that although the titles of the type *Iiviralis* clearly became more common only in the later second century, one observes in the case of many of them occasional early attestations. We thus find the *VIviral(is)*, *aedilicius* Cn. Bienus L. f. Pol. Broccus in Regium Lepidum in an inscription which must be from the first century, a *duumviralis III* in an inscription from Pisidian Antioch dated 45/46, a *flaminalis* in Bergomum and a *dumviralis* in Catina who do not have cognomina, and a first-century *sacerdotalis* in Dalmatia. (The situation is thus more or less the same as in the case of the senatorial titles *consularis* and *praetorius*, which become common later, but of which there is the odd Augustan instance foreshadowing future developments.) The few early examples cannot, however, obscure the fact that it is the later second and the third century when the titles under discussion are mainly attested. This is well illustrated by those cases which have at least an approximate date (and of course it is true that those inscriptions which cannot be furnished with a date are also normally clearly from about the same period). In the case of *aedilicius*, there are about 15 dated instances between the years 161/169 and 395/408; in addition to two early attestations, *duumviraes* are attested in eight inscriptions between the time of Commodus and 284; *duumviralicii* are attested in six inscriptions dated between Marcus Aurelius and 275/276, but are also found in the fourth century; for *quinquennialicii*, attested also in the fourth century, the only earlier attestation is from the time of Commodus, and the only exactly dated *quaestorius* can be found in an inscription of AD 259 (n. 23). In the case of *sacerdotalis*, found also in the fourth century, the eight earlier attestations date from between 161/169 and 261 (?).

The expressions *aedilicius*, *Iiviralicus*, *quinquennialicius* and *sacerdotalis* survive, used as personal titles, into the fourth century, *aedilicius*, *Iiviralicus* and *quinquennialicius* only in the African provinces and mainly in Numidia. The transformation of the epigraphical culture in Late Antiquity is well illustrated by the fact that, in this period, these titles are mainly attested in building inscriptions in the phrase *curante* followed by name and title in the ablative.<sup>109</sup> As for *sacerdotalis*, which at least in Africa invariably referred to the provincial priesthood,

<sup>109</sup> Thus *AE* 1917/18, 58; 1987, 1062; *CIL* VIII 18328 = *ILS* 5520 and (probably) *CIL* VIII 17519 = *ILAlg.* I 257 (*duoviralicii*); *ILAlg.* II 3, 7949/50; *AE* 1987, 1083 (*quinquennialicii*). Only *AE* 1914, 57 = *IL Afr.* 276 from Thuburbo Maius, in honour of [---]inius Salvianus *edilicius*, is an honorific inscription (for *aediles* and *aedilicii* in this period, cf. Lepelley, op. cit. (n. 58) I [1979] 164f.).

there are isolated attestations in the fourth century from Italy and from Cologne, and many attestations from the African provinces (above n. 77).

The titles of the type *aedilicius, duumviralis*, etc. often appear as the only title applied to a person (e.g., *M. Cufio Marcel(lo) aedilicio* in *CIL* IX 2775 or *Quintinae Magnillae ... Ant(onius) Rufus Iviral(is) col(oniae)* in *CIL* III 1491 = *IDR* III 2, 440), but these titles of course often also appear in combination with other titles, either titles which refer to offices (or priesthoods, etc.) held permanently, or at least for a longer time, such as *decurio*<sup>110</sup> or titles referring to offices held only for a limited time. In the latter case, a combination of two or more titles referring to offices held in the past (e.g., *aedilicius + Iviralicus* in *CIL* VIII 17043 = *ILAlg.* I 573 and in many other African inscriptions) obviously presents no problems of interpretation. But there are also cases in which titles of the type *aedilicius, duumviralis*, etc. appear, or at least seem to appear, combined with a title referring to an office actually held or which at least does not imply that the office had been held in the past (e.g., *aedilis, Ivir*). If the title of the latter type refers to an office that is higher than that of the type *aedilicius*, there is, of course, no problem; if we find two *aedilici, Iviri col(oniae) Aquincens(ium)* (*AE* 2003, 1097),<sup>111</sup> we gather that the men had been aediles but actually held the duovirate. But what about the case that an earlier office is expressed by a title of the type *aedilis, quaestor*, a later one by a title of the type *Iviralis Iviralicus*? This is obviously an unlikely scenario and the fact is that if one disregards those inscriptions in which some of the titles have been abbreviated in a way that makes their interpretation uncertain (e.g., *CIL* VIII 2620, *q., aedil., Ivira(lis)* – but see below and n. 112), the result is that this scenario is (apparently) attested only in the following inscriptions:

- *CIL* III 10440 = *ILS* 3742 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 268 (AD 259), *C. Iul(io) Victorini* (sic) *eq(uo) p(ublico) aedili, Ivirali*;
- *AE* 1961, 200 (Vina in Africa) *Aurel(io) [F]lavio decurioni, aedi[l]i, q., duoviralicio*;<sup>112</sup>
- *CIL* VIII 20706 (Rusippir in Mauretania Caesariensis), *L. An[n]io Maximo ... aedili, q., flaminicio, [du]umviraliq(ue)*;

<sup>110</sup> For example *decurio + aedilicius* (e.g., *CIL* III 3456 from Aquincum) and *decurio + Iviralis* (e.g., *IDR* III 2, 113 from Sarmizegetusa) are fairly frequent combinations.

<sup>111</sup> *AE* 2003, 1414 and 1418 (with *Iviri* written out) and *CIL* VIII 26617 (*[aed]ilicio, Iviro*) are similar cases.

<sup>112</sup> According to Lepelley (n. 58), I (1979), 152f. no. 1 (with the proposed date of middle or end of the third century), one should understand "*aedilis, q(uaestor)*".

However, in view of the fact that it seems more than unlikely that a man would be referred to as both *aedilis* and as a former *IIvir*, and, on the other hand, of the many inscriptions in which *aedilicii* appear alongside *IIvirales*, *IIviralicii* and others, my conclusion is that one has to interpret *aedili* in the above inscriptions as an abbreviation, *aedili(cio)*; and this is exactly what the editors of *Tituli Aquincenses* do in the case of the first inscription ("*aedili(cio), IIvirali*"). In the same way, I think that all abbreviations of the type *q.* (in two of the inscriptions quoted above), *quaest.*, *aed.*, *aedil.* should be understood as representing not *quaestor* and *aedilis* but *quaestori(ci)us* and *aedilicius*, if accompanied by a title of the type *IIviralis* referring to a higher office.<sup>113</sup>

In the case of many of the titles discussed above, the title is also attested in combination with *vir*, this recalling the appearance of the expression *vir consularis* in the early third century (above at n. 6). We thus find a *vir quaestorius* (*IL Afr.* 165), *duoviralis vir* (*AE* 1992, 1800 (Abbir in Africa), *quinquennialicius vir* (*CIL* X 5654 from Fabrateria; *CIL* VIII 20872 from Tipasa in Mauretania Caesariensis), *vir sacerdotalis* or *sacerdotalis vir* (*CIL* X 4559 from Trebula Balensis from the time of Constantine; *CIL* XIII 7064, from Moguntiacum), and a *flaminalis vir* (n. 94). Except for the inscription from Trebula from the fourth century, these inscriptions all seem approximately Severan or a bit later; my impression is, then, that the influence of the type *vir consularis* on these titles must be considered most probable.

Let us conclude with *IIvirales* etc. furnished with the numeral *bis* or even *ter*. One would *a priori* expect duovirs and others who had held a certain office more than once to call themselves *IIvir* (etc.) *bis* or *ter* or, if the second or third duovirate was held at the very moment an inscription was set up, *IIvir iterum* or *tertium*. But in fact we do also find the type *IIviralis bis* or *ter*, which is a striking formulation but which must have been meant to indicate that a man belonged to the category of those men who in the past had held the office twice or even three times. The only known *duumviralis III* is attested in the inscription *AE* 2001, 1918 of AD 45/6 from Pisidian Antioch (above at n. 38) which, because of its early date and its provenance, clearly does not belong to the same category as the other examples which are about Severan or a bit later and for the most part

<sup>113</sup> This affects inscriptions like *CIL* III 10440 = *ILS* 3742 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 268 (AD 259; surely *q(uaestorio), IIvirali*); *CIL* VIII 862 = 12382 = *ILS* 6821 (*q(uaestori(ci)o), IIviral(i)*); *CIL* VIII 883 = 12386 = *ILS* 6816 (*decurioni Karthag(ine), aed(ilicio), IIvir(ali), quinquennialicio*); *CIL* VIII 2620 (no doubt *q(uaestori(ci)us), aedil(icius), IIvira(lis)*) *CIL* VIII 12453 = 24101 (understand [*a*]ed(ilicio); *CIL* VIII 12126 (*decurio ...*, [*ae*]dil(icius), *q(uaestori(ci)us), IIviralis*); *CIL* VIII 27420 (*aedil(icius)*); *AE* 1962, 184 (not *aedil(i)* but *aedil(icio)*), etc.

come from the province of Moesia Inferior.<sup>114</sup> From this province, we have an *aedilicius bis* in *AE* 1991, 1376 (Nicopolis ad Istrum) and *bis duumvirales* in *CIL* III 6170 = *ILS* 468 = *ISM* V 151 (Troesmis, AD 218/222), *CIL* III 7560 = *ISM* II 244 (Tomi), *CIL* III 12473 (*bis Iiviral(is)*, Tropaeum Traiani), *CIL* III 14211, 2, = *ILBulg.* 16 (Oescus, *Iivirali iterum*). From the rest of the Roman world, there seem to be certain examples only from Moesia Superior (*AE* 1979, 520 cf. 1983, 867, *bis Iiviralis*) and from Madauros in Numidia (*ILAlg.* I 2145, *bis Iiviralis*).<sup>115</sup> The singularity of the combination of *bis* or *ter* with a title of the type *Iiviralis* is illustrated by the fact that I seem to be able to find parallels for this in literary sources only in the *Historia Augusta* and only in passages in which the numeral is either a mistake or pure invention.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> The editors of the inscription from Pisidian Antioch, M. Christol – Th. Drew-Bear – M. Taşlıalan, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 1–20, may not have noticed the oddity of the expression *duumviralis III*, for there seems to be nothing on it in the commentary.

<sup>115</sup> In this inscription, a *fl(amen) p(erp(etuus), Iivi[ral]is* is the son of a *fl(amen) p(erp(etuus), bis Iiviralis*. – In those cases in which the title is abbreviated (e.g., *IRT* 578, *Gemino v(iro) p(erfectissimo) ... bis Iivir.*) I think it is preferable to assume that we are dealing with *Iiviri* rather than with *Iivirales*.

<sup>116</sup> *Sev.* 1,5, *bis iam consulari*; *Tyr. trig.* 33, *tertio consularis ... quarto aedilicius, tertio quaestorius*.