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THE COUNCIL OF L. CORNELIUS P. f. CRUS
IN THE YEAR 49 B.C.
(Ios. ant. 14. 229; 238—239)

J a a k k o S u o l a h t i

The Roman magistrate, judge, military commander, or administrator often made decisions on his own and also took sole responsibility for them. But this great power and responsibility was actually limited by a tradition according to which he had to consult his nearest men.¹ The persons whom an official could, and was required to, invite for consultation were firmly determined by tradition. The social standing of an individual depended on his office and property, which also decided his inclusion or not on the council of a governor or a commander. MOMMSEN and CICHORIUS have described the composition of such a council². For example, to the council of a commander were called all the senators and knights present in the camp, and the *primus pilus*, the oldest non-commissioned officer of each legion. This man was usually close to the knights in social standing, for since the times of Augustus his office was considered an equestrian one.³ Apart from him no other experienced non-commissioned officer was admitted to the council, whose composition was not determined by military merits.

CICHORIUS has shown that in the decisions of the councils which are preserved the members are listed in the order of their official rank,⁴ like senators in the decrees of the senate. This helps to identify the members. Otherwise the identification would often be nearly impossible, because the inscriptions

¹ TH. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Staatsrecht I*³. Leipzig 1887, p. 307.

² *Ibid.* pp. 315—383; K. CICHORIUS, *Römische Studien*. Leipzig 1922, pp. 134—137; LIEBENAM, *Consilium* (RE IV, 1901, pp. 915—922) pp. 919—920; cf. J. A. CROOK, *Consilium Principis. Imperial Councils and Counsellors from Augustus to Diocletian*. Cambridge 1955, pp. 4—7.

³ S. J. DE LAET, *Le range social du primipile à l'époque d'Auguste et de Tibère* (L'antiquité classique 9, 1940, pp. 13—23).

⁴ CICHORIUS, *op.cit.*, pp. 134—137; cf. P. WILLEMS, *Le sénat de la république Romaine, sa composition et ses attributions I*. Paris 1885, pp. 693—714.

Consilium L. Cornelii Lentuli P.f. Cruris a. a. Ch. n. 49

(Ios. ant. 14. 229; 14. 238)

1. T. Ampius T.f. Hor(atia) Balbus (1)	<i>leg.pro pr.</i> ¹
2. T. Tongius T.f. Crus(tumina)	<i>leg.</i> ?
3. Q. Raesius ² Q.f.	<i>leg.</i> ? (q?)
4. T. Pompeius T.f. Longinus (29)	q? (tr.m.?)
5. C. Servilius C.f. Teret(ina) Brocchus ³ (39)	<i>tr.m.</i>
6. P. Clusius ⁴ P.f. Vet(uria) Gallus	<i>tr.m.</i>
7. C. Teutius ⁵ C.f. Ae(milia) (1)	<i>tr.m.</i>
8. Sex. Atilius Sex.f. Ae(milia) Serranus	<i>tr.m.</i> ?
9. C. Pompeius C.f. Sabat(ina)	<i>tr.m.</i> ?
10. T. Ampius T.f. Menander (2)	<i>praef.fabr.</i> ? (eq?)
11. P. Servilius P.f. Strabo	<i>praef.</i> ? (eq.?)
12. L. Paccius L.f. Col(lina) Capito	<i>primi pili cent.</i> ? (eq?)
13. A. Furius A.f. Tertius	<i>primi pili cent.</i> ? (eq?)
14. Ap. (Claudius) Menas	<i>nauarchus</i> ? (<i>primi pili cent.</i> ?, eq?)

usually do not give the cognomen. CICHORIUS has given a typical example of how to take advantage of this fact in his analysis of Cn. Pompeius Strabo's council, which met in the year 89 B.C.⁶

Only one other council from the time of the Republic is known in its entirety.⁷ In the year 49 Consul L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus (RE 218) had to consider the request of the Jews from Ephesus and the whole province of Asia that they should be freed from military service. In making his decision he was as usual helped by his council. The members of the council are given, twice in fact⁸, in Josephus's *Antiquitates Iudaicae*. The two lists correspond to each other on the whole⁹, but in the first nearly all the names at the end

¹ Offices given in the text are in italics.

² Caesius (P: 229), Rasius (AM), Raecius (Mendelssohn).

³ Bracchus (§ 228).

⁴ Calvisius (Nisius).

⁵ Tettius (Nisius, F), Sentius (229), Servilius (P: 239).

⁶ CICHORIUS, *op.cit.* pp. 130—185.

⁷ Sall. *Iug.* 62. 4; 104. 1; Caes. *BG.* 1. 40; 5. 28; *Id. BC.* 1. 23. 1—2 etc. either give no names of the members, or only some of them.

⁸ 14. 229; 14. 238—239.

⁹ The most important differences will be apparent from the list.

are omitted. The names are, as often in Josephus's texts, somewhat distorted, and the official ranks following the names are in most cases left out. Because it is difficult to fit certain identifiable persons in with what is known of the general structure of the council, scholars have concluded either that the text is badly mutilated or that the council was exceptionally composed. According to them, as it was a council of war, Lentulus had included his freedmen in addition to the senators and knights. In these circumstances, scholars have not made much use of the information about the officials to be found in this list. They have usually picked out only those persons whose official positions are given in the source, leaving out the other names as distorted.¹

There is no sound reason for this procedure. Josephus' text is not hopelessly mutilated and can be largely reconstructed. Moreover, so much is known about the council that conclusions can be drawn as to the principle according to which it was summoned.

Once the circumstances in which Lentulus's council met have been clearly explained, we can perhaps ascertain whether it is a regular council or whether there is any reason to suppose that its members were not called together according to the usual principles. Every member has to be inspected very carefully to see whether his inclusion is in accordance with some definite principle.

The results naturally remain uncertain. Only a few persons can be approximately identified with those known from other sources. But the scrutiny of a member's family, place of residence, or even social class throws some light on the hypothesis expressed in this paper as to the principle of the council's composition.

If every member can be fitted into the view adopted, it then becomes possible to give with some probability the official ranks of most of the members in the list. Thus, the body of Roman magistrates can be enriched with certain persons. And if the list of the members of Crus' council can be reconstructed, it will provide a good point of comparison with another council, that of Pompeius Strabo forty years earlier.

At the beginning of March in the year 49 both consuls fled from Brundisium across the sea to Epirus.² A little later one of them, L. Cornelius Lentulus

¹ RE for example mentions only about half of them, as is seen from the list.

² Caes. BC. 1. 25. 2; Plut. Cic. 38. 5; Id. Pomp. 62. 3; Id. Caes. 35. 2; App. BC. 2. 152; 2. 159; Dio, 41. 12. 1.

Crus, was to go to Asia Minor¹ to enlist two legions for Pompey's army.² At the beginning of the following year he was again in Greece at Pompey's headquarters.³ In connection with the enlistment, Lentulus dealt with the requests of the Jewish Roman citizens living in Ephesus and elsewhere in the province to be freed from military service for religious reasons. He gave one or more affirmative decisions⁴, most probably on the 20th of June in the year 49.⁵ Following established custom, Lentulus summoned his council and asked its opinion⁶, and the members subscribed their names to the decision.⁷

Since Lentulus was the Commander-in-Chief of two legions, his council probably consisted of their officers. The enlistment of soldiers was only beginning — the conscription of the Jews would naturally be considered at an early phase of the enlistment — but the necessary officers would have to have been available and it is most probable that, as was customary, Lentulus called these officers to his council. Indeed there may have been no other persons, except the *primipili*, among its 14 members. A consul supporting the senate was not likely to offend the traditions. Thus the members of the council were, in order of their ranks, *legati*, *tribuni militum*, *praefecti*, knights, and the oldest noncommissioned officers — *primipili*.

At first sight the list seems to support this supposition. The military ranks of the first, fifth, and seventh members are known and they confirm the view given above. The list is headed by Lentulus's *legatus*, T. Ampius Balbus (RE I). Having been *praetor* already in the year 59,⁸ he was most probably the oldest of the *legati*. Ampius was a suitable right-hand man for Lentulus, for he had been the *propraetor* of Asia in the year 58.⁹ Iosephus calls him,

¹ Ios. ant. 14. 228; 14. 234; 14. 236; 14. 238.

² Caes. BC. 3. 4. 1.

³ Dio, 41. 43. 2; Lucan. 5. 16; Vell. 2. 51. 3; Cic. fam. 10. 32. 3.

⁴ P. VIERECK, *Sermo Graecus, quo senatus populusque Romanus magistratusque populi Romani usque ad Tiberii Caesaris aetatem in scriptis publicis usi sunt*. Diss. Göttingen 1888, pp. 106—107; B. NIESE, *Bemerkungen über die Urkunden bei Josephus Archaeol. B. XIII, XIV, XVI* (H. 11, 1876, pp. 466—488) p. 483 footnote 2; L. MENDELSSOHN, *De senatusconsultis Romanorum ab Joseph, Antiq. XIII 9. 2; XIV 10. 22 relatis*. Diss. Leipzig 1874, p. 159; Id. *Zu den Urkunden bei Josephus* (RhM, NF 32, 1877, pp. 249—258) p. 253 footnote 1; W. H. WADDINGTON, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques* (PH. LE BAS, *Voyage archeologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure II:2*. Paris 1870, pp. 655—744) p. 672 note 39.

⁵ VIERECK, pp. 106—107; NIESE, p. 483; differently MENDELSSOHN, p. 159.

⁶ Cf. page 153.

⁷ Ios. Iud. 14. 229; 14. 238—239.

⁸ RE I, 1894, p. 1978; T. R. S. BROUGHTON, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic II*. New York 1952, p. 188.

⁹ B. V. HEAD, *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics*. Oxford 1911, pp. 576, 660, 678; cf. BROUGHTON, *Magistrates II*, p. 197.

sometimes *προεσβευτής*, sometimes *προεσβευτής και ἀντιστράτηγος*, which shows that he used the title *pro praetore*. He possibly managed the civil administration of the province.

Fifth in the list is C. Servilius C.f. Teretina Bracchus or Brocchus (RE 39), whom Iosephus mentions as a *tribunus militum*. The name Brocchus, i.e. 'a man with prominent teeth', was originally an individual adnomen and is found as a cognomen in some other gentes too.¹ The family of Servilius Brocchus may have been one of the several plebeian branches of a larger patrician gens. These branches were descended mainly from freedmen and new citizens. No other Servilii Brocchi are known, but T. Iulius Maximus Ma — — Brocchus Servilianus A. Quadronius L. Servilius Vatia Cassius Cam — — — Sex.f. Volt(inia) (Pr. 287) who lived at the end of the first century A.D. and became a praetor, was probably related to him.

The seventh signatory C. Teutius C.f. Aemia (RE IV A, p. 1165) was also a military tribune. The name is otherwise unknown and is therefore supposed to be a distortion of the form Tettius. A gens of this name was very widely-spread in Central Italy, but naturally this does not give us the right to read the seventh name in the list as Tettius. Strabo's council also contains several *tribuni militum* and *praefecti* from families otherwise not recorded.

The military ranks of the other members of the council are not known, but can be defined with more or less certainty. The military rank of the sixth member is almost certain. As he is mentioned between two military tribunes, P. Clusius P.f. Veturia Gallus (not in RE) must have been a *tribunus militum* too. The name, which refers to Clusium in Etruria, is otherwise found only in one Hastan inscription in Spain.² On the other hand, persons called Clusinius Gallus (Pr. 949) are known from the imperial period, and it is quite possible that in the list one syllable has been dropped from the middle of the name.

The second, third and fourth persons of the list are either *legati* or *tribuni militum*. Because Lentulus was a consul and the commander of two legions he had probably at least two *legati*. In Pompeius Strabo's council there were five *legati*, and it is known that the consuls regularly had two *legati*, if not more.³

¹ RE III, 1897, p. 886; W. SCHULZE, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*. Berlin 1933, p. 420.

² SCHULZE, p. 150.

³ B. BARTSCH, *Die Legaten der römischen Republik vom Tode Sullas bis zum Ausbruche des zweiten Bürgerkrieges*. Diss. Breslau 1908, *passim*.

At least the second member, T. Tongius (RE VI A, p. 1710), can be considered a legatus. The name is otherwise not recorded, but the name Tongilius — from the same stem — sometimes occurs.¹ On the other hand Tongius may be a copyist's error, but then it is difficult to find a suitable reading for the name. The nearest possible gentes would be the Tuccii, Turii, and Togonii.

But the fact that other sources do not mention the name Tongius does not absolutely exclude the existence of this name. Several of the lowest officials of senatorial rank belonged to very little known gentes, as the inscriptions show. Tongius' place of origin is not known, but tribus Clustumina points to the Sabine-Umbrian regions.²

The third member, Q. Raesius Q.f. was either a legatus or quaestor. Persons called Raesius or Resius are mentioned in inscriptions in different parts of Italy, but the gens probably originated in Etruria. At least one Resius (Pr. 36) is known to have been an official in the imperial period. The name in the list may be distorted from Raecius or Rancius. Senators with these names are already found in the time of the Republic. He could have been Q. Rancius Q.f. Claud(ia), who was a quaestor before the year 74, or his son.³

The fourth member, T. P(omp)ei⁴ T.f. Cornelia Longinus (RE 29) was either a quaestor or a tribunus militum. The first rank seems more probable.⁵ Lentulus Crus can have had three legati, and the copyist would scarcely have left out the official rank of the first military tribune. He may have been the son⁶ of the tribunus militum T. Pompeius T.f. Corn(elia) (RE 22), who belonged to Strabos council. To the same family belonged probably also T. Pompeius Reginus or Beginus (RE 38, 24, 22, 29), who had large estates in Transalpine Gaul.⁷ T. Pompeius, recorded in the year 49, was possibly a brother of this Reginus, but hardly the same person.⁸ It has been

¹ SCHULZE, p. 455 footnote 8.

² J. W. KUBITSCHKE, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum*. Wien 1889, p. 270.

³ As Caesius occurs only three times in the Mss. Ios. Ant. 14. 229 (P: *Καίσιος*; F: *Κάσιος*; L: *Κάσσιος*) and not at all in Ios. Ant. 14. 238, it seems to me more probable that Raesius, a less frequent name in the Republican period, is deteriorated to Caesius than vice versa. Several Caesii are known as magistrates and businessmen in the late Republic, two in Asia (6, 13), but none of them with praenomen Quintus. Cf. however, the edition of B. NIESE (Weidmann, Berlin 1955), III, pp. 282, 284.

⁴ W. DRUMANN — P. GROEBE, *Geschichte Roms in seinem Übergange von der republikanischen zur monarchischen Verfassung IV*². Leipzig 1908, p. 596 no. 55; CICHORIUS, RSt. p. 151.

⁵ Differently RE XXI, 1952, p. 2062.

⁶ CICHORIUS, RSt. pp. 150—151; RE XXI, 1952, p. 151; D 8888; CIL I² 709 p. 174.

⁷ Varro, rr. 3. 12. 2; VM. 7. 8. 4; DRUMANN-GROEBE, GR, IV², p. 595 no. 42; E. PAIS, *Studi storici per l'antichità classica II*. Pisa 1909, p. 126 footnote 1.

⁸ CICHORIUS, RSt. pp. 151—152.

supposed that the military tribune, T. Pompeius T.f. Cornelia Longinus (RE 22) known from the year 89, reached the senate, a fact which naturally would have helped his son or near relation gain a position forty years later.

These T. Pompeii probably belonged to a collateral branch of a well-known consular gens. Because the main branch rose to senatorial rank rather late, the collateral branch may be supposed to have separated from it earlier. The name seems to indicate that the gens originated in Pompeii of Campania. It is impossible to tell whether these Pompeii Regini came to Gaul from there or from their new home in Picenum.

It is more difficult to ascertain the official ranks of the seven last members of the council. Some of them were certainly military tribunes, all of whom would have been summoned to the council. In an army of two legions there were, as a rule, twelve of them, but some would have been unable to come because of the great distance or their military duties. For example in Strabo's council in the year 89 only 16 of the twenty-four military tribunes were present. Moreover, Strabo's army was already assembled together, while the enlistment of Lentulus' legions was only beginning. Probably some military tribunes were away enlisting, and some had not yet had time to arrive. Thus, it is possible that not even half of the whole number of tribuni militum were present at the council.

At least the eighth and ninth members may be considered tribunes. They both bore the names of powerful Roman gentes. Sex. Atilius Sex.f. Aemilia Serranus (not in RE) belonged to one of the main branches of an old plebeian consular gens. One of its members was consul as late as in the year 106 B.C. (RE 64). After that the branch seems to deteriorate and to continue only by adoption. The father of Atilius may have been Sex. Atilius Serranus (RE 70)¹ who came from the rich and large gens of Gavii and had moved over to the Atilii Serrani by adoption. He was quaestor in 63 and tribune of the plebs in 57. He opposed Cicero's return from exile in 57, and therefore Cicero does not speak well of him.² Probably he was one of Pompey's supporters. This would explain why his son could be found on the side of Pompey. The branch was possibly extinguished in the civil wars, as its members are not recorded among the later officials.³

¹ Cic. Sest. 72; 74; G. ALFS, *Adoptionen in der Zeit der römischen Republik bis auf die des Caesar Octavianus*. Diss. Köln 1950 (typed), CICHORIUS, *op. cit.* pp. 241—245.

² The allusions to unlawful adoption are probably caused only by Cicero's hostile attitude.

³ Cf. however CIL IX 3319a; XIV 2735, who are descended from freedmen or provincials, so far as can be concluded from their cognomina.

The ninth member, C. Pompeius C.f. Sabatina (not in RE), bore the name of the powerful gens Pompeia, but judging by his praenomen¹ and tribus² he belonged to some collateral branch. The tribus Sabatina is found in Italy only in Etruria and Gallia Cisalpina.³ Possibly C. Pompeius was, after all, a distant relation of the consular Pompeii. Nothing certain can be said about his offspring, for the name Pompeius was very common.

The next name, that of the tenth member of the council, T. Ampius T.f. Menander (not in RE) has given most trouble to scholars. The cognomen clearly indicates that he was of Greek origin, a provincial or a freedman. Cicero's words in the year 46 support this view. He recommends to P. Servilius Isauricus (RE 67), the proconsul of Asia, T. Ampius Menander, the freedman of his friend T. Ampius Balbus.⁴ There is naturally no absolute certainty that this man is the same T. Ampius Menander, but the rarity of the name and the relationship to T. Ampius Balbus make it very probable. The identification is further supported by the fact that T. Ampius Menander wanted to go to the province of Asia.

If this is true, however, we must ask how it was possible for a freedman to be admitted to the council. The Romans were very proud and looked askance at the sons of freedmen and still more at those freedmen who were striving for official rank or knighthood.⁵ Some exceptions are, however, already found among the officials at a much earlier date. Tradition mentions Cn. Flavius (RE 15) a freedman's son who became an aedilis curulis in 304.⁶ In the year 100 P. Furius (RE 22)⁷ and Equitius (RE 3)⁸, freedmen's sons, became tribunes of the plebs. Naturally, requirements were eased in certain circumstances, especially during the wars. Sixty years later, in 43—42, Q. Horatius Flaccus (RE 10)⁹, a freedman's son, is found as a tribunus militum in the army of the senate. The commander had a right to make suitable persons knights¹⁰, though he very seldom broke the traditions. Thus, it is possible that

¹ Consular branches A., Q. and Cn., Sex.; the praenomen C. may be distorted from Cn.

² Consular branch belongs to tribus Clustumina; cf. D 8888.

³ KUBITSCHKE, p. 272.

⁴ Cic. fam. 13. 70: Eius libertum, T. Ampium Menandrum, hominen frugi et modestum et patrono et nobis vehementer probatum, tibi commendo maiorem in modum.

⁵ For example A. STEIN, *Der Römische Ritterstand. Ein Beitrag zur Sozial- und Personengeschichte des römischen Reiches.* München 1927, pp. 110—128.

⁶ Cic. Att. 6. 1. 8; Id. Mur. 25; Liv. 9. 46. 1 etc.

⁷ App. BC. 1. 33.

⁸ App. BC. 1. 32—33.

⁹ Hor. sat. 1. 6. 48.

¹⁰ STEIN, *Ritterstand*, pp. 41—47.

Lentulus Crus knighted his freedman, who was a man of merit and probably rich too, and I do not think it necessary to consider the social structure of Crus' council exceptional, even though a freedman was included.

T. Ampius Menander was possibly not a military tribune of the old type at all, for the tribuni for Crus' consular legions were most likely elected by the people¹, who would scarcely have chosen a freedman. Menander's place in the list gives reason to suppose that he had some function or office and is not to be counted as one of the young knights of the commander's suite. Here the function of the praefectus, a rank to which the commander had the right to make appointments, comes to mind.² Possibly there were several praefecti in the army of Lentulus, for he may have provided Pompey's army with auxiliary bodies, especially with cavalry contingents. Perhaps, together with T. Ampius Balbus, who was a legatus pro praetore in Asia, he had at least his own aide de camp, praefectus fabrum. This office was held by knights who were in the commander's personal service and who could be of rather humble origin.³ For example L. Cornelius Balbus (RE 69)⁴ who had recently attained citizenship had been Caesar's praefectus fabrum. It is, therefore, possible that an uspart like T. Ampius Balbus had made his own freedman his praefectus fabrum.

The eleventh member of the council was probably praefect or knight belonging to the commander's suite. P. Servilius P.f. Strabo (RE 83), came, judging by his cognomen, from some plebeian branch of the well-known patrician gens Servilia. He may have been the person whom Cicero in the year 50 recommended to P. Silius (RE 8), the propraeor of Bithynia.⁵ The letter of introduction describes a Roman businessman who lived in the province, was perhaps a knight, and had noble friends in Rome. A senatorial career does not seem to have attracted him, or perhaps he died in the war. In any case no other Servilii Strabones are known as officials.

¹ Cf. LENGLE, *Tribunus militum* (RE VI A, 1936, pp. 2439—2448) pp. 2440—41.

² J. N. MADVIG, *Quelques remarques sur les officiers dits 'praefecti' pendant les derniers temps de la république romaine* (Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes NS 2, 1878, pp. 177—187).

³ H. C. MAUE, *Der Praefectus fabrum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des römischen Beamtenwesens und des Collegialwesens während der Kaiserzeit*. Halle 1887, passim.

⁴ Cic. Balb. 69.

⁵ Cic. fam. 13. 64. 1: Strabonem Servilium tibi saepe commendavi; nunc eo facio id impensius, quod eius causam Nero suscepit. Tantum a te petimus ut agas eam rem, ne relinquant hominem innocentem ad alicuius tui dissimilis quaestum. Id cum gratum mihi erit, tum etiam existimabo te humanitate tua esse usum.

L. Paccius L.f. Collina Capito (RE 13)¹, the twelfth member of the council, possibly came from similar social circles. In the gens Paccia, which was of Oscan origin, no officials are recorded during the republic. But this Paccius, belonging to a town tribus, possibly had somewhat lower social standing and was a primus pilus in Crus' legion. If there had already been enough time to appoint the primipili, those of both legions would have been called to the council.

In that case the following member, A. Furius A.f. Tertius (RE 94) could also be considered a primus pilus. He belonged to a plebeian branch, originating from freedmen or provincials, of a patrician gens. He was possibly the same A. Furius² who is mentioned in the list of mystai of Samothrace. Perhaps he was also one of those businessmen who lived in the province and were called to military service at the outbreak of war.

The last member of the council is Appius Menas. The cognomen indicates that he came from the coast of Asia Minor. He had probably received his citizen rights, and perhaps his freedom as well, from one of the numerous Ap. Claudii Pulchri.³

His military rank is not known, but from his name we may make certain assumptions. The commanders of Sex. Pompeius's navy were his father's freedmen Menas and Menodorus, who had probably become slaves in the pirate war in 67. Possibly also Ap. (Claudius) Menas was a former pirate. He may have fallen into captivity in 53—51, when Ap. Claudius Pulcher (RE 297) was the governor of Cilicia. Appius Claudius is known to have had the title of imperator in honour of the victories he had attained in the province.⁴ Menas or his ancestors could of course have received the citizenship as a reward from Ap. Claudius or his ancestors.

Pompey had a great navy and held supremacy of the seas. The strategic situation underlined the value of the navy, as its task was the blockade of Italy and the maintenance of connections with the rich Asian regions and the troops in Spain. The Romans, however, were not in general sufficiently experienced sailors, for they had no permanent navy, and naval service was not highly valued.⁵ Cn. Pompeius quite certainly had to employ skilled provincials. It

¹ SCHULZE, pp. 204, 424.

² CIL III 7369 = IGR I 847.

³ Cf. even IG XIV 1759.

⁴ Cic. fam. 3. 1—2.

⁵ J. H. THIEL, *Studies on the History of Roman Sea-Power in Republican Times*. Amsterdam 1946, p. 11 etc.

is true that his admirals were Roman noblemen, but the captains of the ships were certainly freedmen or appointed by the allies, like those later in the navy of his son. Accordingly it can be supposed that Ap. (Claudius) Menas was the captain or some small naval body or ship, perhaps a flagship. This post corresponded approximately to the rank of centurion.¹ Because of the navy's important role in the coastal province of Asia, it would be quite natural for Lentulus to call a suitable naval man to his council. It is of course possible to consider the three or four last members as municipal officials from Ephesus, called in as experts. In the same way the decurions of Corfinium were taken by Caesar to the war council of 49.² But Lentulus had no reason to call in Greek municipal officials, and they would scarcely have had Roman names.

As is shown above, the composition of Lentulus Crus' council can be considered traditional, although two of its members, having special wartime functions, were probably promoted freedmen or provincials. The list on page 153 of this paper shows the probable military ranks of the members.

If this list is compared with that made of Strabo's council,³ several similarities will be found. Both mark a clear difference in social level between the knights and the non-commissioned officers. Some of the former group belonged to Roman senatorial families. A proportionately greater number of the members of Lentulus' council came from comparatively new and unknown families. The difference may be due, in part, to the fact that the headquarters in Greece could not send very prominent officers on Lentulus' enlistment expedition. Strabo's legions, on the other hand, performed one of the main operations of the Social War. The shortage of officers, caused by the war, may also explain why there were at least two possible freedmen in the council of Lentulus. One of them, however, seems to have already attained knight-hood.

But the reason for the lowering of the social level must lie deeper. During the forty years that had passed since the Social War, several Italian gentes who had attained the rights of citizenship — thanks to this war — had had time for their members to become or try to become officials. Such were probably the Tongii, Raesii, Clusii, Teutii, and even the Ampii Balbi, the first of whose known officials begins the list.

¹ THIEL, *passim*; J. KROMAYER — G. VEITH, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer*. München 1928, pp. 621—622; STRACK, *Nauarchos* (RE XVI, 1935, pp. 1889—1896), p. 1896.

² *Caes. BC.* I. 23. 2.

³ CICHORIUS, *RSt.* pp. 130—185.

These men, who, judging by their names, came from non-Latin gentes, now took over those officers' posts that the old nobility did not care to, or could not, take over. Accordingly, no member of the council is a patrician, and only one of them came from the consular branch of a plebeian gens, and even he, Sex. Atilius Serranus, was probably a descendant of the equestrian gens Gavia.

A further point of similarity between Strabos's and Lentulus' councils is the fact that several of their members belonged to the local nobility. In Strabo's council we met with landowners from Picenum and in that of Lentulus we find businessmen living in Asia Minor. Both had had the war at their doorsteps.

These similarities lend support to the analysis that has been presented here. If it is correct, it yields further evidence of the elasticity with which the Romans preserved their political traditions during changing circumstances.