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Equestrian cursus honorum basing on the careers of two prominent officers of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius *

A French scholar, H. G. Pflaum estimated that since the end of the reign of Vespasian till the times of Commodus eighty-two new procurator offices were created [1]. On the other hand, Géza Alföldy claims that in the second half of the second century the equalization of the meaning and officials' prestige of equestrians and senators occurred, ultimately in the third century the number of equestrian posts surpassed the number of senatorial ones [2]. As a consequence of that, it seems as if imperial administration - bound people from *ordo equester* - was still developing in the second century. Through holding many civil and military posts members of the second social class were a very important pillar of imperial administration functioning in *Imperium Romanum*.

Only military service allowed for the equestrians to achieve procurator posts and big prefectures. Military *cursus honorum* of *equites* was being created successively [3]. Before Claudius equestrians could hold two military posts: *tribunus militum augusticlavius* and *praefectus alae* [4]. Under Claudius the military service (*militia*) was organized in system of *tres militia* [5]. *Equites* commanded the auxiliary units (*auxilia*) - firstly the cohort (*praefectus cohortis*), which had 500 (*quingenaria*) infantry soldiers, then the cavalry unit (*praefectus alae*), which had 500 cavalrymen. At the end of this structure equestrians joined the legion to serve as military tribunes (*tribuni augusticlavii*). After Claudius prefecture of *ala* returned on the top of *tres militiae equestres* [6]. Proceeded by the prefecture of *fabrum*, the system of military promotion popularized during the Flavians [7]. Probably under Hadrian *quarta militia* (*praefectus alae milliariae*) was included [8]. Hubert Devijver created the pyramid of *militiae equestres*, which was the rule in the middle of the second century [9].

Militia I: *praefectus cohortis quingenariae/tribunus cohortis voluntariorum* – about 300 posts.

Militia II: *tribunus militum legionis augusticlavius/tribunus cohortis milliariae* – about 190 posts.

Militia III: *praefectus alae quingenariae* – about 90 posts.

Militia IV: *praefectus alae milliariae* – about 9 posts.

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We can say that only few equestrians could be promoted in the four *militiae* system. About 3% equestrian commanders, who finished the service of *militia prima* could have a chance on achieving of *militia quarta*, because since out of about 300 posts included in *militia prima* only about nine was available in *militia quarta* [10]. P. A. Brunt thinks that every post was held by *equites* for only one year in *militiae* system [11]. On the other hand, Y. Le Bohec and M. Hassall claim that each of the stages of equestrian military career lasted for three years [12]. However, G. Webster and P. Southern suppose that every post in *militiae* system was served for three or four years [13].

From the times of Claudius experienced soldiers after holding of *primipilat* could achieve the posts of tribunes in cohorts of *vigiles*, *praetoriae* and *urbanae* [14]. *Cursus honorum* of prominent tribunes of garrison in Rome was crowned by procurator posts [15]. In consequence of this, it seems, that there existed big convergence between the results of their careers and careers of equestrian officers, who were serving *militia* [16].

Procurators of the Emperor' property and family in provinces (*procurator patrimonii, rationis privatae*), procurators of finances in provinces, governors of provinces, magistrates who fulfilled specialized tasks (e.g. *procurator ludi magni*) and secretaries in imperial chancellery (*ab epistulis, a libellis, a rationibus, a cognitionibus, a studiis, a memoria, a commentariis*) were included in procurator posts. All these posts (under Augustus - 25, under Septymius Severus - 178 equestrian civil posts) were divided according to annual emolument on: *sexagenarii* – 60.000 sesterces, *centenarii* – 100.000 sesterces, *ducenarii* – 200.000 sesterces, *trecenarii* (from Marcus Aurelius) – 300.000 sesterces [17]. Since the times of Marcus Aurelius equestrians had special titles which depended on their ranks and posts [18]. High, and with time lower imperial procurators had the title *vir egregius*, prefects - from prefecture *classis* to prefecture *annonae* and later high procurators the title *vir perfectissimus*, but praetorian prefects and prefects *vigilum* from the third century the title *vir eminentissimus* [19].

The prefectures *vigilum*, *annonae*, *Aegypti* and *praetorio* were on the top of equestrian *cursus honorum*. In the second century former *praefecti annonae* and to a smaller degree *praefecti vigilum* often took the prefecture *Aegypti* [20]. On the other hand, the praetorian prefecture in the Principate was the highest post in equestrian *cursus honorum* [21]. Between 70-235, for fourteen prefects of Egypt the prefecture of the praetorian guard was the highest level in equestrian *cursus honorum*. Whereas before the year 70, for four prefects of the praetorian guard the prefecture of Egypt was the highest office [22]. The extensive importance of the praetorian prefects was

supported by the fact that their annual emolument, which in the middle of the second century amounted to one million sesterces, was the highest among the entire imperial administration [23]. Equestrian procurators of higher rank and big prefects formed, according to the term of Tacitus - *equestris nobilitas* [24].

We know the details of the development of equestrian career due to prosopographical researches [25]. The ways of promotion and individual careers of people are present in the inscriptions which are direct sources of the past [26].

The Effectiveness of the group researched is dependent on the credibility and amount of historical material [27]. H. Devijver estimated that between 30 BC - 268 between 2000 and 2100 were only equestrian officers out of 50.000 who probably existed, which gives about 4% [28]. On the other hand, R. Sablayrolles enumerated that from the time of the Principate we have the knowledge of one hundred and one prefects of the praetorian guard (*praefecti praetorio*), one hundred and twenty three prefects of Egypt (*praefecti Aegypti*) and only thirty-eight prefects of the *vigiles* (*praefecti vigilum*) and twenty-three prefects of the food supply (*praefecti annonae*) [29]. Seems as if we knew of three-quarters of the highest civil servants of equestrian rank of the age of the Principate (*praefecti praetorio* 70%, *praefecti Aegypti* 78%) [30].

The political elite of Roman society is superbly represented by sources, so the discussion about two different careers of praetorian prefects is not accidental in this study. *Expressis verbis* we can say, the careers of Marcus Bassaeus Rufus and L. Iulius Vehilius Gallus Iulianus are extraordinarily representative of the second half of the second century [31].

The inscription [32] from Rome, the inscription [33] from ancient Ostia (Latium and Campania - Regio I) and founded in 1957 *Tabula Banasitana* [34] from Africa (Mauretania Tingitana) present *tria nomina* of Marcus Bassaeus Rufus. The parts of name - Bassaeus Rufus are *nomen gentile* and *cognomen*. These parts of name are shown in the inscription from Saepinum in Samnium (Regio IV) [35]. The fragmentary *gentilicium* and full *cognomen* of Rufus have survived in the inscription from Celeia in Noricum [36]. Marcus Bassaeus Rufus came from Italy [37]. *Cognomen* Rufus is numerous among the Roman legionnaires [38]. The career of Bassaeus Rufus is present by the style *cursus inversus* in the inscription from Rome - CIL VI 1599 = CIL VI 31828 = ILS 1326:

M(arco) Bassaeo M(arci) f(ilio) St[el(atina)] / Rufo pr(aefecto) pr(aetorio) / [Im]peratorum M(arci) Aureli Antonini et / [L(uci)] Aureli Veri et L(uci) Aureli Commodi Augg(ustorum) / [c]onsularibus ornamentis honorato / [e]t ob victoriam Germanicam et

Sarmatic(am) / [A]ntonini et Commodi Augg(ustorum) corona / [m]urali vallari aurea hastis puris IIII / [to]tidemque vexillis obsidionalibus / [ab iisdem] donato praef(ecto) Aegypti praef(ecto) / [vig(illum)] proc(uratori) a rationibus proc(uratori) Belg[icae et] / [d]uarum Germaniarum proc(uratori) regni [No]/[ri]ci proc(uratori) Asturiae et Gallaeciae trib(uno) [coh(ortis)] / [] pr(aetoriae) trib(uno) coh(ortis) X urb(anae) trib(uno) coh(ortis) V vigul(um!) p(rimo) p(ilo) bis / [huic se]natus auctoribus Imp(eratoribus) Antonino et / [Comm]odo Augg(ustis) statuam armatam in foro / [divi Traia]ni et aliam civili amictu in templo / [divi Pii et] tertiam loricatam in tem/[plo po]nendas [censuit] ...

„For Marcus Bassaeus, the son of Marcus, of the tribe Stellatina, Rufus, praetorian prefect of the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus and Commodus, honored with the consular insignia, for the victorious war with the Germans, and Sarmatians by the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, decorated with the gold mural crown, and four times with a the silver-topped spear, similarly honoured by the besieged units, prefect of Egypt, prefect of vigiles, procurator of the central financial administration in imperial chancellery, procurator of the province of Gallia Belgica, procurator of both *Germanarum*, governing of Noricum, procurator of Asturias and Galicia, tribune of cohort [...] of the praetorians, tribune of the tenth urban cohort, tribune of the fifth cohort of vigiles, the centurion of the highest centuria in the first cohort twice, for him by decision of senate, Aurelius and Commodus, a statue clad in armour was erected on the forum of divine Trajan as well as the second statue thanks to citizens founded in the temple of divine Pius and the third statue clad in armour in the temple of Mars Ultor [...] (transl. K. Kłodziński)”

From among five praetorian prefects of the Antonines, whose full *cursus honorum* is known, only Marcius Turbo [39] and Bassaeus Rufus achieved the praetorian prefecture without holding equestrian *tres militia* [40]. What is interesting, both got promotion to *ordo equester* through the *primipilat* [41]. H. G. Pflaum claims that except for Rufus only five procurators were the *primipili* at the beginning of their careers [42]. Then Rufus was tribune of the cohorts of garrison of Rome to finally become *primipilus bis* [43]. The next level in his career was the post of the procurator of provinces Asturias and Galicia in rank *ducenarius* [44]. In the second century except for Rufus out of one hundred procurators only seven people were *primipilares bis* before the holding the post of procurator [45]. Before 161 Bassaeus Rufus was the procurator of Noricum [46], then the procurator of *Belgicae* and *duarum Germaniarum*. In turn Rufus went to the imperial palace where he was *a rationibus* in rank *trecenarius* [47]. The next level in his career was the prefecture *vigilum* [48]. Rufus held this post on 10 March 168 [49]. After 10 March 168, by several months Rufus was the prefect of Egypt [50]. Rufus through receiving of *ornamenta consularia* achieved the rank of former consul [51]. The last degree of his *cursus honorum* was the praetorian prefecture which held

in 168-177 [52]. Bassaeus Rufus as *praefectus praetorio* escorted the Emperor during the Marcomanic Wars [53]. On the basis of statistic composition Richard Saller claims that „less than one out of one hundred centurions can achieve the top of equestrian career – the praetorian prefecture (transl. K. K.)” [54]. The abovementioned considerations and the statistic data quoted present prominent person who achieved the top equestrian *cursus honorum* not thanks to great origin, but mainly excellent military success. In the case of Rufus military contributions are undoubtedly an important factor of his social mobility.

Equally experienced on the military field and administration was another commander of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius – equestrian officer L. Iulius Vehilius Gallus Iulianus, whose career, finished with the praetorian prefecture is quite different than the career of Bassaeus Rufus.

The inscription from Rome, which was found in 1887 presents long name - L. Iulius Vehilius Gratus Iulianus [55]. The inscription from ancient Brixia (present-day Brescia) gives his *tria nomina* - T. Iulius Iulianus [56]. His *nomen gentile* and *cognomen* - Iulius Iulianus is adapted in the inscription from Ostia Antic [57]. The inscription from Palmyra shows the same parts of name in Greek - *Ioulios Ioulianos* [58]. Recently, CIL VI 41271 (Roma 2000) presents subtly different, but in my opinion, more accurate form of his name - L. Iulius Vehilius Ga[llus?] Iulianus. Imperial *gentilicium* of Iulianus is the most numerous among equestrian officers who has imperial *nomen gentile* [59]. However, *cognomen* Iulianus was very popular among Roman legionnaires [60]. Probably Iulianus was born about 127 A.D [61]. So we can say that he took the praetorian prefecture when he was 62 years old. Scholars are not unanimous on the matter of Iulianus' origin [62]. The inscription which gives his full name, presents very rich equestrian *cursus honorum* of Iulianus too; and states the brilliant career – CIL VI 31856 = ILS 1327:

L. Iulio Veh[il]io Gr[at]o Iuliano, pra[ef(ecto)] pr(aetorio), praef(ecto) ann(onae), a rationib(us), praef(ecto) c[lassis p]raet(oriae) Misenat(is), pra[ef(ecto)] classis praet(oriae) Raven[nat(is), proc(uratori)] Aug(usti) et praep(osito) vexil[la]tion(ibus) tempore belli [Britannici, pr]oc(uratori) Aug(usti) provinc[iae] Lusit[aniae] et Vett[oniae], proc(uratori) A]ug(usti) et praeposit(o) vexillationis per[...] proc(uratori) Aug(usti) et praef(ecto) classis Po[ntic]a[e], proc(uratori) Aug(ustorum) e]t pra[ep(osito)] vexillationis per Achaiam et Macedoniam et in Hispanias, adversus Castabocas et Mauros rebelles, praeposito vexillationibus tempore belli Germanici et Sarmat(ici), praef(ecto) alae Tampianae, praef(ecto) alae Herculanae, trib(uno) cohort(is) primae Ulpiae Pannoniorum, praef(ecto) cohort(is) tertiae August(ae) Thracum, donis militaribus donato ab Impe[rato]ribus Antonio et Vero ab victoriam [belli Parthi]ci, item ab Antonio et [Commodo ob

vic]tor(iam) belli Germ[a]nic(i) [et Sarmatici ...

„ For Lucius Iulius Vehilius Gratus Iulianus, the prefect of the praetorian guard, prefect of the corn supply, secretary of the central financial administration in imperial chancellery, prefect of the praetorian fleet from Misenum, prefect of the praetorian fleet from Ravenna, procurator *Augusta* and commander of the units formed from legion during the war in Britain, procurator of the province of Lusitania and Vettonia, procurator *Augusta* and commander of the unit formed from legion by [...], prefect of the fleet from Pontus, procurator *Augusta* and commander of the unit derived from legion in Greece, Macedonia and in Spain, fighting against the Costoboci and the rebellion of the Mauri, commander of the units formed from legion during the war with the Germans and Sarmatians, prefect of the cavalry unit *Tampianae*, prefect of the cavalry unit *Herculanae*, tribune of the first cohort *Ulpiae Pannoniorum*, prefect of the third cohort *Augusta Thracum*, donee military financial reward by Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus thanks to the victorious Parthian war, similarly by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus thanks to victory in the war against Germans and Sarmatians [...] (transl. K. Kłodziński)”



The inscription (CIL VI 31856 = ILS 1327) from Rome, which presents the career of Iulianus
(source: <http://cil.bbaw.de/test06/bilder/datenbank/PH0003170.jpg>)

The inscription presents *cursus* of Iulianus as *cursus inversus*, similarly to the career of Bassaeus Rufus. Unlike Rufus, L. Iulius Vehilius Gratus Iulianus held four *militiae - praefectus cohortis tertiae Augustae Thracum (quingenariae)* [63], *tribunus cohortis primae Ulpiae Pannoniorum (milliariae)* [64], *praefectus alae Herculanae (quingenariae)* [65], *praefectus alae Tampianae (milliariae)* [66].

Between 157 and 160 Iulianus was a prefect of the third cohort *Augustae Thracum* in Syria [67]. Between 160 and 163 Iulianus held the tribunate of the first cohort *Ulpiae Pannoniorum* in Pannonia Superior [68]. While serving this post, T. Iulius Iulianus dedicated the inscription for *praesidi optimo* and M. Nonius Macrinus (*cos. suff.* in 154), the legate of *Augusta* in rank the praetorian province of Pannonia Superior [69]. In the inscription *praenomen* of Iulianus is Titus, not Lucius, which the later inscription (CIL VI 31856 = ILS 1327) presents. In 167 Iulianus as a prefect

alae Herculanae got *dona militaria* in the Parthian war [70]. Later in 167 or 168 Iulianus was a prefect *alae I Pannoniorum Tampiana* in Noricum [71]. Between 166 and 180 Iulianus became commander of *vexillationes* four times [72]. Iulianus as *procurator Augusti (ducenarius)* had extraordinary command powers [73]. Probably Iulianus defended the north *limes* against the Germans and Sarmatians [74]. L. Iulius Vehilius Gallus Iulianus also fought against the Costoboci who in 170 did the invasion on the Balkans [75]. About 171 the great officer was sent to Spain to fight with the Mauri [76], then in 173 Iulianus became procurator *Augusti* and prefect provincial *classis Ponticae (centenarius)* [77]. Misenum and Ravenna [78]. In 177 he became procurator *Augusti provinciae Lusitaniae* and *Vettoniae (ducenarius)* [79]. Maybe, thanks to Iulianus the rebellions in Lusitania were quelled (HA, *Marcus Aurelius* 22, 11).

Then Iulianus was *proc(urator)] Aug(usti) et praep(ositus) vexil[la]tion(ibus) tempore belli* [80]. The lacuna is restored twofold in this place. Borghesi 1897, 72 = CIL VI 31856 = ILS 1327 give *Britannici*. So, according to V. Chapot and B. Borghesi, Iulianus commanded one *vexillatio* during the war in Britain in years 183-184 [81]. Maybe Ulpius Marcellus [82] was favoured by the military units of Iulianus in Britain [83]. However, CIL VI 41271 (Roma 2000) presents *Germanici II* as fulfilling of the lacuna. M. Żyromski thinks that between 178 and 180 Iulianus was *prucurator Augusti et preapositus vexillationis tempore belli Germanici II donis militaribus donatus ab Imp. Antonino et Commodo ob victoriam belli Germanici et Sarmatici* [84]. This sentence is closer to the truth because it is in accordance with the chronological sequence of the posts held by this equestrian. Iulianus could not have fought in Britain in years 183-184, governing at the same time the prefecture of the fleet from Misenum and Ravenna. These posts were the successive posts of the career of Iulianus.

The serving the praetorian prefecture by Iulius Iulianus is confirmed by the fragment of the another inscription [85]. The inscription is dated back to 15 July 190 ([ded(icata) I]d(us) Iul(ias) Commo(do) Aug(usto) VI / [[[M(arco) Pe]tronio Septimiano]] co(n)s(ulibus)). Thanks to this inscription we know that on 15 July 190 Iulianus was a sole praetorian prefect.

Iulianus became sentenced to death by the Emperor Commodus (Cass. Dio, 72, 14, 1; HA, *Commodus* 7, 4) and condemned by *damnatio memoriae* (CIL XIV 4378). According to Cassius Dio, Iulianus was one of the prominent people who died by order of Commodus. Before the death big friendship connected Commodus and Iulianus (Cass. Dio, 72, 14, 1). Probably the date *post quem* of the murder is 15 July 190.

Yann Le Bohec accurately stated that the prefect of the praetorian guard held simultaneously the function of the first minister and the minister of war [86]. The comparison of *cursus honorum* of two officers shows two different careers which are concluded with the

achievement of the praetorian prefecture. In the end, we can ask a question, if it was only their military and administrative offices that influenced the progress their careers? These features had big influence, but nevertheless, it was the Emperor's will that served as a mainspring of one's career and determined who should be granted an office [87].

References:

1. Pflaum 1950, 78.
2. Alföldy 1981, 212-213. In the study the dates relate to times after Christ's birth.
3. About equestrian *cursus honorum* – see Cagnat 1890, 109-125; Bravo, Trynkowski 1982, 196-198; Le Bohec 1994, 40-42; Webster 1998, 112-118; Kolendo, Żelazowski 2003, 143-148; Southern 2007, 128-129.
4. Also the title *praefectus equitum* functioned before Claudius, Demougin 1988. People with several years' experience were promoted to the prefects of cavalry units, Demougin 1988, 340.
5. Suet., *Claudius 25: Equestris militias ita ordinavit, ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum legionis daret.*
6. Demougin 1988, 297.
 7. Demougin 1988, 353-355.
 8. Żyromski 2001, 26.
 9. Devijver 1992, 67.
 10. Devijver 1992, 67.
 11. Brunt 1983, 47.
12. Le Bohec 1994, 41; Hassall 2000, 335. Y. Le Bohec (Le Bohec 1994, 41, note 35) based in this issue on the relation of the *Historia Augusta* (HA, *Maximinus 5, 1*).
 13. Webster 1998, 113; Southern 2007, 129.
 14. Demougin 1988, 293-298; 366-385.
 15. Pflaum 1950, 327-328.
 16. Demougin 1988, 380-382.
17. The great study about equestrian procurators in the Principate is *Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut – Empire romain* of H. G. Pflaum, Pflaum 1950, *passim*.
18. Hirschfeld 1905, 451-457; Alföldy 1981, 190-191.
 19. T. Flavius Constans was the first praetorian prefect with the title *vir eminentissimus*, CIL XIII 12057 = ILS 9000; Walser 1993, 102.
 20. Cf. Sablayrolles 1999, *passim*.
 21. Alföldy 2003, 171.
 22. Brunt 1975, 124; cf. Demougin 1988, 733.
23. Żyromski 2001, 19. To compare: *praefectus Aegypti* earned 500. 000 sesterces, and *praefectus vigilum* - 300.000 sesterces. The emolument of praetorian prefect was identical with the emolument of the highest civil servants of the rank of senators (*proconsul provinciae Africae/Asiae*), Żyromski 2001, 19. Cf. Alföldy 1981, 187-188.
 24. Tacitus, *Agr.* 4, 1.

25. About prosopographical method - see Kolendo, Żelazowski 2003, 151-152; Łuc 2008, 13-18; Salomies 2008, 78-81.
26. Less optimistically on this issue – Saller 2008, 119.
27. Salomies 2008, 80-81.
28. I give this information after Żyromski 2001, 18.
29. Sablayrolles 1999, 352.
30. Sablayrolles 1999, 354.
31. Cf. Absil 1997, 39-41.
32. CIL VI 1599 = CIL VI 31828 = ILS 1326: *M(arco) Bassaeo M(arci) f(ilio) St[el(atina)] / Rufo*.
33. CIL XIV 4500: *M(arco) Bassaeo Rufo*.
34. AE 1971, 534: *M(arcus) Bassaeus M. f(ilius) Stel(atina tribu) Rufus*. About *Tabula Banasitana* – see Oliver 1972, *passim*; Sherwin-White 1973, *passim*.
35. AE 1983, 331 = ILS IX 2438: *Bassaeus Rufus*. These parts of name are present threefold in this inscription
36. CIL III 5171: *[M(arci) Ba]ssaei Rufi*.
37. Pflaum 1950, 183; Absil 1997, 28.
38. Dean 1916, 46-47.
39. Q. Marcius Turbo Fronto Publicius Severus, PIR² M 249; Stein, 1930, 1597-1600; Absil 1997, 166-167.
40. Absil 1997, 39-41.
41. Cf. Absil 1997, 32; 39-40. Cassius Dio (Cass. Dio 71, 5, 3) and *Historia Augusta* (HA, *Avidius Cassius* 14, 5) mention low social status of Bassaeus Rufus. Holding the annual *primipilat* was the way to achieve the equestrian status, cf. Pflaum 1950, 179; Dąbrowa 1990, 354; Le Bohec 1994, 43-44; Alföldy 2003, 170; Ziółkowski 2005, 451; Southern 2007, 130.
42. Pflaum 1950, 230, note 4.
43. Absil 1997, 40;
44. Pflaum 1950, 327. H. G. Pflaum (Pflaum 1950, 228) classified his post to *les procuratèles provinciales ducénaires exclusivement en Occident*. Rufus was holding five military posts before the taking first procurator post, cf. Peaks 1907, 172.
45. Pflaum 1950, 224, 238-239. French scholar defines these carriers as *la premier type de cursus*, Pflaum 1950, 237.
46. Peaks 1907, 172.
47. Under Marcus Aurelius *a rationibus* earned annual 300.000 sesterces, Pflaum 1950, 74; Alföldy 1981, 185, 212.
48. Passerini 1939, 303; PIR² B 69; cf. Rohden 1897, 103.
49. CIL XIV 4500. L. Vanuleius Apronianus II and L. Sergius Paullus II were the consuls in 168, Klein 1881, 77. Cf. Passerini 1939, 303; Brunt 1975, 146.
50. Brunt 1975, 146.
51. The thesis of Hirschfeld (Hirschfeld 1905, 450) is correct. The German scholar thinks that the lending of *ornamenta consularia* by Emperors to *praefecti praetorio* was the rule in the second century. In this century the Emperors gave the *ornamenta consularia* to four praetorian prefects, but in the first century only to three - *nota*

- bene* another two achieved the *ornamenta praetoria*, Marquardt, Mommsen 1876, 447; Ensslin 1954, 2399. According to Michel Absil (Absil 1997, 47), even ten praetorian prefects got the *ornamenta consularia* in the second century.
52. Hirschfeld 1877, 226; Borghesi, Cuq 1897, 57-60; PIR² B 69; Rohden 1899, 103-104; Passerini 1939, 303-304; Crook 1955, 154, nr 58; Absil 1997, 178-179. On 6 July 177 Marcus Bassaeus Rufus was sole praetorian prefect of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, AE 1971, 534; Cf. Kłodziński 2010, *passim*.
 53. Philostr., *V. Soph.* 2, 1, 28.
 54. Saller 2008, 119.
 55. CIL VI 31856 = ILS 1327.
 56. CIL V 4343.
 57. CIL XIV 4378.
 58. ILS 8869.
59. Żyromski 2001, 25. Almost the quarter of equestrian officers has imperial *gentilicium*. We can observe similar situation in the case of fleet commanders, Żyromski 2001, 25.
 60. Dean 1916, 33-34.
 61. Żyromski 2001, 102.
 62. Żyromski 2001, 102.
 63. In the second century *cohors III Augusta Thracum* stationed in Syria, Cheesman 1914, 162.
 64. In the second century *cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum* stationed in the province of *Pannonia Superior*, Cheesman 1914, 153.
 65. In the second century *ala I Thracum Herculania* stationed in Syria, Cheesman 1914, 161.
 66. *Ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana* stationed in Noricum, Hanslik 1970, 510; Żyromski 2001, 102.
 67. Premerstein 1912, 155; Hanslik 1970, 509; Żyromski 2001, 102.
 68. Premerstein 1912, 155; Hanslik 1970, 509; Żyromski 2001, 102.
 69. CIL V 4343.
 70. Premerstein 1912, 156; Żyromski 2001, 102; Hanslik 1970, 509; ILS 8869.
 71. Premerstein 1912, 156; Żyromski 2001, 102. In this case R. Hanslik (Hanslik 1970, 510) points to 167 as the date of the *militia quarta* of Iulianus. It is incorrect because the words in the inscription - *ab victoriam belli Parthici* attest 167 as *militia tertia* of Iulianus, but perhaps, in the same year Iulianus took the prefecture in Noricum.
 72. Smith 1979, 267. H. G. Pflaum (Pflaum 1950, 129) claims that definite in this inscription sole *vexillatio*, but not *vexillationes* in plural form (CIL III 10471-73=ILS 1097; CIL VI 1408=ILS 1142; CIL VI 1551), *exercitus* or *legions*, is the exception.
 73. Pflaum 1950, 245: *Tout comme le commandement militaire extraordinaire* etc.
 74. Żyromski 2001, 102.
 75. Premerstein 1912, 158; Sherk 1957, 54; Birley 2000, 190; Żyromski 2001, 102. Also Pausanias mentions about the invasion of Costoboci on Greece (Pausanias 10, 34, 5).
 76. Also *Historia Augusta* mentions about the defeat of Mauri in Spain by the legates of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (HA, *Marcus Aurelius* 21, 1-2).
 77. Premerstein 1912, 156; Hanslik 1970, 510; Żyromski 2001, 102.
 78. Out of thirteen prefects of praetorian fleets from Misenum and Ravenna whose careers are

- known, only two - L. Iulius Vehilius Gratus Iulianus and Q. Baienus Blassianus commanded provincial fleets, Saller 1980, 54, note 63; Żyromski 2001, 33. Q. Baienus Blassianus except *classis praetoriae Ravennatis* commanded of *classis Britannica*, CIL XIV 5341; Żyromski 1994, 68; Żyromski 2001, 33, 79.
79. Hanslik 1970, 510; Żyromski 2001, 102.
80. Premerstein 1912, 159.
81. Chapot 1896, 155: *Chef d'une vexillatio pendant la guerre de Bretagne (183-184)* etc.; Borghesi, Cuq 1897, 73: *en 183-184, il combat en Bretagne* etc.
82. L. Ulpus Marcellus, PIR² V 557.
83. Rostovtseff, Mattingly 1923, 96.
84. CIL VI 41271; Żyromski 2001, 102.
85. CIL XIV 4378: *[[Iulio Iulian(o)]] pr(aefecto) pr(aetorio)*].
86. Le Bohec 1994, 37.
87. Pflaum 1950, 295-296; Weaver 1967, 17; Saller 1980, 44; Syme 1980, 77; Brunt 1983, 42; Campbell 1984, 116.

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