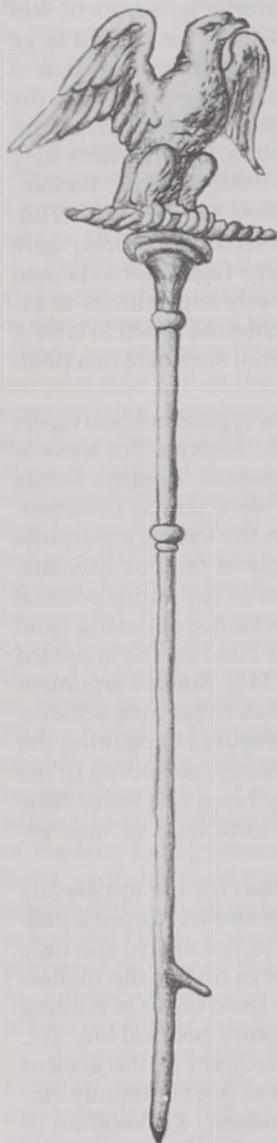


## APPENDIX 1

### *Age Laws and the Republican Cursus Honorum*

#### **The Cursus Honorum**

Two constitutional safeguards apparently restricted Roman politicians from premature entry to the various republican magistracies. The first of these was the traditional practice of serving in the army before starting a public career, and the second was the *lex Villia annalis*. This law is said by Livy (40.44.1) to have imposed minimum age restrictions for public offices, but since he fails to name the magistracies affected by the new regulations, modern opinion remains undecided about the extent of the measure. Nonetheless it has been argued that, as a result of the law, it became customary for all senior statesmen in the second century, after 180, to have served ten years under arms, gained the quaestorship between their twenty-sixth and thirtieth birthdays, usually to have held the aedileship in or after



thirty-seven, and the praetorship and consulship in or after their fortieth and forty-third years (Astin, *Latomus* 17 [1958] 63–64).

There were exceptions to this paradigm but they were few and far between. In the second century they were, like Scipio Aemilianus, hurtled to prominence because of grave political crises or, like Pompey and Octavian in the first century, they were political adventurers at a time when senatorial government was in terminal decline. These are beyond the scope of this study for by and large the terms of the *lex Villia*, as they are generally accepted, seem very seldom to have been breached in one hundred years. However, at the senior end of the senatorial career there is no doubt that vigorously competitive elections meant that many politicians were well above stipulated age minima by the time they won a consulship (Develin, *Patterns* 91; Evans, *AHB* 4 [1990] 65–71; E. Badian, 'The Legend of the Legate who Lost his Luggage', *Historia* 42 [1993] 203–210). Were it possible to show a similar trend among the lesser senatorial offices, there would be strong grounds for supposing that the actual age regulations claimed for the *lex Villia* may be altogether too elaborate and nearly superfluous to existing practices (cf. Develin, *Patterns* 95: 'we must not ascribe too much to laws'). In turn, this would necessarily call into question the overall structure of a political career in the second century.

The logical progression of offices which comprised the typical political career appears well established in both literary and epigraphic sources, but there is also sufficient evidence to show that atypical career patterns, in other words those which excluded one or more senatorial offices, were just as common. Indeed, the epigraphic evidence is often much later than the events it purports to describe, including, for example, the Augustan elogia of famous Romans, composed and erected at a time after the reorganization of the entire political career by the first *princeps*. Moreover, the chief literary evidence emanates from Cicero, whose timely acquisition of senatorial offices is cited as the standard against which others might be measured (Badian, *Studies* 141). But this argument is misleading, particularly if the importance Cicero attaches to his own achievements is considered (*leg. agr.* 2.2; *Pis.*2). His obvious pleasure at acquiring the major public positions at the earliest conceivable opportunity, according to the *leges Corneliae* of 81/80 (*MRR* 2.75), may not be the empty boast of a *novus homo* whose career differed little from his peers, but a true indication of how exceptional his achievements really were.

There undoubtedly remains a great deal of admiration for the apparently thoughtful way in which the Roman senate, through *leges annales*, forced a politician to begin his novitiate under arms and thence in a junior office, and only if he was extremely able and fortunate, to win *auctoritas* in one of the highest magistracies. Consequently, acceptance of a supposedly fixed order of holding offices has governed the whole perception of second-century political life. Yet, the term *cursus honorum* or 'succession of offices' is infrequent in the ancient literature (Cic. *Sen* 60; *TLL* 4.1539) and indicates that it was not commonly employed to describe the magistracies held by senators. Indeed, the creation of a systematic structure which they call the *Cursus* is more the product of the

inventiveness of scholars of modern times than a fair reflection of its ancient pedigree.

### Military Service and *Tribuni Militum*

In terms of chronological order, the first and reputedly one of the most reliable sources for this period of republican history is Polybius, and his work which is concerned with Rome's growth from city-state to imperial giant. He states (6.19.2-5) that all Roman citizens were required to serve in the infantry for sixteen years or in the cavalry for ten, and that this duty might be undertaken at any time before the age of forty-six. But should any man wish to pursue a political career, he was obliged to fulfil this rule before he obtained his first public office (πολιτικὴν δὲ λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὐδενὶ πρότερον, ἔὰν μὴ δέκα στρατείας ἐνιαυσίους ἢ τετελεκώς). He refers to ten years' service in the army since only those with means, that is possessing the equestrian census, were able to enter political life.

Polybius lived in Rome under the protection of Scipio Aemilianus from 167, and survived his patron by about a decade. Since he was writing contemporary or near-contemporary history, he must have been fully acquainted with the regulations governing military service and therefore accurate about an obligatory ten-year rule before the start of a political career. Writing a little more than a century later, however, Sallust, in his *Bellum Iugurthinum*, evidently thought that this ruling could be avoided altogether ('Itaque Sulla ... postquam in Africam atque in castra Mari cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est', *Iug.* 96.1). Badian was therefore forced to conclude that politicians with influence might dodge service in the army (1976: 38: 'As Sallust tells us, and Plutarch confirms, Sulla did no military service in his youth', and 66 n. 11: 'In theory, liability to service could not be escaped. But it is easy to imagine that well-connected young men could escape it if they tried.') Serious flaws in this assessment exist, however, for Plutarch (*Sull.* 3.1) simply omits to mention Sulla's pre-quaestorian career; his evidence *ex silentio* is not really convincing. Furthermore, both Sallust (*Iug.* 95.3) and Plutarch (*Sull.* 1.1) went to great pains to assert that the young Sulla had a most obscure and decayed family background. In their opinion Sulla was a man with no influence at all. It is feasible, of course, that Sallust was as ignorant of his subject's early military training as he believed Sulla to have been about the art of warfare. Less provocative, however, is the assumption that the memoirs of Sulla, probably used by both Sallust and Plutarch, dwelt at some length on his youthful poverty in order to enhance his later *gloria* (cf. Keaveney, 'Young Sulla and the *Decem Stipendia*', *RFIC* 108 [1980] 167-168, who contends that Sulla preferred to conceal the apparent degradation of his youth, which prevented his entrance to the army). Sulla's *Commentarii* were possibly employed in this instance without much critical appraisal.

If it were not clear that a perceptible conflict exists in the ancient sources, Polybius' evidence for second-century technical matters would be preferred to that provided by Sallust. Still, had military training been legally required before public offices, Sallust and Plutarch could easily have written something about

Sulla's early life in the army. They did not; and Sallust, at least, considered that Sulla had had no military training before his quaestorship. Moreover, Sulla did not belong to an influential family, which implies that many other young Romans sought office lacking rigorous military experience. If the young Sulla was really as insignificant as the ancient writers claim, his inexperience in warfare cannot have been an isolated example. Indeed, Cicero, from a family with no ancestral political power in Rome, probably also failed to complete ten years' service in the army (*Phil.* 12.27; *de Div.* 1.72). Had Sulla and Cicero been able to refrain from active military service, this must also suggest that their contemporaries from entrenched senatorial families were able to do likewise, as Badian acknowledges.

For the late first century Sallust should be credited with knowing what was legal and what was not and, although his silence on the issue may be an example of artistry, it should indicate that there was no legal military stipulation in force for politicians at the time he wrote, and that a change in the ruling must have occurred. Polybius' information is not quite as precise as it first appears. Sixteen years' service in the infantry or ten years in the cavalry may seem a lengthy spell for any individual, but in the second century it cannot have been continuous. For *equites*, with whom we are primarily concerned, ten years surely meant serving for ten campaigning seasons in several expeditions of varying duration (Rich, *Historia* 32 [1983] 289–290). Before the establishment of a fully professional army by Augustus, it was virtually impossible to serve for ten years of twelve months in the Roman armed forces, even after Sulla's dictatorship when adjustments may have been made to the rules (soldiers who served six years continuously were entitled to be discharged, Liv. 40.36.10; App. *Ib.* 78; Rich, 1983: 290, Brunt, *FRR* 256 and n. 123–124, 269). Few wars, particularly in this period, were especially protracted affairs. Armies were levied for campaigns and could be disbanded at the end of a proconsul's term of command, which might be as little as six months in duration. If Polybius' evidence is taken at face value, however, we have to deduce that the adolescent sons of senators and *equites* sought out every available war that they might eventually qualify for political offices at the earliest opportunity. This picture of Roman life is simply not credible for availability of campaigns would not only influence when and where a young man might serve, but could make it impossible for senatorial offices to be held at the earliest age unless, like Sulla and Cicero, many found circumvention of the military service relatively straightforward.

The simplest explanation which would account for the inconsistency in the sources is that a change took place during the second century, which was possibly unofficial, and which effected a more lenient attitude towards military service. Polybius' history is not his earliest work (F. W. Walbank, *OCD*<sup>2</sup> 853), but books 1–6 are thought to have been circulated by about 150. An alteration to current regulations or a relaxation of traditional practices might have occurred during the unpopular Spanish wars between 153 and 133, during the tribunate of C. Gracchus, whose laws contained one or more measures designed to increase efficiency in the army (*MRR* 1.514; Brunt, *FRR* 253), or as a consequence

of the reforms of Marius in 107. Polybius' reference to compulsory service in the army may, therefore, be applicable only to the first half of the second century; and once published, his history was not revised.

Thus Wiseman (*New Men* 143) considers that this 'rule was not rigidly enforced', while Paul (*Commentary* 214) suggests that 'the actual average number of years served may have been smaller', though Harris (*War and Imperialism* 12) is less sceptical of the ancient evidence but is obliged to admit (12 n. 4) that service in the army for wealthy young men need not have been arduous. Moreover, Harris refutes examples of supposed avoidance of military service (*War and Imperialism* 257) including L. Licinius Crassus (cos. 95) who prosecuted C. Papirius Carbo (cos. 120) in 119 for *repetundae* when he was just twenty-one years of age. Crassus may well have secured the conviction of Carbo early enough in the year to proceed afterwards to join a military campaign. However, his presence as a commissioner for the foundation of Narbo Martius between 118 and 114 (*MRR* 3.118) and a quaestorship which is dated to about 110 all suggest that he failed to serve anything like ten years in the army. Both Paul (*Commentary* 237) and Harris (*War and Imperialism* 257) believe that Sulla's ignorance of military matters is grossly exaggerated, and Harris and Wiseman (*New Men* 143) recognize that a ten-year rule, enforced only by *mos maiorum*, had lapsed before 100. The later lack of concern about compulsory military service by men from wealthy families is taken to be a result of Marius' reforms, which made the previous rule obsolete when landless citizens were recruited as soldiers. However, if Sallust's evidence is correct and Badian's hypothesis is allowed to stand – that Sulla was able to enter a political office without much or any army apprenticeship, which should theoretically have begun by 121 since he was born by 138 – the change to one of the basic requirements for public offices should be pushed back to 123/2 or even earlier. Indeed, if Crassus did not fulfil this regulation either, it may have disappeared earlier still, and strengthens the case for a date in the 140s or 130s.

Polybius (6.19.1) also states that eligibility for the military tribunate depended on five or ten years under arms. If a man wished to serve as military tribune after five years, this could presumably be taken as part of the overall ten-year rule in advance of holding a public office. The more senior military tribunes, those with ten years duty in the army, seem to have been able to aspire to this position at any later stage and as often as they chose (see Wiseman, *New Men* 144–145, for the difference between the republican and Augustan military tribunate [*tribunus militum a populo*], which became an office 'reserved' for soldiers, not politicians). Cato the elder served as a *consularis* (Cic. *Sen.* 32; *MRR* 1.354), Sulla when he was a *quaestorius* (Plut. *Sull.* 4.1), Marius was elected 'per omnis tribus' to one of the elective military tribunates (Sall. *Iug.* 73.4) probably after already having served for ten years, and Caesar Strabo is known to have held this post twice (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.3, no. 6; *ILS* 48). If the office of military tribune was held immediately after ten years in the army, however, it increased the age at which a man might seek his first political position. It would have become an unattractive proposition for anyone who sought to win a regular

magistracy at the earliest moment (cf. Cagniard, 1989: 139–149 who argues that the military tribunate was always a low-ranking office which politicians held only at the beginning of their careers unless exceptional conditions intervened; note also Badian, *PACA* 11 [1968] 2, for twenty-four as the 'lowest' known age of military tribunes in this period). Since some of the military tribunes were elected, those interested in attaining this particular tribuneship had also to be at Rome for the polls conducted in the *comitia populi tributa*. This procedure must also have affected the number of service years undertaken by a young man, who would have had to obtain leave from a campaign, often overseas, to return home to canvass. This is another illustration of the less than organized nature of service in the republican army. Elections for military tribunes may have taken place in the late autumn down to 154 and therefore at the end of the campaigning season, which did not disrupt a year's service. When the consular year was altered to begin on the first of January 153 (*MRR* 1.452), these elections were probably moved to an earlier date, perhaps in July or August (for the dates of elections see Taylor, *RVA* 63 and n. 12; Badian, 1984: 103–104), which either forced a young man to ask for his furlough mid-way through a campaign, or deterred him from enlisting for an expedition in a particular year. Such an untimely imposition could have counted against his tally of service years, though it is more likely that even three to four months' active service before canvassing would have been recognized as a full year. And in the absence of an official method of scrutinizing records, a part of a year or even a few weeks of a year would no doubt have been accepted as part of the total. Election to a military tribunate might add a certain lustre to a career but, if this position was regularly or earnestly sought, it would obviously have retarded an ideal career by as much as two years. Only in the most abnormal circumstances, therefore, might twenty-six or twenty-seven still be regarded as a usual minimum age for a regular republican magistracy.

Since it was not a formal part of the political career, many aspiring politicians probably decided to forgo the military tribunate. Cicero indicates (*Planc.* 52) that L. Marcius Philippus (cos. 91), 'summa nobilitate et eloquentia', but not noted for his generalship, was never elected military tribune. The evidence shows, however, that many young Romans did serve in this capacity, which suggests that they did not bother to seek the political offices at the earliest possible time, but that if they wished to do so, there was no controlling mechanism in place, with the exception of the *mos maiorum*, to prevent them from standing for a magistracy with little or no military experience. The so-called ten-year rule became so flexible that it almost disappeared, but at the same time young Romans tended to serve in the army over a much greater period of time simply because warfare was the natural pursuit for that element of republican society. To achieve a respectable reputation for participating in public life it was useful to obtain a good grounding in both military and administrative affairs. So *adulescentes* did not often serve in the army for a continuous period, but were expected to spend long periods away from active duty when they might acquire wider knowledge and other skills. Since it is highly unlikely that detailed records

were kept of everyone's army service, this must have resulted in a wide range of actual military experience. Some senior politicians may have spent little time in the army while others, such as C. Gracchus or Marius, may have had much more than the hypothetical minimum. The traditional ruling was evidently not subject to legislation, probably because it was impossible to enforce and the observance of what is described by Polybius in legalistic terms must have been defunct soon after 150.

### The Vigintivirate

This college became a first official office of the political career only during the principate of Augustus, but the individual commissions themselves had been available from long beforehand. Although for the most part they are thought to have been occupied by younger men, there is no conclusive evidence that this supposition should apply to all the offices involved. Cicero (*Leg.* 3.6), whose evidence probably applies only to the years following the *leges Corneliae*, lists membership of the vigintivirate before that of the quaestorship, and there is some evidence to show that candidates were elected, probably in the *comitia populi tributa*, presumably after the quaestorian elections and before those for the military tribunes (For the *Illviri capitales* see Sall. *Cat.* 55.1; Festus, 486L; C. G. Bruns (ed.), *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*, Tübingen 1909, 10.2, 16, 22, [*lex Acilia repetundarum*]; 8.15 [*lex Latina tabulae Bantinae*]; Wiseman, *New Men* 143 n. 3. For the *Illviri monetales* see Cic. *Font.* 3.5; K. Pink, *The Triumviri Monetales and the Structure of the Coinage of the Roman Republic*, New York 1952, 53; Crawford, *RRC* 2.602–603; Mattingly, 1982: 10; cf. Wiseman, *New Men* 148; A. M. Burnett, 'The Authority to Coin in the Late Republic and Early Empire', *NC* 37 [1977] 37–44, who argue that moneyers were nominated by the consuls.)

The holders of the vigintivirate, therefore, need not already have been senators, but it is quite clear that, in the second century at least, the *Illviri monetales* were not necessarily always young men and were, on occasion, politicians who had already held other offices. If such latitude was allowed for candidates to this commission, the rest of the vigintivirate may also have been filled with men of varying age and experience. Supervision of the annual coinage was arguably an office which demanded some men of more advanced years, but this could also have applied to those men in charge of executions (*capitales*), or those who presided over minor law suits (*stilitibus iudicandis*). Throughout the second and first centuries some moneyers were undoubtedly young: for example C. Norbanus, M. Piso Frugi, M. Valerius Messalla, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, who were all moneyers during their fathers' consulships in 83, 61, 53 and 51 respectively (Crawford, *RRC* 1.372, no. 357; 1.442–443, no. 418; 1.457, no. 435; 1.459–460, no. 438). But other *Illviri monetales* must certainly have already been senators, some of whom were almost senior enough to hold a *curule magistracy*. For example, M'. Aquillius, consul in 101, was moneyer in 109/8 and L. Valerius Flaccus, consul in 100, was moneyer in 108/7 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.314, no. 303; 1.316, no. 306). Wiseman (*New Men* 148) argued that Sulla made the moneyership a pre-quaestorian office, and the arguments advanced by Mattingly (1982:

11–16) and by Hersh and Walker ('The Mesagne Hoard', *ANSMN* 29 [1984] 103–141) seem to put the issue beyond doubt, although some variation in the ages of the *Illviri monetales* during Caesar's dictatorship is still evident (Mattingly, 1982: 12).

The constitutional reforms of Sulla, according to Mattingly (1982: 13), included 'down-grading the post of moneyer', possibly because this position had been abused in much the same way as the tribunate. Like the office of tribune of the plebs, the moneyership had become employed as a means of achieving a certain degree of public prominence with a view to winning higher offices. Sulla's law allowing automatic entry to the senate by all ex-quaestors probably had the effect of making the minor magistracies less attractive to men who aspired to senatorial offices. By the early Principate the vigintivirate was always filled by young men of pre-senatorial status, but in the pre-Sullan period there were certainly senatorial moneyers and there may, by implication, have been other senatorial members of this college. Its position, officially outside the senate, was, therefore, somewhat anomalous during the period under discussion here.

### The Quaestorship

This was the most junior of the regular magistracies, for which Sulla prescribed a minimum age of thirty (E. B[adian], *OCD*<sup>2</sup> 906), an increase of between three and four years on what had been the previous traditional practice (Astin, 1958: 63–64). No ancient authority provides information about the ages of quaestors either before or after Sulla's legislation; and the consensus of opinion over a minimum age has arisen from the belief that military requirements were rigid and enforceable, and that Cicero's magisterial career, which he pursued *suo anno* (*Pis.* 2–3; *leg. agr.* 2.2) must by then have been governed by statutory regulations. Appian (*BC.* 1.100) is the sole ancient writer to mention the quaestorship as a necessary part of a political career from Sulla's time, though he merely says that 'no one might become praetor before he had been quaestor, and that no one could hold the consulship until after he had won the praetorship' (νόμους τε ἐξέλυε καὶ ἑτέρους ἐτίθετο· καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀπέπειε, πρὶν ταμειῦσαι, καὶ ὑπατεύειν, πρὶν στρατηγήσαι ...). There is no statement about a stringent stipulation controlling the ages of quaestors. The other writers cited for what is taken to be a new regulation are Cicero (*Phil.* 5.47, 11.11; *leg. Man.* 62; *Leg.* 3.9), Caesar (*BC.* 1.32) and Livy (7.42.2, 10.13.8), but not one of them has anything explicit to add either about the age of candidates for the quaestorship or its precise position in the senatorial career. This problem has been identified and addressed, but without significant conclusions (Astin, 1958: 63–64; Wiseman, *New Men* 155; Sumner, *Orators* 111; Paul, *Commentary* 235; Harris, *War and Imperialism* 31).

The observance of a ten-year military service rule determining the ages of quaestors before Sulla's dictatorship may now be discounted. However, much credence is attached to Livy's (25.5.8, 27.11.15) and Gellius' (*NA.* 10.28) affirmation that a young man's time in the army began after his seventeenth birthday, which would have foiled attempts at premature acquisition of a quaestorship. Yet in times of crisis large numbers of young Romans could and did serve in the

army before they were seventeen, as Livy himself indicates (22.57.9: 'ab annis septemdecim et quosdam praetextatos scribunt'). This service must also have counted towards the 'decem stipendia' (Liv. 25.5.8), and have allowed a man to canvass for the quaestorship at a younger age than his fellows who entered the army a little later. Ti. Gracchus, who is said to have been present at Carthage in the army of Scipio Aemilianus in 147–146, aged sixteen, won a quaestorship at the age of twenty-five in 138. Notwithstanding this possibly isolated example, which perhaps accounts for the fear of ambition for *dominatio* that Gracchus inspired among other senators, the evidence suggests that quaestors were normally closer to thirty, even above this age, by the time they had served in the army and in one of the lesser magistracies. The lack of an official minimum age for this office now becomes comprehensible and the fact that it could be held between a man's mid-twenties and early thirties shows that the same degree of latitude characterized the holding of this magistracy as there was for the military service, the military tribunate and the vigintivirate.

- *P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus* (cos. 131). He was apparently quaestor twenty years before his consulship (Val. Max. 2.2.1) with a postulated date of birth between 180 (Münzer, *RE* Licinius no. 72) and 178–177 (Sumner, *Orators* 52). A consular age near to fifty is not remarkable after 180 (Develin, *Patterns* 90: '46 or more'), and his age as quaestor was therefore between twenty-six and twenty-nine, provided the evidence of Valerius Maximus may be regarded as reliable (cf. Sumner, *Orators* 52: 'His quaestorship is dated to 152 on the basis of a curious anecdote'; MRR 1.454).
- *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* (cos. 129). Cicero and Atticus evidently believed that he had been quaestor in 145 (*Att.* 13.4.1; MRR 1.470) and a praetor in 132 (*Att.* 13.32.3; MRR 1.498). They seem to have assumed that Tuditanus won his curule magistracies *suo anno*, but they do not provide evidence for a date of birth, which Sumner (*Orators* 47) presumed was in or just before 172. It is not inconceivable, however, that Cicero simply thought Tuditanus was thirty in 145, the minimum age in his own day. His age as praetor and consul would have been slightly above the minimum, which was not often achieved by politicians between 180 and 80 (Develin, *Patterns* 91: 'some 70% of the consuls were above the minimum age ...'; Evans, *AHB* [1990] 69). Cicero's own words might imply certainty about Tuditanus' offices ('video enim curulis magistratus eum legitimis annis perfacile cepisse', Shackleton Bailey, *Atticus* 5.178), but he also admits the possibility that Tuditanus did experience some delay in his career ('sero praetor est'). At the very least, Cicero's evidence cannot be used to confirm a normal age for the quaestorship in the second century.
- *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus* (trib. 133). Probably born in 163 or early 162 (Plut. *C. Gracch.* 1.2; Sumner, *Orators* 58), present at the final assault on Carthage (Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 4.5; MRR 1.464), quaestor in 137 at Numantia, aged twenty-six, probably well before he had completed ten years under arms. The Third Punic War was over in 146, and there is no evidence that Gracchus served continuously in a province such as Spain or Africa afterwards. Moreover, to

be sure of winning a quaestorship in 138 he may well have remained in Rome for that year.

- *Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus* (cos. 121). Sumner (*Orators* 60) calculated that the birth of Allobrogicus belonged to 164 since he was a son of the consul of 145, elder brother of Scipio Aemilianus. His quaestorship is securely dated to 134 (App. *Ib.* 84; MRR 1.491) at the age of thirty.
- *Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus* (cos. 116). Probably the quaestor of P. Rupilius (cos. 132) in Sicily (MRR 1.498 and n. 1). Since his father, adopted by a Fabius Maximus, was the eldest of the three Servilii Caepiones (consuls 142–140), who were all sons of the consul of 169, his senior offices must have been held fairly close to the minimum age, and Eburnus' birth may be dated to between 162 and 158.
- *C. Sempronius Gracchus* (trib. 123). Quaestor in 126 aged twenty-seven or twenty-eight (Sumner, *Orators* 70) after serving twelve years in the army (Plut. *C. Gracch.* 2.5). He cannot have served continuously in the army for this length of time, however, for his duties as agrarian commissioner from 133 would surely have kept him in Rome for long periods.
- *M. Antonius* (cos. 99). Born in 143 since he was three years older than L. Licinius Crassus (Cic. *Brut.* 161; Sumner, *Orators* 93). He was quaestor in 113 aged thirty (MRR 1.536).
- *L. Appuleius Saturninus* (trib. 103). Quaestor *Ostiensis* in either 105 or 104 with a proposed date of birth not later than 132 (Sumner, *Orators* 120). There is no reason to assume, however, that Saturninus must have been as young as Ti. Gracchus when he was quaestor. Indeed, his campaign for a third tribunate in 100 suggests that while he was still too young to hold an aedileship, he intended canvassing for this curule magistracy in 99. His date of birth may therefore belong to 135, and he was a quaestor at the age of thirty.
- *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* (cos. 96). His tribunate is dated to either 104 or 103 (MRR 3.82), and since he was a commissioner for the foundation of Narbo Martius between 118 and 114 and was a moneyer in 116 or 115 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.300–301, no. 285, unless this is a Domitius Calvinus), his birth-date is likely to have been between 141 and 139. His fellow commissioner and coeval, L. Licinius Crassus, was quaestor in 111 or 110, and Ahenobarbus probably held the office at the same time, aged twenty-nine to thirty-one.
- *C. Claudius Pulcher* (cos. 92). He was *monetalis* after a quaestorship, according to his *elogium* (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.3, no. 70; *ILS* 45). Crawford (*RRC* 1.313, no. 300; MRR 3.57) dates his moneyership to 110 or 109, but Mattingly (1982: 44) to about 106. He probably reached the praetorship and consulship a year late, so 136 or 137 is a likely date of birth (cf. Sumner, *Orators* 100, for 141). He was quaestor aged between twenty-six and thirty.
- *L. Licinius Crassus* (cos. 95) and *Q. Mucius Scaevola* (cos. 95). Held the quaestorship together in 111 or 110, both born in 140 (Sumner, *Orators* 94, 97).
- *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* (cos. 89). His quaestorship is now dated to ca. 106 (MRR 3.165 166; Badian, *Klio* 66 [1984] 306–309), with a postulated birth-date of 135–132 (Sumner, *Orators* 104), hence quaestor aged twenty-six to twenty-nine.

- *L. Licinius Lucullus* (cos. 74). Born in 118 (Sumner, *Orators* 114), his later career retarded by the civil wars, but quaestor in 88 aged thirty.

The average age of the politicians listed here is rather closer to thirty than to twenty-six, though freedom from a tight regulation is abundantly clear. Appian's evidence (*BC*. 1.100) implies that, before the *leges Corneliae*, the quaestorship had no official place, which opens the way for the suggestion that this office, like those in the vigintivirate, might be held during an extended period of military-cum-civilian service. Indeed, the majority of quaestors were assigned to proconsular commands during which time they fulfilled a primarily military function. The time served under arms, the military tribunate, a lesser magistracy, and also the quaestorship could have been taken up over a period of about fifteen years, not necessarily in any specific order, but rather as it suited the individual. A senator's early career therefore becomes an informal mixture of military and administrative duties with a view to acquiring senatorial membership not in a man's mid-twenties, but by his mid-thirties after holding a quaestorship, tribunate or aedileship.

In a society in which records were unquestionably relatively primitive in comparison to the present day, we need not look for precision on the part of the Romans about ages. An approximation surely sufficed; and it would not be surprising to find quaestors aged between twenty-six and their early thirties who had all spent roughly the same amount of time in the army or engaged in civilian tasks. Thus C. Gracchus claimed he had spent a longer time in the army than was essential for a politician before he became quaestor (*Plut. C. Gracch.* 2.5), but Sulla, with probably much less military service, could have employed his quaestorship to gain further experience. Sulla's quaestorship in Africa and his legateship and military tribunates in the Cimbric War added up to less than eight years army service before he campaigned in 99 for the praetorship (*Plut. Sull.* 5.1). The difference between these two prominent figures may be distorted by the nature of the sources for their lives, but probably, at least, indicates the absence of a uniform pre-senatorial career. A Roman who entered the army before seventeen could in theory reach a magistracy earlier, while a politician who sidestepped his military commitments could similarly leapfrog ahead. No evidence for a wholesale invasion of the quaestorship by *adulescentes* is attested, however, which means that the quest for military honours at a junior level remained a favoured pastime for a young man who had his heart set on a life in public.

Since the quaestorship was not a requirement for the praetorship and consulship before 80 (Astin, 1957: 613; 1958: 64; Wiseman, *New Men* 155; Sumner, *Orators* 111), it follows that there would be variable ages for politicians who held this post after a largely indeterminate period in the army. Furthermore, there must also have been politicians who were never quaestors, especially perhaps, among an age group which served in the army for a longer spell, or which had commenced a political career later when a more influential magistracy was more beneficial. Quaestorships are invariably assigned to republican politicians,

possibly on the assumption that quaestorian status allowed admission to the *ordo senatorius*, and that all men were eager or available to enter the senate at the earliest time allowable. Yet we do not know whether all politicians were senators by the age of thirty, and we cannot be sure that the tribunate and plebeian aedileship were not equally attractive offices from which to claim senatorial status before the censors. When Saturninus was deprived of his quaestorian responsibilities (MRR 1.560) he may also have lost his status, and intended winning access to the senate as a *tribunicus* in 102 (cf. MRR 1.567. Appian, *BC*. 1.28, in describing the censorship of 102, refers only to Saturninus' tribunate, but names Glaucia as a senator). Possession of a tribunate or aedileship could provide an alternative route to the senate (Syme, *Sallust* 28).

The evidence for senators failing to hold a quaestorship may not be substantial, but does go some way towards supporting this contention. Thus Cicero (*Planc.* 52) was aware of one recent politician who had become consul after being defeated in elections for the quaestorship. The MSS has the name 'Q. Caelius' which is usually emended to 'C. Coelius' (Caldus) consul in 94, though Badian (*Studies* 152–153; cf. Astin, 1957: 612–613) has argued for Q. Lutatius Catulus, either the consul of 102 or 78. The substance of the argument has little relevance here, for it is the existence of a non-quaestorian *consularis* which is of greater significance. Confusion over the name may appear to weaken the argument for an optional quaestorship, especially if Badian is correct in postulating the consul of 78, since his career could have been affected by the civil wars and, like L. Licinius Lucullus, granted a special dispensation by Sulla. However, unlike Lucullus who spent nearly a decade abroad with Sulla, Catulus remained in Rome throughout the 80s and could have contested quaestorian elections whenever he desired. Besides Catulus or Caldus, a number of politicians in the forty years before Sulla's dictatorship may be identified as possible non-quaestorian senior magistrates.

- *M. Aemilius Scaurus* (cos. 115). He was born in 162/1 (Ascon. 22C; Sumner, *Orators* 69) and was praetor in 119 (MRR 1.526) and aedile probably in 121 (MRR 1.517 and n. 3). He would have returned to Rome from Sardinia in 122 where he served as a legate under L. Aurelius Orestes, probably from the beginning of the campaign in 126. A quaestorship before 126 is possible but not attested, and there is little reason to suppose that he must have held the office. He could have entered the senate as an *aedilicius* in 120 during the censorship of Q. Caecilius Metellus Balaricus and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (MRR 1.523), since in 121 he may not yet have been a senator (*Vir. Ill.* 73).
- *P. Decius Subulo* (pr. 115). A possible political ally of Marius with whom he was praetor in 115. Badian (1956: 92) considers that Subulo's tribunate in 120, when he unsuccessfully prosecuted L. Opimius (cos. 121), was his first political office.
- *C. Marius* (cos. I 107). Marius, already in his mid-thirties and with much military experience, may have chosen to avoid the quaestorship and campaign instead, like Decius above, for a tribunate. The suggestion that he tried and

failed at his first attempt to win this position (Val. Max. 6.9.14; MRR 3.140) possibly also indicates a particular keenness to win this public office at Rome. The evidence for Marius' quaestorship is assumed from two notices in ancient literary sources (Val. Max. 6.9.14; *Vir. Ill.* 67.1), both of which, however, are rather vague. Moreover, a quaestorship is attributed to Marius on the Augustan *elogium*, but this source of information should not be regarded as an infallible guide to all his offices (Passerini, *Studi* 198–202; and see above, Chapter 1). There is sufficient reason to suggest that he never held this magistracy.

- C. *Servilius Glaucia* (*pr.* 100). Appian (*BC.* 1.28) clearly thought that Glaucia was a senator in 102 when he says that the censor Metellus Numidicus tried to expel him from the order (MRR 1.567; Sumner, *Orators* 121). However, the writer also believed that Saturninus had senatorial rank by virtue of his tribunate in 103, which may indicate that Glaucia, like his ally, was merely a *tribunicus* in that year. This would exclude the need for assuming an untested quaestorship before 108. Moreover, this would strengthen the argument for a tribunate in 105/4 (Mattingly, *JRS* 60 [1970] 163; CQ 25 (1975) 259–260) as opposed to 101 (MRR 3.196). Glaucia's date of birth must precede 140 since he was praetor in 100 and a consular candidate for 99. Appian may also have telescoped together the date of Metellus' censorship with Saturninus' tribunate, the latter had 'already been elected tribune', but is not described as a senator. Given the evident confusion in the *Bella Civilia* at this juncture – Glaucia is said to have presided over tribunician elections as a praetor, and the date of the death of Saturninus and his allies remains unclear – it is not impossible that Appian was not fully aware of the precise status of either politician attacked by Metellus Numidicus during his censorship.
- T. *Didius* (*cos.* 98). Another politician whose career is atypical. Tribune in 103 (MRR 1.563), just five years before his consulship, praetor in 101. His moneyer-ship is dated to 113 or 112 by Crawford (*RRC* 1.308, no. 294). A quaestorship can be accommodated between 112 and 104, but is unattested.
- M. *Livius Drusus* (*trib.* 91). He is usually ascribed both a quaestorship and an aedileship (*Vir. Ill.* 66), though the Augustan *elogium* (*ILS* 49), not the most dependable of guides, fails to mention either (Sumner, *Orators* 110–111). Recent opinion favours the argument that he was never quaestor (Marshall, 1987: 317–324. Cf. also Syme, *Sallust*, 28; Earl, *Historia* 15 [1966] 306, who both note that Sallust, at a time when the quaestorship was supposedly compulsory, probably did not hold this office).
- C. *Iulius Caesar Strabo* (*aed.* 90). By contrast, this politician's *elogium* (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.3, no. 6; *ILS* 48) refers to a quaestorship between two military tribunates and his aedileship. Caesar Strabo was born between 131 and 127 (Sumner, *Orators* 105), with the earlier date preferable if he was prevented from standing as a consular candidate in 89 or 88 merely because he had yet to hold the praetorship (MRR 3.109). His membership of the agrarian commission established by Saturninus in 103, followed by an extended period

of service in the army, probably rules out a quaestorship during the period between 104 and 99, by which time the office may no longer have possessed much attraction for him.

- *C. Norbanus* (cos. 83). Norbanus was quaestor either in 101 (Badian, 'The Silence of Norbanus', *AJP* 104 [1983] 156–171) or in 99 (*MRR* 3.149; Gruen, 'The Quaestorship of Norbanus', *CP* 61 [1966] 105–106). There is no problem about his quaestorship, but I include him here, because he held this office after his tribunate. It was arguably an afterthought. Norbanus' career is pronounced 'very vicissitudinous' by Sumner (*Orators* 52) but, though delayed in its later stages, may simply be a good illustration of the way politicians followed not an orderly ascending series of steps to high office, but collected lesser magistracies in a rather arbitrary fashion. Norbanus was tribune in 103 (*MRR* 3.149) and he is unlikely to have been born much after 135. His quaestorship may have been the consolation for failure to win an aedileship either in 102 or 100.

In the century between the *lex Villia annalis* and Sulla's legislation, the quaestorship should be perceived as an office which was usually sought by politicians. It had a traditional place in the political career and the majority of republican politicians served in this capacity. However, there was no hard and fast rule because it was not a prerequisite for the consulship, and there was no minimum age for quaestors beyond that dictated by a very flexible army service. It cannot, therefore, have figured in the terms of the *lex Villia*. Thus attributing quaestorships to all prominent politicians, and basing their dates of birth solely on this criterion, may be exposed as a precarious exercise. If the phrase 'normal age' may still be applied to the most junior of the regular magistracies, then thirty easily emerges as the obvious average, which shows that Sulla did not indulge in sweeping changes to the age requirements for holding the office, but merely took cognizance of what was already generally accepted (Badian, 1984: 113 n. 27). Only rarely did a young man become quaestor under the age of thirty, a phenomenon which was perhaps viewed with suspicion and an indication of excessive *ambitio*. Service in the army was a favoured pursuit for the male offspring of wealthy families, and was undertaken probably over more than a decade, incorporating lengthy sabbaticals in other duties, all of which led to a *de facto* entry into the senate after the age of thirty. Furthermore, given that the censorship occurred only every five years or so, many politicians would have been closer to their mid-thirties before they officially achieved senatorial status (see also Hopkins & Burton, in *Death and Renewal* 47 n. 24, who confirm that thirty was the minimum age prescribed by Pompey for membership of senates in provincial cities, Pliny, *Ep.* 10.79). *Quaestorii* could be admitted to the *ordo senatorius*, but it was not the exclusive avenue by which senatorial status might be achieved; and the tribunate or plebeian aedileship may have been singled out instead by some politicians, particularly those who were already in their thirties.

### The Tribune

On account of its influential place in the established order, although not a magis-

tracy as such, the tribunate was usually much sought after by younger politicians. There seem to have been no qualifications for holding the office, so no age minima governed its occupancy, and it would not have been cited in the *lex Villia*. Generally speaking, a man need not have served in the army before campaigning for the tribunate, nor did he have to hold a more junior office before becoming a candidate (Earl, 1965: 331). However, since the *tribunicii* could win admission to the senate through the *plebiscitum Atinium* (A. M[omigliano], *OCD*<sup>2</sup> 1092; Syme, *Sallust* 28), their military service may have come under some sort of scrutiny by the censors though, as we have seen above, this may have been no more than rudimentary. The possibility remains that a man might enter the senate with relatively little military experience, but with the possession of a tribunate.

The known ages of tribunes show a much greater variation than those of politicians who are known to have been quaestors. Ti. Gracchus was under thirty in his tribunate, C. Gracchus was elected when he was twenty-nine; his ally M. Fulvius Flaccus (cos. 125) was no less than forty-five (though his tribunate was perhaps held in exceptional circumstances); C. Marius was tribune aged about thirty-eight; C. Servilius Glaucia and L. Appuleius Saturninus were both probably in their mid-thirties. L. Quinctius, tribune in 74, was, however, nearly fifty (Cic. *Cluent.* 110; Wiseman, *New Men* 166), as was P. Decius Subulo (*MRR* 3.81; Badian, 1956: 91; Wiseman, *New Men* 166 n. 3), and the tribunes P. Apuleius (trib. 43) and C. Helvius Cinna (trib. 44) were both in their forties (Cic. *Phil.* 14.16). T. Didius (cos. 98) was tribune five years before his consulship aged, at least, thirty-eight, but probably older. A. Gabinius (cos. 58) was tribune in 67, though born by 110 (*MRR* 3.97; Badian, 'The Early Career of A. Gabinius (Cos. 58 B.C.)', *Philologus* 103 [1959] 95–96), but C. Asinius Pollio (trib. 47) was just twenty-seven (*MRR* 3.26; Wiseman, *New Men* 99 and n. 2. M. Caelius Rufus (trib. 52) was more possibly thirty-six in his tribunate, *MRR* 3.44, than twenty-nine as suggested by Wiseman, *New Men* 99 and n. 2).

The wide range of tribunician ages once again illustrates the nonconformity which characterized republican political careers. A year as tribune could appear attractive to a politician who wished to curry favour with the electorate, an element which became a part of the position's *raison d'être*. Clearly, therefore, the most efficacious time for becoming a tribune of the plebs was just before an attempt at a curule magistracy, either the aedileship or the praetorship, which points to an ideal age of between thirty-five and thirty-eight, though there was obviously no normal age for the tribunate. Competition for this office must also have been fairly brisk if Cicero's evidence of candidates defeated in tribunician elections fairly reflects the situation (*Planc.* 52: P. Rutilius Rufus [cos. 105], C. Flavius Fimbria [cos. 104], C. Cassius Longinus [cos. 96] and Cn. Aufidius Orestes [cos. 71]; cf. Carney, *Marius* 18, who considers that the tribunician elections were not fiercely competitive). Nevertheless, Cicero did not consider becoming a tribune, and many like him no doubt opted to campaign for the politically less sensitive aedileship instead.

### The Aedileship and the Praetorship

The plebeian and curule aedileships conferred much distinction on those politicians fortunate enough to secure them since they offered many opportunities for further advancement. Yet, the aedileship was no more a regular part of the senator's career than the tribunate. It could not become a formal step to the consulship because by the end of the second century there were at least twelve quaestors, six praetors, but just four aediles. Competition for the aedileships was vigorous with candidacies from *quaestorii*, ex-tribunes and politicians who had still to win any magistracy. Ex-aediles gained automatic senatorial admission (A.N. S[herwin-White], *OCD*<sup>2</sup> 11–12), and need not have held a more junior office beforehand. There were always numerous contenders but few winners; and in order to make the aedileship compulsory the number of aediles would have had to be doubled. The Romans never solved this problem and left the aedileship as another much-sought-after, but discretionary component of a politician's career.

A good indication of the intensity of competition for this office emerges from the literary sources. L. Aemilius Paullus (cos. 182) won the aedilician elections in 194 against twelve other candidates (Plut. *Aem.* 3.1), and Marius campaigned in turn for both aedileships and failed (Cic. *Planc.* 51; Plut. *Mar.* 5.1). He was able to indulge in this quite unconventional but not illegal activity because elections for the plebeian and curule aedileships were conducted in two separate comitial assemblies, probably some weeks apart (cf. Plut. *Mar.* 5.1–2): the *comitia populi tributa* was responsible for electing curule aediles, the *concilium plebis* or *comitia aedilicia* for the plebeian aediles (Taylor, *RVA* 60 and n. 4). Cicero also notes (*Planc.* 51) that P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (cos. 138), L. Iulius Caesar (cos. 90) Cn. Octavius (cos. 87), M. Tullius Decula (cos. 81), Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 79), L. Volcatius Tullus (cos. 66) and M. Pupius Piso Frugi (cos. 61) all failed in aedilician elections (cf. Broughton, *Candidates* 40–44, for further examples). Since this list of politicians represents a fair cross section of senatorial families, it highlights the fact that no politician, however established and famous his family, could be sure of obtaining this magistracy.

The prime attraction of the aedileships lay in the supervision by the curule aediles of the annual *ludi Romani* and Megalesian Games, and of the *ludi Ceriales* and Plebeian Games by the plebeian aediles (A. N. S[herwin-White], *OCD*<sup>2</sup> 12). Although this could prove to be a costly personal undertaking (Suet. *Iul.* 10), since a law passed in or soon after 182 (Liv. 40.44.12; *MRR* 1.382; Lintott, *JRS* 80 [1990] 5 n. 25) limited the use of state funds following the overlavish games staged by the aedile Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos. 177), the returns might nevertheless be very lucrative for, when an *aedilicius* campaigned for the praetorship, the extent of his previous generosity might certainly affect his chances in the poll. This is borne out by two examples mentioned by Cicero and Plutarch. Since he had served for an extended period during the Cimbric War, and was above the minimum age for the praetorship, Sulla chose to avoid the aedileship in 99 (Plut. *Sull.* 5.1–2), but was defeated in the praetorian elections precisely, says Plutarch, for failing to provide the *populus* with a decent spectacle.

Similarly, Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus (cos. 77) failed in his first attempt to win the consulship because he had never been an aedile (Cic. *Off.* 2.58). The republican electorate clearly remembered good games and rewarded this favour in the *comitia*; and politicians who either failed to provide lavish entertainments or refused to offer themselves as aedilician candidates in the first place, ran the grave risk of ruining their subsequent careers (but note the salutary example of C. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 92) who is said to have given splendid games, *MRR* 2.1, but who did not reach the praetorship and consulship at the earliest opportunity, Cic. *Off.* 2.59; Sumner, *Orators* 100).

It appears as though a *biennium* was generally observed between the aedileship and the praetorship (Develin, *Patterns* 89–91), but that this was because of convention and not a stipulation originating in the *lex Villia*. Since Livy states that this law prescribed ages for the 'magistracies', and *magistratus* includes the curule aedileship, it is believed that thirty-seven was the minimum age of curule aediles. In theory, this ruling need not have been applicable to their plebeian counterparts, whose office had originally been adjunctive to the tribunate (A. N. S[herwin-White], *OCD*<sup>2</sup> 11). The difference in status between the curule and plebeian aedileship had, over the years, gradually disappeared, however, so that an unwritten code of etiquette probably disabled them from canvassing sooner than the *curules* for higher office. This forces the conclusion that the ages of aediles was probably set by the *mos maiorum* rather than by law.

Few firm dates can be assigned to aedileships held by men who went on to become praetor or consul. There are indications, particularly among politicians who exceeded the age minimum for the praetorship, that as little time as possible was to be lost between the two offices, which goes some way towards explaining why some politicians such as Sulla and Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus did not aspire to this magistracy (for Livianus and a date of birth ca. 124, hence forty-seven or more in his consulship year see Sumner, *Orators* 111). M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos. 115) was probably aedile in 121 and praetor in 119 (*MRR* 1.517 and n. 3), P. Licinius Crassus (cos. 97) may have been aedile in 102 (Cic. *Off.* 2.57; *MRR* 1.568) and L. Licinius Crassus and Q. Mucius Scaevola (coss. 95) were probably curule aediles in 100 (*MRR* 1.575). However popular the aedileship was with politicians, and however much it was seen as a post which must be sought, few were able to secure it and therefore a legally binding *biennium* before the praetorship would have been unworkable.

It is possible that the *lex Villia* contained, as Livy claims, only a statement regarding the ages for the consulship, praetorship and aedileship (thus Develin, *Patterns* 89), which dispenses with the question of *biennia* altogether. Since there is no evidence that politicians who failed to win aedilician elections tried to jump ahead of their coevals, unless they already possessed the minimum age requirements, it would indicate that the delay between the highest offices of the *res publica* was considered voluntary, but proved to be binding. In the majority of instances, politicians were indeed above the age minima for the curule magistracies, and this implies that they were very much less concerned about the minimum ages than they were about simply winning the offices concerned.

Wiseman (*New Men* 166–167) cites C. Turranius (pr. 44) and A. Cascellius, praetor thirty years after his quaestorship, as examples of politicians who achieved high office long after the minimum age; and they were probably less uncommon than is supposed. Since numerous consuls can be shown to have been well above forty-three, an older age range for praetors and aediles should also be accepted (Wiseman, *JRS* 56 [1966] 108, suggests that Cicero's brother was keen to become a consular candidate in 53 aged at least fifty; Develin, *Patterns* 91; Evans, *Acta Classica* 34 [1991] 131–135, for ages of other consular candidates. Note also Badian, 1993: 203–210).

### Conclusion

It is to be hoped that this discussion has clarified some of the commonest problems which still seem to afflict modern interpretations of the republican political career between 180 and 80. It is surely now evident that, below the curule magistracies, a definitive order of offices, which had to be followed by anyone who chose to enter public life, cannot be posited. Returning to Livy's brief notice of the *lex Villia annalis* (40.44.1: 'Eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Villio tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent caperentque'), it may be seen that its extent has been misinterpreted to a surprising degree, with the result that scanty evidence has been employed to create a republican career structure which did not exist.

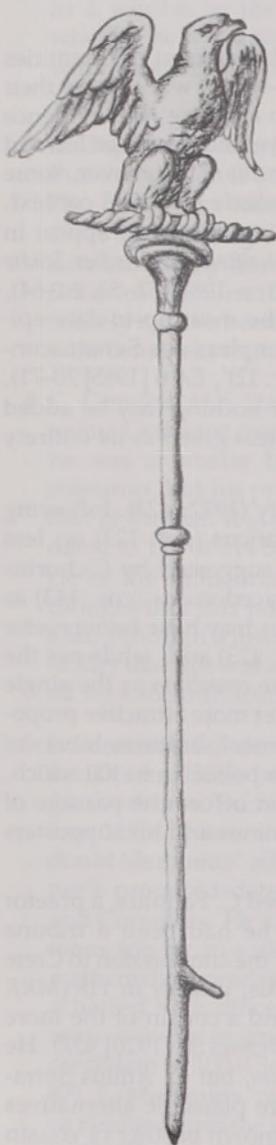
The military tribunate, the offices of the vigintivirate and the tribunate of the plebs never had fixed positions in the political career, and so could not be mentioned in any law concerned with age restrictions. Moreover, Polybius, who claims that the political offices were open only to those who had served ten years in the army, probably meant to indicate curule offices, which did not include the quaestorship. If ten years under arms had been a statutory qualification for quaestors, such a clause was repealed within a generation of the *lex Villia*. It was evidently impossible to enforce a legally binding minimum age for the quaestorship because there was no method of recording individual military service, and had this ever existed, it had lapsed long before 100. Still, a narrow range of ages emerged for quaestors, but this was settled by the militaristic ambitions of the wealthy sectors of republican society. The quaestorship itself was therefore an informal component of a senator's career, perhaps expected of young politicians but not absolutely required, especially of men of more mature years. This office was also apparently held by politicians during a period of protracted military service, and probably formed a part of this experience. All such factors contributed to the difference in ages attested among quaestors.

We happen to know from Cicero (*Phil.* 5.48) that consular candidates had to be forty-two years of age, and that a politician must first have been a praetor before he could canvass for the highest magistracy (*Phil.* 11.11). No allusion is made to the observance of *biennia*, which may be traced back to Sulla's legislation rather than to the *lex Villia* and, furthermore, it is perhaps significant that Cicero never once refers to this law, but only to anonymous *leges annales* (*Phil.* 5.47). It is clear that the specific minimum age requirements as they affected

the curule magistracies stood remarkably firm between 180 and Sulla's dictatorship and therefore must be regarded as the message contained in Villius' measure. The problem of the *biennium* disappears when it is seen to be an impossible regulation between the curule aedileship and the praetorship, for such a condition would actually have penalized those candidates successful in aedilician elections, allowing those who received *repulsae* to charge ahead. Moreover, the rule may not have applied officially to the plebeian aediles. Thus, the *lex Villia* may have laid down thirty-six years as the minimum age for candidates for the curule aedileship, though this contention cannot be proved beyond doubt. Those competitors defeated in aedilician elections would have been prevented from winning a higher office more quickly than their colleagues only by a provision which stated that candidates to the praetorship had to be thirty-nine. A statutory regulation governed acquisition of the praetorship, but a doubt must remain that, since the number of unlucky aedilician candidates far surpassed the number of aediles, *mos maiorum* alone controlled the age for the aedileship. Finally, the example set by politicians such as Marius, aedilician candidate in 117 and successful competitor in praetorian elections in 116, and T. Didius, candidate for the tribunate in 104 and consul in 98, encapsulates the argument that only age was a factor in laws governing access to the two highest magistracies of the republic.

A plethora of informal guidelines influenced the careers of republican politicians at the lower and junior levels, and there was no attempt in this period to rationalize pre-senatorial training. Most young men, conditioned by the example set by their elders, seem to have wanted to gain experience in as many areas as possible but at the same time were not legally obliged to seek any particular office. At a later stage of their careers politicians do not appear to have been overly concerned with the idea of winning magistracies at the earliest opportunity as the disparity between the ages of quaestors, tribunes, praetors and consuls more than adequately illustrates. Had compliance with *biennia* between the higher magistracies been more important than simply obeying age minima, there would not have been candidates for the curule aedileship, the competition for which was, on the contrary, very intense. At the pinnacle of the senatorial career the consulship became a prize of almost limitless possibilities; and to win the elections for this magistracy was a splendid achievement in itself, to be so successful at forty-two was, as Cicero honestly shows, a very unexpected bonus. The question of minimum age requirements was therefore less intrusive an issue for second-century politicians than were the increasingly competitive elections. By concentrating too much on the minimum ages for public offices and on the personages who held these at the earliest prescribed time, a somewhat inaccurate picture has been created of the careers of senators and the way in which they sought their goals. The *lex Villia annalis* was not a regulatory force of a complicated political career structure, which had become consolidated at Rome in the two decades after the Second Punic War. Indeed, the terms of this law probably read as follows: 'A candidate for the consulship must be forty-two years of age, a candidate for the praetorship thirty-nine.' There is no

profound message in this terse statement and no sight whatsoever of an attempt to produce a methodical or sophisticated political career. The republican *cursus honorum*, if it is still entitled to be called one, was much more makeshift and bound up in tradition than its Augustan successor; and Livy's rather vague reference which, on reflection, was all that he needed to say, has allowed the construction of an edifice which bears little relation to its second-century original.



## APPENDIX 2

### *The Members in the Consilium of the Senatus Consultum de agro Pergameno*

The consensus of opinion is now moving towards full acceptance of the later date of 101 BC for the *senatus consultum*, which dealt with the question of the collection of tribute in the Roman province of Asia, formerly the Attalid kingdom of Pergamum. Mattingly (1972: 412–423), a supporter of the later date first proposed by Magie (*Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 2.1055, n. 25), has reiterated his argument (*LCM* 10 [1985] 117–119), which drew qualified support from Badian (*LCM* 11 [1986] 14–16). Most recently, Broughton (*MRR* 3.24), an advocate of the earlier date of 129, recognizes the plausibility of the hypothesis for redating this law to 101 and as a

consequence has tentatively altered his previous judgement. Passerini's brief survey of the *consilium* members (1937: 265–271) and Taylor's discussion of their voting tribes (VDRR 184–269) were both based on the earlier date. It seems appropriate, therefore, that an important decree, which was debated in the senate during Marius' fifth consulship, and probably also involved his active participation, and which is one of the very few primary sources for this period, should be subjected to a re-examination.

In what follows, a number of ideas may be consolidated about the identities of the fifty-five witnesses to this senatorial decree, forty-two of whom have their names preserved intact. It is, of course, impossible to advance firm evidence for each and every individual present on that occasion, yet much may be learned from the names of those who were included in this *consilium*. Moreover, some of these senators may, at last, be placed in a more realistic historical context. The members in the *consilium* are treated in the order in which they appear in Sherk's reconstruction (RDGE 63–73; cf. G. Petzl, *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, 24.1: *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, 2.1, Bonn 1987, 52–53, 61–64), which has incidentally been confirmed as correct in the most up-to-date epigraphic evidence (Petzl, 'Reste eines ephesischen Exemplars des Senatusconsultum de agro Pergameno (Sherk, *Roman Documents* Nr. 12)', *EA* 6 [1985] 70–71). For several of the more unfamiliar names here little or nothing may be added to what has already been said, but the list is nonetheless given in its entirety for the sake of convenience and easy reference.

- 1 Q. *Caecilius Q.f. Aniensis*: As proposed by Mattingly (1972: 423), following Mommsen (*GS*<sup>2</sup> 8.350), Q. Caecilius Metellus Baliaricus (cos. 123) or, less likely, Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (pr. 101?) as suggested by Cichorius (*Lucilius* 3), and not now Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (cos. 143) as advanced by Sherk (RDGE 71). In 101 Metellus Nepos may have been praetor *peregrinus* or praetor *repetundarum* (Mattingly, 1972: 423) and, while not the most senior senator present, could have headed the *consilium* as the single magisterial incumbent. However, Baliaricus is a rather more attractive proposition since by 101 he would have been one of the most senior members of the senate. Cicero (*Rab. perd.* 21) fails to mention this politician in 100 which, although not crucial, may indicate that he had died before the passage of the *senatus consultum ultimum* directed against Saturninus and his supporters in the second half of that year.
- 2 C. ....ius C.f. *Menenia*: Mattingly (1972: 422) suggested C. Fannius, a praetor before 118, and probably by the mid-120s since he had been a tribune about 142 (Sumner, *Orators* 54). He was a member of the commission to Crete ca. 113, when he was ranked above P. Rutilius Rufus, praetor in 118 (MRR 1.519, 1.536–537). Probably a son of the cos. 161 and a cousin of the more famous consul of 122 (F. Münzer, 'Fanniusfrage', *Hermes* 55 [1920] 437). He could have been the senior *praetorius* in the *consilium*, but C. Atilius Serranus (cos. 106) and C. Flavius Fimbria (cos. 104) are plausible alternatives (Mattingly, 1972: 422; Petzl, 1987: 61), as is an unknown brother or cousin

of L. Memmius (5). Willems [*Le Sénat de la république romaine. Sa composition et ses attributions*, Louvain & Paris 1878–1883, 1.700]; proposed Marius himself in this position which, considering the importance of the decree, would be quite explicable. However, as Taylor (VDRR 232–233) has noted, the Marii belonged to the voting tribe *Cornelia*, which seems to exclude this politician as a witness to the decree. Clearly, the identity of the personage here, whether he was a *consularis* or a senior ex-*praetor* cannot be determined but, with Metellus Baliaricus present, this witness may also have been an ex-*consul*.

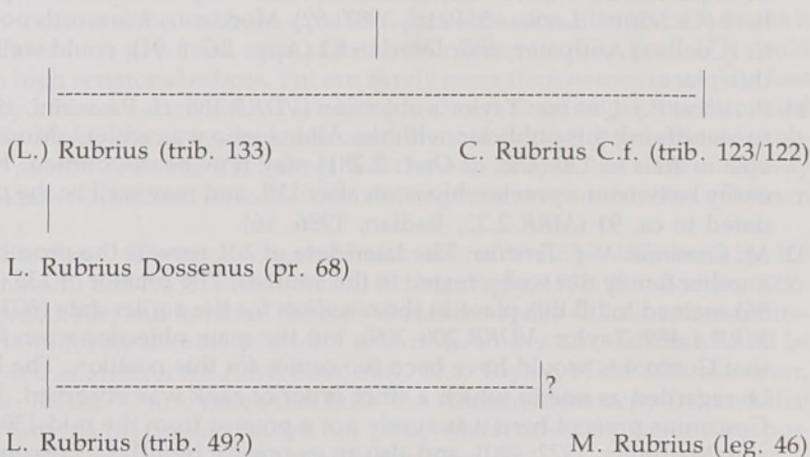
- 3 *M. Pupius M.f. Scaptia*: A comparatively rare name, which probably indicates that this person is one and the same as the Pupius who adopted Calpurnius Piso Frugi, later consul in 61 (Willems, *SRR* 1.700; Passerini, 1937: 266; Petzl, 1987: 61). Mattingly (1972: 421) argued that Pupius' praetorship should be dated to shortly after 120, hence born about 160 and a coeval of Cn. Aufidius, father of the consul of 71, and Q. Mucius Scaevola (cos. 117). M. Pupius is likely to have been the senior *praetorius* present (cf. Broughton, *MRR* 3.176, who considers that his praetorship dates to before 129).
- 4 *C. Cornelius M.f. Stellatina*: Taylor (VDRR 207) postulated a son of M. Cornelius Cethegus (cos. 160) (cf. Willems, *SRR* 1.701; Petzl, 1987:61), but that he was a praetor before 129. C. Cornelius must certainly have been a *praetorius*, but his praetorship should be dated to roughly the same time as that of Pupius. It is therefore possible that he was the father of a *monetalis*, dated to 115 or 114 by Crawford (*RRC* 1.302–303, no. 288), and father or uncle of the influential P. Cethegus (Cic. *Brut* 178). Mommsen (*GS*<sup>2</sup> 8.351) thought that this politician's *praenomen* excluded him from a patrician *gens* and, although a misplaced assumption, this does open the way for the possibility that this was a plebeian Cornelius, and a relative of the tribune defended by Cicero (Ascon. 57–59C; *MRR* 2.122, 2.144).
- 5 *L. Memmius C.f. Menenia*: Taylor (VDRR 233–234) believed that this Memmius cannot have been the legate of ca. 112, on the basis of the earlier date for the decree. Sumner (*Orators* 87) held that he must have been praetor before 129 and was a son of the praetor of 172. While there is no reason to doubt Memmius' affiliation, he could easily have been born later than Sumner's proposed date, and could have been about the same age as Pupius and Cornelius. He might well have been born after the death of a homonymous son by an earlier marriage. Generations in families do not recur with mathematical precision, and lengthy intervals between family members who achieved high office are not uncommon (Evans, *LCM* 10 [1985] 76). Memmius, a senior ex-*praetor* by 101, was either an elder brother of the consular candidate in 100 (Cic. *Brut.* 136) or more likely his uncle (cf. Sumner, *Orator* 87). L. Memmius, moneyer between 110 and 108, would have been his son or nephew, and the politician charged with *maiestas* before the Varian *quaestio* in 90 (Gruen, *RPCC* 217).



- thought that *Oufentina* should be identified as the voting tribe of the consular Annii, there is no concrete evidence for this view. Note also L. Annii (Sall. *Iug* 37.1), a tribune in 110, possibly a son of L. Annii C.f. Pol. (Sherk, *RDGE* 56), C. Annii C.f. Cam. (Sherk, *RDGE* 56) and a M. Annii, quaestor 120/119 (*MRR* 1.526 and n. 2–3). The Annii, not attested in the senate before the consul of 153 (Badian, 1990: 378), clearly proliferate in this period.
- 9 C. *Sempronius C.f. Falerna*: Taylor (*VDRR* 253) was obliged to argue that this politician, an ex-praetor, was a Longus since the earlier date excluded C. Sempronius Tuditanus (cos. 129). The later date removes this hurdle and shows that the next generation of Sempronii Tuditani was represented in the praetorship (Willems, *SRR* 1.706) and probably failed to win a consulship because of the iterations of Marius (*Plut. Mar.* 14.7).
- 10 C. *Coelius C.f. Aemilia*: Taylor (*VDRR* 199) believed that this politician was a 'Caelius' but, while the Smyrna copy of the decree is incomplete at this juncture (Mommsen, *GS*<sup>2</sup> 8.350), the copy from Adramyttium is quite specific with 'Κοῦλιος' (Sherk, *RDGE* 65). Although Badian (1986: 16) has expressed misgivings about regarding this senator as C. Coelius Caldus (cos. 94) since a Coelius Antipater is a definite alternative, he does consider it likely that the former fills this place in the *consilium*. Caldus' consular colleague, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, is placed at (33), which poses some difficulties with this hypothesis, though the less than uniform nature of the senatorial *cursus* in the second century makes it possible for two politicians of similar age to have wide variations in their careers. Still, C. Coelius C.f. follows and is followed by putative *praetorii*, and Caldus is usually deemed to have been praetor in 99 (*MRR* 2.1), thus a Coelius Antipater should be preferred here (Cichorius, *Lucilius* 5; Petzl, 1987: 62). Moreover, it is worth noting that C. (Coelius) Antipater, murdered in 82 (*App. BC.* 1.91), could well occupy this place.
- 11 P. *Albius P.f. Quirina*: Taylor's objection (*VDRR* 188; cf. Passerini, 1937: 267) to identifying this politician with the Albius who was with Q. Mucius Scaevola in Asia in 120 (*Cic. de Orat.* 2.281) may now be discounted. He could easily have won a praetorship soon after 110, and may well be the *praetorius* dated to ca. 91 (*MRR* 2.23; Badian, 1986: 16).
- 12 M. *Cosconius M.f. Teretina*: The later date of 101 reveals the prominence of another family not well attested in the sources. The praetor of 135 (*Liv. Per.* 56) seemed to fill this place in the *consilium* for the earlier date (*IGRP* 4.134; *MRR* 1.489; Taylor, *VDRR* 208–209), but the main objection even for 129 is that Cosconius would have been too senior for this position. The list must be regarded as one in which a strict order of rank was observed. Thus the Cosconius present here was surely not a praetor from the mid-130s but his son (Mattingly, 1972: 420), and also an ex-praetor by 101. L. Cosconius M.f., one of the *curatores denariorum flandorum*, involved in the foundation of Narbo Martius between 118 and 114 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.298, no. 282: 'L. COSCO'; *MRR* 3.77, 3.118) should be recognized as a brother. The C. Cosconius, a legate or praetor, mentioned by Diodorus (37.2.8), is likely to have been a third brother (*MRR* 3.77; Mattingly, *RAN* 5 [1972] 15).

- 13 *P. Gessius P.f. Arnensis*: As Taylor notes (VDRR 218), the only senatorial Gessius in the republican period (MRR 2.571). Probably a *novus homo*, and either a recent ex-praetor or perhaps the first of the *aedilicii*. For Forum Clodii as his possible origin see Badian (*Historia* 12 [1963] 134).
- 14 *L. Afinius L.f. Oufentina*: The two Afinii present on this list are the only two senators of this name known for the Republic, but they are not related (Taylor, VDRR 187; MRR 2.528). This Afinius, like Gessius above, was either a *praetorius* or an ex-aedile.
- 15 *C. Rubrius C.f. Poblilia* (Taylor, VDRR 251; Petzl, 1987: 62): Advocates of the earlier date assumed that this Rubrius had been tribune in 133 (App. BC. 1.14; Taylor, VDRR 251) and was an ex-praetor by 129 (MRR 3.182: '*Senator in 129*'). However, C. Rubrius, tribune in 123 or 122, should now be regarded as the politician here, and a brother or cousin of the trib. 133 who has no attested *praenomen*. By 101 he was an ex-aedile or possibly a *praetorius*, and is surely to be identified as the C. Rubrius C.f. Pop. who died in Lycaonia, a region which became a part of the province of Asia (*AEpig* [1941] 148; *ILLRP* 341; W. M. Ramsey, 'Early History of Province Galatia', in *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, ed. W. M. Calder & Josef Keil, Manchester 1939, 223–224; Hassall *et alii*, 1974: 202, 211). The tribune of 133 could be the father of L. Rubrius Dossenus, moneyer in 87 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.362–363, no. 348; MRR 3.183) who was a praetor in 68. Note also a possible Rubrius ('LR'), moneyer about 116 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.299–300, no. 283).

## [Rubrius]



- 16 *C. Licinius C.f. Teretina*: Not a Licinius Crassus as suggested by Taylor (VDRR 225), but almost certainly to be identified as C. Licinius Nerva, whose tribunate may be dated to between 120 and 110 (Willems, *SRR* 1.704; Sumner, *Orators* 75; MRR 3.124). There are no firm grounds for supposing, following

Sumner, that Nerva was one of the thirty-two senators expelled by the censors in 115 (Liv. *Per.* 62), and by 101 he could have been an ex-aedile. The date of his tribunate suggests that he was an elder brother of P. Nerva, *mon.* ca. 113 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.306–307, no. 292; *MRR* 3.124) and praetor about 104. Cicero has nothing good to say about C. Nerva (*Brut.* 129: 'Civis improbus ... non indisertus fuit') which implies that he had indulged in demagogic activities.

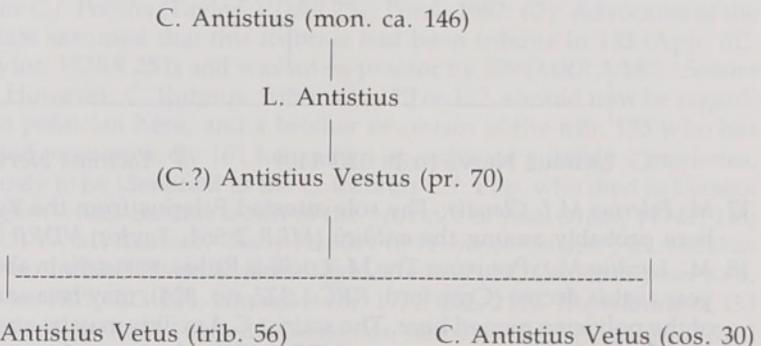
## C. Licinius Nerva (pr. 143/142)

C. Licinius Nerva (trib. 120–110)

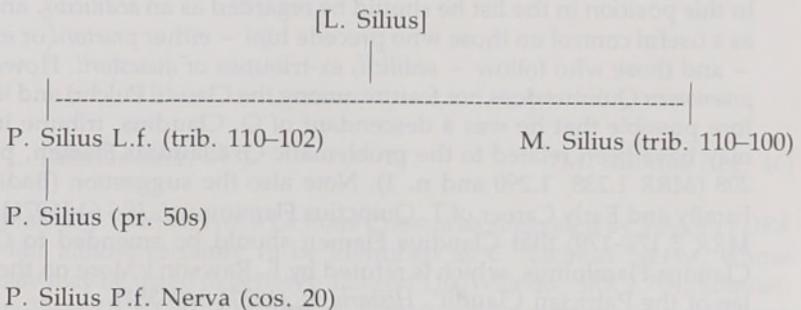
P. Licinius Nerva (pr. 104?)

- 17 *M. Falerius M.f. Claudia*: The sole attested Falerius from the Republic, and here probably among the *aedilicii* (*MRR* 2.564; Taylor, *VDRR* 213).
- 18 *M'. Lucilius M.f. Pomptina*: The M. Lucilius Rufus, *monetalis* in about the same year as this decree (Crawford, *RRC* 1.327, no. 324), may be a son or nephew of the politician named here. The satirist C. Lucilius may be a relative, since his brother was also a senator (*MRR* 3.129) whose son became tribune in 53. However, the preponderance of the *praenomen* Gaius suggests a distant family connection only.
- 19 *L. Filius L.f. Horatia*: Another name attested nowhere else in the republican period (*MRR* 2.565; Taylor, *VDRR* 213–214).
- 20 *C. Didius C.f. Quirina*: T. Didius T.f. Sex.n. was consul in 98 and a *novus homo* and, therefore, not a close relative of this politician. C. Didius C.f. must have been an ex-aedile and is likely to have been a son of the tribune dated to about 143. The *praenomen* of this tribune is not known (Macrob. *Sat.* 3.17.6; *MRR* 1.472 and n. 4; cf. Münzer, *RE* Didius no. 1), but he cannot have been the father of the cos. 98 as claimed by Broughton.
- 21 *Q. Claudius Ap.f. Pollia*: A Patrician Claudius Pulcher, perhaps a son of the cos. 143, and a brother of C. Pulcher (cos. 92) and Ap. Pulcher (cos. 79). *Pollia* may be an error for *Palatina* (Taylor, *VDRR* 203–204; Petzl, 1987: 62). In this position in the list he should be regarded as an *aedilicius*, and so acts as a useful control on those who precede him – either *praetorii* or ex-aediles – and those who follow – *aedilicii*, ex-tribunes or *quaestorii*. However, the *praenomen* Quintus does not feature among the Claudii Pulchri and it is therefore possible that he was a descendant of Q. Claudius, tribune in 218, or may have been related to the problematic Q. Claudius Flamen, praetor in 208 (*MRR* 1.238, 1.290 and n. 1). Note also the suggestion (Badian, 'The Family and Early Career of T. Quinctius Flamininus', *JRS* 61 [1971] 107–108; *MRR* 3.178–179) that Claudius Flamen should be emended to Quinctius Claudus Flamininus, which is refuted by E. Rawson ('More on the Clientelae of the Patrician Claudii', *Historia* 26 [1977] 349–351).

- 22 *L. Antistius C.f. Menenia*: Antistii are recorded among the middle ranks of the senate from earliest times (*MRR* 2.530). Two appear in this *consilium*, but are from quite separate families. *L. Antistius* was possibly the son of the moneyer dated by Crawford (*RRC* 1.257–258, no. 219; *MRR* 3.17) to 146. In the first century the Antistii Veteres achieved a certain prominence in public life; their favoured *praenomina* Lucius and Gaius may indicate that they were descendants of this politician, present in the senate in 101 (Petzl, 1987: 62).

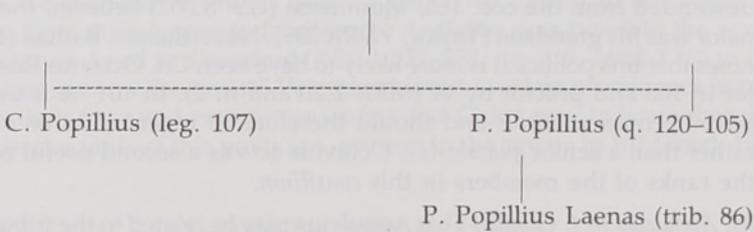


- 23 *Sp. Carvilius L.f. Sabatina*: Carviliii won consulships in the third century: 293, 272, 234 and 228. This politician may be a descendant, related also to *Sp. Carvilius*, tribune in 212, and to a legate of the same name in 171 (*MRR* 2.543; Taylor, *VDRR* 201). Cicero (*de Orat* 2.61, 249) mentions a certain *Sp. Carvilius*, who may be this senator.
- 24 *P. Silius L.f. Galeria*: Two Silii (M. and P.) are attested as tribunes of uncertain date (*MRR* 1.307). The position of this Silius, probably now among the *tribunicii*, would allow identification with one of these, or a relative since few Silii are known in the republican period (*MRR* 2.621; Taylor, *VDRR* 255). The *lex Silia de ponderibus publicis* may therefore belong to this decade (Fest. 288L; *FIRA* 3; G. Niccolini, *I Fasti dei tribuni della plebe*, Milan 1924, 394). *P. Silius* (Nerva), praetor in the 50s (*MRR* 3.199), and *P. Silius P.f. Nerva* (cos. 20) could be his descendants.



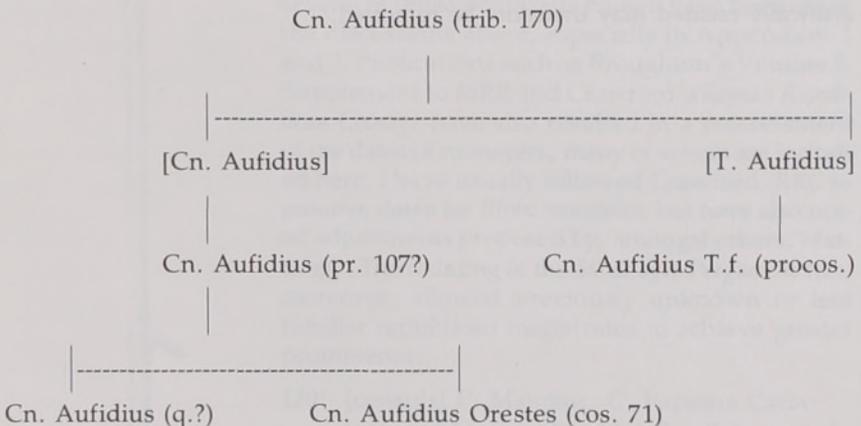
- 25 *Cn. Octavius L.f. Aemilia*: On the basis that all the senatorial Octavii were descended from the *cos.* 165, Mommsen (*GS*<sup>2</sup> 8.352) believed that this senator was his grandson (Taylor, *VDRR* 239). Nevertheless, Badian (1990: 406) notes that this politician is more likely to have been *Cn. Octavius Ruso*, quaestor in 105 and praetor by 91 (*MRR* 2.20 and n. 2). In 101 he is unlikely to have been an *aedilicius* and should therefore be regarded as an ex-tribune rather than a senior *quaestorius*. Octavius acts as a second useful control on the ranks of the members in this *consilium*.
- 26 *M. Appuleius M.f. Camilia*: This Appuleius may be related to the tribune Saturninus, though Marcus is not noted as a *praenomen* in Saturninus' family (Taylor, *VDRR* 192). The brothers *Sex. Appuleius Sex.f.* (*cos.* 29) and *M. Appuleius Sex.f.* (*cos.* 20) may be relatives of this senator who, in 101, was surely an ex-tribune or *quaestorius*. For the consular Appuleii see G. V. Sumner ('The *Lex Annalis* under Caesar', *Phoenix* 25 [1971] 362).
- 27 *L. Afinius L.f. Lemonia*: Not related to (14) and probably a senior *quaestorius* or ex-tribune in 101.
- 28 *C. Nautius Q.f. Veturia*: The Nautii were an old patrician family with long representation in the senate (*MRR* 2.594). This Nautius is probably a descendant, though Taylor (*VDRR* 237) postulates an 'isolated example of a plebeian Nautius'. At this place in the *consilium* Nautius is more likely to have been a *quaestorius* than an ex-aedile and is therefore another control over the status of the members listed.
- 29 *C. Numitorius C.f. Lemonia*: Mattingly (1972: 420), following Mommsen (*GS*<sup>2</sup> 8.352), proposed that this was the politician murdered in 87 (*App. BC.* 1.72), a son of the moneyer of the same name dated by Crawford to the late 130s (*RRC* 1.277–278, no. 246). He may be related to fifth-century Numitorii, and should be regarded as an ex-quaestor here.
- 30 *L. Cornelius M.f. Romilia*: If not a patrician, then perhaps a relative of the tribune of 67, *C. Cornelius* (Taylor, *VDRR* 207; *MRR* 3.18).
- 31 *Cn. Pompeius Cn.f. Crustumina*: Mommsen (*GS*<sup>2</sup> 8.352; Willems, *SRR* 1.706) suggested that this Pompeius was an uncle of *Cn. Strabo* (*cos.* 89), though it would be more attractive to assume that the filiation is wrong and that this is Strabo himself, quaestor about 106, and in exactly the right position in the *consilium* as a *quaestorius*. However, in the face of the firm epigraphic evidence, Mommsen's identification should stand, especially since Strabo is now credited with a tribunate in ca. 104 (*MRR* 3.165–166; Badian, *Klio* 66 (1984) 306–309).
- 32 *P. Popillius P.f. Teretina*: An ex-quaestor here, and surely the son of the consul of 132 as suggested by Passerini (1937: 269; Mattingly, 1972: 419), and a brother of *C. Popillius Laenas*, legate in 107. However, he was not necessarily the elder brother since his father's filiation is '*C.f. P.n.*' (Badian, 1990: 381). The *P. Popillius Laenas* attested as tribune in 86 was probably his son.

## P. Popillius C.f. P.n. Laenas (cos. 132)



- 33 *L. Domitius Cn.f. Fabia*: This politician is unquestionably the younger son of the consul of 122 and consul himself in 94. In 101 he was ranked as a *quaestorius*, having held this office between 106 and 104 (Mattingly, 1972: 419).
- 34 *M. Munius M.f. Lemonia*: Although Mattingly (1972: 419) urged acceptance of a 'mixed *consilium*' consisting of both senators and *equites*, the more junior members named here (35–53) could all easily have been ex-magistrates (Sherk, *RDGE* 69–71) of recent quaestorian status; and some of these may be identified. Quaestors who held office in 103 and 102 would have gained admission to the senatorial order during the census of Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus and C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius. M. Munius possesses a name recorded nowhere else in the Republic (*MRR* 2.594; Taylor, *VDRR* 236–237), but see Val. Max. 9.1.8, for a possible relative.
- 35 *Q. Popillius P.f. Romilia*: Not a relative of the earlier Popillius (32) (Taylor, *VDRR* 247).
- 36 *Q. Laberius L.f. Maecia*: Two other Laberii are attested for the republican period, trib. mil. 258 and 54 (*MRR* 2.225, 2.578). The name, obviously rare, may indicate that a family connection existed.
- 37 *C. Herennius*: This must be either a brother of M. Herennius M.f., consul in 93, or a son of C. Herennius, Marius' patron (Plut. *Mar.* 5.4). The name is sufficiently uncommon (*MRR* 2.572) for a familial link to be advanced with some confidence (cf. Badian, 1963: 134, who has doubts about whether this Herennius was a relative of the cos. 93. See also 1990: 405).
- 38 *M. Serrius M.f.*: Assumed to have been an error for 'Sergius' (Passerini, 1937: 270; *MRR* 2.617). M. Sergius Silus, who issued coinage as quaestor ca. 116 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.302, no. 286; *MRR* 3.193) could occupy this place, though at (42) a younger politician is perhaps indicated.
- 39 *L. Genucius L.f. Teretina*: A descendant of earlier Genucii who feature among the senate, and in particular of L. Genucius, leg. 210 (Passerini, 1937: 271; *MRR* 1.281).
- 40 *L. Plaetorius L.f. Papiria*: The Plaetorii, possibly a single family, are attested in the senate at this time (*MRR* 2.601; Taylor, *VDRR* 243). This junior figure is perhaps a brother of M. Plaetorius who died in the Sullan proscriptions (*MRR* 2.494), and father of the *monetalis* dated to 74 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.408, no. 396; *MRR* 3.157). M. Plaetorius M.f. Cestianus, praetor in the 60s (*MRR* 3.157), could be a relative.

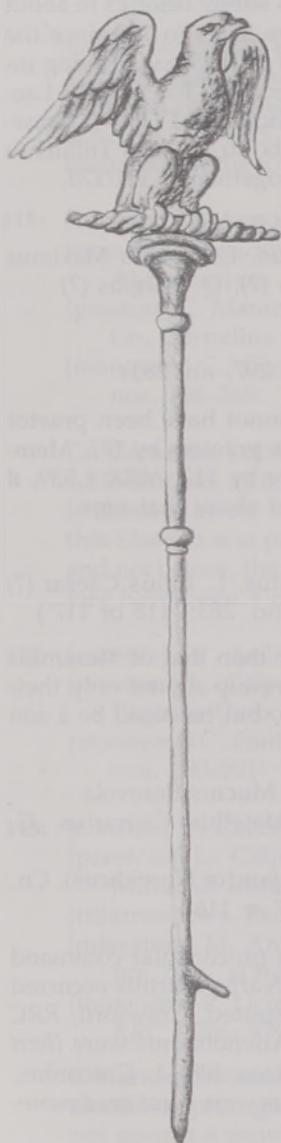
- 41 *M. Lollius Q.f. Menenia*: Various Lollii achieved political prominence in the first century and during the early Principate. M. Lollius Palicanus, praetor about 69, who was possibly a consular candidate in 67 (Val. Max. 3.8.3) and again in 64 (Cic. *Att.* 1.1.1; Broughton, *Candidates* 27; Evans, *Acta Classica* 34 [1991] 121, 130 and n. 64, 135) may be a son of the Lollius listed here, as suggested by Passerini (1937: 271; Syme, *RR* 362 and n. 3). However, note that the M. [----] f. Pop. Pallacinus on the *SC de Panamara* (Sherk, *RDGE* 158–169) might be a son of the praetor, though Badian (1963: 137) suggests instead M. Quinctius M.f. Pop./Pol. Plancinus.
- 42 *...ilius Sex.f. Camilia*: Badian (1963: 132) noted that *Camilia* may have been the voting tribe of the Atilii Serrani, and identified this young senator as 'Sex. Atilius', a son of Sex. Atilius Serranus (cos. 136) (Petzl, 1987: 64). The later date would appear to preclude this possibility, but he may have been related to the consul of 106, C. Atilius Serranus, and the tribune of 57. Passerini (1937: 271; Münzer, *RE Lucilius* no. 15–16) thought that this senator might have been a Sex. Lucilius (trib. 87).
- 43 *Cn. Aufidius*: This could very well have been the natural son of Cn. Aufidius, the senator who later adopted L. Aurelius Orestes (cos. 71). A very recent quaestor in 101, born soon after 130, which fits comfortably with the elder Aufidius' career. The premature death of the son would account for the adoption of an Orestes during the 90s. As Syme (*Historia* 4 [1955] 55–56) suggested, all second-century Aufidii belonged to the same family. The elder Aufidius may have governed Asia as proconsul in the last decade of the second century (*IG* 12.5.722; *MRR* 1.551 and n. 2, 553; *MRR* 3.29–30). Note also a Cn. Aufidius T.f., praetor or proconsul at Rhegium before 100 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 3 715; *MRR* 3.29).



- 44 *L. Antistius*: Possibly a son of L. Antistius Gragulus, moneyer about 135 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.269–270, no. 238).

The first senator in the *consilium* of the *Senatus Consultum de agro Pergameno* is probably a senior *consularis* followed by another ex-consul, about twelve *praetorii* (3–14), twelve *aedilicii* or ex-tribunes (15–26) and twenty-nine *quaestorii* (27–55). The large number of junior ex-officials is not remarkable, however, for with at least twelve, and possibly fourteen, quaestors and ten tribunes elected annually, who also gained no higher magistracies, the membership of the *consilium* fairly reflects the composition of the Roman senate at the end of the second century. Moreover, the opportunity for *pedarii* to acquire fame and prominence must have been slight; to be noted as contributing to an important decree, such as that promulgated in 101, undoubtedly had its attractions.

This discussion has also postulated a connection between several of the politicians present at that time with others who may be their descendants and who subsequently won major senatorial offices. It seems highly improbable that politicians who later achieved eminent places in public life should all have emerged from utterly obscure backgrounds. This examination has illustrated the possibility, therefore, that some first-century politicians had relations among the senate, who would otherwise have remained unattested but for the survival of this inscription. Badian (1986: 16) was surely right to highlight the fact that the majority of the politicians in this *consilium* are historical unknowns, but is incorrect in assuming that from M. Cosconius (12) 'not one person is securely identifiable'. Nonetheless, though he might regard it as 'facile prosopography' to endeavour to shed more light on these politicians, it has been possible to offer in some cases a tentative suggestion, in others a rather more firm proposal, for a historical figure. The acceptance of the earlier date for this decree had the negative effect of casting most of the senatorial witnesses present into a vacuum beyond the intricate relationships they must have possessed with known political figures, families and careers. Many of the obstacles which have been artificially created may therefore be removed.



## APPENDIX 3

### *Magistrates in the Period 120–86 BC*

The following chronological list, with notes, contains a number of tentative magisterial dates. However, these deserve to be adumbrated because several of those politicians named have featured in the discussions above, especially in Appendices 1 and 2. Publications such as Broughton's Volume 3, Supplement to *MRR* and Crawford's *Roman Republican Coinage* have also resulted in a reassessment of the dates of moneyers, many of whom are included here. I have usually followed Crawford, *RRC* in putative dates for *Illviri monetales*, but have also noted adjustments proposed by, amongst others, Mattingly. The redating of the *SC de agro Pergameno* has, moreover, allowed previously unknown or less familiar republican magistrates to achieve greater prominence.

**120:** [consuls] P. Manilius, C. Papirius Carbo  
[censors] Q. Caecilius Metellus Baliaricus, L.  
Calpurnius Piso Frugi

[praetors] L. Caecilius Metellus Diadematus (?), M. Pupius (?), C. Cornelius  
<Cethegus> (?)

[tribunes] P. Decius Subulo, L. Calpurnius Bestia

[moneysers] M. Tullius, M. Papirius Carbo

Pupius appears probably as the senior ex-praetor on the *SC de agro Pergameno* and his praetorship like that of Cornelius surely belongs to about this time. I have assumed that Bestia's tribunate dates to 120 since the civil disorder in 121 occurred in the second half of the year, leaving insufficient time for this tribune to pass his law recalling P. Popillius Laenas (cos. 132) from exile, *MRR* 1.524 and n. 3; Niccolini, *FTP* 174. Crawford, *RRC* 1.295–297, nos. 276 & 280, dates Carbo to 122 and Tullius to 120; cf. Mattingly, 1982: 40, who places them together in 121/120.

- 119: [consuls] L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus, L. Aurelius Cotta  
[praetors] M. Aemilius Scaurus, Sex. Pompeius, Q. Fabius Maximus  
Eburnus, C. Licinius Geta (?), L. Memmius (?), Q. Valgius (?)  
[tribunes] C. Marius  
[quaestors] M. Annius  
[moneysers] M. Furius Philus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.297, no. 281)

Since Scaurus' aedileship belongs to 121, he cannot have been praetor before 119. Memmius and Valgius were senior ex-praetors by 101. Memmius was already a senior member of the senate by 112, *MRR* 1.539, if he is to be identified with the legate to Egypt at about that time.

- 118: [consuls] M. Porcius Cato, Q. Marcius Rex  
[praetors] P. Rutilius Rufus, M. Caecilius Metellus, L. Iulius Caesar (?)  
[moneysers] Q. Marcius (Crawford, *RRC* 1.299, no. 283: '118 or 117')

The praetorship of Caesar dates to slightly later than that of Memmius and Valgius. Marcius' colleagues in the moneysership signed only their initials 'CF' and 'LR' and remain unidentifiable, but he could be a son of the consul in this year.

- 117: [consuls] L. Caecilius Metellus Diadematus, Q. Mucius Scaevola  
[praetors] M'. Acilius Balbus, C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius, C.  
Porcius Cato (?)  
[moneysers] M. Calidius, Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (or Numidicus), Cn.  
Fulvius (Crawford, *RRC* 1.300, no. 284: '117 or 116')

E. Badian, *Historia* 42 (1993) 203–210, suggests a proconsular command in Sicily for Cato in this year. The foundation of Narbo Martius occurred between 118 and 114; and the date remains disputed, Crawford, *RRC* 1.71–73. L. Licinius Crassus and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus were *Ilviri col. deduc.*, their colleagues, M. Aurelius Scaurus (cos. 108), L. Cosconius, C. Malleolus, L. Pomponius and L. Porcius Licinus were *curatores denarium flandorum*.

- 116: [consuls] C. Licinius Geta, Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus  
 [praetors] M. Livius Drusus, M. Iunius Silanus (?), Cn. Papirius Carbo (?)  
 [quaestors] M. Sergius Silus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.302, no. 286: '116 or 115')  
 [moneyers] Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Q. Curtius, M. Iunius Silanus  
 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.300–301, no. 285: '116 or 115')

Since I suggested above that Decius Subulo was probably *Pr. Urbanus* in 115 and that Marius served as the peregrine praetor or president of the extortion court, the praetorship of Drusus more probably belongs to 116 (*Cic. Att.* 7.2.8; cf. *MRR* 1.532). Silanus is perhaps more likely to have been a son of the cos. 109 than the consul himself; cf. Crawford, *RRC* 1.301.

- 115: [consuls] M. Aemilius Scaurus, M. Caecilius Metellus  
 [censors] L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus (or Diadematus), Cn. Domitius  
 Ahenobarbus  
 [praetors] C. Marius, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (?), P. Decius Subulo,  
 Cn. Cornelius Sisenna (?)  
 [moneyers] C.? Cornelius Cethegus, M. Cippius (Crawford, *RRC* 1.302–304,  
 nos. 288–289: '115 or 114')

Cn Cornelius L.f. Sisenna, mon. in the period 118–107 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.318–319, no. 310), can hardly be the politician whose praetorship is usually dated to about 119, *MRR* 373. However, Mattingly, 1982: 43, suggests that Sisenna was praetor in 116/5, and that he governed Macedonia after, and not before, the consul Fabius Maximus Eburnus. Sisenna could therefore have been a moneyer in ca. 119 and a praetor four years later.

- 114: [consuls] M'. Acilius Balbus, C. Porcius Cato  
 [praetors] L. Calpurnius Bestia (?), P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (?), M.  
 Papirius Carbo  
 [moneyers] C. Fonteius, M'. Aemilius Lepidus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.304–306,  
 nos. 290–291: '114 or 113')

- 113: [consuls] C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius, Cn. Papirius Carbo  
 [praetors] L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, Sp. Postumius Albinus (?), M.  
 Minucius Rufus (?)  
 [tribunes] Sex. Peducaeus  
 [quaestors] M. Antonius, L. Manlius Torquatus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.308,  
 no. 295: '113 or 112')  
 [moneyers] P. Licinius Nerva, L. Marcius Philippus, T. Didius (Crawford,  
*RRC* 1.306–308, nos. 292–294: '113 or 112')

If Marius governed Hispania Ulterior after his praetorship and his command was prorogued, Piso would have replaced him in 112. If Marius did not govern a province or spent less than a year abroad, Piso's praetorship could be dated to either 114 or 113, *MRR* 3.48; Sumner, *Orators* 72.

- 112: [consuls] M. Livius Drusus, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus  
 [praetors] Ser. Sulpicius Galba (?), Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (?)  
 [tribunes] Sp. Thorius (?)  
 [moneyers] Cn. Cornelius Blasio, T. Quinctius Flamininus, L. Caesius,  
 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.309–312, nos. 296–298: ‘112 or 111’)

Sulpicius Galba succeeded Piso Frugi in Spain in 112 or 111. The date of Thorius’ tribunate is unattested, but is assumed to have been within a year or two of 111, *MRR* 3.205, since his legislation, replaced by the *lex agraria* of 111, had only a short life. The moneyer L. Thorius Balbus, dated to 105, should probably be regarded as a brother, Crawford, *RRC* 1.323. L. Caesius moneyer in 112/111 will surely have been the man hailed as *imperator* in Hispania Ulterior in 104, *MRR* 3.44.

- 111: [consuls] P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, L. Calpurnius Bestia  
 [praetors] A. Postumius Albinus (?), L. Cassius Longinus, M. Aurelius  
 Scaurus (?), Q./L.? Hortensius (?)  
 [tribunes] C. Memmius, C. Baebius  
 [quaestors] P. Sextius  
 [moneyers] Ap. Claudius [Pulcher], T. Manlius Mancinus (Crawford, *RRC*  
 1.312–313, no. 299: ‘111 or 110’)

- 110: [consuls] M. Minucius Rufus, Sp. Postumius Albinus  
 [praetors] C. Atilius Serranus (?), C. Flavius Fimbria (?), C. Annius (?),  
 A. Manlius (?)  
 [tribunes] P. Lucullus, L. Annius  
 [quaestors] L. Licinius Crassus (?), Q. Mucius Scaevola (?)  
 [moneyers] C. Claudius Pulcher, P. Porcius Laeca (Crawford, *RRC* 1.313–  
 314, nos. 300–301: ‘110 or 109’)

The praetorships of Serranus and Fimbria were probably earlier than the dates proposed by Broughton (*MRR* 1.545, 551: ‘latest possible date’) since they possibly received *repulsae* before they won the consulship. Manlius was moneyer between 118 and 107 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.318), but he was also Marius’ senior legate in 107 and, hence, likely to have been an ex-praetor by that year. Annius, eighth on the *SC de agro Pergameno* is also likely to have held a praetorship about this time.

- 109: [consuls] Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, M. Iunius Silanus  
 [censors] M. Aemilius Scaurus, M. Livius Drusus  
 [praetors] Q. Servilius Caepio, Q. Lutatius Catulus (?), Cn. Cornelius  
 Scipio (?)  
 [tribunes] C. Mamilius Limetanus  
 [quaestors] C. Servilius Glaucia (?), Q. Lutatius Cerco (Crawford, *RRC*  
 1.315, no. 305: ‘109 or 108’)  
 [moneyers] L. Flaminius Chilo, M’. Aquillius, L. Memmius (Crawford,  
*RRC* 1.314–315, nos. 302–304: ‘109 or 108’)

If Glaucia held a quaestorship, this must date to before 108 since the censor Metellus Numidicus tried to have him expelled from the senate in 102, App. BC. 1.28. He may, however, have gained senatorial status as a tribune in about 104.

- 108: [consuls] Ser. Sulpicius Galba, M. Aurelius Scaurus  
 [censors] Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus, C. Licinius Geta  
 [praetors] Cn. Mallius Maximus (?)  
 [quaestors] C. Claudius Pulcher (?)  
 [moneyers] L. Valerius Flaccus, M'. Fonteius, M. Herennius (Crawford, RRC 1.316–318, nos. 306–308: '108 or 107')
- Pulcher's *elogium* accords him a quaestorship prior to a moneyership, MRR 3.57. Crawford dates his moneyership to 110 or 109, but Mattingly, 1982: 44, prefers 106. His quaestorship dates, therefore, to either 112/111 or 108/7.
- 107: [consuls] L. Cassius Longinus, C. Marius  
 [praetors] Cn. Aufidius (?)  
 [tribunes] C. Coelius Caldus, T. Manlius Mancinus, L. Licinius Crassus  
 [quaestors] L. Cornelius Sulla
- 106: [consuls] Q. Servilius Caepio, C. Atilius Serranus  
 [praetors] M'. Sergius (?), C. Billienus (?), L. Aurelius Orestes (?), Q. Fabius Labeo (?), T. Albucius (?)  
 [tribunes] Q. Mucius Scaevola  
 [quaestors] Cn. Pompeius Strabo (?)  
 [moneyers] L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes, C. Sulpicius, L. Memmius Gal. (Crawford, RRC 1.319–321, nos. 311–313)
- Sergius is attested as proconsul in Hispania Citerior in the late second century. Labeo is also known to have served in the same province as 'procos', Wiseman, 1970: 140 n. 150; Richardson, *Hispaniae* 166–167, and should be identified as one and the same as the *monetalis* of ca. 120. Billienus must have been a praetor about 106 in order to be a consular candidate one or more times between 104 and 101, Cic. *Brut.* 175. The quaestorship of Pompeius Strabo, formerly dated to ca. 104, is now dated to about 106, MRR 3. 165–166; Badian, *Klio* 66 (1984) 306–309. Albucius' praetorship presumably belongs to the same year, cf. MRR 3.14. C. Sulpicius was possibly a son of the pontifex who fell foul of the *quaestio Mamiliiana* in 109, Crawford, RRC 1. 320, no. 312. However, Mattingly, 1975: 264–265, has also postulated that he may have been a brother of the tribune P. Sulpicius.
- 105: [consuls] P. Rutilius Rufus, Cn. Mallius Maximus  
 [praetors] P. Albius (?), C. Sempronius <Tuditanus> (?), C. Coelius Antipater (?)  
 [tribunes] C. Servilius Glaucia (?)  
 [quaestors] Cn. Octavius Ruso, Cn. Servilius Caepio (?)

[moneyers] L. Aurelius Cotta, L. Hostilius Tubulus, L. Thorius Balbus  
(Crawford, *RRC* 1.321–323, nos. 314–316)

C. Sempronius C.f. <Tuditanus> is a certain *praetorius* by 101 and, therefore, likely to have been a consular candidate during the period of Marius' iterated consulships. C. Coelius who appears tenth on the *SC de agro Pergameno* may have been an Antipater with a praetorship some years before 101. Albius may have been quaestor soon after 120, and surely a praetor by this year since he appears as eleventh on the *SC de agro Pergameno*. The date of Glaucia's tribunate remains uncertain, *MRR* 3.196, but the *lex Servilia repetundarum* may well date to 105/4, B. Levick, 'Acerbissima Lex Servilia', *CR* 17 (1967) 256–258; Mattingly, 1970: 163; 1975: 259–260; 1983: 302.

- 104: [consuls] C. Marius, C. Flavius Fimbria  
[praetors] L. Caesius, P. Licinius Nerva, L. Licinius Lucullus, C. Memmius  
(?), M'. Aquillius (?)  
[tribunes] L. Cassius Longinus, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, L. Marcius  
Philippus (?), Clodius (?), Cn. Pompeius Strabo (?)  
[quaestors] L. Appuleius Saturninus  
[moneyers] C. Coelius Caldus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.324, no. 318)

Caesius was probably a praetor in 104, though attested only as 'IMP.' in that year. Pompeius Strabo is now credited with a tribunate in about this year, *MRR* 3. 166; Badian, *Klio* 66 (1984) 306–309. Caldus is dated by Crawford to 104; cf. Mattingly, 1982: 45, who favours 101, the year before his praetorship.

- 103: [consuls] C. Marius, L. Aurelius Orestes  
[praetors] L. Valerius Flaccus, M. Cosconius (?), P. Gessius (?),  
L. Afinius (?)  
[tribunes] L. Appuleius Saturninus, T. Didius, L. Aurelius Cotta (?),  
M. Baebius Tamphilus (?), C. Norbanus, L. (Antistius) Reginus  
[moneyers] Q. Minucius Thermus, L. Iulius Caesar (Crawford, *RRC*  
1.324–325, nos. 319–320)

Cosconius, Gessius and Afinius are all likely to have been fairly recent ex-praetors by 101. See Appendix 2.

- 102: [consuls] C. Marius, Q. Lutatius Catulus  
[censors] Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius  
[praetors] M. Antonius, M. Marius (?), C. Servilius  
[aediles] P. Licinius Crassus (?)  
[tribunes] A. Pompeius  
[quaestors] L. (Veturius) Philo, A. Gabinius  
[moneyers] L. Cassius Caecianus, C. Fabius Hadrianus (Crawford, *RRC*  
1.325–326, nos. 321–322)

- 101: [consuls] C. Marius, M'. Aquillius  
 [praetors] T. Didius, Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, L. Licinius Murena (?)  
 [quaestors] C. Fundanius (?)  
 [moneyers] L. Appuleius Saturninus, L. Iulius, M. Lucilius Rufus (*RRC* 1.323–324, no. 317, 1.327, nos. 323–324)

Saturninus could not have been a moneyer in 104 as proposed by Crawford, *RRC* 1.323–324, and Mattingly, 1982: 45, suggests 101 instead, a date which fits more comfortably with his career. Fundanius is dated to 101 by Crawford, *RRC* 1.328, no. 326; cf. Mattingly, 1982: 41, for a date in the mid-90's.

- 100: [consuls] C. Marius, L. Valerius Flaccus  
 [praetors] C. Servilius Glaucia, M. Porcius Cato, C. Coelius Calvus (?)  
 [aediles] L. Licinius Crassus, Q. Mucius Scaevola  
 [tribunes] L. Appuleius Saturninus, P. Furius, Q. Pompeius Rufus, M. Porcius Cato (?)  
 [quaestors] Q. Servilius Caepio, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, C. Saufeius  
 [moneyers] L. Sentius, M. Servilius, P. Servilius Rullus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.327–329, nos. 325, 327–328)

The aedileships of Crassus and Scaevola may belong to 102 or 104 since their tribunates date to ca. 107/106. They may also have been defeated in one or more aedilician elections. Calvus' praetorship dates to either 100 or 99; the later date perhaps more likely if he does not feature on the *SC de agro Pergameno*. The moneyer L. Sentius is dated by Crawford to 101, but here placed in 100 since Saturninus occupies that year.

- 99: [consuls] M. Antonius, A. Postumius Albinus  
 [praetors] Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Cassius Longinus (?), L. Cornelius Dolabella (?)  
 [aediles] C. Claudius Pulcher, L. Valerius Flaccus  
 [tribunes] L. Appuleius Saturninus, L. Equitius, Sex. Titius, C. Appuleius Decianus, Q. Calidius, C. Canuleius  
 [quaestors] C. Norbanus (?), P. Sabinus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.331, no. 331)  
 [moneyers] P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.329–330, no. 329)

Norbanus' quaestorship belongs either to 101, Badian, *AJP* 104 (1983) 156–171, or to 99, Gruen, *CP* 61 (1966) 105–107. The moneyership of Marcellinus is dated here to 99 since no place remains for him in the college of 100.

- 98: [consuls] Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, T. Didius  
 [praetors] L. Licinius Crassus (?), Q. Mucius Scaevola (?), L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (?)

[tribunes] P. Servilius Vatia (?)  
 [quaestors] T. Cloelius (Crawford, *RRC* 1.331–332, no. 332)

- 97: [consuls] Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Licinius Crassus  
 [censors] L. Valerius Flaccus, M. Antonius  
 [praetors] L. Cornelius Sulla (?), M. Herennius (?)  
 [tribunes] M. Duronius (?)  
 [quaestors] C. Egnatuleius (Crawford, *RRC* 1.332, no. 333)  
 [moneyers] L. Pomponius Molo (Crawford, *RRC* 1.332, no. 334: '97')

- 96: [consuls] Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Cassius Longinus  
 [praetors] L. Marcus Philippus, L. (Sempronius) Asellio (?), C. Valerius  
 Flaccus, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (?)  
 [aediles] L. Gellius Poplicola (?)  
 [moneyers] C. Publicius Malleolus, A. Postumius Albinus, L. Caecilius  
 Metellus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.333–336, no. 335: '96')

Scipio Nasica was either legate or proconsul in Spain about 94, *MRR* 3.72; Sumner, *Orators* 72.

- 95: [consuls] L. Licinius Crassus, Q. Mucius Scaevola  
 [praetors] L. Aurelius Cotta (?), C. Claudius Pulcher, L. Iulius Caesar (?),  
 M. Perperna (?)
- 94: [consuls] C. Coelius Caldus, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus  
 [praetors] L. Gellius Poplicola, Sex. Iulius Caesar (?), C. Sentius  
 [quaestors] Aesillas (?)
- 93: [consuls] C. Valerius Flaccus, M. Herennius  
 [praetors] P. Rutilius Lupus, L. Valerius Flaccus (?), Cn. Pompeius  
 Strabo (?), Cn. Octavius Ruso (?), Q. Ancharius (?)

An Octavius, presumably Ruso, appears immediately after Gellius Poplicola in the *consilium* of Cn. Pompeius Strabo in 89, *MRR* 2.24 n. 2. His praetorship probably dates to either 94 or soon afterwards. Ancharius, killed in 87, may well have held his praetorship several years beforehand; cf. *MRR* 2.40 and n. 1.

- 92: [consuls] C. Claudius Pulcher, M. Perperna  
 [censors] Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, L. Licinius Crassus  
 [praetors] L. Sentius, C. Iulius Caesar (?), L. Porcius Cato (?), L. Cornelius  
 Cinna (?), C. Sextius Calvinus (?), M. (Caecilius) Cornutus (?)  
 [tribunes] Cn. Papirius Carbo  
 [moneyers] C. Allius Bala (Crawford, *RRC* 1.336, no. 336)

L. Sentius was the senior witness to the *SC de Cormis* dated to ca. 80, Sherk, *RDGE* 112–113; *MRR* 3.191, and had, therefore, been a *praetorius* probably of several years' standing. He held a moneyership about 100, which fits well with a praetorship a decade later. Cinna was already an ex-praetor

in the Social War, *MRR* 2.30 n. 3, and his office probably predates 91. Cornutus is styled 'an ex-Praetor who served as a Legate in the Social War', *MRR* 2.30 n. 2, his praetorship probably also belongs to about this year.

- 91: [consuls] L. Marcius Philippus, Sex. Iulius Caesar  
 [praetors] Q. Pompeius Rufus, L. Lucilius (?), C. Perperna (?), Q. Servilius (?), Q. Servilius Caepio, Ser. Sulpicius Galba (?), A. Gabinius  
 [aediles] M. Claudius Marcellus, Ap. Claudius Pulcher (?)  
 [tribunes] M. Livius Drusus, Minicius (?), Saufeius, L. Sestius (?)  
 [moneyers] D. Iunius Silanus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.336–339, no. 337)
- 90: [consuls] L. Iulius Caesar, P. Rutilius Lupus  
 [praetors] C. Caelius (?), C. Cassius (Longinus), L. Cornelius Merula (?), Cn. Octavius (?), L. Postumius, P. Servilius Vatia (?), L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus  
 [aediles] C. Iulius Caesar Strabo  
 [tribunes] Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, C. Papirius Carbo Arvina, Cn. Pomponius, C. Scribonius Curio, Q. Varius Hybrida  
 [quaestors] Q. Sertorius  
 [moneyers] L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, Q. Titius, C. Vibius Pansa (Crawford, *RRC* 1.340–351, nos. 340–342)
- 89: [consuls] Cn. Pompeius Strabo, L. Porcius Cato  
 [censors] P. Licinius Crassus, L. Iulius Caesar  
 [praetors] Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, P. Gabinius, C. Cosconius (?), Cn. Papirius Carbo (?), A. Sempronius Asellio  
 [tribunes] L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, L. Cassius (Caecianus?), L. Memmius (?), C. Papirius Carbo (?), M. Plautius Silvanus  
 [quaestors] Q. Minucius Thermus (?)  
 [moneyers] M. Porcius Cato, L. Titurius Sabinus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.351–356, nos. 343–344)
- 88: [consuls] L. Cornelius Sulla, Q. Pompeius Rufus  
 [praetors] Q. Oppius (?), M. Iunius Brutus, Servilius, L. Licinius Murena (?), C. Norbanus (?), P. Sextilius  
 [aediles] Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer  
 [tribunes] P. Antistius, P. Sulpicius  
 [moneyers] Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, C. Marcius Censorinus (Crawford, *RRC* 1.356–361, nos. 345–346), M. Fonteius (Crawford, *RRC* 1.361, no. 347: '?before 87')
- Oppius is styled 'procos' by Livy, *Per.* 78, and so could easily have been praetor in 88 rather than 89; cf. *MRR* 2.33. With the exception of Val. Max. 6.5.7, there is no evidence that Sulpicius possessed the *cognomen* 'Rufus'.
- 87: [consuls] Cn. Octavius, L. Cornelius Cinna  
 [suffect] L. Cornelius Merula  
 [tribunes] Sex. Lucilius, P. Magius, M. Vergilius, C. Milonius, M. Marius Gratidianus (?)

[quaestors] L. Licinius Lucullus, C. Claudius Marcellus (?)  
 [moneysers] L. Rubrius Dossenus, L. Memmius Gal., C. Memmius Gal.  
 (Crawford, *RRC* 1.362–364, nos. 348–349)

- 86:** [consuls] L. Cornelius Cinna, C. Marius  
 [suffect] L. Valerius Flaccus  
 [censors] L. Marcius Philippus, M. Perperna  
 [praetors] L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes (?)  
 [aediles] P. Antistius (?)  
 [tribunes] P. Popillius Laenas  
 [quaestors] Hirtuleius (?)  
 [moneysers] C. Gargonius, Ogulnius, M. Vergilius or Verginius (Crawford,  
*RRC* 1.364–366, no. 350<sup>A</sup>)