

Doctoral Dissertation

**PRODUCTION OF DISTINCTION: THE REPRESENTATION OF
SENATORIAL ELITES IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE, 306–395**

by

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In memoriam
Marianne Sághy

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Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i>
<i>CCCA</i>	Vermaseren, M. J., ed. <i>Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque. III Italia-Latium</i> . Leiden, 1977.
<i>ChLA</i>	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Berlin, 1828-1877.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin, 1863-.
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Codex Justinianus</i> . Krüger, P., ed., <i>Corpus Iuris Civilis</i> , vol. 2: <i>Codex Iustinianus</i> . Berlin, 1877.
<i>CLE</i>	<i>Carmina Latina epigraphica</i> . Leipzig, 1895-1897, 1926
<i>CSLA</i>	<i>Cult of Saints</i> , http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/
<i>CTh</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> . Mommsen, Th., with P. Meyer and P. Krüger, ed., <i>Theodosiani Libri XVI</i> . Berlin, 1905, repr. 1962.
<i>EDR</i>	<i>Epigraphic Database Rome</i> , www.edr-edr.it
<i>Hellenica</i>	<i>Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquité grecques</i>
<i>ICUR</i>	De Rossi, G. B., et al., eds. <i>Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores</i> . Rome, 1895-1915, 1922-.
<i>IGC</i>	Grégoire, H., ed. <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie-Mineure</i> . Vol. 1. Paris, 1922.
<i>IGLS</i>	Sartre-Fauriat, A. and M. Sartre, eds. <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> . Vol. 1. Beirut and Paris, 1929-.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, 1903-.
<i>IGR</i>	Cagnat, R. et al, eds. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> . Paris, 1906-1927.
<i>IK Ephesos</i>	Wankel, H. et al., eds. <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos II. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> , vol. 12. Bonn, 1979.
<i>ILAfr</i>	Cagnat, R. et al., eds. <i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)</i> . Paris, 1923.
<i>ILAlg</i>	<i>Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie</i> . Paris, 1922-.
<i>ILCV</i>	Diehl, E., ed. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> . Berlin, Dublin,

- Zürich, 1925-1967.
- ILS* Dessau, H., ed. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 5 vols. Berlin, 1892-1916.
- Inscr. Cret.* Guarducci, M., ed. *Inscriptiones Creticae*. Rome, 1935-1955.
- ILT* Merlin, A. ed. *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*. Paris, 1944.
- IRT* Reynolds, J. M. and J. B. Ward-Perkins, eds. *The inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. Rome, 1952.
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies*
- JRA* *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
- LSA* *Last Statues of Antiquity*, <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>
- LTUR* Steinby, E. M., ed. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 6 vols. Rome, 1993-2000.
- MAMA* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*. Manchester and London, 1928-.
- OGIS* Dittenberger, W., ed. *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 4 vols. Leipzig, 1903-1905.
- P.Abinn* Bell, H. I. et al., eds. *The Abinnaeus Archive: Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II*. Oxford, 1962.
- P.Amh* Grenfell, B. P., and A.S. Hunt, eds. *The Amherst Papyri, Being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A. at Diddlington Hall, Norfolk*. London, 1901.
- Pap.Lugd. Bat.* *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava*. Leiden, 1941-.
- P.Cairo Peis* Preisigke, F., ed. *Griechische Urkunden des Aegyptischen Museums zu Kairo*. Strassburg, 1911.
- P.Gron* Roos, A. G., ed. *Papyri Groninganae; Griechische Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek zu Groningen nebst zwei Papyri der Universitätsbibliothek zu Amsterdam*. Amsterdam 1933.
- PIR* Eck, W. et al. eds. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec I. II. III*. 2nd ed. Berlin, 1933-2015.
- P.Lips* *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig*
- P.Heid.* *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung*
- PLRE 1* Jones, A. H. M. et al., eds. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. I: AD 260–395*. Cambridge, 1971.
- PLRE 2* Martindale, J. R., ed. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*,

vol. 2: AD 395-527. Cambridge, 1980.

P.Oxy *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*

P.Ryl *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.*

P.Vindob *Einige Wiener Papyri*

RE Wissowa, G., et al., eds. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. 50 vols. in 83 parts. 1893-1980; repr. Berlin, 1991.

RS Deichmann, F. W., et al., eds. *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, 3 vols. Wiesbaden, Mainz, 1967-2003.

SB *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*

SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden, Alphen aan den Rijn, and Amsterdam, 1923-.

TAM *Tituli Asiae Minoris*. Vienna, 1901-.

ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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Introduction

In a discourse written immediately after the death of the Emperor Valens,¹ young John Chrysostom, then a deacon, furnishes a remarkable description of the imperial entry to the Golden Church of Antioch (*De Babyla* 32):

If you want to discover the exact extent of the miracle, do not pay attention to a prosaic account but picture the spearmen, the armour bearers, the military leaders, the officials – those who work in the imperial palace and those who are assigned to cities – the pride of those who led the procession, the multitude of those who followed proudly, and all the rest of the retinue. Then picture him in the middle, advancing with great haughtiness, appearing more dignified because of his clothes, and his purple robe, and the gems scattered all over his right hand, over the buckle of his coat, and over his head, where they gleamed from the diadem (trans. N. McLynn).²

While John, having rigidly devoted himself to monasticism for the previous six years, returned in 378 to his native city and resumed a career in the church, Valens spent much of his reign based in Antioch, where he stayed almost uninterruptedly from 372 to 377.³ The passage reflects, with particular vividness, John's astonishment at the sight of the emperor's church parades and the impact of Valens' ceremonial processions on a spectator. The emperor's garment represents an advanced stage in the development of the imperial costume. The military appearance of the emperor, his preference for the chlamys – a large cloak secured on the right shoulder with an elaborate jeweled brooch – discarding the senatorial toga, implied the ultimate rejection of any claim of equality between ruler and senators. The diadem, a symbol of monarchical power pioneered by Hellenistic kings, and the abundance of gemstone jewelry emphasized deliberately the superhuman status of the emperor.⁴ While retelling the story of Babylas and Philip, John's 'impressionistic ekphrasis' reflects his contemporary reality of the ritual of imperial churchgoing and the strong sense of awe it conveys. It suffices to recall the military outlook of the procession of Valens, who approached with his entire bodyguard, as listed in detail by John: 'the spearmen, the armour bearers, the military leaders'. The appearance of the emperor in the central position underlined his exceptional status.

The detail and clarity with which John visualizes the scene is due to the fact that he could project Babylas into an established routine of imperial churchgoing. For six years Valens had become used to a refined mode of churchgoing at Antioch specially tailored for him, having

¹ J. N. D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom - Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* (London: Duckworth, 1995),

² Neil McLynn, "The Transformation of Imperial Churchgoing in the Fourth Century," in *Approaching Late Antiquity*, eds. Simon Swain and Mark Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 256. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

³ All dates are AD unless indicated.

⁴ See also Amm. 16.10.12 on Constantius' vestments during his entry to Rome.

processed ceremoniously to the cathedral at regular intervals. John envisions the order and the effect of the arrival of the emperor and his entourage: the emperor is in the middle, surrounded by his military guard, then the officials – first, the courtiers, next, those from the provincial administration – all leading the procession, followed by the crowd. Valens visited the holy place during the feast, hence the crowd, for the emperors, following Constantius, had perhaps reserved their attendance for the great festivals. The representatives of all three public career's types that were concomitant with the senatorial status by the late fourth century are seen in the scene: an officer career in the army, a bureaucratic career at the imperial court, and a civilian career in the provincial administration. The imperial procession meant to visualize the ideology of unity and cohesion embodied by the relationship between the emperor and the senatorial aristocracy under the imperial rule. What makes a miracle here, for John, is that the mid-third-century bishop was exceptionally successful to exercise leverage over the emperor, that is, by preventing his entry into the church, threaten to undermine the 'ceremonial credibility' of a regime. While in John's version the imperial parade is said to have been successfully blocked by the bishop, in reality the emperor Valens used to be regularly welcomed by the Arrian bishop of Antioch who was a loyal ally.⁵

Historiography and terminology

Recent accounts of the relations between the aristocracy and the late Roman state are driven by two conflict paradigms: a religious and political one. The first model of social antagonism between the resident aristocrats and the imperial court is the paradigm of the religious conflict. According to an implicit assumption the senatorial aristocracy of Rome, on the one hand, and the emperor with his entourage, on the other, form two discrete groups which, although interacting with each other in various ways, exist as two separate and often antagonistic 'entities'. Following András Alföldi, scholars have often assumed the existence of a 'senatorial resistance' on the part of Roman aristocrats against the Christian emperors, who abandoned traditional rites after the Constantinian change,⁶ as if Constantine or his successors had been directly concerned with the conversion of the senators in Rome. These scholars tend to treat the episode of Constantine's alleged refusal to ascend the Roman Capitol to offer sacrifices to Jupiter (Zos. 2.29.5) as a defining moment pointing not only to subsequent religious tension of a senatorial 'opposition' to the Christian emperor. Since the debate on Constantine's religion occupy the foreground in Constantinian scholarship, the imperial self-representation(s) also attracted much of scholarly interest.

Recent studies have undermined the model of religious antagonism. Alan Cameron's *The Last Pagans of Rome* overturns many long-held assumptions about concerted fourth-century pagan

⁵ McLynn, "The Transformation of Imperial Churchgoing," 257.

⁶ Andrew Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1948); Herbert Bloch, "A New Document in the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393-394 AD," *Harvard Theological Review* 38 (1945): 199-244; *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. Arnaldo Momigliano (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963); and most recently Stéphane Ratti, *Polémiques entre païens et chrétiens* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012).

resistance by resident aristocrats against the Christian courts.⁷ Far from representing the alleged resistance to the new imperial order, the senatorial aristocracy owed its rise to its loyalty and closeness to the emperor, who regulated appointments to high offices and dispensed honors and privileges. Since the Constantinian reforms the leading senatorial families of Rome could obtain to the same administrative offices and increase their wealth similar to other members of the imperial aristocracy.

Further, the data available to investigate the religious identities of senatorial elite, and the method by which an individual religion is projected onto the religious landscape of post-Constantinian era in the most important quantitative studies of late Roman senatorial elite are based on the already received grand narrative of the ‘Christianization’ of late Roman aristocracy, predominantly high imperial office holders.⁸ Quantitative evidence of the conversion of the Roman aristocracy is inconclusive on the role of senatorial women in it as often reinterpreted with even slight addition of new data.⁹ Within the quantitative approach applied by most of the recent key works individual practitioners of Christianity and traditional ‘paganism’ are grouped together as elements of social matrices and fashions. Eric Rebillard has challenged foundations of this view, emphasizing individually-defined and shifting religious identities rather than firm and group-rooted allegiances.¹⁰ Senatorial identity did not rest exclusively on the religion. A further highlighting of the epistemologically problematic access to individuals’ ‘genuine’ religious identity in late antiquity made in other studies contributes to the ongoing revision of conventional paradigms of approaching religions of late Roman elite.¹¹

Studies of non-capitalist social forms for decades try to identify the economic relations that governed the complex whole from which the entirety of feudal society unfolded. Perry Anderson and Jairus Banaji can be treated as examples of a wider tradition of historians for whom it is axiomatic to see ‘feudalism’ as a social totality. Anderson’s *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* differentiates between the multiple relations of production, which the complex whole of the feudal

⁷ Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2011.

⁸ Raban von Haehling, *Die Religionszugehörigkeit der hohen Amtsträger des römischen Reiches seit Constantins I. Alleinherrschaft bis zum Ende der Theodosianischen Dynastie* (Bonn: Habelt, 1978); Timothy D. Barnes “Statistics and the Conversion of the Roman Aristocracy,” *JRS* 85 (1995): 135-47; Michele Renee Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

⁹ Michele Renee Salzman, “Aristocratic Women: Conductors of Christianity in the Fourth Century,” *Helios* 16 (1989): 207-20; eadem, *The Making of Christian Aristocracy*, argued for the limited role played by aristocratic women in conversion against Peter Brown, “Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy,” *JRS* 51 (1961): 1-11, who emphasized their role. But see Ralph W. Mathisen, “The Christianization of the Late Roman Senatorial Order: Circumstances and Scholarship,” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 9.2 (2002): 265-67.

¹⁰ Éric Rebillard. *Christians and Their Many Identities in Late Antiquity: North Africa, 200–450 CE* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Éric Rebillard and Jörg Rüpke, eds., *Group Identity and Religious Individuality in Late Antiquity* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2015).

¹¹ Maijastina Kahlos, *Debate and Dialogue: Christian and Pagan Cultures c. 360–430* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Cameron, *The Last Pagans*.

social formation contains, but the feudal economic relation dominates other extant ones.¹² Banaji's *Theory as History* provides an important counterpoint by moving away from a focus on an exact mode of extracting surplus in defining the mode of production.¹³ He thereby distinguishes a much earlier start to feudalism than Anderson. Yet, similar to Anderson, he perceives pre-capitalist societies as totalities. The difficulty then becomes clarifying how the specific relation identified by either author can be said to determine the logic of a whole society. While Anderson fails to provide a mechanism by which one relation can unify society by dominating all others, Banaji does not justify his proposition that a feudal mode of production existed because the organization of production on estates determined the social whole.¹⁴

Crucially, both scholars consider feudalism as defined by a certain structuring of the ruling class. For Banaji, feudalism exists when production is geared by an aristocracy towards its own needs. He regards the western Roman aristocracy, which he explicitly compares to the feudal aristocracies of the Iranian plateau, as 'more loosely integrated into the imperial state, dominating it as much as it served it and subversive of imperial unity'.¹⁵ For Anderson, with more prominence given to specific conditions of exploitation and political formations, feudalism is identified in certain forms of juridical authority held by landowners over their enserfed laborers. According to him, the private take over of the senatorial aristocracy of the western empire was a decisive element in the establishment of the feudal order of the post-Roman West.¹⁶ Importantly, in both cases, the ability of this economic relation to determine everything else relies upon the power of the aristocracy. The determination of all spheres of society by the feudal relation is reliant on the station and the contingent level of power exerted by one particular agent – the feudal aristocracy. However, it makes little sense historically to claim that the aristocracy hold a total monopoly on wealth, especially for the entire 'feudal epoch', regardless of the date of its beginning. But feudalism could not constitute a unified social totality over an extended period of time and space dependent solely on the strength of social agents. The radical difference thereby distinguishes the late antique world from the capitalist totality, which is uniquely constituted by an impersonal economic relation, and not determined by the whims of the ruling class alone.¹⁷

Anderson and Banaji, armed with a relatively developed theory of the feudal totality, have attempted to formulate theories of the pre-capitalist mode of production, taking its existence as a given. Likewise, John Haldon in his book *The State and the Tributary Mode of Production* identifies the dominance of a single pre-capitalist mode of production whose essential category was

¹² Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (London: New Left Books, 1974).

¹³ Jairus Banaji, *Theory as History: Essays on Modes of Production and Exploitation* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

¹⁴ Hugo Raine, "Marxism and the Middle Ages," Verso Books, October 30, 2018. <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/4105-marxism-and-the-middle-ages>.

¹⁵ Banaji, *Theory as History*, 220.

¹⁶ Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*, 99-103.

¹⁷ Raine, "Marxism and the Middle Ages."

‘rent’.¹⁸ For him, rent subsumes tax, so that there is no significant aristocracy to talk about. Haldon sees feudal and tributary regimes as variants of the same mode of production. Importantly, he focuses on imperial states, the later Roman Empire included, argues that ‘tributary’ is a much better characterization of the latter and its economic regime than its description ‘feudal’. Hence, all three authors trans-historicize a unique feature of capitalism, its unity around one determinant relation.¹⁹ The capitalist society forms a unitary totality, but feudalism does not. Anderson, Banaji, and Haldon adopt a theory devised to explain the mechanisms of capitalist society and attempt to apply to it altogether different eras. However, no uniform mode of mediation like the commodity constitutes society in the late antique period. Consequently, the quest for any other all-determining economic relation remains inconclusive.²⁰

Moreover, the very understanding of historical time in these works requires revision. For instance, Anderson defines the period of the transition to feudalism c. 400-900 in which the trends that will fully develop later emerged, as a precursor to the high middle ages. Beyond doubt, a teleological view of history which regards the social organization of these ‘proto-medieval’ centuries as a transition or, for Banaji, an embryonic version of what was to come, reduced the late antique period to a mere introductory moment. Also, Haldon suggests that feudal and tributary economic regimes are simply variants of a common and, in fact, universal pre-capitalist mode of production. This is not historically tenable. Also, Chris Wickham’s notion of the feudal mode of production in his *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800* is construed so loosely that it extends their application to both the later Roman Empire and probably the whole medieval world.²¹ The tendency to dehistoricize categories such as ‘feudalism’, as in case of Anderson, Haldon, and Wickham, in order to be able to cover the late Roman state is surely a theoretical error. Thus, the specificity of the ‘late antique’ society is lost, its phenomena are not analyzed in their own right but rather awkwardly bundled into a presupposed conception of late antique proto-feudalism as a precursor of feudalism.

¹⁸ John Haldon, *The State and the Tributary Mode of Production* (London: Verso, 1993).

¹⁹ Moishe Postone, “An Interview with Moishe Postone: That Capital has limits does not mean that it will collapse,” *Crisis and Critique* 3.3, (June 2016): 509: ‘Marx’s argument in *Capital* calls into question the notion that you have any unified modes of production before the historical emergence of capital, which is unified in the sense that you can begin with a singular principle, the commodity, and you can unfold that to encompass the whole. You cannot find something analogous in other forms of social life, in part because the possibility of unfolding the social whole from a singular point of departure is possible only because, in capitalism, the mode of mediation is uniform.’ On the conception of ‘capitalist totality’, see Georg Lukács, *The Theory of the Novel: A Historico-philosophical Essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), following the Hegelian model.

²⁰ Raine, “Marxism and the Middle Ages,” argues that following in the footsteps of Marx’s analysis of capitalism, historians have aimed to locate the single governing economic relationship, but capitalism is in fact unique in possessing such a unifying relation – the commodity structure, which gives to capitalist society a unity absent from previous social formations. Only at this point the degree of unity of a society ceases to be contingent on the power of its ruling class.

²¹ Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); idem, “The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism,” *Past and Present* 103 (1984): 113-36.

The pioneering studies of the late Roman senatorial aristocracy,²² although excluding the East, were equally centered on the problem of the continuity between late antique and medieval Western Europe. These narratives of transition in the historiography of late antiquity postulate an existence of a political conflict between the senatorial aristocracy and the late Roman state. In his classic monograph *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, AD 364-425*, John Matthews perceives the period as marked by a growth in government involvement by the ‘senatorial aristocracy’, as he calls Italian aristocrats, in contrast to other members of the imperial ruling class.²³ He differs not only from his predecessors, but also from such contemporary scholars as M. T. W. Arnheim, in that he is not primarily concerned to account for the ‘decline and fall’.²⁴ As it has been observed, Matthews considers that monopolization of political and economic power by resident aristocrats the late fourth-century Italy and Africa prefigures the onset of a ‘feudal’ social order.²⁵ By the early fifth century they effectively controlled most senior offices in the imperial government. In his eyes, the growing involvement of senatorial aristocrats in the imperial government was a ‘private take-over’ of the Roman state by its aristocracy, and he considered ‘the half-century ending in 425 as the period in which the Roman Empire fell in to the ‘private hands’’.²⁶ The tendency to see the involvement of leading senatorial families in the imperial government as prefiguring the end of the imperial state and the onset of feudalism was shared by other scholars. For Arnheim, the increasing participation of ‘senators’ in imperial government from the early fourth century, leading them to become overlords in Italy and Africa, caused the fall of the West.²⁷ This view of the transformation of the late Roman senatorial aristocracy into a hereditary proto-feudal ruling class became common not only in the Anglophone scholarship.²⁸

Most recently, Banaji returns to this paradigm emphasizing that in ‘the Western provinces where the senatorial clans had a greater freedom of action and would eventually undermine the survival of the Imperial state, it was the opposite of the truth in the East, where, on the contrary, it

²² Already in the 1960s, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964) suggested that while Roman society was static in the second and early third centuries, under the impact of the prolonged crisis of the mid-third century all classes became dissatisfied with their hereditary social positions, and the conditions of the time gave opportunities for change and rise of *novi homines*. Similarly, Keith Hopkins, “Elite Mobility in the Roman Empire,” *Past and Present*, 32,1 (1965): 12–26, emphasized the social dimension, providing evidence for extensive ‘upward mobility’ in terms of the conflict among the emperor, the bureaucracy, and the traditional landholding elites.

²³ John Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D. 364–425* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975).

²⁴ Patrick Wormald, “The Decline of the Western Empire and the Survival of Its Aristocracy,” *JRS* 66 (1976): 217.

²⁵ John Weisweiler, “The Price of Integration. State and Élite in Symmachus’ Correspondence,” in *Der wiederkehrende Leviathan. Staatlichkeit und Staatswerdung in Spätantike und Früher Neuzeit*, eds. Peter Eich et al. (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2011), 346.

²⁶ Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 387.

²⁷ M. T. W. Arnheim, *Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972).

²⁸ Henrik Löhken, *Ordines dignitatum. Untersuchungen zur formalen Konstituierung der spätantiken Führungsschicht* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1982), 135–54; Arnaldo Marcone, *Commento storico al libro iv dell’epistolario di Q. Aurelio Simmaco* (Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori, 1987), 14–15; Dirk Schlinkert, *Ordo senatorius und nobilitas: die Konstitution des Senatsadels in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996), 177–88; Alexander Demandt, *Die Spätantike: Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian, 284–565 n. Chr.* (Munich: Beck, 2007), on feudalization.

was the bureaucracy that threw up a powerful new class of landowners in the main part of the fifth century'.²⁹ However, already earlier studies have opened a way for reconsideration of the relationship of Roman senatorial aristocracy to the institutions of the imperial state. Although by the later fourth century most provincial governors and other higher ranking civilian office-holders in Italy and Africa held senatorial standing, these offices were neither dominated by a closed group of families, which Banaji calls 'clans', nor any social group was able to assert a hereditary hold on office-holding in these regions. But neither the Anicii nor other great senatorial houses were much larger and more comprehensive than regular families to be termed as 'clans'.³⁰ Moreover, already Andrea Giardina in his magisterial work *Società romana e impero tardoantico* noted that in late antiquity only a small proportion of office-holders obtained access to senior government posts.³¹ In recent years, John Weisweiler has much argued against the narrative of the conflict between the state and aristocracy. The Roman senate, as well as the Constantinopolitan one,³² was an office-holding aristocracy as more high- and medium-ranking members of the empire's civilian and military administration took place in it. The senate of Rome was thereby anything but a closed social group. While the fourth-century resident families indeed showed high turnover in government service, emperors remained in control over the allocation of senior administrative posts in the main areas of senatorial landholding.³³

In later Roman Empire membership and relative rank within the imperial aristocracy was defined by the tenure of public offices. However, at the other extreme, Weisweiler argues that, far from giving senatorial families more independence from state institutions, emperors managed to reduce the power of the *nobiles* and tie its members more closely to the imperial court: as an office-holding aristocracy whose material interests and value-system were inextricably intertwined with the institutions of monarchy, the late Roman senate more closely resembled the governing elite of the Chinese Empire than the hereditary aristocracies of later European history. The configuration of power between imperial state and landowning elites was also fiscally recalibrated with an introduction of a new system of taxation in the early fourth century. He overemphasizes the 'domestication' of aristocracy by the imperial state, adhering to the paradigm that minimizes resistance and antagonism, and highlights the 'ideological reasons' for the late-antique expansion of

²⁹ Banaji, *Theory as History*, 26.

³⁰ Alan Cameron, "Anician Myths," *JRS* 102 (2012): 135.

³¹ Andrea Giardina, *Società romana e impero tardoantico I: Institutioni, ceti, economie* (Bari: Laterza, 1986), 1-36.

³² For the senate of Constantinople as an office-holding aristocracy, see recently Muriel Moser, *Emperor and Senators in the Reign of Constantius II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 321-22.

³³ John Weisweiler, "The Roman Aristocracy between East and West: Divine Monarchy, State-Building and the Transformation of the Roman Senatorial Order (c. 25 BCE – 425 CE)," in *New Approaches to the Later Roman Empire: Proceedings of a Conference held at Kyoto University on 8 March 2014*, ed. Takashi Minamikawa (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 2015), 43-45.

the imperial aristocracy.³⁴ Thus, in Weisweiler's view, by the end of the fourth century both resident senators and 'new men' of the governing elite came to form part of 'a unified aristocracy of virtue and monarchical service, whose ethical superiority was safeguarded by their selection through a divine monarch'.³⁵

Indeed, the hallmark of the fourth-century empire was what Santo Mazzarino calls a 'unitary bureaucratic organism',³⁶ an integrated imperial aristocracy, which had emerged under Constantine. The challenge is, however, to accommodate tension between the imperial state and the aristocracy, articulated not in terms of proto-feudal 'private take-over' of state institutions, as the state was not reducible to the aristocracy and their interests were often in collision, within an account that also acknowledges the role played by the state in encouraging the expansion of aristocratic properties and the emergence of new elites. One feature of the fourth-century 'aristocratic dominance' was a huge monetary expansion.³⁷ To return to Banaji, much would change 'if we see state and aristocracy as integrated with each other and not distinct groups in competition; in other words, if we see the late Roman state as essentially an aristocratic form of state, staffed and controlled by an imperial aristocracy and the site of recurrent struggles between different factions of the ruling class, (rather than a 'dominate', 'monarchy', etc., the ideological representations it had of itself)'.³⁸ For him, the rapid consolidation of the western upper classes in the fourth century (followed by their gradual but sustained erosion in the fifth century) had already also entailed 'the dispersive tendencies of aristocratic networks that had never been more than loosely integrated into a shifting imperial center'.³⁹

I define the terminology and examine the narrative which defines the late Roman state in terms of struggle between the 'hereditary' governing class of the senate and new 'bureaucratic' elite working in the imperial administration. To begin, Alan Cameron, like many modern studies, uses narrowly the terms 'aristocrat' and '*nobilis*' to designate members of the old families, with 'senatorial aristocracy' reserved exclusively for resident senators, thus drawing a distinction between them and senators of modest stock ('run-of-the-mill senators').⁴⁰ He employs the more

³⁴ Idem, "Domesticating the Senatorial Elite: Universal Monarchy and Transregional Aristocracy in the Fourth Century AD," in *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. Johannes Wienand (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 17-41, following the model of a 'domestication' of an aristocracy by court ceremonial by Norbert Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1969). For the view that the later Roman empire constituted a highly centralized monarchical state, see Löhken, *Ordines dignitatum*.

³⁵ Weisweiler, "Domesticating the Senatorial Elite," 62.

³⁶ Santo Mazzarino, *L'impero romano*, 3rd edn., vol. 3 (Bari: Laterza, 1980), 695.

³⁷ Jairus Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Filippo Carlà, *L'oro nella tarda antichità: aspetti economici e sociali* (Turin: S. Zamorani, 2009).

³⁸ Banaji, *Theory as History*, 211.

³⁹ Jairus Banaji, *Exploring the Economy of Late Antiquity: Selected Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 221.

⁴⁰ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 11-12 equally often refers to VIPs - the expression, which includes senators of Rome, new men obtaining the senatorial rank, and non-senatorial celebrities.

general term ‘elite’ to designate individuals who could not boast noble birth and did not aspire to positions in the imperial service, neither aristocrats nor even senators, but educated, comfortably off people – the usage which I follow, unless I specifically refer to senatorial elite. However, this notion of ‘senatorial aristocracy’ creates the distinction which is not paralleled in late antique texts and contradicts the legal realities of the later Roman Empire. Timothy Barnes’ conclusion that since the fourth century only the highest office-holders in the empire – consuls, praetorian and urban prefects – and their descendants qualified as *nobiles*, elucidates the fact that *nobilitas* was defined not by the length of senatorial membership of a family, but by office-holding success.⁴¹ The prime importance of office as a status marker is observed in the late-antique vocabulary of nobility. For Symmachus and Ammianus, *nobilis* and its cognates either designate all members of the senate as a collective body, or more often exclusively the highest senatorial office-holders (praetorian and urban prefects, and consuls). Both the tenure of the entry magistracies of the senate and of the top posts of the imperial state define *nobilitas* as virtue of office-holding, and not the antiquity claimed by the resident senatorial families.

Michele Salzman explicitly states that she uses the expression ‘senatorial aristocracy’ to refer to ‘all holders of the senatorial rank of *clarissimus*’.⁴² As Dirk Schlinkert distinguishes it, neither birth, nor the senatorial residence determined the membership in the senatorial order, but exclusively the tenure of offices conferred by the emperor. *Dignitates* and *honores* distinguished by the late imperial legislation defined the place of the ‘senatorial aristocracy’ (*ordo senatorius*) in the socio-political order (*ordo dignitatum*).⁴³ As for the East, Alexander Skinner speaks of the ‘senatorial aristocracy’ of Constantinople already since Constantine,⁴⁴ and, most recently, Muriel Moser in her study of the senate of Constantinople uses the term ‘senatorial aristocracy’ to designate not only the traditional aristocracy of Rome, but also new eastern one, crediting the Emperor Constantius with creating ‘second Roman senatorial aristocracy’.⁴⁵ Late-antique texts do not differentiate between old and new, resident and non-resident senators, viewing the late Roman senate as an institution of an office-holding aristocracy. The term ‘resident aristocracy’ denotes the handful of prominent families dominating political life in Rome,⁴⁶ by contrast to other members of the imperial ruling class, who since the Constantinian reforms of the senatorial order had attained

⁴¹ Timothy D. Barnes, “Who Were the Nobility of the Roman Empire?” *Phoenix* 28.4 (1974): 444-49.

⁴² Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 4.

⁴³ Schlinkert, *Ordo senatorius*, 68-74. On the *dignitates* and *honores* of the late imperial administration, see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 377-90.

⁴⁴ Alexander Skinner, *The Senatorial Aristocracy of Constantinople from Constantine to Theodosius II* (PhD Diss., University College London, 2011); idem, “‘Byzantine’ senatorial perspective,” *Arethusa* 33.3 (2000): 363-77. Lib., Or. 42.22-6 alleges low financial and social background of the members of the eastern senate.

⁴⁵ Moser, *Emperor and Senators*, 254.

⁴⁶ The Acilii, the Anicii, the Bruttii, the Caesonii, the Egnatii, the Nummii, the Postumii, the Valerii, the Vettii, the Virii, the Aradii, the Caecinae, the C(a)eionii, the Maecii Gracchi, the Nichomachi Flaviani, the Petronii, the Symmachi, the Rufii Festi, the Turcii. On continuity and discontinuity of the senatorial families by the tetrarchic period and beyond, see Inge Mennen, *Power and Status in the Roman Empire, AD 193-284* (Leiden, Brill: 2011).

the senatorial status. Thereby, I employ the terms ‘senator’, ‘aristocrat’, and ‘senatorial aristocracy’ interchangeably, referring to any and all members of the senatorial order.

For Raymond Van Dam, the age of Constantine constituted a decisive shift in dominance from the resident senators to new military and bureaucratic elites with the imperial court and the city of Constantinople as new power centers.⁴⁷ In turn, Franz Alto Bauer regards the fourth-century Forum Romanum as a scene of traditionalist reaction of the resident aristocrats, asserting the primacy of the city of Rome.⁴⁸ Descendance from ancient office-holding families remained particularly honorable, and could give a privilege for aristocrats of noble birth in the competition for high imperial posts against their peers of less distinguished origin. Yet, since the rank of an individual was defined by the state offices which he held, it was indispensable even for the aristocrats from most noble families to serve in the imperial government. To break away from the idea of a clash between the senate of Rome and the imperial court,⁴⁹ is to see the descendants of ancient Roman families as forming part of an aristocracy of service, in which status was defined by offices conferred by the emperor. Also, new institutional and symbolic boundaries distinguish the imperial bureaucracy from local elite. A. H. M. Jones speaks of an ‘elaborate centralized machine’ whose members are set apart as bureaucrats in the imperial service by wearing characteristic official uniforms.⁵⁰ It was thereby the intense participation of leading senatorial families in imperial government that contributed to the renewed influence wielded by resident aristocrats.

In order to eschew any simplistic conceptions of religious or social conflict within the imperial aristocracy of late antiquity, one has to discard the paradigm of a struggle between the ‘hereditary’ governing class of the senate⁵¹ and a new ‘bureaucratic’ elite working in the imperial administration.⁵² Matthews’ deliberate avoidance of any legal definition of the social ensembles

⁴⁷ Raymond Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁴⁸ Franz Alto Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike: Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos* (Mainz: von Zabern 1996), 140.

⁴⁹ The conflict between the emperor Valentinian and the senate was particularly advocated by Andrew Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire. The Clash between the Senate and Valentinian I* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952); accepted by Heike Niquet, “Die valentinianische Dynastie und Rom. Das Selbstverständnis der Kaiser und ihre Haltung zur Senatsaristokratie im Licht von Bau- und Ehreninschriften,” in *Inschriftliche Denkmäler als Medien der Selbstdarstellung in der römischen Welt*, eds. Géza Alföldy and Silvio Panciera (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001), 125-47; questioned by Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 56-63; Noel Lenski, *Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century A.D.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 221-23; and Rita Lizzi Testa, *Senatori, popolo, papi. Il governo di Roma al tempo dei Valentiniani* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2007), 209-323, who understands the decree on ranks of 372 as an attempt to enforce an internal differentiation within the imperial aristocracy, as pressed by intraaristocratic struggle over the influence at court.

⁵⁰ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 460.

⁵¹ On practical hereditariness, see e.g. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 529-30. For the third-century turnover, François Jacques, *L'ordine senatorio attraverso la crisi del III secolo* (Rome: Laterza, 1986); for a slower process of replacement, S. J. B. Barnish, “Transformation and Survival in the Western Senatorial Aristocracy, c. A.D. 400–700,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988): 120-55; cf. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 527, 546, 551, 555; Beat Näf, *Senatorisches Standesbewusstsein in Spätromischer Zeit* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1995), 251-53.

⁵² Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*; Arnheim, *Senatorial Aristocracy*; Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*, 99-103; Löhken, *Ordines dignitatum*, 135-54; Schlinkert, *Ordo senatorius*, 177-88, Demandt, *Die Spätantike*.

which dominate his landmark study of western aristocracies enables him to capture the shifting configuration of conflict and cooperation between different members of the ruling elite of the later Roman empire. He highlights the complexity of the connections between the imperial court and regional oligarchies, the landed aristocracies of Italy and Gaul, and contrasts the political culture of office-holders of provincial origin with that of the great families of Rome. As both Matthews and Rita Lizzi Testa show, resident aristocrats in fourth-century Rome itself were involved in constant and vicious struggles for social pre-eminence.⁵³ The late Roman senatorial aristocracy was primarily office-holding. Senatorial families of Rome were part of the ‘trans-regional aristocracy of service’, as Weisweiler calls it, which ruled the later Roman empire.⁵⁴

It has also been suggested that a uniform, more aristocratic mentality distinguished western senators as a whole from their eastern counterparts, and that dissimilarities of senatorial recruitment at Rome and Constantinople underpinned the existence of a specific eastern aristocracy of service.⁵⁵ Thus, Banaji sharply distinguishes the western senators from the office-holding aristocracy of Constantinople, considered to be tied more closely to state institutions.⁵⁶ In contrast with these accounts, other studies point towards a prevailing, trans-regional tendency for senators and imperial officials to be drawn from the provincial elite.⁵⁷ One concomitant of Matthews’s book, it has rightly been observed, is that, ‘despite the existence of an entrenched body of ancient families in Rome, the character of the western ruling classes as a whole was probably very much less unlike that of their eastern counterparts than it has recently been fashionable to suggest’.⁵⁸ This in turn has been amplified by Peter Heather, in a brilliant essay which replaces emphasis on the fourth-century rise of ‘new men’ in the East, former equestrians and magistrates who had only recently advanced to the clarissime, with a sense of social continuity, there too, between provincial oligarchies, imperial government and senatorial aristocracy.⁵⁹ A reconsideration of the relationship of eastern senators to the institutions of the imperial state is long been due.

⁵³ Lizzi Testa, *Senatori, Popolo, Papi*.

⁵⁴ These developments are traced by Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 552-54, Löhken, *Ordines dignitatum*, 103-107, André Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain à l'époque impériale. Recherches sur la composition de l'Assemblée et le statut de ses membres* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1992), 312-14. For ‘trans-regional’ ruling class, see John Weisweiler, “From Equality to Asymmetry: Honorific Statues, Imperial Power and Senatorial Identity in Late-Antique Rome,” *JRA* 25 (2012): 319-50.

⁵⁵ Constantine Zuckerman, “Two Reforms of the 370s: Recruiting Soldiers and Senators in the Divided Empire,” *Revue des études byzantines* 56 (1998): 121-35; Michele Renee Salzman, “Elite Realities and Mentalités: The Making of a Western Christian Aristocracy,” *Arethusa*, 33.3 (2000): 347-62; eadem, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 8, 33.

⁵⁶ Banaji, *Theory as History*.

⁵⁷ Alexander Skinner, “Political Mobility in the Later Roman Empire,” *Past and Present* 218.1 (2013): 17-53.

⁵⁸ Wormald, “The Decline of the Western Empire,” 218.

⁵⁹ Peter Heather, “New Men for New Constantines? Creating an Imperial Elite in the Eastern Mediterranean,” in *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries*, ed. Paul Magdalino (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 11-33.

Evidence and approach

While the fourth-century imperial representation in various media, has already been investigated in numerous scholarly publications, for instance, in numismatics, archaeology, and epigraphy, the senatorial representation received much less attention. Significant changes, however, can be observed in representation strategies of the Roman senatorial elite during the fourth century. Chronologically, this thesis runs from the so-called Constantinian to the Theodosian ‘turn’: the period from the third tetrarchy and an accession of both Constantine and Maxentius in 306 to the death of Theodosius I, and a division of the Roman state in 395, when there were no longer transfers of officials between the West and the East. It is beyond doubt that senatorial representation, whether civilian or military, manifested in many forms of imagery, was designed to convey inextricably aestheticized political messages to various audiences, and primarily within the stratum of the imperial aristocracy. However, its analyses remain very often within conventional boundaries of media, genre and academic tradition, considering thus, for example, the inscriptions separately from the portraits, or private building separately from public architecture. For the purpose to analyze the self-image of the Roman senatorial elite, I draw on various bodies of evidence, but I focus primarily on ‘epigraphic media’. Thousands of inscribed texts have survived from the period. By the term ‘epigraphic media’ I refer to inscriptions carved on statue bases, public buildings, altars, tombs, and other material supports.

To begin with the statuary, epigraphists and sculptural experts rarely publish jointly the results of their studies,⁶⁰ although ‘the epigraphic habit’ and ‘the statue habit’, that is, practices of displaying inscribed honorific statues in public places, go hand in hand. In the fourth century the portrait representation as well as the sculpture production increasingly declined, while stylistic changes transformed the appearance of the honorific monuments. Where the standing statuary had been still erected, reworking of statue bases and statues and recycling of the architectural materials are most evident. As R. Smith put it, ‘for whatever reason, statues in bronze and marble had lost their centrality in the visual presentation of the emperor ... this should be explained partly against the steep decline in late antiquity of statue production of all types in favor of other media.’⁶¹ Honorific inscriptions dedicated by senatorial office-holders to emperors reveal the ways in which the political order was conceptualized by propertied classes in the later Roman Empire. Several changes are to be observed in the traditional media of honorary statuary, both quantitative and qualitative. The division of the provinces by Diocletian brought a change of representation patterns in the provincial cities. Provincial governors and their *officium* became to take over stronger

⁶⁰ As an exception, see recent R. R. Smith and Bryan Ward-Perkins, eds. *The Last Statues of Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

⁶¹ On the fourth-century imperial representation, see R. R. R. Smith, “Late Antique Portraits in a Public Context: Honorific Statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, A.D. 300-600,” *JRS* 89 (1999): 155-89.

initiative regarding the constructions and erection of the statues for the reigning emperor. In Rome, where emperors no longer reserved the most spectacular fields of self-display for themselves, imperial honorific statues were dedicated allowing leading office-holders to embed permanently their dominance in urban space. A concentration of the late antique statue exhibitions appear, however, at only few conspicuous locations, particularly, in the Roman Forum, and especially in surroundings of the senate-house. Statues of aristocrats set up by command of emperors stood in the immediate vicinity manifesting symmetric reciprocity of honors.

Although the number of the fourth-century honorific inscriptions is not scant, the circle of recipients clearly changed. With the local upper crust still honored, most of the fourth-century dedications are, above all, to the members of the provincial administration, predominantly in capital cities of provinces. The language employed in honorific inscriptions put up for senatorial office-holders by different awarders reveals a new cultural understanding of what it meant to be a member of the ruling elite in the later Roman Empire. Rhetorically extolled virtues of office-holders were now clearly more important than the impressive presentation of the monument. Holders of senior posts were also able to articulate their superiority over peers in Rome in new ways. Only a small section of senators was able to award and be awarded statues in Rome's most ancient and most conspicuous public locations. Gilded bronze statues erected on the emperors' or senate's initiative celebrated almost exclusively senior office-holders. Predominantly, these men were members of the most distinguished families in the city, who had all been high-ranking office-holders, yet prominent imperial officials with no connection to Rome were equally honored in the Forum. Besides staging the consensus between emperors and aristocracy, the juxtaposition of imperial and senatorial statues made apparent proximity to emperors and dominance of resident *nobiles* within aristocratic society.⁶² Equally in the provinces of Italy and Africa, office-holders from leading Roman families, who became more important as intermediaries between local communities and the imperial administration, received most of the honorific statuary.

Extant standing honorific statues and sculpture portraits of aristocrats do not follow an imperial model. Aristocratic and imperial representations show the enduring importance of the traditional toga under Constantine and his dynasty. The togate costume remained metonymically 'equal' to the senatorial order as such. The toga stood for continuity; the reuse of statues from the early or high empire added symbolic capital to the honorand lent from a distant but venerable model. In no way was it intended as a means of resistance. As a result of the early fourth-century reforms and a further decline of Rome as an imperial residence, senators there appeared more than

⁶² Carlos Machado, "Building the Past: Monuments and Memory in the Forum Romanum," in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, eds. William Bowden et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 157-92; Robert Chenault, "Statues of Senators in the Forum of Trajan and the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity," *JRS* 102 (2012): 103-32; Weisweiler, "From Equality to Asymmetry," 319-50.

ever before dependent on preservation of good relations with the emperor in order to maintain their social pre-eminence. The imperial representation shifted the accents within its choice of the three distinct garments by adding a new emphasis on the imperial chlamys. Since clothing rhetorically signifies and guarantees the passage to distinction, the transformation of its conventions for both senatorial and imperial representations speaks for a conspicuous shift of the political frontiers in the relations between the emperor and the senatorial elite, redefined anew in the age of Constantine. Sculptural portraiture as a genre, classificatory and taxonomic, therefore worked so as to produce a distinction, designating new social boundaries through a certain type of representation. Late fourth-century distribution patterns reveal that the new-style toga was chosen as a strong statement of status, while the late antique chlamys ‘carried a strong, generalized, but concrete effect of military-style power’.⁶³

Second, besides honorific statues, narrative reliefs of the imperial monumental art allow to trace a far-reaching shift in the public image of the emperor and imperial aristocracy. The arch of Constantine was erected by the senate of Rome in 315, and it too was the primary agent behind its iconographic program. Further arches, which are no longer extant, were erected at Rome to honor Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I, near the Pons Aelius,⁶⁴ and, in 405, for Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Honorius to commemorate the victory of Stilicho at Pollentia.⁶⁵ In the East, the obelisk of Theodosius was erected by the urban prefect of Constantinople (fig. 89), who was probably responsible for the iconographic program on its base (figs. 87-88). Along the processional route, the arch of Theodosius adorned the Forum of Theodosius, while the Golden Gate at Constantinople was originally another triumphal arch built in anticipation of the *adventus* of the same emperor. Theodosius’ column in the Forum Tauri, installed for a triumphal entry of the emperor, was decorated with a helical frieze that presumably illustrated the victory of general Promotus over the Goths in 386. Furthermore, the later base of the column of Arcadius used to exhibit marked senatorial iconography.⁶⁶ By the late fourth century, both scions of ancient senatorial families and new men began to present themselves as an imperial aristocracy chosen by a ruler that transcended their internal divisions. As they looked to the emperor as the bestower of status, the position of these groups in the structures of imperial rule was reconfigured.

Third, the self-representation by the Roman senatorial elite in the fourth century shifted and expanded in other fields than the portrait representation. In fourth-century ivory diptychs, which presumably first appeared in the East, high-ranking senators are represented with new insignia of

⁶³ R. R. R. Smith, “Statue Practice in the Late Roman Empire: Numbers, Costumes, and Style,” in *The Last Statues of Antiquity*, 18.

⁶⁴ *CIL* 6 1184.

⁶⁵ *CIL* 6 1196.

⁶⁶ Jonathan Bardill, “The Golden Gate in Constantinople: A Triumphal Arch of Theodosius I,” *AJA* 103.4 (1999): 671-96.

office. The *Notitia Dignitatum*, a late Roman illustrated list describing the administrative hierarchy of the civil and military branches of both in the East and in the West, exhibits giant ink-pots (*thecae*) with affixed imperial portraits and judgment tables, with elaborate ivory diptychs with the images of emperors and containing imperial letters of appointment (*codicilli*) for the most prestigious offices conferring the highest senatorial rank of *illustris*. Some extant early diptychs, presented by office-holders who fulfilled their obligation of staging games,⁶⁷ are equally endowed with imperial portraits. They likewise show consular scepters topped with the images of the emperor. Stilicho's consular *trabea* makes a link between the wearer and the emperor, as it is said to be adorned with the woven imperial scenes. So does Stilicho's portrait-bearing shield in the Monza diptych. The shifts are to observe in the visual language in which aristocrats articulated their links with emperors. As a demand for public symbols of imperial closeness arose, direct representation of items signaling proximity to the emperor, such as imperial documents of appointment, became more manifest. Weisweiler attributes these trends to the resident aristocrats who looked for signs of imperial closeness due to the absence of emperors from Rome, but it reflects rather a common tendency throughout the empire in both civil and military imperial administration. Through these new symbols of imperial closeness, senior representatives of the late-antique government proclaimed their supremacy over those aristocrats who no longer could boast high offices and hence claim any connection to the distant emperor.

Next, the removal of the constraints placed on aristocratic self-display by the presence of the emperor meant that resident senators were again allowed to organize large-scale games in Rome. By eliminating expenditure limits for game-givers in Rome, emperors could exploit the competitive drives and wealth of senatorial families to provide the Roman public with entertainments. Games were obligation for several magistracies: quaestor, praetor and suffect consul in Rome, consul at court, as well as praetor and consul in the East. The new focus on patronage asserted by late-antique aristocrats is reflective of the imperial withdrawal from Rome. Analyzing a uniform iconography of consular diptychs, Antony Eastmond claims that 'the imagery on consular diptychs also reveals a tension with Matthews' arguments that consular games were held 'in a spirit of anxious rivalry', knowing that their expenditure on the games would be compared to that of previous consuls. The visual evidence of the surviving diptychs cannot support such an individualistic reading'.⁶⁸ In the same way as the tetrarchs emphasized the collegiality of office through visual solidarity with one

⁶⁷ For diptychs, see Richard Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1929); Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1976); Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 712–42. For games, see most recently Richard Lim, "People as Power. Games, Munificence and Contested Topography," in *Transformations of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity*, ed. William V. Harris (Portsmouth: JRA, 1999), 265–81; Gilbert Dagron, *L'Hippodrome de Constantinople: Jeux, peuple et politique* (Paris: Gallimard, 2011).

⁶⁸ Antony Eastmond, "Consular Diptychs, Rhetoric and the Languages of Art in Sixth-Century Constantinople," *Art History* 33 (2010): 762.

another, so consuls downplayed their separate identities too. However, Matthews refers not to the consular games, but to quaestorian and praetorian game-givers,⁶⁹ and the correspondence of Symmachus aptly testifies to a war of excess fought among the resident senators. Senators widely distributed diptychs as gifts sent to an emperor, aristocratic peers, and imperial elite. Other gifts were also given on the occasion of the games, such as golden coins bearing the image of the emperor were sent as gifts in silver bowls.

Then, in turn, gifts were sent by emperors to senators to celebrate imperial anniversaries. Senior figures in the imperial administration, both military and civil, were given medallions as in the Arras hoard including rare commemorative Constantinian multiples, probably hoarded by a Roman general c. 315,⁷⁰ and ‘*largitio* dishes’, also of specific weights, widely distributed and often decorated to reflect the occasion of their manufacture with imperial portraits or inscriptions, as on the Munich Treasure of unknown provenance.⁷¹ The heaviest of these to survive, the *missorium* of Theodosius, weighed 79 Roman pounds (15 kg). This silver plate made to mark the *decennalia* in 388 is identified as probably an honorific gift for a senior official.⁷² Three inscribed silver bowls, weighing about one Roman pound (0.3 kg) each, bear images of Licinius’ bust or that of his young son in the Munich Treasure, made to celebrate a *quinquennalia* of Licinius Caesar in 321/22.⁷³ However, the silverware is problematic evidence, since not only senatorial aristocrats received silver presents from court in recognition of their status; there were wealthy elites outside of the senatorial order, men of considerable affluence and local influence in the provinces, such as the owner of the Sevso treasure.⁷⁴

Further, withdrawal from Rome and no threat of usurpation posed from the civilian office-holders – Nepotianus was the only emperor from the milieu of resident senators – facilitated emperors to ‘deregulate’ some fields of self-display that previously had been strictly controlled. The office-holders were allowed to act as public builders, although in the name of the emperors. Cityscape, a complex of public buildings and state monuments, in most important commemorative spaces in the heart of the ancient city, were carefully constructed to visualize the links between the resident aristocracy and the absent emperors. In the provinces, both high military and civil functionaries were in charge of public buildings, yet credited all major constructions to the imperial

⁶⁹ Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 13.

⁷⁰ Alan Cameron, “An Unknown General,” *Classical Philology* 83.2 (1988): 149-50.

⁷¹ Roland Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata. L’aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1989); Ida Malte Johansen, “Rings, Fibulae and Buckles with Imperial Portraits and Inscriptions,” *JRA* 7 (1994): 223-42.

⁷² Martin Almagro Gorbea et al., eds., *El Disco de Teodosio* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2000); Ruth E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity: Functions and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 11-60.

⁷³ R. R. R. Smith, “The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century,” *JRS* 87 (1997): 170-202; Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society*, 16-18.

⁷⁴ Alan Cameron, “Observations on the Distribution and Ownership of Late Roman Silver Plate,” *JRA* 5 (1992): 178-185; Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society*.

initiative or dedicated in the name of *salus* and *felicitas* of ruling emperors. The Rome-based senatorial families accounted for the housing boom;⁷⁵ a parallel development is testified to in Constantinople.⁷⁶ In the fourth century the aristocracy of Constantinople was not mainly a landed group, and may have held the bulk of its assets in liquid form as there was enough gold in circulation for the higher levels of the bureaucracy. The rising eastern landowners at the close of the century stemmed from various echelons of the civil and military bureaucracy. Equally, the traditional aristocracy of Rome had a diversified asset base, landowning yet extracting huge revenues in gold. The fourth-century ‘private’ monumentality shows changes in the culture of urban building to a greater display of power intruding on public spaces that was indicative of the social order introduced by Constantine. In turn, the physical monumentality of the villa reflected the sheer scale on which aristocracy accumulated wealth in the West. As for the ‘private’ art of the aristocratic *domus* and villa, aristocrats could choose the themes and motifs for paintings and mosaics, but the individual intention of the self-representation is not reconstructable.⁷⁷

Thereafter, votive dedications, in particular deity statues and altars, were continued to be set up by senatorial aristocracy as religious office-holders in their public roles as members of the religious colleges of state cults, but records of private initiations and dedications often feature the same persons. A multitude of religious roles of the Roman senators in both official and non-official functions displays most prominently their public identity as office-holders. Further, by the later fourth century senators had been engaged in church building and Christian euergetism. The medium of mosaic employed to decorate the floors of aristocratic private houses and public buildings was adopted as a major art form by the fourth-century church. Mosaic inscriptions decorating the floors of ecclesiastical buildings are equally status conscious recording the rank and office of their donors similarly to the dedicatory building texts. The archaeology of public and private Christian worship and the media employed are, however, difficult to reconstruct due to the state of their preservation.⁷⁸

Also, like statues and ivory diptychs, fourth-century reliefs on the sarcophagi show high-ranking aristocrats represented with new garment and insignia of office. Fresco paintings as a

⁷⁵ Olym., fr. 41.1. For expansion of Roman town houses and senatorial illicit control of real estate within the city, see Federico Guidobaldi, “Le domus tardoantiche di Roma come ‘sensori’ delle trasformazioni culturali e sociali,” in *Transformations of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity*, ed. William V. Harris (Portsmouth: JRA, 1999), 53-68; on aristocratic *domus*, lifestyle, and its importance for senatorial identity, see Schlinkert, *Ordo senatorius*, 132-44. Julia Hillner, “*Domus*, Family, and Inheritance: The Senatorial Family House in Late Antique Rome,” *JRS* 93 (2003):129-45 highlights that the fourth century saw a boom in high standard senatorial dwelling, with an explosion of new architectural styles and decorative elements.

⁷⁶ On emergence of *domus* in Constantinople, see Carlos Machado, “Aristocratic Houses and the Making of Late Antique Rome and Constantinople,” in *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, eds. Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 155.

⁷⁷ On villas of high-standing officials, see Luke Lavan, “Late Antique Governors’ Palaces: A Gazetteer,” *Antiquité Tardive* 7 (2000): 35-64.

⁷⁸ Kim Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

medium saw an upsurge in the fourth-century, especially in sepulchral domain, but, unlike sculpture portrait, it is difficult to identify the iconography as unequivocally senatorial. Parallel to the iconography, sepulchral inscriptions define commemorands first of all as office-holders. Funeral cursus inscriptions provide the whole career of a deceased, yet even metric inscriptions, whose popularity grew, record commemorands' offices or titles even when not fitting the meter. The same status concern is seen in the epitaphs for senatorial women, dedicated by their fathers or husbands, whose offices are equally included. The inscribe sarcophagus of Iunius Bassus, urban prefect, who died in office, reveals a special entitlement of this official to a public funeral. Praetextatus, praetorian prefect, and at the time of his death consul designate, was honored with a posthumous statue by Vestal Virgins.

Lastly, spectators' seats at the Flavian amphitheater were determined by status. The inscribed senatorial seats on the podium feature not only resident aristocrats, but also palatine and military officials, members of the senate of Rome. Besides names, they boast the titles of imperial offices and honors, fulfilling evidently a honorific function.⁷⁹ In the stratified system of vertical status groups of the seating in the Colosseum senators sat closest to the arena in the front rows, providing and presiding over games, and demonstrating their special status. The withdrawal of emperors from the city of Rome enabled its leading senatorial families to re-emerge as patrons over the resident population by staging public entertainments.

My perspective is socio-historical, linking the inscribed texts and iconographies that I discuss to the ever-changing socio-political situations of the Roman senatorial order. A social history of late Roman art interprets certain iconographies and narratives as expressions of class-specific interests of their presumed patrons. There were some major thematic and stylistic changes in traditional honorific and funerary art, and the task is to trace unconscious ideology behind these changes. Also, shifts in senatorial preferences for certain media and the appearance of wholly new ones, for instance, diptychs, testify to a change in self-representation in a diachronic perspective. Moreover, the fourth century witnessed gradually increasing use of forms of senatorial self-representation which were not materialized in durable materials, such as performances. The transformation of the old genres and development of the new art forms thus closely mirrors the historical changes in the self-image of the Roman senatorial aristocracy. Symbolic interpretations are beyond the scope of this study, although I point to them occasionally. I aim to place the discussion of the late Roman art in its broader social and political contexts, regardless of the typological boundaries, in order to bring to the fore the world of the late Roman office-holding aristocracy and other social agents behind it. To observe transformations in honorific epigraphy, the

⁷⁹ Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain*; Silvia Orlandi, *Anfiteatri e strutture annesse con una nuova edizione e commento delle iscrizioni del Colosseo* (Rome: Quasar, 2004).

costume change – as well as changes in toga and chlamys shapes – and parallel developments in the iconography of sarcophagi, monumental reliefs, and diptychs during the century under discussion, is to recognize the previously underestimated influence of the senatorial aristocracy on Roman art.

The above-listed body of material I have chosen can be questioned from socio-historical perspective and thus reveal insights into the changing conditions of the senatorial order. I begin with the premise that each work of art is already intimately connected to the realities of its social and economic environment. While society as a totality, where art and economics are all part of the same whole, is not available for representation, it is available, at second hand, through various mediating forms, such as art. The total unity is present in the unconscious of the narrative, where art and literature inevitably refers back to and embody the social and economic realities out of which they were created. Art expresses the ‘unconscious’ totality or linked-togetherness of social life.⁸⁰ Fredric Jameson defines mediation as the relationship between the levels or instances, and the possibility of adapting analyses and findings from one level to another. Mediation is the classical dialectical term for the establishment of relationships between the formal analysis of a work of art and its social ground. It is ‘dialectical’ because it has to go back and forth between two perhaps very different or even opposed objects: a mediatory reading of the image or text needs to encounter both the surface level of the work or genre conventionalities and its ‘unconscious’ social reading (its position in the historical ground of the rise of the bureaucratic elites, with the associated issues of property owning and political authority). It invites to break out of the specialized compartments of the academic disciplines and to make connections among the seemingly disparate phenomena of social life, which are all seen as expressions of an underlying totality.⁸¹

This socio-historical approach underscores of the social implications of artistic production, most applicable to Roman art owing to the distinctive social stratification of Roman society, although the theory of correspondence between rank and representation of specific insignia may have been wearing thin. Besides epigraphic media, the focus is also on the portrait iconography and monumental or sarcophagi reliefs. All other bodies of material of the period – paintings, mosaics, silverware, glass, etc. – are either too fragmentarily preserved or, with few exceptions, cannot be securely connected with the senatorial aristocracy, let alone a precise category of active imperial

⁸⁰ Although none of pre-capitalist societies, unlike capitalism, where the mode of mediation is uniform, forms a totality, it is still possible to see the late antique society as a unitary form, where art and economics are all part of the same whole. Moreover, it is possibly to criticize the very assumption that capitalism forms a totality through the commodity form as a way of mediation, because the superstructure has a relative autonomy with regards to economic structure, and that along with the unification on the basis of the commodity form, there is a differentiation of cultural fields. Furthermore, in the pre-capitalist formations there is no commodity form as dominant form of mediation. However, the economic base determines the levels of the superstructure not directly, but through overdetermination, on which see Louis Althusser, “Contradiction and Overdetermination: Notes for an Investigation,” in idem., *For Marx* (London: Verso, 1990), 87-128. In the absence of the market as a defining mode of exchange, art and literature depended more on patron-client relations, which were directly determined by the politics and its ideological superstructure.

⁸¹ Fredric Jameson, *Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 39-40.

office-holders. Pierre Bourdieu has attempted to connect specific imagery to a clearly defined social stratum, focusing on the social ‘force field’ of cultural artifacts and emphasizing collective mentalities rather than individual motifs as decisive for the selection of a specific iconography.⁸² Late antique art, in particularly honorific statuary and sarcophagi, can be connected with a particular social stratum, while the iconography and inscriptions are an expression of this stratum-specific and status-related interests.

On the one hand, the public statuary was oriented towards the viewer and addressed a broad audience. Above all, statue bases always carry inscriptions – the statue portraits are rarely preserved and in fact were mostly reused – and the inscriptions always publicize the social status of the honorand, explicitly mentioning or alluding (as is the case of the special genre of poetic inscriptions) to his rank and office. On the other hand, the ‘private’ dedications placed in domestic contexts and, especially, funeral art, for example, sarcophagi, were made for private viewing by a relatively small group of visitors. Occasionally sarcophagus viewing was physically obscured through crowding in the tomb, or intentionally inhibited by interring. In other cases it was staged through deliberate presentation, specific choice of decoration, or distinction in size. Equally, opportunities for viewing sarcophagi before the final placement in tombs deem their iconography worthy of consideration.⁸³ Even if the imagery reflects ‘private values’ and feelings, it shows concern with social status and membership in a particular social order.

However, the inscriptions not always render visible the social status of a honorand or commemorand. In order to identify a statue or sarcophagus as senatorial, one has to follow both epigraphical and iconographical approaches. While an inscription is the only reliable evidence of the social stratum to which the honorand or the deceased belonged, the situation is complicated by the fact that, even if a monument is identified by an inscription as senatorial, it is not necessarily suggestive for the investigation of the senatorial self-image unless it exhibits specific senatorial iconography.⁸⁴ This means that a high imperial toga statue reused for a senatorial honorand is much less informative than new late fourth-century toga type, whose appearance owes to innovations in statue costumes originating from the imperial court. Both costumes, the late antique toga, worn by men of senatorial rank, and new-style chlamys, the military uniform for office-holders in the

⁸² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

⁸³ Janet Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi: Art and Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Barbara Borg, *Crisis and Ambition: Tombs and Burial Customs in Third-Century CE Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 233–35 suggests that monuments stood above the underground burials of some sarcophagi.

⁸⁴ See Björn Christian Ewald, “Sarcophagi and Senators: the Social History of Roman Funerary Art and Its Limits,” *JRA* 16 (2003): 563 on how sarcophagi may be identified as ‘senatorial’. For individual senatorial sarcophagi, see Henning Wrede, *Senatorische Sarcophagi Roms* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2001), 122–23, cat. 19–28; Carola Reinsberg, ed., *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben. Dritter teil: Vita Romana* (Berlin: Mann, 2006). Generally, for the social background of *clarissimi* buried in catacombs, see Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 250.

imperial service, were an innovation in late fourth-century portrait sculpture. While both the new-style toga originating from the eastern court were primarily adopted in the East, the chlamys probably had been commonly worn already before the later fourth century. The honorific inscription and statue of Oecumenius have allowed to make the connection between the chlamydatos costume and governors as opposed to local magistrates. Traditional vestments, the high imperial toga, metonymical for Roman citizenship, and the himation, worn by men in the Greek East, continued to be used and retained their semantic strength in late-antiquity.⁸⁵ Similarly, a typical seasons or bucolic sarcophagus, for instance, which was commissioned, according to the inscription, by a member of the senatorial order, is of little use, because of its general iconography. A military commander's sarcophagus, instead, can, even if uninscribed, be of great interest because its iconography might offer original insights into the senatorial self-image in the later fourth century.⁸⁶

Occasionally iconography rather than epigraphy helps to identify senatorial statuary as such. The garment, in particular, the late antique toga and chlamys, or presence of accessories or attributes such as closed strapped boots (*calcei patricii* or *senatorii*), a kerchief (*mappa*), a scepter (*scipio*), and a belt of service (*cingulum*) identify the honorand as a high imperial office-holder. The same applies for senatorial sarcophagi. Sarcophagi comprise certain attributes and status symbols that allow to link them to the senatorial order, such as a 'service costume',⁸⁷ and, especially, shoes (*calcei senatorii*), 'appointment documents' (*codicilli*), as well as a special seat (*sella curulis*) or an attendance of public servants (*apparitores*). The original senatorial iconography was also adapted by other status groups beneath the senators, which points to an impact of senatorial order on late Roman art, and which is why the iconographic identifications are uncertain, unless the social status of a commemorand is independently confirmed by an inscription referring to the first use of a sarcophagus. The hairstyle, beard-style, and dress-costume on the earliest ivory diptychs dated to the late fourth and early fifth century and on the Theodosian (fig. 88-89) base set up in the hippodrome of Constantinople show the impact of the court fashion and art, distinguishable in the honorific statuary in the provinces.⁸⁸ As Björn Ewald has pointed out, the social history of art has its limits and can only be fully explored by applying a variety of different approaches,⁸⁹ including a look at elite mentalities in a broader sense rather than at the historical conditions of a specific social stratum.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Ulrich Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen in der Spätantike. Chlamydati und Togati* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2012).

⁸⁶ Ewald, "Sarcophagi and Senators," 563.

⁸⁷ Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, has advanced a theory of correspondence between rank and costume making a distinction among "Stadtkostüm," "Dienstkostüm" and "Togakostüm".

⁸⁸ R. R. R. Smith, "The Statue Monument of Oecumenius: A New Portrait of a Late Antique Governor from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 92 (2002): 134-56.

⁸⁹ Ewald, "Sarcophagi and Senators," 567-71.

⁹⁰ Salzman, "Elite Realities and Mentalités," 347-62.

Outline of thesis

In the early 320s the Emperor Constantine carried out the most profound reforms that the governing elite of the Roman Empire ever witnessed. This thesis explores the effects of the institutional transformations on aristocratic identity as mirrored in representational media, charting the ways in which newly integrated senatorial aristocracy conducted their relations with emperors and members of local elites. In order to evaluate transformations in patterns of self-representation, I look at the impact of the establishment of new trans-regional institutions on the identities of their members. With the Constantinian reforms, the ruling elites of the later Roman Empire turned out to be members of the same senatorial order. First, I clarify when each office of the expanded imperial government attained the senatorial status. I then mostly focus on the epigraphic media: inscribed dedications of all genres (honorific, building, votive, funeral, etc.) set up by and for high imperial officials produced in the milieu of the trans-regional aristocracy. Previous research has exaggerated differences in modes of self-display between old and new families as well as metropolitan and provincial members of the imperial aristocracy. Both in their public monuments and in their ‘private’ art, high officials of widely differing social and geographical origins stake out an ideological claim that all members of the unified imperial elite formed part of a trans-regional aristocracy of service, whose identity is defined by their devotion to the imperial state and its ruler.

The opening chapter looks at the senatorial institutions and other collective bodies, such as senate of Rome and Constantinople, religious colleges, imperial court and council. To begin, I examine the first three minor offices held upon an entry to the senate of Rome mostly by the scions of the resident senatorial families at the beginning of their public career – quaestor, praetor, suffect consul – whose main obligation was the organization of games. In the East, of the three offices, only praetorship as an entry level qualification for the senate of Constantinople is attested. No restrictions on aristocratic self-display were placed in Rome, nor in Constantinople, where praetors were only relieved from the distribution of expensive ivory diptychs and gold. These offices, however, are rare in cursus inscriptions after the mid-fourth century. They are usually followed by religious offices, priesthoods, held, at young age, by the sons of the senators of Rome, which, however, gradually disappear from their cursus inscriptions in the late fourth century. At the same time, a rise of a new phenomenon of senatorial bishops is witnessed, with Christian church opening a novel career path alongside the civil and military imperial administration and palatine service.

Next, *comes*, *patricius*, and consul were three honors granted solely by the emperor’s favor. The honors of *comes* and *patricius* had the potential to cut across traditional structures and loyalties. The reformed order of imperial *comites* constituted a new imperial hierarchy and one of the means Constantine supposedly used to generate a new ruling elite. The patriciate was a pure title that was used by emperors to elevate instantly the rank of specific individuals. In spite of its great status, it

had no clearly defined responsibilities. While the ordinary consulship had a few specific official function and duties associated with it, like patriciate, it was granted at the whim of the emperor. Their position at the summit of a senatorial cursus underscored the role of the emperor as the bestower of rank and status. However, only the traditional consulship appears as the highest honor in the inscriptions, while the *comitiva* and the patriciate show particularities of their epigraphic representation. Senates of Rome and Constantinople, which bred a new ruling elite, acted as awarders of public honors and building dedications and played an important role in public ceremonies. The ideology of the imperial aristocracy endorsed the idea of the senate as a world aristocracy. The *comitatus* and *consistorium*, whose principal function was the business of imperial government, articulated by its ceremonial activities the loyalty of the upper echelons of the senatorial elite.

Chapters 2 and 3 explore the ways of self-representation by office-holders of two main branches of imperial government: civil and military. The second chapter turns to senatorial offices in the civil imperial administration, including those held in the city of Rome as well as in the provinces. Among *illustres*, two highest offices were those of praetorian and urban prefect. While the former was the most prominent civil official of the later Roman Empire, placed first of all dignitaries, second in precedence only to the emperor, the latter was head of the city administration both in Rome and later in Constantinople, ranking alongside praetorian prefect. With his own carriage, city prefect, head of the Roman senate, was responsible for building works, ceremony and religious observance, and presided at festivals as the principal urban authority. Next, proconsul, count of the East, Augustal prefect, and vicar, were high-ranking civil officials in provincial administration, whose status rose over the fourth century to second grade senatorial rank (*spectabilis*). Then, provincial governors (*consularis*, *corrector*, *praeses*), prefect of the grain supply and prefect of vigils, *curatores urbis Romae*, legates of proconsul – all held the rank of *clarissimus* by the end of the fourth century. Thousands of honorific and building inscriptions recording their activity have survived.

The third chapter pursues further the representation of the military office-holders in the imperial bureaucracy. The highest-ranking *illustres* were *magister militum*, commander-in-chief of imperial armies, of whom there were seven in the whole empire by the late fourth century, and *comes domesticorum*, commander of the *protectores domestici* and member of the imperial council. Middle-ranking *comes rei militaris* and *dux* were elevated to *spectabiles* only by the turn of the century. By the end of the fourth century lower in status officers such as *tribunus*, *praefectus*, and *primicerius* of *protectores et domestici* eventually reach the clarissimate. Except of *magister militum in praesenti* and *comes domesticorum* at court, all other generals and officers were part of the imperial administration in the provinces. Thus, the main medium of their self-representation is

to be seen in not so numerous building inscriptions from (mostly) military constructions. Honorific statues for fourth-century military office-holders, apart from Stilicho, are extremely rare.

When the third chapter explores the representation of the military elite, the fourth chapter looks closely at palatine functionaries. The highest-ranking offices in palatine service of *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, the official most intimately connected to the emperor, and *comites consistoriani* (*magister officiorum*, *quaestor*, *comes sacrarum largitionum*, *comes rerum privatarum*), fixed imperial advisors, were promoted to *illustres* at least by the 380s. Middle ranks such as two main subordinates of grand chamberlain in the domestic administration of the palace (*primicerius sacri cubiculi* and *castrensis sacri palatii*) as well as *primicerius notariorum* and *magistri scriniorum* (*memoriae*, *libellorum*, *epistularum* and *epistularum graecarum*) were promoted to *spectabiles*, considerably faster than their military counterparts. *Comes largitionum* as well as *rationalis*, *princeps scholae agentium in rebus*, *magister dispositionum*, and lastly, *proximi scriniorum* remained *clarissimi* until the end of the century. As they neither received nor dedicated any honorific or other inscribed monuments while holding these offices, their means of self-representation must lie elsewhere. I suggest that the palatine elite must be understood as part of the imperial ‘panegyric milieu’ – with honorary statuary as only one of its elements – and ceremonial owed to their proximity to the emperor.

The ‘core’ chapters 2, 3, and 4 thereby explore the three career paths available in the fourth century. Already from mid-fourth century a ‘mixed’ type of career is also documented, which becomes more common since the reign of Valentinian and Gratian, witnessing senators of Rome embarking on the aulic service, which allows to trace a shift in the public of resident aristocracy. The subchapters on ‘artistic expression’ I, II, and III attempt to highlight the key media primarily accessible for the self-representation for each corresponding career type of officials and to bring to light other means of representation employed by the three ‘core’ groups, respectively. When the emperor presented himself as a global ruler, the position of these groups in the structures of imperial rule was also reconfigured. With codes regularly broken and etiquette frequently breached, the potency of the ideal of hierarchy and order dominates the self-representation of empire and its senatorial elites throughout the century.

The fifth chapter focuses on the modes of representation of senatorial women in the fourth century. The art honoring fourth-century senatorial women was above all sepulchral. A significant number of *clarissimae feminae* were commemorated both in the imperial centers and in the provinces, but more prominently in the city of Rome with its important resident aristocracy. Marble sarcophagi carved with clipeus portraits, image of the *dextrarum iunctio*, and figural scenes were placed in the above-ground cemeteries and situated inside mausoleums and hypogeums. These tombs include inscription panels with epigraphic information about their dedicators and dedicatees.

In the fourth century in the sepulchral sphere one witnesses a move away from the traditional modes of expression found in the third. In her recent study of third-century tombs in Rome, Barbara Borg argued that, given the smaller size of tomb buildings at the time, the sarcophagi themselves ‘were often meant to serve as monuments in their own right, intended to commemorate, however modestly, the deceased buried within them’.⁹¹ Yet, marked by conventional terminology and distinct phraseology expressing religious affiliation, funeral inscriptions highlight the senatorial rank of deceased women as they do with regard to the rank and office of the male commemorators and commemorated. What counted in case of senatorial women was the status of their fathers and husbands. With regard to the Christianization, imagery changed from a huge majority of non-Christian motifs in the later third century to the opposite scenario in the second half of the fourth.⁹² Votive dedications by women and their honorific monuments, both of a private nature, are of limited numbers.

After a brief conclusion, the main text is then followed by an appendix with a list of fourth-century senatorial honorific inscriptions – with senators acting as both awarders and honorands – that are missing from the *PLRE* 1. The second appendix regarding the senatorial statue garments contains three tables: 1) fourth-century honorific statues wearing the toga; 2) fourth-century honorific statues wearing the pallium, chlamys, or cuirass; and 3) fourth-century busts. No claim is made in these appendices to offer a ‘full’ catalog of new senatorial honorific inscriptions or extant statuary. The third appendix is that of figures.

Lastly, renunciations have had to be made. Among many worthwhile directions in which the study of the senatorial aristocracy could be extended, it is proper to acknowledge the two most obvious omissions from this project: no attempt is made here to deal either with the provincial senatorial aristocracies or with an extended imperial family, members of which were clearly aristocrats, as long as their representatives do not appear as office-holders in the inscriptions. The exclusion of these two specific groups is explained by the emphasis on office-holding. The gradual disappearance of the ‘epigraphic habit’, for example, in Gaul, poses limits to the study of the senatorial representation as manifested in visual and material sources even in the period when Trier and Arles were imperial residences and aristocracy’s links to government were particularly strong. Additionally, I deal very limitedly with the ‘Christianization’ of the senatorial aristocracy, despite the fact that the field of research on late antiquity has currently been dominated by the ‘pagan/Christian’ model, whose authority is worth of questioning. A new scholarly discourse that is not based on religious categories may thereby emerge on the imperial elites of the later Roman Empire.

⁹¹ Borg, *Crisis and Ambition*, 211.

⁹² Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*, 31.

Chapter one. Imperial aristocracy: senators and new hierarchies of honors

I. *Quaestor, praetor, consul suffectus*

I begin with quaestor. By the end of the third century, of all pre-consular functions only the quaestorship and praetorship remained part of the senatorial career. Senators continued to hold offices with republican titles – quaestor, praetor, (suffect) consul – even though they had become by now only minor posts at the beginning of the traditional career. Under the tetrarchy the senatorial starter office of quaestor allowed the sons of senators to enroll formally in the senate, as it persisted after Constantine's reforms of a hierarchy of senatorial ranks.⁹³ Senators by birth, who needed to hold specific magistracies to confirm their status, pursue the office of quaestor, which conferred actual participatory membership in the senate.⁹⁴ The quaestorship, the office held by senators of traditional families in Rome at the start of their career, is unattested in Constantinople. It was rather never introduced in Constantinople than merely not mentioned, similarly to the suffect consulship. The office of quaestor was only occasionally documented in honorific inscriptions in Rome in the fourth century.⁹⁵ In the late 320s Constantine legislated on behalf of under-age quaestors, removing the obligatory fine required from older quaestors missing from the city during the games that they were obliged to stage (*CTh* 6.4.1: 329). Rome's resident aristocrats usually held a quaestorship around age sixteen as it constituted a minimum age mandated by the same law. An election to the office of quaestor was followed by a formal enrollment into the senate (*CTh* 6.4.1; 6.4.2: 327).

Organizing games was compulsory for quaestors. Two types of quaestors are known in Rome: the so-called *quaestores candidati* who held games on 8 and 20 December, and the titular *quaestores arcarii*, who staged games in honor of the imperial cult on 4, 5, 6, 19, 21 and 23 December, and who were supported financially from the imperial fisc.⁹⁶ A. Chastagnol suggested that attested *quaestores candidati*, all members of the Roman aristocracy, were elected on the recommendation of the emperor. However, this cannot be proven. Chastagnol also argued that *quaestores arcarii*, although enrolled into the senate, were not eligible to apply for posts. However, the assumption that all epigraphically recorded quaestors were *candidati* cannot be verified. The adlection allowed entry to the senate without serving in the lowest-ranking magistracy in the senatorial hierarchy and fulfilling the requirement to hold games.⁹⁷ On the other hand, senators by

⁹³ On this magistracy, see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 530. Benet Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite in the Fourth Century AD," in *Elites in the Ancient World*, ed. Piotr Briks (Szczecin: Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 2015), 199–220 calls for a more nuanced understanding of the Constantinian reforms, including the reduction in the importance of the quaestorship and the upgrading of equestrian offices to senatorial rank, and points to the desired effects of these reforms on the senatorial aristocracy of Rome.

⁹⁴ Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*, 243–44 wrongly maintains that entry was through the praetorship.

⁹⁵ On the absence of the quaestorship in Constantinople, see Löhken, *Ordines dignitatum*, 122.

⁹⁶ Michele Renee Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 123, 181; Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*, 242–45.

⁹⁷ On *adlectio* into the senate of Rome, see Paolo Garbarino, *Ricerche sulla procedura di ammissione al Senato nel tardo impero romano* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1988), 1–72, 282–335; Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*.

birth could be excluded from the *ordo* if they failed to meet the requirements of *clarissimus* rank (the minor qualifying office of a quaestorship) as maintained by Symmachus' *Oration* 8. Upon being called up to serve as quaestor, they should have possessed the necessary funds to provide the games, as an obligation of the office held, otherwise they had to relinquish the senatorial rank. The ruling could have been appealed at a later date and the candidate could apply for readmission to the senatorial order by the award of the quaestorship.

By the last decades of the fourth century members of the traditional late Roman elite had begun to commemorate the games held while in office of quaestor by distribution of ivory diptychs. While most surviving diptychs from the two next centuries were issued by consuls, magistrates who presented them in the late fourth century were exclusively those who provided games.⁹⁸ None of the late fourth-century quaestorian diptychs is extant, but Symmachus' correspondence testifies to distributors of these items in Rome. Thus, in a letter (2.81) sent to Nicomachus Flavianus the elder in 393/94 Symmachus tells that his son offered him his 'quaestorian gifts' (*dona quaestoria*) after the games, which Memmius organized as *quaestor candidatus* in 393 at the age of nine, in a similar way in which he honors the rest of connections (*ceteras necessitudines*). Flavianus is thanked for splendid contributions to the quaestor's spectacle, and offered by the father of the young magistrate diptychs and souvenirs (*diptycha et apophoreta*). Symmachus also boasts that he sent the Emperor Eugenius a diptych with gold trim (*auro circumdatum*), found also among illustrations for *illustres* of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Meanwhile, other friends were honored with ivory writing-tablets (*eburneis pugillaribus*) and silver bowls. Symmachus entrusts to his friend the distribution of the enclosed gifts (*quae missa sunt*) to important individuals of his own choice.⁹⁹ Another letter (5.56) presents the same combination of gifts dispatched to an important aristocrat who had missed the games. Symmachus elaborates on the content of the gifts in yet another letter (7.76), where he says that it is 'a duty and a pleasure' (*religiosum atque votivum*) to offer the customary gifts of *quaestores candidati* 'to eminent people and close friends' (*potissimis atque amicissimis*), a category in which the addressee is included. Again, the latter is presented with an ivory diptych and two-pound silver bowl (*eburneum diptychum et canistellum argenteum librarum duarum*) in the name of Symmachus' son, who had performed his quaestorian liturgy. The *dona quaestoria* thus consisted of a package of a diptych and a silver bowl.

The quaestorship marked the start of a senatorial cursus. It is, however, debated whether the senate already under Constantine began to enjoy greater autonomy in the selection of its own

⁹⁸ Alan Cameron, "The Origin, Context and Function of Consular Diptychs," *JRS* 103 (2013): 179-80.

⁹⁹ Cameron, "The Origin," 180 suggests that Symmachus expected from his friend 'serving praetorian prefect at court' to distribute those gifts among important people there, but prefect was not, at least in theory, a member of the imperial *comitatus*.

members.¹⁰⁰ A now lost base for a statue of Ceionius Rufius Albinus, consul and prefect of the city, set up by the decree of the senate in 336-37, might have referred to this practice. The statue base was recorded by the ninth-century *Einsiedeln Itinerary* as seen ‘in Capitolio’. According to the fragmentary inscription, as first reconstructed by O. Seeck and interpreted by G. Alföldy, Albinus was honored ‘because by his intervention for his children seeking the quaestorship, he gained for it (i.e. the senate) the authority to create all quaestors, for the first since the time of Caesar (*post Caesariana tempora*), that is after 381 years’ (trans. C. Machado).¹⁰¹ If the reading suggested by O. Seeck and (partly) adopted by Alföldy is correct, on the petition of Albinus Constantine would have restored the right of electing quaestors to the senate in Rome, the authority that it had not had since the end of the republic. However, F. Del Chicca has recently suggested that the inscription has altogether nothing to do with Constantine returning the authority to elect quaestors to the senate, and offered a restoration proposal which supplements the place where the statue for Albinus was set up, the Capitoline hill.¹⁰² Del Chicca questions that it was necessary for the emperors to make an official declaration of renunciation of the recommendation of the candidates to the quaestorship or to the praetorship, and holds that the custom had disappeared for natural reasons, that is, because these positions, now almost stripped of magistrate’s powers, had been transformed, for those born *clarissimi*, into obligatory burdens.¹⁰³

Quaestors themselves very rarely acted as statue awarders. Only Anicius Probus, *quaestor candidatus*, co-dedicated two statues to his parents in 395. The quaestorship was his first senatorial posting. One statue was awarded to Sextus Petronius Probus by Anicius Probus together with his brother Anicius Probinus, when the latter was consul in 395.¹⁰⁴ Another statue was erected by the brothers to their mother, Anicia Faltonia Proba.¹⁰⁵ The dedications were apparently timed for the consulship of the elder brother. The familial character of these dedications points to a domestic context or possibly even a family mausoleum.¹⁰⁶

The mention of the quaestorship in the cursus inscriptions usually suggests descentance from a traditional senatorial family and an earlier rather than later fourth-century date. The traditional *cursus honorum* led through a number of minor qualifying offices, and first of all, the quaestorship. In the epigraphic cursus *quaestor candidatus* alternates with *quaestor*, the variation

¹⁰⁰ André Chastagnol, *Les fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1962), 93.

¹⁰¹ *CIL* 6 41318=LSA-1416: ... [quaesturam petentibus interventu eius] / post Caesariana tempora, id est post annos CCCLXXX et I, [primum sibi quaestorum omnium creandorum] / auctoritatem decreverit, [statua honoravit].... *PLRE* 1, 37 Ceionius Rufius Albinus 14.

¹⁰² Fanny Del Chicca, “La presunta restituzione al senato dell’auctoritas di nominare i magistrati minori,” *ZPE* 204 (2017): 284: ... [postulantibus, statuae in Capitolio ponendae] / post Caesariana tempora, id est post annos / CCCLXXX et I, auctoritatem decreuerit....

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 286.

¹⁰⁴ *CIL* 6 1752=LSA-1459. *PLRE* 2, 913-14 Fl. Anicius Petronius Probus 11.

¹⁰⁵ *CIL* 6 1754=ILS 1269=LSA-1461.

¹⁰⁶ Carlos Machado, “Roman Aristocrats and the Christianization of Rome,” in *Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire: the Breaking of a Dialogue*, eds. Peter Brown and Rita Lizzi Testa (Berlin: LIT, 2011), 511-12.

which cannot be explained by the difference of the social background.¹⁰⁷ Quaestors were not honored as such with the honorific monuments; the office was merely occasionally listed preceding all others. Moreover, the quaestorship is mentioned only in the full cursus inscriptions accompanying honorary statues. The emperor's law of 329 conceding an exemption for underage quaestors from payment of the fine privileged the wealthy traditional senatorial families, seeking to enrol their sons, some of them younger than required, as early as possible. Thus, the quaestorship is recorded in the early to mid-fourth century Rome for Lucius Crepereius Madalianus (*quaestor candidatus*),¹⁰⁸ Attius Insteius Tertullus (*quaestor candidatus*) (fig. 9),¹⁰⁹ Marcus Nummius Albinus *signo* Triturrius (*quaestor candidatus*) (fig. 16),¹¹⁰ Attius Insteius Tertullus *signo* Populonium (*quaestor candidatus*),¹¹¹ Lucius Turcius Apronianus (*quaestor*) (fig. 25),¹¹² Lucius Turcius Secundus (*quaestor*) (fig. 8),¹¹³ Attius Caecilius Maximilianus (*quaestor*) (fig. 27),¹¹⁴ Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus (*quaestor candidatus*),¹¹⁵ and Quintus Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus (*quaestor candidatus*).¹¹⁶ Also, a now lost base for a bronze statue to Orfitus, erected in Rome to its patron by the guild of all contractors (*corpus omnium mancipum*), records in a descending order that he was a member of the college of fifteen men for sacred affairs, suffect consul, *praetor*, *quaestor* (*quaestor candidatus*), 'having fulfilled all honors at an early age'.¹¹⁷

After the mid-fourth century the mention of quaestorship is rare in the cursus inscriptions, recorded in the late fourth-century Rome for Virius Nicomachus Flavianus (*quaestor*) (fig. 3),¹¹⁸ Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus (*quaestor cand(idatus)?*),¹¹⁹ Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus *signo* Kamenius (*quaestor candidatus*) (fig. 20),¹²⁰ and Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (*quaestor candidatus*).¹²¹ Also, Anicius Auchenius Bassus was *quaestor candidatus* (*quaestori candidato uno eodemque tempore praetori tutelari proconsuli Campaniae*).¹²² The authors of the *PLRE* believed that the quaestorship and praetorship were 'evidently regarded as a single magistracy', but this

¹⁰⁷ Wolfgang Kuhoff, *Studien zur zivilen senatorischen Laufbahn im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Ämter und Amtsinhaber in Clarissimat und Spektabilität* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1983), 20-27.

¹⁰⁸ *CIL* 14 4449=*LSA*-1660. *PLRE* 1, 530 Lucius Crepereius Madalianus.

¹⁰⁹ *CIL* 6 1696=*LSA*-1401. *PLRE* 1, 883-84 Attius Insteius Tertullus 6.

¹¹⁰ *CIL* 6 1748=*LSA*-1457. *PLRE* 1, 37 Marcus Nummius Albinus 13.

¹¹¹ *CIL* 6 1697=*LSA*-1402. *PLRE* 1, 884 Attius Insteius Tertullus *signo* Populonium 7.

¹¹² *CIL* 6 1768=*LSA*-1467, *CIL* 6 1769=*LSA*-1468. *PLRE* 1, 88-89 Lucius Turcius Apronianus 10.

¹¹³ *CIL* 6 1772=*LSA*-1469. *PLRE* 1 817-18 Lucius Turcius Secundus *signo* Asterius 6.

¹¹⁴ *CIL* 6 41332=*LSA*-1252. No *PLRE* entry.

¹¹⁵ *CIL* 6 1739=*LSA*-1441, *CIL* 6 1740=*LSA*-1442, *CIL* 6 1741=*LSA*-1443, *CIL* 6 1742=*LSA*-1444. *PLRE* 1, 651-53 Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus 3.

¹¹⁶ *CIL* 6 1723+1757=37112=*ILS* 1225=*LSA*-1426. *PLRE* 1 512-14 Quintus Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus *signo* Mavortius 5.

¹¹⁷ *CIL* 6 1742=*LSA*-1444.

¹¹⁸ *CIL* 6 1782=*LSA*-271. *PLRE* 1 347-49 Virius Nicomachus Flavianus 15.

¹¹⁹ *CIL* 6 41342a=*AE* 1934, 160=*LSA*-306. *PLRE* 1 736-40 Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus.

¹²⁰ *CIL* 6 1675=*LSA*-1392, restored to *CIL* 6 31940=*LSA*-1569. *PLRE* 1 474-75 Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus *signo* Kamenius 25.

¹²¹ *CIL* 6 1778=*LSA*-1473. *PLRE* 1, 722-24 Vettius Agorius Praetextatus 1.

¹²² *CIL* 6 1679=*LSA*-1354. *PLRE* 1, 152-54 Anicius Auchenius Bassus 11.

combination of offices is not otherwise known. Chastagnol has interpreted it as a synchronization formula indicating a simultaneous assumption of *quaestura* and *praetura*.¹²³ On the other hand, A. Cameron argues that ‘*uno eodemque tempore*’ connects the *praetura* with the proconsulship of Campania, the next office in the *cursus*, since cumulation of the quaestorship and praetorship is not likely and since the praetorship could not be held at a too young age, as it presupposed judicial functions.¹²⁴ Otherwise, rather than celebrating a special imperial favor, the inscription would document an inexplicable delay in Bassus’ access to political life. The expression ‘*trini magistratus insignia*’ does not include the quaestorship.

Outside of Rome, in Campanian cities, Caius Appius Eunomius Sapidianus (*quaestor candidatus*),¹²⁵ Quintus Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus (*q(uaestor) k(andidatus)*)¹²⁶ and Egnatius Caecilius Antistius Lucerinus (*q(uaestor) q(andidatus?)*) are attested in the period from the early to mid-fourth century.¹²⁷ In addition, Iulius Aurelius Auxon Leonidas was probably a native of Capua (in *cives patriamque*, ll.6-7).¹²⁸ It is suggested that he was a local notable granted senatorial rank (*honoratus*), but did not aspire to a career in an imperial office in the fourth century. The senatorial rank in the fourth century was not necessarily connected with holding an office. Constantine and his successors had elevated numerous local notables throughout the empire to senatorial order, who enjoyed a status of *honorati* of the highest rank, independently of the senate, but did not pursue a career in the imperial service.¹²⁹ The legislation on rank, besides exemption from curial duties, set them even above the imperial administrators, who now had to contend with honorary senators. Later in the fourth century, Ragonius Vincentius Celsus is documented to begin his career while being very young.¹³⁰ Starting with the minor qualifying offices of the quaestorship he thence progressed to the prefecture of the annona of the city of Rome.

Similarly, funeral inscriptions record the *cursus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus signo Kamenius (*quaestor candidatus*)¹³¹ and Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (*quaestor candidatus*) (fig. 68).¹³² Thereafter, in Italy, [---]nius Tineius Tarrutenius Atticus is documented at Castel Madama

¹²³ Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 213; Lizzi Testa, *Senatori, popolo, papi*, 320 n.431 explains the possibility of the joint quaestorship and praetorship by Bassus’ adoption in the *gens Anicia (restitutor generis Aniciorum, CIL 14 2917)*.

¹²⁴ Alan Cameron, “Polyonymy in the Late Roman Aristocracy: The Case of Petronius Probus,” *JRS* 75 (1985): 167-68.

¹²⁵ *CIL* 10 3844=*LSA*-1933 (Capua). *PLRE* 1, 802 Caius Appius Eunomius Sapidianus.

¹²⁶ Campania: *CIL* 10 4752=*ILS* 1223=*LSA*-1970, *CIL* 10 1696=*LSA*-43, *CIL* 10 1695=*LSA*-332, *ILS* 1224b=*AE* 1977, 199=*LSA*-1909, *AE* 1977, 198=*LSA*-47.

¹²⁷ *AE* 1973, 136=*LSA*-401 (Capua). *PLRE* 1, 515 Luce....

¹²⁸ *CIL* 10 3857=*LSA*-1940 (Capua). *PLRE* 1, 499 Iulius Aurelius Auxon Leonidas signo Carradius.

¹²⁹ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 534-35; André Chastagnol, “La carrière sénatoriale du Bas-Empire depuis Diocletien,” in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio, I. Atti del Colloquio internazionale AIEGL, Roma 14-20 maggio 1981* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1982), 167-92, 172-73; John Noel Dillon, “The Inflation of Rank and Privilege: Regulating Precedence in the Fourth Century AD,” in *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. Johannes Wienand (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 54, 65.

¹³⁰ *CIL* 10 4560=*LSA*-1963, *CIL* 14 173=6 1760=*LSA*-1653. *PLRE* 1, 195-96 Ragonius Vincentius Celsus 9.

¹³¹ *ILS* 1264.

¹³² *CIL* 6 1779.

near Tibur in Regio I in the mid- or late fourth century.¹³³ He is styled *clarissimae memoriae vir*, and died aged twenty-eight. Tineius Tarrutenius Atticus is known only from his funeral inscription. *PLRE* restores ‘Nonius’ owing to a forcible approximation with Nonius Atticus. C. Settapani, however, suggests the restoration, due to marriage connections between the Tarrutenii and the Ovinii, of the name [Ovi]nius to the inscription, and ‘*quaestori kandidati*’ as the first magistracy in the cursus.¹³⁴

Now I turn to praetors. The traditional *cursus honorum* led through a series of magistracies that went back to the era of the republic such as *quaestor* and *praetor*. In 329 Constantine legislated on under-age praetors, removing the fine for an absence from Rome during their compulsory games (*CTh* 6.4.1: 329), in the interests of the richest senatorial families.¹³⁵ Serving in the qualifying post of praetor allowed to seek a post in the provinces.¹³⁶ On the basis of *CTh* 3.32.2 and *CJ* 7.62.17, Chastagnol first argued that Constantine introduced two praetors who gave games in Constantinople between 330 and 337.¹³⁷ M. Moser suggests that *CTh* 3.32.2 (from 322 or 326) does not document a Constantinian praetor in Constantinople under Constantine, as Chastagnol and others have previously thought, but points instead to the possibility that such a praetorship was introduced in Rome during his rule. A praetor of this title is otherwise not known in Rome but is attested in Constantinople under Constantius (*CTh* 6.4.5,6: 340). The existence of praetors as part of the urban council in Constantinople cannot be substantiated. Furthermore, Moser argues that the evidence does not support an existence of an imperial senate in Constantinople in the Constantinian period.

The ruling of 340 (*CTh* 6.4.5,6) is the earliest secure reference to games termed ‘praetorian’ in Constantinople. Three annual praetorships recorded in the law, charged with financing and organizing games in the city, were called ‘Flavian’, ‘Constantinian’, and ‘triumphal’, respectively. They were established to celebrate the Flavian house, its founder Constantine and the triumphant nature of its rule.¹³⁸ Constantius is thereby credited with an institution of the praetorian games in the

¹³³ *CIL* 14 3517 (Castel Madama (Latium)). Michel Christol, “Remarques sur la carrière de L(ucius) Mummius Faustinus, consul ordinaire en 262,” in *L’Africa romana. Mobilità delle persone e dei popoli, dinamiche migratorie, emigrazioni ed immigrazioni nelle province occidentali dell’Impero romano. Atti del XVI convegno di studio Rabat, 15–19 dicembre 2004*, ed. Aomar Akerraz et al. (Rome: Carocci, 2006), 1852 n.55. *PLRE* 1, 123 Tineius Tarrutenius Atticus 4.

¹³⁴ Christian Settapani, *Continuité gentile et continuité familiale dans les familles sénatoriales romaines à l’époque impériale: mythe et réalité. Addenda I - III (juillet 2000- octobre 2002)* (Oxford: Unit for prosopographical research, 2002), 28: [L. Ovi]nio ... [q k, p]raetori tutelario....

¹³⁵ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 38.

¹³⁶ On this magistracy, see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 530. Cf. Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*, 243–44, who holds that entry to the senate of Rome was through the praetorship.

¹³⁷ André Chastagnol, “Remarques sur les sénateurs orientaux au IV^{ème} siècle,” *Acta Antiqua Accademiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24 (1976): 341–56, 346–47; idem, *Le sénat romain*, 251–53. Followed by David Potter, *Constantine the Emperor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013), 266; Alexander Skinner, “The Early Development of the Senate of Constantinople,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32 (2008): 141–43; with reservations, Peter Heather “Senators and Senates” in *The Cambridge Ancient History, 13, The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425*, eds. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 185.

¹³⁸ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 146.

city.¹³⁹ It is commonly accepted that, in the absence of the quaestorship, these praetorships were qualifying offices, by analogy with Rome, pursued with the purpose of joining the senate in Constantinople.¹⁴⁰ Moser argues, against Chastagnol, that these ‘praetorian’ games were staged by the urban elite of Constantinople, members of the municipal council of the city.¹⁴¹ Arguing that there was no imperial senate in Constantinople under Constantine, she follows G. Dagron, who saw the character of the assembly at Constantinople in the 340s as a municipal council. Moser concludes that in this period the assembly to which these three praetors were attached was still a municipal council rather than a senate.

With the institution of the senate of Constantinople, the praetorship became an expense incurred upon the successful admission (Lib. *Ep.* 86). Both the *adlectio inter praetores* and *inter consulares* exempted the adlected individual from the obligation of serving as praetor.¹⁴² The imperial *adlecti* like Themistius (*Or.* 26.326) were exempted from the requirement to hold games as praetors. To enhance the prestige of praetors, Constantius commanded that the nominations of the candidates for this post were to be held on his birthday (*CTh* 6.4.10: 356). Senatorial rank obliged a nominee to hold a praetorship requiring great expenditure, providing games or construction works. Well-established senators and well-off families sending their sons into the senate were keen to publicize their wealth and status by putting on splendid shows or by immortalizing their names on the buildings of Constantinople. Just like in case of the quaestorship in Rome, *clarissimi* by birth could face an exclusion from the senatorial order, if they could not meet the obligation.¹⁴³ The right of electing praetors to the senate by the assembly itself was now also applied in the senate in Constantinople.¹⁴⁴ Constantius clarified that the responsibility for the nomination of praetors rested on the senate (*CTh* 6.4.15: 359).

In 361 Constantius added two more praetorships to the three already existing (*CTh* 6.4.13) and increased the sums attached to them.¹⁴⁵ The emperor conceded a designation of praetors up to ten years in advance before the holding of the office to assist families to prepare for the expense. Constantius rearranged the hierarchy of the praetorships in Constantinople, introducing two new ones. Moser reconstructed the titles and their order in the following way: Flavian praetor was moved to the third place, giving precedence to Constantian and Constantinian ones, while the other two

¹³⁹ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 537-41; Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale, Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), 125, 150 n.7.

¹⁴⁰ See Heather, “Senators and Senates,” 185.

¹⁴¹ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 142-43.

¹⁴² On Roman rules and procedures applied in Constantinople, see Paolo Garbarino, *Ricerche sulla procedura di ammissione al Senato nel tardo impero romano* (Milan, A. Giuffrè Editore, 1988), 240-44.

¹⁴³ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 245.

¹⁴⁴ On the adlection procedures in Constantinople, regarded as similar, if not identical, to those in Rome, Garbarino, *Ricerche sulla procedura*, 243; Robert Malcolm Errington, *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 155-56.

¹⁴⁵ For the legislation on the praetorships in 361, see *CTh* 1. 6. 1; 1. 28. 1; 6. 4. 12-13; 7. 8. 1; 11. 1. 7; 11. 15. 1; 11. 23. 1; 12. 1. 48; 13. 1. 3; 15. 1. 7.

where Triumphal and Roman, respectively (*CTh* 6.4.25).¹⁴⁶ Of those, three praetors had to stage public entertainments, while two others had been allotted to provide for public works (*CTh* 6.4.13.1,2). Moser suggests the differences between Rome and Constantinople, comprising stricter rules and higher sums for the praetorship in the West, may reflect the differences in senatorial self-display.

The imperial legislation (*CTh* 6.4.24: 376) imposed a restriction on the amounts that could be spent on the praetorships in Constantinople. In the East, where consular games took precedence over praetorian games, praetorian expenditure was decreased by limiting the right of issuing diptychs to consuls (*CTh* 15.9.1: 384).¹⁴⁷ However, in Rome praetorian games retained their importance well into the fifth century. In the fourth century they saw no competition from western ordinary consuls, who very rarely gave games in Rome, if at all. Given that praetors entered on an office in their early twenties, sometimes in their teens, giving games meant a competition in ostentatious expenditure among the richest and most powerful families, who strove to outdo one another in extravagance. A practice of overspending on games and obligatory gift-giving, with its competitive quality, involved the sumptuary destruction of accumulated wealth, but offered the consolidation of family connections and affirmation of its social superiority. The centrality of the praetorian games for the resident aristocratic families at Rome is exemplified in Symmachus' own correspondence. In 401 Symmachus distributed the same combination of diptych and silver bowl in commemoration of Memmius' praetorian games as he did for his quaestorian ones (*Ep.* 5.56). Some silver *largitio* bowls have survived. Olympiodorus (F 44 Müller=41.2 Bockley) states that praetors celebrated their festivals for seven days.¹⁴⁸

The aforementioned fragmentary inscription of an honorary statue to Rufius Albinus, urban prefect of Rome from 335 to 337, stated, according to Seeck, that Albinus was able to persuade the emperor to restore 'the right of the senate' (*auctoritas*) to co-opt both *quaestors* and *praetors* without the interference of the emperor.¹⁴⁹ Alföldy modified the proposal to '[*primum sibi quaestorum omnium creandorum*]', leaving out the praetorship. He suggested that the senate

¹⁴⁶ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 358-59.

¹⁴⁷ Cameron, "The Origin," 194.

¹⁴⁸ André Chastagnol, "Observations sur le consulat suffect et la préture au Bas-Empire," *Revue historique* 219 (1958): 241 placed these seven days as the first week of January, but Alan Cameron, "Probus' Praetorian Games," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 25 (1984): 193-96 identified them as the late republican and early imperial games, the *ludi Apollinares*, provided by the praetors of Rome, which by the mid-fourth century lasted from 5 to 13 July, suggesting that the number of days were reduced by the 420s or if the festival still lasted for nine days, only seven actually offered games.

¹⁴⁹ *CIL* 6 31906=ILS 1222: ... [*exoratus d. n. Constantinus max. p. f. semper Aug.*] / *post Caesariana tempora id est post annos CCCLXXX et I [sibi praetorum quaestorumq. creandor.] auctoritatem decreuerit....* Otto Seeck, "Die Inschrift des Ceionius Rufinus Albinus," *Hermes* 19 (1884): 186-97, Rita Lizzi Testa, "Constantino et il senato Romano," in *Constantino I. Enciclopedia Costantiniana sulla fi gura e l'immagine dell' imperatore del cosiddetto editto di Milano 313- 2013*, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2013), 359-60. For Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*, 254-58, the issue at stake was granting the senate the authority to vote on the admission of imperial adlecti. *Contra*: Del Chicca, *La presunta restituzione*, 280-86.

honored Rufinus Albinus with a statue, because, at the time when his sons (perhaps twins) aspired to the quaestorship, the senate on his intervention was given back the *auctoritas* to elect *quaestors*, lost in 45/44, when Caesar was allowed to choose half of the candidates to magistracies (excluding the consulship).¹⁵⁰ However, it cannot be substantiated.

The inscription for a statue to Lucius Aradius Valerius Proculus, set up by command of Emperor Constantine I in the Forum of Trajan in 336-37, reproduces an imperial letter addressed to the senate (*oratio ad senatum*), which begins with the emperors' greetings 'to consuls, praetors, tribunes of the plebs and their own senate'.¹⁵¹ This greeting formula was irrelevant in the fourth century, by which time these offices either lost their previous importance or disappeared altogether – '*tribunus*' was no more than a name – and the consuls most frequently resided at court than in Rome. A tribune of the plebs (*tribunus plebis*) is, however, attested in Constantinople, but perhaps an honorary title only (*CTh* 6.4.17.3).¹⁵² This formula, however, evoked a republican tradition and showed a continuity of the practice of the ritualized communication with the senate. The republican formula employed demonstrated familiarity with the traditional language that continued to be used by the imperial chancellery. Since the inscription is not complete, it is unknown whether the statue award was the senate's or the emperor's initiative.

The praetorship became the most important office qualifying for holding the provincial governorships. In Constantinople it was the starter office in the absence of the quaestorship. In Rome there were *praetor urbanus*, *praetor tutelaris*, and *praetor triumphalis*, who are attested epigraphically throughout the fourth century.¹⁵³ Only two of these praetorships are named in the laws: urban praetor and tutelary praetor, but not praetor of triumphs (*CTh* 3.32.2=*CJ* 5.71.8 and 7.62.17). The resident aristocrats of Rome are mostly attested as *praetores urbani*.¹⁵⁴ Around 322 Constantine may also have created *praetor Constantinianus* in Rome (*CTh* 3.32.2),¹⁵⁵ but he is not recorded in the inscriptions. In Constantinople, where also three praetorships are documented, the law of 340 (*CTh* 6.4.5) names *praetor triumphalis* third. The same title probably remained among five praetorships in 361 (*CTh* 6.4.13), but, with the sequence changed, *praetor triumphalis* was perhaps placed fourth in the hierarchy.

In the East, only three individuals are documented as praetors until the end of the century, of the total number of around 300.¹⁵⁶ In the West, W. Kuhoff counted 28 attested *praetors* of 236 possible posts between 312 and 400.¹⁵⁷ In the early fourth century, the following praetors are

¹⁵⁰ *CIL* 6 41318 with pp. 5051-52.

¹⁵¹ *CIL* 6 40776=*LSA*-2685. *PLRE* 1, 747-49 L. Aradius Valerius Proculus *signo* Populonium 11.

¹⁵² Löhken, *Ordines dignitatum*, 121.

¹⁵³ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 22-23.

¹⁵⁴ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 28.

¹⁵⁵ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 69-72, as a possible reading of *CTh* 3.32.2, *CJ* 5.71.18, and *CJ* 7.62.17.

¹⁵⁶ *PLRE* 1, 110 Arsenius 1, 323 Facundus 1, and 621 Nectarius 1 (*praetor urbanus*).

¹⁵⁷ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 27.

recorded in the honorific cursus inscriptions: Lucius Aradius Valerius Proculus (*praetor tutelaris*) (in 318-20),¹⁵⁸ Lucius Crepereius Madalianus,¹⁵⁹ Attius Insteius Tertullus (*praetor kandidatus*) (fig. 9),¹⁶⁰ Marcus Nummius Albinus (*praetor urbanus*) (fig. 16),¹⁶¹ Attius Insteius Tertullus *signo* Populonium (*praetor kandidatus*),¹⁶² Lucius Turcius Apronianus (fig. 25),¹⁶³ Lucius Turcius Secundus (fig. 8),¹⁶⁴ and Attius Caecilius Maximilianus (*praetor kandidatus*) (fig. 27).¹⁶⁵ The kind of the praetorship of Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus is not specified,¹⁶⁶ but one of the inscriptions indicates that besides priesthoods he held his quaestorship, praetorship and suffect consulship, ‘having fulfilled all honors at an early age’.¹⁶⁷

Around the middle of the fourth century *praetor kandidatus*, although does not disappear altogether from the inscriptions, becomes rare. In the later fourth century, all three kinds of praetorships are documented in Rome with Anicius Auchenius Bassus (*praetor tutelaris*),¹⁶⁸ Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus (*praetor urbanus*),¹⁶⁹ Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus *signo* Kamenius (*praetor triumphalis*) (fig. 20),¹⁷⁰ In addition, the praetorship of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (*praetor urbanus*)¹⁷¹ would be held in the early 340s. A rare instance of the office of *praetor* being held subsequently to a provincial governorship (*corrector Tusciae et Umbriae*) is attested for Iulius Festus Hymetius (*praetor urbanus*) sometime before c. 355 (fig. 13).¹⁷² Virius Nicomachus Flavianus’ praetorship is not specified, but it must have been one of the three (fig. 3).¹⁷³ Ragonius Vincentius Celsus (*praetor triumphalis*) was honored by the council of an unnamed city, probably Ostia or Portus in the late fourth century.¹⁷⁴ Amaxobius Lucillus Gaudentius is attested as *praetor triumphalis* in the period between the late fourth and fifth century.¹⁷⁵

Outside of Rome, in the honorific dedications set up in the Campanian cities the following praetors are attested: Caius Appius Eunomius Sapidianus (*praetor urbanus*),¹⁷⁶ Iulius Aurelius Auxon Leonidas,¹⁷⁷ Quintus Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus (*praetor urbanus*),¹⁷⁸ Egnatius

¹⁵⁸ CIL 6 1690=LSA-1396, CIL 6 1691=LSA-1397, CIL 6 1694=LSA-1400.

¹⁵⁹ CIL 14 4449=LSA-1660.

¹⁶⁰ CIL 6 1696=LSA-1401.

¹⁶¹ CIL 6 1748=LSA-1457.

¹⁶² CIL 6 1697=LSA-1402.

¹⁶³ CIL 6 1768=LSA-1467, CIL 6 1769=LSA-1468

¹⁶⁴ CIL 6 1772=LSA-1469.

¹⁶⁵ CIL 6 41332=LSA-1252.

¹⁶⁶ CIL 6 1739=LSA-1441, CIL 6 1740=LSA-1442, CIL 6 1741=LSA-1443.

¹⁶⁷ CIL 6 1742=LSA-1444.

¹⁶⁸ CIL 6 1679=LSA-1354.

¹⁶⁹ CIL 6 41432a=AE 1934, 160=LSA-306.

¹⁷⁰ CIL 6 1675=LSA-1392, ILS 1264, CIL 6 31940=LSA-1569.

¹⁷¹ CIL 6 1778=LSA-1473.

¹⁷² CIL 6 1736=LSA-1439.

¹⁷³ CIL 6 1782=LSA-271.

¹⁷⁴ CIL 14 173=6 1760=LSA-1653.

¹⁷⁵ CIL 6 1738=15 1700. PLRE 1, 387 Gaudentius 10.

¹⁷⁶ CIL 10 3844=LSA-1933 (Capua (Campania)).

¹⁷⁷ CIL 10 3857=LSA-1940 (Capua (Campania)).

Caecilius Antistius Lucerinus,¹⁷⁹ Caius Caelius Censorinus 2 (*praetor candidatus*),¹⁸⁰ and Ragonius Vincentius Celsus (*praetor triumphalis*).¹⁸¹ Few inscriptions are remarkable for the detailed *cursus honorum* starting with the traditional office of *praetor*.

Furthermore, in the East, those praetors who were not obliged to provide the games were assigned construction works instead. According to the imperial constitution (*CTh* 6.4.13.2: 361), praetors could inscribe their name on the buildings at Constantinople that had been constructed in the year of their praetorship. The law seems to imply that all Constantinopolitan praetors had their names engraved on the buildings, irrespective of whether they were obliged to provide games, or needed to contribute a certain amount to public works. If so, the distinction between the two groups of praetors may have been that the game-organizers had no influence in making a decision on the building works carried out in their name.¹⁸²

In the funeral inscriptions praetorships are included in the *cursus* of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus *signo* Kamenius (*praetor triumphalis*)¹⁸³ and Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (*praetor urbanus*) (fig. 68).¹⁸⁴ Similarly, [---]nius Tineius Tarrutenius Atticus, whose mid- or late-fourth-century funeral *cursus* inscription comes from Castel Madama near Tibur in Regio I, documents that he held the office of *praetor tutelaris*, responsible for matters of guardianship.¹⁸⁵ A votive inscription commemorates a public sacred dedication made by M. Iunius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus in his role as *praetor urbanus* to Hercules at the sanctuary of the god at Rome in 321 (fig. 66).¹⁸⁶

I proceed with the suffect consulship. The standard beginning of the *cursus honorum* of a traditional senator was connected to the old republican offices: first, the quaestorship, then, the praetorship, which were followed by a dignity of a consulship. Already by the last quarter of the third century suffect consulship was sometimes omitted from *cursus* inscriptions, a clear sign of its decreasing importance. Second consulship, now always ordinary, became the highest career attainment, while the first consulship was normally suffect. By the early decades of the fourth century the suffect consulship was held by young men of the senatorial class in their twenties.¹⁸⁷ As a result, the suffect consulship is seldom recorded in *cursus* inscriptions. The suffect consulship, the

¹⁷⁸ *CIL* 6 1723+1757=37112=*ILS* 1225=*LSA*-1426, *CIL* 10 4752=*ILS* 1223=*LSA*-1970 (Suessa (Campania)), *CIL* 10 1696=*LSA*-43 (Puteoli (Campania)), *CIL* 10 1695=*LSA*-332 (Puteoli (Campania)), *ILS* 1224b=*LSA*-1909 (Puteoli (Campania)).

¹⁷⁹ *AE* 1973, 136=*LSA*-410 (Capua (Campania)).

¹⁸⁰ *CIL* 10 3732=*LSA*-1928 (Atella (Campania)). *PLRE* 1, 196 Caius Caelius Censorinus 2.

¹⁸¹ Restored to *CIL* 10 4560=*LSA*-1963 (Trebula Baliniensis (Campania)).

¹⁸² Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 243 n.143.

¹⁸³ *ILS* 1264.

¹⁸⁴ *CIL* 6 1779.

¹⁸⁵ *CIL* 14 3517 (Castel Madama (Latium)).

¹⁸⁶ *CIL* 6 315=*ILS* 3409. *PLRE* 1, 681 M. Iunius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus 17.

¹⁸⁷ *CTh* 6.4.1 of probably 329 implies that it might be received at the age of sixteen. Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*, 247.

office held by senators of the traditional families in Rome at the start of their career, is not documented in Constantinople.

Chastagnol and others have placed a reform of the suffect consulship, which differentiated it from the ordinary consulship around 315, when the former was reduced in status to a minor office.¹⁸⁸ B. Salway has recently dated it to 313, when the ordinary consulship was uncoupled from the *cursus honorum* of the city of Rome, loosing its status of urban magistracy and becoming purely imperial honor. The suffect consulship continued as minor magistracy at the beginning of the traditional senatorial career.¹⁸⁹ What is clear is that already by the 320s the suffect consulship could be omitted as a stage in a traditional senatorial career. Other scholars detected the Constantinian reform of the suffect consulship around 324, simultaneously with Constantine's upgrade of all senatorial governorships to the rank of *consularis* to match them with the titles given to the new senatorial governors in the East.¹⁹⁰ The new title of *consularis* granted the rank of suffect consul, making posts in the provinces more desirable for senatorial elites.

The change in the nature and status of the office was formalized when the emperor transferred the nomination and election of suffects to the senate. It was perhaps Constantine who is to be credited with it, or at any rate Constantius. Teenagers nominated by the senate were left with the duties of giving games, if nothing else. Disgraced consuls were not replaced by a suffect, but by a new ordinary consul, chosen by the emperor. Despite the proliferation of suffect consuls, the status of the ordinary consulship remained high. Eleven suffect consuls are attested under Constantine, and only five or six in the period of 338-400.¹⁹¹ They cannot be assigned to particular years.

Only two suffects were elected for the purpose of standing in for the ordinary consuls when the latter were absent, and perhaps only one by the fifth century. By Symmachus time there was one suffect consul in place of two consuls in Rome.¹⁹² Sufferect consuls continued to be appointed in the city of Rome into the fifth century.¹⁹³ Ordinary consuls – concurrently praetorian prefects on active service or generals in office – were usually absent from Rome and increasingly held their inaugurations at court. The function of suffect consuls was to stand in on ceremonial occasions for non-resident ordinary consuls in Rome.¹⁹⁴ There suffect's chief obligation was to stage the games for the *natalis urbis* on 19-21 April. The only law that obliged suffect consuls to provide the games was from 320s (*CTh* 6.4.1). Since in Rome there was no tradition of great consular games, suffect

¹⁸⁸ Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*, 247; Kuhoff, *Studien*, nos 54 and 59.

¹⁸⁹ Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite," 219.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 203; Kuhoff, *Studien*, 37-39, 43-46; Arnheim, *Senatorial Aristocracy*, 57; Chastagnol, "Observations," 223-33.

¹⁹¹ *PLRE, fasti*; Arnheim, *Senatorial Aristocracy*, 225-26, Kuhoff, *Studien*, 29-39, 279-91; suffect consuls are not included in Roger S. Bagnall et al., eds., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).

¹⁹² Kuhoff, *Studien*, 30.

¹⁹³ Lorenzo Sguaitamatti, *Der spätantike Konsulat* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2012), 95-98.

¹⁹⁴ On suffects' functions, Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, 20-21.

consuls were appointed to take care of the games for the *natalis urbis*. There is no evidence that suffect consuls ever existed in Constantinople, where ordinary consul was resident at the eastern court. Ausonius records Paulinus of Nola as suffect (*Ep.* 21.60), and Symmachus mentions an unnamed suffect of 401 as wearing the *toga palmata* and full consular regalia. The attributes of the office must have included, besides the consular *trabea*, embroidered and decorated with jewels,¹⁹⁵ a *sella curulis*, *fascēs*, scepter, and *mappa*. Symmachus describes (*Ep.* 6.40) the *pompa* on the 21 April, when suffect consul was awaited to preside at the games given for the *natalis urbis Romae*. In 401 western consul was Vincentius, praetorian prefect of the Gauls in 397-400, and thus perhaps absent from Rome at the beginning of his consular year.

Originally an obligation of magistrates who provided games, diptychs were equally distributed by suffect consuls in Rome. The ivory of the *LAMPADIORVM* is the only certain depiction of suffect consul as a game-giver.¹⁹⁶ Postumianus Lampadius, attested as suffect consul in 396, must have commissioned it for the occasion of his *spectacula* of that year.¹⁹⁷ The central figure on the panel of the Lampadii is unmistakably portrayed as consul, wearing the *trabea*, carrying a scepter with two imperial busts, and holding a *mappa* while presiding at circus games.¹⁹⁸ Symmachus relates about the suffect of 401 ceremoniously conveyed in a procession to preside at the games, who fell out of his carriage (*biga*) in full regalia and carried off with a broken leg. Cameron insists that not only an ordinary consul could be depicted with a scepter capped by imperial busts, but also suffects, by now appointed by the senate, as the diptych was not official.¹⁹⁹

As for awarders, Caius Flavius Caelius Urbanus, son of C. Caelius Saturninus, dedicated two honorific statues for his father (fig. 1). Flavius Caelius Urbanus was *consularis*, but no province is indicated.²⁰⁰ Thus, he was not a provincial *consularis*. In the later inscription he is still *consularis* (fig. 18).²⁰¹ Machado states that Urbanus, son of praetorian prefect, and inherited from him the rank of *clarissimus*. However, the son of Saturninus must have been born before the latter became a senator at the request of the senate and received the rank of *consularis*. Kuhoff thus suggests an *adlectio*.²⁰² L. Castrius Constans, ὑπατικός, is recorded in the inscription on a milestone from the province of Caria.²⁰³ Kuhoff assumes that he was a western senator and *vir consularis*, who held a

¹⁹⁵ For contemporary descriptions of *trabae*, see Aus. *Grat. Act.* 11; Claud. *Cons. Hon.* IV. 585-610, *Cons. Stil.* 2.339-61. *PLRE* 1, 681-83 Meropius Pontius Paulinus 21 of Nola.

¹⁹⁶ Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 56.

¹⁹⁷ Sguaitamatti, *Der spätantike Konsulat*, 163-64.

¹⁹⁸ Cameron, "The Origin," 186 with fig. 8.

¹⁹⁹ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 734; idem, "The Origin," 186. Sguaitamatti, *Der spätantike Konsulat*, 165 questions the identification of the suffect consul, arguing that two busts of the emperors on the scepter of the magistrate depicted on the diptych are not of the same size, but proposing no other date.

²⁰⁰ *CIL* 6 1704=*LSA*-1266. *PLRE* 1, 983 Flavius Caelius Urbanus 4.

²⁰¹ *CIL* 6 1705=*ILS* 1215=*LSA*-1412.

²⁰² Kuhoff, *Studien*, 33.

²⁰³ *CIL* 3 7207=*AE* 1940, 187. *PLRE* 1, 219-20 L. Castrius Constans 1.

suffect consulship in Rome.²⁰⁴ But Constantine created a new senatorial governorship around 330, reorganizing two equestrian provinces of Phrygia and Caria in Asia Minor under senatorial *consularis*.

Most suffect consuls are recorded in the honorific inscriptions dated to the early or mid-fourth century. A suffect consulship was held by Lucius Crepereius Madalianus at unknown date, probably shortly before c. 335.²⁰⁵ The sequence of the following offices is uncertain. Attius Insteius Tertullus is not named in the *fasti*, hence the consulship held at unknown was suffect (fig. 9).²⁰⁶ Marcus Nummius Albinus appears as consul for the second time (*consuli ordinario iterum*) in his honorific inscription (fig. 16).²⁰⁷ The other consulship was surely suffect before 345 as there is no room for a second ordinary consulship even under usurpers. Formally, the suffect consulship was regarded as equivalent to the ordinary one and its holder was qualified in the inscriptions as *consul iterum*. In the consular formula such second-time consuls obviously preceded first-time consuls. Since there is no evidence of an ordinary consulship being commemorated in public as an iteration after 301,²⁰⁸ however, in private, senators still claimed the equivalence of the two consulships as testified to by the honorific inscription set up to Nummius Albinus in the family house. He is the last Roman senator known to receive an ordinary consulship having previously held only urban magistracies including the suffect consulship. Four honorific inscriptions set up for Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus put up in 357-60 record his suffect consulship.²⁰⁹ The addition of ‘*consuli*’ after the praetorship of Attius Insteius Tertullus *signo* Populonium is possible by the spacing in his early or mid-fourth century honorific inscription.²¹⁰ Lucius Turcius Secundus *signo* Asterius, grandson of Lucius Turcius Secundus, of *clarissimus* rank and memory, is mentioned as consul (fig. 8, 25).²¹¹ ‘*Consulis*’ refers to his grandfather and not to the honorand.²¹² The office was a suffect consulship in either case.

In the later fourth century only Ragonius Vincentius Celsus is recorded as suffect consul.²¹³ Also, a statue of the senator Anicius Claudius, consul, was put up by the provincial governor at Gortyna in 382-83.²¹⁴ M. Guarducci restored the honorand’s office to ‘former consul’ (*ἀπὸ*

²⁰⁴ Wolfgang Kuhoff, “Die Bedeutung der Ämter in Clarissimat und Spektabilität für die zivile senatorische Laufbahn im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.,” *Tituli* 4 (1982): 277; idem, *Studien*, 35.

²⁰⁵ *CIL* 14 4449=LSA-1660.

²⁰⁶ *CIL* 6 1696=LSA-1401.

²⁰⁷ *CIL* 6 1748=LSA-1457.

²⁰⁸ *PLRE* 1, 919-20 T. Flavius Postumius Titianus 9, the consul prior of 301. Salway, “Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite,” 204.

²⁰⁹ *CIL* 6 1739=LSA-1441, *CIL* 6 1740=LSA-1442, *CIL* 6 1741=LSA-1443, *CIL* 6 1742=LSA-1444.

²¹⁰ *CIL* 6 1697=LSA-1402.

²¹¹ *CIL* 6 1768=LSA-1467, *CIL* 6 1769=LSA-1468, *CIL* 6 1772=LSA-1469.

²¹² *CIL* 6 1768=ILS 1229=EDR122119.

²¹³ *CIL* 14 173=6 1760=LSA-1653.

²¹⁴ *Inscr. Cret.* 4 322=LSA-783. *PLRE* 1, 208 Anicius Claudius 7. Perhaps he was proconsul. See Isabella Baldini Lippolis and Giulio Vallarino, “Gortyn: from City of the Gods to Christian City,” in *Cities and Gods. Religious Space in Transition*, eds. Ted Kaizer et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 103-20.

ὁπάτων), but no consul of this name is recorded in the fourth century. Either the honorand was one of the four consuls from the family of the Anicii in office in the late fourth century, although none of them is otherwise recorded under the names in the inscription,²¹⁵ or he was suffect consul. As Kuhoff rejects the suffect consulship,²¹⁶ only Quintus Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius, consul of 379, would appear as the most likely candidate for the honorand, because his date of office matches that of the other statues erected around 380 in Gortyna to prominent aristocrats of Rome by *consularis* Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus.

Outside of Rome, in the province of Campania, Egnatius Caecilius Antistius Lucerinus was probably a member of the Capuan elite co-opted into the senatorial order, having occupied functions in Rome.²¹⁷ The consulship recorded in the inscription must be a suffect consulship, as it appears early in his cursus. C. Caelius Censorinus²¹⁸ office of consul suffect entitled him to hold several curatorships in Rome, all consular offices at the time. L. P. Helvius Aelius Dionysius, *vir consularis*, is mentioned in the honorific inscription of the statue of his wife Fulvia Augurina in the early fourth century.²¹⁹ The consulship of Ragonius Vincentius Celsus²²⁰ held c. 386 is not otherwise known, similarly to his praetorship. The former was suffect and held at young age. In addition, Kuhoff counts Ceionius Italicus as suffect consul as two inscriptions from Numidia, possible from 343, call him *clarissimus atque consularis*²²¹ and *vir clarissimus et consularis*.²²² However, the honorand is known to serve as governor (*consularis*) of Numidia in the common reign of Constantius II and Constans in 340/50.

Seldom explicitly mentioned, the suffect consulship can be inferred from the cursus inscriptions. Thus, the proconsulship of Africa held by the traditional senatorial aristocrats implies prior tenure of a suffect consulship. The honorific inscription to Caius Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, consul of 314, mentions that he had held the proconsulship of Africa which presupposes a suffect consulship (fig. 21).²²³ Salway has recently suggested that the division of the ordinary and suffect consulship may be linked to the proclamation of the ordinary consuls for 1 January 314, when Volusianus was appointed consul.²²⁴ Constantine wanted to cancel out honors bestowed by the usurper – ordinary consulship of 310 held by Volusianus – but his suffect consulship happened to

²¹⁵ *PLRE* 1, 736-40 Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus 5, 640-42 Quintus Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius 3, 639-40 Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius 2, 734-35 Anicius Probinus 1.

²¹⁶ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 36.

²¹⁷ *AE* 1973, 136=*LSA*-401 (Capua).

²¹⁸ *CIL* 10 3732=*LSA*-1928 (Atella).

²¹⁹ *CIL* 10 6084=*ILS* 1212 (Formia). *PLRE* 1, 259 L. P. Helvius Aelius Dionysius 8.

²²⁰ *CIL* 10 4560=*LSA*-1963 (Trebula Baliniensis).

²²¹ *CIL* 8 7012=*ILS* 1235=*LSA*-2321. *PLRE* 1, 466-67 Ceionius Italicus 3.

²²² *CIL* 8 7013=*ILS* 1236=*LSA*-2327.

²²³ *CIL* 6 1707=*LSA*-1415, *CIL* 41319=*LSA*-1573. *PLRE* 1, 976-78 Caius Ceionius Rufius Volusianus 4.

²²⁴ Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite," 204, points also to an equation of the ordinary consulship of Volusianus with that of Annianus, who held it as his first introduction to the senate.

get discounted as an unintended consequence (fig. 21).²²⁵ This precedent therefore ended the parity of two consulships.

Further, ordinary consuls had often held a suffect consulship at an early date. Petronius Probianus, consul prior of 322, had previously held a proconsulship of Africa from 315 to 317,²²⁶ which suggests a traditional senatorial career, including an earlier suffect consulship. Anicius Iulianus, consul posterior of the same year, is known to have served as proconsul of Africa when his son, Paulinus, consul of 334, was his *legatus Carthagini*,²²⁷ and presumably at a later date than that of Probianus.²²⁸ This career pattern points to a suffect consulship held in his youth.²²⁹ Vettius Rufinus, consul of 323, is identified on the basis of the Lucanian inscription,²³⁰ although the inscription is fragmentary in the relevant area. If he is identified with C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, city prefect in 315-16, his ordinary consulship will undoubtedly have been preceded by a suffect consulship early in his career.²³¹ However, if the consul of 323 was his son, then the ordinary consulship came first.²³²

All three consuls of 325 may have held a suffect consulship at the beginning of their careers. First, the consul prior of 325, in office perhaps until May, has been identified with V[alerius?] Proculus, who served as proconsul of Africa in 319-20.²³³ If so, then an earlier suffect consulship may be presumed. However, if Valerius was born by Proculus, then the consul may have been an imperial official of Licinius.²³⁴ Second, Anicius Paulinus, consul posterior, is identified with Sextus Anicius Paulinus, whose cursus up to his urban prefecture in 331-33 is preserved as part of perhaps a sepulchral inscription from the first half of the fourth century, a dedication at Rome, in which he is styled '*bis consul*'.²³⁵ Similar to the inscription to Rufius Albinus,²³⁶ *bis* modifies the noun or phrase following it.²³⁷ Given that Paulinus did not hold a second ordinary consulship, this inscription counts the consulship of 325 as a second term preceded by a suffect consulship, which is also presupposed by his later proconsulship of Africa.²³⁸ Third, Iulius Iulianus, consul from perhaps

²²⁵ CIL 41319=LSA-1573.

²²⁶ CIL 8 1277=ILS 6809=LSA-2476 (Vallis (Africa Proconsularis)). Timothy D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 101, 170; Kuhoff *Studien*, no 21. PLRE 1, 733-34 Petronius Probianus 3.

²²⁷ CIL 6 1682=ILS 1220=LSA-1394.

²²⁸ Barnes, *The New Empire*, 171 opts for 320-21; cf. PLRE 1, 473-74 Anicius Iulianus 23, where identification with proconsul Iulianus of 301-302 is proposed, whom Barnes, *The New Empire*, 102, considers as perhaps his father.

²²⁹ Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite," 209.

²³⁰ CIL 10 407 (Volcei). PLRE 1, 781-82 Vettius Rufinus 24.

²³¹ CIL 10 5061=ILS 1217=LSA-1978 (Atina (Campania)). PLRE 1, 777 C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus.

²³² Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite," 210.

²³³ Barnes, *The New Empire*, 171, 236-37; Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, 184-85.

²³⁴ Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite," 211, for both possibilities.

²³⁵ CIL 6 1680=EDR106460. PLRE 1, 679-80 Sextus Anicius Paulinus 15.

²³⁶ Salway, "Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite," 217 points out that Albinus' ordinary consulship of 335 certainly occupied the position of a traditional iteration, whether or not he had in fact enjoyed an earlier suffect consulship in his teenage years.

²³⁷ Barnes, *The New Empire*, 171 wrongly takes it as a reference to a double proconsulship of Africa.

²³⁸ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 35, 288.

May 325 was either of senatorial origin or promoted from the ranks of those designated as suffects. Since on current evidence it is not possible to decide definitively between these two possibilities, it is not certain if his ordinary consulship came as a second tenure, as in case of Paulinus, or as a first consulship at an early stage in his career.²³⁹

In addition, a verse inscription on the statue base for Papis *signo* Himerius ‘the Roman consul’ (*Ρωμαίων ὕπατον*) was set up in Tarsus in Cilicia I.²⁴⁰ He is otherwise unknown, but was originally of equestrian rank, attaining the consulship at a later date (*ὑπατον*, l.2). The statue was originally awarded by a guild of corn traders before his consulship. His initial rank predicate was replaced disregarding the meter of the verse inscription. R. Merkelbach has recently suggested a late antique date, placing Papis’ attainment of the consulship at Constantinople shortly after the city had become the new capital.²⁴¹ Papis is not included in the *fasti*, but the office of suffect consul is not attested in Constantinople. If Merkelbach’s proposal is accepted that this is an inscription of the Constantinian period and that Papis was one of the many provincial notables adopted into the new senate of Constantinople, U. Gehn hypothesizes that ‘ὑπατον’ could stand for the more correct ‘ὕπατικόν’ (*consularis*), mistakenly or flatteringly, referring to Papis being co-opted by *adlectio inter consulares*. However, there was no such senate under Constantine. Moreover, L. Robert, the editor of the epigram, has suggested that the monument is most probably from the end of the second or early third century,²⁴² although an element of doubt remains as it is a very early example of verse being used for an honorific inscription.

Several suffect consuls are known from the funeral inscriptions recording their cursus. Thus, L. Nonius Verus, suffect consul (*vir consularis*) around 320,²⁴³ was *vir clarissimus* and governor (*bis corrector*) of several Italian provinces. He buried his wife Vinicia Marciana in Mutina sometime between 324 and 330. A funeral inscription from Sedunum commemorates T. Campanius Priscus Maximianus, *vir consularis*, who was suffect consul, and who died aged forty-three perhaps in the late third or early fourth century.²⁴⁴ H.-G. Pflaum argued that the title of *consularis* (l.4) was not used before the last third of the third century.²⁴⁵ Maximianus was possibly a Christian since his exact age is given in years, months and days, and therefore not before the late third century. The epitaph was dedicated by his mother, [---]openda Valeriana, *clarissima femina*. Insteius Pompeianus, suffect consul sometime in the fourth century, is recorded in the funeral verse

²³⁹ Salway, “Redefining the Roman Imperial Elite,” 212. *PLRE* 1, 478-79 Iulianus 35.

²⁴⁰ *SEG* 26 1457=*LSA*-676. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I. II. III.*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter 1933-2015), IV, 69 no. 83 Hemerius.

²⁴¹ Reinhold Merkelbach and Josef Stauber, eds., *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten. Bd. 4. Die Südküste Kleinasien, Syrien und Palaestina* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2002), 209-11, no.19.13.01.

²⁴² Louis Robert, “Inscription honorifique de Tarse,” *Hellenica* (1949): 197-205.

²⁴³ *CIL* 11 831=*ILS* 1218 (Mutina (Venetia)). *PLRE* 1, 953 L. Nonius Verus 4.

²⁴⁴ *CIL* 12 137 (Sedunum (Alpes Poeninae)). *PLRE* 1, 573 T. Campanius Priscus Maximianus 7.

²⁴⁵ Hans-Georg Pflaum, “Titulature et rang social sous le Haut-Empire,” in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l’Antiquité classique*, ed. Claude Nicolet (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la scientifique, 1970), 174.

inscription written in hexameters, which comes from Rome.²⁴⁶ He was Christian. Since his name is not in the consular *fasti*, he must have been suffect consul. Lastly, Aco(nius) Catullinus *signo* Philomathius, *vir consularis*, made a private votive dedication to Jupiter at unknown date in the early fourth century.²⁴⁷ He served as proconsul of Africa in 315 and was ordinary consul in 349.

To sum up, with the epigraphic record being rather low, a common medium of the self-representation for all three magistracies (quaestor, praetor, suffect consul) in Rome was the presentation of public games, as was a tradition for centuries. However, after the permanent withdrawal of emperors from the city, this representational field was deregulated and came to be a primary domain of senatorial self-display. A heavy financial burden imposed, the game-giving remained attractive for the self-presentation the great senatorial families of Rome. Scions of wealthy resident senators were eager to pursue the magistracies, starting with the office of quaestor, which conferred actual participatory membership in the senate. The fourth century saw the right of electing quaestors and praetors returned to the senate of Rome, as was the case of praetors in the second senate. In Constantinople only praetors (and ordinary consuls) were obliged to stage games, who also had their names inscribed for eternity on the public buildings of the city. Rather than being on a par with Rome, the Constantinopolitan praetorian games, a binding duty imposed in retrospect, were of more limited scale, affordable by the more modest means of eastern senators. In Rome, suffects were duly nominated each year, but did not necessarily serve. The games were commemorated by the ‘customary offerings’ of diptychs and silver bowls containing gold solidi (*sportula*) widely distributed as gifts.

II. Religious offices

I start with epigraphic evidence attesting religious activities of senatorial aristocrats in their non-official roles. In the fourth century they held numerous pagan priesthoods that were attached to various private initiation cults alternative to the traditional Roman ones. Members of the late Roman elite underwent various mystery initiations, including the Eleusinian ones. A number of senators is recorded in a role of priests of Mithras (i.e. *pater patrum*), hierophant or *sacerdos* of Hecate, *sacerdos*, *sacratus*, or *archibucolus* of Liber, and as an initiate of different gods. The exclusive aristocratic groups underwent a *taurobolium* (Prudent., *Peristephanon*, X 1011-50) and *criobolium*, rituals particularly associated with the cult of Cybele as recorded on fourth-century altars from the Phrygianum sanctuary on the Vatican hill.²⁴⁸ These were popular ceremonies among late antique aristocrats. Epigraphic evidence likewise shows activities at traditional religious sanctuaries dedicated to the cults of various deities mostly in or near the city of Rome.

²⁴⁶ *CIL* 6 32000=*ILCV* 60. *PLRE* 1, 713 Insteius Pompeianus 6.

²⁴⁷ *CIL* 2 2635 (Asturica (Gallaecia)). *PLRE* 1, 187-88 Aco Catullinus *signo* Philomathius 3.

²⁴⁸ Neil McLynn, “The Fourth-Century Taurobolium,” *Phoenix* 50 (1996): 312-30.

To begin, several lists of senators indicating their private or public religious role are known. An inscription, in which three late fourth-century senators are listed, distinguishes ‘*vir clarissimus, XVvir sacris faciundis*’ (L. Turcius Secundus *signo* Asterius), ‘*vir clarissimus*’ (Pontius Atticus), and ‘*vir clarissimus, pater patrum, hierofanta Hecatar[um dei Liberi]*’ (Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius).²⁴⁹ The precise nature of this inscription is unclear. There is no real basis for Chastagnol’s assumption that the inscription is a list of men who underwent the *taurobolium* together,²⁵⁰ although one of them, Sextilius Aedesius, did undergo it that year.²⁵¹

Senators acted as statue awarders to deities in their non-official religious roles. The titles and initiations reflect their private religious allegiances often listed together with the priesthoods of state cults, if any. Thus, Virius Marcarius erected a statue of dea Cybele in Ostia in the third or fourth century. The over life-size statue (now in Naples) with the perhaps modern head bears a two-line inscription that has been added on the pedestal of the throne and across the wide plinth of the monument: ‘Virius Marcarius, a man of *clarissimus* rank, (set this up) for the goddess Cybele with his money’.²⁵² The female figure dressed in an ample chiton who sits on a throne and holds a tympanum in her left hand is identified by its attributes and by the inscription as Cybele. The statue belongs to the high imperial period. However, the inscription on the throne and plinth of the statue has probably been carved in the fourth century as it was not part of the original design. While its provenance is not recorded, a small inscribed base or a small cippus discovered in the excavations of the Metroon at Ostia records the same awarder. He had received a *taurobolium* and made a dedication to Magna Mater at the sanctuary.²⁵³ The inscription reads ‘Marcarius, a man of *clarissimus* rank, *tauroboliate*, gave this as a gift for the mother of the gods’.²⁵⁴ It is probable that this was also a statue of Cybele.

Also in Ostia, at the same sanctuary, C. Caecionius Rufius Volusianus *signo* Lampadius, *pater ierofanta, profeta Isidis, tauroboliatu*s, dedicated a statue of Dionysus in the later fourth century: ‘Volusianus, a man of *clarissimus* rank, former prefect, *tauroboliate* gave this as a gift’.²⁵⁵ The base is worked as one piece with the life-size statue, bearing a secondary abbreviated two-line inscription added to the plinth. The well-worked headless statue was discovered in the sanctuary of Magna Mater near the Porta Laurentina at Ostia. The statue from the high imperial period wears a

²⁴⁹ CIL 6 31118. Silvia Orlandi, “Gli ultimi sacerdoti pagani di Roma: analisi della documentazione epigrafica,” in Brown and Lizzi Testa, *Pagans and Christians*, 429 with reservations. PLRE 1, 15-16 Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius 7; 123 Pontius Atticus 3.

²⁵⁰ André Chastagnol, “La famille de Caecinia Lolliana, grande dame païenne du IV^e siècle,” *Latomus* 20 (1961): 753-54.

²⁵¹ CIL 6 510=ILS 4152.

²⁵² CIL 6 513=LSA-2540. PLRE 1, 542, Virius Marcarius.

²⁵³ Guido Calza, “Il santuario della Magna Mater a Ostia,” *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia Serie III. Memorie* 6 (1943): 197.

²⁵⁴ AE 1948, 25=CCCA-03, 393 (Ostia).

²⁵⁵ AE 1945, 55=AE 1955, 180=CCCA-03, 366 (Ostia). PLRE 1, 978-80 C. Caecionius Rufius Volusianus *signo* Lampadius 5.

nebris diagonally across his chest, a chlamys, and soft decorated boots (*mullei*). Cameron refers to it as a cult statuette of Attis.²⁵⁶ However, J. Lenaghan identifies the statue rather as Dionysus on account of its unusual combination of attributes.²⁵⁷ She suggests that the rare iconography of the statue might have been particularly appealing to the fourth-century dedicator ‘as an arcane and thus more truly ‘antique’ image of the god’. According to the votive inscription from Rome, Volusianus was a hierophant, prophet of Isis, and pontifex of the Sun.²⁵⁸ The monument is described as a base excavated on the Aventine hill and records that the religious Ceionius Rufus fulfills his vow (*votum solvit*). The statue of Dionysus might have stood on the similar type of support. It was perhaps a private dedication,²⁵⁹ which came presumably from some temple.²⁶⁰

Avianus Vindicianus dedicated a statue of a deity, probably Silvanus, in Rome in the period between 350 and 390.²⁶¹ The god is referred to as protector (*custodi suo*), with whom Vindicianus claims to have a personal relationship. Both sides of the high marble base are adorned with a relief of a dog looking upwards. The base might have come from a domestic structure as it was discovered near the Aurelian wall between the Quirinal and the Viminal.²⁶² Vindicianus held the governorship of Campania sometime between 360 and 380. Yet, since this was a private dedication, and his office is not recorded in the inscription, it is likely that it was made before or after his service, possibly between 350 and 390. The iconography of the two base reliefs representing the dogs suggests that the deity honored was Silvanus, commonly portrayed accompanied by a dog looking up towards him.

The priesthoods of the mystery cults and initiations are recorded in few cursus inscriptions of the honorific dedications. Only a few were honored with public statues. Thus, Iunius Postumianus, *pater patrum dei Solis invicti Mithae*, honored as their *magister* by the college of priests (*ordo sacerdotum*), supposedly *sacerdotes* in Mithraic cult in the late third or fourth century.²⁶³ The honorand equally held state priesthoods as listed in the inscription. The provenance of the base is unknown. The statue was a public honor and it was awarded by an unspecified *ordo sacerdotum* of Rome. Flavius Herculeus, *vir religiosissimus*, otherwise unattested, dedicated and set up the statue.

Most are, however, private dedications. Alfenius Caeionius Iulianus *signo Kamenius*, *pater sacrorum summi invicti Mithrae*, *hierofante Aecatae*, *arcibucolus dei Liberi*, underwent *taurobolium* in 374. One private dedication names him father of the sacred rites of the greatest

²⁵⁶ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 147.

²⁵⁷ LSA-2539 (J. Lenaghan).

²⁵⁸ CIL 6 846.

²⁵⁹ Orlandi, “Gli ultimi sacerdoti,” 451 no. 67.

²⁶⁰ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 147.

²⁶¹ CIL 6 31005=LSA-2665. PLRE 1, 968 Avianus Vindicianus 4.

²⁶² LTUR 2, 214 (F. Guidobaldi).

²⁶³ CIL 6 2151=LSA-1488. PLRE 1, 719 Iunius Postumianus 4.

unconquered Mithras, hierophant of Hecate, chief herdsman of the god Liber, and tauroboliate of the Mother goddess.²⁶⁴ Another private dedication reiterates the same list, but specifies that he was master of the *numen* (*magistro numinis*) (fig. 20).²⁶⁵ None mentions that he also received a *criobolium*. As the inscriptions record, they were both set up in his house.²⁶⁶ Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, *curialis Herculis, sacratus Libero et Eleusinis, hierophanta, neocorus, tauroboliat, pater patrum*, is recorded as such in two honorific inscriptions. One inscription of 387 records a posthumous dedication to Praetextatus, listing his priesthoods and public offices in two different columns, side by side.²⁶⁷ The provenance of the base is uncertain. It was first recorded as on the Caelian hill.²⁶⁸ He was tauroboliate, *curialis* of Hercules, temple warden (*neocorus*), hierophant of Hecate, father of the sacred rites of the cult of Mithras. The base possibly came from one of the properties of Praetextatus in Rome, perhaps his *domus*. Another now lost inscription, probably from the statue of Fabia Aconia Paulina, priestess and wife of Praetextatus, was presumably a family dedication.²⁶⁹ The year 387 is suggested as the most likely date for the statue honor,²⁷⁰ based on the possibility that this was simultaneous with the statue for Praetextatus, but this cannot be proved. The strong pagan character of the inscriptions suggests that they were originally set in a domestic context.

A series of altars was dedicated by senators in the fourth-century Rome. A large group comes from the Phrygianum of the Vatican, a shrine to Magna Mater and Attis. Cameron points out that they were not entirely private in terms of access, even if certainly commemorating private religious allegiances.²⁷¹ First, C. Magius Donatus Severianus, *pater sacrorum invicti Mithrae, hierophantes Liberi patris et Hecatarum*, performed the *taurobolium* and dedicated a now lost altar probably in the Phrygianum in 313.²⁷² Second, Flavius Antonius Eustochius, *sacerdos Phryx maximus*, administered *taurobolium* and *criobolium* to Serapis in 319.²⁷³ Antoninus, tauroboliate, consecrated privately an altar in 350.²⁷⁴ Third, in the same Phrygianum, Alfenius Caeionius Iulianus *signo Kamenius, pater et hieroceryx sacrorum Solis invicti Mithrae, hierofanta Hecatae, arcibucolus dei Liberi*, tauroboliate and crioboliate dedicated an altar to Magna Mater and Attis in 374.²⁷⁵ Next, Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius, tauroboliate and crioboliate, set up privately an

²⁶⁴ CIL 6 1675=31902=LSA-1392.

²⁶⁵ CIL 6 31940=41331=LSA-1569.

²⁶⁶ LTUR 2, 119-20 (F. Guidobaldi).

²⁶⁷ CIL 6 1778=LSA-1473.

²⁶⁸ Rodolfo Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* (Rome: Quasar, 1990), pl. 36.

²⁶⁹ CIL 6 1780=LSA-1474.

²⁷⁰ CIL 6, p. 4760.

²⁷¹ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 145-46.

²⁷² CIL 6 507=CCCA-03, 234. PLRE 1, 829 C. Magius Donatus Severianus 9.

²⁷³ CIL 6 508. PLRE 1, 314 Flavius Antonius Eustochius 7. Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 151.

²⁷⁴ CIL 6 498=EDR126726. PLRE 1, 74 Antoninus 3. Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 151.

²⁷⁵ AE 1953, 238 (Rome).

altar to Mater deum, Hermes, and Attis Menotyrannus in the same year in the shrine.²⁷⁶ He performed the rites on the same day as Iulianus. Then, Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius, *pater patrum dei Solis invicti Mithrae, hierofanta Hecatarum dei Liberi, archibucolus*, tauroboliate and crioboliate (*in aeternum renatus*), set up an altar to Mater Magna, Attis at the same date.²⁷⁷ Further, Caelius Hilarianus, *pater sacrorum et hieroceryx invicti Mithrae, sacerdos dei Liberi, sacerdos deae Hecatae*, set up a now lost altar to Magna Mater and Attis in 377 (*M.D.M.I. et Attidi Menotyranno conservatoribus suis*).²⁷⁸ Thereafter, Q. Clodius Flavianus, tauroboliate and crioboliate, dedicated a now lost altar to Magna Mater and Attis in 383.²⁷⁹ Afterwards, Sextius Rusticus Iulianus, *vir clarissimus et illustris, pater patrum dei invicti Mithrae*, dedicated a fragmentary preserved decorated altar to Magna Mater and Attis (*diis magnis MDMI et Attidi Menotyranni*) in 360-88.²⁸⁰ His name is restored to the inscription from under Vatican. The latest known altar is extant. It was dedicated in 390 to the Great Mother of the Gods and Attis (*diis omnipotentibus*) by Lucius Ragonius Venustus, performed *taurobolium* and *criobolium* (fig. 67).²⁸¹ Last, Crescens, crioboliate and tauroboliate, put up an altar to Magna Mater in the Phrygianum. He performed the rites with a certain Leontius. The Greek epigram was dedicated in the second half of the fourth century.²⁸²

The Mithraeum of the Olympii was a family affair.²⁸³ Aurelius Victor Olympius, *pater*, performed a Mithraic ceremony with Nonius Victor Olympius, possibly his father, in 358.²⁸⁴ ‘Pater’ was a title in the Mithraic cult. Nonius Victor Olympius, *pater patrum*, performed Mithraic ceremonies on dates from 357 to 362.²⁸⁵ He was a grandfather of Tamesius Olympius Augentius. Nonius Victor Olympius, *pater patrum*, together with his son, Aurelius Victor Augentius, *pater*, made initiation in different grades in 362.²⁸⁶ Aurelius Victor Augentius, *pater* and later *pater patrum*, performed Mithraic ceremonies, initiating others.²⁸⁷ Aemilianus Corfonius Olympius, *clarissimus puer*, was initiated *hierocorax* in 376 by his father Aurelius Victor Augentius, *pater*

²⁷⁶ CIL 6 499. PLRE 1, 171-72 Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius 7.

²⁷⁷ CIL 6 510.

²⁷⁸ CIL 6 500=CCCA-03, 229. PLRE 1, 433 Caelius Hilarianus 4. Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 135, 145, 150.

²⁷⁹ CIL 6 501=CCCA-03, 230. PLRE 1, 344 Q. Clodius Flavianus 7. Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 145, 167.

²⁸⁰ AE 1953, 237=CCCA-03, 240=EDR073946 (Rome). PLRE 1, 479-80 Sextius Rusticus Iulianus 37. Orlandi, “Gli ultimi sacerdoti,” 456-57 no. 92.

²⁸¹ CIL 6 503=EDR121506. PLRE 1, 948 Lucius Ragonius Venustus 3.

²⁸² CIL 6 30780. Jörg Rüpke and Anne Glock, *Fasti sacerdotum: Die Mitglieder der Priesterschaften und das sakrale Funktionspersonal römischer, griechischer, orientalischer und jüdisch-christlicher Kulte in der Stadt Rom von 300 v. Chr. bis 499 n. Chr. Teil 2. Biographien* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), 931 no. 1409, Crescens (1), might be identical with PLRE 1, 230 Crescens 1, but it is not possible to prove. Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 153.

²⁸³ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 143-44.

²⁸⁴ CIL 6 752. PLRE 1, 647 Aurelius Victor Olympius 17; Nonius Victor Olympius 18.

²⁸⁵ CIL 6 749; CIL 6 751a=EDR073473.

²⁸⁶ CIL 6 753. PLRE 1, 124-25 Tamesius Olympius Augentius 1; Aurelius Victor Augentius 2; LTUR 3, 264-65 (J. Calzini Gysens).

²⁸⁷ CIL 6 749, 750; 751; 752; 753. PLRE 1, 646 Aemilianus Corfo Olympius 14.

patrum.²⁸⁸ This is the only epigraphic mention of the grade in the cult of Mithra. Aurelius Victor Augustinus, according to the inscription he dedicated, was thirty years earlier, that is in 347, was initiated as *corax*, the first grade in the Mithra's cult. Soon before 357 he became *pater* initiated in the mytraeum on the Piazza S. Silvestro in Capite, founded by his father Nonius Victor Olympius. Between 362 and 376, following his father, he became *pater patrum*. Together with his father, who was already *pater patrum*, he conducted initiations in 358 and 362 in the grade of *cryphios*, and in August and September of 357, 358, 359, and 362 in the grade of *leo*, in 358 in the grade of *persa*, *heliodromos*, and *pater*. *Pater patrum* himself, he initiated his own son Corfo Olympius as *hierocorax*. He was father of Tamesius Augustinus Olympius, later renovator of the mithraeum, presumably after the destruction around 377 and only before 382.²⁸⁹

The iconography of the altars shows a great deal of similarity and is conventional. Ulpius Egnatius Faventius, *pater et hieroceryx dei Solis invicti Mithrae, archibucolus dei Liberi, ierofanta Hecatae, sacerdos Isidis*, tauroboliate and crioboliate, set up an altar in 376;²⁹⁰ on the same day the taurobolium has been performed also by Aedesius and anonymous *sacerdos*,²⁹¹ two fellow-priests of Hecate and Mithra. With the inscription on the front and two crossed torches, an urceus, and a patera on the back side, the right side of the altar exhibits a sheep under a pine tree, a double-flute and a pedum hung up on a tree, while the left side shows a bull standing under a pine tree, as well as a *syrix*, and a pair of cymbals hanging down from the branches.²⁹² Two last verses of the inscription on the now lost altar are in hexameters. Similarly, anonymous priest, perhaps *pater, sacerdos deae Isidis, hierofanta Haecatae*, who received *taurobolium* and *criobolium* in 376, set up an altar, found in Vatican, which is partly preserved.²⁹³ The upper part of the altar has been sawn off. The front preserves a fragment of the inscription. The right side displays a ram, walking towards left, but his head is lost. The left side appears to be decorated with two crossed torches, from which *fistulae* or *crotala* are hanging down. Rufius Caecionius Sabinus, *hierofanta deae Hecatae, pater sacrorum invicti Mithrae*, tauroboliate, dedicated an altar to Magna Mater and Attis in 377.²⁹⁴ At the front of the altar is the inscription in hexameters, while at the back, crossed burning torches and an *infula*. At each corner of the altar is a lying bull (Pighnius), but Smetius reports five rams on the top. On the right, a bull under a pine tree with a flute, a Phrygian cap, a pair of cymbals, and a *pedum* hanging down (Smetius). On the left, a ram under a pine tree; Pighius reports a *tympanum* hanging in the branches.

²⁸⁸ CIL 6 751b=EDR126724.

²⁸⁹ Rüpke and Glock, *Fasti sacerdotum*, 793-94 no. 788.

²⁹⁰ CIL 6 504=EDR151218.

²⁹¹ Rüpke and Glock, *Fasti sacerdotum*, 664 no. 13, Anonymus 13.

²⁹² CCA-03, 233, table CXXI.

²⁹³ AE 1971, 35=CCA-03, 245a (Rome).

²⁹⁴ CIL 6 511=CCA, 3, 243=EDR147399. PLRE 1, 793 Rufius Caecionius Sabinus 13. Silvia Orlandi, ed., *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio. Libri delle iscrizioni latine e greche* (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2008), 56.

Further, Ceionius Rufius Volusianus and his sister, Rufia Volusiana, children of C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus *signo* Lampadius, both experienced *taurobolia* and set up altars to Cybele. First, Caeionius Rufius Volusianus, *clarissimus et inlustris*, performed *taurobolium* a second time in 390, twenty years after the first time, and dedicated an altar celebrating two *taurobolia*.²⁹⁵ On the front of the now lost altar there was an inscription, and the back side features two crossed torches, an urceus, a patera, and a lituus. The left side displays a bull standing under a pine tree, with a pedum and a double-flute hanging down from the branches, while the right side shows a ram under a pine tree, a *tympanum*, a *syrix*, and a pair of cymbals hanging down from the branches. Five sacrificed rams are lying, one at each corner and one at the front, on the top of the altar. Second, Petronius Apollodorus, husband of Rufia Volusiana, *pater sacrorum dei invicti Mithrae*, tauroboliate and crioboliate, dedicated privately an altar to Rhea and Attis in 370.²⁹⁶ The bilingual inscription is carved on the front of the now lost altar, while on the rear side appear two crossed torches, an urceus, a patera, an *infula* or *vitta*, and a *crotalus* or more likely a saucepan. The left side features a draped figure of the seated goddess Cybele holding a tympanum in her raised left hand in a biga drawn by two lions to the right, a pine tree in front of the lions, and a bull below, while the right side shows a standing figure of the god Attis in eastern dress before a pine tree and a ram, holding a *pedum* in his left hand and a pair of cymbals in his right hand, and a ram below this scene.²⁹⁷ Both altars are lost, however.

Lastly, Appius Claudius Tarronius Dexter dedicated a tauroctone relief in a shrine of Mithras perhaps in the late fourth century. On its upper and lower border runs the inscription.²⁹⁸ The white marble relief with the taurochtony at Naples, originating from the mithraeum, depicts Mithras slaying the bull, whose tail ends in four ears. The god is dressed in tunica, flying cloak and anaxyrides, looks back at Sol. An embroidered girdle is around his breast. Below is the snake with its head near the wound, a deformed small dog, the scorpion seizing the bull's genitals, and the raven on a rock behind the god. On either side there is Cautes to the left and Cautopates to the right, cross-legged. In the upper corners, above a rocky part, the dressed bust of Sol appears on the left in a crown of seven rays and the bust of Luna on the right in a diadem and crescent.

Also, a votive relief, a fragment of which is preserved, was dedicated by [---]us Bassus, city prefect, to Hercules perhaps in the third or fourth century.²⁹⁹ Similarly, Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius

²⁹⁵ CIL 6 512=CCCA-03, 244=EDR144484: Orlandi, *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio*, 54. PLRE 1, 976 Ceionius Rufius Volusianus 3.

²⁹⁶ CIL 6 509=IG XIV 1018=EDR106599. PLRE 1, 84 Petronius Apollodorus. Orlandi, *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio*, 379.

²⁹⁷ CCCA-03, 236. See also a funeral inscription mentioning an anonymous senatorial pagan priest, [*sacrorum quinque decimvir e infu]la comptus*: CIL 6 32433=CLE 1921=EDR102330.

²⁹⁸ CIL 10 1497 (Neapolis). PLRE 1, 251 Appius Claudius Tarronius Dexter 4.

²⁹⁹ CIL 6 275. PLRE 1, 158 ...us Bassus 22.

Lollianus *signo* Mavortius, urban prefect, may have made a votive dedication to Hercules in 342.³⁰⁰ The base comes from the Esquiline hill, but his *domus* was on the Aventine.³⁰¹ Senator Firmicus Maternus had dedicated to Lollianus, then governor of Campania, his polytheist treatise on the divine power of astrology (*Math.* 1 pr. 1). L. Aradius Valerius Proculus *signo* Populonium made a private dedication to *deus Mercurius (comiti adque custodi)*, which he set up in his house on the Caelian Hill in Rome.³⁰² Proculus, praised by Symmachus (*Ep.* 1.2.4) for his character and devotion to religion, dedicated an altar (or a base) together with his son Aradius Rufinus. In the provinces, Aco(nius) Catullinus *signo* Philomathius made a perhaps private dedication to Jupiter (*pro salute sua suorumque*) in Asturica in Gallaecia.³⁰³ The material support of the inscription is not definitely reconstructable. Flavius Eusebius set up a dedication to Apollo (*deus patrius*) in Bulla Regia in Africa Proconsularis perhaps in the fourth century.³⁰⁴

Moreover, the fourth century imperial legislation did not prohibit a construction of sacred buildings on a private property. Thus, Nonius Victor Olympius 18, *pater patrum*, who performed Mithraic ceremonies from 357 to 362,³⁰⁵ built privately a shrine of Mithras.³⁰⁶ Near the place of the Mithraeum, which his grandfather Nonius Victor Olympius (*caelo devotus et astris*) had set up on the Via Flaminia, Tamesius Olympius Augenius, his grandson, set up a new underground cult site. The inscription in hexameters in the *tabula ansata* records a construction of the cave of Mithras in the second half of the fourth century. Also, P. Egn(atius) [---]s, *pontifex Herculis et rector decuriae Herculeae*, took care (*curavit*) of some building works recorded in the fourth-century inscription on a capitel.³⁰⁷

Funeral cursus inscriptions from Rome record religious titles and initiations of the deceased aristocrats. Thus, another version of the *cursus* of Alfenius Caeionius Iulianus *signo* Kamenius, *pater sacrorum summi invicti Mithrae, hierofante Aecatae, arcibucolus dei Liberi*, tauroboliate and crioboliate in 374, is preserved in his sepulchral inscription dated to 385.³⁰⁸ The epitaph of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, *curialis Herculis, sacratus Libero et Eleusinis, hierophanta, neocorus, taurboliatu, pater patrum*, groups together his private religious roles and initiations following his priesthoods of the state cults (fig. 68).³⁰⁹ Lastly, Postumius Rufius Festus *signo* Avienius is known

³⁰⁰ CIL 6 30895=EDR122332. Orlandi, “Gli ultimi sacerdoti,” 464 n.53, either Lollianus 5 or urban prefect of 254; Kristine Iara, “Senatorial Aristocracy: How Individual is Individual Religiosity?” in Rebillard and Rüpke, *Group Identity*, 200 suggests a dedication in non-official role.

³⁰¹ LTUR 2, 132 (F. Guidobaldi).

³⁰² AE 1987, 102 (Rome). PLRE 1, 747-49 Proculus 11; Orlandi, “Gli ultimi sacerdoti,” 435 n.22.

³⁰³ CIL 2 2635 (Asturica). Orlandi, “Gli ultimi sacerdoti,” 447 with n.58.

³⁰⁴ AE 1953, 86 (Bulla Regia). PLRE 1, 307 Flavius Eusebius 37.

³⁰⁵ CIL 6 749, CIL 6 750, CIL 6 751ab, CIL 6 752, CIL 6 753.

³⁰⁶ CIL 6 754=ILS 4269.

³⁰⁷ CIL 6 30893. PLRE 1, 1002 P. Egn(atius) ...s. See also another building inscription: AE 2010, 185=EDR112920.

³⁰⁸ ILS 1264=CLE 654.

³⁰⁹ CIL 6 1779=EDR121930.

to have dedicated a poem to the goddess Nortia, which was included by his son as part of the sepulchral inscription for his father in mid- or late fourth century (fig. 72).³¹⁰

Now I turn to the various genres of inscriptions attesting religious activities of senatorial office-holders in their official roles. The religious offices held by senatorial men and women responsible for imperial or civic cults were associated with rituals. Priests held responsibility for the temples, ceremonies, and performing sacrifices. In the fourth century senators were visible participants in both processions and religious festivals attested in the official calendar.³¹¹ As priests, resident aristocrats exercised religious authority at Rome. Senators by birth were included in exclusive fraternities in their teens or early twenties. The college of pontiffs, augurs, *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, and *epulones* constituted the four senatorial priestly colleges. Prestigious state priesthoods were reserved for a narrow circle of traditional Roman aristocrats. The high-ranking *sacerdotes* who served public cults were mostly resident senators of Rome, among whom the priesthoods are attested well into the fifth century. From the time of Constantine the functions and status of pagan priests steadily changed. However, Gratian and the successive emperors continued to use the title *pontifex*, despite Zosimus' assertion (4.36) of his repudiation of the robe of *pontifex maximus*.³¹² By the end of the fourth century the number and involvement of priests in local life increasingly declined, apart from offices connected to the imperial cult, and most of the priesthoods disappear from the record after the early fifth century.

To start, three partially preserved lists may record holders of religious offices in early fourth-century Rome. One preserves only three senators listed. L. Turcius Sacundus *signo* Asterius was *XVvir sacris faciundis*;³¹³ Sextilius Aedesius, who was not a resident aristocrat and is not recorded to have held any priesthoods of the state cults reserved for the Roman nobles;³¹⁴ Pontius Atticus, *vir clarissimus*, placed between two other pagan priests in the inscription. Another fragmentary list of the traditional aristocrats of Rome, dated to 306-12, specifies no offices whatsoever.³¹⁵ The inscription names seven prominent senators regarded as members of a priestly college, perhaps *VIIviri epulonum*.³¹⁶ However, one cannot be sure that all the persons recorded in these lists were members of a pagan priestly college.³¹⁷ Yet another fragmentary inscription presents a list of names and religious offices, of which the first two are distinguished as *XVviri sacris faciundis*, the other two as *pontifices maiores*, two more as *philosophi* and a *v(ir) c(larissimus)*, whose office or title is perhaps lost. C. Caeionius Rufius Volusianus and Rufius

³¹⁰ CIL 6 537. PLRE 1, 336-37 Postumius Rufius Festus *signo* Avienius 12.

³¹¹ For a list of festivals, see Salzman, *On Roman Time*, 124, table 3; Iara, "Senatorial Aristocracy," 175 n.37.

³¹² Alan Cameron, "The Imperial Pontifex," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 103 (2007): 341-87.

³¹³ CIL 6 31118.

³¹⁴ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 144-45.

³¹⁵ CIL 6 41314. Orlandi, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale*, 264-267, no. 31.

³¹⁶ Rüpke and Glock, *Fasti sacerdotum*, 868 n.4.

³¹⁷ Orlandi, "Gli ultimi sacerdoti," 429.

Festus, *XVviri sacris faciundis*, are named first and second, respectively, on the list of seven senators and philosophers dating probably to 320. Next, Bruttius Praesens, *pontifex maior*, is mentioned after another anonymous higher pontiff, whose name is not preserved in the inscription.³¹⁸ Since the presence of different priesthood holders alongside individuals without a specification of an office rules out the possibility that they belonged to a priestly college, S. Orlandi suggests that this may be a collective dedication to some deity, whose name has been lost together with the top of the slab.³¹⁹

Senators acted as awarders of statues to deities as well as holders of religious offices in their roles either as civil officials or priests of state cults. In the case of the imperial office holders little can be inferred about their religious beliefs. Thus, Furius Octavianus, *curator aedium sacrarium*, carried out a dedication to Mars, Romulus, Remus in the Forum Romanum in 306-12.³²⁰ The statue of Mars and the ‘Founders of the City’ was awarded in the Roman Forum by Emperor Maxentius, whose name was erased after his *damnatio memoriae* in 312. The base was found in front of the senate-house. The celebration of the founders of the city was crucial for the emperor’s ideological program, and the base was dedicated on the *natalis urbis*, on 21 April. Also, M. Iunius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus made a public dedication as *praetor urbanus* to Hercules at the sanctuary of Hercules in Rome in 321 (fig. 66).³²¹

Furthermore, Victoria, the goddess of victory, continued to be honored with statues at least until the mid-fifth century.³²² By the fifth century she became more of a personification than a pagan goddess. A statue of Victory was set up by Ulpus Egnatius Faventinus, governor (*consularis*) of Numidia in Cuicul in 364-67.³²³ The inscription was found in the apse of the basilica of Djemila.³²⁴ As C. Lepelley points out, the basilica where the inscription was set up was a public building.³²⁵ It was constructed and dedicated in 364-67 under the governorship of Publilius Ceionius Cecina Albinus, an immediate predecessor of Faventinus. Another inscription set up by Faventinus was found in the same basilica, and was probably dedicated to the victory of the Emperors Valentinian and Valens.³²⁶ Faventinus is attested as pagan. Gehrke suggests that the erection of a statue of Victory in Cuicul was possibly intended as a manifestation of traditional piety, ‘only a few years before the conflict around the statue of that goddess in the senate building in Rome escalated’, and that the

³¹⁸ CIL 6 2153. PLRE 1, 976-78 Volusianus 4; 336 Rufius Festus 10; 721 Br(u)ttius Praesens; 1017 Anonymus 74.

³¹⁹ Orlandi, “Gli ultimi sacerdoti,” 431.

³²⁰ CIL 6 33856=LSA-1388. PLRE 1, 638 Furius Octavianus 4.

³²¹ CIL 6 315. PLRE 1, 681 Paulinus 17. Orlandi, “Gli ultimi sacerdoti,” 435-36.

³²² CIL 6 1775=41422=LSA-1471.

³²³ AE 1946, 108=110=LSA-2323. PLRE 1, 325 Ulpus Egnatius Faventinus 1.

³²⁴ Claude Lepelley, *Les Cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, vol. 2 (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1981), 406 no. 6.

³²⁵ Ibid., 406 n.21.

³²⁶ Ibid., 406-7 no. 6 and n.22.

inscription disguises such religious implications. However, the text states that it was set up for esthetic reasons (*quod vel amplitudini vel ornatui basilicae ... defuerat*, ll.4-10).

Thereafter, while inaugurating the *pons Valentinianus* in 366/67,³²⁷ L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus *signo* Phosphorius was also responsible for the erection of two statues of Victories,³²⁸ awarded by the Roman senate, which were found near the bridge and featured the same dedicatory formula. Both statues were dedicated to Victoria Augusta, the companion (*comes*) of the emperors. One of these statues was surely bronze, as gilded bronze wing from a statue of Victory was found under the second arch of the Ponte Sisto.³²⁹ The original date of manufacture of the statue may be first century. Those bases are usually thought to have fit within the parapet or balustrade of the bridge. The formal awarder was the senate and people of Rome, while the works were done under the supervision of ex urban prefect. These dedications were carried out by Symmachus as former prefect of the city, as the construction was completed only after his term. There were also at least five blocks bearing *ex-voto* inscriptions; these had a similar architectural function and may also have carried statues. By this period Victory was little more than a personification used for building decoration. Thus, a statue of the Victories of the emperors (*Victoriis dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum)*) was set up among other statues by Caius Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, prefect of the city, in the Baths of Caracalla in 365.³³⁰

Moreover, Q. Aurelius Symmachus had previously been recorded as restorer of two statues of Victory dedicated by him as proconsul in the amphitheater at Carthage in Africa Proconsularis in 373-74.³³¹ A mutilated statue of Victory was found near the base for a statue of an unstated subject close to the amphitheater.³³² The headless marble statue wears the himation and the chiton. In the same area, a similar base was found,³³³ which could have carried the extant statue instead. Furthermore, some fragments possibly of a third similar inscription are cataloged by *CIL*. Gehr concludes that Symmachus was ‘particularly devoted to the cult of Victory’, but these were all public dedications in his official role, set up in clearly non-sacred places.

In the second part of the fourth century statues to deities and personifications were continued to be set up by the provincial authorities throughout the empire. A statue of Concordia Augustorum, the ‘Concord of the Emperors’, was erected by governor (*consularis*) of Numidia, Publius Caecionius Caecina Albinus at Thamugadi in 364-67.³³⁴ The statue was dedicated to the

³²⁷ *CIL* 6 31402=*LSA*-1820.

³²⁸ *CIL* 6 31403=*LSA*-2584. *PLRE* 1, 863-65 L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus *signo* Phosphorius 3.

³²⁹ *LSA*-2586 (J. Lenaghan).

³³⁰ *CIL* 6 794=*LSA*-1530.

³³¹ *CIL* 8 24584=*LSA*-2338 and *LSA*-2339 (Carthago). *PLRE* 1, 865-71 Q. Aurelius Symmachus 4. Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 15.

³³² *LSA*-2391.

³³³ *CIL* 8 24584=*LSA*-2339 (Carthago).

³³⁴ *AE* 1895, 108=*LSA*-2272 (Cirta (Numidia)). *PLRE* 1 Publius Caecionius Caecina Albinus 8.

goddess Concordia, or rather personified imperial concord, as both Valentinian and Valens were Christians. It was found in a *sacellum* devoted to imperial cult.³³⁵ Of five dedicatory inscriptions from Thubursicu Numidarum erected or re-erected in the city's New forum (*forum novum*) under proconsul Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus *signo* Honorius in 361-62,³³⁶ two of the unstated subjects possibly carried statues of gods. One, according to the invocation (ll.1-3), was possibly a statue of Fortuna as Gehn suggests.³³⁷ Another statue was also set up for the purpose of the forum decoration at the same date.³³⁸ The erection of the statues was carried out by his legate Atilius Theodotus. A re-erected statue, possibly of Hercules, comes from early to mid-fourth-century Aquileia.³³⁹ It was set up by Septimius Theodulus, provincial governor (*corrector*) of Venetia et Histria, who was Christian. It has been suggested that the dedications by the governor Theodulus, all found in the same area at the western side of the forum of Aquileia, formed part of a gallery of statues to figures of historical or mythological relevance for the city.³⁴⁰ A statue of Genius, a tutelary god of Catina, was put up by governor (*consularis*) Facundus Porfyrius Munatidius in the Sicilian city in 337-408.³⁴¹

Rare public statuary dedicated by the religious office holders dates to the second half of the fourth century. The college of pontiffs, the highest-ranking priests of the state religion, dedicated statues to other religious office holders. Thus, Macrinus Sossianus, *promagister pontificum* and *pontifex maior*, set up a statue dedicated by *clarissimi pontifices* to a chief Vestal virgin in 364 (fig. 22).³⁴² The senatorial members of the pontifical college commanded the honorific monument to Virgo Vestalis maxima, whose name was later erased from the inscription, under the acting leadership of Macrinus Sossianus, of *clarissimus* rank, higher priest. The base was found in the atrium Vestae in the Roman Forum. The inscription highlights the social status of priests as men of *clarissimus* rank. In 385, another college, that of priestesses of Vesta, commemorated with a statue honor the recently deceased Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, *consul designatus*.³⁴³ Although, according to Symmachus' letter (2.36.2), the dedication was decided by the vestals collectively, it was perhaps the responsibility of the chief Vestal virgin, Coelia Claudiana.

Honorific statues for priests of the state cults ceased to be made already by the end of the fourth century. The statue to Iunius Postumianus, *XVvir sacris faciundis* and *pontifex dei Solis*, was awarded by Rome's college of priests (*ordo sacerdotum*) and carried out by Flavius Herculeus in

³³⁵ Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 449.

³³⁶ André Chastagnol, "Les légats du proconsul d'Afrique au Bas Empire," *Lybica* 6 (1958): 18-19.

³³⁷ *AE* 1902, 49a=LSA-2473 (Thubursicu Numidarum).

³³⁸ *AE* 1914, 242=LSA-2470 (Thubursicu Numidarum).

³³⁹ *AE* 1996, 685=LSA-1234 (Aquileia (Venetia et Histria)).

³⁴⁰ Franca Maselli-Scotti and Claudio Zaccaria, *Novità epigrafiche dal foro di Aquileia, Epigrafia romana in area adriatica* (Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 1998), 117, fig. 1.

³⁴¹ *CIL* 10 1714=LSA-2056 (Catina (Sicilia)).

³⁴² *CIL* 6 32422=LSA-1508. *PLRE* 1, 849 Macrinus Sossianus 1.

³⁴³ LSA-2671=*CIL* 6 2145.

the late third or fourth century.³⁴⁴ There is no record of the original findspot of the base. L. Crepereius Rogatus, *pontifex dei Solis, VIIvir epulorum, lupercus*, received a statue in the late third or early fourth century (fig. 11).³⁴⁵ Throughout the fourth century, leading senators are attested as *pontifices dei Solis*, a public cult instituted by the Emperor Aurelian. Besides the priesthood of the Sun god, he was a member of the college of the seven men and *lupercus*. He is fashioned as founder of a building. The awarder of the statue is unknown. The provenance of the base is not recorded, but it has been suggested that it was discovered together with others during the excavation of the *mithraeum* of the vicus Patricius, a structure which was part of a private domus.

Religious offices are mentioned in the fourth-century honorific cursus inscriptions that were set up almost exclusively in domestic contexts in Rome. A rare example of the public statue dedication recording priesthoods of the state cults was commanded by emperors (*oratio ad senatum*) for L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus *signo Phosphorius, pontifex maior* and *XVvir sacris faciundis*, erected in the Forum of Trajan in 377 (fig. 14).³⁴⁶ The rest are private dedications. Thus, L. Aradius Valerius Proculus *signo Populonium, augur, pontifex maior, XVvir sacris faciundis, pontifex Flavialis*, received three statues.³⁴⁷ Two were found on the site of the house of the Valerii; the provenance of the third base is unknown. He was higher priest, member of the college of fifteen men for sacred affairs, and priest of the *gens Flavia*, the imperial cult. M. Aurelius Consius Quartus Iunior, *pontifex maior, promagister iterum, XIIvir*, received a statue set up in Rome in 325-45 (fig. 26).³⁴⁸ The awarders were inhabitants of Ancona and Fanum. He is honored as governor and patron but also as higher priest, deputy magistrate for the second time, and member of the board of twelve men. A bronze statue of L. Turcius Apronianus *signo Asterius*, governor of Tuscia et Umbria, was erected by the city of Spoletium at Rome in 346 (fig. 25).³⁴⁹ It was probably accompanied by a pendant dedication in bronze, erected to its patron by the city of Luca at Rome in the same year.³⁵⁰ Both came perhaps from a domestic setting, and F. Guidobaldi proposed a *domus* located on the edge of the Oppian hill.³⁵¹ Both inscriptions mention only one religious office of the honorand, that of *XVvir sacris faciundis*.

The inscription to Vulcacius Rufinus, higher pontiff (*pontifex maior*) (fig. 23),³⁵² specifies that the dedication was made in the vestibule of the house of Rufinus in 347.³⁵³ Four inscriptions for Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus *signo Honorius*, record him as being *pontifex deae Vestae (pontifex*

³⁴⁴ CIL 6 2151=LSA-1488.

³⁴⁵ CIL 6 1397=LSA-1321. PLRE 1, 767 L. Crepereius Rogatus 2 *signo Secundinus*.

³⁴⁶ CIL 6 1698=LSA-342.

³⁴⁷ CIL 6 1690=LSA-1396, CIL 6 1691=LSA-1397, CIL 6 1694=LSA-1400.

³⁴⁸ CIL 6 1700=LSA-1403. PLRE 1, 757 M. Aurelius Consius Quartus Iunior 2.

³⁴⁹ CIL 6 1768=LSA-1467. PLRE 1, 88-89 L. Turcius Apronianus *signo Asterius* 10.

³⁵⁰ CIL 6 1769=LSA-1468.

³⁵¹ LTUR 2, 205 (F. Guidobaldi).

³⁵² CIL 6 32051=LSA-1253. PLRE 1, 782-83 Vulcacius Rufinus 25.

³⁵³ LTUR 2, 172-73 (F. Guidobaldi).

maior Vestae), *XVvir sacris faciundis*, and *pontifex Solis*.³⁵⁴ All the bases were found re-used, that is, not *in situ*. He claims numerous religious positions such as priest of the goddess Vesta,³⁵⁵ as well as member of the college of fifteen men for sacred affairs and priest of the Sun god. The bronze statue of Alfenius Caecionius Iulianus *signo* Kamenius, *VIIvir*, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, and *pontifex maior*, was erected at his home after 374 (fig. 20).³⁵⁶ His first priesthood, similarly to other resident aristocrats, was held immediately after the praetorship. Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, *augur*, *pontifex Vestae*, *pontifex Solis*, *XVvir*, received probably a private posthumous statue honor set up perhaps at his house in 387.³⁵⁷ As proconsul Achaiae in 362-64, he persuaded the emperor not to enforce in Greece the laws against nocturnal sacrifices (Zos. 4.3.3). The posthumous statue for Nicomachus Flavianus the elder, *pontifex maior*, was set up by Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus in a domestic context in the early fifth-century Rome (fig. 3).³⁵⁸ The same awarder erected the statue for his father, Q. Aurelius Symmachus *signo* Eusebius (fig. 2), who was likewise *pontifex maior*.³⁵⁹

Apart from statues by provincials known from Rome and set up in the honorands' houses, senatorial aristocrats received public honors in the provinces, especially in the cities of Campania, with which they were bound by the links of patronage and obligation. Thus, C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, *pontifex dei Solis*, *augur*, *salius Palatinus*, was awarded a public statue by the council and people (*ordo populusque*) of Atina in 315.³⁶⁰ The inscription for Iulius Aurelianus, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, *sacerdos dei Herculis*, *pontifex Solis*,³⁶¹ was found in Formia. The awarder is not recorded by the inscription, but it was probably the city of Formiae. The inscription gives a partial *cursus honorum* of Aurelianus, governor (*consularis*) of Campania in 325/26, recording no further offices in the imperial service, but listing three priesthoods. Brittius Praetextatus *signo* Argentius, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, received a statue in Capua perhaps under Constantine.³⁶² He was *curator rei publicae* of Capua (l.3) and member of the senatorial priestly board of *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* (ll.3-4). C. Iulius Rufinianus Ablabius Tatianus, *consularis Campaniae* in perhaps 340, *pontifex Vestae*, *promagister in collegium pontificum*, *sacerdos Herculis*, was honored in Abellinum in mid-fourth century.³⁶³ Five statues for Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus *signo* Mavortius set by cities, city regions, and professional associations in Campania in 334-42, record his office of

³⁵⁴ CIL 6 1739=LSA-1441, CIL 6 1740=LSA-1442, CIL 6 1741=LSA-1443, CIL 6 1742=LSA-1444.

³⁵⁵ At least five men identified by inscriptions as priests of Vesta during the fourth century: besides Orfitus (CIL 6 1741), they were Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (CIL 6 1779), Lucius Ragonius Venustus (CIL 6 503), Plotius Acilius Lucillus, and Vitrasius Praetextatus (CIL 6 2158).

³⁵⁶ CIL 6 1675=31902=LSA-1392; CIL 6 31940=41331=LSA-1569.

³⁵⁷ CIL 6 1778=LSA-1473.

³⁵⁸ CIL 6 1782=LSA-271. PLRE 1, 1046-47 Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus 10.

³⁵⁹ CIL 6 1699=LSA-270.

³⁶⁰ CIL 10 5061=LSA-1978. PLRE 1, 777 C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus 15.

³⁶¹ AE 1969/70, 116=LSA-2043 (Rome). PLRE 1, 130 Iulius Aurelianus 7.

³⁶² CIL 10 3846=LSA-1935 (Capua). PLRE 1, 724 Brittius Praetextatus *signo* Argentius 2.

³⁶³ CIL 10 1125=LSA-1860. PLRE 1, 875-76 C. Iulius Rufinianus Ablabius Tatianus 4.

public augur of the people of Rome and Quirites (*auguri publico populi Romani Quiritium*).³⁶⁴ M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus, *pontifex maior*, *augur*, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, equally received a public statue in Puteoli.³⁶⁵

Public statuary to senators was also the pride of cities in the other Italian provinces. Q. Stattius Flavius Vettius Gratus, *corrector Lucaniae et Bruttii* and *augur*, restored a *sacrarium* at Rhegium in Bruttii in the late third or fourth century.³⁶⁶ A statue to possibly the city patron was set up by the council and people (*ordo populusque*) at Regium Iulium. A statue of Iulius Eubulidas, governor of Tuscia and city patron, was set up at Interamna Nahars in Tuscia et Umbria in the early to mid-fourth century. Iulius Eubulidas, member of the college of ten (*Xvir*), is last recorded prefect of the treasury of Saturn (*praefectus aerarii Saturni*).³⁶⁷ The marble base with moulding top and bottom on three sides has the upper front moulding decorated with winged victories carrying a shield. Clodius Octavianus received a statue at Bovianum in Samnium in the mid-fourth century.³⁶⁸ He was a member of the senatorial priestly college of *pontifices maiores* (II.2-3). The inscription was set up when he was a private man (*iam privato*, I.13) by the city council (*ordo Bovianensium*, II.11-12).

Now I turn to the votive inscriptions, and, first of all, public altars. In 382, Symmachus was sent with the petition to the emperor asking to return the altar of Victory to the senate house (Symm. *Rel.* 3). As city prefect he was requesting again the return of the altar of Victory in 384-85. Valentinian II eventually permitted the statue of Victory to remain in the Curia as a deconsecrated monument, but the imperial decision regarding the altar offensive to Christian senators was not reversed.

However, dedications of altars set up privately continued in Rome until the end of the fourth century. Antoninus, *pontifex et XVvir sacris faciundis*, carried out privately an altar's erection in 350.³⁶⁹ Petronius Apollodorus, *pontifex maior*, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, dedicated privately an altar to Rhea and Attis in 370.³⁷⁰ Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, put up an altar to Mater deum, Hermes, and Attis Menotyrannus in 374, while in the office of city prefect.³⁷¹ It was perhaps a private dedication in the Phrygianum of the Vatican. Crescens, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, *pontifex Solis* (*Φοίβου στεφανηφόρος ἱερεὺς*) erected an altar somewhen in the fourth century.³⁷² In

³⁶⁴ Campania: *CIL* 10 4752=*ILS* 1223=*LSA*-1970; *CIL* 10 1695=*ILS* 1224a=*LSA*-332; *ILS* 1224b=*LSA*-1909; *CIL* 10 1696=*ILS* 1224c=*LSA*-43; *AE* 1977, 198=*LSA*-47.

³⁶⁵ *CIL* 10 1700=*LSA*-1910. *PLRE* 1, 705-706 M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus 2.

³⁶⁶ *AE* 1923, 61=*LSA*-1807 (Rhegium (Bruttii)). *PLRE* 1, 402-403 Q. Stattius Fl. Vettius Gratus 3.

³⁶⁷ *CIL* 11 4181=*LSA*-338 (Interamna). *PLRE* 1, 287 Iulius Eubulidas.

³⁶⁸ *CIL* 9 2566=*LSA*-1775 (Bovianum Undecimanorum). *PLRE* 1, 637 Clodius Octavianus 2.

³⁶⁹ *CIL* 6 498.

³⁷⁰ *CIL* 6 509=EDR106599.

³⁷¹ *CIL* 6 499.

³⁷² *CIL* 6 30780.

374 Alfenius Caecionius Iulianus *signo* Kamenius, *VIIvir*, dedicated a *taurobolium* altar.³⁷³ Further late fourth-century altar inscriptions record Ulpius Egnatius Faventius as *augur*,³⁷⁴ Caelius Hilarianus, as *XIIvir urbis Romae*,³⁷⁵ Q. Clodius Flavianus as *pontifex maior*, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, *VIIvir epulonum*, and *pontifex Solis*,³⁷⁶ Lucius Ragonius Venustus as *augur* and *pontifex Vestalis maior* (fig. 67),³⁷⁷ and Rufius Caecionius Sabinus, *pontifex maior* and *augur*.³⁷⁸

Other private sacred dedications at Rome include that by Aradius Rufinus, suffect consul and *XVvir sacris faciundis*, set up at his house,³⁷⁹ by L. Aradius Valerius Proculus *signo* Populonium, *augur*, *pontifex maior*, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, *pontifex Flavialis*, originating from his *domus*,³⁸⁰ and by C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, *pontifex dei Solis*, *augur*, *salius Palatinus*, of unknown provenance.³⁸¹ C. Caecionius Rufius Volusianus *signo* Lampadius, *pontifex dei Solis*, made perhaps a private votive dedication (*votum solvit*), coming from the Aventine.³⁸² Since the inscription starts with his senatorial rank and ends with a single state priesthood, it implies that this is an early *cursus*, before he had received his first governorship.³⁸³ Outside of the city of Rome, T. Fabius Titianus, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, set up probably a private dedication perhaps to Sibilla in Cumae.³⁸⁴ Aradius Rufinus, consul of 311, was probably identical with or a descendent of Aradius Rufinus, who made votive dedications to Sol and Luna in Africa Proconsularis.³⁸⁵

In the official roles as priests of the state religion or urban magistrates senators were responsible for sacred buildings. L. Turcius Apronianus, a member of the board of fifteen men for sacred affairs, or his brother L. Turcius Secundus may have restored perhaps a temple of Liber and Silvanus as alluded to in the verse inscription (vv.1-2 elegiac couplet, v.3 hexameter) with a dedication to Liber.³⁸⁶ The honorific inscription records a dedication to L. Crepereius Rogatus, member of different religious associations, who was responsible for the building of a temple (*aedium conditori*) (fig. 11).³⁸⁷ Only his religious offices are mentioned in the inscription, confirming that the structure had a religious function. Plotius Acilius Lucillus 2 and Vitrasius Praetextatus oversaw a repair of *mansiones* of the college of the *Salii Palatini* perhaps in the first half of the fourth century. During their term as *protomagistri*, *pontifices Vestae* restored the

³⁷³ *AE* 1953, 238.

³⁷⁴ *CIL* 6 504.

³⁷⁵ *CIL* 6 500.

³⁷⁶ *CIL* 6 501.

³⁷⁷ *CIL* 6 503=EDR121506.

³⁷⁸ *CIL* 6 511.

³⁷⁹ *AE* 1987, 102 (Rome).

³⁸⁰ *AE* 1987, 102 (Rome).

³⁸¹ *CIL* 6 32040. Orlandi, "Gli ultimi sacerdoti," 442-43 no. 26 with n.34.

³⁸² *CIL* 6 846.

³⁸³ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 147.

³⁸⁴ *ILS* 8983=*AE* 1893, 124 (Cumae). *PLRE* 1, 918-19 Fabius Titianus 6.

³⁸⁵ *CIL* 6 14688, *CIL* 6 14689. *PLRE* 1, 775 Aradius Rufinus 10. Orlandi, "Gli ultimi sacerdoti," no. 22.

³⁸⁶ *CIL* 6 462.

³⁸⁷ *CIL* 6 1397=*LSA*-1321.

mansions of the Salii Palatini, at their own expense (*pecunia sua*).³⁸⁸ The building inscription was found in the Forum of Augustus.

Holders of civil offices in the imperial administration and especially prefects of the city of Rome were in charge of the building works *ex officio*. In 342, Aco(nius) Catullinus *signo* Philomathius in his official role of urban prefect suggested a preservation of a Roman temple (*CTh* 16.10.3). Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus *signo* Honorius restored a temple to Apollo (*aedem providit*) during his second urban prefecture in 357-59. Flavius Claudius Euangelus, perhaps *comes operum publicorum*, took care (*curante*) of the building works under Orfitus as stated in the inscription on the base from the Campus Martius recording a public dedication to the god.³⁸⁹ Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius restored *porticus Boni Eventus* during his tenure as city prefect in 374 (*Amm.* 29.6.17-19). Sempronius Faustus, *praefectus annonae*, took care (*curante*) of a restoration of a temple of Isis under Valens, Gratian and Valentinian in 375/78.³⁹⁰ Iustus 2, *vicarius Asiae* in the late fourth century, is said to have restored altars and temples, and performed sacrifices during his terms of office (*Eun. V. Soph.* 23.4.1-9). As city prefect in 367-68, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus removed private buildings which adjoined temples (*Amm.* 27.9.10). He also carried out works at the *porticus deorum consentium*.³⁹¹ In 384, as praetorian prefect he initiated an enquiry into the demolition of temples in Italy by Christians (*Symm. Rel.* 21). Numerius Proiectus, *praefectus annonae*, restored (*restituit*) the temple of Hercules (*cellam Herculis*) under the Emperors Theodosius, Arcadius, and Eugenius.³⁹² Lastly, eighteen years old Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus, *praetor* in 401, is reported to have built a temple to Flora (*Carm. contr. pag.* 114).

Further, a funeral cursus inscription of Flavius Postumius Titianus, city prefect in 305-306, records his offices of *pontifex dei Solis*, *augur*, and *XIIvir urbis Romae*.³⁹³ It was set up between 306 and 310. Tineius Tarrut(enius) Atticus was *XVvir sacris faciundis* in the mid-fourth century.³⁹⁴ The last cursus of Alfenius Caeionius Iulianus *signo* Kamenius, who held several priesthoods of the state cult such as *VIIvir*, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, and *pontifex maior*, is provided by his sepulchral inscription.³⁹⁵ Vettius Agorius Praetextatus is mentioned in his epitaph as *augur*, *pontifex Vestae*, *pontifex Solis*, and *XVvir* (fig. 68).³⁹⁶

³⁸⁸ *CIL* 6 2158=EDR118456. Rüpke and Glock, *Fasti sacerdotum*, 1214, no. 2731, p. 1380, no. 3556. *PLRE* 1, 724 Vitrasius Praetextatus; 518 Plotius Acilius Lucillus 2.

³⁸⁹ *CIL* 6 45. *PLRE* 1, 286 Flavius Claudius Euangelus 2; Orlandi, "Gli ultimi sacerdoti," 449 no. 59.

³⁹⁰ *AE* 1961, 152=*AE* 1968, 86=*AE* 1971, 67. *PLRE* 1, 329 Sempronius Faustus 9.

³⁹¹ *CIL* 6 102=*LSA*-1503. Cf. *CIL* 6, p. 4111.

³⁹² *AE* 1948, 127=*AE* 1941, 66 (Ostia). *PLRE* 1, 750 Numerius Proiectus.

³⁹³ *CIL* 6 1419b. *PLRE* 1, 919-20 T. Flavius Postumius Titianus 9. He had built a *templum dei Solis* at Comum as provincial governor (*corrector Italiae Transpadanae*) between 286 and 293, *AE* 1919, 52=*AE* 1914, 249.

³⁹⁴ *CIL* 14 3517.

³⁹⁵ *ILS* 1264.

³⁹⁶ *CIL* 6 1779.

Thereafter, the inscriptions of the Roman senatorial elite that celebrated pagan priesthoods are not unique to the West. Dedications honoring fourth-century senators in the East similarly combine priesthoods and magistracies. They specifically refer to priestly offices or the maintenance of a traditional cult by the honorand. However, the majority of honorific inscriptions celebrate rather local notables, who held religious offices.³⁹⁷ A statue of eponymous archon Hegias, son of Timocrates, was set up at Athens in Achaea in the fourth century (fig. 45).³⁹⁸ The prose inscription states that the city set up the monument to its benefactor, Hegias, of *clarissimus* rank, who held the office of Panegyriarch in the Eleusinian cult. The base was found reused in the church at the eastern slope of the Acropolis, in the area of the Old Agora of Athens and the Prytaneion. Its dating is uncertain: E. Sironen suggested the first half of the fourth century, on the basis of its letter forms and because it is certainly earlier than the dedication of the same base to sophist Plutarchus in the late fourth or early fifth century.³⁹⁹ As Sironen argues, the honorand of senatorial rank (*λαμπρότατον*, l.1) must have been a member of the wealthy local class who spent their money generously on the public good, and took charge of the religious priesthoods and celebrations, acting as panegyriarch (ll.3-4).⁴⁰⁰ Panegyriarch presided over the *panegyris* (assembly) related to the festival, holding perhaps responsibilities for feeding the visitors who came to Eleusis to celebrate the mysteries.⁴⁰¹ This Eleusinian office required substantial financial expense at the *panegyris* of the mysteries. Hegias' fourth-century monument, defines him as an ideal Athenian benefactor by listing together his sacred and civic offices. This is the only available honorific inscription to the fourth-century *clarissimus* holding an office associated with the Eleusinian mysteries. The provincial priesthood, an honorable appointment held by the most important members of the local aristocracy, could lead to an honorific title of *clarissimus*. In addition, Libanius records eastern *clarissimus* Menandrus, who took part in the worship of Hecate in Aegina and was initiated into the mysteries of Poseidon at the Isthmus in the early or mid-fourth century (*Or.* 14.5).⁴⁰²

In the fourth century, besides Panegyriarch, local titles like Syriarch and Asiarch were associated with provincial priesthood. Libanius relates that, in 363, Celsus, senator and former governor of Cilicia, and thus exempted from any civic obligations, was providing games to be presented in the name of his son. Libanius styles him as Syriarch and describes him as dressed in a special garment and wearing a crown. Financial assistance from the imperial treasury to facilitate the performance of the liturgy was promised but delayed. The spectacles given by Celsus comprised

³⁹⁷ Ulrich Gehn, "Athens," in Smith and Ward-Perkins, *The Last Statues*, 196.

³⁹⁸ *IG* II² 3692=*IG* II² 13273=*LSA*-102 (Athens (Achaea)). No *PLRE* entry.

³⁹⁹ Erkki Sironen, "Life and administration of late Roman Attica in the light of public inscriptions," *Post-Herulian Athens: Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens, A.D. 267-529*, ed. Paavo Castrén (Helsinki: Suomen Ateenan-instituutin säätiö, 1994), 27.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 27-8.

⁴⁰¹ Fergus Millar, "P. Herennius Dexippus: The Greek World and the Third Century Invasions," *JRS* 58 (1969): 21.

⁴⁰² *PLRE* 1, 596 Menander 3.

chariot races, theatrical shows, and *venationes*. Not only Antioch but also seventeen cities of Syria benefited from these entertainments. When, at a later date, praetorian prefect Tatianus attempted to aid the councilors, he imposed part of the expensive liturgies, namely, that of the Syriarch, on the senators who had property in Syria. The senators protested against the burden and soon after managed to discard it.⁴⁰³

I conclude with a Christian religious office, the episcopate, as held by the senatorial aristocrats in the late fourth century. While the pagan senatorial families of Rome prided themselves on a long tradition of public officeholding and priesthoods, a few Christian aristocrats embarked on a new career path by the last decades of the fourth century. As M. Salzman has shown it was not until the reign of Gratian that the members of the old senatorial order embraced Christianity in any significant numbers.⁴⁰⁴ Most recently, C. Rapp has counted only a handful of fourth-century bishops who were of senatorial rank and had previously held an office.⁴⁰⁵ The first western senator to become bishop was Ambrose, whose father had been praetorian prefect of Gaul. In 374, Ambrose served as governor of Emilia and Liguria and refused the ordination until officially discharged by the emperor.⁴⁰⁶ Second, another Italian bishop who perhaps came from the senatorial family was Marcellus, '*sacerdos*' in correspondence with Ambrose.⁴⁰⁷ As his brother, Quintilius Laetus, was city prefect in 398/99, Marcellus may have also been of senatorial rank. Outside of Italy, bishops from senatorial families are best known in Gaul, showing a tendency that began in the late fourth century.⁴⁰⁸ Third, Claudius Lupicinus had been *consularis* in the 380s, pursuing the senatorial civil career path, before he was ordained bishop of Vienne.⁴⁰⁹ Likewise, Paulinus, governor of Campania from a wealthy and distinguished family in Aquitaine, became bishop of Nola in 409/10.⁴¹⁰ Three of these men were thus catapulted from active service in the provincial government to the highest ecclesiastical office. Furthermore, similarly to Ambrose, Nectarius established a precedent in the East, when the episcopal see of the city of Constantinople obtained its first senatorial bishop in 381, three years later than in the West. He had held previously the low-ranking senatorial entry office of

⁴⁰³ J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, "The Syriarch in the Fourth Century," *Historia* 8 (1959): 118, 124. *PLRE* 1, 193-94 Celsus 3.

⁴⁰⁴ Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*.

⁴⁰⁵ Claudia Rapp, "The Elite Status of Bishops in Late Antiquity in Ecclesiastical, Spiritual, and Social Contexts," *Arethusa* 33.3 (2000): 392-94, following Frank D. Gilliard, "Senatorial Bishops in the Fourth Century," *The Harvard Theological Review* 77, no. 2 (1984): 153-75.

⁴⁰⁶ Neil McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 32-34.

⁴⁰⁷ *PLRE* 1, 552 Marcellus 8.

⁴⁰⁸ Aline Rousselle, "Aspects sociaux du recrutement ecclésiastique au IV^e siècle," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire: Antiquité* 89 (1977): 333-70 claims that there were no less than eleven bishops of senatorial rank in Gaul in the years between 314 and 418. Werner Eck, "Der Einfluß der konstantinischen Wende auf die Auswahl der Bischöfe im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert," *Chiron* 8 (1978): 572-75 lists also individuals whose senatorial rank is uncertain. Gilliard, "Senatorial Bishops," 153-75 arrives at much more conservative estimate (two or three) for the number of senatorial bishops until the end of the fourth century, based on source criticism.

⁴⁰⁹ *PLRE* 1, 520 Claudius Lupicinus 5.

⁴¹⁰ Dennis Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1999).

praetor urbanus. However, it would take over half a century for this to become a common trend. To many of these individuals, their accession to the highest ministry in the church meant the rejection of the successful career in the imperial administration.

To sum up, both pagan priesthoods of the state cults and Christian episcopate enabled the senatorial families in the West to reinforce their status in accustomed ways. With now limited access to the emperor who could confer titles and privileges, the senators seized the opportunity offered by religious offices to gain the recognition they craved and which allowed them to continue in the pursuits that had traditionally been associated with their position in society: dedication of the public monuments, patronage of sacred building, as well as presiding over public festivals. By presenting themselves as priests and magistrates, resident senators thereby pursued the same purpose as through their self-fashioning as virtuous benefactors. As the emperor held the office of *pontifex maximus*, they claimed that their power rested on the same foundations. With little regularity in the selection of candidates to the episcopate, in major sees the election to the office required the approval of the secular imperial authorities, as in the cases of the first senatorial bishops, Nectarius of Constantinople or Ambrose of Milan.

III. *Comes, patricius, consul ordinarius*

About 330, when Constantinople was inaugurated as an imperial capital, Constantine reintroduced a *comitiva*. (Eus. *VC*. 4.1). I begin with a brief outline of the institution, and then examine the epigraphic record of the individuals known to have been awarded the title of *comes*. Constantine had reformed the order of imperial companions introducing three regular rank grades – *comites primi ordinis*, *comites secundi ordinis*, and *comites tertii ordinis* – which cut across the existing hierarchies. Imperial *comes* was a pure dignity, part of a hierarchical system of honors associated with service to the emperor. The rank of *comes* was not hereditary. The Constantinian *comitiva*, introduced to nivellate the differences of social origin, saw a divorce between a function and a title, and it was thereby conceived as a challenge to existing social ranks.⁴¹¹ The conferral of the *comitiva* depended entirely on the favor of the emperor. While both senatorial and equestrian order had its own historic institutions and rules of membership independent of the emperor, no such institution existed for *comites*. These honors were not coupled with other posts, but are listed in the *cursus* inscriptions as held between regular offices in the imperial administration, and, R. Scharf maintains, were merely honorary titles that did not involve any duty or presence at court.⁴¹² The *comitiva primi ordinis* was conferred prior to the proconsulship of Africa.

⁴¹¹ On the policies pursued by Constantine by means of these titles, see Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 1960, 412; Rowland Smith, “The Imperial Court of the Late Roman Empire, c. AD 300 – c. AD 450,” in *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies*, ed. A. J. S. Spawforth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 184; Errington, *Roman Imperial Policy*, 150; David Potter, *The Roman Empire at Bay: AD 180–396* (London: Routledge, 2004), 387–88; Ralf Scharf, *Comites und comitiva primi ordinis* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), 5.

⁴¹² Scharf, *Comites*, 7 finds no indication that it was connected with accompanying or advising of the emperor.

During the reign of the sons of Constantine the *comitivae domestici, intra palatium*, or *intra consistorium* are first to prove the function of advising. Scharf argues against P. Weiss who in order to explain the title variation proposed the following time sequence: first, *comes intra palatium*, then *comes intra consistorium*, and then *comes consistorii*.⁴¹³ Scharf speculates that *comites domestici ordinis primi* could be assigned to Constantine II. The *comitiva primi ordinis intra palatium* was higher in rank than the mere *comitiva primi ordinis* as it is placed after the proconsulship or city prefecture in the cursus inscriptions. No evidence for the *comitiva intra palatium* is found outside the part ruled by Constans.⁴¹⁴ *Comites intra palatium* and *intra consistorium* belonged to the *comitiva* of the first order, similar to other *comites* whose *comitiva primi ordinis* is specified. *Comites intra consistorium*, as such, were under Constantius, first in the East, then in the united empire. After the death of Constantine II and Constans and the victory over Magnentius only *comites primi ordinis intra consistorium* of Constantius persisted, becoming a type for the whole empire. All *comites consistoriani* at court belonged to *comites* of the first order.⁴¹⁵

Afterwards, at the beginning of the 360s, the *comitiva primi ordinis* appears only in connection with active holders of a civilian or military office. The first *comes* of this new type was probably Claudius Avitianus in 362/63.⁴¹⁶ In the following period *comites primi ordinis* can be found among *vicarii* as well as *comes Orientis* and *praefectus Augustalis* (since c. 381). Correspondingly, in the military administration, *duces* now appear as holders of the *comitiva primi ordinis*. From 372 (CTh 6.14.1=CJ 12.12.1) military commanders, who had received the *comitiva primi ordinis*, took precedence over all other officials with the exception of the highest ranks (*illustres*). In the papyri almost all *duces* are also *comites*, styled in a formulaic way ‘κόμης καὶ δοῦξ’ (*comes et dux*). B. Palme, however, hesitates whether the *comitiva* associated with the ducate had to be *primi ordinis* in every case.⁴¹⁷

The *comitiva* is further represented in the illustrations of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Two paired illustrations, labeled *divina electio* and *divina providentia*, face each other between the eastern and the western halves of the *Notitia*. They present two *armaria*, book shelves showing insignia in four rows, filled with documents of appointment presumably from the *sacra scrinia* of the palace. Codices, *libri mandatorum*, and scrolls are shelved in these book cupboards that ‘have the form of shrine-like structure’.⁴¹⁸ Additionally, *armarium* pages feature four personifications –

⁴¹³ Peter Weiss, *Consistorium und Comites Consistoriani. Untersuchungen zur Hofbeamtenschaft des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Würzburg: Universität Würzburg, 1975).

⁴¹⁴ Cf. PLRE 1, 747-49 Proculus 11 and Giovanni De Bonflis, *Il comes et quaestor nell'età della dinastia costantiniana* (Naples: Jovene, 1981), 17 place Proculus' *comitiva* in Constantinople under Constantine c. 333-37.

⁴¹⁵ Scharf, *Comites*, 1994.

⁴¹⁶ CIL 8 7037, CIL 8 7038=ILS 5534. PLRE 1, 126-27 Claudius Avitianus 2. Kuhoff, *Studien*, 199, 360; Scharf, *Comites*, 1994; Bernhard Palme, ed., *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. Band XXIV. Griechische Texte XVII. Dokumente zu Verwaltung und Militär aus dem spätantiken Ägypten* (Vienna: Hollinek, 2002), 65.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 65.

⁴¹⁸ Pamela C. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* (New York: Garland, 1981), 125-35 regards codices as

Virtus, Scientia rei militaris, Auctoritas, and Felicitas – the imperial qualities which point to the divine ability of providential care about the state while appointing his officials.⁴¹⁹ The title of *comes*, conferred by an imperial codicil, defined closeness of an appointee to the emperor.

P. Berger does not explore sufficiently the inscriptions. The ‘*divina electio*’ page exhibits twelve inscribed books.⁴²⁰ The majority of items bearing inscriptions are represented as codices showing a perceptible thickness in their form, unlike those decorated with portraits and regarded by Berger as *codicilli*.⁴²¹ A comparison with the ‘*divina providentia*’ shows some changes in the form of codices.⁴²² The outer imprint of all the codices bears the inscriptions beginning with ‘*FL*’.⁴²³ Importantly, the codices with inscriptions recording *comites primi ordinis* are found only in the insignia of *spectabiles*.⁴²⁴ In the illustrations of the *Notitia* a blue cloth-draped table is not exclusive to *comites ordinis primi*. It does not even feature in every insigne of *spectabiles*. Equally, a depiction of a *theca*, a ceremonial pen case decorated with imperial portraits, has no direct connection to the *comitiva primi ordinis*.⁴²⁵ A common characteristic are, however, the inscribed *codices* with the inscription ‘*FL intali comord PR*’, which appear in the illustrations of those *spectabiles*, who have no tablets as their insignia.⁴²⁶ The *comitiva primi ordinis*, as shown by insignia of *magistri scriniorum* and *castrensis sacri palatii* in the *Notitia*, is automatically

libri mandatorum which office holders would have received independently from their rank.

⁴¹⁹ Scharf, *Comites*, 38.

⁴²⁰ The inscribed codices on the ‘*divina electio*’ page in the first row read, ‘*FL/ intali/Comord/ PR*’, ‘*FL/ intali/ Comord/ PR*’ and ‘*FL/ Val/ costr/ iussi/ D*’, expanded as ‘*Fl(oreas) int(er) ali(is) com(ites) ord(inis) pr(imi)*’ and ‘*Fl(oreas) Val(e) co(n)s(ularis?) iuss(u) d(omini)*.’ The second row exhibits further three codex-insignia with the legend ‘*comes primi ordinis*’: ‘*FL/ intali/ Comord/ PR*’, ‘*FL/ Vale/ Mag/ me/ iussi/ D*’ (‘*Fl(oreas) Vale mag(ister) me(moriae) iussi d(omini)*’), and ‘*FL/ intali/ Comord/ PR*’. The third row reads, ‘*FL/ intali/ Comord/ PR*’, ‘*FL/ intali/ Comord/ PR*’, ‘*FL/ intali/ Comord/ PR*’, and ‘*FL/ Val/ com/ iussi/ D*.’ Lastly, the fourth row shows one inscribed codex with ‘*FL/ Vall/ PNA/ iussi/ DD*’, but the inscription is very corrupt. Scharf 1994, 38 prefers ‘*Fl(oreas) int(er) ali(is) com(ites) ord(inis) pr(imi)*’, while Otto Seeck, “Codicilli,” in *RE* 4.1 (1900), 179-80 proposed *Fl(oreas) / in(ter) all(ectos) / com(ites) ord(inis) / pr(imi)*, followed by *Notitia Utraque cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honorique Caesarum Tempora*, ed. László Borhy (Budapest: Pytheas Kiadó, 2016), xxxi, xxxviii.

⁴²¹ Grigg, Robert. “Portrait-Bearing Codicils in the Illustrations of the *Notitia Dignitatum*?” *JRS* 69 (1979): 115; Berger, *The Insignia*.

⁴²² Grigg, “Portrait-Bearing Codicils,” 115; Berger, *The Insignia*, xxiv. Scharf, *Comites*, 38.

⁴²³ Grigg, “Portrait-Bearing Codicils,” 115 follows Seeck, “Codicilli,” 179-80, who suggested ‘*f(e)l(icer)!*’. Berger, *The Insignia*, accepts ‘*fl(oreas)*’ first proposed by Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, 255 no. 65 m. Taf. 65.

⁴²⁴ In the East, the list of *spectabiles* includes *primicerius sacri cubiculi* (Or. 16); *castrensis* (Or. 17), *primicerius notariorum* (Or. 18), *magistri scriniorum* (Or. 19), *proconsul Asiae* (Or. 20), *proconsul Achaeae* (Or. 21), *comes Orientis* (Or. 22), *praefectus Augustalis* (Or. 23), *vicarius Asiae* (Or. 24), *vicarius Ponticae* (Or. 25), *vicarius Thraciae* (Or. 26), *vicarius Macedoniae* (Or. 27), *comes Aegypti* (Or. 28), *comes Isauriae* (Or. 29), and thirteen *duces* (Or. 30-42). Vicar of Asia has a codex with the inscription ‘*FL intal comord PR*’ and a scroll. In turn, the list of *spectabiles* in the West comprises *primicerius sacri cubiculi* (Occ. 14); *castrensis* (Occ. 15) *primicerius notariorum* (Occ. 16), *magistri scriniorum* (Occ. 17), *proconsul Africae* (Occ. 18), *vicarius urbis Romae* (Occ. 19), *vicarius Africae* (Occ. 20), *vicarius Hispaniae* (Occ. 21), *vicarius Sept. prov.* (Occ. 22), *vicarius Britanniae* (Occ. 23), six *comites* (Occ. 24-29), and eleven *duces* (Occ. 30-41). *Castrensis* has two codices of which one is inscribed with ‘*FL intali comord PR*’, *primicerius notariorum* has a codex with an inscription ‘*FL intali comord PR*’ and a bundle of scrolls, *magistri scriniorum* have each two codices with ‘*Fl intali comord PR*’ or ‘*FL Val...*’, *vicarius Africae* has a codex with ‘*FL intali comord PR*’ and a scroll. Scharf, *Comites*, 42-43.

⁴²⁵ Scharf, *Comites*, 44-46.

⁴²⁶ The western miniature of *magistri scriniorum* exhibits six inscribed codices placed in a row that bear the following inscriptions from the left to right: *FL intali comord PR*, *FL Val mag iuss DD*, *FL intali comord PR*, *FL Valet mag ep iuss dd*, *FL intali comord PR*, *Fl Valet mag epis iuss dd*. At the same time, the eastern illustration shows eight uninscribed items aligned in a row. Scharf, *Comites*, 49, 52-53.

connected with the office. The often-appearing codex with the inscription of *comes primi ordinis* showed not the rank of the post; it was always conferred to a specific person. It was, evidently, bestowed additionally.⁴²⁷ After all, the *Notitia* shows that the active office-holders were to receive the *comitiva* of the first order, because only then the regularly coupled appearance of the *comitiva* and the office title in the insignia of *spectabiles* makes sense. The coupling of the *comitiva* and the office in the inscriptions points to honoring the officeholders during their service.

As regards Constantinian *comites* of the first rank, three are securely identified, all of them members of the Roman senatorial aristocracy. These were L. Aradius Valerius Proculus, T. Fabius Titianus, and Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus, who was *comes primi ordinis* sometime around 336/37. All of them are recorded in honorific cursus inscriptions from Rome. First, L. Aradius Valerius Proculus, *comes ordinis primi* in or around 330 and *comes iterum ordinis primi intra palatium* in 333/37, is recorded as such in two honorific cursus inscriptions.⁴²⁸ On present evidence, he is the earliest documented *comes primi ordinis*. He had previously held the *comitiva secundi ordinis*. His third *comitiva* was *intra palatium*. Second, the career of T. Fabius Titianus, *comes primi ordinis* before 337 and proconsul of Asia under Constantine,⁴²⁹ shows that the *comitiva* was tied to proconsulship, in the way that it followed it in the cursus.

Third, in the early times the *comitiva* preceded the proconsulship, as in case of Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus *signo Mavortius, comes primi ordinis* perhaps in 336 and *iterum comes ordinis primi intra palatium* in 342/55. The *comitivae* of Lollianus are recorded in five honorific inscriptions.⁴³⁰ Lollianus was *comes primi ordinis et proconsul Africae*, both in 336/37, but these posts were not linked or associated with each other. He became *comes primi ordinis* for the second time under Constantius, styled *comes ordinis primi intra palatium*. In the inscription from Rome Seeck restores ‘*comes intra palatium et vice sacra iudicans*’. However, it is unattested for *comes* inside the palace, administering no territorial units (a province, a diocese, etc.) to be judge representing the emperor. Scharf suggests (II.5-6) ‘*cons(ulari) / Camp(aniae), comiti intra pal[atium] <or>/[d]i<ni>s p[rimi comiti] Ori/entis*’.⁴³¹ The order is descending. All other inscriptions, however, give the *comitiva Flavialis* after the office of *consularis Campaniae* and the *comitiva primi ordinis* between the posts of *comes Orientis* and proconsul of Africa. Like in the case of Proculus,⁴³² who held two *comitivae primi ordinis*, the first *comitiva primi ordinis* is without an *ordo* specification. Scharf suggests the following sequence of Lollianus’ cursus: *consularis Campaniae, comes Flavialis, comes Orientis, comes ordinis primi, proconsul Africae, comes*

⁴²⁷ Scharf, *Comites*, 55.

⁴²⁸ *CIL* 6 1691=*LSA*-1397, *CIL* 6 1690=*LSA*-1396.

⁴²⁹ *CIL* 6 1717=*LSA*-1422.

⁴³⁰ *AE* 1977, 198=*LSA*-47, *CIL* 6 1695=*LSA*-332, *ILS* 1224b=*LSA*-1909, *CIL* 10 4752=*LSA*-1970, *CIL* 6 1723+1757=37112=*LSA*-1426.

⁴³¹ Scharf, *Comites*, 13 n.24.

⁴³² *CIL* 6 1690=*LSA*-1396. See also Orfitus and Salutius.

ordinis primi intra palatium, praefectus praetorio, consul ordinarius.⁴³³ According to him, Brittius Praetextatus, honored in the inscription from Capua, was Constantinian *comes ordinis primi*.⁴³⁴ Since he held the *comitiva* after serving as *consularis*, the sequence of the posts places Praetextatus in Constantinian time.

In the dedicatory inscription from Carthage, giving his early career, L. Aradius Valerius Proculus is equally recorded to be *comes (ordinis primi)*, but his *comitiva* of the second order is not mentioned.⁴³⁵ The date suggested for his *comitiva* of the first order is around 330. It appears that the *comitiva* is indicated independently from other offices in the cursus.

Under Constantine, alongside the imperial *comitiva*, there were also *comites provinciarum*, regional counts, who were dispatched for an assistance, or replacement, of regular provincial governors in order to tighten imperial control in the provinces.⁴³⁶ Moser counts the Roman senator Septimius Acindynus as *comes* in Spain under Crispus, but he was rather *vicarius Hispaniarum* in the Constantinian period.⁴³⁷ She also includes Aco(nius) Catullinus as *comes* in Africa before 337, but this title is not attested for him in the inscriptions. The first *comes Hispaniarum* was Octavianus in 316-17. He is also the first known *comes dioecesium*.⁴³⁸ The others may have been C. Annius Tiberianus who is documented as *comes* in Spain in 332⁴³⁹ and *comes* Severus in 333/37. C. Annius Tiberianus, distinguished senator in comitival service, is recorded as *comes Africae* from 325 to 327,⁴⁴⁰ and then he is documented as *comes* in Spain in 332, followed by his vicariate there in 333. Severus of *clarissimus* rank, recorded on the plaque commemorating a restoration of the theater by Constantine and his sons, may have been *comes Hispaniarum* (fig. 61).⁴⁴¹ Tiberius Flavius Laetus possibly was *comes Hispaniarum* between 337 and 340, after the death of Constantine. Laetus, *comes* in Spain, rebuilt a circus in Emerita under Constantine II.⁴⁴² However, Chastagnol suggests that the post of *comes Hispaniarum* was suppressed after the death of Constantine either by

⁴³³ Scharf, *Comites*, 14; Kuhoff, *Studien*, 60 thinks that the governorship and *comitiva* is the evidence in favor of a later date, after mid-fourth century.

⁴³⁴ *CIL* 10 3846=LSA-1935.

⁴³⁵ *CIL* 8 24521.

⁴³⁶ Joachim Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter. Prätorianerpräfektur und Vikariat in der Regionalverwaltung des römischen Reiches von Konstantin bis zur Valentinianischen Dynastie* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 54-95, for jurisdictions and hierarchies of *vicarii*, provincial *comites*, and praetorian prefects under Constantine. Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 74.

⁴³⁷ *CIL* 2 4107, revised at *CIL* 2²/14 945. *PLRE* 1, 11 Septimius Acindynus 2.

⁴³⁸ Jacek Wiewiorowski, "Comes Hispaniarum Octavianus - the special envoy of Constantine," *Gerión* 24 (2006): 329.

⁴³⁹ *PLRE* 1, 911-12 C. Annius Tiberianus 4.

⁴⁴⁰ *CIL* 8 14280a, 24609-24611 (Carthago). Denis Feissel, "Les actes de l'État impérial dans l'épigraphie tardive (324-610): prolégomènes à un inventaire," in *Selbstdarstellung und Kommunikation. Die Veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt*, ed. Rudolf Haensch (Munich: Beck, 2009), 127, no. 93, considers him to be vicar.

⁴⁴¹ *AE* 1935, 4 (Emerita). *PLRE* 1, 831 Severus 4.

⁴⁴² *AE* 1927, 165. *PLRE* 1, 492 Tiberius Flavius Laetus 1.

Constantine II or Constans.⁴⁴³ Of these regional *comitivae*, held by both *clarissimi* and *perfectissimi*, only that of *comes Orientis* – a title of *vicarius* of the diocese of Oriens, with headquarters at Antioch – became a permanent post.⁴⁴⁴ While some *comites* were employed as envoys between the emperor and provincial world, *comes Orientis* was a special ambassador of Constantine after the victory over Licinus in 324. Replacing *vicarius Orientis* last attested in 325, this post is probably the only permanent survival of Constantine's provincial counts.

Under the Constantinian dynasty, a statue of Emperor Constans was set up at Rome in 337-50.⁴⁴⁵ If correctly reconstructed, the awardee was count of the first order and provincial governor (proconsul). Almost completely erased – probably as part of his *damnatio memoriae*, following his defeat against Magnentius – the inscription preserves only a few letters (ll.9-10). The text documents the dedication of a statue to the emperor by a high imperial official. The base was discovered out of context near the baths of Titus, and its original provenance is unknown. Hesychius, *comes ordinis primi* in 361/63, awarded a statue for the Emperor Julian in Ostia.⁴⁴⁶

Honorific *cursus* inscriptions record various holders of the *comitiva* under the reign of Constantine's sons. M. Maecius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus was *comes ordinis primi* in 337/40,⁴⁴⁷ before appointed *comes Orientis* in 340/41. Both inscriptions for L. Crepereius Madalianus, *comes ordinis primi* after 341, give his *cursus* in a descending order.⁴⁴⁸ A dedication from Portus to Madalianus, prefect of the annona, soon after the death of Constantine, shows the *comitiva Flavialis* preceding the prefecture of the annona. An identification of the *comitiva Flavialis* with *comitiva secundi ordinis* is excluded. Vulcacius Rufinus was *comes ordinis primi intra consistorium* before 342 (fig. 23),⁴⁴⁹ after being *consularis Numidia*. Flavius Eugenius was *comes domesticus ordinis primi* before 342 (fig. 29),⁴⁵⁰ but it is not clear if it was the same function as the *comitiva intra consistorium*, and perhaps the title points to the different function at court. M. Nummius Albinus was *comes domesticus ordinis primi* in 345, directly after the city prefecture (fig. 16).⁴⁵¹ Both careers are untypical. Unlike other *comites* they received the consulship considerably faster. Therefore *comes domesticus ordinis primi* cannot be equaled with *comes intra palatium* or *intra consistrium*, although also it was certainly of first rank. *Comites domestici ordinis primi* are attested only under Constans.

⁴⁴³ André Chastagnol, "Les Espagnols dans l'aristocratie gouvernementale à l'époque de Théodose," in *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne*, eds. André Piganiol and Henri Terrasse (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1965), 271.

⁴⁴⁴ Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter*, 92.

⁴⁴⁵ *CIL* 6 40783a=LSA-1551.

⁴⁴⁶ *CIL* 14 4408=LSA-1657. *PLRE* 1, 430 Hesychius 5.

⁴⁴⁷ *CIL* 10 1700=LSA-1910.

⁴⁴⁸ *CIL* 14 4449=LSA-1660, *CIL* 8 5348+17490=ILS 1228=ILAlg I 271=LSA-2408

⁴⁴⁹ *CIL* 6 32051=LSA-1253.

⁴⁵⁰ *CIL* 6 1721=LSA-314. *PLRE* 1, 292 Flavius Eugenius 5.

⁴⁵¹ *CIL* 6 1748=LSA-1457.

Further, Iunius Bassus was *comes ordinis primi* in the 340s.⁴⁵² Flavius Taurus, whose career was at court, was *comes ordinis primi* in 345 (fig. 4),⁴⁵³ and while holding this *comitiva* he joined the senatorial order through some kind of *adlectio*. Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, *comes ordinis primi* perhaps in 352/53, *comes ordinis primi iterum intra consistorium* perhaps after 354/55, as recorded in four inscriptions. But the inscriptions differ. Two of them have ‘*comiti ordinis primi iterum intra consistorium*’,⁴⁵⁴ another one has ‘*comiti ordinis primi item comiti intra consistorium ordinis primi*’,⁴⁵⁵ while yet another one reads ‘*comiti in consistorio ordinis primi*’.⁴⁵⁶ So, Orfitus was twice *comes* of the first rank, and the second time he was *in consistorium*. The sequence of two *comitivae* is not clear: whether they were held one after another or at the same time. ‘*Iterum*’ relates to ‘*ordinis primi*’ not to ‘*intra palatium*’ or ‘*intra consistorium*’. The career of Proculus shows that the latter two expressions must be synonyms. These posts or functions should follow each other, but Orfitus’ *cursus* inscriptions tend to group similar posts together. Thus, instead of temporal succession, they are arranged as classified by content. Saturninus Secundus Salutius, *comes ordinis primi* perhaps before 350, *item comes ordinis primi intra consistorium et quaestor* perhaps before 360, pursued a ‘mixed’ career: in between ‘territorial’ career of the resident aristocrats of Rome and the ‘central’ one of social climbers like Taurus.⁴⁵⁷ His second *comitiva* is coupled with the *quaestura*, the high aulic office. Clodius Octavianus, *comes ordinis primi* before 363,⁴⁵⁸ is the last *comes* of the Constantinian career type. He held simple unspecified *comitiva primi ordinis* before the proconsulship as was a regular career pattern. In the *cursus* inscriptions that are written out in full the indication of the comitival grade is very rarely absent.

Claudius Avitianus, *comes primi ordinis agens pro praefectis* in 362-63, is recorded in two building inscriptions from Constantina in Numidia.⁴⁵⁹ After the end of the Constantinian dynasty *comitiva primi ordinis* is attested only for active civil or military office-holders. Claudius Avitianus is the first representative of this new type of *comites primi ordinis*. As it’s not a *cursus* inscription, one expects only office, in which Avitianus was. It is the vicariate. The title of the *comitiva primi ordinis* is coupled with vicariate, and not a post preceding to it, but represented as additional honor. That will become a rule. With the new division of the senatorial *ordo* in the 370s, only officeholders before the proconsulship are found among the holders of *comitiva* of the first rank, such as *vicarii*, including *comes Orientis* and Augustal prefect, and *duces*.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵² AE 1964, 203=LSA-1628. PLRE 1, 155 Iunius Bassus 15.

⁴⁵³ CIL 6 41336=LSA-404. PLRE 1, 879-80 Flavius Taurus 3.

⁴⁵⁴ CIL 6 1739=LSA-1441, CIL 6 1740=LSA-1442.

⁴⁵⁵ CIL 6 1741=LSA-1443.

⁴⁵⁶ CIL 6 1742=LSA-1444.

⁴⁵⁷ CIL 6 1764=LSA-1408. PLRE 1, 814-17 Saturninus Secundus Salutius 3.

⁴⁵⁸ CIL 9 2566=LSA-1775.

⁴⁵⁹ CIL 8 7037, 7038.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. Wilhelm Ensslin, ‘Vicarius,’ RE 2 16, 2015-44, believes that *duces* were under *vicarii*, but see CTh 6.16.1.

In the late-fourth-century civil regional administration, Caius Valerius Eusebius, *comes ordinis primi ac per Orientem* in 364/75,⁴⁶¹ awarded a statue of the Emperor Valentinian I in Alexandria in Egypt. Flavius Macrobius Maximianus, *primi ordinis comes agens vices praefectorum praetorio* in 383/408. During his vicariate a statue of the Emperor Arcadius was dedicated at Papput in Byzacena in 383-408.⁴⁶² Terentius Potamius, *vir clarissimus, comes ordinis primi* and *praefectus Augustalis* (ὁ λαμπρότατος κόμης πρώτου τάγματος καὶ ἑπαραχὸς Ἀύγουστάλιος) made a statue dedication in Alexandria in 392.⁴⁶³ The Greek prose inscription was engraved on a white marble base. But for none of these *comites* the *cursus honorum* is extant, since they acted as awarders.

Flavius Anysius, *vir clarissimus, comes* and *vicarius* of Asiana (τὸν λαμ(πρότατον) κόμ(η)τα διοικήσαντα τὴν ἑπαρχὸν ἐξουσίαν) at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, received a statue at Laodicea ad Lycum in Phrygia Pacatiana.⁴⁶⁴ Lenaghan wrongly believes that his title *comes* and his name ‘Flavius’ both suggest a Constantinian date for his period of office.⁴⁶⁵ In the military administration, anonymous *comes ordinis primi Isauriae dux* at the end of the fourth century,⁴⁶⁶ is recorded on the lost base for the statue from Rome for Aemilia Andronice, his daughter-in-law. The office of *dux* was not automatically coupled with the *comitiva*.⁴⁶⁷

Although providing no *cursus*, building inscriptions record constructional activities by or under the imperial functionary in office. The *comitiva primi ordinis* was held by imperial officials of the same rank both in military and civil administration. In the military service, both *comites rei militares* and *duces*, who would become *spectabiles* by the turn of the century, were *comites primi ordinis*. Thus, Augustianus, *vir clarissimus, comes ordinis primi et dux Valeriae limitis* in 365/67, features in a building inscription from the military camp at Esztergom-Hidegtelep in Valeria.⁴⁶⁸ Flavius Mauricius, *vir clarissimus comes et dux* in Thebais between 367 and 375,⁴⁶⁹ is known from a building inscription from Syene, in which the full title *comes primi ordinis* is not included.⁴⁷⁰ However, Flavius Mauricius, *dux Aegypti*, is firmly attested in papyri as holder of the *comitiva primi ordinis* ((P.Oxy. LXIII 4381=ChLA XLVII 1431 from 375). Also, Flavius

⁴⁶¹ ILS 8947=LSA-2672. PLRE 1, 309 Caius Valerius Eusebius 42.

⁴⁶² ILAfr. 314=AE 1912, 178=LSA-1767. PLRE 1, 573 Flavius Macrobius Maximianus 6.

⁴⁶³ SEG 28 1454=AE 1981, 852. PLRE 1, 720 Potamius.

⁴⁶⁴ MAMA VI 13=LSA-386. PLRE 1, 80 Flavius Anysius 3.

⁴⁶⁵ LSA-386 (J. Lenaghan). Kuhoff, *Studien*, 136, dates Anysius to the 360s.

⁴⁶⁶ CIL 6 1674=LSA-1391. PLRE 1, 1016 Anonymus 69.

⁴⁶⁷ Palme, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, 58.

⁴⁶⁸ CIL 3 10596=ILS 762. PLRE 1, 125 Augustianus 1.

⁴⁶⁹ PLRE 1, 570 Flavius Mauricius 2. Constantin Zuckerman, “Comtes et ducs en Égypte autour de l’an 400 et la date de la Notitia Dignitatum Orientis,” *Antiquité Tardive* 6 (1998): 138, n.5 and 6. Mauricius is not to be regarded as *comes rei militaris Aegypti*, but as *dux Aegypti*. The highest military command in Egypt was only elevated to the rank of *comitiva rei militaris* after 384 (CTh 11.30.43).

⁴⁷⁰ AE 1909, 108 (Syene (Thebais)). Etienne Bernand, “A propos d’une Inscription Grecque d’Eléphantine,” *ZPE* 82 (1990): 180-81, table VIb.

Victorinus 2, *vir clarissimus, primi ordinis comes Africae* in 375/78,⁴⁷¹ is known from a building inscription from Cellae in Mauretania Caesariensis. He was likewise honored in the inscription at Lepsis in 378 (*comiti ... per Africam*, l.6) after the successful lawsuit against *comes* Romanus.⁴⁷² A law from 372 (*CTh* 6.14.1=*CJ* 12.12.1) stipulated that anyone who leads troops in transmarine provinces holds the *comitiva primi ordinis*, except of *illustres*. As the imperial constitution was sent to urban prefect of Rome, it must have considered *comes* of Africa as its beneficiary.⁴⁷³ Next, Flavius Bonus, *vir clarissimus, primi ordinis comes et dux* (ὁ λαμπροτάτος κόμης καὶ δούξ),⁴⁷⁴ founded a church as stated in the Greek building inscription from Kapra in Arabia dated to 392. In the building inscriptions the grade of the *comitiva* is frequently omitted. Then, Flavius Leontius was *vir clarissimus and thaumasiotatos, comes ordinis primi et dux* (ὁ λαμπρότατος καὶ θαυμασιώτατος κόμης πρώτου τάγματος καὶ δούξ) in Isauria in 395/402,⁴⁷⁵ known from the building inscription on the gate of Diocaesarea in Cilicia. Palme consenses that the *comitiva* of the first order could have been associated with the office of *dux Aegypti*, as was the case of *praefectus Augustalis*.⁴⁷⁶

From the side of the civil administration, P. Arrius Alexander, *vir clarissimus, comes ordinis primi et praefectus Augustalis* (κόμητος πρώτου τάγματος καὶ [αὐγουσταλίου πάσης τῆς Αἰ]γυπτιακῆς διοικ[ήσεως]), put up a building inscription documenting the works carried out on the site of a canal of Alexandria in 388/90.⁴⁷⁷ Severus Simplicius, *vir clarissimus, comes ordinis primi and vicarius* (τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κόμητος) πρώτου βαθμοῦ) διέποντος τὴν ἑπαρχον ἐξουσίαν), restored some thermal baths at Sardis in Lydia at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.⁴⁷⁸ Attius Philippus, *vir clarissimus, comes ordinis primi et vicarius Asiae* (ὁ λαμπρότατος κόμης πρώτου βαθμοῦ διέπων τὴν ἑπαρχον ἐξουσίαν), was responsible for some building works at Side in Pamphylia at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.⁴⁷⁹ *PLRE* wrongly suggests his office as *consularis* of Pamphylia perhaps in the fifth century. Alexander, *primi ordinis comes agens vicem praefectorum praetorio* in Africa Proconsularis, is recorded on the building inscription attesting to the baths' repair at Vina at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.⁴⁸⁰ Little is known about these *vicarii* and Augustal prefects holding the *comitiva* of the first

⁴⁷¹ *CIL* 8 10937=20566. Ignazio Tantillo and Francesca Bigi, eds., *Leptis Magna. Una città e le sue iscrizioni in epoca tardoromana* (Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino, 2010), 365-7, perhaps as early as 373.

⁴⁷² *IRT* 570=*LSA*-2175.

⁴⁷³ Löhken, *Ordines dignitatum*, 133.

⁴⁷⁴ *IGLS* 2293a. *PLRE* 1, 164 Flavius Bonus.

⁴⁷⁵ *MAMA* III 73. *PLRE* 2, 674 Flavius Leontius 28.

⁴⁷⁶ Palme, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, 66, n.8.

⁴⁷⁷ *CIG* III 4693. André Bernand, *Le delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs. I. Les Confins libyques* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1970) 340-41, wrongly restored '[τοῦ περι(βλέπτου) κόμητος]'. *PLRE* 1, 42 P. Arrius Alexander 12.

⁴⁷⁸ *AE* 1968, 491=*SEG* 36 1097. *PLRE* 2, 1016 Severus Simplicius 13.

⁴⁷⁹ *CIG* III 4361=*SEG* 27 903. *PLRE* 2, 876 Att(ius) Philippus 8.

⁴⁸⁰ *CIL* 8 962+12440=*ILAFr.* 321. *PLRE* 1, 42 Alexander 14.

rank beyond the inscriptions.⁴⁸¹ No *cursus honorum* of these *comites* is extant. The Latin title *comes primi ordinis* is given in the Egyptian inscriptions and papyri as *κόμης πρώτου τάγματος*.⁴⁸² Outside of Egypt there is also the way of expression *κόμης πρώτου βαθμοῦ*.⁴⁸³ In many cases it remains unclear whether it is a rank title or an official title.

Fourth- and early fifth-century *comites primi ordinis* attested in Egypt belonged to a special category of office holders such as *praefecti Augustales* and *duces*. They differ from the fifth-century honorary *comites*.⁴⁸⁴ On the one hand, the known fourth-century *praefecti Augustales* such as Arrius Alexander, Terentius Potamius, Remigius, and Anatolius, are all *comites* of the first order, of whom *Augustales* may have held this title *ex officio*, as assumed by Mithoff, for most of *comites primi ordinis* known before 400 held the office of *praefectus Augustalis*.⁴⁸⁵ Until 398/99 all *comites primi ordinis* detectable in Egypt held the rank of *clarissimi*. In a Latin process protocol (ChLA XLIII 1246=SB XX 14688) Anatolius, *Augustalis* in the year of 398/99, is referred to as *clarissimus comes primi ordinis*, while his immediate successor, Rufus, appears already in the rank of *spectabilis*.⁴⁸⁶ Remigius, *vir clarissimus, comes primi ordinis et praefectus Augustalis* (ὁ λαμπρότατος κόμης πρώτου τάγματος καὶ ἑπαραχος Αὐγουστάλιος) in 396/97 should be now added to Scharf's list of *comites* of the first rank.⁴⁸⁷ Then, Flavius Eleutherius, *comes primi ordinis et dux Aegypti*, is fashioned *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος* (*magnificentissimus*) (Pap.Lugd.Bat. XIII (=P.Select.) 10=SB VIII 9840). However, the honorific epithet *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος* did not denote a concrete senatorial rank, but indicated a high rank in general applied to both *clarissimi* and *spectabiles*. Therefore, he could be either still *clarissimus* or already *spectabilis* due to the date 399/400. On present evidence, the earliest papyrological evidence for *spectabilis comes* in Latin is Rufus (ChLA XLIII 1246=SB XX 14688), with the Greek form *περίβλεπτος* following later.⁴⁸⁸

From a certain point in time – perhaps since the turn of the fourth to the fifth century – the mention of the rank *spectabilis*, which, according to R. Rémondon, belonged to Augustal prefects from the outset, seems not to have been regularly added to their title, as opposed to the mention of the *comitiva* of the first rank.⁴⁸⁹ The phase in which *praefecti Augustales* held the title of *comes primi ordinis* was short. The rank of *comes primi ordinis* was not wholly devalued. Bestowed on the

⁴⁸¹ On Anatolius' identification with Anatolius, *vir clarissimus*, who died of fire according to the chronicle of Theophanes (AM 5891) in the year 398/99 in Alexandria under unknown circumstances, see Zuckerman, "Comites et ducs," 143-44.

⁴⁸² CIG III 4693. P.Köln. II 103 and P.Select. 10.

⁴⁸³ AE 1968, 491=SEG 36 1097; CIG III 4361=SEG 27 903.

⁴⁸⁴ Palme, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, 65.

⁴⁸⁵ Franz Mitthof, "Remigius comes primi ordinis et praefectus Augustalis," ZPE 109 (1995): 115.

⁴⁸⁶ P.Vindob. Lat. 6 dated by Johannes Kramer, "Zwei neue Augustalpräfekten auf einem lateinischen Protokoll," Tyche 5 (1990): 41-43 into the last third of the fourth century. See Scharf, *Comites*, 61 no. 32. No PLRE entry.

⁴⁸⁷ P.Heid. Inv. G 44. No PLRE entry. Mitthof, "Remigius," 109.

⁴⁸⁸ Palme, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, 66.

⁴⁸⁹ Roger Rémondon, "P. Hamb. 56 et P. Lond. 1419 (notes sur les finances d'Aphrodito du VI^e siècle au VIII^e)," *Chronique d'Égypte* 40 (1965): 184-85.

holders of various offices, it enhanced their precedence within the senatorial order and, if granted to outsiders, it carried with it senatorial rank. The *comitiva* of the first rank, however, experienced a drastic devaluation in the first decades of the fifth century.

In addition, Arusianus Messius, *vir clarissimus, comes ordinis primi* in 395, is known to have been *grammaticus* and orator (*Gramm. Lat.* 7.449). His small extant work *Exempla Elocutionum*, an alphabetical phraseology of model idiomatic expressions, was dedicated to Olybrius and Probianus, consuls of 395. He is probably identical with the Messius to whom the anonymous poem ‘*De figuris vel schematibus*’ was addressed (*Anth. Lat.* I 2².485). Cassiodorus uses a metaphor of the ‘*quadriga Messii*’ (chariot of Messius) (*Institut.*, 1.15.7) for the quartet of Latin authors (Vergil, Terence, Cicero, and Sallust) employed by the fourth-century author.⁴⁹⁰

As regards the *comites* of second rank, only Roman senators are known to have held these honors. Two Constantinian counts are recorded. First, Lucius Aradius Valerius Proculus, who governed Constantinople following its foundation as *consularis* of Europa and Thrace, was subsequently appointed to the governorship of Sicily, and then became *comes secundi ordinis* in 330. He is recorded as count of the second order on the base for his statue erected by the guild of swine dealers and butchers (*suarii*)⁴⁹¹ and equally in the lost inscription set up by the city of Puteoli.⁴⁹² Both statues were put up at Rome in 340. Second, Lucius Crepereius Madalianus was *comes secundi ordinis* at the beginning of the 330s, prior to his appointment as *consularis Ponti et Bithyniae*.⁴⁹³ His honorific statue was set up in Calama in Africa Proconsularis in 341-50. Both became *comites secundi ordinis* after holding an office of *consularis*. During the Constantinian dynasty, Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus was count of the second order directing a military expedition under Constantius presumably during the usurpation of Magnentius in 350-52. Three statues were erected to Orfitus by the guilds in Rome in 357-60, recording his *comitiva ordinis secundi expeditiones bellicas gubernanti*.⁴⁹⁴ After the 350s it disappears from inscriptions. Perhaps from the mid-350s it sank in rank too quickly to have been included in the cursus. By 396, *comitiva secundi ordinis* was already going together with the low ranking offices of *cubicularii primi loci* and *tribuni urbaniciani* (*CTh* 6.27.8).

The *comitiva tertii ordinis* was introduced in the 330s. It is attested for Quintus Aurelius Symmachus as conferred by Valentinian I in 368-69. Symmachus was part of the senate’s embassy to congratulate the emperor with his *quinquennialia* and delivered the senate’s address to Valentinian at court (*Or.* 1). He also recited a panegyric on Gratian (*Or.* 3). Symmachus travelled with Valentinian to the border area between Neckar and Rhine in 369-70, for which the senator was

⁴⁹⁰ PLRE 1, 600 Arusianus Messius.

⁴⁹¹ *CIL* 6 1690=*LSA*-1396

⁴⁹² *CIL* 6 1691=*LSA*-1397.

⁴⁹³ *CIL* 8 5348+17490=*ILS* 1228 (Calama (Proconsularis)).

⁴⁹⁴ *LSA*-1441; *LSA*-1443; *LSA*-1444.

rewarded with the *comitiva* that was later included in his probably posthumous *cursus* inscription (fig. 2).⁴⁹⁵ He presumably received the status of *comes* at the time when he stayed with Valentinian in Gaul, delivering a panegyric on Valentinian's assumption of his third consulship (*Or.* 2) in 370. The place in the career of this *comitiva* is unknown.⁴⁹⁶ Symmachus definitely held it after his *correctura* of Lucania et Bruttii in 365, but before the proconsulship of Africa in 373. Symmachus' title of count of the third rank is also reconstructed in the fragmentary inscription from the vicinity of Thysdrus in Byzacena.⁴⁹⁷ It possibly records a statue re-erected by him as governor of Africa Proconsularis in 373-74, but solely the title of *comes ordinis tertii* can possibly be restored from the extant letters of the fragment of the *cursus honorum*. By the end of the century, this *comitiva* lost most of its importance. The third class of the *comitiva* was still conferred, but on persons of very humble degree. Already in 392 the law allows this *comitiva* to be held by decurions, which did not free them from belonging to and liabilities of the *ordo decurionum* (*CTh* 12.1.127).

It was also suggested that before obtaining the office of quaestor in 375 Ausonius was count at the turn of the 360s and 370s. Of the most recent scholarship, H. Sivan has associated a conferral of this title with his participation in the military campaign which ended with the battle of Solicinum, and writing the poem *Mosella*. She thought that Ausonius became *comes ordinis tertii* similar to Symmachus.⁴⁹⁸ Their acquaintance at Valentinian's court at Trier resulted in correspondence comprising thirty letters. Ausonius was certainly count, however, a grant of this title is a different matter. Ausonius himself mentions the title of count in *Praefatiunculae* written after 383, where he employs the expression '*ego comes et quaestor*' (*Praef.* 2.35). Ausonius thereby merely emphasizes in this way the fact that at the moment of obtaining the aulic office of quaestor he automatically became count,⁴⁹⁹ and the *comitiva* was surely of the first rank.

Further, according to Seeck, the *comitiva Flavialis* was introduced around 325,⁵⁰⁰ and was perhaps a post associated with actual personal service to Constantine, since it is unattested after 337. Moser believes that this honor appeared around 333.⁵⁰¹ For Weiss, the title belongs to around 340,⁵⁰² which is clearly too late. Only two *comites Flaviales* are attested. One was Lucius Crepereius Madalianus, who, according to the inscription from Ostia,⁵⁰³ held the title of *comes Flavialis* prior to becoming *consularis* in Pontus and Bithynia. His *comitiva Flavialis* belongs to

⁴⁹⁵ *CIL* 6 1699=*ILS* 2946=*LSA*-270.

⁴⁹⁶ Scharf, *Comites*, 63.

⁴⁹⁷ *AE* 1966, 518=*LSA*-2310 (Thysdrus (Byzacena)).

⁴⁹⁸ Hagith Sivan, *Ausonius of Bordeaux: Genesis of a Gallic Aristocracy* (London: Routledge, 2002), 108.

⁴⁹⁹ Szymon Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies on the Court Elite in the Roman Empire (4th Century AD)* (Toruń: Nicolaus Copernicus University Press, 2013), 70-71.

⁵⁰⁰ Otto Seeck, "Comites," *RE* 4.1 (1990), 630.

⁵⁰¹ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 77.

⁵⁰² Weiss, *Consistorium*, 19.

⁵⁰³ *CIL* 14 4449.

before 337, perhaps 333/37.⁵⁰⁴ His inscription from Africa dates from after 341. The posts suffect consul and legate of Asia are missing in it, and so does the *comitiva Flavialis*. But there is, however, the *comitiva secundi ordinis*, which should be added to the inscription in Ostia, which accentuates his traditional senatorial offices. The *comitiva secundi ordinis* was held after the post of legate, and the *comitiva Flavialis* perhaps after the post of *consularis*. In no case they are identical.⁵⁰⁵ Another *comitiva Flavialis* was held by Quintus Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus, who served as Flavian count prior to his appointment as count of the East. *Comites Flavialis* thus ranked relatively low, below the *comitiva primi ordinis* and below the post of *comes Orientis*. The *comitiva Flavialis* of Lollianus held in the 330s was dissimilar to his *comitiva Augusti* in 324/28. Lollianus' *cursus* inscriptions from Puteoli show that the Flavian *comitiva* was held after the office of *consularis*,⁵⁰⁶ like in case of Crepereius Madalianus. It cannot be ruled out that the omission of the earliest title of *comes* was due to mere space-related reasons, when more and more higher offices had to be included in the *cursus* inscriptions. However, the question remains, why then the awarders did not resort to abbreviations.⁵⁰⁷

Seeck identified *comitiva Flavialis* with *comitiva Augusti* and *intra palatium*.⁵⁰⁸ He referred to the problematic inscription of Lollianus.⁵⁰⁹ The *comitiva Flavialis* was, however, higher in rank than the *comitiva Augusti*. Weiss regarded *comes Flavialis* as an expression for *comites consistoriani* and implicitly equaled these two *comitivae*.⁵¹⁰ The *comitiva Flavialis* is also not to be identified with *comitiva ordinis primi*. According to Scharf, the *comitiva Flavialis* was not equal to any other *comitiva* in rank. It stays above the *comitiva Augusti* and *comitiva secundi ordinis* in the *cursus*, but below the *comitiva primi ordinis*.⁵¹¹ It follows city or provincial consular offices. It is attested between 330 and 337. Scharf suggests, that both Lollianus and Madalianus may have held it in the East. The *comitiva Flavialis*, a creation of Constantine, celebrated the Flavian dynasty. Perhaps, it already included the duties of personal advisement and accompaniment of the emperor.⁵¹²

Finally, there was the *comitiva Augusti*, which appeared much earlier than any other *comitiva*, and was equal to none of them in rank.⁵¹³ Seeck wrongly equaled *comites dominorum*

⁵⁰⁴ *CIL* 6 1151.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 412.

⁵⁰⁶ *CIL* 10 1696=*LSA*-43 (Puteoli (Campania)), *CIL* 10 1695=*LSA*-332 (Puteoli (Campania)), *ILS* 1224b=*LSA*-1909 (Puteoli (Campania)), and *CIL* 10 4752=*ILS* 1223=*LSA*-1970 (Suessa (Campania)).

⁵⁰⁷ Bonflis, *Il comes et quaestor*, 9; Scharf, *Comites*, 69-70.

⁵⁰⁸ Seeck, *Comites*, 630.

⁵⁰⁹ *CIL* 6 1723.

⁵¹⁰ Weiss, *Consistorium*, 19.

⁵¹¹ Scharf, *Comites*, 70.

⁵¹² Scharf, *Comites*, 71, suggest the year of 335 as possible date of its establishment.

⁵¹³ Scharf, *Comites*, 69.

nostrorum Augusti et Caesarum with *comes Flavialis*.⁵¹⁴ The *comitiva Augusti* possibly disappears with the creation of three rank classes of the *comitiva*. It preceeds the *comitiva Flavialis* and *comitiva secundi ordinis* as placed in the *cursus*. The *comitiva dominorum nostrorum Augustorum et Caesarum* of Quintus Flavius Maesius Lollianus is placed before his city *curatela* in the honorific inscription from Campania.⁵¹⁵ C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, *praefectus urbi* in 315-16, had been previously *comes Augustorum*, that is, of Constantine and Licinius.

I proceed with a patriciate as an institution and an honor. The ancient title of patrician, held by the Roman aristocrats already at the beginning of the republic, was revived by the Emperor Constantine in the early fourth century neither as a hereditary rank nor as a function, but as a title awarded for life.⁵¹⁶ Although it conferred a very high status, it was not an office and entailed no specific responsibility. As one of the many innovations of Constantine that was concerned with senatorial status, the reintroduction of the title of *patricius* around 330 given as a personal favor of the emperor rather than a hereditary designation of a privileged upper class,⁵¹⁷ had a potential to cut across existing hierarchies. In most cases the exact date of the conferral of the title is not known as an individual's patriciate was not regularly mentioned especially in earlier sources.⁵¹⁸ In the fourth century the emperor conferred the patriciate infrequently: less than ten fourth-century patricians have been attested with any certainty.⁵¹⁹

A. H. M. Jones believes that the emperor granted the title *patricius* to his nearest friends and highest officials.⁵²⁰ The first to have had the title of patrician after it was created by Constantine was Flavius Optatus, consul of 334 (Zos. 2.40.2). The indication of the legal status of the patriciate – now outranking any ex-prefect or master of soldiers who had held the consulship – comes from a constitution of Gratian (*CTh* 6.6.1: 382), which exemplifies a strong rivalry for precedence at the highest levels of the senatorial aristocracy.⁵²¹ Several patricians who might have benefited from this law would be Domitius Modestus, consul in 372 and perhaps patrician (*Patria* 1.63, 67), or, more likely, Flavius Taurus, consul of 361 and patrician in 354-55, or Flavius Hypatius, consul of 359

⁵¹⁴ Seeck, *Comites*, 630.

⁵¹⁵ *CIL* 10 4752=ILS 1223 (Suessa).

⁵¹⁶ Zos. 2.40; Eus. *VC* 4.1; Timothy D. Barnes, "Patricii under Valentinian III," *Phoenix* 29 (1975): 155-70; Wilhelm Ensslin, "Die konstantinische Patriziat und seine Bedeutung im 4. Jahrhundert," *Mélanges Bidez* 2 (1934): 361-76.

⁵¹⁷ Ralph Mathisen, "Patricians as Diplomats in Late Antiquity," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 79 (1986): 35.

⁵¹⁸ Mathisen, "Patricians as Diplomats," 36.

⁵¹⁹ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 1225. Barnes, "Patricii", deletes Saturninus Secundus Salustius from Jones' list and adds eunuch Eutropius. Some patricians from not fully reliable sources are ignored by the *PLRE* such as those cited in the *Patria Constantinopolitana*, and in some of the lists of addenda to the *PLRE*, including Ralph Mathisen, "Forty-three Missing Patricii," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 17 (1991): 191-222, accept many patricians attested only in late or suspect sources.

⁵²⁰ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 106.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, 534-35. *PLRE* 1, 650 Flavius Optatus 3. On the rank and status of consuls, see Sguaitamatti, *Der spätantike Konsulat*, 51-91.

and patrician in 371-72.⁵²² Although the imperial constitution established no absolute ranking for the patriciate itself, it presented the idea that accumulation of dignities could be prioritized in establishing precedence, used to a greater effect at later dates. In 382, *patricii* ranked directly below ordinary consuls (*CTh* 6.6.1). Now, if ex-ordinary consuls were the highest-ranking individuals in the empire, patricians ranked second. By 399 (*CTh* 9.40.17), the patriciate outranked even the consulship as the highest-ranking dignitas, which was now included among the ‘lesser dignities’ held at this time by the disgraced Eutropius. However, the patriciate as an institution had an independent extraordinary status, even if the imperial legislation regarding its ranking was in flux. The fourth-century legislation explains why the holding of the patriciate continued to be of such great importance for determining the status of ex-consuls.

In the fourth century, Mathisen claims, the patriciate was granted most of the time to individuals of rather low standing, to increase their rank at once.⁵²³ He points to the remarks on Optatus (son-in-law of an innkeeper) and Datianus (son of a bath attendant) by Libanius in his late speech of the early 390s (*Or.* 42. 23-24). However, Optatus, a favorite of Constantine, was in fact the son of a senator and was probably married to a relative of Constantine’s mother Helena.⁵²⁴ He became *patricius* in 334 when he was made consul. The career of Datianus, who as former *comes* of Constantine joined the court of Constantius, is characterized by continuity in service. Libanius says that Datianus was for many years Constantius’ ‘Nestor’ (ὁ βασιλέως Νέστωρ) (*Ep.* 114). Constantius’ key supporter, Datianus clearly lacked senatorial rank, but his closeness to the emperor nonetheless granted him the prestige. A close confidant of Constantius, he became consul prior of 358. He is attested as *patricius* in 360. Both are accused of having been the son of a simple bath attendant, and the son-in-law of an innkeeper, not members of the provincial aristocracy. However, as A. Skinner argued, such poor men would hardly have been able to afford to secure an imperial post with the extensive authorities which Datianus and Optatus were granted by the emperor.⁵²⁵ These men were exceptionally successful officials and consuls by the time of receiving the patriciate. Caelius Montius Magnus 11 is said to have been awarded the distinguished title of *patricius* in 351 (*Passio S. Artemii* 12), upon his appointment as quaestor of Gallus.⁵²⁶

⁵²² Ralph Mathisen, “Emperors, Consuls and Patricians: Some Problems of Personal Preference, Precedence and Protocol,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 17 (1991): 175-76, suggesting also Naeratius Cerealis, Flavius Arbitio, Lollianus 5, and Aco(nius) Catullinus signo Philomantius. Merobaudes, however, did not hold a firmly attested patriciate.

⁵²³ Ralph Mathisen, “Patricii, episcopi, et sapientes: Le choix des ambassadeurs pendant l’antiquité tardive dans l’Empire romain et les royaumes barbares,” in *Ambassadeurs et ambassades: au cœur des relations diplomatiques: Rome-Occident médiéval-Byzance: VIIIe s. avant J.-C.-XIIIe s. après J.-C.*, eds. Audrey Becker and Nicolas Drocourt (Metz: Presses universitaires de Lorraine, 2012), 227-38.

⁵²⁴ Barnes, *The New Empire*, 107.

⁵²⁵ Skinner, “Political Mobility,” 22-29 shows that Libanius’ remarks do not prove advancement to the senatorial aristocracy via imperial administration from sub-curial origins. *PLRE* 1, 243-44 Datianus 1.

⁵²⁶ Weiss, *Consistorium*, 42-44. *PLRE* 1, 608 L. Caelius Montius; 535-36 Caelius Montius Magnus 11.

A specific function fulfilled by the patriciate already in the fourth century, as suggested by Mathisen, was its use in a diplomatic context.⁵²⁷ Of a total of about 270 *patricii* attested for the period of three centuries since their reintroduction, only less than ten are known from the fourth century.⁵²⁸ Six fourth-century patricians are known to have participated in the embassies in the East between 354 and 380s.⁵²⁹ Late Roman embassies of key significance, such as those to Persia and Armenia, likely saw the bestowal of honors upon late Roman ambassadors.⁵³⁰ As the emperor could not multiple ordinary consuls when needed, the title of *patricius* could increase an ambassador's rank on the spur of the moment. Patrician was referred to as *pater Augusti*, 'the father of the emperor'. Thus, Eutropius, consul and *patricius* in 399, is attested holding the title '*pater Augusti*' (Phil. 11.4; Soz. 8.7.1).

Further, Julius Constantius, half-brother of Constantine, consul in 335, was *patricius* already by 335 (Zos. 2.39.2), while Petronius 3, father-in-law of Valens, (Amm. 26.6.7) became *patricius* in 364-65. Apart from the members of the imperial family, the patriciate was bestowed in the context of embassies. However, an absence of the patriciate from the laws addressed to imperial office holders and *cursus* inscriptions suggests that as of this period the honor had been not yet regarded as a mark of highest rank.⁵³¹ Like in the case of Taurus, whose patrician status is attested epigraphically, it is virtually ignored in all other contemporary sources. All *patricii* in both eastern and western parts of the empire possessed the same type of patriciate.⁵³² In both parts of the empire alike, *patricius* was the title of a rank or dignity, not the title of an office.

The patriciate is recorded in a few honorific inscriptions. Thus, Taurus, consul in 361, was apparently given rank *patricia dignitas* before becoming praetorian prefect of Italy and Africa, in which office he is attested in 355. The inscription on the base for the re-erected gilded bronze statue of Taurus was commanded by the emperors in the Forum of Trajan in 364 (fig. 4).⁵³³ The honorific inscription in the Forum of Trajan which records the career of Saturninius Secundus Salutius in 364 omits the title.⁵³⁴ Salutius is presented as *patricius* at the death of Jovian by the *Paschal Chronicle*, in the entry for the very next year (364), in a discussion of his role in the accession of Valentinian I. Mathisen states that he became *patricius* in 363-64, and that in this period the status of *patricius* still was not necessarily an important honor for one of praetorian rank to be included in the

⁵²⁷ Mathisen, "Patricians as Diplomats," 35-49.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 37. Barnes, "Patricii," 169 lists only six patricii before 400.

⁵²⁹ Mathisen, "Patricians as Diplomats," 38.

⁵³⁰ See Ekaterina Nechaeva, *Embassies, Negotiations, Gifts: Systems of East Roman Diplomacy in Late Antiquity* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2014).

⁵³¹ Mathisen, "Patricians as Diplomats," 42.

⁵³² Barnes, "Patricii," 169.

⁵³³ CIL 6 41336=AE 1934, 159=LSA-404.

⁵³⁴ CIL 6 1764=LSA-1408. Salutius' is accepted by Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 1225 and Mathisen, "Patricians as Diplomats," 47, but excluded by Barnes 1975, 159-62. PLRE 1 suggests that if Salutius did receive the patriciate, it was not until 'after his final retirement'.

inscription.⁵³⁵ The patrician Flavius Caesarius (τόν ὑπέρλαμπρον καὶ ἐξοχώτατον πατρίκιον) received an honorific statue at Tralles in Caria during the first term of his prefecture.⁵³⁶ This honor is almost identical to another honorific inscription to Caesarius, *patricius* of *praeclarus* and *eminentissimus* rank, recorded in the theater at Tralles.⁵³⁷ Their *terminus post quem* is 395, the start of his first prefecture.

Patricii of the fourth century, occasionally deduced from late and dubious sources, are known to have been engaged in public building activities. Thus, Eubulus, a patrician of Rome, is said to have been moved to Constantinople with his family by Constantine c. 330/37 and to have built three gateways (*Patria* 1.63, 67). However, the *Patria* elsewhere (3.120) says that ‘τά Εὐβούλου’ was built by a Eubulus who was patrician during the reign of Justin I. The harbor of Eleutherius, patrician at Constantinople and *a secretis*, supposedly was built by Constantine c. 330/37; there also was a column of Eleutherius (*Patria* 2.63, 3.90). Theophanes (1.70) states that the column was erected in 386. Many buildings, including porticoes and fountains, were constructed in the emperor’s name and from public funds. They were carried out by his officials, including Datianus, a principal advisor of Constantius, senator of Constantinople, and *patricius* (Philost. *HE* 8.8). He requested the removal of the immunity from the land-tax granted to his property (*CTh* 11.1.1: 360). Datianus owned property in Antioch (Lib. *Ep.* 1184), where he built two baths, a portico as well as a villa and gardens. Aetius, patrician at Constantinople perhaps c. 364/78, is said to have been the builder of the ‘cistern of Aetius’ in Constantinople (*Parast.* 87; *Patria* 2.70) during the time of Valens. R. Janin identifies him as the Aetius who was prefect of Constantinople in 419. The *Chronicle of Marcellinus* states under the year 421 ‘*cisterna Aetii constructa est*’. Proc(u)lus, patrician at Constantinople, according to *Patria* (2.60), brought a monolith from Athens to Constantinople during the reign of Theodosius II. However, Theodosius I probably was meant, for in 390 the obelisk was placed in the hippodrome by city prefect Proculus (fig. 89). The confusion may have arisen because another Proculus was prefect of Constantinople in 428.

The sources are, however, neither contemporary nor very reliable. Narrating about the foundation of Constantinople, the *Patria* lists a number of *patricii* of Rome who are said to have been moved to Constantinople with their families by Constantine, and who built there their houses there. Maur[ian]us, Rhodanus, and Florentius are said to have built houses in Constantinople c. 330/37 (*Patria* 1.63, 67). Rhodanus was *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in Constantinople in 364. Also c. 330/37 Probus is said to have built a marvelous palace in Constantinople (*Patria* 1.63, 67). A Sallustius was patrician at Constantinople c. 324/37, where he built a house (*Patria* 1.63, 67). The prefect Sallustius also was said to have helped to build Constantinople (*Patria* 1.70). Flavius Iulius

⁵³⁵ Mathisen, “Patricians as Diplomats,” 47 n.44.

⁵³⁶ *LSA*-398 (Tralles (Caria)). *PLRE* 1, 171 Fl. Caesarius 6+*PLRE* 2, 249-50 Caesarius 1+Fl. Caesarius 5.

⁵³⁷ *LSA*-407 (Tralles (Caria)).

Sallustius was consul in the East in 344, and a Saturninus Secundus Salutius was praetorian prefect of the East in 361-63 and 365-67, and is called a patrician in late sources. Modestus who built a house in Constantinople c. 330/37 (*Patria* 1.63, 67) was perhaps the same as the Domitius Modestus who, as prefect of Constantinople in 362-63, began work on the ‘cistern of Modestus’ and in 365 built himself a new house in Constantinople. Domninus is said to have built a house in the region of Maurianos in Constantinople c. 330/337 (*Patria* 1.3, 67). Janin points out to the neighboring portico of Domninus. A known Domninus, a native of Syria and *consularis* of Phoenice in 364-65, was a senator in Constantinople before 390. The *Patria* (3.109) mention the house of Gainas, ‘the patrician and tyrant’, in the time of Arcadius. Lausus is said to have been patrician and provost of the sacred bedchamber who held many offices during the reign of Arcadius, and to have had a palace in Constantinople (*Patria* 2.36). He is presumably to be identified with Lausus, *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in 420, the dedicatee of the *Historia Lausiaca*.

Besides Rome, the major site of Christian religion was Constantinople, where patricians were engaged in numerous projects of church-building activity. Patricians of Rome are said to have been moved to Constantinople with their families by Constantine. Eudoxius, patrician and prefect at Constantinople, supposedly built a church of St Philemon (*Patria* 3.16). The *Patria* (3.21) cites Eugenius who lived during the reign of Theodosius I and built a church of the Theotokos. Probus, patrician at Constantinople, built a church of John Prodromos (*Patria* 1.63, 67, 3.99). Urbicius built a church of Theotokos, and owned two houses in Constantinople. Studius, patrician at Constantinople c. 330/37 or 457/74, was probably consul of 454, who built a basilica of John the Baptist and an associated monastery in the city. This later Studius also is said by the *Patria* (3.87) to have been a patrician during the reign of Leo I. Basilus was patrician at Constantinople in 383/408. He is said to have built a church of St Eleutherius, supposedly during the reign of Arcadius (*Patria* 3.192). Dalmatius was perhaps patrician at Constantinople in the early fifth century. Attested as *scholaris* during the reign of Theodosius I, he became a monk of the abbot Isaac in Constantinople and succeeded him by 431. According to the *Patria* (3.207), however, a patrician Dalmatius founded the monastery, which is known to have been founded by Isaac in 382. Nevertheless, it testifies to Dalmatius’ role in the early years of the monastery.

Furthermore, Mathisen has also suggested that Sporacius may have been a patrician at Constantinople identical with a Sporacius, called ‘ὁ πρότος’, who was an envoy to Persia (Lyd. *De mag.* 3.53) c. 383. Much later, Sporacius was said to have built the important church of St Theodorus in Constantinople in the time of Arcadius and Theodosius II (*Patria* 3.30). Mathisen speculates that ‘if there is any truth to this legend, the ambassador and the builder of the church could be the same person, and if this is the case, he too may have received his patriciate in

conjunction with the same embassy'.⁵³⁸ It is however hard to believe that these two persons may have been identical.⁵³⁹ The *Anthologia Palatina* preserves Sporacius' dedicatory inscription for the church constructed in the property.⁵⁴⁰ Another inscription attests that his nephew Antolius, whom Sporacius had brought up, buried him in St Theodorus.⁵⁴¹ A memorial portrait of Sporacius was dedicated in the same church, possibly a painting.⁵⁴² He is attested *patricius*, who built the church by both the *Life of Matrona* (πατρίκιος Σφαιράκιος) (*Vita Matronae*, c. 33, 805) and the *Patria* (Σφωράκιος πατρίκιος) (3.30). A private chapel dedicated to St Theodorus had been previously built near his house on the Mese.⁵⁴³ In gratitude for the preservation of his palace after the fire attributed to the agency of this saint, Sporacius dedicated a much larger church in his honor, on the site of the first chapel. The first epigram informs us that the church was a votive offering by Sporacius after he survived a fire, a miracle described in the *Encomium and Miracles of Theodore* (BHG 1765c), written by Chrysippus of Jerusalem in the 460s, which records that the chapel stood near the palace of Sporacius, and that he enlarged it, as the conflagration, which destroyed the whole quarter and the chapel itself, spared his palace. These epigrams were probably inscribed in the church of St Theodorus in the quarter of Sporacius, which was located immediately west of St Sophia. The church is no longer extant, but it must have stood close to the basilica of the Chalkoprateia.⁵⁴⁴ This was therefore one of the few churches built by senatorial aristocrats within their palaces in Constantinople in the fifth century.

Lastly, Barnes has suggested that Flavius Merobaudes, consul in 377 and 383, should be added to the list of fourth-century patricians.⁵⁴⁵ He proposes that Merobaudes was driven to suicide in the summer of his second consulship and points out to a funeral inscription from Trier that appears to prove that both Merobaudes and his wife died and were buried in a July.⁵⁴⁶ Although Gratian's law (*CTh* 6.6.1) issued presumably to benefit specific men, no patrician who was also consul is explicitly attested between Flavius Taurus, consul in 361, and Eutropius, consul in 399. Barnes conjectures that the individual given precedence over all others was Flavius Merobaudes, consul in 377. Moreover, Barnes argues the latter was the Merobaudes *patricius* who donated lands

⁵³⁸ Mathisen, "Patricians as Diplomats," 47.

⁵³⁹ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 900; *PLRE* 2, 1026-1027 Fl. Sporacius 3, which omits the patriciate, suggests that the Sporacius who built the church was consul in 452. Probably identical with devout Christian Sporacius who escaped a fire and in gratitude built the Church of St Theodorus at Constantinople (*Just. Nov.* 3.1; *Anth. Gr.* I 6-7; *Patr. Const.* 3.30).

⁵⁴⁰ *Anth. Gr.* 1.6.

⁵⁴¹ *Anth. Gr.* 1.7.

⁵⁴² Alternatively, the epigram may have been sepulchral, in which case it would suggest that Sporacius was buried in the church, which would have been unusual, though not unthinkable, for a private intramural church in the mid-fifth century.

⁵⁴³ On the neighbourhood named after him, see Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topo graphique*. 2nd edn. (Paris: Institut d'Études Byzantines, 1964), 428.

⁵⁴⁴ Efthymios Rizos, *Cult of Saints*, E00550, <http://csa.history.ox.ac.uk/>. These two epigrams are fully discussed by Cyril Mango, *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993), 25-26.

⁵⁴⁵ Barnes, "Patricii," 159-62. *PLRE* 1, 598-99 Flavius Merobaudes 2.

⁵⁴⁶ *AE* 1965, 255 (Augusta Treverorum (Belgica)). Barnes, "Patricii," 160.

to the monastery at Mantaniacum (Mantenay-sur-Seine). A seventeenth-century report of a lost life of Romanus, bishop of Reims, states that king Clovis the elder confirmed a grant of estates by *patricius* Merobaudes to the monastery of Mantaniacum.⁵⁴⁷ Most scholars, however, identify him with Merobaudes, master of soldiers in the West in 443,⁵⁴⁸ while Clover has proposed that he held the patriciate.⁵⁴⁹ Mathisen reminds that a grant of lands by the elder Merobaudes would predate the known rise of monasticism in the area of Troyes by some fifty years.⁵⁵⁰ Finally, the younger Merobaudes is well-attested as a devout Christian, while the religious beliefs of the elder one are unknown.⁵⁵¹

To a genre of inscriptions on *instrumentum domesticum* (domestic utensils) belongs an inscribed lead pipe, found close to the aqueduct of Valens and dated perhaps to the second part of the fourth century, mentioning anonymous ex-consul, *patricius*, and prefect of the city of Constantinople.⁵⁵² Since the individual cannot be identified with any known prefect of the time of Valens, the date may therefore be some time later. *Patricius* as the title of honor used throughout late antiquity features in the graffiti. A great number of *patricii* are recorded on the amphitheater seat inscriptions in Rome starting from the last decades of the fourth century.⁵⁵³ Together with the rank titles and offices (*consul*, *praefectus urbi*, *comes domesticorum*) aristocrats boasted the status of *patricius*. These inscriptions display an accumulation of titles by senatorial office-holders as the significance of a multiplicity of offices and honors came to establish the order of precedence. However, the title of patrician remained rare through the mid-fifth century.

Now I turn to consuls. The ordinary consulship persisted as an office of the highest status owing to its uninterrupted existence preceding the foundation of the empire, its use as a dating formula, and its constant exclusivity. It came to be a crowning achievement of the career, *honor sine labore*, ‘honor without toil’ (*Pan. Lat.* 3 (XI), 2, 2), and the outward sign of imperial favor. It was the only magistracy which continuously perpetuated from the republic to late antiquity.⁵⁵⁴ From 311 on, the ordinary consulship became for non-imperial honorands the culmination of a distinguished career. Since consuls had lost almost all political functions, it is thereby important to

⁵⁴⁷ Nicolas Camuzat, *Promptuarium sacrarum antiquitatum Tricassinae dioecesis* (Troyes: Natalis Moreau dit Le Coq, 1610), 358B.

⁵⁴⁸ *CIL* 6 1724=LSA-319. *PLRE* 2, 756-58 Flavius Merobaudes.

⁵⁴⁹ Discussed most fully by Frank M. Clover, *Flavius Merobaudes. A Translation and Historical Commentary* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1971), 7, 34-37. His patriciate is accepted by *PLRE* 2. Barnes, “Patricii,” 159-62 suggests the honoray consulship instead.

⁵⁵⁰ Mathisen “Patricians as Diplomats,” 48.

⁵⁵¹ *CIL* 6 31983.

⁵⁵² *CIG* 8611. *PLRE* 1 1009 Anonymus 20.

⁵⁵³ Orlandi, *Anfiteatri*, 17. 109, C; 17. 176; 17. 5, D; 17. 49, C; 17. 72, F; 17. 99, A; 17. 105, B; 17. 146, B; 17. 106, B; 17. 101, D; 17. 44, C; 17. 76a, B; 17. 101, C; 17. 161, A; 17. 160, A; 17. 90, C; 17. 160, C; 17. 118, B; 17. 155; 17. 63; 17. 81, F; 17. 174.

⁵⁵⁴ Bagnall et al., *Consuls*; Giovanni Alberto Cecconi, “Lineamenti di storia del consolato tardoantico,” in Eburnea diptycha, ed. Massimiliano David (Bari: Edipuglia, 2007), 109-27. On the position of the consulship in imperial hierarchy, see Sebastian Schmidt-Hofner, “Ehrensachen. Ranggesetzgebung, Elitenkonkurrenz und die Funktionen des Rechts in der Spätantike,” *Chiron* 40 (2010): 209-43.

define what were the prerogatives of status connected with their appointment. Symbols and honors connected with the consulship in the fourth century include, first of all, a symbolic function of defining order and allowing continuity by giving the year its name and determining the time.

I begin with the ceremony of the inauguration. Traditionally, in Rome, on 1 January the consular procession, preceded by lictors carrying *fascēs*, ascended the Capitol, where new consuls sacrificed to Jupiter before heading to the senate, where they delivered their *gratiarum actio* to the emperor.⁵⁵⁵ In the fourth century, it took place at court. During the course of the day they performed manumission, which was then retained as part of the consular inauguration.⁵⁵⁶ Consular games, however, were not always a principal part of the inauguration. A number of special panegyrics, or *gratiarum actiones*, pronounced by consuls presumably on the day of their inauguration is extant. The choice of the city in which the consulship was inaugurated depended on the emperor's presence. Claudius Mamertinus, consul of 362, delivered his *gratiarum actio* in Latin (*Pan. Lat.* 3 (XI)) to Julian before the senate of Constantinople on January 1.⁵⁵⁷ The consular inauguration, especially in Constantinople, where everyone invited could easily attend, would gather an elevated audience. The 'speech of thanks' of Decimius Magnus Ausonius, consul of 379, was delivered before Gratian at Trier near the end of Ausonius' consular year as the emperor was far away from his residence.⁵⁵⁸ Symmachus staged his consular games in Milan. It was probably at this occasion that he gave his panegyric on Theodosius.

Besides consular public statement of thanks, panegyrics were addressed to consuls. Consul of 363, Flavius Sallustius was celebrated with a panegyric by Gallic rhetor Latinus Alcius Alethius (*Aus., Prof.* 2, 192). Flavius Saturninus, *magister militum* in 382-83, who concluded an important settlement with Goths in 382,⁵⁵⁹ received a congratulatory speech by Themistius (*Or.* 16,203a). The latter asserted the emperor Theodosius conceded the consulship originally destined for himself in a last-minute appointment. Claudian authored three panegyrics to non-imperial consuls. First, Claudian's *Panegyric on the Consulship of Probinus and Olybrius* was recited at Rome in January 395. Claudian's panegyric on the two consuls dwells shortly on their inauguration, which took place at court in Milan, where probably the games were also staged. Claudian may have performed his poem in Rome before the new consuls departed for Milan. Cameron questions the standard assumption that consular panegyrics performed in Rome were delivered on 1 January as

⁵⁵⁵ On the consular arrival ceremony, see Ralph Mathisen, "L'adventus consulaire pendant l'antiquité tardive," in *Les entrées royales et impériales: histoire, représentation et diffusion d'une cérémonie publique, de l'Orient ancien à Byzance. de l'archéologie à l'histoire*, eds. Agnès Bérenger and Éric Perrin-Saminadayar (Paris: De Boccard, 2009), 139-56. More generally, Sabine McCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

⁵⁵⁶ Cameron, "The Origin," 199.

⁵⁵⁷ Adrastus Omissi, *Emperors and Usurpers in the Later Roman Empire. Civil War, Panegyric, and the Construction of Legitimacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 209-18. *PLRE* 1, 540-41 Claudius Mamertinus 2.

⁵⁵⁸ Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, 20. *PLRE* 1, 140-41 Decimius Magnus Ausonius 7.

⁵⁵⁹ *PLRE* 1, 807-808 Flavius Saturninus 10=*PLRE* 2, 980 Fl. Saturninus 6.

the consul's inaugural games were normally given at court, far away from Rome.⁵⁶⁰ Second, Claudian's poem *On the Consulship of Flavius Manlius Theodorus* was written in late 398 to be delivered at the beginning of the new year. Third, he delivered his panegyric *On the Consulship of Stilicho* in 400. Both panegyrics describe preparations for games (*Theod.* 270-332; *Cons. Stil.* 3.223-369). The poet must have been dead by the time when Stilicho celebrated the second consulship in 405, by that time an unprecedented honor for the military official.

Although the office was a one-year tenure, it has left a permanent visual legacy. The post was entirely concerned with ceremony and spectacle:⁵⁶¹ on the one hand, it entailed the ostentatious display of the consul through his wealth and largesse. A set of two large silver spoons from Aquileia with consular representations was apparently presented as the *sportula* by Eusebius, consul of 347 or 359, perhaps father and son. Presentational silver utensils were only a tiny fraction of wealth of the great senatorial families of Rome.⁵⁶² On both spoons he is accompanied by attendants and flanked by a curtain, like in the consular portraits in the Codex Calendar of 354 and on later consular diptychs.⁵⁶³ Both are decorated with consular tableaux: on one of them consul stands in *trabea*, on the other he is seated on his *sella curulis* dressed in tunic and chalmys. For Claudian, the *trabea* exemplifies the garment worn by consul, pointing to the ritual of consular investiture. Stilicho's consular *trabea* covered in gems and gold thread becomes a signifier not of the consulship alone but also of the coming of a Golden Age to be brought by the wearer (*Stil.* 2).⁵⁶⁴ When Roma places the *trabea* upon Stilicho's shoulders, she replaces his usual armor (*Stil.* 2.365-67). Cameron is inclined to take the depiction of the *trabeatus* by Claudian as a real garment worn by Stilicho in the actual ritual of consular investiture.⁵⁶⁵

On the other hand, the wonders and excitements of the consular games that were offered to the people were part of a domain where aristocrats vied with each other in wealth and extravagance. The law of 384 addressed to the senate of Constantinople stipulated that no one but consuls should have the right to give presents of gold (*auream sportulam*) or ivory diptychs (*diptycha ex ebore*). As for the former, *solidi* as gifts were sent to a large number of recipients in a ritual of the consular *largitio*. As for the latter, the magnificent ivory diptychs were a very different class of objects distinguished from other gifts in the period. Similar to imperial medallions, it seems likely that the

⁵⁶⁰ Cameron, "The Origin," 204 n.135.

⁵⁶¹ On consular ceremonies and processions, see Sguaitamatti, *Der spätantike Konsulat*, 137-57.

⁵⁶² Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society*.

⁵⁶³ Cameron, "The Origin," 178-79.

⁵⁶⁴ Claire Coombe, *Claudian the Poet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 124 notes that 'by late antiquity the term *trabea* appears to have become somewhat interchangeable with the *toga picta*, a more colorful version of the white toga, traditionally reserved for triumphs, worn with a *tunica palmata*, the garments all becoming more like one another with the development in taste for ornamentation'.

⁵⁶⁵ Alan Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 48, 303-304. On the insignia of consular power, see Sguaitamatti, *Der spätantike Konsulat*, 26-41.

new consul distributed his diptychs on the day he assumed his office.⁵⁶⁶ They were commissioned by consuls to celebrate or commemorate not their appointment, as A. Eastmond thinks,⁵⁶⁷ but their games. Providing games, the only real obligation of consuls, was an expensive honor. The law implies that diptychs were not only distributed by consuls, but, as Cameron has shown, by any official who provided games.⁵⁶⁸ Libanius (*Ep.* 1021) acknowledges receiving Tatianus' consular diptych in 391. In 400, when Stilicho was accorded for the first time the highest honor within the Roman state of being appointed consul, he distributed the ivory diptychs for his consular games.⁵⁶⁹

Eastmond assumes that the 'true value' of a consular diptych lays symbolically in receiving it, and, although the permanence of the ivory must have been one of the most valuable assets to its commissioners, practically 'in the gifts of silver that generally accompanied it'.⁵⁷⁰ He mentions that all the references to consular gifts made by Q. Aurelius Symmachus in his letters present ivory diptychs as accompaniments to silver (*Ep.* 7.76), and proceeds to conclude that, from this point of view, 'consular diptychs were perhaps closer in function to seals'.⁵⁷¹ But, again, Symmachus mentions only diptychs commemorating his son's quaestorian and praetorian games. However, the consular *sportula* of Eutolmius Tatianus, Symmachus' eastern colleague as ordinary consul in 391, was indeed an ivory diptych (*διθύρον*) and silver bowl (*Lib. Ep.* 1021). Gold coins in silver bowls were relatively small-scale *largitiones* sent to a large number of aristocratic connections.⁵⁷² The diptychs thereby did not merely 'authenticate the gifts' that were handed out; they were principal mementos on their own. The eastern law of 384, the earliest securely datable evidence for the presentation diptychs, restricting gifts of gold or ivory diptychs to consuls, says nothing about silver. Alongside diptychs, other gifts were distributed, such as gold coins, silver plates, and even more modest souvenirs. Claudian relates that Stilicho's diptychs were not just presented to his important connections, but simply thrown to the crowd, as perhaps were silk vestments (*holosericae vestes*).⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁶ Bagnall et al, *Consuls*, 87. On the celebrations of the consulship, see Sguaitamatti, *Der spätantike Konsulat*, 137-196.

⁵⁶⁷ Eastmond, "Consular Diptychs."

⁵⁶⁸ Cameron, "The Origin", 182 argues that diptychs were not announcements of the honorand's promotion or invitations to the consular ceremonies, as 'the earliest literary evidence bears out the abundant iconographic evidence that the original function of diptychs was to commemorate the games the official gave rather than the office he held'.

⁵⁶⁹ Claud., *Cons. Stil.* 3.346-49 (delivered in 400), see also Alan Cameron, "Consular Diptychs in Their Eastern Context: New Eastern Evidence," *JRA* 11 (1998): 399. Cameron, however, states that it is not until the second half of the fifth century that one first finds western consuls issuing diptychs to commemorate their own consular games rather than their sons' questorian and praetorian games. On consular games, see Sguaitamatti, *Der spätantike Konsulat*, 157-96.

⁵⁷⁰ Eastmond, "Consular Diptychs," 751: "They also provided a record of those gifts long after the silver itself had been melted down, or re-inscribed to be passed on to the next recipient in the apparently endless chain of gifts and exchanges."

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² Cameron, "Observations," 181-82.

⁵⁷³ Cameron, "The Origin," 205.

Cameron speculates that ‘if presentation diptychs were more elaborate copies of codicil diptychs, it may be that a traditionalist like Symmachus felt it improper to issue a diptych to commemorate one of the few offices conferred by scroll rather than diptych’.⁵⁷⁴ But in the *Notitia*’s illustrations for the highest ranking *illustres* the (portrait-bearing) codicils, which served as insignia are invariably represented as diptychs which however probably contained the appointive scroll. Therefore, the instrument for conferring the consulship would have not been merely the scrolls. Berger even claims that only lower ranking *clarissimi* were receiving the scrolls.

In the West, consuls regularly entered office and staged their inauguration January games at court. Trier, Milan, Ravenna, even Sirmium served as the fourth-century imperial residences, but not Rome. Symmachus received invitations for inaugurations from non-imperial western consuls, such as Syagrius (381), Richomeres (384), Bauto (385), Neoterius (390), Atticus (397), Theodorus (399), Stilicho (400), all of whom celebrated their consulships in Milan; Petronius Probus (371) and Ausonius (379) in Trier; Lollianus (355) and Olybrius (379) most likely in Sirmium, Olybrius and Probinus (395) probably in Milan. In the East, by the late fourth century Constantinople would become a permanent seat of the imperial court. There consular games, which appear on the fourth-century eastern calendars, took precedence over praetorian games, hence, according to Cameron, the restriction of expenditure on issuing diptychs to consuls on behalf of praetors. He considers diptychs to be originally an obligation of ordinary consuls at Constantinople who provided games. Just like panegyrics, consular games were constrained by the location of the emperor in the first days of January. Eastern authors describe the festival of the Kalends, mentioning consuls, the second chariot-racing, theatrical games, and wild beast chase.⁵⁷⁵ The earliest explicitly attested eastern consular games seem to be those given by Mamertinus, consul of 362, in the presence of the emperor in Constantinople on January 1 (Amm. 22.7.1-2).

The consulship was the only office, which the emperor held jointly with his subjects, mostly highest ranking civil and military office-holders. Different forms of self-representation of ‘private’ consuls appear in the case of coupling with the emperor and imperial family members, who lent their prestige to non-imperial honorands. A traditional ceremony of the consular *adventus* then offered a complex event in which the senatorial aristocracy could, temporarily, conditionally and in a limited manner, pretend to be on a pair with the emperor. Only five aristocrats of Rome, besides Symmachus, held the ordinary consulship: Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus (355), Sextus Petronius Probus (371), Probus’ father-in-law Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius (379) and his sons Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius and Anicius Probinus (joint consuls in 395). By the second half of the fourth century the consulship, formally ranked above both prefectures, became the summit of

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 207.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 199-200.

career ambitions.

While the honors attributed to the consuls such as the presidency of the senate and the enfranchisement of slaves, even if certainly honorary in nature, represent functions assumed by the consuls, concessions of public statues were purely honorific. In his recent monograph on the character assumed by the consulship in late antiquity L. Sguaitamatti offers only incomplete three pages of analysis of the honorific statuary raised for consuls.⁵⁷⁶ A consulship received during the term of the praetorian or urban prefecture allowed to accumulate the highest imperial distinctions and was the occasion for erection of statues for Marcus Maecius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus (consul of 343),⁵⁷⁷ Flavius Domitius Leontius (of 344),⁵⁷⁸ Vulcacius Rufinus (of 347) (fig. 23),⁵⁷⁹ Maesius Egnatius Lollianus *signo* Mavortius (of 355),⁵⁸⁰ Flavius Sallustius (of 363) (fig. 28),⁵⁸¹ Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus (of 371) (fig. 7, 24),⁵⁸² Quintus Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius (of 379), Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus (391), and Flavius Mallius Theodorus (of 399).⁵⁸³ Also, Iunius Bassus held his consulship (of 331) during the prefecture.⁵⁸⁴ One inscription, recording only Probus' third praetorian prefecture that was held together with the consulship in 371, dwells specifically on this highly distinguished combination of offices (*simul uno eodemque tempore etiam praetorio praefectura pollenti consuli ordinario*).⁵⁸⁵ Taurus' consulship (of 361), which he held during his prefecture, is surprisingly omitted in the re-erected dedication (fig. 4).⁵⁸⁶ A posthumous inscription for Virius Nicomachus Flavianus records even his illegitimate consulship (of 394) held during the praetorian prefecture under Eugenius (fig. 3).⁵⁸⁷ A consulship received during the urban prefecture was a timely occasion for dedications for C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus (314) (fig.

⁵⁷⁶ Sguaitamatti, *Der spätantike Konsulat*, 47-49.

⁵⁷⁷ *CIL* 10 1700=*ILS* 1231=*LSA*-1910.

⁵⁷⁸ *CIL* 3 167=*ILS* 1234=*LSA*-1190. The statue may have resulted from Leontius' governance of the region more generally; or he had assisted Berytus in some other way during his prefecture; or retired there after his term in office. See, Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 96.

⁵⁷⁹ *CIL* 6 32051=*ILS* 1237=*LSA*-1253. He occupied the praetorian prefecture on three more occasions, after his monument was set up at Ravenna during his first prefecture. Timothy D. Barnes, "Praetorian Prefects, 337-361," *ZPE* 94 (1992): 257.

⁵⁸⁰ *CIL* 6 1723+1757=37112=*ILS* 1232.

⁵⁸¹ *CIL* 6 1729=*ILS* 1254=*LSA*-323.

⁵⁸² Eight (out of ten) honorific statues, which Probus, four times praetorian prefect, received, mention both his prefectures and consulship: *CIL* 6 1751=*ILS* 1265=*LSA*-272, *CIL* 6 1752=*ILS* 1268=*LSA*-1459, *CIL* 6 1753=*ILS* 1267=*LSA*-1460 (Rome, all probably in the house of Petronius Probus), *CIL* 6 41342a=*LSA*-306 (Rome, Forum of Trajan), *Inscr. Cret.* IV 312=*AE* 1933, 197=*LSA*-773, *Inscr. Cret.* IV 318=*LSA*-779 (both Gortyn), *CIL* 5 3344=*ILS* 1266=*LSA*-1599 (Verona), *AE* 1972, 76=*AE* 2011, 51=*LSA*-1936 (Capua). See also *CIL* 10 5179=*LSA*-2027 (Casinum).

⁵⁸³ *CIL* 6 41380=*AE* 1985, 44=*LSA*-405.

⁵⁸⁴ Barnes, "The New Empire," 104 suggests the dating of 318-32, Porena Pierfrancesco, "Ancora sulla carriera di Flavius Ablabius, prefetto del pretorio di Costantino," *ZPE* 190 (2014): 268 suggests two mandates, in 318-22 and in 326-34.

⁵⁸⁵ *AE* 1972, 76=*AE* 2011, 51=*LSA*-1936.

⁵⁸⁶ *CIL* 6 41336=*AE* 1934, 159=*LSA*-404.

⁵⁸⁷ *CIL* 6 1782=*ILS* 2947=*LSA*-271.

21),⁵⁸⁸ Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus (Iunior) *signo* Honorius (334),⁵⁸⁹ Ceionius Rufius Albinus (335),⁵⁹⁰ and L. Aradius Valerius Proculus *signo* Populonium (340).⁵⁹¹ These honorific dedications were timed for the highest honor, the consulship.

Consuls acted as awarders to emperors, especially when the office was held during their term of the city prefecture. Thus, C. Caecionius Rufius Volusianus, consul of 314, features as awarder as consul and city prefect.⁵⁹² He made a dedication to Emperor Constantine in the same year. The mention of Constantine's father, the deified (*divus*) Constantius I, reinforced the legitimacy of his rule. Caius Ceionius Rufius Volusianus held the offices of urban prefect and consul on two occasions. Under Maxentius he was urban prefect in 310, and consul in 311. The statue to Constantine was set up during his second term as urban prefect, from December 313 to August 315, and more specifically in the year of his second consulship, 314. The inscription does not mention that he was holding these offices for the second time, as they had been held under an emperor denounced as a tyrant by the new Constantinian regime. Also, an equestrian statue of Constantine I was set up in the Roman Forum in 334. It was awarded by senate and people of Rome, and dedicated (*dedicante*) by Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus *signo* Honorius, consul and prefect of the city.⁵⁹³ Another dedication to Constantine by the same Anicius Paulinus the younger was also carried out at Rome in the year of his consulship.⁵⁹⁴ There is no record of its place of discovery. Similarly, T. Fabius Titianus, consul of 337 and prefect of the city for the second time dedicated two statues for Magnentius.⁵⁹⁵ On the base found on the Oppian hill the name of the honorand and much of that of the awarder were erased. The wording of the inscription is almost identical to that on a base discovered on the Aventine, where the name of the awarder, T. Fabius Titianus, is completely preserved (fig. 42).⁵⁹⁶

Consuls were responsible for moving statues in Rome. The fragment of a plaque, possibly recording the re-erection of a statue, by Maecilius Hilarianus, consul of 332, comes from the Roman Forum.⁵⁹⁷ Only a small part of the inscription survives, and, if the reconstruction of the awarder's name is correct, it testifies to the re-erection of the statue. The fragment, probably from the statue base, was discovered during excavations of the Sacra Via, next to the so-called temple of Romulus. If Maecilius Hilarianus was the dedicator, the re-erection of the statue took place in 332, when he

⁵⁸⁸ CIL 6 1707=41319=ILS 1213=AE 2003, 207=LSA-1415; AE 2003, 207=LSA-1573. The *cursus honorum* excludes Volusianus' urban prefecture (in 310) under Maxentius. Pierfrancesco Porena, *Le origini della prefettura del pretorio tardoantica* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2003), 265-67.

⁵⁸⁹ CIL 6 1682=ILS 1220=LSA-1394.

⁵⁹⁰ CIL 6 1708=31906=41318=LSA-1416.

⁵⁹¹ CIL 6 1690=ILS 1240=LSA-1396; CIL 6 1691=LSA-1397; CIL 6 1692=LSA-1398.

⁵⁹² CIL 6 1140=ILS 692=LSA-837.

⁵⁹³ CIL 6 1141=LSA-1263.

⁵⁹⁴ CIL 6 1142=LSA-1089.

⁵⁹⁵ CIL 6 1166a=ILS 741=LSA-1281.

⁵⁹⁶ CIL 6 1167=LSA-1284.

⁵⁹⁷ CIL 6 37116=41320=LSA-1574.

was *consul ordinarius*. Thereafter, Neratius Cerealis, consul of 358, re-erected ten statue bases of unstated subjects in Rome in that year.⁵⁹⁸ A series of bases with the same text record the setting up of statues in the baths founded by Cerealis. The wording of the inscriptions does not specify the subject of the statues. It is unknown whether these were statues of Cerealis himself, or more likely statues dedicated for the decoration of his baths. One base was discovered on the Esquiline, near Santa Maria Maggiore. Other inscriptions come from the same area. The thermal complex was attached to a domestic building. The house and the baths of Cerealis were excavated together with another base celebrating him,⁵⁹⁹ confirming the provenance of this series of bases. The only office recorded by the inscriptions of Maecilius Hilarianus and Cerealis is their consulship. Further, of seven statues that were transferred during the second city prefecture of T. Fabius Titianus, six record his consulship of 337.⁶⁰⁰

Honorific statues were also awarded by consuls to their distinguished parents. Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius 2 and Anicius Probinus 1, consuls in extreme youth, were brothers and sons of Probus, consul of 371. A lost base for a statue of Anicia Faltonia Proba was erected by her son, Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius, and daughter-in-law in Rome in 395.⁶⁰¹ A plaque from a statue base for Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus, consul and praetorian prefect, was likewise erected by his son and daughter-in-law (*consulum patri*) in the same year (fig. 7).⁶⁰² Similarly, a posthumous base for a statue of consul Probus (*patri consulum*) was set up by both of his sons in Rome in 395.⁶⁰³ The fragmentary plaque from a base for a pendant statue of Proba, ‘wife, daughter and mother of consuls’ (*consulis uxori, consulis filiae, consulam matri*) was erected at the same time by the same dedicants.⁶⁰⁴ The familial character of these dedications suggests a *domus* or a family mausoleum in that area.⁶⁰⁵

Most of the inscriptions, however, were set up for consuls. The consulship, a source of great pride, sometimes features even in the inscriptions erected for family members. First, it increased the prestige of male descendants, sons or grandsons of former consul. Thus, C. Caeionius Rufius Volusianus, consul of 311, under Maxentius and again under Constantine in 314 is styled *bis ordinarius consul*, as mentioned in the public honorific inscription for his son set up on the

⁵⁹⁸ *CIL* 6 1744c=31916b=LSA-790; *CIL* 6 1744a=31916a=LSA-1446; *CIL* 6 1744a=31916c=LSA-1447; *CIL* 6 1744b=31916d=LSA-1448; *CIL* 6 1744k=31916e=LSA-1449; *CIL* 6 1744e,f,l=31916f=LSA-1450; *CIL* 6 1744d=31916g=LSA-1451; *CIL* 6 1744h=31916h=LSA-1452; *CIL* 6 1744i=31916i=LSA-1453; *CIL* 6 1744g=LSA-1454. *PLRE* 1, 197-99 Neratius Cerealis 2.

⁵⁹⁹ Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità VI* (Rome: Quasar, 2000), 374; idem., *Forma Urbis Romae* (Rome: Quasar, 1990), 45-46; LSA-1455.

⁶⁰⁰ *CIL* 6 1653; *CIL* 6 31879; *CIL* 6 37107; *CIL* 6 37108; *CIL* 6 32055=3866a. Also *CIL* 6 31881.

⁶⁰¹ *CIL* 6 1756=LSA-1463.

⁶⁰² *CIL* 6 1753=LSA-1460.

⁶⁰³ *CIL* 6 1752=ILS 1268=LSA-1459.

⁶⁰⁴ *CIL* 6 1754=ILS 1269=LSA-1461.

⁶⁰⁵ Machado, “Building the Past,” 511-12.

Capitoline Hill,⁶⁰⁶ but not in the *fasti*, evidently to make it clear that he was not counting a devalued suffect consulship. Iunius Annius Bassus, consul of 331, is mentioned in the private honorific inscription of his son.⁶⁰⁷ Petronius Probinus, consul of 341, was son of Petronius Probianus, consul of 322, and father of Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus, consul of 371, and grandfather of the consuls of 395 and 406. He is memorized in the inscription for a public statue of his son erected in Verona between 375 and 383, possibly 371.⁶⁰⁸ Likewise, consuls are recorded in the honorific inscriptions put up for female family members. Fabius Aco(nius) Catullinus *signo* Philomathius, consul of 349, is mentioned in the honorific inscription for his daughter, Fabia Aconia Paulina, wife of Vettius Praetextatus, consul designate, erected originally in a domestic context in 384-400.⁶⁰⁹ Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius, consul in 379, is celebrated in a perhaps private honorific inscription for his wife, Tyrrania Anicia Iuliana, erected by her client in the year of his consulship.⁶¹⁰

The Forum Traiani was the most prestigious place for public honors. A gilded bronze statue of Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus Iunior *signo* Honorius, city prefect and consul of 334, was in that year commanded by the emperors in the Forum of Trajan, where the base was found.⁶¹¹ Flavius Sallustius held the supreme honor of consulship in 363 with the emperor as his colleague. According to Ammianus (23.1.1), ‘for a private citizen to be associated with the reigning emperor seemed an innovation which no one recalled to have been made since Diocletian and Aristobulus’. The statue of Flavius Sallustius was erected by the provincials of Spain in the Forum of Trajan in 364 (fig. 28).⁶¹² However, Caeionius Rufius Albinus, consul of 335 and prefect of the city, son of Volusianus, consul of 311 and 314, received a statue honor on the Capitoline hill in 336-37.⁶¹³

Outside of Rome, public statuary honors for Roman aristocrats, mentioning their consulship, were granted in Italian provinces, especially in Campania. A statue for M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus, consul of 343, was erected to its patron by the Palatina region of Puteoli in 343-46.⁶¹⁴ Similarly, a statue for Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus, consul of 371, was set up to their patron by the regions and guilds of Capua in the second half of the fourth century.⁶¹⁵

⁶⁰⁶ CIL 6 41318=ILS 1222=LSA-1416.

⁶⁰⁷ AE 1964, 203=AE 1975, 370=LSA-1628.

⁶⁰⁸ CIL 5 3344=ILS 1266=LSA-1599 (Verona).

⁶⁰⁹ CIL 6 1780=ILS 1260=LSA-1474.

⁶¹⁰ CIL 6 1714=ILS 1271=LSA-1270.

⁶¹¹ CIL 6 1683=LSA-1395.

⁶¹² ILS 1254=LSA-323.

⁶¹³ CIL 6 41318=ILS 1222=LSA-1416.

⁶¹⁴ CIL 10 1700=LSA-1910.

⁶¹⁵ LSA-1936.

Another statue to Probus, consul and patron, was put up in Verona possibly in the year of his consulship.⁶¹⁶

Outside of Italy, a statue of Probus was dedicated in Gortyna in Crete sometime in 372-88.⁶¹⁷ Another statue of the same honorand was placed within a period of 382-83.⁶¹⁸ Equally, Flavius Hypatius, a brother of Constantus' wife Eusebia and consul of 359 received an honorific monument in Gortyna in 383.⁶¹⁹ Remarkably, a fragment of a statue base in Gortyna for senator Anicius Claudius celebrates him as *ex consul*.⁶²⁰ However, although the inscription, dated to 382-83, identifies him as former consul, no ordinary consul of this name is documented in the fourth century. It was therefore proposed that he was one of the four consuls of the Anicii, who held this office in the late fourth century, although their nomenclature differs: Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus, consul of 371, Quintus Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius, consul of 379, Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius or Anicius Probinus, consuls of 395. Of these, Quintus Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius seems to be the most likely candidate for the identification, on account of the monument's dating. Although his *nomen* Clodius comes closest to the name given in the inscription; in case a polyonymous individual might be known by variable names at different times and places, other candidate is possible. Cameron, however, identifies Anicius Claudius not as former consul but as consular governor.⁶²¹ In addition, a bronze togate statue of Flavius Domitius Leontius, praetorian prefect and consul of 344, was dedicated as a public honor in Berytus in Phoenice in the year of his office.⁶²²

Further, some private honorific dedications to consuls were set up by cities at the honorands' property in Rome. A statue of Lucius Aradius Valerius Proculus, consul and prefect of the city, was erected to its patron by the city of Puteoli in 340.⁶²³ Vulcacius Rufinus, consul of 347 and praetorian prefect of Italy, distantly related to the imperial house, was honored by inhabitants of Ravenna in 347 (fig. 23).⁶²⁴ According to the inscription, the dedication was made in the vestibule of the house of Rufinus.

Others were celebrated by their clients. The same Proculus, consul of 340, was honored as patron by the guild of swine dealers and butchers (*suarii*) in the year of his consulship.⁶²⁵ Another statue was erected to him by *suarii* in Rome in 351-52.⁶²⁶ Yet another statue to the same honorand

⁶¹⁶ *CIL* 5 3344=*LSA*-1599.

⁶¹⁷ *LSA*-773.

⁶¹⁸ *LSA*-779.

⁶¹⁹ *LSA*-778.

⁶²⁰ *Inscr. Cret.* IV 322=*LSA*-783.

⁶²¹ Alan Cameron, "Anicius Claudius (I. Cret. IV. 322)," *ZPE* 57 (1984): 147-48.

⁶²² *CIL* 3 167=*LSA*-1190.

⁶²³ *CIL* 6 1691=*LSA*-1397.

⁶²⁴ *CIL* 6 32051=*LSA*-1253.

⁶²⁵ *CIL* 6 1690=*LSA*-1396.

⁶²⁶ *CIL* 6 1693=*LSA*-1399.

was dedicated to its patron by the guild of bakers (*pistores*) between 337 and 352, most likely in 340.⁶²⁷ Neratius Cerealis, consul of 358, received a statue honor bestowed by his client in the same year.⁶²⁸ The base bearing the inscription, honoring him as former consul and former praetorian prefect (*ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων πραιτωρίου*), was discovered close to the area of the *domus* of Cerealis. A statue of T. Fabius Titianus, consul of 337 and prefect of the city, was set up by his slave in a domestic context in 339-41.⁶²⁹

The most common type of honorific dedications to consuls is that by family members. M. Nummius Albinus *signo* Triturrius, consul of 345, was honored with a statue at that date (fig. 16).⁶³⁰ It describes him as *consul ordinarius iterum*, referring to his suffect consulship. Chastagnol, following G. B. de Rossi, proposed an ordinary consulship under the usurpers Magnentius or Nepotian, but the authors of the *PLRE* and Kuhoff pointed out that it would be an improbably late evidence for the equation of suffect and ordinary consulships. Since the wording of the inscription as in the case of Volusianus seems to imply two ordinary consulships, another possibility might be that Albinus like Symmachus died while designated to a secondary ordinary consulship, and the inscription might have then anticipated his honor. A private dedication to Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus *signo* Mavortius, consul in 355, was set up by his son and daughter-in-law in 355-56.⁶³¹ Praetorian prefect and prefect of the city, Lollianus had earlier been designated to consulship by Constantine in 337. The statue was installed at his *domus* on the Aventine hill. Two posthumous statues of consul Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus were set up by his sons⁶³² and his son and daughter-in-law, respectively, in 395 (fig. 7).⁶³³

A success in attaining the ordinary consulship was long celebrated by an honorand's family. Q. Aurelius Symmachus *signo* Eusebius, consul in 391, is commemorated by a probably posthumous statue dedication in the early fifth century (fig. 2).⁶³⁴ The monument formed a pair with another posthumous statue, that of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus senior (fig. 3),⁶³⁵ perhaps after 402, when Symmachus is considered to have died. Nicomachus Flavianus the elder, was consul of 394. The inscription records the *cursus honorum* of Nicomachus Flavianus, including his consulship held in the West in 394 under the usurper Eugenius – an appointment not accepted in the East, and not mentioned in the base of the posthumous statue dedicated to him in the Forum of Trajan (fig.

⁶²⁷ *CIL* 6 1692=*LSA*-1398.

⁶²⁸ *CIL* 6 1745=*LSA*-1455.

⁶²⁹ *ILS* 1227=*LSA*-1422.

⁶³⁰ *CIL* 6 1748=*LSA*-1457.

⁶³¹ *CIL* 6 1723+1757=37112=*LSA*-1426.

⁶³² *LSA*-1459.

⁶³³ *CIL* 6 1753=*LSA*-1460.

⁶³⁴ *CIL* 6 1699=*ILS* 2946=*LSA*-270.

⁶³⁵ *CIL* 6 1782=*ILS* 2947=*LSA*-271.

5).⁶³⁶ Both bases come from the Caelian hill,⁶³⁷ the area where the house of the Symmachi has been identified,⁶³⁸ which agrees with the private character of the dedications.

Outside of Rome and Italy, Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, consul in 391, is extolled in the private honorific inscription from Sidyma from 391 or early 392. This verse inscription written in sotatei presents Tatianus' career, recorded in ascending order, with particular emphasis on his consulship:⁶³⁹ '... then the great prefect (*praefectus praetorio Orientis*); while still holding this rank, after a service of 33 years, he received for all this the eternal wreath (the honor of *consul ordinarius*, after whom the year was named) ... Whose zeal made him so high? The divine emperors enjoyed his administration and crowned him in gratitude with the everlasting consulship, in order to give him fame and great honor from all people, both at the time and later, for he has survived infinite troubles during his leading service'.

For other statues the exact provenance and type of honor is unknown. C. Caecionius Rufius Volusianus, consul of Maxentius at Rome in 311 and consul of the second time in 314, received a statue in Rome in the year of his second consulship, while in office as prefect of the city.⁶⁴⁰ The base was first recorded in the church of S. Pudenziana, discovered out of context. A statue for Anicius Paulinus Iunior, consul of 334 and prefect of the city,⁶⁴¹ erected to its patron by the guild of tanners (*corpus corariorum*) in Rome in the same year.⁶⁴² The provenance of the base is not known. It was perhaps a private dedication erected by clients.

As for awarders, the statues were most prestigiously dedicated by emperors with senatorial approval, then by provinces and provincial councils, cities and city regions, guilds and clients. Thus, the dedication for perhaps Flavius Mallius Theodorus was carried out by two unidentified emperors, with the involvement of the senate. The statue of Flavius Sallustius was awarded by the provinces of Spain the legates sent by sacred decision (*missis legatis iussione sacra Hispaniae*). Flavius Hypatius, former consul and former praetorian prefect, received the statue set up by *consularis* Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus, by decree of the assembly of the whole province (*δόγματι τοῦ κοινοῦ πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχείας*), and Petronius Probus was honored by imperial, that is, 'divine decision and by decree of the province of the Cretans' (*θείῳ θεσπίσματι καὶ δόγματι τῆς Κρητῶν ἐπαρχίας*), carried out by Flavius Fursidius Aristides, *consularis* of the province. As for the cities, Domitius Leontius was granted the statue dedicated by the council of the Berytians *sumptibus*

⁶³⁶ CIL 6 1783=LSA-1247.

⁶³⁷ Rodolfo Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* (London: Macmillan, 1897), 348-50.

⁶³⁸ LTUR 2, 183-84 (F. Guidobaldi).

⁶³⁹ TAM II 186/187=IGC 293(2)=ILS 8844=LSA-674 (Sidyma (Lycia)): For the family estate in Sidyma, see Cedrenus 603-4; Thophanes 104 (AM 5943); Nicephorus Callistus, HE 15.1. PLRE 1, 876-878 Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus.

⁶⁴⁰ CIL 6 1707=LSA-1415.

⁶⁴¹ He was son of Iulianus, consul of 322 and (probably) nephew of Paulinus, consul of 325, see Barnes, *The New Empire*, 107.

⁶⁴² CIL 6 1682=LSA-1394. Ignazio Tantillo, "L. Amnius ...nius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus," *Epigraphica* 77 (2015): 285-99.

suis, by the decrees of the province of Phoenice (*decretis provinciae Phoenices*), which were confirmed by the divine judgement (*sententia divina firmatis*) of the emperors. The people of Ravenna dedicated the monument for the eternal memory (*Ravennates monumentum perennis memoriae ... dicaverunt*) of Vulcacius Rufinus. Again, Probus, former consul and former praetorian prefect thrice, was honored by *consularis* Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus, by decision of the shining council of the Gortynians (*δόγματι τῆς λαμπρᾶς Γορτυνίων βουλῆς*). The name of the awarder is not recorded on the inscription. It is possible that it was set up by the provincials of Venetia et Histria for Probus was citizen (*civis*) and patron of Verona as he is styled in the inscription Probus ‘citizen’. It is likely that the city set up the inscription. As for regions and guilds, M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus was honored by the Palatina region of Puteoli (*regio Palatina*). Last, Cerealis received a statue set up by Cursius Satrius, a client.

The monuments put up by family members dwell on the honorands’ ancestors and decendants. The statue to Lollianus was granted by Placidus Severus, of *clarissimus* rank, his son, to a ‘religious’ father (*patri religioso*), and Antonia Marcianilla, a woman of *clarissimus* rank, his daughter-in-law, to a ‘most virtuous’ father-in-law (*socero sanctissimo*). Petronius Probus, ‘father of consuls’ (*patri consulum*), was honored by Anicius Probinus, consul, and Anicius Probus, quaestor, his sons, who dedicated this gift owed out of a unique sense of reverence (*munus singulari religioni debitum*). He is further styled as ‘summit of the house of the Anicii’ (*Anicianae domus culmini*) and ‘father of consuls’ by consul Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius, and his wife Anicia Iuliana, most devoted children (*devotissimi filii*). Similarly, M. Nummius Albinus *signo* Triturrius was awarded the statue by Nummius Secundus, his son. Later, Quintus Fabius Memmius Symmachus put up the statues to Q. Aurelius Symmachus *signo* Eusebius, his ‘most excellent’ father (*patri optimo*), and Virius Nicomachus Flavianus senior, the ‘most excellent’ grandfather of his wife (*prosocero optimo*).

Furthermore, consuls were commonly remembered as patrons: M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus, ‘most outstanding patron’ (*patrono praestantissimo*); Cerealis, a ‘most outstanding patron above all things’ (*patrono omnia praestantissimo*); Petronius Probus, citizen of uncommon goodness (*civi eximiae bonitatis*) and patron, ‘the most excellent’ (*ἐξοχώτατος*) former consul (*ἀπὸ ὑπάτων*) and praetorian prefect (*ἐπαρχὸν τοῦ πραιτωρίου*), the benefactor and savior of the people (*τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα τοῦ ἔθνους*), patron by descent (*originali patrono*), outstanding in nobility and generosity (*nobilitate munificentiaque praestanti*).

The catalog of virtues as recorded in the honorific inscriptions highlights *nobilitas*, *auctoritatis*, *eloquentia*, *benivolentia*, *iustitia*, *moderatio*, *benignitas*, *aequitas*, *fides*, *virtus*, *bonitas*, *munificentia*, and *studium*. Domitius Leontius is said to have been ‘driven by his merits, which promoted him through the single steps of honours to these peaks of dignities’ (*provocantibus eius*

meritis quae per singulos honorum grados ad hos eum dignitatum apices provexerunt). Vulcacius Rufinus is fashioned ‘vigorous in the remarkable splendour of authority, glorious in the good fortune of admirable eloquence and benevolence’ (*singulari auctoritatis splendore pollenti, admirabilisque eloquentiae benivolentiae felicitate glorioso*), ‘who has undertaken the burdens of all offices with favourable moderation’ (*cunctarumque dignitatum fastigia faborabili moderatione iustitiae supergresso*), honored on account of the countless examples of his eminent favour (*ob innumerabiles sublimis benignitatis*). Flavius Sallustius is styled as ‘abundant in equanimity and trustworthiness (*pleno aequitatis ac fidei ob virtutis*), and celebrated ‘for the glory of his virtues and merits’ (*meritorumque gloriam*). Probus is extolled as a man worthy of all admiration (*totius admirationis viro*) and most eloquent and most learned in all things (*disertissimo atque omnibus rebus eruditissimo*). To compare, Q. Aurelius Symmachus is styled ‘most skilful orator’ (*oratori disertissimo*), and Nicomachus Flavianus, ‘most skillful historian’ (*historico disertissimo*). Lastly, Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, ‘great prefect’ (ἐπαρχος μέγας) is praised for his zeal (σπουδή), for which the divine emperors, rejoicing in his administration, crowned him in gratitude with everlasting consulship ([οἱ] θεῖοι βασιλεῖς τοῖς ἔργ[οις] χαίροντες εἵνεκ’ ἀμοιβῆς ὑπατία στέψαντο) ἀφθάρτῳ), ‘in order to give him fame and great honor from all men, both now and afterwards (ὥς ἂν αὐτῷ κῶδος καὶ τιμὴν μεγάλην ὀπάσοιεν πάντας ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους ἅμα τ’ αὐτίκα?) καὶ μετέπειτα), ‘for he accomplished countless labors while in office’ (οὐνεκ’ ἀπειρεσίους πόνο[υ]ς [ἐξ]ήνυσεν ἀρχαῖς).

Additionally, a nomination for the consulship was an occasion for statue dedications with an appointee honored as consul designate. Thus, a re-erected posthumous bronze statue of Flavius Eugenius, consul designate, was commanded by the emperors to be set up in the Forum of Trajan in 355-60 (fig. 29).⁶⁴³ Two gilded bronze statues of Lucius Aurelius Avianius Symmachus, consul designate and prefect of the city, were erected in 377. One was put up on command of the emperors in the Forum of Trajan (fig. 14).⁶⁴⁴ The same inscription refers to another statue set up in Constantinople.⁶⁴⁵ Two posthumous statues of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, consul designate and praetorian prefect, come from Rome. The awarder of the first one set up in 384 is not mentioned.⁶⁴⁶ Another one was erected in 387.⁶⁴⁷ Praetextatus is also recorded as consul designate on the now lost inscription, probably from a base for the statue of his wife, Fabia Aconia Paulina, set up in Rome between 384 and 400.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴³ CIL 6 1721=LSA-314.

⁶⁴⁴ CIL 6 1698=LSA-342.

⁶⁴⁵ LSA-343.

⁶⁴⁶ CIL 6 1777=ILS 1258=LSA-1472.

⁶⁴⁷ CIL 6 1778=LSA-1473.

⁶⁴⁸ CIL 6 1780=ILS 1260=LSA-1474.

Honorific statues for military dedicatees, holding consulship, are recorded beginning from the early fifth century only. A statue of Flavius Stilicho, master of the soldiery and consul, was erected by the barge-owners and fishermen (*cāudicarii seu piscatores*) in Rome in 400.⁶⁴⁹ The statue was apparently timed for his (first) consulship. Another statue, in bronze and silver, of Flavius Stilicho, twice consul (*bis consuli ordinario*), master of the soldiery and member of the imperial family, was set up in the Roman Forum in 405-406.⁶⁵⁰ The dedication must date after Stilicho was made consul for the second time in 405, most probably in 406, after his victory over Radagaisus.

As for the statue material and costume choice, only metal statues are recorded, with a rare specification of the toga garment. Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus *signo* Honorius received two gilded bronze statues. While nothing is known about the first one, it was resolved that the second gilded statue (*statuam secundam auro superfusam*) be put up in the Forum of Trajan as was usual for honorific statues of aristocrats. The gilded bronze statue is recorded for Flavius Eugenius. Two gilded bronze statues are known for Lucius Aurelius Avianus Symmachus. Importantly, Domitius Leontius was awarded a bronze statue (*ex aere*), which is, moreover, specified as togate one (*civili habitu*). Lastly, one of the statues for Flavius Stilicho, in bronze and silver, is attested set up in the Roman Forum.

Roman consuls are occasionally recorded as having embarked on building campaigns. Most famously, Iunius Annius Bassus, consul of 331, built a secular basilica on the Esquiline Hill in Rome in the year of his consulship. An inscription was found in the apsis of this public monument.⁶⁵¹ Bassus' basilica was spectacularly decorated with mosaics made of sawn marble pieces, giving them an abstract and colorful effect. It is renowned for its *opus sectile* decoration (fig. 83) made from sawn marble, hard stones, and glass paste, although much less naturalistic in style than ivories. One preserved panel exhibits a procession of riders headed by an aristocrat in a chariot with white horses (fig. 83.1). It has been suggested that the horseman portrayed may be perhaps identified with Bassus himself.⁶⁵² He raises his right hand 'in a gesture of power', perhaps holding a *mappa*, an attribute closely associated with circus, known from sculpture and later ivory. The *mappa* symbolizes the universe of consul's games. Another extant panel shows the myth of Hylas surrounded by an Egyptianizing frieze of late-antique style (fig. 83.2). Regarding the mythological image, the connotations of luxury, learning and culture are predominant; much less likely are those

⁶⁴⁹ *CIL* 6 41382=LSA-1587.

⁶⁵⁰ *CIL* 6 1731=1195=LSA-1437.

⁶⁵¹ *CIL* 6 1737=ILCV 59.

⁶⁵² Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 192-93.

of spirituality. The increased use of *opus sectile* in this period is documented not only in secular contexts but also as employed for church ornament.⁶⁵³

Further, Naeratius Cerealis, founder of baths in the year of his consulship is celebrated in several dedications. Cerealis, a member of a powerful family, was responsible for the setting up of ten statues.⁶⁵⁴ Cerealis had strong connections in the court, and his wealth was famous in Rome. The foundation of a lavishly decorated bathing complex in Rome, next to his house, was a remarkable demonstration of aristocratic prosperity and prestige. Although not all of the bases were found *in situ*, they certainly came from the same baths founded by the awarder. Lastly, Nonius Atticus Maximus, consul of 397 is documented in the epigram in elegiac couplets (*Epigr. Bob.* 48) on the baths (*balnea quae consul Nonius instituit*).

As for dedicatory inscriptions, T. Fabius Titianus, consul of 337 and prefect of the city for the second time, is known as holder of at least one state priesthood documented in the votive inscription, presumably to Sibilla in Cumae.⁶⁵⁵ Likewise, Aradius Rufinus, consul of Maxentius in Rome from September 311, is possibly identical with or a descendant of consul Q. Aradius Rufinus, who made two votive dedications to Sol and Luna.⁶⁵⁶

I proceed with the funeral inscriptions. Sextus Anicius Paulinus, consul in 325 and city prefect in 331-33, is the recipient of a perhaps Christian funerary inscription from Rome discovered next to the *pons Aelius*.⁶⁵⁷ Flavius Gallicanus, consul of 330, has been suggested for the identification with the consul in the epitaph of his granddaughter from Mutina (Modena).⁶⁵⁸ Lastly, Probus, consul of 371, is commemorated in not one but two lengthy verse inscriptions from the mausoleum of the Anicii at Rome.⁶⁵⁹ Both epitaphs boast Probus' earthly accomplishments and forecast his heavenly rewards, echoing both Virgil and Christian scripture. Similar to Iunius Bassus' epitaph,⁶⁶⁰ eternal life among stars (*vivit et astra tenet*) is claimed for Probus. The latter makes use of the rapidly expanding medium of new Christian poetry.⁶⁶¹ Both the sarcophagus of Iunius Bassus and the mausoleum of Petronius Probus clamored for heavenly reward for the nobles whose Christian affiliation 'did not directly induce them to renounce the prerogatives of their class':⁶⁶² 'rich in wealth, of noble family, exalted in office and distinguished in your consulship, worthy of your consular grandfather'.

⁶⁵³ Elsner, *Imperial Rome*, 192.

⁶⁵⁴ Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 135-39.

⁶⁵⁵ *ILS* 8983.

⁶⁵⁶ *CIL* 8 14688=*ILS* 3937; *CIL* 8 14689=*ILS* 3938. *PIR*² A 1017.

⁶⁵⁷ *CIL* 6 1681. See also, *CIL* 6 1680.

⁶⁵⁸ *CIL* 11 830=*ILS* 1280 (Mutina). *PLRE* 1, 382-83 Flavius Gallicanus 1.

⁶⁵⁹ *CIL* 6 1756b.

⁶⁶⁰ *CIL* 6 41341ab.

⁶⁶¹ Dennis Trout, "The Verse Epitaph(s) of Petronius Probus: Competitive Commemoration in Late-Fourth-Century Rome," *New England Classical Journal* 28.3 (2001): 157-76.

⁶⁶² Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 59.

Finally, alongside prefects, consuls are most frequently recorded in the graffiti from the Colosseum. The well-known individuals, whose names are preserved, documented as consuls on the inscribed amphitheater seats, almost exclusively belong to the fifth century or later, but a number of officials holding this post, whose nomenclature is lost, cannot be identified and, hence, dated with certainty.⁶⁶³ More common after the mid-fifth century, the consulship coupled with patriciate, as appears in the inscriptions, were the two highest honors to which senators could aspire, placed at the peak of a senatorial cursus. Both were bestowed by the favor of the emperor, thus a matter of great pride displayed on the Colosseum seats.

All in all, the *comitiva*, patriciate, and consulship were all high imperial honors, both in the West and in the East, bestowed solely by the emperor's favor. While the ordinary consulship and, for the early period, the *comitiva* were imperial posts, the patriciate was no more than a title in this new system of honors, although it may have had a real function. From the mid-fourth century onwards the *comitiva* was uncoupled from its function of advising the emperor, and bestowed as a title, recorded in inscriptions. If the consulship was the oldest Roman magistrature, the order of *comites* and patricians reintroduced by Constantine constituted the new imperial hierarchy of honors, cutting across the previous hierarchies. However, while the former saw a decline by the end of the century, the latter came to outrank even the ordinary consulship. By the turn of the century, the honor of *patricius* attained the absolute ranking of the highest *dignitas* in the new hierarchy, but its representation in the epigraphic media is not common until at least half a century later. The consulship, conversely, features in all traditional representative media, including the rank manifestation in the elaborated ceremonial of the consular *adventus*. However, the appearance of a new medium of diptych, commemorating the staging of games, reflects an original eastern, civilian consular custom.

IV. Senate of Rome and senate of Constantinople

I begin with the senate of Rome. The Roman senate, *pars melior generis humani*, 'the better half of the human race' (Symm. *Ep.* 1.52), and a source of renewal of a living senatorial tradition, boasted antiquity, pedigree, and the extreme wealth of its members. In spite of its composition of senatorial aristocrats from old landed families, it was not a purely Italian body in the fourth century. With the emperor absent from the city of Rome during the fourth century, the senate lost its immediate influence on him. Absent emperors allowed an increase of authority of the senate in the urban administration and some Italian provinces. However, the senate of Rome remained in constant contact with the emperor. Senatorial embassies were often sent to the imperial court, along with written enquiries, reports, and petitions. In turn, imperial *orationes* articulated the relationship between the emperor and the senate. As an addressee of the imperial legislation, the senate was used

⁶⁶³ Orlandi, *Anfiteatri*, 17. 109, C; 17. 101, C; 17. 101, D; 17. 119, E; 17. 101, B; 17. 93, D.

as a legitimizing body, although exerting little influence in policy-making. The city of Rome remained important due to the presence of the senate, assembling in the Curia with its monumental position in the Roman Forum.

Rome's senatorial complex itself is metonymical for the senatorial order. The new Curia Senatus, rebuilt and integrated with the forum of Caesar around 300, signified the power of Rome's aristocracy in late antiquity. The senate house embodied longevity of senatorial traditions providing 'ample space to foster cohesion among the members of Rome's elite'.⁶⁶⁴ The restorations continued throughout the whole century. However, the senate's building interventions into public space were not expressed in the mere conservation of the Curia. The restoration projects used to validate the authority of the senate in the city of Rome, but primarily in the forum, where resident senatorial elite derived their privileges from the institution of the senate.⁶⁶⁵

Inside the restored senate house, the well-lit interior, with reflection from surfaces provided by polished marble walls and floors, provided splendor to the assembly, where, as Symmachus remarked in a speech to the senate, 'good blood ... never fails to recognize itself' (*Or.* 8.3). The fourth-century assembly hall prided lavish patterns of polychrome marbles in a richly ornamented pavement at the center of the floor. Composed of inlaid porphyry and serpentine, the inlaid marble pavement adorned the space between the platforms for the senatorial seats. Opposite the entrance, the grand meeting hall of the Curia terminated in an elevated podium, where prefect of the city of Rome presided over the senate. The podium supports a brick construction which perhaps served to hold the altar of Victory placed there in the prominent position. The senate's struggle for the traditional altar and its associated statue of Victory, framed as a negotiation over cultural heritage and traditions, was an attempt to reclaim the avenues to prestige, such as maintaining their appointments to pagan priesthoods.

The fourth-century senate taken as a collective body played important ceremonial functions. First, an *occursus* – one of the main ritual elements of the *adventus* ceremony at Rome when the assembly of Roman senators as a conspicuous part of the delegation's composition greeted the arriving emperor in ritualized distance at the city gate – reveals the importance of an overlooked aspect of the imperial political ceremony, namely the role of aristocrats in it.⁶⁶⁶ The *occursus*' component of the custom, situated within the larger corpus of evidence on late antique *adventus*, shows that the ritual suggests a complex intersection between politics and imperial ceremonies in fourth-century Rome. S. MacCormack has assumed that the body of citizens, headed by dignitaries,

⁶⁶⁴ Gregor Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity: Transforming Public Space* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), 141-65.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁶⁶⁶ Five cases of the imperial *adventus* to Rome are recorded for the period under discussion: those of Constantine in 312 (*Pan. Lat.* 12.19.1-4; *Eus. HE*, 9.9.8-9), 315 and 326, Constantius II in 357 (*Amm.* 16.10.5-6), and of Theodosius in 389 (*Pan. Lat.* 2.46-47; *Zos.*, 4.59.1-2).

expressed the *consensus universorum* fundamental to classical and late antique theories of legitimate government.⁶⁶⁷ However, one particular sub-set of *adventus* ceremonies related to imperial arrivals in Rome was not a variation upon the standard *adventus* theme in which city magistrates elsewhere would perform a parallel function, but a radically different ritual, reflecting the peculiar status of both senate and emperors after abandonment of the city of Rome by the latter.⁶⁶⁸ Further, M. McCormick argued that the ‘pagan’ elements of the ritual were ‘neutralized’ before their gradual Christianization in the process of making the Christian Empire.⁶⁶⁹ Yet, rather than a landscape of religious conflict, the imperial ceremonial of the *adventus* and the *occursus* presents significant continuities and an extended process of Christianization.⁶⁷⁰

Thereafter, three carved sides of a base of a commemorative column of Arcadius set in Constantinople during his reign, in the manner of panegyrics, celebrate the mutual triumph and concord of the emperors of the eastern and western parts of the empire. The column base partly survived, but its reliefs are lost, transmitted only by a sixteenth-century drawing.⁶⁷¹ The designers of the column base selected subjects that were traditional in monumental reliefs. The theme of concord is manifest on the eastern side of the base where personifications of Rome and Constantinople as well as the senates of both cities accompanied the emperors represented as consuls. The ritual was designed to bridge the social distance through performance, staging the so-called *consensus omnium* or *consensus universorum*. It procured and preserved asymmetrical relations between the emperor and the senators of the two cities. The people had never been ‘sovereign’ in Rome, neither could senators make important political decisions: they were merely able to provide their consent to imperial rulings, declaring thereby the *consensus universorum*. On the western side of the base, the images that represent generalized scenes of imperial majesty comprise the acclamation of the emperors by the senates of Rome and Constantinople.⁶⁷²

The political communication between the emperor and the senate of Rome is witnessed by motifs of imperial medallions distributed to rally his Roman supporters. The imperial court was issuing a special series of gold medallions to celebrate the imperial anniversaries. One of these series employs a *SENATUS* motif, used for the first time probably in Thessalonica in early 326, and distributed at the vicennialian festivities in Rome, honoring the senate. The *SENATUS* medallions in

⁶⁶⁷ MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*.

⁶⁶⁸ On the abandonment of Rome as a signal of the increasing importance of frontier zones in northern and eastern parts of the empire up to the subsequent inversion of the capital and provinces, see Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution*.

⁶⁶⁹ Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁶⁷⁰ On secularization and deliberate ‘de-paganization’ of the polytheist urban topography and its dynamic ceremonial counterpart in fourth-century Rome, see John Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 220–21.

⁶⁷¹ Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1977), 250–53.

⁶⁷² Robert Grigg, “Symphōnian Aeidō tēs Basileias”: An Image of Imperial Harmony on the Base of the Column of Arcadius,” *The Art Bulletin* 59.4 (1977): 469–82.

Rome, depicting Constantine with cuirassed shoulders, distributed exclusively in the emperor's presence, targeted his potential senatorial supporters. Also, in the eastern provinces solidi were minted in Nicomedia as part of the vicennalian coinage series, which glorifies the *SENATUS*, portrayed as a togatus on the revers, while the obverse shows the emperor with a diadem.⁶⁷³

Further, as the senatorial rank obliged a senator to pay special taxes, they were delivered in a ritualistic way by senatorial embassies. An elevated version of the ritual of delivering the *aurum coronarium* (στέφανικόν), which was part of the imperial ceremony in which gifts conventionally called *coronae*, although they might be other precious objects and gold, were presented to the emperor by *curiales*, was the *aurum oblativum*.⁶⁷⁴ The latter was a presentation of a voluntary tax paid by the senators to the emperor brought by an official representative of the senate. In late antiquity, the occasion for the *aurum oblativum*, just as for the *aurum coronarium* (CTh 12.13.1-6), was the assumption of power of the emperor and his *quinquennalia* or *decennalia*. Symmachus' *Relationes* express gratitude for the emperor's gifts to the senate (Rel. 7), and confirm the loyalty of the latter (Rel. 13) towards Valentinian II with the customary gifts provided due to the *decennalia* of the emperor. Senators were liable to pay but they could determine the amount themselves (CTh 6.2.16, 20; Symm. Ep. 2.57). A depiction of the *aurum oblativum* was likewise identified in the reliefs on the base of the Arcadius' column at Constantinople. The togate senators in the half destroyed second register from the bottom are represented by two leaders who carry bowls or crowns as presents to the emperors, portrayed with upraised arms in the register above. The symmetrical groups of standing senators belong to the ceremonial representation of the order in Roman imperial art.

Equally important, the senate used dedications of honorific statues as a form of communication. This is exemplified by at least six fourth-century imperial letters to the senate (*orationes ad senatum*) that are preserved epigraphically. Of these, five honorific monuments as minimum on which a copy of the imperial letter of permission was displayed are known from Rome. This form of commemoration for the traditional aristocrats was entirely new, raising the honorands over the ordinary members of the senate.⁶⁷⁵ The Trajan's Forum, where most of these

⁶⁷³ Patrick M. Bruun, ed., *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 7, *Constantine and Licinius: A.D. 313-337* (London : Spink, 1984), 592–93; Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 51–54.

⁶⁷⁴ Theodor Klauser, "Aurum coronarium," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts: Roemische Abteilung* 59 (1944): 129–53. Besides these two accession taxes, Constantine also introduced in 326 a new annual tax payable to the *sacrae largitiones*, the *collatio glebalis*, a tax on senatorial lands. It was traditionally considered as a price for appointment to high office (Zos. 2.38.4). This senatorial surtax, the *follis*, paid in gold (Lib. Ep. 40), was meant to guarantee the sufficient wealth required from one of a senatorial status and further the social position of land-owning aristocrats. See Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 430–31, 537; Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, 149–50; Muriel Moser, "Property and Power in the Senate of Constantinople," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 9.2 (2016): 438–39, n.8.

⁶⁷⁵ John Weisweiler, "Inscribing Imperial Power: Letters from Emperors in Late-Antique Rome," in *Historische Erinnerung im städtischen Raum: Rom in der Spätantike*, eds. Ralph Behrwald and Christian Witschel (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2012), 309–29; idem, "From Equality to Asymmetry," 319–50; Silvia Orlandi, "Orations in Stone" in *The Epigraphic Cultures of Late Antiquity*, eds. Katharina Bolle et al. (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017), 408.

monuments were erected, was the most conspicuous space for statue dedications, memorializing not only the imperial family but also the senatorial aristocracy and court officials.⁶⁷⁶ The Forum of Trajan was a traditional location for the erecting statues, usually commanded by the emperors at the request of the senate and people of Rome.

First, the honorific statue for L. Aradius Valerius Proculus *signo* Populonium, city prefect in 337 displays a letter to the senate by Emperor Constantine and the Caesars Constantine II, Constantius, Constans and Delmatius.⁶⁷⁷ The honorific inscription, set up by command of Constantine in the Forum of Trajan in 336-37, reproduces an imperial letter addressed to the senate, celebrating virtues of a Roman senator and adding to his prestige. Almost certainly part of a statue-monument, the base was discovered in the Forum of Trajan.

Second, a gilded bronze statue for Lucius Aurelius Avianus Symmachus *signo* Phosphorius, consul and prefect of the city, was commanded by the Emperors Gratian and Valens at the request of the senate to be put up in the Trajan's Forum in 377 (fig. 14).⁶⁷⁸ The inscription probably carved on a marble slab attached to the base documents the no longer extant attached oration (*oratio adposita*) with the emperor's permission for setting up of the statue. The inscription also records that a similar statue 'of the same splendor' (*pari splendore*) was ordered for the same honorand in Constantinople.⁶⁷⁹ The base was discovered at the bottom of the Capitol, in the area of the Trajan's Forum. The posthumous statue dedication for consul designatus, according to the inscription, was accompanied by a full list of the honorand's merits. The precise location of the second statue in Constantinople is not specified, but there is no need to doubt its erection.

Third, Virius Nicomachus Flavianus senior received a posthumous statue honor by command of the Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III, at request of the senate, put up in the Trajan Forum in 431 (fig. 5).⁶⁸⁰ Similar to dedications for Proculus and Symmachus, the honorific inscription combined two different types of text: the dedication of a statue (ll.1-6, 37-38) and an imperial letter to the senate (ll.7-36). Found in the Forum of Trajan, the base accounts for a process of rehabilitation of the memory of Flavianus. The letter addressed to the senate granted the petition to set up the statue and requests the members of the Curia to take part in the restoration of Flavianus' memory. Appius Nicomachus Dexter, grandson of the honorand, carried out the dedication as a private citizen, for the inscription does not mention senate's participation in the statue erection.

⁶⁷⁶ Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 94-95.

⁶⁷⁷ *CIL* 6 40776=LSA-2685.

⁶⁷⁸ *CIL* 6 1698=LSA-342.

⁶⁷⁹ *CIL* 6 1698=LSA-343.

⁶⁸⁰ *CIL* 6 1783=LSA-1247.

Fourth, a fragmentary inscription for urban prefect from a statue monument commanded by the unidentified emperors is dated to the fourth century.⁶⁸¹ The fragment of the base was discovered in the Roman Forum. It has been observed that the words, such as *praemium*, *ordo* and *iudicium* are more common for legal texts than inscriptions, thus may have constituted an imperial letter honoring a senator and prefect of the city. If so, it could be part of a letter incorporated into a statue dedication awarded by an emperor.

Fifth, another imperial *oratio* is contained in eight fragments of a marble plaque found in the Roman Forum, in the vicinity of the Curia.⁶⁸² It was probably originally attached to a statue base of an imperial official, similar to Symmachus' inscription. The unknown emperor, referring to the precedent of a decision of his father, acted as an awarder in the late fourth century. The inscription is in a fragmentary state, but the reference is made to a decree of the most distinguished senate (*decretum senatus amplissimi*), presumably for the erection of the statue. Alföldy has suggested urban prefect as honorand, due to the association with a *magnificus vir*, and the Emperors Valentinian and Valens, as statue awarders. The reference to a place as *celeberrimus locus* was usual in dedications set up in prestigious spaces such as this the Roman Forum. The inscription records the name [Ru]fius, possibly prefect of the city responsible for setting up the statues dedicated by the senate. These statues, dedicated in the name of the emperors, with approval of the senate, were special honors, usually reserved for very important persons and in most prominent locations, such as the Forum of Trajan or the Roman Forum. While the former was progressively distinct as a senatorial and civilian zone, the latter preserved its traditional associations with imperial power.⁶⁸³ These monuments represented a very high distinction: they were often gilded statues requested by the senate and dedicated by the emperors.

One more imperial *oratio ad senatum* comes from the East and is addressed by Emperor Constantius II to the senate of Constantinople. A statue monument for praetorian prefect Flavius Philippus with two inscriptions was found in Perge in Pamphylia: a short one with the name of the honorand and the awarder,⁶⁸⁴ and a longer one with a copy of an imperial communication (*oratio ad senatum*), divided in two plates,⁶⁸⁵ which perhaps flanked the smaller inscription. The lengthy fragmentary inscription reproduces the imperial letter to the senate (*patres conscripti*) in Constantinople, which was requested to grant a statue to Philippus by command of the emperor. The *oratio ad senatum* was presumably part of the dossier accompanying the honorific monuments

⁶⁸¹ CIL 6 41357=LSA-1584.

⁶⁸² CIL 6 41344a=LSA-1572

⁶⁸³ Machado, "Building the Past," 92; Chenault, "Statues of Senators," 103–32.

⁶⁸⁴ Sencer Şahin, "Spätromisch-frühbyzantinische Inschriften aus Perge in Pamphylien" in *Inscriptions from Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Andreas Rhoby (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 177 no. 1.

⁶⁸⁵ Denis Feissel, "Sources documentaires et histoire administrative de l'Orient romain tardif, IV e – VII e siècles," *Livret-Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études IV e section: Sciences historiques et philologiques* 21 (2005–6) (2007): 149–50; Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 190.

of Philippus, and had been sent along with the letter to the provincial governors ordering the erection of statues for his prefect.⁶⁸⁶ Constantinople was, as the imperial letter indicates, the first city to receive a statue for Philippus, one of the early members of the new senate (*ut h[ac primum in urbe dignis] virtutis praemiis donates merito iudicetur in qua familiae suae fundata*). The *oratio* explicitly requests the setting up of a statue in the city where the addressed senate resided. Given the date of late 351/early 352, this cannot have been Rome. Therefore, it must have been Constantinople, which was under Constantius' authority, for the *oratio* states that Philippus settled with his family in the city on account of his loyalty to the name of the emperor (*adfectu nostri nominis*).

In turn, besides senatorial panegyrics to the emperors, the senate of Rome, acted as awarder of honorific statuary to emperors and the imperial family as a proof of their loyalty. A symbolic language of imperial dedications was part of political communication between the senate and the emperors. Thus, Emperor Constantine received a number of statue dedications in the Roman Forum. One dedication to Constantine and another emperor, probably on a statue base, was made by the senate and Roman people in the Roman Forum in 313.⁶⁸⁷ The monument was discovered in the Forum, between the Curia and the basilica Aemilia. The inscription celebrates imperial victories over tyrants, perhaps by Constantine and Licinius, who enjoyed a short period of peace, after having defeated Maxentius and Maximinus Daia. A fragment of a plaque with another dedication to Constantine, probably associated with a statue, also comes from the Roman Forum, being set up by the senate and people of Rome between 312 and 337.⁶⁸⁸ The fragment was found in the Forum Romanum, towards the eastern side of the basilica Aemilia.

These dedications constituted a formal expression of the senate's ritualized communication with emperors. A now lost base for an equestrian statue of Constantine I was also erected by the senate and people of Rome in the Roman Forum in 334.⁶⁸⁹ The inscription set up by the urban prefect Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus Iunior celebrates Constantine similar to another dedication by him to the same emperor.⁶⁹⁰ The inscription is transmitted in the ninth century in the *Einsiedeln Itinerary*, which refers to the equestrian statue as a '*cavallus Constantini*' in the Roman Forum. Also, the fourth-century *Notitia Urbis Romae* documents an '*equus Constantini*' in the same area, in the vicinity of the Rostra and the Curia. The honorific inscription and the 'horse of Constantine' presumably made part of the same monument in the Roman Forum. While the equestrian statue is lost, remains of the base were identified near the so-called Rostra Vandalica with the bleak construction of bricks topped by blocks of travertine and

⁶⁸⁶ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 193.

⁶⁸⁷ *CIL* 6 40768=LSA-1430.

⁶⁸⁸ *CIL* 6 40764=LSA-1520.

⁶⁸⁹ *CIL* 6 1141=LSA-1263.

⁶⁹⁰ *CIL* 6 1142=LSA-1089.

fragments of marble columns.⁶⁹¹ It contrasts markedly with the high quality of other monuments of this same period in Rome, and is especially unusual for such a conspicuous dedication set up in such a prime spot. However, it has also been proposed that the statue was located next to the temple of the deified Julius, in the other corner of the Forum.⁶⁹²

As the image of senatorial consensus and devotion, dedications were made also to the Valentinian emperors. A base for the bronze statue of Valens was set up at Rome in 366-67 as part of the larger monumental ensemble.⁶⁹³ The base was discovered among ancient building blocks and statuary fragments on the banks of the Tiber in the vicinity of the *Pons Valentiniani* (Ponte Sisto) on the Campus Martius side. The inscribed block, probably part of an architectural setting, bears an inscription for Valens dedicated by the senate and people of Rome. The awarders are in the nominative and set on their own line. L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus *signo* Phosphorius, *ex* prefect of the city, who supervised the actual setting up of the monument, is named below. Among the other pieces found there was an imperial portrait head of the fourth century in gilded bronze,⁶⁹⁴ a re-used high imperial togate statue in gilded bronze.⁶⁹⁵ Two bases for Victories,⁶⁹⁶ thought to have fit within the parapet or balustrade of the bridge, feature the almost identical dedication formula. Lanciani located the moulded block, onto which the bronze feet of the statue were set, above a projecting entablature of the attic of an arch.⁶⁹⁷ Machado suggests that the imperial statue monument might, as the statues of Victories, be better understood in light of the fragments of the fourth century balustrade of the bridge, and imagines a column monument of the emperor attached at the end of the balustrade.

Likewise, the Theodosian dynasty features prominently in the dedications of the senate. They highlight the authority of the emperor, to whom senators expressed their allegiance by other means than customary life-size statues. A literary record of posthumous equestrian statues for Theodosius the Elder, father of Theodosius I, set up at Rome in 384-85, comes from Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (*Rel.* 43).⁶⁹⁸ In the *relatio* to the Emperor Valentinian II he refers to a decree of the senate to bestow statue honors on the father of Theodosius I. Symmachus relates that the senate of Rome (*ordo venerabilis*) had decreed equestrian statues to Theodosius the Elder on account of his successful campaigns in Britain and Africa. The no longer extant statues decreed by

⁶⁹¹ *LTUR* 2, 226-27 (P. Verduchi).

⁶⁹² Johannes Bergemann, *Römische Reiterstatuen. Ehrendenkmäler im öffentlichen Bereich* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1990), 120-21.

⁶⁹³ *CIL* 6 31402=*LSA*-1820. Serena Ensoli and Eugenio La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città Cristiana* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2000), 460-61, no. 61.

⁶⁹⁴ *LSA*-580.

⁶⁹⁵ *LSA*-1072.

⁶⁹⁶ *CIL* 6 31403=*LSA*-2584 and *CIL* 6 31404=*LSA*-2585, with *LSA*-2586.

⁶⁹⁷ Rodolfo Lanciani, "XII. Monumenti rinvenuti nell'alveo del Tevere sotto il ponte sisto," *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 6 (1878): 245-8, no. 114, pls. 20-21.

⁶⁹⁸ *LSA*-2730.

the senate were certainly erected in the public space of the city. Theodosius encouraged the setting up of equestrian posthumous statues to his father in the process of rehabilitation of his memory.⁶⁹⁹ The letter of Symmachus reproaches *magister officiorum* for deferring the request of the senate of Rome.

A fragmentary dedication to the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius, possibly of quadriga or large statue group, is recorded in the Roman Forum being set up by the senate and people of Rome in 398.⁷⁰⁰ The senate is styled as 'rejoicing in the rightful destruction of the rebellion and in the return of Africa', referring to the revolt of Gildo which had threatened the supply of Rome in 398. The fragment of another inscription also makes reference to the same rebellion in Africa.⁷⁰¹ A large imperial monument has been suggested on the basis of the measurements of the preserved fragments of the marble plaque discovered in the Roman Forum. Also, a statue of Flavius Stilicho, master of the soldiery and member of the imperial family, was set up in the Roman Forum by decree of the senate in 398-99.⁷⁰² This statue was probably a pendant to another statue, in bronze and silver, for Stilicho by the *populus Romanus* erected in the Roman Forum in 405-406.⁷⁰³ It is a rare case of a dedication by the Roman people as awarding authority with no mention of the senate. Three gate inscriptions recording statues to the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius set up by the senate and the people of Rome come from 401-402 on the occasion of the completion of the Honorian works on the Aurelian wall (figs. 63-64).⁷⁰⁴ All three dedications of the statues in honor of the emperors on each gates respectively were carried out by the prefect of the city, Flavius Macrobius Longinianus. Lastly, a lost triumphal arch with statues of the Emperors Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius II was dedicated by the senate at Rome in 402-406.⁷⁰⁵ According to the inscription, the arch was adorned with statues of the emperors, as well as trophies, and perhaps even narrative reliefs.⁷⁰⁶ It has been suggested that the arch stood at the beginning of the ancient via Triumphalis.⁷⁰⁷ This is a unique dedication at such a late date. Afterwards, the senate of Rome saw a crisis in 407-410 preceded by a century of stability since the time of Constantine.⁷⁰⁸

Besides the emperor and the imperial family, the senate of Rome acted as awarder of statues to senatorial office holders. The statue of Ceionius Rufius Albinus, consul and prefect of the city,

⁶⁹⁹ For equestrian statues, see *LSA*-1695 (Canusium (Apulia et Calabria)), *LSA*-2731 (Stobi (Macedonia Secunda)), *LSA*-2725 (Antioch). A statue of Theodosius the Elder presumably formed part of a statue group to the imperial family in Constantinople, *LSA*-2722. One more was set up at Ephesus, *LSA*-721.

⁷⁰⁰ *CIL* 6 1187=31256a=*LSA*-1305. The quadriga is mentioned by Claud. *Pan. de VI cons. Hon.* 369-73.

⁷⁰¹ *CIL* 6 31256b.

⁷⁰² *CIL* 6 1730=*LSA*-1436.

⁷⁰³ *CIL* 6 1731=*LSA*-1437.

⁷⁰⁴ *CIL* 6 1188=*LSA*-1306 (Porta Portuensis); *CIL* 6 1189=*LSA*-1307 (Porta Praenestina); *CIL* 6 1190=*LSA*-1308 (Porta Tiburtina).

⁷⁰⁵ *CIL* 6 1196=*LSA*-1311.

⁷⁰⁶ *LTUR* 1, 80 (C. Lega).

⁷⁰⁷ Eugenio La Rocca, *La Riva a Mezzaluna. Culti, agoni, monumenti funerari presso il Tevere nel Campo Marzio Occidentale* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1984), 66.

⁷⁰⁸ Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*, 376.

was erected at Rome in 336-37.⁷⁰⁹ The inscription first recorded in the *Einsiedeln Itinerary* tells that the statue was dedicated to Ceioinius Rufius Albinus by the senate, by its own decree. Whether Albinus was the author of the petition that led Emperor Constantine to restore to the senate the authority to elect quaestors (the right lost since the end of the republic) – the argument first proposed by Seeck – is uncertain.

A number of statues to senatorial honorands was commanded by emperors at request of the senate. It was usual for honorific statues of aristocrats to be set up in the Forum of Trajan by the command of emperors and at the request of the senate and people of Rome. In 334 a gilded bronze statue of Amnius Anicius Paulinus Iunior *signo* Amnius, consul and prefect of the city, was set up in the Forum of Trajan ‘by petition of the Roman people with the testimony of the senate’ and by the decision of the emperors.⁷¹⁰ The statue was thus dedicated by order of Emperor Constantine and the Caesars, at the request of the people of Rome. The now lost base was found in the Forum of Trajan. The dedication is unusual, however, because it emphasizes the role of the *populus*. The inscription emphasizes that by the command of the emperors it was resolved that a second gilded statue be put up at public expense, referring to the present monument. Nothing is known of the first statue.

A re-dedicated statue to an important imperial official was set up on the order of emperors with the agreement of the senate (*adprobante amplissimo senatu*) (fig. 4).⁷¹¹ A re-erected gilded bronze statue of Flavius Taurus, praetorian prefect, commanded by the Emperors Valentinian and Valens, with approval of the senate, was erected in the Forum of Trajan in 364-67. The base was discovered during the excavation of the Forum of Trajan in the 1930s. Taurus is known to have held a western imperial office – the praetorian prefecture of Italy and Africa, from 355 to 361 – as well as the consulship in 361. Skinner suggests that, having first enrolled at Constantinople as an easterner who achieved the *clarissima dignitas* through eastern service, Taurus subsequently spent a temporary period enrolled at Rome as a result of his western office.⁷¹² Moser contests the assumption that Taurus was attached to the senate in the East as until 350 many senators in service in the East were clearly attached to the senate in Rome.⁷¹³ The original statue was installed by Constantius II before Taurus was exiled under Julian (Amm. 22.3.4). A similar statue, in gilded bronze, to Saturninius Secundus Salutius, praetorian prefect of the East, commanded by the emperors, was erected in the Forum of Trajan in 365-67.⁷¹⁴ Contrary to the usual, the inscription

⁷⁰⁹ *CIL* 6 41318=*LSA*-1416.

⁷¹⁰ *CIL* 6 1683=*LSA*-1395.

⁷¹¹ *CIL* 6 41336=*LSA*-404.

⁷¹² Skinner, “The Early Development,” 133-36.

⁷¹³ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 145.

⁷¹⁴ *CIL* 6 1764=*LSA*-1408.

does not mention a request by the senate. It has been suggested that this might be due to the fact that the most important positions held by Secundus were performed in the East.

Yet another gilded bronze statue to another consul and prefect of the city was commanded by the emperors and erected at Forum of Trajan in 377 for Lucius Aurelius Avianus Symmachus (fig. 14), ‘responsible on many occasions for embassies to deified emperors following the wishes of the senatorial order, whose opinion in the Senate was usually the first to be asked, who enriched with authority, prudence, and eloquence the seat of this great order. The gilded statue that the great Senate obtained from our Lords Augusti through frequent petitions, and that our victorious emperors commanded to be set up with a list of his merits; and to this honour their (i.e. imperial) judgment also added that a further statue of equal splendour be placed in Constantinople’ (trans. C. Machado).⁷¹⁵ The gilded statue represented a high distinction granted by the Emperors Gratian and Valens, with approval of the senate. Requested by the senate and dedicated in the name of the emperors, it was most likely a posthumous dedication to commemorate *consul designatus* who died before assuming office. At the request of the senate of Rome Gratian and Valens likewise ordered the setting up of another gilded bronze statue of Symmachus at Constantinople in the same year.

At the turn of the century, a now lost statue of Cronius Eusebius, *vicarius* of Italy, commanded by the emperor, at the request of the senate, was set up at Rome.⁷¹⁶ The honor was granted by petition of the senate in 399. Another inscription in Greek below on the same base adds: ‘The senate and the emperor (set this up to) the city-healing ruler of Italy, the wise Eusebius’.⁷¹⁷ Ligorio reports it as from the Forum of Trajan, which fits the character of the dedication. A plaque from the base for the statue of poet Claudius Claudianus, commanded by the emperors, was set up in the Forum of Trajan in 400.⁷¹⁸ The statue was commanded by Arcadius and Honorius by request of the senate. A poem in Greek added below reiterates that the statue to Claudianus was set up by ‘Rome and the emperors’.⁷¹⁹ Claudian referred to the dedication in *De bello Getico* (Praef. vv.5-9), where he relates that the monument was dedicated by the senate. This inscription, however, records the dedication as being made by the emperors, at the request of the senate, as was regular in the Forum of Trajan. Lastly, a posthumous statue of Nicomachus Flavianus, praetorian prefect, commanded by the emperors, at request of the senate, was erected in the Forum of Trajan in 431 (fig. 5).⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁵ *CIL* 6 1698=*LSA*-342.

⁷¹⁶ *CIL* 6 1715=*LSA*-1418.

⁷¹⁷ *IG* XIV 1075=*LSA*-1418.

⁷¹⁸ *CIL* 6 1710=*LSA*-1355.

⁷¹⁹ *IG* XIV 1074=*LSA*-1355.

⁷²⁰ *CIL* 6 1783=*LSA*-1247.

Besides, the senate dedicated honorific statues also to other (non-imperial and non-senatorial) honorands.⁷²¹ Two statues of the imperial Victory were awarded by the senate and people of Rome under the supervision of a former prefect of the city Symmachus 3 in 366-67. Both bases for the statues of Victoria Augusta, dedicated by the senate and people of Rome, come from the Pons Valentiniani.⁷²² A gilded bronze wing from a statue of Victory went either on one base or another.⁷²³ A statue dedicated to 'Fides' and 'Virtus' of the emperor's soldiers was erected in the Roman Forum in 406 by the senate and people of Rome, under the supervision of prefect of the city.⁷²⁴ The dedication links the victories of the imperial armies with *felicitas* of Emperor Honorius and the command of master of soldiers Stilicho. The statue may have represented a personified virtue,⁷²⁵ an image of Emperor Honorius,⁷²⁶ or, as commonly thought, that of his general.⁷²⁷ The base remains in situ in front of the senate house, but its distinctly low quality is striking for the period.

Last, a statue to an athlete was ordered by the Emperors Valentinian I, Valens and Gratian with the assent of the senate and people of Rome. The statue of the athlete Filumenus was set up at Rome in 367-75.⁷²⁸ The base was found on the Oppian hill, in the area of the Trajan's baths. The inscription records that it was originally put up at the hall of the athletes (*curia athletarum*).⁷²⁹ Another base for a statue of Ioannes, wrestler from Smyrna, erected in 383-92, was discovered alongside.⁷³⁰ This rare dedication commissioned by the emperors had the approval of the Roman senate and of the people. It celebrated Filumenus, who pursued an athletic career both in the East and in the West. This is an unusual dedication on initiative of the emperors themselves.

The senate of Rome was responsible for the dedication of not only statuary. The dedication of a wide array of monuments attesting to aristocratic dominance and benefactions of imperial rule boomed throughout the city of Rome, with some competition offered by emperors and bishops. In the imperial period it came to be a primary dedicant of the complex architectural monuments such as triumphal arches, which almost exclusively honored the emperor and his dynasty. The honorific arch timed for Constantine's *decennalia* was dedicated by the senate and people of Rome in 315.

⁷²¹ A bronze statue of Prohaeresius, sophist, was erected possibly by the people and the senate of Rome between 337 and 350. Eunapius relates to the life size statue at Rome, *Vitae Sophistarum* 492=LSA-1163. According to his account, the statue was an expression of admiration for sophist's wisdom.

⁷²² CIL 6 31403=LSA-2584, CIL 6 31404=LSA-2585.

⁷²³ LSA-2586.

⁷²⁴ CIL 6 31987=LSA-1363.

⁷²⁵ Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 263.

⁷²⁶ Wolfgang Messerschmidt, "Die statuarische Repräsentation des theodosianischen Kaiserhauses in Rom," *Römische Mitteilungen* 111 (2004): 559.

⁷²⁷ PLRE 1 Flavius Stilicho.

⁷²⁸ CIL 6 10154=LSA-1491.

⁷²⁹ Maria Letizia Caldelli, "Curia athletarum, iera xystike synodos e organizzazione delle terme a Roma," *ZPE* 93 (1992): 75-76

⁷³⁰ CIL 6 10153=IG XIV 1106=LSA-1516.

The inscription implicitly refers to the monument as a votive gift to the emperor.⁷³¹ It includes a sequence of relief panels depicting him and senators. First, in the *ingressus* scene Constantine wears a military chlamys having entered to the city with his army (fig. 84). Second, in the *oratio* scene on the northeastern freeze of the arch the emperor dressed in the chlamys is portrayed addressing the senate and people of Rome on the Rostra (fig. 85). He is, however, surrounded by leading senators wearing togas, who occupy the foreground. Third, following the sequence of the freeze, in the *liberalitas* scene on the northwest panel Constantine is already dressed in a toga as shown distributing largess (fig. 86). The conspicuous placement of senators and highlighted representation of the toga in the reliefs on the arch were intended to co-opt Constantine into the senatorial ideology.⁷³² Moreover, the *profectio* scene on the northeast corner of the attic can be interpreted as an *adventus* into Rome, followed, according to the panegyric from 321 (*Pan. Lat.* XII(9).19.1), by the joyful reception of the senate and people of Rome.

Besides the iconographic program, in all the inscriptions of the arch the senate and people of Rome claim responsibility for the dedication of the monument to Emperor Constantine. The same text is displayed on both sides of the arch,⁷³³ on the attic. The reference to '*instinctu divinitatis*' is a senatorial interpretation of the battle at the Milvian bridge.⁷³⁴ The inscription refers explicitly to the victory over Maxentius (*tyrannus*, l.5) and his faction, perhaps his supporters in Rome. Besides the attic inscriptions, two other inscriptions⁷³⁵ refer to the decennalia being celebrated and the vicennalia that was then expected and for which a vow was taken. Two more short inscriptions on the central archway, '*liberatori urbis*' and '*fundatori quietis*', celebrate Constantine as presented by the Roman senate.⁷³⁶ The arch was placed on the triumphal procession route, highlighting its celebratory function. It is firmly dated on grounds of the inscriptions referring to the celebration of the decennalia and the vows for the vicennalia.⁷³⁷ Almost concurrently with the arch, Constantine dedicated his own statue to the senate and people of Rome as a symbol of his power by which he overcame the usurper (Eus. *HE* 9.9.11).⁷³⁸

⁷³¹ *CIL* 6 1139.

⁷³² On the role of *SPQR* in determining the architectural and artistic program of the monument, see Noel Lenski, "The Sun and the Senate: The Inspiration for the Arch of Constantine," in *Costantino il Grande: Alle radici dell'Europa. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio in occasione dell'1700° anniversario della battaglia di Ponte Milvio e della conversione di Costantino*, ed. Enrico Dal Covolo and Giulia Sfameni Gasparro (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2014), 153-94.

⁷³³ *CIL* 6 1139=*LSA*-2669. For a general discussion, see Thomas Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus* (Stuttgart: Steiner 1990), 63-92.

⁷³⁴ Lenski, "The Sun and the Senate."

⁷³⁵ Above the lateral archway, on the western side, see André Chastagnol, "Les inscriptions des monuments inaugurés lors des fêtes imperiales," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité*, 100.1 (1988): 13-26.

⁷³⁶ The recent bibliography is cited in Jonathan Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 222-37.

⁷³⁷ Chastagnol, "Les inscriptions," 22 n.26.

⁷³⁸ Lenski, "The Sun and the Senate," 196; Bardill, "Constantine," 203-17, with bibliography.

Outside the city walls, the senate and people of Rome restored a segment of the via Tiburtina-Valeria, the main axis of the road network from the Adriatic, but above all from the Apennine regions towards the Latium plain. The *SPQR* is credited with restoration of the road in 340-50, which should not be understood just in a way that being steep and difficult it was reduced smoothly (*clivum Tiburtinum in planitiem redegit*).⁷³⁹ The passage of Clivus Tiburtinus in Tivoli was a special one, where a branch of via Tiburtina ran beneath a sacred building complex erected against a slope, making the road a gradient. The inscription was found on the side of the road, at or near the site of the eighteenth milestone on the somewhat steep ascent which the road makes. *Corrector Flaminiae et Piceni* L. Turcius Secundus *signo* Asterius, a son of Lucius Turcius Apronianus, prefect of the city in 339, was responsible (*curante*) for the restoration of the route of the neighbouring *clivus Tiburtinus*. Secundus was one of the last *correctores* of Flaminia et Picenum known from before Constans' death. The last stretch of the via Tiburtina was thus rebuilt under Constantius and Constans, when also a bridge was restored after it had been damaged perhaps by flood. A similar inscription refers to the restoration by the senate and people of Rome of the unknown bridge (*pontem refecit*),⁷⁴⁰ perhaps the ponte dell'Acquoria, for the inscription was not found *is situ*. This dedication was also carried out by the same *corrector* during the road improvement works on the via Tiburtina in 340-50. These two epigraphic documents thus recall that the senate of Rome took care of the restoration of the bridge that allowed the road to cross Aniene near the Porta Variana, in the area to the north-east of the city center, and made easier the route of the *clivus Tiburtinus*, the stretch of road that headed towards the city.

The bridges decayed due to their old age were restored in the name of the senate of Rome. Furthermore, a statue was set up in a monumental setting by L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus, former prefect of Rome, to Emperor Valens on account of his (and his brother's) foresight in planning and completing the Valentinian bridge to serve the needs of the eternal city.⁷⁴¹ Then the donating body was the senate and people of Rome recorded in a separate line of the inscription. The dedicatory formula is the same as on two pendant statue bases for Victories.⁷⁴² All of the statuary fragments found next to the bridge were in bronze.⁷⁴³ The imperial statue was part of the architectural setting within the parapet or balustrade of the bridge put up in 366-67.⁷⁴⁴ The works on the bridge and triumphal arch standing at the eastern side towards the Campus Martius were presumably carried out during the prefecture of Symmachus, who dedicated it after his term as a private citizen.

⁷³⁹ *CIL* 14 3582=EDR131424 (Tibur).

⁷⁴⁰ *CIL* 14 3583=EDR131431 (Tibur).

⁷⁴¹ *CIL* 6 31402=*ILS* 769=*LSA*-1820.

⁷⁴² *CIL* 6 31403=*LSA*-2584; *CIL* 6 31404=*LSA*-2585. On the Campus Martius end of the bridge there were presumably column monuments for the reigning emperors. For the statuary fragments, see also *LSA*-1072, and *LSA*-580.

⁷⁴³ See *LSA*-1072, *LSA*-580, and *LSA*-2586.

⁷⁴⁴ Lanciani, "XII. Monumenti rinvenuti," 245-8, no. 114, pls. 20-21. *LTUR* 4, 107-108 (F. Coarelli).

While Valentinian's reign had been inaugurated with the restoration of the *pons Aurelius* in the emperor's name by Symmachus' father, then urban prefect, the second bridge was dedicated, by the senate and people of Rome, in honor of Valentinian's son, Gratian, late in 369 or early in 370. The latter bridge carried two building inscriptions commemorating the building of the *pons Gratiani* (Ponte Cestio). While the *terminus technicus* is *pontem facere* as most common in the inscriptions, the variations such as *pontem perficere*⁷⁴⁵ and *constituere*⁷⁴⁶ found here are very rare. Similar to Symmachus' panegyrics that extolled Valentinian's success on the frontier, so too the inscriptions on the restored and rededicated bridge praised his victories along the Rhine and hinted to those by Valens along the Danube. Equally, Symmachus' oration in honor of Gratian proclaimed senatorial approval of the recent imperial elevation. The bridge at Rome dedicated by the senate and people of Rome in the emperor's name likewise demonstrated consent, recording new imperial titulature of Gratian. Symmachus' dedication of the Pons Gratiani made 'an emphatic statement of the close relationship between Rome, its Senate, and its absent emperors'.⁷⁴⁷ Although the senate played a role in articulating this relationship, the monumental building projects of late-antique Rome communicated an absolute authority of the emperor over his capital.

With the city integrated into provincial administrative structures since the reign of Galerius, the senate was increasingly allowed to take responsibility for buildings and governance. Senatorial investment in repairs to the Curia represents aspirations by the senatorial aristocracy for control of the city of Rome. Fourth-century urban prefects were involved in the restoration of the religious building behind the senate house, the Atrium Libertatis. The area around the Curia Senatus that specifically epitomized the senatorial authority, with building inscriptions referring in retrospect to Nicomachus Flavianus and Vettius Agorius Praetextatus known to be actively involved in promoting pagan cults.⁷⁴⁸ The building inscription on the fragments of a portal, attesting to the restorations of the Curia in the early fifth century, mentions the veneration of the Genius of the senate of Rome (*pro genio senatus amplissimi*), and some works carried out earlier, presumably by Praetextatus.⁷⁴⁹ During the 390s, a structure inserted into a pre-existing hall to the west of the Curia, the *Secretarium Senatus* was established adjoining the Forum of Caesar.⁷⁵⁰ The building inscription similarly juxtaposes both the foundation of the secretarium senatus by city prefect Flavianus the younger (*instituerat*), perhaps reusing a preexisting structure, and its early fifth-century

⁷⁴⁵ CIL 6 1176=31251=EDR103849.

⁷⁴⁶ CIL 6 1175=31250=EDR103848.

⁷⁴⁷ Mark Humphries, "Roman Senators and Absent Emperors in Late Antiquity," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 17 (2003): 12-13.

⁷⁴⁸ Machado, Building the Past."

⁷⁴⁹ CIL 6 41378=EDR073920. Philippe Bruggisser, "Rutilius Namatianus et le Génie du Sénat de Rome: le verdict d'une inscription de la Ville de Rome (CIL VI 41378)," *Hermes* 139 (2011): 494-500.

⁷⁵⁰ Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum*, 157-58.

restoration.⁷⁵¹ In this building adjacent to the Curia, aristocrats conducted legal proceedings against their peers accused of capital crimes.

The *ara Victoriae* and its associated statue that had once been displayed in the Curia had become the center of religious dispute framed as a negotiation over the preservation of the past.⁷⁵² Prior to 357, incense was burned and oaths were taken before senatorial meetings at the altar, with additional oaths taken to honor each new emperors, commemorating the relationship between senators and the rulers. In 357, the Emperor Constantius withdrew the altar of Victory from the Curia, which was temporarily returned under Julian, until it was removed again under Gratian in 382, when the controversy sparked again. Both Symmachus, city prefect in 384, who represented traditionalist senators who defended the altar, and Ambrose, bishop of Milan, who opposed it, appealed to Valentinian II. Although the emperor did not reinstate the cultic activities, he allowed the senate to retain the statue now divorced from the associated cult.⁷⁵³ The statue of winged Victory a metonym for the institution and was perhaps a feature of tetrarchic façade of the senate house.⁷⁵⁴ Christian senators and Ambrose conceded that the statue of Victory on the interior of the Curia was permissible once disconnected from the altar.⁷⁵⁵ It is not certain if Eugenius restored the altar.⁷⁵⁶

Throughout the debate and for decades afterwards the statue of Victory remained in the senate house, welcoming Honorius in 404 (Claud. *VI Cons. Hon.* 636). Claudian refers to it describing Stilicho's visit to Rome and to the senate house in 400 (*Stil.* III 202-14): 'What were the acclamations of the senators, how unfeigned their rejoicing when Victory, soaring aloft with outspread wings, herself threw open her holy temple to her general' (trans. A. Cameron). The statue is thus clearly associated with general's military accomplishments. Ambrose (*Amb. Ep.* 73.10) implies that the statue was not removed from the senate house. The statue was not central to the debate, which refer only to an altar.⁷⁵⁷ Likewise, Prudentius describes the Curia as a temple and evokes the golden wings of Victory (*CS* II.27-29). Dissociated from the altar, the personification of Victory deprived of her divine status (Symm. *Rel.* 3.3) retained its symbolism related to her central

⁷⁵¹ *CIL* 6 1718=31911=ILS 5522.

⁷⁵² On the origin of the statue and the altar, Dominico Vera, *Commento storico alle Relationes di Quinto Aurelio Simmaco* (Pisa: Giardini editori e stampatori, 1981), 30-31.

⁷⁵³ Cameron, "The Last Pagans," 33-34; Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum*, 149-53.

⁷⁵⁴ Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum*, 150-51.

⁷⁵⁵ Willy Evenepoel, "Ambrose vs. Symmachus: Christians and Pagans in AD 384," *Ancient Society* 29 (1998-1999):

284 n.3, however, argues that it was impossible to split the architectural complex of the statue and the altar.

⁷⁵⁶ Joachim Szidat, "Die Usurpation des Eugenius," *Historia* 28 (1979): 500.

⁷⁵⁷ On how the polarity between Christianity and pagan traditions influenced the organization of senatorial pressure groups in political decision-making processes, see Rita Lizzi Testa, "The Famous 'Altar of Victory Controversy' in Rome: The Impact of Christianity at the End of the Fourth Century," in Wienand, *Contested Monarchy*, 405-19.

place in triumphal imagery, owing to the ongoing importance of military success for late Roman emperors.⁷⁵⁸

Lastly, the establishment of the senate of Constantinople has long been the subject of the controversy in scholarly literature. Constantine is credited with the foundation of a 'senate of the second rank' in his new city (*Origo Constantini Imperatoris*, 6.30), who, according to Sozomen, granted it the same honors and provided it with the same festivals that were traditional in Rome (2.3.6). A. Chastagnol attempted to reconcile the early presence of *clarissimi* with G. Dagron's dating of an eastern 'order' to 357 by suggesting that these *clarissimi* were enrolled at Constantinople as *clari* and only subsequently elevated. Skinner dates the routine recruitment of *clarissimi* to a time before 348, and perhaps no later than the mid-340s, but Moser has recently showed that there is no basis for the claim that a substantial senatorial order in the East emerged during the 340s. It was, however, Constantius who formed with the fully-fledged senate in Constantinople in the late 350s.⁷⁵⁹ In an edict of 361 (*CTh* 4.12.132) he indicated that membership of the senate should comprise an officeholding aristocracy: consuls and prefects, proconsuls, Themistius, and all praetors. According to Themistius, the body numbered under 300 (*Or.* 34.13). Unlike the senate of Rome, it was composed of the imperial aristocracy and *honorati*. Within less than half a century it had grown to about 2000 (*Or.* 34.13 of late 384/early 385), as senatorial rank was hereditary and entailed prestige, power, and privilege.⁷⁶⁰ There were two senate houses in Constantinople in the fourth century: one at the Augusteum,⁷⁶¹ and the other one at the forum of Constantine.⁷⁶²

The senate of Constantinople, an exclusive sub-set among eastern imperial office-holders, played a prominent part in the ceremonies through which they expressed their consent with and loyalty to the ruling emperor. It was customary for the senate stage a welcome for the emperor as part of the ceremonial *adventus* to Constantinople as that of Julian in December 361. They were active participants in the annual commemoration of the city's foundation on May 11⁷⁶³ and principal invitees to the consular and praetorian games.⁷⁶⁴ The senatorial collective body formed part of important religious processions such as that in May 406 when Arcadius escorted the relics of the prophet Samuel from Chalcedon to the church of the Holy Wisdom, 'leading the way, and

⁷⁵⁸ For the possibility that only the altar had been removed, see Cameron, "The Last Pagans," 341-42.

⁷⁵⁹ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 6 *contra* Skinner, "The Early Development," 128-48; Grig and Kelly, *Two Romes*, 12. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capital*, 124, regarded a 'senate of Constantine' as a purely personal entourage, which gave way under Constantius to a 'senate of Constantinople'.

⁷⁶⁰ Heather, "New Men for New Constantines?" 11-33, on the changing relationship between government service and membership of the senate from the 360s and especially 370s onward, and on the increasing numbers of senators in East and West that resulted.

⁷⁶¹ Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 248; Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 148-57.

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*, 171.

⁷⁶³ Dagron, *Naissance d'une capital*.

⁷⁶⁴ See recent Dagron, *L'hippodrome*.

Anthemius, pretorian prefect and former consul, Aemilianus, city prefect, and all the senate' (*Chron. Pasch.* 569.12-18).

The evidence for statues commanded by the senate of Constantinople comes mostly from literary sources, including the *Anthologia Graeca*, or is occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions set up at Rome. Like in Rome, emperors and the imperial family were the primary honorands. A bronze statue of Gratian, father of the Emperors Valentinian I and Valens, was set up at Constantinople in 364. In a speech delivered to the Emperor Valens in Constantinople in April 364, Themistius refers to the statue to Gratian (*Or.* 6, 81d),⁷⁶⁵ which must have stood in a public space of this city. Themistius refers to a speech delivered by Valens to the senate of Constantinople shortly after his accession in 364; in which the emperor had expressed his gratitude towards 'those who had decreed' the posthumous statue of Gratian; most likely the senate of Constantinople. The statue must have been erected between Valentinian's accession on 26 February 364 and April of the same year, the date of Themistius' speech delivery. Another posthumous statue to Gratian was also set up in Cirta-Constantina (Numidia).⁷⁶⁶ Theodosius I later built on the example of Valens and Valentinian, by encouraging the setting up of outstanding statues to his deceased father.

The senate equally honored its own prominent members. A bronze statue of Themistius, rhetorician and imperial office holder, was set up in Constantinople, probably one of the senate houses, between 355 and 356. In his speech (*Or.* 4) delivered in Constantinople on 1 January 357 he mentions a bronze statue which he had been awarded for an earlier panegyric in honor of the Emperor Constantius (*Or.* 4, 54b).⁷⁶⁷ Bauer suggests that the statue was probably installed in one of the senate houses at Constantinople, as Themistius delivered this speech in a senate house and referred to the statue as if it was seen by all.⁷⁶⁸ Themistius was adlected by the letter of the emperor to the senate of Constantinople in 355. He responded with a speech of thanks (*Or.* 2), and Constantius reciprocated by setting up a bronze statue to celebrate the philosopher's achievements.⁷⁶⁹ He then undertook an official mission to the Roman senate in 357 for Constantius' state visit to Rome (*Or.* 3). Another statue for Themistius, was set up in Constantinople, at an unknown location, but probably a senate house, between 361 and 384 (*Or.* 17, 214b; *Or.* 31, 353a; *Or.* 34, 457).⁷⁷⁰ Both statues were possibly set up in one of the senate houses where he delivered his speech in praise of Emperor Theodosius (*Or.* 17) in 384. If the first statue was granted by Constantius, the second one was, as Themistius states, from another awarder, one of the successive

⁷⁶⁵ LSA-2703.

⁷⁶⁶ LSA-2320.

⁷⁶⁷ LSA-467.

⁷⁶⁸ Franz Alto Bauer, "Statuen hoher Würdenträger im Stadtbild Konstantinopels," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 96 (2003): 499.

⁷⁶⁹ Peter Heather and David Moncur, eds., *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century: Select Orations of Themistius* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), 44.

⁷⁷⁰ LSA-468.

emperors, most probably Valens. Themistius served five emperors from Constantius to Theodosius for some twenty-five years of his unprecedented public career.

Lastly, an epigram in the *Planudean Anthology* for a gilded bronze statue of Aurelianus, consul and praetorian prefect, was awarded by the senate in earlier fifth-century Constantinople.⁷⁷¹ It is certain that the verse inscription had been copied from a statue base, as it states that the ‘golden Aurelianus stands (ἔστηκεν) [here]’. The statue was presumably a gilded bronze called in the inscription golden (χρύσεος). The location of the statue is not indicated, yet, since it was dedicated by the senate, it may have been placed in or near one of the senate houses in Constantinople. The epigram says that the work was done by the senate, whose woes Aurelianus willingly ended. Aurelianus held the consulship with Stilicho in 400.⁷⁷² He had then held the three prefectures mentioned, first of which was that of the city of Constantinople. The statue was perhaps set up during, or at some time after, his last prefecture of 414-16.

On the whole, Constantine and his successors expanded the senate of Rome, marking a turning point in Roman social history. By the latter half of the fourth century, its total membership had increased from six hundred to over four thousand. In the inscriptions in the capital of the empire, senators of Rome no longer insist on the importance of the dividing lines that separated members of the resident aristocracy from all other strata of the late Roman Empire. The new self-understanding of the Roman senate as ‘the flower of the entire world’ (*ex totius orbis flore*) (*Pan. Lat.* IV(10).35.2) ‘the most noble men of the entire human species’ (*nobilissimos humani generis*) (*Symm. Or.* 6.1), embraced in the wake of reforms of the governing elite, shows them as the imperial aristocracy.⁷⁷³ Likewise, the honorific inscriptions carved on the bases of statues dedicated to the emperors, displayed in Trajan’s Forum in Rome, exemplify the new style of imperial representation as endorsed by the senate. Set up by urban prefect, the chair of the senate, the inscriptions no longer present the emperor as a republican magistrate. In its place, they highlight the emperor’s absolute power, his military victories, and his universal rule. The new epigraphic protocol in Rome, as validated by senior members of its ruling elite, reflects the new ideology of rulership. The senate as a commissioner of the honorific monuments portrays the emperor as its master (*dominus*) and divine monarch. On the other hand, the imperial communications (*orationes ad senatum*), now proudly displayed as part of the honorific inscriptions of the most senior officeholders among the resident senators, upheld the traditional honorific titulature of the emperors that emphasized their power as defined by the legal authorities conferred upon them by the senate and

⁷⁷¹ *Anth. Gr.* IV 73=LSA-344.

⁷⁷² Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, 335.

⁷⁷³ John Weisweiler, “From Empire to World-State: Ecumenical Language and Cosmopolitan Consciousness in the Later Roman Aristocracy,” in *Cosmopolitanism and Empire in Ancient Eurasia: Universal Rulers, Local Elites and Cultural Integration*, eds. Myles Lavan et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 187-208.

people of Rome. Equally important, the senate of Constantinople had risen to become of the same formal status with that of Rome only in the late 350s.

V. *Comitatus* and *consistorium*

I begin with the imperial *comitatus*. Each emperor was surrounded by his immediate entourage formed by both civilian and military officials – his *comitatus*, or court. The institutional reforms of the palatine administration by Constantine, especially the institutionalization of four palatine ministers (master of the offices, *quaestor*, count of the sacred bounties, and count of the private domains), remained in place for as long as the next three (*quaestor*) or even four centuries (*magister officiorum*), at least in the eastern empire.⁷⁷⁴ Four *comites consistoriani* were the highest palace ministers who already by the mid-fourth century had become part of the senatorial order. Praetorian prefects were initially full members of the court until the reforms of 326-30.⁷⁷⁵ The evidence base on the praetorian prefectures of the post-tetrarchical period (306-24) is certainly richer than in the previous period, even if it is just as fragmentary as that of the other periods, and shows prefects still fully integrated into the imperial *comitatus*. According to Porena, already since 327 or 328, no praetorian prefect had been included in the *comitatus*. The praetorian prefecture, whose influence was significantly reduced, was placed at the top of the purely civil provincial administration.

The command of the armies, instead, went to masters of soldiers, with *magistri militum praesentales* included in the *comitatus* and responsible for strategic and judicial aspects of the army command. Officers and regiments serving in the presence of the emperor, forming part of his *comitatus*, comprised two *magistri militum in praesenti* in the East, and *magister militum* and *magister equitum in praesenti* in the West, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Or. 1.5-6, Occ. 1.5-6).⁷⁷⁶ However, if necessary, prefect could command the *comitatenses*, soldiers in the mobile entourage of the emperor (Zos. 2.14.2). *Comes domesticorum*, commander of the imperial bodyguard, headed *protectores domestici*.

Besides different palatine departments of government, civilian and military, the *comitatus* included also household staff, headed by superintendent of the sacred bedchamber (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*). The titles of the aulic offices – with the sacred, meaning imperial – reflected the divine qualities of the ruler. Unceremonial access to the emperor, granted to informers and friends, was a privilege of *praepositus sacri cubiculi*. Due to his proximity to the emperor, the provost of the sacred bedchamber, head of the domestic administration of the palace, was a dignified official.

⁷⁷⁴ Delmaire, *Les institutions*; Maurizio Colombo, “Constantinus rerum novator: dal comitatus diocleziano ai palatini di Valentiniano I,” *Klio* 90.1 (2008): 124-61.

⁷⁷⁵ Porena Pierfrancesco, “À l’ombre de la pourpre: l’évolution de la préfecture du prétoire entre le IIIe et le IVe siècle,” in *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 18 (2007): 237-62.

⁷⁷⁶ Dietrich Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum* (Düsseldorf: Rheinland, 1969–70), 9-19, 469-522, 516-19.

The officials of the *comitatus* were called *palatini*. There were a number of important *scrinia* (departments) within the *comitatus*, which included secretaries who dispensed imperial letters and constitutions and the *comitatensian* mint, attached to the imperial court, producing precious metal coinage. During the early fourth centuries minting personnel appear to have been part of the imperial retinue and where possible to have used existing minting facilities to issue precious-metal coinage from wherever the court might be. This appears to have arisen from the increasing centralization of precious-metal bullion in the court treasury, and from the need of the court for coinage. There were several important palatine ministries, each forming a distinctive branch of service. These included *notarii* and *referendarii*, *silentiarii*, officials of the *sacra scrinia*, and *agentes in rebus*. They served as trusted emissaries. They also included staff in the officium of both financial *comites*. These departments underwent a shift in leadership in particular in the 330s under Constantine.

The first move of each new ruler was forming his own *comitatus*. The *comitatus* developed for each emperor of the tetrarchic college were elaborated upon by later emperors. Constantius appointed experienced civil officers for the offices of *comitatus* of his Caesars, Julian and Gallus. Both Caesars had no officials responsible for finances (*comes sacrarum largitionum*, *comes rerum privatum*.) in their *comitatus* and were dependent in these matters on Constantius' dignitaries. After the liquidation of one of the courts, the officials could move to another one. Thus, Palladius served as *magister officiorum* at Constantius' court after the disappearance of Gallus' *comitatus*. Each of the emperors, Valentinian I and Valens, started forming their own *comitatus* shortly after being elected. Would-be-emperors or usurpers had their own *comitatus*. When Magnentius started forming his own *comitatus* he appointed his own *magister officiorum* and other high officials. From the late 380s there were two courts in the West: the one of Valentinian II and the one of usurper Eugenius. Senators who supported the usurpation were rewarded with posts in the new *comitatus*. After the elimination of Eugenius, the state was administered by a single *comitatus*, residing in the East. Most of the imperial court's elite after completing their service settled far from the imperial residences. Those who chose retirement in the provinces, as well as remaining in the *comitatus* did not lose contact with the court, but remained outside the Roman senate.

The fourth-century imperial court was continually mobile, chiefly due to the military campaigns of the emperors, with the exception of Maxentius who was bound to Rome. The members of the imperial *comitatus* travelled alongside the emperor. However, the legislation concerning the billeting of the *comitatus* is found in the Theodosian Code in the period after 395. The first law was not issued until three years later and it determined that the travelling members of the emperor's *comitatus* should be granted 1/3 of the house, with half of it being provided to the ones with *illustris* rank (which primarily meant *comites consistoriani*). As senators the palace

ministers were exempted from compulsory *hospitalitas*. Moreover, the members of the *comitatus*, including four *comites consistoriani*, participated in military campaigns as members of the emperor's *comitatus*, which comprised palatine troops. However, the *comitatus* could be left behind on military operations, as before the battle of Adrianople. Yet, when Valens was killed in the battle in August 378, his *comitatus* ceased to exist.

K. L. Noethlichs considered three aspects of the *comitatus*: spatial (as structures of imperial palaces), societal (imperial family and relatives, 'friends'), and ceremonial (as complex of ritual activities).⁷⁷⁷ The mobility of the imperial courts under the tetrarchy and the dynasty of Constantine leaves the palatine architecture little known.⁷⁷⁸ Imperial residences, *sedes imperii*, beginning from the tetrarchic time saw palaces built, besides Rome and later Constantinople, in Antioch, Aquileia, Arles, Milan, Nicomedia, Ravenna, Sirmium, Thessaloniki, and Trier. From the mid-fourth century imperial capitals became increasingly settled.⁷⁷⁹ The eastern Roman court ceased to be mobile and settled down permanently at Constantinople from the late fourth century onwards.

A collective body of the courtiers, subdivided by function and rank, participated in imperial ceremonies. Senatorial rank became an ordinary reward at various dates from the mid-fourth century across the divisions of the civil administration.⁷⁸⁰ However, the aristocratic hierarchy, which saw its formalization in the late fourth century, was not developing on the basis of the court ranks, but on the basis of modified and differentiated traditional senatorial rank order. Wherever the emperor made a stop, he would be ritually greeted, along with his *comitatus*, with the ceremony of an *adventus*. After the death of Theodosius I, the imperial residence of the eastern part of the empire was exclusively in Constantinople, with only very few exceptions. A stationary court had consequences as it increased powers of officials at court. Furthermore, at the instigation of Eutropius or Stilicho, praetorian prefect Rufinus was killed by soldiers of military commander Gainas during a military parade, shortly after Rufinus had appeared in Hebdomon along with the emperor in 395. According to Claudian (*In Ruf.* II. 297, 311-316, 340-347), prefect was killed at the ceremony during which he supposedly had hoped to be proclaimed Augustus. After his execution, his head was cut off and paraded stuck on a spear. During the fourth century the succession passed mostly through the dynasty (Constantinian, Valentinian, and Theodosian one), but numerous attempts were made to come to the purple by means of a simple coup d'état.

⁷⁷⁷ Aloys Winterling, ed., *Comitatus: Beiträge zur Erforschung des spätantiken Kaiserhofes* (Berlin: Akademie, 1998), 9. On correspondence between the palatine architecture and imperial ceremonial, see Grig and Kelly, *Two Romes*.

⁷⁷⁸ Emanuel Mayer, *Rom ist dort, wo der Kaiser ist. Untersuchungen zu den Staatsdenkmälern des dezentralisierten Reiches von Diocletian bis zu Theodosius II* (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2002). See Winterling, *Comitatus*, 16.

⁷⁷⁹ The *comitatus* was not a stationary army camp. When Constantinople became a permanent imperial residence, the palace and the army camp were not together.

⁷⁸⁰ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 547-48, 572-86.

While H. Löhken emphasizes the ‘senatorialization’ of the elites of non-senatorial origin at court, Weisweiler speaks more generally about the domestication of the imperial aristocracy in the later Roman Empire. Conversely, already since the time of Constantine senators by birth are found in the *sacer comitatus*. Moreover, while the homogeneity and distinction of a western senatorial ‘mentalité’ is re-emphasized,⁷⁸¹ the domestication of an aristocracy of service and the greater fluidity of the senators in the East is taken for granted.⁷⁸² Very few fourth-century eastern senatorial dynasties are known as the emperors were interested in frequent turnover of the officials. The same practice remained in place in the East until the sixth century.⁷⁸³ Throughout the late Roman Empire emperors tried to prevent their ‘entrapment in a highly structured and convention-bound court society’.⁷⁸⁴

Until the reign of Diocletian the court was a place of rather informal power, while formal power rested with the Roman senate. From Diocletian and Constantine the imperial court became the only source of both formal and informal power, which resulted in the development of formalized forms of access to the emperor (*admissio*).⁷⁸⁵ The access to emperors during their audiences or receptions was carefully guarded. Thus, emperor’s favorites like Themistius were even allowed to join the imperial table. When Constantius resided in Constantinople in 359 (Lib. *Ep.* 66), Themistius appeared in front of the emperor in the plain coat of a philosopher. Moreover, Constantius invited him to ride in his carriage (Them. *Or.* 31.353), which was a rare mark of distinction, known also in the case of Stilicho. Less strictly regulated was a *salutatio* and when the emperor was seen from a greater distance. The emperor was surrounded by his courtiers at the circus, as on the reliefs of the obelisk base at Constantinople, and during processions, both political and religious (figs. 87-88).

The court ceremony of an *adoratio* was probably likewise introduced under the tetrarchy, but is first recorded in law in 354 (*CTh* 8.7.4). The participant performed *proskynesis* and was invited to kiss the hem of the emperor’s purple robe. The right to perform the *adoratio* was the perquisite of the holders of certain imperial offices (*CTh* 6.13.1; *Amm.* 15.5.18); it ritually established, or re-established, the participant’s position in the imperial *consistorium* or his place in imperial favor (*Amm.* 22.9.16).⁷⁸⁶ Holders of honorable offices merited adoration of the imperial purple on appointment. Members of the household guard (*domestici*) and of the imperial bodyguard

⁷⁸¹ Salzman, “Elite Realities and *Mentalités*.”

⁷⁸² Constantin Zuckerman, “Two Reforms of the 370s: Recruiting Soldiers and Senators in the Divided Empire,” *Revue des études byzantines* 56 (1998): 130–35.

⁷⁸³ Christoph Begass, *Die Senatsaristokratie des oströmischen Reiches, ca. 457–518. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Munich: Beck, 2018).

⁷⁸⁴ Christopher Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 192.

⁷⁸⁵ Winterling, *Comitatus*, 19.

⁷⁸⁶ John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 244-47; William T. Avery, “The ‘*Adoratio Purpureae*’ and the Importance of the Imperial Purple in the Fourth Century of the Christian Era,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 17 (1940): 66-80.

(*protectores*) were granted the right of osculation when they give their salutations to the vicars. A failure to perform it was considered a sacrilege by imperial laws and entailed a punishment as these military functionaries also touched the imperial purple (*nostrum purpuram contingere*) (CTh 6.25.4-5).⁷⁸⁷ However, emperors risked trapped being within an inaccessible court, ensnared in a web of ritual, dependent on a ceaseless round of pomp.⁷⁸⁸

From Constantine onwards growth of the senatorial participation in the Christian court ceremonial gradually increased. Thus, towards the end of 398, during the translation ceremony of relics of some anonymous martyrs from Constantinople to the church of St Thomas at Drypia, empress Eudoxia and distinguished members of the court joined the procession of faithful and accompanied the saintly bodies all the way to their new shrine west of the city on a great distance (John Chrys., *Homilia dicta postquam reliquiae martyrum*, PG 63, 468-72). The next day, Arcadius and his court also paid a visit to the same church and venerated the martyrs (PG 63, 473-78).

Lastly, the *consistorium* was fixed imperial advisory council whose members, called *comites consistoriani*, stood while in the emperor's presence. In the fourth century the emperor seldom present in Rome relied for regular counsel on his *consistorium*, while the Roman senate lost its function as an advisory body. The 'cabinet' of the emperor and his leading officials came to be at the core of fourth-century government. Constantine was first to appoint permanent members of his *consistorium*, the analogous body to a *consilium principis* known before the tetrarchy.⁷⁸⁹ But which officials made up the imperial council?

Seeck thought that the *consistorium* included *comites ordinis primi, secundi* and *tertii*.⁷⁹⁰ Around 330 Constantine graded the *comitiva* into *comites primi, secundi* and *tertii ordinis* (Eus. VC 4.1,2). The first attested *comes primi ordinis* of the reorganized *comitiva* is dated to or slightly before 333.⁷⁹¹ The *comitiva primi ordinis iterum* still held as a post after the proconsulship is documented already under Constantine, but more often under his successors. The *comitiva* was not coupled with other offices, held between other posts in the imperial administration, and presumably entailed neither presence nor duty at court.⁷⁹² Therefore, it was not linked to other offices or functions in the *consistorium* under Constantine's reign. Although *comites ordinis primi* could be invited to sessions of the council, their title did not automatically grant them the right to attend.

Furthermore, such additions to the title as *intra palatium, domesticus, intra consistorium* or *in consistorio*, which express the advisory function and a greater proximity of these counts to the

⁷⁸⁷ Jill Harries, "The Roman Imperial Quaestor from Constantine to Theodosius II," *JRS* 78 (1988): 159-64.

⁷⁸⁸ Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 192.

⁷⁸⁹ Francesco Amarelli, "Esercizio del potere e ricorso alla prassi della consultazione nella tarda antichità: alle origini del consistorium," *Koinonia* 28.9 (2004-5): 13-20.

⁷⁹⁰ Seeck, *Comites*, followed by Weiss, *Consistorium*, 25, who states that under Constantine *comites primi* and *secundi ordinis* were in the *consistorium*.

⁷⁹¹ *PLRE* 1, 747-49 Proculus 11 was probably *comes primi ordinis* before 333, *CIL* 6 1691, *CIL* 6 1690.

⁷⁹² Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 73-74; Palme, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, 59.

person of the emperor, have caused confusion due to their diversity. While Seeck and Jones regarded them as arbitrary interchangeable synonyms, J. Harries and Weiss suggested a time sequence.⁷⁹³ The comitival honors of *comites primi ordinis intra palatium*⁷⁹⁴ or *intra consistorium* were most prestigious not merely because the post required presence at court, but rather because it made them part of the imperial *consistorium*, the emperor's group of key advisers.⁷⁹⁵ These counts are not to be identified with four aulic ministers, for, otherwise, double title *comes primi ordinis et quaestor* is not explicable.⁷⁹⁶

Two western senators are attested as *comites* at court in the East in the last five years of Constantine's reign. Flavius Dionysius was admitted to the imperial consistory as *comes consistorianus* sometime before 335, just like another count, Valerius Proculus present at Constantine's court in Constantinople. The latter had already been comes of the second and then of the first rank, and proconsul of Africa, when sometime between 333 and 337 he received the *comitiva primi ordinis intra palatium* and became a member of the imperial *consistorium* in Constantinople. Beyond question, the comitival reform created a flexible hierarchy of titles and posts which enabled to attach both western senators and eastern aristocrats to the imperial court in Constantinople. Thus, in this new system of honors Constantine granted to several aristocrats of Rome high honors at court, including the right to attend the imperial consistorium.

Scharf has proven that the various additions to the title of *comes primi ordinis iterum* designate comparable functions, and are typical for the different courts of Constantine's sons: counts of Constantine II are called the *comites primi ordinis intra palatium*, while those of Constantius II *comites primi ordinis intra consistorium* or *in consitorio*.⁷⁹⁷ After the death of Constantine II (340) and Constans (350) only *comites primi ordinis intra consistorium* of Constantius remained. As yet, three *comites primi ordinis iterum intra consistorium* are known: Vulcacius Rufinus reach this post before 342,⁷⁹⁸ Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus after 354/55,⁷⁹⁹ and Saturninius Secundus Salutius before 360.⁸⁰⁰ Additionally, perhaps also *comes primi ordinis iterum* from the very fragmentary fourth-century inscription from the Roman Forum should be included.⁸⁰¹

During the 350s, the *comitiva consistoriana*, which from the beginning differed from the

⁷⁹³ Harries, "The Roman Imperial Quaestor."

⁷⁹⁴ Weiss, *Consistorium*, 18-21 with n. 46-48 wrongly believes in existence of *comites ordinis secundi intra palatium*.

⁷⁹⁵ Scharf, *Comites*, 22.

⁷⁹⁶ Bonflis, *Il comes et quaestor*, 17, 19, 25.

⁷⁹⁷ R. Scharf, *Comites*, 6-23.

⁷⁹⁸ *CIL* 6 2051=*ILS* 1237.

⁷⁹⁹ *CIL* 6 1739, *CIL* 6 1740, *CIL* 6 1741, *CIL* 6 1742.

⁸⁰⁰ *CIL* 6 1764=*ILS* 1255. For the list, see Scharf, *Comites*, 59-61, without indication of the sources.

⁸⁰¹ *CIL* 6 41362=*LSA*-1585.

comitiva primi ordinis, developed into a *comitiva sui generis*.⁸⁰² These *comites* were included in the first rank. Each of four highest palatine ministers was thus *comes primi ordinis*, but not all *comites* were *comites consistoriani*.⁸⁰³ The *comitiva consistoriana* was detached from the *comitiva primi ordinis* at the beginning of the 360s. At the latest since the 360s the indication of the *ordo* is omitted, either because it was obviously the *primus ordo*, or because one wanted to avoid an association with the lower ranking *comitiva primi ordinis*. The first *comes (sacri) consistorii* with no *ordo* specification is Flavius Sallustius (fig. 28).⁸⁰⁴ Furthermore, after 364 the indication of iteration (*iterum, item*) is also suppressed, as attested in the inscriptions.

In addition, since 364, a slight but conspicuously consistent change in the title is observed: the reference to the *consistorium* is now expressed by genitive. The expression ‘τοῦ θείου κονσιστωρίου’, the exact translation of *sacri consistorii*, now superseded the older formulations *intra consistorium/in consistorio*. The *consistorium* appears transliterated as *κονσιστώριον* or translated as *συνέδριον*. Yet, since no other, even an approximate Greek version of the title has been handed down, it remains unclear whether *θείου κονσιστωρίου* was used exclusively for the accurate rendering of the genitive construction *sacri consistorii*, or whether the older title formulations *intra consistorium/in consistorio* in Greek would not have been the same.⁸⁰⁵ The use of the genitive in the Greek version does not necessarily imply *comes (sacri) consistorii* as opposed to *comes intra consistorium*. They differed from *ex comitibus* (*ἀπὸ κομίτων*).

Further, in papyri the elaborate titulature could be reduced to simple *comes*. One and the same individual may appear in one text as *comes sacri consistorii*, in the other merely as *comes*. Notably, only a few of known *comites consistoriani* had their actual office indicated together with their title. *Comes sacri consistorii* stands out clearly from the other *comites* both because of its higher position. Flavius Ammonius (P.Ryl. IV 652) held the title of *comes* not as a honorific title, but *ex officio*. He is called ὁ λαμπρότατος κόμ(ε)ς τοῦ θείου κονσιστωρίου. So, he might as well be the only one who really was a member of the imperial *consistorium*.⁸⁰⁶ A letter of *praefectus annonae Alexandriae* (P.Ryl. IV 652) dated to before 374 is the only papyrus in which the ‘signature’ of *comes consistorii* is preserved.

When in 372 Valentinian introduced the rank classes of *spectabiles* and *illustres* which stood above the clarissime, *comites primi ordinis* had already belonged to the senatorial order

⁸⁰² Weiss, *Consistorium*, 26; Scharf, *Comites*, 24-25; Palme, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, 60. The separation of the four *comites* from other *comites consistoriani* is mentioned with respect to ‘*dignitatum ordo*’ in *CTh* 6.9; 6.12 and *CJ* 12.6; 12.10.

⁸⁰³ Bonflis, *Il comes et quaestor*, 17, 19, 25.

⁸⁰⁴ *CIL* 6 1729=*ILS* 1254=*LSA*-323. Kuhoff, *Studien*, 113, 128.

⁸⁰⁵ Palme, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, 60 n.24

⁸⁰⁶ Palme, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, 68. No *PLRE* entry.

since the reign of the sons of Constantine.⁸⁰⁷ Of *comites (sacri) consistorii*, the four highest court offices were elevated to *illustres*. Particularly in documentary sources, *comites consistoriani* and *comites primi ordinis* also after 372 are often still occasionally called *viri clarissimi*, but occasionally addressed to as *viri clarissimi (et) spectabiles*.⁸⁰⁸ The *comitiva* saw a transformation into an honorific predicate without a function from the early fifth century, before its declassification in 429 (CTh 1.1.5-6).

All in all, the group of *comites* in *consistorium*, four ministers aside, was thereby composed of governors, who were already *comites*, senators of the city of Rome, who had fulfilled their *munera* (quaestorship, praetorship), and presumably *magistri scriniorum* and other court officials who had worked their way up. The uniformity of the group was ensured through the same function of individual officials, thus neither through the equal cursus nor – until the unification of the *comitiva consistoriana* and its elevation to the grade of *spectabiles* – by an equal rank.⁸⁰⁹

Thereafter, *magister officiorum*, *quaestor*, *comes sacrarum largitionum*, *comes rerum privatum* were the most senior officials, who belonged to the *consistorium ex officio*. Besides four *illustres comites consistoriani*, three *magistri scriniorum* ranked *spectabiles* were members of the *consistorium* (*magister epistularum*, *magister libellorum*, and *magister memoriae*). During the Constantinian dynasty the *consistorium* had become the primary forum for discussion of imperial legislation, presumably permitting liberty of speech (*παρρησία*) in communication with the emperor.⁸¹⁰ No doubt, *consistoriani* exerted a great deal of influence in the drafting of laws.⁸¹¹ It could also function as a supreme court, where accusations such as treason were tried. The emperor presided over its meetings, called a *silentium*. In Constantinople they convened at the *consistorium* in the Great Palace, built by Constantine.

The next group of the highest military office holders, *comites domesticorum*, heads of *protectores domestici*, were possibly members of the emperor's *consistorium*.⁸¹² Their superiors, *magistri militum* and *magistri militum in praesenti* may have been part of the *consistorium* with special responsibility with regard to delegations from provinces, cities, and individuals and foreign embassies. It has been, however, suggested that masters of soldiers were invited only when military

⁸⁰⁷ Palme, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, 60. Weiss, *Consistorium*, 25 wrongly thinks that all *comites primi* and *secundi ordinis* had clarissimate already under Constantine. On *clarissimus* and *spectabilis* rank of *comites primi ordinis*, see Mithof, "Remigius," 114-15.

⁸⁰⁸ Scharf, *Comites*, 60-61. Since the beginning of the fifth century, in the course of the gradual declassification of the *comitiva*, both the *comitiva consistoriana* and the *comitiva primi ordinis* had been awarded as mere dignity, as it were as an honorary title, detached from any active function, see Palme, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, 61, moreover, a cumulation of the two honorary *comitivae* in a title *comes primi ordinis (et comes) sacri consistorii* avoided a superfluous repetition of the word *comes*.

⁸⁰⁹ Palme, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*.

⁸¹⁰ Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 66.

⁸¹¹ Jill Harries, *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 38-43.

⁸¹² Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 372, 636.

issues were discussed. Further, regarding the loftiest civilian office holders, *praefecti praetorio*, who were outside the palatine system heading the regional administration, prefect of the East with the seat in Constantinople formed perhaps part of the *consistorium*.⁸¹³ Otherwise, praetorian prefects were invited only occasionally to the council by the emperor. The emperor oversaw the officials gathered in the *consistorium*: Ammian recounts an emergency assembly of the *consistorium* (15.5.18-22).

Finally, since Diocletian, the access to the emperor grew more strictly regulated, embedded in ever more complex ceremonial setting. Instead of the daily *salutatio principis*, *adoratio purpurae* and *proskynesis* were introduced.⁸¹⁴ *Magister officiorum* oversaw *admissionales*, who presented individuals to the *consistorium*. *Magister officiorum* was equally in charge for communication with embassies from cities, and *magister libellorum* was responsible under quaestor for the preparation of legal cases heard before the emperor (*sacrae cognitiones*). Those admitted received precedence according to their rank; to adore the purple was an enormous privilege. While most efficient in defining state policy, already in the fourth century the *consistorium* had developed into a ceremonial place for the reception of foreign emissaries (Amm., 28.1.24-25). At the receptions the emperor was surrounded by his *consistorium*. These receptions were given at particular occasions in specific parts of the palace. From the late fourth century in the East they were held in the permanent imperial residence in Constantinople.

In summary, the expansion of the senatorial order saw a geographical mobility of the ruling elites of the empire as many relocated to imperial courts. It became normal for the consul to be inaugurated at court, and western consuls held games in the imperial residences. There was usually an ordinary consul at the eastern court. The elaborate scheme of imperial ceremonial, which dates from the time of Diocletian and Constantine, involved both senior palatine officials and members of the imperial council, some of whom technically stood outside the palatine system. In the domestic administration of the palace, greater dignity and importance was accorded to *praepositus sacri cubiculi* and his high-ranking subordinates, whose functions tended to become purely ceremonial. The creation of new court titles and aulic offices and their reorganization in a new hierarchy of honor depended entirely on the emperor. As the importance of the ceremonial element at the imperial court increased, a more tightly organized court society developed. Ceremonies such as *adoratio* and *adventus* appear to have become even more elaborate, and the emperor's garments more bejewelled. The choreography of imperial power by means of ceremonies, showing how inaccessible the emperor was, is reflected in the magnificence of the language of the panegyrics

⁸¹³ On *magistri militum* and *praefectus praetorio Orientis* in the *consistorium*, see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 339; Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter*; Andreas Gutsfeld, "Der Prätorianerpräfekt und der kaiserliche Hof im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.," in Winterling, *Comitatus*, 87, is sceptical.

⁸¹⁴ On 'salutatio' and 'adoratio', see Christophe Badel, "Adventus et salutatio," in Béranger and Perrin-Saminadayar, *Les entrées royales*, 157-75.

delivered at court. The ideological changes, such as an employment of new titulatures of an emperor, were given official sanction by the imperial courts. Titles such as *sacer comitatus* and *sacer consistorium* explicitly articulated the emperor's links to the divine sphere. The development of new forms of imperial ideology at late antique courts had a larger effect on the self-representation of the imperial aristocracy. Figures of courtiers with 'wreath' hairstyle attending the emperor in the circus on the Theodosian obelisk base at Constantinople testify to new fashions and art styles originating in the court milieu (figs. 87-88).

Chapter two. Civilian government

I. *Illustres*

1. *Praefectus praetorio*

In the tetrarchic period an office of praetorian prefect remained closely attached to the person of the emperor and was normally shared by two men of equestrian rank. Between 325 and 330 Constantine multiplied the number of prefects from one to five, putting them at the head of the regionally defined prefectures, detached from the personal service of the emperor.⁸¹⁵ Sent away from the *comitatus*, with no further military functions, praetorian prefects became the most important civil senatorial office-holders at the top of the provinces. By the later fourth century there were four prefects of the highest senatorial grade heading regional prefectures. In the West, two prefects are listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Praetorian prefect of Italy, the highest imperial post, is followed by praetorian prefect of the Gauls. In the East, another two prefects are recorded: praetorian prefect of the East is placed above praetorian prefect of Illyricum. Praetorian prefects head the register of the *Notitia* with city prefects placed immediately below them.

Only two insignia of praetorian prefects are depicted in the *Notitia*, namely, those of praetorian prefect of Italy in the West and of praetorian prefect of Illyricum in the East. First and foremost, the iconography of both prefectorial insignia comprises items pertinent to the office, distinguishing the prefects as the loftiest of the dignitaries.⁸¹⁶ Chief among those objects is a codicil,⁸¹⁷ or a diploma of the appointment, placed in the center of a blue cloth-draped table, and two candelabras with burning tapers at each side in the upper part of the illustration.

Two-ply objects made out of ivory, hence ‘codicillary diptychs’, the *codicilli* are represented in the insignia only by the upper leaf, whose size in relation to other items in the illustration is exaggerated. The outer or upper ivory plaque exhibits a carved or painted image and, as Berger believes, the inner part enclosed the official document.⁸¹⁸ The most significant item among the insignia of the *illustres* and the only object consistently present for them is the gold-trimmed rectangle of the codicil.⁸¹⁹ This codicillary format displays a bust within the frame at the center, an example of the multiple depictions of the imperial portrait.⁸²⁰ It legitimizes laws issued by prefect and confirms the close relationship with the emperor.⁸²¹ Apart from coins and silver dishes, the

⁸¹⁵ Porena, *Le origini*; idem, “‘À l’ombre de la pourpre’.”

⁸¹⁶ Berger, *The Insignia*, 25.

⁸¹⁷ Seeck, “Codicilli,” 173-83; Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*. Otto Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1876), 23, 31 considered it to be the *liber mandatorum*.

⁸¹⁸ Berger, *The Insignia*, 26.

⁸¹⁹ Grigg, “Portrait-bearing Codicils,” 121.

⁸²⁰ Ibid., 113 with nn. 39-40 *contra* Chastagnol, *La Préfecture*, 199-200, who regards it to be the portrait of the emperor, but not a codicil. Berger, *The Insignia*, 26-27.

⁸²¹ Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 235.

emperor's bust features on the clothing and shields of high-ranked officials. Equally, *thecae*, pen cases or reed cabinets, are adorned with an imperial portrait or portraits.

Undoubtedly, a formal ceremony accompanied the handing out of the *codicilli*. The high civil or military official on the gilded silver Madrid *missorium* is presented with the *codicilli* of appointment given from the hands of an emperor on the throne.⁸²² Although it is uncertain whether the plate was unique, B. Kiilerich suggested the Spanish praetorian prefect of the East for 384-88, Cynegius, but there may be other candidates for the identification.⁸²³ Berger, however, considers the man who is depicted receiving his *codicilli* in the admittedly symbolic portrayal on the Theodosian *missorium* to be a comparatively low-ranking official, but gives no explanation.⁸²⁴ In the presence of the palace guard and his co-emperors, Theodosius, depicted in his actual ceremonial robe, hands a diptych to the official in a stylized palatial architecture. The presentation ceremony of the *codicilli* with imperial portraits to highest-ranking officials highlighted the greatest honors accorded to them. The imperial image appears on the *codicilli* of only *illustres* palatine and military officials.

The upper leaf of the prefects' *codicilli* is partly gilded. With the gold applied to an upper band, a lower band, and a median band broken in the center by a framed bust, this decorative format, unknown outside the *Notitia*, is used in the insignia of only the highest officials and appears as the highest-ranking of all *codicillary* formats.⁸²⁵ Thus, in the portrait-bearing rectangles the style of the gold trim implies either a high or a low status among the *illustres*. Moreover, while the gold trim on the rectangles of prefects (and *magistri militum*) conforms to one style, the gold trim on the portrait-bearing rectangles of *magistri officiorum* and other *illustres* conforms to the other style. The portrait-bearing rectangles were correlated with rank and the presence of the imperial portrait was an attribute distinguishing a higher from a lower rank. It was certainly intended as an appointive document as there is no other one among the insignia of the *illustres*.⁸²⁶

The presence of the imperial portrait on the item, which occupies the upper right-hand corner of the illustration, the *theca* (Lyd. *De mag.* 2.14.1), underscores judicial powers of prefect.⁸²⁷ The pen case in the *Notitia* bears the imperial portrait or portraits in the upper register, whereas the adoring personifications appear in the second register. Prefects were the supreme judges, for appeals would rarely be carried up to the emperor himself. Serving as an insigne for several dignitaries, the *theca* with the imperial image symbolized the presence of the emperor in each legal

⁸²² Bente Kiilerich, "Representing an Emperor: Style and Meaning on the *Missorium* of Theodosius I," in Almagro-Gorbea, *El disco de Teodosio*.

⁸²³ Bente Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts. Studies in the so-called Theodosian Renaissance* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1998), 22; followed by Maria R.-Alföldi, *Bild und Bildersprache der römischen Kaiser: Beispiele und Analysen* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1999), 180-82 (Cynegius).

⁸²⁴ Berger, *The Insignia*, 28.

⁸²⁵ Ibid., 26.

⁸²⁶ Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 121.

⁸²⁷ Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 412 with n.469; Berger, *The Insignia*, 31, 189.

process conducted by prefect as a judge. The two-fold presence of the imperial portraits in the prefectorial insignia on the *codicilli* and the *theca* would thereby validate the officials' administrative and judicial decisions.⁸²⁸

Thereafter, the prefects' horse-driven state coach is represented in the lower part of the prefectorial insigne. A four-horse carriage (*carruca*) is placed amongst the attributes of prefect's legal and administrative power⁸²⁹ together with the *theca* and the *codicilli*. During the fourth century the privileges of a conveyance within the city walls was restricted to the loftiest office-holders. Until the late fourth century the use of a carriage within the city walls had been even more strictly limited. This splendidly decorated *quadriga* was symbolic of the prefects' status.⁸³⁰

Further, prefect wore an official garb (*paratura*), which included a chalmys (*paludamentum*), a tunica, and a *cingulum* with fibula (Lyd. *De mag.* 2.14.1) and may have carried other attributes of his office. Objects like fibulas and belt-buckles for the belt, probably received as gift-rewards from the emperor, also bore imperial portrait busts. Remarkably, Flavius Philippus, *praefectus praetorio Orientis*, was represented wearing a military belt with a sword (*ξίφος* or *sica*), for prefect originally had military duties (Lyd. *De mag.* 2.9.6-7). Lydus, concerned with the clothing of prefects, refers to visual evidence of the statuary for Philippus to show that praetorian prefect had always worn a sword. However, also a togate statue for prefect is epigraphically attested.

Status-related rewards for imperial administrators took a variety of forms. First, there was the matter of formal rank. A major change during the first half of the fourth century was the extension of senatorial status – that of *clarissimus* – to incorporate the holders of senior imperial posts. With the beginning of Constantinian sole rule, this benefited leading civilian bureaucrats such as praetorian prefects, but also *magistri militum*. After the Constantinian reforms praetorian prefect was included in the *ordo senatorius*. The last equestrian praetorian prefect known to hold the title *eminentissimus*⁸³¹ was Iulius Iulianus, official of Licinius in 315-24.⁸³² No longer *viri eminentissimi*, a title reserved specifically for them, prefects became *viri clarissimi* after 324.⁸³³ On the inscriptions from Constantine's sole rule they are already *clarissimi*. The terminology characteristic for praetorian prefects appears in the legal sources: Ablabius is addressed as *parens*

⁸²⁸ Berger, *The Insignia*, 34.

⁸²⁹ August Mau, "Carruca," *RE* II, 2 (1899), 1614-15.

⁸³⁰ Berger, *The Insignia*, 34-36.

⁸³¹ Wilhelm Ensslin, "Praefectus," *RE* 22.2 (1954), 2401-2404; Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy*, 74-88, although first prefects from *ordo senatorius* appeared already in the third century.

⁸³² Andreas Gutsfeld, *Die Macht des Prätorianerpräfekten: Studien zum praefectus praetorio Orientis von 313 bis 395 n. Chr.* (Habilitationsschrift Humboldt-Universität, 1996), 44-45; Porena, *Le origini*.

⁸³³ Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain*, 236, states that senatorial prefects appeared in 312, the latest in 314 under Constantine; followed by Gutsfeld, *Die Macht*, 44-45, 224-26, who points to the consequences of the abolishment of the praetorian guard. On the chronology of the entry into the senatorial order, see Porena, *Le origini*, 391, who demonstrates that the precise date of the reform, implemented by Constantine as the sole ruler, could have been carried out during the prefecture of Flavius Constantius.

karissime atque amantissime (Sirm. 1: 333), Felix as *parens karissime* (Sirm. 4: 336), and Philippus as *parens et amicus* (351/52),⁸³⁴ showing the closeness of the relationship with the emperor.⁸³⁵ Vulcarius Rufinus, brother of Galla, mother of Caesar Gallus, is also called *parens amicusque noster* by Constantius, presented as the emperor's father and friend (CTh 11.1.6: 354). But the first senatorial prefect was Caius Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, praetorian prefect of Maxentius in 310, when he participated in the expedition against the African usurper L. Domitius Alexander.⁸³⁶ The prefecture is not recorded epigraphically as he was interested to silence it deliberately (fig. 21).⁸³⁷

Prefects' power grew under Constantius. Ammianus records (21.16.2) that 'all the military and civil officials always looked up to the praetorian prefects with the old-time respect, as the peak of all authority'. From 372 they are *illustres* (CTh 6.7.1). In the *Notitia*, praetorian prefect is placed first, before all other imperial officials in the West (Occ. 1.2-3) as well as in the East (Or. 1.2-3). The praetorian prefecture thereby came to become the highest imperial post that crowned the career and thus incited an intense rivalry.

Praetorian prefects were addressed by 'superiority' terms in legal imperial documents: *auctoritas* (from 327); *sublimitas* (from 331); *excellencia* (from 335); *celsitudo* (from 349); *magnificentia* (from 364); *magnitudo* (from 365); *amplitudo* (from 366); *culmen* (from 368); *praestantia* (369); and *eminencia tua* (from 371).⁸³⁸ They were equally referred to by 'personal quality' terms: *gravitas* (315-64); *devotio* (318); *sollertia* (333); *prudentia* (from 349); and *sinceritas tua* (357-87).⁸³⁹ Already in 312, Sabinus is called *gravitas* (σπιβαρότης) and *devotio* (καθοσίωσις) *tua* in the imperial letter transmitted by Eusebius (HE 9.9.13).

Other honorifics applied to praetorian prefect include *fastigium* (CTh 1.5.5: 355, *sublimae fastigium praefecturae*), a title characteristic for prefects from the early empire. Also from 363 one finds *sedes amplissima* (CTh 8.1.8: 363) and *magnificentissimae sedis tua* (CTh 12.12.4: 364) in reference to prefect. Symmachus calls him *gravem praefectura eminens* (Ep. 7.81 from 399) and *lenitas* (7.83 from 399-400). The edict of *praeses Insularum* concerning fiscal matters dated to 371 refers to praetorian prefects as 'illustrious' (τῶν ὑπερλάμπρων ἐπάρχων),⁸⁴⁰ which constitutes the

⁸³⁴ In the imperial decree, *IK Ephesos* 41=AE 1976, 478, 1.8.

⁸³⁵ Delamire, *Largesses sacrées*, 61. *PLRE* 1, 3-4 Ablabius 4; 331-32 Felix 2; 696-97 Flavius Philippus.

⁸³⁶ Porena, *Le origini*, 268-70.

⁸³⁷ AE 2003, 207=LSA-1573; CIL 6 1708=ILS 1222. Porena, *Le origini*, 265-67.

⁸³⁸ But see CTh 12.12.3 from 364.

⁸³⁹ Ralph Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics and Senatorial Status in Late Roman Legal Documents," in *Law, Society and Authority in Late Antiquity*, ed. Ralph Mathisen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 179-207. *Gravitas*, *sublimitas*, *auctoritas*, *sinceritas*, *celsitudo*, *excellencia*, *amplitudo*, *magnitudo* and *praestantia* appear applied to the praetorian prefect much earlier than claimed by Szymon Olszaniec, *Prefektura 'praetorio' Italii, Illyrikum i Afryki (312-425 n.e)* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2014), 51-54.

⁸⁴⁰ IG XII,4 1:273 (Cos). Denis Feissel, "Une inscription de Kos et une loi de Valens (Iscrizioni di Cos ED 90 et CTh 13, 10, 7)," *Chiron* 39 (2009): 297-314. The plural *ἄρχων* refers protocolarily to the prefecture as a collegial function. Although the law of 371 is in reality addressed by prefect of the East to governor of the Islands, who depends only on this prefecture, Modestus' order had to be presented under the mandatory collegial title, which explains why governor speaks of 'my masters prefects'.

first application of an honorific *ὑπερλάμπρος* to *praefectus praetorio*, which is most common for him in the fifth century. The earliest attestation of this epithet in application to emperors is found in a petition to Valens, Gratian and Valentinian II (P.Lips. I 34, 1.21-22) from 376-78. However, this unofficial, one-time application testifies rather to an error caused by a changing hierarchy at that time.⁸⁴¹ The edict (*πρόσταγμα*) was issued *παρὰ τῆς πανμεγέθους ἐξουσίας*, ‘by the Supreme Authority’, i.e. praetorian prefect.

According to the *Notitia*, the staff of pretorian prefect was headed by the chief of the *officium (princeps)*. *Princeps officii* of the praetorian prefect was appointed from *agentes in rebus* (CTh 1.29.4)⁸⁴² by the decision of *magister officiorum*.⁸⁴³ In turn, *princeps* of the *officium* of provincial governors was chosen from the former *officiales* of the prefect’s bureau. The second on the list of the prefect’s staff is named chief deputy (*cornicularius*), who was *perfectissimus* until the early fifth century, followed by the chief assistant (*adiutor*). All three of them belonged to *primates officii* (CTh 2.1.6: 385). In 365, in the West, *cornicularius* of the *officium* of praetorian prefect received the right of *adoratio* on retirement from office. Lydus records that on retirement *cornicularius* received also the title of *comes* and a codicil (*De mag.* 3.4.2).⁸⁴⁴

Numerous imperial laws were addressed to praetorian prefects; some of them are preserved epigraphically. The example of legal inscriptions shows that numerous imperial utterances, for which public posting is likely to have taken place, could be recorded in more permanent form by inscribing in stone both in the Greek East and in the Latin West. Thus, in the East, a constitution of Julian from 362 is preserved in the Latin inscription from the island of Amorgos in the diocese of Asia.⁸⁴⁵ It concerns *judices pedanei* (CTh 1.16.8) and is addressed to Saturninus Secundus Salutius, *praefectus praetorio Orientis*, who is referred to as ‘*eminens excellentia tua*’ and styled ‘*parens carissimus atque amatissimus*’. By the date of Julian’s law different combinations of the surviving *tua*-epithets had come into favor in the West and East, with the compounds similar to ‘*eminens excellentia tua*’ being an amalgamation of nominal and adjectival honorifics. A ‘superiority’ term and a nominal form ‘*excellentia tua*’, which first appears in 335 (CTh 12.12.10), was office-specific

⁸⁴¹ Johannes Diethart et al., “Les prôtokolla des papyrus byzantins du Ve au VIIe siècle. Édition, prosopographie, diplomatique,” *Tyche* 9 (1994): 24.

⁸⁴² William G. Sinnigen, *The officium of the Urban Prefecture During the Later Roman Empire* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1957), 14-16; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 587; Roland Delmaire, *Les institutions du Bas-Empire romain, de Constantin à Justinien. I. Les institutions civiles palatines* (Paris: Cerf, 1995), 110-116; Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 258-59; Olszaniec, *Prefektura*, 91-93.

⁸⁴³ William G. Sinnigen, “Chiefs of Staff and Chiefs of the Secret Service,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57.1 (1964): 79. On *principes ex agentibus*, see Bernhard Palme, “Die Officia der Statthalter in der Spätantike. Forschungsstand und Perspektiven,” *Antiquité Tardive* 7 (1999): 107-108.

⁸⁴⁴ Olszaniec, *Prefektura*, 91-93.

⁸⁴⁵ CIL 3 459=AE 2000, 1370a. Denis Feissel, “Une constitution de l’empereur Julien entre texte épigraphique et codification (CIL III, 459 et CTh I, 16, 8),” in *La codification des lois dans l’Antiquité: actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 27-29 novembre 1997*, ed. Edmond Lévy (Paris: Bocard, 2000), 315-37. Another copy of the same law, but much less preserved, comes from Lesbos: CIL 03, 14198.

and initially reserved for praetorian prefects.⁸⁴⁶ An honorific '*eminentia tua*' was less common epithet, and surfaced only by 365, attested only for illustrious civil officials.⁸⁴⁷ Like the nominal epithets, several adjectival terms were office or rank specific.

As far as the emperors were concerned, their dispensing of honorifics distinguished those who managed to rise above entry-level senatorial rank. From the late 350s, adjectival forms began to be combined rather frequently with the nominal epithets, 'presumably to endow the recipients with even greater lustre'.⁸⁴⁸ Many of them were simply adjectival forms of honorifics already in use, such as '*eminens*', which is extremely rare. The introduction of the new compound '*eminens excellentia tua*', both parts of which clearly refer to the exalted nature of the position, surely was intended to create some distance between praetorian prefect and lower-ranking officials, who by now became endowed with the epithet '*excellentia tua*' (for proconsul in 354). Thus, other terms appear to have come to be associated with praetorian prefects.

In the West, a constitution of Valentinian I on governors' tasks and a fiscal system of *annona*, addressed to prefect of Italy Probus, comes from Canusium and is dated to 368-75.⁸⁴⁹ In the imperial law Probus is called '*praecelsa sublimitas tua*' and equally addressed as '*parens carissimus adq(ue) amantissimus*'. The nominal term '*sublimitas tua*' is an honorific that appear much more frequently than others. First attested in 317 (*CTh* 12.1.4), it alludes to the prestige and sense of superiority bestowed by one's office. The 'superiority' term '*sublimitas tua*' was used for praetorian prefects from 331.⁸⁵⁰ Initially used occasionally for officials of middle ranks, it is attested only for the offices of proconsul and higher after c. 360. Simultaneously, adjectival forms began to be joined with nominal forms, and *sublimitas* is to be found among the relatively small number of nominal epithets, which were heavily used with adjectives.⁸⁵¹ '*Praecelsa*', an adjectival epithet from *celsitudo*, is attested from 367 (*CTh* 10.15.4 in reference to praetorian prefect). In late Roman legal documents the combination '*praecelsa sublimitas tua*' ('Your very high exaltedness') occurs three times, all in 367 and all in the West.⁸⁵² This also corresponds to the dating of Valentinian's constitution. Such pattern could reflect stylistic preferences of the clerk or *quaestor sacri palatii* responsible for drafting the legislation.⁸⁵³

⁸⁴⁶ *CTh* 17.2-3: 349; 7.1.3: 349, 11.34.2: 355.

⁸⁴⁷ City prefect (*CTh* 10.1.9: 365) and praetorian prefect (*CTh* 13.5.14: 371). Note also *CTh* 1.16.3 (313), '*eminentissima praefectura*' as well as the hybrid usage to praetorian prefect (*CTh* 12.12.3: 364) '*ad sedis tuae eminentiam*'.

⁸⁴⁸ Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics," with tables I and II.

⁸⁴⁹ *AE* 1984, 250 (Canusium).

⁸⁵⁰ In *Sirm.* 4 from 335 praetorian prefect is referred to as '*excellens sublimitas tua*'.

⁸⁵¹ The compounds '*praecelsa sublimitas tua*' (367) and '*egragia sublimitas tua*' (368) are only attested being applied to prefects of Rome, and only in the years 367-68.

⁸⁵² Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics," 186-87, table II.1.

⁸⁵³ Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics," 196.

Now I turn to legislation issued by praetorian prefects as such. First of all, regarding monumental and inscriptional representation, prefectorial edicts were published in public spaces and are documented epigraphically. During the high empire the right of officials other than the emperor to issue edicts was lost. By the time of the late Roman period rolled around, edicts were laws that had an empire-wide validity and began with the words ‘*imperator dicit*’. However, law-issuing ability of the office-holders other than the emperor had not disappeared. Examples of edicts still being issued by various imperial officials are preserved. In many instances, such edicts accompanied constitutions that initially had been issued by the emperor. Thus, the aforementioned letter of Julian (*CTh* 1.16.8) of 362 was posted on Amorgos through the (now very fragmentary) Latin edict of prefect of the East Saturninus Secundus Salutius.⁸⁵⁴ The fragments of the inscription, reexamined by D. Feissel, constitute a part of the imperial letter sent to prefect in July 362 and published in its entirety by means of the edict of prefect himself, which follows the emperor’s epistle.⁸⁵⁵ Greetings and a copy of the prefect’s edict, issued by the chancellery of the prefect, then resident in Antioch with the emperor, were engraved on the island of Amorgos by *praeses Insularum*.

Second, prefectorial letters were other legislative means of prefects. Only a few of such letters addressed to individual functionaries are extant.⁸⁵⁶ Two as yet inedited prefectorial letters come from Delphi.⁸⁵⁷ A college of prefects is known from a pair of letters jointly written to Flavius Felicianus, former *comes* and priest of Apollo at Delphi probably in 342.⁸⁵⁸ As reconstructed by P. Athanassiadi, first, Felicianus will have appealed to his fellow-consul for 337, Fabius Titianus, now praetorian prefect of Gaul, pressing for a ruling that would guarantee the cult of Apollo and the functioning of the oracle at Delphi. Then, during the next conference, Titianus submitted the request to his colleagues, Flavius Leontius, praetorian prefect of the East, and Furius Placidus, praetorian prefect of Italy, who agreed to appease Felicianus by personalizing the matter. In a joint communication, ‘the three prefects struck the right tone between cordiality and respect and assured their aristocratic recipient of their full support: whoever dared to annoy him in the exercise of his

⁸⁵⁴ *CIL* 3 459=AE 2000, 1370a. Denis Feissel, “Les actes de l’État impérial dans l’épigraphie tardive (324-610): prolégomènes à un inventaire,” in *Selbstdarstellung und Kommunikation. Die Veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt*, ed. Rudolf Haensch (Munich: Beck, 2009), 120, no. 12.

⁸⁵⁵ Feissel, “Une constitution,” 315-337; Porena, *Le origini*, 232 with n.106.

⁸⁵⁶ One prefectorial *epistola* dated to 315 is preserved by Optatus in appendix of his treatise, and was issued by the chancellery of praetorian prefect Petronius Annianus, resident in Trier, as indicated in the *subscriptio*, and addressed by two prefects, Petronius Annianus and Iulius Iulianus, to *vicarius Africae* Domitius Celsus. It belongs to the same diplomatic genre as a letter of Sabinus, prefect of Maximian in 311-13. The latter was sent in 311 to governors of the eastern part of the empire, to spread the emperor’s confidential instructions on implementation of the edict of Galerius. Like the epistle of Sabinus, Annianus’ letter was an internal communication, not intended for publication. See Porena, *Le origini*, 299-300.

⁸⁵⁷ The reconstruction of the text by Claude Vatin, *Delphes à l’époque impériale* (PhD diss., Université de Paris, 1965), 258-59. The college consisted of Flavius Domitius Leontius, Fabius Titianus, and Furius Placidus. See, Barnes, “Praetorian Prefects,” 251-52.

⁸⁵⁸ Delphi, inv. nos. 1647, 4077. Vatin, *Delphes*, 258-59. *PLRE* 1, 330-31 Fl. Felicianus 5.

priestly duties, would instantly be sent into exile and pay a fine'.⁸⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Felicianus wrote one more time, reiterating his request and causing a second joint document to reach Delphi. The second prefectorial letter is hopelessly fragmentary.⁸⁶⁰ One may assume that it was written along the lines of the first epistle: 'the council of the *damiourgoi* passed a decree whereby both the official letters were inscribed in the public archives; and the affair was closed'.⁸⁶¹

Third, honorific statues represent the convergence of commemorative practices and imperial authority. I begin with prefects as awarders and the articulation of their relationship with the emperors and other dedicatees. First, the joint dedications of prefects were the most obvious and significant expression of prefectural collegiality and loyalty under the Constantinian dynasty.⁸⁶² These are 'collegial' inscriptions set up in the name of all the acting prefects on monuments commemorating an accession (or the anniversary of the accession) of an emperor or several emperors sharing the same *dies imperii*, day of assuming power.⁸⁶³ There are five or even six inscriptions of this type (when including the building dedication from Aïn-Rchine), erected between 314 and 341, but which started to appear from the end of the third century. Three main characteristics of these inscriptions are the following: they are carved on the monuments offered to the emperors by praetorian prefects only; carried out following a written order issued by all praetorian prefects in charge at a certain time; are collegial (not individual), i.e., include the entire college of prefects, whose names are listed in the dedication according to the order of seniority of the appointment.⁸⁶⁴

To start with, a dedication at Tropaeum Traiani in Moesia⁸⁶⁵ was carried out by a college of two prefects of Constantine I and Licinius Augustus, Petronius Annianus, of *clarissimus* rank, and Iulius Iulianus, of *eminentissimus* rank, on the occasion of the restoration of the Danubian city between the last months of 314 and 315.⁸⁶⁶ Second, the same praetorian prefects (always in the same hierarchical order) were responsible for another joint dedication, this time an honorific statue with

⁸⁵⁹ Polymnia Athanassiadi, *Mutations of Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2015), 276.

⁸⁶⁰ Vatin, *Delphes*, 258-59.

⁸⁶¹ Athanassiadi, *Mutations*, 277.

⁸⁶² Shared prefectural monuments were then made in cities of the empire by individual provincial governors, who were previously receiving instructions on the honors decreed by the college through an epistle issued by the prefect's chancellery in whose mandate the province fell.

⁸⁶³ Porena, "'À l'ombre de la pourpre,'" 242.

⁸⁶⁴ Porena, *Le origini*.

⁸⁶⁵ *CIL* 3 13734=*ILS* 8938=*LSA*-1120: (Tropaeum Traiani (Moesia Secunda)). S Porena, *Le origini*, 291-93 and 308-13. *PLRE* 1, 68-69 Petronius Annianus 2.

⁸⁶⁶ For the dating, see Porena, "'À l'ombre de la pourpre,'" 249 with n. 31. The joint dedication to Constantine and Licinius on a city gate, set up jointly by their respective praetorian prefects at Tropaeum in Moesia, was probably crowned with statue of a Trophy. The honors rendered jointly by prefects to their emperors are the goal of all collegial prefectural dedications, but uniquely in this case the monumental celebration was explicitly prompted by the new dedication of the Danubian city. Porena, *Le origini*, 212-13, 309 suggests that the dedication of Tropaeum Traiani, like the other collegial prefectural dedications, was the product of a distance consultation between the two prefects, and it is very probably that the functionary in office responsible for the construction of the Danubian city as well as for the realization of the monument was Iulianus.

an inscription to Crispus (later altered to Constantius II) at Ephesus in Asia in 317.⁸⁶⁷ Next, dedications at Tubernuc in Africa Proconsularis⁸⁶⁸ and Antioch⁸⁶⁹ were made by a college of five prefects, Papius Pacatianus, Flavius Ablabius, Valerius Felix, Annius Tiberianus, Nestorius Timonianus, all *clarissimi*, for Constantine II Caesar in 335-36. The survival of the name of Felix in the Antiochene inscription, erased at Tubernuc, allowed Porena to advance the hypothesis of the *damnatio* of prefect after the death of Constantine. Had the senator's sentence been decreed by Constantine, it is extremely probable that prefect's name would have disappeared from all the monuments of the empire, including the Syrian stone. Moreover, in the dedication of Tubernuc, in addition to the *damnatio* of Felix, the title of Constantine II, which became Augustus, was updated after 9 September 337. Comparing the two dedications, Porena has thereby suggested that Felix was regularly discharged from the African prefecture in 336, and that Constantine II, at the time of his elevation to Augustus, had imposed, at least in his part of the empire, the condemnation of praetorian prefect of his father, which led to the erasure of Felix' name.⁸⁷⁰

For the most period of Constantine's reign the existence of ministerial prefecture meant that praetorian prefects derived their power from their closeness to the emperor(s). One group of scholars, among whom most prominently J. Migl, believes that there was only one ministerial prefecture, a college of prefects at the court of Constantine, always at the side of the emperor and moving together with him, thus, no regional prefectures until as late as the 360s.⁸⁷¹ Such college, in their opinion, existed also at the courts of Constantine II and Constans. Another group of scholars supports, after Palanque and Dupont, an existence of a transitional form, that is, a simultaneous existence side by side of court (ministerial) and regional prefectures.⁸⁷² According to them, some prefects, regional ones, fulfilled their tasks in the regions or received a specific geographic area to govern, while others, ministerial ones, remained in the emperor's milieu, and perhaps transferred

⁸⁶⁷ AE 1938, 85=AE 2003, 1685= *IK Ephesos* 312=LSA-241 (Ephesus (Asia)). Again, the dedication was decreed collegially by both prefects, but it took place at Ephesus, in the *pars* of Licinius, by his prefect, Iulianus. As Porena, "À l'ombre de la pourpre", 249, points out, in the time of the diarchy of Constantine and Licinius (313-24), the collegial dedications of prefects – Tropaeum Traiani and Ephesus – materialized only during the phases of concord, when prefects of both emperors formed a college (313-15 and 317-19).

⁸⁶⁸ AE 1925, 72=ILT 814=AE 2010, 24=AE 2014, 30 (Tubernuc (Africa Proconsularis)). Benet Salway, "The Praetorian Prefecture of Africa under Constantine: A Phantom?" in *XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae. Provinciae Imperii Romani Inscriptionibus Descriptae – Barcelona, 3-8 septembris 2002. Acta II* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2007), 1282. The completely erased name is that of prefect Valerius Felix (Il.5-6), as proved by a 'twin inscription' at Antioch. *PLRE* 1, 656 L. Papius Pacatianus 2; 911-12 C. Annius Tiberianus.

⁸⁶⁹ SEG 35 1484=AE 1985, 823 (Antiochia ad Orontem (Syria)). See Porena, *Le origini*, 466-91.

⁸⁷⁰ Porena, *Le origini*, 470 n.203.

⁸⁷¹ Ensslin, "Praefectus," 2426, 2429, Timothy D. Barnes, "Regional prefectures," in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1984/1985*, ed. Johannes Straub (Bonn: Habelt, 1987), 16-17; Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter*, 36.

⁸⁷² Jean-Rémy Palanque, *Essai sur la Préfecture du Prétoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris: Boccard, 1933), 15-16; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 370, André Chastagnol, "Les préfets du prétoire de Constantin," *Revue des Etudes anciennes* 70 (1968): 340; Clémence Dupont, "Constantin et la préfecture d'Italie," *Études offertes à Jean Macqueron* (Aix-en-Provence: Faculté de droit des sciences, 1970), 251-67; Chantal Vogler, *Constance II et l'administration impériale* (Strasbourg: AECR, 1979), 110-11; Barnes, *The New Empire*, 131, 139; André Chastagnol, "Les inscriptions africaines des des préfets du prétoire de Constantin," Mastino, *L'Africa romana*, 249-51; Barnes, "Praetorian Prefects," 249; Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 95, 283.

their services from one emperor to another. Yet another group assumes that Constantine appointed prefects for himself and for each of his Caesars,⁸⁷³ which presupposes that the prefectures appeared already around 317/18.⁸⁷⁴

Also, recently Salway has pointed to the continuing close tie between the college of praetorian prefects and the college of emperors under Constantine. He argues that the praetorian prefecture in this period was considered as a college analogous to that of the emperors as evident from the inscriptions. And, just as the emperors of the Tetrarchy represented their constitutions as having been issued in concert with all the other members of the imperial college, thus the office of the one of prefects produced its legislation as if emanating from all active prefects. Inscriptions list colleges of prefects in the order of precedence according to seniority by appointment under Constantine and Licinius, or Constantius and Constans.⁸⁷⁵ Furthermore, Feissel distinguished two separate protocols of precedence between fellow prefects which operated in the Constantinian and Theodosian age.⁸⁷⁶ Salway concludes that this principle of precedence serves to reinforce the point that under Constantine the praetorian prefecture was still considered essentially an office attached to an emperor rather than a geographic region.⁸⁷⁷

However, Porena has shown that Constantine, between 325-26 and 327-30, in two steps, multiplied the number of praetorian prefects and detached them in places far from the *comitatus*, placing them at the top of the civil administration of one or more dioceses (Zos. 2.32-33; Lyd. *De mag.* 2.10; 3.33). In this way he undoubtedly created the so-called regional prefectures. The five officials were assigned to large geographical areas, indicated as Gaul, Italy, Africa, Illyricum and the East.⁸⁷⁸ The constitutions preserved in the Codes combined with epigraphic testimonies from the Constantinian period demonstrated the existence, from 326 to 336, of a college of five prefects.⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷³ Otto Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr. Vorarbeit zu einer Prosopographie der christlichen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1919), 142-44; Chastagnol, "Les préfets du pretoire," 349-50; Barnes, "Praetorian prefects," 250.

⁸⁷⁴ For a summary of the discussion, see Gutsfeld, *Die Macht*, 34-37; Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter*, 11-22; Porena, *Le origini*, 508; Olszaniec, *Prefektura*, 25-27.

⁸⁷⁵ Salway, "The Praetorian Prefecture," points out that the overriding consideration in determining precedence of prefects stems from the intimate relationship of the prefecture with the emperors. From the late third century until 318, only Augusti had praetorian prefects, which is certainly true after 337, when all the sons of Constantine were then Augusti. But between 318 and 337 the imperial college comprised both Augusti and changing number of Caesars with their own praetorian prefects. It was in times when their emperors were of equal status (e.g. between 286 and 318, and after 337) that the rule of seniority prevailed in determining the precedence of the prefects. However, under the political conditions between 318 and 337, as Salway contends, seniority was displaced as the most important criterion by the consideration that the prefect(s) attached to an Augustus should have precedence over others in the college. This explains why it has always been the precedence of the first-named praetorian prefect in these epigraphical texts of the Constantinian period. Pacatianus is named before Ablabius at Tubernac and at Antioch, because he was prefect *in praesentia* at Constantine's court.

⁸⁷⁶ Denis Feissel, *Documents, droit, diplomatique de l'Empire romain tardif* (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2010), 441-47, 448-65.

⁸⁷⁷ Salway, "The Praetorian Prefecture."

⁸⁷⁸ Porena, *Le origini*, 480.

⁸⁷⁹ Porena, "'À l'ombre de la pourpre,'" 254-55, with n. 45 and table II.

The last joint dedicatory inscription was set up by a college of three prefects, Antonius Marcellinus, Flavius Domitius Leontius, and Fabius Titianus, to another son of Constantine, Constans Augustus at Augusta Traiana in Thrace in 341.⁸⁸⁰ The monument stays in a tradition of collegial dedications, and *praeses* responsible for setting up the statue thus did not name all prefects merely ‘as an act of homage and flattery’.⁸⁸¹ Gehn points out that the plural in the dedicatory formula (*numini maiestatique eorum*) suggests that there was another monument set up alongside this one, which would have been dedicated to Constantius II, Constans’ sole colleague at the time. Significantly, these shared monuments were erected not in Rome, but in provincial cities. The dispersal of joint monuments for emperors, dedicated by praetorian prefects in office in many cities of the empire, sometimes far away from the itinerary of the *comitatus*, manifested unity, concord, and loyalty of the prefectorial college designed as one whole. The need and willingness to leave a palpable sign, a monumental symbol of unity and devotion of praetorian prefects towards their emperors, as explained by Porena, resulted from the fact that office-holders had been not only finally split as a college, but also divorced from Rome, which had been the physical and symbolic seat of the emperors and their prefects.

In the years of conflict within the imperial college, 306-13 and 320-24, each prefect acted alone inside the *pars imperii* controlled by his Augustus as they could not compose a prefectorial college. Consequently, there was no prefectorial collegial dedications, for prefects of Galerius, Maximin Daia, Constantine, Licinius and Maxentius could not erect joint monuments, tangible and commemorative expressions of an imperial concord. Prefects of this period seem to be close to the Augusti, especially during the wars. Therefore, for what regards individual dedications, prefects awarded individually only monuments that celebrated their respective Augustus (or Caesar) in cities in the part of the empire controlled by their emperor. Emperors resided with their prefect in the major cities of their *pars imperii*. Thereafter, Flavius Constantius, *vir clarissimus*, praetorian prefect in the East in 324-26, in Italy with Constantine in 326 and with Constantius Caesar from 326 to 327,

⁸⁸⁰ CIL 3 12330=ILS 8944=LSA-1112 (Ulpia Augusta Traiana (Thracia)). Porena, *Le origini*, 491-96. Fabius Titianus, praetorian prefect over the Gallic provinces in 341-49, suffered *damantio memoriae* after his second term as prefect of the city under Magnentius in 350-51. His name is left untouched in the inscription, however. Slightly later, in 342 and 344, two letters inscribed at Delphi were addressed to the priest of Pythian Apollo by the college of praetorian prefects, constituted by Fl. Domitius Leontius in Oriens, Fabius Titianus in Gaul, and Furius Placidus, who succeeded Antonius Marcellinus in Italy. See Denis Feissel, “Fabius Titianus, proconsul d’Asie sous Constantin, et les origines du culte de l’Apôtre Jean à Ephèse,” in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio 30 anni dopo*, eds. Maria Letizia Caldelli and Gian Luca Gregori (Rome: Quasar, 2014), 162-63. Again, the name of Fabius Titianus is wholly preserved. PLRE 1, 548-49 Antonius Marcellinus 16, 502-503 Flavius Domitius Leontius 20.

⁸⁸¹ LSA-1112 (U. Gehn). Despite the wording of the inscription, which attributes to the three praetorian prefects the main impetus behind the dedication of this statue at Augusta Traiana, *praeses* Palladius is likely to have been the man behind it, since the three prefects, although acting in concert could hardly implement their decision in a Thracian town. The consulship of Antonius Marcellinus, which fell in the year the statue was dedicated, is not mentioned, presumably owing to a desire to present the three praetorian prefects as equals in the inscription. Besides, the diocese of Thrace, in which Augusta Traiana lay, formed part of Constantius II’s domain when the emperor was divided after Constantine I’s death in 337 among his three sons.

dedicated a statue to the emperor Constantine at Ancyra in Galatia in *dioecesis* Pontica⁸⁸² between 324 and 327. Flavius Constantius extolled Constantine's *clementia* and emphasized his own devotion not to the emperor's *numen* – according to the formula more widespread – but to his *pietas*.⁸⁸³

The statue at Ancyra is a monument commissioned by prefect for Constantine Augustus alone. It is not known whether Flavius Constantius, *vir clarissimus*, belonged to the equestrian order at the time of appointment to the prefecture, or if he was already a senator. However, the precedent of C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus shows that exceptionally in the early years of the fourth century the Augusti could appoint a senator. The prefect's name, however, rules out his origin from a senatorial family. If Constantius was related to the imperial dynasty, which does not necessarily imply a membership from birth in the senatorial order, he could have entered the order before his ordinary consulship. The Constantinian reorganization of careers and the new social structure involved, among other things, the extension of the clarissimate to all prefects at the time of their appointment. Porena suggests that the reform could have been carried out during the years of Constantius' active service as prefect. This aspect makes the question of the chronology of his entry into the senatorial order even more complex.⁸⁸⁴ The inscription from Ancyra follows the form of the dedications that the praetorian prefects used to make collegially to their emperors, as it appears, on the occasion of important anniversaries, as a palpable sign of their loyalty.

Unlike the collegial dedications, the imperial statue was awarded by Flavius Constantius alone. Further, several dedications to emperors were realized by a single prefect in the regional prefectures. Also at Ancyra, Saturninus Secundus Salutius, *vir clarissimus*, *praefectus praetorio Orientis* in 361-65, erected a statue of the emperor Julian in 362.⁸⁸⁵ Unique in wording and motifs unparalleled in honorific epigraphy; its language is, however, rooted in the encomiastic literature of

⁸⁸² CIL 3 6751=LSA-1138 (Ancyra (Galatia Salutaris)). For the dating, see Grünewald, *Constantinus Maximus Augustus*, 224, no. 417. PLRE 1, 225 Flavius Constantius 5.

⁸⁸³ In the West, Constantine's *clementia* after his victory in 312 meant an amnesty to Maxentius' former supporters, when former praetorian prefect C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus received from Constantine the urban prefecture and the consulship. Similarly, in 324, Licinian prefect Iulius Iulianus was allowed to retire with honor. Perhaps Iulianus remained equestrian, because Licinius could not exercise a real influence on the composition of the Roman senate, the only institution capable of ratifying an *adlectio*, see Porena, *Le origini*, 392.

⁸⁸⁴ Porena, *Le origini*, 392-93. That the dedication is subsequent to a definitive defeat of Licinius is indicated by the fact that the statue was dedicated solely to Constantine in a province that until 324 was under the control of Licinius. The praise of Constantine's *clementia* and *pietas* seem appropriate for the beginning of an extensive regime-building program initiated by the emperor in the East. It is possible that prefect chose, when he was certainly a senator, to offer monuments to Constantine in the regions in which he had operated. Constantius was the only praetorian prefect of Constantine, and, therefore, the only member of the prefectural college. Yet the possibility that the Ancyra's statue was the monument dedicated individually by prefect in 327, when the prefectural college was composed of several office-holders, can not be excluded altogether, although it should be treated with caution, in view of the *vicennalia* in Nicomedia in July 325.

⁸⁸⁵ CIL 3 247=ILS 754=LSA-2846 (Ancyra (Galatia Salutaris)). Mommsen suggested the completions (CIL) (*praefectus*), l. 11). Saturninus Secundus set up the inscription accompanying the emperor on his campaign against Persia in 362.

the Constantinian period.⁸⁸⁶ If later prefectorial dedications to the emperors were no longer collegial, but individual, they, nonetheless, could honor the whole imperial college. Thus, Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, *praefectus praetorio Orientis* in 388-92 and consul in 391, erected statues for the imperial college of Valentinian II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, and Honorius at Antinopolis in Thebais,⁸⁸⁷ at Aphrodisias in Caria,⁸⁸⁸ and at Side in Pamphylia.⁸⁸⁹ The dedication at Antinoopolis between 388 and 390 shows an erasure of the honorand's name (ll.6-7) as Tatianus fell from grace and was exiled in 392. At Aphrodisias Tatianus conventionally styles himself 'prefect of the sacred *praetorium*' (ὁ λαμπρότατος ἑπαρχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου, ll.7-8). At Side the name of Tatianus has been deliberately erased, but remains partially legible (ll.11-12). Last but not least, all dedications by Tatianus make use of the same distinctive formula preferred by the awarder: 'ἡ συνήθει καθοσιώσει ἀφιέρωσεν', 'set this up with the traditional rites', which accompanied the dedication.⁸⁹⁰ This alludes to an inauguration ceremony, and, as it has been observed, *καθοσιούμενος* should probably be understood as reflecting the Latin usage of *devotio*. In all three inscriptions the honorands are equally styled by the ostentatious formula 'emperors of the land under the sun' (τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίῳ γῆς αὐτοκράτορες).

Now I proceed with an exploration of honorific statues set up for praetorian prefects mostly during their time in office or soon afterwards. Some, however, were commemorated at a later date in the inscriptions set up for their distinguished descendants. Thus, a posthumous statue of Iunius Bassus, prefect of the city, which mentions the exceptional duration of fourteen years of service (ll.9-11) of his eponymous father as praetorian prefect, was set up at Aqua Viva in 364.⁸⁹¹ The prefecture of Iunius Bassus was not a single one and not uninterrupted: in all probability Bassus, Constantinian prefect, held two mandates, in 318-22 and in 326-34.⁸⁹² In addition to the highest

⁸⁸⁶ For a full discussion of this inscription, see Ignazio Tantillo, "Panegirici e altri "elogi" nelle città dell'impero tardoantico," in *Dicere Laudes. Elogio, comunicazione, creazione del consenso*, ed. Gianpaolo Urso (Pisa: ETS, 2011), 343-8.

⁸⁸⁷ *ILS* 8809=*LSA*-876 (Antinoopolis (Thebais)). Fragments of a colossal white marble statue, including part of a torso, were found near the base, which may have belonged to the imperial statue.

⁸⁸⁸ *LSA*-164, *LSA*-166, *LSA*-167. All the bases except that for Theodosius I (and two statues) have been found. Two corresponding imperial statues were excavated at Aphrodisias. Togate portrait statues of Arcadius or Valentinian II (*LSA*-163) and Valentinian II, Arcadius, or Honorius (*LSA*-165) were found in the South Agora, near the Hadrianic Baths. Columnar statue bases for Arcadius (*LSA*-164) and Valentinian II (*LSA*-166) were found there and probably flanked the entrance stairs. A columnar statue base for Honorius (*LSA*-167) was discovered in the same place.

⁸⁸⁹ *CIG* 3 4350=*LSA*-267 (Side (Pamphylia)). Robert, *Hellenica*, 52. The dedication found not far from the theater need not necessarily have been set up at exactly the same time as the one in Antinoopolis. Like the Egyptian inscription, it names all four honorands in one and the same text. Also similarly to it, the base in Side probably carried the statue of one of the four emperors and was accompanied by statues of the other honorands with similar inscriptions.

⁸⁹⁰ Charlotte Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions*, 2nd edn., 2004, insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/

⁸⁹¹ *AE* 1964, 203=*AE* 1975, 370=*LSA*-1628. Andrea Giardina, "L'epigrafe di Iunius Bassus ad Aqua Viva e i criteri metodici di Godefroy," *Helikon* 11-12 (1971-72): 253-78, on the fourteen years long prefecture of Iunius Bassus. A new analysis of the long career of Bassus and a new reading of the inscription from Aqua Viva, was proposed by Porena, *Le origini*, 342-356 (esp. 347-352, on the problem of constitutions *ad Bassum*), 454-466, 482-487, 579. Bassus is also documented in the Ain-Rchine's inscription from 331/32.

⁸⁹² Porena, "Ancora sulla carriera," 268.

prefecture, a specific form of status-related reward for imperial administrators was the grant of a consulship. Iunius Bassus is celebrated in the honorific inscription of his son both as prefect and consul (of 331). Similar, Quintus Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius, praetorian prefect of Illyricum and of Oriens in 378, consul in 379, is recorded holding these offices and honors on the honorific inscription dedicated to his wife in Rome.⁸⁹³

A consulship received during the term of the prefecture allowed to accumulate the highest imperial distinctions and was the occasion for erection of statues for Marcus Maecius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus (consul of 343),⁸⁹⁴ Flavius Domitius Leontius (of 344),⁸⁹⁵ Vulcacius Rufinus (of 347) (fig. 23),⁸⁹⁶ Maesius Egnatius Lollianus *signo* Mavortius (of 355),⁸⁹⁷ Flavius Sallustius (of 363) (fig. 28),⁸⁹⁸ Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus (of 371) (fig. 24),⁸⁹⁹ Quintus Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius (of 379), and Flavius Mallius Theodorus (of 399).⁹⁰⁰ One inscription, recording only Probus' third praetorian prefecture that was held together with the consulship in 371, dwells specifically on this highly distinguished combination of offices (*simul uno eodemque tempore etiam praetorio praefectura pollenti consuli ordinario*).⁹⁰¹ Taurus' consulship (of 361), which he held during his prefecture, is surprisingly omitted in the re-erected dedication (fig. 4).⁹⁰² Praetextatus is honored as consul designate (384).⁹⁰³ A posthumous inscription for Nicomachus Flavianus records even his illegitimate consulship (of 394) held during the praetorian prefecture under Eugenius (fig. 3).⁹⁰⁴ The inscription gives the *cursus honorum* of Flavianus, including equally his second prefecture under the usurper.

Now I turn to statues set up both in Rome and provinces that specifically celebrated a prefecture of the honorand (during or shortly after the term), apart from the exceptional honors of combined prefecture and consulship. For what regards public statuary in Rome, the Forum of Trajan was most important for the offering of honors to influential associates of the emperors even if the former had no known connections with the city of Rome. A gilded bronze statue of Taurus,

⁸⁹³ *CIL* 6 1714=*ILS* 1271=*LSA*-1270.

⁸⁹⁴ *CIL* 10 1700=*ILS* 1231=*LSA*-1910.

⁸⁹⁵ *CIL* 3 167=*ILS* 1234=*LSA*-1190. The statue may have resulted from Leontius' governance of the region more generally; or he had assisted Berytus in some other way during his prefecture; or retired there after his term in office. See, Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 96.

⁸⁹⁶ *CIL* 6 32051=*ILS* 1237=*LSA*-1253. He occupied the praetorian prefecture on three more occasions, after his monument was set up at Ravenna during his first prefecture. Barnes, "Praetorian Prefects," 257.

⁸⁹⁷ *CIL* 6 1723+1757=37112=*ILS* 1232.

⁸⁹⁸ *CIL* 6 1729=*ILS* 1254=*LSA*-323. *PLRE* 1, 797-98 Flavius Sallustius 5.

⁸⁹⁹ Eight (out of ten) honorific statues, which Probus 5, four times praetorian prefect, received, mention both his prefectures and consulship: *CIL* 6 1751=*ILS* 1265=*LSA*-272, *CIL* 6 1752=*ILS* 1268=*LSA*-1459, *CIL* 6 1753=*ILS* 1267=*LSA*-1460 (Rome, all probably in the house of Petronius Probus), *CIL* 6 41342a=*LSA*-306 (Rome, Forum of Trajan), *Inscr. Cret.* IV 312=*AE* 1933, 197=*LSA*-773, *Inscr. Cret.* IV 318=*LSA*-779 (both Gortyn), *CIL* 5 3344=*ILS* 1266=*LSA*-1599 (Verona), *AE* 1972, 76=*AE* 2011, 51=*LSA*-1936 (Capua). See also *CIL* 10 5179=*LSA*-2027 (Casinum).

⁹⁰⁰ *CIL* 6 41380=*AE* 1985, 44=*LSA*-405.

⁹⁰¹ *AE* 1972, 76=*AE* 2011, 51=*LSA*-1936.

⁹⁰² *CIL* 6 41336=*AE* 1934, 159=*LSA*-404.

⁹⁰³ *CIL* 6 1777=*ILS* 1258=*LSA*-1472; *CIL* 6 1778=*LSA*-1473; *CIL* 6 1780=*ILS* 1260=*LSA*-1474.

⁹⁰⁴ *CIL* 6 1782=*ILS* 2947=*LSA*-271.

praefectus praetorio Italiae et Africae in 355-61 and consul in 361, was re-erected at the command of the emperors in the Forum of Trajan in 364-67 (fig. 4).⁹⁰⁵ Saturninus Secundus Salutius, *praefectus praetorio Orientis* in 361-65 and 365-67, received a gilded bronze statue in the same place during his second term in office.⁹⁰⁶ He was reappointed for the second term, when the statue was set up in the Forum of Trajan. Equally, resident aristocrats of Rome were honored in the same site: when the memory of Nicomachus Flavianus, was definitively revalued, a statue was dedicated to him in the Forum of Trajan in 431 (fig. 5).⁹⁰⁷

Outside of Rome, honorific statues were set up in the provinces of specific prefectures. Thus, Flavius Philippus, praetorian prefect of the East from perhaps 344 to 352,⁹⁰⁸ and consul in 348, received, while still in office, a comprehensive series of honorary statues in all wealthy cities of Constantius' empire. As current prefect he was awarded gilt statues in all the leading cities by a decree of Constantius II, known from Ephesus. Constantius' decree ordered statues of Philippus to be erected in the 'most splendid cities' (*in optimis urbibus*) of the empire in the immediate aftermath of the battle of Mursa, perhaps within weeks between the appointment of Gallus as Caesar and his dispatch to Antioch, in late 351 or early 352.⁹⁰⁹ The statues were not an honor rehabilitating the memory of Philippus, but celebrating the acting prefect. According to Moser, these statues were intended to remind Constantius' appointees of their duty to be loyal to their absent emperor and publicize the rewards of loyal service, with Philippus being an example to emulate. All five recorded statues of Philippus were located within the prefecture of the East under Gallus' nominal authority: Ephesus, Alexandria Troas, Perge, Constantinople, and Chytri in Cyprus.

First, the long known imperial letter, which was published at an exposed public space of Ephesus, was part of the honorary monument accompanied by a statue to Philippus, although nothing, however, is preserved of the statue. Second, a fragmentary version of Constantius' letter to Marinus was seen by Cyriacus of Ancona in Alexandria Troas in Hellespontus on his travels in Asia Minor in the early fifteenth century.⁹¹⁰ This Latin inscription preserves the fragment of an imperial letter. The text is identical to that from Ephesus, but the name of the addressee was lost, so it is uncertain whether it was a copy of the letter to Marinus or an identical letter addressed at the same

⁹⁰⁵ CIL 6 41336=AE 1934, 159=LSA-404.

⁹⁰⁶ CIL 6 1764=ILS 1255=LSA-1408. He had a successful career in the western court under Constans, and was appointed praetorian prefect of the East by Julian in 361, remaining in office during the short reign of Jovian and the beginning of that of Valentinian I.

⁹⁰⁷ CIL 6 1783=LSA-1247.

⁹⁰⁸ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 204, and 252: 'Philippus did not die on this mission but remained at the court of Constantius until at least late 353, perhaps as praetorian prefect of Illyricum, when he assisted Constantius as praetorian prefect of Gaul following the defeat of Magnentius in the summer of 353 and the deposition of Magnentius' praetorian prefect in Gaul'.

⁹⁰⁹ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 190-91.

⁹¹⁰ Filippo Di Benedetto. "Un codice epigrafico di Ciriaco ritrovato," in *Ciriaco D'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo: atti del convegno internazionale di studio: Ancona, 6-9 febbraio 1992*, eds. Gianfranco Paci and Sergio Sconocchia (Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 1998), 158-59 no. 8; Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 198.

time to a lower official in Alexandria Troas. At any rate, it must have equally been part of an honorary monument.

Third, a statue monument for Philippus with two inscriptions was found in Perge in Pamphylia: a short Greek one with the name of the honorand and the awarder, and a longer one with a copy of an imperial communication (*oratio ad senatum*), divided in two plates, which perhaps flanked the smaller inscription and Philippus' statue at the center of the arrangement. The brief inscription shows that provincial governors upon receiving Constantius' order (as indirectly referred to the inscription from Ephesus), delegated to major cities in their jurisdiction the task of erecting the statue in the most prominent locations (*cele[berrimis] [locis illi dedica]ndam constituendamque*).⁹¹¹ The lengthy fragmentary Latin inscription records an imperial *oratio* to the senate (*patres conscripti*) in Constantinople, which had to grant a statue to Philippus that was to be emulated by other eastern cities. Moser suggests that 'the *oratio ad senatum* was part of the dossier accompanying the honorary statue of Philippus, and had been attached to the letter to the provincial governors,' ordering the erection of honorific monuments for his prefect.⁹¹²

Fourth, Constantinople was, as the imperial letter indicates, the first city to receive a statue for Philippus, one of the early members of the new senate. The *oratio* commands a statue to be erected in the city under Constantius' authority where the addressed senate was located and where Philippus had settled with his family in the loyal to the name of the emperor (*adfectu nostri nominis*). In the imperial communication, Philippus is praised for benefactions towards the city referred to by Constantius as the 'home city of my name' (*patriae nominis nostri*), hence, Constantinople. The *oratio* orders that one statue was to be erected in Constantinople. By this, the city and its senate were marked out as the model that other cities now had to emulate in erecting their own statues to prefect. There is also a literary testimony of a statue of Philippus, praetorian prefect, set up at Chalcedon (Lyd. *De mag.* 2.9.6).⁹¹³ It is not clear whether this statue is the one intended for Constantinople.

Last but not least, as for the other 'most splendid' cities of the eastern part of the empire, one bronze statue was erected to prefect by Constantius II as Augustus and Constantius Gallus as Caesar, with the name of the latter being erased probably after his execution in 354, in Cyprus.⁹¹⁴ The inscription is recorded as being from ancient Chytri, today the region in the plain below mount Olympus (Troodos Mountains) in Cyprus. This inscription must refer to one of the statues mentioned in the decree, but it is the only honorific inscription, which does not include the imperial

⁹¹¹ Şahin, *Spättrömisch-frühbyzantinische Inschriften*, 177 no. 1 (Perge (Pamphylia)). For the Latin inscription, see Feissel, "Sources documentaires."

⁹¹² Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 193.

⁹¹³ LSA-2837; Timothy D. Barnes, "Regional Prefectures," 17; Simon Corcoran, "The Praetorian Prefect Modestus and Hero of Alexandria's 'Stereometrika'," *Latomus* 54.2 (avril-juin 1995), 382 n.39; Feissel, "Sources documentaires," 150.

⁹¹⁴ CIL 3 214 738=LSA-863 (Chytri (Cyprus)).

letter, so far known relating to it. That the small and remote city of Chytri in Cyprus preserves an inscription belonging to a statue to Philippus as demanded by imperial decree, is an accident of preservation as a great deal of evidence disappeared. However, since Philippus eventually fell into disgrace for disloyal behavior during his mission to Magnentius, it is not entirely peculiar that the extant base comes from a minor Cypriot city. Moser suggests that his death may have occurred in late 353 or sometime in 354, perhaps in the treason trials of Magnentius' supporters.⁹¹⁵

As for the other honorands in the praetorian prefecture of the East, a statue of Claudius (Strategius) Musonianus was set up at Hierapolis in Caria in 354-58.⁹¹⁶ Also in Caria, a statue of Eutolmius Tatianus was re-erected at Aphrodisias in the earlier fifth century.⁹¹⁷ Excavated in the forecourt east of the Hadrianic Baths it stood in front of its southeasternmost pedestal. *Patricius* Flavius Caesarius received a statue at Tralles in Caria during the first term of his prefecture.⁹¹⁸ This honor is almost identical to another inscription to Caesarius recorded in the theater at Tralles.⁹¹⁹ Their *terminus post quem* is 395, the start of his first prefecture. Praetorian prefect or vicar Panhellenius was honored with a statue at Sagalassus in Pisidia from earlier to mid-fourth century.⁹²⁰ Panhellenius, the honorand, held the office of *ὑπαρχος* (l.4), the Greek word usually used for prefects, but also for vicars.⁹²¹ He was probably a praetorian prefect of the East, but a vicar of the diocesis of Asiana cannot be excluded. A statue of the senator Flavius Hypatius, erected after his term in office of prefect, was also found in the *praetorium* of Gortyn.⁹²² A statue of Marcellinus, probably praetorian prefect of the East, was equally dedicated in or in front of the *praetorium* of Gortyn, where (from the wording of the inscription) it was erected probably in the first half of the fourth century.⁹²³ The third distich of his epigram alludes to the statue set up 'by the front doors of Dike' (*προθύροισιν Δίκης*). Maternus Cynegius, praetorian prefect of the East in 384-88, received a statue at Alexandria in Egypt in 384-87.⁹²⁴ The Alexandrians ordered the statue to be set up and placed in a highly frequented site (*loco celeberrimo*) *per clarissimos*, perhaps the men of senatorial rank resident in Alexandria. Equally, in the eastern provinces, a bronze statue was dedicated at Athens, between 368 and 388, to Petronius Probus, praetorian prefect of Illyricum, within which the city lays.⁹²⁵

⁹¹⁵ Ammianus' describes (14.5) the treason trials as including confiscations of property and exiles.

⁹¹⁶ *LSA*-2501 (Hierapolis (Caria)).

⁹¹⁷ *LSA*-193 (Aphrodisias (Caria)).

⁹¹⁸ *LSA* 398 (Tralles (Caria)).

⁹¹⁹ *IGLS* 1652d=*LSA*-407 (Tralles (Caria)).

⁹²⁰ *LSA*-2530 (Sagalassus (Pisidia)). No *PLRE* entry.

⁹²¹ Denis Feissel, "Vicaires et proconsuls d'Asie du IV^e au VI^e siècle. Remarques sur l'administration du diocèse asianique au Bas-Empire," *Antiquité tardive* 6 (1998): 92.

⁹²² *Inscr. Cret.* IV 317=*LSA*-778 (Gortyna (Creta)).

⁹²³ *Inscr. Cret.* IV 323=*LSA*-785 (Gortyna (Creta)).

⁹²⁴ *CIL* 3 19=6587=*ILS* 1273=*LSA*-872 (Alexandria (Aegyptus)).

⁹²⁵ *IG* II/III(2) 13275=*LSA*-1 (Athens (Achaëa)).

In the West, a base for the statue, almost certainly of Decimius Hilarianus *signo* Hesperius, praetorian prefect and son of poet Ausonius, comes from Cuicul in Numidia between 378 and 380.⁹²⁶ Although only the *signum* is recorded in the extant part of the inscription, this was almost certainly a dedication to Decimius Hilarianus, praetorian prefect of Italy and Gaul, including responsibility for North Africa, in 378-79, and of Italy and Africa in 379-80. A mid- to later fourth-century inscribed base for the statue of an unknown praetorian prefect, patron of the city, was found at Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania.⁹²⁷ The monolithic base of Proconnesian marble of massive proportions unparalleled in Lepcis and with visible traces of the erased inscription does not preserve the name of the honorand (l.6), probably because he suffered *damnatio memoriae*. The base's original position in the Severan forum in front of the stairway leading to the temple was extraordinarily prestigious.

Honorific statuary for prefects was also installed in the semi-public or domestic space in Rome. One of the early prefects known epigraphically is C. Caelius Saturninus *signo* Dogmatius, *vir clarissimus*, praetorian prefect perhaps under Constantine Caesar in Gaul in 333-34.⁹²⁸ He received two honorific statues in Rome (fig. 1).⁹²⁹ The second of the statues was dedicated to him as *praefectus praetorio* in 333-34, when Saturninus was appointed to this office (fig. 18).⁹³⁰ The familial character of these two dedications is an indication that they were set up in the *domus*, the aristocratic house, of Saturninus. Guidobaldi points out, however, that there are no known traces of a *domus* at the findspot of the monuments on the slope of the Quirinal.⁹³¹ An original location within the *Porticus Constantini* should not be ruled out either.⁹³²

Now I turn to awarders of the honorary statuary for praetorian prefects. Of the awarders of the honorific monuments in Rome, the most high-status were the emperors on whose command (sometimes on request of the senate) the monuments were set up in the Forum Traiani. Thus, Constantius' most devoted supporter, Flavius Taurus, prefect of Italy, received his statue dedicated by order of the emperors Valentinian and Valens, with approval of the Senate. This was a re-dedication, as the inscription informs us, and the original honor was probably granted by Constantius, in whose court Taurus performed important duties. The statue for Saturninus Secundus Salutius was equally dedicated by the Emperors Valentinian I and Valens. However, contrary to the

⁹²⁶ *ILAlg.* II 7902=*LSA*-2848 (Cucul (Numidia)). *PLRE* 1, 427-28 Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius 2.

⁹²⁷ *IRT* 611=*LSA*-2167 (Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania)). Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 345-8, no. 21, figs. 7.28, 10.24-25, pl. VII.

⁹²⁸ For the dating, see Porena, *Le origini*, 446. *LSA*-1412 (C. Machado) wrongly states that Saturninus was appointed praetorian prefect in 325-26. *PLRE* 1, 806 C. Caelius Saturninus *signo* Dogmatius 9.

⁹²⁹ *CIL* 6 1704=*ILS* 1214=*LSA*-1266.

⁹³⁰ *CIL* 6 1705=*ILS* 1215=*LSA*-1412.

⁹³¹ *LTUR* 2, 174 (F. Guidobaldi).

⁹³² Ivan Di Stefano Manzella and Silvia Orlandi, "Dedica onoraria e carriera di Caius Caelius Saturninus," in *Le iscrizioni dei Cristiani in Vaticano: materiali e contributi scientifici per una mostra epigrafica*, ed. Ivan Di Stefano Manzella (Vatican: Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, 1997), 267-69.

usual, the inscription does not mention a request by the Senate. Machado hypothesizes that this might be due to the fact that the most important positions held by Secundus were performed in the East. The monument for Nicomachus Flavianus senior was dedicated by the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III, as part of a process of rehabilitation of the memory of the official. The letter addressed to the senate (Il.7-36) invites its members to take part in the reversal of Flavianus' condemnation in the aftermath of 394, and makes reference (l.17) to the monuments and inscriptions that attested to his virtue. However, the letter does not mention the involvement of senators in the setting up of this statue, unlike other dedications in the Forum of Trajan. The dedication was carried out by Appius Nicomachus Dexter, grandson of Flavianus the elder.

The emperors could equally order the erection of a statue or, exceptionally, a statue series for prefects in the provinces.⁹³³ Thus, the imperial letter instructs the governor of the province of Asia, Marinus, to set up gilded statues to the praetorian prefect Philippus.⁹³⁴ By his letter to the provincial governors (*rectorum*), which was then attached to the base of the statue to Philippus in Perge, Constantius informed them of their duty to erect a statue to his prefect in the cities under his authority, with Constantinople chosen to lead off a series of statues in the cities of the East. The honorific inscription explains that Philippus was honored by the council of the 'dazzling metropolis' of the Pergeans as a benefactor and corrector in every respect. The statue in Chytri in Cyprus, a province in the diocese of Oriens, was dedicated jointly by Constantius II, as Augustus, and Constantius Gallus Caesar, the name of the latter being erased, probably after his execution in 354. By setting up honorific statuary provincial governors were determined to monumentalize their relationship with leading imperial officials.⁹³⁵ Further, prefects were equally honored by the provincial cities and their institutions and officials, who sought to materialize the connection with prefects, and by extension, the emperors.⁹³⁶ The use of public funds is evident in cases of the

⁹³³ Theodosius and Arcadius, 'at the petition of the first-ranking citizens' (*ad petitem primorum*) of Alexandria, ordered the statue for Maternus Cynegius 3: *CIL* 3 6587=*LSA*-872. *CIL* 3 19 gives a slightly different reading (Il.9-10): ... *ad petitem primorum nobilium / Alexandrinae urbis* ('at the petition of the foremost nobles of the city of Alexandria ...').

⁹³⁴ *IK Ephesos* 41=*AE* 1976, 478=*LSA*-862.

⁹³⁵ The honorific statue to Probus was set up at Athens by Anatolius, *proconsul* of Achaia. Further, *consularis* Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus, whose governorship is reliably datable to 382-83, is named in no less than eleven honorific inscriptions in Crete. He equally set up the monument for Flavius Hypatius as one in a set of ten statues for leading members of the urban Roman aristocracy erected by him at Gortyn in Crete, on seven of which he is recorded as awarder. The precise identity of the dedicator of the statue for Tatianus is not clear. He was his descendant and probably the governor of Caria before the middle of the fifth century given the references in the verse to imperial mission and justice. The name of the awarder of the statue for Decimius Hilarianus *signo* Hesperius is lost in the honorific inscription. It was probably a subordinate official of praetorian prefect, such as provincial governor of Numidia, or the city of Cuicul.

⁹³⁶ The awarder of the statue for Marcellinus was Pyrrhus, a local notable and a member of a prominent Cretan family: *PLRE* I, 756 Pyrrhus 2 and 3; and *LSA*-786. The text reveals that it was not only Pyrrhus' initiative, but also a decree of the council of Gortyn (*βουλή και Πύρρου στήσεν ἐφημοσύνη*), see R. R. R. Smith et al., eds., *Roman Portrait Statuary from Aphrodisias. Aphrodisias II* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2006), 24, on combination of public and individual dedications. Flavius Caesarius was honored by a pair of statues by the city of Thralles. Maternus Cynegius was awarded a statue on the request of Alexandrians. The council and people (*ἡ βουλή και ὁ δῆμος*) of Hierapolis decreed the statue honor for

monuments for Philippus and the unknown praetorian prefect honored at Lepcis. Thereafter, as commemorated by descendants, most prominent office-holders such as prefects added lustre to family achievements and upward mobility.⁹³⁷

With most of the standing statuary missing, an appearance of the honorands is largely unknown, unless mentioned in the literary sources or recorded epigraphically. Thus, Lydus (*De mag.* 2.9.6-7) refers to Philippus' statue in Chalcedon to prove the historical military function of praetorian prefects, for Philipus is represented wearing a sword under the belt (*ὑποζώνιον ζίφος*). Unlike many of the extant non-imperial late antique statues for civilian governors, as Moser states, 'Philippus' statue was probably not a togate statue, for John's point is precisely that Philippus was not represented in *habitu civili*, but that his statue showed him in his military garb'.⁹³⁸ Showing a *cingulum* with a sword attached to it, the statue by no means could have been a *togatus*, nor it is necessary to imagine a *lorica* statue type. However, in post-Constantinian times, the *chlamys* costume usual for prefects can be found with armament only in representations of members of the *militia armata*, and the diptych in Monza is the only known representation that shows the sword together with the *chlamys*.⁹³⁹ Moser claims that all five statues of Philippus wore the military garb, and in order to underline 'the military victoriousness of Constantius and his supporters in times of increased imperial fragility',⁹⁴⁰ but this cannot be proven. Later, the Theodosian prefect Maternus Cynegius received, however, a statue in civil dress (*statuam civili habitu*). The inscription unusually states which type of statue Cynegius was honored with, namely, a togate statue.

With regard to the material of the statues, the statues for Philippus were perhaps of the same material, in accordance with the imperial decree (*inauratae statuae*).⁹⁴¹ The statue from Chytri, now lost, is explicitly referred to as being of gilded bronze (*statuam ex aere fusam, auro condecoratam*). Gilded bronze statue (*statuam sub auro*) of Taurus as well as Saturninus Secundus Salutius in the Forum of Trajan are specifically referred as such in their inscriptions. The dedication to Probus in Athens was set up 'in a bronze portrait' (*εἰκόνι χαλκείῃ*). The inscription refers to the material of the statue, a motif not uncommon in the Greek honorific verse inscriptions of this time.⁹⁴² The

Strategius Musonianus. Similarly, the awardee of Panhellenius' statue was the council and people of Sagalassus. The unknown praetorian prefect was commemorated by the people of Lepcis Magna from public funds.

⁹³⁷ The statue for C. Caelius Saturninus was a private dedication set up in the semi-public or public space by his son, Caius Flavius Caelius Urbanus, *consularis*, who inherited the rank of *clarissimus* from his father. The other two were posthumously erected in the public space. The statue for Eutolmius Tatianus was re-erected by either his grandson or great-grandson descendant in the earlier fifth century. The dedication to Flavianus the elder was made by Appius Nicomachus Dexter, his grandson, and the inscription explicitly refers to this relationship (*avo optimo*). Although he had previously held a high office in Rome, the fact that the inscription describes him only as 'former prefect of the city' suggests that he undertook the task as a private citizen, possibly as a special honor.

⁹³⁸ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 205-206.

⁹³⁹ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*.

⁹⁴⁰ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 206.

⁹⁴¹ *IK Ephesos* 41=AE 1976, 478; Feissel, "Sources documentaires," 149-50.

⁹⁴² Franz Alto Bauer, "Virtuelle Statuensammlungen," in *Statuen in der Spätantike*, eds., Franz Alto Bauer and Christian Witschel (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007), 88; see also *LSA*-56.

inscription of Maternus Cynegius makes clear that the Alexandrians had to seek imperial permission to set up the statue. This is almost certainly not because of its form, but because it was of bronze (though this is not stated), since imperial permission was required for bronze statues from the middle of the fourth century.⁹⁴³ Naming the emperors first, rather than just mentioning their permission,⁹⁴⁴ was presumably done by the Alexandrians in order to flatter them. The inscription refers to both the material and to the imperial approval. Similarly, both statues for Caesarius at Tralles were set up by the city by imperial command (*κατὰ θεῖαν κρίσιν*) in 395-97. The same imperial regulation was extended on marble statues only in 399 (*CJ* 1.24.1). The inscriptions for Caesarius are almost identical, only the line-divisions and some abbreviations and spellings differ.

Multiple honors were received either in two (or more) cities at the same time or delayed (one after another) in one city.⁹⁴⁵ The former honors were decreed by the emperors for Philippus (posthumously), ordering to set up monuments of devotion in the most splendid cities (*in opimis urbibus*), because ‘who is celebrated by the mouth of all peoples and all different nations shall hit the eyes of every single one, and there shall be eternal remembrance in our state (*in re publica nostra*) of him’. Only statues in Chytri and Chalcedon are known, however. The latter honors were enjoyed in Rome by Saturninus, Constantine’s loyal official. After the erection of the first monument and Saturninus’ promotion to the highest prefecture, his son was in fact forced to have inscribed and placed next to the first statue the second one where he celebrated exclusively the pretorian prefecture of his father. Of ten statues received by Probus, four were set up in Rome, two of which were simultaneous honors (though posthumous). Also, Flavianus received two posthumous statues in Rome in the early fifth century. Caesarius, however, received at the same time two statues in Tralles between 395 and 397.

The virtue catalog of prefects includes *constantia*, *iustitia*, *nobilitas*, *virtus*, *sinceritas*, *prudentia*, *provisio*, *auctoritas*, *fides*. Prefects’ virtues praised in a general way are not always named. Prefects are praised as euergetes for their benefactions for the cities: in the East, Caesarius is honored as ‘a saviour and benefactor in all things’ (*τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν εὐεργέτην*) of the city; Musonianus as a benefactor and founder (*τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην*). This refers to favors in questions of taxation for which praetorian prefect was responsible, and to which another inscription from the theater mentioning Musonianus possibly refers.⁹⁴⁶ In the West, an unknown prefect is extolled as patron for ‘the many benefits brought by his provision’ (*ob plurima in se provisione eius conlata beneficia*). Marcellinus ‘who made the cities lighter relieving them with justice and support’

⁹⁴³ Denis Feissel, “Notes d’Épigraphie Chrétienne VII,” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 108 (1984): 545-58; Anton von Premerstein, “Griechisch-Römisches aus Arkadien,” *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 15 (1912): 216-18.

⁹⁴⁴ See *LSA*-2, *LSA*-579.

⁹⁴⁵ Heike Niquet, *Monumenta virtutum titulique. Senatorische Selbstdarstellung im spätantiken Rom im Spiegel der epigraphischen Denkmäler* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), 71.

⁹⁴⁶ Tullia Ritti, 2011, 187-88.

(ὁς εὐδίκη καὶ ἀρωγῇ κουφίζων, πόλιας θῆκεν ἐλαφροτέρας τοῦνεκα καὶ πεθερροθύροισιν), and Tatianus, ‘who held the highest offices, and by just laws saved cities’ (ἀριστεύσας δ’ ἐνὶ θώκοις Τατιανὸς θεσμοῖς τε δίκης πολίεθρα ζαώσας), are praised for justice. The *oratio ad senatum* from Perge explains that, in order to fulfil the aim of preserving the memory of Philippus’ exemplary service, it is necessary to erect statues in the cities that profited from Philippus’ toils: ‘because through his labours he has cared for almost all the cities and people no less than he cared for the home city (Constantinople)’ (*et quia non minus eius laboribus omnium fere civitatum commodis populisque prospectum est quam patriae*).⁹⁴⁷ He is styled as one ‘who is celebrated by the mouth of all peoples and all different nations’ (*qui populorum omnium diversarumque nationum ore celebrator*).

In the re-erected dedication, Taurus is posthumously memorialized by the honorific inscription ‘for the perpetual memory of this man worthy of praise’ (*ad perpetuam laudabilis viri memoriam*). Cynegius is commemorated ‘in order to perpetuate his fame’ (*ad perpetuitatis famam*), while, following the emperors’ decree, regarding Philippus, ‘there shall be eternal remembrance in our state of him’ (*in re publica nostra memoria sempiterna*). The *oratio ad senatum* further dwells on the reasons of Philippus’ ‘honoring with a memorable marker that which is necessary to be celebrated in eternal memory’ (*causas ... quae aeternae memoriae mandanda sunt memorabili studio celebrantes*), so that his name inscribed on the monuments by its representation ‘reveal in eternal commemoration’ (*perenni commemoratione designet*) the thankful grace of the emperors and the senate. Flavianus is remembered with the posthumous honor ‘to recall into eternal light the memory of the dead’ (*honorem et memoriam defuncti in lucem aeternam revocare*), as part of a process of rehabilitation of his memory. The restoration of ‘the reputation illustrious and most respected by all’ (*inlustris et sanctissimae apud omnes recordationis*) of the elder Flavianus took place, according to the imperial letter to the senate, ‘to assert the honor of men distinguished and illustrious in public life (*clarorum adque inlustrum in re publica*) which has been tarnished in some degree by a misfortune of the human condition’.

Prefects’ merits are frequently lauded in general terms: Saturninus Secundus Salutius is commemorated by emperors on account of his outstanding services (*ob egregia merita*) to the *res publica*, Cynegius in consideration of his merits (*meritorum contemplatione*) and Flavianus on account of his virtue and authority as a senator and a judge (*virtutis auctoritatisque senatoriae et iudicariae*), Philippus, because of the merits of his virtues and the labors (*pro virtutum meritis et laborum*) he undertook during his prefecture (*quos in praefectura emensus est*). The honors to Philippus are decreed in the imperial letter preserved from Ephesus because he ‘with his toils advanced the glory of our state’ (*laboribus suis rei publicae nostrae semper gloriam iuvit*), and for

⁹⁴⁷ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 190-91.

‘his brilliant merits (*inlustribus meritis*), and because it is both our pleasure and is suitable to set up monuments of devotion in the most splendid cities to such a big man’. The description of Philippus’ deeds in the *oratio ad senatum* is equally vague: he is praised for his devoted services (*devota officia*) and proven loyalty (*probatam fidem*) to the emperor in the city of the addressed assembly (Constantinople) as well as in the provinces.

Inscriptional epigrams, formalized honorific texts celebrating the imperial officials, which reached their flourishing period with the fourth century, were also dedicated for praetorian prefects. Marcellinus’ metric inscription of three elegiac distichs is typical of a set of late-antique honorific verse inscriptions erected in the Greek East.⁹⁴⁸ Panhellenius is celebrated by the verse inscription of two distichs. Tatianus is, however, honored by the long metrical inscription of nine hexameters. The now lost dedication of the statue in honor of praetorian prefect Probus was also metrical.⁹⁴⁹ Two identical Greek inscriptions for Caesarius are a rare example of a prose inscription for a senatorial office holder in the fourth century Greek East. The wording of the Latin inscription for Cynegius does not follow the lofty style of contemporary Greek verse inscriptions, neither it conforms to the sober, informative style of traditional Latin *cursus honorum* inscriptions. Prefect is styled as ‘a mighty ruler of the whole western land, (Ἐσπερίης πάσης χθονὸς ὄβριμον ἰθυντήρα) (Marcellinus), ‘a friend of the blissful’ (τὸν μακαρέσσι φίλον) (Panhellenius), and ‘a man of all virtues, born for exceptional praise and glory, promoted through all the grades of office’ (*omnium virtutum viro et ad insignem laudem gloriamque progenito per omnes honorum gradus ... provecto*) (Cynegius).

Fourth, the imperial building program involved praetorian prefects, who together with military officials were in charge of the reconstruction and strengthening of the *limes* defenses.⁹⁵⁰ The aforementioned inscription from Tropaeum Traiani emphasizes the occasion that prompted the prefectural college to realize the dedication: the refounding of the city.⁹⁵¹ As the text of the inscription clarifies, the refoundation of Tropaeum Traiani *a fundamentis* was closely connected with the consolidation of fortifications along the lower course of the Danube (*ad confirmandam limitis*), but the expression could be understood in a broader sense indicating all the Roman *limes*. It, therefore, was part of a program of improvement of operational functionality along the external borders of the Balkan and Thracian provinces, but it was only an aspect of a larger project.

⁹⁴⁸ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 89-91.

⁹⁴⁹ Erkki Sironen, *The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica: An Edition with Appendices on Scripts, Sepulchral Formulae and Occupations* (Helsinki: Hakapaino Oy, 1997), 69, 13.

⁹⁵⁰ Porena, *Le origini*, 309.

⁹⁵¹ *CIL* 3 13734=ILS 8938=LSA-1120. The emphasis placed on the refounding of the glorious Trajan’s colony is evident. The works of rebuilding gave the ancient Trajanic colony a lasting monumental aspect and a renewed prestige. The Tropaeum Traiani as rebuilt at the beginning of the fourth century appears to have been protected with large turreted walls and supplied by a functional aqueduct, in addition to civil constructions. The expressions used by Annianus and Iulianus in the dedication suggest that the building intervention took place as long awaited works. The prefectural dedication, placed in the vicinity of the city’s main gate, was probably set up on the occasion of the inauguration of the city when the construction works carried out were already well advanced.

Praetorian prefects in fact specified that also (*etiam*) the rebuilding of the city was intended to strengthen the security of the *limes*, whose renovation was carried out in parallel with the urban refoundation. The building intervention offered the opportunity for a joint celebration of the two Augusti, whose virtue and providence had proven particularly effective throughout the empire in undermining the aspirations of barbaric peoples. However, the restoration of the *limes* of a province like Scythia offered less lustre to the emperors in comparison to the refounding of the Roman city that recalled the victory of Trajan's armies over the Dacians. Porena argues against the presence of the two Augusti and the two praetorian prefects in the region at the time of the reconstruction of the city.⁹⁵²

Further, a fragmentary Latin inscription of the Constantinian age from Aila/Aelana dated between 324 and 326 testifies to an involvement of prefects in Constantine's regime-building policies in the East after the defeat of Licinius.⁹⁵³ If the remains of the third line could record praetorian prefect Flavius Constantius, active in those very years, the inscription would confirm the work of reorganization of the eastern provinces of the empire. The inscription most probably recalls building works, perhaps of a military nature, in the city of Aila/Aelana by Constantine Augustus as can be deduced from the onomastics of the emperors, the monumentality of the epigraphic field, the use of Latin in a Greek-speaking region, and the location of the city in a strategic position on the Red Sea. It seems difficult to imagine, however, that praetorian prefect could join the emperors in deciding the important construction. It is more likely that he is recorded as supervisor in the inscription (ll.3-5), and, taking into account the peculiarity of the Aila/Aelana's geographical area, a local official would have been a person in charge of the works. Porena suggests *vir perfectissimus praeses provincie Palaestinae* as dedicator, '*Flavio Constantio ... inchoante et curante*'.⁹⁵⁴ The location of Aila/Aelana and a possible military installation built by Constantine suggests that prefect could not have personally dedicated the monument.⁹⁵⁵

Another important inscription, attesting for the first time the college of five prefects of Constantine,⁹⁵⁶ is the one from the attic of a triumphal arch from Aïn-Rchine dated to 331-32.⁹⁵⁷ It

⁹⁵² Porena, *Le origini*, 394; Grünewald, *Constantinus*, 111.

⁹⁵³ *AE* 1989, 750=*IGLS* XXI 4, 150=*AE* 2003, 1832. Henry I. MacAdam, "Fragments of a Latin Building Inscription from Aqaba, Jordan," *ZPE* 79 (1989): 163-71, table IX.

⁹⁵⁴ Porena, *Le origini*, 395.

⁹⁵⁵ MacAdam, "Fragments," 166; On the post of the military officer at Aila/Aelana, see Porena, *Le origini*, 395 n.83, who speculates that on the Sea Red the dedication of the building could have been preformed, for example, by the praefectus legionis X Fretensis, stationed in the city according to the *Notitia* (Or XXXIV 30), or dux Palaestinae, or any praepositus of that area of the *limes*.

⁹⁵⁶ Valerius Maximus, Iunius Bassus, Papius Pacatianus, Flavius Ablabius, and Valerius Felix. See Porena, *Le origini*, 398-400 does not consider it as a collegial prefectural dedication. The initiators of the construction from which the African city has benefited are Constantine Augustus and the two Caesars, Constantine II and Constantius II (to whom Constans was added later). The surviving part of the first line is entirely occupied by the names and titles of the three emperors. The nature of their intervention seems to concern the city building, because in the remains of lines 2, 3 and 5 appear terms related to architecture and public spaces in the city. In addition, the inscription was carved on the attic of an arch that stood in the urban space, perhaps at the entrance to the forum. It is probable, therefore, that the inscription

sheds light on responsibilities of prefects as well as their hierarchical precedence.⁹⁵⁸ Despite the fragmentary state of the epigraphic text, it shows the result of the intervention of high-ranking authorities of the central and provincial administration in imperially sponsored local building activity. Porena believes that the order of enumeration of prefects in the inscription follows the hierarchical criterion which was used throughout the history of the praetorian prefecture.⁹⁵⁹ But Valerius Maximus is named before Iunius Bassus at Aïn-Rchine, not because Maximus was senior by appointment, but because he was the prefect *in praesentia* at the court of Constantine.⁹⁶⁰ Salway proposes further reconstructions after Chastagnol's amendments (1.3),⁹⁶¹ although the structure is hard to parallel: '[ui]amque port[ificatam? ---]IBRI[--- restitui iusserunt?, curante?] prefectura praeto[ri]o'.⁹⁶² He states that there is a possibility for at least one regional prefect beside four attached to the emperors in the traditional manner. In the inscription from Aïn-Rchine the college of prefects is titled *clarissimi et illustres viri*, where *illustris* is evidently not a rank title. Therefore, in Moesia, in Palestine, and in Africa Proconsularis prefects of Constantine seem to have been involved in the projects of reorganization of the construction of the empire's cities.⁹⁶³

Later dedications also show prefects involved in the construction program in different areas of the empire, especially the frontier provinces. Thus, Vulcacius Rufinus, praetorian prefect in Illyricum in 347-52, had constructed storehouses (*horrea*) at Savaria in Pannonia Prima. The building inscription celebrates the dedication of new depots for storing the supplies of the army in the Pannonian city between 347 and 350.⁹⁶⁴ The text provides a unique reflection of a moment in the development of the infrastructure of the *annona militaris* in a province of the northern frontiers of the empire. The *securitas perpetua rei annonariae* was an important concern for the praetorian prefects who managed this immense logistics system. In the frontier provinces, where large quantities of imported and locally produced military supplies were accumulated, *horrea* must have been a priority in the building agenda of the state and the army. Their uniform architecture of hangar-like military granaries is also indicative of these buildings' connection to a central building

recalls one or more interventions aimed to restore the public and monumental area of the city, works carried out, at least in part, with the money from the civic fund, but under the control of some officials, among whom the college of five prefects and proconsul of Africa Domitius Zenofilus.

⁹⁵⁷ *AE* 1981, 878=*AE* 2003, 1988=*AE* 2010, 24=*AE* 2014, 30 (Aïn-Rchine (Africa Proconsularis)).

⁹⁵⁸ *AE*, 1981, 878=*AE* 2003, 1988; see Porena, *Le origini*, 398-466; Salway, "The Praetorian Prefecture," 1283.

⁹⁵⁹ Porena, *Le origini*, 416.

⁹⁶⁰ Salway, "The Praetorian Prefecture."

⁹⁶¹ Chastagnol, "Les inscriptions africaines," 268.

⁹⁶² Salway, "The Praetorian Prefecture," 1283.

⁹⁶³ Porena, *Le origini*, 401. It is unusual that the works required attention not only of prefect in whose domain lays Africa Proconsularis, but of all five prefects of the empire. It is more likely that in the central part of lines 2 and 3, of which there is very little left and little can be integrated, mention was made of a project of Constantinian restoration of public areas in the cities of the empire, project carried out under the patronage of praetorian prefects. Similarly, the Palestinian inscription almost certainly celebrated construction work, perhaps of a military nature, in the port city on the Red Sea commanded by Constantine Augustus and his Caesars. The monumental aspect of the inscription shows some analogy with the blocks from the attic of the arch at Aïn-Rchine.

⁹⁶⁴ *CIL* 3 4180=*ILS* 727 (Savaria (Pannonia Prima)).

policy designed to provide infrastructure for the military supply network.⁹⁶⁵ Thereafter, another inscription from Myra (area of the port-town of Andriake) in Lycia concerning the use of measures and weights in the *horrea* of Myra and Arneai was incised on the wall of the warehouse (*horreum*) of the city during the prefecture of Eutolmius Tatianus c. 390.⁹⁶⁶ The inscription of Tatianus inscribed on the *horreum* of Myra describes the procedures for the collection and temporary storage of the military *annona* in state warehouses.⁹⁶⁷ Prefect is styled ‘τὰ πάντα θαυμασιωτάτος’ (‘most admirable in all things’), and ‘λαμπροτάτος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτος’ (*clarissimus et magnificus*) prefect. He is also referred to as ‘ἡ μεγίστη ἐξουσία’, the ‘supreme authority’. In addition, in the building inscription set up by *praefectus Augustalis* Alexander in Canopus, on the western coast of the Nile delta, between 388 and 390, documenting his efforts to maintain the Alexandrian canal in proper condition, prefect Tatianus is honored for the works done by his vicar.⁹⁶⁸

Next, Claudius Mamertinus, *praefectus praetorio Italiae Illyrici et Africae* in 362-65, conducted an implementation of the reform on the *cursus publicum* at Concordia in Venetia under Julian in 362. The marble plaque discovered at Concordia commemorates a genuine initiative of the emperor.⁹⁶⁹ As praetorian prefect charge of Italy, Africa, and Illyricum, Mamertinus carried out a reorganization of the *cursus publicus* and in 363 confirmed the transfer of a corn subsidy from Puteoli to Tarracina (Symm. *Rel.* 40.3). It relieved the provincials from certain burdens of *cursus publicus* (*remota provincialibus cura*), while distances between one *mutatio* and the other were shortened (*breviatis mutationum spatiis*).⁹⁷⁰ The frequent Julianic milestones in Dalmatia are another evidence of the building works. The milestones style Julian *totius orbis Augustus*, which articulated Mamertinus’ individual expression of loyalty. This commemoration of an administrative reform rather than a physical construction is unusual and suggests a deliberate policy by prefect, if not Julian himself, to publicize this action. If the opening phrase of the inscription echoes the wording of the lost justificatory preamble of imperial constitutions, then this, as Salway speculates, may be an epigraphic attestation of a text actually authored by Julian, even if in reality composed by his quaestor, Iovinus.⁹⁷¹

Then, further on the frontier, Domitius Modestus, praetorian prefect of the East under Valens in 369-75, is mentioned in the building inscription from Tauric Chersonese in the North

⁹⁶⁵ Efthymios Rizos, “Centres of the Late Roman Military Supply Network in the Balkans: A Survey of *horrea*,” *Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 60 (2013): 659-96.

⁹⁶⁶ *SEG* 42 1240 (Myra (Lycia)).

⁹⁶⁷ Efthymios Rizos, “Remarks on the Logistics and Infrastructure of the *Annona Militaris* in Eastern Mediterranean and Aegean Areas,” *Antiquité Tardive* 23 (2015): 289-90 with photo.

⁹⁶⁸ *CIG* III 4693 (Kanopos (Aegyptus)).

⁹⁶⁹ *CIL* 5 8987=ILS 755=AE 1995, 583 (Concordia (Venetia et Histria)). For the date, see *CTh* 8.5.12.

⁹⁷⁰ Anne Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (Berlin: Akademie, 2000), 143-44. Four of the five preserved constitutions of Julian under the title *de cursu publico* in the Theodosian Code are addressed to Mamertinus *praefectus praetorio* (8.5.12-14: 362).

⁹⁷¹ Benet Salway, “Words and Deeds: Julian in the Epigraphic Record,” in *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian ‘the Apostate’*, ed. Nicholas J. Baker-Brian and Shaun Tougher (Cardiff: The Classical Press of Wales, 2012), 146.

Black Sea region.⁹⁷² Found reused in the medieval wall of Chersonese, it yields fragmentary information on the construction activities of the military personnel in Regnum Bospori under Domitius Modestus as praetorian prefect, recording the city fortification. Another inscription in Greek from Nakida (Niğde) in Cappadocia refers to building works done under his prefecture.⁹⁷³

Last, it is rather unusual for prefects to be responsible for overseeing construction works in the cities, but the buildings were dedicated in their names. Thus, a building inscription recording works on the theater of Hierapolis in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, which began in 350 and ended in 352, as dated by the first joint consulship of Constantius II and Gallus, records Philippus as praetorian prefect under whose authority *praeses* Flavius Antonius Iulianus supervised the works.⁹⁷⁴ The text implies that Philippus was acting praetorian prefect in the dioceses of Asiana, if not the entire East, at the time when the works were completed, succeeded by Thalassius in the course of 352, after the erection of the inscription in Hierapolis.⁹⁷⁵ Thereafter, as *praefectus praetorio Orientis* Rufinus is said to have presented the people of Antioch with a new ‘basilica’ (‘τῆς λεγομένης Πουφίνου βασιλικῆς’), which he built in an effort to placate their anger.⁹⁷⁶ In Malalas’ *Chronicle* the construction is anachronistically associated with the demolition of the temple of Hermes and its replacement by Rufinus’ basilica, wrongly placed under Constantine (13.4).

Fifth, fourth-century praetorian prefects are equally memorized in funeral epigraphy. As remembered by his daughter in 389, Viventius, who is styled in her poem *clarissimae recordationis vir, ex praefectus praetorio et urbis aeternae*, was certainly dead by the moment of the dedication.⁹⁷⁷ An anonymous *praefectus praetorio Illyrici* was buried at the cemetery at Concordia in the late fourth or early fifth century.⁹⁷⁸ Although prefect, recorded in the epitaph of another bureaucrat is unnamed, there is no reason, according to M. Kulikowski, why he should not have been identical with Apodemius, *praefectus praetorio Italiae* in 392-93 as well as Africa and Illyricum by 393.⁹⁷⁹ Depictions of praetorian prefects are equally furnished by the funeral iconography. The representation of the couple of high standing at Christ’s feet, typical of the ‘city gate’ sarcophagi, features on sarcophagi in the Louvre, Tolentino, and Ancona. Although the men

⁹⁷² *AE* 1907, 164=*AE* 1984, 804 (Chersonesus Taurica). Constantin Zuckerman, “The Early Byzantine Strongholds in Eastern Pontus,” *Travaux et Memoires* 11 (1991): 550-51. *PLRE* 1, 605-608 Domitius Modestus 2.

⁹⁷³ Hans Rott, ed., *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kapodokien und Lykien* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1908), 379 (Nakida).

⁹⁷⁴ Tullia Ritti, “Inscrizioni pertinenti all’edificio teatrale di Hierapolis” in *Il teatro di Hierapolis di Frigia*, eds. Daria de Bernardi Ferrero et al. (Genova: de Ferrari, 2007), 415-17.

⁹⁷⁵ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 251-52.

⁹⁷⁶ Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 621-31, on the basis of Malalas 13.3-4 and 17.19.

⁹⁷⁷ *CIL* 6 41342=*ICUR* V 13355.

⁹⁷⁸ *CIL* 5 8771=*ILS* 1962=*ILCV* 509 (Concordia (Venetia et Histria)). *PLRE* 1, 1006 Anonymus 10.

⁹⁷⁹ Michael Kulikowski, “The ‘*Notitia Dignitatum*’ as a Historical Source,” *Historia* 49.3 (2000): 373 n.63. *PLRE* 1, 82-83 Apodemius 3.

always wear the tunic, the *cingulum* of active office of the small figures is missing sometimes even from the larger representations of male sarcophagus owners in the teaching scene on short sides. The fact that no exclusive meaning can be ascribed to this attribute with regard to the status-specific representation can be deduced, for instance, from imagery of the so-called ‘Probus sarcophagus’ in the Louvre (fig. 79), since prefect in the adoration scene does not wear a discernible belt and the *cingulum* on the right side is equally concealed. Nevertheless, this can be attributed to the fact that sarcophagus owners may have been only honorary dignitaries as opposed to actual office-holders.⁹⁸⁰ Delmaire suggested that Catervius, whose sarcophagus is preserved at Tolentinum,⁹⁸¹ might have actually been acting praetorian prefect of Gauls in the period when there are gaps in the *fasti* of this office,⁹⁸² but it may have been rather an honorary prefecture. Similarly, Gorgonius, buried in the sarcophagus at Ancona,⁹⁸³ was either praetorian prefect of Gauls, since there are empty spots in the *fasti* there, or, more likely, honorary prefect.⁹⁸⁴ The *cingulum* of the active service does not appear on their sarcophagi.

In addition, some information on the self-representation of late Roman prefects can be obtained from a wide range of inscribed objects such as seat inscriptions, slave collars, and *tabellae immunitatis*. Thus, an unknown *ex praefectus praetorio* is the first prefect attested among the inscriptions related to the *loca* of the Colosseum.⁹⁸⁵ Fourth-century engraved slave collars (*collares servorum*), part of the genre of inscriptions on *instrumentum domesticum*, intended to deter theft, represent powerful resident senators as *domini*. Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius, praetorian prefect of Illyricum and of the East in 378, is recorded as slave owner on two inscribed bronze collars from Rome.⁹⁸⁶ Their further provenance is unknown, but the slave collars mention *horti Olybri*.⁹⁸⁷ Thereafter, former praetorian prefect of the East, Postumianus is recorded on a bronze tablet attesting to immunity from taxation (*tabella immunitatis*) from Rome.⁹⁸⁸ He was Westerner (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 173) and probably related to *tribunus et notarius* Festus as they shared property mentioned on the slab with the payment immunity act. Either he or his son will be the Christian senator Postumianus who owned an estate in Lucania or Brutium (Paul. Nol. *Ep.* 49.15).

2. *Praefectus urbi*

The *Notitia* records two city prefects: in Rome and in Constantinople. The prefect of the city of Rome is placed below praetorian prefects (praetorian prefect of the Gauls) and above *magistri*

⁹⁸⁰ Wrede, *Senatorische Sarcophagi*, 90.

⁹⁸¹ RS II 148. CIL 9 5566=ILS 1289=ILCV 98 (Tolentinum (Picenum)).

⁹⁸² Delmaire, *Largesses sacrée*, 77 no. 33.

⁹⁸³ RS II 149. CIL 9 5897=ILS 1290=ILCV 99 (Ancona (Picenum)).

⁹⁸⁴ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrée*, 109, no. 53.

⁹⁸⁵ Orlandi, *Anfiteatri*, 388, 17. 93, C.

⁹⁸⁶ CIL 15 7199a=EDR149773, CIL 15 7199b=EDR149774

⁹⁸⁷ Cf. LTUR 2, 148 (F. Guidobaldi) and 3, 76 (E. Papi). The latter identifies the objects as dog collars.

⁹⁸⁸ CIL 6 32035=15 7163=ILCV 100. PLRE 1, 718 Postumianus 2.

militum (master of foot in the presence). Similarly, prefect of the city (*ὑπαρχος τῆς πόλεως*) of Constantinople follows directly praetorian prefect of Illyricum, but precedes both masters of horse and foot in the presence in the *Notitia*'s eastern list. City prefect was the administrative head of many lesser officials, whose spheres of duty formed the components of prefectural administration (*sub dispositione praefecti urbis*). Fifteen administrative positions were held under the control of prefect of the city of Rome; the page with the list for the prefect of Constantinople is not extant, but a degree of similarity with the prefecture of Rome is assumed.

While the insigne of Constantinopolitan *praefectus urbi* is not preserved, the insigne of prefect of the city of Rome is similar to those of the two praetorian prefects – with *codicilli*, a *theca*, and a coach – except for the absence of the candles and the presence of the coachman in the prefectorial carriage. The lack of candles in the insigne of urban prefect is taken to reflect the fact that he ranked below praetorian prefect.⁹⁸⁹ As for the *codicilli*, the style of the gold trim of the portrait-bearing rectangles implies a high status among the *illustres* and corresponds to the same style as the gold trim on the rectangles of praetorian prefects. The *theca*, consonant with the judicial authority of prefect, is part of this insigne, as was the codicillary diptych leaf with a format reflective of his rank. Urban prefect possessed appellate jurisdiction and as ‘judge of the sacred appeals in place of the emperor’ he assumed the function, which had traditionally been handled by the emperor himself, testified to in numerous inscriptions. Also, from 359 prefect of Constantinople had a similar judicial competence and a subordinate staff equal to his Roman counterpart.

The prefectorial coach was ornamented with panels of silver or bronze reliefs. This carriage features in the *Notitia* in the insignia of both praetorian prefect and prefect of the city of Rome as one of the prefectorial emblems. Providing such a coach to the city prefect (*‘dives pompa’*) was a new and controversial matter (Sym. *Rel.* 4 from 384). The carriage in the insigne is ‘a symbol of stature and power, attracting all eyes to one in a high curved-back carriage gleaming with metal reliefs and drawn by four horses’.⁹⁹⁰

In the later Roman Empire urban prefects of Rome and Constantinople were equipped with central offices which played an important functional and symbolic role in the daily actions of the office-holders. Although the buildings in both cities have not yet been identified archaeologically with certainty, epigraphic and literary sources allow some comparison of the offices of the urban prefects in Rome⁹⁹¹ and Constantinople. Each of them was located in the center of the city and reflected the administrative and symbolic requirements of their occupants, including courtrooms, rooms for correspondence and archives, as well as prisons. From outside the buildings were identifiable as official seats by inscriptions and statues, and served as settings of imperial

⁹⁸⁹ Berger, *The Insignia*, 40.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid., 36-37.

⁹⁹¹ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 243-51

ceremonies. Thus, inscriptions discovered near S. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome, were used to prove the location in this area of the *officia* of the *praefectura urbis* during the late Roman period.⁹⁹² However, the same prefect could act in a similar way not only at his official site, but also in other public edifices of Rome.⁹⁹³

According to the *Notitia*, the urban *officium* of prefect was headed by chief of staff (*princeps*), chief deputy (*cornicularius*), and chief assistant. *Clarissimus* by the end of the fourth century, *princeps* was the highest ranked official under urban prefect.⁹⁹⁴ *Cornicularius* was the second one in the hierarchy, as a secretary of prefect and an assistant of *princeps*. *Perfectissimus* from perhaps 366 (*CTh* 8.7.9), *cornicularius* may have become *clarissimus* in 408.⁹⁹⁵ The jurisdiction of city prefect extended hundred miles from Rome. In matters of rank and promotion, the position of *principes* as chiefs of staff and urban *cornicularius* was similar to that of the praetorian.⁹⁹⁶ A letter of Symmachus (3.87) mentions the clarissimate attained by retiring *princeps* of the urban *officium*. Since *princeps* came to the *officium* from the *schola agentum in rebus*, and his rank in office or upon retirement differed from that granted to bureaucrats rising within the *officium*. Although *cornicularius* stood not far below *princeps officii* in rank, on retirement he received the rank of *perfectissimus*, the same rank as given to the *protectores et domestici*, the imperial guards. Inscriptional evidence, although fairly abundant for prefects of Rome, is, however, scanty for their *officiales*, who are better known only at the end of the fourth century.

Of all the highest imperial office-holders of the period, city prefect alone maintained his traditional dress, the civilian toga. Before 384, *nomenclatores* formed an armed guard that accompanied the prefect in all his movements and added to traditional lictors, too few to effectively protect the functionary. Urban prefect was addressed by ‘superiority’ terms: *culmen* (from 385); *celsitudo* (from 365); *magnificentia* (from 364); *magnitude* (from 382); *sublimitas* (from 321); *auctoritas* (from 368); *eminentia* (365-89). ‘Personal quality’ terms applied to prefect comprised *gravitas* (326) and *sinceritas tua* (365-99).⁹⁹⁷

A few imperial laws addressed to the city prefects are preserved epigraphically. Thus, a constitution of Valentinian I or II, perhaps addressed to urban prefect Eutherius, in favor of the St Peter’s basilica, is dated to either 372, 379, 382, or 383.⁹⁹⁸ Similar to imperial constitutions,

⁹⁹² Maria Elena Marchese, “La Prefettura urbana a Roma. Un tentativo di localizzazione attraverso le epigrafi,” *Mélanges de l’école française de Rome* 119.2 (2007): 613-34.

⁹⁹³ Silvia Orlandi, “Urban prefects and the epigraphic evidence of late-antique Rome,” *Antiquité Tardive* 25 (2017), 216.

⁹⁹⁴ On *princeps* in the *officium* of *praefectus urbi*, see Sinnigen, *The officium*, 14-32; Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 229-33.

⁹⁹⁵ Ernst Stein, *Untersuchungen über das Officium der Prätorianerpräfektur seit Diokletian* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1962), 25-26 on the grounds of comparison with the officials in the *officium* of *comes sacrarum largitionum*.

⁹⁹⁶ Sinnigen, *The officium*, 35-37.

⁹⁹⁷ Mathisen, “Imperial Honorifics.”

⁹⁹⁸ *CIL* 6 31982=ICUR 2 4099. Feissel, “Les actes de l’État,” 127 no. 97.

prefectorial edicts began with words '*praefectus urbi edixit*'. The original text of some of these accompanying edicts survives. In these cases, one can compare the wording of the prefectorial edict with that of the accompanying imperial edict. Was the average Roman who saw an edict issued in the name of prefect aware of the legal distinction that prefect was merely acting as a stand-in for the emperor? Why did imperial legislation have to be 'validated' by an edict of prefect or another official? To what extent, if any, did imperial officials have the opportunity to introduce novelties of their own into their edicts? Although answers to these questions are not readily available, edicts issued by prefects elucidate the role played by imperial officials in the making and issuing of legislation.

Inscriptions preserve the text of some prefectorial edicts, mostly related to *annona* corporations. First of all, two edicts of Turcius Apronianus in 362-63 concerning the activity of *pecuarii* and *suarii* (*CTh* 14.4.3-4), documents on the reorganization of the market of meat.⁹⁹⁹ Another edict, fragmentarily preserved, contains provisions relating to the service of wine distribution and most probably dates from the fourth century.¹⁰⁰⁰ Yet another edict relates to the corporation of *tabernarii* issued by prefect Taraccius Bassus in 375-76. These first-hand sources shed light on both the attributions and the *jus edicendi* of prefect. Three similar fragments with lists of topographically arranged names come from different places in Rome, including the Basilica Iulia in the Forum Romanum (fig. 80).¹⁰⁰¹ These fragmentary inscriptions from after 374 contain the lists, drawn up on the order of prefect of Rome.

By mid-fourth century, urban prefect was the head of the senate, convoked and presided over by him. Although honorific inscriptions to emperors usually identify prefect alone as awardee, their placement in the Roman Forum suggests that he acted as an 'epigraphic spokesman' for the whole senate.¹⁰⁰² In the area of the Forum Romanum all dedications made by the senate were under the supervision of city prefect. Intermediary in all dealings between senate and emperor, prefect was well placed to express its loyalty to the current regime, by setting up public honors to the emperors in the Roman Forum. Among the number of statues to emperors and Caesars awarded by acting prefects in the Roman Forum, a statue to Crispus was dedicated by Ovinus Gallicanus in 317.¹⁰⁰³ Next, Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus iunior *signo* Honorius, city prefect

⁹⁹⁹ *CIL* 6 1770, 1771.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *CIL* 6 1785.

¹⁰⁰¹ *CIL* 6 1766=31894=41328=*ILCV* 672,1; *CIL* 6 41329=31893=*ILCV* 672,3; *CIL* 6 41330=10099=31899=*ILCV* 672,2. Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 273-75 attributes the fragments of *CIL* 6 31893 and others to a later edict, under Theodosius I or Theodosius II.

¹⁰⁰² Chastagnol, *La Préfecture*; Robert Chenault, *Rome Without Emperors: The Revival of a Senatorial City in the Fourth Century CE* (PhD Diss., University of Michigan, 2008).

¹⁰⁰³ *CIL* 6 1155=*ILS* 716=*LSA*-1094. It was recorded by Ligorio as from the Roman Forum, towards the Forum Boarium, but this cannot be ascertained. Gallicanus' consulship of the same year is, strangely, omitted in the inscription. *PLRE* 1, 383 Ovinus Gallicanus 3.

in 334-35 and consul in 334, set up an equestrian statue of Constantine in the Roman Forum.¹⁰⁰⁴ The fourth-century *Notitia Urbis Romae* records an ‘*equus Constantini*’ in the Roman Forum, in the vicinity of the rostra and the senate house.¹⁰⁰⁵ Then, three dedications of identical wording to Constantius II celebrating the victory over Magnentius were set up by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus between the curia and the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum in 357 (figs. 32, 31+33).¹⁰⁰⁶ The statues were almost certainly dedicated shortly before a very rare imperial visit to Rome in 357, during Orfitus’ second term as urban prefect.¹⁰⁰⁷ In 352-53, then prefect of the city, Neratius Cerealis, had already set up an equestrian monument in his honor in the same area¹⁰⁰⁸ of the Forum in order to proclaim the city’s loyalty to its legitimate sovereign.¹⁰⁰⁹ Together with the equestrian monument dedicated to Constantine, this part of the Forum was closely linked to the Constantinian dynasty by the middle of the fourth century. It is possible that it was also there that Orfitus dedicated a statue to the then Caesar Julian, again during his second urban prefecture.¹⁰¹⁰ Also, Flavius Leontius, city prefect in 355-56, erected a statue of Emperor Constantius II in the Roman Forum while in office (fig. 40).¹⁰¹¹ Anonymous city prefect set up a dedication to an emperor, possibly Constantius II, in the Roman Forum between 337 and 361.¹⁰¹² The same Leontius is the best candidate for the awarder.

Of the emperors of the Valentinian and Theodosian dynasty, a now lost dedication by Volusianus to Emperor Valens was set up in the Roman Forum, where the base was discovered in front of the curia.¹⁰¹³ Erected in the year of Volusianus’ urban prefecture, the statue was a pendant with the statue dedication of Emperor Valentinian I of the same place and year.¹⁰¹⁴ Thereafter, city prefect Lucius Valerius Septimius Bassus dedicated a monument with statues of Gratian,

¹⁰⁰⁴ *CIL* 6 1141=*LSA*-1263.

¹⁰⁰⁵ The same equestrian statue recorded as the *cavallus Constantini* in the same area by the ninth-century *Einsiedeln Itinerary*, see *LTUR* 2, 226-27 (P. Verduchi).

¹⁰⁰⁶ *CIL* 6 1161=*LSA*-1278; *CIL* 6 1162=*LSA*-1279. Humphries, “Roman Senators,” 39-40 points out that the title *toto orbe victor ac triumphator* is very close to *totius orbis dominus*, which according to Ammianus (15.1.3) Constantius liked to use for himself.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 144 suggests that he took office at the beginning of March 357, whereas *PLRE* 1, 652 Orfitus 3 suggests January of that same year.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Lanciani, R., *Storia degli scavi*, 2, 204. It was possibly also set up in the Roman Forum, near the ancient Curia.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *CIL* 6 1158=*ILS* 731=*LSA*-838. In all likelihood, Cerealis was readying this impressive monument in anticipation of Constantius’ visit either for the celebration of a triumph over Magnentius or the festivities on the occasion of his thirtieth anniversary. Both prefects involved in these dedications were committed supporters of Constantius during the usurpation of Magnentius. Humphries, “Roman Senators,” 39: both prefects involved in these dedications were committed supporters of Constantius during the usurpation of Magnentius.

¹⁰¹⁰ *CIL* 6 1168=*LSA*-1099.

¹⁰¹¹ *CIL* 6 31397=*LSA*-1361. The base was found on the Sacra Via, in front of the so-called Temple of Romulus. *PLRE* 1, 503 Flavius Leontius 22.

¹⁰¹² *CIL* 6 31396=40781=*LSA*-1497. A fragmentary plaque of the statue base was found in the Forum Romanum, but the exact findspot is not known. The identification of the honorand (certainly an emperor) as Constantius is based on the similarity with Leontius’ dedication. *PLRE* 1, 1009 Anonymus 14.

¹⁰¹³ *CIL* 6 1174=*LSA*-1290.

¹⁰¹⁴ *CIL* 6 36955=*LSA*-1371.

Valentinian II, and Theodosius I in the Roman Forum in 379-83 (fig. 62).¹⁰¹⁵ The monument supported a bronze statue group, as the dowel holes suggest.¹⁰¹⁶ It is said to have been found inserted into a medieval structure, probably the late antique rostra itself. Another monument from Rome of unknown type with the name of Bassus preserved on it is dated to the years of his prefecture.¹⁰¹⁷ Further, urban prefect Ceionius Rufius Albinus dedicated a statue of Emperor Valentinian II in the Roman Forum prepared for the visit of Theodosius to Rome in 389, when to celebrate his triumph over Magnus Maximus.¹⁰¹⁸ Another base with identical wording from the Roman Forum records a statue dedicated to Emperor Theodosius I (fig. 36).¹⁰¹⁹ Yet another base with the same inscription was dedicated to Arcadius in the same place (fig. 37).¹⁰²⁰ All three bases were found in the Roman Forum, on the Sacra Via near the Arch of Septimius Severus. A plaque from a base for posthumous statue of Thermantia, mother of Emperor Theodosius I, also comes from the Roman Forum and dates to 389-91.¹⁰²¹ Ruck suggests a colossal statue on the grounds of the dimensions of the base.¹⁰²² The inscription was found in the area of the Roman Forum, on the Sacra Via near the Clivus Palatinus.

Statues to emperors were further set up in the imperial fora. C. Ceionius Rufus Volusianus, urban prefect in 310-11 and 313-15, consul in 311 and 314, set up a statue of the emperor Constantine I in the Forum of Trajan at Rome in 314.¹⁰²³ The statue to Constantine was set up during Volusianus' second term as urban prefect in the year of his second consulship, 314.¹⁰²⁴ The inscription does not mention that he was holding these offices for the second time – usually a source of great pride – as they had been held under the usurper. Sextus Aurelius Victor, city prefect and historian, erected a statue of Emperor Theodosius I at Rome in 389.¹⁰²⁵ The now lost base was discovered near the Forum of Trajan, and it is possible that the statue was dedicated there. Nevertheless, it is possible that it came from any of the monumental complexes that existed in that same area. Also, Nicomachus Flavianus the younger as prefect dedicated a statue of the emperor Arcadius in the Forum of Caesar in 399-400.¹⁰²⁶ The exceptional size of the base and the fittings on

¹⁰¹⁵ *CIL* 6 1184a=*ILS* 782=*LSA*-1294.

¹⁰¹⁶ Franz Alto Bauer, "Das Denkmal der Kaiser Gratian, Valentinian II. und Theodosius am Forum Romanum," *Römische Mitteilungen* 106 (1990): 213-34.

¹⁰¹⁷ *CIL* 6 37132. *PLRE* 1, 158 Lucius Valerius Septimius Bassus 20.

¹⁰¹⁸ *CIL* 6 3791a=31413=39959a=*LSA*-1356.

¹⁰¹⁹ *CIL* 6 36959=*LSA*-1374.

¹⁰²⁰ *CIL* 3791b=31414=*LSA*-1357.

¹⁰²¹ *CIL* 6 39960=*ILS* 8950=*LSA*-2667.

¹⁰²² Brigitte Ruck, *Die Grossen dieser Welt: Kolossalporträts im antiken Rom* (Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 2007), 260.

¹⁰²³ *CIL* 6 1140=*ILS* 692=*LSA*-837.

¹⁰²⁴ Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 57.

¹⁰²⁵ *CIL* 6 1186=*ILS* 2945=*LSA*-1304.

¹⁰²⁶ *CIL* 6 40798=*AE* 1934, 147=*LSA*-784.

its top might indicate a statue group.¹⁰²⁷ The first term of Nicomachus Flavianus iunior took place during the usurpation of Eugenius in 394, but it is possible that *iterum* (1.4) refers to a cancelled honor of his first urban prefecture.¹⁰²⁸ Flavianus' reappointment to the urban prefecture in 399 marked his return to public life after the years of enforced retirement following the defeat of Eugenius.

Other statuary honors for emperors were put up in the area of the *praefectura urbis*. Fabius Titianus, consul in 337 and city prefect in 339-41 and again in 350-51, dedicated two statues during his second term in office under Magnentius. On the one the name of the awarder was later partly erased together with the name of the honorand as part of the *damnatio memoriae*.¹⁰²⁹ The base was discovered on the Oppian hill, between the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli and the Colosseum. As it was re-used after this dedication, it may not have been found in its original mid-fourth century context as this area was the findspot for dedications by urban prefects, and it has been suggested that it was the location of the urban prefecture.¹⁰³⁰ The iteration mentioned in the inscription refers to Titianus' office as prefect.¹⁰³¹

Three more bases come from the Aventine hill. Firstly, another inscription of almost identical wording set up for Magnentius by Fabius Titianus and discovered on the Aventine, has the name of the awarder completely preserved (fig. 42).¹⁰³² The name of Magnentius was certainly affected by the usurper's *damnatio memoriae*, but it is unlikely that Titianus, a keen supporter of the usurpation, would not have suffered *damnatio* himself. Secondly, Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus dedicated at least five statues to imperial honorands during his two city prefectures. A statue of Constantius II was set up by him perhaps at Ostia in 353-55 during his first term in office (fig. 44).¹⁰³³ The base is recorded as having been found on the Aventine hill. The dedication was made in the name of the prefect of the city, but the fact that the dedication was actually carried out possibly by *curator statuarum*, and not by the prefect himself, supports the idea that the dedication of this base also may have taken place in Ostia as the dating inscription on the side suggests. The iteration mentioned in the text refers to his role as judge of appeals, and not to the prefecture. Thirdly, Leontius also dedicated another statue to Constantius Augustus (fig. 43).¹⁰³⁴ The base was found on the Aventine hill where other dedications to emperors were also discovered, and they probably

¹⁰²⁷ Brigitte Ruck, "Eintracht und Sieg: zwei Brüder an der Macht. Die Arcadiusbasis auf dem Caesarforum," in Alföldy and Panciera, *Inscriptliche Denkmäler*, 211-25.

¹⁰²⁸ *CTh* 15.14.12. See also Charles Hedrick, *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 95-98.

¹⁰²⁹ *CIL* 6 1166a=LSA-1281. Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 111.

¹⁰³⁰ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 243-51

¹⁰³¹ Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 110-11.

¹⁰³² *CIL* 6 1167=LSA-1284.

¹⁰³³ *CIL* 6 1159a=14 461a=LSA-1654 (Ostia (Latium)).

¹⁰³⁴ *CIL* 6 1160=LSA-1097.

came from the baths of Decius in the vicinity.¹⁰³⁵ The inscriptions record that he had served as a high-ranking judge, before doing so again as urban prefect, but it is not known precisely in which office this was.¹⁰³⁶

Dedications to imperial honorands were erected by prefects also in other parts of Rome. Thus, an unknown *praefectus urbi* set up another statue to Constantius II in 337-61, which comes from the area sacra di Largo Argentina.¹⁰³⁷ Maximus, city prefect in 361-62, dedicated a statue probably to Emperor Julian with the base found in the Campus Martius.¹⁰³⁸ A dedication in the Baths of Caracalla for Emperor Valentinian I was supervised by the prefect of the city, Caius Ceionius Rufus Volusianus in 365.¹⁰³⁹ The text emphasizes the importance of the imperial victories and triumphs, possibly a response to the joint threat of the Alamannic incursions and the usurpation of Procopius. The inscription is perfectly mirrored in a pendant dedication to Emperor Valens.¹⁰⁴⁰ Another now lost base found in the same Baths of Caracalla was dedicated to the emperor Valentinian.¹⁰⁴¹ A statue of the 'Victories of our emperors' was set up by Caius Ceionius Rufus Volusianus as prefect of the city in the Baths of Caracalla in 365.¹⁰⁴² Also, a statue was dedicated to Emperor Theodosius I by the prefect of the city Faltonius Probus Alypius, who was in office in 391 (fig. 30).¹⁰⁴³ The base was discovered in the Colosseum, which might not have been its original setting. Orlandi suggests it might have been taken there for re-use in a restoration, as building material.¹⁰⁴⁴ One more statue is of unknown provenance from Rome by Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus iunior, city prefect in 334-35 and consul in 334, for the emperor Constantine I in 334.¹⁰⁴⁵

Furthermore, a statue was set up in a monumental setting by Symmachus the elder, former prefect of Rome, to Emperor Valens on account of his (and his co-emperor's) foresight in planning and completing the Valentinian bridge to serve the needs of the eternal city.¹⁰⁴⁶ The inscription features the same dedicatory formula with the same overseer as the ones on two accompanying statue bases for Victories.¹⁰⁴⁷ The works on the bridge and triumphal arch standing at the eastern side leading to the Campus Martius were carried out during the prefecture of Symmachus. The

¹⁰³⁵ Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 121-23.

¹⁰³⁶ Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 147-49.

¹⁰³⁷ *CIL* 6 40780=*AE* 1948, 97=*AE* 1981, 39.

¹⁰³⁸ *CIL* 6 31401=*LSA*-1498. *PLRE* 1, 590 Maximus 17.

¹⁰³⁹ *CIL* 6 1171=*LSA*-1286.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *CIL* 6 1172=*LSA*-1287.

¹⁰⁴¹ *CIL* 6 1173a=*LSA*-1288. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 197.

¹⁰⁴² *CIL* 6 794=*LSA*-1530.

¹⁰⁴³ *CIL* 6 1185=*ILS* 783=*LSA*-1303.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Orlandi, *Anfiteatri*, 27.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *CIL* 6 1142=*LSA*-1089.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *CIL* 6 31402=*ILS* 769=*LSA*-1820.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *CIL* 6 31403=*LSA*-2584; *CIL* 6 31404=*LSA*-2585. On the Campus Martius end of the bridge there were probably also column monuments for the reigning emperors, see also *LSA*-1820, *LSA*-1072, and *LSA*-580.

inscription explicitly states that the honor of dedicating the bridge was conferred upon Symmachus as private citizen after his term in office though a personal favor of the emperors.

City prefect was equally responsible for the re-erection of statues in late antique Rome. Multiple inscriptions refer to the practice of moving or restoring statues that was common in fourth century Rome, but which is only attested in important public spaces, such as the Forum Romanum and the imperial baths. The fact that some dedications were carried out by command of the emperors is unusual in late antique Rome. However, urban prefect did not merely embody the relationship between the emperor and the city of Rome and functioned as an ‘intermediary’ in a range of administrative interactions between emperor and his subjects.¹⁰⁴⁸ The very imperial presence in Rome was manifested through proxy. Fourth-century prefects re-erected statues, moving them from their old locations, to serve as ornaments for public spaces and buildings. They were presumably classified as ‘art objects’ chosen for their beauty. Overall, the following examples illustrate that restored statues conveyed the renewal of senatorial virtue while the placement of so many statues in the most highly trafficked sectors of the Forum reveal that the statues brought back life to the precinct’s dilapidated buildings.

Certainly, the Roman Forum was the most prestigious space for the setting up of statues, especially those moved from other locations.¹⁰⁴⁹ Fabius Titianus was responsible for eleven known dedications at Rome. Of these, two statues were newly dedicated during his second term. During his first term as urban prefect he re-erected at least seven statues in the Forum Romanum, dated to 339-41 (figs. 51-53).¹⁰⁵⁰ Gabinius Vettius Probianus re-erected at least nine statues of an unstated subject in the Roman Forum in 377.¹⁰⁵¹ These dedications illustrate the importance of statues in the celebration of Rome’s heritage and monumental past.¹⁰⁵² Statues set up in front of the basilica Aemilia and the basilica Iulia by Probianus underscored the architectural implications of re-erecting monuments. Inscriptions from at least three separate bases state that he erected the statues not as honorific monuments, but as an ornament for the Basilica Iulia that he restored (fig. 56).¹⁰⁵³ Another two now lost bases with identical wording record the embellishment of an unnamed basilica, probably referring to the basilica Iulia, where other statues were dedicated.¹⁰⁵⁴ Yet another extant fragment of the marble base for a statue, whose findspot is not known, might have originally come

¹⁰⁴⁸ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 66-80; Chenault, *Rome Without Emperors*, 74-75.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Machado, “Building the Past,” 179-85. Seven statues were re-erected in one and the same place during his first prefecture, while two more were moved to different locations during the second one. The subject of all these nine statue bases is not stated in their inscriptions, which means that these were older statues restored and/or moved to a new location.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *CIL* 6 1653a=*LSA*-1328; *CIL* 6 1653b=*LSA*-1329; *CIL* 6 1653c=31879=*LSA*-1330; *CIL* 6 31880=*LSA*-1331; *CIL* 6 37107=*LSA*-1333; *CIL* 6 37108=*LSA*-1334; *CIL* 6 31881=*LSA*-1332.

¹⁰⁵¹ Machado, “Building the Past,” 17-71. *PLRE* 1 734 (?Gabinius Vettius) Probianus 4.

¹⁰⁵² *Ibid.*, 179-85. Probianus was responsible for a series of dedications in the Forum, moving statues from other parts of the city to this central location.

¹⁰⁵³ *CIL* 6 1156b=1658c=*LSA*-1277; *CIL* 6 1658d=*LSA*-1342; *CIL* 6 31886=37105=*LSA*-1362.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *CIL* 6 1658a=*LSA*-1340; *CIL* 6 1658b=*LSA*-1341; *CIL* 6 41337=*LSA*-1433.

from the Roman Forum, where Probianus dedicated a series of other such monuments.¹⁰⁵⁵ Perhaps cult images originating from temples furnished Probianus with statues that he secularized by transferring them to public space,¹⁰⁵⁶ but another two of his inscriptions merely state that prefect diligently restored statues, fallen in a fatal calamity, and brought to the most frequented part of the city (figs. 54-55).¹⁰⁵⁷ G. Kalas interprets the numerous statues set up by Probianus as an indication of the latter's desire to create 'an exhibition', 'an outdoor museum' in the Roman Forum.¹⁰⁵⁸

Prefects restored the baths through the use of statues as decoration, as known from the inscribed bases. The inscriptions record the dedication of statues, but do not usually specify the subjects represented. The Aventine, and more specifically the baths of Decius, are the provenance of several re-erected bases. Sextus Anicius Paulinus, consul in 325 and urban prefect in 331-33, re-erected a statue at Rome during his stay in office.¹⁰⁵⁹ The base was discovered on the eastern part of the Aventine hill,¹⁰⁶⁰ but it is likely that it was set up in the baths of Decius, which were located in this same area,¹⁰⁶¹ in spite of the fact that some of the other bases certainly were from other provenances. If the identification of Paulinus as Sextus Anicius Paulinus prefect of Rome in 331-333 is correct,¹⁰⁶² then this would be the earliest known case of movement of statues in late antique Rome,¹⁰⁶³ possibly related to the institution of the office of *curator statuarum*.¹⁰⁶⁴ Titianus also moved statues from abandoned or decayed spaces to different locations during his second term as prefect, in 350-351. One of them, erased probably after the downfall of Magnentius in 353, was discovered near the baths of Titus, but its original provenance cannot be established.¹⁰⁶⁵ Volusianus was responsible for setting up a statue re-erected 'for the public embellishment' at command of Emperors Valentinian I and Valens probably in the Baths of Caracalla in 365 (fig. 57).¹⁰⁶⁶ Other bases associated to the same prefect and Emperors Valentinian and Valens were found in this area during excavations of the baths.¹⁰⁶⁷ Iunius Pomponius Ammonius, urban prefect in 367, re-erected a

¹⁰⁵⁵ *CIL* 6 41338=LSA-1578.

¹⁰⁵⁶ John Curran, "Moving Statues in Late Antique Rome: Problems of Perspective," *Art History* 17.1 (1994): 46-58, disputes the idea that Probianus transferred deconsecrated pagan statues that was presented by G. B. De Rossi.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *CIL* 6 3864a=31883=LSA-1358; *CIL* 6 3864b=31884=LSA-1359.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Gregor Kalas, "Writing and Restoration in Rome: Inscriptions, Statues and the Late Antique Preservation of Buildings," in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, eds. Caroline Goodson and Anne E. Lester (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 41.

¹⁰⁵⁹ *CIL* 6 1659=LSA-1343.

¹⁰⁶⁰ A number of bases were found in this area: LSA-1472 (mentioning the domus of Praetextatus), LSA-1654 (certainly from Ostia), LSA-1097, LSA-1284 and *CIL* 6 1008 (to Marcus Aurelius).

¹⁰⁶¹ Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 153.

¹⁰⁶² Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 207. *PLRE* 1 Anicius Paulinus 12, prefect in 380 and probably the former's son or grandson, was in charge only for a few months. *CIL* 6, p. 4725; *PLRE* 1, 679-680 Paulinus 15; Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 85; Rodolfo Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome* (London: Macmillan 1899), 36.

¹⁰⁶³ Lanciani, *The Destruction*, 36; *CIL* 6, p. 4725.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 52-53.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *CIL* 6 40783b=41335a=LSA-1562.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *CIL* 6 1170=LSA-1285. Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 168-69. It is unusual that it was commanded by the emperors themselves, indicating their special interest for the city of Rome.

¹⁰⁶⁷ LSA-1286, LSA-1287 and LSA-1288. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 197.

statue at Rome in the late fourth century,¹⁰⁶⁸ whose now lost base is reported as having been found on the slope of the Caelian hill close the baths of Caracalla.¹⁰⁶⁹ This statue base may have come from these baths mentioned also in the building inscription of prefect and may have been part of the works supervised there by him.¹⁰⁷⁰

More bases that supported rededicated statues of unstated subjects were moved to some new locations in late antiquity. Another base re-erected by Titianus during his second prefecture was found out of context on the Caelian hill in re-use.¹⁰⁷¹ Also, at least three statues were re-erected by L. Turcius Apronianus *signo* Asterius, prefect of the city, at Rome in 362-64. One base was found in the Campus Martius,¹⁰⁷² another at the beginning of Via Appia, near the Circus Maximus (fig. 48),¹⁰⁷³ yet another similarly in the area of the Circus Maximus.¹⁰⁷⁴ Two further inscriptions record a re-erection of statues at Rome by Tanaucius Isfalangius, prefect of the city in 374-75 (fig. 58).¹⁰⁷⁵ The inscriptions are recorded as having been found on the eastern part of the Aventine hill.¹⁰⁷⁶ In addition, a fragment of a plaque from the statue base set up by Iulianus, prefect of the city, is preserved from fourth-century Rome (fig. 49).¹⁰⁷⁷ The fragment was found near the Colosseum. Three urban prefects are known with the name Iulianus, active in the fourth century: Amnius Anicius Iulianus (326-29), M. Ceionius Iulianus (333), and Sextius Rusticus Iulianus (387/88). Finally, Olybrius re-erected a statue in 368-70.¹⁰⁷⁸ Their inscriptions record the re-dedications of the statues by prefects of Rome as was common practice in the fourth century.

What regards honorific statues for prefects, an accumulation of honors such as a consulship received during the urban prefecture was a timely occasion for dedications for Caius Ceionius Rufius Volusianus (314) (fig. 21),¹⁰⁷⁹ Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus Iunior (334),¹⁰⁸⁰ Ceioinius Rufius Albinus (335),¹⁰⁸¹ and L. Aradius Valerius Proculus (340).¹⁰⁸²

¹⁰⁶⁸ *CIL* 6 1671=*LSA*-1353. *PLRE* 1, 55 Iunius Pomponius Ammonius 9.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *CIL* 6, p. 4730.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Giorgio Crimi and Silvia Orlandi, "Un prefetto urbano 'ritrovato': Iunius Pomponius Ammonius," *ZPE* 204 (2017): 287.

¹⁰⁷¹ *CIL* 6 1654=*LSA*-1335.

¹⁰⁷² *CIL* 6 1655b=*LSA*-1337. *PLRE* 1, 88-89 L. Turcius Apronianus *signo* Asterius 10.

¹⁰⁷³ *CIL* 6 1655a=*LSA*-1336.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *CIL* 6 40782b=*LSA*-1550. It is impossible to be certain whether this was the area of its setting up by Apronianus, but the existence of two bases, probably by the same prefect, reported as having been found in the same area, supports this idea.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *CIL* 6 1672b=*LSA*-1389; *CIL* 6 1672a=*LSA*-302. Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 194, for the dating. It is possible that *iterum* ('again', 'for the second time') in I.4 of the second inscription refers to his post as an imperial judge, and not to urban prefecture, just as in *CIL* 6 1672b.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 6, 335.

¹⁰⁷⁷ *CIL* 6 32002=37115=*LSA*-1537. *PLRE* 1, 473-74 Amnius Anicius Iulianus 23; 476 M. Ceionius Iulianus 26; 479 Sextius Rusticus Iulianus 37.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *CIL* 6 1657=*LSA*-1339. *PLRE* 1, 640-42 Olybrius 3.

¹⁰⁷⁹ *CIL* 6 1707=41319=*ILS* 1213=*AE* 2003, 207=*LSA*-1415; *AE* 2003, 207=*LSA*-1573. The *cursus honorum* excludes Volusianus' urban prefecture (in 310) under Maxentius. Porena, *Le origini*, 265-67.

¹⁰⁸⁰ *CIL* 6 1682=*ILS* 1220=*LSA*-1394.

¹⁰⁸¹ *CIL* 6 1708=31906=41318=*LSA*-1416.

¹⁰⁸² *CIL* 6 1690=*ILS* 1240=*LSA*-1396; *CIL* 6 1691=*LSA*-1397; *CIL* 6 1692=*LSA*-1398.

Urban prefects were memorialized in the honorific dedications set up for their male family members and relatives. Six inscriptions, commemorating L. Turcius Apronianus, prefect of the city in 339, were set up in honor of his sons, L. Turcius Apronianus Asterius and L. Turcius Secundus Asterius (fig. 25).¹⁰⁸³ Flavius Ulpus Erythrius, governor of Thebais, who received a gilded bronze statue at Antinoopolis,¹⁰⁸⁴ was son-in-law of Theodorus, prefect of the city of Constantinople in 385 or 387. The last distich of the epigram (ll.6-9) mentions, in a reference to the noble family of Erythrius, his father-in-law who held office as urban prefect of Constantinople: ‘on a conspicuous chariot, he (i.e. the emperor) made guardian of the younger Rome’.¹⁰⁸⁵ The urban prefect was entitled to make use of an official state coach (*iudicale carpentum*), alluded to in poetic language of the inscription.¹⁰⁸⁶ Urban prefects were also commemorated in the honorific inscriptions, rare though they were, erected for their female family members: wives, daughters, and granddaughters. The urban prefecture of Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius is mentioned on the base of the honorific statue of his wife Tyrrania Anicia Iuliana, erected at Rome in 379.¹⁰⁸⁷ Aco(nius) Catullinus, city prefect in 342-44, is mentioned as such on the lost inscription at Rome from 387, probably from a base for a statue of his daughter Fabia Aconia Paulina, priestess and wife of Praetextatus.¹⁰⁸⁸ Also, anonymous city prefect is commemorated on the honorific statue for his granddaughter Aemilia Andronice in Rome between 370 and 384.¹⁰⁸⁹

Owing to its high value and prestige the urban prefecture features most prominently epigraphically on honorific dedications as a topmost post among other offices or honors. The *cursus* of Lollianus¹⁰⁹⁰ and Cerealis¹⁰⁹¹ spotlights the city prefecture preceding the consulship. A statue of Lucius Aurelius Avianus Symmachus, consul designate and former prefect of the city, commanded by the emperors, was set up in Rome in 377 (fig. 14).¹⁰⁹² Three of the statues mentioning the urban prefecture of Praetextatus were set up in Rome at a later date, between 384 and 387.¹⁰⁹³

¹⁰⁸³ Honorific inscriptions: *CIL* 6 1768=*ILS* 1229=*LSA*-1467; *CIL* 6 1769=*LSA*-1468; *CIL* 6 1772=*ILS* 1230. Building inscriptions: *CIL* 11 6218=11 6219=*ILS* 706=*AE* 2000, 43 (Fanum Fortunae (Flaminia)); *CIL* 14 3582=*ILS* 729 and *CIL* 14 3583 (Tibur (Latium)). *PLRE* 1, 88 L. Turcius Apronianus 9.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Étienne Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1969), 15.

¹⁰⁸⁵ *LSA*-877 (Antinoopolis (Thebais)). Theodorus is possibly identical with *PLRE* 1, 888 Theodorus 16, proconsul of Achaia in 379/95 and/or *PLRE* 1, 889 Theodorus 17, an influential official at court in the East in 388-90 and 393. The emperor mentioned is presumably the senior Emperor Theodosius I.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Berger, *The Insignia*, 34 and figs. 1, 46, 48; Winfried Weber, “Das Ehrenrecht des Wagenfahrens in römischen Städten, Spätantike und frühes Christentum,” in *Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, ed. Herbert Beck (Frankfurt am Main: Liebieghaus, 1983), 310.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *CIL* 6 1714=*ILS* 1271=*LSA*-1270.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *CIL* 6 1780=*ILS* 1260=*LSA*-1474.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *CIL* 6 1674=*LSA*-1391. *PLRE* 1, 1009 Anonymus 19.

¹⁰⁹⁰ *CIL* 6 1723+1757=37112=*ILS* 1232=*LSA*-1426.

¹⁰⁹¹ *CIL* 6 1745=*ILS* 1245=*LSA*-1455.

¹⁰⁹² *CIL* 6 1698=*ILS* 1257=*LSA*-342.

¹⁰⁹³ *LSA*-1409, *LSA*-1472, *LSA*-1473.

Symmachus, former prefect of the city and orator, probably received a posthumous statue at Rome in the early fifth century (fig. 2).¹⁰⁹⁴

Urban prefects were honored with statues while in office or shortly afterwards. The city fora were the primary public venues for such honors. The Forum of Trajan was a very prestigious location, and dedications there were almost monopolized by emperors, sometimes at the request of the senate. The honorific inscription to L. Aradius Valerius Proculus was set up in the Forum of Trajan in 337.¹⁰⁹⁵ It contains an *oratio ad senatum* of Constantine in honor of prefect of the city.¹⁰⁹⁶ Another inscription was probably dedicated to Bassus in the Forum of Trajan while he was prefect of Rome, in 382-83, or very soon afterwards.¹⁰⁹⁷ Several fragments of the late fourth-century inscribed plaque with an honorific dedication, probably from the statue base of an urban prefect, *vir magnificus*, were found in the Roman Forum, in front of the Curia.¹⁰⁹⁸ The importance of this dedication makes the Forum, and the area next to the senate-house, a very likely possibility for the original location (*celeberrimo loco*).

The provenance of many bases is uncertain or unknown, although they must have been installed in an important space in Rome. A statue of Proculus was set up at Rome.¹⁰⁹⁹ The most probable date for this dedication would have been between 337, when he was appointed prefect of the city for the first time, and 352, when he was prefect for the second time. Ceionius Rufius Albinus may have received a dedication in Rome as city prefect in 389-91.¹¹⁰⁰ A statue of Faltonius Probus Alypius, prefect of the city and patron was set up in Rome in 391 (fig. 19).¹¹⁰¹ The statue was dedicated to the incumbent prefect of the city. The base was excavated in the southern Campus Martius. It is not clear whether this was its original location, but in all probability it was out of context.

Others came from semi-public or domestic space. A bronze statue of Attius Insteius Tertullus, prefect of the city, was erected in Rome in 307-310 (fig. 9)¹¹⁰² and found in the gardens behind the basilica of Maxentius. Another base, dedicated to a relative of Tertullus, was found in this same location, suggesting that this could be the site of the *domus* of Tertullus.¹¹⁰³ Another dedication to Proculus was erected during his second term as prefect of the city in 351-52.¹¹⁰⁴ The inscription lists many of his offices, including his second term as prefect of the city during the

¹⁰⁹⁴ *CIL* 6 1699=*ILS* 2946=*LSA*-270.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *CIL* 6 40776=*AE* 1934, 158=*LSA*-2685.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Weisweiler, "Inscribing Imperial Power."

¹⁰⁹⁷ *CIL* 6 1679=*ILS* 1262=*LSA*-1354.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *CIL* 6 41344a=*LSA*-1572. No *PLRE* entry.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *CIL* 6 1694=*LSA*-1400.

¹¹⁰⁰ *CIL* 6 41334=*LSA*-1797.

¹¹⁰¹ *CIL* 6 31975=*LSA*-2666.

¹¹⁰² *CIL* 6 1696=*LSA*-1401. Tertullus had a successful career during the tetrarchy and the reign of Maxentius. He was prefect of the city in 307-308, the most likely date for this dedication.

¹¹⁰³ *LSA*-1402.

¹¹⁰⁴ *CIL* 6 1693=*ILS* 1241=*LSA*-1399.

usurpation of Magnentius. The base was discovered in the gardens of S. Stefano Rotondo, on the Caelian hill. This was the site of the house of the Valerii.¹¹⁰⁵ A statue of Fabius Titianus, consul and prefect of the city, was set up by a slave at Rome in 339-41.¹¹⁰⁶ The provenance of the base is uncertain, but it was first recorded in the villa of Julius III by the via Flaminia, and it is possible that the base also came from that area.¹¹⁰⁷ The domestic character of this dedication would be suitable for a suburban villa. Thereafter, four now lost bases for statues of Orfitus, prefect of the city, erected to their patron by different guilds are recorded coming from Rome in 357-60: by the guild of the bakers,¹¹⁰⁸ the shippers (*navicularii*),¹¹⁰⁹ the contractors of Ostia and Portus (*susceptores Ostienses sive Potuenses*),¹¹¹⁰ and by all contractors (*corpus omnium mancipum*).¹¹¹¹ The dedications were made when Orfitus was urban prefect for the second time, from 357 to 359, or immediately afterwards. Three of four bases were found reused behind the Lateran basilica, and the fourth in reuse on the Aventine, certainly also came from there.¹¹¹² Such a concentration of bases is a clear indication of the *domus* of Orfitus in this area.¹¹¹³

In Italy, in the important province of Campania, a statue of Caius Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, Constantine's prefect of Rome, was set up at Atina in 315.¹¹¹⁴ A statue of Anicius Paulinus, governor of Campania and prefect of Rome, was erected to their patron by the regions and guilds of Capua in 380.¹¹¹⁵ A statue of Anicius Auchenius Bassus, former governor of Campania and prefect of the city of Rome was set up at Neapolis in 382.¹¹¹⁶ A statue of Nicomachus Flavianus iunior, city prefect thrice, was put up in the same city in 408-31.¹¹¹⁷ Since his post under Eugenius is not usually considered in public inscriptions, his first legitimate term as prefect of Rome was in 399-400, and the base was probably dedicated when he was appointed for his second legitimate term in 408, or later.

In other provinces of the empire, exceptionally, Anicius Paulinus¹¹¹⁸ and Praetextatus,¹¹¹⁹ former urban prefects, received statues at Gortyn in 382-83. Similarly, Gabinius Vettius Probianus (τὸν λαμπρότατον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τῆς βασιλευούσης Ρώμης) as *ex*

¹¹⁰⁵ *LTUR* 2, 207 (F. Guidobaldi).

¹¹⁰⁶ *CIL* 6 1717=*ILS* 1227=*LSA*-1422.

¹¹⁰⁷ Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 3, 30-38.

¹¹⁰⁸ *CIL* 6 1739=*LSA*-1441.

¹¹⁰⁹ *CIL* 6 1740=*LSA*-1442.

¹¹¹⁰ *CIL* 6 1741=*LSA*-1443.

¹¹¹¹ *CIL* 6 1742=*LSA*-1444.

¹¹¹² *CIL* 6 1742=*LSA*-1444.

¹¹¹³ *LTUR* 2, 149 (F. Guidobaldi).

¹¹¹⁴ *CIL* 10 5061=*ILS* 1217=*AE* 2005, 90=*LSA*-1978 (Atina (Campania)).

¹¹¹⁵ *AE* 1972, 75b=*LSA*-1941 (Capua (Campania)).

¹¹¹⁶ *ILS* 8984=*AE* 1892, 143=*LSA*-326 (Neapolis (Campania)).

¹¹¹⁷ *AE* 1894, 89=*ILS* 8985=*LSA*-327 (Neapolis (Campania)).

¹¹¹⁸ *Inscr. Cret.* IV 320=*LSA*-781 (Gortyna (Creta)). *PLRE* 1, 678 Anicius Paulinus 12.

¹¹¹⁹ *Inscr. Cret.* IV 316=*LSA*-777 (Gortyna (Creta)).

praefectus,¹¹²⁰ and Valerius Severus, as acting prefect (τὸν λαμπρότατον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἑπαρχὸν τῆς βασιλευούσης Πρώμης) in 382,¹¹²¹ were honored with statues in the same city in the same year. The semicircular bases for Severus and Probianus have their inscriptions on the flat face of the semi-column as opposed to the convex face of the other four.¹¹²² All six bases decorated perhaps once the monumental entrance to the newly built *praetorium* of Gortyn,¹¹²³ although it is hard to imagine how semi-columns were used with their plain flat face displayed to the viewer. All four prefects are styled *λαμπρότατοι* by the same awarder, although the office would have given them the highest senatorial rank of *illustris*. They reflect the fact that *clarissimus* remained the ‘basic’ rank title of all members of the senatorial order. Another epithet, *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος*, corresponds to Latin *vir magnificus*.¹¹²⁴

As for awarders, the Forum of Trajan was a traditional space for the setting up of statues, usually commanded by the emperors at the request of the senate and people of Rome.¹¹²⁵ Besides imperial awarders, provincial governors, assemblies, and city councils acted as awarders for Rome’s urban prefects.¹¹²⁶ Statues were equally dedicated by corporations and clients.¹¹²⁷ Prefects

¹¹²⁰ *Inscr. Cret.* IV 319=LSA-780 (Gortyn (Creta)).

¹¹²¹ *Inscr. Cret.* IV 315=LSA-776 (Gortyn (Creta)). *PLRE* 1, 835 Valerius Severus 29.

¹¹²² LSA-472, LSA-770, LSA-950, LSA-774.

¹¹²³ Giandomenico De Tommaso, “Il settore B: la basilica del pretorio,” in *Gortina V.1: Lo scavo del pretorio (1989-1995)*, ed. Antonino Di Vita (Padova: A Ausilio, 2000), 387.

¹¹²⁴ Its use here predates the earliest use (in 403 for consul) recorded by Otto Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangpraedikate in den Papyrusurkunden: ein Beitrag zum roemischen und byzantinischen Titelwesen* (Diss. Giessen, 1930), 29.

¹¹²⁵ The fragmentary inscription for L. Aradius Valerius Proculus reproduces an imperial letter addressed to the senate, acknowledging the prestige and virtues of the Roman senator. The identity of the official who actually erected the statue does not survive. Also, the identity of the awarder for Anicius Auchenius Bassus in the Trajan’s Forum does not survive, but it could have equally been dedicated by the emperors. The fragment of the dedication (LSA-1363) to the anonymous urban prefect also preserves the name [Ru]fius, possibly the prefect of the city responsible for this important dedication, awarded perhaps by the imperial court on the decree of the senate. There were two prefects with the name Rufius active during the reigns of Valentinian and Valens and their immediate successors: C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus and Ceionius Rufius Albinus. The dedication was carried out by command of Emperors Valentinian I and Valens or by their successors Gratian and/or Valentinian II.

¹¹²⁶ The statues decreed for Paulinus, Praetextatus, Probianus, and Severus belong to a set of ten bases for leading members of the urban Roman aristocracy in Gortyn: LSA-773, LSA-775, LSA-776, LSA-777, LSA-778, LSA-779, LSA-780, LSA-781, LSA-782, LSA-783. Their awarder was *consularis* of Crete Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus, whose governorship is reliably datable to 382-83. In fact, Paulinus, Probianus, and Severus were honored ‘by decree of the assembly of the whole province’, while Praetextatus received the statue ‘by decree of the shining council of the Gortynians’. In Campania, the statue for Caius Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, prefect of Rome in 315-16, was set up to their patron by the council and people (*ordo populusque*) of Atina, and for Nicomachus Flavianus iunior by the *ordo* of the city of Neapolis, with the *populus*.

¹¹²⁷ The monument for Attius Insteius Tertullus was dedicated by the guild of wholesale dealers (*corpus magnariorum*), ‘freed from fear and crisis’, to their patron. This reinforces the hypothesis that it was set up in a domestic space. The statue was set up under the supervision of Flavius Respectus Pancarius Sabinianus Palassius and Flavius Florentius, men of *perfectissimus* rank, supervisors of the guild of wholesale dealers. Two dedications to Proculus were carried out by the corporation of the swine butchers and dealers (*suarii*). The inscriptions for Orfitus made by the guild of bakers (*corpus pistorum magnariorum et castrensariorum*) and the guild of shippers (*corpus naviculariorum*) are of identical wording, apart from the name of the awarders. The dedications by the guild of contractors of Ostia and Portus (*corpus susceptorum Ostiensium sive Portuensium*) and the guild of all contractors (*corpus omnium mancipum*) are of similar (to other two) but not identical phrasing. These bases dedicated by various corporations to the same prefect suggest that he was the patron of different guilds in Rome. The inscription for Anicius Paulinus was set up by city quarters and guilds of Capua. The collegia were presumably professional corporations, which reflects possibly a subdivision of the urban space of Capua. Honorific statues set up by city regions are a feature mainly of Campania.

were especially honored as patrons of cities and city regions, guilds, or unknown clients. Thus, Campanian cities celebrated Caius Vettius Cossinius Rufinus (*patrono dulcissimo*) and Nicomachus Flavianus (*patrono originali*), who was patron by birth, just like Paulinus (*originali patrono*), commemorated by guilds and regions (*regiones ... collegia*). Corporations equally bestowed honors on Tertullus (*digno patrono*) and Proculus (*patrono praestantissimo*), as well as Orfitus. Alypius was remembered by an unknown client (*patrono praestantissimo*) and Titianus by his household slave (*domino praestantissimo*).

In addition, a prefect was commemorated as *iudex sacrarum cognitionum* alongside his prefecture. Ceionius Rufius Albinus was twice judge in the imperial court of appeal, according to the reconstruction of the inscription suggested by M. Buroni, who shows that the inscription honored a Rufius who was prefect of the city (once).¹¹²⁸ Another possible candidate is his father C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, prefect in 365. But Albinus' name fits better the space that is missing. Proculus was three times judge representing the emperor 'who disarmed altercations' (*ter vice qui sacra discinxit iurgia iudex*). His verse inscription in hexameters asks: 'which of the other things, done by so great a judge, should I recall, when you see Proculus who was born for every honor?'¹¹²⁹ Orfitus is also honored as three times judge in the imperial court of appeal.

Concerning city prefects of Constantinople, a literary record of a statue of Themistius suggests that the dedication was set up at Constantinople in 361-84.¹¹³⁰ Themistius' *Oration* 17 extols the emperor Theodosius I for bestowing offices on men with philosophical education: 'and he exceeds the emperors before him with the two statues and the presidential seats (bestowed on us); and while he adorns us with such honor and care, it is necessary that he, too, is adorned by us' (17.214b). *Oration* 31 argues for Themistius' path of governing through the precepts of philosophy for the common good: 'And therefore I was not dissatisfied with these two statues ...' (31.353a). Themistius argues that he received these honors because he used his *paideia* pursuing the good of all: 'and for this [I received] these brazen images from two emperors...' (34.457). He refers to the statues as if visible to his listeners, but their location is unknown. They may have been possibly both set up in the senate house where he delivered his speech. *Oration* 17 was delivered in May/June 384 when Themistius held the office of *praefectus urbis Constantinopolitanae*, *Oration* 34 in autumn 384, and *Oration* 31 in January 385. One of the two statues alluded to was, as Themistius states, from one of the successors of Constantius II, most probably Valens. The *terminus ante quem* for this statue is the date of *Oration* 17, which was delivered soon after his appointment to the urban prefecture.

¹¹²⁸ *Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio: Atti del Colloquio internazionale AIEGL su epigrafia e ordine senatorio, Roma, 14-20 maggio 1981*, vol. 1 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1982), 647-48.

¹¹²⁹ *CIL* 6 1693=LSA-1399.

¹¹³⁰ LSA-468.

As for the material of the statues, Attius Insteius Tertullus received a fine statue in bronze (*statuam aere insignem*) erected by *magnarii*. Three inscriptions for Orfitus mention a gilded statue (*statuam sub aere*) set up by respective guilds. The fourth statue, awarded by *susceptores* of Ostia and Portus, was probably also a bronze one. From the middle of the fourth century onwards, statues in bronze (and gilded bronze) for non-imperial persons required imperial permission.¹¹³¹ The statues were decided on, and paid for, by the awarders, however, since imperial permission was needed for a gilded bronze statue, the awarding of the statue is often described in inscriptions as though it were an imperial decision.

The most prestigious honors granted were honors presented in two (or more) cities simultaneously or delayed (one after another) in the same city.¹¹³² In Rome, Proculus received multiple dedications on different dates. The dedications in Rome to Bassus and Albinus, respectively, were also carried out at different times. However, Orfitus was probably honored with four bronze statues erected at Rome at the same time.

Prefects were praised for specific deeds and munificence towards guilds and cities. Tertullus received the statue by the *corpus magnariorum*, ‘freed from fear and crisis’ (*metu et discrimine liberatum*) ‘on account of the care which he took, with attention to their misery and with incomparable diligence’ and because he ‘restored and fostered to their former force’ (*recreatae atque confotae redditis pristinis viribus*), and on account of ‘his outstanding deeds and singular munificence towards it’ (*(ob) eius aegregia(!) facta et in se munificentiam singularem*). F. Mitthof suggests that the difficulties alluded to in the inscription (ll. 7-10) could refer to the crisis in the supply of Rome in 310. Orfitus was honored by the corporation of all contractors ‘on account of his providence and the return to better status of the city of Rome through him’ (*ob providentiam et statum optimum urbi Romae ab eo redditum*) and by contractors of Ostia and Portus ‘on account of his outstanding and advantageous provisions in difficult times’ (*ob eius temporibus difficillimis egregias ac salutares provisiones*) as well as ‘on account of the restored utility of the city of Rome’ (*ob utilitatem urbis Romae recreatum statuam constituit*). Anicius Paulinus is styled ‘beneficial provider’ (*salubri provisor*), while Flavianus iunior is celebrated by the councillors of Neapolis ‘always protected by him’ (*ordo ab his semper defens*).

Apart from rank predicates, urban prefect was styled *magnificus vir*/μεγαλοπρεπέστατος. The epithet *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος* is unspecific but occasionally used for very high-ranking officials. *Μεγαλοπρέπεια/magnificentia*, used from the fourth century in both East and West, gives origin to *vir magnificus* (μεγαλοπρεπέστατος) by the end of the century. A catalog of city prefect’s virtues, both concrete and abstract, comprises: *industria*, *munificentia*, *nobilitas*, *continentia*, *iustitia*,

¹¹³¹ Premerstein, “Griechisch-Römisches aus Arkadien”; Feissel, “Notes d’Épigraphie chrétienne”.

¹¹³² Niquet, Monumenta.

constantia, providentia, provisio, auctoritas, efficacia, vigor, eloquentia, moderatio, indulgentia, bonitas, benignitas, virtus.

The honor to one of such elevated rank as city prefect is justified by the praise of the honorand's virtues restricted to the highest ranks in the bureaucratic jargon of the period. Hence, Tertullus is lauded as a 'distinguished man who surpassed the diligence of all earlier prefects' (*inlustri viro et omnium retro praefectorum industriam supergresso*) and Orfitus as 'distinguished by birth and deeds and as an example' (*nobilitate actibusque ad exemplum praecipuo*) as well as 'of noble birth, at home and in public an example of the ancient ways, always illustrious in moderation, justice, steadiness, foresight, and in all virtues' (*genere nobili, domi forisque ad exemplum veterum, continentia, iustitia, constantia, providentia, omnibusque virtutibus semper inlustri*). Flavianus the younger is praised as 'a man of all virtues and of so many merits, outstanding for his moderation and for the loftiness of his opinion, always cautious and prompt' (*virtutum omnium ac tot meritorum viro, censurae culmine et moderatione praecipuo, provido semper et strenuo*).

Bassus is distinguished as 'ornamenting the insignia of these three offices with the shining light of his eloquence and of the virtue of his parentage; who repays, enhanced through the energy of his own praise, the fame of his family, celebrated in the paternal and grandpaternal pages of the *fasti* of inimitable merits towards commonwealth; exceptional in the luminosity of his lineage, ... in the very flower of his youth ... the fruit of mature authority ...' ¹¹³³ Proculus is extolled in the *oratio ad senatum*, 'recalling the distinguished nobility of the ancestry ... and the virtues acknowledged in the private and public performance of his services, ... it is easy to value just how much glory Proculus... received from his ancestors...' ¹¹³⁴

Furthermore, in the fourth century the care of public buildings was the responsibility of city prefect and his *officium*, who was honored in building inscriptions. ¹¹³⁵ Prefect had charge of public works, receiving the same kinds of directives as provincial governors, but he reported directly to the emperor. In his responsibility for public works, prefect primarily took care of public spaces such as city fora. ¹¹³⁶ A foundation of the Forum of Apronianus (*Forum Aproniani*) took place in Rome as initiated either by Apronianus, *praefectus urbi* in 339, or more likely by his son Apronianus, also city prefect in 362-64. ¹¹³⁷ If, as Bauer have assumed, it was a construction from the years of the city prefecture of Asterius, then this forum would not be a private foundation, but a state building

¹¹³³ LSA-1354 (trans. C. Machado)

¹¹³⁴ LSA-2685 (trans. C. Machado)

¹¹³⁵ Septimius Mnasea, city prefect in 352, conducted some public construction works at Rome in that year, *CIL* 6 41344=AE 1949, 182. Another city prefect, whose name is only fragmentary preserved and cannot be reconstructed, was responsible for a certain restoration (*reparavit*) at Rome perhaps in the fourth century, *CIL* 6 31892.

¹¹³⁶ Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum*, 2015.

¹¹³⁷ Mentioned only in *CTh* 13.5.29 (400).

project.¹¹³⁸ Bauer has associated the forum with inscriptions that L. Turcius Apronianus *signo* Asterius had installed during his prefecture and of which one was found in the Campus Martius (fig. 48),¹¹³⁹ where the location of the Forum Aproniani was also identified. Also, Flavius Eupraxius, urban prefect in 374, supervised (*curante*) a construction of a new forum.¹¹⁴⁰

Water management was equally of a prime importance for the city. Volusianus, during his two-year tenure of office in 365-66, conducted more restorations than any other known prefect.¹¹⁴¹ He restored an aqueduct for the Aqua Claudia (*castellum aquae Claudiae*) (fig. 60).¹¹⁴² It is clear that Volusianus did not finance the construction himself. Ammianus mocks him for having his name inscribed on buildings as though he had built rather than just restored them (27.3.3). Yet, despite his obvious religiosity, he restored not a single temple.¹¹⁴³

Q. Rusticus, city prefect in 344-45, repaired the baths at Rome during his term in office in the name of Emperors Constantius II and Constans, who formally restored (*restauraverunt*) *termas vetustate labefactas*.¹¹⁴⁴ The inscription from the Baths of Caracalla records Iunius Pomponius Ammonius, city prefect under the reign of Valentinian and Valens in 367.¹¹⁴⁵ Claudius, city prefect, built a large portico next to the baths of Agrippa in 374.¹¹⁴⁶

Philippus, city prefect, restored a nymphaeum in 391. The restoration of the nymphaeum during his urban prefecture is attested by three inscriptions of identical wording: 'Flavius Philippus, of clarissimus rank, city prefect, restored the nymphaeum, which had been defaced by bristling dirt and robbed of its marble outfit to its previous ornamentation'.¹¹⁴⁷ The nymphaeum, which cannot be localized today, was damaged by exposure and sullied with the squalor of filth. In the course of the fourth century the fountain gradually decayed, robbed of its marble parts, and lay unused as a stain on the cityscape. *Vetustas* brings *squalor* and results after the spoliation in *marmorum nuditas*. It is connected with a demand for renovation. On the initiative of the city prefect, the rubble was removed, the fountain was redecorated and connected to the water network. Interestingly, the inscriptions never conceal the former decay; they address the unsightly state of the nymphaeum in clear words, thus placing the regained splendor in a particularly bright light.

Restorations of bridges necessitated by damage caused due to their old age (*vetustate lapsus*), which were among the responsibilities of city prefect, provided an apt occasion to honor him on account of his building activity, the main subject of the inscriptions. Thus, Symmachus the

¹¹³⁸ Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 29.

¹¹³⁹ *CIL* 6 1655=LSA-1336.

¹¹⁴⁰ *CIL* 6 1177=ILS 776.

¹¹⁴¹ Lizzi Testa, *Senatori, Popolo, Papi*, 71-74.

¹¹⁴² *CIL* 6 3866=6 31963=ILS 5791.

¹¹⁴³ Cameron, *Last Pagans of Rome*, 49-50.

¹¹⁴⁴ *CIL* 6 1165. *PLRE* 1, 787 Q. Rusticus 2.

¹¹⁴⁵ Crimi and Orlandi, "Un prefetto urbano 'ritrovato'," 287-98.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Amm.* 29.6.19.

¹¹⁴⁷ *CIL* 6 1728; *CIL* 6 31912=ILS 5733. *PLRE* 1, 697 Flavius Philippus 8.

elder, *ex-praefectus urbi*, dedicated the *pons Valentiniani* between 366 and 367.¹¹⁴⁸ It is significant in the context of the aristocratic self-presentation that former city prefect, who was probably fully in charge for the organizational tasks, but did not manage to complete the work at the time of his office, received the privilege to be honored together with the emperors on this large and highly visible inscription. Volusianus claimed to have restored (*regente urbi praefectura*) no fewer than thirteen bridges between Rome and Ostia by the command of the emperors (*iusserunt*), more bridges than were previously known to exist.¹¹⁴⁹ Iunius Pomponius Ammonius, city prefect in 367, is documented in the inscription from Portus,¹¹⁵⁰ where he is styled '*vir inlustris*', recording rebuilding work on a bridge (*pons Matidiae*). The text commemorates the reparation of the bridge construction by prefect of the *annona* Flavius Splendonius Aufidius (*reparabit*) and on behalf of urban prefect Iunius Pomponius Ammonius, who dedicated the structure (*dedicante*). The rebuilding inscription from the Baths of Caracalla, mentions the same urban prefect, again probably styled *vir clarissimus et illustris*, and one of his subordinates, *vir clarissimus et spectabilis*, intervening to restore the water supply of the baths.¹¹⁵¹

As for sacred architecture, prefect of the city of Rome for the second time, Orfitus restored (*providit*) the Temple of Apollo Sosianus in the Campus Martius in 355.¹¹⁵² Thereafter, Praetextatus, city prefect, restored cult images to the Temple of the *Dei Consentes* in 367.¹¹⁵³ As pagan prefect of Rome under Valentinian I in 367-68, Praetextatus restored the statues of the *dei Consentes* and the *porticus* which sheltered them on the forum, at the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus. This honor conferred on the deities did not affect the structures of the building, thus it appears to have had a motive other than building necessity. The inscription on the epistyle of the temple proclaims the statues *sacrosancta*. Praetextatus' initiative had probably also a political aim: the senatorial order is shown preserving the ideals that go back to the origins of the Roman state.¹¹⁵⁴ Fragments of another inscription found behind the curia¹¹⁵⁵ seem to refer to an architectural intervention linked to the senate-house possibly on initiative of the same Praetextatus.¹¹⁵⁶ In the second part of the inscription the Genius of the senate of Rome, by whose veneration senatorial circles developed of their relation to the divine, is put in the spotlight. Yet another building inscription records Nicomachus Flavianus iunior probably carrying out the restoration the Basilica

¹¹⁴⁸ *CIL* 6 31402=*ILS* 769=*AE* 2000, 136=*LSA*-1820 with *Amm.* 27.3.3.

¹¹⁴⁹ *CIL* 6 40793=*AE* 1975, 134.

¹¹⁵⁰ *AE* 1975, 138.

¹¹⁵¹ Crimi and Orlandi, "Un prefetto urbano 'ritrovato'," 287.

¹¹⁵² *CIL* 6 45=*ILS* 3222.

¹¹⁵³ *CIL* 6 102=*ILS* 4003.

¹¹⁵⁴ Philippe Bruggisser, "'Sacro-saintes statues.' Prétextat et la restauration du portique des Dei consentes à Rome," in Behrwald and Witschel, *Historische Erinnerung*, 331-356, 331-56.

¹¹⁵⁵ *CIL* 6 41378.

¹¹⁵⁶ Bruggisser, "Rutilius Namatianus," 494-500.

Iulia in the Forum of Caesar, where the fragment was found.¹¹⁵⁷ It is dated to Flavianus' time in office as city prefect, that is either to 392-94, or 399-400, or 408.

Secular architecture in the Roman Forum also benefited from restoration during late antiquity and highlighted the continuity of aristocratic benefactions over time. Some restoration projects amended for disastrous events such as conflagration. An inscription attesting a restoration of the *secretarium senatus*, an annex to the curia, under city prefect Flavius Annius Eucharis Epiphanius in 414, records that the building had been previously rebuilt by Flavianus the younger.¹¹⁵⁸ Flavianus the younger, who reinstated the structure only about a decade earlier, was recovering from official disgrace, and 'the inscription articulating Epiphanius homage to an illustrious predecessor, whose status was in need of rehabilitation and whose accomplishment defined Epiphanius' own ambition, offers an explicit guideline for understanding the restored *secretarium senatus*'.¹¹⁵⁹

By the late fourth century, Christian building activity of prefects was also pronounced in Rome. During his tenure, Sallustius, city prefect in 387, proposed some modifications to the project of the Basilica di San Paolo fuori le mura, then under construction, in order to enlarge it with the assent given by Emperors Valentinian II, Theodosius I and Arcadius. He received a document that gave the emperors' approval to proposals offered by Sallustius for the basilica, which was dedicated in 391 (*Coll. Avell.* 3). In 387 work on the basilica was well behind schedule (*Symm. Ep.* 4.70, 5.56, *Rel.* 25.2-3, 26.3), and the building was not completed until after 395¹¹⁶⁰ but was dedicated before its completion. The changes of plan proposed by Sallustius could therefore have been introduced in 387. Also, in 391 prefect Philippus financed a column in St Peter's.¹¹⁶¹

The imperial constructions carried out by urban prefect are readily evident in the transformation of the cityscape. Proculus, city prefect, set up an obelisk at Constantinople while in office in 388-92. A preserved epigram on the pedestal of the obelisk of Theodosius in the hippodrome of Constantinople commemorates Proculus' accomplishment in 390 (fig. 89).¹¹⁶² His name was subject to the *damnatio memoriae* and was erased from monuments, including the obelisk. Later, his nephew, who came to power under Emperor Marcian, had the good name of Proculus restored, paying due respect by re-carving it on the obelisk. Thereby, the restoration of the name on the obelisk base used the prominent structure in part as a representation of a resuscitated memory of Proculus that his relative had staged more than half a century later.

¹¹⁵⁷ *CIL* 6 41384=AE 2010, 178=AE 2013, 158. Niquet, *Monumenta*, 23 n. 48.

¹¹⁵⁸ *CIL* 6 1718=31911=ILS 5522.

¹¹⁵⁹ Kalas, "Writing and Restoration," 40.

¹¹⁶⁰ *ICUR* II 4780, cf. 4783, 4958. *PLRE* 1, 797 Sallustius 4.

¹¹⁶¹ AE 1959, 64=ILCV 1857c=ICUR II 4778c=AE 2000, 187.

¹¹⁶² *CIL* 3 737=ILS 821=Anth. Gr. IX 682. *PLRE* 1, 746-47 Proculus 6.

The fourth century offers a number of dedicatory and votive inscriptions set up by city prefects. Urban prefect Cossinius Rufinus is mentioned in the dedication from Rome of 315, which records his religious offices of *augur* and *pontifex dei Solis*.¹¹⁶³ He erected a statue, perhaps of a deity, following his vow (*voti compos*). Fabius Titianus dedicated a votive inscription (*votum libens solvit*), recording his double prefecture, at the place of the Cumaean Sibyl around 350.¹¹⁶⁴ Volusianus, styled *praefectus praetorio et ex praefectus urbi*, made a dedication together with his wife to Magna Mater and Attis in 390.¹¹⁶⁵ Volusianus, as *ex-praefectus*, also dedicated (*dono dedit*) a statue of Dionysus at Ostia after 365.¹¹⁶⁶ Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius, *XVvir sacris faciundis*, performed a *taurobolium* in 374, presumably while still prefect.¹¹⁶⁷ A pagan *carmen epigraficum* from the catacomb of Saints Gordian and Epimachus, where it was reused, could refer to urban prefect in 362-64, Apronianus or his brother Secundus, or to a second or third-century figure otherwise unknown.¹¹⁶⁸

With regard to Christian funeral inscriptions, Sextus Anicius Paulinus, consul in 325 and city prefect in 331-33, was a recipient of a possibly funerary inscription from Rome found near the *pons Aelius*.¹¹⁶⁹ The fragmentary dedication lists his *cursus honorum* including consulship and urban prefecture and styles the addressee as '*benignus, sanctus*'. Another inscription to Sextus Anicius Paulinus recording his *cursus honorum* comes perhaps from the villa on the via Latina, hence of private character.¹¹⁷⁰ He may have been Anicius Paulinus, *vir clarissimus*, recorded on a bronze tablet from Rome.¹¹⁷¹ Clodius Celsinus *signo* Adelphius, former city prefect, is commemorated on the lost funeral inscription which he set up for his wife Faltonia Betitia Proba and himself.¹¹⁷² Barnes suggests that he constructed it between his dismissal as prefect of the city and his execution not long afterwards, but also speculates that the designation *ex praefectis urbis* may simply describe Adelphius' status at the time of his death, whatever the date had been at which he had constructed the tomb for his dead wife and himself, whether it was before, during or after his urban prefecture.¹¹⁷³ Also, Viventius, former city and praetorian prefect, is commemorated as

¹¹⁶³ CIL 6 32040=AE 2005, 90. Pierfrancesco Porena, "Problemi di cronologia costantiniana. L'imperatore, Vettius Rufinus e il Senato," *Antiquité tardive* 13 (2005): 244-45; Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 134-35; Silvia Orlandi, "Alan Cameron and the Use of Epigraphic Sources," in *The Strange Death of Pagan Rome: Reflections on a Historiographical Controversy*, ed. Rita Lizzi Testa (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2013), 80-81.

¹¹⁶⁴ ILS 8983=AE 1893, 124 (Cumae (Campania)).

¹¹⁶⁵ CIL 6 512=ILS 4154=AE 2003, 151.

¹¹⁶⁶ AE 1945, 55=CCCA-03, 366=LSA-2539 (Ostia).

¹¹⁶⁷ CIL 6 499=6 30779c=ILS 4147.

¹¹⁶⁸ CIL 6 462=ILS 3377=EDR163409. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 96.

¹¹⁶⁹ CIL 6 1681.

¹¹⁷⁰ CIL 6 1680: Orlandi, "Gli ultimi sacerdoti," 443 with n.37.

¹¹⁷¹ CIL 6 31944.

¹¹⁷² CIL 6 1712. PLRE 1, 192-93 Clodius Celsinus *signo* Adelphius 6.

¹¹⁷³ Timothy D. Barnes, "An Urban Prefect and his Wife," *Classical Quarterly* 56.1 (2006): 254.

clarissimae recordationis vir in the poem composed by his daughter Luceia and dedicated to two ascetic female compatriots.¹¹⁷⁴

Iunius Bassus *signo* Theotecnius, city prefect in 359, died while in office and was buried in a sarcophagus originally placed near the tomb of St. Peter. A preserved funeral inscription on the upper edge of the sarcophagus records that he went to God in his own prefecture of the city, newly baptized. A part of the lid of the sarcophagus, carrying a poem in eight elegiac distichs describes his funeral.¹¹⁷⁵ As city prefect Bassus had governed ‘the people of his city and the house of the senate’ (l.7) and had reached the high points of Rome (*fastigia*); but now has even got higher, to the height of heaven (*culmen*). Cameron has shown that Bassus received a public funeral alluded to also in the so-called *Carmen contra paganos* (32-33), for city prefects dying in office were entitled to this exceptional honor.¹¹⁷⁶ The supplement in l.6 ‘*praefectur[ae flu]mina promi[t opum]*’ in the first edition of the text seemed plausible to Cameron with the poetic metaphor ‘rivers of wealth’ as a standard motif in the late antique lexicon of praise. It perhaps refers to the public distributions of grain, wine and oil, one of the prefect’s main responsibilities, as the mention of the prefecture would appear to exclude private munificence.

Inscriptions on the *instrumentum domesticum* include two slave collars with engraved pendants of identical wording from Rome, naming Olybrius, former city prefect.¹¹⁷⁷ Only nearly forty collars and pendants survive from antiquity, and they are virtually all from the fourth century, with the vast majority coming from Rome and its environs. To this genre of inscriptions belongs also an inscribed lead pipe mentioning an anonymous ex-consul, *patricius*, and prefect of the city of Constantinople found close to the aqueduct of Valens and dated perhaps to the second part of the fourth century.¹¹⁷⁸ The man cannot be identified with any known prefect of the time of Valens; the date may therefore be some time later.

Graffiti, inscriptions of unofficial character, also record the names of urban prefects. Seat inscriptions from the Colosseum, indicating names, sometimes accompanied by titles of rank and more rarely offices, identify city prefects as holders of reserved *loca* in the Flavian amphitheater.¹¹⁷⁹ For instance, an erased inscription, all of whose letters are still visible, records Ulpian Egnatius, *vir clarissimus, praefectus urbi*.¹¹⁸⁰ These inscriptions placed in the last decades of the fourth century

¹¹⁷⁴ *CIL* 6 41342=*ICUR* V 13355.

¹¹⁷⁵ *CIL* 6 41341ab (b=32004)=*ILS* 1286=*ILCV* 90(b)=*AE* 1953, 239.

¹¹⁷⁶ Alan Cameron, “The Funeral of Junius Bassus,” *ZPE* 139 (2002): 288-92.

¹¹⁷⁷ *CIL* 15 7199ab.

¹¹⁷⁸ *CIG* 8611.

¹¹⁷⁹ Orlandi, *Anfiteatri*, no. 7. 52; 8. 4, 8. 18; 17. 27, 17. 5, H; 17. 145, B; 17. 105, A; 17.33, A, 17. 33, H, 17. 39, D, 17. 64, B, 17. 97, B; 17. 151, C; 17. 161, B; 17. 21, A, 17. 89, F, 17. 90, B, 17. 103, P, 17. 103, Q, 17. 146, A; 17. 104, H; 17. 2, C, 17. 5, D, 17. 26, B, 17. 36, E, 17. 99, A, 17. 151, B; 17. 110, A; 17. 3, E, 17. 39, A, 17. 93, D; 17. 148, C; 17. 38, A.

¹¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 314, no. 17.5, G with 422-23; no. 17.136, G.

belong to the same period as the one for Faltonius Probus Alypius, urban prefect of 391,¹¹⁸¹ equally named on a seat on the same slab of the *corona podii*, or parapet.

In short, both praetorian and urban prefects were highest-ranking officials on top of the civilian administration who were accorded the greatest honors of all. They were entitled to wear the ‘costumes of office’, the chlamys and toga respectively, and to receive the *codicilli* with imperial portraits handed to them when they assumed office. Both were in position to order the erection of honorary statues to emperors and were equally honored by imperial command in the most conspicuous urban locations, which created a symbolic distinction between those who held high ranks in the imperial administration and entertained a privileged relationship to imperial power and all the others. While praetorian prefects were both scions of ancient families and new men, city prefects from resident *nobiles* represented the senate (and people) of Rome, whose expansion advanced a new cultural self-understanding as global aristocracy. The period witnessed intense collaboration between absent emperors and leading senators in Rome, allowing resident aristocrats and reemerging as public builders and patrons over professional corporations of the city.

II. *Spectabiles*

1. Proconsul

After the reform of Diocletian there were *proconsules* only in Africa Proconsularis and Asia, and from 324 also in Achaëa. In addition, proconsul of Constantinople was head of the city’s administration from after 337 until 359.¹¹⁸² In the *Notitia*, one of three proconsuls of the later Roman Empire, proconsul of Africa, is found in the West, and two other proconsuls, of Asia and of Achaëa in the East. Proconsuls were representatives of central offices at court in the various provinces of the empire. These three proconsular governors are represented with their insignia in the *Notitia*. Proconsuls of Africa and Asia, appointed directly by the emperor, were outside the jurisdiction of either praetorian prefect or vicar, and could address the emperor directly.

They possessed legislative and fiscal jurisdiction which is alluded to in their insignia. The *theca* in the prefectorial insignia similarly appears in the proconsular ones, comparable to other provincial governors with juridical powers.¹¹⁸³ According to the law from 381 (*CTh* 6.22.5), officials of proconsular rank were to receive ‘*codicilli*’, but the law of 372 (*CTh* 6.22.4) speaks about *insignia* of the proconsulship.¹¹⁸⁴ Most of the *spectabiles*, and both proconsuls among them (Or. 20-21), are represented by the combination of an inscribed codex and a rolled scroll, a mark of rank, the juxtaposition which is not used for officials among either the *illustres* or the *clarissimi*.

¹¹⁸¹ *PLRE* 1, 49 Faltonius Probus Alypius 13+*PLRE* 2, 449 Faltonius 2. Orlandi, *Anfiteatri*, 422 no. 17.136 D with 423 no. 13.137B.

¹¹⁸² Skinner, *The Early Development*, 143 suggests that this post was created in 340, but Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 132 contemplates an earlier date. It is equally uncertain whether the title was proconsul of Europa (as Constantinople was known as its capital) or proconsul of Constantinople.

¹¹⁸³ Berger, *The Insignia*, 97-98.

¹¹⁸⁴ Grigg, “Portrait-bearing Codicils,” 118-19.

The codicillary leaf on the blue cloth-covered table with three horizontal bands adorning the rectangular surface (Or. 20, 21; Occ. 18) conforms to the format found in the second row in the armarium under *Divina Providentia*, as opposed to the top row of the higher officials.¹¹⁸⁵ All three proconsular insignia consistently exhibit the same three-banded type of codicil. The uniform use of a gold-trimmed rectangle for proconsuls differs in form from that of *illustres* as it was never intended to bear a portrait bust, confirming that all of the gold-trimmed rectangles (with or without portraits) were intended as codicil-diptychs. The gold-trimmed rectangles designed without portraits are limited to the proconsuls, who were thereby set off as a distinct grade, as the other *spectabiles* were represented by a quite different insigne.¹¹⁸⁶

In addition, the proconsulship of Campania was a lower ranking provincial governorship. Anicius Paulinus extraordinarily held the rank of proconsul when he administered the province of Campania. He is one of three office-holders known with that rank, as the province was otherwise under lower ranking *consulares* in the fourth century. The honorific inscription from Capua, erected to their patron, ‘promoter of Campania’ (*provectori Campaniae*), by the regions and guilds of Capua in 377-80, records that he was the first proconsul in the province (*qui primus proconsulatus provinciae fasces invexit*, ll.2-4).¹¹⁸⁷ Campania was still under *consularis* in 377 (*CTh* 9.40.12). The other governors of Campania in the rank of proconsul were Paulinus’ successor Anicius Auchenius Bassus in 379/82 (fig. 6),¹¹⁸⁸ and, probably, Caecina Decius Albinus Iunior, perhaps in 397/98. A number of inscriptions attest to Bassus’ patronage of different communities in Campania while in office.¹¹⁸⁹ W. Kuhoff suggests that the temporary upgrade of the provincial governorship was possibly because of the high social prestige of the individuals who held the office.¹¹⁹⁰

The title *spectabilis* is first recorded in 365 (*CTh* 7.6.1), but the usage initially fluctuated considerably and appears not to have been unequivocally fixed until c. 400. The first to be given the title were proconsuls. Until 372 proconsuls overranked the four *comites consistoriani* in the imperial hierarchy (*CTh* 6.9.1). Within the *spectabiles*, *proconsules* were of higher standing than *vicarii*, who accessed this rank at a later date. Proconsuls were addressed by ‘superiority’ terms: *excellencia* (354), *praestantia* (383), *sublimitas* (395-96); and *amplitudo tua* (400-401). The ‘personal quality’ terms as applied to proconsul comprised *dicatio* (340), *sinceritas* (370-71), *experientia* (371-95), and *laudabilitas tua* (400). A proconsul is also referred to as *spectabilitas tua*

¹¹⁸⁵ Berger, *The Insignia*, 98.

¹¹⁸⁶ Grigg, “Portrait-bearing Codicils,” 112-21, fig. 3.

¹¹⁸⁷ *AE* 1972, 75b=*LSA*-1941 (Capua (Campania)).

¹¹⁸⁸ *CIL* 14 2917=*LSA*-1683 (Praeneste (Campania)).

¹¹⁸⁹ *CIL* 9 1568 (Beneventum), *CIL* 9 1569 (Beneventum), *CIL* 10 3843 (Capua), *CIL* 10 6656=*ILS* 5702 (Antinum), *CIL* 14 2914=*ILS* 1263 (Praeneste), *ILS* 8984=*AE* 1892, 143 (Neapolis). See also *Inscr. Cret.* IV 314 (Gortyn).

¹¹⁹⁰ Wolfgang Kuhoff, “Die Bedeutung der Ämter in Clarissimat und Spektabilität für die zivile senatorische Laufbahn im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.,” in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, 284.

(from 386) as was appropriate for the *spectabiles*.¹¹⁹¹ Most important, he is styled *amplissimus*, which appears to have become part of the proconsular titulature.¹¹⁹² The proconsular rank could be granted as honorary. Thus, Pammachius, senator owning estates in Numidia, might have been honorary proconsul, but if he indeed held the office, it was most likely the proconsulship of Africa, before c. 396.

The remarks of Augustine (*C. Cresc.* 3.61.67, 70.80) on archives of *proconsul Africae* are the most important source about the archiving practice of high officials in late antique provincial administration.¹¹⁹³ As governors proconsuls were usual addressees of imperial communications recorded in legal inscriptions. Thus, in the West, Aco(nius) Catullinus, *vir clarissimus, proconsul Africae* in 317-18, is addressed (*‘Catulline carissime’*) in a fragment of the imperial decree found at Thuburbo Maius in Africa Proconsularis.¹¹⁹⁴ In the East, an imperial letter of 351/52 instructs governor of the province of Asia, Marinus, to set up gilded statues to praetorian prefect Philippus in the cities of the East: ‘We decree that gilded statues be set up to him by the efficiency (*efficacia*) of Your Sincerity (*sinceritatis tuae*), most shining and friendly Marinus (*Marine carissime ac iucundissime*)’.¹¹⁹⁵ A copy of the decree by Constantius II was set up in Ephesus. The Ephesian letter does not dwell on the criteria for choosing the *optimae urbes* that would host the statues for Philippus. Everything suggests that the city communities had been selected at the discretion of proconsul Marinus. The honorary dedications for Philippus were put up simultaneously in cities belonging to more than one province of the empire. The letter of Ephesus is, therefore, only one of the copies that the imperial chancellery sent to governors of several provinces, belonging to different dioceses, to order the erection of the statues.¹¹⁹⁶

Two more examples of inscribed imperial letters (*sacrae litterae*) addressed to proconsuls come from Ephesus. A Latin inscription with the letter of Valens on the state revenues allocated to the city is dated to 370-71. Another Latin inscription, followed by its Greek translation, transmits the letter of the same emperor on the competitions of the province of Asia from the period of 372-78. The honorific epithet *‘experientia tua’* (*‘Your Competence’*) is epigraphically attested in both legal inscriptions from late fourth-century Ephesus. The first records a rescript to Eutropius,¹¹⁹⁷ who served as proconsul of the province Asia in 371, while the second, of the following year, to his

¹¹⁹¹ Mathisen, “Imperial Honorifics.”

¹¹⁹² E.g., *CIL* 8 27571 (Sicca Veneria). *PLRE* 1 ...lius Flavianus 11.

¹¹⁹³ Rudolf Haensch, “Die Statthalterarchive der Spätantike,” in *Archives and Archival Documents in Ancient Societies: Trieste, 30 September - 1 October 2011. Legal documents in ancient societies, IV; Graeca tergestina, storia e civiltà, 1*, ed. Michele Faraguna (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2013), 333-49.

¹¹⁹⁴ *IL Afr.* 269 (Thuburbo Maius).

¹¹⁹⁵ *IK Ephesos* 41=LSA-862. *PLRE* 1, 560 Marinus 1. An identification of Marinus, the recipient of the letter from Ephesus, with the individual remembered in the inscription is uncertain.

¹¹⁹⁶ Porena, *Le origini*, 495.

¹¹⁹⁷ *PLRE* 1, 317 Eutropius 2.

successor, Festus,¹¹⁹⁸ addressed by the emperor as ‘τιμώτατος καὶ προσφιλέστατος’ (*carissimus ac iucundissimus*).¹¹⁹⁹ The former testifies about Valens’ experimental policy concerning revenues from civic estates: rather than returning ownership of the estates to the cities, he returned to them revenues from some of those estates, while retaining ownership and administration for the *res privata*.¹²⁰⁰ The inscription also records the honorific epithet ‘*praestantia tua*’ (‘Your Pre-eminence’) applied to proconsul. The terms *experientia* and *praestantia*, which occur nine times between 371 and 414, appear nearly always in the East, with *experientia* being exclusively used for officials of the *spectabilis* rank.¹²⁰¹ Yet, while ‘*experientia*’ appeared as a term previously associated rather with lower-ranking offices and almost always related to the ‘personal qualities’ of the office-holders,¹²⁰² ‘*praestantia*’ was firmly assigned to the highest-ranking offices, and especially to persons or the rank of *illustres*, generally referring to the excellence or exaltedness of the office. In this way, the second honorific epithet appearing in the rescript enhances an addressee’s level of status.

The same yearning for distinction explains the use of adjectival forms in addition to the nominal one in the similar imperial pronouncement to Festus. The inscription was discovered in the Temple of Victory. Historian and author of the *Breviarium*, Festus received in his capacity of proconsul an imperial letter formally issued by Valentinian I, Valens, and Gratian on the subject of provincial games and the high priesthood of Asia,¹²⁰³ referring to him as ἡ ἐπαινετὴ ἐνπειρία σου (*laudata experientia tua*).¹²⁰⁴ The adjective ἐπαινετὴ (*laudabilis/laudanda* or *laudata*) would have provided an indicator of the recipient’s status, regarding his *spectabilis* rank, given that ‘*experientia*’ was used also for lower-ranking officials. The Greek text thereby provides us with a translation of the Latin imperial pronouncement, rendering literally the compound honorific epithet ‘*laudata experientia tua*’ as ‘ἡ ἐπαινετὴ ἐνπειρία σου’.

In turn, proconsul was entitled to issue edicts and send his orders to subordinate officials. In the East, in Achaea, epigraphically preserved edicts appear in the area of proconsular legislation.

¹¹⁹⁸ *PLRE* 1, 334-35 Festus 3. For the proconsuls in late antiquity, see Bengt Malcus, “Die Proconsuln von Asien von Diokletian bis Theodosius II,” *Opuscula Atheniensia* 7 (1967): 91-160; Feissel, “Vicaires et proconsuls,” 91-104.

¹¹⁹⁹ *IK Ephesos* 1a, 42; (dated to 370/71) and 43 (dated between 372 and 378). Zos. 4.13.1. For an analysis, see Chastagnol, “Les inscriptions africaines”. See also Christian Witschel, *Krise - Rezession - Stagnation? Der Westen des römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Frankfurt am Main: Marthe Clauss, 1999), 122. The epithets ‘τιμώτατος καὶ προσφιλέστατος’ (‘most shining and dearest to us’), suggest a senatorial status of the addressee.

¹²⁰⁰ Lenski, *Failure of Empire*, 295.

¹²⁰¹ Mathisen, “Imperial Honorifics,” 194-95.

¹²⁰² In the imperial legislation ‘*experientia tua*’, similarly to ‘*dicatio tua*’, suggested to have been titles chosen for officials of lower status (e.g. *correctores*, *praesides*); see Mathisen, “Imperial Honorifics,” 189.

¹²⁰³ *AE* 1906, 0030ab=IGC 100=IK *Ephesos* 11-1, 43 (Ephesus). See also *CTh* 15.5.1 from 372.

¹²⁰⁴ ‘*Laudabilis experientia tua*’ together with ‘*inlustris auctoritas tua*’ appears also in the two imperial rescripts preserved on papyrus dated between 436 and 450 from Philae (or Elephantine): ChLA 17 657, CPL 243. The imperial official is also addressed as ‘*carissimus ac iucundissimus*.’

Thus, an inscription from Chalkis on Euboia Island, a proconsular edict of 359,¹²⁰⁵ dates the governorship of Publius Ampelius within the years 359-60. The edict, publishing the list of *ἐπιμεληταὶ* (*curatores operum publicorum*), regulated, among other matters, repairs of the stoa. Another order (*πρόσταγμα*) of proconsul Ampelius of the same year, also publishing the list of *ἐπιμεληταὶ*, was discovered in Sparta.¹²⁰⁶ Thereafter, Decim(ius) Secundinus, *proconsul Achaearum*, sent a letter to *curator et defensor Amfissensium* on aqueducts of the city and against an usurpation of the *aqua publica* in the later fourth century.¹²⁰⁷ The Latin inscription was found in Amphissa. He held proconsulship later than 364, when *defensores* were instituted in the Illyrican prefecture (*CTh* 1.29.1). One more inscribed Greek proconsular edict concerning law courts carved on a marble base at Corinth, was issued by governor of Achaia, Flavius Ulpus Macarius, and is dated to the second half of the fourth century.¹²⁰⁸

Proconsul was *iudex ordinarius*, judge in the first instance as well as appellate judge in his own province. The unfrequent additional titles such as *vice sacra iudicans*, judge appointed by the emperor to decide in his name as an appellate judge, or its synonyms *vice sacra cognoscens* or *iudex sacrarum cognitionum*, were a novelty in the early fourth century.¹²⁰⁹ The formula '*vic(e) s(acra) aud(iens)*', instead of '*vic(e) s(acra) iud(icans)*', appearing in the inscription from Pergamon, is unique.¹²¹⁰ The title *vice sacra iudicans*, judge representing the emperor, is not testified to before the Constantinian period.¹²¹¹ C. Caelius Saturninus, proconsul of the Constantinian age, had already the power as judge in place of the emperor. Volusianus is the earliest known *iudex sacrarum cognitionum*, a position probably created by Constantine when leaving Rome after his victory over Maxentius.¹²¹² Asconius, *proconsul Africae* and *vice sacra iudicans*, is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription from Vallis in Proconsularis.¹²¹³ In 393 he received Symmachus' letter (5.59) asking his '*auctoritate iudicis*' to supply *venatores* for the questorian games of the latter's son during Eugenius' usurpation.

I begin with *proconsul Africae*. In the West, the African proconsulship was an ancient post of high prestige as mostly members of already established senatorial families had access to it. In the *Notitia*, in the top part of the two-register insigne of proconsul of Africa an elaborate theca and

¹²⁰⁵ *IG* XII, 9, 907 (Chalkis). André Chastagnol, *Aspects de l'antiquité tardive*, ed. Ignazio Tantillo (Rome: Bretschneider, 1994), 155; Denis Feissel, "Notes d'épigraphie chrétienne (IX)," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 118 (1994): 277.

¹²⁰⁶ *AE* 1929, 19=SEG XI 464, 2 (Sparta). Denis Feissel, "Inscriptions inédites du Musée d'Antioche," *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985): 285-87 no. 24.

¹²⁰⁷ *CIL* 3 568=ILS 5794=IG IX² 751 (Amphissa). *PLRE* 1, 814 Decim(ius) Secundinus 4.

¹²⁰⁸ *IG* IV 364 (Corynth). Feissel, "Inscriptions inédites," 290-291 no. 30. *PLRE* 1, 525 Flavius Ulpus Macarius 6.

¹²⁰⁹ *AE* 2003, 2004 (Domitius Zenophilus), *ILAlg.* 1 3052 (Olybrius), *ILAlg.* 1 472 (Paulus Constantius), *CIL* 8 14398 (Decimus Hilarianus Hesperius).

¹²¹⁰ *CIL* 3 7088=ILS 751=LSA-517, 1.10. See also *CIL* 8 23968+23969: *sacri auditori cognitor*.

¹²¹¹ Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 13 n.9.

¹²¹² Porena, *Le origini*, 265-67. *PLRE* 1, 976-78 Volusianus 4.

¹²¹³ *CIL* 8 14780 (Vallis).

codicilli propped up on the blue cloth-covered table. Unlike *theca* and the proconsular *codicilli*, a female personification of Carthage, the seat of provincial power, placed between them was different in costume, attitude and attribute in comparison to the eastern ones. If indeed, as Berger suggests, the western insignia were drawn up later to balance and match the eastern counterparts,¹²¹⁴ the personification differs in the type of tribute offered, as well as the format of the page with the bottom register of the insigne displaying two ships laden with sacks full of grain. The personified Africa is not holding tribute money in a bowl, as grain rather than coin was collected as part of the land tax, and the leaves in her hands, as Berger points out, were originally stalks of grain.¹²¹⁵

The proconsul's role as translator of imperial ideology manifested itself in different ways throughout the provinces governed by him, depending on local epigraphic practices. Generally imperial statues were awarded, either by provincial governor or by the civic authorities, which were the regional specifics of Africa. Thus, Maecilius Hilarianus awarded two statues of Constantine I in 324: in Carthage (*instauratori adque amplificatori universorum operum*)¹²¹⁶ and in Utica (*conditori adque amplificatori totius orbis Romani*).¹²¹⁷ A statue of Emperor Valens was set up by Iulius Festus Hymetius at Carthage in 366-68.¹²¹⁸ Sextius Rusticus Iulianus, who was not of senatorial origins, dedicated a statue for Emperor Gratian at Carpis in 371-73.¹²¹⁹ Imperial statues could be reused and rededicated within a short period of time with only minimal changes to inscriptions and, probably, no changes to portraits above. Thus, Aurelius Celsinus, set up a statue, perhaps for Emperor Constans I in 337-39, later rededicated to Constantius II, in Uthina or Pagus Mercurialis Veteranorum Medelitanorum in Proconsularis.¹²²⁰ Lepelley demonstrated that African cities experienced an economic and financial crisis under the reign of Constantine and his sons, largely caused by the burden of imperial taxation,¹²²¹ hence, the re-use of material as a common practice at this time.

Some dedications were awarded by the combined efforts of proconsul and civic officials. Domitius Latronianus, *vir clarissimus*, *proconsul Africae*, dedicated a statue of Emperor Constantine I at Carthage together with Vettius Piso Severus, *clarissimus curator* of the city,

¹²¹⁴ Berger, *The Insignia*, 100.

¹²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹²¹⁶ *CIL* 8 12524=*LSA*-1843 (Carthage). *PLRE* 1, 433 Maecilius Hilarianus 5.

¹²¹⁷ *CIL* 8 1179=14309=*LSA*-1956 (Utica). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 243, n. 13-14 suggests that the latter inscription, with its reference to imperial generosity to cities, commemorated specific imperial largesse to Utica.

¹²¹⁸ *CIL* 8 12527=*ILS* 768=*LSA*-1841 (Carthage). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 19, no. 3.

¹²¹⁹ *CIL* 8 995=12455=*ILS* 778=*LSA*-1839 (Carpis).

¹²²⁰ *ILT* 757=*LSA*-2242 (Pagus Mercurialis). Constans was the effective ruler of Africa from 337 to 350, and the erasure took place between 350 and 353, when Magnentius, who had deposed him, ruled Africa. At a yet later date, after Constantius II had defeated Magnentius, the former emperor became the honorand, perhaps even after a period when the base bore the name of Magnentius, as G. De Bruyn speculates. *PLRE* 1, 192 Aurelius Celsinus 4.

¹²²¹ Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 1, 97-8. The re-use of statue bases appears to have been quite common under the reign of Constantius II, see *LSA*-2234, *LSA*-2250 and perhaps *LSA*-2375.

between 314 and 324.¹²²² However, as usual for imperial statues in Africa, for most of them the awarder was the city. Thus, proconsul Virius Lupus 6 dedicated (*dedicante*) a statue of Emperor Constantius II and the city of Carpis set it up in 337-61.¹²²³ Nonetheless, in the fourth-century inscriptions, provincial governor is often the only individual named. Following common practice, cities were careful to give credit to current governor in inscriptions. Although statues were mostly set up by cities themselves, councils not always name, and thereby commemorate, civic officials, but imperial officers, such as proconsul (and sometimes *vicarius*) of Africa. An imperial dedication awarded by *cives Vagenses cum ordine splendidissimo* and set up at Vaga by *curator rei publicae*, mentions the proconsulship of Aco(nius) Catullinus in 317-18.¹²²⁴ An inscription on the base for a statue of Emperor Julian recording the governorship of Olybrius comes from Calama and dated is to very early 360 due to omission of the title of Augustus.¹²²⁵ Proconsul is styled *vir illustris*, which is not a rank designation here. The end of the inscription, with the name of the awarder, is broken off and lost, but like almost all late antique imperial statues in Africa, it was probably ordered by the city itself.

Some statues of gods were transferred in this period from their original locations and removed from their original sacred context, rededicated for other honorands.¹²²⁶ Under the proconsulship of Ampelius, a statue of Emperor Valentinian I was dedicated at Calama in 364.¹²²⁷ The awarders were the council of Calama, and Quintus Basilius Flaccianus, its principal magistrate, *curator* of the city. The re-use of a statue base originally set up to a pagan god, Neptune, is possibly linked to a ‘secularisation’ of urban space in some African cities in the second half of the fourth century. Another statue of Valentinian (*clementissimo principi ac totius orbis Augusto*) was erected at Furnos Minus in 366-67 under the governorship of Hymetius.¹²²⁸ The awarder was the city, as usual with imperial statues in Africa, but it memorializes proconsul and *vicarius* of Africa, while no civic *curator* is named. Yet another statue of Valentinian (*victori ac conservatori totius orbis terrarum*) was set up at Thisi in 368-70.¹²²⁹ Like almost all late antique imperial statues in Africa, the statue was probably ordered by the city itself under proconsulship of Petronius Claudius, while the official responsible for setting up the statue is not named. An anonymous *proconsul Africae* in

¹²²² CIL 8 1016=LSA-1842 (Carthage). The re-use of a base dedicated to Marcus Aurelius was perhaps deliberate in order to carry the aura of one good emperor to Constantine, as suggested by the use of similar *spolia*, especially on Rome’s Arch of Constantine. PLRE 1, 496 Domitius Latronianus 2.

¹²²³ CIL 8 994=LSA-1838 (Carpis).

¹²²⁴ CIL 8 14453 (El-Gheria (Africa Proconsularis)).

¹²²⁵ CIL 8 5334=ILAlg 1 252=LSA-1837 (Calama). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 95, n.19.

¹²²⁶ See Claude Lepelley, “Le musée des statues divines. La volonté de sauvegarder le patrimoine artistique païen à l’époque théodosienne,” *Révue Archéologique* 42 (1994): 5-15.

¹²²⁷ CIL 8 5337=ILAlg 1 254=LSA-1836 (Calama).

¹²²⁸ CIL 8 10609=14752=ILS 763 (Furnos Minus).

¹²²⁹ ILT 1192=AE 1938, 39=LSA-1948 (Thisi). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 256. PLRE 1, 208 Petronius Claudius 10.

office under Valentinian and Theodosius in 383-92 is recorded with his legate in a very fragmentary inscription, perhaps a dedication to one of the emperors, from Biha Bilita.¹²³⁰

Other statuary was erected and reerected under proconsul by local notables who held the highest municipal offices. Thus, an anonymous *proconsul Africae*, styled *amplissimus*, is mentioned in an undated inscription from Vina somewhen in the late fourth or early fifth century.¹²³¹ The inscription for a statue of an unstated subject was set up in the baths (l.8). Another base recording a restoration of statues of an unstated subject was done in 305-306 by Volusianus at Carthage, who ‘renewed the reverence for statues which alone was missing for its splendor’.¹²³² It is possible that these were statues of deities or heroes. Equally, legates of proconsuls were charged with the (re)erection of the monuments. Thus, under the proconsulship of Probianus, a statue of an unstated subject was set up by his legate in Vallis in 315-16.¹²³³

Next, Olybrius’ proconsulship is recorded in no less than eleven inscriptions, of which all but one come from Africa Proconsularis in 361-62.¹²³⁴ Five dedicatory inscriptions from Thubursicu Numidarum were erected or re-erected during his term in office. He is recorded in a series of inscriptions testifying to the erection of statues in the New forum (*forum novum*): two of them, both to unstated subjects, possibly carried statues of gods. One, accompanied by a verse inscription of two elegiac distichs,¹²³⁵ was set up in the New forum, where it was first recorded, and referred to as ‘*arx*’ in the inscription (l.8). However, according to the invocation (ll.1-3), Gehn suggests that it was possibly a statue of Fortuna. The erection of the statues was part of the works on the *forum novum* carried out under Olybrius (Clodius Hermogena in the inscription, for metrical reasons). Another statue was also set up as a decor in the same forum at the same date.¹²³⁶ Under Olybrius’ proconsulship three statues of earlier emperors were re-erected. A statue of Constantine I,¹²³⁷ of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius,¹²³⁸ and of Trajan¹²³⁹ were restored and rededicated in the New forum supervised by proconsul’s legate.

Then, Symmachus features as restorer of two statues of Victory dedicated by him in the amphitheater in Carthage, the capital of Africa Proconsularis. One base for a statue of an unstated subject, in whose vicinity a mutilated statue of Victory was discovered,¹²⁴⁰ was set up by order of

¹²³⁰ *CIL* 8 25445 (Hr. Baia). *PLRE* 1, 1012 Anonymus 40.

¹²³¹ *CIL* 8 962+12440=*IL Afr.* 321=*LSA*-2478 (Aurelia Vina).

¹²³² *AE* 1909, 173=*LSA*-2337 (Carthago).

¹²³³ *CIL* 8 1277=*ILS* 6809=*LSA*-2476 (Vallis). *PLRE* 1, 733-34 Probianus 3.

¹²³⁴ Chastagnol, “Les légats,” 18-19.

¹²³⁵ *AE* 1902, 49a=*LSA*-2473 (Thubursicu Numidarum).

¹²³⁶ *AE* 1914, 242=*LSA*-2470 (Thubursicu Numidarum).

¹²³⁷ *IL Alg.* 1274=*LSA*-1182 (Thubursicu Numidarum).

¹²³⁸ *IL Alg.* 1229=*LSA*-2481 (Thubursicu Numidarum).

¹²³⁹ *IL Alg.* 1247=*LSA*-2482 (Thubursicu Numidarum).

¹²⁴⁰ *LSA*-2391.

proconsul and found close to the amphitheater is dated to 373-74.¹²⁴¹ In the same area as this inscription, a similar one was found.¹²⁴² It is uncertain which of the bases once carried the extant statue. Moreover, some fragments possibly belonging to a third similar inscription are recorded by *CIL*. One more statue was set up at Calama under Symmachus' governorship.¹²⁴³ Besides, his name is restored on yet another inscription carved on the back face of an earlier one to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, from the later second century found near Thysdrus in Byzacena.¹²⁴⁴ However, only the title of *comes ordinis tertii* can possibly be restored from the extant letters. It is possible that this inscription testifies to the re-erection of a statue, whose subject is lost in the inscription or was possibly never stated. While his administration was praised by Theodosius senior (Symm. *Ep.* 10.1.2-3), he hoped that the province would honor him with a statue (*Ep.* 8.20, 8.5), but was thwarted because of a disagreement between locals concerning its erection (*Ep.* 9.115).

Furthermore, the intervention of a proconsul in municipal affairs was unusual, and when it occurred it is explained by the fact that it was probably considered necessary for the awarder because there was opposition against the erection of a statue. Thus, the former proconsul Thalassius, son-in-law of Ausonius, father of Paulinus of Pella, is recorded on the base for a statue of Calicius Honoratianus, local notable and patron of Membressa, set up in 379-83 'with a decree according to custom twice', 'confirmed by higher decision first by the issue of an imperial mandate by Thalassius, of clarissimus rank, then proconsul'.¹²⁴⁵ The name of the awarder is lost in the heavily mutilated inscription, however, it is probable that it was the city or one of its bodies. Two proconsuls are mentioned in the text: Thalassius (l.7), who held office in 377-78, and the current governor Virius Audentius Aemilianus (l.8) in 379-83. Two statues of unstated subjects were set up by Aemilianus in the theater of Carthage.¹²⁴⁶ One inscription states that the statue decoration of the theater (*theatralia signa*, ll.5-6) was restored under his governorship.¹²⁴⁷ A double intervention of the governor in a local affair is even more unusual.¹²⁴⁸ Similarly, another statue of a local notable was decreed by municipal authorities (*decreto condito*, l.8) and approved by the *amplissimus*

¹²⁴¹ *CIL* 8 24584=*LSA*-2338 and *LSA*-2339 (Carthage). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 15.

¹²⁴² *CIL* 8 24584=*LSA*-2339 (Carthage).

¹²⁴³ *CIL* 8 5347=*ILAlg.* 1 272 (Calama).

¹²⁴⁴ *AE* 1966, 518=*LSA*-2310 (Thysdrus). *AE* suggests that it contained a detailed cursus honorum of Symmachus, the awarder. However, the identification is uncertain as the name and the titles of the awarder are in a very fragmentary state. It was probably once set up in Thysdrus, but the city is in the province of Byzacena and therefore not under the governorship of *proconsul Africae*.

¹²⁴⁵ *CIL* 8 1296=14798=*LSA*-2450 (Membressa). Remarkably, the erection of the inscription and statue was twice approved by the imperial administration. *PLRE* 1, 887-88 Thalassius 3.

¹²⁴⁶ *CIL* 8 24589=*LSA*-2341 (Carthage). *PLRE* 1, 22 Virius Audentius Aemilianus 4.

¹²⁴⁷ *CIL* 8 24588=*ILS* 9356=*LSA*-2340 (Carthage).

¹²⁴⁸ Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 143 suggests a conflict between two parties among the decurions, one of which would have denied the honor of a statue to the patron; the double approval from the highest authority in the province assured that the erection of the statue was in accordance with legal requirements.

proconsul Flavius Eusignius (l.9-13) in 383.¹²⁴⁹ The name of the honorand, possibly a local notable who held the municipal office of *flamen perpetuus* (l. 6), was recorded in the first lines and is now lost in this mutilated inscription found near Carthage. The name of the awarders is uncertain in the inscription, but they were possibly citizens of the honorand's hometown.

The proconsulship of Africa is recorded in cursus inscriptions from Rome. Thus, Volusianus was *proconsul Africae* before Maxentius acquired Africa. His cursus, in so far as it was recognized in the early years of Constantine I, is given in an inscription dated to 314.¹²⁵⁰ Porena hypothesizes that when Maxentius' usurpation surprised Volusianus at Carthage and he, who was appointed proconsul of Africa by Maximian or Constantius I, accepted – like, for example, urban prefect Annius Anullinus – the accession of the new emperor.¹²⁵¹ Another fragmentary inscription contains the *cursus honorum* including perhaps the African proconsulship.¹²⁵² Proculus' proconsulship of Africa between 328 and 335, is recorded in two inscriptions.¹²⁵³ He served as governor of the province of Africa and judge representing the emperor, while at the same time judge in the imperial court of appeal for the provinces of Africa Proconsularis, Numidia, Byzacena, and Tripolitania and likewise Mauretania Sitifensis and Mauretania Caesariensis.¹²⁵⁴ In particular cases the emperor could expand the *cognitio vice sacra* of proconsul to the whole territory of the diocese, although probably limited to appeal proceedings only and not to all the numerous functions of praetorian prefect, which seemed to Proculus' dedicators almost a promotion to the praetorian prefecture.¹²⁵⁵ The proconsulship of Sextus Anicius Paulinus,¹²⁵⁶ Lollianus,¹²⁵⁷ Orfitus,¹²⁵⁸ Saturninius Secundus

¹²⁴⁹ AE 1957, 72=LSA-2466 (Carthage). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 163 points out, the completion *v[ici] c(ivis)* (ll.6-7) is not satisfying, because there was not such a thing as citizenship in a village and it is possible that the title is preceded by the name of the man (...*vicus Bobius*) (instead of ...*i vico Bobio*, in *vicus Bobius*).

¹²⁵⁰ CIL 6 1707=ILS 1213=LSA-1415. His next three offices were held under Maxentius and are omitted from the inscription.

¹²⁵¹ Porena, *Le origini*, 263 with n.167 suggests that the proconsulship of Volusianus may have coincided with the critical passage of Africa Proconsularis from previous legitimate control to that of Maxentius. It is witnessed by the highly prestigious posts Volusianus held under the usurper: praetorian and urban prefecture, and an ordinary consulship of 311. The fact that the proconsulship of Africa appears in the *cursus honorum* written after Constantine's victory at Milvian bridge, where the Maxentian offices are not mentioned, is explained by the appointment of Volusianus before the usurpation.

¹²⁵² CIL 6 41319=LSA 1573.

¹²⁵³ CIL 6 1690=ILS 1240=LSA-1396, CIL 6 1691=LSA-1397.

¹²⁵⁴ Proculus' awarders identify his post with a praetorian prefecture of the African diocese: in the text in prose *perfunctus officio praefecturae praetorio*, while in verse *praefectus et idem hic Libyae idem Libyae proconsul et ante*. Proculus's title of the office in the Roman dedication in prose leads Porena, *Le origini*, 453 to the conclusion that Proculus was appointed to the regular African proconsulship, with a *cognitio vice sacra* extended exceptionally to all provinces of the African diocese. However, the fact that the dedicators of the monuments in his honor could not call him *praefectus praetorio*, and the fact that Proculus himself does not attribute this title to himself, nor that of prefect's deputy, and considering that prefect with a mandate for the African diocese was active at the same time, it makes unlikely to assume any accumulation of the functions.

¹²⁵⁵ Porena, *Le origini*, 454.

¹²⁵⁶ CIL 6 1680.

¹²⁵⁷ CIL 6 1723+1757=37112=ILS 1232=LSA-1426.

¹²⁵⁸ CIL 6 1739=LSA-1441; CIL 6 1740=LSA-1442; CIL 6 1741=ILS 1243=LSA-1443; CIL 6 1742=LSA-1444.

Salutius,¹²⁵⁹ Probus (fig. 24),¹²⁶⁰ Olybrius,¹²⁶¹ and Symmachus (fig. 2)¹²⁶² is mentioned in their honorific inscriptions set up in Rome.

Now I turn to dedicatees honored as proconsuls during or after their term in office. A gilded bronze statue of Iulius Festus Hymetius, proconsul of Africa Proconsularis in 366-68, was erected by the provincials of Africa with imperial permission at Rome in 376-78 (fig. 13).¹²⁶³ It is impossible to be certain of the original setting of this statue, but the fact that it was authorized by the emperors suggests a public context, and the importance of the gilt statue implies that even the Forum of Trajan cannot be confidently ruled out. The most likely possibility, however, is a domestic space, due to the ultimately personal character of the dedication. The inscription records in fact the dedication by the province of two gilt statues to Hymetius, one in Rome and the other in Carthage, 'since for no *proconsul* or *ex-proconsul* before had it requested a statue to be set up'.

Outside of Rome, the latest office mentioned on the Campanian inscriptions to Lollianus, is the governorship of Proconsularis, datable to 334-37. Lollianus received four statues by different associations at Puteoli honoring him as *proconsul Africae* and patron in 337-42.¹²⁶⁴ The statues were set up in the forum¹²⁶⁵ when Lollianus reached the highest position in his career: the proconsulship of Africa. Of the four, two monuments represent the re-use of high-imperial togate statues which must have been a satisfactory type for senators in the fourth century.¹²⁶⁶ One base was found together with the statue in the area of the ancient Regio Decatrinae.¹²⁶⁷ The over life-size statue, with the head now missing, was found with its base.¹²⁶⁸ The right arm gestures away from the body, while the left arm rests by the side. A bundle of scrolls serves as the statue support on the outside of the left leg. The style of the dress and technique of the togate statue places its date of creation in the first century, according to Goette, in the last quarter of the century.¹²⁶⁹ The head,,

¹²⁵⁹ *CIL* 6 1764=*ILS* 1255=*LSA*-1408.

¹²⁶⁰ *CIL* 6 41342a=*LSA*-306; *CIL* 6 1751=*ILS* 1265=*LSA*-272; *CIL* 6 1752=*ILS* 1268=*LSA*-1459; *CIL* 6 1753=*ILS* 1267=*LSA*-1460. In Italy, the dedication was set up for Petronius Probus 5 at Verona possibly in 371, which mentions his proconsulship, *CIL* 5 3344=*ILS* 1266=*LSA*-1599. Another statue of Probus was set up at Capua in the second part of the fourth century, *AE* 1972, 76=*AE* 2011, 51=*LSA*-1936. Barbieri, the first editor of the inscription, suggested a reading: 'governor (*proconsul*) of Africa and at the same time thriving through the praetorian prefecture' (ll.2-5). He thought that Petronius Probus was identical to *proconsul Africae* in 368, Petronius Claudius. Cameron, "Polyonymy," 164-82 showed that the formula *et simul uno eodemque tempore etiam* (or similar) in comparable contexts of the period usually connects the two subsequently recorded offices. Moreover, the nomenclature of late antique polyonymy excludes the identity of Petronius Probus, the honorand, and Petronius Claudius, *proconsul Africae* in 368.

¹²⁶¹ *CIL* 6 1714=*ILS* 1271=*LSA*-1270.

¹²⁶² *CIL* 6 1699=*ILS* 2946=*LSA*-270.

¹²⁶³ *CIL* 6 1736=*ILS* 1256=*LSA*-1439.

¹²⁶⁴ *CIL* 10 1695=*ILS* 1224a=*LSA*-332 (Puteoli (Campania)); *AE* 1977, 198=*LSA*-47 (Puteoli (Campania)); *ILS* 1224b=*LSA*-1909 (Puteoli (Campania)); *CIL* 10 1696=*ILS* 1224c=*LSA*-43 (Puteoli (Campania)).

¹²⁶⁵ Giuseppe Camodeca, "Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana (fine III-IV secolo)," *Puteoli* 4-5 (1980-1981), 63.

¹²⁶⁶ See, for example, *LSA*-46.

¹²⁶⁷ *CIL* 10 1696=*ILS* 1224c=*LSA*-43.

¹²⁶⁸ *LSA*-44 (J. Lenaghan). Gehr, *Ehrenstatuen*, 514-18 cat. no. W 5; Horst Blanck, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1969), 35-6, no. A 9, pl. 8a.

¹²⁶⁹ Hans Rupprecht Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1990), 129, no. Ba 321 (Flavian).

worked separately, was described as stylistically different from that of C. Caelius Saturninus (fig. 1).¹²⁷⁰ Another life-size headless toga statue sat on top of a base was set up by the region of the slope of the glass-makers and street of the incense-traders.¹²⁷¹ It seems to re-use a high imperial togate statue in the same pose as the one set up by the college of the decatresses in the region of the Decatria, to which it forms a pendant. The head was probably also worked separately. According to excavation report, the statue wore a tunic, an ample toga which had a swelling over the chest and a *balteus* over the left shoulder, and *calcei patricii*, the straps of which were visible on the left shin. The forearm of the left arm was extended forward.

Statues were set up to proconsuls in Africa Proconsularis during or after the term in office. At Carthage, the record of a gilded bronze statue of Hymetius, is mentioned on the base of his statue from Rome.¹²⁷² The dedication in Rome was made years later, in 376-78, as indicated by the imperial names, and so was probably the dedication in Carthage set up by the province of Africa. Besides Carthage, proconsuls were commemorated in the other cities of the province. An anonymous *proconsul Africae*, whose identity cannot be certainly established,¹²⁷³ was honored with a statue at Bulla Regia in 324-337.¹²⁷⁴ The inscription was found out of context; the name of the dedicatee in the first three lines was apparently erased and the name of the awarder is lost. The honorand was proconsul of Africa for at least four years (l.7). All three governorships which he held are styled *dignitas consularis* (ll.5-6). Y. Thébert suggested that the honorand could have been Valerius Felix,¹²⁷⁵ whose name is likewise erased in the inscription from Tubernuc.¹²⁷⁶ However, as Porena pointed out, since Felix appears in the prefectural dedication at Aïn-Rchine, it is impossible that he, in 332, combined the praetorian prefecture with the African proconsulship, given that in the inscription on the arch of the African city Zenofilus is proconsul.¹²⁷⁷

Cities in Proconsularis put up multiple monuments to proconsuls as their patrons. Marcus Ceionius Iulianus *signo* Kamenius, proconsul of Africa in 326/33, received five inscriptions. One inscription was found in the temple of Apollo at Bulla Regia in 326-33.¹²⁷⁸ He is styled ‘*consularis familiae vir*’, but his ancestors are not known. Iulianus was patron of the city, a status which was hereditary in his family (ll.4-5). He was honored with another statue found on the city forum

¹²⁷⁰ LSA-903.

¹²⁷¹ ILS 1224b=LSA-1909 with LSA-1124. Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 162-5; 518 cat. no. W 6; Blanck, *Wiederverwendung*, 36-7, no. A 10.

¹²⁷² LSA-1440 (Carthage (Proconsularis)).

¹²⁷³ PLRE 1, 1012 Anonymus 37. Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 89 no. 3. suggests PLRE 1, 882 Tertullus 1; Domitius Zenophilus; Ausonius Marcellinus (honored with another statue at Bulla Regia, LSA-2358); or Ceionius Iulianus (honored with another statue at Bulla Regia, LSA-2357).

¹²⁷⁴ ILAfr. 456=AE 1917/18, 99=AE 1991, 1682=LSA-2385 (Bulla Regia).

¹²⁷⁵ Yvon Thébert, “Le proconsul inconnu de Bulla Regia (ILAfr 456): une nouvelle hypothèse,” in *L’Africa romana*, 7, ed. Attilio Mastino (Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi, 1990), 879-85.

¹²⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁷ Porena, *Le origini*, 452-53.

¹²⁷⁸ CIL 8 25525=LSA-2357 (Bulla Regia).

dedicated by the people of Madaurus.¹²⁷⁹ He is celebrated for the many benefits resulting from his good governorship. Another honorific inscription in Madaurus, on a similar base, uses also similar formulas to praise the honorand, proconsul Gezeius Largus Maternianus in 340-50.¹²⁸⁰ These two similar inscriptions were possibly intended to stand close together; however, the location where they were set up is uncertain. Six fragments of the latter statue base were found at different times, dispersed over different locations at Mdaourouch. Maternianus held the proconsulship in Africa for at least three years (Il.8-9). Chastagnol suggested a date of 340/50 for his time in office in Africa, which was accepted by Lepelley.¹²⁸¹

An inscription to Antonius Marcellinus set up in 320-40 was found in the courtyard of the temple of Apollo at Bulla Regia.¹²⁸² He is described as ‘*illustris familiae*’. A statue of Postumius Rufius Festus was set up at the same city in perhaps 339-40.¹²⁸³ Lucius Crepereius Madalianus, proconsul Africae after 341, received a statue at Calama in 341-50:¹²⁸⁴ the base of it was found near the city wall. A statue of Marcus Aurelius Consius Quartus Iunior was erected in the forum of Hippo Regius in Proconsularis in 330-55.¹²⁸⁵ Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius, the son of the poet Ausonius, was congratulated on his appointment to proconsulship by Symmachus (Ep. 1.16) in 376. Hesperius’ statue honoring him as former governor was set up in the Severan forum at Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania c. 378.¹²⁸⁶ This office had ended when the inscription was set up (Il.2-3).¹²⁸⁷ Together with vicar Nicomachus Flavianus, he was appointed by Emperor Gratian to settle the case of the provincials against *comes* Romanus (‘*causae Tripolitanorum delegatae sacro iudicio*’, Il.8-9), a lawsuit that had been delayed for more than a decade by the powerful allies of Romanus. The court eventually gave the provincials justice, and a series of monuments was set up in Lepcis Magna to celebrate.¹²⁸⁸

Another anonymous *proconsul Africae* received an honorific statue at Bulla Regia in the fourth century.¹²⁸⁹ The statue base found in the courtyard of the temple of Apollo lost its upper part, with the name of the honored governor. The temple of Apollo then became a storeroom for statuary in the second half of the fourth century, or, as Lepelley argues, a sort of museum.¹²⁹⁰ The base may well have been set up first on the forum, and only later transferred with other statues into the

¹²⁷⁹ AE 1922, 16=LSA-2446 (Madaurus).

¹²⁸⁰ ILAlg. I 4012=AE 1922, 17=LSA-2447 (Madaurus).

¹²⁸¹ André Chastagnol, “Les Gouverneurs de Byzacène et de Tripolitaine,” *Antiquités africaines* 1 (1967): 119-34, 124-25; Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 134.

¹²⁸² CIL 8 25524=LSA-2358 (Bulla Regia).

¹²⁸³ AE 2002, 1676=LSA-2386 (Bulla Regia). *PLRE* 1, 336-37 Postumius Rufius Festus 12.

¹²⁸⁴ CIL 8 5348+17490=ILS 1228=ILAlg. I 271=LSA-2408 (Calama).

¹²⁸⁵ AE 1955, 150=LSA-2437 (Hippo Regius). André Chastagnol, “La carrière du proconsul d’Afrique M. Aurelius Consius Quartus,” *Libyca* 7 (1959): 191-203.

¹²⁸⁶ IRT 526=LSA-2169 (Lepcis Magna (Tripolitana)).

¹²⁸⁷ See also the contemporary inscription to Nicomachus Flavianus, LSA-2173.

¹²⁸⁸ On the case see Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 22-24.

¹²⁸⁹ CIL 8 25528=LSA-1184 (Bulla Regia). *PLRE* 1, 1012 Anonymus 41.

¹²⁹⁰ Lepelley, “Le musée des statues.”

temple. Moreover, a togate statue was found in front of this base, lying face down on the pavement in the West portico.¹²⁹¹ It may have fallen from this pedestal. The display of the toga's folds and its relation to the underlying body suggest the earlier to mid-second-century date.¹²⁹² The head belongs to the original statue but was reworked in late antiquity, by adding a stubble beard to the original portrait of the earlier second century. The picked stubble beard which was in fashion through the fourth century signals the restless toils of the office-holder. The original hairstyle was equally changed into a fourth-century short, forward brushed hairstyle with wavy strands, resembling the portrait of Constantine on his arch in Rome, and those in the mid-fourth century. The honorand wears a old-fashioned toga in early imperial style with umbo, which was still in use in the earlier and mid-fourth century.¹²⁹³ He wears strapped boots (*calcei*) indicating the senatorial rank of the portrayed. Both arms were held forward. A bundle of scrolls is placed at his left foot.

As for the awarders, statues were mostly set up by city councils, and, exceptionally, by provincial assemblies.¹²⁹⁴ The honorific inscriptions for proconsuls of Africa praise magistral virtues and good governance. Virtues praised are *aequitas*, *iustitia*, *potestas*, *moderatio*, *bonitas*, *integritas*, and *virtus*. Hymetius is honored 'because he occupied himself in that same province with chaste and honest affairs' (*et quod caste in eadem provincia integreque versatus est*) and 'because he did not lack in the recognition of fairness or justice' (*quod neque aequitati in cognoscendo neque iustitiae defuerit*); an anonymous *proconsul Africae* in 324/37 is styled 'a man of outstanding ability, moderation and goodness, as well as praiseworthy' (*eximiae potestatis et moderationis et bonitatis ac praedicabili*); Iulianus is called 'good and outstanding, and an ornament of the senatorial order (*bono adque praestanti et senatoriae dignitatis ornamento*), while Gezeius Largus is named instead 'distinguished and outstanding' (*magnifico atque praestanti*). Antonius Marcellinus, 'whose integrity and justice Africa has attested (*cuius integritatem et iustitiam Africa conprobavit*) and Decimus Hesperius, 'who enhances the dignity of his family through high offices

¹²⁹¹ LSA-1130 (U. Gehn). Goette, *Studien*, 49. 51. 130 no. B b 7 pl. 14, 3; Blanck, *Wiederverwendung*, 56, no. A 34, pl. 24.

¹²⁹² Goette, *Studien* l. c. 51, who characterizes it as following a fashion of the mid-second century.

¹²⁹³ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 128-32; 137-9; 320; 389-98 cat. no. O 22.

¹²⁹⁴ Iulius Festus Hymetius received two statues, in Rome and in Carthage, dedicated by the province of Africa, with the special permission from the emperors. The name of the awarder of the statue to PLRE 1, 1012 Anonymus 37 is lost, but the erection of the statue was approved by Emperor Constantine and his co-regents. The others were awarded by cities. One inscription for PLRE 1, 476 Iulianus 26 was set up by the council of Bulla Regia, similar to Antonius Marcellinus and PLRE 1, 1012 Anonymus 41. Another inscription for Iulianus was set up by two local notables, Aurelius Saturninus Cescentianus and Aurelius Nicander and awarded by council of Madauros. Also, the statue for Gezeius Largus Maternianus was awarded by the same council. The *ordo decurionum Hipponensium Regionum* awarded a statue to M. Aurelius Consus Quartus Iunior. The inscription to Decimus Hilarianus Hesperius was set up by the council and people of Lepcis Magna. Remarkably, the *ordo* alone, and not the entire city, is styled as client of Hesperius. The name of the awarder of the dedication to Lucius Crepereius Madalianus is lost; it is likely that it was the city of Calama. The name of the dedicant on the statue for Postumius Rufius Festus is also lost in the inscription. Lollianus received four statues from city regions of Puteoli: the *Regio Portae Triumphalis* (a region of Puteoli presumably located near the forum), the *Regio Decatriae* (*collegium Decatressium*), the *Regio arae Lucullanae*, and the *Regio clivi vitriari sive vici turari*, see Camodeca, "Ricerche su Puteoli," 59-128, 101.

and merits of glory' (*prosapiae dignitatem crescenti per gradus et merita gloriarum*) were honored for justice (*ob honorem iustitiae*). Honors were dedicated to Crepereius Madalianus as 'a man of admirable justice and unparalleled moderation' (*mirae iustitiae atque eximiae moderationis*), to Marcus Aurelius Consius Quartus as 'a man of all illustrious glories, eminent for his administrative functions, admirable for his virtues, distinguished for his integrity (*omnium inlustrium gloriarum viro, administrationibus egregio, virtute mirifico, integritate praecipuo*), and to Rufius Festus as 'a man of outstanding integrity and an example of admirable benevolence' (*eximiae integritatis viro ac mirae bonitatis exemplo*).

Proconsuls were honored for the benefits the cities obtained through their good governance. Iulius Festus Hymetius relieved famine at Carthage, but his measures led to a charge of fraud and he was fined (Amm. 28.1.17-18). The inscription from Rome reflects his help: 'on account of his distinguished services towards the commonwealth (*res publica*), and because the desolation of hunger and neediness was driven away from the same province by planning and provisions' (*ob insignia eius in rem publicam merita et ob depulsam ab eadem provincia famis et inopiae vastitatem consiliis et provisionibus*). It also reports that he revived the provincial priesthood (*quod studium / sacerdotii provinciae restituerit*). Iulianus and Gezeius Largus, by whose governorship (*proconsulatu*) the city and the community (*civitas et res publica*) had obtained 'many benefits' (*beneficia plurima*) were honored, in identical wording, with a statue, although 'not matching the benefits' that each provided (*impari beneficiis eius*). Many were city patrons, some by descent. Apart from Lollianus, who was honored as patron (*patrono dignissimo*), and whose family's dossier in Puteoli shows the importance of personal links between Roman families and local communities,¹²⁹⁵ Iulianus (*a parentibus patrono; patrono coloniae*), Gezeius Largus (*patrono coloniae*), Antonius Marcellinus (*patrono*), Decimus Hesperius (*praestanti patrono*), and an anonymous proconsul (*patrono perpetuo*) are attested as such in African inscriptions.

As for the material of the statues and the visual language of the proconsul's costume, two gilded statues, at Rome and Carthage, respectively, are epigraphically recorded for Iulius Festus Hymetius (*statuam unam apud Carthaginem sub auro alteram quoque Romae eidem sub auro*). Five more marble statues are known. Two are mentioned in the inscriptions to Iulianus and Gezeius Largus Maternianus (*statuam marmoream*). The other three are extant: one of an anonymous proconsul and two of Lollianus. All three are reused high imperial togate statues.

The inscriptional representation of the imperial building practices was an important instrument not merely for self-advertisement of proconsuls', but also as a sign of political loyalty. Regarding the phraseology of building inscriptions, proconsul never took the initiative of a construction, and, although very often commemorated in the dedications, he was honored as

¹²⁹⁵ Camodeca, "Ricerche su Puteoli," 100-102.

‘repository’ of the emperor’s authority. Latinus Pacatus Drepanius probably remained in Theodosius’ milieu when at the end of 389 he received the proconsulship of Africa.¹²⁹⁶ He is mentioned as proconsul (*divino mandatu*) in the building inscription set up on the occasion of indeterminate works at Furnos Maius in Proconsularis.¹²⁹⁷ Clodius Octavianus was appointed by Julian at Antioch when the former was at court as an envoy of the senate of Rome (Amm. 23.1.4). A building inscription from Thagora in Proconsularis records his proconsulship in 362-63.¹²⁹⁸

Emperors were the builders ultimately responsible for carrying out building projects or rebuilding through the agency of proconsul. The formula *administrante* is often used immediately after the names and titulatures of the emperors and just before the names of proconsuls. A building inscription attesting to a restoration of an aqueduct (*a fundamentis*) by Flavius Dardanius in 340/350 under Constantius and Constans (*administrantibus*), was found near Furnos Maius in Proconsularis.¹²⁹⁹ He is probably identical with Dardanius on the building inscription on the baths from Carthage.¹³⁰⁰ Another of some restorations by Ampelius was done at Mustis under Valentinian and Valens in 364.¹³⁰¹ This did not mean a direct intervention of proconsul. The action of the proconsul was limited to the prerogatives that were assigned to him, and, in this case, the supervision of the construction. This is confirmed by the legal texts prohibiting governors to start building works without the emperor’s order (*CJ* 15.31=*CJ* 8.11.10). A Latin inscription discovered in Tunisia shows Flavius Polybius supervising (*administrante*) urban works in 387-88.¹³⁰² The joint presence of the formula *splendor* and the formula *gratia* qualifying a public monument is without being absolutely unique, extremely rare. Another comes from Aradi, where a *praetorium* (*a fundamentis*) was made *administrante* by Petronius Claudius in 368-70.¹³⁰³ In the proconsulship of Aurelius Celsinus a restoration of the *fanum dei Mercurii* was completed in Avitta Bibba in 337-38.¹³⁰⁴

A direct and effective intervention of proconsul is signaled by words like *dedicante*, *curante*, *insistente* or even *disponente*. First and foremost, proconsul played an important part as a dedicator of public monuments (predicates *dedicavit*, *consecravit*). He would be personally present at the dedication ceremonies to inaugurate only the most significant monuments, like honorary

¹²⁹⁶ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 164; Timothy D. Barnes, “Proconsuls of Africa: Corrigenda,” *Phoenix* 39.3 (1985): 153. Cf. Messianus, *proconsul Africae* in 385/86, who became *comes rei privatae* in 389 and Pisidius Romulus, *proconsul Africae* in 386/88 (?), who became *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 392. Also *PLRE* 1, 426-27 Fl. Herodes 4, *proconsul Africae* in 394-95, became perhaps *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 396.

¹²⁹⁷ *ILT* 619 (Furnos Maius). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 109.

¹²⁹⁸ *CIL* 8 4647=*ILS* 756=*ILAlg.* I 1035 (Thagora). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 185 n.6. *PLRE* 1 637 Clodius Octavianus 2.

¹²⁹⁹ *AE* 1934, 133=*ILT* 622 (Haouli).

¹³⁰⁰ *ILT* 1093 (Carthage).

¹³⁰¹ *ILT* 1538b=*AE* 1933, 33b (Mustis). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 117.

¹³⁰² Moheddine Chaouali, “Le Proconsul d’Afrique Flavius Polybius,” *Epigraphica* 78 (2016): 179. *PLRE* 1, 711 Flavius Polybius 2.

¹³⁰³ *AE* 1955, 52 (Aradi). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 71 n.5.

¹³⁰⁴ *CIL* 8 12272 (Avitta Bibba).

arches, theaters, temples, or important baths. Thus, one of the building inscriptions records the restoration of the *capitolium* at Cingaris under the proconsul Domitius Zenophilus *signo* Curetius, who dedicated it (*dedicavit*).¹³⁰⁵ Paulus Constantius is named as such in three building inscriptions from Africa Proconsularis in 374. One of them comes from Calama commemorating the construction of a new *porticus a fundamentis*, dedicated by proconsul.¹³⁰⁶ V[---]adius, *proconsul Africae*, dedicated (*dedicante*) a temple and its *porticus* near Djebel Morabba under Valentinian, Arcadius and Maximus in 384-88.¹³⁰⁷ Based on Barnes' chronology, the proconsulship of V[---]adius dates to either 384/85, 386/87, or 387/88.¹³⁰⁸ Another building inscription records proconsul Iulianus 26 from Thibursicum Bure dedicating (*dedicante*) an unknown public building in 326/33.¹³⁰⁹ At the seat of proconsul, at Carthage, a building inscription attests to perhaps a dedication of the baths at Carthage by Aco(nius) Catullinus, restored on his initiative in 317-18.¹³¹⁰ Proconsuls are attested more often as dedicators than builders, with the other ones being civic officials (*curator rei publicae*, *flamen perpetuus*, etc.)

With emperors as nominal builders, provincial governors acted not merely as dedicators, but also as supervisors. Thus, proconsul had charge of public works and numerous construction inscriptions represent the supervisor as the builder. The subject of the building inscriptions is mostly related to either building (*fecit*, *faciundum*, *curavit*) or rebuilding (*perfecit*, *restituit*, *restauravit*, *instauravit*), with the latter being far more common in late antiquity. One inscription mentions indeterminate works carried out (*perfecit*) by Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius at Calama.¹³¹¹ Another inscription on indeterminate works done (*perfecit*) by Sextius Rusticus Iulianus comes from Carthage.¹³¹² Two unknown proconsuls of Africa were responsible for the restoration of the *forum transitorium* at Mustis in Proconsularis under Constantius, Magnentius and Decentius in 350-51.¹³¹³ Yet another inscription from Mustis probably commemorates the restoration of a forum (*restitutum atque perfectum*) by Iulius Festus Hymetius.¹³¹⁴ One more mentions the restoration of an *opus tessellatum* for an undetermined building in Calama by Hymetius (*restituit*).¹³¹⁵ A restoration of the *capitolium* at Cingaris was conducted under proconsul Domitius

¹³⁰⁵ *AE* 2003, 2004 (Cincaris).

¹³⁰⁶ *ILAlg.* I 472=*CIL* 8 17517 (Calama). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 169 n.5. *PLRE* 1, 227 Paulus Constantius 11 (+Paulus 8).

¹³⁰⁷ *CIL* 8 23968+23969 (Hr. Morabba).

¹³⁰⁸ Barnes, "Proconsuls of Africa," 274.

¹³⁰⁹ *CIL* 8 15269 (Thibursicum Bure). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 207.

¹³¹⁰ *CIL* 8 24582 (Carthage). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 14.

¹³¹¹ *ILAlg.* I 257=*CIL* 8 17519 (Calama).

¹³¹² *CIL* 8 12537 (Carthage).

¹³¹³ *ILT* 1557=*AE* 1933, 105 (Mustis). *PLRE* 1, 1012 Anonymus 38.

¹³¹⁴ *ILT* 1542=*CIL* 8 15581=*AE* 1932, 14 (Mustis). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 148.

¹³¹⁵ *CIL* 8 5336=*ILAlg.* I 255 (Calama). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 116.

Zenophilus.¹³¹⁶ Under the governorship of Aurelius Celsinus, a restoration of the *fanum dei Mercurii* took place in Avitta Bibba.¹³¹⁷

The proconsuls had an *officium* through which they were in charge of public works in different cities of the province. *Insistente* by V[---]adius the temple and its *porticus* were restored.¹³¹⁸ The inscription from Mustis probably commemorates the restoration of the forum *disponente* by Iulius Festus Hymetius.¹³¹⁹ The inscription from Thugga records restoration of a *nymphaeum*, *proconsulatu et instantia* of Hesperius.¹³²⁰ The inscribed arch from Aïn-Rchine commemorates the restoration commanded directly by Constantine that involved the college of five praetorian prefects perhaps *per instantiam* of proconsul Zenophilus.¹³²¹ If it is normal that the proconsul of Africa Domitius Zenophilus was responsible for supervising public works in the cities of Africa Proconsularis, even modest ones, it is unusual that not only praetorian prefect in whose sphere Proconsularis lays, but all five prefects of the empire were involved in the building project. However, the public works celebrated by the inscription carved on the monumental arch were undertaken by order of Constantine and his sons, and were conducted under the control of proconsul of Africa, applying the directives expressed by Augustus through praetorian prefects.¹³²²

Although emperors and proconsuls are described as builders in the same way as municipal officials, the nature of their contribution was different. In the infrequent cases when a building project was funded by the imperial treasury, emperors were presented as builders. One lengthy and detailed inscription was set up at Madaurus and records the restoration of Summer baths (*thermae aestivae*) during the governorship of Publius Ampelius with public funds in 364, contrasting their new beauty with their previous decrepit and squalid condition.¹³²³ Before the renovation and embellishment measures, the bathing facilities are described as *ruinarum labe deformes*. When provincial governors were presented as subjects of the verb denoting building or rebuilding, it normally does not mean personal financial investments but rather that the construction project was conducted on their orders or under their supervision.¹³²⁴ The projects belonged to the municipal sphere and required the cooperation with civic authorities: *curatores rei publicae* are typically presented as supervisors. In these cases governors did not obtain mandate from the central

¹³¹⁶ *AE* 2003, 2004 (Cincaris).

¹³¹⁷ *CIL* 8 12272 (Avitta Bibba).

¹³¹⁸ *CIL* 8 23968+23969 (Hr. Morabba).

¹³¹⁹ *ILT* 1542=*CIL* 8 15581=*AE* 1932, 14 (Mustis). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 148.

¹³²⁰ *CIL* 8 26568 (Thugga).

¹³²¹ *AE* 1981, 878=*AE* 2003, 1988. Naïdé Ferchiou, "Préfets du prétoire et proconsul sous Constantin: une dédicace d'are en Afrique," *Echanges* 11.3 (1980): 307-12. Porena, *Le origini*, 452 places the mandate of Domitius Zenofilus in the years 331-32, instead of 330-31, as assumed by Chastagnol, "Les inscriptions africaines," 263-68, with Thébert, "Le proconsul inconnu," 879-85.

¹³²² Porena, *Le origini*, 398-465.

¹³²³ *ILAlg.* I 2101=*AE* 1917/18, 91 (Madaurus). Heike Niquet, "Die Inschrift des Liber Pater-Tempels in Sabratha," *ZPE* 135 (2001): 255, 260.

¹³²⁴ Ari Saastamoinen, *The Phraseology of Latin Building Inscriptions in Roman North Africa* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2008), 105.

government to undertake building operations as the building process was actually financed by a community. However, communities are seldom mentioned as builders, because the projects were under the strict surveillance of the provincial authorities, and proconsuls availed themselves of the opportunity to get their name immortalized in the constructional inscriptions.¹³²⁵ Olybrius' proconsulship is mentioned in the building inscription from Bulla Regia from 361, which records the restoration of a *tabularium* (*tabularium vetu[tate et incuria conlapsum(?)]*) at the city's expense.¹³²⁶

However, the great visibility of proconsuls in the fourth-century building inscriptions is due to the fact that they appear in dating formulas (*proconsultu*, etc.), rather than due to their activity as builders. Olybrius is recorded as proconsul in the building inscription from Carthage on the occasion of the restoration of a fountain in 361-62.¹³²⁷ Iulius Festus Hymetius, *proconsul Africae* in 366-68, is recorded in seven building inscriptions. Another inscription from Aradi records some building restored *ex voluntaria civium conlatione*.¹³²⁸ The governorship of Paulus Constantius is attested in the inscription from Thuburbo Maius.¹³²⁹ Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius is equally recorded in eight building inscriptions from Africa Proconsularis dating to his proconsulship. One inscription found near Vaga commemorates renovation of a *porticus* and a stairway.¹³³⁰ Another is a fragmentary inscription that preserves only his name from Calama.¹³³¹ Yet another was set up at Simitthus.¹³³² Flavius Eusignius is recorded in the building inscription from Calama in Proconsularis.¹³³³ The inscription from Hr. Ben Hassen near Neferis in Proconsularis mentions the proconsulship of Polybius in 387-88.¹³³⁴ A building inscription recording the proconsulship of Flavius Rhodinus Primus comes from Hr. Ben Hassen in Proconsularis and is dated to 383-92.¹³³⁵ Two building inscriptions mentioning the proconsulship of Petronius Claudius in 368-70 come from Africa Proconsularis. One, which styles him *vir clarissimus excellentissimus proconsul*, reports on the dedication (*ad omnem splendorem*) of *triporticum et tabularia*.¹³³⁶

The most commonly mentioned building types were arch, temple, forum structures, curia, basilica, and baths. First, a building inscription found near Thuburnica, where he is credited with restoration (*funditus*) of a triumphal arch, styles Virius Audentius Aemilianus, '*clarissimus et*

¹³²⁵ Ibid., 147-49.

¹³²⁶ CIL 8 25521 (Bulla Regia). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 88 n. 7 PLRE 1, 208 Petronius Claudius 10.

¹³²⁷ AE 1955, 55 (Carthago).

¹³²⁸ CIL 8 23863 (Aradi). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 117.

¹³²⁹ ILAfr. 274b=AE 1914, 58 (Thuburbo Maius).

¹³³⁰ CIL 8 14346=ILS 5556 (Hr. Tut).

¹³³¹ IALg. I 259=CIL 8 17518,50 (Calama).

¹³³² CIL 8 25632 (Simitthus).

¹³³³ IALg. I 260=AE 1903, 240 (Calama).

¹³³⁴ CIL 8 24045 (Hr. Ben Hassen). See Chaouali, "Le Proconsul d'Afrique," 179-94.

¹³³⁵ CIL 8 24044 (Hr. Ben Hassen). PLRE 1, 725 Flavius (Rhodinus) Primus 2.

¹³³⁶ CIL 8 27817=ILS 5557 (Sidi Ahmed el-Hacheni).

eminentissimus'.¹³³⁷ Second, a building inscription mentioning the proconsulship of Sextius Rusticus Iulianus comes from Thibursicum Bure and reports on the restoration of an unknown public building, perhaps transformation of a temple.¹³³⁸ Third, Zenophilus' proconsulship, recorded in at least three building inscriptions, witnesses to a restoration (*a fundamentis*) of a *forum hilitorium*, the site of a commercial marketplace (*macellum*) for vegetables, herbs, and oil at Thignica under Constantine I 'victor' and two Caesars in 331-32.¹³³⁹ A building inscription under Paulus Constantius was found on the forum of Castellum Biracsaccarensium, which led to an assumption that restorations were implemented in that place.¹³⁴⁰ Next, under the proconsulship of Rhodinus Primus a curia was restored at Civitas Furc[---].¹³⁴¹ Marcus Ceionius Iulianus' building inscription from Belalis Maior testifies to a restoration of a curia and an annexed building in 326/33.¹³⁴² Then, an inscription from Vaga records Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius restoring (or constructing) a basilica.¹³⁴³ Another inscription from Thuburbo Maius styles him *amplissimus* proconsul and records the construction of a new basilica or total restoration *a fundamentis*.¹³⁴⁴

Last but not least, the most common type was a baths complex. An inscription documenting some simple restoration of the baths by Sextius Rusticus Iulianus comes from Mustis.¹³⁴⁵ Another inscription regarding the decoration of the Summer baths by Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius comes from Theboud el-Batel.¹³⁴⁶ Olybrius' proconsulship is mentioned on the building inscription from Thuburbo Maius in 355-61,¹³⁴⁷ where the Summer baths, constructed in early third century, were reconstructed and redecorated. The restoration of the *thermae aestivales* was completed within seven months (*intra septimum mensem*). An inscription from Calama records the repair of the baths under Iulius Festus Hymetius.¹³⁴⁸ Yet another repair inscription comes from Madaurus recording the restoration of the baths, attesting to the use of polychrome marbles for revetments and columns.¹³⁴⁹ In 389, during the reign of Theodosius, Felix Iuniorinus Polemius restored the baths of Antoninus at Carthage.¹³⁵⁰ It refers, in particular, to the restoration of the pavement of the rooms.

¹³³⁷ *CIL* 8 14728 (Ghardimaou). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 251.

¹³³⁸ *CIL* 8 1447 (Thibursicum Bure).

¹³³⁹ *CIL* 8 1408=*ILS* 5359 (Thignica).

¹³⁴⁰ *CIL* 8 23849 (Castellum Biracsaccarensium).

¹³⁴¹ *ILAlg.* I 3061=*CIL* 8 1873 (Theveste). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 107.

¹³⁴² *CIL* 8 14436=*ILS* 5518 (Thugga). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 79-80 suggests that the curia has to be identified with apsed room located on west side of the forum. The *forum* was enlarged with the addition of an apsed room and an extension to the porch, see Anna Leone, *Changing Townscapes in North Africa from Late Antiquity to the Arab Conquest* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2007), 84. Yet another fragmentary building inscription referring to the proconsulship of *PLRE* I Iulianus 26 was found at Gasr Mezuar, near Vaga, *CIL* 8 14431 (Gasr Mezuar).

¹³⁴³ *CIL* 8 1219=14398=*ILT* 1226 (Vaga).

¹³⁴⁴ *ILAfr.* 275=*CIL* 8 1219=14398 (Thuburbo Maius). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 229.

¹³⁴⁵ *CIL* 8 16400 (Hr Bu Auya). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 148.

¹³⁴⁶ *CIL* 8 25845 (Theboud el-Batel).

¹³⁴⁷ *ILAfr.* 273b (Thuburbo Maius).

¹³⁴⁸ *CIL* 8 5335=*ILAlg.* I 256 (Calama).

¹³⁴⁹ *ILAlg.* I 2102 (Madaurus). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 130 n.10

¹³⁵⁰ *AE* 1949, 28 (Carthage). *PLRE* I, 710 Felix Iuniorinus Polemius 5.

Mosaics were then placed, representing athletes surrounded by racehorses. The baths were in very bad condition when Polemius had them repaired. This damage was attributed either to the dilapidation or to the unrest, which would have resulted from the usurpation of Maximus. A building inscription from Thignica was carved under (Ae)milius Florus Paternus on fragments of the architrave.¹³⁵¹ The subject of *dedicavit* is lost: it was undoubtedly done by *curator rei publicae*.¹³⁵² It attests to a restoration of baths in Thignica and is dated to 393, to the proconsulship of Paternus. The inscription was put up subsequently after he became *illustris*.

Guarantor of the integrity of the municipal territory, civic peace, honesty of economic transactions, proconsul of Africa did not impose his authority on the cities, but collaborated with them, contributing to the longevity and vigor of municipal life. Olybrius, according to the inscription from the monumental arch, was responsible for the public works (*frontes duas a solo constituit ... infinitis ruderibus obpletam*) at Theveste, whose patron he was.¹³⁵³ One damaged building inscription that records Petronius Probus' proconsulship of Africa comes from Lares in Africa Proconsulares.¹³⁵⁴ He was responsible for some public works while in office in 358. To judge from the location and what survives of the text, this refers to routine building activity by proconsul in office. It is the earliest extant epigraphic commemoration of Petronius Probus.

While construction activities commemorated by the building inscriptions were euergetic acts, votive dedications were primarily religious ones. Proculus, proconsul of Africa before 333, dedicated an altar *Matri deum Magnae Idaeae et Atti* at Carthage during his proconsulship.¹³⁵⁵ The proconsulship of Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius is recorded on the altar which he dedicated at Rome in 374.¹³⁵⁶ In turn, funeral inscriptions, which sometimes make use of similar expressions to those of building inscriptions, had rather different function. The tombstone of Rufus Festus *signo* Avienius from mid-fourth-century Rome includes a poem dedicated to goddess Nortia as part of his funeral epigram (fig. 72).¹³⁵⁷ In the poem he boasts of two proconsulships (*gemino proconsulis auctus honore*), with the other one (*proconsulis honos*) being possibly that of Achaea. Sextus Anicius Paulinus was a recipient of possibly a funeral inscription in Rome found near the *pons Aelius*.¹³⁵⁸ The fragmentary dedication lists his *cursus honorum* including consulship and urban prefecture and styles the addressee as *benignus, sanctus*. The proconsulship of Paulus Constantius is also recorded in a Christian funeral inscription from Salona in Dalmatia in 375.¹³⁵⁹ In that year he

¹³⁵¹ CIL 8 1412=15204 (Thignica). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 196. PLRE 1, 671-72 (Ae)milius Florus Paternus 6.

¹³⁵² Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 196, n. 7.

¹³⁵³ CIL 8 1860=16505=ILAlg 1 3052 (Theveste).

¹³⁵⁴ CIL 8 1783 (Lares). Cameron, "Polyonymy," 177.

¹³⁵⁵ CIL 8 24521.

¹³⁵⁶ CIL 6 499=6 30779c=ILS 4147.

¹³⁵⁷ CIL 6 537=ILS 2944.

¹³⁵⁸ CIL 6 1681. Orlandi, "Gli ultimi sacerdoti," 443.

¹³⁵⁹ CIL 3 9506=ILS 1287=ILCV 78a (Salona (Dalmatia)).

died and was buried with his wife Honoria at Salona. An anonymous *proconsul Africae* was probably a Christian as his funeral inscription comes from the Church of the Quattro Coronati.¹³⁶⁰ A husband of Salutia, *honesta femina*, hence perhaps of equestrian rank, he died aged sixty-one in the late fourth or early fifth century.

Now I turn to *proconsul Asiae*. Proconsul and his provinces were independent from the praetorian prefecture. The *Notitia* does not only list the provinces of the diocese of Asia, but specifies the division of the diocese between proconsul and vicar. Proconsul was a supraprovincial agency exercising authority comparable to that of vicar. Three of the eleven provinces then depended on proconsul (Asia, Islands, and Hellespont), while the other eight on vicar. Vicar of Asia and his agents did not operate in proconsular Asia, but the rivalry between proconsul and vicar was for the control of the Hellespont.¹³⁶¹ The insigne of proconsul of Asia exhibits correspondingly three female personifications of provinces placed in the bottom register of the illustration, who are identified by captions behind their heads as Asia, Insulae and Hellespontus. Similar to the personified dioceses in the prefectorial insignia, each female bears a bowl filled with coins: ‘the formula of tribute-bearing dependence is appropriate here, for like prefects, proconsuls were also responsible for the collection of taxes’.¹³⁶²

Proconsuls acted as awarders of statue honors, especially to emperors, within the provinces under their jurisdiction, and especially at their seat, Ephesus. They were officials equally responsible for the later changes introduced to monuments and their inscriptions. Thus, on the arrival of the news of Crispus’ death and *damnatio*, proconsul of Asia probably intervened into the case of the monument in honor of the deceased Caesar in the provincial metropolis set up by the college of prefects in 317, and Constantine II’s name was carved into the inscription in 326.¹³⁶³ Honorific dedications erected to the imperial family by city councils make due reference to the acting proconsul. Thus, under the proconsulship of Septimius Maeadius, two statues of Empress Aelia Flacilla (εὐσεβεστάτην Αὐγοῦσταν, τὴν δέσποιναν τῆς οἰκουμένης), wife of Theodosius I, were set up at Ephesus in 379-86.¹³⁶⁴ The inscription was decreed by the council and the people of the city (ll.5-6), possibly directly on the initiative of proconsul and his son (ll.8-10). Under the same proconsul, the city council and people honored Flacilla (τὴν δέσποιναν τῆς οἰκουμένης) with a second statue, found north of the theater.¹³⁶⁵

¹³⁶⁰ *CIL* 6 32054a=*ILCV* 4451=335. *PLRE* 1, 1013 Anonymous 43.

¹³⁶¹ Feissel, “Vicaires et proconsuls.”

¹³⁶² Berger, *The Insignia*, 96-97.

¹³⁶³ *AE* 1938, 85=*AE* 2003, 1685=*LSA*-241. Porena, *Le origini*, 325.

¹³⁶⁴ *AE* 1966, 434=*LSA*-723 (Ephesus). *PLRE* 1, 530 Septimius Maeadius 1.

¹³⁶⁵ *LSA*-745 (Ephesus).

L. Caelius Montius, *proconsul Asiae* in 340/50, awarded at least five imperial statues to Constantius II and Constans in the province, with four of them in Ephesus.¹³⁶⁶ In the balustrade of the nymphaeum of Ephesus, the same Montius set up paired bases to Constantius and Constans. The statue to Constantius was set up in the renovated part of the nymphaeum,¹³⁶⁷ and the base was found during excavations in late antique structures in the baths at the Upper Agora. This base is very clearly a pair with a base to Constans as it is similarly worded and from the same *nymphaeum*.¹³⁶⁸ The two bases from the nymphaeum have been associated with two cuirassed torsos of Antonine emperors, with new heads, found nearby.¹³⁶⁹ Another pair of statues was set by the same governor of Asia to Constantius and his co-emperor Constans in the Harbor Baths at Ephesus. A fragmentary inscription on the base statue of the same date, almost certainly of Constantius, records that it was set up in the atrium of the Baths of Constantius.¹³⁷⁰ The preserved part of the inscription is identical to that for Constans, placed and found in the atrium of the Harbour Baths by Lucius Caelius Montius.¹³⁷¹

A series of honors to his benefactor, Emperor Julian, were set up by Aelius Claudius Dulcitus in Ephesus. One now lost base was found during excavations at the Tetragonos Agora.¹³⁷² The missing text is restored from the wording of another inscription to Julian (*virtutum omnium magistro, philosophiae principi, venerando et piissimo imperatori, victoriosissimo Augusto, omnium barbararum gentium debellatori*), also in Ephesus, which was clearly identical.¹³⁷³ Nummius Aemilianus Dexter dedicated a posthumous statue of Theodosius (*nobilissimae memoriae viro*), father of Emperor Theodosius I, at Ephesus while in office in 379-87.¹³⁷⁴ The base was found in front of the temple of Hadrian.¹³⁷⁵

In the other cities of the provinces under the control of proconsul, Constantius II (τὸν κτίστην τῆς πόλεως) was honored by L. Caelius Montius by decree of the city council and people at Assos, with the base found in the agora.¹³⁷⁶ A statue of Julian (*domino totius orbis, philosophiae magistro, venerando principi, piissimo imperatori, victoriosissimo Augusto, propagatori libertatis*

¹³⁶⁶ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 110-14; Malcus, "Die Proconsuln," 103.

¹³⁶⁷ LSA-2079 (Ephesus). Charlotte Roueché, "The Kuretenstrasse: the Imperial Presence in Late Antiquity," in *Neue Forschungen zur Kuretenstrasse von Ephesos*, ed. Sabine Ladstätter (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 156.

¹³⁶⁸ LSA-739 (Ephesus). Roueché, "The Kuretenstrasse," 155-6.

¹³⁶⁹ LSA-1122, LSA-1123.

¹³⁷⁰ CIL 3 14195=LSA-2080 (Ephesus).

¹³⁷¹ CIL 3 14195,28=ILS 5704=LSA-744 (Ephesus). The wording of the inscriptions is not explicit, but strongly implies that Montius built – in reality probably repaired – the atrium of the baths.

¹³⁷² AE 1924, 71=LSA-713 (Ephesus). PLRE 1, 274 Aelius Claudius Dulcitus 5.

¹³⁷³ LSA-748 (Ephesus).

¹³⁷⁴ AE 1967, 479=LSA-721 (Ephesus). PLRE 1, 251 Nummius Aemilianus Dexter 3.

¹³⁷⁵ Roueché, "The Kuretenstrasse," 160.

¹³⁷⁶ ILS 8808=LSA-291 (Assos).

et rei publicae) was set up by Aelius Claudius Dulcitus in Pergamon in 361-63.¹³⁷⁷ The formula ‘*d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)que su(ae)*’ (l.11), instead of ‘*d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)que e(ius)*’, is unusual. Furthermore, an honorary statue monument at Tralles in Caria was set up to the ruling Emperor Constantius (*victori maximo ac triumphatori*) by Flavius Magnus, *proconsul Asiae*, some time after the victory over Magnentius, in 353-59.¹³⁷⁸ A province governed by vicar, Caria was not under administrative oversight of proconsul. On the ground of both legal and epigraphic evidence, B. Malcus suggested that Magnus was simultaneously proconsul and acting *vicarius* in Asiana in 353-54, with administrative authority over two dioceses.¹³⁷⁹ Such accumulation of offices demonstrated by the careers of later proconsuls of Asia was confirmed by Feissel.¹³⁸⁰

However, it was in honorific inscriptions that proconsuls received the main attention. The proconsulship is mentioned as part of honorands’ *cursus honorum* in the dedications set up in Rome at a later date. Thus, Amnius Manius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus, *proconsul* of temporarily a double province of Asia-Hellespont, is recorded in two inscriptions from 324-34.¹³⁸¹ Although since Diocletian it was a province distinct from proconsular Asia, Hellespont had as its governor, shortly before 334, proconsul of Asia himself.¹³⁸² A statue to Fabius Titianus, set up in the domestic context in 339-41, documents his proconsulship of Asia in 324-37.¹³⁸³ In Italy, a dedication to Nicomachus Flavianus the younger, *proconsul Asiae* in 382-83, was set up at Neapolis in Campania in 408-31.¹³⁸⁴ Himerius composed three orations (*Or.* 12, 36, 43) in his honor while Flavianus the younger held office in Asia. Outside Italy, an anonymous proconsul of Asia known only from a fragmentary inscription from Bulla Regia dated to the reign of Constantine must be one of the resident aristocrats of Rome.¹³⁸⁵

In the proconsular province, Aelius Claudius Dulcitus was honored with a statue by the assembly of Asia in Ephesus, the seat of governor.¹³⁸⁶ The lower part of the base was found apparently in situ, in front of the Stoa of the Alytarchs.¹³⁸⁷ This same base was used for a statue to Messalinus, who was awarded a statue by the senate of Ephesus (Il.10-11), as recorded in the

¹³⁷⁷ *CIL* 3 7088=*ILS* 751=*LSA*-517 (Pergamum). The name of the imperial honorand in line 1 has been erased, although Julian never suffered political *damnatio memoriae*.

¹³⁷⁸ *CIL* 3 445=*ILS* 733 (Tralles).

¹³⁷⁹ Malcus, “Die Proconsuln,” 104-106. *PLRE* 1, 533 Magnus 9 argues that Magnus’ proconsulship followed his vicariate.

¹³⁸⁰ Feissel, “Vicaires et proconsuls.”

¹³⁸¹ *CIL* 6 1682=*ILS* 1220=*LSA*-1394; *CIL* 6 1683=*LSA*-1395.

¹³⁸² Feissel, “Vicaires et proconsuls.”

¹³⁸³ *CIL* 6 1717=*ILS* 1227=*LSA*-1422.

¹³⁸⁴ *AE* 1894, 89=*ILS* 8985=*LSA*-327.

¹³⁸⁵ *ILAFr.* 456=*AE* 1917/8 99=*LSA*-2385. *PLRE* 1, 1010 Anonymus 37.

¹³⁸⁶ *AE* 1961, 186=*LSA*-733 (Ephesus).

¹³⁸⁷ Johanna Auinger, “Zum Umgang mit Statuen hoher Würdenträger in spätantiker und nachantiker Zeit entlang der Kurenstrasse in Ephesos,” in Ladstätter, *Neue Forschungen*, 33.

honorary verse inscription in elegiacs preserved on the base dated to the later fourth century.¹³⁸⁸ The dedication to Messalinus, which faces the street, is almost certainly later than that to Dulcitus. This base is a particularly fine example of the practice of reuse with traces of a much earlier original use, and then two successive uses, both for late antique governors, Messalinus and Dulcitus.

Verse dedications to governors were set up in provincial cities throughout the fourth century. Damocharis, proconsul of Asia, was honored with possibly three statues. A verse inscription of two elegiac distichs on the monument found east of the Nymphaeum Traiani, was dedicated by the provincials at Ephesus.¹³⁸⁹ He is described as *prytanis* (πρύτανις, 1.4), which possibly refers to high civic office. Another dedication to Damocharis was set up at Ephesus.¹³⁹⁰ The now lost block was recorded north of the theater.¹³⁹¹ The fragmentary state of the inscription leaves no information on the status or office of the honorand, Damocharis. However, since this name is rare in Asia Minor (only six times in total), the honorand may be the same man as governor of Asia in the honorary inscription in elegiacs dedicated by Ionian bankers. The preserved himation statue was unearthed in Ephesus, at the northern side of the Embolos, east of the Nymphaeum Traiani, close to the base carrying the inscription to Damocharis.¹³⁹² It was re-used for Lucius Artorius Pius Maximus, with an inscription on the opposite face of the base,¹³⁹³ or Damocharis in the late third and/or mid-fifth century, respectively. The headless overlife size marble statue from the early or high imperial time represents a man wearing a tunica and a himation, covering the whole body. Although feet are missing, he wears sandals. A cubic support is standing behind his left leg.

As benefactor by numerous cities in the province of Asia, proconsul received multiple statue honors as a reward. A statue of Caelius Montius was set up at Klazomenai in 340-50.¹³⁹⁴ Damocharis was honored at Smyrna, which he helped perhaps after an earthquake.¹³⁹⁵ The verse inscription in three hexameters was already known, before the discovery of the base, from the *Planudean Anthology*, labelled ‘*On an image of Damocharis in Smyrna*’, which accurately recorded the original inscription.¹³⁹⁶ There is no published record of the base’s precise findspot, though it was evidently found on the Agora of Smyrna. The formal and lexical elements fit the usual features

¹³⁸⁸ SEG 37 898=LSA-730 (Ephesus). Marcus, “Die Proconsuln,” 91-154, 130-131 no. 1. For the dating, Clive Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 13. PLRE 1, 600 Messalinus 1.

¹³⁸⁹ LSA-727 (Ephesus). Damocharis’ base is datable to the period between 300 and 450, but the possibility that it is sixth-century of course remains.

¹³⁹⁰ LSA-661 (Ephesus).

¹³⁹¹ Philippe Le Bas, and William H. Waddington, eds., *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, vol. 3, (Paris: Didot, 1870), 174.

¹³⁹² LSA-728 (J. Auinger).

¹³⁹³ LSA-724.

¹³⁹⁴ LSA-286 (Clazomenae).

¹³⁹⁵ *Anth. Gr.* XVI 43=LSA-2588 (Smyrna).

¹³⁹⁶ *Anth. Gr.* XVI 43.

of late antique honorific epigrams. The inscription most probably dates to the fourth or earlier fifth century, since dedications to governors in provincial cities are increasingly rare after the early fifth century.

As for the other cities of Asia, a now lost plaque from a base for another statue of Caelius Montius was erected, probably on a fountain or nymphaeum in Tralles in Caria (ἐπὶ ἔργῳ, ‘on this work’, l.11).¹³⁹⁷ A verse inscription of four distichs praises the efforts of proconsul on behalf of the water supply of the city. A base for statue of perhaps proconsul of Asia comes from Laodicea ad Lycum in Phrygia Pacatiana.¹³⁹⁸ In the early fourth century, the joint province of Phrygia and Caria was split up into two: Phrygia of which Laodicea was the capital, and Caria with the capital Aphrodisias, both administered by *praeses*. However, the title of the honorand (ἀνθυπάτων, l.4) excludes a governor of the province of Phrygia and Caria, as well as a governor of the later province of Phrygia. The verse inscription in distichs has two distichs fragmentarily preserved in four lines. The verse form of the inscription became common for high imperial office holders only in the late third century and remained in use for these persons through the fourth and fifth centuries. Statues were set up in the hometowns of proconsuls (above all in Rome) after the end of their term. Thus, a statue of Nummius Aemilianus Dexter was erected by the province of Asia for their former governor (between 379 and 387) at Barcino in Tarraconensis in 379-87.¹³⁹⁹ This inscription, erected after his retirement, similar to others, shows, beyond reasonable doubt, that Dexter was a citizen of Barcino.

Honors were awarded both by provinces and provincial councils.¹⁴⁰⁰ The seat of provincial government was Ephesus, the largest city of Asia, where proconsul resided. Therefore a number of inscriptions was awarded by the council of Ephesus.¹⁴⁰¹ However, more usually honors were commanded by provincial cities and their institutions. Honorific inscriptions for proconsuls were also set up by the cities in the province often for some specific benefaction.¹⁴⁰²

¹³⁹⁷ SEG XV 664=LSA-521 (Tralles (Caria)).

¹³⁹⁸ LSA-544.

¹³⁹⁹ CIL 2 4512=LSA-1989 (Barcino (Tarraconensis)). The wording and context of the inscription suggest that it was erected very soon after Dexter’s governorship of Asia, and certainly before he held any more elevated office, since this would otherwise have been mentioned.

¹⁴⁰⁰ The statue for Aelius Claudius Dulcitius was set up at Ephesus by the assembly of the province of Asia. The province of Asia dedicated the statue for Nummius Aemilianus Dexter at Barcino in Tarraconensis, which was granted by imperial favor (*concessam beneficio principali*). He was a native of Barcino (modern Barcelona), and therefore was granted a statue in his hometown by the provincials of Asia after his time in office. The monument was awarded by ‘*omnes Asia*’, i.e. either *omnis Asia*, ‘all Asia’, or *omnes Asiae*, ‘all the people of Asia’. It was presumably decreed and paid for by the assembly of the province of Asia.

¹⁴⁰¹ The statue to Messalinus was decreed by the council of Ephesus. One inscription to Damocharis was set up by the money-changers of Ephesus, poetically styled the ‘Ionian’ bankers in verse. The dedication by a professional rather than a civic body is unusual, and was almost certainly related to some specific benefit the money-changers received from Damocharis. The name of the awarder of another Ephesian statue for Damocharis is lost.

¹⁴⁰² The awarder of yet another statue is not named, but it was presumably the city of Smyrna, in gratitude to Damocharis for his help after some disaster such as a fire or earthquake. The dedicant of the statue for Caelius Montius was the city of Klazomenai in Asia. The awarder of another monument for Montius was the council of Tralles in Caria. Remarkably, the statue of perhaps proconsul of Asia was erected by the city of Laodicea ad Lycum in Phrygia

Proconsuls are extolled as benefactors for their brilliance and hard work, usual formulas in encomiastic verse inscriptions to late antique governors. Thus, the assembly of Asia honored their purest saviour and benefactor in all things (τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν ἑαυτῶν σωτῆρα τὸν ἀγνότατον καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν εὐεργέτην), Dulcitius. Libanius reports that he loved wealth (*Or.* 42.24). Similarly, the inscription of two elegiac distichs praises Messalinus, ‘the best among proconsuls’ (ἄριστον ἐν ἀνθυπάτοισιν), for his benefaction and the many toils which he undertook, not unwillingly, and by which he enhanced the cities (ἀντ’ εὐηργεσίας καὶ πόλεων καμάτων, οὓς κάμεν οὐκ ἀέκων, οἷς ἤεξεσε πόληας). Messalinus is known from the other two inscriptions in Ephesus, recording a repair of the theater by him. Having carried out works of repair within the city after grave disasters of an earthquake, Damocharis received his fame restoring Smyrna by working swiftly (τόδε κῦδος ὅτι γε τὴν Σμύρναν μετὰ λοίγια πῆματα σεισμοῦ ἐ ἐσσυμένως πονέων αὖτις πόλιν ἐξετέλεσας). The grandiloquent praise of Damocharis was probably for a mundane program of repair. Numerous expressions are poetic or taken from the epics: κύδος, πῆματα, ἐσσυμένως, αὖτις (αὖθις). Caelius Montius, who repaired an aqueduct, was honored as ‘a saviour and founder’ (σωτῆρα, κτίστην): ‘for the outstanding thoughtful work of your virtue, glorious Montius, best of governors’ (τόδε σῆς ἀρετῆς πανεπίφρονος ἔξοχον ἔργον, Μόντιε κυδήεις, ἀνθυπάτων ὑπατε). In the West, Dexter, praised in general terms, received a statue award ‘because of the distinguished deeds he accomplished during the good exercise of his governorship’ (*propter insignia bene gesti proconsulatus, omnes(!) Asia, concessam beneficio principali*).

The epigrams used a variety of standard motifs to celebrate proconsuls’ virtues and skills. They are often simply referred to as judges, a standard way of addressing governors in late antique honorific epigrams.¹⁴⁰³ Damocharis was celebrated as ‘mighty in wisdom and justice and song’ (ὄν σοφίῃ κρατέοντα καὶ εὐνομίῃ καὶ ἀοιδῇ), pointing to his achievements in learning (σοφίῃ); justice (εὐνομίῃ), the cardinal virtue of high ranking magistrates (addressed as ‘judges’), and his familiarity with the arts (ἀοιδῇ). Moreover, Damocharis was perhaps of noble birth (ἐξ ἀγαθῶν πατέρων), a property the authors of encomiastic deliveries were determined to point out if possible. The reference to ‘song’ (ἀοιδῇ) is probably a generic reference to Damocharis’ cultured upbringing. In Smyrna, he was celebrated as ‘judge, selected for good judgement’ (κλητόμητι δικασπόλε), with δικασπόλος being a term often used for late antique governors.

The apparent reference to imperial permission to set up the statue for Nummius Aemilianus Dexter (*concessam beneficio principali statuam*) suggests that it was in bronze, not marble, since in the late fourth century the erection of a bronze statue required imperial permission.¹⁴⁰⁴ One base at

Pacatiana. Governor of Asia could be honored in the neighboring provinces, as a similar case is known from Aphrodisias, *LSA*-153.

¹⁴⁰³ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 39.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Feissel, “Notes d’Épigraphie chrétienne”; Premierstein, “Griechisch-Römisches aus Arkadien.”

Ephesus was used three times, twice for fourth-century proconsuls of Asia. One line of an earlier inscription survives above the inscription to Messalinus, and on the opposite face is an inscription for another late antique governor, Aelius Claudius Dulcitius, datable to 361-63. The top of the base is roughly finished and with various cuttings, including two round dowel holes (not footprints) for the support of a bronze statue. The position of these round dowel holes (not footprints) for the support of a bronze statue indicates that this statue faced the inscription of Dulcitius. In turn, the dedication to Messalinus is probably to be associated with some of the other smaller dowel holes, which may have been used to secure a marble statue above. The inscription to Damocharis, very unusually at Ephesus, specifies that it was for a marble statue (*στήλη λαϊνέη*).¹⁴⁰⁵ Regarding the vestimentary code, near the base for Damocharis was found the reused body of a himation statue, which, with reworked head (now lost), could well have served as the statue of Damocharis or possibly even of Lucius Artorius Pius Maximus before him.¹⁴⁰⁶ However the plinth of this statue is lost, so it is impossible to prove the association by showing that the dowel holes and clamp holes on the crown moulding line up with others on the statue's plinth.

The role of governors is emphasized in the building inscriptions as he controlled the public expenditure on construction projects. A fragmentary Latin building inscription records the construction of a cult building at Ephesus, seat of provincial governor, commissioned by Constantine (and Caesars) in 324-37. Titus Fabius Titianus supervised the construction of the memorial of the Apostle John from the foundations (*a fundamentis*).¹⁴⁰⁷ His name is well preserved despite the *damnatio memoria* after the defeat of Magnentius. One fragment of the inscription, which commemorates the construction of a memorial of John the Apostle and Evangelist had been found at the site of the church of St John the Evangelist at Ayasoluk.¹⁴⁰⁸ Another fragment's find-spot is uncertain; it was perhaps the site of the agora. Feissel reads the surviving partially damaged first five letters in line 5 as '*HANNP*' which, if correctly read, must be the end of the name *IOHANNI*, the dative form of the name Iohannes. If so, the building was apparently constructed to, or for, a John who at this date, as the name of John was not in common circulation, must be the Evangelist John. Entirely hypothetically Feissel suggests that a memorial (*memoria*) was the building that was constructed.¹⁴⁰⁹ If so, since Titianus was a well-known pagan, it is likely that this was an imperial commission rather than an act by proconsul himself. The archaeological research at

¹⁴⁰⁵ Feissel, "Vicaires et proconsuls," 98-99. The initial cross, noted on the other epigrams in the name of Stephanos and, more generally, on almost all the epigrams of Ephesus for governors, proves that this proconsul was a Christian. The image of throne, *θρόνος* (Stephanos) or more poetically *θᾶκος* (Isidoros), is applied to different posts in imperial administration, including the throne of the governors. Ephesus honored this governor during, or at the end of, his dual function as proconsul. Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 42 n.4, quotes the inscriptions.

¹⁴⁰⁶ *LSA*-724.

¹⁴⁰⁷ *AE* 2014, 1293 (Ephesus).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Pawel Nowakowski, Cult of Saints, E00716 - <http://csa.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E00716>.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Feissel, "Fabius Titianus," 159-66.

the site revealed remnants of possibly a fourth-century squarish building, later extended with four perpendicular halls.¹⁴¹⁰ A Christian funerary inscription for *proconsul Asiae* Constantinus dating perhaps to the fourth or fifth century was also found at Ayasoluk near Ephesus.¹⁴¹¹

The constructional inscriptions from Ephesus praise proconsuls for their restoration efforts of the operation of the city's water network. An inscription on an architrave states that Emperors Constantius and Constans commanded a restoration of the nymphaeum by proconsul Lucius Caelius Montius in Ephesus in 340-50,¹⁴¹² which he also embellished with the statues. It was, however, out of his own accord that the construction of the atrium in *thermae Constantinianae* in Ephesus was initiated.¹⁴¹³ Governors boast rebuilding of the city's entertainment facilities. Thus Ambrosius, native of Mylasa, was responsible for repairs in the theater at Ephesus perhaps in the late fourth century.¹⁴¹⁴ Two building verse inscriptions also record Messalinus' restoration activities in the theater at Ephesus in the fourth or fifth century, one in elegiacs¹⁴¹⁵ and another in hexameters.¹⁴¹⁶

The building inscriptions from other Asian cities celebrate governors predominantly for the crucial water supply maintenance. During his rule in Asia Montius was famous for his euergetic activity as he personally funded a long aqueduct for Tralles:¹⁴¹⁷ 'Montius, who having straightened up the machine for drawing of water which for many years lay on the ground, and adorned it for the city, and, having made the river travel for 300 stades and having pierced the mountains, you made it finish in the city' (trans. U. Gehn). Possibly proconsul of Asia (rather than a private benefactor), Axiochus built perhaps in the late fourth century an aquaeduct at Assus and conferred benefits on other cities: 'All cities worship Axiochus, for, on his progress, like a god he has healed the ills of each. Especially on rugged Assus did he bestow running water, cutting through the hard face of many rocks. No longer run off to a distance, all ye travellers. I overflow with the cold water of Axiochus' (trans. W. R. Paton).¹⁴¹⁸ Aristus, *proconsul Asiae* (with *praeses Insularum* under him) is honored in an epigram on the construction of an aqueduct at Samos perhaps in the fourth or fifth

¹⁴¹⁰ The existence of a martyr shrine to John (*martyrium sancti et beati apostolis Iohannis*) somewhere at Ephesus is well attested in the 380s when the pilgrim Egeria planned to visit it (*Itinerarium* 23). An Ephesian apostoleion, almost certainly dedicated to John, is also mentioned in the acts of the council of Ephesus 431. Procopius also specifically mentions an earlier church at Ayasoluk demolished by Justinian when he built his great church to John the Evangelist, but was uncertain of its date and attributed its building to the Ephesians (*De aedif.* 5.1). It is disputed if the remnants of a Roman brickwork, found under the fourth-century layers, belonged to a mausoleum, but whether the fourth-century shrine was constructed over an earlier place of cult associated with John, perhaps a second-century tomb, is not clear. For a discussion, whether this was the original martyr shrine of John, and whether it was built over an earlier tomb, see Nikolaos Karydis, "The evolution of the Church of St. John at Ephesus during the early Byzantine period," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 84 (2015): 97-128, who argues that it had a cruciform shape from the very beginning.

¹⁴¹¹ *CIG* 9275=*IGC* 98,3 (Ephesus). *PLRE* 1, 222 Constantinus 2.

¹⁴¹² *AE* 1913, 171=*IK Ephesos* 14/1317 (Ephesus).

¹⁴¹³ *CIL* 3 14195,28=*ILS* 5704=*IK Ephesos* 14/1314 (Ephesus); *CIL* 3 14195,29=*IK Ephesos* 14/1315 (Ephesus).

¹⁴¹⁴ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 62 (Ephesus). *PLRE* 1, 52 Ambrosius 4.

¹⁴¹⁵ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 87a=*CIG* 2976 (Ephesus).

¹⁴¹⁶ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 87b (Ephesus).

¹⁴¹⁷ Marietta Horster, "Ehrungen spätantiker Statthalter," *Antiquité tardive* 6 (1998): 42.

¹⁴¹⁸ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 70-*Anth. Gr.* IX 679 (Assus). *PLRE* 1, 143 Axiochus 2.

century.¹⁴¹⁹ This now lost building inscription, damaged on the upper right, was placed on the aqueduct. Also, Ambrosius built the lighthouse at Smyrna while in office.¹⁴²⁰

Now I proceed with *proconsul Achaearum*. The provincial governorship of Achaearum had been downgraded to equestrian rank in the wake of the provincial reforms of the tetrarchy in the late third century and was upgraded to the highest rank of proconsul again by Constantine I. It is possible that the governorship of Achaearum was only restored to proconsular rank after the defeat of Licinius in 324.¹⁴²¹ Unlike proconsul of Asia, who had administrative authority over three provinces of Asia, proconsul of Achaearum was responsible only for his own province. The latter was not immediately accountable to the emperor and had the same hierarchical standing as the ordinary provincial governors. Accordingly, a single female personification appears in his insigne holding tax tribute. The *theca*, consonant with the judicial authority, is part of the insigne, as well as the codicillary diptych leaf with a format corresponding to the rank of proconsul.¹⁴²²

Solely one record presents proconsuls of Achaearum as statue awarders. Anatolius, *proconsul Achaearum* in perhaps 376, and perhaps identical with Anatolius, *consularis*, or Anatolius, *praefectus praetorio per Illyricum* in 397-99, dedicated a bronze statue for Petronius Probus, praetorian prefect, in Athens.¹⁴²³ The cylindrical statue base, now lost, was found north of the Tower of the Winds.¹⁴²⁴ The duration of this last prefecture is not clear; but a secure *terminus ante quem* for the Athenian inscription is provided by Probus' death in 388.

As for honorands, proconsulships are mentioned in the *cursus honorum* in dedications set up in Italian cities and especially in Rome. C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, *proconsul provinciae Achaearum sortitus*, perhaps in 305/6 (or 312/15), is recorded as such in the inscription set up at Atina in Campania in 315.¹⁴²⁵ As Chastagnol has shown, provincial governorships in a senatorial *cursus honorum* always precede the supreme rank of the urban prefecture,¹⁴²⁶ but this is a unique instance of the proconsulship of Achaearum occurring before *curatela* and provincial governorships. Rufinus had perhaps been designated to Achaearum in 306 but was prevented from taking up the post by Maxentius' revolt. Of three honorific inscriptions from Rome mentioning the proconsulship of Achaearum of Praetextatus, all of which follow the western tradition of soberly listing the offices of the honorand in a *cursus honorum*, as opposed to the verse inscription chosen for the same man in the

¹⁴¹⁹ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 66-7=SEG 15 529= (Samos).

¹⁴²⁰ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 61=Anth. Gr. IX 671 (Smyrna).

¹⁴²¹ Edmund Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten von Achaia in spätrömischer Zeit* (Budapest: Magyar Menzeti Múzeum, 1946), 22.

¹⁴²² Berger, *The Insignia*, 98.

¹⁴²³ Robert, *Hellenica* IV 53=IG III 639=II(2) 4226=II/III(2) 13275=LSA-1 (Athens). *PLRE* 1, 61 Anatolius 8; Anatolius 6; *PLRE* 2, 83 Anatolius 1.

¹⁴²⁴ Sironen, "Life and Administration," 15-62, 30-1 no. 14.

¹⁴²⁵ *CIL* 10 5061=ILS 1217=AE 2005, 90=LSA-1978. His appointment will have been before the revolt of Maxentius in 306, since a senator from Rome cannot have held the proconsulship of Achaearum under Maxentius who did not rule Achaearum, and from 312 to 316 Achaearum was subject to Licinius, not Constantine.

¹⁴²⁶ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 409-11.

Greek East, one was set up in the Roman Forum during his office as praetorian prefect or after his death,¹⁴²⁷ while the other two were posthumous honors.¹⁴²⁸ In addition, an anonymous Achaean governor is recorded in the inscription from Bulla Regia dated to the Constantine's reign.¹⁴²⁹

Among the cities of the province under proconsul, Corinth, the governor's seat, yields most of the honorific dedications. A fragment of the columnar base for a statue of Theodorus, possibly proconsul, set up at Corinth, preserves parts of four lines of verse from the end of the inscription.¹⁴³⁰ A late date is strongly suggested by the verse form, and by some of the characteristic wording which the inscription, though very fragmentary, reveals. Equally, a statue of Flavius Hermogenes, *proconsul Achaiae* some time after 337,¹⁴³¹ was set up at Corinth in the mid-fourth century.¹⁴³² Shortly before his appointment to Achaia under one of the sons of Constantine he seems to have been living, or serving, near the Danube (Him. *Or.* 48.36). Achaia was subject to Constans from 337 to 350 and to Constantius from 350 to 361, and since Hermogenes is not said to have visited the West he was perhaps appointed by Constantius and therefore after 350. The base came from Lechaum, the western harbor of Corinth.

Of the provincial cities of Achaia, a statue of Publius Optatianus *signo* Porphyrius was set up at Sparta in 325-29.¹⁴³³ The base was excavated in the theater, and the formula *παρὰ τῷ Λυκούργῳ* – 'in the vicinity of Lycurgus' – reoccurs in another honorific inscription from the theater, set up for proconsul Anatolius, and presumably refers to a statue of Lycurgus. This provides explicit evidence of an awareness of older statues in the vicinity when setting up a new honor in late antiquity. The poet and senator Publilius Optatianus was exiled, but recalled in 325, which gives a possible *terminus post quem*. A bronze statue probably of Cervonius comes from Thespieae in the mid-fourth century.¹⁴³⁴ The base was found in the ruins of the church of Hagia Triada in the valley of the river Permessos by Mount Helicon, the area where in antiquity the holy grove of the Muses was located. If proconsul of Achaia is correctly identified as Cervonius, he is known from a speech

¹⁴²⁷ *CIL* 6 1779a=LSA-1409.

¹⁴²⁸ *CIL* 6 1777=ILS 1258=AE 2000, 102=LSA-1472; *CIL* 6 1778=LSA-1473.

¹⁴²⁹ *IL Afr.* 456=AE 1917/8 99=LSA-2385. His career started with lower ranking governorships (*correctura*) before he invested the higher-ranking governorship in Achaia, and subsequently, he held also governorships of Asia and Africa. *PLRE* 1, 1012 Anonymus 37.

¹⁴³⁰ LSA-18 (Corinth). Louis Robert, "Inscriptions de l'Antiquité et du Bas-Empire à Corinthe," *Revue des Études grecques* 79 (1966): 760-1 proposed to read *λαμπρίου* as a name, the genitive of *Λαμπρίας*, Lamprias. Denis Feissel and Anne Philippidis-Braat, "Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance, 3. Inscriptions du Péloponnèse, (à l'exception de Mistra)," *Travaux et mémoires* 9 (1985): 364-5 points out that this word form does not fit into the dactylic structure of the verse inscription. *PLRE* 1, 888 Theodorus 16; 889 Theodorus 17; 899 Theodorus 18.

¹⁴³¹ He is possibly to be identified with *PLRE* 1 Hermogenes 3, praetorian prefect of the East in 358-60, as assumed by Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten*, 36-8, followed by Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, "Inventaires," 285 no. 23, and perhaps *PLRE* 1 Hermogenes 2 if his proconsulship was before 349.

¹⁴³² *IG* IV 209=LSA-359 (Corinth). *PLRE* 1, 424-25 Flavius Hermogenes 9.

¹⁴³³ *SEG* 11 810=AE 1931, 6=LSA-6 (Sparta). Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, "Inventaires," 267-395, 284-5 no. 22. *PLRE* 1, 649 Publius Optatianus *signo* Porphyrius 3.

¹⁴³⁴ *SEG* 15 323=LSA-795 (Thespieae). The version given in *SEG* 15 restores the name of the honorand, cf. Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 29. A verse inscription of four hexameters is laid out in four lines, each line containing one verse.

by Himerius delivered to him in Athens, which must be earlier than the one delivered to proconsul Scylacius, not much later than 343.

Next, a statue of Plutarchus, governor of Achaëa, was set up at Megara some time between 326 and 360.¹⁴³⁵ Its original location ‘at the sanctuary of Dike’ (ἀμφὶ Δίκης τεμένη) (I.8) is almost certainly not a reference to a real temple, but to the law-courts of the city, referring to Dike, a goddess of Justice. As Robert has pointed out, the praise for the honorand’s office-holding ancestors, strongly suggest that the honorand was governor, presumably of Achaëa.¹⁴³⁶ Further, a statue of Phosphorius, governor of Achaëa, was erected at Megara in the late fourth century.¹⁴³⁷ The same base was previously used for a statue to Plutarchus, which is another example of a reuse within a comparatively short period of time.¹⁴³⁸ Although the present verse inscription gives no explicit title to the honorand, the praise of his righteousness and his building activities make it certain that he was a high-ranking state official. The same Phosphorius was awarded an honorific statue at Argos, where his office, proconsulship of Achaëa, is explicit. The base with a verse inscription in one elegiac distich followed by a dedicatory formula was found in the forum area.¹⁴³⁹ In addition, a statue of Callippinus was set up at Argos in the fourth to early fifth century, with the base found in the forum area.¹⁴⁴⁰ Callippinus is not included by E. Groag in his list of governors of Achaëa, but the references to the goddess of Justice identify him as proconsul.

Thereafter, Publius Ampelius, *proconsul Achaëae* in 359-60 before becoming proconsul Africae in 364, held a double proconsulship (‘*ad proconsulatum geminum*’ (Amm. 28.4.3)) recorded in numerous inscriptions from Greece. A now lost honorific inscription, almost certainly from the base for a statue of Publius Ampelius,¹⁴⁴¹ comes from Sparta and is dated to 359-60.¹⁴⁴²

¹⁴³⁵ IG IV(2) 1129=IG VII 94, 95=LSA-56 (Megara). Eight lines of verse consist of two four-line epigrams separated by a clear space: the two epigrams are each made up of two elegiac distichs. *PLRE* 1, 707-708 Plutarchus 3.

¹⁴³⁶ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 94-102. He is styled ‘son of Euagrius’ in the second epigram (I.3), referring probably to Constantine’s praetorian prefect of the East, Evagrius. He was also probably the father of another *PLRE* 1 Plutarchus 4, *praeses* of the Islands under Julian.

¹⁴³⁷ IG IV(2) 1129B=SEG 13 279=LSA-57 (Megara). *PLRE* 1, 700 Phosphorius 2. The identity of the honorand as *PLRE* 1, 871 Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus 6, in whose family the *signum* Phosphorius occurs, governor of Achaëa in 319, rejected by Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten*, and Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, “Inventaires,” and again adopted by IG IV (2) in 2002. However, the first-use date of 326-60 definitively excludes Symmachus as the honorand for the second use of the base. However, while it is always assumed that the Phosphorius inscription is later than that to Plutarchus, the two are on opposite sides of the base, and their relative chronology could perhaps be reversed. If so, Symmachus would again become a candidate for the honorand.

¹⁴³⁸ Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten*, 54-55 proposed a date between 379 and 382 for the proconsulship of Phosphorius, followed by Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, “Inventaires,” while *PLRE* I favoured a more generic later fourth-century date. The date of the previous use of this base lends new support to a later fourth-century date.

¹⁴³⁹ AE 1901, 125=LSA-595 (Argos). A late fourth-century date is supported by the person of the awarder of a statue to proconsul. The name of the latter indicates participation in mystery cults (Phosphorius as a rank in the mysteries of Mithras). IG II/III 4841. Groag identifies the dedicant of the inscription Archelaus with the Archelaus of IG III 172, probably in the 380s. Archelaus is widely assumed to have been the same Archelaus who introduced into Athens the taurobolium (a cult practice in the worship of the Magna Mater) in the middle of the fourth century and held priestly functions in Lerna and in Eleusis, see LSA-424.

¹⁴⁴⁰ AE 1950, 11=LSA-999 (Argos).

¹⁴⁴¹ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 27-8.

Another fragmentary verse inscription, which also comes from Sparta,¹⁴⁴³ was tentatively attributed to Ampelius by Robert, who thought that a statue from the temple of Apollo in Amyclae may have been dedicated to proconsul.¹⁴⁴⁴ The awarder of the statue was a priestly college. The restoration and hence the attribution is, however, uncertain. In fact, the evidence of Ampelius' paganism, apart from Libanius' and Himerius' usual references to the gods, is wanting. Praetextatus, while in office, persuaded Valentinian I not to enforce in Greece his law against nocturnal sacrifices (*CTh* 9.16.7: 364). He received a panegyric from Himerius (*Or.* 51), whose text is lost. As governor of Achaea he was honored with a statue by the Greeks at Thespieae in 362-64.¹⁴⁴⁵ The epigram records that it was set up 'to the Heliconian Muses', which would most immediately suggest the famous sanctuary near Thespieae in the valley of the Permessos. But there was a second sanctuary of the Muses within Thespieae itself. A zealous pagan, Praetextatus is known to have translated Greek verse and prose works into Latin.

Further, a statue of Anatolius, *proconsul Achaeae* in perhaps 376, was erected in Sparta in 376-88.¹⁴⁴⁶ The ruins mentioned in the inscription probably allude to the earthquake of 375-76. An anonymous governor of Achaea was celebrated in Athens in the fourth or fifth century (fig. 46).¹⁴⁴⁷ Theodorus, proconsul of Achaea in 379-95, was honored with two statues in Athens and one in Troizen under Theodosius I. Of the two bases in Athens, one unusually, consists of two discrete, self-contained poems carved by the same hand, each of which mentions both honorand and awarder (fig. 47).¹⁴⁴⁸ Groag considered Theodorus to be identical with Libanius' friend of the same name.¹⁴⁴⁹ This led him to suggest a date of 393-95 for his governorship, which is followed by Feissel. However, Gehn suggests that the honorand could be another Theodorus of the later fourth century, who was urban prefect of Constantinople in 385 or 387.¹⁴⁵⁰ If so, his urban prefecture, which ranked higher than the proconsulship of Achaea, provides a *terminus ante quem* for the inscription. As Sironen points out, the explicit reference to imperial authorisation for a bronze statue, whereas a stone statue could be erected with the consent of the city alone (Il.6-8) is a striking feature of the text.¹⁴⁵¹ The second poem, although carved by the same hand, may be a secondary

¹⁴⁴² *IG* V, 1, 729=*LSA*-825 (Sparta). Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, "Inventaires," 267-395, 287 no. 25 made restoration of the text.

¹⁴⁴³ *IG* V, 1 455 (Sparta). Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 5-34.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Robert, *Hellenica* IV: "Il me paraît très vraisemblable qu'il faut le reconnaître aussi dans un fragment d'une épigramme de Sparte." See also Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten*, 42-45.

¹⁴⁴⁵ *SEG* 15 322=*AE* 1928, 48=*LSA*-839 (Thespieae).

¹⁴⁴⁶ *AE* 1929, 23=*SEG* 11 773=*IG* V 1, 344=*LSA*-357 (Sparta).

¹⁴⁴⁷ *IG* II/III(2) 13280=II/III 4227=*LSA*-425 (Athens). No *PLRE* record.

¹⁴⁴⁸ *IG* III 636=*IG* II(2) 4223=*LSA*-2 (Athens).

¹⁴⁴⁹ Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten*, 62-4 considered Theodorus to be identical with Libanius' homonymous friend, *PLRE* 1, 899 Theodorus 17. This led him to a date 393-95, followed by Feissel, "Notes d'Épigraphie chrétienne," 545-58.

¹⁴⁵⁰ *PLRE* 1, 899 Theodorus 18; cf. *LSA*-877. Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten*, 62-4.

¹⁴⁵¹ Sironen, "Life and Administration," 15-62, 31 no. 15. For similar inscriptions, see Feissel, "Notes d'Épigraphie Chrétienne," 545-58; and for the late antique legislation concerning the erection of statues in different materials, see Premierstein, "Griechisch-Römisches aus Arkadien."

addition. If so, it was presumably added after permission for the erection of the bronze statue was obtained. For another statue of Theodorus in Athens, governor of Achaea, no information is given on the location.¹⁴⁵² A verse inscription in two elegiac distichs on the base for a statue of Theodorus, governor of Achaea, was set up at Troizen.¹⁴⁵³

Lastly, a bronze statue of Polycharmus, governor of Achaea, was erected at Olympia in the fourth century.¹⁴⁵⁴ The base was found northeast of the temple of Zeus, and the inscription states that the statue was set up in the vicinity of the temple of Zeus (*Ζηνὶ παρ' ἰθυδίκῳ*). The office he held was not local, since 'the Greeks agreed to the erection of the statue'. The motifs and form of the epigram suggest that he was a high ranking late-antique state official, very probably proconsul of Achaea. Since he held an *arche*, is honored for his justice, and is praised by the Greeks, he would appear to have been *proconsul Achaeae*. It is unlikely that a dedication at Olympia was later than around 400.

Statues were granted by the cities of the province and civic magistrates.¹⁴⁵⁵ However, the official seat of the government was Corinth. In the inscription from Corinth clearly set up to a late antique imperial official, such as proconsul, the honorand may be identified with Theodorus. If *λαμπρίου* is a form of the name *Λαμπρίας*, as Feissel proposed, this name probably refers to the awarder. Feissel considered a possible identification with an Argive philosopher Lamprias mentioned in Emperor Julian's *Letter* 198.¹⁴⁵⁶ The city council and the people of Corinth also set up the statue for Flavius Hermogenes. Proconsuls were praised for benefactions towards cities: Hermogenes is styled the 'benefactor and founder of the harbour' (*τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην τοῦ λιμένος*). There is no independent information about his work at Lechaenum, port in the Corinthian gulf, at this date almost certainly a repair grandiloquently described, despite his being described as its 'founder'. 'The city honours the benefactor in all things and saviour of Lacedaimon' (*Ἡ πόλις τὸν διὰ πάντων εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος*) Publilius Optatianus, and Plutarchus

¹⁴⁵² LSA-423.

¹⁴⁵³ IG IV 787=LSA-600 (Troizen).

¹⁴⁵⁴ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 20=LSA-794 (Olympia).

¹⁴⁵⁵ In the Peloponnese, Marcus Aurelius Stephanus, priest of the imperial cult, of *perfectissimus* rank, the leader of the city, was in charge of setting up the statue on behalf of the city for Publius Optatianus in Sparta. The name of the awarder of the Spartan statue to Publius Ampelius is lost, but it was by all probability set up by the city of Sparta. The latter was also an awarder of the statue for Anatolius. Archelaus set up another statue of Phosphorius by a decree of the council, on behalf of the Danaens, i.e. people of Argos. Callippinus was also honored by the city of Argos, and the awarder Eupractus was probably a local aristocrat. The Pittheidae, that is, people from Troizen, were awarders of yet another statue for Theodorus. Phigalia, a city of the Peloponnese south of Olympia, set up the statue to Polycharmus. The Phigalians presumably chose to honor Polycharmus at Olympia, rather than in their own city, because of its greater prestige, and perhaps because of its religious aura. Theodorus received one statue set up by perhaps a civic official Themistocles, according to the decree of Athens. Another dedication by Themistocles in Athens was erected with the consent of Theodosius. The people of Megara dedicated two epigrams in Plutarchus' praise. They are styled 'inhabitants of Alcatous' in the second epigram, alluding to the eponymous hero of the western Acropolis of Megara. The Megarans dedicated the statue to Phosphorius. Pericles set up the statue for Praetextatus by decree of the council and the people of Thespieae in Boeotia. Another statue in Thespieae, probably of Cervonius, was set up by the brothers Thespiades and Eustephius.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, "Inventaires," 364-5 with no. 51.

received an honor from the city ‘deeply rejoicing in his unforgettable works (*ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγασσάμενοι*) and his ‘many good deeds’ (*πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν*). Phosphorius was celebrated ‘because having fenced the cities with towers, for the inhabitants he rendered the cruel and violent one (the god of war Ares) an enemy which they do not have to fear’ (*οὕνεκα πυργώσας πόλιας κρατεραλγέα θοῦρον τεῦξεν ἀτάρβητον δῆϊον ἐνναέτες*). His activity in building city walls is especially praised. Groag connects the building of fortifications in the Megara inscription with the circumstances following the battle of Adrianople.

Fragmentary inscriptions mention Ampelius’ fame (*κλέος*) and the gift of liberty (*δῶρον ἐλευθερίας*). If his name is correctly restored, he might have been honored for his achievements with the statue in the temple of Apollo in Amyclae in Sparta. The verse inscription of three elegiac distichs inscription celebrates the benefactions of Anatolius towards the city of Sparta: ‘Wealthy Anatolia, from thee the proconsular flower of well-built Rome received his fair name. Being so good he saved Sparta, abounding in good men and true, from every grief, when it happened that she lay in ruins’ (trans. Gehr). He was responsible for the rebuilding after an earthquake, possibly that of 375-76. Feissel points out that *πολύλβε* in the epigram does not refer to Anatolius’ wealthiness,¹⁴⁵⁷ as Groag had suggested.¹⁴⁵⁸ The epigram celebrates Theodorus for his mild governorship and his financial generosity towards the city and its citizens: ‘since by his mild governorship without any harshness he fostered the city; and yes indeed, also by his wealth, because he left silver to be distributed to everybody for all time to come’ (*ἐπεὶ πόλιν ἠέξῃσε πευκαλίμοις ἀγανῆς μήδεσι προστασίης, ναὶ μὴν καὶ κτεάτεσσιν, ἐπεὶ λίπε πᾶσι νεμέσθαι ἄργυρον ἐς γενεὴν πᾶσαν ἐπεσσομένην*). The awarders, the people of Troizen, are styled Pittheidai in the inscription, after their mythical king Pittheus, who was associated with justice, which makes an allusion to him particularly appropriate for a dedication to governor.

The virtues lauded in the inscriptions are wisdom, purity, and justice, and the values represented by *Δίκη*. Thus, *Θέμις*, a goddess of Justice, often invoked in late antique inscriptions that praise just officials, is mentioned as a suitably erudite way to celebrate Theodorus, while ‘σοφία’ (wisdom) praises the intellectual brilliance of the honorand, which can also be associated - through knowledge of the law - with Justice.¹⁴⁵⁹ Publilius Optatianus, is styled ‘similar, almost equal, in his character and his deeds to Lycurgus’ (*Λυκούργῳ κατὰ τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ὁμοιοῦσα ἀπ’ ἴσων*), the mythologized first law-giver of the Spartans. Anatolius’ statue was also placed close to that of Lycurgus, so that he be always most famous to the people’ (*ὄφρα πέλοιτο βροτοῖς αἰὲν ἀοιδότατος*). The inscription in two elegiac distichs praises Cervonius for his education (intimacy

¹⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 288 no. 26.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Groag, *Die Reichsbeamten*.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 13-22, and on mythological comparisons, p. 99; Robert, “Inscriptions de l’Antiquité,” 760-1; see also the dedication to the governor Proclianus in Argos, *LSA*-998.

with the Muses) as ‘a man dear to the Muses (*ἄνδρα φίλον Μούσαισι*). Famous (*περίβωτος*) Plutarchus is ‘laudible for his purity and justice’ (*καθαρῆσιν ἀοίδιμον εὐνομίῃσιν*): ‘everywhere the fame of Plutarchus, everywhere astonishment, everywhere immense praise of the justice’ (*πάντη Πλουτάρχου κλέος, πάντῃ δέ τε θαῦμα, πάντῃ δ’ εὐνομίης εὖχος ἀπειρέσιον*). The epigram praises in two elegiac distichs Phosphorius’ justice, and, above all, his good government: he is styled ‘excellent in wisdom’ (*ἀριστόνοος*) and honored for his righteousness (*ἐπ’ εὐδικίης*).

Further, a verse epigram of two elegiac distichs praises the just rule of Callippinus, and refers to the statue (‘permanent gifts’) he is rewarded with. With justice featuring prominently in the epigram, the ‘cities of the Achaeans’ pronounce the justice of Callippinus, ‘the most righteous eye of Dike’ (*Δίκης ὄμμα δικεότατον*). A verse inscription in four elegiac distichs praises the outstanding virtues of Praetextatus, ‘who nourishes all Muses and all kind of justice, the proconsul of the age-old land of Achaea, the wall of Achaea, crown of Rome, glory of his blood, he has reached the full climax in all virtues’ (*τὸν πάσαις Μούσαισιν καὶ εὐδικίαισιν τραφέντα ἀρχεγόνου γαίης Ἑλλάδος ἀνθύπατον τεῖχος Ἀχαιϊάδος, ῥώμης στέφος, αἵματος εὖχος, καὶ πάσαις ἀρεταῖς πληθόμενον κραδίην*). The Athenian base for Theodorus bears two verse inscriptions: the first poem consists of one distich and the second one of three distichs, in which he is called the ruler who with his gentle justice saved the people and cities of all the Greeks (*ὅς εὐδικίῃσ’ ἀγανῆσι σῶσε Πανελλήνων σώματα καὶ πόλιας*). A verse inscription of two elegiac distichs praises the justice and other virtues of the office-holder Polycharmus: ‘the Greeks agreed: for he finished his rule happily, being skillful in every virtue’ (*ἤνησαν δ’ Ἕλληνες· ἐν αἰσιμῇ γὰρ ἄνυσσεν ἀρχήν, παντοίης ἰδρις ἐὼν ἀρετῆς*). He is honored for his justice, and the location of his monument draws an implicit comparison with Zeus, the model of a heavenly judge.

Phosphorius is said in the inscription to receive a marble statue (*εἰκόνα λαϊνέην*) in Megara. Also, Praetextatus was honored with a marble statue (*εἰκόνι λαϊνέῃ*) in Thespieae. Equally, Theodorus was awarded a marble statue (*εἰκόνι λαϊνέῃ*) in Athens. Another monument, a bronze statue (*χαλκοῦ στήσιν*), was erected for Theodorus in the same city. The unusual reference to another statue for the same honorand, in bronze, suggests that the bronze statue was indeed erected. An inscribed base for the marble statue refers to a bronze statue to be set up for the same honorand and by the same awarder. The second poem containing the hint at the bronze statue was perhaps a secondary addition. This would most probably have happened after the permission for the erection of the bronze statue was obtained. A bronze statue was dedicated for Polycharmus in Olympia. There are imprints for the bronze statue associated with this re-use; the statue was standing with its weight over its right leg. A bronze statue, probably of Cervonius, proconsul of Achaea, was erected in Thespieae. On the top face of the marble block there are imprints for feet; the statue therefore must have been of bronze.

The chlamys was a costume worn by high-ranking imperial office holders including proconsuls. Among the set of preserved late antique chlamys statues from Corinth,¹⁴⁶⁰ A. Brown and Gehn consider two extant standing statues to belong to an early group, probably still in the late fourth century. One is the marble chlamys statue for a fourth-century proconsul that was discovered in the theater,¹⁴⁶¹ while the upper part of another was found near the steps leading up to the Agora.¹⁴⁶² Both honorands were probably provincial governors, while the awarders are unknown. Both heads are missing. Compared with the chlamydatus from the theater, a torso of the second statue in chlamys shows an entirely different system of folds, illustrating a later, unclassical use of drapery.¹⁴⁶³ While the ‘theater chlamydatus’ is dressed in a cloak and a tunic under it, visible at neck and on right side, wearing a wide belt (*cingulum*) not fully covered by the tunic on the right side, the second portrayed is vested in a body-hugging chlamys falling down in a long series of rippling folds over a long sleeved tunic which is discernible at his left wrist. The folds of the garment of this statue are of markedly higher plasticity than those of the chlamydai traditionally associated with the later fifth century in Corinth, which speaks in favor of a distinctively earlier date. The system of rippling folds displayed by this chlamydatus closely resembles the pattern displayed by the imperial chlamydes of the *Missorium* of Theodosius I.

As for the accessoires and attributes, the chlamys of the former is pinned on the right shoulder with a now lost separately worked (perhaps metal) crossbow fibula, with the round base and two small dowel holes for it still visible, but no attributes are preserved. Two round holes in the front of the upper left arm of the latter honorand were probably to attach a vertically held object, but only a bundle of scrolls stands preserved at his left foot, a traditional symbol of erudition and office often associated with chlamys statues, which accords to the education and diligence often advertised in late-antique statue base epigrams. The left arm of the former is wrapped in the chlamys and slightly bent; the right arm probably once projected forward from the torso, supported there by a marble strut.¹⁴⁶⁴ These, like the other Corinthian chlamydai, are therefore probably the statues of proconsuls of Achaëa, whose seat was in the city.¹⁴⁶⁵ However, members of a higher rank in the late Roman administration (pretorian prefect or vicar) cannot be excluded.

¹⁴⁶⁰ LSA-15, LSA-19, LSA-20, LSA-21, LSA-22, LSA-23, LSA-24, LSA-80.

¹⁴⁶¹ LSA-15 (A. Brown and U. Gehn): stylistically this is the most finished, and therefore probably the earliest, of the extant chlamydai from Corinth. The closest parallels in style and costume are the late fourth and early fifth century statues from Aphrodisias, LSA-150, LSA-169, LSA-170, LSA-171. See Amelia Brown, “Last Men Standing: Chlamydatus Portraits and Public Life in Late Corinth,” *Hesperia* 81 (2012): 148, figs. 8-9.

¹⁴⁶² LSA-21 (A. Brown and U. Gehn). Brown, “Last Men Standing,” 148-50, figs. 10-12.

¹⁴⁶³ Mary C. Sturgeon, *Sculpture: The Assemblage from the Theatre: Corinth IX*, 3 (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004), 163-65 no. 54 pl. 55 e, f. dates the ‘theater chlamydatus’ to the mid-fourth century on the assumption that the theater was destroyed and went out of use by earthquakes in 365 and/or 375.

¹⁴⁶⁴ For this gesture see, Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*, no. 64.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Johannes Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1941), 89 with no. 13, pl. 19, 2. In addition, a limestone bust of a draped male, possibly wearing chlamys, whose rendering of the folds distinguish it from the chlamydai from Corinth traditionally associated with the later fifth century speaks in favor of an

However, most governors who appear as builders in inscriptions did not act as private benefactors. The inscriptions of Publius Ampelius stress his building activities in at least five cities: at Athens, Chalcis, Megara, Sparta, and Aegina.¹⁴⁶⁶ He was also celebrated by Himerius (*Or.* 31, 11-12, 17) for the building of stoas, indoor swimming pools, and baths in numerous cities of Achaëa. The legal inscription from Chalcis, a proconsular edict, dates his governorship within the years 359-60 (third indiction) and presents a list (*βρέβιον*) of *ἐπιμεληταὶ* (*curatores operum publicorum*), who carried out the works.¹⁴⁶⁷ The Pompeike Stoa, whose repair is mentioned in Ampelius' edict is reminiscent of the Athenian Pompeion, the building where sacred objects were kept which used to be carried about in processions, *πομπαί*. The edict regulated a restoration of exedra and the stoa: *τὴν ἐξέδραν τὴν καινὴν τὴν παρακειμένην τῇ πομπικῇ στοᾷ* (Il.22-23) and *τὴν στοὰν τὴν πομπικ(ήν) ἅμα τῷ ἐξεδρίῳ* (l.28). Dionysiac processions are epigraphically recorded at Chalcis.¹⁴⁶⁸ The expression *πολιτικού πρόσοδοι* which appears in the inscription suggests that the works were funded by public money. Massive construction works initiated by proconsul throughout the province, including the Stoa Basileios on the agora of Athens (Him., *Or.* 31.17), are documented also in Megara, where he ordered to erect (or restore) a stoa and assigned three *ἐπιμεληταὶ* from the local decurions for this task.¹⁴⁶⁹ The building inscription on the stoa is preserved on a fragment of a marble column. Three inscriptions come from Sparta. A legal one testifies to later fourth-century repairs to a theater and a stoa that led to it.¹⁴⁷⁰ The edicts imply that Ampelius personally initiated the construction works in the province he governed and assigned *ἐπιμεληταὶ* from among the local decurions to carry it out. According to M. Heil, Ampelius' activity was meant to provide the local elite with a kind of 'compensation' for the taxes collected, as well as the seizure of estates owned by the city carried out in the times of Constantine and Constantius.¹⁴⁷¹

One more epigram of six hexameters was discovered on the island of Aegina, arguably originating from a sumptuous villa which belonged to Publius Ampelius. Presented from the person a Satyr (god Pan), and admittedly originating from the base of a statue of him standing in the

earlier date, *LSA*-20 (A. Brown and U. Gehn). The bust was found on the forum of Corinth; its both forearms and hands as well as the separately worked head are lost. The portrayed is wearing a cloak, which leaves the right side open, hence a *chlamys*; a mass of garment is gathered on the left shoulder. On the right upper arm a tunic worn under the cloak is visible. The way the cloak is gathered on the left shoulder is different from the other *chlamydati* in Corinth; it is a well-established pattern, however, of representing the cloak on paludamentum-busts in the second and third century. See Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 473-4 no. O 40.

¹⁴⁶⁶ On Ampelius' building activities, see Ariel Lewin, "Il dossier di Publio Ampelio," in *Atti del XIII Convegno internazionale dell'Accademia romanistica costantiniana. In memoria di André Chastagnol*, eds. Giuliano Crifò and Stefano Giglio (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 2001), 621-46.

¹⁴⁶⁷ *IG* XII 9, 907 (Chalkis).

¹⁴⁶⁸ *IG* XII, 9, 207, l.20; *IG* XII, 9, 899c, l.1.

¹⁴⁶⁹ *SEG* 42, 399 (Megara). Christian Habicht, "Eine verkannte Bauinschrift aus Megara des Publius Ampelius von 359/360," *Hyperboreus* 1 (1994/95): 128-32; Matthäus Heil, "Zwei spätantike Statthalter aus Epirus und Achaia," *ZPE* 108 (1995): 162-64.

¹⁴⁷⁰ *AE* 1929, 19=*SEG* XI 464, 2. Later in the century, Sparta suffered from a serious earthquake in 365, followed by repairs by proconsul Anatolius.

¹⁴⁷¹ Heil, "Zwei spätantike Statthalter," 159-65.

mouseion of the villa, the thoroughly classicizing diction of the epigram matches up perfectly with the cultural context of late antique elite villas, which was heavily invested in Hellenic visual and architectural tradition, including massive display of mythological statues, of which satyrs were often part. In the epigram, the Satyr expresses his excitement about leaving behind the countryside and coming to live in the imposing estate of Ampelius.¹⁴⁷² A. Avdokhin argues that while the author of the epigram purports to compose an epigram in the classicizing style, he also exhibits a striking awareness of the Christian diction of the epoch, which had been taking shape in scriptural and liturgical writing. The Hellenic Satyr epigram was inscribed at Ampelius' imposing villa at Aegina, full of visual signs of his classical paideia. The Satyr epigram was composed and inscribed as part of the fundamentally Hellenic cultural context of Ampelius' villa. The epigraphic adulation of Ampelius inscribed on a statue of Satyr – a figure of mythological lore and part of late antique 'Hellenic' paidea – is a fascinating instance of the hybrid diction of late antique learned epigraphic poetry.

Inscriptions pertaining to tomb-building show stylistic similarities with honorific ones or date to certain proconsulships. The inscription from the funerary monument set up by Praetextatus and his wife Fabia Aconia Paulina at Rome in the mid- to late fourth century emphasizes the fact that initiations of the couple took place in Greece, probably when the man was governor of Achaëa (fig. 68).¹⁴⁷³ Plutarchus' proconsulship (τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Πλουτάρχου ἀνθυπάτου) is also recorded on the stele of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom, which preserves the epitaph of Dionysios, a silk merchant, in Attica.¹⁴⁷⁴

Lastly, I turn to proconsul of Constantinople. Skinner has recently proposed that the senate of Constantinople became a separate institution around 340, following the introduction of a proconsul to the city.¹⁴⁷⁵ The proconsulship of Constantinople had been established, at the latest, by 341, when Alexander, the first Constantius' proconsul, held this office. It was the lowest ranking proconsulship,¹⁴⁷⁶ but Constantius seems to have managed to convince several Roman senators to hold this office. Moser argues that both Alexander and Ulpian Limenius were from senatorial families from Greece.¹⁴⁷⁷ Skinner points out that several measures were taken by Constantius in this period to raise the status of the city and its senate, including the introduction of proconsul. As one of his first political moves in Constantinople, around 340, Constantius upgraded the status of the

¹⁴⁷² IG IV, 53 (Aegina). Publius Ampelius, called Muse lover, was a poet celebrated enough to be remembered by Sidonius Apollinaris more than a century after his death (Carm. 9.304); his attempts at writing poetry are confirmed also by Libanius (Ep. 315). Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 218 wrongly states that in Aegina 'an individual erected a statue of him next to that of that Muses', testifying to the desire of the provincials to erect a statue in his honor and thus demonstrating Ampelius' success as proconsul.

¹⁴⁷³ CIL 6 1779=ILS 1259.

¹⁴⁷⁴ IG III,2 3513=IG II² 13445 (Athens). See Sironen, *Inscriptions*, 218, 170.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Skinner, "The Early Development."

¹⁴⁷⁶ On the place of the new proconsulship in the administrative hierarchy, see Malcus, "Die Proconsuln," 151–52.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*.

province of Europa, which was henceforth governed by proconsul. Constantius transformed Constantinople into a major urban center in the East, which was possible due to Constantius' administrative promotion of the province to one ruled by a senatorial proconsul.

Before the formal institution of an urban prefecture in 359, proconsul acted as city's governor with legal, financial, logistic as well as ceremonial responsibilities.¹⁴⁷⁸ Themistius recalls that proconsuls of Constantinople attended public speeches in the city, and a panegyric by Himerius (*Or.* 62) reveals that they were keen to be praised for their efforts in this respect. Public competitions were taking place in front of governors and proconsuls (e.g. Libanius and Bemarchius in front of the proconsul of Constantinople in 340). As Constantius raised the rank of the city's governor and made him a proconsul, praise for the city of Constantinople thus became praise of its governor.

The first securely documented proconsul in Constantinople (*ἀρχων*) was Alexander in 341. The introduction of proconsul greatly improved the status of the region in the administrative hierarchy of the empire. This senatorial proconsul was, at least nominally, on a pair with proconsul of Asia and ranked above the other provincial governors of the region. Alexander may have been a member of a leading, perhaps senatorial, family from Athens. Ulpian Limenius was proconsul of Constantinople in the next year. Limenius' nomen Ulpian suggests that he was a member of the Roman aristocracy, scion of the traditional Roman senatorial family of Ulpian that originated from Greece. If this is correct, he probably owed his position to the fact that his family was known as loyal supporters of the Constantinian regime.

Constantius' another influential civil servant, Claudius Strategius Musonianus, not a senator by birth, probably became the first proconsul in Constantinople after the usurpation of Magnentius in 350 (c. 350-52). In this position Musonianus, well versed in both Greek and Latin, paid particular attention to the provision of teaching and philosophy in the city, as a speech from Himerius suggests. Indeed, at the time of his governorship, Constantinople, so Himerius maintained, was the 'support of Greece, a phrase that Pindar used with reference to Athens' (62.2). Barnes proposes the speech was delivered in Constantinople and addressed to Musonianus. However, given the title of the speech it is unclear whether it was written for Musonianus or for one of Himerius' students in Athens who originated from Constantinople.¹⁴⁷⁹ In view of Himerius' willingness to compare Constantinople so favorably to Athens, the first possibility is perhaps more likely. Anatolius, a friend and a correspondent of Libanius, was perhaps proconsul of Constantinople in 354. He too was of senatorial rank and may perhaps have been identical with Vindonius Anatolius of Berytus, who wrote a work on agriculture (*Phot. Cod.* 163). Araxius, proconsul of Constantinople in 356,

¹⁴⁷⁸ On proconsuls and prefects, see Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, 215-39.

¹⁴⁷⁹ On the identity of the governor of Constantinople mentioned in the speech, at *Him. Or.* 62.6, see Timothy D. Barnes, "Himerius and the fourth century," *Classical Philology* 82 (1987): 220.

was a correspondent of Libanius and received his (*Ep.* 480) congratulations on promotion. After his term in office he seems to have retired, probably to Antioch.

There is a debate whether Constantius promoted the orator Themistius to the post of proconsul of Constantinople in the late 350s.¹⁴⁸⁰ A bronze statue of Themistius was set up probably in one of the senate houses at Constantinople in 337-61. He mentions a bronze statue which he had been awarded for an earlier panegyric speech in honor of Emperor Constantius II: ‘... and the bronze statue [is a reward for] this panegyric speech’ (*Or.* 4.54B).¹⁴⁸¹ The speech is also preserved (*Or.* 2). As Bauer points out, the statue was probably set up in one of the senate houses of Constantinople, because Themistius delivered this speech in a senate house and referred to the statue as if it was visible for all.¹⁴⁸² There were two senate houses in Constantinople in the fourth century, one at the Augusteum,¹⁴⁸³ the other one at the forum of Constantine.¹⁴⁸⁴ The statue was awarded by Emperor Constantius II in response to a panegyric speech that Themistius had delivered. While Themistius indeed occupied some position of prominence in the late 350s, it was, however, not the proconsulship.¹⁴⁸⁵

2. *Comes Orientis*

Count of the East is placed in the administrative hierarchy of the *Notitia* after proconsul and before Augustal prefect. The diocese of Orient was governed by *comes Orientis*, rather than an ordinary vicar, even though his judicial as well as financial-administrative duties were the same. His higher status is reflected in his insignia as the distribution of objects is clearly correlated with rank. While ordinary vicars are represented with an *epistola* or scroll, *comes Orientis* was given his appointive document in the form of an ivory diptych. Moreover, count of the East (*Or.* 22) was only one among the forty-nine spectabiles having insignia, represented by a gold-trimmed portrait-bearing rectangle (another being *praefectus augustalis*). These two important officials are therefore exceptionally represented by the insignia of the *illustres*.¹⁴⁸⁶ In a law of 381 (*CTh* 6.10.3) *comes Orientis* and *praefectus augustalis* are explicitly equated in rank. Their *officia* were much larger than the normal *officia* of vicars.¹⁴⁸⁷ In the symbolic *armarium* of the *sacra scrinia* this diptych format is positioned after the three-banded diptych of proconsuls and before the scroll of vicars.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Lib. *Ep.* 40 of 358/59 shows that contemporaries were conscious that Themistius had achieved a new pre-eminence at this time. However, as Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, argued, neither Themistius' own writings contain explicit mention of such an honor, nor Libanius ever calls him governor (*ἄρχων*) in Constantinople, as he generally addresses proconsuls, but only the more general *ἡγεμόν*.

¹⁴⁸¹ *LSA*-467.

¹⁴⁸² Bauer, “Statuen hoher Würdenträger,” 499.

¹⁴⁸³ Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 248; Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 148-57; this one was called Magnaura from the seventh century.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 255; Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 171.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, 224 contra *PLRE* 1 Themistius 1. See Heather and Moncur, *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire*, 44-45.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Grigg, “Portrait-bearing Codicils,” 120.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 592-93.

Like in the insignia of all civil provincial dignitaries, the *theca* is also represented in the insigne of count of the East ‘as a symbol of the written decisions necessary to validate legal proceedings’.¹⁴⁸⁸ Personified fifteen provinces - females bearing tribute - are exhibited in the grid frame of the lower register of the insigne. Similarly to other insignia, they hold coin-laden bowls representing the provincial tax levies.

Of the regional *comitiva*, which were created to assist, or replace, regular provincial governors in order to tighten imperial oversight in the provinces, and which seem to have been conferred on both senators and equestrians, only that of *comes Orientis* became a permanent post under Constantine. The first attested *comites* were established senators. Count of the East remained *clarissimus* until the end of century. However, similar to proconsuls above them, *comites Orientis* are designated *spectabiles* in the *Notitia*. A law dated to 399 proves that *comes Orientis*, as well as other officials of the same hierarchical level, now reached higher dignity (*CJ* 1.54.6). This law constitutes the *terminus ante quem* for the elevation of counts of the East as well as augustal prefects and vicars to the rank of *spectabilis*, long granted to proconsuls.¹⁴⁸⁹

Comes Orientis was a prestigious senatorial post. In the imperial constitutions count of the East is referred to in ‘superiority’ terms as ‘*sublimitas tua*’ (*CTh* 12.1.33: 342), which initially had been used occasionally for officials of middle rank such as counts (*comes Hispaniarum* (*CTh* 12.1.4: 317) and vicars. After c. 360 it was attested only for the offices of proconsul and higher.

The office was established only later in Constantine’s reign. Prior to the establishment of this post, the region was governed by *vicarius Orientis*. Like the proconsulship of Asia, the post of *vicarius* or *comes Orientis* was not a new office but the successor of a senatorial office recorded until 305, *iudex sacrarum cognitionum per Orientem/totius Orientis*. Malalas (13.4) states that Flavius Felicianus 5 had been appointed first *comes Orientis* by Constantine himself in 335, but Barnes contends that either the date is wrong or Felicianus was probably not the first *comes*.¹⁴⁹⁰ Some time between 341 and 346, probably in 342, a pair of the above-cited letters by praetorian prefects were addressed to Flavius Felicianus, *ex-comes* and consul prior of 337.¹⁴⁹¹ Athanassiadi wrongly claims that count Felicianus, priest of Apollo in the early 340s, was a disgraced member of the second Flavian dynasty.¹⁴⁹² Felicianus’ relationship to Constantine is, however, not attested. *Comes Orientis* was stationed in Antioch to calm the city as it witnessed the transformation of its landscape through the introduction of Christian monuments (*Joh. Mal. Chron.* 13.4).¹⁴⁹³ However, the first securely recorded official with this title is the distinguished Roman senator Q. Flavius

¹⁴⁸⁸ Berger, *The Insignia*, 103.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Wilhelm Ensslin, “Spectabilis,” *RE* IIIA 2, col. 1552-1568, col. 1556. Delmaire, *Les Institutiones*, 67-68.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Barnes, *The New Empire*, 142.

¹⁴⁹¹ Vatin, *Delphes*, 258-59.

¹⁴⁹² Athanassiadi, *Mutations of Hellenism*, 275-76.

¹⁴⁹³ Noel Lenski, *Constantine and the Cities. Imperial Authority and Civic Politics* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 216.

Maesius Egnatius Lollianus *signo* Mavortius. Lollianus as *comes Orientis* of Constantine is also known from a mention by Firmicus Maternus (*Math.* 1 pr. 7).

With regard to awarders, Gaius Valerius Eusebius, *vir clarissimus, comes ordinis primi ac per Orientem*, set up perhaps a bronze statue of Emperor Valentinian I at Alexandria in Egypt in 364-75.¹⁴⁹⁴ The base was found in the surroundings of a grand late Roman bath in the center of modern Alexandria. The awarder Caius Valerius Eusebius is known from a remark in the *Chrestomathie* (I 496), which is datable to the reign of Valentinian I.

As for honorands, Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus, *vir clarissimus, comes Orientis* in 330/36, is on current evidence the first attested *comes Orientis* of Constantine. Lollianus was a distinguished senator in comitival service: the genealogy of his family reaches back to the second century. He was honored with four statues by different associations in Puteoli in Campania in 334-42 and one in Rome in 355-56 mentioning his *comitiva*.¹⁴⁹⁵ Marcus Maecius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus, *vir clarissimus, comes Orientis Aegypti et Mesopotamiae* circa 340/41, received a honorific inscription recording his *comitiva* by the Palatina region of Puteoli in 343-46.¹⁴⁹⁶ He was already count of the first order before embarking on the combined post of *comes Orientis Aegypti et Mesopotamiae*. Cameron identified Placidus as member of the closest circle of leading senatorial families in Rome. A statue of his successor, Vulcacius Rufinus, *comes Orientis* of 342, was erected by inhabitants of Ravenna at Rome in 347 (fig. 23).¹⁴⁹⁷ Vulcacius Rufinus was a brother of Neratius Cerealis, consul in 358, and of Galla, a mother of the Caesar Gallus, through whom he was related to the Constantinian family. He served as *comes Orientis* with authority, including inappellate jurisdiction, in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

Eutolmius Tatianus, *consularis Syriae et comes Orientis* in 370/74, was honored with a statue at his hometown of Sidyma in Lycia, whose epigram mentions his offices of *consularis Syriae* and *comes Orientis* (ὕπατικός Συρίας ἡδ' ὄπλαρχος ἑώας).¹⁴⁹⁸ He is styled 'general' (ὄπλαρχος) of the East in the inscription. He did not hold these offices concurrently, as suggested by authors of *PLRE*. Tatianus had previously been *praefectus Aegypti*, governor of Egypt, then held the second governorship as *consularis Syriae* before becoming count of the East. The text of the Sidyma inscription suggests that the offices were held one after another, which was part of a standard *cursus honorum* in that period.¹⁴⁹⁹ He is praised by Libanius (*Or.* 10.37) for his treatment of Antioch.

¹⁴⁹⁴ *ILS* 8947=*LSA*-2672 (Alexandria (Aegyptus)). *PLRE* 1, 309 Gaius Valerius Eusebius 42.

¹⁴⁹⁵ *CIL* 10 1696=*LSA*-43, *AE* 1977, 198=*LSA*-47, *ILS* 1224a=*LSA*-332, *ILS* 1224b=*AE* 1977, 199=*LSA*-1909, and *CIL* 6 1723+1757=37112=*ILS* 1232=*LSA*-1426.

¹⁴⁹⁶ *CIL* 10 1700=*ILS* 1231=*LSA*-1910.

¹⁴⁹⁷ *CIL* 6 32051=*ILS* 1237=*LSA*-1253.

¹⁴⁹⁸ *TAM* II 186/187=*IGC* 293(2)=*ILS* 8844=*LSA*-674 (Sidyma (Lycia)).

¹⁴⁹⁹ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 397-98.

The base for the statue of Martinianus comes from Hierapolis in Phrygia Pacatiana and dates perhaps to the fourth century.¹⁵⁰⁰ The inscription is unpublished, but it is mentioned by T. Ritti who describes it as a Greek verse inscription. Also no account of provenance and location has been published. Ritti mentions that the name Martinianus occurs in a verse inscription on a base at Hierapolis which is possibly contemporary to that of Magnus from the mid-fourth century.¹⁵⁰¹ Of the known fourth-century officeholders of that name, *comes Orientis* of 392 appears to Gehn to be the most likely candidate.

Resident in Antioch, count was the official representative of the praetorian prefect¹⁵⁰² and responsible for building works. Proculus, *comes Orientis* of 383-84, was very popular (Lib., *Or.* 1.223, 6.2-4). His term as *comes Orientis* is well-documented by a number of laws included in the Code between 383 and 384.¹⁵⁰³ Of those, *CTh* 15.1.22 from 383 orders a compulsory razing of private structures erected in public place. As count of the East he continued his euergetic activities, which he had already been renowned for in Phoenicia: an inscription in his honor was founded near the Lycus river, in order to commemorate his construction of a mountain road, as well as the celebration of pagan cults in Heliopolis.¹⁵⁰⁴ As *comes Orientis* he extended and reconstructed the *πλῆθρον* in Antioch, greatly to Libanius' annoyance (*Or.* 10) and built streets, baths, colonnades and *fora* (*Ep.* 852.). He also introduced a special tax on the market stalls situated between the columns. The revenue from it was to support the poorest among the Antioch decurions performing liturgies (Lib. *Or.* 36.20-23; 42.41). He was dismissed from the post in the summer, before the Olympia celebrations of 384, according to Libanius as a result of falling into disfavor (*Or.* 1.221-222).

3. *Praefectus Augustalis*

Augustal prefect is placed in the list of the *Notitia* above vicars but below count of the East. At the beginning of 380s a new administration unit was separated from the diocese of Oriens, with vicar as its head bearing the title of *praefectus Augustalis*. Thus, during the reign of Theodosius, Egypt was detached from Oriens and constituted as a separate diocese. According to Palme, the new diocese was created between 380 and 381, whose governor ranked as vicar and was given the title *praefectus Augustalis*.¹⁵⁰⁵ Unlike proconsul, Augustal prefect remained subordinate to the

¹⁵⁰⁰ LSA-1052 (Hierapolis (Phrygia Pacatiana)). *PLRE* 1, 564 Martinianus 6.

¹⁵⁰¹ LSA-659. Tullia Ritti, "Contributi dell'epigrafia ierapolitana alla conoscenza delle opere figurative," in *Roman Sculpture in Asia Minor*, eds. Francesco D'Andria and Ilaria Rome (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2011), 187.

¹⁵⁰² Migl, *Die Ordnung der Ämter*, 89–94.

¹⁵⁰³ *CTh* 15.1.22: 383, on the preservation of public spaces; *CTh* 8.4.14: 383, on *principes* in count's *officium*; *CTh* 12.1.103: 383, concerning the Syriarchic games. According to Libanius, Proculus took the post as a result of a promotion after the governorship of Phoenicia (*Or.* 10.3.).

¹⁵⁰⁴ *SEG* 7 195.

¹⁵⁰⁵ The first law which was addressed to vicar of the new diocese who had the title of *praefectus Augustalis* is dated to 382, with the new diocese being first mentioned in *CTh* 12.1.97 from 383. See Bernhard Palme, "Praesides und Correctores der Augustamnica," *Antiquité tardive* 6 (1998): 128-29: between 17 March 380 (*CTh* 12.1.80; prefect of

praetorian prefect of the East. While most of the *spectabiles* are represented by the juxtaposition of an inscribed codex and a scroll, *praefectus augustalis* (and *comes Orientis*) is shown with the gold decoration on the diptych framing an imperial image of a central rectangle and a single border at the top and bottom. The distribution of these items leaves no doubt that they were distinctive signs of rank.¹⁵⁰⁶ His codicil displays the highest-ranking format of those shown in the symbolic *armarium*, which is otherwise reserved for the *illustres*. Although the arrangement of the insigne resembles that of vicar, the format of his codicil, along with the title of his office, reflect his ceremonial precedence in the governmental hierarchy. The *theca* that appears in the insigne implies his legal power. Six personified provinces feature in the grid frame of the lower register bearing the bowls of tribute, similar to the ones in the insigne of *comes Orientis*.¹⁵⁰⁷

The office of Augustal prefect of Egypt was not customarily held by traditional senators. When Egypt became a diocese between the years 380 and 381, *praefecti Augustales* were given the rank of vicars and were therefore also eligible for a *comitiva*. The connection of the office of *praefectus Augustalis* with a *comitiva* is detectable only within a rather short period at the turn of the fourth to fifth century. The number of the known *praefecti Augustales*, holding the *comitiva primi ordinis*, is four. The question, whether the *comitiva primi ordinis* was permanently linked to the office of Augustal prefect in the following years, cannot be answered with certainty at the current state of documentation. From this could be concluded that Augustal prefects at the turn of the fourth to the fifth century by virtue of their office were ranked among *comites primi ordinis*, but this rank title due to the nature of the so far available source material is detectable only in a few cases. The period in which *praefecti Augustales* bore the title of *comes primi ordinis* was short.¹⁵⁰⁸ Terentius Potamius, ὁ λαμπρότατος κόμης πρώτου τάγματος καὶ ἑπαραχος Ἀγγουνστάλιος, is recorded in the inscription engraved on a statue base, which he dedicated in Alexandria in 392.¹⁵⁰⁹

A separate vicariate of Egypt of the diocese of Oriens was not created until the first years of Emperor Theodosius' reign, in 380-81. However, in the laws the rank of *spectabilis* for Augustal prefects is first detectable since 399, and they are also recorded as *viri spectabiles* in the *Notitia*. Zuckerman suggests that it is by the law of 399 (*CJ* 1.54.6) that Augustal prefects, as well as other officials of the same hierarchical level, reached for the first time the rank of *spectabilis*.¹⁵¹⁰ In the imperial legislation Augustal prefect is referred to by 'superiority' term *auctoritas tua* (384) and 'personal quality' terms such as *claritas tua* (386).¹⁵¹¹

Egypt mentioned for the last time) and 11 July 381 (*Augustalis* in the acts of the Second Ecumenical Council). See also Kuhoff, *Studien*, 138-39.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 120.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Berger, *The Insignia*, 105.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Mitthof, "Remigius," 114-16.

¹⁵⁰⁹ *SEG* 28, 1454=AE 1981, 852 (Alexandria). Mitthof, "Remigius," 114.

¹⁵¹⁰ Zuckerman, *Comites*, 143 n. 51.

¹⁵¹¹ Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics," table I.

During the Tetrarchy *praefectus Aegypti* remained highest in rank among governors active in Egypt. His jurisdiction varied in the course of the fourth century, but at least the Delta, including Alexandria, was always assigned to him. Since the late Constantinian period he carried the rank of *clarissimus*. Prefects of Egypt set up honorific inscriptions to emperors. Thus, Aelius Palladius, *praefectus Aegypti* in 371-74, is recorded in an Egyptian inscription from Athribis in 374.¹⁵¹² The overtly Christian inscription records that a tetrapylon was dedicated to Emperor Valens under (ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς) Palladius as prefect of Egypt (ἐπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου). However, the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (*Chron. Min.* I 296-7, ‘*sub Palladio Augustalio*’) wrongly call him *praefectus Augustalis*. An anonymous *praefectus Aegypti* in 367/75,¹⁵¹³ whose office is mentioned in an unpublished inscription under Valentinian, Valens and Gratian from Ptolemais, is probably to be identified with either Eutolmius Tatianus, Olympius Palladius or Aelius Palladius. Tatianus was *praefectus Aegypti* in 367-70. The *PLRE* mistakenly considers Tatianus as the first vicar of the newly-created diocese of Egypt with the title of *praefectus Augustalis* following the anonymous early-medieval text known as *Barbarus Scaligeri*, based on the lost Alexandrian chronicle from the fifth century. He is also wrongly said to have been *praefectus augustalis* again in 374-77 (*Chron. Min.* I 296). He was *praeses Thebaidos* before becoming *praefectus* and he is said in the inscription from Sidyma to have governed whole Egypt (ἀρχὴν Θηβαίων λάχεν, εἴτ’ Αἰγύπτου πάσης). Olympius Palladius, rhetor (*Lib. Ep.* 689) and *praefectus Aegypti* in 370-71, succeeded Tatianus and was in turn succeeded by Aelius Palladius.

Both prefects of Egypt and Augustal prefects were responsible for building activities. Tatianus’ function in Egypt was *praefectus Aegypti* as both the only law in the *Code* (12.18.1: 367) that refers to his rule in Egypt (*praefectus Aegypti*) and P.Oxy. VII.1101 refer to him (ἐπάρχος Αἰγύπτου). On the building inscription set up by *praefectus Augustalis* P. Arrius Alexander between 388 and 390, documenting his efforts to maintain the Alexandrian canal in proper condition, Tatianus is called ‘[ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τῆς] Αἰγυπτιακῆς διοικ[ήσεως]’.¹⁵¹⁴ John Niciensis (*Chron.* 88.20) reports that ‘a man named Tatianus was appointed prefect of Alexandria, which is the chief city of Egypt. And he built, in the place called Abrakjun, the two stone gates with enormous labor and he made these gates for the passage of the great river, and he fortified the country of Egypt’.¹⁵¹⁵ Thereafter, Alexander, *comes primi ordinis* and *praefectus Augustalis*, was perhaps a provincial governor before 388: he had already shown his ability to govern before going to Egypt (*Lib. Ep.* 871). He set up the inscription recording the works done on the canal in Alexandria.¹⁵¹⁶ He was presumably identical with the unnamed governor of Egypt appointed by praetorian prefect Tatianus

¹⁵¹² SEG 24, 1194 (Athribis (Aegyptus)). *PLRE* 1, 661 Aelius Palladius 15; 662 Olympius Palladius 18.

¹⁵¹³ *PLRE* 1, 1016 Anonymus 63.

¹⁵¹⁴ *CIG* III 4693 (Kanopos (Aegyptus)).

¹⁵¹⁵ R. H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John Bishop Nikiu* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1916), 84.

¹⁵¹⁶ *CIG* III 4693.

and praised by Libanius (*Ep.* 871 from 388). A review of the hitherto known *praefecti Augustales* reveals that several of them were bearers of such a rank title *comes primi ordinis*.

4. *Vicarius*

A deputy of the praetorian prefect, *vices agens praefectorum praetorio*, or *vicarius*, administered a diocese. Placed between prefects and governors, *vicarii* were mid-level administrators in the late Roman government. However, the office of vicar as a diocesan administrator was probably not formalized until c. 313, during the reign of Emperor Constantine. Particularly through this office, a set of non-aristocratic men acquired new rank and prestige. The office of *vicarius* and the diocesan administration of the late imperial state require an examination of the background, culture, and place within the Roman aristocracy – both the aristocracy of birth and of service – of the officials who staffed the post. In the *Notitia*'s register, six vicars are recorded in the West: of the city of Rome, of Italy, of Africa, of the Spains, of the Seven Provinces, and of the Britains. Four vicars are found in the East: of the diocese of Asia, Pontus, the Thraces, and Macedonia. However, only seven pages with insignia of *vicarii* are extant.¹⁵¹⁷

Vicars' functions to investigate charges of judicial corruption and to deal with complaints of financial extortion on the part of provincial governors are reflected in the iconography of vicarial insignia. The upper register features the usual theca used by late Roman officials of an unusual design bearing two figures that were no doubt intended as emperors.¹⁵¹⁸ The same item is represented on roughly contemporary ivory diptychs, such as the diptych of Probianus.¹⁵¹⁹ The ruling emperor's portrait is equally displayed on consular diptychs as an insignia of high-ranking officials. Similarly to the *Notitia*, the *theca* in the Probianus diptych is made of two lobes, each containing an imperial portrait.¹⁵²⁰ Adorned with imperial portraits, the theca thus provided the 'imperial presence' without which a legal decision would have been invalid. It signified the official's power to dispense justice in the name of the emperor.

In the top part of the insignia, besides the theca, the blue cloth-covered table supports a scroll and a codex, instead of a diptych. Berger, after Loerke, identifies the *epistulae*, documents of appointment accorded to vicar (*CTh* 6.22.5), as rolled scrolls which appear immediately to the right of codices, because in the illustrations of the *Notitia* they are also used among the insignia of those offices associated with the rank of vicar.¹⁵²¹ However, although a rolled scroll is indeed consistently

¹⁵¹⁷ *Vicarius Africae* (Occ. 20), *vicarius Hispaniae* (Occ. 21), *vicarius septem provinciarum* (Occ. 22), *vicarius Britanniarum* (Occ. 23), *vicarius dioceseos Asianae* (Or. 24), *vicarius dioceseos Ponticae* (Or. 25), and *vicarius dioceseos Thraciarum* (Or. 26).

¹⁵¹⁸ Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 110.

¹⁵¹⁹ Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 62, pl. 18.

¹⁵²⁰ Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 110; Berger, *The Insignia*, 32.

¹⁵²¹ Berger, *The Insignia*, 107-108 follows William C. Loerke, "The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," *Art Bulletin* 43 (1961): 171-95, who tried to explain the distinctions in the form of the insignia in the *Notitia* through a law of 381 (*CTh* 6.22.5), on the appointive documents issued by the *primicerius notariorum*. From the tripartite division mentioned in the law – '*codicilli*' for officials of proconsular rank, '*epistulae*' for those of the rank of vicar, and

used for those with the rank of vicar, in all but one case (Or. 27) the scroll accompanies a codex, the front cover of which bears an inscription which Seeck regarded as appropriate for *codicilli*. Again, following Loerke, Berger identifies it as a *Book of Mandates*. However, it is rather these codices than *epistulae* that take the place of the ivory *codicilli* shown in the higher-ranking insignia, which are likewise reflective of the dignitary's link to imperial authority. Undoubtedly, *codicilli* were issued in different forms, depending upon the rank of the office they pertained to. Grigg has shown that the codex itself could be regarded as a codicil by the artists of the *Notitia* as implicit in other of its illustrations (Or. 43, 44; Occ. 43, 44, 45). Loerke himself believed that perhaps an appointive letter was bound inside the codex. The Latin abbreviations *FL* / *INTAL* / *COMORD* / *PR* or a slight variation thereof appear on the codices in all the vicarial insignia. Seeck interpreted the abbreviation '*FL*' as short for *feliciter*.¹⁵²² However, the Probianus diptych (c. 400), executed on the occasion of Probianus' appointment to the vicariate of the city of Rome, bears the salutation '*Probiane floreas*' written on his scroll. Delbrück was first to expand them to '*floreas inter allectos comites ordinis primi*' ('mayst thou prosper amongst the chosen counts of the first rank').¹⁵²³

The lower register exhibits full-length figures in profile, the personified provinces arranged in a grid frame, presenting their offerings to the emperor. In the West the text lists the provinces according to the rank of governor (*consularis* or *praeses*), and the order of the personifications in the grid corresponds to it. Through provincial governors, vicar was responsible for the administration of all the provinces in his diocese. In the East, however, the provinces are listed in the text according to their geographical order, and their appearance in the grid of the illustration is consonant with this principle. The female personifications display the captions above. The bowls with coins carried by the personified provinces symbolize the taxes rendered by the provinces to the state through the vicarial offices.¹⁵²⁴

In the fourth century a number of different but equivalent expressions were used to indicate the office of diocesan vicar: *agens vice praefectorum*, *agens pro praefectis*, *agens vicariam praefecturam*, *vicarius*. In Greek the same coexistence of several expressions is found: *διαδεχόμενος* or *ὁ διεπόμενος τὰ μέρη τῶν ἐπαρχῶν* (*agens vice praefectorum* or *agens pro praefectis*), *διοικήσας* or *διέπων τὴν ἐπαρχὸν ἐξουσίαν* (*agens vicariam praefecturam*), *βικάριος*, sometimes, in poetry, the post is defined by the terms *ὑπαρχος* or *ἐπάρχος*, with which the sources

'*insignia*' for those of consular rank – Loerke concluded that there were three types of appointive documents, which he projected on the illustrations of the *Notitia*. He identified as '*codicilli* proper' the flat gold-trimmed rectangles with or without portraits, which he calls 'diptychs', as '*epistulae*' the rolled scrolls represented among the insignia of some officials, and as '*insignia*' the codices that he elsewhere regards as *libri mandatorum*, compilations of instructions sent out to lower and middle dignitaries upon their succession to office. However, the illustrations of the *Notitia* do not conform to the hierarchy proposed by Loerke. See Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 117-19.

¹⁵²² Seeck, "Codicilli," 179.

¹⁵²³ Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*.

¹⁵²⁴ Berger, *The Insignia*, 109.

normally indicate praetorian prefects, but the signalling of the diocese or the literary context reveals that it is the diocesan vicar; rarely does one encounter the term *ἀρχων*, followed by the signalling of the diocese (for example, of Asia, Italia).¹⁵²⁵ This expressive plurality to define a single post is a unique phenomenon within the catalog of the office titles of imperial administrators, which does not conceal a divergence of functions, always indicating diocesan vicar.¹⁵²⁶

The office of vicar was elevated to senatorial rank only in c. 325. In Africa a senatorial vicar is attested as early as 318.¹⁵²⁷ Chastagnol suggests that vicars were promoted to the senatorial rank in 330.¹⁵²⁸ The authors of the *PLRE* suggest the date not before c. 320 for *clarissimus vicarius*. Vicars remained *clarissimi* until the very end of the fourth century. The official titulature of the vicar ceased as early as 400, or very soon after that date, to be satisfied with the simple title of *clarissimus comes*, even *primi ordinis*.¹⁵²⁹ The *clarissimi* vicars therefore probably all belong to the second half of the fourth century and perhaps, for those of *primi ordinis*, to the last fifteen years of that century. Indeed, in the case of Menandrus in 385, this title passed in silence, even if vicar was in fact already, and probably for a long time, *comes primi ordinis*. R. Delmaire advocates the granting of the spectatability to vicars around 390 and in any case before 394, relying on the testimony of Symmachus (*Ep.* 2.32+32a), who speaks of *virī spectabilis fratris nostri vicarii*, with regard to vicar of city prefect of Rome.¹⁵³⁰ The general elevation of vicars to *spectabilis* rank took place at the latest in 399 (*CJ* 1.54.6, §1).¹⁵³¹ The law shows that vicars now reached higher dignity and constitutes the *terminus ante quem* for their promotion to the rank of *spectabilis*, long granted to proconsuls. Before 399, rare *spectabiles vicarii* are linked by Zuckerman to exceptional political circumstances in Italy and Africa. The case dates back to the time of Eugenius' usurpation, who must have granted the *spectabilitas* to vicars. This innovation, however, was not retained by Theodosius, as proves the title of vicar Fabius Pasiphilus, appointed by this emperor in the West after Eugenius' defeat.¹⁵³² Only vicar (*CTh* 1.15.14: 395) and count of Africa remain, exceptionally, *spectabiles*, but once the traces of the 'Gildonian exception' were erased, count of Africa became

¹⁵²⁵ Porena, *Le origini*; Jacek Wiewiorowski, "Agentes vices praefectorum praetorio, comites provinciarum and vicars as the tool of Constantine the Great," in *Свети цар Константин и христућанство/ Saint emperor Constantine and Christianity, vol. I. International Conference Commemorating the 1700th Anniversary of the Edict of Milan, 31 May – 2 June 2013*, ed. Dragiša Bojović (Niš: The Centre of Church Studies, 2013), 283-93.

¹⁵²⁶ Regarding the epigraphic documentation, the first attestations of the term *vicarius* date back to the age of Constantine as sole Augustus, but in reference to positions held, probably, during the period of diarchy with Licinius, *CIL* 6 1704=*ILS* 1214; *CIL* 11 831=*ILS* 1218.

¹⁵²⁷ *LSA*-2171 (Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania)).

¹⁵²⁸ Chastagnol, "La carrière du proconsul d'Afrique," 191-203.

¹⁵²⁹ Scharf, *Comites*, 60, dates vicars Simplicius, Anysius, and Philippus to the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century. Feissel, "Vicaires et proconsuls," 98.

¹⁵³⁰ Delmaire, *Les institutions*, 50, 167-68.

¹⁵³¹ However, this law does not put vicar and proconsul on one foot: the proconsul, like count of the East and Augustal prefect, has the right to impose fines of up to 1/2 pound, the vicar up to only 1/4 pound. See Feissel, "Vicaires et proconsuls," 95.

¹⁵³² *ILS* 972. Zuckerman, "Comites," 143 n.51.

clarissimus again in 399 (CTh 11.17.3), which should, logically, also happen to his civilian colleague.¹⁵³³

In the imperial constitutions vicar is referred to by the ‘superiority’ terms: *sublimitas* (348-57) and *auctoritas* (377). ‘Personal quality’ terms as addressed to him comprise *gravitas* (321-62), *sinceritas* (324-88), *sollertia* (365), *laudabilitas* (378), and *spectabilitas* (399). From 399 at the latest, the vicariate confers automatically the rank of *spectabilis*.

Vicars are recorded in the legal inscriptions. Flavius Ablabius, *vicarius Asiae* in 324-26, received an imperial letter of Constantine while in office.¹⁵³⁴ A Latin inscription from Orcistus in Phrygia preserves the direct rescript (*adnotatio*) of Constantine, reestablishing its right of a city, accompanied by the initial petition. In the *adnotatio*, his initial decision, Constantine had stated that Orcistus would receive a favorable response to its request ‘through the intercession of vicar’ (*vicari intercessione*). When Constantine repeated this decision in his letter to Ablabius, the indirect rescript, he addressed the phrase directly to vicar: ‘through the intercession of Your dignity’. Constantine was clearly writing to Ablabius in his capacity as vicar, most likely of the diocese of Asiana that included most of the region of Phrygia. Since the emperor also prided himself for having responded ‘most promptly’, he was most likely writing to Ablabius soon after receiving the petition, probably in 325 or 326.¹⁵³⁵ Thus, as vicar of Asiana Ablabius supported the petition from the people of Orcistus for *civitas* status (*‘gravitatis tuae intercessione’*). The subsequent imperial rescript from 331 was addressed to the *curia* of Orcistus. Through Ablabius’ brokerage Orcistus learned of the emperor’s first favorable response very quickly.¹⁵³⁶ He was probably already a senator, since Constantine addresses him as ‘*Ablabi carissime nobis*’ and ‘*Ablabi carissime et iucundissime nobis*’.

Vicars had legal powers as well as judicial and financial-administrative responsibilities in their dioceses. In Africa Proconsularis, a fiscal tariff of the African provinces was perhaps issued by vicar of Africa and inscribed at Carthage c. 370. The legal inscription refers to a *iussio* of Constantine I, an act of vicar Annus Tiberianus 4, and a rescript of Valentinian I. Fragments of five exemplars were all found in Carthage.¹⁵³⁷

First of all, in the West, there was, vicar of the city of Rome. The page with the *insignia vicarii urbis Romae* (Occ. 19) is not preserved in the *Notitia*. Placidus Severus 28, *vir clarissimus*,

¹⁵³³ Zuckerman, “Comtes,” 143 n. 51.

¹⁵³⁴ CIL 3 352=7000 (Orcistus (Phrygia)).

¹⁵³⁵ Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution*, 372 confuses imperial letter for that of praetorian prefect.

¹⁵³⁶ For a discussion of Ablabius as vicar, see Denis Feissel, “L’adnotatio de Constantin sur le droit de cité d’Orcistus en Phrygie,” *Antiquité tardive* 7 (1999): 264–66, concluding that Constantine replied in 325 or 326. Earlier discussions of Ablabius’ vicariate in 324-26: PLRE 1, 3-4 Fl. Ablabius 4, and Barnes, *The New Empire*, 104, 132, 142. For limitations on the authority of vicar of Asiana in his own diocese, see Feissel, “Vicaires et proconsuls,” 92–95.

¹⁵³⁷ CIL 8 14280a, 24609-24611 (Carthage). Feissel, “Les actes de l’État,” 127, no. 93, *vicarius* in Africa. PLRE 1, 911-12 C. Annus Tiberianus 4, was *comes Africae* in 325-27, *comes Hispaniarum* in 332, *vicarius Hispaniarum* in 335.

vicarius urbis Romae (*a(gens) v(ices) praef(ectus) praet(orio)*), acted as an awarder of a statue of the Emperor Valens (*tote orbe victori ac triumphatori*) at the Roman Forum in 364-65 (fig. 35).¹⁵³⁸

The vicariate *urbis Romae* of Iulius Festus Hymetius in 362, is mentioned in his honorific inscription from Rome dated to 376-78 (fig. 13).¹⁵³⁹ An inscription of Clodius Octavianus, *vicarius urbis Romae* before 363, recording this office, was set up at Bovianum in Samnium in the mid-fourth century.¹⁵⁴⁰ A posthumous statue of Iunius Bassus was erected at Aqua Viva in Etruria in 364, documenting his vicariate of Rome before 359.¹⁵⁴¹ L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus *signo* Prosporphorius, *pro praefectis praetorio in urbe Roma* before 364 received a statue honor in the Forum of Trajan in 377 (fig. 14).¹⁵⁴² A statue of Flavius Sallustius, *vir clarissimus, vicarius urbi Romae, vicarius Hispaniarum, vicarius quinquae provinciarum*, was erected by the provincials of Spain in the Forum of Trajan in Rome in 364 (fig. 28).¹⁵⁴³ His three vicariates suggest that he was a new man.

Vicars were honored for construction works conducted in their jurisdiction area. Valerius Anthidius, *agens vicem praefecti praetorio* at Rome, is recorded in office in two building inscriptions. One was set up when he was *vicarius urbis Rome* and supervised the construction of a *stabulum* on the via Cassia in 381.¹⁵⁴⁴ His office is lost on the second inscription, dated by the consular dates, which records the aqueduct repair (*imminentem ruinam ... aquae Anienis Novae ... avertit*), which he conducted.¹⁵⁴⁵ Fabius Pasifilus, *agens vicem praefectorum praetorio et urbi* in 394-95, was doubtless appointed by Theodosius as successor of praetorian prefect Flavianus the elder immediately after the battle of the Frigidus as a temporary measure. Acting as praetorian prefect he dedicated building works at Puteoli in Campania in 394-95: the restructuring of a *macellum*¹⁵⁴⁶ and the restoration of a city forum's basilica.¹⁵⁴⁷ It is probable that works on the *ripa*, like those contemporarily on the basilica, had already been initiated under Flavianus, property owner in Campania. In order to cancel the records of the previous regime these restorations received a new dedication which already remembered the official of Theodosius, Pasifilus.¹⁵⁴⁸ Both buildings, *macellum* and *basilica Alexandriana* on the forum of Puteoli, are qualified as giving *splendor* to the city, a term that can be attributed to several types of monuments. The joint presence

¹⁵³⁸ *CIL* 6 36956a=LSA-1372.

¹⁵³⁹ *CIL* 6 1736=ILS 1256=LSA-1439.

¹⁵⁴⁰ *CIL* 9 2566=ILS 1253=LSA-1775.

¹⁵⁴¹ *AE* 1964, 203=LSA-1628.

¹⁵⁴² *CIL* 6 1698=ILS 1257=LSA-342.

¹⁵⁴³ *CIL* 6 1729=ILS 1254=LSA-323. He is probably to be identified as the author of 'On the gods and the cosmos'.

¹⁵⁴⁴ *CIL* 6 1774=ILS 5906.

¹⁵⁴⁵ *CIL* 6 3865=31945.

¹⁵⁴⁶ *CIL* 10 1692=ILS 792 (Puteoli (Campania)). He was relieved of his double interim only after the death of Theodosius in early 395. Perhaps he can be identified with Pasiphilus, to whom agronom Palladius dedicated his fourteenth book of *De re rustica*, see Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 245.

¹⁵⁴⁷ *CIL* 10 1694 (Puteoli (Campania)). *PLRE* 1, 669 Fabius Pasifilus 2.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Camodeca, "Ricerche su Puteoli," 86-87.

of the formula *splendor* and *gratia* found on both inscriptions from Puteoli, is rare. A need for restoration of the Puteolan buildings could also have been a first evident consequence of the intensified bradyseismic activities in the Phlegrean coastal area starting from the last years of the fourth century.

Vicarius Italiae has no illustration of his insigne in the *Notitia*. The vicariate is mentioned in the honorific inscriptions: a dedication to Lucius Crepereius Madalianus, *vicarius Italiae* in 341, set up at Calama in 341-50.¹⁵⁴⁹ As vicar of Italy Cronius Eusebius received a statue in the Forum of Trajan in 399.¹⁵⁵⁰ The bilingual inscription records that he was vicar of Italy, ‘over which extra power was allotted to the named man because of the testimony of his previously gained honor.’ The statue was bestowed by the emperor on the petition of the senate. In the Greek inscription he is styled ‘the city-healing ruler of Italy’ and praised for eloquence and wisdom. Ligorio reports it as from the Forum of Trajan, and this is the most likely possibility, due to the character of this dedication. The text of the inscription lists a few generic and flowery accolades to him, possibly as a form of keeping up with the administrative reorganization that was being carried out at the time.

Five provinces are depicted in the lower register of the illustration in the *Notitia* under *vicarius Africae* (Occ. 20). A number of imperial statues was dedicated in them by the African cities as usual in this region. A statue of the Emperor Valentinian I was set up at Furnos Minus in Africa Proconsularis under Antonius Dracontius, *agens vice praefectorum praetorio*, in 366-67.¹⁵⁵¹ Although the statue was erected by a city council, it commemorates not their civic magistrates, but *proconsul* and *vicarius* of Africa. During the administration of Flavius Macrobius Maximianus, count of the first order, *agens vice praefectorum praetorio*, a statue of Emperor Arcadius was dedicated at Pupput in Byzacena in 383-408.¹⁵⁵² The awarder was Flavius Calbinus, priest in perpetuity and *curator* of Pupput, but, as also happened elsewhere, the inscription is also careful to name the acting praetorian prefect and governor of Byzacena. Lepelley convincingly argued that another base could have been erected for Honorius, and, if set up before 395, perhaps yet another one for Theodosius I.¹⁵⁵³

As vicar of the African diocese in 364-67, Dracontius himself awarded five statues for emperors in various cities. A posthumous statue of Gratian, father of Valentinian and Valens, was dedicated at Cirta-Constantina in Numidia; a local notable, Valerius, who held the office of priest for the imperial cult in the province (*sacerdotalis*), took charge for the erection of the statue.¹⁵⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴⁹ *CIL* 8 5348+17490=*ILS* 1228=*ILAlg.* I 271=*LSA*-2408.

¹⁵⁵⁰ *CIL* 6 1715=*ILS* 1274=*LSA*-1418. *PLRE* 2, 433 Cronius Eusebius 27.

¹⁵⁵¹ *CIL* 8 10609=*LSA*-1823 (Furnos (Proconsularis)). Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 113, n. 4. *PLRE* 1, 271-72 Antonius Dracontius 3.

¹⁵⁵² *IL Afr.* 314=*AE* 1912, 178=*LSA*-1767 (Pupput (Byzacena)). *PLRE* 1, 573 Flavius Macrobius Maximianus 6.

¹⁵⁵³ Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 303, n. 6.

¹⁵⁵⁴ *CIL* 8 7014=*ILS* 758=*LSA*-2320 (Constantine (Numidia)).

Statues of Emperors Valentinian I¹⁵⁵⁵ and Valens¹⁵⁵⁶ were set up as a pair at Sabratha in Tripolitania. A statue of, perhaps, Emperor Valentinian I was erected at Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania.¹⁵⁵⁷ Another base, bearing identical inscription and found in the same place, is slightly smaller, thus it was probably the one for the junior Augustus, Valens.¹⁵⁵⁸ Dracontius, the awardee, was certainly vicar of the African provinces in 364-7, but possibly as early as 363, at a time when Tripolitania was in turmoil because of the incursions of the Austuriani.¹⁵⁵⁹

Two posthumous dedications with the *cursus honorum* of Nicomachus Flavianus senior were set up in Rome in early fifth century, recording his vicariate of Africa of 377 (fig. 3, 5).¹⁵⁶⁰ However, a statue of Flavianus the elder as vicar in the African diocese was set up in the Severan forum at Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania in 377-78,¹⁵⁶¹ possibly on the occasion of his special court mission, attested in a series of further bases.¹⁵⁶² However, unlike the other dedications, the inscription to Flavianus does not refer to this affair.¹⁵⁶³ Flavianus was patron of Lepcis Magna; he is styled 'most outstanding patron' (*praestantissimo patrono*), an apparent mark of his honor. The name of Flavianus is not erased in the inscription; it is possible that the Lepcitani deliberately preserved their patron's name.¹⁵⁶⁴ Then, a statue of Caecilius Severus *signo* Helpidius, *agens vice praefectorum praetorio*, was set up at Lepcis Magna in Tripolitania in the late fourth to early fifth century.¹⁵⁶⁵ The inscription was recorded in the vestibule of the Severan Basilica. He is possibly to be identified with Caecilius Severus in the inscription from Constantina in Numidia.¹⁵⁶⁶ Another statue of unknown vicar, perhaps Dracontius, was dedicated at Lepcis Magna by the council and the

¹⁵⁵⁵ AE 1950, 148a=IRT 57=LSA-2562 (Sabratha (Tripolitania)).

¹⁵⁵⁶ AE 1950, 148b=IRT 58=LSA-2563 (Sabratha (Tripolitania)).

¹⁵⁵⁷ IRT 472=LSA-2155 (Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania)). Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 329-331, no. 9, figs. 7.19, 10.11, pl. XXV.

¹⁵⁵⁸ IRT 473=LSA-2156 (Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania)).

¹⁵⁵⁹ Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 22-4.

¹⁵⁶⁰ CIL 6 1782=ILS 2947=LSA-271; CIL 6 1783=LSA-1247.

¹⁵⁶¹ IRT 475=LSA-2173 (Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania)). Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 358-360, no. 27, figs. 8.6, 10.30, pl. IX. The inscription explicitly records that it was set up by the council and the people of Lepcis (ll.10-13) after Flavianus had left this office (*tunc*, l.3). Flavianus, together with the former proconsul of Africa Hesperius, was appointed by the emperor Gratian to settle the case of the provincials against *comes* Romanus; the special court gave justice to the provincials.

¹⁵⁶² One to Hesperius, LSA-2169, one to *comes rei militaris* Victorianus, LSA-2175, and, in connection with these, also the inscription to Valentinian II, LSA-2162, with possibly one to Gratian, LSA-2161.

¹⁵⁶³ On the case, see Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 22-24. Hesperius who was likewise patron, but - despite his higher office - styled only *praestans*, 'outstanding'.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 359. It is also possible that, as in other cases, the inscription was plastered over and perhaps made visible again after Flavianus' rehabilitation in the early fifth century.

¹⁵⁶⁵ IRT 519=LSA-2174 (Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania)). The chronological horizon, according to letter forms, suggests a tentative identification of the honorand with Helpidius the correspondent of Symmachus, who was concerned with extraordinary food supply from Africa for Rome when the city suffered famine in 402 during the war against Alaric. He has traditionally been seen as provincial proconsul of Africa, but vicar could pool the burden of taxation on many provinces. Moreover, the fasti of the vicars of Africa have a gap between 399 and 403, whereas those of the proconsuls of Africa are complete. For bibliography, see Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 67. PLRE 1, 835 Caecilius Severus *signo* Helpidius 20.

¹⁵⁶⁶ CIL 8 7245=ILAlg. II 592 (Constantina (Numidia)).

people in the Severan forum probably in 364-67.¹⁵⁶⁷ The statue on top of the base was in marble, as is explicitly stated by the inscription (l.8). The honorand may be identified with that Dracontius, as the abbreviation by which his rank is denoted is very particular and paralleled only by the inscriptions set up to Valentinian I and Valens by that vicar.¹⁵⁶⁸ The honorand and the Lepcimagnenses exchanged the *tessera hospitalis* that probably established a relation of patronage between the senator and the city,¹⁵⁶⁹ which was possibly recorded in the lost lower portion of the inscription.

Building inscriptions mention public works conducted under the vicariate or on his own initiative. Under the vicariate of Dracontius, a building inscription was set up at Taparura in Proconsularis.¹⁵⁷⁰ Alexander, *comes primi ordinis et vicarius Africae*, is named on the building inscription attesting to the baths' repair from the late fourth or early fifth century.¹⁵⁷¹ As vicar, Claudius Avitianus, *comes ordinis primi*, is recorded in two building inscriptions from Constantina in Numidia. One preserves his office of *agens pro praefectis*, which he held in 362-63.¹⁵⁷² The other one is from the same site and so far as it is preserved, bears an identical text.¹⁵⁷³ He took care (*curavit*) of the Basilica Constantiana (*cum porticibus et tetrapylo constituendam a solo perficiendamque*). An anonymous *agens vicariam praefecti praetorio* is recorded in the building inscription dated by the formulas probably to the fourth century.¹⁵⁷⁴

A funeral inscription of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus *signo Kamenius*, vicarius Africae in 381, was found at Pomptine marches and dated to 385 by consular dates.¹⁵⁷⁵ A poem in hexameters precedes the *cursus honorum* inscription, which gives his full career. The vicariate is his last office recorded in the inscription. A funeral inscription of Castorius, *vicarius Africae* before 385, comes from Cupra Maritima in Picenum.¹⁵⁷⁶ He died in 385 aged 35 and was commemorated by his spouse (*coniugi dulcissimo*). Late antique epitaphs employed a language that was consistent with funerary monuments of the classical period used by wives burying their husbands (*mirae pietatis, sapientia huius et innocentiae totius*). He probably became vicar shortly before 385, when he was in his early thirties.

¹⁵⁶⁷ IRT 558=LSA-2172 (Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania)). Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 356-8, no. 26, fig. 10.29, pl. VIII.

¹⁵⁶⁸ But see also PLRE 1, 1015 Anonymus 56, where this relation is not accepted. The name of the honorand was carved on a separate crown moulding and is now lost. But strong similarities exist between the lettering of the inscription and that of the dedications to Valentinian and Valens. Antonius Dracontius was vicar of the African provinces when the crisis of the Austurian incursion into the territory of Lepcis Magna was at its peak. According to Ammianus he fostered the interests of *comes Romanus* against the provincials.

¹⁵⁶⁹ CIL 6 1684, 1688, treaties between the family of the Valerii Proculi and African cities.

¹⁵⁷⁰ CIL 8 22830=AE 1902, 58 (Taparura (Proconsularis or Byzacena)).

¹⁵⁷¹ CIL 8 962+12440=ILAFr. 321 (Vina (Proconsularis)). PLRE 1, 42 Alexander 14.

¹⁵⁷² CIL 8 7037 (Constantina (Numidia)). PLRE 1, 126-27 Claudius Avitianus 2.

¹⁵⁷³ CIL 8 7038 (Constantina (Numidia)).

¹⁵⁷⁴ CIL 8 783 (Apisa Maius (Proconsularis)). PLRE 1, 1015 Anonymous 57.

¹⁵⁷⁵ ILS 1264=EDR164602 (near Antium).

¹⁵⁷⁶ CIL 9 5300=ILS 1288=ILCV 81 (Cupra Maritima (Picenum)).

As for graffiti, the seats of the amphitheater of Carthage name around fifteen Carthaginian *clarissimi* at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. One seat records *vir spectabilis*, former vicar of Africa.¹⁵⁷⁷ It has been previously wrongly suggested that the name Licinius 1, probably *vicarius Africae* in 385, could be read into the damaged inscription.¹⁵⁷⁸ However, the seat is named after a previously unknown vicar of Africa, Carus Victorinus. The *terminus ante quem* is 410.

Three provinces are placed under *vicarius Spaniarum* as depicted in his insigne in the bottom register (Occ. 21). Vicars of the Spains acted as awarders of imperial statuary. Thus, Septimius Acindynus, *vir clarissimus, agens per Hispanias* and judge of the highest appeal, set up a statue, probably of Crispus, at Tarraco probably in 324-26.¹⁵⁷⁹ Further, a statue of Emperor Gratian was dedicated by Octavius Clarus, vicar of the Spanish provinces, at Emerita Augusta in Lusitania in 367-83.¹⁵⁸⁰ Octavius Clarus, is the only one so far known *vicarius* of the Spanish provinces, who features in a public dedication in Emerita, the capital of the diocesis Hispaniarum.¹⁵⁸¹ As J. Arce points out, the formula styling the awarder *famulus* ('servant') of the emperor is highly unusual, even perhaps unique, on a public inscription. It reappears only on the diptych of Probus,¹⁵⁸² where the consul of 406, Flavius Anicius Petronius Probus, styles himself *famulus*, but in the context 'of Christ' rather than 'of the emperor'. The term has clear Christian associations, but Arce considers it here to be an exaggerated expression of humility among the ruling class,¹⁵⁸³ rather than a manifestation of religious faith. C. Witschel prefers to follow the first commentators on the inscription, who suggested that the unusual expression might have been intended to carry its religious associations, and might reflect the situation after the abandonment of the imperial pontificate by Gratian and Theodosius in 379.¹⁵⁸⁴

As honorands, a dedication to Marcus Aurelius Consius Quartus Iunior, erected at Hippo Regius in Proconsularis in 330-55, testifies to his vicariate of the Spanish provinces.¹⁵⁸⁵ Chastagnol

¹⁵⁷⁷ CIL 8 24659,1=AE 2004, 1865=AE 2014, 1454 (Carthage (Proconsularis)). Cf. PLRE 1, 1000 ...oncarius.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Weiss, *Consistorium*, 54.

¹⁵⁷⁹ CIL 2 4107=LSA-1983 (Tarraco (Tarraconensis)). Witschel has preferred to stick with the original reading and interprets the phrase as '*Hispanias V c(um) p(rovincia) T(ingitana)*', the five (provinces of) Hispania with the province of Tingitana'. The base probably came from the shrine for the imperial cult, which was situated in this general area, on the uppermost terrace of the ancient city. The formula of the dedication reappears with a striking similarity on another inscription in Tarraco (LSA-1982), set up by Badius Macrinus 2, governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, to Constantius II Caesar in 324-37. CIL assumes that both dedications were contemporaneous. It is however possible that they were set up at different times, though clearly intended to complement each other.

¹⁵⁸⁰ AE 2005, 765=LSA-2013 (Emerita (Lusitania)). The formula of the inscription with the honorand in the dative, the awarder in the nominative, and the verb *posuit* leaves no doubt that this is an honorific inscription from a statue base. No PLRE entry.

¹⁵⁸¹ Javier Arce, "Octavius Clarus *vir clarissimus, famulus Gratiani*," *Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz* 17 (2006): 259 with n. 1.

¹⁵⁸² Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no. 1.

¹⁵⁸³ Arce, "Octavius Clarus," 264-5, 'un excès d'humilité manifesté publiquement'.

¹⁵⁸⁴ AE 2005, 765 (Le Roux).

¹⁵⁸⁵ AE 1955, 150=LSA-2437 (Hippo Regius).

suggested as the *terminus post quem* for the inscription the year 330, in which the vicars were promoted to senatorial rank.¹⁵⁸⁶ Thereafter, the career of Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius, *vir clarissimus*, *vicarius Hispaniarum* between 355 and 376, is given in the dedicatory inscription dedicated *dis magnis Matri deum et Attidi* at Rome, which he set up in 376.¹⁵⁸⁷ The vicariate of the Spains was his last imperial office recorded in the inscriptions, followed only by religious offices. Further, Marius Artemius, *vicarius Hispaniarum* in 369-70, is recorded in the inscription on a bronze vase from Spain.¹⁵⁸⁸

Most of the insigne of *vicarius septem provinciarum* (Occ. 22) is occupied by a depiction of no less than seventeen personified provinces. A honorand, Flavius Sallustius, *vir clarissimus*, vicar of the city of Rome, vicar of the Spains, vicar of the five provinces received the statue in the Forum of Trajan (fig. 28).¹⁵⁸⁹ He was *vicarius quinque provinciarum* before 361, after his vicariate of the Spains. Thereafter, a togate statue of Acilius Glabrio Sibidius *signo Spedius*, *vir clarissimus*, *vicarius septem provinciarum* after 399, was set up by his son at Rome in 438.¹⁵⁹⁰ The inscription mentions his post of vicar of of the Seven Provinces as the last office held by him before the erection of the statue. Sibidius, the member of a traditional aristocratic family, is honored as ‘the first creator and founder’ of the forum, embellished by Faustus with statues of his ancestors. The *signum* was carved at the top of the base.

The insigne of *vicarius Britanniarum* (Occ. 23) is, unlike the other vicarial insignia, similarly to those of military *comites* and *duces*, in the form of a map of an island. The provinces under the jurisdiction of this vicar are not personified, but represented by five ‘forts’ that are not arranged geographically but are in agreement with their listing in the text. Like in other western vicarial insignia, the text enumerates first the provinces governed by *consulares*, then by *praesides*. Therefore, the illustrator organized his ‘map’ according to the category and rank of the provincial head in the textual register rather than geography of the provinces. No theca or blue cloth-covered table displayed in other vicarial insignia is shown. Vicar of the Britains has only a codex and a scroll in the upper left-hand corner, regarded by Berger as a Book of Mandates and an epistola. The principle of organization of these emblems and their placement in the insigne resembles those of frontier military commanders, *comites rei militaris* and *duces*, whose illustrations follow that of *vicarius Britanniarum* in the *Notitia*. It is therefore conceivable that the prerogatives of vicar of Britain were seen as different from those of other vicars. Although in the case of *vicarius Britanniarum* the *Notitia* records the same *officium* as for other vicars, it is possible, Berger

¹⁵⁸⁶ Chastagnol, “La carrière du proconsul d’Afrique,” 191-203.

¹⁵⁸⁷ *CIL* 6 510=*ILS* 4152. See also *CIL* 6 31118.

¹⁵⁸⁸ *AE* 1915, 75 (Ponte Punide). *PLRE* 1 Marius Artemius 4.

¹⁵⁸⁹ *CIL* 6 1729=*ILS* 1254=*LSA*-323.

¹⁵⁹⁰ *CIL* 6 1678=*ILS* 1281=*LSA*-1393.

concludes, that unlike the others, in the Britains vicar held military as well as civil authority.¹⁵⁹¹ However, on this level the Britains had at least three military commanders as shown in the Notitia: *comes litoris Saxonici per Britanniam* (Occ. 26), *comes Britanniae* (Occ. 27) and *dux Britanniarum* (Occ. 40).

In the East, the diocese of Asia appears to be divided into two groups of provinces, three under the proconsul and eight under *vicarius Asiae* (Or. 24), which constitute almost two parallel jurisdictions.¹⁵⁹² On the border of the territory of Sanaos in Phrygia Pacatiana, a milestone was placed by order of Flavius Menandrus, *vir clarissimus*, *vicarius Asiae* (‘διέποντος τὴν ἑπαρχὸν ἐξουσεῖαν’, ll.5-7),¹⁵⁹³ and he is possibly to be identified with Menandrus, a native of Aphrodisias in Caria, honored by his city.¹⁵⁹⁴ This vicar is attested in 385 by the *Code*.¹⁵⁹⁵ A distinct class of building inscriptions, milestones had mostly a honorific function in this period. Perhaps the same Menandrus, *vicarius Asiae*, was honored by Aphrodisias after reducing their taxes. A verse inscription of two elegiac distichs was set up at Aphrodisias in the later fourth century.¹⁵⁹⁶ The base, a column shaft, was excavated in the area east of the Hadrianic Baths. The inscription records that Menandrus was a native of Aphrodisias who had the authority to decrease taxes. Robert identified this Menandrus with vicar of Asiana of the same name who was in office in 385 and out of office by 388.¹⁵⁹⁷ Roueché acknowledges that this cannot be proven but accepts that it corresponds well with the content and lettering.¹⁵⁹⁸

A statue of Acholius, vicar of Asiana, was erected at Sardis in Lydia by the city council in the fourth or earlier fifth century.¹⁵⁹⁹ As Sardis was outside proconsular Asia, Acholius must have been *vicarius Asianae*, as ὑπαρχος (or, alternatively, ἑπαρχος), usually the title of praetorian prefects that could also be used for vicars.¹⁶⁰⁰ A verse inscription of three elegiac distichs praises his good governance (καθαροῖς δόγμασιν, l.4; εὐνομίης μάρτυρα πιστοτάτην, ll.8-9) and his construction activities (λαϊνέων δαπέδων κρηπίδα τορήσας τεῦξεν Ἐλευθερίας ἐνναέταις τέμενος, ll.9-13), which are probably referable to a fortification, rather than a sanctuary of the goddess of Freedom.

A plaque from the base for a statue of Flavius Magnus, vicar of Asiana, comes from Hierapolis in the vicarian province of Phrygia Pacatiana. A verse inscription of seven distichs laid

¹⁵⁹¹ Berger, *The Insignia*, 110.

¹⁵⁹² Feissel, “Vicaires et proconsuls,” 95.

¹⁵⁹³ *AE* 1978, 801=SEG 28, 1203. *PLRE* 1, 596 Flavius Menander 7.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Roueché, *ALA*, no. 24=LSA-191 (Aphrodisias (Caria)).

¹⁵⁹⁵ For the date of the vicariate of Menandrus, see *CTh* 9.39.2 (*CJ* 9.46.8).

¹⁵⁹⁶ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 133=LSA-191 (Aphrodisias (Caria)).

¹⁵⁹⁷ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 133-35.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Roueché, *ALA*, no. 24. See, for example, LSA-223 and LSA-234, both from the third quarter of the fourth century.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 35-47=LSA-654 (Sardis (Lydia)).

¹⁶⁰⁰ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 35-47; Feissel, “Vicaires et proconsuls,” 92.

out in 14 lines (one line per verse), with an introductory formula, praises his building activities.¹⁶⁰¹ The inscription was excavated in the theater of Hierapolis, in the central area of the *frons scenae*, where it was probably originally set up. Ritti convincingly identified *ἐπαρχος* Magnus, a high ranking office-holder, and a restorer of the Hierapolis theater, with the addressee of a law of 354 (*CTh* 6.5.8), and suggested that he held both offices, the vicariate of Asiana and the proconsulship of Asia at the same time.¹⁶⁰² The inscription was set up by the city of Hierapolis (l. 10) in gratitude for building activities and further benefactions by Magnus: he decorated the theater with the *opus sectile* ('with heavenly pictures', l.5), repaired or erected buildings connected to the water-supply, and, possibly financed games. Last but not least, he is praised for his justice (*ἰθυδίην*, 'right-judging', *θεμισσόον ἄγγον ἐπαρχον*, l.12; *κουροτρόφοιο Δίκης ἔρνος ἀριστονόου*, l.13).

A statue of Flavius Anysius, *vir clarissimus*, who was *comes* and *vicarius* of Asiana, perhaps under Constantine, was dedicated at Laodicea ad Lycum in Phrygia Pacatiana in the early fourth century.¹⁶⁰³ The formula used here to designate his office, *διοικήσαντα τὴν ἐπαρχὸν ἐξουσίαν* (ll.4-6) can either denote a vicar, or, before the office of vicar was institutionalized, an official exercising the authority of praetorian prefect. The dedicators were the council and people of Laodicea, described as a 'metropolis', a status the city had achieved by the early fourth century.

For the constructional benefactions, Scylacius, vicar of Asiana in 343, was honored in Laodicea, the metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana.¹⁶⁰⁴ In the epigram of Laodicea, Sylacius carries the same title of *ἐπαρχος* as Magnus in the epigram of Hierapolis. Himerius (*Or.* 25) speaks of his rule over Ionia and of the suppression of brigands in Pisidia. While he was *vicarius*, he built the nymphaeum at Laodicea ad Lycum. He is called a descendant of Aeacus both in the inscription from Laodicea and by Himerius (*Or.* 25, ll.47-55); he was therefore a native of Aegina. In Side, Pamphylia, Attius Philippus, *vir clarissimus*, *comes primi ordinis*, *vicarius Asiae*, was the initiator of indeterminate constructions.¹⁶⁰⁵ C. Foss shows that this building inscription is unrelated to the rampart of the end of antiquity, where stone is only a reuse.¹⁶⁰⁶ In Sardis, in Lydia, part of the

¹⁶⁰¹ *SEG* 36 1198=47 1735=*LSA*-659 (Hierapolis (Phrygia)). Feissel, "Vicaires et proconsuls," 95-96; Tullia Ritti, "Un epigramma del tardo impero da Hierapolis," *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa* 16 (1986): 691-716; Christopher Jones, "Epigrams from Aphrodisias and Hierapolis," *Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* 125 (1997), 211-12 suggested that Magnus should be identified with proconsul of Asia of 354/59 (*PLRE* I, 535 Fl. Magnus 9). While the *tabula ansata* is the original decoration of the plaque, the inscription was added to it later, probably together with the painted frame.

¹⁶⁰² Ritti, "Un epigramma del tardo impero," 713-14. However, Magnus is a common name, so a link between the inscription and the law of 354 and with two proconsular inscriptions bearing this name from Ephesus and Thralles must remain tentative, although there is a clear possibility that it was the same person.

¹⁶⁰³ *MAMA* VI 13=*LSA*-386 (Laodicea (Phrygia)). *PLRE* I, 80 Flavius Anysius 3 should be preferred over *PLRE* II 876 (*addenda*).

¹⁶⁰⁴ *AE* 1973, 528 (Laodicea ad Lycum (Phrygia)): *PLRE* I, 811 Scylacius 1. John R. Martindale, "Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: *Addenda et Corrigenda* to Volume I," *Historia* 29.4 (1980): 493; Asian vicar, attested by Himerios, is known and dated by a law of 343.

¹⁶⁰⁵ *CIG* III 4361=*SEG* 27 903 (Side (Pamphylia)). Cf. *PLRE* 2 Philippus 8.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Clive Foss, "Attius Philippus and the Walls of Side," *ZPE* 26 (1977): 172-80 maintains that this inscription does not refer to the building of Side's inner wall, into which it was built, but is a reused piece relating to another building; as

thermal baths (ἀλειπτήρια) was restored by Severus Simplicius, *vir clarissimus, comes primi ordinis, διέποντος τὴν ἑπαρχὸν ἐξουσίαν*, datable c. 400.¹⁶⁰⁷ *Clarissimus* count of the first rank, administering the office of prefect, he was identified as vicar of Asia as three late fourth-century officials carried the same title.¹⁶⁰⁸ Thus, in Sardis again, Flavius Archelaus, *vir clarissimus, comes primi ordinis*, made the mosaic of a *porticus* (ἔμβολος) dated to the second part of the fourth century.¹⁶⁰⁹ The inscription in the center within a rectangular panel with double frame is part of the mosaic with geometrical motifs in a colonnaded ambulatory south of the Roman bath-gymnasium complex. A similar formula ‘διέποντος τὴν ἑπαρχὸν ἐξουσίαν’ (Il.5-7) is on record in the building inscription of Severus Simplicius from Sardis. Flavius Archelaus is possibly identical with the homonymous *vir clarissimus* and *comes* on record in an inscription from Radeime in Syria dated to 349, as suggested by D. Hoffmann.¹⁶¹⁰

Votive and dedicatory inscriptions were set up by senatorial aristocrats in public places. Yet there are cases of aristocratic inscriptions which were poorly executed and carved on stones or altars of inferior quality.¹⁶¹¹ This is the case of a badly executed altar dedicated at Rome in 390 by Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, styled *vir clarissimus et illustris*, former *vicarius Asiae*.¹⁶¹²

The domain of Asian vicar did not encroach on proconsular Asia, if one considers the epigraphy of the diocese as a whole. Even though there is no record of proconsul outside his province, the inscriptions relating to vicars are widespread in various provinces of the diocese (especially Lydia and Phrygia) with the exception of proconsular Asia. These inscriptions, in prose or in verse, are in Greek without exception. Some of them concern statues dedicated to vicars (epigram for Acholius; dedication in prose for Anysius); the others commemorate public works carried out under their authority, in some of the cities under their jurisdiction. Chronologically, almost all epigraphy of the vicariate belongs to the second half of the fourth century.¹⁶¹³ The technical terminology, now well established, which refers to the function of vicar: the title ἑπαρχος/ὑπαρχος is used in the epigrams, while ‘ἑπαρχος ἐξουσία’ in the texts in prose.

Four honorific epigrams for Asian vicars have been found in Aphrodisias, the metropolis of Caria (Menandrus), in Sardis, the metropolis of Lydia (Acholius), in Laodicea, the metropolis of

a result there is no need to date the inner wall, and thus the drastic reduction of the city, to the same period as the text. On archaeological grounds, he tends to date the wall to the seventh century; consequently, there is no reason to find a period of urban crisis in the mid-fourth century (the traditional date of the inscription); in fact the text may be from the late fourth or fifth century.

¹⁶⁰⁷ *AE* 1968, 491=SEG 36 1097 (Sardis (Lydia)). Cf. *PLRE* 2, 1016 Severus Simplicius 13.

¹⁶⁰⁸ See *SEG* 27 903 and *SEG* 44 973.

¹⁶⁰⁹ *AE* 1993, 1504=SEG 41 1031=SEG 44 973 (Sardis (Lydia)). No *PLRE* entry.

¹⁶¹⁰ *AE* 1933, 171=SEG 7, 1062. Dietmar Hoffmann cited in *SEG* 41, 1031. According to the Syrian inscription, Archelaus was *comes* and *praeses* of Arabia, in 349/50, who was praised for rebuilding a fort. Further speculation is permitted, among six individuals named Archelaus identified in *PLRE* 1, 100-101, and five in *PLRE* 2, 132-34.

¹⁶¹¹ Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, 61.

¹⁶¹² *CIL* 6 512.

¹⁶¹³ Feissel, “Vicaires et proconsuls,” 95.

Phrygia Pacatiana (Scylacius), and in Hierapolis, city of the same province (Magnus), respectively. Menandrus, who erected the milestone on the border of the territory of Sanaos (Phrygia Pacatiana) is perhaps identical with Menandrus of Aphrodisias honored by the curia of his city for cutting taxes, according to the epigram. Acholius, only known from this epigram, is probably also dated not after the fourth century. One honorific inscription in prose is attested in Laodicea in Phrygia (Flavius Anysius). Next to the honorific inscriptions, and at the same time, the official titulature of the vicar is attested in a corresponding form, through a series of four building inscriptions: one in Laodicea, in Phrygia Pacatiana (Scylacius), one in Side in Pamphylia (Attius Philippus), and two in Sardis in Lydia (Severus Simplicius, Flavius Archelaus). The official title of *clarissimus comes primi ordinis* is associated in four cases with the *vicaria praefectura* (Philippus, Simplicius, Archelaus, and Anysius).

The *Notitia* preserves illustrations of insignia of *vicarius dioceseos Ponticae* (Or. 25) and *vicarius dioceseos Thraciarum* (Or. 26), but not of *vicarius Macedoniae* (Or. 27). The insigne of vicar of the diocese of Pontus depicts eleven personified provinces, while that of vicar of the diocese of the Thracians has six. The expression *ἐπαρχος/ὑπαρχος* is not specific to the Asian diocese since one finds, in a prose text, Gregory of Nazianzus designates vicar of the Pontic diocese as *ὁ τῆς Ποντικῆς μοίρας ὑπαρχος*. L. Robert pointed out that Himerius, in 362, used the title of *ὑπαρχος* for vicar of Macedonia. In fact, Greek can apply the title of *ἐπαρχος/ὑπαρχος* to vicar as well as to praetorian prefect, insofar as both, each on his administrative level, hold a share of the prefectural power. Similarly, the Latin expression of the *vicaria praefectura* refers to the vicariate in legislation and other sources.¹⁶¹⁴

Overall, the participation in the imperial government enabled senators holding offices in the provincial administration to accumulate more honor, connections, and wealth than ever before. The steepening of the office-holding pyramid increased the number of competitors for medium-ranking posts such as those of proconsuls and vicars, conferring the rank of *spectabilis*. The splendor of high provincial governorships, whose holders are celebrated in the inscriptions, allowed accruing more honor and distinction from less successful competitors for imperial posts. Yet, while the candidates for the proconsulships in Rome, and especially for the most prestigious Carthaginian proconsulship, were allotted in the senate, the use of the lot to assign administrative offices is not attested in Constantinople.¹⁶¹⁵ However, while by 361 proconsuls had been upgraded in the hierarchy and exempted from the praetorship, *vicarii* were still obliged to serve retrospectively (*CTh* 6.4.13.4; *Lib. Ep.* 252). The establishment of the proconsulship of Constantinople appears to have had an aim of consolidating institutional structures of the city under a dedicated official. By

¹⁶¹⁴ Ibid., 95.

¹⁶¹⁵ Delmaire 2013, 139.

324, the governorship of Achaëa saw the re-elevation to proconsular rank. Similar to the proconsulship of Asia, the post of *vicarius* or *comes Orientis* was not a new post but the successor of a senatorial office preceeding it, like *praefectus Augustalis* who superseded prefect of Egypt.

III. *Clarissimi*

1. Provincial governors: *consularis*, *corrector*, *praeses*

Governor remained the most important representative of late Roman imperial government in the province. Several office titles were in use: in Latin, *consularis*, *corrector*, *praeses* (and *comes*), and, in Greek, *ὁ ἀντιστράτηγος*, *ὁ ὑπατικός*, *ὁ πρεσβετής*, and *ὁ ἡγεμών*. With the division into approximately one hundred provinces in the early fourth century, provincial governors were the most numerous officials in the imperial administration. Based on the numbers in the *Notitia*, there were 113 governors, excluding proconsuls, by the early fifth century. The length of the term of office for governors was not fixed, but on average it was probably under two years.¹⁶¹⁶ *Consulares*, *correctores*, and *praesides*, all were *clarissimi* by the end of the fourth century. However, of all civil *clarissimi*, only two *consulares*, one *corrector*, and two *praesides* have their insignia depicted in the *Notitia*.

New provincial capitals were governors' seats and participants of the ceremonies staging provincial obedience to central authority. The ceremony of the governor's arrival (*adventus*) – an illuminating moment of the direct encounter between governor and provincial subjects – exposed a set of ritual acts that, complementing one another, formed an elaborate entry performance. Similarly to an imperial *adventus*, governor upon arrival was officially received beyond the gates (borders) of the city, greeted and accompanied the procession inside the city walls. The welcome ceremony and speech for governor mirror those for the emperor. The reciprocal exchanges of the *occursus* were ceremonial in form but political in substance. The ritual, and the ideology it communicated, was not merely a series of honors for Roman officials, but also a reproduction of existing imperial hierarchy.

I start with *consularis*. *Consularis* was a high-ranking provincial governor. In the register of the civil dignitaries in the West twenty-two *consulares* are listed: one of Pannonia, eight in Italy (Venetia and Histria, Emilia, Liguria, Flaminia and Picenum annonarium, Tuscia and Umbria, Picenum suburbicarium, Campania, Sicilia), two in Africa (Byzacena, Numidia), three in the Spains (Beatica, Lusitania, Gallaecia), six in the Gauls (Viennensis, Lugdunensis prima, Germania prima, Germania secunda, Belgica prima, and Belgica secunda), and two in the Britains (Maxima Caesariensis, Valentia). In the East there were fifteen *consulares*: five in the diocese of the East (Palestine, Phoenice, Syria, Cilicia, and Cyprus), three in the diocese of Asia (Pamphylia, Hellespontus, and Lydia), two in the diocese of Pontus (Galatia, Bithynia), another two in the

¹⁶¹⁶ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 380-81.

diocese of Thrace (Europe, Thrace), and three in the diocese of Ilyricum (Crete, Macedonia, and Mediterranean Dacia). The governor of Egypt, however, did not possess the consular dignity. *Consulares* were *clarissimi*. In the imperial constitutions they are referred to by ‘personal quality’ terms such as *sinceritas* (365).

According to the law of 381 (*CTh* 6.22.5), officials of consular rank were to receive ‘insignia’. The *Notitia* displays the insignia of two *consulares*, Campania in the West and Palestine in the East. A theca and an uninscribed codex placed on the blue cloth-covered table, emblems consonant with the judicial and administrative powers of *consularis*, feature in the upper register of the insignia. Likewise, two unadorned codices appear in the lower row of the *armarium*. Berger speculates that the word ‘insignia’ – mentioned in the law (*CTh* 6.25.5: 386) in relation to diplomas of appointment granted in order to establish consular rank – perhaps refers to the standards that both *consulares* hold, but she acknowledges that the document was perhaps bound inside the codex as has been suggested by Loerke.¹⁶¹⁷ The latter proposed to regard as ‘insignia’ the codices of the *Notitia* that he elsewhere regards as *libri mandatorum*, however.¹⁶¹⁸ Yet, Grigg observes, the terminology of *CTh* 6.22.5 and other laws regarding appointive documents hardly entitle one to restrict the term ‘insigne’ to a codex.¹⁶¹⁹

The female personification in the insigne of *consularis Campaniae* holds a standard just as the figure in the Palestinian insigne. The personified province of Campania wears a mural crown and supports a shield in her left hand, sitting on a blue cushion on the throne. Berger suggests that the illustrator was confronted with the task of adapting the *consularis Palaestinae* insigne for the western *Notitia* and executed a somewhat different image from that in the corresponding eastern insigne, even though one that was well-known and widespread in the late antique world.¹⁶²⁰ In fact, in the latter a seated figure bearing a standard and wearing a three- or four-layered flaring crown is masculine and bearded.

It is the only seated figure in the *Notitia* set up in the architectural setting of the city gateway. The populace welcomed the emperors and governors upon arrival (*adventus*) at the gates (borders) and witnessed their entry inside the city walls. It was beyond the city gate that the procession of the citizens was going out to meet the ruler (*occursus*). The throne of governor by analogy with that of the emperor also came to represent the central imperial authority. Thus, Berger suggests that this insigne represents *consularis* of the province of Palestine, sitting in judgement or pronouncing decisions at the city gate of Jerusalem.¹⁶²¹ However, some doubt remains. Jerusalem was not the seat of provincial governor, and the arcuated portal of the city wall does not prevent an

¹⁶¹⁷ Berger, *The Insignia*, 127; Loerke, “The Miniatures,” 177 n.23.

¹⁶¹⁸ Loerke, “The Miniatures,” 178.

¹⁶¹⁹ Grigg, “Portrait-bearing Codicils,” 118-19.

¹⁶²⁰ Berger, *The Insignia*, 128-30.

¹⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 125.

identification of the personification of the province governed by *consularis*. Moreover, his vestments are the same as those of Campania. In front of the figure and below the *theca* and blue cloth-covered table a disproportionately large cornucopia is placed. Berger suggests a reference to either ‘the rich goods supposed to emanate from the just rule of the *consularis*’, or ‘an allusion to the imperial bounty accruing to Palestine in the form of the rations allotted to the province’, or maybe even to the governor’s allotted *annona*.¹⁶²² An item unique to this insigne, the fruit-bearing cornucopia is perhaps just a metonymy for the abundant produce of the province.

Both governor and his staff fulfilled most of the daily business in their residential and administrative headquarters, a *praetorium*, which could contain audience halls, law courts, a secretarium, prisons, tax offices, archives and horrea, as well as function as a social center for the *honorati* of a province.¹⁶²³ With the *praetorium* of Caesarea Iudaeae at least one late antique governor’s palace is known with inscriptions preserved *in situ*, but the identification of its rooms is uncertain.¹⁶²⁴ Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus 2, consularis of Creta, set up a series of statues¹⁶²⁵ at the entrance of the new *praetorium*, which he claimed to have built ‘from its foundations up’.¹⁶²⁶ Archaeological evidence suggests that Asclepiodotus’ work was in fact a major repair, perhaps after damage in the earthquake of 365.¹⁶²⁷ The imperial statues adorned a new monumental entrance to the *praetorium*, while the dedications to leading members of the Roman senatorial aristocracy did not form part of the architectural setting of the *praetorium*.

One example of *consularis* as attested in dedicatory, honorific, and building inscriptions will suffice. Several attestations of Virius Audentius Aemilianus, *consularis Campaniae*, involve the setting up of statues in Campania in 365-79. Thus, during his governorship, he erected two statues of unstated subjects in Capua: ‘Virius Audentius Aemilianus, of clarissimus rank, governor of Campania, took care that it was carried out’.¹⁶²⁸ Both inscriptions appear to concern a transfer of statues within the city. The subjects of these bases are not stated in the inscriptions, which suggests that these were older statues restored and/or moved to a new location. Aemilianus was responsible for other dedications in the area during his governorship and is documented to have moved statues to a different location in Puteoli. The dating of his term is uncertain, but the *terminus post quem* is

¹⁶²² Berger, *The Insignia*, 127-28.

¹⁶²³ Luke Lavan, “The *Praetoria* of Civil Governors in Late Antiquity,” in *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism*, ed. Luke Lavan (Portsmouth: JRA Supplementary Series 42, 2001), 39-56.

¹⁶²⁴ Clayton Miles Lehmann and Kenneth G. Holum, *The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2000), 96-102.

¹⁶²⁵ A set of ten statue bases for leading members of the senatorial aristocracy of the city of Rome have been found, *LSA-773*; *LSA-775*, *LSA-776*, *LSA-777*, *LSA-778*, *LSA-779*, *LSA-780*, *LSA-781*, *LSA-782*, *LSA-783*, on seven of which Asclepiodotus’ name as awarder is preserved, *LSA-775*, *LSA-776*, *LSA-777*, *LSA-778*, *LSA-779*, *LSA-780*, *LSA-781*.

¹⁶²⁶ *LSA-472* and *LSA-770*. The dedicatory inscription to governor himself (*LSA-774*) points to the judicial function of this complex, stating that it was set up ‘by Dike’ (*παρὰ τὴν Δίκην*) and alluding to the place where justice was administered, hence the *praetorium*.

¹⁶²⁷ De Tommaso, “Il settore B,” 342-46, with figs. 51, 52.

¹⁶²⁸ *CIL* 10 3866=*LSA-1959* (Capua); *LSA-1958* (Capua).

365. As G. Camodeca points out, a later date closer to his term as proconsul of Africa, which took place sometime between 379 and 383, is more likely.¹⁶²⁹

For the most comprehensible insight into the representation of governors it is best to discuss honorific inscriptions in the context of the entire monument. The honorific monument consists of a base, a reused altar, found together with a statue: the statue (with a head) and the plinth were carved out of one single block of marble.¹⁶³⁰ The monument was found in the area of probably the Forum of Puteoli.¹⁶³¹ The inscription records a dedication to Virius Audentius Aemilianus, who was *consularis* of Campania and patron of Puteoli. Lenaghan wrongly calls him ‘proconsul of Campania’,¹⁶³² for he consistently appears as *consularis* in all the Campanian inscriptions. The monument was dedicated by the whole *populus* of Puteoli (*populus cunctus*), to a patron and admirable judge (*patrono praestantissimo, iudici admirando*). The inscription and maybe also the decree of the assembly follows a rhetorical trope that such a honor would not be enough to reward Aemilianus’ services (*insufficiens eius beneficiis praestitis*).

A togate statue of Virius Audentius Aemilianus, *consularis* of Campania, comes from Puteoli and dates to 365-79.¹⁶³³ The life-size marble statue was worked in one piece from the head to the plinth. The portrait head found next to the statue has been re-cut as the hair of the original still remains visible. His straight hair engraved in the fourth century is brushed forward. The original portrait with no specific signs of age had a moustache and a full beard. The large eyes have heavy eyelids. The statue body found with its base was perhaps also adjusted. On the lower edge of the toga at the right heel two letters (*V F*) are inscribed, which probably belong to the sculptor who re-worked the statue. The statue represents a man vested in an old-fashioned toga, tunic, and leather shoes with straps. One of the most closely dated portrait statues of the fourth century, it is an example both of the fashion of the 360s-70s and of the constraints of re-use. Aemilianus wears the traditional toga available for re-cut, replaced by the new type toga in the Theodosian period, and his physiognomy is dependent on the extant portrait. Both, however, must have been entirely acceptable and satisfactory to the fourth-century senator and thus demonstrate a continuity with the past. He held a cylindrical object, probably a scroll, in the left hand. As an attribute, against the right leg rests a box held together by a strap.

Another inscription from Puteoli records the movement of statues by Aemilianus during his term in office to adorn the *thermae Severianae*. Set up originally in the Severan baths, the base was found reused in a church in Villa di Briano of the comune di Caserta. The inscription testifies to the

¹⁶²⁹ Camodeca, “Ricerche su Puteoli,” 105 n.148.

¹⁶³⁰ *AE* 1968, 15=*LSA*-41 (Puteoli).

¹⁶³¹ Camodeca, “Ricerche su Puteoli,” 63.

¹⁶³² *LSA*-46.

¹⁶³³ *LSA*-46 (J. Lenaghan). Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 504-13 cat. no. W 4; Camodeca, “Ricerche su Puteoli,” 59-128, 90, 106-107.

transfer of the monuments, whose subjects are unstated: ‘the statues moved from out of the way places for the renown of the Severan baths, Audentius Aemilianus, of *clarissimus* rank, governor of Campania, instructed to set up and dedicated, under the supervision of Tannonius Chrysantius, of *perfectissimus* rank.’¹⁶³⁴ Yet another building inscription from Capua, found in reuse, records the construction activity in the city supervised (*curavit*) by Aemilianus.¹⁶³⁵ The inscription, which mentions his governorship and records works carried out in Capua, refers to two Augusti reigning together. It allows to date Aemilianus’ office to either 364-67 (when Valentinian I and Valens were Augusti), a few weeks at the end of 375 (Gratian and Valens, before Valentinian II was acknowledged as emperor in Italy), or 378-9 (Gratian and Valentinian II).

I proceed with the office of *corrector*. With regard to competence and authority, *correctores* did not differ from the other governors: their main responsibilities comprised the collection of taxes and the administration of justice. *Correctores* were governors of the provinces in Italy, although originally they had been special appointees of the emperor for extraordinary assignments. As listed in the *Notitia*, in the West there were three correctors: two in *Italia suburbicaria* (Apulia and Calabria, and Lucania and Brittii) and one in Pannonia (Savia). Two correctors are recorded for the East: one of Augustamnica, and another of Paphlagonia. Already for the early fourth century one witnesses the alternation between *perfectissimi* and *clarissimi correctores* in the diocese italiciana.¹⁶³⁶ This flexibility of the rank of correctors was apparently less important than the hierarchical distinction among *consulares*, *correctores*, and *praesides*. The last datable *perfectissimus corrector* (*Apuliae et Calabriae*) is Flavius Sexio in 379/94 (Symm. *Ep.* 2.43 from 384/85).¹⁶³⁷ Correctors were *clarissimi* by the fifth century. ‘Personal quality’ terms such as ‘*dicatio tua*’ (313) were applied to *corrector* in the legal pronouncements. No fourth-century full standing statue of *corrector* is extant.

Western *corrector Apuliae et Calabriae* in *Italia suburbicaria* is the only *corrector* whose insigne is represented in the *Notitia*. It contains the cloth-covered table and the codicil, which Berger mistakes for the *Book of Mandates*. In the lower part there is a depiction of a single large-scale walled city (labeled *provincia Apulia et Calabria*), similarly to the insignia of other officials, including *praesides*. The *theca* correspondingly adorned with two imperial images accompanies it in the upper left part of the insigne. The codicil contains the aforementioned corrupted abbreviation, which may be expanded to read: ‘Mayst thou prosper’ (*floreas*), as suggested by Delbrück, and ‘be

¹⁶³⁴ *CIL* 10 3714=*ILS* 5478=*AE* 2003, 338=*LSA*-1921 (Puteoli). Camodeca, “Ricerche su Puteoli,” 90, 105.

¹⁶³⁵ *CIL* 10 3842 (Capua).

¹⁶³⁶ Giovanni Alberto Cecconi, *Governo imperiale e élites dirigenti nell'Italia tardoantica: problem di storia politico-amministrativa (270-476 d.C.)* (Como: Edizioni New Press, 1994), 28 and 34 with table 4.

¹⁶³⁷ *CIL* 9 333=*ILS* 780.

strong, *corrector* by the command of the emperors' (*vale*¹⁶³⁸ *corrector jussu dominorum*). This abbreviation is also placed on the codicil positioned in the armarium, which is differentiated from the other codices by color.¹⁶³⁹

Lastly, I turn to *praesides*. By the end of the fourth century, all governors came from the senatorial order. The use of the word ἡγεμών for governor denotes *praeses*. *Praesides* are addressed in the imperial laws by 'personal quality' terms such as *sinceritas* (319) and *gravitas* (from 319). Only two provincial governors (*praesides*) listed in the *Notitia* have their insignia depicted: *praeses Dalmatiae* in the West and *praeses Thebaidos* in the East. Similarly to *corrector Apuliae et Calabriae*, the insignia of both *praesides* contain a single large-scale city as well as the codicil on the cloth-covered table. Analogously, in the West, *praeses Dalmatiae* has the theca adorned with imperial images. The *codicilli* display a now corrupted set of abbreviations *FL VAL PR JUSSU AU* or *JUSSU DD* reconstructed as *floreas vale praeses iussu Augusti* or *iussu dominorum* ('Mayst thou prosper, be strong, *praeses* by the command of the lord(s)'). Lords, the emperors, are equally represented on the *theca* of western provincial governor, which does not appear in the insigne of *praeses Thebaidos*. The ideogram of the city in the insigne of *praeses Dalmatiae* resembles that of western military *comites* and *duces* used on the pseudo-maps in the *Notitia* whenever the text indicated one unit or tract of land. The insigne of *praeses Thebaidos* is included to represent the provincial governors in the East. In the lower register it displays an enlarged and elaborated version of the city-formula with pointed towers, crenellations, a front portal, and diverse architectural structures within, which was used to indicate the seat of provincial governor (Thebais).¹⁶⁴⁰ These typical insignia of lower-ranking provincial governors close the lists of dignitaries and their illustrated emblems in the *Notitia*.

The edict of *praeses Insularum* on the *capitatio humana* in application of the imperial law (*CTh* 13.10.7) dated to 371 is preserved inscribed at Cos.¹⁶⁴¹ The law was addressed by prefect of the East Modestus to governor of the Islands, who depended on this prefecture. Another governor's edict was published in stone in Timgad in Numidia in 362-63. The law of governor of Numidia regarding the *ordo salutationis* in the cities of the province was accompanied by a tariff of *sportulae*.¹⁶⁴² A '*salutatio*' (εἰσδοος) was one of the most important ceremonial ways of meeting governor, attending official audience at a governor's *praetorium*. The *salutatio* was held before the opening of a court session, and visitors' names would be called out by a herald. The strong hierarchical structure of Late Roman society was also represented at the *salutatio*, where there was a

¹⁶³⁸ Berger, *The Insignia*, 260 n.292 rightly prefers *vale*, the salutation, over *vices agens legati* as another possible reading for *VAL*, which would be out of place here.

¹⁶³⁹ Berger, *The Insignia*, 132-33.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., 130-31.

¹⁶⁴¹ *IG* XII,4 1:273 (Cos). Feissel, "Une inscription de Kos," 297-314.

¹⁶⁴² *CIL* 8 17896.

strict *ordo salutationis* in which one appeared at an audience and was received by a governor. Based on an inscribed list from Timgad, the following order of appearance emerges: first, senators; second, the heads (*principes*) of the governors' *officium* and members of the central departments of administration; third, former priests of the provinces and the highest ranking members of the city council; and fourth, most of the councilors, including civic magistrates and ordinary members of the governors' *officium*.

Two full standing statues ascribable to praesides are extant. A statue of Oecumenius *praeses* of Caria was set up at Aphrodisias in the late fourth or early fifth century.¹⁶⁴³ Another statue of, probably, *praeses* of Phrygia, Alexandrus, was erected at Aphrodisias in the mid- or late fourth century.¹⁶⁴⁴ The monument lay to the west of the statue of governor Oecumenius. The body of Oecumenius' statue was excavated in front of its base in the north aisle of the north stoa of the North Agora, west of the Bouleuterion, while the head was excavated separately also to the west of the same complex. The main parts of Alexandrus' statue were found in the north stoa of the North Agora immediately to the west of a large niche or exedra in its back wall to the west of the Bouleuterion.

Both life-size statues were recomposed of fragments: a head and a statue body on plinth in case of Oecumenius, and four main fragments with a head, added separately, missing in case of Alexandrus. The statue body of the former, lacks the end of the scroll once held in the right hand, while that of the latter misses an end of the scroll in his left hand. On the fourth finger of the right hand of Oecumenius there is a simple ring. The projecting part of the scroll held in the left hand of Alexandrus was however repaired being worked separately and attached by dowels. Oecumenius wears a long cloak, a chlamys that reaches almost to the plinth and which was fastened at the right shoulder by a no longer preserved fibula. The separately worked fibula, for which a small dowel hole is preserved, was placed at the right shoulder. The chlamys is worn over a sleeved tunic which is belted at the waist. The belt itself cannot be seen but the blousing of material over it is visible on the right side, where the two edges of the chlamys come together but do not overlap. The lowered left arm is enveloped by the chlamys, whose folds are held by the left hand, while the right arm is lowered and set forward in front of the body. A himation statue was repurposed for Alexandrus. The right hand is held in the arm-sling of the himation at the center of the body. The figure wears a chiton. On the feet of Oecumenius' statue there are soft, seamless leather boots, while that of Alexander wears Greek sandals. Both figures stand with weight over the left leg. A bundle of vertical scrolls serves as a support for both statues along the outside of the left leg.

¹⁶⁴³ LSA-150 (J. Lenaghan). Smith, "The statue monument of Oecumenius," 134-56.

¹⁶⁴⁴ LSA-152 (J. Lenaghan). Smith et al., *Roman Portrait Statuary*, no. 49 ; Smith, "Late antique portraits," 155-89, 165-67, fig. 5. See *PLRE* 1, 115 Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus 2.

The statue of Oecumenius was made in one piece from the plinth to the head. The hair is only roughly rendered as combed forward. The pupils are rendered as deeply drilled U-shapes. Three concealed letters, *XMI* (*Χριστόν Μαρία γεννά*), were inscribed on the top of the head, behind the hair over the brow. The hair is combed flatly forward and rises in two tiers of deeply drilled curls around the face. The moustache is short, and the beard is full. The honorand has a distinctive, full, plump-cheeked physiognomy. The portrait is known in another life-size marble head from Salamis, the capital of Cyprus, where he may also have been governor.¹⁶⁴⁵ The position of governor of Cyprus was a more senior post (*consularis*) than that of governor of Caria (*praeses*); the Cypriote honor would then post-date the Aphrodisian one. A governor of Crete in 382-83 is also named Oecumenius. Since the governorship of Crete was a more senior position than governor of Caria, one would have to imagine either that Oecumenius was in Caria before Crete, which may be chronologically difficult given the text and style of the Aphrodisian monument, or that the Aphrodisian monument commemorates a son of the Cretan governor. It is also possible that the two Oecumenii are not related.

The statue was found fallen directly in front of its base, honoring the governor Oecumenius.¹⁶⁴⁶ The monument was flanked only a few meters to the west by a near contemporary statue monument for governor Alexandrus, which, in turn, stood immediately to the west of a large niche in the back wall of the stoa.¹⁶⁴⁷ The secure date of the Oecumenius' monument, in the late fourth or early fifth century, depends on a combination of the inscribed text and the portrait style. The script of Alexandrus' inscription suggests a date in the fourth century, and the content is comparable to fourth- to fifth-century epigrams. The Carian governor is styled as one 'who have blended the Italian Muse with the sweet-voiced honey of the Attic'. The epigrams list a few generic and lavish accolades for governors, referring to their just and incorruptible governance: a verse inscription of three elegiac distichs celebrates Oecumenius for being 'full of knowledge of laws' and 'pure in mind and in hand', while that of two elegiac distichs praises Alexandrus' justice (*Ἀλεξάνδροιο δικάϊου*) and his good rule (*τῆς ζαθέης ἀρχῆς*). Alexandrus is honored by the 'mother', or metropolis, of Phrygia, that is, probably by Laodicea at Aphrodisias as it was his hometown. The awarder of the honor to Oecumenius was the council of Aphrodisias.

2. *Praefectus annonae* and *praefectus vigilum*

I begin with prefect of the grain supply. In the *Notitia* prefect of the *annona* (Occ. IV 3) is listed first among the functionaries *sub dispositione praefecti urbi*, but has no insigne. Traditionally chosen from the equestrian order, prefect remained *praefectissimus* at the beginning of the fourth century. Chastagnol proposed to fix his clarissimate at a date between 324 and 328, more precisely,

¹⁶⁴⁵ *LSA*-869 (J. Lenaghan).

¹⁶⁴⁶ *LSA*-151.

¹⁶⁴⁷ *LSA*-153.

in 326, at the same year as that of *vicarius praefecturae Urbis* and prefect of vigils. Until 326, his social prestige was relatively weak as even *curator aquarum et Miniciae*, a functionary independent of him, who was in charge of the distributions of bread, had the rank of *clarissimus*.¹⁶⁴⁸ He remains in the old tradition of administrators of *clarissimus* rank with no financial functions. The accession of prefect to *clarissimate* precedes the general reorganization of the services of *annona*, the reform dated by Chastagnol to 331 at the latest. Prefect saw his jurisdiction increased, now including the distributions of bread and the public works in Ostia and Portus. He thereby became officially ‘mayor’ of Ostia and Portus in control of their municipal administration, but lost his independence from city prefect. It certainly took place by 369, when Maximinus was in office. Chastagnol places it at the end of the reign of Constantine, slightly before 337. This is because representatives of traditional senatorial families can be found holding this office by the 350s. The last known *perfectissimus* prefect is Aurelius Victorianus between 312 and 324, while the first attested *clarissimus* one is Naeratius Cerealis in 328 (*CTh* 14.24.1). Afterwards, Furius Placidus was *praefectus annonae* before 342 and Avianius Symmachus before 350.

The exceptional indication is the mention of the *ius gladii* possessed by prefects between 337 and 346.¹⁶⁴⁹ Three of nine prefects known from this period are recored by inscriptions with the title *praefectus annonae cum iure gladii*.¹⁶⁵⁰ Prefect of *annona* was the only official subordinated to city prefect with capital jurisdiction, even if temporary. Since 337 he had a superior rank to other subordinated. Only vicar of city prefect held a rank superior to his until 357. Under Constantius II and Julian, the prefecture somewhat lost its importance, which it retrieved partly under Valentinian I. On the one hand, the office was not held by the Roman nobles, but only by *clarissimi* of less noble birth and often of provincial origin. On the other hand, they did not possess the *ius gladii*. When Constantius reorganized the administration of Constantinople, he established city prefect in 359, but did not create prefect of *annona*, charging urban prefect with the grain supply of the city. Maximinus and Ursicinus were of provincial origin and belonged to the Pannonian clan of Valentinian; they received large independence from urban prefect. But this exceptional situation did not last long. Perhaps by 374, in any case by the end of 375, city prefect regained his preeminence and prefect of *annona* his subordinate rank. Under Gratian a return to the previous situation established by Constantine took place. No financial responsibilities were assigned to prefect of *annona*, as opposed to city prefect. Prefect of *annona* had no *ius gladii*, which he recovered for a short time with Maximinus.¹⁶⁵¹

¹⁶⁴⁸ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 298.

¹⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 299.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Furius Placidus, Madalianus, and anonymous prefect of *CIL* 14 136.

¹⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 300.

During the tetrarchy, when praetorian prefects did not live in Rome, it was common to make prefect of the *annona* a representative of prefects.¹⁶⁵² The court could appoint them acting representatives in the city. Since 328 prefect of the *annona* is attested as *clarissimus*. Chastagnol thought that prefect of the *annona* became a *vir spectabilis* only in the sixth century. However, Flavius Splendonius Aufidius is designated *vir clarissimus et spectabilis, comes primi ordinis et praefectus annonae* under the *inlustris* urban prefect in the inscription from 367.¹⁶⁵³ Attested for the first time in 360s, the use of these titles was ever increasing, until regulated by a law of 372.¹⁶⁵⁴ This is thereby a single and unofficial instance of the use of a future rank title *spectabilis* as applied to prefect of the grain supply, as all other known fourth-century *praefecti annonae* are attested as *clarissimi*. The dossier of prefects of the *annona* shows previous indications of the *comitiva* of the first rank. Prefects of the *annona* of Alexandria, however, seem to have held an equestrian rank: Flavius Soterichus, *vir perfectissimus*, was *praefectus annonae Alexandriae* in the late fourth or early fifth century. Two ‘personal quality’ terms were applied as honorifics to prefect of *annona*: *sinceritas* (365) and *gravitas* (367-403).¹⁶⁵⁵

Dedications of statues to emperors by *praefecti annonae urbis Romae* were common in early and mid-fourth-century Rome, but discontinued during the second half of the century. Thus, a statue of deified Emperor Constantine I was set up by Flavius Crepereius Madalianus, prefect of the *annona* with judicial authority, at Rome in 337-40 (fig. 34).¹⁶⁵⁶ The base was discovered on the late antique level of the Forum Boarium.¹⁶⁵⁷ The fact that the base refers to the deified Constantine suggests, furthermore, that it might be related to *the arcus divi Constantini* mentioned in the contemporary *Notitia Urbis Romae* (now identified as the four-way ‘arco di Giano’). Thereafter, a statue of Emperor Constantius II, was erected at Rome by Symmachus the elder, prefect of the *annona*, in 339-40.¹⁶⁵⁸ A plaque from another base used by prefect of the *annona* for a statue of Emperor Constantius II, re-using the dedication for his brother Constantine II after the latter’s

¹⁶⁵² Porena, *Le origini*, 142-43, 160.

¹⁶⁵³ *AE* 1975, 138.

¹⁶⁵⁴ *CTh* 6.7.1; 6.9.1; 6.11.1; 6.14.1.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Mathisen, “Imperial Honorifics,” tables I and II.

¹⁶⁵⁶ *CIL* 6 1151=*ILS* 707=*LSA*-273. This badly damaged but still legible inscription is an important document because it is a rare example of a late antique statue dedication to an emperor as *divus* carried out after the death of Constantine in 337. Constantine was then celebrated through a *iustitium* in Rome, with popular demonstrations of grief, the closing of baths and judicial courts, and the display of images of the emperor, see Eus. *VC* 4.69 with further references in Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*. Translated with Introduction and Commentary by Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 345-46. The *terminus ante quem* is the war between his sons Constantine II and Constans in 340. Remarkably, the awarder is called Flavius as in the inscription.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 6, 36. It might be contemporary with the late antique building that was later incorporated into the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin. See now Pedro Mateos et al., “*Arcus Divi Constantini*: An Architectural Analysis and Chronological Proposal for the Arch of Janus in the Forum Boarium in Rome,” *JRS* 107 (2017): 237-74.

¹⁶⁵⁸ *CIL* 6 36954=*ILS* 726=*LSA*-1370.

damnatio memoriae, comes from Ostia,¹⁶⁵⁹ where it was found re-used. Symmachus, in office from 339 to 340, would have had time to erase the defeated emperor's name, re-dedicate the statue in the name of Constantius, and dedicate another statue of the same emperor. Flavius Hesychius, *comes ordinis primi, praefectus annonae*, set up a statue of Emperor Julian at Ostia in 361-63.¹⁶⁶⁰ The inscription was found discarded in landfill in the *horrea Epagathiana*.

Under prefect of the *annonae* statues were moved from a filthy location to the forum and for baths' decoration, a practice that was common in late antiquity. A fragmentary inscription, possibly recording the dedication of a statue by Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, prefect of the *annona*, comes from Portus in 385-89.¹⁶⁶¹ The suggestion that this inscription might refer to the dedication of a statue is based on the existence of similar inscriptions.¹⁶⁶² The inscription was found in Portus, but the findspot is unrecorded. If this is a statue base, the fragmentary state of the inscription makes it impossible to identify the honorand with certainty. However, if the restoration suggested by De Rossi is correct, this is probably a re-erected statue, whose subject was not specified in the inscription. Another statue of an unstated subject was re-erected by Ragonius Vincentius Celsus at Ostia in 385-89. The inscription records an unspecified action supervised by the prefect of the *annona* and carried out with funds provided by the city.¹⁶⁶³ The base was discovered on the eastern side of the Forum, towards the Forum baths. The existence of an architrave with exactly the same inscription in the baths make it certain that this was a base, together with another one erected by the same prefect. The second inscription for a statue of an unstated subject is exactly the same that was found on the architrave and on the first base, but its original findspot is not known (fig. 50).¹⁶⁶⁴ Both inscriptions refer to building works that included the setting up of statues. Also at Ostia a statue of Roma was erected by Celsus in the late fourth century with the funds of the city of Ostia.¹⁶⁶⁵ The base with the inscription to the city of Rome was discovered by the theater, on its eastern side, next to the *decumanus maximus*.

A statue of a subject unstated was moved to the forum at Ostia by Publius Attius Clementinus, prefect of the *annona*, in 390-400.¹⁶⁶⁶ The base was discovered in the forum of Ostia, next to the *decumanus maximus*. The honorand is not identified. The inscription informs that the

¹⁶⁵⁹ *AE* 1988, 217=*LSA*-2574 (Ostia). It has been suggested that the base was originally dedicated to Constantine II between the end of 339 and the beginning of 340, when he was defeated by Constantius II and suffered the *damnatio*.

¹⁶⁶⁰ *CIL* 14 4408=*LSA*-1657 (Ostia).

¹⁶⁶¹ *CIL* 14 138=*LSA*-1650 (Portus).

¹⁶⁶² *LSA*-1240.

¹⁶⁶³ *CIL* 14 4717=*LSA*-2582 (Ostia). The subject of this statue is not stated, but the inscription says that the works were supervised by prefect of the *annona* Ragonius Vincentius Celsus with funds provided by the city. The phrasing of the inscription could also refer to building works, however, the presence of clamp holes on the top of the base make it clear that this was a statue, set up at the time of re-inauguration of the restored baths.

¹⁶⁶⁴ *CIL* 14 139=*LSA*-1651 (Ostia). The discovery of two identical inscriptions in the area of the Forum baths shows that this base must have come from that same monument.

¹⁶⁶⁵ *CIL* 14 4716=*ILS* 9355=*LSA*-1662 (Ostia).

¹⁶⁶⁶ *CIL* 14 4721=*LSA*-329 (Ostia). *PLRE* 1, 215 Publius Attius Clementinus 3.

statue was moved from a squalid place for the embellishment of the forum, for which there are other examples in Ostia.¹⁶⁶⁷ The dating is based on the style of the letters and on the fact that other statues were moved and re-dedicated in Ostia at about this time. The last securely datable statue-base at Ostia is from 385-89 (fig. 50),¹⁶⁶⁸ when Ragonius Vincentius Celsus was prefect of the *annona*. Since the *fasti* for the prefecture are relatively well known earlier than this, it is likely that Clementinus was in office after 390.

Prefects of the grain supply exercised patronage over *corporati* and received honorific statues. A dedication to Madalianus was set up at Calama in Proconsularis in 341-50 mentions him being prefect of the *annona* of the city with the power of sentencing to death.¹⁶⁶⁹ An inscription to Marcus Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus erected to its patron by the Palatina region of Puteoli in 343-46 records that he served as *praefectus annonae urbis sacrae cum iure gladii* c. 340.¹⁶⁷⁰ A dedication for Lucius Aurelius Avianius Symmachus *signo* Prosporus 3 in the Forum of Trajan at Rome in 377 includes his prefecture of the *annona* of the city of Rome c. 339-40 (fig. 14).¹⁶⁷¹

As prefect of the *annona* with jurisdiction over capital sentences Lucius Crepereius Madalianus received a statue honor at Portus in 337-40.¹⁶⁷² The base was discovered during works at Portus, re-used below the pavement of the road that encircles the Trajanic basin, where it was placed in the late antique period. The statue was dedicated by the city councillors and the people of Portus. Further, the top of a base for the statue of Attius Caecilius Maximilianus, prefect of the *annona*, comes from the vicinity of the imperial fora at Rome and is dated to 357 (fig. 27).¹⁶⁷³ The base was discovered during the construction of via dei Fori Imperiali, behind the basilica of Maxentius. It has been suggested that this was the location of the domus of Maximilianus,¹⁶⁷⁴ but this is not certain. Maximilianus was prefect of the *annona* when Constantius II visited the city in 357, and the statue was clearly a reward for his good service on that occasion, when the city was filled with hungry imperial troops as well as its usual inhabitants.¹⁶⁷⁵ Thereafter, a statue for Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, prefect of the *annona* and patron, was set up at Ostia or Portus in the late fourth century.¹⁶⁷⁶ The provenance of this now lost base is unknown. It was first recorded in Rome, but ll.14-16 indicate that it comes from either Ostia or Portus, instead. The base was

¹⁶⁶⁷ Lepelley, "Le musée des statues divines," 5-15.

¹⁶⁶⁸ *LSA*-1651.

¹⁶⁶⁹ *CIL* 8 5348+17490=*ILS* 1228=*ILAI*g. I 271=*LSA*-2408 (Calama).

¹⁶⁷⁰ *CIL* 10 1700=*ILS* 1231=*LSA*-1910 (Puteoli (Campania)).

¹⁶⁷¹ *CIL* 6 1698=*ILS* 1257=*LSA*-342.

¹⁶⁷² *CIL* 14 4449=*LSA*-1660 (Portus). Madalianus was responsible for the dedication of a statue to the deified Constantine, which makes 337 the *terminus post quem* of his prefecture.

¹⁶⁷³ *CIL* 6 41332=*LSA*-1252. No *PLRE* entry.

¹⁶⁷⁴ *LTUR* 2, 186 (F. Guidobaldi).

¹⁶⁷⁵ The identity of the awarder is unknown, as the lower part of the base is lost. The dedication must date to the year of Constantius' visit to Rome, 357, or shortly thereafter.

¹⁶⁷⁶ *CIL* 6 1760=31924=14 173=*LSA*-1653 (Ostia).

dedicated by the council of an unnamed city, probably Ostia or Portus. Another statue for Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, prefect of the *annona*, was erected to their patron by the grain surveyors (*mensores*) of Portus at Rome in 389 (fig. 12).¹⁶⁷⁷

Praefectus annonae urbis Romae, who administered Ostia, was responsible for overseeing the maintenance of public buildings of the harbor town. Since mid-third century prefect of *annona* of Rome was also *curator rei publicae Ostiensium* and took over the administration of the city. *Praefecti annonae* improved the bath-facilities at Ostia and installed inscriptions in order to commemorate these activities. Thus, an anonymous *praefectus annonae cum iure gladii* is recorded in the building inscription from Ostia on the baths restorations carried out *curante* by prefect of the *annona* under Constantius and Constans and possibly Constantine II in 337-50.¹⁶⁷⁸ Further, an opisthographic marble plaque with two building inscriptions was found in reuse in the territory of Ostia-Pontus. The earlier one records that Flavius Splendonius Aufidius, *vir clarissimus et spectabilis*, count of the first rank and prefect of the *annonae* repaired the *pons Matidiae* (*vetustate labsum*) under city prefect in 367.¹⁶⁷⁹ Next, the building inscription from Portus, mentioning Sempronius Faustus' charge, testifies to a restoration of the temple of Isis under Valens, Gratian and Valentinian in 375-78.¹⁶⁸⁰ Then, Proculus Gregorius is documented in the building inscriptions from Ostia, commemorating the Sea Baths' (*thermae Maritimae*) decoration carried out *curante* by prefect of the *annona* in 377.¹⁶⁸¹ Also, (Egna?)tuleius Herculius is recorded in the building inscription (*aedificavit*) at Ostia under Maximus.¹⁶⁸² Thereafter, Numerius Proiectus, *praefectus annonae* in 393-94, restored the temple of Hercules (*cellam Herculis*) as documented on the building inscription from Ostia.¹⁶⁸³

Flavius Octavius Victor, *vir clarissimus, praefectus annonae*, initiated a rebuilding project in which parts of the baths were renewed and structural alterations were carried out sometime in the early fourth century.¹⁶⁸⁴ Five inscriptions are ascribed to his restoration program at the Forum Baths, all of which were originally set up there. First, an opisthographic marble plaque, with inscriptions by Victor on both sides, was discovered at the Horrea dell'Artemide.¹⁶⁸⁵ Considering

¹⁶⁷⁷ CIL 6 1759=ILS 1272=LSA-1464 (Insula Tiberiana). The provenance of the base is uncertain: it was first recorded as on the Tiber Island, in the fifteenth century. This area was associated with the supply of Rome, however, and remains of warehouses and other structures related to the supply of Rome have been identified on both margins of the river. It is possible, therefore, that the base was originally set up in that area.

¹⁶⁷⁸ CIL 14 135 (Ostia). PLRE 1, 1014 Anonymus 51.

¹⁶⁷⁹ AE 1975, 138.

¹⁶⁸⁰ AE 1961, 152=AE 1968, 86=AE 1971, 67 (Portus). PLRE 1, 329 Sempronius Faustus 9.

¹⁶⁸¹ CIL 14 137=ILS 5694 (Ostia). PLRE 1, 404 Proculus Gregorius 9.

¹⁶⁸² CIL 14 4410 (Ostia).

¹⁶⁸³ AE 1941, 66=AE 1948, 127 (Ostia). He is possibly identical with Proiectus, a friend of PLRE 1 Sextius Rusticus Iulianus 37 and Symmachus 4 (Ep. 3.6.4 from 380).

¹⁶⁸⁴ PLRE 1, 638 Flavius Octavius.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Katharina Bolle, "Inscriptions between Text and Texture: Inscribed Monuments in Public Spaces – A Case Study at Late Antique Ostia," in *The Materiality of Text: Placement, Perception, and Presence of Inscribed Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 354 no. 1 with fig. 2a,b.

that the slab was exhibited in the Forum Baths, images of a deity, a personification, or an aquatic creature are equally possible. Second, another opistograph, which records a building activity by Victor, refers to a statue-group of a nymph and a seahorse.¹⁶⁸⁶ One side bears a Latin *carmen epigraphicum* in elegiac couplets that refers to the dedication itself, after which Victor is identified as the benefactor of the monument. According to the inscription, the plaque accompanied a sculpture of the nymph Glauce carried over the waves by a hippocamp. Again, Victor's name and official title were inscribed on the other side. K. Bolle suggests that the metrical opistograph of Glauce may have belonged to the balustrade of a pool within the bathing complex, in company of a statue-group dated from earlier times and already on display when Victor set up his inscription.¹⁶⁸⁷ Third, a small epigraphic fragment on the marble block displays word divides in the form of small stylized *hederae*, which increase the elegant look of the monument.¹⁶⁸⁸ Fourth, a re-used entablature from the first phase of the baths in the *frigidarium* bears a Greek epigram, which speaks about the repairs at the bathing facilities and includes a reference to Victor.¹⁶⁸⁹ Last, another one, on the fragment of a re-used second-century decorated architrave from the Forum Baths, bears a Latin prose inscription by Victor.¹⁶⁹⁰ As for the building program, he commanded to replace the rectangular northern end of the *frigidarium* by a wide apse that blocked the passing *Via della Forica*. Additionally, various marble and granite columns were introduced to the southern *porticus* of the *palestra*.¹⁶⁹¹

Around half a century later, Ragonis Vincentius Celsus closed the original approaches from the *Via della Forica* and established a monumental new entrance to the baths on the western side, through the main forum or from *cardo maximus*. Under Celsus, the façade was also moved forward towards the square, and two arches spanning the *Via della Forica* were added to support the newly structured walls of the northern complex.¹⁶⁹² A different set of inscriptions was set up by Celsus on the occasion of renovation activities under his supervision within and around the bath facilities. When he renovated the baths, a building inscription and two aforementioned inscribed and nearly identically worded bases for statue dedications, bearing a remarkable visual resemblance to each other, were set up in commemoration. A part of undecorated architrave partly found in the Forum baths, partly in a late antique exedra of the *Semita Horreorum*, refers to his building works (*curavit*).¹⁶⁹³ The monumental inscription runs in one line on the central *fascia* of the blank architrave, connected by Celsus with those parts of the building that were reshaped during his

¹⁶⁸⁶ *AE* 1920, 94=*CIL* 14 4714 (Ostia). Bolle, "Inscriptions," 354 no. 2 with fig. 3.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Bolle, "Inscriptions," 358.

¹⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 3.

¹⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 5 with fig. 6a,b.

¹⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 359 no. 4, fig.5.

¹⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 353.

¹⁶⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹³ *CIL* 14 4718 (Ostia). Bolle, "Inscriptions," 363 no. 6 with fig. 7.

tenure. The city of Ostia made (*fecit*) it with its own funds. Large parts of the architrave were discovered in the Forum Baths, exactly in the room, which Celsus had reshaped during his office suggesting that the inscription was set up above one of the newly constructed entrances towards the main forum. Both the architrave and the bases were exhibited at the western façade of the bath buildings and faced the main forum directly.¹⁶⁹⁴

In addition, in the fourth century, *praefectus annonae Alexandriae* and *praefectus annonae Africae* were introduced (CTh 11.30.4) and placed in charge of the grain supply. The newly established *praefectus annonae Africae* was based in Carthage. Isidorus, *praefectus annonae Africae* in 368-75, received a letter of Emperor Valentinian I as referred in the inscription from Carthage set up perhaps around 370.¹⁶⁹⁵ In his edition of the Carthaginian inscription, Ch. Saumagne reconstructed the passage from a few fragments and understood it as part of the imperial rescript. According to Saumagne, the inscription transcribes a letter from Valentinian I.¹⁶⁹⁶ The preserved titulature of the emperors can serve in the best case as the *terminus post quem*, but it does not give the date of the inscription. However, S. Schmidt-Hofner points out that the fragments by no means make clear evidence whether the passage (*ex rescripto dddnnn Valentiniani Valentis et Gratiani*) was in the preamble of the recorded document or not. The inscription cannot therefore be surely identified as a constitution of Valentinian I. The document confirms the existence since Constantine of a border fort supply in Africa.¹⁶⁹⁷

Now I turn to prefect of vigils. Urban prefect controlled through intermediary of prefect of vigils (ND Occ. IV 4) the seven cohorts of the vigils, responsible for the night police. Prefect of vigils survived the abolition of the cohorts of vigils, which Chastagnol places between 368 and 379 as part of the reform of the Roman police system.¹⁶⁹⁸ They were replaced by the *collegiati* or *corporati*, civil firefighters of the city of Rome, listed among the city guild by Symmachus in 384-85. Prefect preserved his jurisdiction over the common law offenders, for infractions committed in Rome. For this purpose he had an *officium* in his assistance.¹⁶⁹⁹ He judged minor crimes in his tribunal. All the serious ones were however directed to city prefect, his superior.¹⁷⁰⁰ In the legal documents *praefectus vigilum* is referred to as *gravitas tua* (314).

Prefect of vigils remained head of the service charged with the functions of night police and fire prevention both at the period of seven cohorts and that of *collegiati*. When Constantinople was

¹⁶⁹⁴ Bolle, "Inscriptions," 363.

¹⁶⁹⁵ CIL 8 14280a=ILT 894. PLRE 1, 465 Isidorus 1.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Charles Saumagne, "Découverte à Carthage de fragments épigraphiques d'un règlement fiscal du règne de Valentinien Ier," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 93.1 (1949): 17; Charles Saumagne, "Un tarif fiscal au quatrième siècle de notre ère," *Karthago* 1 (1950): 109-200; but see Sebastian Schmidt-Hofner, *Reagieren und Gestalten: der Regierungsstil des spätrömischen Kaisers* (Munich: Beck, 2008), 170-71.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Schmidt-Hofner, *Reagieren und Gestalten*, 171-72.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 260.

¹⁶⁹⁹ CIL 6 37741a, dated to 331.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 263.

modeled like Rome, the city also received this institution. As an equestrian, with the rank of *perfectissimus* in the third century, prefect achieved *clarissimate* under Constantine sometime before 333. Three *clarissimi* prefects of the last years of his reign are known.¹⁷⁰¹ The first *clarissimus* prefect of vigils, Avianius Maximilianus, is attested around 330. Chastagnol thinks that this elevation was contemporary to that of prefect of the *annona*, which took place between 312 and 328, perhaps in 326.¹⁷⁰² The prefecture of *annona* is generally considered to be superior to that of vigils. It is possible that the latter was elevated to *clarissimate* in 324; or based on the interpretation of the imperial constitution the elevation to *clarissimate* took place between 324 and 328 (*CTh* 2.17.1). Chastagnol equally dated the access to *clarissimate* of *vicarius praefecturae urbis* in 326.¹⁷⁰³ However, if the promotion of prefect of *annona* had definitive character, this is not the case of prefect of vigils, who became again a *perfectissimus* functionary between 367 and 375,¹⁷⁰⁴ just when one witnesses the *clarissimus et spectabilis* prefect of the *annona*. Chastagnol suggests that his downgrade accompanied the abolition of cohorts perhaps somewhere before 375 under Valentinian. Prefect of vigils is attested *clarissimus* again by the early fifth century, because in the *Notitia*'s register he is placed second, right after prefect of the grain supply, among subordinates in the administrative positions under the city prefect, preceding count of the aqueducts, count of the banks and bed of the Tiber and of the sewers, and count of the port. Curators of the public works, who remained *clarissimi* when *praefectus vigilum* was downgraded to *perfectissimate*, are placed far below in the hierarchy.

Prefects of vigils acted as imperial statue awarders in the Constantinian time. A statue of Emperor Constantine I (*victor ac triumphator*) was erected by a prefect of vigils Postumius Isidorus at Rome in 324-37.¹⁷⁰⁵ The base was found on the Palatine, in the Horti Farnesiani. A statue of Emperor Constans was erected by *praefectus vigilum* Rupilius Pisonianus at Rome.¹⁷⁰⁶ The inscription on the base of unknown provenance records the dedication to Constans I, while still a Caesar, between 333 and 337. Maximilianus, *vir clarissimus, praefectus vigilibus*, is recorded in the dedicatory inscription in Rome perhaps c. 330.¹⁷⁰⁷ His name was either Avianius or Aurelius. He is perhaps to be identified with Maximilianus, *vir clarissimus, comes* in 326-33 and *consularis aquarum* in 330.¹⁷⁰⁸ The now lost base for a statue of Genius (tutelary god) of the First Cohort was erected by prefect of vigils. The base discovered on Piazza dei SS. Apostoli was an important

¹⁷⁰¹ *PLRE* 1, 465 Postumius Isidorus 4 between 324 and 337; 575 Av(ianius) Maximilianus 1 around 330, and 704 Rupilius Pisonianus 3 between 333 and 337.

¹⁷⁰² Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 262; Chastagnol, *Le sénat romain*, 240.

¹⁷⁰³ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 262 n. 5.

¹⁷⁰⁴ *CIL* 6 1180-1181; see *AE* 1904, 108 of the imprecise date.

¹⁷⁰⁵ *CIL* 6 1144=*ILS* 700=*LSA*-1264.

¹⁷⁰⁶ *CIL* 6 1157=40840=*LSA*-1386.

¹⁷⁰⁷ *CIL* 6 233=*LSA*-1507.

¹⁷⁰⁸ *CIL* 6 1134=*ILS* 709=*LSA*-835; *CIL* 6 36980. *PLRE* 1, 575 Iulius Maximilianus 2.

element for determining the location of the station of the first cohorts of the vigils. The dedication was made to the tutelary genius of the first cohort by Maximilianus, who is the earliest prefect of *clarissimus* rank known, and datable to the time of Constantine.¹⁷⁰⁹

In addition, an inscribed bronze disc was commissioned by prefect of vigils Egnatuleius Anastasius in the early fourth century.¹⁷¹⁰ Palaeography, onomastics and rank title, all suggest the Constantinian age. Perhaps of African origin, Anastasius was in office between 326 and 337 or shortly after. It is uncertain whether he belonged to the same family as *vir clarissimus* [---]atuleius Herculus, prefect of *annona* in 383-88. The term *providente* is similar to the expressions *sub ordine* or *ex auctoritate* found on *tabellae immunitatis*. It is difficult to believe that the disc was intended to commemorate the construction or renovation of the entire building where it was found. It is therefore likely that Anastasius had ordered the repair of small structure (e.g. a staircase, a door, etc.), pertaining to the construction. However, the maintenance of buildings falls rather under the competence of provincial governor, which makes difficult to explain the intervention of *praefectus vigilibus*.¹⁷¹¹

3. *Curatores urbis Romae*

In the list of the *Notitia* amongst *curatores urbis Romae* one finds *curatores statuarum*, *curatores aedium sacrarum*, *curatores alvei Tiberis et cloacarum Sacrae Urbis*, *curatores operum publicorum*, *curatores aquarum et Miniciae*, and *curatores viarum*. The public buildings, streets, and monuments were managed by *curator operum maximorum*, *curator operum publicorum*, *curator statuarum*, and *tribunus rerum nitentium*. A large number of early fourth-century dedications was carried out by local officials (*curatores*) in Rome, at a time when the administration of the city was reorganized. The important curatorships in the city of Rome feature most prominently in epigraphy in the period when they were independent from the urban prefecture. Most crucially, after the end of Constantine's reign very few dedications in Rome were set up by imperial officials other than prefect of the city.

The abolition of the office of *curator aedium sacrarum* in 331 by imperial decision can be taken as a point of reference.¹⁷¹² Under Constantine, there first appeared a senatorial *curator statuarum*, reporting to city prefect, partially replacing a senatorial office of curator of the temples. A statue of Mars and the Founders of the City was awarded by Emperor Maxentius in the Roman Forum in 306-12. It was dedicated by Furius Octavianus, of *clarissimus* rank, the *curator* of the sacred temples.¹⁷¹³ The name of Maxentius was later erased (l.5) after his *damnatio memoriae* in

¹⁷⁰⁹ Robert Sablayrolles, Libertinus Miles. *Les cohortes de vigils* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1996), 519.

¹⁷¹⁰ *AE* 2012, 643 (Dorgali (Sardinia)).

¹⁷¹¹ Fabrizio Delussu and Antonio Ibba, "Egnatuleius Anastasius: un nuovo praefectus vigilum da Dorgali," in *L'Africa Romana*, 19, eds. M. B. Cocco et al. (Rome: Carocci Editore, 2012), 2209.

¹⁷¹² For his tasks, see Cahstagnol, *La préfecture*, 45-47.

¹⁷¹³ *CIL* 6 33856=ILS 8935=LSA-1388. *PLRE* 1, 638 Furius Octavianus 4.

312. The inscription records the dedication to God Mars and the Founders of the City. The celebration of the Founders of the City was part of this emperor's ideological program, and the base was dedicated on the birthday of the city, April 21.

A statue of Lucius Crepereius Madalianus was erected at Portus in 337-40. The inscription records that he was supervisor of the lighthouse and of the maintenance of the port (*consularis molium fari atque purgaturae*), supervisor of sacred buildings (*consularis aedium sacrarum*) (c. 331), and legate of the province of Africa.¹⁷¹⁴ The sequence of his early offices is, however, uncertain. It could be that he was supervisor of sacred buildings (*consularis aedium sacrarum*) after he was legate of the province of Africa and before he became supervisor of the lighthouse and of the maintenance of the port (*consularis molium fari atque purgaturae*) in Rome. An anonymous *vir clarissimus* was *curator aedium sacrarum* and *consularis Siciliae* perhaps in the early fourth century. His statue was set up at Mazara in Sicilia.¹⁷¹⁵ *PLRE* suggests '*sacrarum aedium? curator*'. The name of the awarder is lost.

Statues formed a remarkable cultural heritage, and they were therefore placed under the supervision of prefectural dignities, chiefly, *curator statuarum* (*ND Occ. IV. 14*). Constantine eliminated the position of *curator aedium sacrarum*, curator of the temples, with some of the responsibilities shifted to the newly formed position of *curator* of statues. The holder of this new post cared for old public monuments and installed new statues in the fora and other open areas. He also kept an inventory of the works in the temples. The restored aristocratic control over Rome's public exhibitions brought a renewal of open-air displays preserving the city's heritage in public areas of the city. Kalas speculates that from the reign of Constantine *curator* of statues exhibited 'artworks' in public spaces.¹⁷¹⁶ *Curatores statuarum* were responsible for setting up statues for high senatorial office-holders and emperors. Thus, Flavius Magnus Iulianus, supervisor of statues, erected and dedicated a statue of Ceionius Rufius Albinus, consul and prefect of the city, at Rome in 336-37.¹⁷¹⁷ The awarder was the senate of Rome. This inscription is the first reference to a *curator statuarum*.¹⁷¹⁸ His name also appears on the statue bases commanded by his superior, city prefect. However, after the end of Constantine's reign very few dedications were set up by officials other than prefect of the city. *Curator* of statue could set up a monument awarded by city prefect to the ruling emperor and take credit for it in inscriptions. Publilius Ceionius Iulianus, possibly *curator statuarum*, erected (*curante*) a statue of Emperor Constantius II awarded by Orfitus, prefect of the

¹⁷¹⁴ *CIL* 14 4449=*LSA*-1660 (Portus).

¹⁷¹⁵ *CIL* 10 7209=*LSA*-2062 (Mazara (Sicilia)). *PLRE* 1, 1017 Anonymus 84.

¹⁷¹⁶ Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum*, 54 wrongly suggests that Maecilius Hilarianus was *curator statuarum*.

¹⁷¹⁷ *CIL* 6 1708=31906=*ILS* 1222=*LSA*-1416. Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 93. *PLRE* 1, 454 Flavius Magnus Iulianus 8.

¹⁷¹⁸ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 52. On *curatores statuarum*, see Ilaria Grossi, "Sugli ultimi curatores/consulares aedium sacrarum," in *L'impero costantiniano e i luoghi sacri. Atti del Convegno Intemazionale, Roma 2-4 dicembre 2013*, ed. Tessa Canella (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2016), 361-85.

city of Rome, probably at Ostia in 353-55 (fig. 44).¹⁷¹⁹ The fact that the dedication was actually carried out by another individual, probably an official of the urban prefecture, and not by prefect himself, supports the idea that the dedication of the statue also took place in Ostia.

Comes riparum et alvei Tiberis et cloacarum (ND Occ. IV 6) corresponds to *curator* or *consularis riparum*.¹⁷²⁰ A statue of Emperor Constantine I was set up at Rome in 312-24^{by} Q. Attius Granius Caelestinus, of *clarissimus* rank, caretaker of the bed of the Tiber and sewers of the sacred city (fig. 41).¹⁷²¹ The base was discovered during excavation of a street next to the Forum Traiani.¹⁷²² The place of discovery suggests that the base came from the forum itself, although *curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum Urbis* as dedicant is unusual for such a prestigious space, but should not be ruled out: most dedications in the Forum of Trajan were commanded by emperors or the senate. Constantine visited the city twice during this period, in 312, when he conquered it, and in 315, for the celebration of his decennalia, suggesting more precise dates.

A dedication to Caius Vettius Cossinius Rufinus was erected at Atina in Campania in 315, mentioning his office of *curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum Sacrae Urbis* possibly held under Maxentius, at any rate before 312.¹⁷²³ The precise provenance of the base is uncertain. The offices are probably given in descending order in the inscription: Rufinus was thus *curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum Sacrae Urbis* after serving as *curator viae Flaminiae*. This is a unique instance of the proconsulship of Achaëa occurring before *curatela*e and provincial governorships. Lollianus was *curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum Sacrae Urbis* before 328, whose early career is given in four honorific inscriptions from Puteoli in Campania in 334-42.¹⁷²⁴ He was also honored with a statue set up by his relatives at Rome in 355-56, whose accompanying inscription records him as officer in charge of the banks of the Tiber and of the sewers.¹⁷²⁵

Curatores operum (ND Occ. IV 12, 13) are also called *curatores operum publicorum*, *consulares operum publicorum*, and *curatores operum maximorum*. A lost inscription, possibly recording a statue of an emperor, was dedicated in Rome by Hierocles Perpetuus, *vir clarissimus*, perhaps *curator operum publicorum* or *aedium sacrarum* in the early fourth century.¹⁷²⁶ The

¹⁷¹⁹ CIL 6 1159a=14 461=LSA-1654. The base is recorded as having been found on the Aventine hill, but the dating inscription on the side, however, refers to officials of the council of Ostia, showing that at least the earlier dedication was carried out there. The later dedication under the supervision of Iulianus was made in the name of urban prefect, which might suggest that the base was later moved to Rome in order to be re-used.

¹⁷²⁰ ILS 1224.

¹⁷²¹ CIL 6 1143=LSA-304, PLRE 1, 167 Q. Attius Granius Caelestinus 2.

¹⁷²² Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, 6, 314.

¹⁷²³ CIL 10 5061=ILS 1217=AE 2005, 90=LSA-1978.

¹⁷²⁴ CIL 10 1695=ILS 1224a=LSA-332, ILS 1224b=LSA-1909, CIL 10 1696=ILS 1224c=LSA-43, AE 1977, 198=LSA-47.

¹⁷²⁵ CIL 6 1723+1757=37112=ILS 1232=LSA-1426.

¹⁷²⁶ CIL 6 1223=LSA-1319. In line 1, '*conservator militum et provincialium*' is common in milestones, especially dedicated to Magnentius or later, see CIL 11 6643 to Magnentius and CIL 5 8061 to Julian. CIL 6, p. 4336 suggests '*conservator[em totius orbis]*', observing that it was used for Constantine, see ILS II 581=LSA-2228. In I.3, CIL suggests '*sacram viam*'. The restoration of such an important street would have deserved a proper celebration, as in the grandiloquent language of the inscription. PLRE 1, 689 (Hie)rocles Perpetuus 4.

inscription records works carried out, possibly at the Sacra Via, in the Roman Forum, on the command of an unknown emperor (Il.1-2). Although it is not explicitly a dedication as the imperial titles do not appear in the dative case, the fragmentary state of the text and the presence of an imperial official in the nominative case make it possible that this was associated with a statue monument of an emperor. If so, Maxentius and Constantine are the best candidates for the inscription. *CIL* prefers Constantine¹⁷²⁷ In line 6, ‘*cur[ator operum publicorum]*’ is the most likely supplement,¹⁷²⁸ but it might also refer to ‘*cur[ator aedium sacrarum]*’.¹⁷²⁹ Perpetuus apparently carried out renovations in or near the Via Sacra as *curator* in the early fourth century, as it accords with the titles used for the emperor.

As a honorand, Iunior, *vir clarissimus, curator operum publicorum*, is recorded in the honorific inscription from Salona in Dalmatia.¹⁷³⁰ The name on the *cursus* inscription is almost totally erased. If the identification with Petronius Iunior suggested by A. Kolb is correct, the inscription is not to be dated after his execution in 197.¹⁷³¹ Lollianus, *curator operum publicorum* before 328, is recorded as such in all four inscriptions from Puteoli.¹⁷³² On the base erected at Rome in 355-56, he is recorded as ‘supervisor of the banks of the Tiber and large works and aqueducts’.¹⁷³³ An anonymous *praefectus operum maximorum* in the mid-fourth century is recorded in the honorific inscription set up at Privernum in Campania in 357-70.¹⁷³⁴ The office of *praefectus operum maximorum* was created probably c. 330. He was afterwards *comes portuum*, an office perhaps created c. 357. *Comes portus* appears in the *Notitia* (Occ. IV.7). L. Crepereius Madalianus, was *consularis molium fari at purgaturae* before c. 330 as testified to by the statue honor erected at Portus in 337-40.¹⁷³⁵ It records him being supervisor of the lighthouse and of the maintenance of the port (*consularis molium fari atque purgaturae*) after serving as supervisor of sacred buildings (*consularis aedium sacrarum*) in Rome.¹⁷³⁶

Charged with public works, Flavius Claudius Evangelus, *vir clarissimus*, perhaps *comes operum publicorum* in 357-59, is recorded in a building inscription from Rome.¹⁷³⁷ He built a temple of Apollo in the second prefecture of Orfitus. Longeius, *vir clarissimus*, was perhaps *consularis operum publicorum* in 367-68. The building inscription from Rome documents his

¹⁷²⁷ *CIL* 6, p. 4336, suggesting Constantine.

¹⁷²⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷²⁹ *PLRE* 1 Perpetuus 4.

¹⁷³⁰ *AE* 1961, 302 (Salona (Dalmatia)). *PLRE* 1, 486 Iunior 1.

¹⁷³¹ Anne Kolb, *Die kaiserliche Bauverwaltung in der Stadt Rom* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1993), 243-45 no. 55.

¹⁷³² *CIL* 10 1695=*LSA*-332=*ILS* 1224a, *LSA*-1909=*ILS* 1224b, *CIL* 10 1696=*ILS* 1224c=*LSA*-43, and *AE* 1977, 198=*LSA*-47.

¹⁷³³ *CIL* 6 1723+1757=37112=*ILS* 1232=*LSA*-1426.

¹⁷³⁴ *CIL* 10 6441=*ILS* 1250=*LSA*-2052. His career suggests that he was an Italian aristocrat. His *religio* is mentioned at the end of the inscription. *PLRE* 1, 1018 Anonymus 79.

¹⁷³⁵ *CIL* 14 4449=*LSA*-1660.

¹⁷³⁶ See Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 50 n.4.

¹⁷³⁷ *CIL* 6 45=*ILS* 3222.

construction works, when Vettius Praetextatus 1 was city prefect: ‘Vettius Praetextatus, of clarissimus rank, prefect of the City, restored the most holy statues of the harmonious gods (*Dei Consentes*), with every embellishment of the entire place, carefully restored to its ancient condition. Under the supervision of Longeius..., of *clarissimus* rank, of consular rank’ (trans. C. Machado).¹⁷³⁸ An architrave preserves the inscription recording the repair of the monument, and statues (*simulacra*), of the gods in the Roman Forum in 367. The marble architrave of the portico of the *Dei Consentes* preserves the inscription *in situ*, in the Roman Forum. The restoration of the statues of the twelve gods, perhaps gilded, was supervised probably by *consularis operum publicorum*.

Comes formarum (ND Occ. IV 5) is placed third after prefects of the *annona* and vigils in the list of subordinates of city prefect. Both *comes formarum* and *consularis aquarum* may have been mentioned in the building inscription from the Baths of Caracalla dated to 367.¹⁷³⁹ The intervention would have concerned both the infrastructures and the distribution of water; or, according to a hierarchical scheme, the works would have been entrusted by urban prefect to *comes formarum* and then executed by *consularis aquarum*.¹⁷⁴⁰ The official is remarkably styled *vir clarissimus et spectabilis* in the period preceding the official use of this rank title.

Consularis aquarum (ND Occ. IV 11) was previously called *curator aquarum et Miniciae*. Versenus Fortunatus, *consularis* of the aqueducts and of the Minicia, set up a statue for an emperor, probably Constantine, in the Roman Forum in 324 (fig. 38).¹⁷⁴¹ The base was found in the Roman Forum, in the area of the Lacus Iuturnae, where at least one more base was dedicated by supervisor of the aqueducts and of the Porticus Minicia Lollianus with his unit (*cum statione*) in 328 (fig. 39).¹⁷⁴² The second statue of Constantine was erected by Fortunatus also in the Roman Forum in the same place and in the same year.¹⁷⁴³ Furthermore, the honorific inscription set up by Caelius, *curator aquarum et Miniciae* perhaps in the early fourth century, was found in the Forum Romanum¹⁷⁴⁴ with the one by Fortunatus and Lollianus. The title was changed to *consularis* and the word *Minicia* dropped under Constantine.

A honorand, Iunior, *curator aquae et curator Miniciae* in the third or early fourth century, is attested in an inscription from Salona.¹⁷⁴⁵ The date is no later than the early fourth century, since the term ‘Minucia’ last occurs in 328. The use of the singular ‘*aquae*’ and the separation of the aqueducts and the bread distribution at the Porta Minucia into two *curatellae* are unusual and

¹⁷³⁸ CIL 6 102=ILS 4003=LSA-1503.

¹⁷³⁹ Crimi and Orlandi, “Un prefetto urbano ‘ritrovato’,” 287.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., 293.

¹⁷⁴¹ CIL 6 37133=LSA-1411. Cf. PLRE 1, 371 Versennius Fortunatus 6.

¹⁷⁴² CIL 6 36951=LSA-1366.

¹⁷⁴³ CIL 6 31513=37133a=40771=LSA-1500.

¹⁷⁴⁴ CIL 6 37121. The case of *curator* in l.2 is not possible to be determined unambiguously from the fragment.

¹⁷⁴⁵ AE 1961, 302. PLRE 1, 484 Iunior 1.

probably indicate an earlier date. Lollianus was *curator (consularis) aquarum et Miniciae* in 328 and is recorded as such on all four inscriptions from Puteoli and the one from Rome.¹⁷⁴⁶

As the construction activities, Centullius Valerianus, *vir clarissimus, curator aquarum et Miniciae* at Rome under Constantine, invictus Augustus, set up a building inscription in 312-24 (fig. 59).¹⁷⁴⁷ The inscription from Insula Teberina records repairs by perhaps an anonymous *consularis aquarum* dated to 381.¹⁷⁴⁸ He was concerned with work on the *Aquae Aniensis Novae*. Eustochius, *vir clarissimus, consularis aquarum*, built *castellum aquae Claudia* under Volusianus, city prefect in 365 (fig. 60).¹⁷⁴⁹ Marcus Aurelius Paconius, *curator aquarum et Miniciae* perhaps in the late third or early fourth century, is recorded on the dedicatory inscription from Rome.¹⁷⁵⁰ A funeral inscription for Flavius Postumius Titianus, *consularis aquarum et Miniciae* and city prefect in 305-306, comes from the catacomb di S. Callisto at Rome.¹⁷⁵¹ The epitaph was set up in 306 or soon after and mentions him serving as *consularis aquarum et Miniciae*.

Curatores viarum were vital to the maintenance and development of the roads infrastructure. Vettius Proculus was perhaps *curator viarum Labicanae et Latinae* probably in the early fourth century. The inscription on a milestone comes from the Via Latina at Fregellae.¹⁷⁵² The inscription was set up by him (*curante et dedicante*) when several emperors were ruling, perhaps under the tetrarchy or under Constantine. *Curator viarum* outside of Rome was apparently extraordinary after Diocletian. A dedication of milestones, which by this period primarily had an honorific function, would have been similar to that of imperial statues.

Honorific dedications feature the office of street *curator* as part of the *cursus honorum*. A statue of C. Caelius Censorinus, *vir clarissimus*, governor of Campania, was erected at Atella in Campania in 326-37.¹⁷⁵³ The inscription is remarkable for the detailed *cursus honorum* including his office of *curator viarum* in early fourth century. C. Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, was *curator viarum* before 312, possibly under Maxentius. A statue of Vettius Cossinius Rufinus, prefect of Rome, former governor of Campania and patron of Atina, was erected at Atina in Campania in 315.¹⁷⁵⁴ Remarkably, he held the proconsulship of Achaëa before serving as *curator viae Flaminiae*. This is one of the last of such collections of *curatela*.

¹⁷⁴⁶ CIL 10 1695=LSA-332=ILS 1224a, LSA-1909=ILS 1224b, CIL 10 1696=ILS 1224c=LSA-43, and AE 1977, 198=LSA-47, CIL 6 1723+1757=37112=ILS 1232=LSA-1426.

¹⁷⁴⁷ CIL 6 31564=ILS 702. PLRE 1, 939 Centullius Valerianus 11.

¹⁷⁴⁸ CIL 6 3865=319545. PLRE 1, 1017 Anonymus 75.

¹⁷⁴⁹ CIL 6 3866=31963=ILS 5791. PLRE 1 Eustochius 4.

¹⁷⁵⁰ CIL 6 515. PLRE 1, 656 Marcus Aurelius Paconius.

¹⁷⁵¹ CIL 6 1419b. PLRE 1, 919-200 Flavius Postumius Titianus 9.

¹⁷⁵² CIL 10 6892 (Fregellae (Latium)). PLRE 1, 749 Vettius Proculus 13.

¹⁷⁵³ CIL 10 3732=ILS 1216=LSA-1928 (Atella (Campania)).

¹⁷⁵⁴ CIL 10 5061=ILS 1217=AE 2005, 90=LSA-1978.

A group of *curatores regionum urbis* of Rome of consular rank are attested epigraphically in the tetrarchic and Constantinian period.¹⁷⁵⁵ The only other reference to *curatores* of such high level is from the fifth century.¹⁷⁵⁶ Like the prefect himself, the regional curators were civilians with police responsibilities; they had subordinate powers of coercion and, to a certain extent, jurisdiction. The *Notitia* does not mention *curatores* of the regions: it is because they were not civil servants appointed by the emperor; nor did they have the status of bureaucrats. Perhaps they were appointed by the senate. The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* shows that curator had responsibility for the whole region with five *vicomagistri* subordinated to him. There were 13 curators and sixty-five *vicomagistri*, with no curator or *vicomagistri* listed for the fourteenth region of the city.¹⁷⁵⁷ It was not until Constantius that the curia of Constantinople received the promotion to a senate and the governor of the city to prefect, equalizing the institutional status of Constantinople with that of Rome. Curators surveilled city regions in the night through *vicomagistri* and cohorts of vigils, later replaced by *collegiati*.

C. Caelius Censorinus was *curator regionis VII* of Rome and *curator splendidae Carthagini* in early fourth century.¹⁷⁵⁸ After serving as *curator* of the Via Latina, he became *curator* of region VII of Rome, then *curator* of the splendid Carthage, before becoming count of Constantine. Censorinus' second office of consul suffect entitled him to hold several curatorships in Rome, all consular offices at the time; among them was a curatorship over a region of the city (*curatori regionis VII*, 1.4).¹⁷⁵⁹ After these he held the office of *curator* of Carthage (*curatori splendidae Carthagini*, ll. 5-6).¹⁷⁶⁰ Egnatius Caecilius Antistius Lucerinus, *vir clarissimus*, *curator* perhaps in the late third or early fourth century, is documented in an inscription from Capua in Campania set up in 280-330.¹⁷⁶¹ Although not fully preserved, the name of the honorand can be reconstructed with reference to well-known Capuan families as Egnatius Caecilius Antistius Lucerinus. The honorand was a member of the senatorial order, having occupied functions in Rome. If this identification is correct, Lucerinus was a member of the Capuan elite co-opted into the senatorial order. Nasti recently suggested that lines 5-7 be read as '*cur(atori)/ [sacr]ae Urbis/ [reg(ionis) II ?]*', which is generally accepted.¹⁷⁶² If so, the honorand would be part of a group of *curatores* of the regions of Rome of consular rank. The identification of the honorand as *curator reipublicae* of Capua is suggested by the fact that the base was dedicated in that city, but this is not

¹⁷⁵⁵ Chastagnol, *La Préfecture*, 256-58.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵⁷ John Matthews, "The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," in Grig and Kelly, *Two Romes*, 86-98.

¹⁷⁵⁸ *CIL* 10 3732=ILS 1216=LSA-1928.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Cf. LSA-401 (Capua) and LSA-1675 (Lavinium); on the office, see Fara Nasti, "Curatores regionum Urbis e il cursus honorum di C. Caelius Censorinus," in *XI Congresso internazionale di epigrafia greca e latina*, vol. 2 (Rome: Quasar, 1999), 533-44.

¹⁷⁶⁰ See also LSA-2565; Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 19.

¹⁷⁶¹ *AE* 1973, 136=LSA-401 (Capua (Campania)).

¹⁷⁶² Nasti, "Curatores regionum Urbis," 540.

the only possibility: he might have occupied this position elsewhere, being later honored in his native town, where he was probably a patron.

4. *Legati proconsulis*

Legati proconsulis Africae, Asiae, and Achaearum are listed in the *Notitia*. Under the control of proconsul of Africa was placed the proconsular province and its two legates: *legatus Karthaginiensis* and *Numidiae*. The office of *legatus* was commonly held under the governorship of his father: such arrangements occur indeed often. Usually *legatus* is recorded in inscriptions with reference to his superior, proconsul. They were in position to dedicate the honorific statues as well as building structures.

As for legates of *proconsul Africae*, Flavius Atilius Theodotus, *vir clarissimus*, was *legatus Numidiae* under Olybrius in 361-62. Theodotus and Olybrius are recorded in four inscriptions from Thubursicu Numidarum. A statue base for Emperor Trajan was re-erected (*curavit*) by Theodotus in the *forum novum*, where the base was found.¹⁷⁶³ On the reverse of the base an earlier dedication to Hercules was carved ‘*pro salute*’ of Diocletian and Maximian. The reuse of divine statues, according to G. de Bruyn, is perhaps a sign of the ‘secularization’ of public spaces in Late Thubursicu Numidarum. Theodotus also re-erected (*curavit*) a colossal statue, probably of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius at Thubursicu Numidarum.¹⁷⁶⁴ The base was found on the west side of the *forum novum*. The evidence of this and other statue-bases found on and near the new forum, suggests that those statues still thought to be important in 361-62 were moved from the old to the new forum. Theodotus re-erected likewise in the *forum novum* a statue of Emperor Constantine I.¹⁷⁶⁵ All three inscriptions refer to the statues removed ‘from ruins’ (*de ruinis*). This probably refers to the old forum which was abandoned in the period between Constantine and Julian, possibly because it had been destroyed by a natural disaster, such as an earthquake.¹⁷⁶⁶ Two more statue of an unstated subject were set up in the forum of Thubursicu Numidarum. One was almost certainly set up as a decor in the New forum by Theodotus, who ‘completed the new forum which he founded and dedicated, having equipped with columns, and decorated with statues’.¹⁷⁶⁷

¹⁷⁶³ *ILAlg.* I 1247=*ILS* 9357=*LSA*-2482. Chastagnol, “Les légats,” 18-19. Trajan was the founder of the municipium of Thubursicu Numidarum, which is probably the reason of the conservation of the statue in the middle of the fourth century. *PLRE* I, 905-906 Flavius Atilius Theodotus 3.

¹⁷⁶⁴ *ILAlg.* I 1229=*LSA*-2481. As the foot discovered belongs to a statue bigger than the one of Marcus Aurelius, De Bruyn thinks it is very probable that a bigger statue would have represented an Augustus, or, if the two statues formed a group, it should have been Antoninus Pius. Therefore, the base was probably bearing a colossal statue of Marcus Aurelius Caesar or Antoninus Pius.

¹⁷⁶⁵ *ILAlg.* I 1274=*LSA*-1182. It is unknown whether the inscription replaced an earlier (erased) dedication to Constantine, and therefore whether his statue in the forum novum stood on its original base, re-used from the time of Trajan. If this was the original base for the statue of Constantine, it is even just possible that a statue of Trajan had been adapted into one for Constantine as on some of the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine in Rome.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 214.

¹⁷⁶⁷ *ILAlg.* I 1276=*LSA*-2470.

Another verse inscription of two elegiac distichs possibly for a statue of Fortuna records that Theodotus took care of the forum dedicated by proconsul.¹⁷⁶⁸

Further, a plaque, probably from a statue base, with an honorific inscription to the Emperor Constantine I comes from Thugga in 312-37.¹⁷⁶⁹ The inscription was dedicated by *clarissimus* Caius Annus Ceionius Anullinas who held the office of *legatus Carthagini* or *Numidiae*.¹⁷⁷⁰ The reference to the *tyrannica factio* (l.2) possibly alludes to his victory over Maxentius in 312 – in words reminiscent of the inscription on Constantine’s arch in Rome – or to his victory over Licinius in 324; with the title of *victor* possibly once recorded in the inscription (l.2). It is possible that Anullinas was a relative, perhaps the son of the *proconsul Africae* Anullinus of 313. *AE* suggest that he possibly held his office of *legatus* under the proconsulship of his father, in 313. The awarder had his last *nomen* spelled out in an unusual, archaizing way. Unusually, the *legatus* is recorded in the inscription without reference to his superior, proconsul Africae. Also, under the governorship of Probianus 3, a statue of unstated subject was erected by Iulius Tullius Priscus, *legatus Karthaginis*, in Vallis in 315-16.¹⁷⁷¹

Unusually, legati could also receive statue honors. L. Aradius Valerius Proculus *signo* Populonium was *legatus praetore provinciae Numidiae* perhaps in 319 under Proculus, *proconsul Africae* of the same year, who may have been his relative, perhaps an uncle. His career, including him being legate of the province of Numidia, is given in three honorific inscriptions from Rome.¹⁷⁷² The early career of Lucius Crepereius Madalianus, *legatus provinciae Africae* in the early fourth century, is given in the inscription from Portus dated to 337-40.¹⁷⁷³ The sequence of his offices is uncertain and he may have been *legatus provinciae Africae* after serving as *legatus pro praetor provinciae Asiae*.¹⁷⁷⁴ Conversely, Flavius Atilius Theodotus, *legatus Numidiae* under Olybrius, was honoured as legate with a statue in Thubursicu Numidarum by the grateful citizens, ‘because of the foundation of the new forum’ in 361-62. The partly preserved inscription was dedicated by the the council and people of Thubursicu, ‘adding ornament to the work’, ‘for the promoter of the convenience.’¹⁷⁷⁵ The inscription was found on the *forum novum*, which he built and decorated as is testified to by a series of inscriptions from Thubursicu Numidarum. However, Lepelley proposed

¹⁷⁶⁸ *ILAlg.* I 1285=*ILS* 9353=*LSA*-2473.

¹⁷⁶⁹ *AE* 2003, 2014=*LSA*-92. The epigraphic formula, with the honorand in the dative, the awarder in the nominative, and the concluding formula, makes it almost certain that this is a statue base inscription, although the base itself does not survive. The inscription was found during excavations in Thugga, southwest of the temple of Caracalla’s Germanic Victory, in 2000.

¹⁷⁷⁰ It is under discussion to which administrative district Thugga belonged. No *PLRE* entry.

¹⁷⁷¹ *CIL* 8 1277=*ILS* 6809=*LSA*-2476. A local notable of Vallis, Aemilius Victor, who held the office of priest of the imperial cult (*flamen perpetuus*) in his city and was curator of his hometown, supervised the erection. *PLRE* 1, 730 Iulius Tullius Priscus 8.

¹⁷⁷² *CIL* 6 1690=*ILS* 1240=*LSA*-1396, *CIL* 6 1691=*LSA*-1397, *CIL* 6 1694=*LSA*-1400.

¹⁷⁷³ *CIL* 14 4449=*LSA*-1660.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 50 n. 4.

¹⁷⁷⁵ *ILAlg.* I 1286=*LSA*-2474.

that the exceptional honor of receiving a statue is more probably explained by financial advantages, such as restoration of land earlier confiscated by the imperial fiscus, which legate obtained to the benefit of the city.¹⁷⁷⁶ The inscription was set up by the council and people of Thubursicu and financed by the local notable Furius Reginus.

Building inscriptions were set up to honor proconsuls and their legates on account of their constructional activity. *Legati Karthaginis* are mostly commemorated in the cities that belonged to their administrative district. Gezeius Largus Maternianus, *legatus* of Iulianus during his proconsulship in 326-33, is recorded in the building inscription from Belalis Maior, which attests to restorations of the buildings in the forum.¹⁷⁷⁷ He was a senator of African origin, *legatus Carthaginis* or *Numidia*, a patron of the city (*patroni coloniae*). Crepereius Optatianus, was *legatus Karthaginis* in 361 under the proconsul Olybrius, is recorded in the building inscription from Thuburbo Maius documenting repair and redecoration of the baths.¹⁷⁷⁸ He is identical with Crepereius in the inscription from Carthage the restoration of a fountain under the same proconsul.¹⁷⁷⁹ Paulinus [---]io, *legatus almae Karthaginis* under Paulus Constantius in 374, appears in the building inscription from Castellum Biracsaccarensium.¹⁷⁸⁰ His name is perhaps to be restored on the fragmentary building inscription from Thuburbo Maius.¹⁷⁸¹ Since Constantius was father of Antonius Paulus, the other legate, he may also have been Paulinus' father. Macius Rufinus, *legatus Karthaginis* under the proconsul Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius in 376-77, is recorded on two building inscriptions. One comes from Vaga and testifies to the building of a basilica,¹⁷⁸² and another to that in Thuburbo Maius.¹⁷⁸³ [---]imus, *legatus almae Karthaginis* in 383-92, is documented in the building inscription from Abthugni, where the *cella* of the *capitolium* was refurbished to serve as a meeting place probably of a *collegium*, dated between 383 and 392 under Valentinian II, Theodosius and Arcadius.¹⁷⁸⁴ Erius Fanius Geminianus, *legatus Karthaginis* of Aemilius Florus Paternus in 393, appears in the building inscription from Thignica on the restoration of the baths.¹⁷⁸⁵ Aurelius [---], *legatus proconsulis Africae* with *legatus* [---]us M[---] are recorded in a fragmentary building inscription from Carthage possibly commemorating a

¹⁷⁷⁶ Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 212.

¹⁷⁷⁷ *CIL* 8 14436=ILS 5518. Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 79-80. *PLRE* 1 476 Iulianus 26.

¹⁷⁷⁸ *IL Afr.* 273b=AE 1916, 88. *PLRE* 1, 648-49 Crepereius Optatianus 2.

¹⁷⁷⁹ AE 1955, 55. He is possibly to be identified with C. Optatianus, *flamen perpetuus*, *curator rei publicae*, who did repairs to the *thermae hiemales* at Thuburbo Maius, AE 1917/18, 98.

¹⁷⁸⁰ *CIL* 8 23849. This legate is perhaps to be identified with Vetrano 3, *legatus Karthaginis*, son of the proconsul, whose name is lost, documented in an inscription found near Tunis, AE 1959, 270 (Hr. El Haouaria). *PLRE* 1, 998-99 Paulinus ...io.

¹⁷⁸¹ *IL Afr.* 274b. *PLRE* 1 684 Antonius Paulus 8.

¹⁷⁸² *CIL* 8 1219=14398=ILT 1226. *PLRE* 1, 781 Macius Rufinus 21.

¹⁷⁸³ *CIL* 8 1219=IL Afr. 275.

¹⁷⁸⁴ *CIL* 8 928=11205. Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 265-67. *PLRE* 1, 998 [...]imus.

¹⁷⁸⁵ *CIL* 8 1412=15204. He was probably the recipient of Symm. 9.15 from 400, on preparations for the praetorship of 401, and 9.56 from 396-97. *PLRE* 1, 389 Erius Fanius Geminianus; 671-72 Aemilius Florus Paternus 6.

reconstruction of the amphitheater perhaps in the fourth century.¹⁷⁸⁶ Flavius Sacerdos, *legatus Karthaginis*, and Flavius Rhodinus Primus iunior, *legatus Numidiae*, under their father Rhodinus Primus c. 392, are mentioned in a building inscription from Carthage.¹⁷⁸⁷

Legati Numidiae belonged to another administrative district. Primus iunior is also documented in the undated building inscription from Theveste, recording the restoration (*conlocavit*) of a curia.¹⁷⁸⁸ Egnatuleius Crescens, *legatus Numidiae*, responsible for the restoration of the *forum transsitorium*, is recorded in a building inscription from Mustis in 350-51.¹⁷⁸⁹ Flavius Atilius Theodotus, *legatus Numidiae* in 361, is commemorated on seven inscriptions from Africa Proconsularis. One building inscription comes from Bulla Regia attesting to his restoration (*perfectit*) of a *tabularium*.¹⁷⁹⁰ The other six come from Thubursicu Numidarum and record intensive building operations in the forum novum under him. Ulpus Egnatius Faventinus, perhaps legate of Numidia of Clodius Octavianus, is mentioned in a building inscription from Thagora in Proconsularis in 363 under Julian.¹⁷⁹¹ Octavius Privatianus, *legatus Numidiae* of Ampelius, is documented in two building inscriptions, both of which are dated to 364. One, on the restoration of the *thermae aestivae*, comes from Madaura,¹⁷⁹² while another one originates from Mustis.¹⁷⁹³ Fabius Fabianus, *legatus Numidiae* in 366-68 under Hymetius, is mentioned in four inscriptions from Africa Proconsularis, two of which come from Calama. One testifies to the restoration of the baths,¹⁷⁹⁴ and another to that of the *opus tessellatum* in 366-67.¹⁷⁹⁵ One more on the restoration of the baths comes from Madaurus, styling him ‘*vir clarissimus et inlustris legatus*’.¹⁷⁹⁶ The fourth comes from Lares.¹⁷⁹⁷ An anonymous *legatus Numidiae* under the proconsulship of Iulianus is mentioned in the building inscription on the restoration of the baths from Bu Auya in 371-73.¹⁷⁹⁸ Antonius Paulus, *legatus Numidiae* in 374 under his father Paulus Constantius, proconsul of Africa in 374, is documented in a building inscription from Calama, celebrating the construction of a new *porticus* ‘from its foundations’.¹⁷⁹⁹ Flavius Clodianus, *legatus Numidiae* of proconsul Eusignius in 383, is recorded in a building inscription from Calama.¹⁸⁰⁰ In addition, L. Aradius Valerius Proculus was *legatus pro praetore provinciae Numidiae* perhaps in 319 under Proculus, *proconsul Africae* in

¹⁷⁸⁶ CIL 8 24590 (Carthage). PLRE 1, 130 Aurelius [---] 2; 524 ...us M....

¹⁷⁸⁷ CIL 8 1148=14279. PLRE 1, 795 Flavius Sacerdos 2; 75 Flavius Rhodinus Primus iunior 3.

¹⁷⁸⁸ ILAG. I 3061=CIL 8 1873.

¹⁷⁸⁹ AE 1933, 105a=ILT 1557. PLRE 1, 230 Egnatuleius Crescens 3.

¹⁷⁹⁰ CIL 8 25521.

¹⁷⁹¹ CIL 8 4647=ILS 756=ILAG. I 1035. PLRE 1 637 Octavianus 2; 325 Ulpus Egnatius Faventinus 1.

¹⁷⁹² ILAG. I 2101=AE 1917/18, 91.

¹⁷⁹³ ILT 1538B=AE 1933, 33b. See also CIL 8 1582.

¹⁷⁹⁴ CIL 8 5335=ILS 5730=ILAG. I 256. PLRE 1, 322 Fabius Fabianus 3.

¹⁷⁹⁵ CIL 8 5336=ILAG. I 255.

¹⁷⁹⁶ ILAG. I 2102.

¹⁷⁹⁷ CIL 8 1782.

¹⁷⁹⁸ CIL 8 16400. PLRE 1, 1026 Anonymous 138.

¹⁷⁹⁹ ILAG. I 472=CIL 8 17517.

¹⁸⁰⁰ ILAG. I 260. PLRE 1, 217 Flavius Clodianus 2.

319. The office is mentioned in the dedicatory inscription set up by him to *Matri deum Magnae Ideae et Atti* at Carthage at a later date.¹⁸⁰¹

Legates of *proconsul Asiae* are mentioned in honorific and building inscriptions. Septimius Maeadius Iunior, *legatus proconsularis Asiae* under Maeadius, is mentioned in a statue dedication for Empress Aelia Flacilla, wife of Theodosius I, set up at Ephesus in 379-86.¹⁸⁰² The base was found on the east side of the east part of the 'Curetes Street', set in the center of a series of bases. The inscription was set up by the council and the people of Ephesus (ll.5-6), possibly on the initiative of the proconsul and his son (ll.8-10). L. Crepereius Madalianus, *legatus pro praetore provinciae Asiae*, is mentioned as such in an inscription from Portus.¹⁸⁰³ He may have *been* *legatus pro praetore provinciae Asiae* not before 324 becoming afterwards *legatus provinciae Africae*. A now lost base for a statue of C. Iulius Rufinianus Ablabius Tatianus was set up at Abellinum in Campania in mid-fourth century, recording him being *legatus provinciae Asiae* after 324.¹⁸⁰⁴ The inscription gives a minute *cursus honorum* of Tatianus, in ascending order. After Tatianus was adlected into the senate by Constantine (*adlecto inter consulares*, l.6), he was *clarissimus legatus provinciae Asiae*. Caelius Ianuarianus, *clarissimus legatus* in Asia under Lucius Caelius Montius in 340-50,¹⁸⁰⁵ is mentioned in the inscription on the architrave on the restoration of *nymphaeum* at Ephesus.¹⁸⁰⁶

Legates of *proconsul Achaiae* are seldom recorded. A statue of Acilius Glabrio Sibidius *signo* Spedius set up at Rome in 438 records him serving as *legatus provinciae Achaiae* before 395.¹⁸⁰⁷ The fact that he was a legate in Achaia indicates that he was active in the later part of the fourth century, as no Western senators seem to have occupied that position in Achaia after 395.

Taken together, senatorial families had access to administrative posts not only in Rome, but also in the provinces, hence the same opportunities for honor and status enhancement as other members of the imperial aristocracy. In the imperial hierarchy, experience of serving as provincial governor remained a prerequisite for higher office. The absolute majority of the non-imperial late antique statues that survive celebrate civilian governors, with more than 300 *tituli honorarii* for them recorded from the late Roman period. These statues were mostly dedicated after the term of office as governor, the early honor in the senatorial career. The rituals of the ceremonies for governors, for instance, were important instruments for imperial communication with provincial subjects. In the city of Rome, its abandonment by the fourth-century emperors increased the

¹⁸⁰¹ *CIL* 8 24521.

¹⁸⁰² *AE* 1966, 434=*LSA*-723. *PLRE* 1, 531 Septimius Maeadius Iunior 2; 530 Septimius Maedius 1.

¹⁸⁰³ *CIL* 14 4449=*LSA*-1660.

¹⁸⁰⁴ *CIL* 10 1125=*ILS* 2942=*LSA*-1860. *PLRE* 1, 875-76 C. Iulius Rufinianus Ablabius Tatianus 4.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Robert, *Hellenica* IV, 110-14. Malcus, "Die Proconsuln," 103. *PLRE* 1, 452 Caelius Ianuarianus 1.

¹⁸⁰⁶ *AE* 1913, 171.

¹⁸⁰⁷ *CIL* 6 1678=*ILS* 1281=*LSA*-1393.

visibility of the leading families in the urban fabric before the reform of the urban prefecture that attached to it primary importance in respect to city government.

Artistic expression I

The most senior officials in the civil administration were in the best position to accumulate financial and symbolic resources and widen the gap between themselves and their less successful fellows. The illustrations of the *Notitia* represent the insignia of the highest imperially-connected aristocrats, emphasizing their participation in the emperor's authority. The codicillar formats, *theca*, garments, and attributes in the *Notitia*'s illustrations are accurate transmissions of late antique iconography. Meaning is maintained throughout the iconography: the legal and administrative prerogatives of the officials in the provincial government are symbolized by the *theca* and propped-up *codicilli*, while the fiscal powers and responsibilities are reflected by the display of the tributes, coin or grain, or by the depiction of the transport of the tribute. The presence of the imperial portraits on the appointment documents may have been partly served to distinguish the codicil-diptych of the *illustres* from that of the *spectabiles*.

It is significant that the office-holders in the provincial administration were allowed to erect and receive honorific statuary as well as building dedications – in fact, most of the inscriptions derive from this branch of the civilian bureaucracy. Besides staging the consensus between aristocracy and emperors, they embodied the relationship of ‘control and collusion’ between the state and its senatorial elite, participating in the office-holding system. The aristocrats of Rome saw anything but an achievement of a hereditary hold on senior government posts in Italy and Africa, and were more reliant on imperial favor for obtaining top offices in the imperial administration in comparison to the early empire.¹⁸⁰⁸ Crucially, most late Roman patronage inscriptions were set up for imperial office-holders. They commemorate not the private relationships between powerful ‘regional overlords’ and local communities, but the exercise by imperial officials of their duties of munificence towards provincial subjects.

As for monumental art, the base of the Theodosian obelisk in the hippodrome of Constantinople presents in its reliefs the entourage of the emperors (fig. 87-88). Kranz has identified the urban prefect Proculus as *togatus*, on the basis of the correspondence between costume and office, and four praetorian prefects as *chlamydati*,¹⁸⁰⁹ which, nonetheless, does not account for the fact that there were only three because of the division of the empire between 388 and 392. He proposed to identify Tatianus in a figure on the far right end of the relief, because of his hairstyle, which in fact does not seem to be decisive. Balty, however, has argued for another

¹⁸⁰⁸ Weisweiler, Domesticating the Senatorial Elite: Universal Monarchy and Transregional Aristocracy in the Fourth Century AD,” in *Contested Monarchy*, 17-41.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Peter Kranz “Ein Bildnis frühtheodosianischer Zeit in der Sammlung Georg Ortiz bei Genf,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 94 (1979): 100-102 n.151.

hierarchical image on the reliefs of the obelisk base. On the north-west side he also identified the urban prefect in office (Proculus), but as *chlamydatus*, placed the closest to the imperial lodge. Instead, for the *togatus* he proposed the *magister officiorum* (Rufinus), and for the remaining non-imperial figures three praetorian prefects of the empire accompanying the Emperors Theodosius, Valentinian II, Honorius, and Arcadius. Those are Tatianus, praetorian prefect of the East, and father of Proculus, as well as two western officials, the praetorian prefect of the Gauls and that of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa, whose identities are uncertain. But there is no reason why the costume of master of offices should be the toga. Just the opposite, as the senior official of the *militia civilis/officialis* he was certainly entitled to wear the *chlamys*.

Thus, according to Balty's reconstruction, all three prefects wear *chlamydes*. Tatianus is bearded and stands on the same side of the *kathisma* as his son. The family ties, on the one hand, and the connection of the prefectures of Constantinople and the East on the other hand are sufficient, for Balty, to explain why the two persons were placed closer together and isolated from the other officials on the relief. Therefore, two prefects on the right side of the composition would be western prefects, whose identification depends on the date of the relief. One would be either Constantianus, or Neoterius, or his anonymous successor, while another Trifolius, Polemius, Nicomachus Flavianus, or Apodemius.¹⁸¹⁰ Kiilerich, however, believes that these magistrates stand as representatives of their office, not as portraits of particular individuals.¹⁸¹¹ If Proculus, Tatianus, or Rufinus had been represented by individual portraits, they would have suffered the *damnatio memoriae*, just like the name of Proculus in the inscription on the obelisk base. Yet, the reliefs show no traces of a deliberate defacement and subsequent restoration.

The story of the medium of mosaic employed to decorate the floors of elite private houses and public edifices is difficult to reconstruct as the buildings have collapsed together with their decoration over the centuries. The same goes for paintings, produced on a large scale in the fourth century, exploring the potential of walls for figural representation. Both media appear to have become more popular than it had been previously, perhaps driven by the housing boom, in particular, and growing economic prosperity of the fourth century, in general. Importantly, mosaics and paintings employed in decoration of an aristocratic *domus* and villa show continued vitality of Roman aristocratic traditions of self-presentations among Rome's fourth-century senatorial elite. The correspondence of Symmachus offers the best evidence. The only two types of art on which Symmachus expresses an opinion are paintings and mosaics. He prefers mosaics to paintings for the decoration of a swimming pool of his son-in-law, and he praises the originality of the mosaics of

¹⁸¹⁰ Jean Ch. Balty, "Hiérarchie de l'empire et image du monde. La face Nord-Ouest de la base de l'obélisque théodosien à Constantinople," *Byzantion* 52 (1982): 65, 70.

¹⁸¹¹ Bente Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base in Constantinople: Court Art and Imperial Ideology* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1998), 138.

some friend, which he wished to reproduce in his own house (*Ep.* 8.42.2; 6.49.1). Furthermore, in the excavations at the site of the *domus* of the Symmachi on the Caelian hill fragments of an *opus sectile* floor in colored marble came to the light.¹⁸¹²

In 375, Symmachus wrote to his father, to whom he dedicated the first book of his letters, which this epistle opens, on account of a large house at Bauli on the Campanian coast (*Ep.* 1.1).¹⁸¹³ The villa, located in the area where many leading Roman senators possessed their estates, belonged to famous owners and then came into the possession of his wife's family. Initially the estate was owned by the family of Septimius Acindynus, first praetorian prefect of Emperor Constantius and consul of 340.¹⁸¹⁴ The gem of a signet ring at Naples bears the name 'Acindynus'.¹⁸¹⁵ The villa was later acquired by the well-connected senator Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus *signo* Honorius. Symmachus, whose wife, the daughter of Orfitus, inherited the house from her father, included several epigrams intended to accompany the images of famous past owners, family members, and in-laws, as well as his own accomplishments. Symmachus came into possession of this sumptuous villa at Baiae through his wife Rusticiana, which, as D. Vera has suggested, had come under his control as inherited from her father, former urban prefect Orfitus, although her husband claimed that she received nothing as heiress (*Rel.* 34.11).¹⁸¹⁶

Symmachus wrote about the time he spent at Bauli and incorporates poetry on the series of ancestor portraits he ordered to be displayed in the villa. His first ekphrastic epigram in five hexameters is composed as if recited by Acindynus himself:

An Attic *palla* clothes my father-in-law, a *toga picta* my father;
the one presided over sacred rites, the other pronounced on Roman law.
But as evidenced by the clasp that fastens my military attire,
Among the peoples of the east I ruled as the emperor's praetorian.
About my *fascēs*, though, the painting is silent; look to the *fasti* (trans. M. Roberts).¹⁸¹⁷

The poem visualizes Acindynus, 'the founder of the house', and his ancestors: his father was urban prefect, a high-ranking Roman magistrate worthy of the ornate Roman *toga picta*,¹⁸¹⁸ married into an Athenian family as his father-in-law is represented wearing the *palla*, the Greek cloak (*Ep.* 1.1.3). By the fourth century, the term *trabea* seems to have become somewhat interchangeable

¹⁸¹² Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 739-40; Andrea Carignani, "La domus 'dei Symmachi'" in Serena Ensoli and Eugenio La Rocca, eds., *Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana. Exhibition Catalog* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2000), 150-51.

¹⁸¹³ On senatorial estates, see Domenico Vera, "Simmaco e le sue proprietà. Struttura e funzionamento di un patrimonio aristocratico del quarto secolo d.C.," in *Colloque genevois sur Symmaque a l'occasion du mille six centième anniversaire du conflit de l'autel de la Victoire*, eds. François Paschoud et al. (Paris: Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1986), 231-70. Cecconi, *Governo imperiale*, 136-41.

¹⁸¹⁴ *PLRE* 1, 11 Septimius Acindynus 2.

¹⁸¹⁵ *CIL* 10 8061,3 (Neapolis (Campania)).

¹⁸¹⁶ Vera, "Simmaco e le sue proprietà," 243-52.

¹⁸¹⁷ Michele Renee Salzman and Michael Roberts, trans., *The Letters of Symmachus* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 7-8.

¹⁸¹⁸ *PLRE* 1, 11 Septimius Acindynus 1.

with the *toga picta*, with the elaboration in taste for ornamentation. For Claudian, for instance, it is precisely the term *trabea* that designates the vestment worn by a consul (*Stil.* 2.365-70). The poem does not give names, but characterizes the persons concerned only through their clothing and offices. Symmachus specifically refers to Acindynus' office as praetorian prefect of the East, which he held from 338 to 340. The attire of Acindynus, the chlamys, identifies him as *praefectus praetorio Orientis*. Acindynus is attested in the post of prefect in Antioch, where he may have served the emperor in ministerial duties at court.¹⁸¹⁹ Further, both *fascēs* and *fasti* were clearly wide-reaching symbols associated with consulship and refer to his office held in 340. The portrait of Acindynus does not represent him as consul – he is not dressed in the ornamented *trabea* – but the office is poetically denoted by the *fascēs*. This advancement in the cursus of the former founder of the estate is now reflected by the epigram of Symmachus, with the phrase ‘the painting is silent’ (v.5, *pictura tacet*) alluding to the absence of references to his consulship in the iconography of his painted portrait. Lastly, the epigrammatic speaker asks readers to take check the *fasti*, i.e. the list of Roman consuls.¹⁸²⁰

The second epigram by Symmachus equally dwells on the legacy of Acindynus, but continues with Orfitus, Symmachus' father-in-law, an eminent senator from a noble family, who was twice urban prefect of Rome, 353-56 and 357-59. Lastly, the twelve fascēs of Symmachus symbolize his proconsulship of Africa in 373, as proconsuls were entitled to this honor similar to consuls and praetors:

Here the consul Acindynus lived out his outstanding life
and here, too, Orfitus, who prescribed laws for the heirs of Aeneas.
Among these, the glory of the youth, but senior in office,
You Symmachus, win lofty fame with your twelve *fascēs*.
But the languid pastimes of Bauli do not yet call you.
May public service keep you, young man, ever vigilant! (transl. Roberts)

Furthermore, Symmachus states that he ‘corrected the liberties taken in their painted portraits, which assigned inappropriate attire to each figure’. It is not clear how he adjusted the garments in these pictures. However, he obviously referred to the painted portraits in the villa that he had acquired through his wife's family. Painted portraits in fresco were one of the types of *imagines* of Roman ancestors, considered part of the house by law, and hence they would have come into Symmachus' wife's family and then into his ownership. Salzman hypothesizes that Symmachus could have had these portraits repainted, and modified the clothing since they were not

¹⁸¹⁹ Moser, *Emperors and Senators*, 92.

¹⁸²⁰ Salzman and Roberts, *The Letters of Symmachus*, 9-10.

wearing vestments appropriate to their rank or office.¹⁸²¹ Symmachus' reference to painted ancestral portraits goes against the views of some scholars regarding *imagines* as no longer relevant in the late Roman society.¹⁸²² Ancestor masks continued to be powerful symbols of rank and political aspiration within the aristocratic home in the later Roman Empire.¹⁸²³ The painted portraits were part of furnishings of a house, which must be passed on intact to an heir. The identification of *imagines* with inheritance in the imperial legislation and the acknowledgment of their role in giving character to the house are powerful testimonies to the abiding presence of *imagines* in the aristocratic household.

The setting of this letter is of central importance to the aristocratic self-representation. The diction of Symmachus' epigrams matches up perfectly with the cultural context of late antique elite villas and shows the role of property in establishing aristocratic status and social networks. Indeed, houses and villas, regularly transferred from one family to another or from one family member to another, were heavily invested in visual and architectural tradition, including rich display of paintings, of which ancestors' portraits were often part. With sale, inheritance, or gift as strategies used by aristocrats to preserve and enhance their social and economic status in late Roman society, their literary activities were part of the fundamentally Roman cultural context of *otium* and villa. In the epigrams inspired by the imposing villa on the Campanian coast, Symmachus' emphasis on his property and its famous owners, including his wife's prominent ancestors, and his manifestation of a classical *paideia* at the beginning of his first book of letters was intended to enhance his elite membership standing. He thereby highlighted how his high public offices and his literary efforts associated him with a long line of accomplished aristocrats, such as the previous residents of the prestigious villa at Bauli.¹⁸²⁴ The first letter of Symmachus introduced the world of the later Roman governing classes seen in the round with their ideals of *otium*, literary culture, and government service as shared by all the members of the imperial aristocracy.

¹⁸²¹ Salzman and Roberts, *The Letters of Symmachus*, 9 n.12.

¹⁸²² For example, Cristophe Badel, *La noblesse de l'Empire romain: Les masques et la vertu* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2005), 116-18.

¹⁸²³ The edict of Constantine of 326, *CJ* 5.37.22. Harriet Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 264-69.

¹⁸²⁴ Salzman and Roberts, *The Letters of Symmachus*, 5-11.

Chapter three. Military administration

I. *Illustres*

1. *Magister militum*

The *Notitia Dignitatum* records one master of foot and one master of horse in the presence (*presentalis*) in the West and two masters of horse and foot in the presence in the East. As for the prefectures, one master of horse in the Gauls is found in the West and three masters of horse and foot are in the East (*per Orientem*, *per Thracias*, and *per Illyricum*). The *Notitia*, an administrative document concerned with the order of precedence, confirms the high status of *military magistri*, where they appear immediately after praetorian and city prefects, and ahead of all other senior civilian officials.

Each of the seven commanding masters in the West and East has the same form of insignia in the *Notitia*. A blue cloth-draped table with the propped-up codicil is placed in the upper left part of the *magister's* insigne. The *codicilli* here as in the other insignia are a sign of the official's direct connection to the emperor, highlighted by the use of gold and ivory, legitimizing the general's decisions and actions. The format of the appointive documents of the eastern generals corresponds to the praefectoral insignia, with a rectangle in the center and bands running out to the edges on both sides and a broader at the top and bottom.¹⁸²⁵ The style of the gold trim implies either a high or a low status among the *illustres*: the gold trim on the rectangles of the prefects and *magistri militum* conforms to identical style, but differs from the gold trim on the portrait-bearing rhomboids of *magistri officiorum* and the other *illustres*.¹⁸²⁶ This format is of the highest rank among those exposed in the symbolic *armarium*. In the West the format of the codicils is a rectangle with the central portion of a rhomboid shape, ranking second in the *armarium*. According to Berger, these slightly different decors signify that ceremonially *magistri militum* in the East had the same rank as prefects, thus the same codicillary design, while in the West, the general's codicillary format ranks below that of prefects.¹⁸²⁷

The codicil of the eastern general, first master of the soldiers in the presence, displays the busts of two figures rather than one. Berger concludes that their exemplar provided the two-bust model with the archetype of this particular insigne executed at the time when there were co-emperors in the East.¹⁸²⁸ The great portion of the insigne of *magistri militum* depicts late Roman shields of various patterns,¹⁸²⁹ albeit distorted into a round shape from the more usual oval. Each *magister* has his insigne composed of at least two pages: one exhibits the draped table and shield

¹⁸²⁵ Berger, *The Insignia*, 42.

¹⁸²⁶ Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 121.

¹⁸²⁷ Berger, *The Insignia*, 42.

¹⁸²⁸ Ibid., 42-43.

¹⁸²⁹ Beniamino M. Di Dario, *La 'Notitia Dignitatum'. Immagini e simboli del Tardo Impero Romano* (Padova: Edizioni AR, 2006).

patterns, while the other or others the shields only. In the eastern insignia the shields are aligned in two, three or four rows, and a capture with the unit's name features above each shield. In the East the more numerous shields are arranged in rows of five or six. Many of the shield patterns listed matching *magister's* infantry or cavalry lists are in fact mislabeled.

With the rules for senatorial office-holding modified, the extension of senatorial status incorporated the holders of senior imperial posts. Moving away from a hereditary model, with rank now gained through service of the emperor, this benefited also military bureaucrats. A more flexible system based on merit initiated by Constantine, integrating imperial elites into a single senatorial leadership by replacing previous rank distinctions, nonetheless held clearly separated military and civilian careers. However, the source material on military commanders in the early decades of the fourth century is extremely limited, unlike the evidence from the late 330s onward. Not a single *magister* from Constantine's reign has yet been identified with certainty. The possibility that Virius Nepotianus, consul in 336, might have been a general of some kind has been proposed, albeit on grounds of an unreliable fifth-century hagiographical text.¹⁸³⁰

The military rank of *magister*, whose creation is credited to Constantine, was probably introduced toward the end of his reign (Zos. 2.33; Aur. Vic., *De Caes.* 41.12).¹⁸³¹ Under Constantine *magister militum* also became *comes primi ordinis*.¹⁸³² While the rank predicate *clarissimus* denoted an entry of master of soldiers into the senatorial *ordo*, the honorific title *comes primi ordinis* distinguished the closest advisors of the emperor.¹⁸³³ D. Lee exaggerates Constantine's generosity with senatorial status,¹⁸³⁴ but he points to Ammianus' report of the claim that Constantine granted consular office to barbarians (21.10.8) as having a specific link to the military.¹⁸³⁵ In this period it can relate only to *magistri militum*, however.

Nevertheless, only in the reign of Constantius II one finds first examples of master of soldiers holding the consulship, such as Sallustius (344), Eusebius (347), and Arbitio (355). The only magistracy which existed without interruptions from the republican time to late antiquity, the consulship, although having almost all its politic functions lost, remained high in hierarchy, giving the year its name and being frequently shared with the emperors themselves. Seven fourth-century military masters – including four barbarian ones – were consuls.

¹⁸³⁰ Barnes, *The New Empire*, 108, is more cautious than Barnes 1974, 226; Doug Lee, "Emperors and Generals in the Fourth Century," in Wienand, *Contested Monarchy*, 107 n. 44.

¹⁸³¹ Alexander Demandt, "Magister militum," in *RE, Supplementband XII* (Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmueller, 1970), 562.

¹⁸³² Demandt, "Magister militum," 560–65 (from Constantine I until 353).

¹⁸³³ Lee, "Emperors and Generals," 100–118; Weiss, *Consistorium*; Scharf, *Comites*.

¹⁸³⁴ Eus., *VC* 4.1 confirms generously granted titles to ones employed in the imperial administration, but reports the large-scale conferment of perfectissimate and not clarissimate.

¹⁸³⁵ Lee, "Emperors and Generals," 100–118.

Furthermore, since Constantius is praised by Ammianus for not allowing any *dux* to achieve the *clarissimus* status (21.16.2), one would expect explicit mention of *magistri* as well, if they had not already achieved the *clarissime*. Nonetheless, already since Julian the military gained power and prestige.¹⁸³⁶ Under the reign of Valentinian and Valens, the law of 372 is explicit about *magistri equitum ac peditum* holding the same status (*dignitas*) as the most senior civilian posts, those of praetorian and urban prefect, while another constitution from the same year grants *comites rei militaris*, a rank subordinate to that of *magister*, placing him immediately below the latter. When *CTh* 6.7.1 equalled *magistri militum* to praetorian and city prefects the precedence of the civil officers was abolished.

Thus, *magistri militum* were elevated in rank to *viri illustres*. The prime mover behind the legislation of 372 noted earlier must have been Valentinian, rather than his brother Valens, since it was issued at Nasonacum (Nassogne), in the Ardennes to the west of Trier, and a concern on his part to clarify the status of military officeholders is understandable.¹⁸³⁷ It was primarily the military elite that successfully lobbied increase in rank and pay granted by the imperial decree.

The imperial constitutions reflect a hierarchy, on the top-level of which, according to the consulship held, sit both prefects and masters of soldiers. At first sight, this equality of military and civilian positions seems to have been applied to the other protocol levels mentioned. From 372 honorary masters of soldiers ranked after *proconsules* (*CTh* 6.22.4). The document is interpreted as a normative manifestation of a desire to equate the rank of military leaders with that of the highest civilian dignitaries.¹⁸³⁸ The law deals explicitly with honorary codicils (*honorarii codicilli*) of *magistri militum*. As Schmidt-Hofner pointed out, it does not mean, however, that honorary *magistri militum* would have precedence over the proconsuls. For this to happen, the relevant passage must read ‘*ut his loco praestent*’, i.e. ‘so that they surpass the proconsuls with regard to their position’. On the other hand, the traditional wording ‘*ut his locum praestent*’ means exactly the opposite: honorary masters of soldiers should ‘make room’ for the proconsuls, i.e. give them a priority.¹⁸³⁹ So there is no mention of a precedence of the military here – just to the contrary. Honorary *magister militum* is attested also as *comes primi ordinis* in 384 (*CTh* 8.5.44). In the imperial hierarchy he is thus clearly below the highest civilian dignitaries in active service.

Honorifics attested for the office of *magister militum* comprise ‘superiority’ terms, such as *auctoritas* (from 364), *excellencia* (365), *magnificentia* (from 391), and *sublimitas* (from 393), as well as ‘personal quality’ terms, such as *devotio* (311), *dicatio* (311), and *sinceritas* (373).¹⁸⁴⁰ Combinations of terms appear to have acquired special meaning. The employment of adjectival

¹⁸³⁶ Demandt, *Die Spätantike*.

¹⁸³⁷ Lee, “Emperors and Generals,” 107-8.

¹⁸³⁸ For the bibliography, see Schmidt-Hofner, *Reagieren und Gestalten*, 107 n. 192.

¹⁸³⁹ Ibid., 108-109.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Mathisen, “Imperial Honorifics,” table II.2.

forms with *auctoritas* occurs ten times between 363 and 397, all but once in the East. Aside from its use with *inlustris*, different combinations tend to be used for different offices: ‘*insignis auctoritas tua*’ appears twice for a *magister militum* (CTh 8.5.56: 396, 7.7.3: 398). Only ‘*magnifica auctoritas tua*’ did double duty, being used for the offices of both praetorian prefect and master of soldiers (CTh 7.4.12: 364). *Auctoritas* was also used on occasions where special emphasis was given to the exercise of ‘authority’: for its continued use with illustrious offices, note the office of master of soldiers (CTh 7.1.8: 365, 7.1.9: 367). Like the nominal epithets, several adjectival terms are office or rank specific. For example, *inlustris* appears only with illustrious offices: it is applied to master of soldiers in 395 (CTh 6.24.6).¹⁸⁴¹

The social origin of *magistri militum* widely differed. To the small but under-researched and largely poorly documented group of military officials from senatorial circle, identified by A. Demandt, belongs the fourth-century general Sabinianus.¹⁸⁴² He had a mixed career as *vir clarissimus* by birth, i.e. as one who did not receive his rank through an office but came from a senatorial family, yet embarked on a military career. It could certainly have reached as far as *comes rei militaris* or *domesticorum*.¹⁸⁴³ Likewise, the family from which he came from remains unknown. But Sabinianus must have belonged to the *ordo senatorius* at least already in his father’s generation, who had gone through no military career. Thus he belongs to a family whose members switched between military and civilian careers, among the generals from senatorial circle, or he was even the only example in his family for a military career. This could be the reason for a special hatred with which Ammianus reports about him. While Ursicinus was one of the official leaders who achieved their social rank in the service of the empire through their military expertise, Sabinianus, who, by his very origin, possessed a corresponding social position, was suspected of lacking the necessary competence.

Similarly, in establishing himself as the *arbiter amicitiae*, Symmachus demonstrated his cultured superiority to the generals of non-Roman ethnic origins. In the first of two letters (Ep. 4.15) to Bauto, Symmachus pointed out that the general had made a serious breach of etiquette: the latter did not receive his consular gift from the former at the beginning of senator’s year in office of the city prefect, in 385. Given Symmachus’ elevated position, this omission was a notable lapse of etiquette. He complained that this delay marked him out as the object of special concern (*specialis cura*). The only other person who is cited in Symmachus correspondence for committing the same socially improper act was the barbarian general Richomeres. There are some fifteen extant letters sent by Symmachus to this eminent Frankish general, *magister militum* in the East between the

¹⁸⁴¹ Ibid., 191, 193-5, 199.

¹⁸⁴² Alexander Demandt, “Der spatromische Militaradel,” *Chiron* 10 (1980): 611.

¹⁸⁴³ Joachim Szidat, “Sabinianus. Ein Heermeister senatorischer Abkunft im 4. Jh.,” *Historia* 40 (1991): 495. On onomastic grounds, one could think of the Vettii Grati Sabiniani, who entered the senate in the third century and for who the military offices can be attested in the fourth century.

years 383-94, and consul in 384. When Richomerus was at the very height of his powers, Symmachus as *praefectus urbi* sent him a letter in 385 (*Ep.* 3.59) that raised the issue of Symmachus' delayed consular gift. Symmachus describes the gift as a *munus*, an obligatory act regulated by a customary ceremonial which Richomerus should have followed in a timely fashion. Curiously, back in 384, both Bauto, as a member of the imperial consistory, and Rumoridus had opposed Ambrose concerning the removal of the Altar of Victory (*Ambr., Ep.* 1.57.3).¹⁸⁴⁴

Statuary representation of military honorands is uncommon. In the principate, the great majority of statue recipients in the Forum Romanum and in Trajan's Forum were imperial generals. By contrast, in the late fourth- and very early fifth-century Rome, all public honorific statues represented civilian office-holders with one notable exception. The Roman general Flavius Stilicho, *magister militum*, the highest-ranking military official in the empire, was first to receive an honorific statue in the Forum Romanum in late 398 or early 399. The Forum Romanum thus became the most prominent public venue for the display of honorific statues of distinguished military commanders in the city. Even more significantly, the military honorands came to share this space with emperors, which contrasts them with senators, whose statues were restricted to an aristocratic but civilian zone on the Forum Traiani.¹⁸⁴⁵

With regard to the fragility of the military command structure in the late Roman West, establishing bonds of loyalty between diverse ranges of barbarian groups serving the Roman army, the empire ultimately relied on the senior Roman officers who soon gained the highest honors. What is unusual in the statuary dedications to Stilicho is the fact that even though conspicuous public venues of the city of Rome had been crowded with honorific statuary since before, they remained – primarily, if not exclusively – spaces for the commemoration of emperors and senators. The Forum Romanum as well as the Forum Traiani,¹⁸⁴⁶ where senators were commemorated, were the most considerable public settings for the display of imperial statues in the fourth and fifth centuries.¹⁸⁴⁷ The Forum Romanum was designed as a scene to display the emperor's military glory: its architectural ornamentation conveyed the imagery of military triumph. With Stilicho, a new figure of military honorand emerged in late antique representational art and epigraphic culture. Possessing an exclusive political and social position derived from individual military achievements, the late Roman general befitted the representational space open to the public eye. Extant epigraphic

¹⁸⁴⁴ *PLRE* 1, 159-60 Flavius Bauto; 765-66 Flavius Richomerus, 786 Flavius Rumoridus.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Dedications for emperors and imperial family in the Forum Romanum: *CIL* 6 40794=36957 (Valentinian I or II), *CIL* 6 3791a=31413 (Valentinian II, 389), *CIL* 6 36959 (Theodosius I, 389), *CIL* 6 3791b=31414 (Arcadius, 389), *CIL* 6 36960 (Thermantia, mother of Theodosius I, 389-91), *CIL* 6 1187=31256a (Honorius and Arcadius, possibly *quadriga* or large statue group, 398), *CIL* 6 36956b (originally Valens, reerected 421-39, perhaps still Valens); Forum Iulium: *CIL* 6 40798 (Arcadius, 399/400); Forum Traiani: *CIL* 6 1186 (Theodosius I, 389), *CIL* 6 40797 (Arcadius? 383-408), *CIL* 6 40813 (*domino nostro*, late fourth or early fifth century). See also Chenault, "Statues of Senators," 103-32; Machado, "Building the Past," 157-92.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Chenault, "Statues of Senators," 103-32.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Weisweiler, "From Equality to Asymmetry," 319-50; Niquet, *Monumenta*; Machado, "Building the Past."

evidence from late antique Rome attests nine statues erected for senior military officers (*magistri militum*): one from the modern Via del Corso, another on Forum Traiani, the rest on the Forum Romanum.

The example of Stilicho opens the epigraphic evidence consisting of statue bases erected in Rome for high-ranking military commanders between the last decade of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century. Dedicatory inscriptions articulate military power delegated by the emperor as supreme commander of the army to the generals and converted by them into a power base, which is symbolically communicated by the sculpted representation and honorific language of the monuments. The changing relationship between the emperor and the military high commanders defined the social standing that derived from the proximity to the imperial family and was monopolized by senior military officers. Apprehended symbolically, different forms of representation, which were appropriated by late Roman army commanders on an exclusive basis and whose formation ultimately relied on the commanders' ability, provide a fairly accurate image of the development of the social hierarchy in the late Roman empire.

Since all of the statues dedicated to military commanders are now lost, scholars are confined to dealing with fragments of honorific inscriptions carved into the statue bases which were discovered amid the rubble of the Forum. Therefore, the statue bases and the preserved texts are the only remnants of the no longer extant sculptural representation. The inscriptions were, in fact, 'written instructions' on how to read and interpret the images above them.¹⁸⁴⁸ As statuary bases for military honorands were set up in a public and monumental context they were open to a throng of potential readers on a prime site of Rome. It is against this 'official' and imperial background that one should read dedicatory inscriptions as texts.

Chronologically, the earliest honorific statue of Stilicho was erected on the Forum Romanum between late 398 and early 399.¹⁸⁴⁹ Honoured by the senate, the commander-in-chief of the army in the western empire received not merely a common life-size statue, but an equestrian monument, which was usually restricted to the members of the imperial family.¹⁸⁵⁰ The text provides a career inscription in thirteen lines, praising Stilicho as military office-holder: he appears as *vir illustrissimus*, master of the cavalry and the infantry (*magister equitum peditumque* – an old-fashioned designation for *magister militum*), commander of the imperial guard, and praetorian

¹⁸⁴⁸ Jaś Elsner, "Inventing Imperium: Texts and the Propaganda of Monuments in Augustan Rome," in *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, ed. Jaś Elsner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 35.

¹⁸⁴⁹ *CIL* 6 1730=*LSA*-1436 (C. Machado); Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*; Ruck, *Die Grossen dieser Welt*, 264–5.

¹⁸⁵⁰ While the inscription not mentions an equestrian statue, the measurements of the marble base (with the front of a base 123 x 134 cm) clearly show that it must have been for a monument bigger than a standing statue. The honour awarded through this dedication, an equestrian statue in the Forum Romanum, the traditional location of the imperial statuary in Rome, was still exceptional. See, Niquet, *Monumenta*, 57–58. For the fourth-century non-imperial equestrian statuary, see *CIL* 14 4455=*LSA*-1661 (Ostia); *AE* 2000, 735; *CIL* 2 1972.

tribune.¹⁸⁵¹ Although it emphatically starts and dwells at length on the military career of the honorand by emphasizing his personal participation in military campaigns as the ‘comes of the divine Theodosius Augustus in all wars and victories’, it makes an important digression on a highly coveted social experience, namely, Stilicho’s relationship to the imperial house: the general is extolled for both advancing ‘over the passing years through the steps of the most glorious military service rising to the height of eternal glory and carrying it up to royal relationship by marriage as son-in-law of the deified Theodosius’; furthermore Stilicho was ‘admitted by Theodosius to a second royal kinship by marriage as father-in-law of our lord Honorius Augustus’.¹⁸⁵²

Stilicho claimed to have been appointed by Theodosius I to be the guardian of Honorius and Arcadius and ‘advisor’ (*consultor*) of the emperors on the basis of his exemplary military career.¹⁸⁵³ In his qualities as guardian of Honorius and husband of Serena (niece and foster daughter of Theodosius), who bore him a son, Eucherius, Stilicho was part of the imperial family. To reproduce and further reinforce his lasting relationships with the emperor he arranged the marriage of his daughters Maria and (after Maria’s death) Thermantia to Honorius.¹⁸⁵⁴ His matrimonial strategies brought him extremely close to the innermost circles of power in the western court. High-ranking men with military achievements now wielded direct access – previously controlled by courtiers with civilian offices – to the emperor.

Therefore, as an able army leader, Stilicho managed to convert his military power into a rare social capital – as it was in late antiquity – namely the proximity to the emperor. Another fragmentary inscription from the Forum Romanum contains a deliberate erasure of Stilicho’s name, a sign of *damnatio memoriae*.¹⁸⁵⁵ In five partially survived lines the text honors ‘the wisest, most victorious leader, advisor of our lords, as well as protector of the divine family (*divini generis*) and of the Roman name’.¹⁸⁵⁶ Niquet suggests a possibility of the equestrian statue. The aforementioned inscription of 398/399 finishes by turning back one more time to the military services, which

¹⁸⁵¹ *CIL* 6 1730, lines 2–4. Inscriptions dated by Stilicho’s consulship: *CIL* 6 1706=*LSA*–1413 (from 400) and *CIL* 11 3238=*ILCV* 3294 (from 400/405). *PLRE* 1, 853–58 Stilicho.

¹⁸⁵² *CIL* 6 1730, lines 5–12. Niquet, *Monumenta*, 144, n.122, compares it with the senatorial honorific inscriptions from Rome.

¹⁸⁵³ *CIL* 6 3868=31988=41381=*LSA*–1490, line 3, ‘[c]onsul[fo]ri’.

¹⁸⁵⁴ *ILS* 800: ‘Honorī, Mariā, Stelicho, Serēna, vivatis! Stelicho, Serena, Thermantia, Eucherī, vivatis!’ on a *bullā* discovered in the probable tomb of Maria, bearing the names of the imperial family. Stilicho and Serena are mentioned twice as part of the imperial family, following Stilicho’s *parens principum* rhetoric.

¹⁸⁵⁵ For bibliography on *damnatio memoriae*, see Friedrich Vittinghoff, *Der Staatfeind in der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Untersuchungen zur ‘Damnatio Memoriae’* (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1936); Hedrick, *History and Silence*; Harriet Flower, *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006) rejects, however, the concept of *damnatio memoriae*, arguing instead for ‘sanctions against memory’. For a recent contribution, see Florian Krüpe, *Die Damnatio memoriae. Über die Vernichtung von Erinnerung. Eine Fallstudie zu Publius Septimius Geta (198–211 n. Chr.)* (Gutenberg: Computus, 2011). For hostile mention of Stilicho’s half-Vandal origin, Jerome, *Ep.* 123.16; Oros. 7.38.1. Had Stilicho not fallen from emperor’s grace there would be no reason to see him as other than Roman, see Hugh Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe A.D. 350–425* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 141–42.

¹⁸⁵⁶ *CIL* 6 3868=31988=41381=*LSA*–1490, lines 1–5; Niquet, *Monumenta*, 57–58, the width of ca. 125 cm; Ruck, *Die Grossen dieser Welt*, 263.

Stilicho rendered to the emperor Honorius, pointing out the general as a man ‘whose counsel and foresight delivered Africa’¹⁸⁵⁷ and thus referring to the imperial victory over Gildo,¹⁸⁵⁸ *magister equitum et peditum* in Africa in 386-98, whose rebellion had threatened the corn supply of Rome. The Roman senate was not only responsible for the formal declaration of war against Gildo but also for the subsequent dedication to Stilicho set up by a senatorial decree (*ex senatus consulto*).¹⁸⁵⁹ It is remarkable because until late fourth century it were the emperors whose statues were set up to celebrate the victories gained by them as supreme military commanders – victories (advertised as) essentially gained for the senate and people of Rome; since Stilicho high generals replaced the emperors in this function, both on the battle field and partially in the ideological representation.

Another inscription, too, commemorates Stilicho’s (counselling) role in the Gildonic war. The text belongs to a second statue erected for Stilicho in 400 by the guilds of barge-owners and fishermen (*caudicarii seu piscatores*) of Rome and focuses on Stilicho’s recent military achievements:

Out of high regard for great virtues, among the other benefits which have been bestowed through him upon the city of Rome [...] because with him, having Gildo the public enemy (*hostis publicus*) vanquished and the food supply of the Romans restored, increased the happiness (trans. C. Machado).¹⁸⁶⁰

What both inscriptions are really about is the transformative power of inscribed word and the need to construct a report on the war: what actually happened is beside the point, because both inscriptions intend to refashion reality to create a story they need to tell. What makes the entire honorific enterprise symptomatic is, on the one hand, the actual marginal, advisory – rather than leading – role of Stilicho in the imperial military conduct in Africa. Much more important is, however, on the other hand, to be aware of the actual political situation behind what is communicated: Gildo’s ambiguous status (who, after all, pledged fidelity to Arcadius, emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire) and Stilicho’s uncertain standing (who was denounced as *hostis publicus* by the Eastern court in 398).¹⁸⁶¹ It is here that ideology enters the text.

In 406, leading a large force with Hunnic and Allan allies, Stilicho defeated Radagaisus.¹⁸⁶² Following his victory over the Goths near Faesulae (modern Fiesole in Italy), Stilicho received a

¹⁸⁵⁷ *CIL* 6 1730, lines 12–3.

¹⁸⁵⁸ *PLRE* 1, 395–96 Gildo. On revolt and defeat, see Claud., *Bell. Gild.*; Oros. 36.2–13; Zos. 5.11.

¹⁸⁵⁹ *CIL* 6 1730, line 13; Claud. Stil. 1.325–32, *hoc quoque non parva fas est cum laude relinqui, / quod non ante fretis exercitus adstitit ultor, / ordine quam prisco censeret bella senatus. / neglectum Stilicho per tot iam saecula morem / rettulit, ut ducibus mandarent proelia patres / decretoque togae felix legionibus iret / tessera.*

¹⁸⁶⁰ *CIL* 6 41382=LSA-1587, lines 5–6, 10–12. On Gildo, see Cameron, *Claudian*, 93–123.

¹⁸⁶¹ For the designation ‘*hostis publicus*’ and declaration of war against Gildo in 397, see *CIL* 6 41382=AE 1926, 124=LSA-1587.

¹⁸⁶² Zos. 5.26.3, Oros. 7.37.12, on allies. On Radagaisus’ attack as a revolt of barbarian recruits, see Thomas Burns, *Barbarians Within the Gates of Rome: A Study of Roman Military Policy and the Barbarians, ca.375–425 A.D.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 198.

gilded bronze statue in the Forum Romanum – a prominent monument erected on a prominent site.¹⁸⁶³ Since he twice failed to prevail over Alaric,¹⁸⁶⁴ yet misrepresented as a triumph by the ‘official panegyrist’,¹⁸⁶⁵ the court poet Claudian, Stilicho’s defeat of Radagaisus was a resounding victory for Honorius’ (emperor of the Western Roman Empire) government, an achievement exceedingly extolled by the honorific inscription.¹⁸⁶⁶ It is worth noting that Olympiodorus, stemming from the Eastern Roman Empire, refers to the numbers of recruits drafted by the *magister militum* into the Roman army with some surprise, as something typical of the West only.¹⁸⁶⁷ The victory over Radagaisus was celebrated by a lost triumphal arch with statues of the emperors Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius II dedicated by the senate in Rome, possibly on the Campus Martius.¹⁸⁶⁸ The related inscription claimed that this victory ‘extinguished forever the nation of the Goths’.¹⁸⁶⁹

Two further dedications from the Forum Romanum, set up most probably in 406 and therefore after Stilicho’s decisive victory over Radagaisus, attest to the eminent position of Stilicho in early fifth-century Rome. The first is the gilded statue set up by urban prefect Flavius Pisidius Romulus.¹⁸⁷⁰ Its accompanying inscription mentions Stilicho’s military offices – commander of both soldieries (*magister utriusque militiae*), comital commander of the imperial guards and of the sacred stable (*comes domesticorum et stabuli sacri*) – and points out that the general was a ‘partner’ (*socius*) to the emperors ‘in all wars and victories’.¹⁸⁷¹ With rare precision, the text describes the monument and indicates its site: ‘the Roman people, due to their exceptional love for him and his foresight, decreed a statue of bronze and silver to be installed on the Rostra as a memory of his eternal glory’.¹⁸⁷² A silver-plated statue evoked comparison with the emperor’s images and required both imperial and senatorial consent to be set up in the central area of the Forum – even more because it was paired with a statue of Honorius, suggesting co-ruling in a dynastic tradition.¹⁸⁷³ While the statue made the absent honorand appear less remote from Rome, the location of the monument had a highly symbolic significance: following a military triumph, public addresses were

¹⁸⁶³ *CIL* 6 1731=1195=*LSA*–1437.

¹⁸⁶⁴ At Pollentia and at Verona (402). Michael Kulikowski, “The Failure of Roman Arms,” in *The Sack of Rome in 410 AD: The Event, its Context and its Impact*, ed. Johannes Lipps et al. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013), 78, conjectures that Stilicho either ‘may simply have found it impossible to defeat Alaric’ or, what is more, ‘like all commanders, had every reason to allow defeated enemies some freedom to recover, since they and their units were potentially useful alive’.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Claud. *Bell Goth.*, lines 267–404, on Alaric’s attack on Italy. Cameron, *Claudian*, 59, on the role of Claudian.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Although this very unusual late dedication neither specifies victory in war against the Goths nor records the services of Stilicho, a conjecture of his success against Radagaisus (405–406) rather than against Alaric (402) is more likely.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Olymp., fr. 9, on draft.

¹⁸⁶⁸ *CIL* 6 1199=*ILS* 798= *LSA*–1311, Niquet, *Monumenta*, 206, n.35.

¹⁸⁶⁹ *CIL* 6 1196 = *ILS* 798, line 3.

¹⁸⁷⁰ *PLRE* 1, 771–72 Romulus 5.

¹⁸⁷¹ *CIL* 6 1371=1195, lines 9–10.

¹⁸⁷² *CIL* 6 1371=1195, lines 15–22. Note an equally rare dedication by the *populus Romanus*, the old ‘Republican’ source of sovereignty of the senatorial government.

¹⁸⁷³ Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum*, 90–91. See *CIL* 6 1195.

held from the speaker's platform in the Forum Romanum (fig. 62).¹⁸⁷⁴ By appropriating the place from where the emperors made their *orationes*, Stilicho effectively substituted the emperor in this ceremonial context. Positioned on the Rostra, the statue effectively reminded the populace of all previous orators, conveying thereby quasi-imperial honor to the distant general.

The second monument, set up in the name of the senate and people of Rome under the supervision of the same city prefect and found in situ in front of the Curia near the arch of Septimius Severus, is dedicated, quite unusually, to the *fides* and *virtus* of the emperor's soldiers:

‘To the loyalty (*fides*) and valor (*virtus*) of the most devoted soldiers of our lords Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius, everlasting Augusti, after the Gothic war had been brought to an end through the good fortune (*felicitas*) of our eternal emperor and lord Honorius, and by the counsels (*consilia*) and bravery (*fortitudo*) of the count and master of both armies, Flavius Stilicho, of illustrious rank, twice consul’.¹⁸⁷⁵

Even though the identity of the statue that stood above this inscribed base is controversial and uncertain, and the name and titles of Stilicho¹⁸⁷⁶ were erased from the base after his downfall in 408, most scholars regard this inscription, emphasizing recent imperial victories over the Goths, and the related statue as dedicated to the all-powerful general and courtier.¹⁸⁷⁷ The text of the inscription, however, also celebrates the good fortune of Honorius' reign.¹⁸⁷⁸ Therefore, the statue, as Machado notes, may also have been an image of the emperor himself or a personification of the virtues celebrated. Or, alternatively, Stilicho himself was represented as the living personification of military *fides* and *virtus*.¹⁸⁷⁹ The symbolic emphasis of the inscriptions is unmistakably on Stilicho's military commands as an embodiment of bravery and valor, which are cataloged in exhaustive detail. The manner in which a *magister militum* like Stilicho received the exceptional honor of statue dedications is instructive of how such a high-ranking *vir militaris* and the relation between him, the emperor and the senate were perceived.

Aside from the honorific inscriptions, building inscriptions, originally prominently placed on the structures of the military forts, identify the construction activities conducted under the supervision of *magister militum*. Equitius was *comes rei militaris per Illyricum* in 364-65 and *magister equitum et peditum per Illyricum* in 365-75. Pannonian by birth, he was raised in status by Valentinian through the office of *magister militum*, which he seems to have retained throughout the

¹⁸⁷⁴ CIL 6 1184a=LSA-1294 (Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I) installed on top of the late antique *rostra*; see Bauer, “Das Denkmal der Kaiser Gratian, Valentinian II,” 213–34.

¹⁸⁷⁵ CIL 6 31987=LSA-1363, lines 1–11.

¹⁸⁷⁶ CIL 6 31987, lines 10–11.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Geza Alföldy and Christian Witschel argue in favor of his identification as Stilicho in *Addenda et corrigenda*, CIL 6 31987, p. 4800.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 20–22; Messerschmidt, “Die statuarische Repräsentation,” 559, n.4 attribute the monument to one of the three ruling emperors, most probably Honorius.

¹⁸⁷⁹ LSA-1363.

reign of this emperor, becoming consul together with Gratian in 374. After the sudden death of Valentinian, Equitius cooperated with Merobaudes in persuading the troops to recognize Valentinian II as emperor. Five inscriptions, dating to 365-67, 370, 371, and 372 commemorate the straightening of the frontier defenses along the Danube which he supervised as *magister militum* while in office.

The fortification of the *limes* between the military camp Pon(t)e Navata (Visegrád) and Solva (Esztergom) in Valeria under the control of Equitius has been dated by inscriptions to 370-72. However, Equitius may have been active even before that date. First, he is documented on the Pannonian building inscription,¹⁸⁸⁰ which originates from the military camp at Esztergom-Hidegteleőskereszt in Valeria. Located 6 km west of the auxiliary fort at Solva (Esztergom), Esztergom-Hidegteleőskereszt was a Valentinianic fortification of irregular plan, almost triangular, with the length of the size of 102×92×65 m and square towers, half-projecting.¹⁸⁸¹ According to S. Soproni, the inscription found at Solva, which mentions the building of a fortification, *muros cum turribus*,¹⁸⁸² actually came from here.¹⁸⁸³ This constructional inscription is dated between 365-67 on historical grounds.¹⁸⁸⁴ The inscription from Solva near the Danube bend reveals that Valentinian and Valens ordered the reconstruction of a fort there early in their reign. Building works were done *disponente* Equitius, performed due to the command of the emperors (*imperarunt*). He is recorded as *vir clarissimus comes magister equitum peditumque*.

The word *fundamentum* is used rather frequently in inscriptions with respect to Valentinianic buildings.¹⁸⁸⁵ Although mostly true for the constructions of the Valentinianic date, E. Thomas and Witschel argue against its common literal interpretation.¹⁸⁸⁶ In the inscriptions, the employment of *a fundamento* or *a fundamentis* is often highly exaggerated. While the reinforcing phrase *a fundamentis*, which might have been legitimate in the Equitius' inscriptions, such highlighting formulas of the idea of reconstruction were often used for emphasis of the construction claim. Equitius, while reconstructing the fort, thereby advertized how he built '*a rudimentis fundamentorum*'.

¹⁸⁸⁰ *CIL* 3 10596=*ILS* 762 (Solva (Valeria)). Cf. inscriptions of military buildings on Danubian limes: *CIL* 3 6159 and 7494. See Niquet, "Die valentinianische Dynastie," 138 n.100. For *turris*, see *CIL* 8 22774, *IRT* 876. For *castrum*, see *ILS* 859, 8937. *PLRE* 1, 282 Flavius Equitius 2.

¹⁸⁸¹ Harald Von Petrikovits, "Fortifications in the North-Western Roman Empire from the Third to the Fifth Centuries A.D.," *JRS* 61 (1971): 197-98; Constantin Bajenaru, *Minor fortifications in the Balkan-Danubian area from Diocletian to Justinian* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2010), 74.

¹⁸⁸² Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe*, 158-60: distinguish es four categories of forts. Watchtowers (*burgi* or *turres*) were very small fortlets that are not recorded in the *Notitia* but known only from archaeology.

¹⁸⁸³ Sándor Soproni, *Der spätromische Limes zwischen Esztergom und Szentendre* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 26-29, fig. 10.1. Cf. James Lander, *Roman Stone Fortifications: Variation and Change from the First Century AD to the Fourth* (Oxford: BAR, 1984), 271, fig. 278.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Tibor Nagy, *Budapest muemlékei II* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962), 106 dates it to 367.

¹⁸⁸⁵ E.g., *ILS* 762, 773, 774, 775.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Edmund Thomas and Christian Witschel, "Constructing Reconstruction: Claim and Reality of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions from the Latin West," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992): 135-77.

Nevertheless, Equitius was indeed thoroughly engaged in strengthening frontier defenses in the north. Apart from Valeria, another building inscription from 370 was found at Lauriacum in Noricum.¹⁸⁸⁷ Construction works were done *ordinante* master of soldiers by the order (*iussione*) of the emperors. In this now lost inscription Equitius is called slightly different: *vir clarissimus comes et utriusque militiae magister*. The titles *magister equitum et peditum*, *magister utriusque militiae*, and *magister militum* appear to have been used variably, with the same man sometimes referred to differently in different sources.¹⁸⁸⁸ To judge from other inscriptions, the bulk of the work of strengthening the frontier defenses under Valentinian seems to have been done by detachments of the frontier legions. The Norican *burgus* built *a fundamentis* was undoubtedly similar in size and character to the *burgi* of the neighboring provinces, since all belonged to the same system of defences.¹⁸⁸⁹

Yet another lost building inscription from Solva from 371 is transmitted only handwritten.¹⁸⁹⁰ The inscription testifies that a *burgus* called *Commercium* was erected from ground-level (*a fundamentis*) in the area of Solva under Valentinian I. This Pannonian *burgus*, according to the testimony of the inscription itself, was built in forty-eight days, and hence must have been only a small tower or redoubt. The *burgus* was built with the purpose to serve as an outpost in proximity to a large fortress. Building was done *dispositione* Equitius on the decision (*iudicio principali*) of the emperors. A very similar in wording, second Pannonian building inscription found at the excavation of the watchtower and preserved in five slightly damaged fragments from Pon(t)e Navata (Visegrád-Lepence) from the same year testifies to the construction of a *burgus*.¹⁸⁹¹ The third Pannonian building inscription, almost identical in wording with the second, comes also from Pon(t)e Navata and is dated by consular dating to 372.¹⁸⁹² The rank and office of Equitius in all three Pannonian inscriptions is recorded as *illustris vir utriusque militiae magister, comes*. On the inscription from Noricum from 370 he is called merely *clarissimus*.

Burgi were not novel or characteristic of the fourth-century Roman army. The late Roman *burgi* are derived from the earlier watchtowers, yet differ from them in being fortified. The fortification comprised an outer wall, with ditch, which might be reinforced with turrets. The contemporary to it military theory of the time accords with the testimony of the inscriptions regarding the character of a *burgus*. Such a building is defined by Vegetius, writing at the end of the

¹⁸⁸⁷ CIL 3 5670a=ILS 774 (Lauriacum (Noricum)).

¹⁸⁸⁸ John M. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos of the Western Roman Empire* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1983), 5.

¹⁸⁸⁹ See also AE 2002, 1111 (Iuvavum (Noricum)), dated to 371-400.

¹⁸⁹⁰ CIL 3 3653=ILS 775 (Solva (Valeria)).

¹⁸⁹¹ AE 2000, 1223 (Pon(t)e Navata (Valeria)). Soproni, *Der spätrömische Limes*, 53. László Borhy, "Die letzten Jahrzehnte der Erforschung des spätrömisch-pannonischen Limes seit Sándor Sopronis 'Die letzten Jahrzehnte ...' - Ein Überblick," in *Keszthely-Fenekpuszta im Kontext spätantiker Kontinuitätsforschung zwischen Noricum und Moesia*, ed. Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska (Rahden: Marie Leidorf, 2011), 32-33, 35, slightly different reading.

¹⁸⁹² Soproni, *Der spätrömische Limes*, 53 (Pon(t)e Navata (Valeria)).

fourth or at the latest during the first half of the fifth century, as *castellum parvulum* (4.10). He recommended the erection of one as an adjunct to a large fortress for the protection of the water supply, in case the garrison was dependent on a source situated outside the walls of the main stronghold. The scale of these constructions would have made clear that it was really the *magister militum* who oversaw the whole building program. At least five constructions bore Equitius' name: there thus can be no doubt that he provided the *limes* with the full complement of buildings that were necessary for its strengthening.

Further, a well-preserved Latin inscription reused as a lintel in a later church documents a *burgus* having been built in Arabia under the supervision of *magister militum* Iulius, *vir clarissimus*, in 371.¹⁸⁹³ The stone serves as the inner lintel of the southernmost portal on the west side of the church. Since the slab is evidently not *in situ*, the identification of the building to which it once belonged presents an interesting problem. In building inscriptions from the second to fourth century *burgus* is a term applied to a small watchtower. Such structures were erected at strategic points for the fortification of a province. *Burgi* were utilized in a system of defences extending along the frontier, such as a line of fortlets erected by Equitius along the Pannonian border. Later '*burgus*' was used to mean a fortified settlement, yet at this date it was still probably only a 'small fortification'. According to Vegetius (4.10), a *burgus* was an outpost to protect a water supply beyond the range of missiles from the main defences.¹⁸⁹⁴ It may well be that the stone came from an actual *burgus*, which was built to serve as an outpost of the main *castra*, as such structures often were.¹⁸⁹⁵

Iulius, *comes rei militaris* in Thrace in 365, was *magister equitum et peditum per Orientem* in 371-78. He is perhaps mentioned in the building inscription (*numini maiestatique eorum devoti*)¹⁸⁹⁶ from Tauric Chersonese in the North Black Sea region.¹⁸⁹⁷ Found reused in the medieval wall of Chersonese, it yields fragmentary information on the construction activities performed by the military personnel in the Regnum Bospori under the Emperors Valens, Valentinian, and Gratian between 369 and 375.¹⁸⁹⁸ Domitius Modestus as praetorian prefect in 369-77 was probably engaged in some building works for the fortification conducted under his guidance. A. Vinogradov proposed

¹⁸⁹³ CIL 3 88=ILS 773 (Umm-el-Djermal (Arabia)). PLRE 1, 481 Iulius 2.

¹⁸⁹⁴ David Kennedy, *The Roman Army in Jordan* (London: Council for British Research in the Levant, 2004), 89-90, no. 7.

¹⁸⁹⁵ Enno Littmann, *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition: Sabäische, griechische und altabessinische Inschriften, IV* (Berlin: Reimer, 1913), 132-34, no. 233.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Manfred Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott: Herrscherkult im römischen Reich* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999), 236-37, on the dedicatory formula *devotus numini maiestatique eius*.

¹⁸⁹⁷ AE 1984, 804 (Chersonesus Taurica). Zuckermann "The Early Byzantine Strongholds," 527-53.

¹⁸⁹⁸ AE 1984, 804 incorporates a restoration proposal by Alföldy; E. J. Solomonik, *Latin Inscriptions of Chersonesus Tauric* (Moscow: Nauka, 1983), 28-30, no. 3 with different reading.

the following restoration: *[Iulius (?)] vi[r] clar(i)ssimus co[m]es et magister*.¹⁸⁹⁹ He assumes that *comes*, following the mention of pretorian prefect, must be *comes rei militaris*. Since for the period of 369-75 only one *comes* is known in the East, namely, Iulius, Vinogradov believes that as Thracian *comes* he should have been well acquainted with Chersonese and thus proposes the restoration of his name, which is consistent with the restoration by M. Rostovtsev.¹⁹⁰⁰¹⁹⁰¹ Yet, as there is no parallel for the title *comes et magister* without a designation of master's command, Alföldi suggests *co[m]es per Thracias*, since the garrison of Chersonese had been attached to the command of the lower Danube.¹⁹⁰² Accordingly, if this inscription refers specifically to Iulius, it dates to 371-75. Zuckerman points out that the legions of *balistarii Dafnenses* or *balistarii iuniores* (Il.13-14) listed in the *Notitia* and subjected to *magister militum per Thracias* and attached to the Danubian command as nothing suggests that the attachment of Chersonese's legion was changed in the fourth century in favor of *magister militum per Orientem*.¹⁹⁰³

Another inscription from North Black Sea's Chersonese records Eutherius, *vir illustris*, and perhaps *magister equitum et peditum* in the East in 392. This Greek-language building inscription of Theodosius and Arcadius dated to 392 testifies to the construction works on the wall of Chersonese with participation of *comes* Eutherius: '... Through the assistance of Flavius Vitus, the tribune, who has laboured a lot, as well as of the master builders, the wall of Chersonese was erected with ... of the most magnificent *comes* Eutherius...'.¹⁹⁰⁴ The surface of the stone has flaked since the time of its find, and today only lines 1-5 can be made out. The building formula *ᾠκοδομήθη* is known in the late Roman period mainly in Syria, including a use specifically with respect to a wall.¹⁹⁰⁵ Eutherius, who ordered the construction of the wall, is otherwise unknown. His title *magnificentissimus* (*μεγαλοπρεπεστάτος*) indicates that he was a high-ranking imperial official, perhaps *comes et magister militum*.¹⁹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the honorific epithet *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος* did not denote a specific senatorial rank, but indicated a high rank in general as applied to *clarissimi* as well as *spectabiles*.

Thereafter, Arbogast, possibly *comes rei militaris* in Illyricum c. 380, was *magister militum* in the West c. 385/88-92 and under Eugenius in 392-4. A building inscription records construction

¹⁸⁹⁹ A. Yu. Vinogradov, 'Миновала уже зима языческого безумия'. *Церковь и церкви Херсона в IV веке по данным литературных источников и эпиграфики* (Москва: Русский Фонд Содействия Образованию и Науке, 2010), 93. The inscription is now practically illegible as the surface of the epigraphic field crumbled.

¹⁹⁰⁰ V. V. Latyšev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* (Saint-Petersburg: Societas Archaeologicae Imperii Russici, 1885-1916), vol. I², 449 (M. Rostovtsev); Vinogradov, 'Миновала уже зима языческого безумия', 94.

¹⁹⁰¹ Vinogradov, 'Миновала уже зима языческого безумия', 94.

¹⁹⁰² *AE* 1984, 804 incorporates a restoration proposal by Geza Alföldy, "Review of E. I. Solomonik, *Latinskie nadpisi Chersonesa tavrīcheskego* (1983)," *Gnomon* 56 (1984): 786, no. 3. Cf. *PLRE* 1, 481.

¹⁹⁰³ Zuckerman, "The Early Byzantine Strongholds," 550-51.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Latyšev, *Inscriptiones antiquae*, I², 450. Vinogradov, 'Миновала уже зима языческого безумия', 101 (Chersonesus Taurica). For the historical context, see A. Yu. Vinogradov, "Ранневизантийская эпиграфика," in *Античное наследие Кубани (Ancient Heritage of Kuban)*, vol. 2., eds., G. M. Bongard-Levin and V. D. Kuznetsov (Moscow: Nauka, 2010), 103-107. *PLRE* 1, 315 Eutherius 2.

¹⁹⁰⁵ *IGLS* 1739.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Such an official is known from an inscription of the time of Valens, see Solomonik, *Latin Inscriptions*, 28-30, no. 3.

work overseen by Arbogast in 394.¹⁹⁰⁷ The defenses around Cologne were still being maintained in the last years of the fourth century. The inscription was set up in 394, when Arbogastes led a large army across the Rhine to ravage the territory of the Franks (Greg. Tur. 2.9).

One of the three building inscriptions of Stilicho was found at Carsioli, recording the restoration of the water line in the valley of Aniene in the time of Honorius and referring to Gildo as *hostis publicus*.¹⁹⁰⁸ Of the three inscriptions, the first one, seven meters long, on five large marble slabs, was reconstructed with many additions, while the other two, also very long, are highly fragmentary. The former testifies to the extensive restorations in 398-99 with funds derived from assets confiscated from *comes Africae* Gildo, which were used to restore other buildings in Rome including the Aurelian wall. Although it is difficult to project the content of the inscriptions onto ancient topography, whereas little is known in terms of archaeological remains, new channels were built (*meatus novus*; *alveus*), with cleanup and maintenance of drainage systems conducted. The aqueduct inscriptions report that Aniene was regulated and the Aqua Claudia was taken care of. It remains to be found out where on the aqueduct the three inscriptions were placed, the content of which - although subject to restorations - differs. Imperial victory and triumph are presented due to the counsel of *vir inlustris et praeclarus* Stilicho, *comes et magister utriusque militia* and *parens* of Arcadius and Honorius.

Two inscriptions from the gates of the Aurelian wall of Rome dated to 401/402 record ‘the restoration of the walls, gates and towers of the Eternal City, with the riddance of immense rubble, due to the suggestion of the count and master of both forces, Stilicho, of *clarissimus* and *illustis* rank’ (fig. 63).¹⁹⁰⁹ The inscriptions refer to the completion of the strengthening of the Aurelian wall under the reign of Honorius and emphasize – once again – the advisory role played by Stilicho. A similar reference is erased from a third inscription, on the Porta Tiburtina (fig. 64),¹⁹¹⁰ in all probability because Stilicho fell into disfavor in 408. These building inscriptions acknowledge the general’s initiative in public works. A period of city-wall construction was initiated when Alaric and his Goths infested first Italy, and then Rome herself.

Besides honorific and construction inscriptions, some inscribed building materials bear the names and offices of the military administrators. However, *magistri* epigraphically attested on the

¹⁹⁰⁷ CIL 13 8262=ILS 790 (Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium). Wilhelm Ensslin, “Die *Magistri Militia* des viertes Jahrhunderts,” *Klio* 24 (1931): 102-47; Brigitte and Hartmut Galsterer, eds., *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln* (Cologne: Greven and Bechtold, 1975), 47, no. 118; table 40. Thomas Grünwald, “Arbogast und Eugenius in einer kölnen Bauinschrift: Zu CIL XIII 8262,” *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 21 (1988): 243-52. *AE* 1990, 738. *PLRE* 1, 95-97 Arbogastes.

¹⁹⁰⁸ CIL 9 4051=ILS 795 (Carsioli (Samnium)). *PLRE* 1, 395-96 Gildo.

¹⁹⁰⁹ CIL 6 1188=LSA-1306, lines 3-4=CIL 6 1189=LSA-1307, lines 3-4. Since Constantine the title of *comes* as a mark of status had been formalized and regularized; this distinction is recorded in the fragmentary inscriptions from Rome honoring Stilicho: CIL 6 1732=31914=15 7134=ILCV 65; CIL 6 1733=15 7133; CIL 6 1734=15 7136; CIL 6 31989=15 7135

¹⁹¹⁰ CIL 6 1190=LSA-1308, lines 3-4.

brickstamps might designate rather more junior officials than *magistri militum*.¹⁹¹¹ Thus, Bonosus named *vir perfectissimus* on brickstamps from Pannonia Prima¹⁹¹² should not be identified with *magister militum* and consul in the West in 344 and *magister equitum* in the East in 347.¹⁹¹³ The case of Bonosus has puzzled scholars because of his apparent replacement as consul by another general, Sallustius, after four months, without clear evidence that he had been disgraced.¹⁹¹⁴ Salway has proposed a neat solution: that it was a simple error by Constans' staff, who entered the wrong general's name for Constantius' nominee in western documentation – Bonosus rather than Sallustius – which took four months to rectify due to the slowness of communication.¹⁹¹⁵ Recently, D. Woods offered an alternative explanation that Emperor Constantius changed his mind as to who he wished to name as *consul posterior*, but did so too late to inform Constans of this fact in time.¹⁹¹⁶ *Magistri militum* were *clarissimi* from the end of the reign of Constantine at the latest, and it is thus improbable that the high-ranking general Bonosus can be identical with the equestrian master on the military brickstamps.

Other tiles with the title of *magister* might, nevertheless, have recorded *magistri militum*, who had them made for their military constructions. They, however, record only the office and give no indications of senatorial status of the brick producers. Maxentius, mentioned on the tiles from Pannonia Prima (Klosterneuburg, Carnuntum) and Pannonia Valeria (Kömlöd)¹⁹¹⁷ might have been *magister militum* perhaps in the middle of the fourth century. Possibly mentioned on various tiles from Pannonia Prima, unless 'magister' there is a technical official, Ursicinus was *magister equitum* in the East in 349-59 and *magister peditum* in 359-60.¹⁹¹⁸ He served under Constantine I, and is perhaps to be identified with Ursicinus, *perfectissimus dux Pannoniae Primae et Norici Ripensis* recorded on tiles in the early or mid-fourth century. Lupicinus, *magister equitum* in 359-60

¹⁹¹¹ Already Ensslin, "Die *Magistri Militia*," 102-3 suggested to consider *magistri* on the brickstamps as *magistri figlinarum*. *PLRE* 1, 164 Bonosus 4.

¹⁹¹² *CIL* 3 4669a-b (Klosterneuburg and Vindobona); *AE* 1955, 16a1 (Klosterneuburg), but cf. *CIL* 3 14360(3) ad 3 11376a-g(=p.2328), which, if the same, is before 344.

¹⁹¹³ Given the confinement of Bonosus' consulship to the West, Bagall et al., *Consuls*, 21, 222, dissociated him from Constantius' cavalry commander and considered him a candidate of Constans who was deposed from office part way through the year.

¹⁹¹⁴ Bagnall et al., *Consuls*, 222. *PLRE* 1, 798 Flavius Iulius Sallustius 7.

¹⁹¹⁵ Benet Salway, "Roman Consuls, Imperial Politics, and Egyptian Papyri: The Consulates of 325 and 344 CE." *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1 (2008): 300-309.

¹⁹¹⁶ Lee, "Emperors and Generals," 110 n. 56; Salway, "Roman consuls," 300-309; David Woods, "Flavius Bonosus and the Consuls of A.D. 344," *Classical Quarterly* 62 (2012): 895-98.

¹⁹¹⁷ *AE* 1955, 16, 2 (Kömlöd), 5 (Kömlöd), 6 (Klosterneuburg), 7 (Klosterneuburg); 8 (Carnuntum). János Szilágyi, ed., *Inscriptiones Tegularum Pannonicarum* (Budapest: Sárkány-Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1933), pl. XXVI, 16 (Klosterneuburg).

¹⁹¹⁸ *CIL* 3 4668, *CIL* 3 11375, and *CIL* 3 11856 (Noricum). *AE* 1955, 16, 3; 9. *PLRE* 1, 985-86 Ursicinus 2 expresses doubts. For *magister* as a low rank in the army of the later fourth century, see *CIL* 6 268=*AE* 1954, 15, *CIL* 5 8750=*ILS* 2801, *CIL* 5 8988c, *CIL* 13 8262=*ILS* 790.

and 363-67 in the East, consul in 367, is recorded on tiles from northeast Gaul.¹⁹¹⁹ The brickstamps from the Thracian area document Rumoridus, *magister militum* in 384 and consul in 403.¹⁹²⁰

Furthermore, already from the mid-fourth century *magistri militum* were thoroughly engaged in Christian patronage and accompanying constructional benefactions. Iovinus, *vir illustris*, was Julian's *magister equitum* in Illyricum in 361 and in Gaul in 362-64, and perhaps *magister equitum et peditum (in praesenti)* in 364-69 in the West as well as consul in 367. The epitaph composed by Iovinus is preserved from the church of St Agricola at Reims.¹⁹²¹ It informs that Iovinus built a church, which was supposed to house his burial. The poem in hexameters on the occasion of church consecration is transmitted in *Historia ecclesiae Remensis* (1.6). The text of the inscription recorded in the tenth century by the historian Flodoard in the church was possibly initially placed on the façade. The ephemeral glory, which crowns the merits of *magister militum* is opposed to the eternal life for his virtues such as piety: 'Fortunate Iovinus took up the loyal military belt and was promoted to the highest level. Twice rightly granted the office of master of horse and foot, he won an eternal name forever...'.¹⁹²² D. Norberg compares Iovinus' funeral verse inscription dated to after 367 with a similarly phrased late sixth-century poem by Chilperic.¹⁹²³

Thereafter, *magister equitum in praesenti* in the East between 363 and c. 379 and consul in 369, Victor, was the recipient of a pair of courteous letters from Basil (*Epp.* 152-3). He owned property at a district west of Constantinople known as *τα Βίκτορος προαστεία* (Palladius, *Dial.* 4; *Vita Isaacii*, 4.14) and at Psamathea, a suburb of Constantinople, where, in pious rivalry with Saturninus, he prepared an elaborate set of buildings for the monastery, which the monk Isaak duly refused in favor of the humbler establishment offered by the other general. Victor married the daughter of Mavia, a Christian Sacarcen queen (Soc. 4.36.12). Mavia became queen of the Saraceni after her husband's death and waged war successfully against Romans in Palestine and Phoenicia until c. 373/78, when she made peace, becoming a mother-in-law of Victor and securing the consecration of the hermit Moses as bishop of her people.¹⁹²⁴

Further, Hellebichus, *magister equitum et peditum per Orientem* in 383-88, was a correspondent of Libanius. While in Antioch he had erected public buildings. His property is

¹⁹¹⁹ *CIL* 13 12871,1-3 (Augusta Treverorum (Belgica I)); 4; *CIL* 13 12872-3; 12874-5. *CIL* 13 12873ab (Belgica I).

¹⁹²⁰ *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica del Governatorato di Roma* (1942): 140. Diocese of Dacia: *AE* 1999, 1341 (Iatrus); *AE* 2008, 1189a (Sexaginta Prisca); *AE* 2002, 1247 (Sucidava).

¹⁹²¹ *CIL* 13 3256 (Durocortorum). *PLRE* 1, 462-63 Flavius Iovinus 6.

¹⁹²² *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* I, 6: *Felix militiae sumpsit devota Iovinus / cingula; virtutum culmen proventus in altrum / bisque datus meritis equitum peditumque / [magister] / extulit aeternum saeculorum in saecula nomen*. Luce Pietri, "La conversion en Belgique seconde d'un officier de l'armée de Julien, Jovin," *Revue du Nord* 53.207 (1970): 443-53.

¹⁹²³ Chilperic, *Hymn* 8.1. *Felix militiae devota sumpsit hinc <incola> culmen / obtinuit athleta castris / brauium secula nomen*. Dag Norberg, *La poesie latine rythmique du haut moyen age* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1954), 33-34.

¹⁹²⁴ David Woods, "Maurus, Mavia, and Ammianus," *Mnemosyne* 51.3 (1998): 325-36. *PLRE* 1, 957-59 Victor 4; 807-808 Flavius Saturninus 10.

registered at both Antioch (Lib., *Ep.* 898) and at Constantinople.¹⁹²⁵ Correspondent of Symmachus, Flavius Timasius, *magister equitum et peditum* perhaps *in praesenti* in 386-395 and consul in 389, gave his name to a monumental staircase in the fourth region of Constantinople.¹⁹²⁶ Flavius Promotus, *magister equitum et peditum* (perhaps *in praesenti*) in the East in 386-391, and second consul in 389, also had his name passed into the topography of Constantinople.¹⁹²⁷ Possibly a newcomer to the East in the time of Theodosius, Promotus possessed an estate on the Bosphorus in addition to his house in Constantinople. This estate seems to have been transformed after his death into a Gothic monastery (Crys., *Ep.* 207),¹⁹²⁸ not an unprecedented use for the property of a general. Probably *comes rei militaris* in 395-99 and *magister militum* in 399, Gainas equally left his name preserved in Constantinopolitan topography.¹⁹²⁹ Acquiring property in Constantinople, late Roman *magistri militum* are presented as prominent figures in the social life of the eastern capital.

Flavius Saturninus was *comes rei militaris* possibly on the Eastern front c. 373, becoming then *magister equitum* in Thrace in 377-78, *magister utrisque militiae* in Thrace in 382-83, and consul in 383. Early in the reign of Theodosius, Saturninus and Victor, the aforementioned Roman general of Sarmatian origin married to a Saracen princess, competed for the patronage of a monk, Isaac, offering a cell on property which each of them possessed in Constantinople: Saturninus, who won the competition, at a location near the city wall, Victor by the sea at Psamatheia.¹⁹³⁰ Saturninus was engaged in a construction of a cell for Isaak on property he possessed in Constantinople. By the end of the reign of Theodosius, there had been already a thriving monastic community grown from the institution of the monk.¹⁹³¹ As a zealous Christian, Saturninus was also a correspondent of Basil and entertained a bishop at his house at Antioch (*Ep.* 132). Offering patronage to Isaac, Saturninus established himself as the guardian of the Orthodox faith.

Just like their civilian counterpart, the high military aristocrats were not protected from the fluctuations of imperial politics. Already in the mid-fourth century, Silvanus, *magister peditum per Gallias*, wrongly accused for treason, responded to the threat of condemnation and execution by proclaiming himself emperor in 355.¹⁹³² Part of his property was granted to his successor, *magister peditum* Barbatio (Amm. 18.3.2). Later, Arbitio, *magister equitum (in praesenti)* around 351-61 and consul in 355, is mentioned, with his office indicated in an inscription on the bronze plaque from

¹⁹²⁵ Raymond Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1964), 346-47. *PLRE* 1, 277-78 Ellebichus.

¹⁹²⁶ Matthews, "The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*," 89: 'quay (*scala*) of Timasius'. *PLRE* 1, 914-15 Flavius Timasius.

¹⁹²⁷ Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 417. *PLRE* 1, 750-51 Flavius Promotus.

¹⁹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 477.

¹⁹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 352. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 119. *PLRE* 1, 379-80 Gainas.

¹⁹³⁰ For the property, *Vita Isaaci* 4.13 (Saturninus); 4.14 (Victor). Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 422, for Saturninus. Victor is not listed by Janin.

¹⁹³¹ Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 130-31.

¹⁹³² *PLRE* 1, 840-41 Silvanus 2.

Etruria.¹⁹³³ Ammianus decried him as enriching himself by grants of the property of his victims (16.8.13), as prime example of infinite *cupiditas* among high-level *militares*. He appears to have retired after 361, but Procopius confiscated the contents of his house during the usurpation (Amm. 26.8.13). In general, victims of proscriptions could be subjected to a number of penalties, including legal condemnation and property confiscation.

In the late fourth century, before his own fall, Eutropius, the head of the sacred bedchamber, removed potential rivals by plotting the downfall of the *magistri militum* and consuls Timasius and Abundantius. A charge of treason was made against Timasius and he was tried and exiled to the Great Oasis (Zos. 5.8.3-9.7, Eun. fr. 70, 72, Jer. Ep. 60.16), from where he apparently tried to escape; he died in the desert. Bargus, who was perhaps a *tribunus* in the East in 396, received a profitable military command, which brought him a pleasing income (*χρήματα ... κομψά*), after accusing Timasius of high treason and the general's condemnation (Zos. 5.10.1). Yet, while he was absent from Constantinople, Eutropius arranged him to be accused of treason and he was condemned and executed (Zos. 5.10.1-3; Eun. fr. 71). Equally, Abundantius, *magister militum* and consul of 393, fell victim to the jealousy of Eutropius in 396 and was exiled to Sidon and then apparently to Pityus (Zos. 5.10.5; Jer. Ep. 60.16; Aster. Hom. IV ad fin.; Eun. fr. 72), while his wealth was obtained by Eutropius (Claud. *In Eutrop.* I. 154-6).¹⁹³⁴

Remarkably, funeral inscriptions – the most numerous type of inscriptions of the period – do not record *magistri militum*. However, in the sepulchral sphere there are fourth-century monuments attributed to high-ranking military officers by iconography. Thus, the reused sarcophagus decorated with a hunting scene once in the church of St. Nicasius of Reims is believed to have contained the body of the aforementioned general Iovinus.¹⁹³⁵ St. Nicasius was built on the site of the fourth-century basilica of St Agricola, whose façade once bore the manuscript transmitted verse epitaph of *magister militum*.

Likewise, the so-called ‘Stilicho sarcophagus’ in the Basilica di Sant’Ambrogio in Milan is considered by Wrede as probably belonging to *magister militum*.¹⁹³⁶ Its dating, broad enough, proposed by Dresken-Weiland, embraces the last two decades of the fourth century.¹⁹³⁷ Narrower dating of this ‘city gate’ sarcophagus found in the Basilica di Sant’Ambrogio is connected to the

¹⁹³³ CIL 11 6720(2) (Cortona (Etruria)). PLRE 1, 94-95 Flavius Arbitio 2.

¹⁹³⁴ PLRE 1, 4-5 Flavius Abundantius; PLRE 2, 210-11 Bargus.

¹⁹³⁵ Pietri, “La conversion en Belgique seconde,” 443 n.4.

¹⁹³⁶ Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophagi*, 100, table 23.

¹⁹³⁷ Jutta Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen des 4.–6. Jahrhunderts im Westen des römischen Reiches* (Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 96. The sarcophagi in Ancona and Tolentinum, are dated by the offices named in the inscriptions to 379 and 386 respectively. Johannes Kollwitz, “Probleme der theodosianischen Kunst Roms,” *Rivista di archeologia* 39 (1963): 199 sees in the ‘Borghese’ sarcophagus the earlier specimen and postulates a common template for it and the Milanese one.

completion of the church's construction in 387.¹⁹³⁸ It is, however, uncertain even whether the sarcophagus has always been within the building (atrium, mausoleum next to the church) or it was brought later into the church.

The Milanese sarcophagus is made of Italian Carrara marble, but whether the place of manufacture is Rome or Milan has been debated. Kiilerich hypothesizes that it was probably the work of Roman hands, even if carved in Milan.¹⁹³⁹ It has clear similarities with the Borghese sarcophagus in Rome, and current consensus seems to be that the latter was made in Rome, rather than in a northern workshop.¹⁹⁴⁰ Volbach believed that the sarcophagus was probably carved in Milan, then an important center of Christianity and the western capital of the Roman Empire.¹⁹⁴¹ The reliefs thereby can serve as an illustration of the artistic situation in Milan at the closing years of the fourth century, when the city, without a local sculptural tradition of any importance, became a melting pot for influences from Rome and from the East, as stated by Kiilerich.¹⁹⁴²

Gehn, however, states that the Milanese sarcophagus, with its four-sided decoration, stands in the tradition of the eastern part of the empire. The back of this piece of early Christian sculpture shows Christ between the twelve apostles at the gate of a city, framed by its arch like Theodosius on the *Missorium*, with the difference that the latter represents a palatine architecture.¹⁹⁴³ Christ is shown longhaired, as he first appears in a fourth-century catacomb painting. Milan, imperial residence from 286 to 402, experienced repeatedly imperial stays during this period. In 388, Theodosius took up residence with his court there. Thus, the Milanese sarcophagus, with its eastern influences, according to Gehn, was probably made at the imperial court.¹⁹⁴⁴

The Milanese sarcophagus offers four representations of the imperial official. On the sarcophagus' reliefs the military official is depicted together with his wife thrice.¹⁹⁴⁵ First, the deceased, who is portrayed as a high military officer in a roundel on the lid, together with his wife, must have been a senior member of the imperial elite, as is the case of the other epigraphically attested commissioners of city gate sarcophagi.¹⁹⁴⁶ The man appears standing in the *clipeus* portrait,

¹⁹³⁸ Hanns-Ulrich von Schönbeck, *Der Mailänder Sarkophag und seine Nachfolge* (Vatikan: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1935) argues for a date between 387 and 390, linking the sarcophagus to the building of the Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milan. Followed by Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophagi*, 88 with n. 758.

¹⁹³⁹ Kiilerich, *Late Fourth-Century Classicism*, 205. The presence of craftsmen from northern Italy working in Rome in the late fourth century has been suggested for some prestigious 'city gate' sarcophagi because of their form and style. One was used for the distinguished Roman family of the Anicii.

¹⁹⁴⁰ The 'city gate' sarcophagus Borghese, which is often closely compared with the sarcophagus in Milan, was connected with the late Sextus Petronius Probus, who died in 395, due to its location in the mausoleum of the Anicii in Rome. See Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen* and Huskinson 2015, on the Anicii sarcophagus (the 'Borghese' sarcophagus (RS III: no. 428; RS I: no. 829)); RS II: 56–8, no. 150, for summary of arguments about their relationship.

¹⁹⁴¹ Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961), pl. 47. 89.

¹⁹⁴² Kiilerich, *Late Fourth-Century Classicism*, 205.

¹⁹⁴³ Kiilerich, "Representing an Emperor," regards the *missorium* as a ceremonial gift given by the emperor to either civil or military official.

¹⁹⁴⁴ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*.

¹⁹⁴⁵ RS II: 56–8, no. 150, pl. 59,3-8, 60,1-2; 61,1-2.

¹⁹⁴⁶ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*. The sarcophagi in Ancona and Tolentinum.

showing the matrimonial *concordia* and his high social status. The official holds a *codicillus* in his hands, over which runs a transversal band. It is the appointment document for a high state office, as can be seen in the miniatures of the *Notitia*.

Furthermore, on both long sides of the sarcophagus, the couple is depicted at the feet of Christ. The second portrait of the official in chlamys appears on the front side in the kneeling scene below Christ in the *traditio legis* representation. In the kneeling scene the official's head is lowered, the chlamys is open on the right side and provides an unobstructed view of the *colobium* and the *cingulum*. Third, the sarcophagus' owner, still in the service costume, appears with his spouse at the feet of Christ on the back.

In addition to the *clipeus* portrait and the triumphal Christian images, the 'city gate' sarcophagus in Milan provides the fourth portrait of its owner. On the right side he appears surrounded by biblical and apostle figures. In contrast to the representations on the long sides, he reaches here the same size as the surrounding figures. The depiction of the catechesis of the deceased, on the right side of the sarcophagus in Milan, is combined with Abraham's sacrifice, as in all relevant depictions of the subject. On the left side of the sarcophagus, a sacrificial scene can be seen; the remaining two thirds of the relief are taken by a group of four men engaged in a conversation. The sarcophagus' owner can be seen in his service costume. Pendulums hang down from his *codex* as a reference to his high rank. The view of the *cingulum* is not obscured and shows two hem-sewn and ivy-shaped trimmings; in addition, an ivy-leaf-shaped pendant hangs down on the right hip. His companions carry the *pallium* and open *rotuli* or *codicilli*. The direction of movement goes toward the teaching scene on the long back side, to which the *palliatus* standing at the corner points with his extended right hand. With the same gesture, the *palliatus* points out to the sarcophagus' owner standing before him. Apostles, saints, or even prophets may be considered for the figures surrounding the *chlamydatus*.¹⁹⁴⁷

Stilicho, depicted as master of soldiers, wears tunic and chlamys with figural design on the Monza diptych.¹⁹⁴⁸ Ivory diptychs were one part of the program of senatorial largesse. On the diptych, the ivory which most directly – in style as well as iconography – reflects the arts of the Theodosian court, Stilicho's stance is slightly flexed with one hip thrust to the side.¹⁹⁴⁹ As *magister militum* he wears the pelta fibula, a distinctive mark of rank, a rare and richly ornamented brooch,

¹⁹⁴⁷ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*.

¹⁹⁴⁸ Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base*, 55, fig. 58: Tunics decorated with embroidery, *paragauda*, are mentioned in the *Historia Augusta*, according to which the emperor Aurelian was the first to give his soldiers tunics with bands of embroidery (*HA*, Aur. 15.4; 46.6).

¹⁹⁴⁹ Bente Kiilerich and Hjalmar Torp, "Hic est: hic Stilicho. The date and interpretation of a notable diptych," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 104 (1989): fig.1.

which derives from eastern workshops, and made not of bronze, but of gilt bronze, silver, and even of pure gold.¹⁹⁵⁰

The ceremonial nature of the distribution of senatorial *largitio* is testified by Symmachus (*Ep.* 2.81, 5.56). Iordanes, *patricius* and *magister militum per Orientem* in the late fourth, early fifth or mid-fifth century, was another member of the military elite who distributed gifts in his capacity as a holder of the senatorial magistracy. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Them.* I, 61) describes some silver bowls preserved in the imperial *vestiarium* on which was inscribed the legend ‘Ιορδάνου στρατηλάτου τῆς Ανατολῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀσίαν’.¹⁹⁵¹ Silver bowls were often presented as accompanying gifts of ivory diptychs distributed by high-ranking imperial officials as another part of the program of senatorial largesse. Gifts were presented by senatorial magistrates to their circle of acquaintance when they assumed office.

As for the imperial ceremonial, an accession did not develop as a ceremony until the fourth century. On February 26 of 364, Valentinian, who had been in Ancyra, was presented to the army at Nicaea, which duly acclaimed him emperor, after some protest. After the formal act of acclamation, the soldiers demanded that the new Augustus selected a colleague. A month later, now at Constantinople, he rejected the advice of a senior staff officer, Dagalaifus, to seek his colleague outside of his own family, and had his brother, Valens, declared Augustus on March 28.¹⁹⁵² When Valentinian fell seriously ill, Ammianus describes two groups at court, who met to debate the succession if the emperor should expire. One of the court groups favored *magister militum*, Severus. There was no question here of consulting Valens, or of an innate loyalty to the dynasty, and Valentinian appears to have accepted the point. Severus remained in his command for another five years. A creation of the general staff and court himself, Valentinian appears to have acquiesced in the notion that they were free to consult their own interests if he did not make a prior disposition. Likewise, in 375, when Merobaudes, *magister peditum praesentalis* in the West, decided to make the four-year-old Valentinian II co-Augustus with Gratian and Valens, he consulted neither emperor.¹⁹⁵³

Furthermore, the highest-ranking *militares* were regular participants in the imperial ceremonial. The triumphal entrance had not yet declined in the popularity by the end of the fourth century, with generals making triumphal entries alongside the emperors. When the *adventus* of Honorius to Rome to celebrate the consulship took place in 404, Stilicho was riding in the same chariot as the emperor. One study provides the names of twenty individuals of Germanic origin who

¹⁹⁵⁰ Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base*, 127-28.

¹⁹⁵¹ *PLRE* 2, 620 Iordanes 1: the text of the inscriptions is suspect, since the formula *μικρὰ Ἀσία* is not otherwise attested until after sixth century.

¹⁹⁵² Potter, *The Roman Empire*, 521-22. *PLRE* 1, 239 Dagalaifus.

¹⁹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 540-41. *PLRE* 1, 598-99 Flavius Merobaudes 2.

reached the highest rank open to any officer, that of *magister*, during the fourth century.¹⁹⁵⁴ Waas' list includes neither Stilicho, who is perhaps excluded as a second-generation German, nor Fravitta, *magister militum per Orientem* perhaps in 395/400, possibly *magister militum praesentalis* in the East in 400, and consul in 401. In 400, following the defeat of Gainas, another German *magister militum*, there is a record of circus celebrations in conjunction with Fravitta's triumphal entrance into Constantinople.¹⁹⁵⁵

Earlier, the second entrance of Theodosius into Constantinople in triumph was on 12 October 386, when the emperor and his young son, Arcadius, entered the city following Promotus' defeat over the Goths (*Chron. Marcell.* 386.1). To commemorate this achievement, Theodosius erected a column in the newly created Forum Tauri, inspired by Trajan's Roman precedent, decorated with a helical frieze that presumably illustrated Promotus' victory over Goths in 386. J. Bardill hypothesizes that it had perhaps been set up, even if not carved, for the imperial triumphal procession of the same year (Theophanes, *Chron. A.M.* 5878).¹⁹⁵⁶ From the early fifth century the importance of triumphal entries diminished and victory celebrations were more frequently held in the circus in conjunction with the increasingly popular chariot races.¹⁹⁵⁷

Thereby, *magistri militum* may have well been represented in the late Roman imperial commemorative and decorative sculpture. Bardill detects the beginning of the move towards hippodrome-centered victory celebrations with the erection of the Theodosian obelisk upon a decorated and inscribed base on the *euripus* in the hippodrome in Constantinople (figs. 87-88, 89), contemporary with the construction of the Golden Gate.¹⁹⁵⁸ If one takes the pelta-decorated crossbow fibula as a possible insigne of a *magister militum*, the two men with this emblem on the northwest of the obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople could be *magistri militum*, of whom *magister peditum praesentalis* and *magister equitum praesentalis* were based in Constantinople.¹⁹⁵⁹ However, as Kiilerich concedes, this type of fibula was worn by other dignitaries alike, as, for example, the young *tribunus et notarius* Eucherius, a son of Stilicho, on the same Monza diptych.¹⁹⁶⁰

Remarkably, the *labarum* with chi-rho – depicted only once on the obelisk's reliefs – borne in front of the highest ranking army commanders to manifest the supreme power bestowed upon

¹⁹⁵⁴ Manfred Waas, *Germanen im römischen Dienst im 4. Jh. n. Chr.* (Bonn: Habelt, 1965), 16.

¹⁹⁵⁵ For the circus celebrations and Fravitta's triumph, see Roger C. Blockley, ed., *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. 2 (Liverpool: Francis Cairns 1983), 108-109, no. 68; 110-11, no. 74; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 49, 92, 118 with n. 167. *PLRE* 1, 372-73 Flavius Fravitta.

¹⁹⁵⁶ Bardill, "The Golden Gate," 694, but Cyril Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe - VIIe siècles)* (Paris: De Boccard 1990), 43 with n. 36 points out that the forum itself was not inaugurated until 393 (*Chron. Pasch.* 565).

¹⁹⁵⁷ Bardill, "The Golden Gate," 688-89.

¹⁹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 689, 695.

¹⁹⁵⁹ Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base*, 128.

¹⁹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 128 n. 47.

them by the imperial authority, was a token of Honorius' approbation of Stilicho's expedition in 408. According to Sozomen's account, the general was ready to set sail for Constantinople, attended by four legions and an imperial *labarum* (9.4.6). However, Stilicho's enemies seized it thereupon as proof of Stilicho's plans to place his son Eucherius on the eastern throne (Zos. 5.32).¹⁹⁶¹ Legally labeled a *hostis publicus*, Stilicho's property was confiscated (*CTh* 9.42.21), his closure of the sea-routes between East and West was reversed (*CTh* 7.16.1), and the inscriptions bearing his name were erased. Stilicho's son Eucherius, although adopted by Theodosius I, was legally condemned along with his father.

2. *Comes domesticorum*

The *Notitia* lists two counts of the household troops in the East – of horse and of foot. In the West there were equally two of these comital commanders, for the horse and foot units. In the eastern half as well as in the western half of the empire, each commanded a unit of bodyguards: *domestici equites* and *domestici pedites*. In the *Notitia comes domesticorum* is placed at the end of the list of *illustres* after one of the two palatine financial ministers, count of the private domains.

Comes domesticorum was head of *protectores domestici*, an elite guard unit of the late Roman army, who served as bodyguards to the emperor and functioned as a staff officers' school. The units of *domestici* were genuinely military guard units as opposed to being purely ceremonial. A variety of guard troops formed an effective and visible cordon around emperors on almost all occasions. These troops were not only for display or personal security: they fought often and hard.¹⁹⁶² These elite troops attended directly upon the emperor and were used by him for special errands. They were thus close to the center of power and could expect accelerated promotion. The commander of *protectores domestici*, who by 350 was known as *comes domesticorum*, was one of the senior *tribuni*.¹⁹⁶³ Latinus, *comes domesticorum* under Constantius in 354, was also an imperial politician with important connections (*Amm.* 14.10.8). Latinus was, indeed, mixing with the upper crust of imperial society: Zosimus describes him in 351 as 'the emperor's closest associate' (2.48.5).¹⁹⁶⁴

Nevertheless, counts of the domestic troops are rarely mentioned. No mention is made of the *comitiva domesticorum* in the *Code*, an important office, often the stepping-stone to the mastership of the soldiers; its holder probably, as later, ranked with *comites consistoriani*.¹⁹⁶⁵ After 395 *comes domesticorum* became a *vir illustris*, which indicates that *comes domesticorum* was amongst the most highly placed officers of the military hierarchy. Berger claims that his status allowed him to be

¹⁹⁶¹ Ibid., 158.

¹⁹⁶² Hugh Elton, "Warfare and the Military," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, ed. Noel Lenski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 137-58.

¹⁹⁶³ Jones, *The Later Rome Empire*, 105.

¹⁹⁶⁴ John Drinkwater, *The Alamanni and Rome 213-496: (Caracalla to Clovis)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 147. *PLRE* 1, 496 Latinus.

¹⁹⁶⁵ Jones, *The Later Rome Empire*, 143

ex officio member of the consistory, and as such he was responsible to the emperor and to no other military official.¹⁹⁶⁶ However, even *magistri militum*, the most important military officials of the state, were invited only occasionally to the *consistorium* by the emperor, as was also praetorian prefect. In fact, *magistri militum* and *magistri militum in praesenti* were invited only when military issues were discussed.

The insignia of office of the two *comites domesticorum*, according to the *Notitia* are the codicils of office and the shields of *domestici*. The design of their codicillary documents of appointment, a square within a rhombus, shows their high standing in the imperial hierarchy. This special codicillary format is second-ranking among those exhibited in the symbolic book cupboard between the eastern and western *Notitia*. The imperial portrait is placed within the central rectangular (in the East, and no doubt originally in the West as well), providing legitimacy to all the official acts of *comites*. The bottom part of their insignia is given over to a representation of two elaborate shields, adorned, around the *umbo*, with concentric circles, hearts, and radiating points.¹⁹⁶⁷

All eastern shields exhibit in the upper part two winged *genii*. Those on the right carry a single portrait in a rectangular tablet; while those on the left carry a double portrait in a medallion (*imago clipeata*). First of all, the image had the apotheosizing and triumphal connotations in the later Roman empire. They are equally evoked on the shields in the insignia of *comites domesticorum* as well as few other shield devices in the *Notitia*, where two imperial busts are enclosed in a tondo and born by flying *genii*. In any case the unit or corps show palatine links or connections with sacred person of the emperor.¹⁹⁶⁸

Evidently, an appearance of the portraits in the *imago* on the shield exhibit the extremely elevated standing of the relevant unit. In the East the shield of *comes domesticorum equitum* displays, in all copies, two busts in the *imago clipeata*. Berger conjectures that the image might have represented Arcadius and Honorius, 18 and 11 years old respectively. Thus the different size of the figures would fit an age distinction if they show the brothers before a date of approximately 395, when she believes the eastern half of the *Notitia* was first created. Another shield with enclosed tondo portraits appears in the diptych of Stilicho at Monza.¹⁹⁶⁹ It exhibits a similar dual portrait with unequal imperial busts: Arcadius at 19 and Honorius at 12 (396).

No honorific inscriptions for *comites domesticorum* as such are known. However, Stilicho was eastern *comes domesticorum* from c. 385 to 392. The dedication from the Forum Romanum, set up most probably in 406 after Stilicho's decisive victory over Radagaisus, is the gilded statue of the

¹⁹⁶⁶ Berger, *The Insignia*, 76.

¹⁹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶⁸ Berger, *The Insignia*, 77.

¹⁹⁶⁹ Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, pl. 19, no. 63. See Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*, 17, 61, 242-248 with no. 63. Alan Cameron, "Consular Diptychs in Their Social Context: New Eastern Evidence," *JRA* 11 (1998): 385 n. 6 *contra* Kathleen J. Shelton, "The Diptych of the Young Office Holder," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 25 (1982): 132-171, who argues against the identification with Stilicho. See Küllerich and Torp, "Hic est: hic Stilicho," 319-71.

general set up by the urban prefect, ‘epigraphic spokesman’ of the senate.¹⁹⁷⁰ Its accompanying honorific inscription deems worthy to mention Stilicho’s previous military offices of comital commander of the imperial guards and of the sacred stable (*comes domesticorum et stabuli sacri*).¹⁹⁷¹ Thereafter, Stilicho held the office of *magister utriusque militiae* for fourteen years (394–408).

In the upper left quadrant of the shield of the Monza diptych there is a tondo with two busts, one slightly larger and more prominent than the other. The two figures are dressed in togas and the larger figure wears a diadem. This tiny image and its context clarify the somewhat distorted medallion transmitted by the copies of the *Notitia*. The imperial bust on the left is larger than the one on the right and appears to protrude in front of it. Berger even goes further to suggest improbably an emperor and empress.¹⁹⁷² The Monza *imago* accords with the one of a military emblem in the *Notitia*. That such a highly placed general as Stilicho bore the *imago clipeata* on his ceremonial shield is consonant with the sparse usage of this motive in the military imagery of the *Notitia*. The *imago clipeata* would be a fitting emblem for a general with the closest ties to the emperor and his family. Contrary to Berger, the ivory of Stilicho does not represent an extension in the West of the practice of excessive ostentatious expenditure that CTh 15.9.1 sought to restrict in the East.¹⁹⁷³

Further, a building inscription from the western part of the empire records construction work overseen by *comes domesticorum*. An anonymous *clarissimus comes domesticorum* is documented in this capacity at Cologne in 393/94 under Eugenius.¹⁹⁷⁴ The defenses around Cologne were still being maintained in the last years of the fourth century. His inscription was set up in 394, when Arbogastes led a large army across the Rhine to destroy the territory of the Franks (Greg. Tur. 2.9). Owing to the fragmented state of the inscription, the name of *comes domesticorum* is missing. It has been suggested that he should be equated with Flavius Sirus, who, together with Charietto, campaigned against the Franks in 389 (Greg. Tur. 2.19). Since these commanders replaced Nannienus, it, however, seems better to regard them as *magistri militum*.¹⁹⁷⁵

Thereafter, in the imperial reliefs on both eastern sides of the upper block of the base of the Theodosian obelisk the four attending persons wearing ivy-shaped pendants are apparently guards. However, one figure on the northeast and another on the southeast do not conform to the usual young guard formula. With their large, round heads and short hair, these two military men appear as

¹⁹⁷⁰ *PLRE* 1, 771–72 Romulus 5.

¹⁹⁷¹ *CIL* 6 1371=1195.

¹⁹⁷² Berger, *The Insignia*, 78.

¹⁹⁷³ Berger, *The Insignia*, 79. See Cameron, “Consular Diptychs,” 384–403.

¹⁹⁷⁴ *CIL* 13 8262=ILS 790 (CCAA).

¹⁹⁷⁵ Ensslin, “Die *Magistri Militia*,” 136. *PLRE* 1, 845 Sirus; 200 Charietto 2; 615–16 Nannienus.

mature or even elderly officials, and are possibly the commanders of the guards, *comites domesticorum*, as suggested by Kiilerich.¹⁹⁷⁶

To summarize, the documentary evidence from the fourth century gives an instructive glimpse into the social role of *magistri militum*. In the later Roman Empire, most senior military officers were able to convert actual or potential resources accumulated in the military sphere into social prestige institutionalized in close relationships with the emperor, in marriages into the imperial house, or even in undertaking the leadership of the empire. Their power was essentially based on their army commands, and their careers overshadowed those of civilian palatine office-holders, even those attaining the consulship. Besides, high-ranking *militares* were more frequently appointed to the consulship than resident aristocrats, with the second consulship of Stilicho in 405 being an unprecedented honor for military officials. The recruitment of the consuls both with military and administrative background show a privileged position of *magistri militum* in the always changing balance of power between imperial court, civil bureaucracy, and army. Senatorial reluctance to furnish recruits even in periods of military emergency forced *magistri militum* to deploy federates. Military successes allowed Roman generals swiftly to accumulate the highest imperial distinctions. Imperial sculpture reliefs and honorific monuments erected on the Forum Romanum in Rome preserved memories of the political and military roles played by generals who were proxies of emperors, in whose glory they were partaking.

II. *Spectabiles*

1. *Comes rei militaris*

No less than eight *comites rei militaris* are recorded in the *Notitia*, among whom two were in the East: of Egypt and of Isauria. In the West six military counts are known: of Italy, of Africa, of Tingitania, of the *tractus Argentoratensis*, of the Britains, and of the Saxon shore of Britain. *Comites rei militaris*, called as such merely to distinguish them from other *comites*, who exercised unified command over the border *duces* in their dioceses, are clearly placed above the latter but below civilian *vicarii* in the administrative hierarchy on the list.

During the course of the fourth century, military imperial office-holders came to be endowed with ranks that ranged from *illustris* for officials of the highest status, such as masters of soldiers, to *spectabilis* for such middle-ranking officials as *comites* and *duces*, to *clarissimus*, the ‘entry level’ senatorial rank, for lesser military officials. Less certain is how early in the fourth century military *comites* acquired senatorial status. Constantius himself may have granted it, but the evidence is open to debate. Kuhoff interprets *CTh* 6.35.7 from 367 as granting *clarissimate* to

¹⁹⁷⁶ Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base*, 122.

comites and *tribuni* by means of the *adlectio*.¹⁹⁷⁷ The emperor's commitment to the army, and, in particular, to the decisively important officer corps draws attention to the social basis of imperial power in the second half of the fourth century.¹⁹⁷⁸ Valentinian was himself a military man, but, although well attuned to the sensitivities of the officer class,¹⁹⁷⁹ there is little indication that he would have speeded up its promotion in terms of senatorial rank.

Even less certain is the issue when exactly military *comites* became *spectabiles*. From 372, *comites* ranked after *proconsules* (CTh 6.14.1) – and not vice versa as it is often interpreted¹⁹⁸⁰ – yet the law is not, as it is often read, about the regular military rank of *comes rei militaris*,¹⁹⁸¹ but only about the honorary rank of *comes primi ordinis*.¹⁹⁸² This is undoubtedly evident from CTh 6.14.1 and from parallel formulations of CTh 6.22.4, which deals explicitly with *honorarii codicilli* of masters of soldiers. Thus, nothing can be inferred from this passage about the protocolar position of regular military offices, nor can equality let alone precedence before civilian dignitaries be inferred from it. However, a whole series of military *comites* as well as *duces* were demonstrably adorned with the rank of *comes primi ordinis*.¹⁹⁸³ According to Scharf, the new type of the *comitiva primi ordinis* is testified in case of *comites* of Africa, Egypt, and Isauria.¹⁹⁸⁴ The new type of the *comitiva primi ordinis* is known in case of *duces* of Valeria, Arabia, Aegyptus, and Tripolitania.¹⁹⁸⁵

The advancement of the social prestige of the high military officials and their partial inclusion into the senatorial order from the mid-fourth century on do not, however, indicate, as Banaji thinks, that group power within the imperial bureaucracy was rapidly shifting to *militares*.¹⁹⁸⁶ Although Ammianus clearly implies that the regime of Valentinian was their golden age – maintaining that Constantius was unwilling to promote even senior officers to the clarissime – they did not progress further than the entry-level senatorial rank in the imperial hierarchy. *Militares* were certainly among the complex and varied forces within the late Roman bureaucracy behind the pressure for gold. However, an immediate one must have been the pressure of civil palatine officials promoted and multiplied already by Constantius, and not the military administration, a group, which even Theodosius was not eager to advance.

¹⁹⁷⁷ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 195; Schmitt-Hofner, *Reagieren und Gestalten*, 114, n. 203. On *adlectio*, see Garbarino, *Ricerche sulla procedura*, 247-362; Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain*, 276-293.

¹⁹⁷⁸ Banaji, *Exploring the Economy*.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Lee, "Emperors and Generals," 107-8.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Löhken, *Ordines dignitatum*, 133; Scharf, *Comites*, 26-27.

¹⁹⁸¹ Scharf, *Comites*, 27: *comes Africae*.

¹⁹⁸² Schmidt-Hofner, *Reagieren und Gestalten*, 108-109.

¹⁹⁸³ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 142; Roger Rémondon, "Le P. Vindob. inv. 25838 et les commandants militaires en Égypte au IV^e siècle et au Ve," *Chronique d'Égypte* 40(79) (1965): 180-97; Scharf, *Comites*, 25-26 with n. 72; CTh 6.14.2 (397).

¹⁹⁸⁴ CIL 8 20566, PLRE 1 Victorianus 2, *comes Africae*; P. Vindob. 25838, Eleutherius (no PLRE entry), *dux Aegypti*; MAMA III 73, PLRE 1 Leontius 28, *comes Isauriae*; CIL 6 1674, PLRE 1 Anonymus 69, *dux Isauriae*.

¹⁹⁸⁵ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 142; Scharf, *Comites*, 25-26 with n. 72; CTh 6.14.2 (397).

¹⁹⁸⁶ Banaji, *Agrarian Change*, 50.

Thus, under the reign of the sons of Theodosius, as late as 398, frontier *comites* (except *per Africam*) and *duces* were still *clarissimi* (CTh 1.7.3). Zuckerman conjectures that Eugenius, during his usurpation in 392-94, must have granted the rank of *spectabilis* to middle-ranking military and civilian officials (*comites rei militares* and *vicarii*). After his victory Theodosius, however, did not retain this innovation. By 398 only count of Africa remained (CTh 1.7.4), exceptionally, *spectabilis*, but once the traces of the ‘Gildonian exception’ were erased, count of Africa became again *clarissimus* in 399 (CTh 11.17.3).¹⁹⁸⁷ If counts of the East, Augustal prefects, and vicars were elevated to the rank of *spectabilis* between the fall of 398 and the summer of 399, the promotion of regional commanders to the rank of *spectabilis* was hardly able to precede that of the civilian administrators who are placed above them on the list of precedence in the *Notitia*. Indeed, as Zuckerman assumes, these promotions were probably part of the same revision of the senatorial dignitaries. In the *Notitia* military *comites* are shown already as *virī spectabiles*.

Often men of non-Roman origin in the high levels of Roman military service – as *comites* – could also access the formal rank of *spectabilis*. The Alamannic generals such as Agilo, Latinus, Scudilo, Gomoarius, and many other *comites*, who gradually progressed up the chain of command due to their connections, were, in Kulikowski’s opinion, in all their actions equivalent to members of a provincial aristocracy anywhere in the empire. A separate narrative of barbarians in Roman military service thereby does not do justice to the fact that Agilo and his compatriots behaved similarly to any other members of a provincial elite who had been promoted in the imperial bureaucracy and, consequently, must be analyzed in the same terms.¹⁹⁸⁸ Waas’ list of Germanic masters of soldiers erroneously includes Frigeridus and Vitalianus,¹⁹⁸⁹ who, however, were rather *comites* than *magistri*.¹⁹⁹⁰

Nominal honorific epithets attested for *comites rei militaris* comprise ‘superiority’ terms such as *sublimitas* (317-42) as well as ‘personal quality’ terms such as *prudentia* (350). ‘*Sublimitas tua*’, which initially had been used occasionally for officials of middle rank, like military counts (CTh 12.1.4: 317 (*comes Hispaniarum*)) and vicars, after c. 360 is attested only for the offices of the highest ranking *spectabiles* (proconsuls) and higher. Distinctive as they were, terms alluding to ‘personal qualities’ were not position or rank specific: *prudentia*, which reappeared c. 350, was used for praetorian prefect and military *comes*.¹⁹⁹¹

In the third and fourth century the terms (τὸ) *μεγαλεῖον* as well as (τὸ) *μεγαλειότης* gained currency as elevated forms of address equivalent to the Latin *maiestas* and *magnitudo*. There are

¹⁹⁸⁷ Zuckerman, “Two Reforms,” 143 n. 51.

¹⁹⁸⁸ Michael Kulikowski, “Regional Dynasties and Imperial Court,” in Wienand, *Contested Monarchy*, 146-7.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Waas, *Germanen im römischen Dienst*, 16.

¹⁹⁹⁰ Benjamin Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990). *PLRE* 1, 28-29 Agilo, 496 Latinus, 810-11 Scudilo, 397-98 Gomoarius; 373-74 Frigeridus; 969-70 Vitalianus.

¹⁹⁹¹ Mathisen, “Imperial Honorifics,” tables I and II.

two cases associated with the *dux Aegypti* in the second part of the fourth century (P.Oxy. VIII 1103 and SB VI 9597). Furthermore, there is only one preserved trial transcript from the fourth century, which was conducted before the court of a military commander.¹⁹⁹² Among documentary papyri, a report of proceedings before the military court of a *dux*, one of the few examples of such a document preserved intact, uses the honorific epithet '*magnitudo tua*' ('Your Magnitude') in application to *comes*.¹⁹⁹³ The report of the official of Heracleopolis to the unnamed *clarissimus comes et dux Aegypti* with the request for assistance in the collection of the *annona militaris* addresses the latter 'σοῦ τὸ μεγαλεῖον' at the end of the fourth century.¹⁹⁹⁴ In the late third and fourth centuries the application of the honorific *τῇ σῇ ἀρετῇ* ('Your Virtue/Grace') is confined to *dux* alongside prefect, *praeses*, and *rationalis*.¹⁹⁹⁵

In the West, *comes Africae*,¹⁹⁹⁶ a new military commander, created, according to some scholars, perhaps in the general reorganization of the late Roman army by Constantine¹⁹⁹⁷ or at the latest under the sons of Constantine,¹⁹⁹⁸ headed the field army (*comitatenses*) in Africa. According to Jones, the office was presumably established under Constantine, yet it was probably not permanently occupied before 368.¹⁹⁹⁹ Count of Africa assumed the military prerogatives of *praesides*, who lost their military competences. The forces in the different sectors of the African frontier were put under count of Africa, who became local commander-in-chief of the Roman army to ensure a dependable control over the empire's armed forces in Africa.

First, the military *comites Africae* should not be confused with the namesake officials operating in Africa between 321 and 327.²⁰⁰⁰ I. Tantillo does not exclude that these *comites* continued to operate until the reform of the praetorian prefecture of Constantine, in charge of coordination of the diocesan defenses.²⁰⁰¹ In any case they disappear shortly after the creation of the African prefecture in 326. The first military *comes*, about whom there is certain evidence is Cretio, who was active at the end of the reign of Constantius II.²⁰⁰² On the basis of the law dated to 350 (redated by Seeck to 349) (*CTh* 7.1.4), which already addresses him as *comes clarissimus*, as well as of an allusion by Ammianus (21.7.4), it is generally accepted that Cretio was nominated by Constans. However, some reservations are legitimate as the same officer seems to have held his

¹⁹⁹² P.Oxy. 63 4381 (Oxyrhynchus, 375) is exceptionally addressed to military authority, the *dux Aegypti*, as the petitioners were soldiers.

¹⁹⁹³ P.Oxy. 63 4381=ChLA XLVII 1431.

¹⁹⁹⁴ SB VI 9597, l. 3: [τῇ σῇ] μεγαλοῖα.

¹⁹⁹⁵ E.g. P.Oxy. LIV 3758.14 n.

¹⁹⁹⁶ On the *comitiva primi ordinis* of *comes Africae*, see Scharf, *Comites*, 26-27.

¹⁹⁹⁷ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 1424.

¹⁹⁹⁸ Ignazio Tantillo, "Praesides, comites, duces. Tripolitania and the administration of Late Roman Africa," *Antiquité Tardive* 22 (2014): 178.

¹⁹⁹⁹ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 1424.

²⁰⁰⁰ Only Leontius (320) and Annius Tiberianus (325-327) are explicitly called *comites*, while the rank of Menander is not specified in the sources.

²⁰⁰¹ Tantillo, "Praesides, comites, duces, 182-83.

²⁰⁰² PLRE 1, 231 Cretio.

post under Magnentius and then under Constantius II, unless one assumes that he was exonerated by the usurper and therefore retained by the suspicious ruler of the East.²⁰⁰³

The long-term tenure of this supreme African commander is attested first in case of Gratian, the father of the future emperor Valentinian, who appears to have held his post over a period as long as almost two decades, between the 320s and 340. He was *comes rei castrensis per Africam*, perhaps with extraordinary tasks, in a period not earlier than the year of 325. Gratian's post in Africa was probably before 337, given that he was back in favor after Constans came to power that year.²⁰⁰⁴ Of Taurinus and Silvester, whom Optatus calls *comites* and describes as commanders of soldiers, it is known only that they were in charge shortly before and after 345, respectively.²⁰⁰⁵ The aforementioned Cretio, *comes Africae* from the late 340s until early 360s, was *vir clarissimus* by 361.²⁰⁰⁶ A metric inscription in hexameters from Timgad in Numidia commemorating the erection of a statue of Victoria refers, in an allusive manner, to a person who seems to have held a military *comitiva*.²⁰⁰⁷ The inscription was set up to Victoria, the goddess of victory, which was possibly intended as a manifestation of traditional piety. It is also possible that the intention was to celebrate a victory won by count of Africa, but no precise dating can be inferred. Certainly posterior to Cretio, however, is the anonymous *comes Africae* whom Tantillo is tempted to identify with the notorious *comes Romanus*.²⁰⁰⁸

According to others, *comes rei militaris* may itself have been a creation of Constans.²⁰⁰⁹ Magnentius served as *protector* and then *comes rei militaris* in the West with probably an independent command and high standard units sometime before 350. Two palatine legions serving the emperor were commanded by Magnentius in this capacity at the moment of his rebellion (presumably the *Heculani Seniores* and *Ioviani Seniores* (ND Occ. V and VII 3-4)).²⁰¹⁰ Thereafter, Constantius II adopted his brother's innovation and introduced *comes rei militaris* for Illyricum around 349. The new type of general commanded a body of *comitatenses* charged with protecting and defending of a smaller area than those that could be assigned to *magister militum*, as did *comes rei militaris* established by Constantius on the Danube. A tribune of Julian, Libino, held the rank of *comes rei militaris* in 361.²⁰¹¹

By the time of the *Notitia*, *comites* were mainly found in the West, because of the fragmentation of the western *comitatus* into a number of smaller groups. In contrast to their eastern

²⁰⁰³ Ibid., 182-83.

²⁰⁰⁴ Lenski, *Failure of Empire*, 47. PLRE 1, 400-401 Gratian 1.

²⁰⁰⁵ PLRE 1, 878-79 Taurinus; 842 Silvester.

²⁰⁰⁶ CTh 7.1.4 ad Cretionem v.c. com., dated c. 357/61.

²⁰⁰⁷ AE 1902, 91 (Thamugadi (Numidia)).

²⁰⁰⁸ CIL 6 1674. Tantillo, "Praesides, comites, duces", 183. PLRE 1, 768 Romanus 3.

²⁰⁰⁹ Pat Southern and Karen Ramsey Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 59.

²⁰¹⁰ Burns, *Barbarians Within the Gates of Rome*, 4.

²⁰¹¹ PLRE 1 508 Libino.

counterparts, who all held the *magister militum* rank, the commanders of the Western regional *comitatus* were all of the lower *comes rei militaris* rank, except for *magister equitum per Gallias*. That *comes* headed a double troop could be regarded as a rule.²⁰¹² It is confirmed by Ammianus (21.3.2-3; 4.7). The aforementioned Libino, *comes rei militaris* in the West in 361, was sent with the *Celtae* and *Petulantes* to Raetia by Julian against the Chamavi, and killed in action. The *Celtae* and *Petulantes* were high-ranking *auxilia palatina* (ND Occ. V 160-1).

Comites rei militaris in the West thus comprised two *comites* in Africa who commanded frontier troops (Africa and Tingitania) and were in charge of administrative offices, one *comes* in Britain who commanded the frontier troops of the Saxon shore, and another who commanded no troops but headed an administrative office. *Comites of tractus Italiae* and *tractus Argentoratensis* commanded no troops and had no administrative offices, yet were merely in charge of a tract of land. The western frontier commanders' insignia exhibit a codex and scroll in a rectangle in the upper left-hand corner. Most of the *spectabiles* are represented by the combination of an inscribed codex and a rolled scroll, although there are some exceptions. The arrangement of the rolled scroll together with the codex must be regarded as a sign of rank. It is never used for officials among either the *illustres* or the *clarissimi*.²⁰¹³

The first *comes* whose insigne is preserved in the Notitia, *comes Africae*, was a high-ranking officer in the late Roman army of the West, and was the holder of one of the highest command posts in the late Roman provinces in North Africa in the fourth century. The insigne of *comes Africae* in the Notitia depicts an inscribed codex and a scroll together with sixteen forts under his command. He was one of the three highest-ranking officers of the provinces of the late Roman *diocesis Africa*. His official residence was probably in the city of Carthage. The area of responsibility (*tractus*) of *comes* extended to the largest part of the area between today's Algeria and Libya, in particular to the provinces Numidia, Byzacena and Africa (intra Africam) important for the grain supply of the city of Rome. As *vir spectabilis* he belonged to the second highest class of the imperial elite. The count in Spain, however, did not have his own section in the Notitia, and thereby had no accompanying illustration showing any towns he has under his command.

Commanders who have had long tenures in office were able to achieve wealth accumulation through a specific set of bargaining and fiscal practices. *Comes Africae* from 364 to c. 373 was Romanus. Several civil dignitaries were honored in Lepcis Magna after the provincials were finally given justice by the court in their suit against Romanus, and a series of monuments was set up in the

²⁰¹² Ralf Scharf, *Der Dux Mogontiacensis und die Notitia Dignitatum. Eine Studie zur spätantiken Grenzverteidigung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 32.

²⁰¹³ Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 120.

city to celebrate.²⁰¹⁴ The emperor Gratian appointed two civil officials in order to settle the case of the provincials against *comes* Romanus ('the case of the Tripolitani, that was assigned ... by sacred decision', 1.8-9),²⁰¹⁵ a lawsuit that had been delayed for more than ten years.²⁰¹⁶ Thus, Romanus, count of Africa for about a decade, from c. 365 to 375, accumulated considerable power and wealth while in office.

A number of honorific inscriptions was set up for military *comites* in Africa. Flavius Victorianus, *vir clarissimus, primi ordinis comes Africae* in 375-78, was honored in the inscription at Lepcis in 378:

(To a man) of praiseworthy integrity, benevolent vigor and outstanding justice, Flavius Victorianus, count (*comes*) of Africa, because he restored the territory wearied by excessive incursion of barbarians, ... by watchfulness... by the moderation of his judgments ... both to the community (*res publica*) and to private individuals ... the Lepcimagensians [set this up ...].²⁰¹⁷

In line 1, which is today illegible, the *signum* of the honorand was recorded, and possibly his senatorial rank and office. Tantillo and Bigi think that Victorianus, the successor of Romanus, might have held the office of *comes Africae* perhaps as early as 373. As usual, his statue will have been set up after his time in office. The activities for which he as military commander was honored in the inscription are clearly part of the aftermath of the Austurian invasion of Tripolitania c. 363-65.²⁰¹⁸ When the barbarian tribe of the Austuriani had pillaged the territory of Lepcis, the *comes* Romanus refused to help the city.²⁰¹⁹ Victorianus was praised for his subsequent military achievements against the tribe. The base was discovered in the eastern colonnade of the Severan forum, where it is still standing today, and was set up by a civic body of Lepcis Magna (1.14). The statue honor was probably granted together with those to the other high-ranking persons who gave justice to the Lepcitans and the lawsuit against *comes* Romanus in 378.

Apart from the restoration of the city after the barbarian incursions, Victorianus is further lauded for his honesty (*praedicabilis integritatis*, 1.2-3), his benevolence (*benivoli vigoris*, 1.3-4), his justice (*iustitiae singularis*, 1.4-5), and the moderation of his judgements (*moderatione iudiciorum*, 1.10-11) by which he restored the well-being of the city and of citizens. The mention of the

²⁰¹⁴ IRT 475, PLRE 1 Virius Nicomachus Flavianus 15; IRT 526, PLRE 1 Decimius Hilarianus Hesperius 2; IRT 103 and 571, PLRE 1 Vivius Benedictus 4. The historical context in which the dedications were probably set up was the end of the extended legal contest between by the province of Tripolitania and the *comes* Romanus: Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 2, 354-362; Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 383-387; Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 22-24.

²⁰¹⁵ IRT 526.

²⁰¹⁶ On the case, see Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 22-24.

²⁰¹⁷ IRT 570=LSA-2175 (Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania)). Cf. AE 1957, 236. Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 365-7, no. 29, figs.10.33-34, pl. X.

²⁰¹⁸ Amm. 28.6 and especially 476, 526, and 571, of approximately the same date as the inscription.

²⁰¹⁹ On Romanus provoking some of the Berber tribes settled on the fringes of the province to rebel and the invasion of the Mauretanian peoples, see Tantillo and Bigi, *Leptis Magna*, 22-24.

outstanding merits of his administration, such as judgement and moderation, and especially integrity (*integritas*), although being the virtues commonly praised in the inscriptions for governors, suggests a particular bond of trust between this man and the provincials of Lepcis. Since these epithets are typical for high civilian office-holders, it is suggested that *comes* had possibly extraordinary juridical and administrative power similar to the later *duces* of Tripolitania.

It is known from another inscription from Cellae that Victorianus held the title of *comes primi ordinis*.²⁰²⁰ In this building inscription he is recorded as *clarissimus. Primi ordinis comes Africae* should be noted as an early example of a new form of title. This dedicatory inscription in honor of Valentinian II dated to c. 378 testifies to the construction of the *castrum* by Victorianus in Mauretania Caesariensis. The inscription comes from the mountain that dominated Cellae, a military camp in the *limes*.

Furthermore, the term *limes* is attested as a formal administrative concept denoting a frontier district administered by a military commander (*dux*). The inscriptions record the erection of military structures in a part of the *limes*, but this term, taken by itself, does not indicate any specific form of military organization or complex of fortifications. It has exclusively administrative content. Frontier districts under *dux* can co-exist without problem with subject peoples beyond the frontier. In the *Notitia Occidentis* some are listed in North Africa. *Comes limitis Aegypti* is the office with the only mention of the *limes* in the *Notitia Orientis*. However, there is no reference to forts along a frontier line. B. Isaac shows that there was rather a system of roads with fortifications, as there had been since the time of Augustus.²⁰²¹ These inscriptions testify to the importance that the military commanders had attained in Tripolitania in the last phase of Roman dominion. Moreover, they show that the barbarian incursions that had started in the first part of the 360s, and were temporarily suppressed in the late Valentinianic period, lingered on into the late fourth and early fifth century.

Thereafter, the anonymous *comes Africae* was the son of an unidentified urban prefect of Rome and the father of Aemilia Andronice, *clarissima et spectabilis femina*, in the late fourth century, between c. 372 and 384.²⁰²² Almost certainly a family dedication, the honorific statue was set up for Andronice in Rome. The maternal line for Andronice is preferable, because, otherwise, it is improbable that *comes Africae* could be a brother of city prefect. If the father of Andronice was still in office in the moment of the engraving of the stone, he could be identified with one of the known *comites*, such as Romanus or his successor Victorinus. Between the two of them, the first one is more preferable not only because *comes* in the inscription is not called *primi ordinis* – a title attested only for Victorinus, but also because of his strong connections at court in the age of

²⁰²⁰ *CIL* 8 10937=20566 (Djebel Bou Thaleb (Mauretania Caesariensis)).

²⁰²¹ Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 133-34.

²⁰²² *CIL* 6 1674=LSA-1391. *PLRE* 1, 1016 Anonymus 67.

Valentinian (Amm. 27.9.2; 19.6.8). He should be presumed to aspire to marry a senatorial noblewoman.²⁰²³

The fact that *comes Africae* could have been a son of city prefect seems bizzare.²⁰²⁴ Count of Africa was thereby *clarissimus* by birth, and pursued a military career as opposed to his father's civilian one. Remarkably, the father of the woman's husband, a high-level palatine official, count of the sacred largesse, also belonged to high-ranking commanders, serving as count of the first order, *dux* of Isauria.

Further, Promotus, *magister equitum et peditum in praesenti* in the East in 386-391 and consul in 389, was possibly *comes Africae* before 386. From 386 to 398 *comes et magister utrisque militia per Africam* was Gildo. In the law of 393 (CTh 9.7.9) Gildo is called *comes et magister utriusque militiae per Africam*. By then he had already commanded the diocesan troops for eight years (Claud. Bell. Gild. 154). Probably he had been promoted for his loyalty to Emperor Theodosius in the fight against the usurpers Magnus Maximus and Eugenius. The consequence was that the *duces* of Mauritania and Tripolitana were also subordinate to him and that the *comitatenses* did not have to obey the *magister militum in praesenti*, but rather him as the highest commander in Africa. After his fall in 397 the *comitiva* of Africa was restored to its previous form.

Additionally, an anonymous military commander is addressed by Symmachus (*Ep.* 4.48) as *vir laudabilis Africae comes* in 395/402. The title *vir laudabilis* is attested both on inscriptions and on documentary documents. It is, however, problematic to understand in which cases these words are used in a 'technical' way, indicating a precise title, and when they are just pure commendatory adjectives.²⁰²⁵ There is no occurrence of *laudabilis* in the *Code*, which can with full certainty be considered to be an expression of the 'official' title.

Another African count, *comes Tingitaniae*, may not have attained the clarissimate until 372. Thus, a Christian epitaph on the sarcophagus at Arles commemorates Flavius Memorius, a distinguished officer who served twenty-eight years in the *Ioviani*, six as protector, and three as commander of the *Lanciararii seniores* (364-67), before becoming *comes ripae* for a year, and retired as *comes Tingitaniae* with only the rank of *vir perfectissimus*.²⁰²⁶ In the mid-fourth century, for a total of forty-two years of service, Memorius spent fourteen years in different posts, apart from his service in the *Ioviani*, which alone would have qualified him for the full discharge bonuses received after twenty years – changed by 325 to twenty years in the *comitatus* or twenty-four years of border

²⁰²³ Tantillo, "Praesides, comites, duces," 183.

²⁰²⁴ Ibid., 183 *contra* PLRE 1 Anonymus 67.

²⁰²⁵ Symm., *Ep.* 2.10; 3.32. *Laudabilis* originally developed from the 'generic' meaning as an additional title and in the course of the fourth century, in parallel to and then in substitution of the 'senatorial' use, came to identify members of the local elites who did not manage to attain the rank of *clarissimus*.

²⁰²⁶ CIL 12 673=ILS 2788=ILCV 295 (Arelate). PLRE 1, 595 Flavius Memorius 2.

service.²⁰²⁷ Memorius served as *comes Tingitaniae* for four years and died aged seventy-five. Memorius served twenty-eight years in the *Ioviani* and six in the *protectores* before he was commissioned. He must have been about fifty-five by then and he was fortunate after three years as prefect of the *Lanciarii Seniores* to be promoted to *comes ripae* and then *comes* of Mauretania, posts which he held for five years before his retirement. The insigne of *comes Tingitania*, depicts, apart from the inscribed codex and a scroll, eight stations under his command.

The *Notitia* equally preserves a section for *comes Italiae* with a depiction of the inscribed codex and a scroll. However, the illustration is devoid of any units, officers or forts as the command, which seems to have covered the Julian Alps, and thus the easiest route into Italy for invaders from the northeast, was made defunct at some point after the *Notitia* was first drawn up. In this it is similar to the command of *comes Argentoratensis*, which also has a section complete with frontpiece, but no allocated stations, commanders, or troops. The only town illustrated, apparently labeled ‘Italia’, is usually taken to represent Aquileia specifically. A remarkable feature of all the illustrations is the depiction of two sets of walls, representing the extensive fortifications built at some point in the fourth century to protect the passes through the mountains.

According to the *Notitia*, *comes Italiae* may have commanded at least three legionary units in the past as can be inferred from the names assigned to them. However, it was argued that while the command as depicted in the *Notitia* represents the fourth rather than early-fifth century *status quo*, *Legio I, II, and III Iulia Alpina* were not connected with the command of the *comes Italiae*. While these units may have built the defences of the Julian Alps, they were never part of *comes Italiae*’s command, because *comes Italiae* never commanded any troops, only the defensive structures themselves.²⁰²⁸

Likewise, the *Notitia* has a section for *comes Argentoratensis*, immediately after the illustration of *comes Italiae*. The town depicted in the insigne is named ‘Argentoratensis’. However, like that of the *comes Italiae*, the section of the *comes Argentoratensis* is devoid of any troops, officers or stations; there is no preserved text accompanying it other than that shown immediately beneath the frame, describing the count’s command as being the *tractus Argentoratensis*. Presumably the command was made defunct at some point after the *Notitia* was first drawn up but before (or with) its final revision. Unlike *comes Italiae*, *comes Argentoratensis* is not even listed in the section of the *Notitia* cataloging the high military officials in the West.

On the contrary, the insigne of *comes litoris Saxonici* shows forts neatly aligned in straight rows all across the island. These fortresses, in fact, were rather clustered along the southeast shore. Such ‘maps’ have no pretension to indicate the placement of forts, as they were devised as the

²⁰²⁷ Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe*.

²⁰²⁸ Peter Kos, “Barriers in the Julian Alps and the *Notitia Dignitatum*,” *Arheološki Vestnik* 65 (2014): 409-22.

decorative insignia of the frontier commander, and were meant only to accompany the texts which listed the units being at the disposal of count. Nevertheless, as visual images these maps are authentically late antique.²⁰²⁹ Nectaridus, killed along with the senior *dux* by invaders in 367, is known to have been commander of Britain's coastal forts (*comes litoris Saxonici*).²⁰³⁰ Facing pressure from Franks and Saxons the command of a ducate on the coast of Britain was perhaps re-assigned to *comes rei militaris* in 367, while the analogous frontier command of the northern frontier remained under *dux*.

Unlike *comes litoris Saxonici per Britanniam*, the command of *comes Britanniae* is not listed with any associated forts or towns, represented in the insigne rather as one large 'town' called 'Britannia', similar to *comes Italiae* and *comes Argentoratensis*. Nonetheless, neither of these latter commands has troops associated with them, unlike that of British count. The 'town' in the illustration of *comes Britanniarum* probably had simple hexagonal style presumed for the lost *Codex Spirensis*.²⁰³¹

As for the known counts, the father of Valentinian I, Gratian, was *comes rei militaris* in Britain in 343.²⁰³² He assumed the post of count in Britain probably when Constans visited the province in response to raiding along the northern frontier. Constans entrusted Gratian behind with an *ad hoc* command over comitatensian forces to complete the work of repairing fortifications and patrolling the frontier.²⁰³³ Apart from the honorific inscriptions, Gratian's career is known primarily from Ammianus. Sometime before 351 Gratian had retired honorably from the army and returned to his estates in Pannonia. While *comes per Africam*, he incurred suspicion of theft, left the region and established his estate back in Cibalae, and did not return to office as *comes*, in Britain until c. 343 (Amm. 30.7.2-3).

Later, Theodosius I built on the example of Valens and Valentinian, by encouraging the setting up of impressive statues to his deceased father, who had a fine military career serving as *comes rei militaris* in Britain and Gaul in 368/69, *magister equitum in praesenti* in the West in 369-73, and *magister equitum* in Africa in 373-75.²⁰³⁴ Extensive work on town walls in Britain – fortifications different from military sites and primarily intended to protect the civil population – is attributed to count Theodosius from 369, in order to repair the devastation done since 360 by tribes from Scotland and Ireland. This victorious commander is credited with adding external towers to

²⁰²⁹ Berger, *The Insignia*, 118.

²⁰³⁰ *PLRE* 1, 621 Nectaridus.

²⁰³¹ Berger, *The Insignia*, 118.

²⁰³² He is possibly mentioned on *CIL* 3 12900 Salona (Dalmatia), but the identification is entirely speculative. A posthumous statue to Gratian was set up in Constantinople (Them. *Or.* VI 81D=*LSA*-2703) and in Cirta-Constantina (Numidia) (*CIL* 8 7014=*LSA*-2320).

²⁰³³ Lenski, *Failure of Empire*, 47.

²⁰³⁴ *CIL* 9 333=*ILS* 780 (Canusium (Apulia)); *AE* 1966, 435 (Ephesus); cf. *AE* 1931, 53. *AE* 1966, 435; *AE* 1931, 53. Alexander Demandt, "Die Feldzüge Des Älteren Theodosius," *Hermes* 100.1 (1972): 81-113.

town walls in Britain. A plaque from the base for the posthumous statue of Thermantia, mother of the emperor Theodosius I, honoring her as a wife of the deified Theodosius, illustrious count and master of both armies, was set up in the Forum Romanum in 389-91.²⁰³⁵ Since the dimensions of this base would not fit a regular statue base, a colossal statue was suggested.²⁰³⁶ Magnus Maximus was perhaps *comes Britanniarum* before proclaimed Augustus in 383, with his brother Marcellinus becoming his *comes* and placed in command of the part of his army.²⁰³⁷

Interestingly, in the *Notitia* count of Illyricum does not have his own section, and therefore has no accompanying insigne showing any forts he had under his command. Ianuarius was either *magister militum per Illyricum* in 363-64 or *comes rei militaris* in Illyricum. Flavius Equitius was *comes rei militaris per Illyricum* in 364-65 before becoming *magister equitum et peditum per Illyricum* in 365-75 and consul in 374. Frigeridus, formerly *dux* in Valeria, was *comes rei militaris* in Illyricum and Thrace in 377. Similarly, Lupicinus, *tribunus* in Pannonia, was promoted to *comes rei militaris* in Thrace somewhen in the same year. Arbogastes may have been *comes rei militaris* in Illyricum c. 380, while Vitalianus was *comes rei militares* in Illyricum around the same date. A period of town-wall building in the area began when Alaric's Goths infested first the dioceses of Illyricum.

In the East there were two *comites rei militaris* in command of Egypt and Isauria. Exceptionally, these men were in command of *limitanei* regiments only. Their title may be due to the fact that they reported, at the time of the *Notitia*, to the emperor directly (later they reported to the *magister militum per Orientem*). Usually their duties included construction, maintenance and repair of the border fortifications. So, when Valacius, the *dux Aegypti* who had tried to stymie Abinnaeus' promotion, ordered an inspection of all the forts under his command c. 340, he discovered the fort of Psobthis needed a new coat of limewash.²⁰³⁸

The insignia of two *comites* in the East, of the Egyptian frontier and of Isauria, differ further from those of the other military counts in that they both feature blue cloth-draped tables supporting their codicils. First, *comes limitis Aegypti* is the only officer (Or. 28) represented solely by a codex. But it is hard to say whether this was intentional or due to a copyist's mistake. Second, according to Berger, the addition of the table may be reflective of the historical situation in the late fourth-early fifth centuries, when Egypt and Isauria were two of the regions with the civilian and military commands often combined. Hence, in addition to their military authority over the troops in the area,

²⁰³⁵ *CIL* 6 36960=*ILS* 8950=*LSA*-2667.

²⁰³⁶ Ruck, *Die Grossen dieser Welt*, 260.

²⁰³⁷ *PLRE* 1, 588 Magnus Maximus 39; 547 Marcellinus 12.

²⁰³⁸ Elton, "Warfare and the Military," 137-58. *PLRE* 1, 929 ...us Valacius; 1-2 Flavius Abinnaeus.

these *comites* also had civil administrative competencies, possibly epitomized here by the blue cloth-draped table.²⁰³⁹

The insignia of both frontier commanders in the East, *comes limitis Aegypti* and *comes per Isauriam* show maps of limited accuracy with special features. The forts in the insigne of *comes limitis Aegypti* are not consistently six-sided, but the standards rise from each fortress. The illustration of this count seems to exhibit the standards associated with the different legions under the control of *comes* at this frontier.²⁰⁴⁰ The original *signa* associated with various units were corrupted in the process of transmission.

The insigne of count of the Egyptian frontier and *dux Thebaidos* include labeled the Nile (*FL NILUS*) and two pyramids (*Pyramides*). In the illustration eighteen stations are labeled, while the units or detachments of units are listed in the text as being under the command of the Duke of Thebes. Exceptionally among the illustrations in the *Notitia*, the towns/forts at the disposal of *comes limitis Aegypti* exhibit decorated poles bearing arising from inside the stations.²⁰⁴¹ Of those of the Bodleian manuscript, the ones depicting human figures look similarly to those of *imago* (imperial portrait) standards. The figures ascribed to *Theodosiana* bears a cross, which, along with the cross-bearing orb (*globus cruciger*) portraying unit standard ascribed to the fortress of Babilona, and thus presumably belonging to *Legio tertiadecima gemina*, appear to be the only representations of recognizably Christian crosses in the *Notitia*.

The *duces Aegypti* Syrianus and Flavius Artemius are both called *clarissimi*, the former by 356 (Athan. *Hist. Ar.* 81) and the latter by 360 (P.Oxy. 8.1103), despite Ammianus' claim that Constantius curbed the ambitions of *militares* (21.16.2).²⁰⁴² Artemius is referred to as 'ἐξουσία' in the proceedings of the βουλή of Oxyrynchus. The honorific epithet 'ἐξουσία' (*potestas*) was a term equally applied to the emperor and to the high-ranking officials.²⁰⁴³ Although there is evidence that at least a few *comites* became *clarissimi* in the last years of Constantinus' reign, contrary to Ammianus (21.16.2), they indeed remained *perfectissimi* and the office was not elevated in rank. Although a part of the late Roman bureaucracy, a group which Constantius more than any other emperor helped to crystallize, senior military officers such as *comites* were far behind the palatine elite in terms of rank and prestige. Even Valentinian, contrary to Banaji, did not respond to their pressures, which had been active for well over a decade.

Comites were engaged in military building activities *ex officio*. Traianus, *dux Aegypti* in 367-68, progressed to *comes rei militaris* on the eastern front in 371-74 and *magister peditum* in

²⁰³⁹ Berger, *The Insignia*, 123-24.

²⁰⁴⁰ Ibid., 121.

²⁰⁴¹ Ibid., 119.

²⁰⁴² See Hoffmann, *Das spätromische Bewegungsheer*, 1, 314; Barnabás Lörincz, "Die duces des Provinz Valeria unter Valentinian I (364–375)," *Alba Regia* 15 (1976): 99-101. *PLRE* 1, 872 Syrianus; 112 Flavius Artemius 2.

²⁰⁴³ Paul Koch, *Die Byzantinischen Beamtentitel von 400 bis 700* (Diss. Univ. Jena, 1903), 122.

Thrace in 377-78. While in the office in Egypt he obtained an imperial order for rebuilding the Caesareum in Alexandria and started work in 368 (Athan., *Fest. Ind.* s.a. 368).²⁰⁴⁴ For the same period Flavius Mauricius, *clarissimus comes et dux* in Thebais between 367 and 375,²⁰⁴⁵ is known by a building inscription from Syene set up under Valentinian, Valens and Gratian.²⁰⁴⁶ The construction works and the presence of *Miliarenses Milites* (l. 6)²⁰⁴⁷ at Syene are explained by the necessity to strengthen the Theban *limes*, threatened in the fourth century by the Blemmyes.²⁰⁴⁸ He could be the same person who was proposed as candidate for the recipient of a Greek iambic poem. Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 279) mentions a certain Cyrus of Antaeopolis, poet in the Thebais and author of the eulogy addressed to *dux* Mauricius among other *encomia*. Mauricius is the same person that pronounced a judicial decree of 375 (P.Oxy. 63.4381), acting in the capacity of *comes rei militaris Aegypti* (i.e. *dux Aegypti*) in Alexandria.

Further, although most of the bilingual proceedings come from civil courts of law, a Greco-Latin papyrus (P.Oxy. LXIII 4381=ChLA XLVII 1431) is one of only three preserved trial transcripts from late antiquity which were conducted before the court of a military commander.²⁰⁴⁹ The trial took place before the same *dux (limitis) Aegypti* Mauricius in the *secretarium* (l. 1), that is, not in public but in the official room of *dux* in Alexandria. The plaintiffs were appealing against an attempt to exact from them a trade tax (payable in gold and silver bullion) called *χρυσάργυρον* or *collatio lustralis*. This bilingual report on the trial comes from Oxyrhynchos (the defendants were two public officers from Oxyrhynchos who had been held responsible for the collection of taxes) and it bears a precise date of 3 August 375. The usual framing text in the record of the hearing (in this particular case the preamble giving date and location) and the judge's pronouncements are in Latin, the rest is in Greek:

After the consulship of our master Gratian, perpetual Augustus, for the third time, and of Equitius, *vir clarissimus, comes*, on the third day before the nones of August, at Alexandria, in the *secretarium*.

²⁰⁴⁴ *PLRE* 1, 921-22 Traianus 2.

²⁰⁴⁵ *PLRE* 1, 570 Flavius Mauricius 2, see Bernand, "A propos d'une inscription," 181.

²⁰⁴⁶ *AE* 1909, 108 (Syene (Thebais)). Bernand, "A propos d'une inscription," 180-81, table VIb.

²⁰⁴⁷ *Miliarenses* is a name for a combined detachment notionally of miliary, or two cohort, strength.

²⁰⁴⁸ Roger Rémondon, "Problèmes militaires en Egypte et dans l'Empire à la fin du IV^e siècle," *Revue Historique* (1955): 25-27.

²⁰⁴⁹ The others: P.Acad. 56/1+2 + 57/1 (Antin., middle of fifth century?) and ChLAXLVII 1437 (Aphr., first half of sixth century). On the arrangement, size, stylization of the script, and the content of the lawsuit, see Bernhard Palme, "Roman Litigation – Reports of Court Proceedings," 2011 (working paper), https://iowp.univie.ac.at/sites/default/files/IOWP_palme_litigation02.pdf.

Spoken from the *officium*: ‘Having in our hands a petition in the form which Pelion, *ducenarius*, submitted to Your Highness (*‘magnitudine(!) tuae’*) in public, we shall recite it, if You so command (trans. B. Palme).²⁰⁵⁰

Afterwards, *officialis* reads the statement of the case in Greek, which is recorded in its entirety (1.3-10). The supreme military official in Egypt was addressed in Greek by the petitioners, Flavius Pelion, *ducenarius*, and Flavius Gunthus, *centenarius (circitor?)* – two non-commissioned officers of the cavalry unit of the *Mauri scutarii* – as *‘σου μέγεθος’*,²⁰⁵¹ thus in the same way as in the Latin framework, but also as *‘σου ἑξουσία’*.²⁰⁵² The litigants of the case appealed to Mauricius, who held the honorific title of *comes primi ordinis*, referring to him as ‘Your bright Fortune’ (*τῇ λαμπρᾷ σου τύχῃ*),²⁰⁵³ while pressing their legal claims and requesting *dux* to prohibit the future infringement of their rights.²⁰⁵⁴ The nominal epithet *‘μέγεθος/magnitudo’*, first attested only a decade earlier, quickly became very common yet did not lose its lustre, having been used as an honorific term to refer to the high ranks. Together with *‘ἑξουσία’* it clarifies most manifestly the rank of the judge, applied by non-imperial addressers.

In the listing of the provinces under praetorian prefect of the Orient, the *Notitia* documents military count for the province of Isauria (3.14), while his insigne provides some information about the difficult and special area of responsibility of this official. *Comes per Isauriam* similarly to *dux et praeses provinciae Mauritaniae et Caesariensis* and *dux Arabiae* combines both military and civil powers. Yet in the textual list for the officers under *comes rei militaris* one finds that it is *dux Isauriae* who had an imperial postal entitlement and not *comes*. Evidently, commander of the military forces of the province changed from *dux*, and who thereby had at his disposal *limitanei* units, to *comes*, who commanded field army units. As is usual for units under a non-limital *comes*, garrison locations are not provided in the *Notitia* for either *Legio II Isauria* or *Legio III Isauria*, presumably since the units were *comitatenses* units rather than *limitanei* units. On the other hand, the absence of recorded shield patterns fits a *limitanei* designation better. This would thus appear to corroborate apparent changes in the nature of the governmental organisation of the province.

²⁰⁵⁰ P.Oxy. 63 4381: *Ποστ̄ cons(ulatum) d(omini) n(ostri) Gratiani per(petui) Aug(usti) iii et Equitio(!) v(iri) c(larissimi) com(itis) die iii non(as) Aug(ustas) Alex(andrae) in secretario. [-ca.?-] ex offic(io) d(ictum) est, ‘cuiusmodi libellum Pelion duc(enarius) publice magnitudine(!) tuae obtulerit prae manibus habentes [reci]tamus, si praecipis’. F[(avius) Mauricius, u(ir) c(larissimus), com(es) ord(inis) prim(i) et dux, d(icit), ‘legatur et actis indatur’ ex offic(io) rec(itatum) est (...).*

²⁰⁵¹ P.Oxy. 63 4381, 1.8: *καταφεύγομεν ἐπεὶ(!) τὸ σὸν μέγεθος* (‘we flee for refuge to Your Magnitude’).

²⁰⁵² P.Oxy. 63 4381, 1.4: *πᾶσει(!) μὲν βοηθεῖν εἴωθεν ἢ σὴ ἑξουσία, δοῦξ κύριε, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἡμῖν τοῖς στρα[τιώτα]ις* (‘it is Your Authority’s custom to help all people, lord *dux*, but especially us soldiers’).

²⁰⁵³ P.Oxy. 63 4381, 1.10: *ὅπως τούτου τηχόντες χάριτας(!) τὰς μεγίστας τῇ λαμπρᾷ σου τύχῃ ὁμολογῆσαι δυνηθῶμεν, δοῦξ κύριε* (‘so that, when we secure this, we may be able to acknowledge our very great thanks to Your magnificent fortune, lord *dux*’).

²⁰⁵⁴ According to the cited legal codes, the plaintiffs should have had to file their lawsuit, which had a financial background, unconditionally with the civil judge, therefore the governor. The lawsuit, nevertheless, was accepted from the *dux*, and he acted as a judge because the plaintiffs were soldiers.

The insigne of *comes* of Isauria is distinguished by the mountain range included in his illustration. An authentic topographical feature of the Taurus mountains, labeled above the peaks, is an obvious geographical marker in the province under his jurisdiction. An endemic to the region deer, an occasional element of fauna in the *Notitia*, is shown grazing. The other animal, disappearing behind a mountain, is clearly a wolf, equally indigenous for the area.²⁰⁵⁵ Both symbolize wilderness and wildness of the mountain region. Five small architectonic structures separated by a line running parallel to the mountain and forming its baseline, which sets the rock massif apart from the green-coloured plain, guard the mountain passes, while two forts, corresponding to the two legions listed in the texts, are aligned diagonally below. The illustration from the Bodleian manuscript of the *Notitia* shows three larger and five smaller forts, but the only labels refer to natural features: ‘*Tarsium mare*’ and ‘*Mons Taurus*’; the gulf of Mersin and the Taurus mountains, respectively. In the insigne of *comes per Isauriam* Taurus, as inscribed on the summits, is placed next to the sea. Feld considers the codex on the blue-draped table to be the *Liber Mandatorum*,²⁰⁵⁶ the formal confirmation of count’s authority, alongside which a city is drawn, which is called Tarsus.

The fortified cities were prepared to bear the brunt of the raids. The military governor of Isauria (*comes et praeses*) Bassidius Lauricius was *clarissimus* already by 359.²⁰⁵⁷ The Isaurians plundered in that year, but were brought to peace by the alertness of *comes* (Amm. 19.13).²⁰⁵⁸ The building inscription records that he restored a fort, which had long been occupied by *latrones*, garrisoned it, and named it Antiochia. The inscription states his title and rank as *comes et praeses*, but the combination of *comes* and *praeses* is unusual.²⁰⁵⁹ Barnes’ proposal that Bassidius Lauricius was a *praeses* of Isauria who probably received the rank of *comes* precisely for the purpose of supervising the council of Seleucia, which he presided together with *comes* Leonas in late September 359, is wrong.²⁰⁶⁰ Hoffmann considers him to have been *dux*.

²⁰⁵⁵ Karl Feld, *Barbarische Bürger: Die Isaurier und das Römische Reich* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 90-91.

²⁰⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 90.

²⁰⁵⁷ *CIL* 3 6733=*ILS* 740 (Antiochia ad Orontem). See Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer*, 1, 314, on Bassidius Lauricius, *comes (et dux) et praeses Isauriae*. *PLRE* 1, 497, suggests *praeses* rather than *dux*.

²⁰⁵⁸ Cf. the base for bronze statue of Celsius or Celseas, military commander, put up by the city of Cibyra in Caria, dated from later third to mid-fourth century: *LSA*-538. This fragmentary verse inscription of one, incomplete, distich specifically celebrates the honorand for slaying ‘robbers’ (*ληστοφόνοιο*, l.2), which was associated with the Isaurian raids erupting in the later third and going on through the entire fourth century. His achievements that earned him a bronze statue must have been outstanding; he was therefore almost certainly an imperial military commander rather than a local ‘irenarch’, the official responsible for police duties in the city. *PLRE* 1, 497 Bassidius Lauricius.

²⁰⁵⁹ Ralf Scharf, “Die Matroniani – Comites Isauria,” *Epigraphica Anatolica* 16 (1990): 147-51. See now Ignazio Tantillo, “*Comites et praesides*: modalità del cumulo dei poteri nel IV secolo d.C.,” in *Hierarchie des pouvoirs, délégation de pouvoir et responsabilité des administrateurs dans l’Antiquité et au Moyen Âge* (Metz, 2011) (Metz: Centre régional universitaire lorrain d’histoire, 2012), 79-101.

²⁰⁶⁰ Feld, *Barbarische Bürger*, 94 n.227 *contra* Timothy D. Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1998), 92-93, since it seems to follow from Ammianus that he was appointed governor in 359 when the council was about to take place.

It is notable that another building inscription from the sea wall of Anemurium attests the prefect of *Legio I Isauria* under Matronianus, *clarissimus comes Isauriae*.²⁰⁶¹ The same Matronianus, *dux et praeses Isauriae*, is mentioned in a legal rescript dated to 382 (*CTh* 9.27.3=*CJ* 9.27.1), implying that *comes* was present from at least just before the time of the *Notitia*'s compilation. Perhaps one of the many raids by Isaurian brigands prompted *comes Isauriae*, with the *Legio presudocomitatensis I Armeniaca* (*ND Or.* 7.49) placed under his command, to have the walls of Anemurium restored or rebuilt in the situation similar to that in which one of his predecessors, *comes* Castricius, found himself operating against the Isaurian rebels in 353 in the capital city of the province, Seleucia (*Amm.* 14.2.14-16). It is also possible that Matronianus had the First Armenians brought to Anemurium in order to help rebuild the defences of the city after possible damage from previous raids as a prophylactic measure.²⁰⁶² The Greek verse building inscription in two distichs honored *comes*, under whose command the legion's construction duty was performed, for the works of restoration.

Comites carried out a number of civil building projects including city fortifications. Flavius Leontius was military commander (*comes et dux*) in Isauria in 395-402.²⁰⁶³ His building inscription from the north gate of Diocaesarea in Cilicia expresses his both civil and military functions. It is clear evidence for imperially constructed fortifications as the city gate in Diocaesarea rebuilt under Arcadius and Honorius.²⁰⁶⁴ *Dux Isauriae* Leontius is named *λαμπρότατος καὶ θαυμασιώτατος κόμης πρώτου τάγματος*. The rank predicate *clarissimus/λαμπρότατος* is accompanied by the honorific epithet *θαυμασιώτατος* ('most amazing') enhancing an addressee's senatorial status in the eastern part of the empire.

The motif of the modesty of the honor awarded in comparison to the benefactions received is common in late antique honorific inscriptions, including those set up for military officers. In the tetrachic period *perfectissimus dux* in Isauria was honored with two statues in the cities of the East, comprising a golden statue.²⁰⁶⁵ Thereafter, an anonymous *vir clarissimus* was *comes ordini primi, dux Isauriae* in the late fourth century.²⁰⁶⁶ He is recorded on the abovementioned lost base for the statue from Rome for Aemilia Andronice, his daughter-in-law, a daughter of the count of Africa, and a granddaughter of the prefect of the city of Rome. An unidentified count of the first order, *dux* of Isauria was father of a count of the sacred largesse, a purely civilian aulic office. The text of the

²⁰⁶¹ Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum, "Matronianus, *Comes Isauriae*: An Inscription from the Sea Wall of Anemurium," *Phoenix* 26.2 (1972): 183. See, Feld, *Barbarische Bürger*, 157, n. 82. *PLRE* 1, 568 Matronianus 2.

²⁰⁶² Alföldi-Rosenbaum, "Matronianus, Comes Isauriae," 185-86.

²⁰⁶³ *MAMA* III 73 (Diocaesarea). *PLRE* 1, 674 Flavius Leontius 28.

²⁰⁶⁴ Noel Lenski, "Assimilation and Revolt in the Territory of Isauria, from the 1st Century BC to the 6th Century AD," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42.4 (1999): 443.

²⁰⁶⁵ *LSA*-619 and 672.

²⁰⁶⁶ *CIL* 6 1674. *PLRE* 1, 1016 Anonymus 69.

dedication reflects a desire to publicize ostentatiously the rank titles of *illustris*, *spectabilis*, and *clarissimus* together on the same stone.²⁰⁶⁷

Further, Flavius Arinthaëus was possibly *comes rei militaris* on the Eastern front in 363-64, before rising to *magister peditum in praesenti* in the East c. 366-378 and consul in 372. Basil of Caesarea sent a letter of consolation to Arinthaëus' widow upon the death of her husband, in which he refers to general's deathbed baptism (Ep. 269).²⁰⁶⁸ Arinthea, *clarissima femina*, is mentioned in the Greek inscription from Amasia in 376/77.²⁰⁶⁹ A wife of Marius, perhaps senator in the East in the late fourth century, she was possibly a daughter of Arinthaëus.

Likewise, the son of a Persian prince, Hormisdas, was possibly *comes rei militaris* in 362-63. His name is preserved in the topography of Constantinople near the hippodrome (Proc., *De Aed.* I 4.1-2; 10.4).²⁰⁷⁰ His son Hormisdas might also have been *comes rei militaris* in the East c. 379 and possibly owned property in Syria near Bāb el-Haoua.²⁰⁷¹

2. *Dux*

Diocletian is credited with an innovation in the system of command by establishing frontier zone commanders (*duces*) distinct from provincial governors.²⁰⁷² As Mann points out, 'the appointment of *duces* as separate permanent military commanders had a further important consequence: it was no longer necessary for a military command to be confined to one civil province', as it could extend over several civil provinces.²⁰⁷³ Their sphere of competence ranged from the oversight of provincial units to that of entire groups of provinces.²⁰⁷⁴ Nonetheless, the transformation was not universal, for in many areas the provincial governor continued to command the local forces. Constantine completed the system of *duces*; henceforth the exceptional conjunction of civil and military powers could have corresponded to a difficulty of governing threatened provinces of the empire.²⁰⁷⁵ As a rule, the *duces* rose from the ranks of the regimental commanders of *comitatus*' units, that is, from *tribuni*.²⁰⁷⁶

By the end of Constantine's reign, the province's military affairs were administered by *dux*, while civil matters generally by the governor.²⁰⁷⁷ Some of the new military frontier commands

²⁰⁶⁷ André Chastagnol, *Le pouvoir impérial à Rome. Figures et commémorations. Scripta varia IV*, eds. Stéphane Benoist and Ségolène Demougin (Genève: Droz, 2008), 421, n.60 postpones the dating to after 410-20.

²⁰⁶⁸ See Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 129-130. *PLRE* 1, 102-103 Flavius Arinthaëus 1; 103 Arinthea.

²⁰⁶⁹ J. G. C. Anderson et al., eds., *Studia Pontica III. Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie*, vol. 3 (Brussels: 1910), 99: (Amasia (Helenopontus)).

²⁰⁷⁰ Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 358-59.

²⁰⁷¹ *IGLS* 528 (Bāb el-Haoua). *PLRE* 1 443 Hormisdas 2; 443-44 Hormisdas 3.

²⁰⁷² Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 48-9: *duces* were promoted army officers and were *virī prefectissimi*.

²⁰⁷³ John C. Mann, "Duces and Comites in the Fourth Century," in *The Saxon Shore*, ed. David E. Johnston (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1977), 12.

²⁰⁷⁴ Potter, *The Roman Empire, 372-73* following Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 1: 43-44.

²⁰⁷⁵ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 608.

²⁰⁷⁶ Scharf, *Der Dux Mogontiacensis*, 52.

²⁰⁷⁷ Mann, "Duces and comites," 11-15, considers likely that only under Constantine the formal separation of civil from military commands was completed.

covered more than one province, yielding officers such as *dux Pannoniae Primae et Norici Ripensis* or *dux Aegypti Thebaidos utrarumque Libyarum*. These arrangements, still developing in the early fourth century, were similar to those at the end of the century, when there were two ducates in Britain, twelve along the length of the Rhine and Danube, seven in Africa, and eight in the East. The change was gradual, and *duces* could still occasionally carry out certain civic duties.²⁰⁷⁸ Some civil governors retained military functions into Constantine's reign, as suggested by a dedication by tribune Successus to Arrius Maximus, *consularis* of Coele-Syria.²⁰⁷⁹

Ammianus maintains that no senior officers were ever promoted to the *clarissimate* during the rule of Constantius (21.16.2), who in general restrained the aspirations of the *militares*. However, *duces* of the eastern provinces received the rank of *clarissimus* already under Constantius, at the beginning of the last decade of his reign. Nonetheless, despite the upgrade of the office to senatorial (*clarissimus*) rank, *dux* Valeriae was still *perfectissimus* as late as 372,²⁰⁸⁰ so the change in status must have been gradual. Scharf states that since Valentinian *duces* already belonged to the newly created second senatorial grade of *virī spectabiles* and that since that time they were given the title of *comes primi ordinis* during their service, which ranked over simple provincial governor.²⁰⁸¹ However, the imperial constitution still mentions all *duces* as mere *virī clarissimi* in 386 (*CTh* 12.1.113). The career of Stercorius shows that *duces* under Valentinian had the possibility to become *clarissimi*, but this rank was not given to them automatically.²⁰⁸² Hence, *duces* did not receive the *clarissimus* rank at the same time: the *duces* of the eastern provinces became *clarissimi* already between 350/51 and 356, while those of the western provinces first after 372 (372-86).²⁰⁸³ As late as 398 *duces* still remained *clarissimi* (*CTh* 1.7.3), becoming *spectabiles* by the time of the *Notitia*'s composition.

According to the *Notitia*, all but two of twelve western *duces* reported directly to *magister militum* and not to their diocesan *comes*. However, it was different in the East and probably does not reflect the situation in 395.²⁰⁸⁴ Scharf argues that the assignment of the terms 'local' and 'regional' or 'local *dux*'/'local *comes*' is problematic.²⁰⁸⁵ Elton means by 'local' the level of defense of the area, which belongs to the competence of *limitanei* and their commanders, *duces*. However, both *duces* and *comites* were also responsible for regions as *dux Britanniarum* or *comes Tingitaniae*. Only on the Rhine there was a temporary absence of *dux*.

²⁰⁷⁸ Elton, "Warfare and the Military," 137-58.

²⁰⁷⁹ *AE* 1940, 168 (Seleucia Pieriae).

²⁰⁸⁰ Sándor Soproni, "Burgus- Bauinschrift vom Jahre 372 am pannonischen Limes," in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms I. Beiheft 19 der Bonner Jahrbücher* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1967), 138-43.

²⁰⁸¹ Scharf, *Der Dux Mogontiaccensis*, 53.

²⁰⁸² *PLRE* 1, 853 (Ste?)rcoarius.

²⁰⁸³ Lőrincz, "Die duces des Provinz Valeria," 102.

²⁰⁸⁴ Allen D. Lee, "The Army," in Cameron and Garnsey, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 211-37.

²⁰⁸⁵ Scharf, *Der Dux Mogontiaccensis*, 34-6 contra Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe*.

Dux was thus commander and administrator of the frontier district as well as of the cities and their territories.²⁰⁸⁶ The frontier commanders, whose task was to maintain local defense and internal security, were stationed at forts (*castella*) along the periphery of the Roman empire. Although resilient, stone forts required regular repairs, and a responsibility of frontier *duces* was to guarantee that the maintenances were preformed, according to the law of Valentinian (*CTh* 15.1.13) from 364. The silting of ditches, subsidence of walls and towers, and rotting of gates could have diminish the defensive capacities of the forts.²⁰⁸⁷ Although the reconstruction of the defensive lines of the empire was an ongoing process throughout the century, the new style of fortifications was established already under the tetrarchs.²⁰⁸⁸ *Duces* were responsible for the construction and repair of forts and warships. In some cases the forts were similar to permanent camps, close to villages or in the open country. Larger construction programs, however, even if they specifically concerned a certain border section, were always decided by the emperor.²⁰⁸⁹ Late Roman sources make it clear that fortification maintenance was achieved through the duties imposed upon the local military or provincial authorities and sanctioned by the central government. Constantine was especially vigorous in the construction of military installations in frontier regions.²⁰⁹⁰

In the East, the *Notitia* catalogs *duces* in the geographical order from south to north; two *duces* in Africa (Thebais, and then Lybia, which shows no accompanying insigne); seven *duces* along the Danube (e.g., *Scythia*, *Moesia II*, *Moesia I*, *Dacia*). However, the frontier commanders of the West listed in the *Notitia* do not follow a geographical order. The western register shows the state of the army c. 425, and the structure of subordinate command is more difficult to reconstruct. The *Notitia* does reveal, nevertheless, that the *magister peditum in presenti*, with a subordinate *magister equitum*, was ultimately responsible for all the western frontier troops: four *duces* in the upper Danube (*Pannonia II*, *Valeria*, *Pannonia I*, and *Raetia*); five *duces* in Gaul (in *Sequanica*, – where only one unit is listed, – in *Armoricana* and *Belgica II*, in *Mogontiacensis*, and in *Germania*, one *folio* missing); one *dux* in Britain, one in *Tripolitana*, and one *dux et preses* in charge of *Mauritania*, including *Caesarensis*.

Comites and *duces* who had no civilian administrative jurisdiction had no tables in their insignia. Their pale-yellow codices and *epistolae* are placed in small squares in the upper left-hand corner of each insigne. Similar to the insignia of *magister scriniorum*, some of vicars, and quaestor,

²⁰⁸⁶ Isaac, "The meaning of *Limes*."

²⁰⁸⁷ Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe*, 167.

²⁰⁸⁸ Potter, 449 on the new pattern of the changed building style of Roman forts.

²⁰⁸⁹ Scharf, *Der Dux Mogontiacensis*, 54.

²⁰⁹⁰ Archaeological and epigraphic evidence of Constantine's construction activities on the Rhine to middle Danube: Stephen Johnson, *Late Roman Fortification* (London: Batsford 1983), 254-57.

corrupted Greek lettering surfaces on a few of these scrolls. The Greek letters on the scrolls reflect actual writing that would have appeared on these documents.²⁰⁹¹

Similarly to *comites rei militaris*, the insignia in the *duces*' section of the *Notitia* are displayed in the form of maps. The maps feature most prominently scattered walled enclosures, and some topographical markers such as rivers and mountain ranges with captions.²⁰⁹² Yet the most conspicuous items on these maps are the polygonal stonewalled towns and forts, with towers at the corners, seen from a bird's-eye view. The six-sided walled enclosure with firmly courses, pointed towers at the angles and crenellations is the exact ideogram used to represent a garrison at Mogontiacum labeled *castellum* in a lead medallion in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.²⁰⁹³ A specifically military installation represented comparable to the Vatican Virgil image of a garrison and a fort. Pictorially, certain items found on the *Notitia* maps reflect drawings in both the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Corpus Agrimensorum*, displaying stylistic similarities typical of late antique cartography.²⁰⁹⁴

However, although each stone-walled enclosure appears have designated the specific site of a frontier town or post, the *Notitia* does not exhibit neither geographic accuracy nor any precision in the order of topographical arrangement of the sites. The forts in the *Notitia* insignia correspond to those troops listed in the *laterculum maius* only, with no ideogrammatic stations corresponding to the units included from the *latrculum minus*. Exceptionally, in the texts accompanying the insignia of four frontier commanders in the eastern realm (*dux Scythiae*, *dux Moesiae secundae*, *dux Moesiae primae*, *dux Daciae ripensis*), no reference is made to the *laterculum minus*.²⁰⁹⁵

Like the *Notitia*, the *Tabula Peutingeriana* has cities represented by polygonal or six-sided walled enclosures with towers at the corners and marked courses depicted in a bird's-eye view. Similarly to the *Notitia*, the *Tabula* includes formulaic mountain ranges running in peaks, and rivers weaving through landmasses.²⁰⁹⁶ The other surviving relic of Roman cartography is the *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, a manual of sketches and plans for road surveyors.²⁰⁹⁷ In the drawings of the *Corpus Agrimensorum* small walled enclosures serve as ideograms of cities and fortresses, and the well-cut stone course of Roman masonry defines the walls. In terms of cartographic aims, they were based on cartographic sources and thus differ from the *Notitia*.²⁰⁹⁸ Berger suggests that eastern insignia were drawn up in the East and then sent to the West where they were copied and

²⁰⁹¹ Berger, *The Insignia*, 124.

²⁰⁹² Ibid., 112-14.

²⁰⁹³ Maria Radnoti-Alföldi, "Zum Lyoner Bleimedaillon," *Schweizer Münzblätter* 8 (1958): 63–8. See *ND Occ.* XLI 21.

²⁰⁹⁴ Berger, *The Insignia*, 114-15.

²⁰⁹⁵ Ibid., 116.

²⁰⁹⁶ Ekkehard Weber, ed. *Tabula Peutingeriana. Codex Vindobonensis 324, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt Dr. Paul Struzl, 1976).

²⁰⁹⁷ Brian Campbell, ed., *The writings of the Roman land surveyors. Introduction, translation and commentary* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2000).

²⁰⁹⁸ Berger, *The Insignia*, 117.

adapted in the bureau of the notaries of the western empire. The western illustrator had no knowledge of the distinctive topography of the regions he recorded, with the exception of Italy (the Alps) and Britain (its island shape). He, consequently, adapted in a more simplified and rigid manner the map insignia transmitted to him from the bureau of the East.²⁰⁹⁹

Imperial honorifics as applied to *dux* in late Roman legal documents comprise ‘personal quality’ terms such as *gravitas* (349-97), *experientia* (382), and *laudabilitas* (397).²¹⁰⁰ ‘*Gravitas tua*’, which had been significant before the 360s, seems to have been degraded in importance after the appearance of the new honorifics reserved for illustrious offices. Used to refer to a praetorian or urban prefect before the mid-330s, its subsequent usage was limited to offices of middle to lower status, such as *dux*. Some distinctions between its usage in the West and in the East are also apparent. For example, the term *experientia* appear nearly always in the east, being used exclusively for officials of *spectabilis* rank such as *duces*. Of less common epithets, ‘*laudabilitas tua*’ (‘Your Praiseworthiness’) alluding to personal qualities, seems to have been also reserved for officials of *spectabilis* rank.

According to the *Notitia*, there were thirteen *duces* in the West. The diocese of Africa included the provinces of *Africa proconsularis*, *Byzacena*, *Mauretania Sitifensis*, *Mauretania Caesariensis*, *Numidia Cirtensis*, *Numidia Militiana* and *Tripolitania*. First, the insigne of *dux et praeses* of the frontier of Mauretania Caesariensis, who appears first on the list of western *duces*, shows eight forts. Another border military commander, *dux* of the Tripolitan frontier, who appears second, is represented having fourteen forts at his disposal. With the creation of *dux* of Tripolitania at the end of the fourth century the province gained its own military autonomy, albeit relative, as this new *dux* was subordinated to *comes Africae*.²¹⁰¹

Duces received honorific inscriptions as city patrons and benefactors. Flavius Macedonius signo Patricius, *vir clarissimus*, was *comes et dux Tripolitanae* perhaps in the late fourth or early fifth century.²¹⁰² He received an honorific statue in the Severan forum in Lepcis Magna as patron of the city:

[Statue of] Patricius, of *clarissimus* rank. To a man outstanding in virtue, admirable for fair-mindedness, moderate in temperance, defender of justice, vindicator of the innocent, Flavius Macedonius Patricius, of *clarissimus* rank, *comes et dux* of the province of Tripolitania; the splendid council and the entire people of the city of Lepcis Magna decreed (this) and set it up to their worthy patron.

²⁰⁹⁹ Ibid., 119-20.

²¹⁰⁰ Mathisen, “Imperial Honorifics,” 204, table II.2.

²¹⁰¹ Tantillo, “*Praesides, comites, duces*,” 178.

²¹⁰² IRT 529=LSA-2176 (Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania)). *PLRE* 1, 527 Flavius Macedonius signo Patricius 8. Tantillo and Bigi, *Lepcis Magna*, 367-9, no. 30, figs. 7.14, 10.35, pl. X.

Macedonius, the honorand, is not known from other sources. He was a military commander in the province of Tripolitania, but the text does not refer to his military accomplishments, apart from 1.2 (*virtute praestanti*). Intriguingly, in this city dedication for *comes et dux* references to ‘civilian’ virtues predominate (l. 3-6). The honorand was patron of the city and is lauded as such (*digno patrono*, l. 11-12).

Interestingly enough, the office of *comes et dux* first appears in Tripolitania in the late fourth century. Macedonius’ term in office is dated somewhere between that of *dux et corrector* Silvanus who held office in 393 and Flavius Ortygius who was *spectabilis comes et dux* in 408/23.²¹⁰³ Importantly, in Tripolitania, as in other border provinces, the military commanders were superior in rank and in effective control to provincial governors who were to maintain the civic administration of the province, to the extent that the former ones tended to usurp the role and authority of the latter.

Second, *duces* of Pannonia prima and riparian Noricum, of Pannonia secunda, and of riparian Valeria follow both African *duces* on the list of *Notitia*. Before 395 the diocese of Pannonia included the Roman provinces of *Pannonia Prima*, *Pannonia Valeria*, *Pannonia Savia*, *Pannonia Secunda*, *Noricum Mediterraneum*, *Noricum Ripensis* and *Dalmatia*. The *Notitia* lists three *duces*: *dux* of Pannonia prima and riparian Noricum (with ten forts), *dux* of Pannonia secunda (*ripariensis et Saviae*) (eighteen forts),²¹⁰⁴ and *dux* of riparian Valeria (twenty forts).

Only four *duces* of riparian Valeria are known: Augustianus (364?-67?), Terentius (367?-69?), Frigeridus (369/70?-373/74), and Marcellianus (373/74-375?).²¹⁰⁵ *Duces* responsible for maintaining and repairing the *limes*’ structures often took credit for repairs and improvements in dedicatory inscriptions. Firstly, Augustianus was *dux Valeriae limitis* perhaps in 364/67.²¹⁰⁶ He is recorded on the building inscription from the military camp at Esztergom-Hidegtelep in Valeria.²¹⁰⁷ Augustianus led the building of a fortification, *muros cum turribus*, under Equitius, *magister equitum et peditum per Illyricum* (365-75), who supervised the straightening of the frontier defenses along the Danube.

Hoffmann, followed by Lörincz, regarded Augustianus as *vir clarissimus*.²¹⁰⁸ However, Alföldi pointed out that the *clarissimus* rank of the *dux* was engraved by mistake. The panel shows traces in l.10 of a subsequent eradication of the erroneously carved rank and title *vir clarissimus comes ordinis primi* of Augustianus, to which he was not entitled. The correctness of this conclusion, according to which Augustianus was not a *clarissimus*, is also confirmed by the

²¹⁰³ PLRE 1, 841 Silvanus 5; PLRE 2, 813 Flavius Ortygius.

²¹⁰⁴ The manuscripts give the title as the ‘*Dux Pannoniae secundae [ri]pariensis siue Saviae*’.

²¹⁰⁵ Lörincz, “Die duces des Provinz Valeria,” 99-105. PLRE 1, 125 Augustianus 1; 881-82 Terentius 2; 373-74 Frigeridus; 543-44 Marcellianus 2.

²¹⁰⁶ Barnabás Lörincz, Zur Militärgeschichte der Donauprovinzen. Ausgewählte Studien II (Debrecen: Debreceni egyetem, 2011), 513 no. 4.

²¹⁰⁷ CIL 3 10596=ILS 762 (Solva (Valeria)).

²¹⁰⁸ Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer*, 1, 314; Lörincz, “Die duces des Provinz Valeria,” 99-105.

circumstance that the bricks of Terentius and Frigeridus still bore the title *vir perfectissimus* in early 370s.

Secondly, Terentius, *vir perfectissimus*, was *dux* of Valeria perhaps between 368/69 and 371. He is recorded on tiles from Aquincum and Brigetio in Valeria, the brickwork similar to the other military installations in the province.²¹⁰⁹ Several brickstamps of *dux* Frigeridus from the year 371 are found in the watchtower of Visegrád-Lepence. Those in the watchtower of Visegrád-Steinbruch are from the year 372. Since some of the brick-stamps of *dux* Terentius were found in Visegrád-Lepence, a change of *duces* was dated by Lőrincz to the year 371, and the period of office and the brickwork of *dux* Frigeridus dated between 371 and 373.²¹¹⁰

Thirdly, Frigeridus, *vir perfectissimus*, was *dux Valeriae* before becoming *comes rei militaris* in Illyricum and Thrace in 377.²¹¹¹ Lőrincz dates his time in office broadly between 369/70 and 373/74. It is noteworthy that *dux* Frigeridus is represented by c. 300 stamps (*tegulae* and *imbrices*) in the province of Valeria. Brickstamps from Valentinian's Aquincum mention three offices responsible for the construction works: *dux limitis* Frigeridus, tribune of the *Legio II Adiutrix* (?) Valentinus, and Luppianus, *ordinarius*, probably of the same legion. A *burgus*-type fortification at Budapest-Csillaghegy is dated to the reign of Valentinian solely on grounds of the stamped bricks with Frigeridus' name discovered there.²¹¹²

Lastly, Marcellianus, *dux per Valeriam* of Pannonian origin, was in office between 373/74 and perhaps 375.²¹¹³ Both Valentinian and Valens took special care to restore the Danubian frontier defences. Due to the turmoil of war 374-75 and the subsequent events against Germanic and Sarmatian enemies (Amm. 30.5.3), including the collapse of the *limes Sarmatiae*,²¹¹⁴ construction works on the *limes* came to a stop and were partly abandoned. As one of the consequences of the Quadian-Sarmatian attack, the resumed work on the fort Göd-Bócsaújtelep had to be stopped finally and the Roman expansion came to a halt to the east and north of the Danube. With the short time later second Gothic war of Valens and the consequent devastating defeat for Rome at the battle of Adrianople all Roman control stations to the east and north of the Pannonian Danube – and also the *limes Sarmatiae* – were finally abandoned.

²¹⁰⁹ CIL 3 3762a-f+10677a-f.

²¹¹⁰ Barnabás Lőrincz, "Die Ziegelstempel der spätrömischen Brückenkopffestungen in der Provinz Valeria," in *Pannonische Forschungen. Vorträge der Gedenkkonferenz für Sándor Soproni*, ed. A. Gaál (Szekszárd, 1999), 53-68.

²¹¹¹ CIL 3 3761+3764+10676; AE 1953, 8c (Aquincum (Valeria)). Brick-stamps from Aquincum and Intercisa (Valeria): CIL 3 3761b, d, e, f, k. CIL 3 3764; CIL 3 10676c, d.

²¹¹² Soproni, *Der spätrömische Limes*, 71, n. 388, table 77.1. Bajenaru, *Minor fortifications*, 2010, 69.

²¹¹³ Lőrincz, "Die duces des Provinz Valeria," 99-105 *contra* RE VII 1 102.

²¹¹⁴ Compare literary record of a military general, honored by a statue in Constantinople in the late fourth or fifth century: *Parastaseis* 12=LSA-2786 Μανᾶϊμ στρατηγοῦ νικήσαντος Σκύθας κατὰ κράτος, στήλη ἠξιώθη τιμηθῆναι ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Ὠρείῳ, ὃ τινες καλοῦσι Μόδιον· *Patria* II, 97: Μαναναῖ στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι Σκύθας κατὰ κράτος στήλη ἠξιώθη τιμηθῆναι ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Ὠρείῳ ὃ τινες καλοῦσιν Μόδιον· As the term 'Scythians' was applied to later peoples of the steppes, Manaim could possibly have been a commander when there were repeated problems on the Danube frontier and in the Balkans.

Mócsy argues that Valentinian elevated *duces* to *clarissimi*.²¹¹⁵ Terentius and Frigeridus, however, were *duces* of *perfectissimus* rank, according to the brickstamps. This shows mere uncertainty of the transition. Only in 386 all *duces* were generally referred to as *viri clarissimi* (CTh 12.1.113). Thus, the *duces* under Valentinian would have received the entitlement to the clarissimate (Amm. 21.16.1-2). Under this emperor there was always the possibility for a promotion, but the rank elevation was not given automatically. When Ammianus published the Valentinian books of his work in the last years of the fourth century, he described the advanced promotion of *duces*.

Third, Pannonian *duces* are followed by *dux* of Raetia prima and secunda, and that of Sequanica. In the diocese of *Italiae* the unit list of *dux* of Raetia prima and secunda with ten forts show signs of emendation after the document was first compiled. In the diocese of *Galliae* a single *limitanei* unit is listed as being under the command of *dux* of Sequanica. The epigraphic evidence of the limitanean units (*ripenses*) of the northwestern provinces is extremely fragmentary. The symbolic representation of the *castrum* Olinone in the chapter of *dux provinciae Sequanicae* is an indication of his accountability for the border section on the upper Rhine *limes*. The hexagonal fortification shown as part of his insigne is closer to the style of the original illustration.

While the province is listed in the *Notitia* as being one of twelve provinces in the West under *dux*, this military commander himself is not on the list of *duces* under *magister peditum* (with *dux tractus Armorican et Nervicani* also absent from the list). This may indicate that the province had ceased to effectively exist at some point of the revision of the western part of the *Notitia*, with some, but not all, of the entries connected with it being removed. The corresponding officer in charge of the civilian province is listed as being governor (*praeses*), who is subordinate to vicar of the diocese of the Seven Provinces, and who is himself subordinate to praetorian prefect of the Gauls; the civilian province's name is given as Maxima Sequanorum. A particularly large number of fortifications and watchtowers is archeologically attested on the frontier of Maxima Sequanorum.

Then, the list continues with *duces* of the Armorican and Nervican tract, of Belgica secunda, and of Germania prima. *Dux* of the Armorican and Nervican tract has depicted ten forts in his insigne. As the command of the Armorican and Nervican tract does not correspond geographically to any of the civilian provinces of Gaul, there is no single corresponding civilian officer to *dux*. The tract apparently partially overlapped with the civilian provinces of *Lugdunensis secunda* and *Lugdunensis tertia*, each under the command of *praeses*; and with *Belgica secunda* and *Germania secunda*, each under the command of *consularis*. One cavalry unit, one prefect and his naval contingent, and one tribune with his soldiers are listed as being under the command of *dux* of *Belgica secunda* with three forts depicted in his insigne.

²¹¹⁵ András Mócsy, *Pannonien und das römische Heer. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 629-33.

Next, *dux* of Britannia with fourteen stations precedes *dux* of Mogontiacensis on the Notitia's list. In the diocese of *Britanniae* these correspond to the same number of prefects that are not stationed along the line of the wall. The units listed would all appear to be *limitanei* units. However, some would also appear duplicated as part of the command of *comes Britanniarum* (e.g., *equites catafractarii iuniores*). The final form of the list of *dux Britanniarum* would thereby appear to date earlier than that of *comes Britanniarum*. However, it seemingly does not date back to the original drawing up of the *Notitia*; otherwise one would expect to see a unit stationed at Segontium. These British *limitanei* units were first drafted into a new and temporary command under *comes Britanniarum* before the entire command of count was withdrawn from Britain in 402, along with various other units under *dux Britanniarum* and *comes litoris Saxonici per Britanniam* and posted to serve elsewhere, especially to reinforce the Gallic field army.

Last, *dux Mogontiacensis* closes the list of western *duces*. Eleven *limitanei* units are listed as being under the command of *dux*. Nevertheless, it is obvious that many of these units are eponymous with the *pseudocomitatenses* units of the field army in Gallia. The illustration exhibits eleven forts and fortified towns listed as being at the disposal of *dux Mogontiacensis*, originally under the command of *dux Germaniae primae*. According to Scharf, it would also be possible that *dux Germaniae primae* listed in chapter I of the *Notitia* was actually commander of *Germania secunda* (Lower Rhine).²¹¹⁶ The commander of this not an insignificant border section is not mentioned in the *Notitia Occidentis*.

In the East, thirteen border *duces* of dioceses are recorded: two in Illyricum and Thracia respectively, one in Pontica, six in the Orient and two in Egypt. The diocese of Egypt had two *duces*: of the Libyas and of Thebais. For *dux Libyarium* only the command's heading is remaining, and only in some manuscript versions. Schmitt places the composition of the *pars Oriens* in 405, when it seems that *dux Libyarum* was created and the provinces of Libya were separated from Egypt, as the *Notitia* reflects.²¹¹⁷ Recent study confirms the reliability of the Egyptian military lists in the *pars Oriens* of the *Notitia* and opposes the interpretation of this document as a purely ideological piece.²¹¹⁸ For Egypt, papyrological documentation verifies the *Notitia*'s accuracy – a circumstance not so readily available for other parts of the Roman Empire – and, complemented by archaeological evidence, provides a strong argument for the completeness and reliability of at least the Egyptian sections. Eighteen forts are listed at the disposal of *dux Thebaidos*. Flavius Mauricius,

²¹¹⁶ Scharf, *Der Dux Mogontiacensis*, 28-9 notes that the mention of a military with the title of *comes per utramque Germaniam* by Ammianus supplies with the beginning of the year 366 a safe *terminus post quem* for the establishment of the office of *dux Mogontiacensis*.

²¹¹⁷ Tassilo Schmitt, *Die Bekehrung des Synesios von Kyrene: Politik und Philosophie, Hof und Provinz als Handlungsräume eines Aristokraten bis zu seiner Wahl zum Metropolen von Ptolemais* (Munich: Saur, 2001), 607–21.

²¹¹⁸ Anna Maria Kaiser, "Egyptian Units and the Reliability of the *Notitia Dignitatum, Pars Oriens*," *Historia* 64.2 (2015): 243-61.

vir clarissimus, was not *comes et dux Thebaidos* as thought by the authors of the *PLRE*, but *comes et dux limitis Aegypti* in 367/75.²¹¹⁹

Moreover, the reliability of the documentary evidence from Egypt corroborates the probability of the *Notitia*'s accuracy for other sections of the *pars Oriens*. Six *duces* are listed in the diocese of the East: of Phoenice, of Euphratensis and Syria, of Palestine, of Osroena, of Mesopotamia, and of Arabia. Fourteen forts are placed under his command of *dux* of Phoenice. *Dux Foenicis* was not only military commander but also administrator of the towns and their territories and of the frontier district, which constituted this province. Silvinus was probably *comes et dux Phoenices* sometime in the fourth century. He is mentioned in a Latin epigram from Syria, near Palmyra.²¹²⁰

On a plain totally arid and much feared by travellers because of its great expanse, because of the fate of a neighbour who died from hunger-the worst that can happen-you, comes, have provided a fort (*castrum*), perfectly equipped, you, Silvinus, most valiant guardian of the limes, of the cities, and of the emperors honoured loyally all over the earth. You have prepared the earth so that it is enriched by the heavenly waters, so that it will bow under the yoke of Ceres and Bacchus. Hence, stranger, pursue your journey cheerfully and, having profited from a good deed, sing the praise of a magnanimous judge, brilliant in war and peace who, I pray, will, advanced in rank, build more such forts for the emperors, although it is a difficult task, and will rejoice in children worthy of the deeds of such a father (trans. B. Isaac).²¹²¹

The inscription from Khan el-Abyad, a road-station on the Damascus-Palmyra road, proves that a military installation along the road served to keep the way safe for travellers. The dedicatory inscription thanks *dux Foenicis*, 'guardian of the *limes* and the cities', for the construction of a *castrum*, a *mansio* or *statio*, and for the cultivation of the surrounding land. The rank and the office are not recorded in the verse inscription, as they would not fit the meter. The *mansio* served in a dual function as hostel for travellers in the desert as well as halting-place and base for soldiers and officers, who could escort the travellers as far as to the next fort or station.²¹²² If the term *limes* had denoted a system of fortifications meant to protect the province it would make no sense to speak of 'the protector of the *limes*'.²¹²³ Silvinus, *comes limitis*, is praised for having rebuilt one of the forts of the eastern *limes* (on the road between Palmyra and Damascus) and for having made the whole

²¹¹⁹ *AE* 1909, 108=*AE* 1998, 1470 (Syene (Thebais)). Bernand, "A propos d'une inscription," 180-81 *contra PLRE* 1 Fl. Mauricius 2, *comes et dux (Thebaidos)*.

²¹²⁰ *CIL* 3 6660=*ILCV* 798(add)=*IGLS* 5 2704=*AE* 2006, 4 (Khan el-Abjad (Syria)). Benjamin Isaac, "The meaning of *Limes* and *Limitanei* in ancient sources," in *The Near East under Roman rule. Selected papers* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). *PLRE* 1, 842 Silvinus.

²¹²¹ Isaac, "The meaning of *Limes*," 176-77.

²¹²² Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 205.

²¹²³ Isaac, "The meaning of *Limes*," 137.

district near the fort fertile and safe. The term *limes* does not designate a system of fortifications meant to protect the province. It signifies a frontier district and the inscription speaks of ‘the protector of the *limes*’.

This metrical Latin inscription found in Roman ruins within a Roman camp at Khan Il-Abyad southwest of Qaryatein envisions a wayfarer’s appreciation of the improved provisions for travellers in the frontier regions.²¹²⁴ It shows that *dux Phoenicis* built a fort, which served as a road station in the desert, thus contributing also to the upkeep of the provincial road system. Frontier generals, *duces* commanding *limitanei*, were accountable for the military structures that protected logistic installations such as supply-routes, and probably also the granaries and storehouses on the roads.²¹²⁵ Road-stations equally meant to provide services to military and civilian travellers monitoring and policing desert areas. A great number of the late Roman forts in the desert were equipped for thwarting bandits. Positioned on poorly defensible sites, they blocked roads and passages, control and use wells and other sources of water.²¹²⁶ No mention is made of nomads and *dux* is described as the guardian of the *limes* and the cities, in other words, of the urbanized parts and the frontier district.²¹²⁷ As *limitis urbiumque fortissimae custos*, *dux* joined those who preserved the boundaries between order and chaos. The weight of the burden can be gauged by comparing the military commander of the frontier of the empire with other custodies like the provincial governor in his role as judge, the ‘guardian of the laws’.²¹²⁸

Dux of Euphratensis and Syria is represented with four and eight forts respectively. In the insigne the *dux*’s territory is divided into two portions, with the left portion corresponding to those units said to be stationed in Augusto Eufратensi, which had been formed in the fourth century from the former territories of Commagene and Cyrrhestica on the west bank of the Euphrates; the right portion corresponds to the units stationed in Syria proper. The same division is observed in all the manuscripts. *Dux* of Palestine had under his command thirteen forts, *dux* of Osroena – eleven, and *dux* of Mesopotamia – another thirteen.

In the *Notitia* Arabia is governed by *vir spectabilis dux Arabiae* represented with ten forts who doubled as *praeses* and had two *officia*, one for each function (Or. 37.36-51), similarly to *dux et praeses provinciae Mauritaniae et Caesariensis*. It is confirmed in the listing of provinces under praetorian prefect of the Orient where the province of Arabia has *dux*. Seeck bracketed this for deletion in his edition (Or. 2.14), adding that the province of Isauria also had military count, who also fused civil and military powers. In *dux* of Arabia one finds the combination of the military and

²¹²⁴ Michael H. Dodgeon, Samuel N. C. Lieu, eds., *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars AD 226-363. A Documentary History* (London: Routledge, 2002), 121-22.

²¹²⁵ Petrikovits, “Fortifications,” 188.

²¹²⁶ Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 205.

²¹²⁷ Ibid., 176-77.

²¹²⁸ Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 18.

civil duties of governorship in one person. Ulpianus, who seems to have been *praeses et dux* around 364 (Lib. *Ep.* 1236), presents a case where the military duties of the government and the civil jurisdictions were apparently combined.

Diogenianus was *dux Bostrorum Arabiae* sometime in the second half of the fourth century. A small inscribed sheet of gold preserving some 45 lines of tiny Greek letters and magic signs is a victory-charm (*νικητικόν*) meant to secure for Proclus a successful outcome in a trial before the military governor of the province.²¹²⁹

Holy and strong, mighty and great-powerful Name, give favor, glory, victory to Proclus whom Salvina bore, before Diogenianus the *dux* of Bostra in Arabia, before Pelagius the assessor (*συνκάθεδρος*), and before all men small and great; before gods, before daimons, in order that he might be justifiably or unjustifiably victorious in any judgment before any judge, before a magister, before all who observe him and who hear him and his words (trans. R. Kotansky).²¹³⁰

Kotansky points out that the use of legal nomenclature and the recording of the officer's name along with the title suggest that the scribe may have been a court-clerk who had access to magical handbooks. The title of Pelagius denotes a judicial adviser (*assessor*) attached to the provincial governor's office. In addition to his title *dux* (l.14), Diogenianus is called *ἄρχων* in l.31, but his rank is not recorded. Whereas references to *dux* without honorific titles are rather uncommon in inscriptions, one would not expect full nomenclature in a victory-charm identifying enemies. Proclus is to appear in person before *dux* and his legal adviser against the litigants. Kotansky assumes that the dispute must have been substantial, since pettier cases would have been delegated to lower judges, an indication that Proclus' trial may have been concerned with property matters. In naming a presiding governor and his assistant, the gold leaf was intended to 'silence and subjugate and enslave ... all enemies, opponents, and associates; and Diogenianus, the ruler (*ἄρχων*), and Pelagius, his *scholasticus*, an *assessor*, and all opposing parties...'.²¹³¹

As *dux* Diogenianus acted as military governor, while as *ἄρχων* (*iudex*) he exercised his judicial authority.²¹³² Kotansky considers two possibilities for the meaning of *ἄρχων*: a designation as a civil governor in the capacity as judge and the one as provincial governor (*praeses*) with *ἄρχων* used as 'literary' term for the latter.²¹³³ Diogenianus as *dux* exercised his military duties, but as a presiding judge he also acted in the capacity of a civil administrator. This represents a transitional period when the civil and military duties of the government were invested into a single office.

²¹²⁹ Roy Kotansky, "Magic in the Court of the Governor of Arabia," *ZPE* 88 (1991): 42-43. No *PLRE* entry.

²¹³⁰ Gold lamella, inv. no. 57.1960. Christian elements should come as no surprise, for, as Glen W. Bowersock, "A Report on Arabia Provincia," *JRS* 61 (1971): 242 observes that Bostra 'acquired a Christian population after Constantine, a bishop and a cathedral'.

²¹³¹ Kotansky, "Magic in the Court," 41-60.

²¹³² Maurice Sartre, *Trois études sur l'Arabie romaine et byzantine* (Brussels: Latomus 1982), 108-109, §80.

²¹³³ "Magic in the Court," 52.

Kotansky regards Diogenianus' period in office sometime between around 364 and 367.²¹³⁴ However, in 365/73, Flavius Maximinus, *vir clarissimus*, was *comes et dux Arabiae*. He is mentioned on two inscriptions from Dibîn and Deir el-Kahf. The Greek inscription from Dibîn where the *clarissimus dux Arabiae* is recorded is dated to 365.²¹³⁵ It is a dedication to the Emperors Valentinian and Valens set up on the orders of *dux* on the road from Bostra to Umm el-Quttein.²¹³⁶

Building inscriptions with frontier commanders overseeing the military constructions attest to the strategic disposition in Arabia.²¹³⁷ Deir el-Kahf was a major fort, lying beside the Via Severiana, c. 45 km north of Azraq. It lies on the boundary between basalt and fertile soils apt for extensive arable farming, which stretch north and northwest into modern Syria. The ruins consist of a tower, the fort, the remains of other structures (perhaps houses), several cisterns and reservoirs and a dam.²¹³⁸ The lost Latin inscription of Maximinus on seven blocks from the fort of Deir el-Kahf was reused in the face of the eastern end of the south wall.²¹³⁹

For the good health and victories of our lords Valentinian and Valens and Gratian, eternal victors, forever Augusti, this *castellum* [...] under the charge of *clarissimus* Maximinus, count (*comes*) and *dux*, these monuments are set up, with the insistence of Valentinianus, prefect of the cohort, and record-keepers (*scriniarii*) Sozomen and Quintus.

Maximinus is called in the text *clarissimus comes et dux Arabiae*. The *castellum* is recorded to have been under his care. The inscription is dated to between 367 and 375.

Furthermore, Maximinus is also recorded on two military building inscriptions of 368 at Umm el-Jimal, c. 25 km from Bostra. Jimal is the largest of the ancient deserted towns of the Southern Hauran with originally a late second-century fort that became the area of the subsequent military building activity in the fourth century.²¹⁴⁰ These two recently found Latin inscriptions – both damaged – record the construction of towers. They are very similar and thus may be of the same date. The Latin building inscription was reused. The lower half of the final line is missing. The more complete reads:

For the health and victories of Our Lords Valentinian and Valens and Gratian, ever Augusti, foreseeing what will be needed for the safety of all, Flavius Maximinus, *dux*, ordered this tower to be raised up from the foundations, as a watch tower, in the charge

²¹³⁴ Ibid., 59.

²¹³⁵ SEG 7 1164=AE 1933, 178 (Dibîn (Arabia)).

²¹³⁶ Sartre, *Trois études*, 105, no. 72.

²¹³⁷ Three dedications to Constantine I and his sons from the fortress in the oasis of Azraq record two military commanders in Arabia in 333. AE 2001, 1977. David Kennedy, *The Roman Army*, 83-88, suggests *dux* for Severinus' office.

²¹³⁸ Kennedy, *The Roman Army in Jordan*; for the plan of the fort, see David Kennedy and Derrick B. Riley, *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air* (London: Batsford, 1990), 179, Fig. 125.

²¹³⁹ CIL 3 14382 (Deir el-Kahf (Arabia)). PLRE 1, 577 Maximinus 6.

²¹⁴⁰ Kennedy, *The Roman Army in Jordan*, 76, no 6; Kennedy and Riley, *Rome's Desert Frontier*, 183-85.

of Agathodaimon, military tribune of the vexillation in the consulship for the second time of Our Lords Valentinian and Valens. By the agency of the most devoted vexillation of the (*equites*) *VIII Dalmatarum*.²¹⁴¹

The second inscription of a different layout is, however, almost identical in its wording.²¹⁴² The commander Maximus is given the titles he bears in the text from Deir el-Kahf: *vir clarissimus comes et dux*. It was found in the northeast corner of the construction and raises the possibility that they belonged to towers built on the main angles of the town wall. As elements of a system of defence, cities were fortified being surrounded by walls, while the countryside was left unprotected against major raids. There was evidently a *burgus* at Umm el Jimal, yet it is uncertain which of the identified military structures it was, if any.²¹⁴³

The potential for such inscriptions to function as advertisements explains why *duces* went to such lengths to carve their name wherever they could. Occasionally the *dux*' title of *comes* was left out of the inscriptions.²¹⁴⁴ In this period the title *comes et dux* comes to expression epigraphically for more persons of higher rank than *dux* belonging to *virī clarissimi*: apart from Maximinus, Mauricius, *comes et dux (limitis Aegypti)* in 367/75; Augustinianus, *comes ordinis primi et dux (limitis Valeriae)* in 364/67.²¹⁴⁵ The title of *comes* was not purely honorific in this period, neither it indicates that the duties of military government and civil administration had become completely merged, as Kotansky believes.²¹⁴⁶ It is first attested in Arabia, with Flavius Archelaus, *vir clarissimus, comes et praeses Arabiae* in 349/50.²¹⁴⁷

In any event, sometime during the tenures of Maximus, Belaeus, and Ulpianus, – between 357 and 364 – in the words of Sartre, the civil and military functions were newly conferred on the same person.²¹⁴⁸ The complete fusion of the civil and military duties of government, if not accomplished by Ulpianus term (363-64), is fully documented by 367 with the governorships of Maximinus, Bonus, and Pelagius Antipater, who are all titled *comes et dux*.²¹⁴⁹

Flavius Bonus, *vir clarissimus*, was *comes primi ordini et dux (et praeses Arabiae)* in 392. He was a sophist and a successful tutor, and perhaps a student of Libanius. The latter addressed a letter to this military commander in 392, eulogizing him as an outstanding teacher with multiple notable pupils (*Ep.* 1035). A Greek building inscription from Kapra in Arabia records that he

²¹⁴¹ *AE* 1996, 1612 (Umm el-Jimal (Arabia)).

²¹⁴² *AE* 1996, 1613 (Umm el-Jimal (Arabia)).

²¹⁴³ Kennedy, *The Roman Army*, 88-89, no. 6.

²¹⁴⁴ *SEG* 41, 1582 (Bosra).

²¹⁴⁵ Klaus Wachtel, "Frigeridus dux," *Chiron* 30 (2000): 913.

²¹⁴⁶ Kotansky, "Magic in the Court," 58.

²¹⁴⁷ *SEG* 7 1062=*AE* 1933, 171 ((Radeime) Arabia). In Egypt, slightly earlier, with *vir perfectissimus, comes et dux* Flavius Felicissimus in 345-347, see Rémondon, "Le P. Vindob. 187," no. 8; Seeck, *Comites*, *RE* 7 [1900], cols. 662-65. Later, in Arabia it occurs regularly on inscriptions, see Sartre, *Trois études*, 105-108, 111, 114, nos. 72-75, 80. *PLRE* 1, 101 Flavius Archelaus 6.

²¹⁴⁸ Sartre, *Trois études*, 118. *PLRE* 1, 582 Maximus 14, 160 Belaeus, 973-74 Ulpianus 3.

²¹⁴⁹ *PLRE* 2, 106 Fl. Pelagius Antipater 3.

founded a church in 392/93.²¹⁵⁰ He is thus one of few examples of a military bureaucratic élite with substantial financial means. The fourth-century inscriptions there all belong to outsiders, most of whom were retirees, transient imperial officials, or councilors who had suburban houses at Kapra.²¹⁵¹ In the inscription from Kapra Bonus is referred to as *λαμπροτάτος κόμης καὶ δούξ*.

The same official is described *λαμπροτάτος πρώτου τάγματος κόμης καὶ δούξ* in an inscription from Ghasm: ‘My lord Bonus, the *clarissimus* count of the first order and *dux*, ruled over us in peace and gave constant peace and security to travelers and to the people’.²¹⁵² The inscription attributes to *dux* and his army the bringing of ‘peace and security’ to the region.²¹⁵³ It thereby eulogises the blessings of Roman military command in the border zone. *Dux* is honored for providing security to ‘his’ populace. Similar texts show up especially at the uneasy borders of the Roman Empire. With Maximinus and Bonus, one also finds the by now regular joining of the title *comes* to that of *dux*.

In the diocese of Pontus there was one *dux*, that of Armenia, represented with seven forts. In his insigne the *dux*’s territory is divided into two portions, with the right portion corresponding to those units said to be stationed in Pontus; the left portion corresponds to the units stationed in Armenia proper. Terentius was *comes et dux Armeniae* c. 369-74. Lőrincz argues that the identification of Terentius, *dux Valeriae* with *comes et dux Armeniae* can be excluded, since the former was in Valeria between 368/69-71, while the latter was in office in Armenia between 369 and 374.²¹⁵⁴

In the diocese of Thrace there were two *duces*: of Moesia secunda and of Scythia. *Dux* of Moesia secunda had seven forts under his command. In the *Notitia*, in some Danubian commands, the legions are split between up-river (*superioris*) and down-river (*inferioris*) sections.²¹⁵⁵ This is also the case of Moesia II, where one finds prefect in charge of each half of each of the two legions in the province, and another prefect for each legion (presumably in charge of the headquarters); however, the two halves are not necessarily up- or down-river of each other as recorded in the *Notitia*: both halves of *Legio XI* are stationed, for example, at the same place. *Dux* of Scythia had also seven forts under his command. It appears that the first of the auxiliary stations had been used as the fort’s label instead of the first of the cavalry stations: this may have been a mistake introduced into the Carolingian intermediate copy of the *Notitia*, or it may have been present in the original.

²¹⁵⁰ IGLS 2293a (Kapra (Arabia)). *PLRE* 1, 164 Flavius Bonus.

²¹⁵¹ Frank R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization*, 2nd edn (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 350.

²¹⁵² *OGIS* 613 (Ghasm (Arabia)).

²¹⁵³ The ‘peace and security’ slogan refers to safety from outside the empire’s boundaries.

²¹⁵⁴ Contra *PLRE* 1 Terentius 2, Lőrincz, “Die *duces* des Provinz Valeria.”

²¹⁵⁵ See Péter Kovács, “The Late Roman Army in Pannonia,” *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 44 (2004): 115–22.

Stercorius, *vir clarissimus*, is known to have been *dux* of Scythia c. 369. Seeck argued incorrectly that Stercorius was *dux Moesiae secundae*.²¹⁵⁶ Found in the late antique fortification in Cius, a building inscription records *dux*, most probably in Scythia Minor perhaps during the first Gothic war of Valens in 367-69.²¹⁵⁷ The inscription was prepared to commemorate the military construction (possibly *burgus a fundamentis*) made under Valens after finishing his first Gothic war in 369. The construction in Cius was probably only superintended by Stercorius. Therefore, Stercorius could be awarded as the commander of the important province or receive a personal award for some accomplishments.²¹⁵⁸ The cognomen ‘Stercorius’ was not common, but still used in this period.²¹⁵⁹

M. Zahariade states correctly that the restitution with the ‘*burgus*’ seems likely in the light of the wording known in other inscriptions of the same category, but the archaeological survey of the area shows much larger installation than a simple *burgus*. On the other hand, he follows the restitution *a fundamentis*.²¹⁶⁰ The works were conducted by *comitatenses* soldiers: *milites Primani* under the command of *tribunus* Marcianus and some detachment stationed in the area and subordinated to *dux Scythiae* commanded by the *praepositus* Ursicinus. Stercorius’ participation in the construction of the fort is not an example of the activity of *duces Scythiae* in the field of civil administration, since each late Roman *dux* could conduct defence constructions.

According to the *Passion of St. Saba*, which recounts the life of a Gothic Christian who underwent persecution during the early 370s until finally martyred in 372, Iunius Soranus, *vir clarissimus*, *dux Scythiae* in 373-74, dispatched men to recover the drowned body of the martyr from *barbaricum* and sent the remains to Cappadocia.²¹⁶¹ This is among the earliest recorded cases of relics translations to remote places, but its character and reasons are obscure. Although the text does not clarify this explicitly, it suggests that the whole body of the martyr was sent from Scythia, stressing the role of Soranus as performing a generous benefaction towards his own homeland. Furthermore, a Roman *dux* apparently had no difficulty in gaining access to Gothia and removing the body. However, the text does not clarify if there are other motives for this transfer, and one may wonder why the Christians of Scythia did not wish to keep the relic.

²¹⁵⁶ Otto Seeck, “Stercorius,” *RE* III A.2 (1921), 2412.

²¹⁵⁷ *CIL* 3 6159=7494=*ILS* 770 (Biroe (Scythia)).

²¹⁵⁸ Incorrect is the opinion that the inscription was made under Galienus, *CIL* 3 6159, or Constantine.

²¹⁵⁹ It has been suggested Stercorius might have been a Christian as the humbled names were especially popular among them during persecutions.

²¹⁶⁰ Mihail Zahariade, *Scythia minor: a history of a later Roman province (284-681)* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 2006): 171, 189. On the defence building activity of Valens in the Lower Danube zone, Them. *Or.* X 136a-138b. Lenski, *Failure of Empire*, 28-30, 264-66; Zahariade, *Scythia minor*, 171. On the first Gothic War of Valens, see Lenski, *Failure of Empire*, 116-52.

²¹⁶¹ *Martyrdom of Sabas the Goth (BHG 1607)*: ὅπερ Οὐνιος Σωρανὸς, ὁ λαμπρότατος Δούξ τῆς Σκυθίας, τιμῶν τὸν Κύριον, ἀποστείλας ἀξιόπιστους ἀνθρώπους, ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ εἰς τὴν Ρώμανίαν μετήνεγκεν καὶ χαριζόμενος τῇ ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδι δῶρον τιμίον, καὶ κάρπον πίστεως ἐνδοξον, εἰς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν, πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπέστειλεν θεοσέβειαν, διὰ θελήματος τοῦ Πρεσβυτερίου.... The Greek letter recounts the martyrdom of a Christian in the lands beyond the Danube on 12 April 372, and the subsequent transfer of his relics to Caesarea in Cappadocia. *PLRE* 1, 848 Iunius Soranus 2.

The account of martyrdom was probably originally written as a letter addressed to Basil of Caesarea who received the relics in Cappadocia. The letter (*Ep.* 155) apparently written by Basil before the receipt of the relics is addressed to a man from Caesarea, personally known to Basil, living far from his native city at that time. In the letter Basil makes a passing request for relics, without specifying their nature. The passage is important, since it shows that the practice of sending relics to remote places was usual by that time. Basil's epistle is an answer to a letter from his correspondent, by which the latter promises to send relics of a recent martyr. This man has been assumed to be the Cappadocian *dux* of Scythia Minor Soranus, who, according to the *Passion*, was the dignitary responsible for the translation of the relics of the martyr to Caesarea.²¹⁶²

Thereafter, Gerontius was commander of the garrison in Tomis, the capital of the province Scythia Minor, before 387 and therefore probably *dux Scythiae*. If so, he belonged to *clarissimi*. Arrested and charged by Theodosius who considered the dangers of some riots between Romans and Visigoths, Gerontius saved himself thanks to a bribe paid to court eunuchs.²¹⁶³ An inscription founded in Tomis on the piece of a marble pillar records another possible *dux Scythiae Minoris* probably in the fourth century.²¹⁶⁴ An anonymous imperial official was commemorated by municipal *curiae* of Scythia because he had helped them in some way. Therefore it seems that he was *praeses* or *dux Scythiae*. The statement '*qui sustulit aegras*' is too ambiguous to say what kind of activity was praised in the inscription.

Yet another possible *dux Scythiae*, Flavius Servandus is mentioned in six inscriptions found in Tuzla and dated broadly from the fourth to sixth century.²¹⁶⁵ The inscriptions engraved on marble blocks that might have played the role of informative tables record *περίβλεπτος κόμης καὶ ἄρχων* in Scythia, stressing Servandus' role in controlling the economy in the border area. *Duces* became *spectabiles* by the beginning of the fifth century and *duces* of Scythia and Moesia Secunda are described as such in the *Notitia* (Or. 39, 11 and 40, 10). The title *ἄρχων* meant generally *praeses provinciae* in the literary texts of late antiquity. In the *Notitia* the *dux* of Arabia is described however as *dux et praeses* – i.e. combining both military and civil powers, which is confirmed by inscriptions.

In the diocese of Illyricum two *duces* are recorded: one of riparian Dacia with nine forts and another of Moesia with eight forts respectively. In the *Notitia*, in some Danubian commands, such as that of the *dux provinciae Valeriae ripensis*, the legions were split between up-river and down-

²¹⁶² *Ep.* 155: *Καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις, ἐὰν καὶ λείψανα μαρτύρων τῇ πατρίδι ἐκπέμψῃ, εἴπερ, ὡς ἐπέστειλας ἡμῖν, ὁ ἐκεῖ διωγμὸς ποιεῖ καὶ νῦν μάρτυρας τῷ Κυρίῳ*. Three letters of Basil are associated with the translation of the relics of Sabas, a Gothic Christian who was executed in 372, during an outbreak of anti-Christian violence in the Gothic territories north of the Black Sea.

²¹⁶³ Jacek Wiewiorowski, *Duces Scythiae Minoris. A Prosopographical Study* (Poznań: Contet, 2008), 47. *PLRE* 1, 393 Gerontius 4.

²¹⁶⁴ *CIL* 3 768 (Tomis (Scythia)). Wiewiorowski, *Duces Scythiae Minoris*, 54-55.

²¹⁶⁵ Wiewiorowski, Jacek. *Duces Scythiae Minoris*, 56-58. No *PLRE* entry.

river sections. This is the case for Moesia I in the *Notitia*: epigraphic evidence also confirms that *Legio III Flavia* was indeed so split, presumably before the *Notitia* was drawn up.²¹⁶⁶

Further, Ovinus was *dux* in Moesia Prima probably in the fourth century. His name is recorded on the fragmentary inscription from Viminacium.²¹⁶⁷ *Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* had long been stationed at Viminacium, but in the *Notitia* it is said to be also stationed at Cuppis. The future Emperor Theodosius was *dux Moesiae Primae* c. 373/4 (Amm. 29.6.14-16; Zos. 4.16.6), who retired to private life on his estate in 375 before being summoned from Spain by Gratian in 378 to assume command against the barbarians in Illyricum (perhaps as *magister militum*).

After that, Aquilinus was perhaps *dux* sometime in the fourth or fifth century. The base for the honorific statue of Aquilinus, military commander in the imperial service, was found in the Hephaestum at Olympus in Lycia, set into the lower part of the outer wall of the southern *aedicula* of the *sacellum*. The Greek verse inscription of two elegiac distichs laid out in eight lines reads:

Him who ordered the armies of the god-born emperor, him who is worthy of all virtue through his forefathers, the fatherland, the city of Olympus, having decided by common counsel, set up Aquilinus, as a humble present.²¹⁶⁸

Aquilinus, the honorand, was a native of Olympus and the statue is set up by his hometown. Here he is honored by his homeland, as a local boy made good. The vagueness about Aquilinus' precise military position, as well as the lettering and even the choice of words of the inscription (*θεηγενέος βασιλῆος* and the verb *στήσεν*) suggest a date in the fourth century or later.

A possible indicator of date is the singular *βασιλῆος* (l. 2). The verse would allow for the last syllable to be long; the singular (instead of the plural *βασιλῶν*, which has a long ultimate syllable) should therefore be assessed as deliberate. This would point to a date in the later fifth century, when the western rulers were not recognized any more in the eastern empire. Lenaghan and Gehn suggest a *terminus ante quem* of 500, since statues in a provincial setting are extremely rare in the sixth century.

Honorary statues for military ranks were rarely dedicated. The epigram for the military Aquilinus from Olympus makes his affiliation with the *militia armata* clear from the text. By exclusively dealing with the military activities of the late antique commander, the text reflects the fundamental separation of the *militia armata* and the *militia inermis* since Diocletian. The basis was found in the sanctuary of Hephaestus at Olympus, the honored Aquilinus would have been a *magister militum*, a *comes rei militaris* or a *dux*. A benefaction for the city is not mentioned, the praise remains stuck in a vague and flamboyant phrase. However, reference is made to the man's

²¹⁶⁶ See Kovács, "The Late Roman Army in Pannonia," 115–22.

²¹⁶⁷ *CIL* 3 8275(2) (Viminacium (Moesia Prima)). *PLRE* 1, 228 Ov(inius?) Cor....

²¹⁶⁸ *TAM* II 1173=LSA-394 (Olympus (Lycia)). *PLRE* 1, 91 Aquilinus 4; he is not known from any other source. *PLRE* suggests a generous chronological range of fourth to sixth century.

family, an allusion that was unambiguously intelligible to the inhabitants of Olympus as a recipient, and which suggests that a descendant of the local upper class can be recognized in the tribute. Much more than patriotic pride in a son of the city, who had brought it to the military, cannot be seen from the inscription. The civilian magistral inscriptions with their clawed references to official duties are, in comparison, almost concrete. Inscriptions for military dignitaries remain the exception in the fourth century and far into the fifth century.

The representatives of the *milita armata* were not in the same contact with the provincial population as those of the *militia inermis*, since their offices did not usually affect the population as directly as those of the civilian officials. In the traditional sense of military efficiency the *virtus* (*ἀρετή*) became increasingly monopolized by the emperor who is always victorious – the emperor is the victor because he is the emperor. As one of the traditional virtues, the *ἀρετή* was reinterpreted as the courage of the magistrate to express himself openly in front of superiors, including the emperor.

In summary, medium posts in the military branch of imperial hierarchy, *comites rei militaris* and *duces*, had attained the rank of *spectabilis* by the turn of the century, with most of the frontier ducates elevated to the rank of *comes*. Since the mid-fourth century several provinces had seen a phase of division of powers between *comites* and *duces*, on the one hand, and civilian governors, on the other, which led to formal unification under military authority, with the dominance of high representatives of the army also in the field of civil government. While Constantius II gave initially precedence to a civilian element of provincial administration, his decision would be soon reversed by the choices of his successors. In certain provinces of the empire, which were difficult to manage for geographical, historical, strategic reasons, military command and civilian administration became combined with the precedence of regional commanders. Building inscriptions from the limits of the empire testify to constructional benefactions of both military and civic character set up by *comites* and *duces* and hence to an enlarged scope for patronage, which military commanders were able to establish in the frontier provinces.

III. *Clarissimi*

1. *Tribunus*

Tribunus was a chief officer in the late Roman army. The following tribunes are known: *tribunus scholae*, *tribunus legionis*, *tribunus auxilii*, *tribunus gentis*, *tribunus cohortis*, *tribunus vexillationis* and *tribunus militum*. *Comes domesticorum*, the commander of *protectores domestici*, was also one of the senior *tribuni*.²¹⁶⁹ Other tribunes were *tribunus civitatis*, *tribunus fabricae*, *tribunus classis*, *tribunus vacans*, and *tribunus honorarius*.²¹⁷⁰ *Tribunus et notarius*, however,

²¹⁶⁹ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 105.

²¹⁷⁰ Robert Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1920), 145.

belonged to the *militia inermis*, similarly to *domesticus et notarius*.²¹⁷¹ The imperial law mentions tribunes as *virī clarissimi* in 386 (CTh 12.1.113).

Officers were commissioned by the emperor through a written document (*sacra epistula*). In the East these documents were issued for the great majority of appointments and all the important ones – the *scholae*, the units of *palatini*, *comitatenses* and *pseudocomitatenses* and the legions, vexillations and *auxilia* of the *limitanei* – by *primicerius* of the notaries. Commissions to tribunates of cohorts and prefectures of *alae* in the *limitanei* were, on the other hand, issued by quaestor and the *scrinium memoriae*. In the West there is no record in the *Notitia* or the *Code* that either *primicerius* of notaries or quaestor was concerned in the issue of commissions. They were probably issued by *magister peditum praesentalis*, who from the time when Stilicho occupied that post greatly increased his powers.

The highest-ranking tribunates were those of the *scholae*, who fought immediately under the emperor's eye. In both East and West, the *scholae*, the emperors' personal cavalry escort, lay outside the usual military chain of command.²¹⁷² From the *scholae* the forty white uniformed candidates were selected, who formed the emperor's personal bodyguard. While participating in the imperial ceremonies, the *scholae* were not merely ceremonial.

The imperial guard, the *scholae*, certainly existed under Constantine, and may go back to Diocletian. It was closely attached to the person of the emperor (or emperors, including Caesars) and did not fall under the command of *magistri militum*. According to the *Notitia*, commanders (*tribuni*) of the *scholae* reported to *magister officiorum*, a senior palatine official with civil duties.²¹⁷³ However, this probably means that he controlled it administratively, for he is never recorded to have commanded it in the field: tribunes of the several regiments were no doubt under the immediate command of the emperor himself. As recorded in the *Notitia* there were five regiments in the West and seven regiments in the eastern parts.²¹⁷⁴ On campaign, a *tribunus scholae* probably reported directly to the emperor.

It was a promotion for an officer to be moved, as was Valentinian by Jovian, from the command of a vexillation of the field army to that of a *schola*, and tribunes of the *scholae*

²¹⁷¹ Hans C. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores: An inquiry into role and significance of shorthand writers in the Imperial and ecclesiastical bureaucracy of the Roman Empire (from the Early Principate to c. 450 A.D.)* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 225-256 n. 50 *contra* Kuhoff, *Studien*, 195, who interprets CTh 6.35.7: 367 as granting the clarissimate by allowing an *adlectio* for *comites* and *tribuni*. According to Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 225-56 n.50 the *comites* and *tribuni* mentioned in CTh 6.35.7 do not belong to the *schola notariorum*. On the post of *tribune et notarii*, see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 572-75. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 253 n. 34, for *domestici et notarii*.

²¹⁷² For the *scholae palatinae*, ND Or. 11.4-10; ND Occ. 9.4-8. David Woods, "Ammianus and some *tribuni scholarum palatarum* c. A.D. 353-64," *Classical Quarterly* 47 (1997): 269-70; Hoffmann, *Das spätromische Bewegungsheer*, 1, 279-303; 2, 117-123; Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*; Otto Seeck, 'Scholae palatinae', *RE* 2A (1921), 621-24.

²¹⁷³ The first *magistri officiorum* had themselves merely a rank of tribune. This was the title of Constantine's first two *magistri*: Heraclianus (CTh 16.10.1: 320) and Proculianus (CTh 11.9.1: 323). Weiss, *Consistorium*, 46 does not exclude the possibility that the first *magistri* in the *tribunus* rank appeared already in the times of Tetrarchy.

²¹⁷⁴ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 613.

frequently ended their careers as *magistri militum*. Agilo, tribune of the *Gentiles* and *Scutarii* in 354/60 (Amm. 20.2.5), became *magister peditum* in 360-62. By the beginning of the fifth century the tribunes of the *scholae* ranked high in the official hierarchy. According to Jones, they normally received on appointment the rank of *comes primi ordinis*, and if so were graded on retirement as equal in precedence to *comites rei militaris* of Egypt or Pontica. If not awarded the *comitiva* they still retired with the rank of *duces*. Other tribunes had by this time acquired the status of *clarissimi*, but never rose higher.²¹⁷⁵

Notably, Mallobaudes, *tribunus scholae armaturarum* in 354-55 in Emperor Gallus' imperial guard, was *rex francorum et comes domesticorum (equitum)* in the West in 378. By 374 he had returned home and had become a Frankish king before returning in Roman service as count of the household troops.²¹⁷⁶ Two units, presumably light cavalry, bear the related designation of '*armaturarum*' in the *Notitia: schola armaturarum iuniorum*, under the eastern *magister officiorum*, and *schola armaturarum seniorum*, under the western one. Mallobaudes protested against the court's unfair treatment of Silvanus, a fellow Frank whose career had mirrored his own. Silvanus began as *tribunus scholae armaturarum* in 351 before rising to *magister peditum* in Gaul in 352/55, before ending his career in usurpation in 355. Some of his property was granted to his successor Barbatio (Amm. 18.3.2). Similarly, of Germanic descent, Balchobaudes was *armaturarum tribunus* in the West in 366 under Valentinian (Amm. 27.2.6).²¹⁷⁷

Further, Bainobaudes was *tribunus scholae scutariorum* in 354-(57) under Constantius.²¹⁷⁸ He was sent on a mission to make sure that Gallus 'should not be able to make any move or indulge in any secret enterprise' (Amm. 14.2.14). The *Scutarii* was a *schola palatina* (ND Or. XI 4-5; Occ. IX 4-5.8). Cella, *tribunus scutariorum* in 357-59, served in Gaul under Barbatio in 357 and was killed in battle in 359 near Acimincum in Valeria.²¹⁷⁹

Thereafter, Equitius, *magister equitum et peditum per Illyricum* in 365-75 and consul in 374, was *tribunus scholae primae scutariorum*, a *schola palatina* in the East, in 364 (Amm. 26.1.4.). After Jovian's death he was even considered as a possible candidate for the throne, only to be rejected as being too rough and boorish. Pannonian by birth, he was, however, one of the officers who strongly supported the choice of his fellow Pannonian, Valentinian, as emperor (Amm. 26.1.6). Following Valentinian's accession in 364 he was appointed *comes rei militaris* in charge of the army of Illyricum.

First attested in the late fourth century *cura palatii* ranked as *tribunus scholae*, he is not to be confused with the *curae palatiorum*, who in the early fifth century served as officials of

²¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 641.

²¹⁷⁶ Burns, *Barbarians Within the Gates*, 132. PLRE 1, 539 Mallobaudes.

²¹⁷⁷ PLRE 1, 145 Balchobaudes.

²¹⁷⁸ PLRE 1, 145 Bainobaudes 1.

²¹⁷⁹ PLRE 1 190 Cella.

spectabilis rank under *castrensis palatii*, charged with the maintenance of the imperial palace.²¹⁸⁰ Equitius, *tribunus et cura palatii* in the East (Amm. 31.12.15), fought and was killed together with Valens at Adrianople in 378 (31.13.18).²¹⁸¹

Very little is known about the emoluments of officers, but a reprimand of them for avarice is ubiquitous. At the beginning of the fourth century they still received fairly substantial salaries in cash.²¹⁸² There are no later figures for tribunes. The rations of dead men and deserters kept on the book increased the tribunes' emoluments. Government horses were the responsibility of the department of tribune (later *comes*) of the stable, an officer of the *comitatus* who ranked with *tribunes* (or *comites*) of the *scholae*: he commanded the corps of *stratores* (or grooms), one of whose duties it was to examine the horses levied from the provincials by the governors. *Comes stabuli* also drew a fee of two solidi on each horse requisitioned, which must have brought him some income. The levy and issue of horses were later commuted.²¹⁸³

Sintula, *tribunus stabuli* under Julian Caesar in 360, was ordered by Constantius to command the picked troops withdrawn from Julian (Amm. 20.4.3; Jul. *Ep. ad Ath.* 282D). When Julian was made emperor, Sintula returned to Paris with the troops (Amm. 20.5.1).²¹⁸⁴ The future Emperor Valens was initially raised to *tribunus stabuli* by his brother in 364. Constantianus, brother-in-law of Valentinian, was equally promoted to *tribunus stabuli* in the West c. 369.²¹⁸⁵ The brother of Constantianus and Justina (Valentinian's wife), and uncle of Valentinian II, Cerealis was appointed *tribunus stabuli* under Valentinian I possibly in 369, when Constantianus was killed in Gaul (Amm. 28.2.10).²¹⁸⁶ In 375, he played a prominent part in the proclamation of Valentinian II as Augustus (Amm. 30.10.5). Valerianus, *tribunus stabuli* under Valens in 378, was killed at Adrianople.²¹⁸⁷ Ptolemaeus, former owner of the eunuch Eutropius whom he sold to Arinthaëus (Claud. *In Eutrop.* 1 61-3), was a high-ranking officer, perhaps *tribunus stabuli* in the late fourth century.²¹⁸⁸ He will have served under Valens or Theodosius in the East. In his early career Stilicho was *comes sacri stabuli* under Theodosius, c. 384.

Tribune was the most common title and was often used loosely for all commanding officers. Apart from the officers of the prestigious *scholae*, it was strictly accurate for the *vexillationes*, *auxilia* and legions of *comitatenses* and *palatini*, and also of the cohorts of the *limitanei*.²¹⁸⁹ The

²¹⁸⁰ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 1233 n. 14.

²¹⁸¹ *PLRE* 1, 281 Equitius 1.

²¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 643.

²¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 625.

²¹⁸⁴ *PLRE* 1, 885 Sintula.

²¹⁸⁵ *PLRE* 1, 221 Constantianus 1.

²¹⁸⁶ *PLRE* 1, 197 Cerealis 1.

²¹⁸⁷ *PLRE* 1, 938 Valerianus 7.

²¹⁸⁸ *PLRE* 1, 253 Ptolemaeus 2.

²¹⁸⁹ For *tribunes* of the *scholae*, *vexillationes*, legions and *auxilia* in the *comitatus*, see Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, 146-7, and for *praepositi*, *op. cit.* 143-5.

titles of the commanders of the *limitanei* are given in the *Notitia*. The tribunes of regiments had by the early years of the fifth century, if not before, become *clarissimi*, and *presides* attained the same rank.²¹⁹⁰ Grosse states that *tribuni* of *numeri* were minor *comites*, rather inferior, in contrast to *illustres viri comites ac magistri militum*.²¹⁹¹ There is no reference to tribunates being officially graded, but they evidently differed very greatly in importance according to the unit involved. Tribune of a cohort or prefect of an *ala* in the *limitanei* had far less responsibility and less opportunity for distinguishing himself than tribune of a regiment of the *comitatenses* or *palatini*.

Tribuni were regularly charged with building activities and made responsible for the upkeep of military or public buildings. The *burgi* constructed under the care of tribune were small-sized fortifications on the borders of the empire. Mauricius, military *tribunus* in the East in 363, is possibly identical with Mauricius, *vir clarissimus, comes et dux* in Thebais, known by the building inscription set up in between 367 and 375.²¹⁹² While Ammianus (35.8.7) locates tribune in Jovian's time, Zosimus also mentions '*tribunus Mauricius*' (3.33.1). He could be a recipient of the iambic poem (Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 279), in case he is the same person. *Tribunus* Psenputhes is mentioned on the ostrakon that equally comes from fourth or fifth-century Thebes.²¹⁹³

Thus, Marcianus was *tribunus* in Scythia c. 369. The building inscription records the construction works done under Stercorius carried out '*labore devotissimorum militum suorum primanorum*' (either *legio I Iovia* or *I Italica*).²¹⁹⁴ The works were conducted by *comitatenses* soldiers: *milites Primani* under command of *tribunus* Marcianus and some detachment stationed in the area and subordinated to *dux Scythiae* commanded by *praepositus* Ursicinus.

Equally, two *tribuni equitum Nono-Dalmatarum* are recorded in the building inscriptions from the province of Arabia. Agathodaimon was *tribunus militum vexillationis* in Arabia in 368.²¹⁹⁵ He was in charge of building the watch-tower by the agency of the vexillation of the *Equites IX Dalmatarum* on the orders of *dux* Flavius Maximinus. The *Equites IX Dalmatae* are listed in the *Notitia* as one of the *vexillationes comitatenses* units under the command of the *magister militum praesentalis I*.

Thereafter, Vahalus was *tribunus* in the East in 371.²¹⁹⁶ The building inscription testifies to the construction of a *burgus* '*mano devotissimorum equitum VIII Dalmatarum*', a *vexillatio comitatensis* in the eastern field army (*ND Oc.* 5.37) under his command. In 371, this unit was employed to build a *burgus* at Umm el-Jimal in Arabia, whose function is not specified, under the overall authority of Julius, *magister equitum et peditum per Orientem*. Military instalations in the

²¹⁹⁰ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 48; see also 528-529 on how *praesides* and *tribuni* gain title of *clarissimi*.

²¹⁹¹ Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, 150.

²¹⁹² *AE* 1909, 108 (Syene (Thebais)).

²¹⁹³ O. Tait. II 2107.3 ff. Thebes. *PLRE* 1, 752 Psenputhes.

²¹⁹⁴ *CIL* 3 6159=7494=*ILS* 770 (Biroe (Scythia)). *PLRE* 1, 555 Marcianus 9.

²¹⁹⁵ *AE* 1996, 1612 (Umm el-Jimal (Arabia)). No *PLRE* entry.

²¹⁹⁶ *CIL* 3 88=*ILS* 773 (Umm el-Jimal (Arabia)). *PLRE* 1, 929 Vahalus.

form of towers located in border areas of active confrontation with an external enemy differ from the posts built in the interior served to police the countryside and roads within the empire.²¹⁹⁷ The inscriptions reflect the policy of strengthening the frontier defences in Arabia under Valentinian and Valens.

On the basis of current evidence, four *tribuni* are recorded on the brickstamps from Valeria that probably date from the reign of Valentinian, who took also special care to restore the frontier defences along the Danube. Sol (if that is his full name), *tribunus* in Valeria, is documented on the brickstamps found at Marot, on the right bank of the Danube not far from Castra ad Herculem, and near Szob, on the left bank.²¹⁹⁸ *Tribunus* Caris[---] mentioned on brickstamps found at Szob in Valeria, on the left bank of the Danube, near Castra ad Herculem.²¹⁹⁹ The brickstamps from Ó-Szöny, near Brigetio, give the name of *tribunus* Terentianus in Valeria.²²⁰⁰ Lupicinus, *comes rei militaris* in Thrace in 377, was previously *tribunus* in Valeria. The brickstamps mentioning tribune Lupicinus were found near Vác on the left bank of the Danube.²²⁰¹ All of them were evidently tribunes of the units employed to strengthen the frontier fortifications, when there was much building activity on the *limes*.

Similar to building inscriptions, brick-stamps are significant for the dating of Valentinianic buildings. For a long time no one debated the Valentinianic date of brick-stamps naming *duces* Terentius and Frigeridus, *tribuni* Lupicinus, Terentianus, Caris[---] and others, and a few other brickstamps, all of them found on the northern frontier in Noricum and Pannonia.²²⁰² However, Hungarian archeologists have made this all-embracing date obsolete.²²⁰³ Nonetheless, even if one does not follow the fashion of attributing most late Roman fortifications to Valentinian, one can still find a good number of defence structures from the Pannonian frontier to Britain that were undoubtedly built under this emperor. Not all late Roman fortifications on roads and frontiers can safely be attributed to Valentinian's building program, yet many buildings are known to have been built during 368-69.

Flavius Vitus, who is not attested in other sources, was perhaps military *tribunus* in the Chersonese in 392.²²⁰⁴ The building inscription set up under Theodosius and Arcadius celebrates 'the wall of Chersonese erected through the assistance of Flavius Vitus, tribune, who laboured a

²¹⁹⁷ Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 179-81, both called '*burgus*'.

²¹⁹⁸ *CIL* 3 10684a (Marot (Valeria)); *CIL* 3 10684c (near Szob (Valeria)). *PLRE* 1, 846 Sol.

²¹⁹⁹ *CIL* 3 3766a-c=10680a; 10680b.

²²⁰⁰ *CIL* 3 10683a,b.

²²⁰¹ *CIL* 3 3767a-i, 10681 a-i, *CIL* 3 10681e.

²²⁰² Petrikovits, "Fortifications," 184-85. *PLRE* 1, 519-20 Lupicinus 3, 881 Terentianus 2, 181 Caris.

²²⁰³ Mócsy, *Pannonien und das römische Heer*, 629 and 631-33. Bricks of Frigeridus *dux*, *Legio X Gemina*, and others, were found in the *burgus* of Visegrad which is dated by an inscription to 372: Sándor Soproni, "Der spätrömische limes zwischen Visegrád und Esztergom," in *Limes Romanus Konferenz Nitra*, ed. Anton Točík (Bratislava: Slovenská Akadémia vied, 1959), 140.

²²⁰⁴ Latyšev, *Inscriptiones antiquae*, I², 450. Vinogradov, '*Миновала уже зима языческого безумия*', 101 (Chersonesus Taurica). *PLRE* 1, 972 Flavius Vitus.

lot'. The building inscription of Theodosios and Arkadios belongs to the years of their joint rule in 383-95. *PLRE* narrows down the chronological window and dates the inscription to 392, that is, the time period between the death of Valentinian in May 392 and the proclamation of Honorius as Augustus in January 393.²²⁰⁵ The unusual manner of composition of this inscription is coupled with the hapax use of the phrase *ἐπὶ τῆς πράξεως*. Feissel pointed out that the restoration proposed by Zuckerman ('under Eutherius'), so as to rectify the order of subordination – tribune should have come after *comes* – is not viable, because *vacat* is clearly visible on the old estampage.²²⁰⁶

Further, the construction of the new basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura in 390 was carried out *administrante* Flavius Filippus, *vir clarissimus*, whose office is not preserved on the inscription, and *curatore* Flavius Anastasius, *tribunus praetorianus*, who was probably by that time *vir clarissimus*.²²⁰⁷ It is generally assumed that the dignity of *tribunus praetorianus militaris* is identical with that of *tribunus et notarius*, although it must have been lower. Military praetorian tribune was an obsolete post and the title was presumably a relic from the time when there was still a praetorian guard.²²⁰⁸ Stilicho is known to have been *tribunus praetorianus militaris* in 383. Yet the Latin authors and official texts continue in an archaic manner to name the imperial bodyguards 'praetorians', despite their abolishment by Constantine.

Funeral inscriptions of tribunes record their military rank. Thus, the epitaph on the sarcophagus of Sirramnis, *tribunus* in the West comes from the eastern necropolis in Concordia in Venetia and is dated sometime soon after the mid-fourth to early fifth century.²²⁰⁹ Taking into account the widespread reuse of sarcophagi, their functional aspect prevailed over its monumental and social purpose. The changed conceptualization was manifested in the idiosyncratic vocabulary applied to the sarcophagi, and in order to assert the right to inviolability of the sepulchres was accompanied by the threat of a fine, which the violator should pay to the *fiscus*.²²¹⁰ This was not an epigraphic peculiarity of the cemetery of Concordia in late antiquity, being equally common for the sarcophagi inscriptions of, for example, Salona.

²²⁰⁵ *PLRE* 1, 315, 972.

²²⁰⁶ <http://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/5.5.html>

²²⁰⁷ *ICUR* II 4778c=AE 1959, 64=AE 2000, 187. *CTh* 14.1.2 (from 386). The office of *tribunus praetorianus* is attested in epigraphy only once more, in the Stilicho's cursus (*CIL* 6 1730=31913). The duties of this dignitary are debated: whether they are equivalent to those of a *tribunus et notarius* or to those of *tribunus sacri stabuli*. François Chausson, "Une soeur de Constantin: Anastasia," in *'Humana sapit'. Études d'antiquité tardive offertes à L. Cracco Ruggini*, eds., Jean-Michel Carrie and Rita Lizzi Testa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 146-48, proposes, given the extreme rarity of the name Anastasius/-a among the elites of the fourth century, to see in Flavius Anastasius a possible brother of Gallus Anastasiae natus which, at the end of the fourth century, carried out work in St Peter's Basilica in the Vatican (*ICUR* II 4122=ILCV 1759) and could be a descendant of Cesar Gallus.

²²⁰⁸ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 1244 n.67.

²²⁰⁹ AE 2011, 400=ILCV 436 (add) (Concordia (Venetia)). *PLRE* 2, 1017 Sirramnis.

²²¹⁰ See also *CIL* 5 8755 = ILCV 515 (add) and AE 1891, 102=ILCV 473 from Concordia.

Also, an anonymous *tribunus promotorum equitum* in the West in the fourth or fifth century is recorded in the funeral inscription from Rome.²²¹¹ Owing to the fragmented state of the epitaph, the name of *tribunus* who commanded this unit of *Equites Promoti* is not known. He died aged 37. Since the inscription was found in Rome, it is likely that the unit is to be equated with the *Equites promoti seniores*, a *vexillatio palatina* of the western field army stationed in Italy (ND Oc. 6.44=7.160). The second of the *vexillationes palatinae* listed in the *magister equitum*'s cavalry roster in the western half of the empire, the *Equites promoti seniores* are assigned (102/5.211) to the *magister peditum*'s Italian command. In the west, the *Equites promoti seniores* is outranked as a field army unit only by the *Comites seniores*, the most senior unit of *vexillationes palatinae* in the *magister equitum*'s cavalry list, and therefore the entire field army.

Similarly, Soterichus was possibly *tribunus* of a cavalry unit in the East perhaps in the fourth or fifth century. His epitaph is preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca*.²²¹²

Having accomplished my military service, I, Soterichus, lie here, leaving to my sweet children the wealth I gained by my labours. I commanded in the cavalry, like Gerenian Nestor, and I never amassed any treasure from unjust actions. Therefore after death too I see the light of Olympus (trans. Loeb).

This Greek verse inscription in hexameters with learned mythological allusions is written from the first person perspective. The funeral epigram commemorates the official's integrity and his military career: Soterichus had evidently completed his career having served as a cavalry officer. The insistence on not amassing dishonest wealth is remarkable. The reference to integrity implies not an abstract moral judgement but a testimony of his unique morals measured by justice in the milieu dominated by practices of maladministration which hastened the accumulation of gold in the hands of military officials. The allusion to seeing Olympus is unusual, while other instances are much earlier in date and of different character, which suggests Christian influence.²²¹³

An interesting series of sepulchral inscriptions commemorating tribunes comes from the *limes Tripolitanus*. A set of rectangular funerary *stelae* of brown limestone is inscribed in Latin characters on the faces. The body of each text is in the Libyan language, but many of them include recognizable names and titles. Flavius Isiguar, *tribunus* in the fourth or fifth century is recorded on the Latino-Lybian inscription from Bir ed-Dreder.²²¹⁴ Isiguar was obviously tribune in command of one of the *numeri* settled in a *limes* sector. Such units were originally recruited from local

²²¹¹ CIL 6 37279=ILS 9212. PLRE 1, 1036 Anonymus 219.

²²¹² Anth. Gr. 7.678: πληρώσας στρατιὴν Σωτήριχος ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι, / ὄλβον ἐμῶν καμάτων γλυκεροῖς τεκέεσσιν ἔδασας. / ἦρξα δ' ἐν ἱππῆεσσι, Γερίνιος οἶά τε Νέστωρ: / ἐξ ἀδίκων τε πόνων κειμήλιον οὐδὲν ἔτευξα. / τοῦνεκα καὶ μετὰ πότμον ὁρῶ φάος Οὐλύμποιο. PLRE 1, 850 Soterichus 2.

²²¹³ E.g. Anth. Gr. 8.1, 32, 38.

²²¹⁴ IRT 886k. Richard George Goodchild and John Bryan Ward-Perkins, "The Limes Tripolitanus in the light of recent discoveries," JRS 39 (1949): 81-85. PLRE 1, 465 Flavius Isiguar.

tribesmen, who were allotted land for cultivation, in return for garrisoning the *centenaria* and guarding the frontier.

Furthermore, *tribunus* Flavius Macarcum²²¹⁵ is perhaps to be identified with Macarcum, father of Fabius Saicham: ‘Of Flavius Saicham, son of Macarcum ...’.²²¹⁶ *Tribunus* Flavius Masinthan was probably connected with Julius Severus Masinthan, son of Masinthan.²²¹⁷ The name Flavius suggests a date not earlier than the Constantinian period. *Tribuni* Masigama,²²¹⁸ Iulius Nasif,²²¹⁹ and perhaps Iulius Masthalul²²²⁰ are further documented. All these epitaphs belong to a series discovered in the outermost *limes* forts of the Tripolitanian frontier.

Another tribune, *tribunus classis*, fleet tribune, was created already in the third century. *Classes* or flotillas were part of the *limitanei*. The functions of these troops, essentially police, were guard duties, not necessarily connected with frontier defence, in order to control movement in and out of the frontier districts – the same duties carried out by auxiliary troops in the second century.²²²¹ *Limitanei* is a term first attested in 363 (*CTh* 12.1.56) and applies to all troops assigned to specific border regions (*limites*) under the command of *duces*.²²²² In 363 under Julian, Euphratus fleet was commanded by *tribunus cum comite* (*Amm.* 23.3.9). The fleet was headed here by tribune and count, whereas its permanent commander appears to have been a prefect.²²²³ He is not mentioned in the *Notitia*, however.

Additionally, there were also *tribuni vacantes*, who were temporarily without a unit, and served on the staff of the emperor or a general, being employed for special duties. Tribunes who, together with *protectores*, accompanied Ursicinus, when he was sent to arrest the usurper Silvanus, were presumably *vacantes*, as were those who, again, with *protectores*, supervised the fortification of the bank of the Euphrates.²²²⁴

In contrast, *tribunus honorarius* was a title and rank without a military post. *CTh* 7.21.3 from early 396 concerning the hierarchy of ranks, stipulates that the titles of *ex-tribunis* and *ex-protectoribus* did not exempt from curial duties and paying *lustrum*. Andreas, son of Peter, former tribune in the East, is mentioned in the Greek inscription possibly from Hermonthis (Thebais) broadly dated from the fourth to the sixth century.²²²⁵ Similarly, Paulus, son of Heliodorus,²²²⁶

²²¹⁵ *IRT* 886c. *PLRE* 1, 524 Flavius Macarcum.

²²¹⁶ *IRT* 886a. *PLRE* 1, 795 Fabius Saicham.

²²¹⁷ *IRT* 886j. Cf. *IRT* 884 of unknown provenance in Tripolitania. *PLRE* 1, 567 Masin(th)an.

²²¹⁸ *IRT* 886d. *PLRE* 1, 566 Masigama.

²²¹⁹ *IRT* 886f. *PLRE* 1, 617 Iulius Nasif.

²²²⁰ *IRT* 886b. *PLRE* 1, 567 Iulius Masthalul.

²²²¹ Isaac, “The meaning of *Limes*,” 144, on *limitanei*.

²²²² *Ibid.*, 146.

²²²³ Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, 75-6. E.g., *CIL* 10 3344=*ILS* 5902=*LSA*-1920 (Misenum (Regio I)).

²²²⁴ For *tribunus vacans*, see *Amm.* 31.13.18, and 25.5.22, 28.7.6.

²²²⁵ Gustave Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1907), n. 437. *PLRE* 1, 63 Andreas.

²²²⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 503. *PLRE* 1, 684 Paulus 6.

Petrus, who died aged 52,²²²⁷ and an anonymous officer whose name cannot be fully reconstructed,²²²⁸ were probably honorary *ex-tribunes* in the same region and period.

Nevertheless, other *ex-tribunes* were actually retired military officers. Derdio, *ex-tribunus* in the West, is commemorated in Milan on his funeral inscription with Christian monogram in the fourth or fifth century.²²²⁹ It seems likely that Derdio enlisted at about the age of twenty and retired at the age of sixty, since he died aged seventy-five, served for forty years. Throughout this period of service, he was attached to the *Ioviani seniores*, a *legio palatina* in the part of the western field army stationed in Italy (*ND Occ.* 5.145=7.3). The *Ioviani seniores* were the senior-most unit of the *legiones palatina*, listed under the *magister peditum* and assigned to his Italian command. After twenty years of service, Derdio no doubt reached the grade of *protector*, and eventually became tribune in command of this unit. High placed officers wanted to continue their service as long as possible.²²³⁰

Another Christian funeral inscription records the burial of an *ex-tribunus ad sanctos* in the Lyonese church in the fourth or fifth century.²²³¹ Flavius Florianus, who was in actual military service in the West, was enlisted at eighteen and served for thirty-nine years, reaching the rank of *tribunus*. On retirement at the age of fifty-seven, he lived at his home in Lyon until his death thirty years later. Ranked officers were generally elderly men when they received their commissions as tribunes.²²³² However, here may well have been a considerable number of elderly soldiers who reached as far as a tribunate and no further.

Certain tribunes recorded epigraphically might have been civilian *tribuni et notarii*. An anonymous officer was tribune in the West somewhere in the period from the fourth to sixth century. According to his funeral inscription from Aquileia, he was apparently a Christian and died aged seventy.²²³³ Another Christian epitaph of *vir clarissimus tribunus* Stabilis dated to 399 (or 505) comes from Rome.²²³⁴ Three votive inscriptions preserved the names of *tribuni*: *clarissimi* Flavius Rusticianus²²³⁵ and Fl(avius) Uranius,²²³⁶ as well as Thomas,²²³⁷ whose rank is not specified, all may have been *tribuni et notarii*. The first two inscriptions are dated from the fourth to fifth century, while the third more broadly from the fourth to sixth century.

²²²⁷ Ibid., n. 398. *PLRE* 1, 691 Petrus 6.

²²²⁸ Ibid., n. 444.

²²²⁹ *CIL* 5 6213=*ILS* 2789=*ILCV* 441a (Mediolanum (Regio XI)). *PLRE* 1, 249 Derdio.

²²³⁰ See also *ILS* 2788; *CIL* 3 2014, 2048, 2818, 2834, 4858.

²²³¹ *CIL* 13 1855=*ILCV* 1574 (Lugdunum (Lugdunensis II)).

²²³² Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 643. *PLRE* 1, 367 Flavius Florianus 7.

²²³³ Ettore Pais, *Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementa Italica* (Rome: Salviucci, 1884), 193 (Aquileia (Regio X)).

²²³⁴ *CIL* 6 32046=*ILCV* 107. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 168 n.301, *Stabilis.

²²³⁵ *AE* 1914, 65=239=*ILCV* 109b (Cuicul (Numidia)). Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 165 n.278, *Rusticianus.

²²³⁶ *AE* 1914 64=238=*ILCV* 109a (Cuicul (Numidia)). Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 174 n.325, *Uranius.

²²³⁷ *CIL* 5 304=*ILCV* 1930. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 171 n.318, *Thomas.

In the fourth century the correct, and usual, path to the tribunate was through the protectorate. Yet as many gained direct admission to *domestici and protectores* without previous long service in the ranks, so many got also commissions as tribunes without preliminary service in the *protectores*. Directly commissioned officers undoubtedly came from a rather higher social standing than directly commissioned *protectores*, but there is little evidence on the topic.²²³⁸ A funeral inscription records Heraclius, ‘a citizen of Rhaetia II, son of Lupicinus, former provincial governor, who was *praepositus* of the Fortenses and lived thirty-five years’. The omission of any previous service and the mention of the father’s office are suggestive.²²³⁹

2. *Praefectus*

Regimental commanders were known as tribunes, prefects or *praepositi*. They were the backbone of the late Roman military, the crucial middle levels of the hierarchy.²²⁴⁰ *CTh.* 7.4.1 (325) deals specifically with the middle-grade commanders – ‘*tribuni sive praepositi qui milites nostros curant*’, men like Flavius Abinnaeus, commander of the camp at Dionysias in the southwest of the Fayum.

Abinnaeus entered the army after 305 and served 33 years in the *vexillatio Parthosagittariorum* (Parthian archers) based in Upper Egypt in Diospolis (Luxor). He attained the ranks of *protector* and then of *ducenarius*, without effective command. In 337/38 he was appointed by the count of the *limes* Senecio to accompany with him a delegation of Blemmyes to Emperor Constantius in Constantinople. In Constantinople, he was admitted to the adoration of the purple ceremony (presentation to the emperor), accompanied by a promotion. He then received the mission to escort the embassy of Blemmyes back home and remained with them for three years until 340-41. After bringing recruits from the Thebais, he returned from the court at Hierapolis to Egypt, with the emperor granting him a further promotion. He was appointed by the ‘sacred letter’ *praefectus* of the *Ala V Praelectorum* based in Dionysias in the province of Egypt (*ND Or.* 28.34). From 342 to 351 Abinnaeus, therefore, commanded as prefect the *Ala V Praelectorum*, a small cavalry unit (perhaps about a hundred men); and he was called *praepositus* (346) as well as *praefectus* (after 346) *castrorum* of the fort of Dionysias.²²⁴¹

Praefectus was in fact a title of the officer in command of old-style legions (*praefectus legionis*) and of old-style *alae* (*praefectus alae*), although these were only to be found in the West, notably on the Danube and in Britain. *Praefecti* could also command several units together, as seen with the *praefectus legionis quartaedecimae geminae militum liburnariorum cohortis quintae partis superior*, who commanded the fourteenth legion as well as a part of the Danube fleet plus the fifth

²²³⁸ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 641-2.

²²³⁹ *CIL* 6 32969=ILS 2786=ILCV 445(add)=*AE* 1997, 166. *PLRE* 1, 419 Heraclius 8.

²²⁴⁰ Jerome, *Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum* 1.19 (*PL* 23.370) lists eight grades of junior officers before *tribunus*.

²²⁴¹ P. Abinn. 3. Timothy D. Barnes, “The Career of Abinnaeus,” *Phoenix* 39 (1985): 368-74.

cohort, from his command post at Carnuntum. Thus, *praefectus* was the correct title of the commander of legions or detachments of legions, *vexillationes*, *alae*, *numeri* and fleets in the *limitanei*.²²⁴² *praefectus legionis*, *vexillationes*, *alae*, *numeri*, *classis*, as well as *militum*, *equitum*, *laetorum*, *gentilium*. Furthermore, there were also *praefectus ripae legionis* and *praefectus limitis*. Nominally military *praefectus annonae*, prefect of the *annona*, and *praefectus vigilum*, or prefect of the watch, were the officials of civil jurisdiction under *praefectus urbis Romae*.

The legion *praefecti* are attested epigraphically.²²⁴³ The *Notitia* also records a title of *praefectus legionis*. The legion would be still commanded in the fourth century by prefect, while the detachment by tribune or *praepositus*.²²⁴⁴ The *Notitia*, however, used the old title, where *tribunus* or *praepositus* was meant.²²⁴⁵ Moreover, the *Notitia* always regarded the commander of the *ala* as *praefectus*. Yet it is uncertain whether it did not use an outdated title here, and whether the *ala* was not commanded by tribune.²²⁴⁶

Praefecti and *tribuni* are listed separately in the early Constantinian constitution (*CTh* 7.20.2). This excerpt from the record of a meeting between Constantine and discontented army veterans testifies to the order of precedence.²²⁴⁷ *CTh* 7.20.2 records the acclamations to Constantine and his response to them:

When [Constantine] had entered the imperial headquarters of the army (*principia*) and had been saluted by the military prefects and tribunes, and by the Most Eminent men, the acclamation arose... (transl. C. Pharr).

The relevant words – *cum [sc. Constantinus] . . . salutatus esset a praefectis et tribunis et viris eminentissimis* – are probably corrupt. The prefects and *viri eminentissimi*, for there is no clear evidence of the equestrian title *eminentissimus* under the reign of Constantine, obviously were not the same persons. These *praefecti* could not be *eminentissimi* praetorian prefects. The order in which the men are named, however, implies that *praefecti et tribuni* should ranked above the *viri eminentissimi*. *Praefecti* are here the army officers, as *tribuni* certainly are.²²⁴⁸

²²⁴² Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 640.

²²⁴³ *CIL* 3 6194=AE 2001, 1739 (Troesmis (Scythia Minor)). An epitaph of Valerius Thumpus on the *stela* from Scythia minor dated in the first half of the fourth century, perhaps under Diocletian. Thumpus served in *Legio XI Claudia* (under *dux Moesiae secundae* in the *Notitia*) stationed on the border. He was a *lanciarius*, or legionary light-infantry spearman, in the *sacer comitatus* for five years, becoming, after completing his service in this elite unit, *praefectus Legionis II Herculiae*. As *praefectus* of *Legio secunda Herculia*, he served further for two and a half years before his death at the age of forty-five. *Legio II Herculia* placed in the *Notitia* under *dux Scythiae* was stationed at Troesmis.

²²⁴⁴ Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, 38.

²²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 150-51.

²²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

²²⁴⁷ *CTh* 7.20.2=CJ 12.46.1 (emended). On its date, see Porena, "Ancora sulla carriera," 265-66; (315), John Matthews, *Laying Down the Law* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 37 (320?); Barnes, *The New Empire*, 69 (307?); Serena Connolly, "Constantine Answers the Veterans," in *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians: Later Roman History and Culture, 284-450 CE*, eds. Scott McGill et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 93-115 (also for 320)).

²²⁴⁸ Dillon, "The Inflation of Rank," 47-8.

The text of the constitution is a highly stylized and artificial account of a meeting and conversation.²²⁴⁹ F. Millar notes that Constantine has surrounded himself with military officials in a military setting.²²⁵⁰ Veterans in Gaul would have been familiar with acclamation from military life and perhaps civilian life also. Ch. Roueché found examples of acclamation in the West as early as the first century.²²⁵¹ Acclamations are found not only among popular gatherings in the cities but among other groups of people with the opportunity to assemble and make them, notably the army.²²⁵² The veterans were to find themselves quickly subsumed into the ceremony of the occasion and carefully managed by its choreographers. Waiting at the *principia*, along with the throng of veterans ready to voice their demands, were prefects, tribunes, and *eminentissimi*. S. Connolly, however, wrongly considers the latter to be probably praetorian prefects. The *ordo salutationis* evidently indicates that the *virī eminentissimi* rank below *praefecti* and *tribuni*.

The text mentions that assembled officials greeted the emperor. When emperors began to be hailed each year, the military *salutatio* became simply a ceremonial confirmation of the army's support. Whether it had been arranged or simply prompted by Constantine's men, the greeting by the officials made clear to the veterans that they had to follow whatever protocol or ceremony was in place. Moreover, the fact that Constantine chose to walk into the *principia* – and is recorded as having done so – is probably significant. It may have signaled that all present were waiting for and therefore dependent upon his presence. With the *salutatio*, the veterans had secondary significance behind the officers since the complaint they brought was not part of the initial ceremonial protocol.

Connolly imagines Constantine ascending a tribunal like the one depicted on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. While the commanding general of the camp would have regularly used the tribunal, its use by Constantine showed clearly that the military camp had now come under the authority of the emperor.²²⁵³ The probable display of an imperial portrait somewhere in the camp would have underscored a delegation of the power of the emperor to the military commander. The tribunal functioned both as a ceremonial setting, elevating Constantine above all entitled to full participation in the ceremony, and as the traditional place of the military commander to hold hearings and pass judgment upon the guilt or innocence of the accused soldiers.

The ensued salutation and acclamation of Constantine was probably led by the officials, joined by the veterans, acknowledging the emperor as their ruler. A practice of staged consensus, it unified all those who spoke it in a declaration of loyalty to the emperor: Constantine's officials, any army officers present, and the veterans. The acclamation guaranteed that the veterans, immersed

²²⁴⁹ Connolly, "Constantine Answers the Veterans," 93-95.

²²⁵⁰ Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 122

²²⁵¹ Charlotte Roueché, "Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 74 (1984): 183.

²²⁵² Matthews, *Laying Down the Law*, 37.

²²⁵³ Connolly, "Constantine Answers the Veterans," 99.

into a ceremony, acted on terms determined by Constantine's bureaucrats that they were all subsumed under the officials' overall control. The latter channeled any complaints, and the setting in which the veterans could present their grievances was carefully circumscribed.²²⁵⁴

Roueché ascertained that acclamation could be part of the petitioning process, and so the veterans would be expected to acclaim the emperor.²²⁵⁵ Yet neither the acclamations were entirely expressed in their words nor had they control over the ceremony, orchestrated by the officials. If examples of senatorial acclamation can be traced back to the reign of Trajan, the military acclamation could perhaps have developed even earlier.²²⁵⁶ Similar to the Constantinian constitution, acclamations given to officials further in the fourth and fifth centuries began with general honors and were followed by more specific expressions.

Roueché describes a late antique phenomenon of the increased recording of acclamations in a new, more stylized and ceremonial way. Connolly emphasizes that the Constantinian text of the encounter was 'focussed on the ceremonial aspects in the military setting – the titles of the officers, the salutation, and the acclamation – that reproduce the hierarchical power-relationship required to maintain a social structure dominated by the emperor'.²²⁵⁷ According to Grosse, *praefecti* of the Constantinian constitution, whom he considered to be lower by rank than *tribuni*, were identical with the later *praepositi*.²²⁵⁸

Nonetheless, unlike *praefectus*, *praepositus* designated a generic commander, a title that could be held by officers of several ranks. Thus *praepositus* appears to have been strictly the title of a post, and not a military rank; an officer might hold the rank of tribune or prefect, and be described as *praepositus*, or 'officer-commanding' a given unit. In the later Roman army, the *praepositus* was, similarly to *comes*, the name for a post. Mostly, one comes across *praepositus* as commander of old-style units, notably in the African provinces. *Praepositus* by itself was the most common contemporary title for a military commander.²²⁵⁹ The imperial law of 386 mentions *praepositi* – listed after *duces* and *tribuni* – as *viri clarissimi* (CTh 12.1.113).

Accordingly, Grosse considers *praepositus* to be inferior to *tribunus* in rank in this period.²²⁶⁰ *Praepositi legionis, cohortis, militum, equitum, vexillationis, numeri, auxiliae, limitis, ripae, classi, castris, and fabricae* are known.²²⁶¹ *Praepositus* could also command groups of *laeti* (*praepositus laetorum*), which were groups of barbarians who had been defeated in a campaign and settled throughout the empire under Roman supervision.

²²⁵⁴ Ibid., 101.

²²⁵⁵ Roueché, "Acclamations," 183.

²²⁵⁶ Matthews, *Laying Down the Law*, 38-39; Connolly, "Constantine Answers the Veterans," 101.

²²⁵⁷ Connolly, "Constantine Answers the Veterans," 101-102.

²²⁵⁸ Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, 151.

²²⁵⁹ Frequent in the papyri, e.g., P.Oxy. 43 recto, *passim*.

²²⁶⁰ Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, 143, on the basis of the inscription from Hisarlık and numerous constitutions.

²²⁶¹ Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, 144-45.

Thereby, *praepositus legionis* commanded old-style legions, an infantry unit type. Several *praepositi* are recorded on the tiles from Viminacium. Thus, Mucatra was *praepositus legionis VII Claudiae* in Moesia Prima possibly in mid-fourth century, when building works were carried on this frontier.²²⁶² Victorinus, *praepositus* of *legio VII Claudia* in Moesia Prima possibly in the fourth century, is also documented on the brickstamps from Viminacium.²²⁶³ Bonitus was *praepositus legionis VII Claudiae* in Moesia Prima under Valentinian.²²⁶⁴ The *legio VII Claudia* was still stationed at Viminacium in the early fifth century (*ND Or.* 41.31). It is possible that Bonitus was of Frankish origin. He could be identified perhaps with a general of Constantine in 316/24, since Moesia Prima lay within Constantine's territory. He is possibly identical with 'Bonio *praepositus*' mentioned on the brickstamps.²²⁶⁵

Bonio was *praepositus* in command of a unit stationed at Tricornium in Moesia Prima. According to the *Notitia*, three units were garrisoned at this fort, the *Cuneus Equitum Sagittariorum*, the *Auxiliares Tricornienses*, and the *Auxilium Aureomontaneum*, though it is very unlikely that all three were here at the same time (*ND Or.* 41.14, 22, 28). Bonio, however, might also have been *praepositus* in command of a detachment of *IV Flavia*, in view of two other brickstamps from this site.²²⁶⁶ The most likely date for the inscription is in the reign of Valentinian, since this emperor is known to have taken special measures to reinforce the Danubian limes. Similarly, Dinitius was *praepositus legionis IV Flaviae* in Moesia perhaps in the fourth century.²²⁶⁷

Several construction inscriptions come from the various sites along the Danube in the province of Valeria. Foscanus was *praepositus legionis Primae Martiorum* in Valeria in 371-72. Three building inscriptions testify that a *burgus* was built in the area of Solva,²²⁶⁸ and in Ponte Navata²²⁶⁹ in 371, with the latter restored in the following year.²²⁷⁰ In the *Notitia* one of the eight *legiones comitatenses* listed under the command of *magister militum per Illyricum* in the eastern half of the empire is called the *Martii*. Thus while the *Notitia*'s *Martii* is most likely a detachment of *Legio I Martia*, it would be too quick to assume it was necessarily the only, or even the main body descended from that unit, despite the lack of other *Martii* in the *Notitia*, since there were, however, several units named the very similar *Martenses*, such as the *Martenses seniores* under the *magister militum per Orientem*, and the *Martenses*, in the *magister equitum*'s Gallic command.

²²⁶² *CIL* 3 6325(2)=8275(4)a,b (Viminacium (Moesia Prima)). *PLRE* 1, 609 Mucatra.

²²⁶³ *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, Beiblatt VI* (1903): 54, nn.74-6, *Beiblatt VIII* (1905): 8, nn. 24, 25, 27 (Viminacium (Moesia Prima)). *PLRE* 1 Victorinus.

²²⁶⁴ *AE* 1910, 90 (Viminacium (Moesia Prima)). *PLRE* 1, 163 Bonitus 2.

²²⁶⁵ *AE* 1934, 184c (Tricornium (Moesia Prima)). *AE* 1934, 184b (Tricornium (Moesia Prima)).

²²⁶⁶ *AE* 1934, 184a,d (Tricornium (Moesia Prima)). No *PLRE* entry.

²²⁶⁷ *AE* 1903, 292 (Viminacium (Moesia Prima)). *PLRE* 1, 252 Dinitius.

²²⁶⁸ *CIL* 3 3653=*ILS* 775 (Solva (Valeria)).

²²⁶⁹ *AE* 2000, 1223 (Pon(t)e Navata (Valeria)).

²²⁷⁰ Soproni, *Der spätromische Limes*, 53 (Pon(t)e Navata (Valeria)). *PLRE* 1, 371 Foscanus.

While the *Martenses seniores* likely derives from *Legio IIII Martia*, the Gallic *Martenses* is a very likely candidate for a unit to have been derived from *Legio I Martia*.

Similarly, a series of like fortification structures were ranged along the bank of the Rhine under Valentinian. An anonymous *praepositus legionis octava Augustanensium* was in charge of the construction of a *burgus*-type fortification in Germania Prima in 371.²²⁷¹ According to the inscription, *Legio VIII Augusta* built a watchtower, which, however, has not been preserved. Around 400, the *Octavani* were withdrawn by Stilicho from the Rhine and placed under the Italian command of *magister peditum* to protect Italy against the Visigoths. The *Octavani* is listed as one of the twelve *legiones palatinae* in the *magister peditum*'s infantry roster and assigned to his Italian command in the *Notitia*. The position of the *Octavani* in the list of the units assigned to the Italian command seems to indicate that it was a *comitatenses* unit when the *Notitia* was first drawn up (since it comes after the command's *auxilia palatina* units there, and not before), but was later promoted to the palatine status.

Aside from old-style legions (*praepositus legionis*), *praepositi* could command *scholae* units and old-style cohorts (*praepositus cohortis*). The cohorts were commanded by *tribuni*, while legions and their detachments, *vexillationes*, *alae*, *numeri*, and *classes* by *prefecti*, both of whom were described as *praepositi*.²²⁷² *Praepositi* were also in command of the other units (*praepositus militum*, *praepositus equitum*, and *praepositus auxilia*).

Thus, Flavius Iovinus, *praepositus militum Histricorum* is known from the building inscription that came from c. 35 km west of Aquincum in Valeria dated broadly to the Constantinian dynasty.²²⁷³ Iovinus commanded a unit of *milites Histrici*. The authors of the *PLRE* presume that the soldiers probably belonged to the *classis Histrica*. However, according to the *Notitia*, in charge of a detachment of the Danubian fleet was *praefectus classis Histricae*. The title '*militum*' suggests rather a legionary detachment.

Another anonymous *praepositus militum* was in Gaul on the upper Rhine in 361 (Amm. 21.4.3-5). Petronius 3, father-in-law of Valens, was *praepositus Martensium militum* before 364 (Amm. 26.6.7) and *patricius* in 364-65. According to Ammianus, he was hated for his avarice (26.6.7-9). The *Martenses seniores* were one of the nine units of *legiones comitatenses* listed as being under the command of *magister militum per Orientem* in the eastern half of the empire (*ND Or.* 7.5=40).

²²⁷¹ CIL 13 11538=ILS 8949 (Etzgen (Germania Prima)).

²²⁷² Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, 44; Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe*, 101.

²²⁷³ CIL 3 3370=ILS 2787=ILCV 518=AE 2004, 1133 (Aquincum (Valeria)). Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer*, 27 n.191. *PLRE* 1, 462 Flavius Iovinus 5.

Further, Heraclius, son of Lupicinus *ex praesidibus*, was *praepositus militum Fortensium* in the West perhaps in the late fourth or early fifth century.²²⁷⁴ As his funeral inscription from Rome contains Christian symbols, he was thus a Christian and died aged 35. His troops were presumably *milites Fortenses* (ND Occ. 31 39). The *Fontenses* were one of thirty-two units of the *legiones comitatenses* listed in *magister peditum*'s infantry roster in the western half of the empire.

In the *Notitia* two units are listed as being garrisoned at Syene, the *Milites Miliarenses*, and the *Cohors V Suentium* (Occ. 31.35; 65). Flavius Traianus was evidently *praepositus* in command of the former unit. He was repairing the fort on the orders of *dux* Mauricius in 367/75. The inscription dates to the joint rule of Valentinian and Valens, who went to great pains to strengthen the frontier defences. During the reign three new units seem to have been sent to reinforce the garrison of the Thebais, one of which was later withdrawn to reinforce the field army (Occ. 31.36; 39; 7.46). In the *Notitia*, Syene is mentioned as a military station of the *Milites Miliarenses*, a detachment of the legion under *dux Thebaidos*.

Members of units that were still termed *auxilia* were recruited from outside the frontiers. They were not formally classified as belonging to either the *ripenses* or *comitatenses*. The existence of the distinction between the *ripenses* and *comitatenses* and *auxilia* goes back to a practice of Diocletian, favoring the 'regular army' over the *auxilia*.²²⁷⁵ In 370, Leontius was *praepositus* of the *milites auxiliares Lauriacenses*, who were employed to build a *burgus* near Fafiana in Noricum.²²⁷⁶ There is no mention of this unit in the *Notitia* but it is probably the detachment of *II Italica* normally garrisoned at Lauriacum (Occ. 34.39). The title '*auxiliares*' at first sight suggests auxiliary troops, but Ammianus states that these normally disdained the task of building (18.2.6). Again, three units with the title '*auxilarii*' are listed in the *Notitia* as *legiones pseudocomitatenses*. Thirdly, the title '*milites*' usually suggests a legionary detachment.

The commander of a *numerus* was *praepositus numeri*. Since the beginning of the third century, however, they were tribunes (*tribunus numeri*) or even prefects (*praefectus numeri*), as the units increased in late antiquity. The commander of a cavalry *arithmos* or *numerus*, which normally consisted of 300 men, usually bore the military rank of *tribunus*.²²⁷⁷ Flavius Ziperga, *praepositus numeri I Martiae Victricis*, died aged twenty-seven after serving for eight years probably in the late fourth or early fifth century. He is commemorated on the funerary *stela* of a group of inscriptions from the graveyard at Concordia c. 400.²²⁷⁸ The epitaph from the cemetery at Concordia, i.e. very close to Illyricum, mentioning the unit whose name was interpreted to mean '*numero primae*

²²⁷⁴ CIL 6 32969=D 2786=ILCV 445(add)=AE 1997, 166.

²²⁷⁵ Potter, *The Roman Empire*, 453.

²²⁷⁶ CIL 3 5670a=ILS 774 (Lauriacum (Noricum)).

²²⁷⁷ Frank R. Trombley, "Epigraphic Data on Village Culture and Social Institutions: An Interregional Comparison (Syria, Phoenice Libanensis and Arabia)," in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, eds. William Bowden et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 83.

²²⁷⁸ AE 1891, 102=ILCV 473 (Concordia (Venetia)). PLRE 1, 994 Flavius Ziperga.

Martiae Victricis’ is additional evidence for *Legio I Martia*. The *Martii* was one of the eight *legiones comitatenses* listed under the command of *magister militum per Illyricum* in the eastern half of the empire.

Next, *praepositus vexillationum* was the commander of a cavalry unit. Victorinus was *praepositus vexillationum legionum III Gallicae et I Illyricae* in Egypt in 316-21. He is dated to 316 on a bowl found at Coptos, and to 323 on a stone said to have come from Luxor (Thebes).²²⁷⁹ The dedicatory inscription, left at Coptos by Emesenes serving with the third Gallic and first Illyrian legions, reveals Syrian religious traditions expressed in the Greek language:

The Emesenes dedicated [this] as a prayer for the *angeloi*;
With hearts towards the chief priest Dionysis, on the auspicious day,
Arabia was remembered. Basos wrote this for the good fortune of the *angeloi*.
On behalf of the safety of the vexillationes of the legions III Gallica and I Illyrica under the *praepositus* Victorianus (trans. R. Cline).²²⁸⁰

Thus, the auspicious day may refer to the day on which a yearly sacrifice was made. The troops were probably drawn from Phoenice (*ND Or.* 32.30, 31). The Emesenes serving in Egypt under *praepositus* Victorianus are also referred to in the inscription dated to 323.²²⁸¹ The *sagittarii* mentioned there would be one of the *Equites sagittarii indigenae* in Phoenice listed in the *Notitia* as being under the command of *dux* of Phoenecia.

Further, an anonymous *praepositus vexillationum* is recorded in Scythia c. 323 under the Licinii (Augustus and Caesar).²²⁸² Sabicas was *praepositus* of a *vexillatio* probably at Arsinoe in Egypt in 342/51 (*P.Abinn.* 16.2). He commanded perhaps the *Equites catafractarii* (*BGU* 316).²²⁸³ Also in Egypt, Alaesianus is named *praepositus vexillationis Maurorum Scutariorum* in Thebais in 347 (*P.Cairo Peis.* 39).²²⁸⁴ The *Mauri Scutarii* was stationed at Hermopolis and this unit is perhaps the same as the *Cuneus equitum scutariorum* stationed at Hermopolis in the fifth century (*ND Or.* 31.24).

In fact, *vexillatio* units could equally be named ‘*Equites*’. Hence, Aurelius Valens was *praepositus* or *praefectus Equitum Scutariorum* in Scythia perhaps in the fourth century.²²⁸⁵ A *cuneus equitum Solensium* was stationed at Capidava under *dux Scythiae* (*Or.* 39.13). There were *Equites scutarii* at Sacidava (*Or.* 39.12). Margus was *praepositus Equitum Margensium* in Moesia

²²⁷⁹ *ILS* 8882 (Coptos (Upper Egypt)). *AE* 1900, 29 (Syene (Upper Egypt)). *PLRE* 1, 963 Victorinus 3.

²²⁸⁰ Rangar Cline, *Ancient Angels: Conceptualizing Angeloi in the Roman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 72. The cult these soldiers practiced was particular to Emesa.

²²⁸¹ Michel Christol and Thomas Drew-Bear, “Inscriptions militaires d’Aulutrene et d’Apamee in Phrygie,” in *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l’armée romaine sous le haut-empire* (Paris: De Boccard, 1995), 60-61.

²²⁸² *ILS* 8940 (Salsovia (Scythia)).

²²⁸³ *PLRE* 1, 788 Sabicas.

²²⁸⁴ *PLRE* 1, 32 Alaesianus.

²²⁸⁵ *AE* 1935, 171 (Ulmetum (Scythia)). *PLRE* 1, 930 Aurelius Valens 6.

Prima possibly in the fourth century.²²⁸⁶ Veracius is named *praepositus equitum Dalmatarum* in Moesia Prima probably in the fourth century (Or 41.15-16, 18-19).²²⁸⁷ Italicus, was possibly *praepositus Equitum sagittariorum* in Moesia Prima perhaps in the fourth century.²²⁸⁸ Units of the *Equites sagittarii* were stationed in Moesia Prima at Tricornium and Laedenata (Laederata) (Or. 41.14, 17). All three *praepositi* are recorded on the brickstamps from Viminacium. Also, Flavius Nevitta is known to begin as *praepositus* of cavalry (*'equitum praepositus turmae'*) in Raetia in 358 (Amm. 17.6.3) before becoming *magister equitum in praesenti* in 361-363/4 and consul in 362.²²⁸⁹

After that, *praepositus auxiliariorum* was in command of the auxiliary units. Flavius Martidius was *praepositus auxiliariorum* who served thirty-eight years in Italy perhaps in the late fourth or early fifth century.²²⁹⁰ The suggestion of the authors of the *PLRE* on *praepositus equitum* being in command of the *milites auxiliares equitum*, based on the reading *'equi/tum'* by Diehl,²²⁹¹ is wrong. Hoffmann reads *'mil. L[a]tovi/[c]um (?)'* and suggests *Auxilia palatina [Auxiliarii milites Latovici?]*. The new reading of *AE* proposes *praepositus auxiliariorum militum Ioviorum*.

Subsequently, *praepositus ripae* commanded legionary troops and was responsible for a specific geographical area. His role could be approximated to that of *praefectus ripae*. The special mention of *praepositus ripae*, and not of *praefectus ripae*, suggests a transition from the classical Roman army to that of the later empire. A series of the roughly contemporary *praepositi* tile-stamps come from Moesia Prima. Hermogenes, *praepositus ripae* in Moesia Prima, was in command of *milites legionis VII Claudia* sometime in the early fourth century.²²⁹² The bricks with military stamps from the fort at Boljetin offer four variants mentioning the *praepositus ripae legionis partis citerioris*, whose close parallel is *praefectus ripae legionis* in the *Notitia*, who is qualified in a similar way (*partis superioris, inferioris* or even *mediae*).²²⁹³ Similarly, Tara was *praepositus ripae legionis VII Claudia* in Moesia Prima, named on the brickstamp from Viminacium perhaps in the fourth century (ND 41.31, 39.30-1, 33-5, 40.31-2, 34-5).²²⁹⁴ He is possibly identical with Tata, *praefectus legionis IV Flaviae* in Moesia Prima mentioned on the other brickstamp from Viminacium probably in the fourth century.²²⁹⁵

However, titles were used inconsistently, as is proven by the case of prefect of an old-style *ala* (Flavius Abinnaeus at Dionysias), who was also addressed with the title *praepositus*, and even as *praefectus castrorum*. The provost of the camp was a military official connected with camp or

²²⁸⁶ *AE* 1910, 91 (Viminacium (Moesia Prima)). *PLRE* 1, 558 Marg(us?).

²²⁸⁷ *AE* 1903, 297 (Viminacium (Moesia Prima)). *PLRE* 1, 949 Veracius.

²²⁸⁸ *AE* 1903, 298 (Viminacium (Moesia Prima)). *PLRE* 1, 466 Italicus 2.

²²⁸⁹ *PLRE* 1 Flavius Nevitta.

²²⁹⁰ *AE* 2010, 532 (Concordia (Venetia)). *PLRE* 1, 563 Flavius Martidius.

²²⁹¹ *ILCV* 395.

²²⁹² *CIL* 3 13814aa, ab (Tzlas (Moesia Prima)). *PLRE* 1, 424 Hermogenes 7.

²²⁹³ Milena Dušanić, "Praepositus ripae legionis u natpisima opeka Prve Mezije," *Arheološki vestnik* 25 (1974): 282-83.

²²⁹⁴ *CIL* 3 1700,4 (Viminacium (Moesia Prima)). *PLRE* 1, 874 Tara.

²²⁹⁵ *AE* 1903, 293 (Viminacium (Moesia Prima)). *PLRE* 1, 875 Tata.

garrison duty, who was probably in charge of camp supplies and storehouses. Anonymous *praepositus castrorum* in Egypt is dated to the fourth century (P.Amh. II 142). Hippon was in Aegyptus, where in the fifth century the *Ala Apriana* was stationed (ND Or. 28.32). A petition by a veteran addressed to an anonymous *praepositus castrorum* at Oxyrhynchus dates to the fourth century.²²⁹⁶ Flavius Dragilis, *praepositus castris Constantianis* in Valeria perhaps in the fourth century, died aged 74.²²⁹⁷ A unit of *Equites Dalmatiae* was stationed at Constantia in the fifth century (ND Occ. 33.34).

Lastly, *praepositus limitis* was in charge of the sectors of the border zone. In Africa, the *limes* was divided into sections, each commanded by *praepositus limitis*, subordinate to *dux*. Maximianus, probably *praepositus limitis* in Mauretania Caesarensis, was responsible for building works near Tiaret in 346.²²⁹⁸

Additionally, *ex-praepositi* were former or honorary military commanders. Thus, Flavius Iulianus, named in his funeral inscription on the sarcophagus, who died aged fifty-one at Salona, was *ex protectore et ex praepositis* in Dalmatia in the fourth century.²²⁹⁹ Flavius Luppio was *ex praepositus* in Italy perhaps in the fourth century.²³⁰⁰ Flavius Romulianus was *ex praepositis* in the West in the late fourth or early fifth century.²³⁰¹ He is perhaps identical with Flavius Romulianus, *praepositus fabricae sagittariae*, husband of Tahes, known from the same cemetery at Concordia.²³⁰² Flavius Nuvel, son of Saturninus, *perfectissimus ex comitibus*, was *ex praepositis equitum armigerorum iuniorum* in Mauretania Caesarensis in the late fourth or early fifth century. He dedicated a church *ex voto*.²³⁰³ The *Equites armigeri iuniores* was a *vexillatio comitatensis* in Africa (ND Occ. 6.80=7.198).

In the East, Flavius Abraam was former *praepositus* in Thebais in Egypt in the fourth century (P.Gron. 10.26).²³⁰⁴ Another former *praepositus* is recorded in Thebais in the same period (P.Gron. 10.28). Flavius Crispinus, former *praepositus* who possibly held a command in Egypt and later settled there, became landowner at Oxyrhynchus in 382. A retired officer, now a landlord in the Oxyrhynchite, he leased a house (SB IV 7445). There is in fact considerable evidence that military men owned land, which since they were otherwise occupied they rented out to tenants. Yet

²²⁹⁶ Lucio Del Corso, "Frammento di petizione ad un praepositus castrorum," in *E sì d'amici pieno. Omaggio di studiosi italiani a Guido Bastianini*, eds. Angelo Casanova et al. (Florence: Edizioni Gonnelli, 2016), 147-50.

²²⁹⁷ CIL 3 15172b (Constantia (Valeria)). PLRE 1, 272 Flavius Dragilis.

²²⁹⁸ AE 1955, 139 (Kherba des Aouisset (Mauretania Caesarensis)). PLRE 1, 572 Maximianus 2.

²²⁹⁹ CIL 3 8741 (Salona (Dalmatia)): *Salona 4. Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IVe-VIIe siècles*, ed. Nancy Gauthier et al. (Rome: École française de Rome, 2010), 725-27, no. 403. PLRE 1 Flavius Iulianus.

²³⁰⁰ CIL 5 4370 (Brixia (Venetia et Histria)). PLRE 1, 521 Flavius Luppio.

²³⁰¹ CIL 5 8662=ILCV 538b (Concordia (Venetia)). PLRE 2, 949 Flavius Romulianus 3.

²³⁰² CIL 5 8697=8721=ILCV 538a (Concordia (Venetia)).

²³⁰³ CIL 8 9255=ILCV 1822 (Rusguniae (Mauretania Caesarensis)). PLRE 1, 635-36 Flavius Nuvel.

²³⁰⁴ PLRE 1 Flavius Abraam 4.

the individual cases point to the pattern in which it was retired, not active, and on officers who acquire property and became minor magnates in the fourth-century Egypt.²³⁰⁵

3. *Primicerius protectorum domesticorum*

First of all, *primicerius domesticorum* was a reasonably high-ranking figure among the palace troops.²³⁰⁶ This function was, however, only a stepping-stone for higher positions. Valentinus was *primicerius protectorum* before 359, becoming *tribunus* in 359 and *dux* in Illyricum after 359 (Amm. 18.3.5). The *protectores et domestici* were a training college for officers, such as tribunes.²³⁰⁷ However, while *protectores et domestici* had the rank of *perfectissimus*, their *decemprimi*, that is the ten senior members after the *primicerius*, held *clarissime* (CTh 6.24.7,8,9; 6.25.1).²³⁰⁸ The post of *primicerius domesticorum* as the first of the *decemprimi* was normally acquired by seniority (CTh 6.24.2).

By the beginning of the fifth century both corps seem to have ceased to be training colleges, whence unit commanders were drawn: their members apparently expected to spend their lives within the corps and the culmination of their career was to get to the top of it, and then retire. Leucadius, *primicerius domesticorum* in Spain in the late fourth or fifth century, died aged about the age of sixty.²³⁰⁹ The funeral inscription is preserved on his Christian strigillated sarcophagus from Tarragona, depicting Moses receiving the law and Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac on the front side.²³¹⁰ In 414, Honorius granted senatorial rank with the grade of *consulares*, without any of the usual attendant expenses to *decemprimi* of *domestici*, and two years later Theodosius II followed the suit in the East, and extended the same privilege to *decemprimi* of *protectores* (CTh 6.24.7: 414; 8 and 9: 416). Thus the honors of *primicerius* of *domestici* were even more increased.

In the late Roman army, *primicerius* was a rank junior to *tribunus* and senior to *senator*. He is best attested in units associated with the imperial court, chiefly imperial guards. Thus in the fourth century there were *primicerii* of *protectores domestici* and of the *scholae palatinae*, but also *primicerii* in charge of the armament factories (*fabricae*), which, like the *scholae*, were under the jurisdiction of *magister officiorum*.²³¹¹ *Primicerii* are also to be found in the staffs of regional military commanders (*duces*), as well as in some regular military units.

Furthermore, *primicerius* was the senior non-commissioned officer both in old-style as well in new-style units. He can be compared to a regimental commander, replacing the absent *tribunus* in the guise of the highest non-commissioned officer or as the tribune's *domesticus*. *Primicerii* played

²³⁰⁵ Roger Bagnall, "Military Officers as Landowners in Fourth Century Egypt," *Chiron* 22 (1992): 53-4.

²³⁰⁶ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 2, 638-39; H.-J. Diesner, "Protectores," RE Suppl. 11 (1968), 117-18.

²³⁰⁷ Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte*, 150.

²³⁰⁸ Ibid., 143.

²³⁰⁹ AE 1938, 30 (Tarraco (Hispania Tarraconensis)). PLRE 1, 505 Leucadius 3.

²³¹⁰ Helmut Schlunk, "Sarkophage aus christlichen Nekropolen in Karthago und Tarragona," *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 8 (1967): 236-37, cat. no. 1, pl. 47.

²³¹¹ Wilhelm Ensslin, "Primicerius," RE Suppl. VIII (1956), 614-24.

an important role in the day-to-day administrative affairs. In the *scholae* they ranked as *clarissimi*, equal in standing to *tribunus*, the next step in promotion. In unofficial sources the term becomes a generic description of any senior regimental officer.

Thus, Valerianus must have been *primicerius domesticorum* under Valentinian in 368, i.e. *domesticus* who ranked first among his colleagues (Amm. 27.10.16). Like Jovian before he became emperor. Jovian, son of Varronianus, *comes domesticorum*, after serving as *protector domesticus* in 361-63 under Constantius and Julian, had in 363 become *primicerius* of the corps at the age of 33 (Amm. 25.5.4); he can hardly have had time to serve in the ranks. In the same year as *primicerius domesticorum* Jovian had been given the high profile task of escorting the remains of Constantius to Constantinople for their burial (Amm. 21.16.20, 25.5). This position must have been important enough for Jovian to become emperor later in the year.²³¹²

Since in the fourth century the corps must have had a rapidly changing membership, it could have taken many years to rise to become its *primicerius*. By the end of the century the situation seem to have changed. *Domestici* now included many absentee members, ‘who have never applied themselves to our service or, seconded to certain offices, executed public orders’. These men were apparently merely waiting for automatic promotion by seniority within the corps; for when, in 392, Theodosius ordered them to be cashiered, he conceded that they might apply for re-admission, and if they were re-instated within a year or two they would retain their seniority.²³¹³ The corps were evidently well on their way to becoming the ornamental bodies, although they had not yet become so in the fourth century.²³¹⁴

Emperors were surrounded by *protectores Augusti* – known as *domestici* from perhaps the 350s, – imperial staff officers who were often later promoted to command regiments.²³¹⁵ The first dated reference to the *protectores domestici* is in 346 (CTh 13.1.38). Thus, Tautomedes, *dux Daciae Ripensis* in 364, is perhaps to be identified with Teutomeres, *protector domesticus* in 355(-63).²³¹⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus was *protector domesticus* in 354(-?63). Vitalianus, who was *protector domesticus* in 363, became *comes rei militares* in Illyricum c. 380. *Protector domesticus* was a rank given to a senior officer’s son on entering the army. Their commander was an important figure, and in this period several became emperors. Among the future emperors, Jovian began as *protector domesticus* in 361/63 and rose to *primicerius domesticorum* in 363, while Valens served as *protector domesticus* in 361/64 before being promoted to *tribunus stabuli* under Valentinian in 364. When the office of *magister militum* was created by Constantine, *protectores* were also attached to his staff, though many served away from the master’s headquarters.

²³¹² Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 638.

²³¹³ Ibid., 639.

²³¹⁴ Ibid., 640.

²³¹⁵ Elton, “Warfare and the Military,” 137-58.

²³¹⁶ *PLRE* 1, 880 Tautomedes.

Moreover, the sons of German nobles were also sometimes posted directly into the corps.²³¹⁷ An inscription records one Hariulfus, son of Hanhavalldus, of the royal family of the Burgundians, who was already *protector domesticus* when he died at the age of twenty. Hariulfus, *filius Hanhavalldi regalis gentis Burgundionum*, was *protector domesticus* in Gaul probably under Valentinian I. His funeral inscription comes from Trier,²³¹⁸ where he died aged twenty and was buried. Another funeral inscription from Trier with Christogram commemorates Flavius Gabso, *protector domesticus* in Gaul, probably in the late fourth century.²³¹⁹ Perhaps after his service as *protector* he received the honorary status of *tribunus*. Both military officials were buried in Trier, whose epitaphs date to the second half of the fourth century.²³²⁰

Lastly, one of a group of inscriptions from the cemetery at Concordia dates to the late fourth and early fifth centuries. The cemetery of Concordia is an epigraphic document of the co-existence of soldiers and civilians in the late fourth and early fifth century. A sarcophagus inscription names Flavius Alatancus, *domesticus* in Italy.²³²¹ He seems to have been settled in Concordia. Only a local middling class could afford these substantial stone coffins (usually *de proprio suo*). Alatancus' Christian inscription mentions the clergy and quotes the Bible. He was buried with his wife with the provision that 'no one of our family, or anyone else, be laid in this grave'. Similarly Fandigildus, *protector de numero Armigerorum* in Italy, foresightly purchased his sarcophagus *vivo suo*.²³²² This may well be his retirement rank (*CTh* 7.20.12 (400), 7 20.5; 8 and 13.1.7).

All in all, in the course of the second half of the fourth century officer corps were gradually promoted to the lowest senatorial rank in the imperial hierarchy. Below the senior offices, army officers commanding individual units held the military rank of *tribunus* or *praefectus*. These military officers were promoted to the rank of *clarissimus* and by the end of the century entered the *ordo senatorius*. Ethnic and regional background were of little importance in determining the social status of the office-holders in the military administration of the later Roman Empire. Promotion to these military ranks could open up a glittering career and confer honors. However, as earlier, broad segments of the army and more junior officers formed no part of the senatorial order, but their own status groups. Holders of the rank of *primicerius* in the *scholae palatinae*, commanding *protectores domestici* present at court, enjoyed a privileged status due to their proximity to the emperor's person. After 400, a new formation of *protectores* was presumably created solely for palace functions.

²³¹⁷ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 638.

²³¹⁸ *CIL* 13 3682=AE 2003, 12 (Augusta Treverorum (Belgica)). *PLRE* 1, 408 Hariulfus.

²³¹⁹ *CIL* 13 3681 (Augusta Treverorum (Belgica)). *PLRE* 1, 377 Flavius Gabso.

²³²⁰ Heinz Cüppers, ed., *Trier, Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz: die Stadt in spätantiker und frühchristlicher Zeit* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1984), 224-25, 227; nos. 109, 110, and 112.

²³²¹ *CIL* 5 8738=ILS 8257=ILCV 476 (Concordia (Venetia)). *PLRE* 1, 32 Flavius Alatancus.

²³²² *CIL* 5 8747=ILCV 472 (Concordia (Venetia)). *PLRE* 1, 324 Flavius Fandigil(du)s. No units of *Armigeri* are recorded in the *Notitia* for Italy.

Artistic expression II

The key difference of the period under discussion was that the military elite remained sharply distinct from the more purely bureaucratic element, the civilian aristocracy.²³²³ Ammianus' obituaries of Constantius II and Valentinian I leave no doubt that Constantius' policy of resisting the aspirations of the military officials, and in particular of the commanders such as *duces*, in favor of the civilian bureaucracy, was finally and permanently abandoned under Valentinian. Valentinian, according to Ammianus, was the first emperor to enlarge 'the arrogance of the military, to the general detriment of society, with inordinate increases in their gradation and pay' (*dignitas opesque eorum sublimius erigentem*). The rising landowners of the later fourth century were a formidable group who stemmed directly from various levels of the imperial bureaucracy, including the army.²³²⁴

The *Notitia* preserves the insignia of the high military commanders included in the senatorial order. The *traditio legis* scene on the front side of a Milanese sarcophagus attributed to a high-ranking military commander is juxtaposed with a *maiestas Christi*. The official who on the Madrid *missorium* receives the *codicilli* of appointment from the hands of the enthroned emperor could equally belong to either the military or the civil government of the empire. *Tabulae honestae missionis*, sealed bronze discharge certificates, attest to the years of service and honourable discharge of Roman soldiers. Previously common military diplomas are practically absent in the fourth century, however.

The honorific statuary for military officials remains rare. The dedications from the later fourth and early fifth century are examples of honors to outstanding military office-holders in Rome and a few provincial cities. Of the eighty honorific monuments for senators that were set up in Roman public space in the principate, sixty statues were for *viri triumphales*, another ten who most likely wore a military uniform, while only ten who might have been dressed in the civilian toga.²³²⁵ By the fourth century, senators were marginal to the composition of the army-leadership, which came, increasingly, to incorporate a strong Germanic component. Sabinianus is one of very few examples of people of senatorial descent who went through a military career in the fourth century to the *magister militum*. Martial connotations were reinforced by the spaces in which most statues of Stilicho were displayed in Rome. While in principate, the greatest concentration of honorific statues was exhibited in the Forum of Augustus and the Forum of Trajan, the late antique statues of generals were displayed next to emperors in the Forum Romanum and delineated the specific role played by military men in the new political order.²³²⁶

²³²³ Demandt, "Der spatromische Militaradel."

²³²⁴ Banaji, *Exploring the Economy*.

²³²⁵ Weisweiler, "From Equality to Asymmetry," 10 n.27.

²³²⁶ Chenault, "Statues of Senators," 103-32.

Similar messages were communicated by honorific statuary in the provinces. The inscriptions are explicit that these are the dedications to military men. They fit well with epigraphic practice in the fourth and early fifth centuries (but not with that of the third), as does the fact that apart from common primary virtues, the extensive allusions to military command are listed. The statues must be related to military achievements on the borders of the empire. In the troubled circumstances of the late fourth century, generals who traditionally had not been honored with statues in the provinces were now awarded statues. There are, however, very few monuments for military men at such a markedly late date. The statues of military officers, who acted as urban patrons, displayed next to provincial governors in the fora of the cities staked out a claim that local communities equally needed favors of military men.

Significantly, in the provinces, the dedications to the emperors complemented the building inscriptions set up by high-ranking military officials. The emperors' habit of taking credit for all buildings on the *limes* was an effective reminder of the imperial duty to look after their subjects. By associating themselves with the frontier construction, military officials were able to secure one of their prerogatives and reaffirm their own prominent status in the empire. In this way, the contribution made by the Roman military aristocracy not only to the war effort but also to the civic life is highlighted. Military officials could also contribute to the local economy through funding the building of churches, as it is testified by the dedicatory inscriptions.

The construction inscriptions as well as the military brickstamps are numerous and partly provide dating of the structures. H. von Petrikovits has tried to classify late Roman military fortifications by function: frontier-fortifications, field-army bases, and fortified lines of communication. Forts are accordingly distinguished as frontier-forts and road-forts, while the smaller ones are categorized as fortlets. Civil fortifications instead comprise town walls as distinguished from the defences of individual villas or estates, and ones in the countryside.²³²⁷ However, all late Roman fortifications, whether built by the military or by civilians, were built more durable, and for more prolonged defence than ever before. As late Roman defensive building could no longer be restricted to a single fortified line, not even to a series of key defensive districts in the vicinity of the frontier, military commanders had to ensure that almost every province and Italy itself had to be covered with defence-works to protect the population and logistic installations.²³²⁸ Late Roman methods of fortification substantially strengthened the outer defences.

Although claimed to be built *a fundamentis* in the dedicatory inscriptions, a number of frontier installations from the high empire, which had survived the attacks of the third century, were

²³²⁷ Petrikovits, "Fortifications," 179.

²³²⁸ Ibid., 193.

retained in existence in the fourth century, with nothing more than some modernizations.²³²⁹ While this is certain for most of the legionary fortresses and many auxiliary forts on the Rhine and Danube, the various invasions prompted solidifying of new military frontiers.²³³⁰ Thus, numerous sites yielding brick-stamps of *magistri militum*, *duces*, and *tribuni*, are Valentinianic, dated to the time of his reorganization of the Rhine defences from c. 369. From this date onwards Valentinian started to develop an enormous system of fortifications for the defense of the Rhine and Danube frontiers. Here the military commanders found a defensive network already established; the need was to supplement it and make it denser. The emperor's military building program on the frontiers of Raetia and the Rhine was accompanied by road defences in the hinterland: Valentinianic *burgi* demonstrate that a road connection between cities in the frontier provinces now received military protection.

No doubt, the building program of Valentinian on the Rhine and the Danube was the last of its kind. For after his rule no new fortifications appear to have been built on the frontiers; at most, frontier military commanders were engaged with adjustments of existing fortifications, or damage repair. In the fourth century Valentinian would have been the most active builder on frontiers from Pannonia to Britain, followed respectively by Diocletian, Constantine, and Constantius II and their co-emperors or Caesars, with about the same share each.²³³¹ J. Lander, however, concludes that even though Valentinian may have continued the occupation of many existing forts in the hinterland behind the Rhine, no substantial hinterland sites were part of his vast program of new construction.²³³²

Nevertheless, the existence of military forces in the frontier provinces had a considerable impact on local institutions and economic life. The regional commanders in charge of the military units stationed in a province were also responsible for their construction activities. They equally were in charge of repairing fortifications, sometimes inscribing their own name as founders of buildings, which they had only restored, apart from building new ones. Since they were responsible for overseeing the maintenance of buildings, they could show off their own construction, repairs, and dedications, all of which advertised their own status in the empire. The relative poverty of the infrastructure and the relative absence of a villa culture beyond the Rhine-Danube, for instance, or the impossibility of knowing precisely where the *limes* actually lay in Tingitania, Numidia, or Libya, underscored the essential role of epigraphic evidence in the historical reconstruction of the building activities on the borders. A number of building inscriptions record the restoration of fortifications by military officers, and the soldiers under their command made contributions to the

²³²⁹ Thomas and Witschel, "Constructing Reconstruction," 135-77.

²³³⁰ Petrikovits, "Fortifications," 181.

²³³¹ Ibid., 187.

²³³² Lander, *Roman Stone Fortifications*, 3.

built environment, in terms of their work in fortress construction, on roads and bridges. A number of inscriptions, mostly commemorating rebuilding and repairs to walls and towers, suggest that they were constructed through the agency of *duces* and their soldiers. Many include a mandatory reference to the reigning emperor(s), but it remains for the most part unclear who actually did the work, although the officer(s) in charge are often named.

Officers in the provinces were normally responsible for maintaining fortifications, both of fortresses and towns. Numerous examples of soldiers involved in building work imply that, at least by the fourth century, this was usual instead of employing or conscripting local people. Military construction was the business of the state, unlike civilian building.²³³³ While dedications to military commanders are uncommon, the building inscriptions testify to their role in a restoration of public civic edifices. The virtuous praise of the epigrams is a concise formulation of what had developed as a magistratic virtue canon in the course of the fourth century. This catalog was, on the one hand, oriented to the reality of the imperial administration, and, on the other hand, to the traditional virtue canon. The laudatory formulations in the case of military officials are artful references to the actual services they provided as well as their moral conduct.

In the imperial sculpture, the identification of four *chlamydati* on the reliefs of the Theodosian obelisk at Constantinople as the main *magistri* of the imperial army (*magister equitum*, *peditum*, and two *magistri militum*) does not take into account the age differences, which one can clearly observe.²³³⁴ The hairstyle and beard of the dignitary on the northwestern side of the obelisk are similar to the coiffure of Stilicho on the Monza diptych c. 395.²³³⁵ Stilicho was however in the West at the time when the reliefs were carved.²³³⁶ Yet the face of this mature official, who is sporting a beard, is similar to other figures, such as a guard and a barbarian, conforming to the uniformity of the appearance despite individual grouping.²³³⁷ In both eastern reliefs only one Augustus is present in the imperial box, most likely Arcadius (figs. 87-88).²³³⁸

Nevertheless, two officials on the northwest of the Theodosian obelisk are distinct from the others as they are the only ones wearing the pelta-decorated crossbow fibula. Their *chlamydes* and insignia thus point rather to the military domain.²³³⁹ If the *chlamydes* stand for military office and the *togas* for civilian, then the western reliefs of the obelisk's base are dominated by military officials, while the eastern ones by civilian.²³⁴⁰ However, Kiilerich, acknowledges that the *chlamys*

²³³³ Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 369.

²³³⁴ Balty, "Hiérarchie de l'empire," 64.

²³³⁵ Kiilerich Torp, "*Hic est: hic Stilicho*," fig. 1;

²³³⁶ Henning Wrede, "Zur Errichtung des Theodosiusobelisken in Istanbul," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 16 (1966): 194.

²³³⁷ Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base*, 42, fig. 12.

²³³⁸ Ibid., 113-21.

²³³⁹ Ibid., 126.

²³⁴⁰ Ibid., 127.

was not exclusively a military dress, but she points out to the combination of *chlamydes* with rare and richly ornamented brooches.

On the contrary, the guards of the reliefs wear their distinctive military collar, the torque, an emblem of rank. It was also a military adornment bestowed on enlisted men for valor, given by the emperor to them as an honor (Zos. 4.40.20). In the reliefs the torques exhibit pendants in the form of an ivy leaf, a good luck charm with an apotropaic function, similarly to the ones belonging to the military official on the so-called sarcophagus of Stilicho, while the torques of the guards on the *missorium* of Theodosius are shown oval and ornamented with precious stones and a central stone-studded disc. Most important, the ivy adorning *militares* was a symbol of victory and triumph.²³⁴¹

Furthermore, the military elite took crucial part in the imperial ceremonies, including the emperor's churchgoing. In 379, Valens' entourage at the imperial church parade in Antioch manifested the new aristocracy of the empire composed of ceremonial bodyguards and military elite, mingling with civil palatine functionaries and the high-ranking imperial officials (Chrys. *De Babyla* 32). Another account survives of Theodosius' first entrance to the cathedral of Constantinople. The emperor ordered the bishop of the capital to surrender the churches; the following day he escorted Gregory into the church and they entered the sanctuary together. Gregory of Nazianzus would later describe himself crammed uncomfortably between the emperor and his army, shuffling into the church (Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4.24-29). Theodosius' mode of churchgoing at Constantinople specially tailored for him, was not, however, adapted to local conditions in Milan. Ambrose's success with Theodosius was probably in isolating the emperor from his entourage. The bishop's most spirited intervention, certainly, was a crushing rebuke to a general who tried to join the discussion. The episode demonstrated an emperor's vulnerability when participating in ceremonies without his military escort.²³⁴² However, similarly to eunuchs, the ceremonial function of imperial bodyguards did not render them as purely ornamental bodies.

Despite the particular fourth-century division between civilian and military careers, the cooperation among aristocrats ensued. Imperial willingness to reward barbarians who served them was not new, but what appears in an expanded and systematized form for the first time under Valentinian and Valens was the full integration of military elites into the Roman *cursus honorum*; now men in imperial or military service, even in the lowest levels, received the same distinctions and privileges as senatorial aristocrats in civilian office. So, at the middle and lower levels, military *comites*, *duces* (many often of non-Roman origin), and *tribuni* were included in the senatorial order. Senatorial rank and its attendant privileges were part of imperial efforts to encourage 'barbarians' to serve in the military. The successful military careers of these Franks, as of many other barbarians,

²³⁴¹ Ibid., 123.

²³⁴² McLynn, "The Transformation of Imperial Churchgoing," 263-64.

were facilitated by the structural changes that one finds systematized under Valentinian and Valens. In the 380s, Symmachus was eager to correspond with and cultivate friendship ties to five of Theodosius' top generals, three of whom were barbarians.²³⁴³

Thus, Salzman argues that the culture and language of late Roman *amicitia* was exceptionally useful for building social bonds across the Roman-barbarian divide. Analyzing Symmachus' letters to the 'barbarian' generals Stilicho (4.1-14), Richomerus (3.54-69), and Bauto (4.15-16), she reveals how the language of *amicitia* smoothed over tensions and made it possible for the Roman senator to ignore the 'barbarian' difference of his addressees. Symmachus' letters to Arbogastes (which were presumably omitted from the collection after the failed usurpation) were similarly cast in the obliquely formal and politic language of *amicitia*. Symmachus' letters to these barbarian generals were not, however, uniform in tone, style or content. In the letters to Stilicho there is nothing to suggest the non-Roman origins or culture of this extremely powerful general. However, Symmachus' letters to Bauto (*Ep.* 4.15-16) and two of his letters to Richomerus (*Ep.* 3.59 and 3.61), all dated between the 380s and early 400s, are different. In both instances Symmachus calls attention to a failure of etiquette on the part of these two powerful generals. Salzman proposes that Symmachus' Letters marked a key moment in the transition of barbarians in military service into acceptable late Roman aristocrats.

Moreover, Symmachus' letters to Roman generals turned consuls are included in Books 3 and 4, in particular, to general Richomerus (3.59), consul in 384, as well as Timasius (*Ep.* 3.70-73) and Promotus (*Ep.* 3.74-80), both consuls in 389. Symmachus included literary allusions to please Promotus. The aim apparently was to present a military man as a man of culture, or even a patron of letters. In *Ep.* 1.103 Symmachus thanked Syagrius for his consular gift, even though Symmachus had missed the ceremonies. *Ep.* 9.153, dated to 391, notes his own *sportulae* on the occasion of his assumption of the consulship. Despite the language of *amicitia* and ceremonial gift-giving, the intermingling of military and civilian senatorial elites was still quite limited; one finds only a few cases of intermarriage between the traditional senatorial and military aristocracies.

²³⁴³ Michele Renee Salzman, "Symmachus and the 'Barbarian' Generals," *Historia* 55.3 (2006): 366.

Chapter Four. Palatine bureaucracy

I. *Illustres*

1. *Praepositus sacri cubiculi*

This chapter deals with *dignitates palatinae* and the domestic administration of the palace. On the top of the list the *Notitia Dignitatum* offers the hierarchy of *illustres*, a title granted by 395 only to *praefecti praetorio et urbi*, *magistri militum*, *praepositi sacri cubiculi*, *comites consistoriani*, *comites domesticorum* (and consuls). *Praepositus sacri cubiculi*, or the head of the sacred bedchamber, was the only official among the *illustres* employed in the imperial administration directly at the emperor's palace. Unlike the rest of the palatine administration, *praepositus sacri cubiculi* served as an *obsequia palatina*, and not as a *militia*. It was, however, among the *dignitates palatinae*, that *prapositus* played his role.

Due to the loss of the relevant pages of the *Notitia*, his insigne as well as the precise structure of his *officium* remain unknown. H. Scholten assumes that the appointment of *praepositus*, the provost of the sacred bedchamber and the palace eunuch of the highest rank, took place at the emperor's request without handing over a certificate of appointment.²³⁴⁴ A partial reconstruction of his insigne of office is possible, however.

Since *praepositus sacri cubiculi* is accorded the rank of *illustris*, the codicillary diptych tablet must have appeared on the blue cloth-covered table in the upper part of the illustration. In the *Notitia* the distribution of gold-trimmed portrait-bearing rectangles, which were intended as representation of codicil-diptychs, is clearly correlated with rank. Of the twenty-two *illustres* represented by insignia, eighteen are represented by this object (and probably all twenty-two were intended to be represented by it).²³⁴⁵ Codicils, or official documents of appointment awarded to each office-holder, were the preeminent insigne of office and, like the picture stands, bore an imperial effigy. Moreover, the very style of the gold trim of the portrait-bearing rectangles implies either a high or a low status among the *illustres*. The gold trim on the rectangles of the prefects and *magistri militum* conforms to one style, whereas the gold trim on the portrait-bearing rectangles of *magistri officiorum* and the other *illustres* conforms to another one.²³⁴⁶ It is, however, difficult to establish which one *praepositus sacri cubiculi* had as he appears ranked precisely below *magistri*

²³⁴⁴ Helga Scholten, *Der Eunuch in Kaisernähe: Zur politischen und sozialen Bedeutung des praepositus sacri cubiculi im 4. und 5. Jh. n.Chr.* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), 40 refers to Lyd., *De mag.* 2.27. What Lydus in fact says is that *comes sacrarum largitionum* and *comes rerum privatarum* are in a certain way emperor's servants: both are the dispensers of his benefits, but they do not act on their own initiative, being only intermediaries of imperial *liberalitas*. See Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, x.

²³⁴⁵ Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 120-21.

²³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 113 with drawings. Grigg's style 1 (Or. 3, 5-9; Occ. 2, 4) features three broad horizontal stripes; two of them trim the top and bottom of the rectangle, while the third one, spanning the middle, intersects with a nearly square rectangle that serves as a field for a bust. Style 2 (Or. 11-15; Occ. 5-6, 9-13) features triangular panels of trim on the corners of the rectangle, creating the impression of a lozenge-shaped field. Within this field is found a small rectangle that usually contains a bust.

militum and above *comites consistoriani*, but it must have been rather the former than the latter.²³⁴⁷ Outranking the counts of the consistory, *praepositus*, similarly to the other *illustres*, was surely entitled to receive his documents of appointment.

By the late fourth century *praepositus sacri cubiculi* appears to be formally accorded the rank and social honor of a senator. In the law by Gratian of 382 *praepositi sacri cubiculi* held the rank (*clarissimi et*) *spectabiles* and belonged to *maximarum culmina dignitatum* (CTh 11.16.15), and already by 384, ‘*inter primas posuit dignitates*’, elevated to (*clarissimi et*) *illustres* (CTh 7.8.3: 384). In the latter law he is mentioned on the last place after *comites consistoriani*. By the time of the composition of the *Notitia* the hierarchy of ranks was again upgraded with *praepositus sacri cubiculi* placed right after *praefecti praetorio*, *praefecti urbi*, *magistri militum* and above palace ministries and *comes domesticorum* (Or. 12; Occ. 10). At the same time, *praepositus* was distinguished from most of the members of the senatorial aristocracy, who were of *clarissimus* rank. Yet when in fact did *praepositus sacri cubiculi* enter the senatorial order?

Scholten proposes an assumption that *praepositus sacri cubiculi* has in fact never been a *clarissimus*.²³⁴⁸ Indeed, under Valentinian and Valens *praepositus sacri cubiculi* seems not yet to be integrated in the office hierarchies. In the law of 372 no *praepositus sacri cubiculi* is mentioned. Gratian took a step in 382, when *cubicularii* and *ex-cubicularii* (honorary), as well as *praepositus* were granted an exemption from the *munera sordida* and *hospitium*. It is thus under Gratian that *praepositus sacri cubiculi* appears for the first time in the imperial legislation in senatorial dignity as a *spectabilis* soon followed by the formal recognition as an *illustris*. Scholten therefore assumes that *praepositi* were directly promoted to *spectabiles*. However, this theory is flawed, because, while individual officials could have been (and often were) elevated due to the emperor’s favor, the whole office could not have bypassed a step in the institutional hierarchy.

An institutionalization of the court eunuchs with the office of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* took place at the beginning of the fourth century presumably in the frame of reforms of Diocletian followed by Constantine. Diocletian systematized and significantly increased the court ceremonial. Yet the evidence of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* is to be found first in the reign of Constantine.²³⁴⁹ The position may have been introduced already under Constantine in replacement of the older *a*

²³⁴⁷ Arthur E. R. Boak, *The Master of the Offices in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires* (New York: Macmillan, 1919), 46: within the *illustrissimae* there were several grades. Of these the first was composed of the prefects, the *magistri militum* and the grand chamberlain; the second comprised the master of offices and the other *comites consistoriani*. See CTh 6.7.1; 6.8.1; 6.9.1.

²³⁴⁸ Scholten, *Der Eunuch*, 40-41, and further on 51: ‘Der Beginn der formalen Anerkennung des obersten Kammerherrn ist in die Regierungszeit des Theodosius I. zu datieren’.

²³⁴⁹ LP 34.14, cf. PLRE I Festus 2; *Parastaseis* 7.42; *Patria* I 58, 65, 70, although all questionable. However, there is no reason to question the fact that there was *praepositus* at the head of the imperial chamber under Constantine. Peter Guyot, *Eunuchen als Sklaven und Freigelassene in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), 130-131; Scholten, *Der Eunuch*, 22-23; Scholten, “Der oberste Hofeunuch,” 27. *Praepositus* recorded in 326 by Codinus, *De orig. Constantinopolis*, 18, although no firm conclusion about his rank can be drawn from so late a source. Apart from Codinus, Philostorgius, 2, 4 mentions two grand chamberlains in Constantine’s court.

cubiculo.²³⁵⁰ The court eunuchs thus received *praepositus sacri cubiculi* as their chair. The institutionalization of the office with *praepositus sacri cubiculi* as a senior solidified the centralization and hence the stabilization of the rule. Apart from his formal power at court, he yielded an immense informal influence and was very much sought after and extended this influence beyond the palace into imperial government.

Hilarion, who might have been Constantinian *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, is reported to receive a statue, which stood in the Smyrnion in Constantinople²³⁵¹ in a group with Constantine I, Fausta and Constantine II.²³⁵² Barnes assumes that the name and office (*praepositus*) were presumably on a genuine statue, although his identity and the date are uncertain.²³⁵³ This literary account of the *Parastaseis* and *Patria* of nine statues supposedly erected by Constantine I at Smyrnion is, however, at their most implausible and unreliable. The statues in this account were supposedly set up by Constantine to remind him of people he had unjustly executed. They include his wife Fausta and son Crispus (here wrongly named ‘Constantine’), whom he indeed ordered to be killed, and a number of individuals whose very existence is highly dubious.²³⁵⁴

Further, even when assuming, as Scholten does, that initially *praepositus sacri cubiculi* had no position in the formal rank system, he soon became a part of the *comitiva*. *Cubicularius* Bardio, a powerful imperial eunuch, was *comes* at the eastern court of Constantius II in 345 and may have been *praepositus sacri cubiculi*.²³⁵⁵ As *comes* of Constantius he invited Athanasius to return to Egypt in 345 (Athan. *Hist. Ar.* 22). Counts appear in the textual sources at about mid-fourth century, when their rank probably neared the senators’ one. It is therefore improbable that *prepositi* never reached clarissimate, being promoted straightaway to *spectabiles*. It would rather seem justifiable to assume that the *comitiva* was first to open their way to attaining clarisimate. It is precisely in their capacity as *comites*, *praepositi sacri cubiculi* could aspire to, or expect, the rank of *clarissimus*. *Comites primi ordinis* achieved the clarissimate already under the Constantinian dynasty.²³⁵⁶ That *praepositi* had already attained a certain social status under Constantius one witnesses in the case of Eusebius, who served during the emperor’s whole reign. The loss of both

²³⁵⁰ James E. Dunlap, *The Office of the Grand Chamberlain in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empire* (New York: Macmillan, 1924), 189-90, observes that the title *praepositus* was rather linked to a ‘low’ rank.

²³⁵¹ Smyrnion is only known from this source; its location within the city is uncertain, see Albrecht Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Bonn: Habelt, 1988), 730. The ‘ἔμβολος of Tetradius’ (which the Smyrnion was close to) is probably identical with the octagonal colonnaded hall called the *tetradiesion octagonon*, mentioned by *Patria* III 31. This was on the Mese, between the basilica (τα βασιλικού) and Hagia Sophia, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 282. *PLRE* 1, 434 Hilarion.

²³⁵² *Parastaseis* 7 (= *Patria* II 93)=*LSA*-2778.

²³⁵³ Timothy D. Barnes, “Constans and Gratian in Rome,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 79 (1975): 332: ‘The *Breves enarrationes chronicae* displays occasionally abstruse and accurate knowledge of the fourth-century material and may preserve the names of otherwise unattested persons who lived in Constantinople at that time’.

²³⁵⁴ *Parastaseis* 7 (= *Patria* II, 93)=*LSA*-2778. Those are ‘Zeuxippus’ (a name taken from the famous baths by the Hippodrome) and Viglentius (who supposedly built the Viglentia, which were in fact constructed by Viglentia, mother of the emperor Justin II).

²³⁵⁵ *PLRE* 1, 147-48 Bardio,; Guyot, *Eunuchen als Sklaven*, 191-2; Scholten, *Der Eunuch*, 244-5 *contra PLRE*.

²³⁵⁶ On the clarissimate and spectability of *comites primi ordinis*, see Mitthof, “Remigius,” 114-15.

illustrations with the insigne of *praepositus* (as well as *primicerius*) *sacri cubiculum* in the *Notitia* is especially regretful, for one cannot know whether the *comitiva* appears inscribed on the codex as in the case of *castrensis*.

The inclusion into the *ordo senatorius* was of great importance for *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in the first place in social terms. Usually, though not exclusively, slaves of barbarian origin,²³⁵⁷ eunuchs,²³⁵⁸ and (allegedly) persons of same-sex sexuality,²³⁵⁹ inner-court domestics underwent a triple discrimination. However, the wealth the eunuchs accumulated could be dangerous even to the emperor as the example of former court, eunuch Eugenius, who financially supported usurper Procopius, has proven. Sozomen reports on the property located at Cosilaucome near Chalcedon belonging to Mardonius, *primicerius* of Valens and *praepositus sacri cubiculi* of Arcadius in 388 (Soz. 7.21.2-3).²³⁶⁰ The accumulation of wealth by the *praepositi* is a sign of their political power and their social significance. In their wealth, similarly to their rank, the eunuchs did not differ from the military officers and the civil aristocracy, hence the shared reproach of greed.²³⁶¹

Two *praepositi sacri cubiculi*, Antiochus and Parthenius are styled *viri clarissimi* on the only surviving inscription mentioning this office engraved on the bronze tablet from Rome and datable to the late fourth or early fifth century.²³⁶² The inscription (*tabula immunitatis*) from the country house in Italy, it testifies to their joint ownership of the property in *suburbium*.²³⁶³ While by

²³⁵⁷ Scholten, *Der Eunuch*, estimates that for the fourth and fifth centuries the great majority of chamberlains were drawn from Armenia or Persia, e.g., Euthierus (Armenia) and Eutropius (Armenia). *RS* I 299= *ICUR* 5 13443 (Rome). Eunuch Aedesius, who in the inscription of his relief sarcophagus dated to the fourth century indicated his origin as Armenian, could have belonged to the imperial household, perhaps a eunuch chamberlain, see *Christiana loca: lo spazio cristiano nella Roma del primo millennio*, vol. 2, ed. Letizia Pani Ermini (Rome: Palombi, 2000), 48–49 (by Nuzzio).

²³⁵⁸ Claud. *In Eutr.* I 171 and II 22: *semivir*. Georges Sideris, “‘Eunuchs of light’. Power, Imperial Ceremonial and Positive Representations of Eunuchs in Byzantium (4th-12th centuries),” in *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. Shaun Tougher (London: Duckworth, 2002), 161–62.

²³⁵⁹ On same-sex sexuality of eunuchs, see Claud. *In Eutr.* I 65–77; On other prejudices against eunuchs in the fourth century, see Guyot, *Eunuchen als Sklaven*, 164–76.

²³⁶⁰ *PLRE* 1, 558 Mardonius 1.

²³⁶¹ Their mediatorial role between the ruler and the rest of the subjects allowed fast enrichment, and the privilege of being close to the emperor gave them better possibilities of entering into possession of confiscated property: *praepositus* Rhodanus appropriated the fortune of an aristocratic widow and ignored a judgment of *praefectus praetorio* to recompense it (*Eun. fr.* 30). See Guyot, *Eunuchen als Sklaven*, 175.

²³⁶² *CIL* 6 31946=15 7131. The date is controversial, but Keith Hopkins, “Eunuchs in Politics in the Later Roman Empire,” *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 9 (1963): 64 wrongly dates it to the first half of the fourth century. Eliodoro Savino, *Campania tardoantica* (284–604 d.C.), Bari: Edipuglia, 2005), 29 n. 60. *LP* 34.14 mentions ‘*massa Festi praepositi sacri cubiculi*’ donated by Constantine Augustus. *PLRE* 2, 105 Antiochus 13; 832 Parthenius 1.

²³⁶³ Savino, *Campania tardoantica*, 3, 45, 87. The *massa pontis Veri* appears not to be recorded elsewhere. Scholten, *Der Eunuch*, 42, n.190. Antiochus may be identical with chamberlain Antiochus of Theodosius II (in office between 414 and 419/20). The date of the manufacture of the bricks provides a *terminus post quem* for the construction of Antiochus’ palace, and hence his residence could have been built at any time during his service in Constantinople (c. 402–c. 439). It had been suggested that Antiochus’ palace hall was constructed around 400, but Rudolf Naumann and Hans Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre fresken* (Berlin: Mann, 1966), 20 rejected the suggestion on the grounds that Antiochus’ career had only just begun at this date, and that he would not yet have obtained a rank as high as *praepositus*. Antiochus had probably only arrived in Constantinople c. 402, as Malalas clearly states that he was *cubicularius* while Arcadius was alive. It therefore unlikely that the bricks were made in the period 399 to 403 and that the palace was built shortly after Antiochus’ arrival to Constantinople c. 402. Belting considered 414 or 418 the most likely building period. Geoffrey Greatrex and Jonathan Bardill, “Antiochus the

the fifth century the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* was certainly a *vir illustris*, this evidence does not exclude the title: even in official documents men holding offices of *illustres* were sometimes styled merely *viri clarissimi*.²³⁶⁴

The position of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* Eusebius under Constantius II as well as Eutropius' patriciate proved that *praepositus sacri cubiculi* was already politically influential. *Praepositus sacri cubiculi* became *clarissimus* around the mid-fourth century, *spectabilis* perhaps from 372, and *illustris* at latest in 384.²³⁶⁵ *Praepositi* were also highly educated men with previous education and tutoring attested for Eutherius (Amm. 16.7.5),²³⁶⁶ Eutropius (Eun., fr. 66), and Mardonius (Soz. 7.21.2). However, the social prestige of the emperor's *prepositus* remained unwarranted within the framework of the traditional aristocratic values.

Apart from the *comitiva*, by the very end of the fourth century chamberlains reached the patriciate and consulship. While patriciate was granted to the highest dignitaries since Constantine, the first *praepositus sacri cubiculi* to receive it was Eutropius in 399, *praepositus* at the eastern court of Arcadius c. 395-99. He was also the first *praepositus sacri cubiculi* and the only eunuch to reach the consulship in 399 (not recognized in the West) (*Chron. Min.* 2.66). Eutropius is a good example of the variety of honors that could be conferred on a powerful eunuch by the emperor: *comes*, *patricius*,²³⁶⁷ and ordinary consul.

Eutropius had served in the palace since the time of Theodosius, and won his particular trust (Soz. 7.22.7-8). Under child-emperor Arcadius, purely civilian official serving in the emperor's domestic household, *praepositus sacri cubiculi* conducted in person a military campaign against Huns in 398. 'Here shines the semblance of a *iudex*, there of a *togatus*, and here again of an *armatus*', writes Claudian on the honorific statues of Eutropius (*Eutr.* 2.72-73). The omnipresence of Eutropius' image, in all possible guises (chlamys, toga, and full military garb), has become the object of the rhetor's invective written to flatter *magister militum* Stilicho.²³⁶⁸ Since *domestici* did not form the *militia*, they were not entitled to wear military clothes (neither chlamys, nor, moreover,

'Praepositus': A Persian Eunuch at the Court of Theodosius II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50 (1996): 194-95 argue persuasively for the building period of the palace between 429 and 439.

²³⁶⁴ E.g., *PLRE* 2, 199 Aurelianus 5 and 51-52 Albinus 9.

²³⁶⁵ Ignazio Tantillo, "I cerimoniali di corte in età tardo romana (284-395 d.C.)," in *Le corti nell'alto medioevo. Spoleto 24-29 aprile 2014 (Settimane di studio della Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo LXII)* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2015), 551.

²³⁶⁶ *PLRE* 1, 314-15 Eutherius 1.

²³⁶⁷ Mathisen, "Patricians as Diplomats," 94, 97 mistakenly counts Heliodor (Amm. 29.2.7) and *praepositus* Rhodanus (*Patria* 63, 67) as *patricii*, cf. Scholten, *Der Eunuch*, 45-46.

²³⁶⁸ Severin Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1980), 331, has suggested that Claudian's reference to Eutropius' statues (2.70-83) alludes to the specific order of the decree deposing him that they be pulled down. On the other hand, Claudian either did not know of the decree or willfully ignored it. The decree would come to mind once it was known, ironically since Claudian wishes for the statues to stand forever as 'sure monuments of perpetual shame' (2.78); but since statues were awarded to public figures very commonly, the wish did not need the decree to inspire it. Claudian as 'Stilicho's official propagandist' is the thesis of Cameron, *Claudian*.

cuirass). Further in the fifth century imperial legislation indeed prescribed them as senators to wear toga (*CTh* 6.8.1: 422).

In the words of Claudian, Constantinople was filled with statues of Eutropius, labeled with outrageously flattering inscriptions (2.79). The possible Eunapius fragment equally complains of his gold statues set up everywhere and even begrudges Eutropius of building ‘splendid palaces more magnificent than the whole city’ (65.7). After Eutropius’ disgrace, Arcadius ordered a destruction of his statues (*CTh* 9.40.17):

We direct that all statues, all likenesses, whether they be of bronze, or of marble, or painted (or of whatever material these images may be made), should be obliterated from all cities, towns, and from public or private places,²³⁶⁹ so that this blot on our age may not defile the gaze of those who look upon it (trans. C. Pharr).

All these statues, unusually specified as bronze, marble, and painted images in cities, towns, public and domestic sites, he was certainly entitled to receive as consul yet was evidently awarded some already before 399 in his capacity as *praepositus sacri cubiculi*. Claudian’s two contradictory wishes – that Constantinople be washed away by the sea and that Eutropius’ statues, with which the streets of Constantinople are flooded, stand forever as a perpetual reproach to commemorate their shamefulfulness (*Eutr.* 2.37-39, 77-78) – are closely associated with the abundance of honorific statuary. Of six possible costumes for non-imperial statues from late antiquity, Eutropius adopted the late antique toga (consulship), the chlamys (*militia inermis*), and the cuirass (*milita armata*): amassing costumes (parallel to accumulating dignities) was a potent instrument of self-representation, seen, however, by the contemporaries as a compensation for his low-status social origin.

As for their duties, *praepositi* supervised the imperial accounts, attended to the personal and intimate needs of the emperor and, later, the empress, and a staff of teachers, clerks and servants in the palace, collectively known as *ministeriales* or *curae palatiorum*. Along with the palatine bureaus that surrounded the person of the emperor, in nearest proximity was the emperor’s household staff, *cubicularii* under the head of the sacred bedchamber. The *Notitia* lists also the direct subordinates of the chamberlain, *comes domorum per Cappadocia*, who certainly belonged to the senatorial order.²³⁷⁰ The *comitiva* perhaps became from some time a component of the official titlature. He dealt with the emperor’s private expenses and still in 390 was under *comes rerum privatarum* (*CTh* 9.27.7).²³⁷¹ The same ranking as in the *Notitia* was given in a western law of 412,

²³⁶⁹ Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians*, 2, 98-99.

²³⁷⁰ Count of the imperial estates in Cappadocia is first attested between 379 and 414: *CTh* 6.30.2: 379, 11.28.9: 414 subscript.

²³⁷¹ See Scholten, *Der Eunuch*, 68.

which shows that the rank achieved by grand chamberlains was independent of the great individual power of the eastern chamberlain, Eutropius.²³⁷²

In close proximity to the emperor, *praepositus sacri cubiculi* came to be in charge of the palace ceremonial.²³⁷³ He had ‘the formalized right of controlling audiences’²³⁷⁴ in order to protect the emperor from unwanted intruders. It was Gallicanus, the chamberlain of the usurper Maximus in Trier, who apparently decided that Ambrose should be received in the formal *consistorium*, and so wrecked the diplomatic mission.²³⁷⁵ The emergence of a more tightly regulated ceremonial made it more difficult to approach the ruler. In the management of the palace the access to the emperor was now officially regulated by *praepositus sacri cubiculi*: unlike in the principate, in the later Roman empire the eunuch was a recognised imperial official.²³⁷⁶ Nonetheless, despite close proximity to the emperor at private moments, *praepositus* was not a part of the *consistorium*.

Numerous court officials were present to oversee the imperial ceremonial and make sure that everything goes according to the plan. Thus, throughout the ceremonies at the hippodrom *praepositus* occupied a unique position at the emperor’s side, acting, at large, as an intermediary between the emperor and the other ceremonial participants. On the reliefs of the obelisk of Theodosius at Constantinople, four men in full figure flanking the stairways stand out from the crowd. While figures on the southwest and on the northeast are *chlamydati*, their colleagues are dressed in long tunics and hold *mappae*, and thereby presumably hold another office. Having stepped out of the *kathisma*, *praepositus* places himself at the top of the stairs (*De cerem.* I 77 (68)).²³⁷⁷ The *chlamydati* therefore could be identified as *praepositi*.²³⁷⁸ Yet where there is more than one emperor, there is more than one *praepositus* as each emperor would require one. However, if the seated imperial family on the western sides fits the actual historical framework of the monument, reflecting the political situation of 390 with three *Augusti* and one *Caesar*,²³⁷⁹ there should have been at least three *praepositi*.

²³⁷² CTh 11.18.1: 412. Hopkins, “Eunuchs in Politics,” 65.

²³⁷³ Reconstructions of the palace and the ceremonial enacted in it proposed on the basis of the tenth-century *De Ceremoniis* reveal, however, not a continuous tradition from late antiquity, but ideological manipulation of the Macedonian dynasty. See Jeffrey M. Featherstone, “Der grosse Palast von Konstantinopel: Tradition oder Erfindung?” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 106 (2013): 19-38.

²³⁷⁴ Hopkins, “Eunuchs in Politics,” 66.

²³⁷⁵ The *praepositus* conversed briefly with the emperor and received a confirmation of his decision (Ep. 24). Helga Scholten, “Der oberste Hofeunuch. Die politische Effizienz eines gesellschaftlich Diskriminierten,” in Winterling, *Comitatus*, 54-59 on control of the informal, unbureaucratized access to the emperor through *praepositus*.

²³⁷⁶ Julian hesitates whether it was Eusebius alone who obstructed his audience with Constantius II or whether the emperor himself did not want to see him: To the Athenians, 274a-b. The best account of the transformations in ceremonial between principate and late antiquity remains Alföldi 1934. Weisweiler, “The Roman Aristocracy,” 41-42, follows, however, older historiography, seeing in the tetrarchy the starting moment of a transformation leading the Roman emperor to assume more transcendent and ‘sacral’ character. See, e.g., Frank Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie. Improvisation oder Experiment in der Organisation monarchischer Herrschaft* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987).

²³⁷⁷ Albert Vogt, “L’Hippodrome de Constantinople,” *Byzantion* 10 (1935): 471-88.

²³⁷⁸ Gerda Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel* (Istanbul: Universum, 1935), 34; Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base*, 130.

²³⁷⁹ Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base*, 137.

One of the properly court ceremonies was the ceremony of *sacra vestis* at the palace, whose part was the *cubiculum* (κοιτών), the emperor's private apartment. The *sacrum vestiarius* or public wardrobe was a sub-department of the *comitiva sacrarum largitionum* (Occ. 11.94, Or. 13.28).²³⁸⁰ The emperor's private wardrobe, the *sacra vestis* was, however, presided over by *comes sacrae vestis* (who was *cubicularius*) under the control of *praepositus* (CTh 11.18.1). The *comitiva* of the *sacrae vestis* of the *sacrum cubiculum* is first attested in 412, but this chamberlain is recorded already at the side of the emperor Valentinian I in the battle against Alamanni, carrying emperor's helmet adorned with gold and precious stones (Amm. 27.10.11).²³⁸¹ The only other chief palatine office that equally dealt with the public activities in which emperors needed to engage within the more elaborated imperial ceremonial was master of offices.

2. *Comites consistoriani*

i. *Magister officiorum*

The *Notitia* (Occ. 9; Or. 11) preserves an insigne of *magister officiorum*, in whose competences was the supervision of imperial audiences. Synesius regards him to be 'in charge of royal audiences' (τάς ἀκοάς πιστευθείς) (*De prov.* 92a) and Zosimus calls him 'ἡγεμὼν τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τάξεων' (2.25.2). The upper section of the illustration portrays a blue-cloth-covered table, upon which the *codicilli* (*formula dignitatis*) are placed. The documents of appointment on the draped table symbolize, according to Berger, the link of the imperial official with the central power and imply his legal authority to make administrative decisions. Rectangular in shape, with four corners decorated in gold, the codicil bears a framed imperial bust, which may originally have been intended as a portrait.²³⁸² This format corresponds the hierarchy of officials in the *Notitia* placed second in the symbolic book cup-board (*armarium*) between the eastern and western sections. In the West the codicillary tablet includes two figures representing the two reigning emperors, who as co-rulers appear side by side in other images, instead of one. Underneath is the word *fabricae*, below which are illustrated seven round military shields, representing seven *scholae* of the palace guards, with only five military units listed (Occ. 9). Alongside of and below the shields various kinds of weapons and armor are assembled. The eastern illustration is similarly mismatched: seven military units are listed, but six shields are illustrated (Or. 11).²³⁸³ The text accompanying the insigne of *magistri officiorum* invokes their jurisdiction over, amongst other things, various state armaments

²³⁸⁰ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 464-70.

²³⁸¹ Shaun Tougher, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History* (London: Routledge, 2008), 102 with n.57 confuses Ammianus' decription of Valentinian's Alemannic campaign with Valens' battle at Adrianople. See also Claud., *In Eutr.* I 417, 421-2 on eunuchs, who took care of vestments, gems, and the imperial purple.

²³⁸² Berger, *The Insignia*; Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 108.

²³⁸³ For anomalies in the *Notitia* entries and the integrity of the illustrations, see David Woods, "The scholae palatinae and the *Notitia Dignitatum*", *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 7 (1996): 39-41; Peter Brennan, "The *Notitia Dignitatum*," in *Les Littératures techniques dans l'antiquité romaine: statut, public et destination, tradition*, eds. Pierre Gros and Claude Nicolet (Geneve: Fondation Hardt, 1996), 159-61.

manufacturies (*fabricae*), which became their responsibility c. 388. Along with codicils, an official guide or set of instructions (*mandata*) was given to imperial officials, including master of offices, issued by the emperor to guide them in the conduct of the business of his office. Berger states that this constituted the *liber mandatorum*, a set of instructions and advice sent from the emperor to certain new appointees, represented in the master's insigne, following Loerke, who proposes to regard as '*insignia*' the codices, which he elsewhere identifies as *libri mandatorum*.²³⁸⁴ However, the insigne of *magister* both in the East and in the West contains only the *codicilli*.

Magister officiorum is first recorded as *clarissimus* in 356.²³⁸⁵ It does not necessarily mean, as assumed by Olszaniec, that they were not *clarissimi* until 356.²³⁸⁶ First, Lydus correctly connects the great increase in the power of master of offices with the weakening of the prefecture, in saying that the control of the court passed into the hands of master at the same time when *magistri militum* succeeded to the military command of the prefects (*De mag.* 2.10). *Tribunus et magister officiorum* is attested in 320 and 323.²³⁸⁷ Since *tribunus* implies military service, the office, according to A. Boak, is supposed to have originated when Diocletian organized the officials of the palace on a military basis and chose the senior tribune of the praetorian guard to take charge of the various corps of palace attendants, and also to command the soldiers attached to court. In part reflecting its origins, many of the formal trappings of later Roman bureaucracy were closely modeled on the army. The greater importance of the master's office caused subsequently a corresponding elevation in the rank of its holder, who was no longer *tribunus*, but *comes et magister officiorum*. This change in title also marks the transformation of the office from one of a semi-military character, expressed in the title *tribunus*, to an effectively civil post by 325.²³⁸⁸

However, it was in Licinius' milieu that one encounters the first civil officer whose official title is not *tribunus et magister officiorum*, but *magister officiorum*. It was also Licinius who endorsed the former *magister officiorum* Martinianus to become Augustus.²³⁸⁹ M. Clauss ascribes an institutionalisation of the *magisterium* of offices to Constantine and Licinius as co-rulers.²³⁹⁰ Four *magistri officiorum* of Constantine are known.²³⁹¹ One of them, Palladius is recorded as *magister officiorum* in 324, but his diplomatic mission to Persia implies a long service at the imperial

²³⁸⁴ Boak, *The Master of the Offices*, 111; Berger, *The Insignia*, 62; Loerke, "The Miniatures," 178; Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 118;

²³⁸⁵ *CTh* 12.1.38 and *CTh* 8.5.8 (*Ad Musonium clarissimum virum comitem et magistrum officiorum*). See *CTh* 1.9.1: 359.

²³⁸⁶ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 12.

²³⁸⁷ *CTh* 16.10.1: 320, for the first mention of the title. *CTh* 11.9.1: 323.

²³⁸⁸ Boak, *The Master of the Offices*, 31.

²³⁸⁹ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 9. *PLRE* 1, 563 Martinianus 2.

²³⁹⁰ Manfred Clauss, *Der magister officiorum in der Spätantike (4.–6. Jahrhundert): Das Amt und sein Einfluss auf die kaiserliche Politik* (Munich: Beck, 1980).

²³⁹¹ Heraclianus (320), Proculeianus (323), Palladius (324) and Philumenus (325-31).

court.²³⁹² Dealing with diplomatic issues was in accordance with the function of the *magister officiorum*'s office in the fourth century. He was, first and foremost, an official in charge of empire's diplomatic policy and a head of diplomatic protocol.

It is probable that the first of the graded classes of dignitaries to which master belonged was the perfectissimate, which in the early years of the reign of Constantine still included civil officials of high rank. Master of offices, although taking precedence over counts of the financial administration, belonged to the same order of rank. Boak links the rank elevation to 'abolition of the equestrian career and inflation of perfectissimate',²³⁹³ with the consequence that master became a *clarissimus*. Indeed, the Constantinian restructuring of the imperial aristocracy has been long treated as a defining moment in the disappearance of the *ordo equester*. On the one hand, equestrian offices 'inflated' to become senatorial, conferring on their holders the fundamental privileges of the *clarissimus* rank. On the other hand, equestrian titles inflated with the promotion of the municipal elite, resulting in a degradation of the lower ranks of the order. What is shared by both assumptions is the model of 'inflation', which equates both processes through the image of a rapid depreciation of the value of late-antique ranks. However, the 'inflation model' is, in fact, in disagreement with the continuous importance of the fourth-century equestrians, who did not disappear swiftly after the Constantinian reforms.²³⁹⁴

While Constantine, according to Eusebius (*VC* 4.1), indeed granted generously titles and honors to those employed in the imperial administration, the account reports the large-scale conferment of perfectissimate and not clarissimate.²³⁹⁵ Clauss assumes that *magister officiorum* was *clarissimus* since upgrading the office from *tribunus et magister officiorum* to *comes et magister officiorum*. However, the latest attestation of the title *tribunus et magister officiorum* is from 323 and the earliest one of *comes et magister officiorum* is from 356 (*CTh* 8.5.8.). He presumes it, however, to take place under Constantine.²³⁹⁶

²³⁹² Boak, *The Master of the Offices*, 32 suggests that he may have been the first *comes* to fill the office of *magister officiorum* after reuniting the empire by Constantine. As Roman ambassador on a diplomatic mission abroad he was therefore a person of considerable importance, worthy to be a member of the consistory. *PLRE* 1, 658 Palladius 2.

²³⁹³ Boak, *The Master of the Offices*, 45: 'however, when the equestrian career was abolished, presumably after the defeat of Licinius in 323, the perfectissimate was conferred upon lower grades of officials, and the clarissimate was for a long time the sole order of rank for the highest offices'.

²³⁹⁴ Mariana Bodnaruk, "Administering the Empire: The Unmaking of an Equestrian Elite in the 4th Century CE," in *Official Power and Local Elites: The Inner Structures of Provincial Leadership in the Roman Empire*, ed. Rada Varga (London: Routledge, 2017), 145-67.

²³⁹⁵ While prosopographical studies point to the absence of new eastern senators in Constantinian imperial administration, his new eastern supporters were awarded with equestrian honours. Constantine's generous grants of titles in order to gain support for his sole rule (as recorded by Eusebius) reveal in fact the widespread bestowal of the equestrian rather than senatorial rank in the East and confirm the employment of the local elites in his eastern administration as *perfectissimi*. Likewise, Constantine's vicennalian coinage of 326 celebrating *eques Romanus* used to advertise the attractiveness of the equestrian posts for the local elites in the eastern provinces.

²³⁹⁶ Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 100 n.5.

The earliest *magister*, nevertheless, who appears in inscriptions, held office at the western court of Constans around 343-49. Flavius Eugenius, *magister officiorum omnium*,²³⁹⁷ *consul ordinarius designatus*, and *ex praefectus praetorio*, had his gilded bronze statue re-erected (now posthumous) commanded by the emperors with the approval of the senate of Rome. While the first statue was set up in 349-50, the second one, sponsored by public money, was ordered to be placed in the Forum of Trajan between 355 and 361 (fig. 29).²³⁹⁸ The Forum of Trajan was a setting for dedications of the highest profile, but the inscriptions placed there rarely emphasize differences within the senatorial order. Senators who had served primarily at court were honored alongside those who had held office mainly in Rome. This inscription appears to draw attention to this distinction, however, with Flavius Eugenius praised for having held ‘all the palatine offices’. Eugenius had obtained the title *comes domesticus ordinis primi* somewhere before 343, when he became *magister officiorum*.²³⁹⁹

To be sure, the original statue set up for Eugenius, as well as the re-erected one, honored him primarily as former praetorian prefect and consul designate. It should be remembered that the Forum of Trajan was a traditional space for the setting up of statues, usually commanded by the emperors at the request of the senate and people of Rome.²⁴⁰⁰ Similarly, a fragment of a now lost base, apparently to praetorian prefect, also comes from Rome.²⁴⁰¹ Although the identities of the honorand and of the awarder do not survive, the remaining words make it clear that this was a dedication to an important imperial official, *comes*, possibly *magister officiorum*, and praetorian prefect. Thus, even if *magistri officiorum* served in the West, they were not among the recipients of honorific statuary at Rome. Equally, no statues for masters of offices are known coming for the other parts of the empire.

The original statue to Eugenius was dedicated by Constans, under whom he served, but it was perhaps removed or destroyed during the usurpation of Magnentius, either by the latter’s supporters or by the supporters of the senatorial usurper Nepotianus, who initially took Rome.²⁴⁰² Having served all dignities in the palace, Eugenius received the title of domestic count of the first order (not to confuse with military count of the household troops).²⁴⁰³ Trusted functionary of Constans, he was the first person of non-aristocratic origin, who was nominated among new *comites*

²³⁹⁷ On this expression, see Andrea Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia nel basso impero* (Rome: Edizioni dell’Ateneo e Bizzarri, 1977), 61-64. *PLRE* 1, 292 Flavius Eugenius 5.

²³⁹⁸ *CIL* 6 1721=ILS 1244=LSA-314=EDR137679.

²³⁹⁹ Boak, *The Master of the Offices*, 31 wrongly dates the inscription to 346 with no explanation.

²⁴⁰⁰ Chenault, “Statues of Senators.”

²⁴⁰¹ *CIL* 6 32057=3866b=LSA-1571. Although *PLRE* 2, 1211 ...rnius ...anus, suggests a praetorian prefect in office sometime between the fifth and sixth centuries, the type of honor (a statue) makes an earlier, fourth or fifth century date more likely, LSA-1571 (C. Machado).

²⁴⁰² See Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 112-113, for the context.

²⁴⁰³ *PLRE* 1 points out an unusual form of title, indicating that he was *comes primi ordinis* present at court (see *PLRE* 1, 37 M. Nummius Albinus 13, also connected with Constans’ court).

after his service in the imperial chancellery.²⁴⁰⁴ Delmaire postulates that in Constans' part of the empire *magister officiorum* was a *clarissimus* as early as 349.²⁴⁰⁵ Becoming an influential person at the court after his promotion to *magister officiorum*, Eugenius used his influence to deprive his brother-in-law Aristophanes of the inherited property as confirmed by Libanius' speech *On behalf of Aristophanes* (Or. 14.45).

Apart from *magister officiorum*'s acting towards obtaining the senatorial rank of *clarissimus*, one can observe arising differences in the positions of particular dignitaries within the palace in the mid-fourth century. It seems that in the reign of Constantine's sons *magistri* were of slightly lower rank than the remaining consistorians.²⁴⁰⁶ Olszaniec hypothesizes that the relatively lower position of *magistri* may indicate that the emperor who tried to raise the rank of this post was Constantine's rival, Licinius.²⁴⁰⁷ It is, however, rather incredible that at the advanced stage of the reign of the sons of Constantine, in 350s, more than twenty-five years after the fall of the usurper, the memory of Licinius was strong enough that the emperors felt a need to prevent the advancement of the whole palatine office, and in particular a consistorian one. Moreover, as early as 350, Marcellinus, *comes rerum privatarum* was promoted to become master of offices.

In 372, master of offices along with other *comites consistoriani ex-officio* was given precedence over the proconsuls (CTh 6.9.1), evidently because of his increasing importance, owing to his proximity to the emperor. By 378, master had become a *spectabilis* (8.5.35), and not long afterwards, by 385 at the latest, had attained the *illustrissimatus* (Symm. Rel. 34.8; 38.4; 43.2). It is not possible to determine when exactly *comites* received the rank *illustris*. Although granted to Eugenius early on, the promotion to the prefecture for court officials had been still an exception in the reign of Valentinian and Valens.

Furthermore, master of offices eventually became the first of the great ministers, whose administration was under imperial supervision only. While during the course of the fourth century quaestor was the leading officer of *comites consistoriani*, at the time of composition of the *Notitia*, *magister officiorum* is ranked over quaestor. Rufinus, as *magister officiorum* of Theodosius, seems to have obtained higher precedence for his office, which was junior to quaestor in 372 (CTh 6.9.1) and 380 (CTh 6.9.2), but senior when the *Notitia* was compiled. Two laws from the early fifth

²⁴⁰⁴ Bonflis, *Il comes et quaestor*, 21, 25 on this title.

²⁴⁰⁵ Delmaire, *Les institutions*, 14 n.4 believes that Eugenius might have obtained the rank having completed his service as *magister*.

²⁴⁰⁶ Eugenius, who served at Constans' palace for about six years, became merely an *ex-praefectus* (the office was honorary, possibly granted on his retirement as *magister officiorum*); Ampelius, *magister officiorum* in 358 became proconsul of Achaia in 359/60. At the same time the quaestors and *comites sacrarum largitionum* tended to become prefects after completing their service as palace ministers. Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, on the career.

²⁴⁰⁷ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*.

century issued in the western part of the empire confirm that it was not merely a temporary transfer of power from quaestor to *magister officiorum*.²⁴⁰⁸

Magistri officiorum thereby passed through all gradations of rank from perfectissimate to illustrisimate over the course of the fourth century. Honorifics attested for the *magistri officiorum* in the imperial legislation in the second half of the fourth and very early fifth century comprise a ‘personal quality’ term *sinceritas* (*CTh* 8.5.22: 365) as well as ‘superiority’ terms *sublimitas* (from 395) and *magnificentia* (from 405).²⁴⁰⁹ There is one record preserved of *magister officiorum* on a seat in the Colosseum.²⁴¹⁰

It is frequently repeated after Libanius that leading figures of the palatine officialdom were of modest if not low origins. Yet the world of the so-called ‘new men’, who came to serve in the palatine administration, was in fact an extension of traditional oligarchic life. They generally laid claim, in greater or lesser degree, to certain cultural qualifications: *magistri* often possessed thorough education and cultivated literary interests. Palladius, *magister officiorum* of Caesar Gallus and emperor Constantius in 351-56, was a correspondent of Libanius.²⁴¹¹ The beginning of his early career at *schola notariorum* indicates knowledge of shorthand and tachygraphy. Musonius was another *magister officiorum* of Constantius between 356 and the beginning of 358 and a correspondent of Libanius with documented literary pursuits.²⁴¹² As former proconsul he took part in public delivery of Himerius’ speech in Thessalonica in 362. Two of Libanius’ letters suggest that he tried to write speeches himself.

Magistri maintained contacts with both leaders of contemporary ecclesiastical circles as well as prominent rhetors and aristocratic intellectuals of the second half of the fourth century. Sophronius, *magister officiorum* of Valens in 369-78, had close relationships with Basil and Gregory, with whom he was connected by bonds of friendship since his studies in Athens and corresponded showing interest in the religious disputes of the period.²⁴¹³ He was likewise a correspondent of Libanius. Gratian’s *magister officiorum* Siburius (375/79) was a correspondent of Symmachus as well as Libanius, who praised his virtues as a civil servant, however in general terms.²⁴¹⁴ Siburius was among those palace dignitaries, whose careers were largely due to their education and professional qualifications. His literary and scientific interests are confirmed by the sources of the period: Siburius was an author of the medical treatise and a practicing medic. He deliberately chose archaizing language for his writings, while his correspondence with Libanius confirms his knowledge of Greek. When Siburius was dismissed as praetorian prefect of Gaul,

²⁴⁰⁸ *CTh* 11.18.1: 412 and *CTh* 1.8.1. Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 19.

²⁴⁰⁹ Mathisen, “Imperial Honorifics,” 203, table II.2.

²⁴¹⁰ Orlandi, *Anfiteatri*, 17. 109, B.

²⁴¹¹ *PLRE* 1, 658 Palladius 2.

²⁴¹² *PLRE* 1, 612-13 Musonius 1.

²⁴¹³ *PLRE* 1, 847-48 Sophronius 3.

²⁴¹⁴ *PLRE* 1, 839 Siburius 1.

Symmachus hoped that he would use his leisure, *otium*, to devote himself to literary studies at Rome (Ep. 45). However, behind the rhetoric of *otium* of Symmachus and his correspondents lurks the harsh competition for the office in the fourth-century Roman Empire. Certainly, the abrupt end of Siburius' political career did not cut his connection with the aristocratic and intellectual circles of the western empire. Afranius Syagrius, another *magister officiorum* of Gratian in 379, was a friend of Ausonius and a poet on his own account.²⁴¹⁵

Magistri officiorum as a small group of cultivated courtiers dealing with diplomacy must have been the most sensible participants of the contemporary panegyric milieu. The Theodosian *magister officiorum* in 388-92, Rufinus was a correspondent of Libanius and Symmachus.²⁴¹⁶ Rufinus was a lawyer by education and a practicing barrister before starting a political career. As a newcomer from the West (Gaul), he did not know Greek at first, but studied it thoroughly. He admired the work of Libanius (Ep. 1110). When Rufinus (already in the capacity of praetorian prefect of the East) arrived to Antioch in 393, the sophist greeted him with a ceremonial speech (Ep. 1106; 1110; 1111). He received a positive description in the letters of Libanius, who even planned to write a panegyric in his honor, asking for information on the schools that Rufinus had attended (Ep. 1106; 1111). Balty identifies one of the officials on the northwest of the Theodosian obelisk, wearing chlamys and the plain crossbow fibula as an insigne, as senator Rufinus, praetorian prefect in 392-95 and consul in 392.²⁴¹⁷ Yet, as Kiilerich points out, since reliefs were probably finished by 391, Rufinus' prefecture and consulship of 392 is less relevant to the relief than his palatine office of *magister officiorum*, which he held from 388.²⁴¹⁸ In 392, prompted by *magister officiorum* Rufinus, Theodosius dedicated a church to St John the Forerunner in the Hebdomon in order to house the relic of the saint's head (Soz. 7.21; *Chron. Pasch.* 564; *Patria* 3.145).

Aurelianus, another *magister* under Theodosius, identified with Osiris from *De Providentia* by Synesius, was said to be an outstanding speaker: Synesius praises not only his character, but also his good education.²⁴¹⁹ If he started his career as an assessor, then, apart from being an educated rhetor, according to Synesius, he must have also possessed legal knowledge. Aurelianus is likewise reported to have erected the memorial shrine (*μαρτύριον*) of St Stephen in the Constantinopolitan district known as *αἱ Ἀὐρελιάναι* (Theod. Lect., Fr. 32; *V. Isaacii* 4.18) dated no later than 383.²⁴²⁰

²⁴¹⁵ However, he was not a friend and correspondent of Symmachus, see Demandt, "Der spatromische Militaradel," *contra* Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 192-93. Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 391, *notarius*. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*. *PLRE* 1, 862-62 Afranius Syagrius 3.

²⁴¹⁶ *PLRE* 1, 778-81 Flavius Rufinus 18.

²⁴¹⁷ Balty, "Hiérarchie de l'empire," 70.

²⁴¹⁸ Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base*, 126.

²⁴¹⁹ *PLRE* 1, 128-29 Aurelianus 3.

²⁴²⁰ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 66, following von Haehling, *Die Religionszugehörigkeit*, 79, 'im Jahre 383', accepted this seemingly precise date for the church without question, but, see Cameron and Long, *Barbarians and Politics*, 72-75. On mention in the Life of Isaac of a suburban martyrion of St Stephen financed by Aurelianus, see Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops*, 141.

This would have then preceded Aurelianus' service as *magister officiorum* dated to 384/86 or 392-93. Therefore, he must have already been a wealthy man, in order to be able to afford a foundation of the church. The sources describing his exile emphasize, however, that his fortune was not confiscated. After years of eclipse Aurelianus was finally restored to the prefecture in 414-16. It is rather after the return to power he should have probably wished to secure for himself the glory of bringing the first relic of the newly found bones of Stephen to Constantinople.²⁴²¹

The epistolary culture of late antiquity reflects the evolution of Roman patronage networks across the divisions of imperial aristocracy. *Magister officiorum* of Theodosius and of Arcadius in 395, Marcellus was a correspondent of Symmachus.²⁴²² He became master of offices thanks to political influence of Ausonius, Siburius, and Eutropius, which proves that Gallic dignitaries remained influential at the court even after Gratian's death. Despite coming from Gaul, he was an owner of large estates in Spain. He was a physician by profession and, like Ausonius's father, had his practice in southern Gaul, which should explain his acquaintance with Ausonius. The service at the imperial court was, similar to the cases of Ausonius and Palladius, merely a short stage of his career. After leaving the palace he devoted himself to theoretical studies, culminating in 36 volumes of *De Medicamentis* written in 408.

Moreover, *magister officiorum* was *ex-officio* a part of imperial ceremonial. As the *Notitia* text shows, the list of the functions accruing to the post of *magister officiorum* was quite diverse. The first-mentioned duty of this official is the control over the palace guards, the *scholae* or elite corps who ceremoniously protected the emperor's person. Master of offices was an important official in close contact with the imperial household. His position as commander of the palace guards and director of the various corps of palace servants, especially that of the court ushers, who were under his orders, naturally rendered him responsible for the part, which they played at the various court ceremonies where their presence was required.²⁴²³

The largest part of the ceremonial duties, however, fell to the lot of master in connection with the audiences held in the council chamber, the *consistorium*. At sessions of the emperor's council the emperor was the only person sitting, while all others were standing in reverence for him. Delegates from foreign peoples, senators, and other persons of honor, who for various reasons were accorded an official interview with the emperor, were received by the *magister officiorum* in person. He also conducted the reception ceremony of foreign embassies in the emperor's

²⁴²¹ Aurelianus paid for the construction of a martyrium to St. Stephen with the intention of procuring the appropriate relics for it: *V. Isaacii* 4.18.

²⁴²² *PLRE* 1, 551-52 Marcellus 7.

²⁴²³ Arthur E. R. Boak, "The Roman Magistri in the Civil and Military Service of the Empire," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 26 (1915): 98.

absence.²⁴²⁴ As the head of protocol during the meetings in the *consistorium*, *magister officiorum* had influence on obtaining imperial hearings.

The emergence of a more tightly regulated ceremonial made it more difficult for senators to confront the ruler with any surprising or unwelcome requests. The introduction of new forms of ceremonial not only expressed a new idea of the place of the emperor in the cosmos. It also had the practical consequence that it enabled the emperor to orchestrate meetings with members of the imperial ruling class and religious dignitaries in such a way as to evade any undue demands on his generosity.²⁴²⁵ When in 385 Ambrosius was invited to the imperial *consistorium* at the court of Valentinian II in Milan, the acting *magister officiorum* had to use soldiers of the *scholae palatinae* against the popular demonstration erupting in front of the palace in support of bishop's stand (Amb., *C. Aux.* 29).

Additionally, master of offices had a corps of ushers called *admissionales* (*officium admissionum*) under his orders to assist him in executing this part of his duties. *Admissionales*, who were organized into decuries, each with its chief, were subordinate palace officials whose duty consisted in introducing the persons who were to have an audience with the emperor. These *admissionales* appear in the reign of Constantine I in the place of the officials of the *ab admissione*. They had as their head *magister admissionum* – master of audiences²⁴²⁶ – whose title, however, does not appear in the *Notitia*.

In the *Notitia* the *officium admissionum* is listed under command of *magister officiorum* after the bureau of memorials, the bureau of correspondence, the bureau of requests, and the bureau of assignments (*dispositiones*).²⁴²⁷ With regard to the rank, master of audiences may be compared to master of schedules (*magister dispositionum*), who in 414 was likewise honored with the dignity of *vicarius* upon the expiration of his term of service (*CTh* 6.2.23). Unlike master responsible for arrangements, master of audiences, when in office, held only the rank of *perfectissimus*. He was merely the court usher of the longest service, who for this reason was set over his colleagues, and his duties consisted mainly in regulating the order of precedence at the imperial audiences. The *magister admissionum* had no independent sphere of action, which is perhaps the reason for his omission from the *Notitia*.²⁴²⁸

An admission (*admissio*) to an audience with the emperor was granted only to specially selected persons who obtained honors that conferred many special privileges. It was accompanied

²⁴²⁴ Amm. 26.5.7 (364), cf. Zos. 2.26.4.

²⁴²⁵ Constantius, with the eunuch Eusebius as his chief executive, managed both to keep the military from getting above itself, as Ammianus says (21.16.1-2), and to avoid giving too many honors to the nobility. Weisweiler, "The Roman Aristocracy," 42.

²⁴²⁶ Amm. 15.5.18; *CTh* 11.18.1: 412; *CTh* 6.2.23: 414.

²⁴²⁷ *ND Or.* 11.17; *Occ.* 9.14. Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 19 the *officium* played an important role in the imperial receptions already from the second half of the fourth century.

²⁴²⁸ Berger, *The Insignia*.

by kissing the hem of the emperor's robe (Amm. 21.9.8). The greeting to the emperor by prostrating oneself (*adoratio*) was introduced into court ceremony already by Diocletian.²⁴²⁹ The function of *magister admissionum* was the direction of the office of admissions, which receive and introduce persons who had obtained the privilege of an audience with the emperor. Unlike the members of the imperial council (*comites consistoriani*), including *magister officiorum*, who were present during the audiences, *magister admissionum* waited hidden behind a curtain. The task of the latter was to lead the most important guests into the *consistorium*, while himself remaining behind *velum* (Amm. 15.5.8; 26.5.7). It has been suggested that Eugenius may have been *magister admissionum* before becoming *magister officiorum* of Constans.²⁴³⁰ The text of his honorific inscription unambiguously indicates that before gaining *magisterium officiorum* Eugenius had held lower posts in palace administration (*omnibusque palatinis dignitatibus functo*). He appears also in *Apologia ad Constantium* by Athanasius, describing the audience, which he, along with a number of other bishops, was granted by the emperor, and during which *magister* Eugenius was standing behind a curtain.²⁴³¹

Consistorians, as members of the *comitatus*, accompanied the emperor on his numerous trips and military expeditions and fulfilled various ceremonial duties. Marcellinus remained Magnentius' most trusted servant, taking part in the military campaign and the battle of Mursa, during which he died (Jul. Or. 2.59b).²⁴³² While preparing the Persian campaign in late 362, Julian allegedly sent a mission to the Delphic oracle, headed by his doctor and quaestor Oribasius, offering services to the temple and, in response, receiving one of the last prophecies by the Delphic Pythia (*Art. Pass.* 35=Philost. VII.1-2; Cedr. 1.532.8–10). Julian's *magister officiorum* Anatolius participated in his campaign against the Persians.²⁴³³ A surviving letter of Libanius reports that during Julian's stay in Antioch Anatolius, a devoted pagan and supporter of a new religious policy, took part in the imperial religious ceremony, making sacrifices on Mount Casius along with the emperor (*Ep.* 739).

Upon retirement from the court, some former *magistri* chose to settle in the provinces. Musonius, Constantius' former *magister officiorum*, lived in Thessalonica (Him., Or. 29.15) and Sophronius returned to Caesarea after finishing his career as civil officer (Lib., Ep. 883). Syagrius probably chose Lugdunum for his residence, where he was buried near the grave of St Justus (Sid. Apol., Ep. 5.17). Remigius, *magister officiorum* of Valentinian I in 367-371, after completing his

²⁴²⁹ Andreas Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 49 (1934): 38-45; idem, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1979).

²⁴³⁰ Maria Goretti Castello, *Le segrete stanze del potere. I comites consistoriani e l'imperatore tardo antico* (Rome: Aracne, 2012), 49, n. 141; Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*.

²⁴³¹ Athan., *Apol. ad Const.* 3. Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 142-43. The audience in which Athanasius took part must have occurred before 346, when due to Constans' pressure he returned to Alexandria, however no sooner than 343, since one of the bishops accompanying him Athanasius was Fortunianus, the bishop of Aquileia, ordained in 343.

²⁴³² *PLRE* 1, 546 Marcellinus 8.

²⁴³³ *PLRE* 1, 61 Anatolius 5.

service at the palace became a private person ‘and gave himself up to rural life in his native place near Mogontiacum’ (Amm. 30.2.10).²⁴³⁴ Unlike many other court officials who disappear from the spotlight at the moment of leaving the post, Remigius, after retreating to the countryside, led a peaceful life for several years until he fell prey to the internecine rivalry with praetorian prefect Maximinus and committed suicide.

ii. *Quaestor sacri palatii*

The highest position among the palace ministers was initially achieved by quaestor. In the group of four heads of palace administration quaestor was the chief legal advisor to the emperor. His two major duties are listed in the succinct texts that accompany his insigne in the *Notitia*: drafting imperial constitutions (*leges dictandae*) and answering petitions (*preces*). His almost exclusive concern with legal matters made it propitious for the appointee to be drawn from the ranks of the lawyers or the rhetors.

The *codicilli* on the draped table depicted in the *Notitia* make tangible quaestor’s link to the emperor. This official appointment document rendered the ruler symbolically ‘present’ as quaestor drew up or clarified the laws of the realm. Nowhere in the laws text one can find any mention of *quaestores sacri palatii* who were actually in office. Olszaniec assumes *ex silentio* that may have been promoted to *illustres* sooner than the rest of *consistoriani*, between 372 and 380, and no law confirming that survived in the Code.²⁴³⁵ The high status of this *illustris* is further emphasized by the imperial portrait bust on the diptych tablet, since only the *codicilli* of the highest officials are thus adorned. The western portrait was, however, omitted because of careless copying.

Scrolls, including a bundle of scrolls tied with a band, are most prominently depicted in both eastern and western insignia of quaestor. Taking almost the whole lower part of the illustration, beneath the codicil on the table, they may symbolize the petitions or the constitutions mentioned in the text.²⁴³⁶ The insigne of the western quaestor shows some scrolls with corrupted Greek letters on them.²⁴³⁷ The insigne in the East must have originally included scrolls with Greek words on them, as in the eastern part legislation was drafted and promulgated in an official Greek translation by quaestor and his officials. In the insigne of the quaestor of the West the Greek scrolls remain unaltered. A simplified gabled chest with the inscription *leges salubres* or *leges salutare*s is depicted in both insignia.²⁴³⁸ In the quaestor’s insignia the *armarium*, similar to the symbolic *armarium* containing imperial appointment documents between the eastern and western sections of the *Notitia*, is closed and inscribed in Latin, the language of imperial legislation, in both eastern and

²⁴³⁴ *PLRE* 1, 763 Remigius.

²⁴³⁵ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 16.

²⁴³⁶ Berger, *The Insignia*, 64. See two third-century inscribed statues, *CIL* 6 29815=EDR004933; *CIL* 6 29814=EDR004921.

²⁴³⁷ Berger, *The Insignia*, 64.

²⁴³⁸ Inscribed *leges salutare*s (salutary laws) appear in the eastern part of the *Notitia*, while *leges salubres* (salubrious laws) in the western one.

western illustrations. It thus represents the body of Roman law within the sphere of quaestor competences.²⁴³⁹

The period and circumstances in which the offices of consistorians attained clarissimate and spectability is uncertain, and the post of quaestor is no exception. Quaestor achieved initially the highest rank among the palace ministers. However, unlike financial ministers, the first records concerning quaestors come from the fifties of the fourth century. Quaestors of Constantine II and Constans and their position in the hierarchy of ranks remain unknown. Constantius insisted on placing alongside the Caesars people of already established standing among the senators, while he himself made use of quaestors with less prominent earlier careers.²⁴⁴⁰

Harries claims that the rise of quaestor took place in the context of the development of the consistory and of *comites* in the consistory, ‘all of whom may have ranked as *spectabiles* under Constantius II’.²⁴⁴¹ However, under Constantius *comites consistoriani* were only acting towards obtaining the senatorial rank of *clarissimus*. Constans was first to elevate to clarissimate his palace ministers and *comites* already from 348. Only from 353 Constantius could extend clarissimate to his ministers, and quaestor, being the first of them, should have received the same rank.²⁴⁴² One can observe arising differences in the positions of particular dignitaries within the palace in the early fifties.²⁴⁴³ It was only under Constans and Constantius that the palatine functionaries, who had already been awarded the title of *comites*, had grown in the importance and the rank.²⁴⁴⁴ Moreover, as late as 362 the surviving *Acta Consistorii* record counts’ status in the *subscriptio*: only Iovius of consistorian counts of Julian is mentioned to have the senatorial rank of *vir clarissimus* (*CTh* 11.39.5). Palace ministers were certainly not *clarissimi* in the last years of Constantine’s reign, as suggested by Weiss.²⁴⁴⁵ Neither were they *spectabiles* already under Constantius, as Harries conjectures.

Harries also assumes that ‘by the fifth century, the four palatine ministers had become *illustres* and, in the East, distinct from the other *comites consistoriani*, who remained *spectabiles*’.²⁴⁴⁶ On 5 July 372 Valentinian stated that the four *ex-officio* members of the consistory were now to rank above proconsuls (*CTh* 6.9.1). Thus quaestor and his three palatine colleagues were still only *spectabiles* in the 370s. By the reigns of Gratian and Theodosius I in the early 380s, they were, however, finally recognized as *illustres*, while *magistri scriniorum* were firmly

²⁴³⁹ Berger, *The Insignia*, 65-66.

²⁴⁴⁰ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*.

²⁴⁴¹ Harries, “The Roman Imperial Quaestor,” 157.

²⁴⁴² Bonflis, *Il comes et quaestor*, 87.

²⁴⁴³ Harries, “The Roman Imperial Quaestor,” 161-162; 171 wrongly assumes that *comites consistoriani* were in fact equal in terms of rank.

²⁴⁴⁴ Bonflis, *Il comes et quaestor*, 63.

²⁴⁴⁵ Weiss, *Consistorium*, 59.

²⁴⁴⁶ Harries, “The Roman Imperial Quaestor,” 157.

established as *spectabiles*.²⁴⁴⁷ It was thereby precisely four *illustres* palatine ministers who made up the imperial council under the name of *comites consistoriani* in the early 380s both in the West and in the East. Eastern consistory counts were neither different from the other *comites consistoriani*, nor they remained *spectabiles* by the fifth century.

Honorific inscriptions record the status of several fourth-century questors. The statue of *κναίστοπος* Galenus was reportedly in the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in a group including fourth-century emperors, imperial family members, and officials.²⁴⁴⁸ Barnes presumes that the name and office ‘were presumably on a genuine statue’,²⁴⁴⁹ but the context is extremely doubtful as the group is said to include Licinius Augustus and Julian Caesar. The record in the *Parastaseis* of these three non-imperial statues once supposedly at Hagia Sophia is problematic, since none of the honorands can be readily identified with persons known from other sources. The mix of imperial and non-imperial statues in the same setting would also be extraordinary.

Literary and epigraphic sources record *comes et quaestor* under Constantius II.²⁴⁵⁰ Emperors of the Constantinian dynasty tended to promote persons of a relatively low social status, so that their further careers would have depended on the good will of the emperor. Constantius’ first quaestor, Flavius Taurus, was *comes ordinis primi* at the moment of taking the post at court, which is a *dignitas* preceding the proconsulship. *Quaestor sacri palatii* in 354, Taurus was honored as praetorian prefect of Italy and Africa in 355-61 and *patricius* with a statue commanded by the emperors on the request of the senate and set up in Trajan’s Forum in Rome 364-67 (fig. 4).²⁴⁵¹ Remarkably, his consulship of 361 is not mentioned in the inscription. He was sentenced to exile after Julian’s victory over Constantius (Amm. 22.3.4), and it is possible that his statue was removed or damaged on this occasion. The statue dedicated by order of the emperors Valentinian and Valens with approval of the senate was a re-dedication, while the original honor was probably granted by Constantius, at whose court Taurus performed important duties.

Quaestor sacri palatii in 355/59 under Julian Caesar, Saturninus Secundus Salutius also received a gilded bronze statue in the Forum of Trajan acting as praetorian prefect for the second time in 365-67.²⁴⁵² He, however, had held the proconsulship of Africa, a major senatorial post, before his quaestorship. Like Taurus, Saturninus was *comes ordinis primi*. However, this honorific inscription from the first years of Valentinian’s reign features for the first time the combination

²⁴⁴⁷ CTh 6.9.2: 380; 6.26.2: 381 (ranked equal to vicars); 6.26.4: 386.

²⁴⁴⁸ *Parastaseis* 11=LSA-2784: *Ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ νῦν ὀνομαζομένη ἁγία Σοφία ... στήλαι... Κωνσταντίνου, Κωνσταντίου, Κώνσταντος, Γαληνοῦ κναίστορος, (Ιουλιανοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἑτέρου Ιουλιανοῦ ἐπάρχου), Λικινίου Αὔγουστου, Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδοσίου καὶ Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, Σεραπίωνος ὑπατικοῦ καὶ Ἑλένης μητρὸς Κωνσταντίνου τρεῖς*. It reportedly belonged to a group containing statues of *consularis* Serapius (omitted in PLRE) and the prefect Julian. PLRE 1, 382 Galenus.

²⁴⁴⁹ Barnes, “Constans and Gratian in Rome,” 332.

²⁴⁵⁰ Bonflis, *Il comes et quaestor*, 59.

²⁴⁵¹ CIL 6 41336=LSA-404.

²⁴⁵² CIL 6 1764 (+p. 4754)=ILS 1255=LSA-1408.

comes et quaestor. Brief and vague, the dedication for Saturninius Secundus, a member of the emperor's privy council and twice praetorian prefect, who is simply commended '*ob egregia eius in rem publicam merita*', stays in contrast to other honors in the Forum. Perhaps no specific meritorious actions were needed to be mentioned as no additional justification for his honors was felt to be necessary.²⁴⁵³ The monument was dedicated by the emperors Valentinian I and Valens, but, contrary to the usual, the inscription does not mention a request by the senate. Machado hypothesizes that this might be due to the fact that the most important positions held by Secundus were performed in the East.²⁴⁵⁴

Honorific inscriptions set up for a different (functionally defined) imperial elite group, such as traditional aristocrats of Rome, are somewhat dissimilar. An influential senator in the late fourth century, who had performed important functions in the government of Theodosius, Nicomachus Flavianus the elder was *quaestor* in 388-90 at the court in Italy. The first inscription recording him being *quaestor intra palatium* has a private character, for it was dedicated in the early fifth century by a Roman aristocrat Q. Fabius Memmius Symmachus to Flavianus as grandfather of his wife and found on the grounds of estate belonging to the Nicomachus' family in the area of Mons Caelius.²⁴⁵⁵ Flavianus spent most of his time in Rome, leaving the city only to visit his estates in Sicily (Symm. *Ep.* 2.30; 6.57; 66).

The second inscription, mentioning him as *quaestor aulae divi Theodosi*, is a part of larger *elogium* dedicated in 431 by Nicomachus grandson, Appius Nicomachus Dexter (fig. 5).²⁴⁵⁶ The statue was ordered to be installed at Trajan's forum by the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III, as part of a process of rehabilitation of the memory of Flavianus. The letter addressed to the senate (Il.7-36) invites the members of the curia to take part in the reversal of Flavianus' condemnation in the aftermath of 394, and makes reference (l.17) to the monuments and inscriptions that attested to his virtue (amongst which statues were probably included). However, the letter does not mention the involvement of senators in the setting up of this statue, unlike other dedications in the Forum of Trajan, which are described as carried out by the emperor at the request of the senate.

When the distinction between the senatorial and imperial quaestors was made explicit, a number of different formulas were used, none of which can be shown to carry an official stamp. The phrases used in both inscriptions to describe his office at court, *quaestor intra palatium* and *quaestor aulae divi Theodosi*, are unparalleled. One suspects here an element of improvisation for what may have been an exceptional case. Flavianus, unlike any other known quaestor, had risen

²⁴⁵³ Chenault, "Statues of Senators," 114.

²⁴⁵⁴ LSA-1408 (C. Machado).

²⁴⁵⁵ CIL 6 1782=ILS 2947.

²⁴⁵⁶ CIL 6 1783=ILS 2948.

through the Roman senatorial *cursus*, which began with (senatorial) quaestor, praetor, and proceeded to senatorial governorships. He had therefore held both types of quaestorship, and it made sense to differentiate between them when they were combined on the same inscriptions.²⁴⁵⁷ With several exceptions, like Nicomachus Flavianus, quaestors during the fourth century were drawn from provincial *clarissimi* making their way up in the world through the palace bureaucracy rather than the Roman senatorial *cursus* of quaestor, praetor, vicar and/or proconsul.

A further fragment of a statue base comes from the Forum of Trajan and is dated on paleographical grounds to the period from mid-fourth to early fifth century.²⁴⁵⁸ Although only partially preserved, the text clearly records the dedication of a statue, almost certainly of gilded bronze, to an important awarder, probably *comes sacri consistorii*, singled out for, among other things (ll.1-2), his role as *eruditor* (teacher, tutor, or professor) (l.3). The statue was probably set up by emperors. Alföldy suggests supplementing ll.7-8 as '[statuam auri splend]ore ful/[gentem petitu sena]tus', in which case the statue would have been requested by the senate. It is impossible to identify the honorand, except that he was an individual of great personal and intellectual reputation, and that he was probably already dead when the statue was set up (implied by the reference to his '*memoria*' in ll.5-6). If he was *comes sacri consistorii*, a possibility suggested that he was the famous rhetor Marius Victorinus, who earned great reputation in Rome as tutor of many senators, and who was honoured with a statue in the Forum of Trajan,²⁴⁵⁹ is excluded. If correctly restored, he must hence have been one of the four *comites consistoriani*, the only officials whose title automatically granted them the right to attend sessions of the imperial council. The majority of them appear to have been well-educated lawyers, physicians, rhetors, i.e. men of letters and literary figures.

Quaestors had to possess legal knowledge, yet those skills can hardly be found among quaestors of the Constantinian dynasty.²⁴⁶⁰ In their case, gaining the emperor's favor seems more important. The literary style was however essential for quaestor. Lucius Caelius Montius, quaestor of Caesar Gallus (351/52-354), must have had literary interests as Libanius dedicated a literary work to him. The imperial quaestor, who 'dictated laws' in the consistory, was responsible for literary and legal productions which, once promulgated and published in the cities of the empire, were taken to be the words of the emperor.

The aforementioned quaestor of Caesar Julian in 355/59, Saturninus Secundus Salutius was known to have literary and scientific inclinations. Whether he was the author of the treatise

²⁴⁵⁷ Harries, "The Roman Imperial Quaestor," 154.

²⁴⁵⁸ *CIL* 6 41347=*LSA*-1581.

²⁴⁵⁹ *LSA*-1581 (C. Machado). See *LSA*-2674. The Forum of Trajan, an important location for statues of imperial and senatorial officials, as well as intellectuals. Other examples of statues of intellectuals in this area can be found in *CIL* 6 1724 (Merobaudes), *CIL* 6 1710 (Claudian), and *LSA*-2675 (Sidonius Apollinaris). See Orlandi, "Orations in Stone."

²⁴⁶⁰ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*.

Concerning the Gods and the Universe is questionable,²⁴⁶¹ and his education in philosophy is not attested in the sources. However, Julian, who dedicated his neoplatonic *Hymn to King Helios* to Salutius, mentions in one of his speeches that the latter shared his interest in philosophy. Furthermore, Julian's satire *Caesares* was read and approved by Salutius (*Caes.* 157C). Literary works were dedicated to him not only by Julian (*Or.* 8 and *Hymn to King Helios*), but also by Himerius of Prusa (*Or.* 42). Eunapius of Sardes wrote that during his second term as praetorian prefect Salutius was more interested in writing historical works than in administration (*VS* 479). Olszaniec points out that if Salutius indeed authored some works, he would be then the first quaestor (before Ausonius) with not only education, but with literary culture as well.²⁴⁶²

Oribasius was perhaps quaestor of Julian between 362 and 363²⁴⁶³ and one of the most highly educated courtiers of the fourth century. Eunapius emphasizes his wide-ranging and thorough education. He is said to have studied medicine in Alexandria from the famous Zeno of Cyprus, who also practiced rhetoric (*VS* 497). Eunapius equally highlights that Oribasius was very successful both as rhetor and medic (*VS* 498), calling him 'the most eminent medical expert and a still more inspired practitioner' (Fr. 15). He names emperor Julian as dedicatee of two of his works: the extracts from Galen (*ἐπιτομαί*) inspired by Julian and written during Oribasius' stay in Gaul as well as his greatest work, also written during Julian's reign, the *Collectiones medicae*. While the *Suda* mentions seventy-two volumes, Oribasius relates that it consisted of seventy (*CMG* VI. 3), encompassing all branches of medicine known at that time. Among the extant ones there is *The Books to Eunapius* (*Πρὸς Εὐνάπιον*) in four books, requested by and dedicated to Eunapius, presenting the methods of treating different illnesses. The *Suda* also furnishes the titles of Oribasius' other treatises that are no longer extant: *Concerning the Doubts and Difficulties of Physicians* in four books (*Πρὸς τοὺς ἀποροῦντας τῶν ἰατρῶν*), *On Royalty* (*Περὶ βασιλείας*), and *On passions* (*Περὶ παθῶν*). Apart from the authorship of four volumes of medical works attested by Photius (*CMG* VI. 1-4)²⁴⁶⁴, Oribasius penned seven further volumes on unspecified topics. He equally aspired to historiography, offering his now lost memoir (*ὑπόμνημα*) of the Julian's Persian campaign to Eunapius. Oribasius was still alive when his *vita* was published in the *Lives of the Sophists* around 399.²⁴⁶⁵

As cultured men who could apply their eloquence to frame legal texts, quaestors in the fourth century were not expected of the expertise in law appropriate for 'legal advisers'. Quaestors-

²⁴⁶¹ His authorship is uncertain, and Robert Etienne supports the thesis that it was Fl. Sallustius, and not Salutius, who was its author.

²⁴⁶² Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*.

²⁴⁶³ Ibid., based on the *Suda* s.v. Oribasius and *Art. Pass.* 35=Philost., 7.1-2; not accepted by *PLRE* 1, 653-54 Oribasius.

²⁴⁶⁴ H. O. Schröder, "Oreibasios," *RE Suppl.* 7 (1940), cols. 797-812, examining the bibliography of Oribasius, suggests that he also wrote *Ὀφθαλμικά*, as one of its surviving codices includes a footnote indicating his authorship.

²⁴⁶⁵ Robert J. Penella, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century A.D.* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), 9, for the date.

lawyers did not feature in the *consistorium* until Eupraxius at the turn of the 360s and 370s. Eupraxius, whom Symmachus calls a *vir emendantissimus* (*Rel.* 32), owed his career to education and possession of skills useful in palace administration, whose beginning is connected with holding the office of *magister memoriae*.

Among the senatorial nobility, literary polish was taken for granted, conspicuous mainly when absent. For this reason, Nicomachus Flavianus is more accurately characterized as a member of the Roman traditional aristocracy, imperial quaestor and praetorian prefect, than as the author of a historical work (perhaps an epitome), despite the passing mention of his *Annales* in the dedicatory inscription of his statue in the Forum of Trajan.²⁴⁶⁶ Respect for literary merit made Valentinian I to appoint Ausonius, the poet-professor from Bordeaux, as quaestor, partly as a reward for services rendered as the tutor to Gratian. Ausonius must have mastered legal rhetoric required in the bureaucratic office, but had little interest in legal principles.

Starting from the mid-fourth century, members of the palatine elite could be found as benefactors of cities, which reveals the economic and political networks behind the patronage. These benefactions also raise the question of how they were able to finance their activities. Apart from the capital, many held properties in Antioch, arguably the second most important city of the eastern part of the empire after Constantinople. While Taurus began his career at court as quaestor, Datianus was a member of the local elite who started his career at court as *notarius* and equally rose to consulship and patriciate. Libanius emphasizes that he owned an estate in Antioch, where he also carried out euergetic activities. Holding a quaestorship would pave the way towards the most desired *dignitates* and *honores*: praetorian and urban prefectures, consulship, and patriciate. Montius owned a *domus* near Caesar's palace in Antioch. During his term in the office of consul he certainly could afford euergetism, but by that time he must have built a huge fortune.

Constitoriani, who owned land property, were in a potential danger of confiscations, in case of political changes or intrigues at court. Originally from Pergamon, Oribasius probably came from a family of wealthy decurions. Under successors of Julian, Valentinian I and Valens, he was deprived of his property, and forced into exile to 'the barbarians' (*VS* 498), where he was successful (*VS* 499). Rehabilitated and recalled from exile, Oribasius was not at first given back his confiscated property; however, he resolved his material difficulties by marrying a lady of rank and fortune (*VS* 499).²⁴⁶⁷ With the consent of the later emperors his fortune was restored, with his property being returned to him (*VS* 499). By the end of the fourth century Oribasius and his four

²⁴⁶⁶ Chenault, "Statues of Senators," 110. The tendency to treat Flavianus as a literary figure may stem ultimately from Dessau's inclusion of Flavianus in a dubious category of inscriptions for famous men of letters (D 2947–8). For Flavianus' *Annales*, *ILS* 2948, '*annalium quos consecrari sibi a quaestore et praefecto suo voluit*'. As Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 198–205, 627–33, argues, nothing is known about his shadowy history, and scholars have erred in attributing outsized importance to it.

²⁴⁶⁷ Barry Baldwin, "The Career of Oribasius," *Acta Classica* 18 (1975): 85.

children were still alive with the prosperity undimmed. Olszaniec presumes he that settled in Sardes after his return, and for this reason Philostorgius claimed that Oribasius came from Sardes (7.15).²⁴⁶⁸

However, it was Constantinople, the seat of the Theodosian court and the focal point of interest and aspirations that consumed most of the gold spent by high-level palatine officials. The *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* gives numerous accounts of aristocratic properties in the capital. The great *domus* were named, as one could see in Aurelianus' case, after their founders or owners in Constantinople. Yet Constantinople had centrifugal force even before it became the permanent residence of emperors. According to *Patria*, Salutius, who came originally from Gaul, built a house in Constantinople ((οἶκος) τοῦ Κοντομύτου) (1.67). He must have also owned an estate of some kind in Hebdomon, since part of it was called by his name.²⁴⁶⁹ The *Suda* calls him 'ἄνθρωπος ἣν διαφερόντως περιττὸς εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν' (s.v. Σαλούστιος, no. 35). On the one hand, Libanius appreciates him for not being corrupted, sending to him, on the other hand, numerous letters asking to support his candidates (*Or.* 18.182).

Theodosian former quaestor, Cynegius, died as acting praetorian prefect of the East and consul in March 388. His body was laid in Constantinople, in the church of the Holy Apostles on March 19, 388. After a period of a year his wife Achantia transported his body to Spain.²⁴⁷⁰ Cynegius' outstanding career was partly due to his (probably) Spanish background as well as close relations with the house of Theodosius.²⁴⁷¹ His joint consulship with Theodosius was not coincidental. It was probably likewise no coincidence that after his death, the prefect's body was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles, where most of the Roman emperors beginning from Constantine were buried.²⁴⁷² It certainly must have been an extraordinary honor for an imperial official to be interred within a church, serving the principal sepulchral place for emperors.²⁴⁷³

While eastern emperors cared to raise the status of the new capital, some of the top palace dignitaries can be found settled in Rome. On retirement from active service many took a place in the Roman senate. Around 366, Iovius, who came from the West and dwelt in Rome after completing his service at court as Julian's quaestor in 358, had his house (*aedes*) on the Quirinal

²⁴⁶⁸ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 305.

²⁴⁶⁹ Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 454.

²⁴⁷⁰ *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, s.a. 388; a copy of the chronicle was the private property of Cynegius' family.

²⁴⁷¹ Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 143-144.

²⁴⁷² The body of Constantine II (+340), who was killed in battle in Italy, was thrown into a river; Constans (+350) was murdered in Helena, a town in the Pyrenees in Gaul; the body of Valens (+378), who was killed in battle, was never found; Gratianus (+383), who was assassinated, was refused burial.

²⁴⁷³ The placement of the sarcophagus within the church or its precinct and in relationship to the imperial sarcophagi is impossible to determine. Glanville Downey, "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 79 (1959): 47: while it is possible that, apart from Constantius II, Jovian and Valentinian I were also originally buried in the Mausoleum of Constantine, there is no specific evidence that they were originally laid in that mausoleum. The reason for the construction of a separate mausoleum to receive the bodies of Julian and Jovian is likewise not entirely clear.

sold to Ampelius (Symm. *Ep.* 2.33; 5.54), Constantius' former *magister officiorum*, who owned estates and in Sardinia (*Ep.* 2.33) and a villa in Aegina.²⁴⁷⁴ Viventius, quaestor of Valentinian I around 364-365, possessed an estate in the suburbs of Rome (Amm. 27.3.13).²⁴⁷⁵ Chastagnol claims that it might have been a *domus* in the area Callisti around Santa Maria church in Trastevere and associates it with a slave collar found there.²⁴⁷⁶ Viventius thus took a place in the Roman senate, choosing to settle on retirement in the suburbs of Rome sometime after 371. Ammianus confirms that Viventius, whose administration as urban prefect was mild and prosperous, was able to reach a compromise with the aristocracy of Rome (27.3.11).

iii. *Comes sacrarum largitionum*

Comites sacrarum largitionum were chief financial ministers of the later Roman empire in charge of state factories and mints. While the office's title reflects the divine qualities of the emperor, acts of *liberalitas* and distributions, of which *comes* was the official head, were of importance to consolidating the position of the emperor. In the *Notitia* items in the insigne of *comes sacrarum largitionum* directly or indirectly alluded to the services rendered by him at court. Similarly to other *illustres*, the upper part of his insigne is occupied by his codicil adorned with gold at the corners and placed on a blue cloth-draped table. The framed imperial portrait is situated in the center of the rhomboid.

The central portrait of the emperor shows a close link between the central authority and count of the sacred largesse, symbolically sanctioning all of the count's official administrative acts.²⁴⁷⁷ Beneath the codicil-bearing draped table are placed accessories pertaining to the duties of counts: gold and silver coins (*largitiones*), palm leaves of the same material given as gifts, donatives, treasury, brooch (*fibulae*) and belt buckles, trays and dishes, *largitio* plates, a container for shuttles. In the lower part of the insigne of *comes* there is the *sparcio*, closed or open coin-filled sacks usually displayed amongst symbols of the riches emanating from the emperor's largesse, and a coin cask.²⁴⁷⁸

Created by Constantine after 324, *comes sacrarum largitionum* was still *perfectissimus* under Constantius in 345 (*CTh* 11.7.5).²⁴⁷⁹ Palace ministers were first promoted into the senatorial order (and obtained the rank of *comes*) in the western part of the empire ruled by Constans. After defeating Magnentius, Constantius accepted the reforms and extended them upon his own dignitaries.²⁴⁸⁰ Domitianus became praetorian prefect of Orient after serving as *comes sacrarum*

²⁴⁷⁴ *IG* IV 53 (Aegina). *PLRE* 1, 464 Iovius 2.

²⁴⁷⁵ *PLRE* 1, 972 Viventius.

²⁴⁷⁶ *CIL* 15 7193=ILCV 1904.

²⁴⁷⁷ Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*; Berger, *The Insignia*, 67.

²⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

²⁴⁷⁹ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 37.

²⁴⁸⁰ Bonflis, *Il comes et quaestor*, followed by Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*.

largitionum somewhen before 353/54, thus obtaining the highest post reserved for *clarissimi*.²⁴⁸¹ The clarissimate of *comites sacrarum largitionum* in Constantius' part of the empire is confirmed by *CTh* 11.16.7 from 356 and 12.1.38 from 357. Both financial officers retained this rank until the end of Constantius' reign, which is confirmed by *CTh* 1.3.1 from 359. *Comes sacrarum largitionum* had an advantage in the hierarchy (*CTh* 11.39.5: 362; *CJ* 12.23.14) over *comes rerum privatarum*, despite Delmaire's claim that they were on equal footing towards the mid-fourth century.

The *Acta Consistorii* (*CTh* 11.39.5) from 362 states counts' rank in the *subscriptio*: the senatorial rank of *clarissimus* is recorded only for quaestor, although omitted for *magister officiorum* Anatolius and *comes sacrarum largitionum* Felix, while *comes rerum privatarum* Helpidius is not mentioned at all. It does not mean, however, that palace ministers (apart from quaestors) 'lost some of their position, also in terms of prestige, and ceased to be *clarissimi*' altogether, as Olszaniec claims.²⁴⁸² Although he finds it 'in perfect accordance with the description of 'court reduction' carried out by Julian (*Amm.* 22.4.1-2),²⁴⁸³ it does not necessarily presuppose downgrading of these offices as Roman emperors from Constantine onward found themselves prompted to bestow new ranks and associated privileges and not to retract them. It is hard to believe that the highest palatine offices, whose holders had been previously elevated to the clarissimate, had their rank suddenly depreciated. While a dismissal from dignities remained a punishment for disgraced officials, a rank was defined by offices, albeit with personnel reduced, conferred by a ruler. Moreover, Mamertinus, named *comes sacrarum largitionum* by Julian, was obviously a senator.²⁴⁸⁴

Comes sacrarum largitionum together with *comes rei privatae* are recorded *spectabiles* between c. 370 (the ranks were clarified perhaps as early as 368/69) and 384 and became afterwards *illustres*.²⁴⁸⁵ Aside from their use with *inlustris*, different combinations of honorifics tend to be used for different imperial offices. *Comites sacrarum largitionum* were styled '*auctoritas tua*' in the imperial constitutions between 392 and 447. The combination '*praecellens auctoritas tua*' is recorded also for *comes sacrarum largitionum* (*CTh* 9.45.1: 392). Honorifics, attested for these counts in the imperial legislation in the late fourth and at the turn of the fifth century, also comprise other 'superiority' terms, such as *sublimitas* (from 395), *eminentia* (from 399), and *celsitudo* (from 400).²⁴⁸⁶

Apart from the laws, the office of *comes sacrarum largitionum* is also recorded in statue

²⁴⁸¹ *PLRE* 1, 262 Domitianus 3.

²⁴⁸² Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 13. *PLRE* 1, 332 Felix 3; 415 Helpidius 6.

²⁴⁸³ *Ibid.* The 'court reduction' described by Ammian does show their rank being downgraded.

²⁴⁸⁴ See also Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 39, against the perfectissimate of Felix.

²⁴⁸⁵ *Sym. Rel.* 20 (*comes sacrarum largitionum*), 40 (*comes rerum privatarum*); Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées* 40. Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics," 193 n.52 wrongly dates their illustrisimimate not earlier than 'shortly after c. 390', on the basis of *CJ* 9.27.7: 390.

²⁴⁸⁶ Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics," 203 with table II.2.

dedications. An honorific inscription of the statue for Aemilia Andronice set up in Rome mentions her unnamed husband serving as *comes sacrarum largitionum*.²⁴⁸⁷ He was *spectabilis*, holding the same rank as his wife, and consequently the dedication should be dated to the period between c. 370 and 384, when this important aulic office was held by *spectabiles*. Machado postulates that only men of *spectabilis* rank could reach this post by 384 and after then it was reserved for *illustres* only,²⁴⁸⁸ but *comes sacrarum largitionum* formed part of an aristocracy of service, in which rank was defined by offices and not vice versa (the rank of *spectabilis* or *illustris* could only be obtained by active bureaucratic service). Chastagnol, concluding that ‘*inlustris*’ in l. 6 is an adjective praising her or her family, supplements l.6 as ‘*inlustris [familiae feminae ---]*’.²⁴⁸⁹ The count, however, cannot be identified with any known *comites sacrarum largitionum* of the period, yet there are numerous gaps in the *fasti* of this office.²⁴⁹⁰ Intriguingly, the father of this *comes sacrarum largitionum* was a military official, *comes ordinis primi*, *dux* of Isauria, as was the father of the spouse, who was *comes* of Africa, serving in the East and in the West respectively. Hence, the son did not follow the military career of his family, preferring instead to enter the civil service at court.

The text of the honorific dedication for the wife of *comes sacrarum largitionum*, of which only a drawing is preserved, defines the status of the palatine official through the genealogy of his spouse and the high-level offices in the imperial service held by her male relatives, raising thus his own prestige. The statue honor to a woman, albeit senatorial, is, however, highly unusual in this period, especially considering that none of the statues of even the most high-ranking acting palatine ministers is extant or known through literary sources. The fact that the statue was set up in Rome, with the accompanying base coming from the slope of the Esquiline hill, and not in one of the imperial court residences, proves that it was indeed intended for the wife of *comes* and not as part of the honors awarded to her anonymous husband.

Further, Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, *comes sacrarum largitionum* of Valens and Theodosius in 374-80, was one of several *comites*, who performed his service in the *consistorium* under more than one emperor. He is also one of a few counts to hold his post for more than six years. His statue monument Sidyma near the Lycian coast from 391-92, celebrating his consulship, records that on taking the post of *comes sacrarum largitionum* Tatianus had already held a number of province governorships and vicariates.²⁴⁹¹ Tatianus’ career – as presented by the honorary epigram from Sidyma – progressed from *comes Orientis*, actually one of the *vicarii*, to the prestigious aulic office of *comes sacrarum largitionum* (θησαυρῶν τε θείων κόμης). On retirement from court he appears to

²⁴⁸⁷ CIL 6 1674=LSA-1391. Niquet, *Monumenta*, 123, n.76 has incorrectly ‘*cognitionum*’. She appears in PLRE 1, 64 as ‘Andronicene’, but it is now a consensus that the correct form is ‘Andronice’ (CIL 6, p. 4731; André Chastagnol “Les femmes dans l'ordre sénatorial: titulature et rang social à Rome,” *Revue historique* 262 (1979): 27.

²⁴⁸⁸ LSA-1391 (C. Machado).

²⁴⁸⁹ Chastagnol, “Les femmes dans l'ordre sénatorial,” 27.

²⁴⁹⁰ E.g. 368-71, 372-77, 380-82, 383-84, in the West; 371-73, 381-83, in the East.

²⁴⁹¹ TAM II 186/187=IGC 293(2)=ILS 8844 (Sidyma (Lycia)).

have held no public office until 388, when he was appointed eastern praetorian prefect. For eight years in between his palatine post and the prefecture Tatianus remained a private person, living on his estate in Lycia, supporting, however, the career of his son Proculus, likewise *comes Orientis* in 383-384 before advancing to *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 386. Tatianus' absence from office for such a long period must have been not a matter of choice, for imperial office-holders had to compete intensely to attain the prefectures.

Thereafter, *comes sacrarum largitionum* and quaestor Claudius Lachanius belonged to the group of landowners from Aquitaine, who pursued careers in administration. Rutilius Namatianus (*De redito suo* 1.575-590) describes the honorific inscription on the statue dedicated to his father:²⁴⁹²

For my father once was governor of the land of Tuscany and administered the jurisdiction assigned to the six fasces. After he had passed through many offices, he used to tell, I can recall, that his governorship of Tuscany had been more to his liking than any: for neither the management of the sacred largesses, important though it be, nor the authority of a quaestor had brought him more pleasure. His affection, inclining more towards the Tuscans, did not hesitate to give an inferior place, if piety lets it be said, even to his prefecture (...) (trans. Duff).

Bauer compares it to the circulation of the verse inscriptions in the East. According to him, 'hatte Libanios nur angedeutet, daß es Gewohnheit sei, Statuenepigramme auszutauschen, so scheint mit dem Zeugnis des Rutilius Namatianus der Rezeptionsvorgang und die literarische Verarbeitung von Statuenepigrammen bezeugt: Vermutlich zitiert er aus der Inschrift den *cursus honorum* seines Vaters, der zunächst *consularis Tusciae et Umbriae*, dann *comes sacrarum largitionum*, *quaestor sacri palatii* und schließlich *praefectus urbi Romae* war'.²⁴⁹³ Rutilius Namatianus, however, neither quotes the whole *cursus honorum* from the inscription, nor was the inscription itself an epigram. The literary record confirms the statue dedication for Lachanius as provincial governor (*consularis*) of *Tuscia et Umbria* set up in the forum of Pisa at about 389.²⁴⁹⁴

²⁴⁹² Rutilius Namatianus, *De redito suo* I 575-590: *Hic oblata mihi sancti genitoris imago, / Pisani proprio quam posuere foro. / Laudibus amissi cogor lacrimare parentis: / fluxerunt madidis gaudia maesta genis. / Namque pater quondam Tyrrhenis praefuit arvis, / fascibus et senis credita iura dedit. / Narrabat, memini, multos emensus honores / Tuscorum regimen plus placuisse sibi; / nam neque opum curam, quamvis sit magna, sacrarum / nec ius quaesturae grata fuisse magis; / ipsam, si fas est, postponere praefecturam / pronior in Tuscos non dubitabat amor. / Nec fallebatur, tam carus et ipse probatis: / aeternas grates mutua cura canit; / constantemque sibi pariter mitemque fuisse, / insinuant natis qui meminere senes. Canit* (1.588) here implies laudatory lines on the base of the statue rather than verse.

²⁴⁹³ Bauer, "Virtuelle Statuensammlungen," 94, followed by Martin Kovács, *Kaiser, Senatoren und Gelehrte: Studien zur Chronologie, Typologie und Hermeneutik des spätantiken, männlichen Privatportraits vom 4. bis zum 5. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2014).

²⁴⁹⁴ Lachanius is certainly a *signum*, and he is identified as the governor of Tuscia mentioned in CTh 2.4.5: 389. John Matthews, "Gallic Supporters of Theodosius," *Latomus* 30 (1971): 1082-83, argued that the Gaul Claudius Lachanius, Rutilius Namatianus' father, is to be identified with the Claudius who was urban prefect of Constantinople in 396, but nothing further is known of him until 417, when Rutilius visited a commemorative statue of him in Pisa. See *PLRE* 1,

The statue is said to have been dedicated by the Pisans, but it is not specified whether this was actually decided or carried out by the *ordo* or the *populus*. Lachanius became *comes sacrarum largitionum* and quaestor of Valentinian II in 389 or of Theodosius I and Arcadius in 392-95, before reaching the (unspecified) urban prefecture.

While inscriptional epigrams were strongly favored in the Greek-speaking part of the empire, Latin honorific inscriptions still followed the western tradition of soberly listing the offices of the honorand in a prose form of the *cursus honorum*. Moreover, late-antique verse inscriptions – both Greek and Latin – are characterized by an allusive literary form. Their honorific language seldom yields important information on the career patterns of the high officials, and fourth-century poetic inscriptions are notoriously less contributing when it comes to the reconstruction of the *cursus*. Predating the court offices and city prefecture, Lachanius' Pisan inscription probably praised his good deeds (the formula '*ob merita*') for a period of two years, a typical period for a provincial governorship.²⁴⁹⁵ At the end of the fourth century governors received honorific statues only after their time in office. Rutilius seems to recur to the statue inscription only once again when he emphasizes, that his father liked most of his undertakings in Etruria receiving a recognition from his grateful subjects. A detailed career of the honorand, however, typically appears to be recorded, including inscribed epigrams, like Tatianus' hometown dedication, in the private setting by a member of the family or of the household, often posthumously.²⁴⁹⁶ However, the Pisan statue was a public honor in the city's most conspicuous site, the forum, and on retirement Lachanius probably returned to southwestern Gaul, from where he originated.

My contention is that these late Roman senatorial monuments could be better understood as part of a general 'panegyric milieu', in which the public inscriptions ostentatiously praise both emperors as well as imperial officials. Mamertinus, *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 361, wrote a panegyric to celebrate his appointment to consulship (*Pan. Lat. XI*) and presented it in front of Julian in Constantinople on January 1, 362.²⁴⁹⁷ The panegyric he delivered on taking the post of consul indicates his culture and literary interests. Of many brands of imperial art, including panegyric, the emperors were neither authors, nor the only audience, but a foundation of the symbolic order (often as a missing signifier), that is, of the system of recognition, around whom the communication between others revolves.

Comites of Julian and Valentinian were of proven education and literary culture. *Comes sacrarum largitionum* in 361-63 under Julian, Felix, might have undergone basic education in

208 Claudius 6 + 491 Lachanius. Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, wrongly opts for the urban prefecture of Constantinople in 396.

²⁴⁹⁵ For the *fasti* of provincial governors of Tuscia et Umbria, see *PLRE* 1, 1094.

²⁴⁹⁶ Cf. *AE* 1964, 203=LSA-1628, a base for posthumous statue of Iunius Bassus, prefect of Rome, set up in a private location at Falerii Novi (Tuscia et Umbria) in 364.

²⁴⁹⁷ See the detailed analysis of the panegyric, see C. E. V. Nixon and B. S. Rodgers, eds., *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994): 389-92.

theology. Iovinus, *comes sacrarum largitionum* of Valens in 364-65, a rhetor and a correspondent of Libanius and Basil, owed his career at the palace to his education.²⁴⁹⁸ Libanius refers to him as *φιλόμουσος* (*Ep.* 577). Iovinus was well familiar with the circle of Libanius' students, but did not belong to it himself. He probably belonged to the group of wealthy decurions coming from the East of the empire. A number of Libanius' letters indicate that Iovinus was one of the officials, who protected the interests of the sophist's protégés at the emperor's court.

Another *comes sacrarum largitionum* of Valens in 373, Vindaonius Magnus, had a father, also called Magnus, who was a barrister and a sophist.²⁴⁹⁹ He may have been a relative of Vindonius Anatolius, author of the treatise on agriculture mentioned by Photius, identified with the praetorian prefect of Illyricum in 357-60. A son of a lawyer and a sophist, Magnus was a student of Libanius. Like many other students, he also received backing from Libanius, who tried to help his career. In 361 the Antiochene sophist provided Magnus with letters of recommendation to Anatolius, the governor of Phoenicia. Libanius' letters show that Magnus sought enrichment. He reached Phoenicia in 361 and was probably able to build his career due to Libanius' patronage.

Further, another correspondent of Libanius, Eutolmius Tatianus had proven legal education when started his career as a barrister. He also made literary attempts: Tatianus is said to have written a cento, which was to be a continuation of Iliad, where he concentrated on the description of the fall of Troy. Libanius' reports that the text was published three times and taught in schools, when Tatianus was in power (*Ep.* 990). Tatianus' son, Proculus was a lawyer by education, similarly to his father. Libanius describes Proculus as a man fond of speeches, who attempted to write panegyrics himself (*Ep.* 906; 938). Eusebius, an Antiochene citizen, Libanius' student and sophist, wrote a panegyric praising Proculus (letters from 388).

Similarly, in the West the network of mutual relations between intellectual elite can be reconstructed. Palladius was *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 381 and served as *magister officiorum* between 381 and 384. While teaching rhetorics in Rome, Palladius was recommended by Symmachus to Ausonius (*Ep.* 1.15), Eutropius (3.50), and Syargius (1.94). At the moment of taking the office Palladius was a famous rhetor, a relatively rare case of an official in the West fluent in Greek and Latin, running his own school in Rome. Symmachus extolls his rhetoric skills (1.15, 94; 3.50). Sidonius Apollinaris, admiring Palladius' 'splendor', juxtaposes him with Quintilian (*Ep.* 5.10).

Florentinus, *comes sacrarum largitionum* of Valentinian II in the West in 385-86 and quaestor of Honorius in 395, exchanged correspondence and shared friendship with Symmachus.

²⁴⁹⁸ *PLRE* 1, 461-62 Iovinus 1.

²⁴⁹⁹ *PLRE* 1, 536 Vindaonius Magnus 12.

²⁵⁰⁰ Florentinus, like his brothers, possessed thorough education and literary interests. He was a dedicatee of Claudian's second volume of the treatise *De raptu Proserpinae*. Pisidius Romulus, *comes sacrarum largitionum* of Theodosius in the East in 392, corresponded not only with Symmachus, but also with Ambrose and Augustine.²⁵⁰¹ Unlike Florentinus, he came from the senatorial family, however. He is also mentioned in *Epigrammata Bobbiensia* (70).

While at court, *comites* exercised active patronage of skilled rhetors, the sons of the municipal aristocracy, who studied with such prominent teachers as Libanius. Thus, the latter recommended a man named Priscio to Severinus, *comes sacrarum largitionum* at Theodosius' court in 391 and a relatively wealthy man.²⁵⁰² Severinus was Libanius' student, probably from the times of Valens. He must have been not only a barrister, but a sophist as well. He corresponded with the sophist while in office at the palace and effectively intervened at the court in cases of people recommended to him by Libanius. He was one of few students of the famous Antiochene sophist, whose career went beyond provincial governorship. Priscio was a sophist, fellow-student of Libanius' son Cimon Arabius, and served with distinction as an advocate before becoming a teacher and sophist in Palestine. It seems that Libanius and Severinus' patronage was effective in this case, as it resulted in penning a panegyric in Theodosius' honor (*Ep.* 1053). Priscio composed a panegyric on the emperor in 392 and in the same year delivered a successful oration at the Olympic festival in Antioch.

Based on their property in the provinces, former *comites* were able re-established their status as the leading people of their region. Tatianus' family owed a land property in Lycia. While serving in the imperial administration, he gathered a significant fortune, which was confiscated from him when he was sentenced to exile, which was a standard practice at that time. Pisidius Romulus had a house in Hippo Regius and an estate somewhere in Africa Proconsularis. After his service as *comes sacrarum largitionum* at Theodosius' court Romulus returned to his African estate (*Aug. Ep.* 247).

Funeral inscriptions frequently provide names of places where former counts spent their retirement from politics. From the end of the fourth century comes a small and exceptional group of sarcophagi, which are imposingly decorated on all four sides, and are linked by inscriptions to several holders of high palatine offices. Julius Catervius, *comes sacrarum largitionum* of Gratian in 379, is commemorated in the three-piece inscription on his sarcophagus from Tollentinum.²⁵⁰³ Catervius was probably a senator, since before receiving the post of *comes sacrarum largitionum* he

²⁵⁰⁰ *PLRE* 1, 362 Florentinus 2.

²⁵⁰¹ *PLRE* 1, 771-72 Flavius Pisidius Romulus 5.

²⁵⁰² *PLRE* 1, 830-31 Severinus 3.

²⁵⁰³ *RS* II 148. *CIL* 9 5566=*ILS* 1289=*ILCV* 98=EDR015125 (Tollentinum (Picenum)). *PLRE* 1, 186-87 Flavius Iulius Catervius. Catervius *comes sacrarum largitionum* and Catervius *ex-praefectus praetorio* from the funeral inscription are identical.

had held no previous office. He came from the Western part of the empire, perhaps from Tollerintum, where he was buried. Delmaire suggests that Catervius might have actually been the acting praetorian prefect of Gauls in the period when there are gaps in the *fasti* of this office (e.g. 379-83 and 390-96).²⁵⁰⁴ The period of 390-96 appears, however, to be too late, with regard to the dating of the sarcophagus. Moreover, the honorary post of prefect could have been given to him at the moment of leaving the service. The inscription indicates that Catervius, who lived for 56 years, had been married to Septimia Severina, who, while still alive, commissioned the sarcophagus and mausoleum for her deceased husband and herself. He had been married to Septimia Severina for sixteen years and had a son called Bassus. The names of his wife and son suggest relations to the family of urban prefect of Rome in 317, Septimius Bassus (and perhaps Valerius Bassus, *praefectus urbi* in 379/83).

The sarcophagus is completely covered with Christian iconography, which leaves no doubt that Catervius was Christian. It displays the city gate architecture only on the sides, with the adoration of the Magi on the left and the Magi before Herod on the right. Thus, in this case, the otherwise possible depiction of the deceased in the *traditio legis* scene on the front panel is missing. Instead, the Good Shepherd is placed in the center of the main face in a strigillated scheme with scroll-bearing apostles in the corners. The deceased with his wife feature twice: the busts of the couple are portrayed in a roundel on the back and individually in acroteria on the front. Both times Catervius is dressed in a toga costume. The signs of the *toga contabulata* are not given, thereby the deceased is represented in the late-antique toga costume. One must think of the loosely contoured, unfolded *balteus*, as shown on the early Theodosian statues. The representation on the front of the lid, however, follows patterns of representation of the *toga contabulata*, an uncertainty that owes to the provincial workshop in the western part of the empire.²⁵⁰⁵ The alignment of Catervius' portraits with the apostles, all holding scrolls, presents Catervius as not only as educated, but also as faith-oriented man. At Tollerintum the wreath over the couple is held by the hand of God.²⁵⁰⁶

As Elsner highlights, typical consolatory and eulogizing imagery of the Roman upper class had been adjusted and subordinated to a Christian context as it appears in full scale on the back of the Tollerintum as well as Ancona sarcophagi,²⁵⁰⁷ while likewise included in a secondary context at the front: 'the panegyric aspects of these sarcophagi function by virtue of the Christian dispensation they celebrate'.²⁵⁰⁸ The encomiastic aspect of the sarcophagus' reliefs shows that the funerary monuments of the high-ranking courtiers equally belonged to the 'panegyric milieu' of the

²⁵⁰⁴ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 77 no. 33.

²⁵⁰⁵ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*.

²⁵⁰⁶ For Christ holding wreath over couple, see RS I 922 (fragment).

²⁵⁰⁷ RS II 149.

²⁵⁰⁸ Elsner, *Art and Rhetoric*, 336.

later Roman empire. The panegyric emphasis is directly in accord with the scenes with Christian subjects of the sarcophagus.

iv. *Comes rerum privatarum*

Comes rerum privatarum ('count of the privy purse') was the other major financial minister of the late empire, charged with administering the estates of the emperor. His insigne in both East and West is similar to that of *comes sacrarum largitionum* in the *Notitia*. Below the draped table the coin-bearing platters, money sacks, cylindrical casks, solid boxes appear assembled, with coins scattered all over. An item to the right of the covered table resembling an open scroll on a low reading stand, usual in the imperial bureaus and *scriptoria*, could represent, according to Berger, a precious document in any of the five bureaus under the control of count of the private treasury.²⁵⁰⁹

Comes rerum privatarum appears between 326 and 339 in place of the central *rationalis rei privatae*.²⁵¹⁰ Despite the important role played by *comites*, they were not initially included into the senatorial order.²⁵¹¹ In the first decade of Constantius' reign there was no change in the rank attributed to *comites*. *Comes rerum privatarum* in the West was, however, already *clarissimus* under Constans (*CTh* 10.4.2: 348). Thus, palace ministers obtained the title of *comes* and were first promoted into the senatorial class in the part of the empire ruled by Constans. In the East the *clarissimate* was conceded to *comites* other than palatine ministers already before 350 (*CTh* 7.1.4: 349).²⁵¹² After the reunification of the empire in 353 Constantius acknowledged and embraced the reforms of Constans.²⁵¹³ Before 360 *comes rerum privatarum* was certainly included into the *clarissimi* (P.Oxy. 20.2267).

Honorifics attested for *comites rerum privatarum* in the imperial legislation in the second half of the fourth and very early fifth century include 'personal quality' terms such as *sinceritas* (365-85), *dicatio* (368), *experientia* (382), and *spectabilitas* (398) as well as 'superiority' terms *sublimitas* (from 345), *praestantia* (380), and *magnificentia* (from 389).²⁵¹⁴ The last attested occurrence of *dicatio* is attested precisely for *comes rei privatae* c. 368 (*CTh* 5.14.4), who did not even outrank provincial governors (proconsuls) until 372 (*CTh* 6.9.1). The later nominal term *spectabilitas*, which first appeared in 386 and was used for offices carrying this rank, does not in fact have an official value as applied to *comes rei privatae*.²⁵¹⁵ Other examples suggest some differences between eastern and western preferences. The terms *experientia* and *praestantia* ('pre-eminence') appear nearly always in the East, with *experientia* being used exclusively for officials of

²⁵⁰⁹ Berger, *The Insignia*, 73.

²⁵¹⁰ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 37.

²⁵¹¹ Bonflis, *Il comes et quaestor*, 84.

²⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 86.

²⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, 87; Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*.

²⁵¹⁴ Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics," 203, table II.2.

²⁵¹⁵ *Contra* Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics," 193. See Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 41.

spectabilis rank, such as *comes rei privatae* (CTh 10.10.16: 382).²⁵¹⁶ *Praestantia* is equally applied to *comes rei privatae* in the same period (CTh 11.16.12: 380). *Comites* of *res privata* are recorded in the seat inscriptions at the Flavian amphitheater in Rome.²⁵¹⁷

Apart from the rank and titles, the inscribed bases that accompanied honorific statuary record the court offices of the imperial functionaries. If the (largely conjectural) restoration of the inscription and the identification of the honorand is correct, the very fragmentary base with a partially legible text discovered in the Forum of Trajan should correspond to a known aristocratic career of a high imperial official. After holding two provincial governorships, Mallius Theodorus, a man of non-senatorial background, served as *magister memoriae* at court, before advancing to the post of *comes rerum privatarum* in 380, followed by a praetorian prefecture. As consul he perhaps received an honorific statue dedication at Trajan's Forum in 399.²⁵¹⁸ The dedication was made by the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius with the involvement and approval of the senate. The honorific inscription is, however, extremely fragmentary and the identity of the honorand is not preserved. The *comitiva* is restored in the inscription, subsequent to the early palatine office (the *magisterium* [*memoriae*]). Although chiefly hypothetical, the restoration is plausible and matches a known career of Theodorus.

Count of the private estates under Gratian, Theodorus advanced to the praetorian prefecture of Italy in 397-99, followed by consulship and patriciate. The details of Theodorus' *cursus* are known thanks to Claudian, who dedicated to him a panegyric *On the Consulship of Fl. Manlius Theodorus* for his inauguration as consul in 399.²⁵¹⁹ Apart from this text, one of Claudian's *carmina* presents Theodorus as a person tormented by insomnia (*Carm. min.* 21). Claudian indicates relative youth of Theodorus, when he held all posts, except of the consulship. Unfortunately, the poet does not specify the aulic office of his dedicatee, praising his tenure of the high aulic office (*De cons. Fl. Mall. Theod.* 38-41), but the only extant imperial constitution sent to Theodorus while in office names him *comes rerum privatarum* (CTh 11.16.12). Perhaps his term as *comes rerum privatarum* was not very long.²⁵²⁰ Theodorus belongs to the group of civil officers for whom aulic post was only a step on their way to higher posts.

Theodorus was a lawyer before embarking on a career in administration, but his interests reached beyond jurisprudence. He was the author of the poetic treatise *On Meters*, which he dedicated to his son. While absent in the empire's political life, Theodorus lived in his estate near Milan (Claud. *De cons. Fl. Mall. Theod.* 124; Symm. *Ep.* 6.52). During the break which lasted more than ten years he is believed to devote himself to studies: he translated Greek philosophers, must

²⁵¹⁶ Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics," 194-95.

²⁵¹⁷ Orlandi, *Anfiteatri*, 17. 79, B; 17. 108, D; 17. 162, B.

²⁵¹⁸ *CIL* 6 41380=LSA-405.

²⁵¹⁹ Cameron, *Claudian*, 323-26.

²⁵²⁰ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 443-47, for *fasti*.

have also been interested in neoplatonism, he also studied ethics, physics, astronomy, wrote a treatise about the genesis of the world. The thesis by Matthews, according to whom, despite being politically inactive, Theodorus remained within the intellectual circles at Valentinian's court is hypothetical, similar to his connections with *gens Ausoniana*. He personally met young Augustine, who was at that time a rhetor in Milan, and who highly praised him (*Retract.* I. 2). Theodorus was a dedicatee of the *On the Happy Life* by Augustine, who calls him 'vir doctus, vir humanissimus et magnus' there. Theodorus maintained contacts with the intellectual circles from Cassiciacum connected with Augustine, and he may have been the person mentioned by Augustine in his *On the City of God*. Theodorus was also a correspondent of Symmachus.

Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, son of the bishop of Baelona and *comes rerum privatarum* in 387, is identified with Dexter, a person closely connected with Jerome, who dedicated the treatise *On Illustrious Men* to him as prefect ('ad Dextrum praetorio praefectum'). The only weak point of such identification is the fact that *De viris illustribus* was written about 392, whereas Dexter without any doubt did not become praetorian prefect of Italy until 395. To explain such lack of consequence, Olszaniec hypothesizes that, while leaving the post of *comes rerum privatarum*, Dexter received the honorary rank of prefect, thus allowing Jerome to title him like that.²⁵²¹ An inclusion among honorary prefects following the office of *comes rerum privatarum* was surely an advancement, and it may have been a standard practice in the reign of Theodosius, but the case of *comes rerum privatarum* and *ex praefectus praetorio* Gorgonius is not an indubitable confirmation of it. If correct, a man of proven learned culture and interests, Dexter, who had behind him a career as a chief bureaucrat in the finance ministry at court, was closely related to Jerome through friendship and literary interests. Dexter also wrote historical works, which are not extant, but were undoubtedly influenced by a Christian vision of history and must have been popular, as they were even forged in the seventeenth century.

Similarly, Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, *comes rerum privatarum* in 392-393 at the eastern court of Theodosius, was a poet and a rhetor. He was not of senatorial origin. Pacatus was probably a professor of rhetoric at Bordeaux.²⁵²² Matthews suggests that he was a publisher of the collection of twelve Latin panegyrics,²⁵²³ which ends with the text by Pacatus. The latter is not identical to the author of the treatise against Porphyrius of the same name. Ausonius, who describes him as the greatest Latin poet after Virgil, probably dedicated *Eclogae* ('Ausonius to his son Drepanius') to Pacatus, calling him 'learned' (Aus. 23.13.21).

The high-ranking courtiers, *comites* had an opportunity to contract a more socially advantageous or lucrative marriage. Nebridius was *comes rerum privatarum* between 382 and 384.

²⁵²¹ Ibid., 124.

²⁵²² Nixon and Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, 7.

²⁵²³ Matthews, *Western Aristocracies*, 229.

His second wife, Olympias, possessed estates in Thrace, Galatia, Capadoccia, and Bitinia, as well as houses and villas in Constantinople and around it. After Nebridius' death the prefect of Constantinople – first Clementinus, later Proculus – was put by Theodosius in charge of the fortune, as Olympias had not yet reached the age of thirty. After returning from the military campaign against Magnus Maximus the emperor restored it to the owner, considering that it was not administered properly. Nebridius is said to die twenty months after getting married to Olympias, which means about 389. Dagron and Delmaire, however, insist on different dating. Despite the fact that the sources mentioning this marriage call Nebridius a former prefect of Constantinople, they believed that the marriage took place between Nebridius' terms as *comes rerum privatarum* and urban prefect. This way Nebridius would have died in about 386/87, before Theodosius' war against Magnus Maximus.

Lastly, *comes rerum privatarum* of Valentinian II in the West in 386, Flavius Gorgonius was Symmachus' correspondent. However, the principal source providing information on Gorgonius' career is his sarcophagus in the Ancona cathedral.²⁵²⁴ His epitaph proves that he probably was born and lived there. He owned an estate in Picenum.²⁵²⁵ Current consensus seems to be that the sarcophagus was made in Rome, rather than in a northern workshop. The laconic funeral inscription mentions his *comitiva* at court followed by a praetorian prefecture. Gorgonius either became praetorian prefect of Gauls after completing his service as *comes rerum privatarum*, since, unlike the prefecture of Italy, the *fasti* are empty here, or, which is more probable, received honorary prefecture at the moment of retiring from service at the palace.²⁵²⁶ The sarcophagus shows no traces of reuse, and the epitaph records that Gorgonius commissioned the sarcophagus for himself while still alive (*sibi iussit*). He thereby certainly exercised an influence on the choice of the iconography and his representation.

Gorgonius' sarcophagus, adorned with allround decoration, assumes monumental proportions. It features the architectural relief of a 'city gate', framing Christ flanked by the apostles on the front panel. Like mourning cupids surrounding a portrait figure, apostles acclaim the centrality of Christ, stressing the importance of the central character. Gorgonius together with his unnamed wife appear as small figures kneeling before Jesus (to his right and left) in the bottom center of the main face of the sarcophagus. Bearded Christ stands on the hill of paradise and the couple are at his feet. The front is thus fully occupied by a Christian scene, where apostles (as well as Gorgonius and his spouse) witness Christ in majesty.

²⁵²⁴ RS II 149. CIL 9 5897=ILS 1290=ILCV 99=EDR015486 (Ancona (Picenum)). PLRE 1, 339 Flavius Gorgonius 7.

²⁵²⁵ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, mistakenly identifies the scenes on the sarcophagus as clearly depicting Gorgonius as Ancona's active patron, 'as he is often shown surrounded by its citizens'. The sarcophagus of Gorgonius in Ancona follows fundamentally, but with motive modifications, the sarcophagus Borghese. The lid is carved as the roof of a house in the manner common in Northern Italy and Gaul.

²⁵²⁶ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 109, no. 53.

On the right side of the sarcophagus there is a representation of the Magi before Herod, who is always accompanied by an idol, like Nebuchadnezzar, in front of the city gate. The theme of the three Magi, who are typically portrayed like the three Hebrews in Persian dress and Phrygian caps, before they go on their way to find the Christ child is equally included on the other fourth century senatorial sarcophagi, such as the one of Catervius in Tolentinum and at Sant'Ambrogio in Milan.²⁵²⁷

On the left side the Old Testament event of Moses receiving the law from God is commemorated, and trust in God is represented by the scene of Abraham's readiness to sacrifice his son. Similarly, the sarcophagus in Arles, which has a double register of nativity scenes at its centre and Old Testament episodes in the full height corner panels, depicts Moses receiving the tablets of the law (left), and Abraham preparing to sacrifice his son, Isaac (right). Here the Old Testament clearly prefigures the giving of the new law and the sacrifice of God's own son, events which were to begin with Christ's *traditio legis* at the very center of the relief on the front. The *traditio legis* on the front corresponds to the depictions in Rome and Milan, with minor modifications in *gestus* and *habitus*. In the middle of the panel, between Moses and Abraham, two men are portrayed turning towards each other in the catechesis scene. The biblical subjects sometimes reflect more personal aspects of individuals and their lives: Apostles, Moses, and Abraham on a sarcophagus in Ancona provide Gorgonius with strong role models of active faith and masculinity.²⁵²⁸

The couple features again on the back, this time as full-standing figures.²⁵²⁹ Gorgonius and his wife appear in *dextrarum iunctio* (joining of hands, as a man and a woman in marriage) in the central arch of a five-panel strigillated scheme with saints in the corners. The middle part of the backside shows the deceased couple standing in full growth in formal clothes. As in the clypeus portrait of the Milanese sarcophagus, there is a tender, relaxed atmosphere; the representation of the marital concordia is integrated into the display of prosperity and status.

Unlike the Milanese commissioner, Gorgonius represents himself as a togatus, with his feet clad in senatorial shoes, holding a scroll in the left hand. As *illustres*, palatine office-holders belonged to the upper tier of the *senatorial ordo*, whose distinctive garment was always the toga: some of them even joined the senate on their retirement from court. Some form of the toga was equally the most prevalent costume choice for late antique honorific monuments.²⁵³⁰ The toga of

²⁵²⁷ RS II 148 (right side of the main coffin) and RS II 150 (left front of the lid), respectively. Jaś Elsner and Janet Huskinson, *Life, Death, and Representation: Some New Work on Roman Sarcophagi* (New York: De Gruyter 2010), 381.

²⁵²⁸ Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*, 231.

²⁵²⁹ This side is no longer extant. For the photograph, see Josef Wilpert, *I sarcophagi cristiani antichi*, vol. 1 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia Cristiana, 1929), pl. XIV (4).

²⁵³⁰ Elizabeth Wueste, "The Costumes of Late Antique Honorific Monuments: Conformity and Divergence within the Public and Political Sphere," in *What Shall I Say of Clothes?: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, eds. Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2017), 187.

Gorgonius is depicted with the broad sinus, and is therefore identified as the late antique toga costume,²⁵³¹ which corresponds to the period in which the sarcophagus was made. Sculptures wearing the late antique toga all wear calcei senatorii, indicative rather of imperial service than mere senatorial status.²⁵³² The scroll is likewise the most common attribute for the late antique honorific statues. While it could be interpreted as a general attribute of education and literary culture, Wueste claims that it is more likely that in the context of the togate civil magistrates, the scroll was intended to represent the honorand's codicil, official papers of appointment to office.²⁵³³ However, unlike the scroll held in the hand of some chlamydatus statues, Gorgonius' rotulus, the attribute of the togatus, is not to be identified as an appointment codicillus.²⁵³⁴

Gorgonius is represented five times: he appears only once in toga, but four times in chlamys.²⁵³⁵ One self-representation of him in chlamys is found on the front face, another – on the left side, and two more – on the lid of the sarcophagus. With regard to the chlamys, Delbrück's notion of the 'service costume', less descriptive than Gehn's 'chlamys costume', places the emphasis on the office. Unlike the toga, the chlamys with its military accessories, such as a fibula and a belt, undoubtedly conceived of as a military costume, was worn by the late fourth century by imperial officials, whose service was viewed as a type of military duty. Gorgonius can perhaps be identified with one of the standing figures wearing the chlamys at the center of the scene of the catechesis on the left panel of the sarcophagus.²⁵³⁶ Both the round fibula and the belt (*cingulus*) are also visible. The appearance of senatorial *chlamydatus* on the late fourth-century funeral monuments is indicative of a change of elite's self-representation. The figure of Gorgonius is similar in the corresponding scene to that of the sarcophagus in Milan: the foot position, the hand with the scroll, even the slightly emphasized three-quarter profile head.

Gehn speaks of the unique magistratical scenes of the sarcophagus of Gorgonius, but he does not name the office in which the imperial functionary is represented, referring to him only as ex praefectus praetorio. Gorgonius is, however, engaged in a series of bureaucratic activities portrayed on the sides of the roof-shaped lid. On the lid, above the right side of the sarcophagus, he is portrayed accompanied a horseback ride during an official journey,²⁵³⁷ dressed in the late-antique chlamys costume. Cursor in tunic hurries ahead, with a baculum in his hand, looking backwards at

²⁵³¹ Ibid.

²⁵³² Humphries, "Roman Senators," 30.

²⁵³³ Wueste, "The Costumes," 193, on *togati*, referring to Smith, "Late Antique Portraits," 177-78, who speaks of *chlamydatus* only, however.

²⁵³⁴ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*.

²⁵³⁵ Ibid.

²⁵³⁶ Ibid.

²⁵³⁷ If Gorgonius were depicted as acting praetorian prefect, he might have chosen to depict a quadriga. During the late fourth century the use of a carriage within the city walls was exclusive to the most highly placed senatorial officials, such as prefects. An opulently decorated carriage drawn by four horses that appears in the insigne of praetorian prefects in the *Notitia* was symbolic of their lofty position. See Berger, *The Insignia*, 36.

Gorgonius. The latter is followed by apparitor, member of the officium, in chlamys, who carries a document in his hand. On the other side of the lid, above the left side with the teaching scene and perhaps the portrait figure of Gorgonius, one finds the official sitting, dressed in chlamys, with a long rolled rotulus on his laps. There are also, although on a slightly reduced scale, two apparitores similarly dressed in the ‘service costume’, both bearing diptych or polyptych and writing tools in their hands.²⁵³⁸ *Officiales* with scrolls depicted on the sarcophagus could be further identified as *exceptores*, for Gorgonius is portrayed in his official capacity during the execution of his duties.²⁵³⁹

The ‘service costume’ can be connected with the large-format figures on the sarcophagus’ box. Depiction of Moses receiving the law as well as the practice of worldly duties points to the knowledge of the divine law and its observance. In conjunction with the representation of the administrative activity, however, another level of significance is opened. The knowledge and observance of secular laws is the principal duty of the imperial office-holder: the association supported by the representation of the *traditio legis* on the front of the sarcophagus. Gorgonius is thus represented as *comes rerum privatarum*, and not in a dignity without office of honorary prefect. The overwhelming importance of imperial offices in establishing the order of senatorial society is indicative of a significant shift in late Roman conceptions of aristocratic power,²⁵⁴⁰ which, in turn, instigated a shift in the representation.

The imagery of Christ, the ruler of the world, and the acceptance of the *leges salubres* with veiled hands all show the influence of the imperial art. The iconography of the Madrid missorium is related to the *traditio legis* on the sarcophagi, transferred from late antique imperial art into Christian art. On the sarcophagus Christ passes the *leges salubres* to Peter, the new law, which leads the faithful to salvation. Yet *leges salubres* are also the laws and regulations which the emperor makes to rule the world. And as the palatine officials receive these laws from the emperor, and then pass them on, the apostles are also the recipients and envoys at the ‘court’ of Christ. Moreover, the penetration of the two worlds is mutual. Constantine already spoke of himself as a ‘bishop’ of the church, appointed from by God (Eus., VC 6.24). Thus the secular hierarchy with the emperor at the head reflects the heavenly order. The emperor, however, receives the divine light and passes it on to his surrounding. The court officials thus resemble the apostles in their activity on earth. That is why Gorgonius could be portrayed together with them, and for this reason he could hope to be accepted into eternal life.

On the whole, *dignitates palatinae* were high in the emperor’s favor. Officials from the emperor’s milieu, especially those in constant personal contact with the emperor, such as *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, owed their power to their close relationship with the emperor. By the

²⁵³⁸ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*.

²⁵³⁹ Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 75 with Anonymi 70.

²⁵⁴⁰ Weisweiler, “Domesticating the Senatorial Elite,” 44.

380s, principal official of the *cubiculum*, the department of the imperial court most intimately connected to the emperor, grand chamberlain was assigned a status equal to *illustres* and a precedence over consistorian counts in the imperial hierarchy. In the early fifth century his hierarchical standing even matched praetorian prefects, the highest-ranking officials of the empire. Equally, four comites consistoriani were in the immediate proximity of the emperor as permanent members of the imperial council. Powerful palatine officials, with the title of *illustris*, at least by the 380s, they were the emperor's principal advisors. They are rarely mentioned in inscriptions, but are represented in variety of different media, including imperial ceremonial and panegyrics.

II. *Spectabiles*

1. *Primicerius sacri cubiculi* and *castrensis sacri palatii*

The grand chamberlain (*prepositus sacri cubiculi*) had a considerable body of subordinates, all of whom were employed in the personal service of the emperor. In the palace administration *primicerius sacri cubiculi* (superintendent of the sacred bedchamber) is placed directly under the command of *praepositus sacri cubiculi*. *Castrensis sacri palatii* (castellan of the sacred palace) acted in relation to *praepositus sacri cubiculi* yet without a direct chain of command. Imperial eunuchs in the emperor's service benefited from the effects of power generated by their position in the court hierarchy and their participation in imperial ceremonies.

Primicerius sacri cubiculi was the head of those who served as chamberlains of the emperor's apartment, and *comes castrensis sacri palatii* of all who were not chamberlains, such as a multitude of palace servants.²⁵⁴¹ Already under Constantius II *castrensi* are recorded to be influential and in charge of delicate missions.²⁵⁴² Both *primicerius sacri cubiculi* and *castrensis sacri palatii* ranked *spectabiles* in the *Notitia*, with the former placed above the latter in the hierarchy. The ranks of *primicerius* and *castrensis* seemed to have been filled by regular promotion by seniority within the corps of eunuchs and were held for a determined period of appointment only.²⁵⁴³ The number of high positions open to them was still further increased, since it became customary for the empress to have a separate *cubiculum* with its own complement of high officers.²⁵⁴⁴ As can be seen in the increase in the eunuchs' rank and the number of offices that they filled, they progressed by the process of consolidation of privileges of palatine bureaucracy. Their

²⁵⁴¹ The chief positions held by eunuchs in the palace and the earliest known date of their tenure was perhaps 312, more certainly 326 for *primicerius* (Codinus 18, 21) and 343 for *castrensis* (Athan., *Hist. Ar.* 15; *Apol. contra Ar.* 36). See, Hopkins, "Eunuchs in Politics," 65 n.8.

²⁵⁴² *PLRE* 1, 428 Hesychius 1; 614 Mygdonius.

²⁵⁴³ Hopkins, "Eunuchs in Politics," 65.

²⁵⁴⁴ *Castrensis* of the empress Eudoxia in 400, Amantius was praised for his piety as well as for his charity, which included distribution of alms, provision of shelter to numerous guests, and contribution to pious works, see Marcus Diaconus, *Life of Porphyry*, 36-7, 40.

powers can only be understood in the context of their consequent continuity as high-ranking personnel. This applies well to *primicerii* and *castrenses*.²⁵⁴⁵

The title *spectabilis* is first recorded in 365 (*CTh* 7.6.1), and its usage initially fluctuated considerably before fixed to apply to *primicerius sacri cubiculi*, *primicerius notariorum*, *castrensis sacri palatii*, *magistri scriniorum*, *proconsules*, *comes Orientis*, *praefectus Augustalis*, *vicarii*, *comites rei militaris* and *duces* as recorded in the *Notitia*. The subordinates of *praepositus* were included in the formal system of rank, and thus equated with rest of the imperial aristocracy. The nominal honorific term *spectabilitas*, which first appears in the imperial legislation in 386, was office or rank specific and would only be used for offices carrying *spectabilis* rank, such as proconsul, vicar of the city of Rome, and *castrensis* (*CTh* 6.32.1: 416).²⁵⁴⁶ Most of the *spectabiles* are represented in the *Notitia* by the juxtaposition of an inscribed codex and a scroll, although there are some exceptions, which may possibly include *castrensis* (Or. 17), whose insigne appears to have been bungled beyond recognition.²⁵⁴⁷

Of the two *domestici*, *castrensis* is the only official whose office and duties are fully preserved in the *Notitia*. In the hierarchical ordering of the *Notitia* text and imagery *castrensis* is a dignitary with the rank *spectabilis*, with *primicerius* heading the list of *spectabiles* (Occ. 14). *Castrensis*, like other palatine eunuchs, was almost always an imported barbarian slave.²⁵⁴⁸ His sphere of activity was confined to the imperial palace, within the *cubiculum*, from which he draws his name. Eunuchs were one of the necessary components for ritualization of space and time in the framework of the imperial ceremonial. This ritualization mobilized their both physical and symbolic presence.²⁵⁴⁹ Surrounding the emperor, eunuchs played an important role in the imperial ceremonies and were an essential element in the representation of his sacred character. Very little is known, however, about their clothes, adornments, or special insignia in the fourth century. At the ceremonies chief eunuchs preceded many other dignitaries not merely *ex officio* or on the account of specific services accorded to them, but rather due to their rank that yielded them precedence in the imperial hierarchy. The chief eunuchs, whose career reached the highest titles and honors, were a part of aristocracy already by the fifth century.

Controlling informal access to the imperial family, eunuchs enjoyed considerable power. The court eunuchs were approached with bribes in order to secure access to or the good favor of the

²⁵⁴⁵ Hopkins, "Eunuchs in Politics," 80.

²⁵⁴⁶ Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics," 193, 196, 204.

²⁵⁴⁷ Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 120-121, 123-124, in his appendix II, leaves unclassified the insigne of the *castrenses*.

²⁵⁴⁸ Hunt 1996: 569 states that the imperial eunuchs at the late Roman court were "usually freed slaves from Armenia or Persia."

²⁵⁴⁹ Georges Sidéris, "Une société de ville capitale: les eunuques dans la Constantinople byzantine (IVe-XIIe siècle)," in *Les villes capitales au Moyen Âge: XXXVIe Congrès de la SHMES (Istanbul, 1er-6 juin 2005)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), 250.

emperor. In addition to favors for others, eunuchs were not slow to gain privileges for themselves. They received fees for audiences (*V. Melaniae* 1.11); and by the fifth century they exacted a sizeable commission from everyone appointed to public office. Because of their responsibilities and dignities, their proximity to the emperor, many imperial eunuchs held real power and amassed considerable fortune. Gold- and silverware and tables constitute the insigne of the castellans in the East and West (Or. 17; Occ. 15). The simple fact of serving in the palace associates them with the representations of power and wealth, because apart from the fact that the palace is the seat of the imperial power, it was also a place of hoarding of precious metals.²⁵⁵⁰ Hereby lies the meaning of the castellan's insigne.

Since the *primicerius* is not among the *illustres* but opens the list of *spectabiles*, something else than the gold-trimmed portrait-bearing rhomboid must have appeared on the blue cloth-covered table in his insigne.²⁵⁵¹ Castellan's *codicilli*, however, depicted more distinctly in the West (Occ. 15), are represented by a book with an abbreviated inscription on its cover. The central part has the vertical lines suggestive of the fore edge of a codex. The object beside is a misunderstood scroll, which Berger identifies as the *codicilli* in a form of a scroll.²⁵⁵² The book with the inscription is, according to Berger, the *liber mandatorum*, spelling out the dignitary's duties and giving imperial instructions and sent out to various officials in the realm and contained advice on how to govern.²⁵⁵³ Late antique texts refer to the *Book of Mandates* in close connection with the *codicilli*. For Berger, it is this object, the *codicilli* in the form of a scroll that appears near or attached directly to the *Book of Mandates* in their insignia.²⁵⁵⁴

Loerke identified the *epistulae* referred to in *CTh* 6.22.5 as rolled scrolls, because in the illustrations of the *Notitia* scrolls are used among the insignia of the offices associated with the rank of *spectabilis*. Although it is true that a rolled scroll is consistently used for *spectabiles*, Loerke fails to mention it in all but one case (Or. 27). The scroll accompanies a codex, the front cover of which bears the kind of inscription that Seeck regarded as appropriate for *codicilli*. That the codex, in and of itself, could be thought as a codicil by the artists of the *Notitia* is implicit in the other of its illustrations (Or. 43, 44; Occ. 43, 44, 45). Grigg thus contests that in the illustrations of the *Notitia*

²⁵⁵⁰ Berger, *The Insignia*.

²⁵⁵¹ Gold-trimmed rectangles without portraits appear shared between the two highest grades, the *illustres* and the *spectabiles*, although, as Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 120 suspects, in the original manuscript none of the officials among the *illustres* was represented with it. Most of the *spectabiles* are represented by the juxtaposition of an inscribed codex and a scroll, with the significant exception of *primicerius notariorum* among others.

²⁵⁵² Berger, *The Insignia*, 80, follows Loerke, "The Miniatures," 177-78: *spectabiles* were given their codicils of appointment in the form of an *epistula* or a scroll (*CTh* 6.22.5). But the terminology of *CTh* 6.22.5 hardly entitles one to restrict the term '*codicillus*' to a diptych, the term '*epistula*' to a scroll and the term '*insigne*' to a codex, see Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 118.

²⁵⁵³ Berger, *The Insignia*.

²⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 82.

the rolled scroll was even intended as the main appointive document for the offices associated with the *spectabilis* rank.²⁵⁵⁵

A related problem is identified by Grigg with regard to Loerke's identification of the codices as *libri mandatorum*. Contemporary laws do not accord the *libri mandatorum* the role of insignia, which some of the codices represented in the *Notitia* clearly are. So, even if these codices contained *mandata*, they must have been regarded as codicils. The inscriptions on their front cover would seem to confirm that they were *codicilli*. Grigg considers Loerke's suggestion that the appointive document was bound inside as plausible. Yet this gives one even more reason to assume that, as far as the intent of the laws was concerned, the word '*codicillus*' had more to do with the legal role played by the appointive document than with the document's form.²⁵⁵⁶ Berger's identifications, following Loerke's account of the hierarchy among the insignia of the *Notitia*, are thereby in need of revision.

The codex in the insigne of castellan in the West appears with the abbreviated inscription on it. This inscription occurs throughout the insignia of the *Notitia* on the codices of the officials, who were ranked *spectabiles*, while the lower-ranking *clarissimi* have a different inscription on theirs. The abbreviated inscription reads *FL INTALL COMORD PR*, which was first expanded by Delbrück as '*floreas inter allectos comites ordinis primi*' ('mayst thou prosper amongst the chosen counts of the first rank').²⁵⁵⁷ These words thereby provide a kind of salutation to the newly appointed official.²⁵⁵⁸ Such type of inscription includes the specific title of the office-holder, which is accorded when an official is given a more important post. Therefore, by the time of composition of the *Notitia*, *castrensis* – similarly to his superior, *praepositus sacri cubiculi* – appears to have held the title of *comes ordinis primi*.²⁵⁵⁹ The *comitiva* is, however, not automatically connected with the office of *castrensis*, similarly to *magister scriniorum*.²⁵⁶⁰ Although the corps of eunuchs could never be assimilated into the aristocracy,²⁵⁶¹ the high-grade courtiers had to be rewarded in conventional terms of high status and rank and were thus included into the imperial elite.

2. *Tribuni et notarii: primicerius notariorum*

Primicerius notariorum is ranked *spectabilis* and placed below *primicerius sacri cubiculi* and above *castrensis sacri palatii* in the list of the *Notitia*. Whereas *primicerius* is not among *illustres*, but appear on the list of *spectabiles*, something different from the codicillary diptych must have been placed on the blue cloth-covered table in his insigne. With the exception of *primicerii notariorum* (Or. 18; Occ. 16) and possibly *castrenses* (Or. 17), the isolated codex is limited to the

²⁵⁵⁵ Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 119.

²⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁵⁷ Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*.

²⁵⁵⁸ Berger, *The Insignia*, 83.

²⁵⁵⁹ Scharf, *Comites*, 43.

²⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 55.

²⁵⁶¹ Hopkins, "Eunuchs in Politics," 75, 80.

insignia of *clarissimi* as opposed to the combination of the codex and rolled scroll of *spectabiles*.²⁵⁶² Why this important official should be represented by the insigne of *clarissimi* is perhaps explained by the fact that his emblem in the *Notitia* is in error.

The *Notitia* itself is often regarded as an official document, probably associated with one of *primicerii notariorum*,²⁵⁶³ of which there were two, one for each part of the empire. *Primicerius notariorum*, a head of the bureau, kept the master list (*laterculum maius*) of every imperial official, and issued the codicils by which they were informed of their appointment. This required a large staff of *notarii*, technically clerks, but often in charge of all sorts of special business. One of the most lucrative aspects of their work derived from the fees they exacted when other officials were named, for the notaries took part in issuing official codicils of appointment and in copying out the tasks connected with the various posts. It is this aspect of the notaries' work to which the text and illustrations in the *Notitia* refer.²⁵⁶⁴

The insigne in both the East and West displays a drawing of the book with the caption '*laterculus maius*' written above it. Chief notary was in a position to issue the appropriate appointment document to the new official, upon the appointment of the latter. *Primicerius* would consult for this purpose the codex, a large compendium as shown by the *Notitia*'s illustration, housed in his bureaus and listing of posts and duties. It is the earliest surviving iconography of a governmental registry of imperial officials of the late Roman state. In the upper left-hand corner of each insignia is depicted a bundle of scrolls. Referring to legal sources, Berger claims that the iconography of the *Notitia* equally reveals that 'certain officials received their documents of appointment in the form of scrolls'.²⁵⁶⁵ Thus, she believes that white scrolls gathered in a bundle in the insigne represent those *epistulae*.

This 'iconography of appointment documents' is completed, in her opinion, by the representation, in the upper right, of the *Book of Mandates*.²⁵⁶⁶ However, an abbreviated inscription appears on its front cover (Occ. 16), deciphered as *floreas inter allectos comites ordinis primi*. This dedicatory inscription to the newly appointed official is typical for the codex. The codex of the western *primicerius notariorum* is only recognizable by the inscription, identifying him as *comes primi ordinis*, and two stripes on the deckled edge. Inscribed and unscribed codices along with the various types of diptych tablets appear in the symbolic representation of the *armarium* or bookcase

²⁵⁶² Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 120-21.

²⁵⁶³ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 1414. A part of the brief texts accompanying his insignia in the *Notitia* states that in the care of the *primicerius notariorum* was "the registry of all the dignities and their administrative subordinates, both civil and military" (Occ. 16: *Notitia omnium dignitatum et amministrationum (sic) tam civilium quam militarium*). The chief notary was thereby in charge of the *Notitia*, a registry of the titles of the posts, and the duties and bureaus under the control of each official.

²⁵⁶⁴ Berger, *The Insignia*, 85.

²⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

²⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 87.

depicted between the *Notitia Orientis* and *Occidentis* (Or. 45). Chief notary was in charge of drafting, updating and copying out the material of the registry, acting as a compiler of the *Notitia*.

The technical term *primicerius notariorum* occurs for the first time in *CTh* 6.10.2 from 381. This law stipulated that *domestici et notarii* are to receive a consular rank, *tribuni et notarii* – vicar’s rank; while chief notaries – the same place as proconsuls on retirement. Thus, *tribuni et notarii* became *spectabiles* and equal to vicars. At the turn of the century *tua*-honorifics came to be applied only rarely to non-illustrious officials in the imperial legislation. On the rare occasions when they did merit honorifics, specifically non-illustrious epithets were used: the ‘personal quality’ term ‘*sollicitudo tua*’ was used to distinguish *tribunus et notarius* (*Corp. leg.* no. 1163) in 411. The important role of *notarii et domestici* was first acknowledged in the law from 381 (*CTh* 6.10.2), which equated their rank with that of *consulares*, thus enabling them to join the *ordo senatorius*. *Notarii et domestici*, who probably acted specially as private secretaries of the emperor on important public missions, received a promotion to *spectabiles* already before the end of the fourth or in the early fifth century. According to Symmachus, senator Albinus served in a nominally military office, perhaps as *domesticus et notarius* of *clarissimus* rank before 392 (*Ep.* 7.38).²⁵⁶⁷

It cannot be said with certainty whether *domestici et notarii*, first attested in *CTh* 6.10.2, only became *virī clarissimi* in 381, which Teitler considers to be more likely,²⁵⁶⁸ or whether they were already and remained *clarissimi*. Teitler is inclined to include Flavius Vitalis, *vir clarissimus protector et notarius* in the category of *domestici et notarii*, although the latter obviously belonged to *protectores et notarii*.²⁵⁶⁹ *Notarii*, having their customary military title of *protectores*, *domestici*, or *tribuni* within the *schola* in the fourth century, had no prior military training or any real connection with the *protectores domestici*.²⁵⁷⁰ Since the *protector et notarius* was *clarissimus*, the inscription must date from the last quarter of the fourth century.

CTh 6.26.4 from 386 determines the following hierarchy of ranks: *proximi memoriae*, *epistularum*, *libellis* (assistant masters of *scrinia*) acquire the rank of *vicarii*, that is, the *spectabilis* rank. By the end of 381 *primicerii notariorum* were granted not merely precedence over vicars but were made equal to proconsuls (*CTh* 6.10.2), while other notaries were equaled to vicars. A development when *primicerii* were ranked before proconsuls – as it appears in the *Notitia* – is not datable based on the current state of evidence. It was not until 372 that the four *comites*

²⁵⁶⁷ *PLRE* 1, 35-36 Caecina Decius Albinus Iunior 10; Kuhoff, *Studien*, 212.

²⁵⁶⁸ Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 255 n. 49.

²⁵⁶⁹ *CIL* 11 830=ILS 1280 (Mutina). *PLRE* 1, 971 Flavius Vitalis 6. See Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 176 Vitalis 2. Kuhoff, *Studien*, 423 n. 43. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 63, assumes on the analogy of the close relationship between military protectors and *domestici* (see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 636-40) that there would have been scarcely any difference between *domestici et notarii* and *protectores et notarii*.

²⁵⁷⁰ William G. Sinnigen, “Two Branches of the Late Roman Secret Service,” *The American Journal of Philology* 80.3 (1959): 243; Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 253 n.34 argues further that *protectores (domestici)* belonged to *militia armata*, while *domestici et notarii* did not.

consistoriani appeared higher than proconsuls in the hierarchy (*CTh* 6.9.1). An undated inscription from Rome, testifying to the transfer of statues to the forum by an unidentified prefect of the city, mentions, if correctly restored, an anonymous *vir clarissimus et spectabilis, primi ordinis primicerius notariorum*.²⁵⁷¹ The *comitiva* of *primicerii notariorum* is attested in the *Notitia*, but the title of *comes* certainly did not belong to them *ex officio*. Moreover, *comites primi ordinis* are known to become *spectabiles* only in the middle of the first half of the fifth century.

Clarissimi probably since Valentinian I, *tribuni et notarii* were promoted to the rank of *spectabiles* in 381 (*CTh* 6.10.2).²⁵⁷² The ascent to the perfectissimate for subaltern *palatini* had been given long before since 317 (*CTh* 12.1.5), thus the possibility of the senatorial ranking of higher *notarii* already in the early reign of Valentinian is very likely. Teitler assumes that the imperial stenographers were *tribuni et notarii* in the time of Constantius II, ‘possibly even earlier’, under Constantine and Licinius, and, as such, formed a separate *schola notariorum*.²⁵⁷³ The omnipotent councilor of Constantine, Ablabius was, according to Teitler, initially employed in the civil service as imperial *notarius*.²⁵⁷⁴ The organization of the separate *schola notariorum*, when imperial *notarii* were given the rank of *tribunus*, enhanced the desirability of the post.²⁵⁷⁵ The *schola notariorum* is first mentioned under Constantius (Soz. 4.10.11), while the earliest attestation of the title *tribunus et notarius* comes from 358 (Amm. 17.5.15). Libanius (*Or.* 42. 23-4) laments a rise of *arriviste* functionaries enlisted formerly in the corps of notaries who advanced to high offices and a seat in the senate.²⁵⁷⁶

Under Constantius, the future usurper Procopius served in the East as *tribunus et notarius*. As an imperial favorite, he quickly advanced to the top ranks of this corps, and he was eventually sent on a crucial embassy to Persia in 358. The assignment certainly indicated a measure of advancement, but Procopius’ position at this point was hardly exalted. Indeed, Themistius would later poke fun of his job ‘in the eternal post of a secretary, eking out his living from pen and ink’ (*Or.* 7.86c). Only with the advent of his cousin did Procopius’ career take off. Julian promoted him to *comes* and gave him joint command of his reserve army in Mesopotamia (Amm. 26.6.1).²⁵⁷⁷ It is

²⁵⁷¹ *CIL* 6 1786. Cf. *CIL* 6 41416 dated on paleographic grounds to the second half of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.

²⁵⁷² Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 71, but 81 suddenly claims that ‘in 410 the imperial *tribuni et notarii* were allowed to call themselves not only *clarissimi*, but *clarissimi et spectabiles*’. Kuhoff, *Studien*, 195 interprets *CTh* 6.35.7: 367 as granting *clarissime* by allowing *adlectio* for *comites* and *tribuni*. Teitler 1985: 71 with n. 50 (*contra* Kuhoff) wrongly claims that *notarii* were not yet *clarissimi* in 367, and *comites* and *tribuni* mentioned in *CTh* 6.35.7 do not belong to the *schola notariorum*. See now Schmidt-Hofner, *Reagieren und Gestalten*, 114, n.203 (*pace* Kuhoff). On the post of *notarius et tribunus*, see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 572-75.

²⁵⁷³ Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 52-54 takes *AE* 1961, 308 commemorating *exceptor imperatoris in officio memoriae* Valerianus in the time of the Tetrarchy, who does not belong to a separate *schola* of *tribuni et notarii*, as *terminus post quem*.

²⁵⁷⁴ *Lib. Or.* 42.25. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 101 Ablabius 1. *PLRE* 1, 3-4 Flavius Ablabius 4.

²⁵⁷⁵ Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 67.

²⁵⁷⁶ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 240, on *adlectio* through notariate.

²⁵⁷⁷ Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 162-63, Procopius 1.

unsure, however, if *notarii*, at least from the active service, had the senatorial status already early in Valentinian's reign. The law of 367 fixed rules for admission of *notarii* in the rank of *comites* and *tribuni* in the senate of Rome, which had already been customary in practice, but which had perhaps never been drafted normatively before.²⁵⁷⁸ The rank difference between the notariate and the *comitiva* became certainly not so significant by that time.²⁵⁷⁹

In the internal hierarchy within the *schola notariorum* rankings of *primicerius*, *secundicerius*, and *tertiocerius* were probably introduced at an early stage.²⁵⁸⁰ *Tribunus et notarius* is ranked after *primicerius*, but before the ordinary *tribunus et notarius* (CTh 6.10.3). As the rank *tribunus et notarius praetorianus* is not mentioned in CTh 6.10.2, it was thereby created in 381, entitling *tribuni et notarii* to add the designation *praetorianus* to their title, comparably to military *tibuni* with the honorary title *praetorianus*. *Magister militum* Aetius is considered by Teitler to be *tribunus et notarius praetorianus* before 405, on the basis of Gregory of Tours.²⁵⁸¹ Whether there were any other distinctions, apart from rank and status, between them and the ordinary *tribuni et notarii* cannot be discerned. In the hierarchy *notarii praetoriani* ranked, however, higher than *tribuni et notarii*.²⁵⁸²

From the mid-fourth century senators were exempted from *munera sordida et extraordinaria*. At the moment when *notarii* obtained *clarissime* some of the above provisions applied to them also. At the beginning of the 380s Gratian issued a new law which stipulated that, like *comites consistoriani*, *notarii* were to be exempted from *munera sordida*, but had the duty of *munera extraordinaria* (CTh 11.16.15: 382). The legislator also made it clear that the regulation concerned palace dignitaries only (*maximarum culmina dignitatum, consistoriani quoque comites, notarii etiam nostri et cubicularii omnes atque ex cubiculariis ab omnibus sordidis numeribus vindicentur*) and specified the *munera* from which they were exempted.²⁵⁸³ The *tribunus et notarius* Festus is mentioned together with the *praefectus praetorio* of 383 on the bronze tablet recording the immunity from taxes (*tabella immunitatis*) dated to the late fourth century.²⁵⁸⁴

Although civilian *palatini*, *notarii* could be charged with building activities and made responsible for the upkeep of military or public buildings. Around 369, Emperor Valentinian decided to have a fort built on the other side of the Rhine and dispatched *notarius* Syagrius to *dux*

²⁵⁷⁸ Sebastian Schmidt-Hofner, "Ehrensachen. Ranggesetzgebung, Elitenkonkurrenz und die Funktionen des Rechts in der Spätantike," *Chiron* 40 (2010): 219.

²⁵⁷⁹ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 201, already under Julian. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*: no *comes et notarius* is known.

²⁵⁸⁰ Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 60.

²⁵⁸¹ HF 2.8: *puero praetorianus*. Teitler 1985: 108 *Aetius 1.

²⁵⁸² Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 61-62.

²⁵⁸³ It is repeated in the same form, but without *hospitalitas* and roads and bridges maintenance in CJ 10.48.12. See also the remarks of scholars such as: Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, 148; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 535; and Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 52, on the law.

²⁵⁸⁴ CIL 6 32035=15 7163=ILCV 100. PLRE 1, 335 Festus 5, presumably a relative of Postumianus 2. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 135, Festus.

Arator to speed up matters (Amm. 28.2.5).²⁵⁸⁵ Aphrodisius, *vir clarissimus notarius*, investigated the faulty construction related to laying the foundations (*fundamenta*) of the bridge at Rome under the prefecture of Symmachus in 384 (Sym. Rel. 26.3).²⁵⁸⁶

Funerary dedications furnish geographical information on burial places of the imperial *notarii*. Vitalis, *clarissimus protector et notarius*, who served in the West, set up a sarcophagus to his deceased wife Bruttia Aureliana and himself, while still alive, in the late fourth century.²⁵⁸⁷ By the mid-fourth century a significant presence of imperial bureaucrats is noted in Aemilia, who often reused earlier Proconnesian marble sarcophagi for themselves or their relatives.²⁵⁸⁸ The fourth-century Christian funeral inscription of Barbatio, *vir clarissimus notarius*, was found in Thessalonica.²⁵⁸⁹ He was a son of *advocatus* Eutropius and died aged sixteen.²⁵⁹⁰ Barbatio's young age as *notarius* is not unusual.²⁵⁹¹ Aelianus, *vir clarissimus tribunus*, was perhaps *tribunus et notarius* in the West. He is recorded on the sepulchral inscription made by his brother Fortunatianus Servilius, *consularis Cretae* of a *clarissimus* rank, datable within the last three decades of the fourth and the first three decades of the fifth century.²⁵⁹² Their mother Servilia was a *clarissima femina*. The inscription is Christian in character and was found in the church of S. Saba in Rome.

Moreover, rare honorific inscriptions testify to patronage of the cities exercised by *notarii*, while at court. Flavius Arpagius, *vir spectabilis, tribunus et notarius*, received a statue in Missua in Africa Proconsularis 'on account of his remarkable services to the community (*res publica*), and, especially, the benefits of his patronage'.²⁵⁹³ The honorific inscription listing his *cursus* was set up by the citizens (*cives*) of Missua. They named Arpagius a patron, while he held a post of *tribunus et notarius*. On the peak of his career he held the court office that gave him the access to the second highest senatorial rank of *spectabilis*. He started as *agens in rebus*, a member of the imperial *militia*, and was promoted to a chief officer in the staff of master of offices.

The cities of the late fourth century must have been extremely careful about seeking patrons, paying attention not just to their access to wealth and power, but also to their shared adherence to

²⁵⁸⁵ Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 168-169, Syagrius. *PLRE* 1, 862-63 Falvius Syagrius 3.

²⁵⁸⁶ Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 111, Aphrodisius 1; Kuhoff, *Studien*, 214, 422 n.37. *PLRE* 1, 81 Aphrodisius.

²⁵⁸⁷ *CIL* 11 830=*ILS* 1280 (Mutina).

²⁵⁸⁸ Francesca Cenerini, "La rappresentazione epigrafica delle 'clarissimae feminae' a 'Mutina': qualche spunto di riflessione," in Caldelli and Gregori, *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, 709-19.

²⁵⁸⁹ *CIL* 3 14203, 39=*AE* 1900, 12=*ILCV* 124=Denis Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle* (Paris: De Boccard, 1983), no. 203 (Thessalonica (Macedonia)): *CIL* 3 14203(39). The epitaph is dated to the late fourth or fifth century with the *terminus post quem* under Gratian when the rank of *clarissimus* was extended to all the *notarii*. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 117 Barbatio, with incorrect text of the inscription. No *PLRE* entry.

²⁵⁹⁰ L.4: Werner Eck, *RE Suppl.* 15 (1978), col. 79, reads Eutropia, and interprets as the wife of Barbatio. *CIL* 3 14203(39), where Barbatio is in fact Eutropius' son.

²⁵⁹¹ See also Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine*, no. 247 (Philippi (Macedonia)).

²⁵⁹² *CIL* 6 37125=*ILCV* 130 (Basilica S. Sabae). Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 102 *Aelianus. *PLRE* 1, 19 Aelianus 13.

²⁵⁹³ *CIL* 8 989=*ILS* 9043=*LSA*-2451 (Missua (Africa Proconsularis)). Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 114, Arpagius. *PLRE* 2, 151 Flavius Arpagius.

systems of religious belief.²⁵⁹⁴ Arpagius was probably a native of Missua, if he held the office of *flamen perpetuus* of that city. If it was the pagan leadership of the city that organized a dedication of a statue in the interests of defending its religious traditions, we would surely expect them to have looked to a patron who was not only influential at court but also shared their religious sentiments. If Arpagius served formerly as *flamen*, a religious office, he was thus chosen by this African city as a patron who could promote its cause before a court in a period when a flurry of legislation limiting pagan religious practice was issued by the emperors of the pious Theodosian dynasty. Kuhoff presumes that he was a *curialis* as *flamen perpetuus*.²⁵⁹⁵ However, as Lepelley pointed out, it is unlikely that Arpagius ran the *cursus* of municipal offices in his hometown, thus the office was probably honorific.²⁵⁹⁶ The citizens of Missua therefore decreed the title of *flamen* to Arpagius. The city thus incorporated the imperial official into its existing structures of the imperial cult.²⁵⁹⁷

This still makes it likely that he was a pagan, as Sinnigen considers him to have been.²⁵⁹⁸ Despite Theodosian anti-pagan legislation, pagans had not been forbidden to serve at court. Yet this striking incongruity – a pagan priesthood on the inscription honoring a high-ranking official at the Christian court – gets less astounding if we consider that Arpagius was honored as an imperial cult priest in a North African city in the late fourth century. There were indeed imperial bureaucrats who had managed to hold onto their traditional system of beliefs even while tailoring their public self-expression to suit the tastes and interests of the new regime. Delmaire pointed out that in 391, when Theodosius issued laws striking at the pagan cult, both praetorian prefect of Orient and the prefect of Constantinople were pagans.²⁵⁹⁹ In other words, there is no reason why the pagans of Missua who may have dedicated this statue could not have used the title *flamen* to enhance the power – worldly and divine – of their overtly pagan *patronus*, Arpagius.

However, in Roman North Africa, such was the range of responsibilities and privileges the priests of the imperial cults enjoyed (notably the games they provided and paid for) that they survived the loss of their specifically religious function. The imperial priests did not need to identify with paganism any longer: they maintained high social prestige, providing games in their capacity as priests. Moreover, seven *flamines perpetui*, who are known from North Africa, are clearly proved to be Christians, with one explicitly praised as *flamen perpetuus christianus*, datable between 364

²⁵⁹⁴ Lenski, *Constantine and the Cities*.

²⁵⁹⁵ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 215.

²⁵⁹⁶ Lepelley, *Les Cités*, 145.

²⁵⁹⁷ Archaeological evidence for the ongoing maintenance of imperial cult structures in Africa during the fourth century is collected at Leone, *The End of the Pagan City*, 108–18.

²⁵⁹⁸ Sinnigen, “Two Branches,” 251: ‘the career of a pagan African, Flavius Arpagius, dated by an inscription around the year 400’.

²⁵⁹⁹ Roland Delmaire, *Les responsables des finances impériales au Bas-Empire romain (IVe- vie s.). Études prosopographiques* (Bruxelles, Latomus, 1989), 100. See André Chastagnol and Noël Duval, “Les survivances du culte impérial en Afrique du Nord à l’époque vandale,” *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1972 (1974): 194–98.

and 366.²⁶⁰⁰ Some of them were equally serving in the imperial administration and were local patrons. Thus, while there is no evidence that Arpagius was an active *flamen* and not merely nominally presided the cults, there is indeed no good evidence that he was even pagan.

Arpagius is a rare example of a high-ranking court official taking patronage over a city, and this is probably because he was a native of Missua. Around the same time the council (*ordo*) and people of Surrentum in Campania awarded a statue to Flavius Furius Faustus on account of the services of his toils.²⁶⁰¹ *Vir clarissimus*, Faustus was probably *tribunus et notarius* and city patron.²⁶⁰² He was probably a native of Surrentum. His family links with Surrentum are attested by the reference in the inscription to his position as patron by descent (*ab origine*). Both the council and the people of Surrentum decreed the erection of the statue ‘to his nobility’ (*nobilitati eius*).

In the East, a statue dedication to Faustinus, former or honorary imperial tribune and notary, is yet another example of the city honoring a high-ranking court official.²⁶⁰³ The inscription was set up by the city of Prusa ad Olympum in Bithynia, in gratitude for benefits received from Faustinus (*ἀντὶ πολλῶν εὐεργεσιῶν*, ll. 4-6). Rewarded for his benefactions towards the city. Faustinus had held the court office of tribune and notary (*ἀπὸ τριβούνων νοταρίων*, ll. 3-4); the qualification of him as a former office holder (*ἀπὸ*, l. 3) could, however, mean that he held this office only in an honorary capacity. He was probably a native of Prusa, since his offices would not have involved him specifically with the provincial administration of Bithynia. Faustinus boasts the rank of a *vir clarissimus et spectabilis* (*λαμπρότατον καὶ περίβλεπτον*, ll. 2-3), a rank established by the law of 381 for *tribuni et notarii*. This law provides the *terminus post quem* for the inscription, the dating supported by the Christian symbols in its last line, which also point to a later fourth- or fifth-century date.

At the turn of the fourth to the fifth century further honorific additions to *notarii* are recorded. The poet Claudian won lasting renown at Honorius’ court and received the senatorial rank as *tribunus et notarius*. Kuhoff, however, hesitates whether he held an actual office or an honorary title.²⁶⁰⁴ In 402 Claudian could boast, in the preface to his epic on Alaric’s defeat at Pollentia, that the senate had awarded him a bronze statue (*Get. pr.* 7-14). The still-preserved honorific inscription confirms the statue to have been erected in 400, after the poet delivered a panegyric to Stilicho in

²⁶⁰⁰ See the texts analyzed in Chastagnol, *L’album municipal de Timgad*, 44-48.

²⁶⁰¹ *CIL* 10 681=LSA-1854 (Surrentum). The inscription is datable to the late fourth to early fifth century. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 134 *Faustus. See Kuhoff, *Studien*, 423 n.40. *PLRE* 1, 329 Flavius Furius Faustus 8.

²⁶⁰² Lenski, *Constantine and the Cities*, 218-25 The process by which cities selected patrons is no longer easy to determine given the sources, but what testimony remains indicates this was generally a bottom-up affair: cities were not assigned a *patronus* by the emperor but chose one on their own based on a variety of factors, including thanks for the receipt of benefactions, the cultivation of preexisting relationships, and the exploitation of contacts with locals who rose to high ranks at court or owned estates in their territory.

²⁶⁰³ LSA-527 (Prusa). None of the individuals of this name listed in *PLRE* can be associated with this honorand.

²⁶⁰⁴ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 215.

Rome.²⁶⁰⁵ That Stilicho himself in his early career, in approximately 383, was a *tribunus et notarius praetorianus*, as Teitler suggests,²⁶⁰⁶ is clearly erroneous. The inscription identifies him as military *tribunus praetorianus*.

Claudian's inscription records him as tribune and notary, but the praises are exclusively addressed to his poetic skills. The emperors are treated as 'most learned' (l.10), a very unusual reference in the dedications set up in the Forum of Trajan, where they are usually praised for their military victories and benign rule. These temporal honors might not have been motivated solely by considerations of art, but both abundant echoes in later literature and Claudian's lively manuscript tradition prove that his poems won and retained immense popularity in their own, literary right and his innovations gave rise to the fifth-century genre of encomiastic epic. Although Claudian describes the statue as dedicated by the senate, the inscription records the monument as being commanded by the emperors, at the request of the senate, as was usual in the Forum of Trajan. For him, the nomination as *tribunus et notarius* must probably be considered purely as an honor, as he did not aspire to a career as civil servant.²⁶⁰⁷ It is said explicitly of Eucherius, only son of Stilicho and Serena, that he was allowed to bear the title but never held the office (Zos. 5.34.7). Being probably only seven years old, he is portrayed together with his parents on a diptych probably made to commemorate his appointment as *tribunus et notarius* in 396.²⁶⁰⁸

3. *Magistri scriniorum*

Transformations in other government bureaus accelerated as well. *Magister officiorum*, probably the most powerful of the bureau chiefs in the *comitatus*, was in charge of the various *scrinia* required to cover the emperor's public roles: his staff of three junior *magistri* – *memoriae*, *libellorum*, and *epistularum* – handled imperial correspondence, received the appeals and petitions addressed to the emperor and the reports (*relationes*) of provincial administrators, and then drafted responses to them.

Berger speaks of the 'insigne' of *magistri scriniorum* (masters of the record bureau) as represented in the *Notitia*. However, according to Grigg, the illustrations for *magistri scriniorum* show the tools and products of their office, and 'apparently not their own insignia'.²⁶⁰⁹ If any *magister scriniorum* were 'to be represented by his office equipment, and not by an insigne',²⁶¹⁰ it

²⁶⁰⁵ CIL 6 1710=ILS 2949=LSA-1355.

²⁶⁰⁶ Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 168, *Stilicho.

²⁶⁰⁷ Ibid., 17. The Forum of Trajan was an important space for intellectual activities in late antiquity, see Henri-Irénée Marrou "La vie intellectuelle au forum de Trajan et au forum d'Auguste," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 49.1 (1932): 93-110.

²⁶⁰⁸ Cameron, *Claudian*, 48. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, pl. 19, no. 63. See Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen*, 17, 61, 242-248 with no. 63. Eucherius was probably adopted by Theodosius in 389 and recognized as *porphyrogenitus* (Claud., *Stil.* III 178-79), see Cameron, *Claudian*, 47.

²⁶⁰⁹ Grigg, "Portrait-bearing Codicils," 124 n.2.

²⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 120 n.99.

would appear in contrast to all other officials in the *Notitia*. The majority of codicils adorned with inscriptions are represented as codices.

Unlike the insigne in the East containing eight uninscribed books (Or. 19), the one of western magister represents only six with two different alternating inscriptions (Occ. 17). Berger considers them to be the copies of the *Books of Mandates*. One reads, *FL INT ALL COM ORD PR*, while another, although now corrupt, reads, *FL VALE MAG (EP(IS)) IUSS DD (floreas vale magister (epistularum) iussu dominorum)*. The outer imprint in few of the codices of the lower-ranking officials consists of varied inscriptions. The second inscription – ‘Mayst you prosper/be strong, master (of correspondence), by law of the lords’ – includes the specific title of the officeholder. According to Berger, the title ‘is omitted when an official achieves the higher rank of *comes ordinis primi* and is accorded a more important post’, as in the first inscription.²⁶¹¹ However, neither *comes ordinis primi* was ‘the higher rank’ on its own, nor was it joined with the palatine offices.

In the East each of the four pairs of books on the shelf in the upper part of the illustration corresponds to one of *magistri* listed above. In the field beneath appear four bundles of rolls, three books, and a *tabella* (writing tablet). Thus, there were four *magistri* in the East as the text and the entire illustration indicate. In the West both the text accompanying the illustration and the rubrics above it show only three *magistri*: *memoriae*, *epistularum*, and *libellorum*. This number accords with the three pairs of the *codices* in the top row.²⁶¹²

In the West equally three bundles of rolls are accompanied by books, while the fourth one by a *tabella* with Greek letters written on it. The fact that the fourth bundle is placed next to a *tabella* with Greek writing represents master of Greek letters. Berger thus proposes that an illustrated copy of the *Notitia*, compiled and executed in the East, was sent to the West, where the western notaries, drawing up a *Notitia* of the West, adapted the eastern version to fit their governmental structure. The western copyist thereby neglected to rearrange the illustration so as to omit the emblem of the Greek *magister* in the lower field, even though the text and the actual organization did not include this master.²⁶¹³ The *tabella* that appears in the lower right-hand of the illustration is represented as two open pieces of ivory or wood attached together. The codices with their red covers have extending flaps, which would go around the book to protect the margin. The scrolls are also realistically depicted rolled around an inner core of papyrus and represented as snow white, hence yet used. Curiously, the Greek writing on the western illustration of *magister epistularum graecarum* on the left and right sides of the *tabella* was changed by the Carolingian copyist, replacing the original inscription with the text of Greek liturgy.²⁶¹⁴

²⁶¹¹ Berger, *The Insignia*, 194.

²⁶¹² Ibid., 88.

²⁶¹³ Ibid., 89-90.

²⁶¹⁴ Ibid., 91-93.

Around 350, the palace dignitaries, *magistri scriniorum* were ranked under proconsulship, while the reversed placement is not datable. Valentinian I first equaled *magistri scriniorum* with vicars in 372 (*CTh* 7.11.1). The hierarchy of the imperial offices would soon look as follows: in the law from 386 chief of the bureau (*magister memoriae, epistularum, libellorum, dispositionum*) ranks over vicariate.²⁶¹⁵ The new rulings of Gratian of 380 and 381 present in effect vicars and *magistri scriniorum* already as *spectabiles*, while proconsuls remain of the same rank.²⁶¹⁶ The *Notitia* (Or. 1.18, 20-24; Occ. 1.16, 18-21) records *magistri scriniorum* as *spectabiles* placed in the hierarchy below *castrensis sacri palatii* yet above proconsul. The laws also establish the right to retirement with certain honors after a designated period: provision was made for those in the *sacra scrinia* to retire with high honors after twenty years of service.²⁶¹⁷

Masters of record offices served as the general secretariat. Each was assisted by a first and a second deputy-chief (*proximus* and *melloproximus*) and a large staff. The texts accompanying their illustrations spell out their duties. *Magister sacra memoriae*, the most important among masters, formulated and issued all rescripts and wrote the imperial responses (*adnotationes*) to entreaties. The *scrinium memoriae* had become the principal office of transmission; by it the replies of the emperor, military commissions, official letters, reports, and other imperial documents were sent to their destination. The new palatine office created by Diocletian supervised a bureau (*scrinium*) of scribes who handled the responses to any requests and petitions in which the emperor took a specific personal interest, while other *magistri* supervised the more routine business of government.

It is impossible to date precisely when *magistri* received the senatorial status. Secundus probably obtained it in connection with the title of *comes ordinis primi*. Similarly to notaries under Constantius, like Taurus, one could achieve inclusion into the *ordo senatorius* through the *comitiva*.²⁶¹⁸ Then, the *magisterium* would remain only an equestrian office. In analogy to the notariate, one can assume that the status of the *magisteria* was raised by Constantius II.²⁶¹⁹ Although the advancement of the *scrinia* to spectabilitate is documented in 380, the *Notitia* remains the first document explicitly mentioning their precedence over the proconsulship.

Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius was a chief of all three of the *scrinia* (*item magister libellorum et cognitionum sacrarum, magister epistularum and magister memoriae*) in a row sometime before 355.²⁶²⁰ These palatine posts suggest that he possessed legal training. His detailed *cursus* is given in

²⁶¹⁵ *CTh* 6.26.4, *proximi memoriae, epistularum, libellis* obtained the rank of *vicarii*.

²⁶¹⁶ *CTh* 6.7.2 and 9.2: 380; 10.2 and 3; 22.5; 26.2: 381.

²⁶¹⁷ *CTh* 6.26.7: 396, cf. *CTh* 6.26.1: 362; *CTh* 6.26.8=CJ 12.19.3: 396.

²⁶¹⁸ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 220-21.

²⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 222.

²⁶²⁰ *CIL* 6 510=ILS 4152. *Magister sacrarum cognitionum* (master of the sacred inquests), judge or attorney in the imperial court of appeal, involved in the preparation of legal cases for the emperor's court, see undated *CIL* 5 8972=LSA-1218 (Aquileia), disappeared in the mid-fourth century through merging of his bureau with that of master of the petitions (*CIL* 6 510 from 376). *PLRE* 1, 15-16 Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius 7.

the pagan votive inscription from Rome dedicated to Magna Mater and Attis and set up in 376. By this year he was already *clarissimus*. It records that he started out as a barrister (*advocatus*) in Africa before obtaining a legal post at court and served in a number of palatine ministries. His origins were probably relatively humble, since his career is not that of an aristocrat but of an able lawyer who achieved success by his learning and abilities. Under Constantius *magister scrinii* Aedesius belonged to the inner circle of courtiers.

The exclusivity of literary culture was offering access to the network of friendships and patronages that could help to advance the career with concomitant enrichment. Florentius, one of Constantius' high-rank civil servants, who came from Antioch, might have started his career by becoming *magister scrinii* before he was promoted to *magister officiorum* in 359-361, but there is no direct evidence in which *scrinia* he might have served.²⁶²¹ As an Antiochene, Florentius received a series of Libanius' letters, in which the rhetor tried to act as *suffragator*, and corresponded with the exiled bishop Lucifer of Caralis. Eusebius, probably *magister scrinii* at court in 360,²⁶²² was a student of Libanius at Antioch in 353/354. Described by him as able rhetor (*Ep.* 622), Eusebius became an influential person (*Ep.* 669).²⁶²³

Further, Flavius Claudius Antonius, quaestor of Valentinian I in 371/73, began his career at court as *magister scrinii* about 371.²⁶²⁴ On the basis of his *cursus honorum*, Kuhoff considers him to be another *homo novus*. However, his connections by marriage to Theodosius indicate that he was a member of the imperial elite. On this basis Olszaniec proposed that he also came from Spain.²⁶²⁵ Antonius' eloquence was widely known, but the *oratio* he had delivered raised his reputation to the level of *maiestatis scriptis aptata*. It does not mean that from the position of the head of the *epistulae/libelli* bureau he did not move to *memoria*. After making a speech in the senate of Rome, Antonius received a promotion from *magister scrinii* to a higher position, namely, the one of quaestor. Correspondent of Symmachus (*Ep.* 1.89-93) and probably Ambrose (*Ep.* 90), he also wrote tragedies (Symm. *Ep.* 1.89).

Thereafter, Hephaestio was a palatine minister, perhaps *primicerius notariorum* or *magister* of one of the *scrinia* at the western court in 389.²⁶²⁶ He held a high palatine post, in which he was able to find employment for skilled rhetors (Symm. *Ep.* 5.35). Similarly, formerly teacher of Latin grammar and rhetoric, Flavius Eugenius, *vir clarissimus* (Symm. *Ep.* 3.61 (from 385)), served at the palace in the West as *magister scrinii* sometime before 392.

²⁶²¹ PLRE 1, 363 Florentius 3.

²⁶²² Kuhoff, *Studien*, 221-22, possibly *magister memoriae* and came to assume this office as rhetor.

²⁶²³ PLRE 1, 303-304 Eusebius 15.

²⁶²⁴ Symm., *Ep.* 1.89: *Non incognito quidem nobis eloquii splendore nituisti, sed magnis rebus adcommoda et maiestatis scriptis aptata gloriam, quam magisterio ante quaesisti, recens auxit oratio.* PLRE 1, 77 Flavius Claudius Antonius 5.

²⁶²⁵ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*.

²⁶²⁶ PLRE 1, 416 Hephaestio 2.

i. *Magister memoriae*

The beginning of the court career connected with holding the office of *magister memoriae* was a traditional domain of people who owed their careers to education and possession of skills useful in palace administration rather than to their background. The literary education and culture is noted regularly among the virtues of men who had gone on to hold high offices of state for its acquisition signaled the ethical qualities that marked a man fit to share the burden of government.²⁶²⁷ The general observation of Augustine and John Chrysostom that liberal arts furthered temporal ambitions,²⁶²⁸ is amply borne out by specific cases: advocates and historians, rhetors and poets, and even a few fairly obscure grammarians all came to serve in the imperial *scrinia*.²⁶²⁹

Thus, in the West, Flavius Eupraxius, *magister memoriae* at the court of Valentinian I, may have originated from *ordo decurionum*.²⁶³⁰ As Ammianus reports, he came from Mauretania Caesariensis, and might have thus been another member of the local elite who owed their careers to service at the palace. He owed his further promotion as quaestor in 367 due to the emperor's favor. Eupraxius, however, was probably the first quaestor with legal education and able to formulate laws. Ammianus and Symmachus both describe him as one of the empire's most distinguished dignitaries. Sextius Rusticus Iulianus, another *magister memoriae* of Valentinian I, was equally not of senatorial origins.²⁶³¹ He was a new man (Symm., *Or.* 7.4) suggested for the post by Gallic courtiers in 367 (Amm. 27.6.1). In the East, Festus, the author of *Breviarium*, became *magister memoriae* under Valens around 369-70. He was of humble origins from Tridentum in Raetia and began his career as a barrister (Amm. 29.2.22) and rose to *consularis* of Syria in 365 or 368, thus becoming a *vir clarissimus*. He is the earliest official that proves the senatorial rank of holders of the *magisterium*.²⁶³²

Further, Saturninus Secundus Salutius served as *magister memoriae* in mid-fourth century before becoming quaestor of Julian Caesar in 355/59. The details of his *cursus honorum* are known due to the inscription from Trajan's Forum dated to about 365/67. The text of the inscription indicates that before obtaining the office of quaestor of the sacred palace Secundus had held the following posts: *praeses provinciae Aquitaniae*, *magister memoriae*, *comes ordinis primi*, *proconsul Africae*. He is a dignitary whose career includes the posts in provincial administration of empire, characteristic of 'senatorial' *cursus honorum*, as well as the posts at the emperor's palace. The first stage of his career at the palace was the office of *magister memoriae*, obtained probably

²⁶²⁷ Aur. Vict., *De Caes.* 9.12. Kaster, *Guardians*, 27.

²⁶²⁸ Aug., *De discipl. Christ.* 12; Chrysost., *Adv. oppugn. vit. monast.* 3.5.

²⁶²⁹ Kaster, *Guardians*, 28.

²⁶³⁰ *PLRE* 1, 299-300 Flavius Eupraxius.

²⁶³¹ *PLRE* 1, 479-80 Sextius Rusticus Iulianus 37.

²⁶³² Kuhoff, *Studien*, 223.

under the reign of Constans. The next *dignitas* he received was the title of *comes primi ordinis*, which might have resulted from his participation in the war between Constantius and Magnentius. During the reign of Constantinian dynasty the title of *comes ordinis primi* was incorporated into *cursus honorum* as the one preceding the proconsulship.²⁶³³ Salutius is known to have literary and scientific inclinations.

Thereafter, Gregorius Proculus was perhaps *magister memoriae* at the court of Gratian in the West.²⁶³⁴ He was an addressee of Ausonius' poem (*Praef. variae* 5 (=1.5)), perhaps an introductory piece to a collection of epigrams sent to him, and himself had literary aspirations. Ausonius puns:

I'm angry with Proculus, who is as eloquent as he is important. He has written a lot of things which he keeps under wraps. I'm anxious to get my revenge on him. And a poet has got a ready means of revenge – he who doesn't publish his own poems can read mine (trans. N. Kay).

While dating is problematic, the phrase '*quantus honos*' (l.10) suggests a date in Gregorius' career of 379 or later, most probably between 379 and 383. By then Ausonius himself was consul and at the height of his political ascendancy, so to compliment Gregorius on his political and literary achievements is mock-modesty, since Ausonius outranked him in both spheres. Undoubtedly a close friend of Ausonius, who had been at Trier with him, Gregorius was an author of a speech of Gratian on his victories, delivered by Symmachus in the senate in 379 (*Ep.* 2.18). Gregorius was Symmachus' correspondent, while at the emperor's court in 380 (*Ep.* 3.19 and 21).

Aforementioned Theodosius' *magister memoriae* in the East, Flavius Mallius Theodorus is known to be from rather lowly social background: Claudian enumerates consul's virtues in the panegyric, but does not comment on his ancestors (Claud. *De cons. Fl. Mall. Theod.* 33-37). His profession, scientific and literary interests indicate, nevertheless, profound education. The first steps of his career include working as barrister in the *officium* of praetorian prefect and holding a few provincial governorships before he embarked on the palace career as *magister memoriae* c. 379 that at the end would earn him the consulship.²⁶³⁵ Similar careers pursued also Festus, *consularis Syriae*, who became *magister memoriae*, and Dardanus, *consularis Viennensis*, who went to be *magister libellorum*.²⁶³⁶ Later, Benivolus, *magister memoriae* at the western court of Valentinian II in 385,

²⁶³³ Ibid., 157, is wrong to claim that the title of *comes ordinis primi* was obtained by Secundus along with the post of *magister memoriae*.

²⁶³⁴ Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 425, *magister memoriae*, contra PLRE I Proculus Gregorius 9, possibly quaestor in 379.

²⁶³⁵ Santo Mazzarino, *Stilicone. La crisi imperial dopo Teodosio* (Rome: Signorelli, 1942), 339 proposed *magister epistularum*, following O. Seeck. Wilhelm Ensslin, "Theodorus," *RE* VA,2 (1934), 1898 more generally *magister scrinii*.

²⁶³⁶ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 224-27 concerning the types of careers with the office of *magister* included in *cursus honorum*. PLRE 2, 346-47 Claudius Postumus Dardanus.

became later one of the *honorati* of Brixia, and an addressee of a number of sermons by Gaudentius, bishop of Brixia (Gaud. *praef.*).²⁶³⁷

ii. *Magister epistularum* and *magister epistularum graecarum*

Over time, the imperial bureaus into which legal questions filtered, and by which they were answered, had been reformed. By the time of Carus, if not before, the old Antonine officials *ab epistulis* and *a libellis* had come to be known as *magistri epistularum* and *magistri libellorum*, and it was the occupants of these offices who had the most interest in regularizing the application of Roman civil law across the empire.

Magister epistularum was in charge of references to the imperial authority by judges (*consultations*). As chief of the bureau of correspondence he also dealt with deputations from states and petitions. Few masters of the bureau of correspondence are known, whose literary interests reached beyond their office. Fl. Hermogenes, who studied philosophy and made himself proficient in both Latin and Greek, may have been *magister* of one of the *sacra scrinia* at court in Constantinople, probably under Constantine between 330 and 337. After 337 he became a *clarissimus* proconsul of Achaia, probably under one of Constantine's sons.²⁶³⁸ Eutropius, the author of *Breviarum*, probably native of Bordeaux, was presumably *magister epistularum* of Constantius II before 361,²⁶³⁹ before becoming *magister memoriae* of Valens in the East on the eve of the Persian war c. 368/69 (*Brev. dedic.*). Later he continued his career at Gratian's court.

Thereafter, *magister epistularum* in the West about 395, Minervius (Symm. *Ep.* 4.35) was the elder brother of Florentius, *comes sacrarum largitionum* of Valentinian II in 385-86 and quaestor of Honorius in 395.²⁶⁴⁰ Minervius started as *magister epistularum* and made a successful career during the reign of Honorius – first as *comes rerum privatarum* in 397-98, becoming *comes sacrarum largitionum* in the following year – that was entirely associated with his palace service. He came from Trier and his whole family was closely related to northern Gaul (*Belgica*). His father was *ex-consularis* Minervius, who along with Praetextatus and the vicar of Spain Venustus took part in the diplomatic mission to Valentinian I, which in 370 asked the emperor to refrain from using tortures during investigations against senators. The second brother, Protadius, was the prefect of Rome in 400/401 and had proven literary interests. Another addressee of Symmachus, Patricius stepped in the office of *magister epistularum* in 396.²⁶⁴¹

Further, master of the bureau of Greek correspondence (*magister epistularum graecarum*) either himself formulated letters, which are usually issued in Greek, or when they had been

²⁶³⁷ *PLRE* 1, 161 Benivulus.

²⁶³⁸ *IG* IV 209 does not attest his palatine office under Constantine. The authors of *PLRE* leave open a choice between *magister scriniorum* and *quaestor*. Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, against the questorship. Kuhoff, *Studien*, Hermogenes 3+9.

²⁶³⁹ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 223, questions whether he was *magister epistularum*.

²⁶⁴⁰ *PLRE* 1, 603 Minervius 2.

²⁶⁴¹ *PLRE* 2, 837 Patricius 1.

formulated in Latin translated them into Greek. This purely eastern office was held probably by Eugnomonius, fellow-student with Libanius at Athens, under Constantius II in 357-58 and certainly by sophist Nymphidianus under Julian between 361 and 363, who was recommended to this post due to his knowledge of rhetoric. Calliopius, the uncle of Olympias, who was *grammaticus* and assistant-teacher under Libanius became perhaps *magister epistularum graecarum* in the East in 388.²⁶⁴²

iii. *Magister libellorum*

Magister libellorum prepared trials (*cognitiones*). As chief of the bureau of requests, he dealt with the hearing of cases and petitions. Early in the tetrarchic decade, several *magistri libellorum* undertook major efforts to codify the laws that had been issued by the emperors of the previous century. Aurelius Arcadius Charisius, *magister libellorum* in the early fourth century, was the author of legal works cited in the *Digest*.²⁶⁴³

C. Caelius Saturninus *signo Dogmatius*, head of the office of petitions,²⁶⁴⁴ had a successful career under the second tetrarchy and under the subsequent Constantinian regime. He was of equestrian rank by birth, and started work as advocate for the imperial *fiscus* probably in northern Italy. He then entered the imperial administration, taking up posts in the bureaucracy and judicial administration. He held a whole row of offices, otherwise undocumented. The office of *a consiliis* is not recorded after the 330s, with the inscription of Saturninus apparently being the latest. Salary scales featuring in the *cursus* of Saturninus also are not longer found later. He was probably connected with the court of a Caesar, possibly Constantius I. De Bonflis suggests that Saturninus became *comes d. n. Constantini victoris Augusti* already in 324.²⁶⁴⁵ After the victory at Chrysopolis Constantine probably decided to promote Saturninus into the senatorial order somewhere between about 326 and 330.²⁶⁴⁶ He became a senator and received the rank of *consularis* at the request of the senate itself, and was then made deputy of the urban prefect, with the power of appeal, being later appointed to the praetorian prefecture. The *cursus* of Saturninus is a good illustration of the possibilities for political mobility that were open for ambitious men at the time of the tetrarchy and under the Constantinian regime.

No more than five senatorial standing statues can be securely attributed to Constantine's reign. The togate portrait of Saturninus from Rome (fig. 1), one of the most precisely dated statues from the Constantinian age, reveals the contradiction produced by the equestrian infusion into the

²⁶⁴² *PLRE* 1, 174-75 Calliopius 2.

²⁶⁴³ *PLRE* 1, 200-201 Aur. Arcadius Charisius 2. For the date, see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 3 n.1.

²⁶⁴⁴ *CIL* 6 1704 (+p. 4739)=*LSA*-1266.

²⁶⁴⁵ Bonflis, *Il comes et quaestor*, 11 n. 24.

²⁶⁴⁶ Porena, *Le origini*, 447.

senatorial order.²⁶⁴⁷ As a paradigm for the dress code toward the end of Constantine's reign and for the constraints of recycling, Saturninus is shown in an old-fashioned toga with small, centrally placed umbo, a broad sinus reaching the knee and a tunic with sleeves. His garments, however, are not defined by the togate statue available from the high empire for reworking, neither is his physiognomy entirely modeled on the extant portraiture. The conspicuous representation of the toga, similar to contemporary reliefs on the arch of Constantine, emphasizes the purple stripe corresponding to the honorand's dignity. Its choice should not be confined to a purely aesthetic decision.

Saturninus wears the closed leather shoes associated with the equestrian order, virtually unattested in representations of *clarissimi* after Constantine. It comes as no surprise that the inscription accompanying the statue presents him as an equestrian with a fine career elevated to the senatorial rank. What is indeed striking, however, is that Saturninus explicitly signals that what he wears really makes a difference. A senator by the time the statue was dedicated to him, he clearly states by the choice of footwear that he stemmed from the equestrian order. The paradoxical statement of a conscious mixture of equestrian and senatorial as well as military and civilian representation established an opposition and asserted a contradiction. It was based on a dual observation: he is not who he is. In his preference for the reused statue, he must have wanted the *calcei equestres* to remain visible. An equestrian in imperial service, Saturninus holds a scroll in his left hand, while a bundle of scrolls knotted in a strap rests against his right foot. The distinction becomes an ideological one, revealing an inner tension in the self-representation of the imperial aristocracy of service.

The carefully recut statue portrait shows Saturninus with short hair, a short beard and a short barb. The tetrarchic impression of Saturninus' portrait can hardly be read as deliberate opposition to the current regime defined by the Augustan image of the emperor but rather as an unintended reference to the political order under which his career had begun. It continued through the Constantinian period, reaching its climax when he entered the senate of Rome by the *adlectio inter consulares* c. 326. Far from representing the resistance to the new order, Saturninus owed his rise solely to his loyalty and closeness to the emperor, who granted him the title of comes shortly before the statue was displayed in the private setting of the honorand's *domus*. Having commenced with the positions Saturninus occupied in the imperial *scrinia*, including head of the office of petitions (*magister libellorum*) and head of the imperial records (*magister studiorum*), his career evolved over a long period before it culminated with *clarissime* at the request of the senate.

²⁶⁴⁷ Carlos Machado (*LSA-1266*) draws attention to the fact that although the base and the statue *LSA-903* are always considered to be part of the same monument, and on balance this is likely, some doubts must remain: the account of their discovery is very generic (*CIL*), and does not prove conclusively that statue and base were intimately connected.

Anatolius, *magister officiorum* of Julian in 361-363, started his career as the latter's *magister libellorum* in Gaul (Amm. 20.9.8).²⁶⁴⁸ He must have been among Julian's closest advisors, since he remained in office also during Julian's rule as Augustus. He is the only courtier of Julian mentioned by name to be present during the emperor's speech against the cynic Heraclius (Jul. *Or.* 7.223b).

By and large, *primicerius sacri cubiculi* and *castrensis sacri palatii* were part of the domestic administration by the side of the emperor, overseeing administration of the imperial chamber, palaces, and secretariats. In the palatine hierarchy superintendent of the sacred bedchamber ranked second to *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, followed by castellan of the sacred palace. As stewards of the *palatium*, they came to be the leading officials in running the administration and finances of the palace in the fourth century. In close touch with the emperor were also *tribuni et notarii*, headed by *primicerius notariorum*, who maintained the *laterculum maius* and was in position to issue *codicilli* of appointment to senior imperial officials. This group of palatine officials received their promotion into the senatorial order already under Constantius. Lastly, *magistri scriniorum*, who drew their staff from the *sacra scrinia*, were equally working in the ambit of the emperor as members of the *consistorium* with the rank of *spectabilis*.

III. *Clarissimi*

1. *Comites largitionum* and *rationales*

At the beginning of the fifth century the *Notitia* gives a picture of *rationales* and counts of the diocesan largesses existing at that date. It lists the offices of the diocesan *comes largitionum* and *rationalis summarum* as subordinates of *comes sacrarum largitionum*.²⁶⁴⁹ In the East, under *comes sacrarum largitionum* placed *comites largitionum per omnes dioceses* (13.5) and a single *rationalis* (13.14: *comes et rationalis summarum Aegypti*), with the line 13 (*rationales summarum*) being Seeck's arbitrary restoration.²⁶⁵⁰ In turn, *comes rerum privatarum* headed diocesan *comites largitionum privatarum* and *rationales rerum privatarum*.

I begin with *comes largitionum*. All the *rationales*, except those of Egypt, became counts of the diocesan largesses before the end of the fourth century (*CJ* 1.52.1) and were doubtless *clarissimi*; those of Egypt in turn became *comites largitionum* in the fifth century.²⁶⁵¹ The passage from *rationalis summarum* to the diocesan *comes largitionum* was prior to 368 (Amm. 27.7.5; 29.1.26). In fact, the diocesan count of treasures mentioned by the laws (*CTh* 8.7.23) is absent from the *Notitia*, where the treasures are managed by local agents of lower rank. Thus, by the end of the reign of Constantius *rationales summarum* were diocesan *comites largitionum*, no doubt at the same

²⁶⁴⁸ *PLRE* 1, 61 Anatolius 5.

²⁶⁴⁹ Concepción Neira Faleiro, ed., *La notitia dignitatum. Nueva edición crítica y comentario histórico* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005), 202; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 428.

²⁶⁵⁰ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 185.

²⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 186.

time as *magistri rei privatae* took the name of *rationales rei privatae*. Like his superior, *comes sacrarum largitionum*, *comes largitionum* was also called *comes thesaurorum* and his officials are called *thesaurienses*.²⁶⁵² Little is known of these diocesan counts.

Counts of the diocesan largesses were *clarissimi* already from the middle of the fourth century. This *comes* was equaled with *consularis* and not merely with *praeses*. Euphemius was perhaps *comes largitionum per Orientem* or *rationalis rei privatae* in *Oriens* in 360-363.²⁶⁵³ A subordinate of Constantius' *comes sacrarum largitionum* Ursulus was an addressee of Libanius' letters.²⁶⁵⁴ Euphemius owned property in the East, where he retired after his service (Lib. *Ep.* 1257).

Caesarius, a younger brother of Gregory of Nazianzus (Naz. *Epit.* 6-21(=Anth. Gr. 8.85-100); Or. 8.33), received good education and was a medic (*archiater*) at Julian's court. As former court physician, Caesarius was not an active courtier any longer, but continued his career in fiscal administration in 368.²⁶⁵⁵ After being at court he was perhaps appointed to the office of *comes thesaurorum* in Bithynia and solicited a seat in the senate. He left his property to be distributed among the poor after his death in office at Nicaea, though little was remaining. Caesarius must have been diocesan count and not *rationalis*, because of the mention of treasures, a typical expression of *sacrae largitiones*.

Salia was possibly *comes largitionum* in the Thracian diocese, c. 370.²⁶⁵⁶ Fidelius, native of Tridentum in Raetia, was perhaps *comes largitionum per Orientem* in 365/70.²⁶⁵⁷ He accused Libanius of composing a panegyric on Procopius (not before 365), but failed to obtain support for a charge of treason (Lib. Or. 1163-5). For Fidelius an uncertainty remains and an office of *rationalis rei privatae* is not to be dismissed. Eustathius, perhaps *comes largitionum per Orientem* before 388, became during this office a friend of Libanius (Or. 54.2).²⁶⁵⁸ He continued his career holding provincial governorships. After his retirement from the post of *consularis* of Syria, Eustathius was convicted of corruption and withdrew to his estate at Tyre, where the Tyrians besieged him until he bought them off for his Tyrian estate. Eustathius was rather diocesan count than *rationalis*, because he is promoted to *consularis*, whereas *rationalis rei privatae* would become *praeses*. The clarissimate of the diocesan *comes largitionum* is firmly attested in the West in 400 (*CTh* 6.19.1).

Thus, according to Delmaire, from the second half of the fourth century onwards, only *rationales rei privatae* remained in the East under *comes rerum privatarum* (*ND Or.* 14.4). In the West the situation is more complex. The *Notitia* gives the following situation: for *sacrae*

²⁶⁵² Ibid., 186.

²⁶⁵³ *PLRE* 1, 298 Euphemius 2.

²⁶⁵⁴ In *Ep.* 210 from 360 Libanius wanted decurion Antoninus to be exempt from *σιτηγία*. *PLRE* 1 Ursulus.

²⁶⁵⁵ Greg. Naz., Or. 7.15: *ταμιεύειν βασιλεὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν*; see Delmaire, *Les responsables des finances*, 192. *PLRE* 1, 169-70 Caesarius 2.

²⁶⁵⁶ *PLRE* 1, 795-95 Salia 1.

²⁶⁵⁷ *PLRE* 1, 337 Fidelius.

²⁶⁵⁸ *PLRE* 1, 311-12 Eustathius 6.

largitiones, eleven *rationales summarum*: Pannonia II, Dalmatia and Savia; Pannonia I, Valeria and the two Norici; Italy; Rome; the Three Provinces; Africa; Numidia; Spain; the Five Provinces; the Gauls; the Britains (Occ. 11.10-20); for the *res privata*, ten *rationales rei privatae*: Illyricum; Italy; Rome and suburban regions ‘*cum parte Faustinae*’; Sicily; Africa; the Spains; the Five Provinces; the Gauls; the Britains; and *fundi domus divinae* of Africa (Occ. 12.6-16). Unlike in the East, counts of the diocesan largesses did not replace *rationales summarum*, but came to be superior to them.²⁶⁵⁹

Moreover, *rationalis summarum* of certain dioceses perhaps became *comes largitionum* when the *comitatus* resided in that area. In the East there is only one *rationalis* per diocese, who simply changed his name. In the West there were three *rationales* (Illyricum, Italy, Gaul), who kept their name and title, but were headed by a diocesan count, whose role was to administer the largesses linked to the residence of the *comitatus*. Illyricum, the first place mentioned, could indicate that the modifications were introduced by Constantius in the course of the reconquest of the West from Magnentius, a date which corresponds precisely to that of the transformation of *magistri* into *rationales rei privatae* in the East.²⁶⁶⁰

For the West, only two counts of the diocesan largesses are known: Diocles, *ex comite largitionum* in Illyricum before 367/70 (Amm. 27.7.5),²⁶⁶¹ and Crescens, *comes sacrorum thesaurorum* in Illyricum at an undetermined date.²⁶⁶² A building inscription from Noricum Mediterraneum is a testimony to the Christian building activity in Poetovio – one can still see the traces of the relief on the block – due to a munificence of the diocesan count. The fine marble slab, on whose upper edge the text, commemorating a donor, the high financial official, is written, was used in the ornamental architecture (perhaps the parapet slab of an ambo), which was once a part of the church. Church building was enormously expensive and benefactors who contributed to the construction were often honored by the inscription engraved onto a lintel or other decorative architectural elements.

I turn now to *rationalis*. The *ordo salutationis* of Ulpian Mariscianus from 361-63 shows that the *palatinus* was received by the governor in the second order, after the senators, counts, administrators (that is, the provincial functionaries serving as *rationales*, procurators etc.), but at the same time as *princeps* and *cornicularius* of the bureau and before *honorati* and other officials.²⁶⁶³ *Rationalis* can designate various realities:²⁶⁶⁴ in addition to the central *rationalis*, *rationalis* under

²⁶⁵⁹ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 187.

²⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., 189.

²⁶⁶¹ PLRE 1, 253 Diocles.

²⁶⁶² Viktor Hoffiller and Balduin Saria, eds., *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien, Noricum und Pannonia Superior* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1970), no. 442 (Poetovio (Noricum Mediterraneum)). No PLRE entry.

²⁶⁶³ CIL 8 17896 (Thamugadi (Numidia)). Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 161 n.64 contra Chastagnol, *The Municipal Album of Timgad*, 80, who thinks that administrators are *ex-praesidibus*. In fact, they are those who exercise an effective office as opposed to honorary dignitaries (cf. CTh 1.34.2; 3.6.11, 11.1; 4.22.1, 3, 7, 8; 12.1 (e.g., CTh 1.32.2) or the *rationalis* (Chastagnol finds it surprising that he is not mentioned in the order of precedence).

²⁶⁶⁴ CTh 10.1.2 glosses ‘*rationales*’ and ‘*magistri rei privatae*’ as ‘administrators of our masters’ households’

the tetrarchy is the diocesan representative of the central *rationalis* and the head of the *fiscus*. It is therefore impossible to study *rationales summarum* and *rationales rei privatae* separately as most of the time the sources do not specify the office and it is not always possible to determine with which *rationalis* one has to deal.²⁶⁶⁵

The local *rationalis* continues to be called *rationalis summae rei* (CJ 3.26.7). At the time of the *Notitia*'s composition there are still *rationales summarum* (Or. 13.10-20; Occ. 11.12). They were never called *rationales sacrarum largitionum*, and so one can still speak of the *summa res* after the creation of sacred largesses. In the East, after 350, *rationalis* was an agent of the *res privata* (*rationales summarum* became counts of the diocesan largesses), except of Egypt where *rationalis summarum* remained until the fifth century, while the West preserved *rationales summarum* and *rationales rei privatae*.²⁶⁶⁶

Rationalis, a financial officer, was *perfectissimus* and remained a member of the equestrian order until the end of the fourth century. The law from 380 (CTh 6.28.2) determines that those who served as *rationales* still should yield precedence to former *agentes in rebus*. While it is appropriate that on formal occasions of official salutations *agentes* should yield precedence to those persons who actually served as governors (*praesides*), they should take precedence of those who were fiscal representatives. The members of the secret service, however, retire from their positions as *principi scholae*, and the law of 380 reiterated that they receive *clarissimate* upon their discharge. Thus, in 380 both *rationales* and *agentes* were still placed below *praesides*, and since there were still *praesides perfectissimes*, it implied that the *rationales* were lower than those.²⁶⁶⁷ The *rationalis rei privatae* of Rome was still called *perfectissimus* in 383 (Sym. Rel. 41). However, the *rationalis* of Egypt Nectarius was said to be *clarissimus* (λαμπρότατος καθολικὸς Αἰγύπτου) in a graffito from Thebes.²⁶⁶⁸ Delmaire prefers the turn of the century dating and believes that Nectarius thus boasted a new rank, which this official attained at the end of the fourth or in early fifth century.²⁶⁶⁹

Honorific terminology of the imperial legislation refers to him as *praestantissimus*.²⁶⁷⁰ This kind of adjectival forms appears to have evolved into epithets using *tua* that were applied directly to the officials themselves. Some terms served something of an all-purpose function. Before c. 365, the 'personal quality' term *gravitas* was applied indiscriminately to officials ranging from praetorian prefect, of the highest rank, to *praeses* and *rationalis*.²⁶⁷¹ Terms alluding to 'personal

(*'ordinatores domorum dominicarum'*).

²⁶⁶⁵ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 172.

²⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., 189.

²⁶⁶⁷ Ibid., 190.

²⁶⁶⁸ CIG 4807=OGIS II 686 (Thebes (Aegyptus)).

²⁶⁶⁹ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 190. Cf. PLRE 1, 621 Nectarius 1, ?M/L III, 'the style *'λαμπρότατος'* is not otherwise known for a *rationalis*, and the date may therefore be in the third century when usage was less precise than later (cf., e.g., Aemilianus 6).'

²⁶⁷⁰ MAMA 7, 69-75 no. 305=SEG 43, no. 941 (Orcistus). Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 191.

²⁶⁷¹ *Rationalis summae*, CJ 3.26.7: 349; *rei privatae*, CJ 10.13.1: 317.

qualities' were not position or rank specific: *devotio* was used for officials ranging from *rationalis*²⁶⁷² to proconsul and praetorian prefect.²⁶⁷³

A single *rationalis* is known to have been a financial count: thirteen years after being *rationalis* of Egypt Nemesianus became *comes sacrarum largitionum* (CTh 11.7.5), which shows that two career paths were different, with counts being recruited from a higher milieu from the middle of the fourth century.²⁶⁷⁴

The granting of perfectissimate by *suffragium* with the title of honorary *rationalis* is still mentioned in 340 (CTh 6.22.3). In 365, those who were called '*codicillis comitivae et praesidatus aurationum epistulis honorariis*', were to be the procurators of the *cursus clabularius*, unless they had obtained this honor by a legation, a palatine service or an imperial *beneficium* (CTh 8.5.23).²⁶⁷⁵ Thus, in 365, the perfectissimate was continued to be given with the rank of honorary *rationalis*, and the beneficiaries became *honorati* discharged from municipal expenses, but liable to other charges in the service of the empire. Like all finance employees, *rationalis* had a reputation of robbing the state and the taxpayers (Amm. 22.4.9).

Two *ex rationalibus* are known.²⁶⁷⁶ Nemesianus, who then became actual *rationalis* and whose perfectissimate is due to the previous palatine service, rose to *comes sacrarum largitionum* (340-45). He came from Asia Minor, as one of the inscriptions from the collection published by Baillet calls him '*Νεμεσιανός πολεΐτης τού θεΐου ποιητοῦ Ομήρου*'. In a papyrus dated to 332 he is called '*διασημότατος καθολικός*'. During his term in that office Nemesianus and his *officium* visited,²⁶⁷⁷ among other places, the tomb of Ramesses VI in the Valley of Kings in the 330s. The inscription from the Valley of Kings enumerates all earlier stages of his career.²⁶⁷⁸ The reconstruction carried out by Baillet led Delmaire to propose an interpretation of Nemesianus' career: '*ἀπό καθολικῶν παλατιού καί ἀπό ἡγεμονείων*', i.e. *ex-rationalibus* and *ex-praesidibus* (honorary posts); '*μάγιστρος καί καθολικός ὢν τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς διοικήσεως*', i.e. *magister et rationalis Aegypti*.

In the East, honorary *rationales* disappeared with the transformation of *rationalis* into count of the largesses. In the West, however, they continued to exist. Simplicius, *ex rationalibus*, died in

²⁶⁷² CTh 10.11.1=CJ 10.13.1: 317.

²⁶⁷³ Mathisen, "Imperial Honorifics," 188-89.

²⁶⁷⁴ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 192.

²⁶⁷⁵ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 1151 on *codicilli* and *epistulae*. *Epistulae* were also used for appointments to civic posts and issued to veterans, both officers and other ranks (CTh 7.21.1) (*ex protectoribus*, *ex praepositis*, *ex tribunis*).

²⁶⁷⁶ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 193.

²⁶⁷⁷ *Rationalis* had an *officium*, whose employees are sometimes called *officiales*. CTh 8.7.14=CJ 12.23.2: 377; these officials are sometimes referred to as *thesaurense*. PLRE 1, 621 Nemesianus 1.

²⁶⁷⁸ Jules Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou Syringes à Thèbes*, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1926), 1293 (Thebes). The authors of PLRE, who believed Nemesianus' *cursus* to be as follows: *rationalis Aegypti*, *praeses* of an unknown province, and a later service in *res privata* or *summa res*.

Rome at the age of forty-one.²⁶⁷⁹ The Christian epitaph of Simplicius, found in the *coemeterium Lucinae* on the Via Ostiensis, is dated perhaps to the fifth century. At the end of the fourth century, *rationalis summarum* remained the agent of communication between *comes sacrarum largitionum* and the provinces, a supervisory representative, with little actual power. *Rationales rei privatae*, on the other hand, continued to have an important activity related to confiscations and the management of the domains of the *res privata*.²⁶⁸⁰

2. *Agentes in rebus* and *principes scholae agentium in rebus*

Agentes in rebus first mentioned in 319 (CTh 6.35.2) were Constantine's creation.²⁶⁸¹ They were controlled by *magister officiorum*, whose actual title in 320 was *tribunus et magister officiorum*, the combination of a military rank with a palatine title (Aur. Vict., *De Caes.* 39.44-45). The close connection of *agentes*, militarily organized in *schola*, with *magisterium officiorum* speaks in favor of their institutionalization at the same time.²⁶⁸² Technically, they were a confidential courier system of imperial government and part of the palatine officials but, like *notarii*, *agentes* were often selected to undertake disparate and distasteful tasks. Both *agentes* and *notarii* were regularly dispatched to sensitive or specialist duties. With their ill-defined jobs and wide-ranging practical power, *agentes* were naturally disliked by most other sections of the government also for their greed and rapacious habits (Amm. 16.5.11).

Agentes were typically assigned to provinces, and they were responsible for affairs in their assigned province and for reporting acquired information to higher authorities. They were exempt from the jurisdiction of provincial governors and could be dismissed by *magister officiorum*. Like *notarii*, *agentes* were civil servants organized as a *schola*, or regiment, of the imperial guard. Their numbers varied widely from less than two dozen under Julian, (Lib. *Or.* 2.58), to 1174 under Theodosius II in the East in 430 (CTh 6.27.23); both of whom tried to restrict their number.

Beginning possibly with the reign of Constantine, the court consistently looked to the *schola agentium in rebus* to staff important positions in key ministries and thereby to assure uniform administrative and legal procedure and to act as spies on ministers-in-chief and bureaucratic subordinates alike. Thus, men with prior training in the service became chiefs of staff, *principes officiorum*, in the ministries of the second echelon of the government as well as in the staffs of the most powerful civil administrators outside the court, praetorian and urban prefects. They served for two years away from the court, on detached duty, and in their capacity as *palatini* they were still responsible to the master of the offices at court, who headed their corps, as well as to their

²⁶⁷⁹ CIL 6 9032 (+p. 3464)=ILCV 360=ICUR II 5193. PLRE 2, 1016 Simplicius 10, ?V.

²⁶⁸⁰ Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 205.

²⁶⁸¹ Kelly, "Bureaucracy and government" in Lenski, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, 188-89 and 202 n. 30. Boak, *The Master of the Offices*, 68 holds for probable Diocletianic invention after his abolition of *frumentarii*. *Agentes* under Constantine still appear to be irregularly appointed officials who were sent from the court on a variety of missions.

²⁶⁸² Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 23-24 is in favor of 315.

administrative superiors in the provinces. Constantine was the first emperor to attempt to centralize administration by dispatching prefectural chiefs of staff from *agentes in rebus*. The practice in any case is demonstrable for the first time under Constantius.

Agentes in rebus did not initially belong to the senatorial order. They were divided into five ranks, taken from the junior cavalry officers: *equites*, *circitores*, *biarchi*, *centenarii* and *ducenarii*.²⁶⁸³ *Centenarii* and *ducenarii* were two senior ranks among *agentes in rebus*.²⁶⁸⁴ *Ducenarius* was the most senior grade held, according to the *Notitia*, by *praepositus cursus publici* (*curiosus*) (Or. 21-29, 31-36; Occ. 18-23).²⁶⁸⁵ The appointment of high-ranking *agentes in rebus* on active duty to function as superintendents of the state postal system in the provinces (*praepositi cursus publici*) was an administrative reform instituted already by Constantine.²⁶⁸⁶ Thus, Flavius Palladius was *ducenarius palatinus curiosus* in Egypt under Constantine in 335 (Ath., *Apol. contra Ar.* 73-4).²⁶⁸⁷ Flavius Valerianus served as *ducenarius agens in rebus* and *praepositus cursus publici* in Sicily between 340 and 350, as the *cursus publicus* was transferred from prefect to *magister officiorum*.²⁶⁸⁸ Maximus was *praepositus de via Flaminia*, therefore one of *praepositi cursus publici* in the late fourth or early fifth century.²⁶⁸⁹ *Curiosi* were never numerous: in 357, two *curiosi* were dispatched to every province (*CTh* 6.29.2); however, in 395, there was only one *curiosus* per province (*CTh* 6.29.8). Among agents listed in the *Notitia*, whose base of operations was the imperial court, there was the resident inspector of the state postal system (*curiosus cursus publici praesentalis*) (Or. 11.50; Occ. 9.44). Since the sources reveal nothing about the rank of this official, Sinnigen considers his identification as *princeps scholae* only as highly probable.²⁶⁹⁰

²⁶⁸³ Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 20, 40.

²⁶⁸⁴ The authors of *PLRE* 1 Taurus 2 identified Antonius Taurus, husband of Aelia Saturnina, c.f., as *devotissimus agens in rebus* on the basis of the incorrect reading of the inscription on the fourth or fifth century sarcophagus from Saloniae (Dalmatiae): *CIL* 3 8712=ILCV 513: *ex d(e)v(otissimis) a(gentibus) in rebus, c(entenarius), ducenarius post factus*. For the new reading, see Gauthier et al., *Salona* 4, 685-688, no. 378: *Ant(onio) Tauro ex dua/us c(entenariis) ducenario / post facto qui vi/xit an(n)is LV / Ael(ia) Saturnina c(larissima) f(emina) / marito benignis/simo*. Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 67 suggests that on retirement from service Taurus received the rank of *ducenarius* and with it an *adlectio* into the senate; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 211, Taurus.

²⁶⁸⁵ On the officials associated with the imperial information and transportation system (*cursus publicus*), such as *curiosi* and *praefectus uehiculorum*, see Di Paola, Lucietta. *Viaggi, trasporti e istituzioni: Studi sul cursus publicus* (Messina: Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità, 1999); eadem, "I curiosi in età tardoantica: riflessioni in margine al titolo VI, 29 del Teodosiano," in *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives*, eds. Sylvie Crogiez-Pétrequin et al. (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2009), 119-41.

²⁶⁸⁶ William G. Sinnigen, "Three Administrative Changes Ascribed to Constantius II," *The American Journal of Philology* 83.4 (1962): 376-78.

²⁶⁸⁷ *PLRE* 1, 661 Flavius Palladius 16.

²⁶⁸⁸ *CIL* 10 7200=ILS 5905 (Thermae Selinuntiae). *PLRE* 1, 939 Fl. Valerianus 12; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 4; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 212, Valerianus. Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 35-38 recognizes that *agentes ducenarii* were becoming *principes*, but attaining the principate they remained in service (not *ex agentes*).

²⁶⁸⁹ *CIL* 6 33714=ILS 1963=ILCV 361 (coem. Valentini).

²⁶⁹⁰ Sinnigen, "Chiefs of Staff and Chiefs of the Secret Service," 103.

Imperial edicts regulated the promotion of agents, which was to be strictly on seniority, with the annual exception of two officers, whom the emperor could advance at his pleasure.²⁶⁹¹ Senior *agentes* were regularly appointed to the post of *princeps officii* of the praetorian prefectures, the urban prefectures, and the dioceses (ND Or. 19-25; Occ. 17-22), thus exercising control over these departments' bureaucracy and reducing its independence.²⁶⁹² The post was subject to continual change and some adjustments in respect of rank. *Principes* of a prefectural or vicarian office, following secondment from *agentes in rebus*, evolved to clarissimate on retirement. Although civilian, the service operated as *militia*.

As chiefs of office staff, *principes officium ex agentibus in rebus* could report directly to the emperor when they noticed administrative misconduct. Datable to 366 the correspondence of Germinius, bishop of Sirmium, mentions perhaps the *clarissimus princeps officii Vitalis* (CSEL 65, 160).²⁶⁹³ A letter of Symmachus, written in 392 or shortly before to Rufinus, who was then master of offices, requests help for the bureaucrat Severianus in obtaining a provincial governorship (Ep. 3.87).²⁶⁹⁴ Severianus was *clarissimus* chief of staff of the urban Roman ministry, described in the common archaistic way as chief of the urban cohorts.²⁶⁹⁵ Sinnigen claims that within the urban prefecture, and surely within the praetorian one as well, chiefs of staff on active duty were *viri clarissimi* and not *viri perfectissimi* already from about 360s.²⁶⁹⁶

This is because Sinnigen, following E. Stein, distinguishes between *principes scholae* and prefectural *principes*, who, in his opinion, 'were not identical', with the former being mere *perfectissimi* on active duty, ranking immediately beneath the clarissimate in 367.²⁶⁹⁷ Giardina, however, concludes that it is not possible to assume an existence of the two different categories of these functionaries in the sources related to the rank of *principes officii* of the *schola agentium in rebus*.²⁶⁹⁸ CTh 6.35.7 of Valentinian I from 367 accords to the senior members of the corps the senatorial rank via the *adlectio inter consulares* upon retirement. The law clearly implies that the clarissimate was granted as a reward to agents after vigilant service as active members of the

²⁶⁹¹ CTh 6.27.4 (382) concerning the advancement in rank for *agentes in rebus*; CTh 1.9.2 (386) concerning the promotions of *agentes* and making them dependent upon a decision of the *magister officiorum*. It was probably issued in the second half of 385. Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 212.

²⁶⁹² Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 96, 210. Lib. Ep. 53 mentions property of Domnus, probably *agens in rebus* in the East in 358, who rose to become *princeps officii* of the praetorian prefect.

²⁶⁹³ Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 31 *contra* PLRE 1, 970 Vitalis 2; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 213, Vitalis emphasize *vc* as *lectio difficilior*.

²⁶⁹⁴ PLRE 1, 829 Severianus 6; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 52; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 210, Severianus, dates before 388/391.

²⁶⁹⁵ Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, 31-32 (*clarissimus* through *adlectio* after the service) *contra* Sinnigen, "Chiefs of Staff and Chiefs of the Secret Service," (*clarissimus* while on active duty, received upon his nomination to the post as *princeps officii praefecti urbi Romae*).

²⁶⁹⁶ Sinnigen, "Chiefs of Staff and Chiefs of the Secret Service," 78-105 assumes that *princeps* was the only executive in the ministry whose rank on active duty could have been the clarissimate as early as 365: the prefectural *principes* enjoyed the clarissimate on active duty already in the latter half of the fourth century.

²⁶⁹⁷ Sinnigen, "Chiefs of Staff and Chiefs of the Secret Service," 78-105

²⁶⁹⁸ Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, 39. See Delmaire, *Les institutions*, 111-12, for the summary of the discussion.

corps.²⁶⁹⁹ Hence, the edict merely states that deserving agents could look forward to retirement with the clarissimate. *CTh* 6.35.7 demonstrates that granting clarissimate through *adlectio* to different classes of bureaucrats at the end of service was in place already before 367. That *agentes in rebus* could certainly be promoted into the senatorial order even before that date may be seen in the career of agent Clematius (354-55), who on completion of his service became *consularis Palaestinae*.²⁷⁰⁰

The law from 380 determines that *agentes in rebus* should be placed behind provincial governors (*praesides*), but should take precedence before *ex-rationales* (*CTh* 6.28.2). This edict reiterates that *principes* receive the clarissimate upon their discharge. *CTh* 6.28.3 from 386 establishes the following hierarchy of ranks: *agentes in rebus* after completing their service obtain the rank of chief of office staff. Furthermore, *CTh* 6.27.5 from 382 stipulates the hierarchy of ranks, reiterating that *principes agentium in rebus* after completing their service are equal to *consulares*.²⁷⁰¹ By that date *principes* had enjoyed the clarissimate upon retirement for at least twenty years as approved by the law of Valentinian in 367. The clarissimate of prefectural chiefs of staff, while on active duty, assumed by Sinnigen, which, as he thinks, they had enjoyed since at least 366,²⁷⁰² is not confirmed. It is possible that evidence of the ascent of *palatini* to the senate dates back to the year 370 (*CTh* 12.1.73).²⁷⁰³ In 386, *principes* were still *perfectissimi* on active duty, since they could not attain the clarissimate until their retirement.²⁷⁰⁴

The consular ranking of *agentes in rebus* who retired as *principes* is repeated thrice in the 390s.²⁷⁰⁵ The edict of 390 refers to *principes officiorum ex agentibus in rebus*, in particular to the chief staff of the urban prefecture at Constantinople. The edict shows that c. 390 the administrative practice in both eastern and western parts of the empire was as yet identical in this regard, since it corroborates the approximately contemporary evidence of Symmachus (*Ep.* 3.87). The last clause of the edict granted *principes* for the first time immunity from the senatorial *collatio glebalis*, which otherwise had to be paid even by men who became senators through *adlectio*. That this immunity applied as well to *principes* functioning outside the area of Theodosius' immediate jurisdiction is highly probable, but, granted the increasing diversity of administrative practice in the various

²⁶⁹⁹ Sinnigen, "Chiefs of Staff and Chiefs of the Secret Service," 78-105 Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, 27 n. 34 contra Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 3, 158 n.48.

²⁷⁰⁰ *PLRE* 1, 213-14 Clematius 2; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 10; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 200, Clematius.

²⁷⁰¹ While Otto Seeck dates *CTh* 6.27.5 to 386, see now Schmidt-Hofner, *Reagieren und Gestalten*, 114 n.203.

²⁷⁰² Sinnigen, "Chiefs of Staff and Chiefs of the Secret Service," 88-89, 93-94.

²⁷⁰³ For the date, see Sebastian Schmidt-Hofner, "Die Regesten der Kaiser Valentinian und Valens in den Jahren 364 bis 375 n. Chr.," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 125 (2008): 498-602.

²⁷⁰⁴ Delmaire, *Les institutions*, 114 thinks that *principes* attained clarissimate (*adlectio inter consulares*) in 386 in the East, but in the West only in 390.

²⁷⁰⁵ *CTh* 6.27.6 (390); 10 (396); 12 (398). An edict of 398 issued by the court at Milan apparently shows that the ranks traditional for a generation were also maintained in the West. In that edict Honorius calls to the attention of bureaucrats legislation of his father, Theodosius, granting to secret service agents the right to enter the senate, whose right Honorius expressly confirms. The edict does not state specifically at what stage in their careers they could expect to enjoy senatorial rank, but since Honorius clearly affirms Theodosian legislation (*CTh* 6.27.5), he obviously meant that there was as yet no change in their status.

imperial chancelleries even before 395, one should hesitate to assume automatically that western *principes* enjoyed the same exemption. In 396 (CTh 6.27.10), *principes* still received, after the service, the clarissimate *inter conulares*. The laws imply that they were to continue to become *clarissimi* upon retirement or promotion only. But whether *principes*, according to the eastern law of 410 (CTh 6.28.7), now retired with the rank of proconsuls (*spectabiles*), then *in actu positi* as *militia*, they must have been at least *clarissimi*.²⁷⁰⁶

Flavius Felix, one of *ex principes* of *clarissimus* rank, is mentioned in the mosaic inscription discovered in a church in Numidia.²⁷⁰⁷ The votive inscription is placed in a medallion of the mosaic in the basilica, similarly to six other inscribed medallions, with Felix acting as a donor of a part of the pavement. Benefactors (*εὐεργέται*) mentioned in inscriptions found at the building itself must have spent considerable sums on the construction. The basilica is dated to the late fourth century on historical, architectural, and stylistical grounds.²⁷⁰⁸ *Principes* were awarded clarissimate *inter conulares* after the end of their service from 367.²⁷⁰⁹ Felix was possibly *agens in rebus*, who became *princeps officii* at the end of his career in the secret service and thus acquired senatorial status.

With regard to the honorifics, the style ‘*vir devotus*’ and ‘*vir devotissimus*’ was used increasingly from the late fourth century onwards by certain *palatini*, especially *agentes in rebus* and *protectores*. Flavius Fortunius, a local patron and palatine official, was awarded a statue by the council (*ordo*) of Cingulum in the province of Flaminia et Picenum. He is called *palatinus* and styled *vir devotissimus* on its honorific inscription dated to 362.²⁷¹⁰ Olympius, *vir devotissimus*, was introduced by Symmachus to Pacatus Drepanius, proconsul of Africa in 390 (Ep. 9.64) and around the same year *devotissimus vir* Titianus was recommended by Hilarius to Symmachus and then by Symmachus to the praetorian prefect Flavianus (Ep. 2.80, 9.41). Symmachus also wrote a recommendation letter for *agens in rebus* Olympius (Ep. 9.64.).²⁷¹¹ Florentinus, *comes sacrarum largitionum* of Valentinian II in 385-86 and quaestor of Arcadius in 395, could have started his career as *agens in rebus*.²⁷¹² One way to start a court career, apart from the enrollment in the

²⁷⁰⁶ Sinnigen, “Chiefs of Staff and Chiefs of the Secret Service,” 95; Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*: 98 n. 42, consider them to be *spectabiles* when in office.

²⁷⁰⁷ CIL 8 8344 (Cuicul (Numidia)). PLRE 2, 462 Felix 16; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 66; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 204, Felix.

²⁷⁰⁸ Chastagnol, *Le pouvoir impérial à Rome*, 403.

²⁷⁰⁹ From 410 *principes* in the East advanced on retirement to proconsular dignity (CTh 6.28.7), and from 426 to spectabilitate of *vicarii* in the West, see Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, 39.

²⁷¹⁰ CIL 9 5684=LSA-1725 (Cingulum (Flaminia et Picenum)).

²⁷¹¹ PLRE 1, 646 Olympius 11+Olympius 12; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, 124-25; see the commentary by Vera, *Commento storico alle Relationes*, 196-97 (Ep., 64). Olympius 11 *agens in rebus* (in East) (?372-)90.

²⁷¹² Symm. Ep. 4.53: *in eum militiae gradum labore venisti ut Benedicti amici mei fortunam debere adiuvere*. Otto Seeck, “Florentinus,” RE, VI, 2 (1921), 2755. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 136, *Florentinus, considers him to be a *tribunus et notarius*.

notaries' corps, was to become a member of the services. Libanius reports that in 388 the father of Epiphanius forced his son to abandon his studies and to enroll in the *schola* (Ep. 910.2).

A number of rhetors and lawyers enrolled themselves to serve the *militia* as *agentes*. *Agens in rebus* in 357, Aristophanes, who came from Corinth, received there his rhetorical education.²⁷¹³ He was a brother-in-law of *magister officiorum* Eugenius, who tried to seize the land by means of his bailiffs (*διοικοῦσι*) and made Aristophanes leave his estate, which as a result was brought to ruin (Lib. Or. 14.45). Fortunatianus, future *comes rerum privatarum* of Valens, was an active correspondent of Libanius in 357-365. In the early 350s he had aided Aristophanes, who was deprived of property and forced to seek shelter in the provinces. Fortunatianus helped Libanius' protégé enter the *agentes in rebus* corps, so he must have himself held a post of some sort at the court: *agens in rebus*, *notarius*, or *memoralis*. Between 358 and 361 he stayed in Antioch, where he held the post of lower rank than *consularis* of Syria, perhaps *princeps officii* of *comes Orientis*, as Delmaire suggests.²⁷¹⁴ He had confirmed education and literary interests (Lib. Or. 14. 12), being a poet and rhetor (Ep. 1425) as well as philosopher (Ep. 694). Another Easterner, Alexander, a former rhetor and advocate, served as *agens* in 364-365 (Lib. Ep. 1521).²⁷¹⁵ According to P. Courcelle, Jerome might have been *agens in rebus* in 370/74.²⁷¹⁶

Like *notarii*, *agentes* oversaw construction works. In 381 Flavius Asterius as *deputatus* of the *schola agentum in rebus* led the building works on a *stabulum* for the *cursus publicus* in Rome,²⁷¹⁷ while Valerianus supervised the construction of a *statio* in Thermae Selinuntiae in Sicily. In Africa Proconsularis Diotimus was *agens in rebus* employed as a supervisor in the marble quarries of Simitthus in the fourth or early fifth century.²⁷¹⁸ The inscription was placed at the entrance of the stone quarry. An anonymous *vir devotissimus agens in rebus* is recorded in the seat inscription in the amphitheater of Carthage somewhere between 371 and 430.²⁷¹⁹

Funeral inscriptions preserve data about the life, death, and burial of *agentes in rebus*. A sarcophagus of Numidius, *ex agens in rebus*, who died aged 67, comes from the cemetery of

²⁷¹³ PLRE 1, 106-107 Aristophanes; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 7; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 199, Aristophanes; Von Haehling, *Die Religionszugehörigkeit*, 93 identify him as *princeps officii*.

²⁷¹⁴ Delmaire, *Les responsables des finances*, 58.

²⁷¹⁵ PLRE 1, 41 Alexander 9; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 29; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 197, Alexander 1.

²⁷¹⁶ Pierre Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin* (Paris: De Boccard, 1950), 181-87; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 32; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 205, Hieronymus.

²⁷¹⁷ CIL 6 1774. PLRE 1, 119 Fl. Asterius 5; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 38, *agens in rebus*, probably a *princeps* of a vicarian office; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 199, Asterius. See Andrea Scheithauer, "Epigraphische Studien zur Herrscherideologie I. Salvis Augustis felix ... Entstehung und Geschichte eines Formulars," *ZPE* 114 (1996): 218.

²⁷¹⁸ CIL 8 14600=ILS 8724=ILCV 512 (Simitthus). PLRE 1, 261 Diotimus 1; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 69; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 202, Diotimus.

²⁷¹⁹ CIL 8 24659 (Carthago): J. No PLRE entry; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, 148; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 213, ...us.

Praetextatus in Rome in the fourth or fifth century.²⁷²⁰ Flavius Ursicinus, *militans in officio magistri*, was *agens in rebus* in the same period.²⁷²¹ He was *civis Pannonius*, died aged 22, and was buried at Rome. An anonymous Christian *agens in rebus* was also laid in Rome in the fourth century.²⁷²² A Greek sepulchral inscription commemorates a son of *magistrrianus* Valentinus buried in Portus under Honorius between 395 and 423.²⁷²³ An anonymous *agens in rebus* is documented in his funeral inscription from Sirmium, the capital city of the diocese of Pannonia, dated to the fourth century.²⁷²⁴ *Magistrrianus* Constantinus was a Christian mentioned in the inscription from Rhodes in the fourth or fifth century.²⁷²⁵ Iohannes was *magistrrianus* in Paphlagonia at around the same date.²⁷²⁶ A Christian Greek epitaph records that he was buried with his cousin Maria and her husband Marcianus at Sinope.

Honorific inscriptions recording *agentes in rebus* are extremely rare. *Ex agens in rebus*, Arpagius received the honorific statue from the city of Missua in Africa Proconsularis.²⁷²⁷ He had made a career in the imperial administration. Arpagius started as *agens in rebus*, later becoming *adiutor* in the staff of *magister officiorum*. His advancement does not mean an entry into the senatorial order at the same time, as Kuhoff assumes.²⁷²⁸ The office of *auditor* together with that of *princeps* belonged to the higher civil service ('*carriera direttiva*') of the *schola agentium in rebus*.²⁷²⁹ *Auditores*, the immediate directors of the *schola*, in which capacity they were directly responsible to master of the offices were still *ducenarii* while in active service in the early fifth century and received the same privileges and ranks granted to *principes scholae* (CTh 6.27.20, 21). If the *principes* of the *schola* had *clarissimus* rank on retirement or promotion, the *auditor*, having an equal (if not more important) position (CTh 1.9.1), must have had at least an equal rank.²⁷³⁰

The post of *auditor* of *magister officiorum* was normally filled from the *schola agentum in rebus*.²⁷³¹ Promoted on the recommendation of a majority of the *schola*, *auditor* was regarded as the head of the *schola* (CTh 6.27.4; 28.8; 29.4). Arpagius became *clarissimus* clearly after his service in

²⁷²⁰ ICUR V 14512 (Coem. Praetextati (Via Appia)). Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 36: 'Numidius läßt sich in seinem Rang und seiner genauen Function als agens in rebus nicht exact einordnen'. Numidius is not included in the PLRE or any lists of *agentes in rebus*.

²⁷²¹ CIL 6 32978=ILCV 465. PLRE 2, 1192 Fl. Vrsicinus 2 considers also the possibility as *officialis* of *magister militum*; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 213, Ursicinus.

²⁷²² CIL 6 32875=ICUR 1 1271=ILCV 511a. Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 70.

²⁷²³ IG 14, 949a (Portus). No PLRE entry; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 59; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 212, Valentinus.

²⁷²⁴ CIL 3 10234=ILCV 513 (Sirmium). Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 101.

²⁷²⁵ IG 12,1 no. 911=IGC 134 (Gennadi). PLRE 2, 313 Constantinus 12 dates to V/VI; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 201, Constantinus 2.

²⁷²⁶ *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (1889), 309,17 (Helenopontus). PLRE 2, 616 Iohannes 83 dates to V/VI; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 205, Iohannes 2.

²⁷²⁷ CIL 8 989=ILS 9043=LSA-2451 (Missua). PLRE 2, 151 Arpagius; Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, no. 47; Clauss, *Der magister officiorum*, 199 Arpacius.

²⁷²⁸ Kuhoff, *Studien*, 215.

²⁷²⁹ Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, 33 and 51-52, on the connection between *auditor* and *principes*.

²⁷³⁰ Ibid., 34.

²⁷³¹ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 2, 579 with n.37.

the office of *auditor*. Moreover, *agens* held the position of *adiutor* immediately before his promotion into another branch of the administration. Another branch of the administration was, in case of Arpagius, *tribuni et notarii*. The list of important positions within the *schola* held by senior agents is found in the *Notitia*, some of which are executive as being proper to *principes scholae*. *Adiutor*, the most important *agens in rebus* matriculated in the whole corps, heads the list in the *Notitia* (Or. 11. 41; Occ. 9. 41).

Gehn mistakenly takes the spectability of Arpagius as a *terminus post quem* for the inscription.²⁷³² Sinnigen dates the inscription after 410, when western *principes scholae* for the first time attained the clarissimate,²⁷³³ with the Vandalic invasion of Africa in 429 as a *terminus ante quem*.²⁷³⁴ But the *terminus post quem* can certainly be placed earlier than the date, when *principes* could obtain a proconsular dignity through *adlectio* (CTh 6.28.7=CJ 12.21.3). Giardina redates the inscription between 384, when *magister officiorum* appears for the first time in the rank of *illustris* (CTh 8.5.35), and 426, when *principes* of the *pars Occidentis* achieved spectabilitate (CTh 6.27.20).²⁷³⁵ However, CTh 8.5.35 is in fact dated to 378, the date by which master of offices had become *vir spectabilis* as he is named in the law. He had attained the illustrissimate by 385 at the latest (Symm. Rel. 34.8; 38.4; 43.2).

3. *Proximi scriniorum*

Masters of record offices (*magistri scriniorum*) under command of *magister officiorum* headed the *sacra scrinia*, the palace secretariats responsible for judicial and administrative matters directly involving the emperor. Each was assisted by a first and a second deputy-chief (*proximus* and *melloproximus*) (CTh 6.26.4; CJ 12.19.5, 7).²⁷³⁶ When the new rulings of Gratian of 380 (CTh 6.7.2 and 9.2) and 381 (6.10.2 and 3; 22.5; 26.2) presented *magistri scriniorum* and vicars already as *spectabiles*, *proximi* of the *scrinia*, direct subordinates of *magistri scriniorum*, were also promoted. Only master of the schedules (*magister dispositionum*), although a *clarissimus* from 372, was not of the same rank as other masters of the *scrinia*, but merely held the same grade as their *proximi* (CTh 6.26.2: 381).

CTh 6.26.2 even mentions *proximi* of other *scrinia* before *magistri dispositionum*. According to the law of 381, *proximi* retired from service with the rank of *vicarius*, having precedence over those of similar grade whose service had not been at the court. The law of 386 on

²⁷³² LSA-2451 (by U. Gehn). The highest senatorial rank of *illustris* for the *magister officiorum* (lines 4-5) is first mentioned not in a law from 398 (CTh 12.1.120), but already by 385 (Symm. Rel. 34.8; 38.4; 43.2). As a *terminus ante quem* Gehn suggests the Vandal incursion of 439.

²⁷³³ Sinnigen, "Chiefs of Staff and Chiefs of the Secret Service," 101-102 with n.89. See also Chastagnol, *Le pouvoir impérial à Rome*, 421, n.60.

²⁷³⁴ Sinnigen, "Chiefs of Staff and Chiefs of the Secret Service," 101-102 with n.89.

²⁷³⁵ Giardina, *Aspetti della burocrazia*, 33-34 (dates probably to the 'age of Stilicho') followed by Kuhoff, *Studien*, 215 with n. 38.

²⁷³⁶ Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 39, 66 mistakenly calls the fifth-century *proximi* the heads of the *scrinium* (with a deputy head *melloproximus*). Yet the very name of the *proximi* indicates that they had superiors.

the hierarchy of ranks confirmed the obtained rank of *vicarii* for *proximi memoriae*, *epistularum*, *libellis*.²⁷³⁷ Likewise, early fifth-century constitution (*CTh* 11.18.1: 412) provides the list of dignitaries who were exempted from paying *aurum tironicum* and *collatio equorum*, with *proximi scriniorum* placed before *comites dispositionum*, *decuriones*, and *magistri admissionum*. Of the remaining members of the *scrinia*, *exceptores* and *melloproximi* (ones who come next in rank to the *proximus*) also became *clarissimi* at the beginning of the fifth century (*CJ* 12.19.5: 413).

Legislation displayed an equally strong interest in establishing a regular pattern of promotion by limiting the tenure of various posts.²⁷³⁸ In 416, *magister officiorum* was informed that the heads (*proximi*) of the *sacra scrinia* were to have their time in office reduced. Theodosius II and Honorius ruled that *proximi* should serve for only one year: ‘We decree that officials who by the regular order and merit of those receiving salaries in the three *scrinia* (the *scrinium memoriae*, *epistularum*, and *libellorum*) have reached the rank of *proximus* should henceforth serve for one year instead of two’ (trans. C. Pharr).²⁷³⁹

One example will suffice to illustrate the social origin of the holders of these offices. Thalassius, son of the eponymous praetorian prefect in 351-353, while still a young man with a good education (*Lib. Ep.* 330), served as a *proximus libellorum* between 358 and 361 at Constantius’ court (*Amm.* 22.9.16, *ex proximo libellorum*). Charges of seizing property by violence were brought against him at Antioch. Owing to Julian’s enmity, he was not allowed to attend at court, but Julian was shortly reconciled with him. Wealthy and generous, Thalassius was a property owner comprising a pagan temple in Phoenicia (*Lib. Ep.* 1364 from 363) and Euphratensis (*Ep.* 1404), spending money also on buildings in Antioch (*Ep.* 620). Libanius reports that in 361, as a result of the accusation of plotting against Gallus, his estates were abandoned and the crops ruined. He is possibly mentioned as absentee landlord in 382/4 (*Ep.* 5).

4. *Magister dispositionum*

The master of the imperial schedules or arrangements was chief of the *scrinium dispositionum* (the bureau of assignments), one of the four secretarial departments attached to the court in both the eastern and western parts of the empire (*CTh* 6.26.2: 381). Around 350 palace dignitaries *magistri scriniorum* (masters of the record bureau) ranked under proconsulship, which was first changed in the *Notitia*. Valentinian I first equaled *magistri scriniorum* with vicars (*CTh* 7.11.1: 372). The hierarchy of the empire’s top offices then looked as follows: chief of the bureau (*memoriae*, *epistularum*, *libellorum*, *dispositionum*) became *clarissimus*, ranking now over vicariate.²⁷⁴⁰ By the new rulings of Gratian chiefs of the offices of the secretariate all were raised to

²⁷³⁷ *CTh* 6.26.4: 386, see *CJ* 12.19.1: 386.

²⁷³⁸ Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, 39.

²⁷³⁹ *CTh* 6.26.17=*CJ* 12.19.6: 416.

²⁷⁴⁰ *CTh* 6.26.4: 386 on the hierarchy of ranks: *proximi memoriae*, *epistularum*, *libellis* obtained the rank of *vicarii*.

the rank of *spectabilis* with the exception of the chief of the office of arrangements (*magister dispositionum*), who remained only *clarissimus*.

This bureau is first mentioned in the constitution of the emperor Julian (*CTh* 6.26.1: 362), but its origin and functions are uncertain. Boak suggests first that the title of master was bestowed upon chief of the newly formed *scrinium dispositionum* probably under Diocletian.²⁷⁴¹ However, Boak reassesses his earlier view and states that this bureau was organized about the middle of the fourth century, and from its establishment was probably under the control of master of offices, as were the older *scrinia* at that time.²⁷⁴² Subsequently it was given separate consideration as it had previously formed a subsection of the *scrinium memoriae*.²⁷⁴³

The *scrinium dispositionum* differed from the other three *scrinia* both in the type of its activities and with regard to the officials who directed them. In a constitution of 397 the members of this office were designated as those who had the care of the order of imperial dispositions (*CTh* 6.29.9). Hence, it is assumed that it was the duty of the bureau to prepare the program of imperial business, especially that part of it which concerned the number and routes of the emperor's journeys.²⁷⁴⁴ In the duty of the *scrinium dispositionum* were possibly also the lists of those to be summoned to court receptions of various kinds. While *magister dispositionum* superintended the program of the emperor's daily movements, Seek includes among the duties of this office the issuing of invitations to the imperial table.

In the *Notitia* it appears *sub dispositione* of *magister officiorum*, and, like the other *scrinia*, was subject to his disciplinary and judicial authority. The immediate chief of this *scrinium* originally called *magister dispositionum* – the title in use up to at least 381 (*CTh* 6.26.2) – gave place to *comes dispositionum* in 414 (*CTh* 6.2.23). Seeck regards this change to be effectuated because of the honorary rank of *comes* which Arcadius in 397 states as having been bestowed upon *proximi* of the other *scrinia* (*CTh* 6.26.10, *comes tertii ordinis*; 6.27.17, *comes secundi ordinis*, 18). With regard to the rank, the *magister dispositionum* may be compared to master of the audiences, who was honored with the rank of vicar upon the expiration of his term of service (*CTh* 6.2.23: 414), but who, when in office, had only the rank of *perfectissimus*.

However, master of the schedules, although *clarissimus* while in office towards the end of the fourth century, was not of the same rank as the other masters of the *scrinia*, but only held the same grade as their *proximi* (*CTh* 6.26.2: 381). He passed out of service with the rank of vicar, having precedence over those of similar grade, whose service had not been at the court. This

²⁷⁴¹ Boak, "The Roman Magistri," 114.

²⁷⁴² Boak, *The Master of the Offices*; followed by Claus, *Der magister officiorum*, 18.

²⁷⁴³ Claus, *Der magister officiorum*, 18.

²⁷⁴⁴ Boak, "The Roman Magistri," 73-164.

subordinate position of master of the schedules was due to the inferior character of the business of his office. He was probably promoted from among the members of his own bureau.

The bureau of assignments (*dispositiones*) is listed together with the bureau of memorials, the bureau of correspondence, and the bureau of requests under command of *magister officiorum* in the *Notitia*. Preceded on the list by the bureau of requests, the *scrinium dispositionum* is placed, however, before the staff of ushers (*officium ammissionum*) that closes the list. Master of the schedules, who, however, does not appear in the *Notitia*, had changed his title to that of count before the compilation of this list of dignities. Among the palatine *scriniarii* Nestorius was *comes dispositionum* of *clarissimus* rank in the East in 397.²⁷⁴⁵ Mentioned by name in the law, he was the first *clarissimus comes dispositionum* to be raised on retirement to a dignity equaling that of the vicars in 397 (*CTh* 6.26.10).

There is no trace of this official having an independent sphere of action, which is perhaps the reason for his omission in the *Notitia*, or of his being under authority of any other than the master of offices. *Magister scrinii dispositionum*, the department under the authority of *magister officiorum*, was expressly equaled only with *proximi* of other *scrinia*, although not *gradu*, but only *privilegiis*. In *CTh* 6.26.2 from 381 *comites dispositionum* are listed after *proximi* of other *scrinia*. Likewise, *CTh* 11.18.1 from 412 provides the list of dignitaries who were exempted from paying *aurum tironicum* and *collatio equorum* with *comites dispositionum* placed right after *proximi scriniorum*, but before *decuriones* of the palace and *magistri admissionum*.²⁷⁴⁶ A retired decurion of *silentiaries* was *spectabilis* by 415.

In closing, the newly promoted *clarissimi* were in the immediate service of the emperor. In fiscal matters he was assisted by officials known as diocesan *comes largitionum* and *rationalis*, who served in the provinces with general responsibility for financial affairs. They were local officials in charge of revenues derived from and affairs pertaining to imperial properties and those of the *res privata*, who oversaw them at the level of the diocesis and the province. *Principes scholae* of *agentes in rebus*, imperial agents, equally attained the *clarissimate* by the late fourth-century. *Proximi scriniorum*, assistants of *magistri scriniorum*, also received a promotion to the lowest senatorial rank. Lastly, *magister dispositionum*, chief of the *scrinium dispositionum* responsible for managing the emperor's daily schedule and planning imperial travel, remained *clarissimus* by the next century, ranking below the three *magistri scriniorum* of the *sacra scrinia*.

Artistic expression III

All palace dignitaries, functioning in a patrimonial state of the fourth-century Roman Empire, were bureaucrats *par excellence*: the post held was considered their primary 'employment',

²⁷⁴⁵ *PLRE* 2, 779 Nestorius 2.

²⁷⁴⁶ On the dating of the law, see Boak, *The Master of the Offices*, 47, who dates it to 409.

they received regular salaries, and were subject to discipline and control. The emperor had the right to remove the previously nominated dignitary and could promote advancing former palatine officials to prefecture. Court culture, in which they were all willing participants, was immensely influential in the later Roman Empire, impacting developments as diverse as the evolution of the late Roman ruler representation and the representation of the imperial elite, in general, as well as the rise of its new media.²⁷⁴⁷

The traditional assembly of statues helped to create an image of a coherent governing class, where the former court functionaries, who rose to the top imperial offices, stood alongside the resident aristocrats and high ranking military officials and compete intensely with one another for status and public honor. Although significantly reduced already by the fourth century, the portrait sculpture was certainly not abandoned as a representational form and suffered no symbolic inflation. Five honorific statues for senior palatine officials, *comites consistoriani*, operating outside Rome, are attested. All of these statues commanded by emperors come from Trajan's Forum, honoring the quaestors Taurus and Secundus, *magister officiorum* Eugenius, *comes rerum privatarum* Theodorus, as well as *comes consistorii* Sallustius upon reaching prefectures. They present a portrait of a governing class defined by its members' achievements in civil administration and literary culture as well as by their personal virtue and high esteem that they enjoyed from their colleagues and emperor. These statue dedications displayed in the prime site of the empire are a clear reflection of the courtiers' greater visibility in the landscape of political power. Their higher rank was intended to bring them within the senatorial order, in the tradition of the early empire when the imperial council also comprised members of the *ordo senatorius*.

Since the third century, with a drastic decline of the number of inscriptions and statues, the representation behavior shifted in the domain of the temporary, performative self-representation in the public as well as 'private' sphere. This qualitative cultural change advanced the imperial panegyrics as medium of political communication, yet they were now equally employed for the praise and public recognition of non-imperial figures, the dignitaries at the court as they celebrated the attainment of high office. Late Roman honorific monuments dedicated to and by the senatorial officials must be understood as part and parcel of this 'panegyric milieu'.²⁷⁴⁸ As a type of court poetry, panegyric delivery was a performance constituting an honorific language by which the emperor and the *militia palatina* articulated their relationship.

Palace, church, and circus constituted three main ceremonial centers of imperial rule in the fourth century. First, the institutionalizing of more elaborated forms of court ceremonial allowed the emperor to envision his special relationship to the divine world in new ways and obstructed the

²⁷⁴⁷ Kiilerich, *Late Fourth-Century Classicism*.

²⁷⁴⁸ Mayer, *Rom ist dort, wo der Kaiser ist*, on late Roman imperial monuments as participants of a 'panegyric milieu'. See also Kovács, *Kaiser, Senatoren und Gelehrte*.

customary admission of aristocrats. The imperial presence had become carefully orchestrated and restricted for special events and circumstances. *Comites consistoriani* as permanent members of the imperial council as well as other less eminent officials, whose duties demanded their immediate presence, like *notarii* or *agentes in rebus*, partook thereby in one form or another in escorting embassies and their reception. *Praepositus* of the *sacrum cubiculum* played a significant ceremonial role controlling the protocol of access to the emperor regulated by strict rules especially in the ceremonial space of the imperial palace.²⁷⁴⁹ The rest of the domestic administration of the palace, e.g., *decuriones* of the *sacrum cubiculum*, was also considerably involved. All of them constituted a primary ceremonial body revolving directly in the orbit of the emperor. By the end of the fourth century court ceremonial had decisively increased with the emperor at the center of the impressive ritual ceaselessly performed by his court officials.

Second, the most dramatic of all the changes to the religious character of imperial rulership during the period had the greatest impact on the court ceremonial: the allegiance pledged by Constantine and subsequent emperors to the Christian God. Eusebius reports that Constantine established a personal Christian liturgy with a palatine devotional routine: the emperor made the palace into a church, leading his staff in a course of readings followed by prayer (Eus. *VC* 4.17). This practice included regular sermons (4.29-32) following the feasts of the ecclesiastical calendar. As N. McLynn put it, ‘the successive experiments by fourth-century emperors dealt with the obstacle that the church could offer the emperor nothing to match the quasipriestly position he had established for himself in the palace’.²⁷⁵⁰ Nonetheless, when emperors of the Constantinian dynasty started going to churches, they were not expected to appear except for the biggest festivals and the dedication of major basilicas taking their place at center stage to dispense largesses. The usual processions thereby had to be redesigned in order to provide the emperor with an appropriate performance. In an ‘age of liturgical experiment’, whenever an emperor intended a church-going, it required a consultation between the aulic administration and church officials to stage-manage ceremonial events.

Third, other ceremonial options retained by an emperor also involved his high-ranking courtiers. Ambrose’s biographer Paulinus, who probably came to Milan in 394, records the new emperor Honorius sitting not in the church but in the circus, presiding the games (Paulin., *V. Amb.* 34). The guardians of the child emperor had perhaps put an effort to render him inaccessible to the bishop’s sphere of influence by limiting the imperial presence to the key religious events.²⁷⁵¹ In Constantinople, where Arcadius, controlled by Eutropius, followed his father’s agenda, the emperor

²⁷⁴⁹ The fullest discussion of ceremonial practice remains MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*; see now Tantillo, “*I cerimoniali di corte in età tardoromana*.”

²⁷⁵⁰ McLynn, “The Transformation of Imperial Churchgoing,” 270.

²⁷⁵¹ Ibid., 265 with n.105.

resorted to experimental variations to ceremonial routine. Lim claims that the Roman circus experienced a shift in the status from a religious to a secular institution under Constantius II's rule.²⁷⁵²

Many late Roman imperial ceremonies were orchestrated in the circus, and underground passages led from the palace to the imperial box there. In the early Theodosian period the circus symbolism was for the first time used as a metaphor of the emperor's victory. As the obelisk was the symbol of the sun, the emperor, flanked by court dignitaries and other officials, was the second sun (figs. 87-88). In the center of the hippodrome, he symbolized a fixed center of the universe, around whom the change of seasons revolved. The representation of palatine and imperial service elite on the obelisk basis thereby incorporated them in the symbolism of the cosmic rule with the earthly rule of the emperor. The officials, in their turn, mediated between the unreachably high position of the ruler and the political world. They receive their power from the proximity to the divine emperor.²⁷⁵³ Emperors, vis-à-vis their entourage, the large number of courtiers and officials with their dress and insignia, were the sacred center of ceremonial activities.²⁷⁵⁴ On the southeast side the hierarchically ordered civil figures, including palatine officials, addressed by the standing emperor from his palace, presented the civil aspect of imperial rule as opposed to the military on the northwest side.²⁷⁵⁵

Another remarkable feature of the obelisk base reliefs is that on none of the four faces did any of the representatives of the imperial college hold a *mappa*. While the emperor continued to be shown with a stereotyped image on the consular coinage, he no longer played the role of 'starter' at the games, nor even that of the giver of the games.²⁷⁵⁶ The emperor, on the contrary, had become an actor in the increasingly Christianized ritual of the hippodrome; the ruler whose god-given victories were reflected in the earthly victories of charioteers.²⁷⁵⁷ Dagron suggested that in order to begin the racing the emperor gestured to officials in his immediate entourage who in turn signalled to a special functionary who actually opened the gates. The numerous high-ranking *mappa*-holders on the various faces of the base of the obelisk, while not themselves presiding the games, transmitted the emperor's signs represented in art by the traditional *mappa*.²⁷⁵⁸

Furthermore, the mobile medium of the ceremonial diptych with its link to games developed to become part of the 'classicizing' ceremonial style of the Theodosian age.²⁷⁵⁹ Rather than the

²⁷⁵² Richard Lim, "Inventing Secular Space in the Late Antique City: Reading the Circus Maximus," in Behrwald and Witschel, *Rom in der Spätantike*, 61–82, cf. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital*, 218–59.

²⁷⁵³ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 113

²⁷⁵⁴ Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base*, 89–91, on uniformity and loyalty.

²⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., 138.

²⁷⁵⁶ Cameron, "The Origin," 201–202.

²⁷⁵⁷ Dagron, *L'hippodrome de Constantinople*, 241–51.

²⁷⁵⁸ Dagron, "L'organisation et le déroulement des courses," 159–60.

²⁷⁵⁹ Kiilerich, *Late Fourth-century Classicism*.

office itself, diptychs commemorated the consular games. The diptychs issued by Tatianus most probably shared many of the characteristics of the so-called ‘Roman’ group. They would also have looked considerably similar to his son’s reliefs on the base of the obelisk of Theodosius (figs. 87-88).²⁷⁶⁰ Notably, Proclus and his father were in charge of the practical arrangements, including hiring the sculptors, in the direct involvement with the obelisk monument.²⁷⁶¹

Christian building remained in the tradition of the classical evergetism. The building of churches was a gesture of benevolence, although it was often done on a site where the donor happened to possess suitable land. The fact that the holders of palatine offices could be found as founders of religious establishments offers only a partial indication of the scale of wealth available to late fourth-century courtiers. Constructional benefactions of former consistorians display primarily church building activities in Constantinople and the eastern part of the empire.

The benefactor, whose role in the project was usually commemorated (with seemingly modesty) on a dedicatory building inscription, must have also played a prominent role in the ceremonial inauguration. A new genre of Christian mosaic inscriptions featured in the building context. The religious activities of the palatine officials illustrate also the varied forms of expression available for the interest of members of the court. Support might have been offered by them at Constantinople and nearby, and likewise in the provinces, by the foundations of churches and monastic institutions as well as donations of property for their maintenance.

A flourishing production of late antique funerary inscriptions can be made out, exhibiting Christian as well as traditional elements. One encounters the high rate of late antique epigraphic monuments of a funerary genre for the palatine elite influenced by Christian epigraphic habit. On the other hand, it would be far too narrow to describe the epigraphy of this period as an exclusively Christian one, but rather ‘late antique’. In funerary contexts, some epitaphs were situated in public spaces, while others were located at a more ‘private’ spot, for example, the epitaphs on sarcophagi that were often buried beneath the floor of sepulchral buildings. The known sarcophagi of the high-ranking courtiers as identified by inscriptions correspond iconographically to those of the other groups of the imperial elite.

Sculptural portraiture as a genre, classificatory and taxonomic, worked for centuries so as to produce a distinction, designating new social boundaries through a certain type of representation. The steep decline of the number of statues and the narrowing of the circle of recipients should be explained, however, not merely in terms of decline, but in favor of other media. Honorific statuary had in fact never chanced to be a primary medium of self-representation for the palatine elite, even for the most high-ranking officials at court. Under the new conditions a need of self-representation

²⁷⁶⁰ Cameron, “Consular diptychs,” 403.

²⁷⁶¹ Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base*, 110.

found its expression not materialized in durable materials or manifested in the various genres of small media, but also in luxurious private houses. The acquisition of property by the emperor's officials across the empire and the constant exchanges between West and East demonstrate the cosmopolitan image of the court society of the late fourth century.

Given the centrality of the *solidus* in the rise of the new bureaucratic elites, gold accumulated by the palatine officials served as a catalyst in the production of status. By the end of the fourth century, with Constantinople established as the permanent imperial residence, court bureaucrats procured their monumental houses in the city. The fortune accumulated through their palatine service was manifested in the early fifth-century palaces in the eastern capital and the luxurious senatorial villas in the western part of the empire. The surplus from rural estates also flowed into the principal imperial cities, before the establishment of Constantinople as a capital, although the primary source of cash for the palatine elite constituted the imperial salaries.

Chapter five: Senatorial women

I. Strategies of remembrance I: funerary inscriptions

1. Commemorands in Rome

First and foremost, Rome yields most abundantly all kinds of senatorial funeral monuments. Around 1200 surviving examples of late antique sarcophagi from Rome²⁷⁶² attest to the changes in the self-representation of the *ordo senatorius*, in general, and senatorial women, in particular. To begin with, many of the funeral inscriptions for senatorial women originate from the Roman catacombs. These fourth-century commemorative texts reveal some high-status users of sarcophagi. Two techniques to extoll female virtues were mainly employed by the commissioners: a catalog of standard positive characteristics and addition of individuating traits.²⁷⁶³ First, the traditional set of female virtues, among which modesty enjoyed a privileged position, can be found in the late antique epitaphs from Rome.²⁷⁶⁴ These epitaphs set up by men, validating men's claims to respect, leave little space for female self-representation.²⁷⁶⁵ Second, despite all the seemingly realistic and individualizing details included in a number of epitaphs and despite the limitations of the genre, i.e., the formulaic patterns of presenting the deceased in the prose inscriptions, the funerary inscriptions remain status conscious and traditional in values. The concomitant iconography of sarcophagi is conservative, mediating the social status of female members of the senatorial order.²⁷⁶⁶

Among the Latin funerary monuments of the city, epitaphs for aristocratic women poignantly describe them in their roles as wives, mothers, or daughters. However, the first regularity in the funerary commemorations of senatorial women is the attention given to wives. When it comes to mourning adult women, funeral epigraphy primarily demonstrates the type of ideal *matrona* in the vast majority of cases.²⁷⁶⁷ Concerning the metrical aspect, epitaphs composed in verse are very dissimilar to inscriptions written in prose. However, although the differences are patent as the vocabulary and the structure of texts differ, both might be underpinned by genuine expressions of grief. Thus, the epigram in elegiac couplets dedicated to *Aventia* is exceptionally

²⁷⁶² Guntram Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage* (Munich: Beck, 2000), 220, for the period from 270/80 to the early fifth century.

²⁷⁶³ On traditional themes of female virtues praised in funerary epigraphy, see Werner Riess, "Rari exempli femina: Female Virtues on Roman Funerary Inscriptions," in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, eds. Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), 491-501.

²⁷⁶⁴ On the subjectivity and social agency of commemorands in Rome's fourth-century verse epitaphs, see Dennis E. Trout, "*Fecit ad astra viam*: Daughters, Wives, and the Metrical Epitaphs of Late Ancient Rome," *JRS* 21.1 (2013): 1-25.

²⁷⁶⁵ On the representational strategies of male commemorators, see Dennis E. Trout, "'Being Female': Verse Commemoration at the Coemeterium S. Agnetis (Via Nomentana)," in *Being Christian in Late Antiquity: A Festschrift for Gillian Clark*, eds. Carol Harrison, Isabella Sandwell, and Caroline Humfress (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 215-34; Kate Cooper, "Closely Watched Households: Visibility, Exposure and Private Power in the Roman Domus," *Past and Present* 197.1 (2007): 3-33.

²⁷⁶⁶ On woman's legal rights and status, see Judith Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire. A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood* (London: Routledge, 2002).

²⁷⁶⁷ Riess, "Rari exempli femina," 493.

private, affectionate and consolatory.²⁷⁶⁸ Her sarcophagus from the catacombs of Domitilla on the via Ardeatina is dated between 390 and 425.²⁷⁶⁹ The sarcophagus' fragment of the lid preserves Christian symbols: a christogram is placed between α and ω .²⁷⁷⁰ Despite her single name, the inscription records her senatorial status in a *praescriptum* of the poem. One learns from the epitaph of her status as married woman as her husband Florens, whose rank (perhaps the same as hers) is not indicated in the metric inscription, took care of the burial.

The rank of the husband, however, is not automatically deducible from the rank of the wife, which is usually assumed vice versa. A now lost sarcophagus perhaps from the fourth century²⁷⁷¹ of *clarissima* Aurelia Iusta, wife of Caecilius Candidianus, *vir perfectissimus*, is recorded in the coemeterium Callisti on the via Appia.²⁷⁷² She is characterized by her husband and children in the formulas of the matrona's praise. Eighteen-century drawings of the sarcophagus lid as well as a transcribed version of its Christian prose inscription, although not without errors, are, nevertheless, preserved.²⁷⁷³ On the drawing, at each end of the lid there is a mask facing outwards. In the center there is an inscription panel flanked by two reliefs, in which there are busts of the man and his wife. The husband on the left and his spouse on the right both hold rolls and gesture towards the center. The sarcophagus' lid thus contained a portrait bust of deceased Aurelia Iusta in front of a *parapetasma*. Two nude putti as Seasons hold a drape behind each bust, balancing a basket on their free hand. On the left of the inscription panel a figure, wearing a tunic, holds a sheep on his shoulders (the Good Shepard), while on the right of the panel another figure, wearing a tunic and a cloak (*palla*), stands holding up both hands as an orans. The prominent position, but small size, of the Good Shepherd's figure opens up questions about its thematic importance: does it represent some ideological focus of the couple's existence, or is merely functioning as a filling motif with some general soteriological meaning and allusions to the rural idyll? A basket is depicted on the ground by each of these figures.

Chastity and fidelity remained salient aristocratic virtues when Candidianus, *vir perfectissimus*, remembered *clarissimae memoriae femina* with whom he lived thirty-one years in

²⁷⁶⁸ ICUR III 8453 (Coem. Domitillae (via Ardeatina)). See John William Zarker, *Studies in the Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (Diss. Princeton 1958), no. 117. No PLRE entry.

²⁷⁶⁹ Carlo Carletti, *Epigrafia dei cristiani in Occidente dal III al VII secolo: ideologia e prassi* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2008).

²⁷⁷⁰ Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 218.

²⁷⁷¹ On the basis of formulas and prosopography, see Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 220 (fourth century); Andreas Faßbender, *Untersuchungen zur Topographie von Grabstätten in Rom von der späten Republik bis in die Spätantike* (Diss. Cologne, 2005), 303 no. 550 (rather fourth than third century).

²⁷⁷² CIL 6 31955=ILCV 171=ICUR IV 11221 (Coem. Callisti area subdialis (via Appia)). Gabriele Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina: Zum Anteil römischer Frauen der Oberschicht im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert an der Christianisierung der römischen Senatsaristokratie* (Bodenheim: Philo, 1997), 75-76 (both women were Christian). PLRE 1, 488 Aurelia Iusta 2.

²⁷⁷³ In the album by Giovanni Domenico Campiglia (1692–1775), see ECL-Bm.12:138-2013 for drawings. Bm 12 137 and 138 are cataloged together as drawings of the same sarcophagus lid; on the actual drawing this is numbered 138.2. There is a separate sheet stuck in the album that has a version of the inscription.

married life, as *unici exempli adque egregiae castitatis femina*.²⁷⁷⁴ Eck thought that daughters of senators had lost the *clarissima* by marrying a man of a lower rank.²⁷⁷⁵ However, Chastagnol has shown that this scheme had probably changed soon after 235 and the daughters of senators were allowed to retain the rank in case of marrying *minor dignitatis*.²⁷⁷⁶ Only when a *clarissima femina* had acquired the rank, not by birth, but by marriage to a senator, she gave up the *clarissima* when she married a man of a lower rank after her husband's death or after divorce. Despite the marital harmony emphasized in the iconography of the sarcophagus, the tomb was dedicated by the woman's children (*matri piissimae et sui amantissimae*), Aurelia Iusta and Aurelius Asyncritus.²⁷⁷⁷ The epitaph registers *duo nomina* for all: the wife, the husband, and their children. The dedications made by the children of a deceased senatorial woman are thereby the second regularity in the funerary commemorative inscriptions.

Three other prose inscriptions commemorating senatorial women come from the catacomb of Callixtus, which preserves the largest number of aristocratic epitaphs. Cassia Faretria, *clarissima femina*, is recorded on the fourth-century *tabula* still *in situ* in the catacomb.²⁷⁷⁸ Aelius Saturninus, whose rank is not indicated on the inscription, commemorated his senatorial wife. The epitaph records *duo nomina* of both the dedicator and the dedicatee. Another fragmentary epitaph from the sarcophagus' lid from the catacomb of Callixtus commemorates *clarissima* Attica, who died aged seventeen.²⁷⁷⁹ Her undecorated sarcophagus comes perhaps from the aboveground cemetery in the fourth century.²⁷⁸⁰ The commemorator, however, is not indicated in the inscription.

Epitaphs for late Roman aristocratic women, belonging to the *ordo senatorius*, were equally dedicated by clients to their patronesses. In the catacomb of Callixtus there is yet another short, tantalizing inscription: 'To Petronia Auxentia, a lady of *clarissimus* rank, who lived thirty years, well-deserving, her freedmen made this. In peace'.²⁷⁸¹ Petronia Auxentia, *clarissima femina*, received a tomb from the slaves who had been emancipated by her. The form of her name corresponds to her rank. Perhaps of the fourth-century date, it is one of the very rare Christian inscriptions, which mentions freedmen. This epitaph is thus associated with early Christian manumission practices and presents a further proof of the persistence in Christian circles of the

²⁷⁷⁴ Riess, "Rari exempli femina."

²⁷⁷⁵ Werner Eck, "Das Eindringen des Christentums in den Senatorenstand bis zu Konstantin d. Gr.," *Chiron* 1 (1971): 389 n.39.

²⁷⁷⁶ André Chastagnol, "La législation du clarissimat féminin de Sévère Alexandre à la fin du IV^e siècle," In *Atti dell'Accademia romanistica costantiniana, V convegno internazionale* (Perugia: Università degli Studi di Perugia, 1983), 255–62; idem, *Le Sénat romain*, 229–30; Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 75.

²⁷⁷⁷ *PLRE* 1, 488 Aurelia Iusta 3.

²⁷⁷⁸ *ILCV* 158=*ICUR* IV 10879 (Coem. Callisti pars superior (via Appia)). Faßbender, *Untersuchungen zur Topographie*, 269–70 no. 424 (beginning of the fourth century(?)); Eck, "Das Eindringen des Christentums," 389 with n.39. No *PLRE* entry.

²⁷⁷⁹ *ICUR* IV 9655 (Coem. Callisti pars inferior (via Appia)). No *PLRE* entry.

²⁷⁸⁰ *RS I* 310. Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 219.

²⁷⁸¹ *ICUR* 4 10085=*ILCV* 159 (Coem. Callisti pars inferior (via Appia)). *PLRE* 1, 141 Petronia Auxentia.

relationship that linked in the late Roman world *libertae* and *liberti* to their patroness or patron.²⁷⁸² G. Disselkamp points out that she was thirty years old, but apparently not married.²⁷⁸³

Other catacombs of Rome equally feature as sites of provenance of senatorial funeral monuments and inscriptions. Perhaps a late third- or rather fourth-century plaque, which is now lost, in the catacomb of Priscilla on the via Salaria recorded in large font a dedication to *clarissimae memoriae femina Maximilla*.²⁷⁸⁴ She has only one onomastic element, for in the fourth century onomastics was definitely moving towards an extreme brevity that led to the use of *simplex nomen*. The catacomb of Saint Agnes yields a now lost inscription that bears a Christian monogram, which was dedicated to Flabia Alexandria,²⁷⁸⁵ *clarissima femina*, perhaps in the second half of the fourth century.²⁷⁸⁶

Yet another possibly senatorial woman, Iohanna, died and was buried at the coemeterium Cyriacae ad S. Laurentium on the via Tiburtina in the last decade of the fourth or the first quarter of the fifth century (fig. 73).²⁷⁸⁷ The tabula records that her father was former provincial governor (*ex praeses*), who lived forty-eight years, and died in 390. The funeral inscription of the daughter of the former *praeses* was carved at a later date after his death. It recorded that she set it up during her own lifetime (*se viva fecit*). She may have been of *clarissimus* rank as her father, since at the very end of the fourth century there are no longer *praesides perfectissimi* on retirement, although the *perfectissimus* rank of the governor in office is still epigraphically testified to into the late fourth century. Her *nomen simplex* would not be at odds with her rank.

Aside from sarcophagi, funerary fresco paintings in sepulchral chambers of Rome's catacombs contain representations of aristocratic women. Thus, a fourth-century Roman noblewoman is portrayed in a double cubiculum in the catacomb of Thecla. A private crypt generally presupposes an aristocratic family, which means it was no doubt adorned. Apart from four early surviving portraits fresco portraits identified as the Apostles Peter, Paul, John and Andrew, as well as the Good Shepherd that were revealed in the catacomb of Thecla during the restoration in 2010, there is a now restored image of a woman in noble garment represented in the lunette of the arcosolium of the north wall over one of the actual burial slots.²⁷⁸⁸ The fourth-century image of an

²⁷⁸² Maria Luisa Costantini, "La menzione di servus e libertus nelle iscrizioni tardo-imperiali di Roma," in Di Stefano Manzella, *Le iscrizioni dei Cristiani in Vaticano*, 181.

²⁷⁸³ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 58 (Christian).

²⁷⁸⁴ *CIL* 6 32015= *ILCV* 154= *ICUR* IX 25362 (Coem. Priscillae (via Salaria Nova)). Faßbender, *Untersuchungen zur Topographie*, 155 no. 89 (third/fourth century); Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 80-81 (Christian). *PLRE* 1, 575 Maximilla 1.

²⁷⁸⁵ *PLRE* 1, 44 Flabia Alexandria 2, suggests a possible descendancy from Fl. Alexandra Atticilla, see *CIL* 3 169 (Berytus). *PIR*² F 408.

²⁷⁸⁶ *CIL* 6 1420=31991= *ILCV* 172 (Coem. S. Agnetis (via Nomentana)). Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 52-53 (Christian).

²⁷⁸⁷ *CIL* 6 41340= *ICUR* VII 17467 (Coem. Cyriacae ad S. Laurentium (via Tiburtina)). No *PLRE* entry.

²⁷⁸⁸ Barbara Mazzei et al., eds., *Il cubicolo degli apostoli nelle catacombe romane di Santa Tecla: cronaca di una scoperta* (Vatican: Pontificia commissione di archeologia sacra, 2010), table 36 and 39.

elegant Roman gentlewoman, who was buried in the catacomb, is depicted at the center with her daughter, and flanked by two saints.

Slightly offset from the centre and enclosed in a frame with a blue background superimposed on the black one, the female figure with both hands holds a closed roll in front of her chest. She is dressed in a light *dalmatica* with wide sleeves and a necklace of pearls with double thread, while the thin veil that covers her head exposes her notable hairstyle, consisting of a braid and two thick bands of wavy locks that frame the full face in the shape of an oval. The physiognomic characteristics of the face are partially affected by the state of preservation of the fresco, even if the thin lips and the not too pronounced nose are still evident, but the expressiveness of the figure is all concentrated in the eyes, veiled with melancholy expressed by the fixation of the gaze lost in the void and made gloomy by the obvious dark eyebrows. On either side of the two frontal female figures are two male figures seen from a flank, their heads turned towards the spectator, both framed in a superimposed blue background. The figure on the right, who stretches both arms forward to rest them on the woman's shoulder and left arm, recalls St Paul, while the one on the left, depicted in the same position of a direct contact, resembles St Peter, even if the depiction of both is not entirely canonical. Even if the flanking figures were not the two *principes apostolorum*, the deceased depicted as the central orans, certainly educated in the Scripture as indicated by the scroll held in her hands, found an affectionate patronage for her admittance to paradise.²⁷⁸⁹

F. Bisconti identifies the rich noblewoman portrayed with her daughter in the cubicle of S. Thecla as a pious matrona of the aristocratic circles of the time.²⁷⁹⁰ On the left side of the woman is a depiction of a young girl as orans, also veiled and similarly hairstyled, whose features are no longer visible. Considered by J. Wilpert to be a son of the deceased, the figure of the child is now clearly identified as a daughter.²⁷⁹¹ The praying girl, the daughter of the main deceased, could have been even added to the group a little later, since she is almost ignored in the dynamics of the composition and certainly superimposed on the other figures, as well as deprived the privilege of the blue background. Yet it is possible to assume that the burial was intended to receive more than one deceased and that for this reason in the completed composition a space was left to be exploited according to the circumstances.²⁷⁹² B. Mazzei suggests that the elite woman²⁷⁹³ was a catacomb's

²⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., 75-76.

²⁷⁹⁰ Fabrizio Bisconti, "Il cubicolo degli apostolic in S. Tecla: un complesso iconografico tra arte funeraria e decorazione monumentale," in Mazzei, *Il cubicolo degli apostoli*, 214, 'una pia matrona dell'entourage aristocratico del tempo'.

²⁷⁹¹ Joseph Wilpert, ed., *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (Freiburg: Herder, 1903), 314-315, 520 with table 234,2; Barbara Mazzei "La decorazione del cubicolo degli apostoli," in Mazzei, *Il cubicolo degli apostoli*, 36-37, 76 with fig. 7.

²⁷⁹² Ibid, 76.

²⁷⁹³ Taken alongside the newly restored frescoes in the 'Veiled Woman' cubiculum of the catacomb of Priscilla, one can further inquire about the women who featured so prominently in the Roman catacombs. In the cubiculum of the Veiled

patron based on her vividly coloured portrait in the grave-chamber, echoing sumptuous mausoleums of the Roman elite.²⁷⁹⁴

Thereafter, the epitaphs and portraits considered above commemorate women's lives lived within the narrow confines of the late empire's senatorial rank. Among many sepulchral inscriptions from Rome's catacombs at least eight fourth-century epitaphs dedicated to women of this exalted social rank can be found. The funeral inscriptions installed in the city's catacombs fall roughly into three categories as commemorating wives, mothers, patronesses. The catacombs's epigraphic corpus is dominated by dedications made by husbands to wives (Aventia, Aurelia Iusta, and Cassia Faretria). One is a joint commemoration of senatorial woman (Aurelia Iusta) as mother by her two children as well as her husband. One is a dedication by the clients (freedmen) to their patroness (Petronilla Auxentia). Further, one more is made by woman for herself (Iohanna), and three more are for women of unknown family status (Attica, Maximilla, and Fabia Alexandria). Then, only one epitaph is a metrical text (Aventia); the rest are prosaic ones. Seven are Christian, with one of an unknown religious affiliation, as it contains no Christian formulas or symbols, and which perhaps fell down from the aboveground cemetery (Attica).

What is more, two commemorative inscriptions indicate the age of the deceased woman: Attica died aged seventeen and Petronia Auxentia aged thirty. Other epitaphs, although do not furnish the age date for the reasons of poor preservation or otherwise, indicate the married status of three women (Aventia, Cassia Faretria, Aurelia Iusta), resulting in having (at least) two children after thirty-one years in marriage for the latter, while yet another one was probably unmarried (Petronia Auxentia). For the other four the family status is unknown, of whom one was seventeen (Attica), while the other one (Iohanna) had her father, who lived forty-eight years, predeceased her.

Afterwards, these eight funeral inscriptions are known to come from five Rome's catacombs. The vastest of the city's catacombs, the coemeterium Callisti on the via Appia, yields the greatest number of sepulchral inscriptions, namely, three (Aurelia Iusta, Cassia Faretria, and Petronia Auxentia), excluding Attica's one that may have pertained to the aboveground burial. The other four come from the catacomb of Domitilla on the via Ardeatina (Aventia); the catacomb of Priscilla on the via Salaria (Maximilla); the catacomb of Saint Agnes (Fabia Alexandria), and the

Woman, there is an image of a praying woman with her arms outstretched wearing a rich garment. In another cubiculum, known as the 'Greek Chapel', a group of women sit at a table with arms outstretched and celebrating a banquet. Fabrizio Bisconti, "Scoperta di nuovi affreschi nelle catacombe di Priscilla," in *La catacomba di Priscilla. Il complesso, i restauri, il museo*, eds. Fabrizio Bisconti et al. (Todi: Tau, 2013), 37-90 suggests that the fresco of the woman is a depiction of a deceased person now in paradise, and that the women sitting at the table are taking part in a funeral banquet.

²⁷⁹⁴ Mazzei "La decorazione del cubiculo degli apostoli," 82, fig. 46. For the heiresses of the great Roman families as patronesses of Thecla's cult in fourth-century Rome, see Kate Cooper, "A Saint in Exile: The Early Medieval Thecla at Rome and Meriamlik," *Hagiographica* 2 (2018): 1-23.

coemeterium Cyriacae ad S. Laurentium on the via Tiburtina (Iohanna), respectively. In addition, the frescoed tomb in the St Tecla catacomb, discovered in the 1950s, was built by the fourth-century noblewoman-patroness.²⁷⁹⁵

Secondly, apart from the catacombs, a number of the sepulchral inscriptions for senatorial women come from the areas around the basilicas or burials *ad martyres* at Rome. Thus, an upper part of a strigillated sarcophagus with traces of two busts in a medallion has been found near S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Cassia, *clarissima femina*, a wife of Piso, was born in 316 and died in 346, according to the sarcophagus' epitaph.²⁷⁹⁶ Several other inscriptions were also found in the same area. The sarcophagus with now fragmentary reliefs and the inscription preserved on the upper rim of the chest without the lid was commissioned by the woman's husband. The epitaph gives the exact age of Cassia Pisonis, who died aged thirty, and uses Christian formulas (*reddere spiritum*).²⁷⁹⁷ Cassia's Christian beliefs, quite early in the fourth century as for *clarissima femina*, are certain due to the inscription's formulas. Piso, her husband, could have had his rank and religion corresponding to her, which should however remain an open question. Cassia's sarcophagus is one of few examples of the representation of the married couple on the monument intended for the deceased woman.²⁷⁹⁸

Further, another inscription, Christian in character, found in the church of S. Saba commemorates two senatorial women. In the late fourth or early fifth century Fortunatianus Servilius, *vir clarissimus, consularis Cretae* made a tomb for his brother, his unnamed wife, and himself as well as for his mother Servilia, *clarissima femina*.²⁷⁹⁹ Servilius' wife must have been *clarissima* as was his rank. The *tabula* mentions that he had a brother [---]ensurius Marcus [---]aelianus, whose name is only partially preserved on the fragmentary plaque, and who was equally *vir clarissimus* and perhaps held a palatine office of *tribunus et notarius* in the West. In this case, according to the funerary formula, it seems that Servilius who commissioned the family tomb was still alive, while his brother and the spouse for whom he commissioned it were already dead (*fratri coniugi et sibi a solo fecit*). The epitaph however continues adding his deceased mother (*et Serviliae clarissimae feminae matri*). The obvious fact that when the tomb was built is left unexpressed, but Servilius might still have been alive when his mother died.

Thereafter, yet another sarcophagus' inscription with the names of Acilia Baebiana and Flavius Crescens is dated to 368 by consular dating.²⁸⁰⁰ In this metrical epitaph neither Crescens nor

²⁷⁹⁵ Mazzei, *Il cubicolo degli apostoli*.

²⁷⁹⁶ *CIL* 6 37122=*ILCV* 162 (S. Croce in Gerusalemme). *RS* I 782. Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 34, 51, 54, 94, 234. *PLRE* 1, 184 Cassia 1.

²⁷⁹⁷ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 60.

²⁷⁹⁸ See also *RS* I 311 (lid).

²⁷⁹⁹ *CIL* 6 37125=*ILCV* 130 (Basilica S. Sabae). Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 94-95 (Christian). *PLRE* 1, 826 Servilia.

²⁸⁰⁰ *ICUR* X 27296=*ILCV* 3310=*CLE* 652 (Basilica S. Valentini (via Flaminia)). No *PLRE* entry.

his wife, who died young at the age of seventeen, have their rank specified, although detectable as belonging to the *ordo senatorius*, for their names allow such an identification.²⁸⁰¹ The sarcophagus was found in 1928 in the aboveground cemetery over the catacomb of St Valentine on the via Flaminia. The elevated sarcophagus' placement, found leaning against the enclosure wall of the basilica S. Valentino, also suggests a senatorial status of the deceased.²⁸⁰² Made in the last third of the fourth century, Baebiana's sarcophagus (now without the lid) was deposited near the tomb of the martyr St Valentine: the epitaph mentions an '*aula sepulcris*'. A special feature of this unadorned frieze sarcophagus is that the relief is only laid out and not carved. Both spouses have clearly professed Christian faith. A long funeral poem (*carmen sepulcrale*) in hexameters dedicated for Acilia Baebiana by her husband praises emphatically the woman's virtues in married life. During her short marriage she had shown herself to be a prime example of virtue and conjugal fidelity, provided all care to the one man she had chosen as her spouse, and lived her life with an impeccable reputation.

Last, Theodora, *clarissima femina*, and her father Eustolius, *vir clarissimus*, were buried in the Basilica Vaticana in 380.²⁸⁰³ Her now lost funeral inscription was found in the pavement of the old St Peter's basilica. One may notice the *nomen simplex* of both the father and the daughter. Formulas and Theodora's name both point to her Christian parents.²⁸⁰⁴ Additionally, another tomb in the crypt of the Vatican was dedicated to a *clarissimae memoriae femina*, whose name is no longer extant in the fragmentary epitaph, by her husband Valerius in 384.²⁸⁰⁵ In this incomplete inscription preserved on a large fragment of a marble plaque the woman is designated as '*admirabilis coniux*' and praised perhaps for her marital chastity. Both Vatican dedications are securely dated by consular dating.

The city's churches thereby yield further five epitaphs recording six female commemorands. The overwhelming majority of certain female commemorands from the basilicas in Rome are wives commemorated by husbands (Cassia, Acilia Baebiana, the unnamed wife of Fortunatianus Servilius, and the anonymous wife of Valerius). The other two are the daughter buried together with her father (Theodora) and the mother perhaps remembered by her son (Servilia). Of these inscriptions, one is metric, while the others are in prose. Four are certainly Christian, while the remaining one is probably also Christian (wife of Valerius). Of this group of six women, Acilia Baebiana *vixit annos decem et septem*, while Cassia died at the age of thirty. Otherwise age is not recorded but four were

²⁸⁰¹ Niquet, Monumenta, 38, n.164. For senatorial Baebii of the late third or early fourth century, see *PLRE I* Baebia Sallustia Crescentilla as well as L. Baebius Celsus; senatorial bearer of the cognomen Crescens: Crescens 1-4. Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 34 (in the basilica S. Valentino).

²⁸⁰² *RS I* 667. Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 54, 227, 368 Kat. D 26.

²⁸⁰³ *CIL* 6 31972 (Basilica S. Petri apostoli). *PLRE I*, 896 Theodora 4.

²⁸⁰⁴ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 95 (Christian).

²⁸⁰⁵ *CIL* 6 32078=*ILCV* 4620 (Basilica S. Petri apostoli). Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 99 (probably Christian).

certainly married (Cassia, Acilia Baebiana, and spouses of Fortunatianus Servilius and of Valerius), including one (Sevilia), who had (at least) two children, while Theodora's status is not known. As she was buried with her father, her relative youth is likely. So prenuptial status can be assumed for Theodora.

Thus, five epitaphs come from the four Rome's churches. One was found near S. Croce in Gerusalemme (Cassia), another in the church of S. Saba (unnamed wife of Fortunatianus Servilius and his mother Servilia), and yet another comes from the aboveground cemetery over the catacomb of St Valentine, found leaning against the enclosure wall of the basilica S. Valentino (Acilia Baebiana). Another two are related to the Basilica Vaticana: one in the church (Theodora), while another comes from the crypt of the Vatican (wife of Valerius). Two of the burials are family tombs: one made by Fortunatianus Servilius for himself, his wife, his brother, and his mother Servilia; and another of Eustolius and his daughter Theodora.

However, most of the funeral inscriptions from Rome are rather of unknown or uncertain provenance due to the loss of their archaeological context. Thus, a fragment of an inscribed plaque on the sarcophagus' lid supported by cupids, of which there are few remains, comes from an unknown site from Rome. According to the inscription, Calvisia Prisca, *clarissima femina*, died aged twenty-nine.²⁸⁰⁶ Although this epitaph does not have to be Christian, its palaeography is common for Christian inscriptions of the fourth century. The sarcophagus fragment should also belong to this period, because the cupids supporting the *tabula* find comparisons in many sarcophagi of the fourth century. As for the deceased senatorial woman, a reference point is offered by Calvisius (rather than Calvisianus), *corrector* of Sicily, in the *Acts of Euplus*, deacon and martyr of Catania during Diocletian's persecution of 303-304.²⁸⁰⁷ The epitaph of Calvisia Prisca, if dating to the mid-fourth century, as it has been observed by S. Panciera, gives new support for credibility to the altered and interpolated *Acts of Euplus*, which, in turn, provides support for the new person.²⁸⁰⁸

Next, Rufia Petronia Rufina, perhaps a *clarissima femina*, is recorded in the fourth century.²⁸⁰⁹ The now lost inscription found near the today's Trevi fountain was set up by her husband, whose name, family origin or identity is unknown. As the Christian formulas or symbols are lacking and the inscription provides a typical catalog of virtues of the wife (*bonitas, integritas, pudicitia, castitas*), the religious affiliation is uncertain. She is praised as '*rari exempli coniunx*'.²⁸¹⁰

²⁸⁰⁶ CIL 6 41317=AE 1984, 146. No PLRE entry.

²⁸⁰⁷ BHL 2728; BHG 629.

²⁸⁰⁸ Silvio Panciera in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, 1, 649-50, no. 32; table 22,1. In turn Calvisius is seen in relation to the great massa Calvisiana that stretched inland from Gela and the region of the statio Calvisiana mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini* and in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

²⁸⁰⁹ CIL 6 32041=ICUR 1 3761. Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 101 (probably Christian). PLRE 1, 773 Rufia Petronia Rufina 3.

²⁸¹⁰ Compare another fourth century inscription from the coemeterium Priscillae, ICUR IX 25852.

Although the type of the material support is not recorded, the inscription was rather funeral than honorific.

Now, a lost sepulchral inscription of Faltonia Betitia Proba, wife of Clodius Celsinus *signo* Adelfius,²⁸¹¹ who was prefect of the city in 351 under Magnentius, is dated between 351 and 352. The spouse of the former *praefectus urbi* appears in the column inscription, known only by report, which apparently once formed part of Celsinus' tomb. Commissioned by Celsinus for his wife and himself, the epitaph indicates that Faltonia Betitia Proba predeceased her husband (*uxori incomparabili et sibi fecit*). In the sixteenth century the column was recorded in reuse near to the high altar of the Basilica di Sant'Anastasia, but there is no need to assume that it originally belonged to some structure in the church in the 350s.²⁸¹² Given Celsinus' wealth and status, it is inferred that the inscribed column formed one element in a substantial tomb or funerary monument.²⁸¹³

Further, the representation of sentiments associated with (conjugal) domesticity, privacy, and intimacy is often found in the verse epitaphs. A funerary poem in hexameters commemorates Accia Maria Tulliana, a Christian, who died aged eighteen somewhere in the late fourth or the first half of the fifth century.²⁸¹⁴ The preserved *tabula* of unknown provenance with the verse inscription records that she was a granddaughter of Caius Marius Victorinus, famous African rhetor and philosopher at Rome, and a wife of *clarissimus* Artorius Iulius Megethius. While commemorating Tulliana – and heightening the sense of the family values – the epitaph set up by her husband praises her male relatives. Her Christian faith is made clear in the epitaph through the expression of hope of a life after death (vv.9-10): 'I have now found my new residence unto eternity; I receive the crown of which I am worthy'.²⁸¹⁵

First of all, the epitaph mentions her grandfather, who died soon after 362, and whose fame is not forgotten after two generations. Marius Victorinus, instructor of rhetoric in mid-fourth century Rome, numbered many senators among his pupils, as Augustine records, enjoyed great reputation and was honored by a statue attested to by two textual references in the Forum of Trajan in 354.²⁸¹⁶ It is not indicated who dedicated this statue, but similar examples of statues of

²⁸¹¹ *CIL* 6 1712. Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 90 (Christian). *PLRE* 1, 732 Faltonia Betitia Proba 2.

²⁸¹² Engraved in twenty-eight short horizontal lines descending vertically down a column, the inscription is not a dedication of an altar of the church: Danuta Shanzer, "The Date and Identity of the Centonist Proba," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 27 (1994): 80-82; Niquet, *Monumenta*, 124, 142; Timothy D. Barnes, "An Urban Prefect and His Wife," *Classical Quarterly* 56.1 (2003): 253.

²⁸¹³ Barnes, "An Urban Prefect and His Wife," 253.

²⁸¹⁴ *CIL* 6 31934=37113= *ILCV* 104. *PLRE* 1 (fifth century). *PLRE* 1, 924 Accia Maria Tulliana.

²⁸¹⁵ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 96-97 (Christian).

²⁸¹⁶ *LSA*-2674. Jerome, *Chronicon* a. 354: *Victorinus rhetor et Donatus grammaticus praeceptor meus Romae insignes habentur. E quibus Victorinus etiam statuam in foro Traiani meruit.* Aug. *Conf.* 8.2.3 (*CSEL* 33, 171): *...doctor tot nobilium senatorum, qui etiam ob insigne praeclari magisterii, quod cives huius mundi eximium putant, statuam Romano foro meruerat et acceperat....* Marrou, "La vie intellectuelle au forum de Trajan," 93-110.

intellectuals dedicated in the Forum Traiani²⁸¹⁷ suggest that it was the emperor, in this case Constantius II, perhaps at the request of the senate. This genre of homage is not a unique phenomenon: the granddaughter of Marius Victorinus even bears the name of the great Roman orator revered by his descendants. Second, dedicated by her husband, otherwise unknown, the inscription, although metric, duly records his senatorial rank (but not an office), while hers is deduced by implication only. It praises her marital virtues and expresses affliction of the husband as Tulliana died young. They probably had a daughter, Tulliana iunior, who is also commemorated by her father on the same plaque at a later date. Tulliana iunior must have been *clarissima puella* of a very young age, when her mother, aged only eighteen, died.

Thereafter, three other inscriptions of uncertain provenance record rather third-century senatorial women: Maconiana Severiana, *clarissima femina*, a daughter of M. Sempronius Proculus Faustianus, *vir clarissimus*, and Praecilia Severiana, *clarissima femina*, who is known from her funeral inscription on the wholly decorated sarcophagus (now in Malibu) dedicated by her parents.²⁸¹⁸ Although the *PLRE* suggests broad dating from the third to fourth century, the iconography points rather to the first half of the third century. Similarly, Flaviana [---]na, *clarissimae memoriae femina*, is known from the now lost very fragmentary funeral inscription dedicated to her perhaps in the fourth century, but which may rather belong to the third.²⁸¹⁹ Also, Fabia Fuscinilla, from the *gens Fabia*, is commemorated in a now lost epitaph in elegiac couplets of unknown origin from the fourth century, but which may rather be from the third.²⁸²⁰

To continue, the third regularity in the funerary inscription set up for senatorial women is the commemoration of daughters. An unknown woman, whose name only partially survived, was mother of Cyriace, both of whom lived in the fourth to fifth century.²⁸²¹ A sarcophagus from Rome (now in Naples), whose exact provenance is unknown, with a fragment of the lid preserved, is decorated with Christian scenes such as healing of a blind man by Christ and Adam and Eve with the tree and the serpent.²⁸²² The inscription identifies the deceased as Cyriace. The dedicatee was a *clarissima femina*. The grave relief of the sarcophagus dedicated to Cyriace by her mother preserves two scenes from the life of Adam and Eve (temptation, fall, and hiding of shame), flanked by

²⁸¹⁷ *CIL* 6 1724=*LSA*-319 (Merobaudes), *CIL* 6 1710=*LSA*-1355 (Claudian), *CIL* 6 41347=*LSA*-1581 (unknown *eruditor*), and *LSA*-2675 (Sidonius Apollinaris).

²⁸¹⁸ *CIL* 6 3834=31733 (vigna Casali, via Appia). *PLRE* 1, 828 Maconiana Severiana 1; Praecilia Severiana 2. Disselkamp 41 (pagan; the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, following *PLRE*); Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 243, 315 with cat. A 58 (around 240).

²⁸¹⁹ *CIL* 6 37066. Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 45 (probably pagan and fourth-century). *PLRE* 1, 1000 Flaviana ...na.

²⁸²⁰ *CIL* 6 31711. Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 45-46 (probably pagan and fourth-century). *PLRE* 1, 376 Fabia Fuscinilla.

²⁸²¹ *CIL* 6 31967=10 1689=*ILCV* 156a. Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 48, 61 (both Christian). *PLRE* 1, 237 Cyriace 1.

²⁸²² *RS* II 180. Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 31, 236 (beginning of the fourth century); Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 48, 61.

vestiges of an angel bearing an octagonal portrait medallion and by two figures from an Adoration of the Magi. A symbolic interpretation is thereby possible as the reliefs were clearly chosen for as appropriate for the sarcophagus of a young woman, where the sin and damage brought by Eve are opposed to the promise of eternal life brought by the Virgin.²⁸²³ From the fact that it was her mother who dedicated the inscription, it may be concluded that Cyriace was not married and perhaps still relatively young, although neither her status nor age are indicated.²⁸²⁴

Importantly, marriage scenes receive particular attention on the Roman metropolitan sarcophagi. Iulia Latronilla, *clarissimae memoriae femina*, died around 330 at the age of forty-six.²⁸²⁵ Her sarcophagus with Christian scenes (originally from Rome) now held in Jerusalem, contains a double frieze and dates to an early stage of fourth-century marble carving (fig. 77).²⁸²⁶ The Latin inscription, born by two winged victories on the lid of the sarcophagus, reads: ‘Iulia Latronilla, a woman of senatorial memory, was buried on August 21 and rests in peace. She lived forty-six years, nine month and twenty-nine days’. The epitaph does not furnish any information about her husband, children, or parents. This sarcophagus from the workshop of Rome depicts a number of Hebrew Bible and New Testament scenes, such as Abraham’s near sacrifice of Isaac, the miracle at Cana where Christ turned water into wine, and Christ’s triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The resurrection is placed beneath the clipeus portraits of the upper register: two soldiers are found below a cross surmounted by a wreathed christogram. In the center of the main face of the sarcophagus there is a medallion, depicting Latronilla with her husband, who holds a scroll. However, a peculiarity can be found in such a representation of a married couple (*dextrarum iunctio*): in the majority of cases the inscription dedicates the tomb to a woman and not to a married couple, as one would assume from the clipeus portraits. The husband does not even feature in the inscription. The *dextrarum iunctio* thus seems to have been used on early Christian sarcophagi especially as a women’s theme, as on the sarcophagus of Latronilla.²⁸²⁷

Thereafter, along with the conventional representation of committed marriage on the sarcophagi, funeral inscriptions work to reinforce its picture as both companionate and moral. The metrical epitaph in hexameters (except l.10) of Proiecta, who died soon after being married at age sixteen and was buried on December 30, 383, was composed by the bishop of Rome Damasus (Il.1-

²⁸²³ Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. Exhibition Catalog* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), 460, no. 411.

²⁸²⁴ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 48, 61 (both Christian).

²⁸²⁵ RS II 102. The correct expansion should be ‘*c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(femina)*’, and the correct number *dies XXVIII* is clearly visible in the inscription. Beat Brenk, “The Imperial Heritage of Early Christian Art,” in *Age of Spirituality. A symposium*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 43 fig. 8. No PLRE entry.

²⁸²⁶ E.g., the sarcophagus of Adelfia (RS II 20) and Albani (RS I 241). RS II, 48, 51; Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 617 is cautious about this piece as possible forgery, although without autopsy of the sarcophagus and the inscription; Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 236 (c. 330).

²⁸²⁷ RS II, 81-82.

9) in the same year.²⁸²⁸ The poem was elegantly inscribed on a large marble panel and installed near the heroine's subterranean tomb. Somewhat surprisingly, Proiecta is the only female senatorial aristocrat commemorated in Damasus' extant poetry, although she was not the only young woman celebrated by him in verse. Moreover, this is the only example of Damasus being involved in an upper-class burial. Proiecta was perhaps a daughter of Theodosian praetorian prefect Florus, hence, *clarissima*.²⁸²⁹ Trout cautions that other funeral inscriptions, similar to Proiecta's one, should, in the absence of information to the contrary, be read as the composition or commission of male commemorators, as 'first and foremost they might seem to inscribe the literary aspirations and self-interest of Roman men'.²⁸³⁰

However, as Cameron observes, the epitaph is not written from the point of view of Proiecta's husband, but of her parents, and explains the absence of his name by this fact and by the possibility of an accompanying inscription from his perspective. While the changing patterns of Christian commemoration at Rome in late antiquity demonstrate the increased popularity of celebrating both in prose and in verse marriageable or married young women, Proiecta's epitaph exhibits most clearly Damasan family ideology: chief virtue commemorated in the text is her consecrated virginity. The hexameters extoll *pudicitia* of the sixteen-year-old bride portrayed as *pulcra decore suo* and *solo contenta pudore*. Damasan women were deemed fit to be eulogized for their accomplishment in having not part in the structure of the family and not for their embeddedness in it. In his epitaph for Proiecta Damasus stresses these nonfamilial roles against typically circumscribed funerary representation of Roman girls and women: she is notable not for her *valor* but for her *pudor*.

Besides, it has long been attempted to identify Proiecta with the Proiecta recorded on the casket of the British Museum's Esquiline treasure. Proiecta, *clarissima femina*, wife of Turcius Secundus, is named on silverware in the late fourth century.²⁸³¹ She was presumably also related to the pagan Numerius Proiectus, possibly his sister. The Christian inscription on the bridal casket in the Esquiline treasure implies that at least one member of the couple was a Christian c. 380 (if not earlier).²⁸³² However, the casket displays a striking contrast of its flamboyantly pagan iconography of Venus and its Christian inscription.

²⁸²⁸ *ICUR* 1, 1440=*ILCV* 3446. Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 16 n.15 and 16. *PLRE* 1, 750 Proiecta.

²⁸²⁹ Or Florus who adorned the tomb of the martyr Liberalis: *ICUR* 10 27256 (Coemeterium S. Agnetis ((via Nomentana)).

²⁸³⁰ Trout, "*Fecit ad astra viam*," 22.

²⁸³¹ Ormonde Maddock Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum* (London, 1901), nos. 304-45; no. 304 (silver casket) '(chi-rho) *Secunde et Proiecta vivatis in Christo*'; nos. 312-15 (dishes with monogram) '*Proiecta Turci*'. Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 91-92 (Christian).

²⁸³² Dennis Trout, *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 182; Cameron 1985: 137. See Cameron 1985: 145 for stemma.

Elsner reminds that the marine thiasos was part of the cycle of the birth of goddess Aphrodite, who was associated with the domestic sphere and generally considered as the protector of marriage, as her statuettes are recorded in dowry documents among items intended to be for use by the bride. The lower part of the casket shows attendants carrying accouterments of the toilet, while centrally on the front panel their lady is depicted pinning her hair before a mirror held by her maid. The figure of 'Proiecta' seated at her toilette between two servants appears in an arcade of strigillated columns, with peacocks, birds, and baskets of fruit. This scene is mirrored by the figure of Venus on the casket's lid, in front of whom a Centauro-triton holds a mirror. Elsner interprets the iconography as depicting the process through which Proiecta becomes the Venus of Secundus, namely adornment, bathing and beautification.²⁸³³

Subsequently, this embossed silver and partially gilt casket was an artifact, which, unlike the serially produced late antique boxes, is presumed to be a special commission. The consensus is that the casket as a wedding gift, perhaps part of a dowry, celebrating the union of Secundus and Proiecta. K. Shelton emphasizes that both the inscription and the decoration are marriage-centered.²⁸³⁴

Certainly, the double portrait of a richly dressed, bearded man and a woman with jeweled collar and scroll, respectively, depicted in the central wreathed tondo at the top, appears to represent a married couple. However, Elsner challenges the opinion that the casket was commissioned for the couple's wedding, even though it might have alluded for its owners to their wedding even if it was acquired later. This is not even taking into account that the marital partners in the medallion at the top might not have been originally intended to be the Secundus and Proiecta of the inscription which runs along the horizontal the rim of the casket lid below them, as the inscription could have been engraved some time later. Instead, visual formula of a pair of nude cupids holding a celebratory chest or medallion and complemented by an inscribed dedicatory wellbeing wish were frequent in fourth-century Rome. Appearing on multiple sarcophagi, the inscription, although highlighting marriage perceived as a mutual and eternal commitment, reminds of a departure (or the deceased's life) rather than a wedding. Similarly, the celebratory double-portrait clipeus of a married couple - with the husband holding a scroll on the right and wife in a jeweled necklace - is common on fourth-century sarcophagi and is equally typical – often in conjunction with valedictory invocations – for gold-glass medallions.²⁸³⁵

²⁸³³ Jaś Elsner, "Visualising Women in Late Antique Rome: The Proiecta Casket," in *Through a Glass Brightly: Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archeology Presented to David Buckton*, ed. Christopher Entwistle (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003), 30-31.

²⁸³⁴ Kathleen J. Shelton, "The Esquiline Treasure: The Nature of the Evidence," *AJA* 89.1 (1985): 147-55.

²⁸³⁵ Jaś Elsner, *Roman Eyes. Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 201-204. On the portrayal of a couple in gold-glass medallions, see recently Kovács, *Kaiser, Senatoren und Gelehrte*, 236-40.

To bring it all together, eight epitaphs *incertae originis* from Rome commemorate nine senatorial women. Of those, three are commemorated as wives by husbands (Rufia Petronia Rufina, Faltonia Betitia Proba, and Accia Maria Tulliana) and another two as daughters by parents (Tulliana iunior by her father and Cyriace by her mother), while yet another one is remembered also as a granddaughter (Accia Maria Tulliana). Two are thus recorded as mothers (Accia Maria Tulliana and the anonymous mother of Cyriace). One more inscription can be designated *elogium* written by the bishop of Rome (Damasus), where the woman (Proiecta) is recorded also as a daughter (of Florus); the other two are epitaphs by unknown commemorators (Calvasia Prisca and Iulia Latronilla).

Furthermore, two inscriptions are in verse (for Accia Maria Tulliana and Proiecta), while the rest are prose. With no pagan epitaphs, all are confidently Christian, except of the uncertain one for Rufia Petronia Rufina, which is likewise probably Christian. Four women are known by age: Proiecta (16), Accia Maria Tulliana (18), Calvasia Prisca (29), and Iulia Latronilla (46). Of them both relatively young Proiecta and Accia Maria Tulliana were married, as well as Faltonia Betitia Proba, whose precise age is unknown. Tulliana iunior and Cyriace, commemorated by their father and mother respectively, were young and unmarried, while the family status of older Calvasia Prisca and Iulia Latronilla is uncertain. At least two burials were perhaps family tombs, one of which commemorates two individuals (senatorial mother and daughter, Accia Maria Tulliana and Tulliana iunior), while the other one was of Faltonia Betitia Proba and her famous husband.

In short, nineteen monuments from the city of Rome record twenty-three senatorial women. The majority (10) are the remembrances by husbands of their wives, with one more co-dedicated by children. Three more are remembered as daughters, while one is commemorated as a granddaughter. One more is the episcopal *elogium*, where the young wife (Proiecta) is also praised as a daughter. Another three are recorded as mothers. Yet another one is a dedication by the clients to their patroness. Furthermore, one more is made by the woman for herself, and five more are set up for women of unknown family status/by unknown commemorators. Altogether, four inscriptions are metrical; the remaining ones are prose epitaphs.

To sum up, eight commemorative inscriptions indicate the age of the deceased woman: 16, 17, 17, 18, 29, 30, 30, and 46. However, round numbers are always doubtful. Other sepulchral inscriptions, although they do not provide the exact age, indicate the married status for eleven women, with some having children. One was probably unmarried, although thirty years old. For seven more the family status is unknown, yet for one of them prenuptial status can be assumed. Two more, commemorated by their parents, were perhaps young and unmarried.

Overall, in the absence of pagan epitaphs, all the rest are undoubtedly Christian, with two probably Christian, while one is of an unknown religious affiliation. Eight funeral inscriptions are known to come from five Rome's catacombs and five epitaphs come from four Rome's churches,

while the rest are *incertae originis*. Three monuments were family tombs, which are known to have contained two individuals each. One of the burials was for the extended family: it was commissioned by the man for himself, his wife, his brother, and his mother.

Now I turn to monuments and epitaphs dedicated to (male and female) minors sometimes commemorated alongside their parents. Funeral inscriptions record a number of senatorial children, occasionally indicating the children-parents relationship. In terms of belonging to the privileged social stratum, the sarcophagi for children do not differ from those for adults. Yet the special sectors purposely reserved for the burial of children appear in the catacombs. Thus, the *cubiculum* ADa of the catacomb of Praetextatus provides an example of a sector (in the walls of gallery A1/AD1) reserved exclusively for the sarcophagi of children, whose parents were buried elsewhere.²⁸³⁶ A sarcophagus of Curtia Catiana, *clarissima puella*,²⁸³⁷ displays a bust of a child within a roundel. This sarcophagus of the Christian child, whose portrait-like bust in a roundel is being carried happily and safely across the sea to paradise by tritons, is dated to the first quarter of the fourth century.²⁸³⁸ The portrait clipeus is shown as being carried through the waves by subjects of the marine thiasos. It is the only attestation on a Christian sarcophagus of a motif widespread in the pagan world. The inscription on the lid is flanked by a meal scene and wrestling, with the former being most common in Roman funerary art including a few children's sarcophagi. The lid of Catiana's sarcophagus is a non-mythological example of this pattern.

Furthermore, the athletes on the lid are just one more subject in a heterogeneous collection of motives. The theme of athletics depicted on children's sarcophagi is not exclusive to these sarcophagi, belonging to the wider context of mainstream sarcophagi decoration. They appear on side panels, apart from the lids where athletics scenes are juxtaposed with quite separate subjects, to different effect as they fit easily into the main theme of children's games or blend into the general opposition of activities.²⁸³⁹ Some limited scenes of rustic activities appear in subsidiary places on the sarcophagi, such a pastoral or bucolic scene, with a shepherd milking a goat on the side panel of the Catiana's sarcophagus. A wide array of pastoral motifs on child sarcophagi was mostly utilized as background features or space-fillers on the monuments dated to the early fourth century. These patterns on child sarcophagi offer only the rare glimpse of the role played by bucolic imagery in

²⁸³⁶ Lucrezia Spera, *Il complesso di Pretestato sulla via Appia. Storia topografica e monumentale di un insediamento funerario paleocristiano nel suburbio di Roma* (Vatican: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2004), 123-32.

²⁸³⁷ *RS* I 577; *ICUR* V 14155=AE 1936, 125 (Coem. Praetextati (via Appia)). Antonio Ferrua in *ICUR* V p. 415 points out that Curtia Catiana is in some way related to Catianus Gaudentius, *vir perfectissimus* (*ICUR* V 13487; *RS* II 215 (first half of the fourth century)). Rita Amedick, *Vita privata auf Sarkophagen* (Berlin: Mann, 1991), no. 145, table 88,5. No *PLRE* entry.

²⁸³⁸ André Grabar, *The Beginnings of Christian Art: 200-395* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), fig. 265 (first half of the fourth century). Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 50, 232, 362 (first quarter of the fourth century).

²⁸³⁹ Janet Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi: Their Decoration and Its Social Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 18, cat. no. 4.9.

contemporary sarcophagus art: little in them relates especially to children.²⁸⁴⁰ The child portrait in a round clipeus flanked by sea-thiasos is held by sea-centaurs, each with a nereid seated on its back. Behind each of these a second Nereid embraces a sea-centaur who carries a horn. Below the portrait clipeus there is a boat with fisherman. Some portraits could more or less do for figures of either gender, particularly for infants. Many portraits of infants successfully capture the peculiar proportions of a young child, with large head, minimal neck, rounded shoulders, and tiny, clenched hand. Their faces are round.²⁸⁴¹

Curtia Catiana was buried in a chamber apparently used for children of senatorial families.²⁸⁴² The sarcophagus was discovered in the catacomb of Praetextatus together with another early fourth-century sarcophagus in the same chamber.²⁸⁴³ The sarcophagus from the *cubiculum* ADa is dated to the Constantinian time by Thümmel, and to 300-25 by Wrede.²⁸⁴⁴ The red-colored inscription dedicated to Flavius Insteius Cilo preserves traces of paint. Flavius Insteius Cilo was commemorated as *clarissimus puer*, son of the *clarissimus vir* Flavius Iulianus and *clarissima femina* Insteia Cilonis.²⁸⁴⁵ Flavius Iulianus was possibly also father of Clodius Insteius Flavius.²⁸⁴⁶ The name of the senatorial boy thus came on one side from father, and on the other side from mother. Both the portrait figures and the decoration of two sarcophagi are entirely conventional.²⁸⁴⁷

The sarcophagi represent children with special dress extremely rarely. The broken chest of the sarcophagus placed under the floor contains figurative panels between the strigillated fields. In the center of the front face of the sarcophagus there is a standing male figure, evidently the deceased, in front of a *parapetasma* dressed in tunic and *toga contabulata*. The boy holds his right hand before his chest, while he holds the roll in the left one. Funeral cupids, separated on the left and on the right from the main figure by strigillated panels, stand in the corners with lowered torches. Wrede remarks that the senatorial belonging is secured only through inscription, not through the uniformly rendered shoes.²⁸⁴⁸

Moreover, Dresken-Weiland states that the toga is rarely represented on the Christian sarcophagi and is never worn by children,²⁸⁴⁹ but Insteius Cilo is unmistakably dressed in toga. It

²⁸⁴⁰ Ibid., 15-16.

²⁸⁴¹ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 83.

²⁸⁴² Spera, *Il complesso di Pretestato sulla via Appia*, 128-31.

²⁸⁴³ RS I 564.

²⁸⁴⁴ Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 128 no. 22.

²⁸⁴⁵ AE 1936, 124 (Coem. Praetextati, spelunca magna). Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 128 no. 22; Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 362 cat. D 9; Faßbender, *Untersuchungen zur Topographie*, 273 no. 442.

²⁸⁴⁶ Attilio Mastino and Antonio Ibbi, "I senatori africani: Aggiornamenti," in Caldelli and Gregori, *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, 375-76, descendant of Flaccianus Insteia Cilonis (*PLRE* 1, 205 Cilonis), Christian, died no later than 325, wife of Flavius Iulianus, c.v. (*PIR*² F 295a; *PLRE* 1 Iulianus 33), and mother of Flavius Insteius Cilo, c. p. (*PIR*² F 292a; *PLRE* 1, 205 Flavius Insteius Cilo) and possibly of Clodius Insteius Flavius, c. p. (*PIR*² F193; *PLRE* 1, 349 Clodius Insteius Flavius 3: Clodius > Claudia?).

²⁸⁴⁷ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 83.

²⁸⁴⁸ Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 128, no. 22.

²⁸⁴⁹ Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 84.

was certainly due to the wish of the parents, who hoped for a senatorial career for their son. The parents insisted on the elevated social rank and expressed it through both inscription and the portrait. On the lid, two pairs of floating dolphins on waves converge symmetrically on the central *tabula inscriptionis* with molded frame, with the name and affiliation of the deceased.²⁸⁵⁰

The crude-looking sarcophagus of Insteius Cilo, who is designated in the inscription as *clarissimus puer*, counters a presumption that there is a necessary correlation between the craftsmanship and finish of sarcophagi and the status or wealth of the craftsmen's customers. Yet, although the social history of Roman funerary art, which interprets monuments and iconographies as expressions of the class-specific interests of their presumed commissioners, has its limits, in this case the epitaph, in addition to the burial placement, is what makes this otherwise unremarkably tomb proudly senatorial. The inscriptions on the other tombs also demonstrate belonging of the deceased children to senatorial families. A *tabula* containing the epitaph of Virius Iulianus preserves his rank designation as *vir clarissimus*, but in fact he was only six years old when he died.²⁸⁵¹ The sarcophagus is Christian and equally dates to the first half of the fourth century.

The elitist character of some areas in the catacomb of Pretextatus, alongside the more modest character of the other areas, is demonstrated not only by the luxurious painted *cubicula* along the *spelunca magna*, but also by one of the less monumental ones that, as the epigraphy testifies, was occupied by members of the senatorial aristocracy.²⁸⁵² Among the *clarissimi* of the families of the Annii, Postumii, and Insteii, children, whose parents were Christian, were buried in inscribed marble sarcophagi, datable to the first quarter of the fourth century.²⁸⁵³

Also known is a Christian child, who died at the age of five in 391, named Egnatia Abita Susanna.²⁸⁵⁴ The onomastics of Flavius Avitus Marinianus makes it possible to put on the track of the distant descent of the Egnatii Proculi. Flavius Avitus Marinianus, praetorian prefect in 422, may have been an elder brother of Egnatia Abita Susanna born about 386, or, at the farthest, her first cousin.²⁸⁵⁵ Egnatia Susanna Abita is remembered in the coemeterium S. Hippolyti on the via Tiburtina as *clarissima puella*. Enclosed abbreviated greetings (*pax tibi cum sanctis*) – the blessing formula placed on the back of the inscription-bearer – are infrequent in the catacombs of Rome.

²⁸⁵⁰ Spera, *Il complesso di Pretestato sulla via Appia*, 128-29.

²⁸⁵¹ *ICUR* V 14718 (Coem. Praetextati (via Appia)). Lucrezia Spera, *Il paesaggio suburbano di Roma dall'antichità al Medioevo: il comprensorio tra le vie Latina e Ardeatina dalle Mura Aureliane al III miglio* (Rome: Bretschneider, 1999), 199.

²⁸⁵² *ICUR* V 14016, 14132, 14155, 14445.

²⁸⁵³ *RS* I 557 (Curtia Catiana) and 564 (Cilo). Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai et al., *The Christian Catacombs of Rome: History, Decoration, Inscriptions* (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 1999), 37.

²⁸⁵⁴ *CIL* 6 32018=*ILCV* 197a (Coem. S. Hippolyti (via Tiburtina)). *PLRE* 1, 861 (M)unatia Abita Susanna.

²⁸⁵⁵ François Chausson, "Les Egnatii et l'aristocratie italienne des IIe - IVe siècles." *Journal des Savants* 2 (1997): 211–331.

Together with the Christian term ‘*deposita*’ they point to the religious affiliation of the deceased.²⁸⁵⁶ Diehl presumed that her birthplace was Volsinii, but it is not known.

Further, a *tabula* commemorating *clarissima puella*, whose name is not longer possible to reconstruct on the fragmentary dedication, was found in re-use in the pavement of the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura.²⁸⁵⁷ The inscribed plaque was found in reuse and dated broadly to the fourth century. She is designated as a daughter and a virgin in the inscription. Neither her age nor her family are known. Regarding the genre, it is rather a funeral than a donor inscription due to the sepulchral formula (*vixit annis*), if restored correctly. Formulas such as *fidelis in pace vixit annis* and similar occur on the contemporary pavements indicating age of the deceased children.²⁸⁵⁸ Unlike ‘*puer*’, a boy who had not yet put on the *toga virilis* at about age fifteen, ‘*puella*’ was not a specific age stage and was used in the meaning of ‘young woman’. Disselkamp claims that she was a Vestal (*virgo Vestalis*), hence pagan,²⁸⁵⁹ but it is not necessarily deductible from the inscription, concerned rather with the elite family’s public display of filial *pudicitia* and *castitas*. On the contrary, she must have been rather Christian, according to the formulas, so certainly not a Vestal virgin. Also, a preserved lid in yellow marble of the sarcophagus of *clarissima puella* Frontina is dated to the fourth or first half of the fifth century.²⁸⁶⁰ The Christian sarcophagus probably belonged to a deposition under the floor of the Constantinian basilica of St Peter.²⁸⁶¹

Thereafter, De Rossi tried to identify Caecilianus, perhaps provincial governor before 396/97 and praetorian prefect of Italy in 409, who was a Christian, with the Octavius Cecilianus, *vir clarissimus*,²⁸⁶² whose sarcophagus found in Rome is dated from the last decade of the fourth to the first quarter of the fifth century.²⁸⁶³ This undecorated sarcophagus in the catacombs of Callixtus comes perhaps from the aboveground cemetery.²⁸⁶⁴ The inscription for Octavius Caecilianus on the fragment of the lid mentions that he died aged forty-four. Other tombs were found near his grave. A sarcophagus of Pompeia Octavia Attica (Ca)eciliana, *clarissima puella*, which pertains to Cornelius’ crypt in the catacombs of Callixtus yet originates from the area above the catacombs,

²⁸⁵⁶ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 94 (Christian).

²⁸⁵⁷ *CIL* 6 32079=*ILCV* 198=*ICUR* 2 5546 (S. Paolo fuori le mura). *PLRE* 1, 998 ...or.

²⁸⁵⁸ *ILCV* 1353a (Rome).

²⁸⁵⁹ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 23 (certainly pagan), also wrongly reconstructs the name as ...elis. See *ILCV* 01353a.

²⁸⁶⁰ *AE* 1987, 135 (Necropoli Vaticana). No *PLRE* entry. The name Frontina appears in *PLRE* 2, 486 for a young Gallic girl of senatorial rank.

²⁸⁶¹ Werner Eck, “Inschriften aus der vatikanischen Nekropole unter St. Peter,” *ZPE* 65 (1986): 282-83, no. 33; table XXIII; Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 238 (‘im Bereich der konstantin. Peterskirche in den Boden versenkt?’).

²⁸⁶² Giovanni Battista De Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea cristiana*, vol. 2 (Rome: Cromo-litografia pontificia, 1867), 138. *PLRE* 2, 244 Caecilianus 1.

²⁸⁶³ *ICUR* IV 9707=*ILCV* 128 (Coem. Callisti pars inferior (via Appia)). *PLRE* 2 ...vius Caecilianus 3 (V/VI).

²⁸⁶⁴ Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 219.

was perhaps commissioned by her parents.²⁸⁶⁵ The art-historical dating of the preserved lid fragment of the sarcophagus with dolphins and Eros varies between the third and fourth centuries, but the christogram points to a later date.²⁸⁶⁶

Next, Octavia Baebiana, *clarissimae memoriae puella*, was buried in the second quarter of the fourth century (fig. 78).²⁸⁶⁷ She died, according to the inscription, at the age of fourteen, and was placed in an approximately two meters long sarcophagus made by a workshop in Rome.²⁸⁶⁸ Such a size for the child's sarcophagus²⁸⁶⁹ implies reuse or delayed use of the chest by the parents of the deceased. Delayed use is more likely, as there is no evidence that any of the figures had been recut. The chest would therefore have been acquired from stock and the lid commissioned to order. She is depicted twice in the bust portraits on the sarcophagus, which is not uncommon for the representation of the deceased.²⁸⁷⁰ Octavia has a hairstyle with a braid, more elaborated than on depiction of other children: perhaps a sign of the more advanced age, after fourteen. Roman girls on sarcophagi wear jewelry similar to women; in this way they look older. The case of Octavia is notable in this respect. She wears a ring, a bracelet, and a necklace.²⁸⁷¹

It can be objected that no child's sarcophagus decorated with inappropriate adult attributes could have been held in stock.²⁸⁷² Yet, similarly to portraits of children in adult dress, these images suggest qualities aspired to, or even perhaps precociously attained; others focus instead on infant's innocence through attributes such as pet birds.²⁸⁷³ However, with a length of two meters, the chest is not child-size and would have been more than sufficient to hold the body of an adolescent or young adult female, hence one suited to portrayal of Baebiana. Unexpected death, likely enough in the case of a young girl, might be sufficient reason for her parents to acquire such a sarcophagus, especially if her death occurred at a time when no fitting new chest could be speedily commissioned. The epitaph of Octavia Baebiana, however, does not give any information about her family background. However, as far as individual busts are concerned, this iconographical depiction

²⁸⁶⁵ RS I 476; ICUR IV 9431=ILCV 196 (Coem. Callisti (via Appia), crypta S. Cornelii). Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 231 (second third of the fourth century). No *PLRE* entry.

²⁸⁶⁶ PIR² P 677 based on Eck, "Das Eindringen des Christentums," 390 with n.47; Alexander Weiß, *Soziale Elite und Christentum. Studien zu ordo-Angehörigen unter den frühen Christen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 198 no. 22.

²⁸⁶⁷ RS II 105, with the incorrect text of the inscription. The correct reading should be '*c(larissimae) m(emoriae) p(uella)*'. Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophag*, 617, is wrongly cautious about the falsification. It has been kindly pointed out to me by Silvia Orlandi that no forger would have imagined the reversed P in '*puella*'. No *PLRE* entry. For dating, see Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 49.

²⁸⁶⁸ Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophag*, 271; Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 236, Guntram Koch, "Zu den Kinder-Sarkophagen der konstantinischen Zeit. Sind sie in Serie oder auf besonderen Auftrag hergestellt worden?" in '*...zur Zeit oder Unzeit*', *Studien zur spätantiken Theologie-, Geistes- und Kunstgeschichte und ihre Nachwirkung*. Hans Georg Thümmel zu Ehren, eds. Adolf M. Ritter, et al. (Cambridge: Edition Cicero, 2004), 179.

²⁸⁶⁹ The sarcophagus of Octavia Baebiana is similar to another sarcophagus of a twelve-year-old girl, see RS I 478.

²⁸⁷⁰ RS II 107. Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 82.

²⁸⁷¹ See RS I 47, 60.

²⁸⁷² Manuela Studer-Karlen, "Quelques réflexions sur les sarcophages d'enfants (fin 3e siècle-debut 5e siècle)," in *Nasciturus, infans, puerulus vobis mater terra: la muerte en la infancia*, eds. Gusi Jener et al. (Castello: Deputacion de Castello, 2008), 551-74.

²⁸⁷³ Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*, 126.

was commonly deemed suitable for unmarried women identified as such on epigraphical grounds.²⁸⁷⁴

Lastly, apart from sarcophagi, the medium of memorial portrait statuary features in Rome in the funeral context. The inscription to L. Septimia Pataviniana Balbilla Tyria Nepotilla Odaenathiana, *clarissima puella*, comes rather from the fourth than the third century (fig. 17).²⁸⁷⁵ It accompanied a posthumous memorial statue, since the epithets *dulcissima et amantissima* are common in the sepulchral sphere.²⁸⁷⁶ The decoration is based on an architectural framework with Corinthian pilasters, and in this tradition it is related to other Roman funerary monuments. This dedication for the senatorial *patrona* inscribed on the base found in Rome was set up by a wet nurse to her ‘sweetest and most loving patroness’. Niquet emphasizes that it was installed in a semi-public space. As Alföldy has pointed out, the wish of good luck to the beneficiaries of a good deed or simply to the readers of an inscription, expressed by the word *feliciter*, at the end of epigraphic texts is regular.²⁸⁷⁷ The nursemaid (*nutrix*), the most commonly freed female slave and a person who frequently had significant emotional ties to the freeborn members of the family, set up a commemorative monument for her senatorial *patrona*. Despite the *tria nomina*, she was *liberta* and not *ingenua*.²⁸⁷⁸ The long-term contact between wet-nurse, nursling and its family recorded epigraphically, indicate an affectionate relationship that existed between nursling and *nutrix*, yet sentiments of dependency and patronage would still have been in the background.

In summary, nine *clarissimae puellae* and *clarissimi pueri* were individually commemorated in fourth-century Rome. Of those, seven children were female: Curtia Catiana, Egnatia Abita Susanna, Frontina, Pompeia Octavia Attica (Ca)eciliana, L. Septimia Pataviniana Balbilla Tyria Nepotilla Odaenathiana, and the anonymous senatorial daughter ([---]or), as well as Octavia Baebiana, although designated *clarissimae memoriae femina*. The other two were male: Flavius Insteius Cilo was *clarissimus puer*, while Virius Iulianus, although only six years old, is styled *vir clarissimus*. Commissions by parents are assumed, unless stated otherwise in the inscriptions, as it is in case of L. Septimia Pataviniana Balbilla Tyria Nepotilla Odaenathiana commemorated by her *nutrix*. All inscriptions are prose epitaphs, with no funerary poetry recorded, but one may consider the metric inscription from the family tomb commemorating (alongside her mother) Tulliana Iunior, who must have been *clarissima puella*, as her mother, Accia Maria Tulliana died aged 18.

Consequently, the exact age is known in the case of three children: Egnatia Abita Susanna (5), Virius Iulianus (6), and Octavia Baebiana (14), with the latter just reaching marriageable age.

²⁸⁷⁴ Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 82.

²⁸⁷⁵ *CIL* 6 1516=*ILS* 1202. *PLRE* 1, 638 L. Septimia Pataviniana Balbilla Tyria Nepotilla Odaenathiana.

²⁸⁷⁶ Niquet, *Monumenta*, 190 n.10. See *ICUR* X 27296=*ILCV* 3310=*CLE* 658, v.6: *dulcissima et amantissima coniux*.

²⁸⁷⁷ Géza Alföldy, “Epigraphica Hispanica XV: eine Felsinschrift bei Sepúlveda (Prov. Segovia),” *ZPE* 100 (1994): 462, n.34.

²⁸⁷⁸ John K. Evans, *War, Women and Children in Ancient Rome* (London: Routledge, 1991), 214: *liberta*.

Seven were undoubtedly Christian, one was probably Christian (the anonymous daughter), and the religious affiliation of L. Septimia Pataviniana Balbilla Tyria Nepotilla Odaenathiana is uncertain.

Four funerary inscriptions originate from Rome's catacombs. The catacomb of Praetextatus yields three tombs (Curtia Catiana, Flavius Insteius Cilo, and Virius Iulianus). Another one comes from the coemeterium S. Hippolyti on the via Tiburtina (Egnatia Abita Susanna). Yet another one pertains to Cornelius' crypt in the catacombs of Callixtus but originates from the aboveground area over the catacombs (Pompeia Octavia Attica (Ca)eciliana). One more is a deposition under the floor of the Constantinian basilica of St Peter (Frontina). Another was discovered in reuse in the pavement of the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura ([---]or), while yet another was found in reuse in the vicinity of San Callisto in Trastevere (L. Septimia Pataviniana Balbilla Tyria Nepotilla Odaenathiana). The provenance cannot be ascertained for the epitaph of Octavia Baebiana.

Hence, with the senatorial children (designated as such) added, Rome yields 31 female commemorands, with an addition of two males (Flavius Insteius Cilo and Virius Iulianus), with young women dramatically outnumbering men. The commemorations by husbands of their wives are of the same number as the commissions by parents (11), followed by dedications by children to mothers (3). Further five are placed for women of unknown family status or by unknown commemorators, while the rest are set up by awarders other than family member. Additionally, eleven commemorative inscriptions indicate age of the deceased: 5, 6, 14, 16, 17, 17, 18, 29, 30, 30, and 46. Round numbers are, however, uncertain. Other sepulchral inscriptions do not provide the exact age date, but indicate the married status for eleven women, another ten were young and perhaps all unmarried. For the rest the family status is uncertain. Only four inscriptions are metrical; while the remaining ones are prose. Thereafter, with one pagan epitaph, all the rest are undoubtedly Christian, with three probably Christian, while a couple more are of an uncertain religious affiliation. Twelve funeral inscriptions are known to originate from Rome's catacombs and four epitaphs are recorded from six city churches, while the remaining ones are *incertae originis*. Four monuments were family tombs, which contained two or more individuals.

2. Commemorators in Rome.

A number of epitaphs set up by senatorial women memorialized their male dedicatees: first of all, husbands, then children and parents. When it comes to special commissions it must be assumed that only the richest could have ordered luxurious sarcophagi decorated on all sides. Nevertheless, senatorial commissioners equally often ordered quite modest looking designs like strigillated sarcophagi, which could still involve personal decisions, individual choices and interventions. The extreme examples of wealth and prestige come from the late fourth century when widows commissioned mausolea and sarcophagi, like Anicia Faltonia Proba for her husband Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus near St Peter's.

To begin with, funeral inscriptions rarely confirm commissions of sarcophagi. Moreover, reuse was widespread. Somewhen in the fourth or fifth century Varia Octaviana,²⁸⁷⁹ *clarissima femina*, acquired a reused column sarcophagus of the Lanuvium type.²⁸⁸⁰ Of unknown provenance from Rome, the original dates to the end of the third century.²⁸⁸¹ Apart from practical reasons, the later reuse of ancient sarcophagi for prestigious burials was driven by a desire to claim the authority of the past. The inscription placed in the tympanum of the central bay reflects later Christian commemoration. At the same time the widow Varia Octaviana had added to the inscription more text in smaller letters to the left and right of it resulting in an eccentric layout. According to the epitaph, this late third-century inscribed sarcophagus was obtained by Varia Octaviana, wife of Aurelius Theodorus, for her husband.

Furthermore, Theodorus, *innocentissimus coniunx*,²⁸⁸² is designated in the epitaph as *eminentissimae memoriae vir*. Although the sarcophagus in which Varia Octaviana buried her husband is dated to the last quarter of the third century, the character of inscription suggests a later addition. Hence, the authors of the *PLRE* believed that ‘*eminentissimus*’ is not used technically. However, ‘*eminentissimae memoriae vir*’ is clearly the formula indicating the rank of the deceased. Eck considers it as the rank predicate and thus believes that he was of non-senatorial rank.²⁸⁸³ In any case, if Theodorus indeed was an equestrian, this did not lead his senatorial wife to the loss of the *clarissimate*. The latest imperial officials known to hold the title *eminentissimus* are Iulius Iulianus, praetorian prefect of Licinius in 315-24 and low-ranking *viri eminentissimi* in *CTh* 7.20.2 in perhaps 320, which is probably corrupt.²⁸⁸⁴ The superlative title *eminentissimus* comes into fashion late in the fifth century, when it was once again associated only with the most elevated offices.²⁸⁸⁵ Wrede assumes him to have been praetorian prefect and suggests that, in spite of the man’s equestrian rank, he is figuratively perceived as a senator, since in the third century *eminentissimi* usually received *ornamenta consularia*.²⁸⁸⁶

²⁸⁷⁹ *PLRE* 1 (fourth or fifth century). *PLRE* 1, 637 Varia Octaviana.

²⁸⁸⁰ *CIL* 6 31953=*ILCV* 224. Panciera, “Ancora sulla famiglia senatoria,” 554 n.32, considers the proposed reading Aradi in l.1 hardly reliable.

²⁸⁸¹ *RS* I 918 (last quarter of the third century); Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 121 -22, no. 10; table 14, 2 (270); Carola Reinsberg, ed., *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben. Dritter teil: Vita Romana* (Berlin: Mann, 2006), cat. no. 121 (310). Cf. *PLRE* 2, 257 Pompeia Fulcinia Candida, *clarissima femina*, foster-mother of Q. Pompeius Callistratus Darenus, *alumnus*, commissioned for him a decorated sarcophagus with Dionysian scenes in the third quarter of the third century, *CIL* 6 37072=*ILCV* 172. Contrary to the authors of *PLRE* 2 and Disselkamp, who also claims that she was Christian, she cannot be the mother of Terentius Valentinus 6, who is commemorated in the fourth-century inscription added on the same sarcophagus outside the *tabula inscriptionis*, cf. *PLRE* 2, 257 (fourth to sixth century); Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 59-60 (Christian; third to fifth century).

²⁸⁸² Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 84 (Christian).

²⁸⁸³ Eck, “Das Eindringen des Christentums,” 391.

²⁸⁸⁴ Dillon in Wienand, *Contested Monarchy*, 47. For dating of the law, see Matthews, *Laying Down the Law*, 37 (320?); Barnes, *The New Empire*, 69 (307?); and Connolly, “Constantine Answers the Veterans,” 93-115 (320).

²⁸⁸⁵ Mathisen, “Imperial Honorifics,” 180.

²⁸⁸⁶ Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 122.

Nevertheless, although the widespread reuse of sarcophagi rendered many original portraits irrelevant to a secondary use, in this case the original senatorial sarcophagus was utilized by another high-standing couple. On the sarcophagus the woman is depicted together with her husband in a *dextrarum iunctio* scene. They are flanked by two standing women with *scriniolum* on the wife's side and two standing men in tunics and togas on the husband's side. In the central group, standing before a parapetasma, with Hymenaeus between them, the husband has the close-cropped hair and the short beard of the portraits of the end of the third century, and upon the veiled head of the wife appears the tip of the braid, which came into fashion in coiffures from the middle of the third century on. The woman's hairstyle is pre-tetrarchic, as is the husband's, while the man, notably, wears the toga and *calcei senatorii*.²⁸⁸⁷

Further, in the early fourth century *clarissima femina* Sextilia Iusta purchased a sarcophagus, which comes from the coemeterium Octavillae ad S. Pancratium on the Via Aurelia,²⁸⁸⁸ for her deceased husband (fig. 71).²⁸⁸⁹ She was the wife of T. Flavius Postumius Varus, *clarissimae memoriae vir*, who died at the age of sixty-four. He was obviously a descendant of the homonymous *praefectus urbi* of the year 271, perhaps even his son or a grandson.²⁸⁹⁰ Sextilia Iusta was a Christian, unlike her grandparents and parents.²⁸⁹¹ The lid of the sarcophagus is dated by Koch to the Constantinian period.²⁸⁹² The female orans in tunica and palla appears on the fragmentarily preserved lid of the sarcophagus for the male deceased. This praying figure is recognizable between two fragmentary companions to the left of the *tabula*.²⁸⁹³

Afterwards, dedications to other persons than family members show senatorial women acting as benefactresses. Thus, Luceia, *clarissima femina*, dedicated a metrical poem in hexameters inscribed on the marble pseudo-sarcophagus in 389 from the so-called Pannonian mausoleum, which formed part of the S. Sebastiano catacomb.²⁸⁹⁴ The inscription is devoted to two Christian women, Nuntia and Maximilla, the wife and daughter of a deacon from Pannonia. The text is divided between the lid and the chest of the immured undecorated pseudo-sarcophagus in one of the *arcosolia*. Flat panels, or 'pseudo-sarcophagi', were used to cover burial places in walls, or coffins of other material fitted into *arcosolia*.

A large semi-circular mausoleum with elaborate architecture, attached to the southern side of the apse of the *Basilica Apostolorum* (S. Sebastiano) on the via Appia (completed by the

²⁸⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸⁸ RS I 672 (first quarter of the fourth century). *PLRE* 1, 488 Sextilia Iusta 4.

²⁸⁸⁹ *CIL* 6 31985=ILCV 131 (Coem. Octavillae ad S. Pancratium (via Aurelia)).

²⁸⁹⁰ Eck, "Das Eindringen des Christentums," 389 n. 40; Weiß, *Soziale Elite und Christentum*. For T. Flavius Postumius Varus, *praefectus urbi* *PLRE* 1, 946-47; *PIR*² P 900.

²⁸⁹¹ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 76 (Christian).

²⁸⁹² Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 356.

²⁸⁹³ Manuela Studer-Karlen, *Verstorbenenendarstellungen auf frühchristlichen Sarkophagen* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 166-67.

²⁸⁹⁴ *CIL* 6 41342= *ICUR*, n.s. V 13355 (Coem. subdiale ad Catacumbas (via Appia)). No *PLRE* entry.

340s),²⁸⁹⁵ features thirteen *arcosolia* along its walls and additional burials in its floor. Among thirteen tombs it housed there was found the pseudo-sarcophagus dedicated by Luceia to Nuntia and Maximilla, who came to Rome from Pannonia, like Luceia herself. The latter describes herself as the daughter of Viventius from Pannonian Siscia, who was successively praetorian and urban prefect. Luceia was clearly a Christian. A venerated tomb in the center of the mausoleum, placed there in the early fifth century, is likely to be that of Quirinus, a martyr from the same city.²⁸⁹⁶

The size, architecture, and rich decoration of the grand mausolea around the *Basilica Apostolorum* suggest particularly wealthy commissioners. Hence, an inscribed architrave, most likely part of a monumental entrance, probably belonging to another fourth-century circular mausoleum of S. Sebastiano, is commonly taken to suggest ownership by a collegium called Uranii.²⁸⁹⁷ The persistence of collegia as organizing bodies into the fourth century is now widely accepted. That they maintained burial of their members in both *sub divo* tombs and the catacombs is confirmed epigraphically. Similarly, a collective tomb, probably for an association of Pannonians, is proposed by Borg for the semi-circular mausoleum at the southern side of the apse. Moreover, Borg believes that the association which benefited from Luceia's magnanimity happily accepted that their benefactress was honored alongside the two women.²⁸⁹⁸

However, another identification of the owners of the circular mausoleum is offered recently by Machado. He suggests that it belonged to the Uranii, a family that occupied important positions in the administration of Italy from the time of Constantine onwards, rising from the rank of *perfectissimi* to the *clarissime*. If so, the Uranii must have built their funerary monument before reaching the *clarissime*. Hence, for him it is a good example of how building could be incorporated into the aristocratic strategies for self-legitimation and social advancement in a Christian context.²⁸⁹⁹ Machado is thereby against the recent suggestions that the mausoleum belonged to the funerary association.

Therefore, it cannot be excluded that the semi-circular mausoleum was similarly a family tomb erected by Viventius, who admitted the burials of other Pannonians. Yet the epigraphic evidence rarely shows any shared identity among immigrants from the same place. Nevertheless, Bertolino suggests that the mausoleum was originally the family tomb of urban prefect from Pannonia, in which some of his compatriots were also given burial, as indicated by epitaphs, and that it was later adapted to accommodate the relics of St Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, which were

²⁸⁹⁵ For the groundplan, see E. La Rocca, in *Aurea Roma*, 2000, 205.

²⁸⁹⁶ See A.M. Nieddu, "Quirini ecclesia," in *LTUR* 4, ed. by A. La Regina (Rome: Quasar, 2006), 294-97.

²⁸⁹⁷ *ICUR* V, 13659a=ILCV 809c,4=AE 2009, 145: Uranior[um ---].

²⁸⁹⁸ Borg, *Crisis and Ambition*, 93.

²⁸⁹⁹ Machado, "Aristocrats," 498.

brought to Rome by Pannonians fleeing from the barbarian invasions.²⁹⁰⁰ However, there is no indication that Viventius or Luceia were themselves buried in the tomb. Moreover, as Borg pointed out, it is difficult to believe that Luceia would inscribe a long panegyric to two women of lower status, however pious they may have been, and describe her own status and that of her prominent father on a sarcophagus placed in her own tomb.²⁹⁰¹ Furthermore, the way in which the Uranii are mentioned (*Uraniorum*) is indeed typical of a funerary collegium, which makes Machado's reinterpretation rather inconvincing.

Thereafter, Anicia Faltonia Proba commemorated her husband, Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus with a burial near St Peter's in Rome. Probus, consul in 371, was a famous senatorial convert to Christianity, and his wife, who headed several generations of leading Christian women, was celebrated for her good works. Their marriage must have taken place a year or two before 375.²⁹⁰² Claudian particularly praises her chastity as she had chosen to remain a Christian widow (*Paneg.* vv.194-95).²⁹⁰³ Few at Rome then matched Probus in prestige. Probus died in 388 and was interred in a grand mausoleum snug against the apse of Constantine's church. Two 'city gate' sarcophagi were discovered in the fifteenth century beneath the apse of St Peter's in the Vatican. Dresken-Weiland adds arguments to support the case for the original burial: i.e., that the objects found in the Probus sarcophagus would not otherwise have escaped robbery, and that fifteenth-century popular belief regarded the mausoleum as the tomb of St Peter, hence no sarcophagus was seen in it.²⁹⁰⁴ However, one cannot be completely certain whether the two sarcophagi were originally buried, even if that is how they were found in fifteenth century.

A single-register columnar type sarcophagus, the so-called 'Probus sarcophagus', found in the Mausoleum of the Anicii,²⁹⁰⁵ in which garments with gold thread were discovered alongside the skeletal remains, is a prestigious example. This obvious sign of wealth along with the depiction of a married couple on the back, brought this sarcophagus to be quickly associated with Probus and his wife. Another columnar sarcophagus, named the 'Borghese sarcophagus', was also found in Probus' mausoleum (and may even have been intended for him), but the precise connection to him is hard to clarify.²⁹⁰⁶ However, the Borghese sarcophagus was assigned less distinguished inhabitants. The whole debate about which of the two sarcophagi found in the mausoleum of the

²⁹⁰⁰ Alessandro Bertolino, "Pannonia terra creat, tumulat Italia tellus: presenze pannoniche nell' area di S. Sebastiano," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 73.1 (1997): 116.

²⁹⁰¹ Borg, *Crisis and Ambition*, 93.

²⁹⁰² Cameron, "Anician Myths," 138. *PLRE* 1 732-33 Anicia Faltonia Proba 3.

²⁹⁰³ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 91 (Christian).

²⁹⁰⁴ Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 119.

²⁹⁰⁵ *RS* I 678 (end/late fourth century); Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 321 (perhaps early fifth century); Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 377, E25; Reinsberg, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben*, 239 cat. no. 159 (380-90); Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*. On the mausoleum of the Anicii, see Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 118-19.

²⁹⁰⁶ *RS* III 428 with I 829 (backside). Janet Huskinson, "Habent sua fata: Writing life histories of Roman Sarcophagi," in Elsner and Huskinson, *Life, Death and Representation*, 68-69.

Anicii actually contained the body of Probus demonstrates the role of status symbols and iconography for the attribution of a sarcophagus. An accidental preservation of the gold-threaded fabric allegedly found inside the columnar sarcophagus instantly gave that one a glorious identity, which is however by no means certain.²⁹⁰⁷ Moreover, the deceased man is depicted no less than twice on the Borghese sarcophagus, including together with his spouse on the front.

Both sarcophagi were discovered without their lids. As for the iconography, on the Probus sarcophagus the two corner ‘saints’, who are actually part of processions which wind across the front and sides, flank the central *dextrarum iunctio* on the strigillated back panel. Huskinson suggests that the standing couple of husband and wife clasping hands have necessarily been transferred to the back side of the sarcophagus – where they occupy the central position flanked by two rectangular frames containing wavy strigillations – in order to avoid any interruption of this majestic frieze. In fact, full-length figures are always relegated to the back in the ‘city gate’ sarcophagi. Here, the continuous lines of saints, adapted for the individual panels of strigillated sarcophagi from larger groups on frieze sarcophagi which framed the principal figure or feature, link the married couple on the back to the figure of Christ in majesty at the center of the front.²⁹⁰⁸ Instead, on the main face of the Borghese sarcophagus Christ proclaims the Law in the presence of St Peter, St Paul, and the apostles (*traditio legis*). At his feet are the figures of two tomb owners, a kneeling woman dressed in the tunic and *palla* and a man in the tunic and chlamys who bows in respect.²⁹⁰⁹ The ends are decorated with scenes from the Old Testament: the ascension of Elijah, Moses receiving the tablets, and the sacrifice of Isaac. On the right-hand panel, the four figures appear in the last scene. One of them, holding a scroll, is dressed in the chlamys with fibula and the cingulum, the clothes of a high dignitary of the imperial court of the fourth century, hence the deceased. The strigillated back panel incorporates a figure of a shepherd as well as two corner ‘saints’.

Similarly, another extremely sumptuous ‘city gate’ sarcophagus from Rome, now immured in the Capella della Colonna in St Peter’s,²⁹¹⁰ shows the deceased – the man to the right and the woman to the left – depicted at the feet of Christ. The iconographical program on the front and on the sides, which are preserved only in engravings, corresponds to the one on the Borghese and Milanese sarcophagi. On the front the engraving shows a man dressed in the chlamys, with the belt made visible, as on the Borghese sarcophagus. Nothing is known about the commissioner of the Vatican monument, but, as with the known owners of ‘city gate’ sarcophagi, it must have been be a

²⁹⁰⁷ Huskinson, “*Habent sua fata*,” 78.

²⁹⁰⁸ Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*, 221, 236.

²⁹⁰⁹ Cesare Baronio, who drew it with two women at the feet of Christ, suggested that it was the sarcophagus of *PLRE* 1 732-33 Anicia Faltonia Proba 3 and her daughter-in-law *PLRE* 1, 468 Anicia Iuliana 2. His inaccuracy was criticized by Antonio Boscio, who in turn proposed that the man depicted was her son, Anicius Hermogianus Olybris with his wife Juliana.

²⁹¹⁰ *RS* I 675 (end of the fourth century). Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 90 table 22,3; Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 120.

high-ranking member of the imperial aristocracy. The woman is dressed in the palla drawn up over her head, a visual mark of her social status. Likewise, fragments of the ‘city gate’ sarcophagus found in the excavations in the catacombs of S. Sebastiano in Rome,²⁹¹¹ preserve remains of the figure of the sarcophagus owner at the feet of Christ. The chlamys costume can be clearly seen, but the belt is not visible. The S. Sebastiano sarcophagus thus equally had a typical representation of the married couple adoring Christ common for this group of sarcophagi. This also applies to the compositionally related, but mostly older columnar and tree sarcophagi again in S. Sebastiano,²⁹¹² as well as in the Museo Pio Cristiano²⁹¹³ and in St Peter’s in Vatican.²⁹¹⁴

Furthermore, neither Probus’ nor the Borghese sarcophagus bear an epitaph, but the mausoleum itself was decorated with two lengthy verse inscriptions.²⁹¹⁵ The double epitaph boasts Probus’ worldly accomplishments and forecast his heavenly rewards, echoing both Virgil and Christian scripture. Within an increasingly strident debate over the value of wealth and secular achievements these poems were self-assured declarations memorializing a powerful noble in competition with ascetically inclined Christian aristocrats and churchmen, who challenged the very bases of Probus’ claims to rank and status.²⁹¹⁶ The grand funerary monuments are therefore representative of the ways in which Christian epigraphy collaborated in the assertion of social identity in a competitive atmosphere. *Elogia* displayed upon a peristyle within the mausoleum’s imagery, mourn Probus who passed away at age fifty-nine, ‘snatched up to heaven from the bosom of his beloved Proba’. While the longer epitaph prays to Christ, ‘bringing aid to his children and wife’, the shorter one ends with the lengthy consolation of a shared tomb held out to Proba:

Proba, however, best of wives, has obtained this consolation

for such great grief, that the urn may join them as equals.

Happy, alas too happy, while he lived,

joined to a worthy husband, worthy of a tomb together (trans. D. Trout).

Thereby, of the five fourth-century sepulchral inscriptions dedicated by senatorial women, four commemorate the predeceased husband (two by Varia Octaviana and Sextilia Iusta, respectively, and two more by Anicia Faltonia Proba), while one is a commemorative inscription remembering two female Christian devotees (by Luceia). Three texts represent funerary poetry (elogia by Anicia Faltonia Proba and Luceia), while the other two epitaphs are in prose (Varia Octaviana; Sextilia Iusta). Three commemorators are securely identified as Christian (Sextilia Iusta,

²⁹¹¹ *RS I 217*. Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 90; Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 121.

²⁹¹² *RS I 215*.

²⁹¹³ *RS I 65*.

²⁹¹⁴ *RS I 679*. Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 90.

²⁹¹⁵ *CIL 6 1756b* (Basilica S. Petri apostoli, mausoleum Aniciorum, epistylum).

²⁹¹⁶ Trout, “The Verse Epitaphs of Petronius Probus,” 160.

Luceia, Anicia Faltonia Proba), and the remaining one is uncertain (Varia Octaviana).²⁹¹⁷ While the precise age for any of them is unknown, three were certainly married (Varia Octabiana, Sextilia Iusta, and Anicia Faltonia Proba). The husbands of the latter two died relatively old – the spouse of Sextilia Iusta died aged 64 and Probus aged 59²⁹¹⁸ – yet Proba herself lived longer²⁹¹⁹ and died sometime before 432 (*ACO* II 1.90).

To summarize, the provenance of the epitaph set up by Varia Octaviana is unknown, but the other three funeral commemorations come from Rome's catacombs and mausolea. One was found in the coemeterium Octavillae ad S. Pancratium on the Via Aurelia (Sextilia Iusta). The other two burials occupied the space in the grand senatorial mausolea adjoining the city's basilicas. One originates from the mausoleum adjacent to the side of the *Basilica Apostolorum* (Luceia). Another two come from the burial chamber in the grand mausoleum near St Peter's (Anicia Faltonia Proba). While the latter was the family mausoleum of the Anicii, the former, while it hosted different individuals and was under the patronage of a senatorial family, probably did not contain the burial of the epitaph's author (Luceia).

3. Joint burials in Rome

Joint funeral monuments for senatorial spouses in Rome are testified by both epigraphy and iconography of sarcophagi. Thus, Fabia Aconia Paulina, *sacrata apud Aeginam Hecatae, tauroboliata, hierophantia*, was responsible, together with her husband, for a dedication of what seems to be a funerary altar in the mid or late fourth century (fig. 68).²⁹²⁰ The monument of Fabia Aconia Paulina, the daughter of Aconius Catullinus Philomathius, and her spouse, Praetextatus originates from a private location. In the inscription the couple looks back contentedly on the cult titles, although, as Cameron claims, it would be a mistake to see Paulina and Praetextatus defiantly proclaiming them to the world.²⁹²¹

To begin with, the dedication Paulina shares with her husband includes three poems. One is Paulina's lengthy and tender poem on Praetextatus inscribed (together with two on her by Praetextatus) on what has been identified as his surviving funerary monument.²⁹²² Moreover, Lambrechts regarded Paulina's verse epitaph for her spouse to be based on the funerary oration (*laudatio funebris*) delivered by her at her husband's funeral.²⁹²³ Now, the *laudatio* was an old Roman genre and an important part of the Roman aristocratic funeral tradition. First, the oration

²⁹¹⁷ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 84.

²⁹¹⁸ *CIL* 6 1756, he was born c. 328 and died probably c. 388.

²⁹¹⁹ Barnes, "An Urban Prefect and His Wife", 256 reinstates that the author of the *Cento Probae* was Anicia Faltonia Proba with the summary of the discussion.

²⁹²⁰ *CIL* 6 1779=*ILS* 1259. *PLRE* 1, 675 Fabia Aconia Paulina 4. Dated to 384-87.

²⁹²¹ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 158.

²⁹²² *Ibid.*, 301.

²⁹²³ Pierre Lambrechts, *Op de grens van heidendom en christendom: het grafschrift van Vettius Agorius Praetextatus en Fabia Aconia Paulina* (Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1955), 12

was delivered by a family member on the rostra on the day of the funeral; then its concise verse form was engraved on the tombstone. The original eulogy, like, for example, the so-called *laudatio Turiae*,²⁹²⁴ could also be inscribed on the monument, seen as an opportunity to display the family's status. Following P. Lambrechts,²⁹²⁵ M. Kahlos supposes that it is not unlikely that Paulina delivered the funeral oration if it was still the custom in Rome at the end of the fourth century, and that Jerome reacted to her self-assured manifestation of pagan immortality.²⁹²⁶ Furthermore, Jerome contrasts the pagan faith of Paulina with the grief of Paula, whose Christian daughter Blesilla had recently died.²⁹²⁷ Nonetheless, the obsequies of the latter 'were celebrated with customary splendor', as aristocratic commemoration was a gauge of social valuation. While denouncing them, Jerome (*Ep.* 39.1) reports on the senatorial funerary rites: 'People of rank headed the procession, a pall made of cloth of gold covered her bier'.

The so-called *laudatio Paulinae* resembles the *laudatio Turiae*, where the wife's domestic virtues, such as *pudicitia*, *obsequium*, *comitas*, *facilitas*, *religio sine superstitione* are underlined. Similarly, the ideal of a Roman matrona is presented in Paulina's *laudatio*, with chastity, mindly and bodily purity, and marital fidelity being highlighted: *veri et castitatis conscia*, ... *pudens*, *fidelis*, *pura mente et corpore* ... *fomes pudoris*, *castitatis vinculum*, *amorque purus et fides caelo sata*. Funeral epigraphy frequently extols *castitas*, *pudor* and *fidelitas* as the qualities of a wife. Paulina is presented simultaneously in all possible female roles: not merely a perfect wife but also a devoted mother, a caring sister and a modest daughter (*pietate matris*, *coniugali gratia*, *nexus sororis*, *filiae modestia*). The virtues recounted look very traditional: *pietas*, a faithful attachment to family, was a highly esteemed feminine value. Like Paulina *utilis penetibus*, a devoted wife was a blessing to her household.²⁹²⁸

However, as Cameron has pointed out, it is odd to find husband and wife addressing each other on their shared funerary monument. Moreover, Paulina's contribution is 'a highly idiosyncratic and deeply personal piece, not at all the sort of poem one expects to find on a funerary monument'.²⁹²⁹ Paulina's unconventional poem on Praetextatus has more references to herself than to her husband. Her unwillingness to speak of his public career, in view of the reluctance to hold office obtained (allegedly) against his will as professed by Praetextatus, and presented in the poem as the grant of ephemeral and evenescent honors, was part of the rhetoric of modesty of hyper-ambitious aristocrats. Instead, she devotes more than one third of the text to their shared initiations and his mysteries that she equally went through. Paulina's poem comprised no fewer than forty-one

²⁹²⁴ *CIL* 6 1527.

²⁹²⁵ Lambrechts, *Op de grens van heidendom en christendom*, 5-56.

²⁹²⁶ Maijastina Kahlos, "Fabia Aconia Paulina and the Death of Praetextatus – Rhetoric and Ideals in Late Antiquity (*CIL* VI 1779)," *Arctos* 28 (1994): 13–25.

²⁹²⁷ *PLRE* 1, 674-75 Paula 1; 162 Blesilla 2.

²⁹²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹²⁹ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 302.

lines engraved as the sole inscription on one side of the monument. Cameron suggests that the three poems were not originally composed for inscription on a funerary monument as they are, unusually long and personal for such a purpose and setting. Thus he believes that the three poems were in fact written during the lifetime of the couple. It seems impossible to be completely certain, but Cameron infers that the final four lines in which Paulina briefly laments Praetextatus' death are a later addition to 'an otherwise complete poem written by Paulina herself while Praetextatus was still alive'.²⁹³⁰ As an alternative occasion Cameron suggests the fortieth wedding anniversary commemorated on the front on the monument.²⁹³¹

More than the epitaphs, the poems employ rhetoric of conjugal unity, making a successful claim to associate the woman with the virtues of marital concord. They championed marriage, motherhood and traditional family values. Aristocratic families publicized marital harmony in order to assert the moral character of the husband. Although a poetess and influential person in private and religious spheres, in public Paulina had to be defined in relation to her husband. An upholder of traditional Roman social codes, a mother of distinguished children, and a representative of elite female religiosity, Paulina is primarily extolled for being a helpful and diligent, excellent and caring wife to her husband (*iuvans maritum, diligens, ornans, colens*). K. Cooper identifies the purpose of the poem as to show that Paulina was tied closely and powerfully to her spouse in all his activities, religious as well as secular.²⁹³² The idea that marital love lasts long after death, a frequent theme in Latin funerary inscriptions, appears at the very end of Paulina's poem, where the woman assures herself that she will join her husband in the afterlife.

Furthermore, half of one of Paulina's poem on Praetextatus is dedicated to the fact that she shared all his mystery initiations due to his encouragement. There she proclaims that owing to Praetextatus 'though unknown, I am known by all' (*ignota noscor omnibus*), but, according to two contemporary letters of Jerome (*Epp.* 23; 39), Paulina may not have enjoyed the universal acclaim. Symmachus generously praises Praetextatus in his communications to the emperors regarding his death (*Rel.* 10; 11), and when they granted *praefectus urbi* upon his request the permission to erect statues to the man 'justly appointed consul' (*Rel.* 12.5) in the name of the senate,²⁹³³ Paulina spiritedly opposed city prefect regarding proper commemoration of her husband.

The joint monument was inscribed in two phases: the space on the front was left below Praetextatus' cursus for the later supplement of Paulina's, as is common for shared monuments for spouses. Paulina, Cameron suggests, had an existing poem of her own inscribed on the rear with a brief appendix to make it funerary (vv.38-41): 'Now, robbed of these things, I, your grief-stricken

²⁹³⁰ Ibid.

²⁹³¹ Ibid., 302-303.

²⁹³² Kate Cooper, "Insinuations of Womanly Influence: An Aspect of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy," *JRS* 82 (1992): 150-64.

²⁹³³ Symm. *Rel.* 12, 2. *CIL* 6 1778 and 1779a may have been made for the statues erected in the Forum Romanum.

wife, am wasting away. Happy would I have been had the gods granted that my husband outlive me. Yet I am still happy because I am yours, was yours, and soon shall be yours after death' (trans. A. Cameron). Both Praetextatus' poems on Paulina were thereby added later together with her *cursus* after her death. Proclaimed unwillingness of Paulina's poem to speak of her husband's exceptional career, no doubt envied by many, – 'why would I mention his earthly offices' – is not merely a religious denunciation of the worldly life, but rather a common trope of the late fourth-century rhetoric of an 'unwilling' office-holding aristocracy. Thus, Cameron hypothesizes that toward the end of their lives Praetextatus and Paulina may have written, and, even if not formally published, distributed among their friends a series of poems about their life together.²⁹³⁴

Next, Rufus Festus *signo* Avienius from the *gens Rufii Festi* from Volsinii lived a happy married life with his wife Placida and his children in mid-fourth-century Rome.²⁹³⁵ The tombstone of poet Festus, who must have died at the same time as Praetextatus, provides a partial parallel to the *laudatio Palulinae*. Placidus, son of Placida and Festus, added to the funerary epigram he wrote a poem by his father 'about himself to the goddess Nortia' (fig. 72).²⁹³⁶ It underlines the evident pride Festus took in his honors, marriage, children, ancestors, and local religious traditions, evidently in old age (vv.3-8):

Nortia, I venerate you, I who sprang from a Volsinian lar, dwelling now at Rome, boosted by the honor of a term as proconsul twice, crafting many poems, leading a guilt-free life, sound for my age, happy with my marriage to Placida and jubilant about our serial fecundity in offspring. May the spirit be vital for those things, which, as arranged by the law of the fates, remain to be carried out.

Verses 1-8 of the poem are composed in hexameters, while 9-12 are in elegiac couplets. The poem authored by Festus praises his marriage and progeny with Placida (vv. 6-7), whereas the framing poem is an epitaph to Festus from his son Placidus (vv.1-2 and 9-12). Placida, mentioned in the poem, was a wife of Postumius Rufius Festus Avienius, and a mother of several children, including Placidus. Disselkamp states that the fact that Placida is not provided with the rank predicate '*clarissimae memoriae femina*' usual for the funeral inscriptions suggests that she was still alive at that time.²⁹³⁷ Yet she is mentioned only in the poem by her husband and poetic inscriptions rarely contain the rank predicates as part of verses, aside from the prescript or subscript. Moreover, it is not even sure whether Festus wrote it to be his epitaph, even if his poem, perhaps an excerpt from a longer work, as Cameron suggests, makes a highly appropriate funeral

²⁹³⁴ Ibid, 304.

²⁹³⁵ *PLRE* 1, 704 Placida 1.

²⁹³⁶ *CIL* 6 537=*ILS* 2944.

²⁹³⁷ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 37 (pagan).

inscription.²⁹³⁸ The rank predicate '*clarissimae memoriae femina*' would be thereby rather unfitting as its part. The fact that she is not mentioned in the part of the inscription added by her son might, however, signify that she was indeed still alive.

Thereafter, the excavations of the Catacomb of San Sebastian, on the via Appia revealed a marble sarcophagus belonging to a Roman matrona, *clarissima* Roscia Calcedonia, who died in 375 (fig. 70).²⁹³⁹ An inscription, engraved on the upper edge of a marble slab, decorated with imbrications, which formed the front of an arcosolium, gives her burial date.²⁹⁴⁰ It also records Didyme, *clarissima femina*, and Simplicius, *vir clarissimus*, who both died before 375 and who probably were wife and husband. It equally commemorates Innocentius, perhaps their child and, hence, *clarissimus puer*.²⁹⁴¹ Presumably Roscia Calcedonia died after the other three, but was buried in the same tomb. Her family relationship to the others is not clear. The writing of the first line is the same as of the second. Disselkamp concludes that Roscia Calcedonia, whose name is written in larger font, should be held in special esteem due to an outstanding position within the group.²⁹⁴² They were all Christian as the formulas are Christian and the inscription bears a Christian monogram. A simple decoration of the sarcophagus is relatively modest in its aesthetic appeal. The effect is austere and classical in inspiration. Its purely architectural ornament is significant: combined with the dedicatory inscription, it creates a monumental effect by the stern character of its design that to later Romans represented the unostentatious simplicity of their best traditions. The sarcophagus commissioner is not known.

Further, an epitaph belonging to the third or fourth century commemorates Priscilla, *clarissima femina*, and her husband, *clarissimus vir*, whose name is not wholly preserved and reconstructed as Manius Acilius V[erus].²⁹⁴³ The inscription comes from a fragment of a marble sarcophagus. It originates from the catacomb of Priscilla on the via Salaria. Disselkamp identifies the senatorial matrona as Christian on account of the provenance and the dating.²⁹⁴⁴ The epitaph does not provide any information about the family background of the senatorial couple, apart from its claim to social respectability. However, some catacombs took origin from the underground burial plots of wealthy senatorial families, such as the Acilii Glabriones who owned large estates on the Salaria. This family's tomb is identified in the funerary area of the more exclusive hypogeum.²⁹⁴⁵ The so-called 'hypogeum of the Acilii', a private underground chamber unearthed in

²⁹³⁸ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*.

²⁹³⁹ *CIL* 6 32045a=ILCV 95 (Coem. subterraneum ad Catacumbas (via Appia)). *PLRE* 1, 172 Roscia Calcedonia.

²⁹⁴⁰ *RS I*, 131-132, no 219, pl. 49, 219, dates the sarcophagus to 375.

²⁹⁴¹ *PLRE* 1, 252 Didyme.

²⁹⁴² Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 59 (all four Christian).

²⁹⁴³ *CIL* 6 31681=ILCV 127 (Coem. Priscillae (via Salaria Nova)). *PLRE* 1, 729 Priscilla. Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 226; Faßbender, *Untersuchungen zur Topographie*, 154-55 no 87,2.

²⁹⁴⁴ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 89 (Christian).

²⁹⁴⁵ Fiocchi Nicolai, *The Christian Catacombs of Rome*. De Rossi put an effort to link the senatorial family of the Acilii with the origins of the complex, but provable connections are tenuous.

the catacomb of Priscilla, exhibits Christian evidence from the end of the third century. The cemetery took its name with all probability from a member of the Acilii Glabrones family. Ownership is testified by eight sepulchral inscriptions, four of which, were found in the galleries beneath the burial precinct, and had clearly fallen down from above.²⁹⁴⁶

Thereafter, presumably husband and wife, *clarissima* Iuliane and *clarissimus* Benedictus are recorded on a column of the old Basilica Vaticana dated to the late fourth or early fifth century.²⁹⁴⁷ Neither the family origin nor the age of Iuliane is documented. The inscription mentions Benedictus, who is equally unknown. It is, however, impossible to determine the relationship between the two, whether a married couple, siblings, or father and daughter.²⁹⁴⁸ Due to the precise localization the possibility that the tomb inscription is a *spolium* is excluded.

Moreover, the cluster of themes – from marriage to high culture – define the couple's mutual relationship on the contemporary sarcophagus. Thus, an uninscribed strigillated sarcophagus from the coemeterium S. Urbano (now in the Palazzo Corsini) is dated by Wrede between 310 and 320 (fig. 74).²⁹⁴⁹ It preserves the depiction of a deceased woman and her husband. A senatorial couple is shown engaged in cultural pursuits: the seated woman holds a lyre and plectrum in the right hand, while the seated man bears a scroll. Different roles appear to be the main message of the sarcophagus – redated by Huskinson to the late third century²⁹⁵⁰ – that links marriage and culture in a theme typical of its time. The Palazzo Corsini sarcophagus illustrates the use of attributes and activities as common contextualizing devices for portraits. Here they convey the man's public persona and the woman's skills in the private domain: while her lyre and music making demonstrate the domestic harmony she creates, her husband's scroll and oratorical gesturing denote more cerebral, civic activities.²⁹⁵¹ On this sarcophagus playing children have been included to confirm the woman's domestic role, and not to commemorate their own lives.²⁹⁵² However, the new focus was on the relationship of the married couple and its individual roles. The Good Shepherd figure at the center of the sarcophagus activates an *interpretatio christiana* for the rest of the juxtaposed

²⁹⁴⁶ Borg, *Crisis and Ambition*, 98-101.

²⁹⁴⁷ *CIL* 6 31960=ILCV 137 (Basilica S. Petri apostoli (via Cornelia)). *PLRE* 1, 468 Iuliane.

²⁹⁴⁸ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 75 (Christian).

²⁹⁴⁹ Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 127-28, no. 21, table 19, 1.2; *RS* I 945 (last quarter of the third century); Björn Christian Ewald, *Der Philosoph als Leitbild: Ikonographische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1999), 60, 180-81, E22 (around 300); Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*, 122 (late third century).

²⁹⁵⁰ Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*, with fig. 7.4, also points out that seated figures at the corners are less common than standing, and almost all belong to a group of later third-century sarcophagi which depict a couple engaged in cultural activities.

²⁹⁵¹ Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*.

²⁹⁵² Irrespective of whether these represent her own children or *deliciae* in the household: Ewald, *Der Philosoph als Leitbild*, 60, with E22. Children now rarely figured in domestic scenes suggesting that the continuity of the elite Roman family was no longer an issue for depiction. A rare exception are the small figures playing at the feet of the woman in the Palazzo Corsini sarcophagus, see Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*, 147.

imagery, including a conventional arrangement, which commemorated man and woman individually at each corner.²⁹⁵³

Additionally, the sarcophagus' lid is decorated with images of the sun and moon. The unusual feature in the iconography, which may have been requested by those who ordered the sarcophagus, is one possible sign of a special commission. Apart from the Sol and Luna, the lid contains a representation of chariot races in the circus. A series of the chariot races scenes appear most often on the lids of the fourth-century sarcophagi and have been linked with the world of magistrates and other officials, reflecting their *cursus* in a mixture of literal and allegorical terms.²⁹⁵⁴ Iconographical references to magistrates show increased interest in representing influential civil status. Wrede identifies the man's seat as a *sella curulis*.²⁹⁵⁵ Furthermore, depictions of learning, debate, and music reflect the increasing importance of performance in elite self-representation during the third century, which also involved the enactment of civic duties, provision of games, high cultural pursuits, even dressing the part (as philosophers and Muses).²⁹⁵⁶ Also, the portraits are framed by particular context of background details, where the fine seats, with fringed upholstery and feet shaped like lions' paws, convey the household's rich and comfortable lifestyle.²⁹⁵⁷ By contrast, scenes of work activities – once a staple of citizen imagery – do not often appear.

Next, the *dextrarum iunctio* theme was available from the traditional repertoire as an ideal representation of a couple. Thus, a very fragmentary sarcophagus *incertae originis* in the Villa Doria Pamphili is dated by Wrede to around 320.²⁹⁵⁸ A fragment from the middle part of the frontside of the chest is preserved. In the scene of the *dextrarum iunctio* nothing is left from the wife, yet the curly-haired and short-bearded husband is shown dressed in the *toga contabulata*. These figures are based on a conventional arrangement, which commemorated man and woman as a couple in the center, usually in the *dextrarum iunctio*. In the *dextrarum iunctio* scene a bride and a groom are represented as they commit themselves in marriage, taken to be a symbol of the eternal union of the couple in the afterlife. Concordia leads the couple to the joining of the right hands and officiates a wedding. The institution of marriage thus continued to be represented as a social cornerstone: portraits of the couple standing together in front of a parapetasma in the *dextrarum iunctio* scene remained high profile and did not cease to use conventional iconographies, although

²⁹⁵³ Janet Huskinson, "Reading Identity on Roman Strigilated Sarcophagi," *Res: Anthropology and aesthetics* 61-62 (Spring-Autumn 2012): 96-97.

²⁹⁵⁴ Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 15.

²⁹⁵⁵ Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 128.

²⁹⁵⁶ Huskinson, *Roman Strigilated Sarcophagi*, 147. On the role of performances in third-century elite self-representation, see Barbara Borg and Christian Witschel, "Veränderungen im Repräsentationsverhalten der römischen Eliten während des 3. Jhs. n. Chr.," in Alföldy and Panciera, *Inchriftliche Denkmäler*, 116–18.

²⁹⁵⁷ For background details, see Ewald, *Der Philosoph als Leitbild*, 157–58, with fig. 9.1.

²⁹⁵⁸ RS I 952. Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 129 no. 24, table 20, 3.

accompanying figures ultimately came to be replaced by Christ blessing the spouses.²⁹⁵⁹ On the right is the bread multiplication in the upper relief strip, in the lower one the Commissioning of Peter is shown. In his left hand the man holds a scepter, which probably identifies the figure as a magistrate.

While most central panels contain a single figure, the image of a man and woman shaking hands in the *dextrarum iunctio* is a regular exception.²⁹⁶⁰ Dated by Wrede to 320-30, the Vescovio sarcophagus (S. Salvatore) of unknown provenance also shows a similar scene.²⁹⁶¹ Huskinson points out that since the early third century there was a shift to a more overtly symbolic arrangement of scenes, which highlighted the central depiction of a single significant act eminently suited to the center of strigillated sarcophagi such as the *dextrarum iunctio*.²⁹⁶² This sarcophagus also focuses on a married couple, but here they stand close to each other in a central niche under an elaborately decorated pediment as they exchange the conventional handshake. A chest of this fragmentary sarcophagus also preserves Concordia and a cupid. In images of the *dextrarum iunctio* the presence of Concordia (or Juno Pronuba) between the couple signifies their marital harmony.²⁹⁶³ The man is represented as a senator. On the Vescovio sarcophagus the *calcei senatorii* are depicted most clearly.²⁹⁶⁴ Yet the absence of such shoes does not mean that the person was not of the senatorial *ordo*.²⁹⁶⁵ The woman depicted has no separately worked portrait head. The Vescovio sarcophagus is an example how by the early fourth century the union of the couple was contextualized in a new discourse, with images at the corners symbolizing the bucolic idyll, which later in the century was replaced by full-scale Christian religious imagery and corner figures of saints.²⁹⁶⁶

Yet another variation of the dynamic between center and sides can be seen on the sarcophagus from the Villa Ludovisi (Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano), dated by Wrede to 320-30 (fig. 75),²⁹⁶⁷ representing a married couple in a different design. This large sarcophagus appears to be a curious mix of types and themes, combining strigillated panels with the monumentality of a double-registered front. Subjects shown in the four small fields of the corner panels of the sarcophagus reliefs include biblical scenes: Christ raising the daughter of Jairus (or the son of the widow of Naim) to life, in the upper left panel, and the resurrection of Lazarus, in the upper right,

²⁹⁵⁹ RS II 148. Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*, 234.

²⁹⁶⁰ For the *dextrarum iunctio* group, in general, see, e.g., Reinsberg, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben*.

²⁹⁶¹ Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 129-130 no. 2, table 19, 3. Reinsberg, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben*, no. 164; Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*, fig. 7.2.

²⁹⁶² Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*.

²⁹⁶³ For personifications accompanying the *dextrarum iunctio*, see Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*, 126, fig. 7.4.

²⁹⁶⁴ For *calcei senatorii*, see especially Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 18.

²⁹⁶⁵ Borg, *Crisis and Ambition*, 184.

²⁹⁶⁶ Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*.

²⁹⁶⁷ RS I 86 (first third of the fourth century); Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 130 no. 26, table 20, 4.

then, Christ curing the Blind Man, in the lower left panel, as well as Peter's water miracle at the right. The central field, without specifically Christian images, is almost completely occupied by a wedding scene, in which the deceased couple, surrounded by the representation of an allegory of marital harmony, links hands in the presence of Cupid (now lost) and Psyche at couple's feet. The image could not be more traditional: behind the couple in the *dextrarum iunctio* appears the personification of Concordia, who has put her arms around the couple's shoulders. In the absence of the woman's veil the image represents not the specific wedding ceremony, but primarily the symbolic *concordia* and fidelity of the spouses. In the frame below, two winged cupids are engaged in cock-fighting. The subject of cockfights as the theme of competition with cupids occasionally as protagonists was particularly popular on clipeus sarcophagi of the second half of the third century, varying the subjects that accompany them, such as Cupid and Psyche. The sarcophagus certainly made on a commission for an aristocrat²⁹⁶⁸ shows a solution for highlighting the deceased. The husband wears a toga, as Christ, Peter, and other figures do on the other panels of the two-zone sarcophagus. In the *dextrarum iunctio* scene the heads are not completely worked out for both man and woman, only the hairstyle of the wife is detalized. These examples show how easily the traditional *dextrarum iunctio* scene was combined with Christian imagery.

In brief, joint funeral monuments for senatorial spouses from Rome commemorate four married couples, which are named in the inscriptions: Fabia Aconia Paulina and Praetextatus, Placida and Festus, Priscilla and Verus, and perhaps Didyme and Simplicius. The latter were probably a wife and a husband, but are remembered together with the other family members (Roscia Calcedonia as well as Innocentius, perhaps their child). One further commemoration (Iuliane), remembers the woman together with her male relative, thereby either a husband, or a brother, or a father. One does not know the exact age of the deceased women, but they all were married, except of Iuliane, whose family status is uncertain. Fabia Ancona Paulina and Praetextatus were married for forty years by the time of his death (fig. 68).²⁹⁶⁹ They had (at least) one child (name unknown),²⁹⁷⁰ like Placida and Festus, who had at least two, while Didyme was perhaps a mother of Innocentius, who died when still under 16 (*puer*).

Now, five dedications are the inscribed epigrams (four of Fabia Aconia Paulina and Praetextatus and one of Festus), while the other three are in prose. The former were pagans (including Festus' wife, Placida), while the rest are all Christians (Roscia Calcedonia, Didyme, and the family; Priscilla; and Iuliane). Two inscriptions come from the city's catacombs: one from the catacomb of S. Sebastiano on the via Appia (Roscia Calcedonia and Didyme) and another from the catacomb of Priscilla on the via Salaria (Priscilla). One more was inscribed on a column of the old

²⁹⁶⁸ Studer-Karlen, *Verstorbenendarstellungen*, 108.

²⁹⁶⁹ *CIL* 6 1779, he may have been born by c. 310, married since 344, and died in 384.

²⁹⁷⁰ Dedicator of *CIL* 6 1777=*ILS* 1258.

Basilica Vaticana (Iuliane). Of an unknown provenance are the epitaph mentioning Placida and Festus as well as the monument of Fabia Aconia Paulina and Praetextatus, which may have come from the private location. From the coemeterium S. Urbano comes the sarcophagus in the Palazzo Corsini, while three others (the fragment in the Villa Doria Pamphili, the Vescovio sarcophagus (S. Salvatore), and the one in the Museo Pio Cristiano in Vatican) are of unknown provenance.

Altogether, fourth-century Rome yields thirty female commemorands, four commemorators, and four married couples, named in the epitaphs, who commissioned their own tombs. One further inscribed commemoration may have also belonged to a wife and a husband, which is, however, uncertain. Only ten inscriptions are poetry; while the remaining ones are in prose. Solely eleven commemorative inscriptions indicate the age of the deceased women or minors: 5, 6, 14, 16, 17, 17, 18, 29, 30, 30, and 46. Round numbers are, however, untrustworthy. Other sepulchral commemorations, albeit they do not provide the exact age, indicate the married status for eighteen women, another eleven were young and perhaps all unmarried. For others the family status is uncertain. With three pagan monuments, all the rest are undoubtedly Christian, with three probably Christian, while another three are of an unidentified religious affiliation. Fifteen funeral inscriptions are known to originate from Rome's catacombs, followed by the epitaphs coming from ten of Rome's churches, while the remaining ones are of unknown provenance. Six monuments were family tombs, which contained two or more individuals. The inscriptions and iconography confirm the presence of Christians among senators already in the latter part of the third and early in the fourth century, although the monuments provide no basis for a quantitative assessment.

II. Strategies of remembrance II: funerary inscriptions in the provinces

1. Commemorands in the provinces

Women's social rank and status was of prime importance, and region and geography played a crucial role. The provincial senatorial aristocracy, civil and military imperial bureaucracy, and palatine elite all feature prominently in sepulchral epigraphy outside of Rome. First of all, fourth-century imperial residences (*sedes imperii*) yield funeral inscriptions commemorating senatorial women. In the fourth century several of the Roman emperors chose Milan, over Rome, as their capital in the West. Thus, Manlia Daedalia, omitted in *PLRE*, known from the verse inscription in elegiac couplets from Milan²⁹⁷¹ as well as the inscription on a silver vase from the reliquary of St Nazarus also from Milan,²⁹⁷² may have been a relative of Manlius Theodorus, consul of 399, perhaps his sister,²⁹⁷³ as is the scholarly consensus.²⁹⁷⁴ Thus, Pierre Courcelle considers the metric epitaph to be dedicated by the high-level imperial official and neoplatonist Theodorus for his

²⁹⁷¹ *CIL* 5 6240=*ILCV* 1700 (Mediolanum (Regio XI)).

²⁹⁷² *CIL* 5 6211=*ILCV* 2220a (Mediolanum (Regio XI)).

²⁹⁷³ John Matthews, "Later Roman Prosopography," *The Classical Review* 24.1 (1974): 102.

²⁹⁷⁴ Or even less credibly a sister of his eponymous son, see Olszaniec, *Prosopographical Studies*, 423.

sister.²⁹⁷⁵ Theodorus owned an estate near Milan, where he remained while absent from the political life (Claud. *De cons. Fl. Mall. Theod.* 124), and Symmachus accused him of favoring the city to Rome's disadvantage (Symm. *Ep.* 6.52).

Yet, if one accepts that she was a sister of the imperial official, one cannot state with certainty that Manlia Daedalia was 'a woman from the senatorial elite',²⁹⁷⁶ as Theodorus came from a low social background. An upper-class woman but not attested *clarissima*,²⁹⁷⁷ Daedalia became a rich aristocrat who devoted herself to a virginal and consecrated life. She was given the honor of burial in the *sacellum*, or chapel, of St Satyrus next to the martyr Victor. A consecrated virgin (*virgo sacrata deo*), as recorded on the funeral inscription, Daedalia had her grave adjacent to the twin burial places of Victor and Satyrus, Ambrose's brother. At the time of her death she was sixty years old. The epitaph remembers the virtues of Daedalia, who is proudly described as a mother of the needy (*mater egentum*), presumably because of her provision of the alms of which they lived off. The inscription does not explicitly refer to the characterization of the generous donor and her relationship with the recipient of alms, but records care of the poor as a matter of honor worthy to find place on the funerary monument.

Apart from the epitaphs, reliquary inscriptions, usually carved into metal, record their owners, as the one of Daedalia. This reliquary with the sober decoration limited to the poles of the hemispheres is dated broadly to the second half of the fourth century.²⁹⁷⁸ The spherical container consists of two equal parts (joined by a hinge and closed with a latch) made of a thick strip of embossed silver. At the center of each half a chi rho is inscribed, and at its sides there are the letters α and ω . Around the chi rho is the Latin inscription *Dedalia vivas* on the lower half, and *in Cristo* on the top. The reliquary came to light during the dismantling of the main altar of the Basilica of the Apostles (S. Nazaro Maggiore) in 1578. The piece was buried under the current chapel of San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, a very prestigious location because of its proximity to the remains of the martyr. Given the high degree of wear, it is likely that the chest belonged to Dedalia and was used as a private reliquary for some time. It is not possible to determine whether the silver gilt chest was donated personally by Daedalia, or if the object went back to her family after her death and was then offered for the altar of the basilica by a relative.

After that, during the fourth century, Trier held equally a very important political position and remained the imperial capital and residence of many emperors. Thus, an anonymous senatorial

²⁹⁷⁵ Pierre Courcelle, "Quelques symboles funéraires du néo-platonisme latin," *Revue des études anciennes* 46 (1994): 66.

²⁹⁷⁶ Richard Finn, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion and Practice (313-450)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 200.

²⁹⁷⁷ Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 325 n.203.

²⁹⁷⁸ Elisabetta Galletti, "La teca di Manlia Dedalia. La devozione di una nobildonna mediolanense," in *Il tesoro di San Nazaro: antichi argenti liturgici della basilica di San Nazaro al Museo diocesano di Milano*, ed Gemma Sena Chiesa (Milan: Cinisello Balsamo, 2009), 73-96.

woman was buried in Trier in the fourth or fifth century.²⁹⁷⁹ She is commemorated in a Christian funeral poem written in hexameters. The inscription is an original and very personal epitaph, revealing the death of the woman's child shortly after her own death. The difficulty that the woman had coping with the trauma of her child's death is alluded in her sepulchral epigram: 'Here is placed ... a *clarissima femina* and mother, who merited by the mercy of God that she would not know the bitter funeral of a daughter, she who soon followed her into peace'.²⁹⁸⁰ Apart from the Christian *clarissima femina*, the imperial officials buried in Trier included *protector domesticus* and *palatinus*, whose epitaphs both date from the second half of the fourth century.²⁹⁸¹

Next, non-imperial cities of the western half of the empire equally reveal burials of senatorial women in the fourth century. Among western cities, whose identity was wrapped up with senatorial aristocracy, it is worth beginning with Italian ones. Thus, a reused architectural sarcophagus of the third quarter of the third century from Modena in Aemilia was discovered in the necropolis W of largo di porta Sant'Agostino. A funeral inscription was set up by Flavius Vitalis, *clarissimus protector et notarius*, to his wife, Bruttia Aureliana *ob merita honestatis et concordiae coniugalis*.²⁹⁸² When his spouse died Vitalis was still alive (*uxori amantissimae et sibi*). Vitalis was *protector et notarius* in the West in the late fourth century. Given the fact that he adopted the status *nomen* Flavius and that he occupied the post in the imperial bureaucracy, he must have been a member of the 'aristocracy of office' and not a member of an established aristocratic family. Since he was *clarissimus*, Teitler presumes that the inscription does not date earlier than the last quarter of the fourth century.²⁹⁸³ However, while members of the *schola notariorum* were civilians, *protectores (domestici)* were soldiers. It cannot be dated earlier than 414, since it was not until then that *protectores* were granted the status of *viri clarissimi* (CTh 6.24.7). The inscription could have been set up in the early fifth century, since Bruttia Aureliana was the granddaughter of Gallicanus, *consul ordinarius* in 330.

Since the inscription contains an indication of the family relationships among the persons mentioned, it is possible to reconstruct family units, which include grandparents. Parents of Bruttia Aureliana were Musolamius and Asteria, while her grandparents were Marcellinus, Marina, and Flavius Gallicanus (cos. 330) or Ovinus Gallicanus (cos. 317). Asteria was *clarissima femina*, wife of Musolamius and mother of Bruttia Aureliana; daughter of either Marcellinus or Gallicanus,

²⁹⁷⁹ PLRE 1 Anonyma 23.

²⁹⁸⁰ CIL 13 3675 (Augusta Treverorum (Belgica II)).

²⁹⁸¹ Cüppers, *Trier - Kaiserresidenz und Bischofssitz*, nos. 109, 110, and 112, pp. 224-25, 227.

²⁹⁸² CIL 11 830=ILS 1280 (Mutina (Aemilia)). Cenerini, "La rappresentazione epigrafica delle '*clarissimae feminae*,'" 714-15. PLRE 1, 127 Bruttia Aureliana 1.

²⁹⁸³ Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores*, 253 n.34. On the analogy of the close relationship between military protectors and domestici see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 636-640. The obvious assumption is that there would have been scarcely any difference between *domestici et notarii* and *protectores et notarii*.

consul of 317 or 330.²⁹⁸⁴ She was a *socrus* of Flavius Vitalis and lived in the mid-fourth century. Marina was *clarissima femina*, wife of Marcellinus or Gallicanus, consul of 317 or 330, in the early of mid fourth century.²⁹⁸⁵ An *avia* of Bruttia Aureliana, she might have been the mother of Musulamius and a *socrus* of Asteria. The organization of the text allows identifying Marina as a wife of Marcellinus, former *comes*.

The ancestry of Bruttia Aureliana is enumerated in descending order, but because the family members are qualified by an honor or a function, their name follows the indication of kinship instead of preceding it. Exceptionally, the grandfathers also appear. However, only one grandmother (Marina) is mentioned. Undoubtedly, if a logical order has been respected, she was the wife of Marcellinus cited before her, rather than that of Gallicanus, who follows her in the inscription, as she is identified by M. Mongardi.²⁹⁸⁶ At the will of the dedicator the distinguished birth of his wife is emphasized in the sepulchral inscription for both: the epitaph lists not only her parents, but also both *avi – comes* and *consul ordinarius* – and a grandmother.²⁹⁸⁷ Flavius Vitalis, instead of civil service, progressed to the senatorial rank through the military career in the imperial bureaucracy. Bruttia Aureliana died at the age of thirty-seven, so late that it is unlikely that the grandparents, mentioned in the inscription, were still alive, while the grandmother passed over in silence was surely dead. It has even been suggested that perhaps the latter would have disgraced a set, which is a celebrated group of members of the senatorial order.²⁹⁸⁸

The senatorial rank which passed to Bruttia Aureliana on the maternal line, enabled her marriage to a military official of senatorial rank, *protector et notarius*. Her father, Musolamius, was only a local notable, but certainly very influential, as he could exercise the patronage of the city and connect to a senatorial family so well embedded in the environment of the court such as Gallicanus. The paternal grandfather of Bruttia Aureliana, Marcellinus also held a position in the imperial bureaucracy.

By the mid-fourth century a significant presence of military officers and imperial bureaucrats can be noted in the area, who often reused ancient Proconnesian marble sarcophagi for themselves or their relatives.²⁹⁸⁹ The sarcophagus is dated to around 250-70, on the grounds of hairstyle of the female portrait carved in acroterium. It was reused in the late fourth century for

²⁹⁸⁴ *PLRE* 1, 118 Asteria.

²⁹⁸⁵ *PLRE* 1, 559 Marina 1.

²⁹⁸⁶ Mongardi, Manuela. “Rapporti familiari a Mutina e nel suo agro tra III e V secolo d.C.: considerazioni alla luce della documentazione epigrafica,” in *La famiglia tardoantica: Società, diritto, religione*, eds. Valerio Neri and Beatrice Girotti (Milan: LED, 2016), 209-23.

²⁹⁸⁷ Cenerini, “La rappresentazione epigrafica delle ‘clarissimae feminae’,” 714-15.

²⁹⁸⁸ Monique Dondin-Payre, “Choix et contraintes dans l’expression de la parenté dans le monde romain,” *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 5 (1994): 155.

²⁹⁸⁹ The importance of the Via Aemilia as a road junction for communication and passage of the troops sent to the north-western provinces is highlighted by the imperial interest in its maintenance, as confirmed by the discovery of numerous milestones.

Bruttia Aureliana, as evidenced by the dedication that the husband of the deceased had engraved after an erasure of the previous use. The original decoration was however kept in full. The portraits of the first owners remained inserted into the false arches on the front of the sarcophagus. The wellbeing enjoyed by the owners of the sarcophagus is emphasized by the association of the hunting scene with the representation of a banquet on the sides. Symbols of the seasons are carved on the lid. This practice – i.e., reuse of unfinished Proconnesian marble sarcophagi – is well attested in Modena from the end of the fourth century for persons of high rank, for whom the preciousness of the material of which these monuments were created was an important sign of social distinction in a period of crisis and disruption of trade connections with eastern quarries.²⁹⁹⁰

Furthermore, another reused mid-third century sarcophagus from Modena housed remains of Vinicia Marciana, *clarissima femina*, somewhen between 324 and 330.²⁹⁹¹ Preserved in fragments, it retains a *tabula inscriptionis*.²⁹⁹² Marciana's husband, L. Nonius Verus, *vir clarissimus*, governor (*corrector*) of several Italian provinces,²⁹⁹³ acted as a dedicator. Vinicia Marciana was a daughter of (Vibonius or Vinicius) Caecilianus and a mother of L. Nonius Faustinus and (Nonia) Laudicia.²⁹⁹⁴ Another short funeral inscription was engraved on one of the sides of the sarcophagus, which is now lost, probably after the engraving of the main epitaph to Vinicia Marciana.²⁹⁹⁵ The arrangement suggests the hypothesis of two successive execution stages: the epitaph of L. Nonius Faustinus, *clarissimae memoriae puer*, was probably engraved first, followed by that of Laudicia, *clarissimae memoriae feminae*. They were almost certainly the children of Vinicia Marciana and L. Nonius Verus, predeceasing their father.

The desire to remember the distinguished lineage of the woman, in order to give luster to her husband and dedicator, is also seen on this Modena funerary monument. *Vir consularis* L. Nonius Verus was probably originally from Modena.²⁹⁹⁶ His wife, *clarissima* Vinicia Marciana was a daughter of Caecilianus, *vir perfectissimus*, from whose career only the last five and more prestigious offices are remembered.²⁹⁹⁷ Clear is the honorary function of the inscription regarding the husband, whose name appears at the beginning followed by his cursus. The characterization of the deceased as *coniunx sanctissima ac benignissima* and exaltation of his virtues fits well also in an aristocratic logic of self-representation, in which the traditional virtues of matrona augment the

²⁹⁹⁰ Fernando Rebecchi, "Appunti per una storia di Modena nel tardo-impero: monumenti e contesto sociale," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 98.2 (1986): 894-95 and 918.

²⁹⁹¹ For the date, see Pierfrancesco Porena "L'Italia prima di Ponte Milvio e la carriera di Caecilianus," *Epigraphica* 68 (2006): 117-54. *PLRE* 1, 553 Vinicia Marciana 4.

²⁹⁹² *CIL* 11 831a=*ILS* 1218 (Mutina (Aemilia)).

²⁹⁹³ *CIL* 9 1115=*LSA*-1716=EDR131980 (Aeclanum (Apulia)); *CIL* 9 1116=*LSA*-1717=EDR131982 (Aeclanum (Apulia)).

²⁹⁹⁴ No *PLRE* entry.

²⁹⁹⁵ *CIL* 11 831b (Mutina (Aemilia)).

²⁹⁹⁶ Cf. Rebecchi, "Appunti per una storia di Modena," 917, who considers L. Nonius Verus to be a descendant of the Veronese *gens* but originally from Brescia.

²⁹⁹⁷ Porena, "L'Italia prima di Ponte Milvio," 138.

dignitas of the men of the family.²⁹⁹⁸ Verus was one of the men for whom careful household management had long been a source of moral authority and social power and for whom the chastity of their wives (and daughters) mattered only if it was publicly acknowledged. Vinicia also seems to have accomplished the main woman's role: to deliver children for her husband.

Moreover, yet another sarcophagus from the second half of the second century was reused for L. Peducea Iuliana, *memoriae clarissimae femina*, at Modena in the first quarter of the fourth century.²⁹⁹⁹ L. Nonius Verus appears as the awarder of the inscription on the sarcophagus. L. Peducea Iuliana, likely the daughter of a local notable,³⁰⁰⁰ died while only thirteen years old and after just five months and twenty days of marriage. The rank indication *cmf* is engraved outside the epigraphic frame. Combined with the fact that the inscription is incomplete in the last line – which would probably have anticipated the completion of the cognomen of the dedicator L. Nonius Verus, perhaps his social status and the relationship that bound him to the dedicatee – it casts some doubt about the effective use of the sarcophagus, but it seems confirmed by the fact that it was found in the necropolis area in the north-western suburbs of the city.

The lack of interest for the completion of the epitaph may be consequent to a new marriage of L. Nonius Verus – perhaps with Vinicia Marciana – in a short time, especially in light of the fact that the union with Peducea, given the brevity, brought certainly no offspring. Alternatively, it has been recently proposed by F. Cenerini that the mention of *clarissimae* of the deceased, engraved outside the *tabula ansata*, had been omitted in a time subsequent to the deposition of the woman, perhaps in conjunction with the burial of Vinicia, *clarissima femina* as a wife of *vir consularis*, in order to give additional luster to the same senator. The epigraphic space obtained by cropping the frame below the last line, only partially occupied by the name of the commemorator, which could accommodate, perhaps in abbreviated form, the cursus of L. Nonius Verus, remained however unfinished.³⁰⁰¹

Moreover, the name of L. Nonius Verus features also in the third inscription on the architectural sarcophagus of the second half of the third century, reused by the middle of the fourth century, of which some fragments are preserved in Canossa.³⁰⁰² In it the man, who appears along with his wife Sulpicia Triaria³⁰⁰³ and in-laws C. Sulpicius Agatangelus and Vibia Vibiana, is simply referred to as a son-in-law (*gener*), without any reference to his social status or to the *cursus*.

The identification of L. Nonius Verus mentioned on this monument with *vir consularis* attested on the two sarcophagi of Modena has been widely accepted, raising the problem of the

²⁹⁹⁸ Cenerini, “La rappresentazione epigrafica delle ‘*clarissimae feminae*’,” 714.

²⁹⁹⁹ *CIL* 11 832 (Mutina (Aemilia)). No *PLRE* entry.

³⁰⁰⁰ Cenerini, “La rappresentazione epigrafica delle ‘*clarissimae feminae*’,” 710-11.

³⁰⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 713.

³⁰⁰² *CIL* 11 1017=*AE* 2009, 343 (Mutina (Aemilia)).

³⁰⁰³ No *PLRE* entry.

history of his three marriages. In particular, Rebecchi has suggested the following ‘order’ of the wives, but without giving any justification: Peducea Iuliana, Vinicia Marciana and Sulpicia Triaria.³⁰⁰⁴ Recently, F. Cenerini has instead proposed a different sequence: the first marriage would be the one with Triaria Sulpicia, the only one not to have the title of *clarissima femina*, with L. Nonius Verus indicated as the codedicant of the sarcophagus; the second one with Peducea Iuliana, who prematurely died childless; the third is the one with Vinicia Marciana, the daughter of an official of the Emperors Maximian and Maxentius, and the only one to have definitely given offsprings to her husband, even though the children – or at least two of them – had predeceased their father.³⁰⁰⁵

In fact, if one is certain of the Modenese origin of the sarcophagi of Peducea and Vinicia as well as the fact that marriage with the daughter of the distinguished Caecilianus was later to that with the young Iuliana, some doubt remains on the effective identification of *vir consularis* with L. Nonius Verus remembered on the third sarcophagus. First, suspicious may be the total absence of references to social status and career of the man. Furthermore, although the typological characteristics of the sarcophagus and the link with *vir consularis* L. Nonius Verus indicate a Modenese origin, the absence of information about the discovery or its later reuse in Modena does not exclude a different origin. In this regard, it has been suggested, while accepting an identification of the man with the *vir consularis*, that this monument was placed in the necropolis linked to the *vicus* of Luceria. In light of these considerations, M. Mongardi suggests that the husband of Sulpicia Triaria was rather an eponymous man or, more likely, a relative of *vir consularis* L. Nonius Verus.³⁰⁰⁶

With the epigraphic output of the cities in northern Italy being relatively large, a corpus of inscriptions comes from Dertona, one of Liguria’s biggest and most important towns. Thus, a Christian *clarissima femina*, whose name is not wholly preserved on the fragmentary *tabula*, was buried at Dertona in the fourth or fifth century.³⁰⁰⁷ At the sides of the Christian expression ‘*bonae memoriae*’ are placed the letters α and ω. Above it an elaborate decoration is partly visible including part of a *corona lemniscata*, a crown fastened with ribbons, with christogram. The inscription was found outside of the city of Dertona. Intended to perpetuate the good memory of the deceased, this epitaph remains, nevertheless, status-conscious.

³⁰⁰⁴ Rebecchi, “Appunti per una storia di Modena,” 918-921.

³⁰⁰⁵ Cenerini, “La rappresentazione epigrafica delle ‘*clarissimae feminae*’,” 712-713.

³⁰⁰⁶ Mongardi, “Rapporti familiari a Mutina,” 220.

³⁰⁰⁷ *CIL* 5 7406 (Dertona (Liguria)). *PLRE* 1 ...sta.

In southern Italy, Syracuse's massive catacombs were carved in the fourth century, whose size is second only to those of Rome.³⁰⁰⁸ An inscribed two-zone frieze sarcophagus of Adelfia comes from the catacombs of St John in Syracuse (fig. 76). Two winged figures hold a framed inscription which reads, 'Here lies Adelfia, *clarissima femina*, spouse of *comes* Valerius'.³⁰⁰⁹ Her belonging to the senatorial order is thus emphasized. It is not possible to find out in which *comitiva* Valerius served. The sarcophagus of Adelfia, found in 1872, was deposited in a monumentalized niche in the catacomb. Above the buried sarcophagus there must have been an altar. Coming probably from Rome, the chest is dated to the second quarter of the fourth century, whereas the lid was possibly made at a later time.³⁰¹⁰ It has been reworked into the sarcophagus' lid only in the second use and shows later amendments. A marble casket, two meters long, with elaborately carved biblical scenes represented on panels down the sides, this strigillated sarcophagus was reused for the burial of Adelfia.

The Adelfia sarcophagus shows the portrait of a couple surrounded by scenes from the Bible on the front.³⁰¹¹ Thus, the upper register of the main face shows the sacrifice of Isaac, Christ healing the blind man, the miracle of the loaves, Christ resurrecting the son of the widow of Nain. The left side of the lower tier exhibits the scene with Nebuchadnezzar ordering the Hebrews to worship his idol.³⁰¹² The left side of the lid reliefs depicts the Annunciation or the decedent, perhaps Adelfia herself, drawing from the well of Wisdom, who in the next two scenes is taken into the presence of Sophia, Wisdom's personification.³⁰¹³ Irrespective of the interpretation, the woman featured in the first scene, bending at the well with a pitcher, is bareheaded and wears a simple belted tunic. The woman in the center of the second scene appears to be the same as the one in the first by dress and coiffure. She is looking past her companions towards the enthroned figure on the right. In the third scene she is given a place at the feet of the one on the throne, no longer in the humble weeds of her earthly life but wearing the palla like the others. The right side of the lid depicts the Magi and the Nativity in a deliberate visual play with the scene of the raising son of the widow of Nain placed below on the far right of the upper tier of decoration.³⁰¹⁴

³⁰⁰⁸ For S. Giovanni catacomb's archaeology in relation to other catacombs of Syracuse, see Marc Griesheimer, "Genèse et développement de la catacombe Saint-Jean à Syracuse," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité*, 101.2 (1989): 751–82.

³⁰⁰⁹ *CIL* 10 7123=ILCV 174 (Syracusae). RS II 20.

³⁰¹⁰ Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 235, 370 cat. D 32.

³⁰¹¹ See Jaś Elsner, "Ornament, Figure and mise en abyme on Roman Sarcophagi," in *Ornament and Figure in Graeco-Roman Art: Rethinking Visual Ontologies*, eds. Nikolaus Dietrich and Michael Squire (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 379–80.

³⁰¹² Elsner, *Life, Death, and Representation*, 381 believes that juxtaposed against images of the epiphany (the Magi before Virgin and Child), the theme must in this case refer to the Magi rather than to three Hebrews, or potentially to both with the Hebrews doubling up as the Magi looking alike.

³⁰¹³ Mariarita Sgarlata, *S. Giovanni a Siracusa. Vatican City: Pontifical Commission of Sacred Archeology* (Vatican: Pontifical Commission of Sacred Archeology, 2003), 140–43.

³⁰¹⁴ See Mariarita Sgarlata, "Il sarcofago di Adelfia," in *Et Lux Fuit: Le catacombe e il sarcofago di Adelfia* (Palermo: Lombardi, 1998), 12, 15–52.

Even the completed portraits from the sarcophagi of the first half of the fourth century show no conspicuously distinctive quality. On the sarcophagus of Adelfia the image of the man appears adapted to an ageless type, the hairstyle is composed of short strips in tongs and fork movements (fig. 76). Striking are the only additively indicated wrinkles on the forehead, which obviously act as age indicators.³⁰¹⁵ However, as with the portrait of the husband, individual features do not appear to be desirable despite the execution of typical features and elaborate elaboration.³⁰¹⁶ The clean-shaven portrait of the man is similar to that of Catervius *comes sacrarum largitionum*, who must have died at the end of the fourth century. Although beards had evidently become relatively common among well-to-do Romans, by the last decade or so of the fourth century, there are many other late antique representations of married couples, mostly in gold glass, where the man is more often than not shown clean-shaven, in pagan and Christian examples alike.³⁰¹⁷ The woman is shown wearing a necklace, while her husband dressed in the toga holds a scroll. The imagery of the Constantinian sarcophagus was thereby adopted for the senatorial couple sometime later in the century or in the early fifth century.

Further, Arles was a leading city of the western part of the later Roman Empire, a place where the Gallic aristocracy could express itself as a regional power. *Clarissima femina* Hydria Tertulla, wife of Terentius Museus and mother of Axia Aeliana received a tomb set up by her husband next to her daughter perhaps in the early fourth century.³⁰¹⁸ Hydria Tertulla however did not necessarily lose her clarissimate by her marriage to Terentius Museus, a non-senatorial man, as Chastagnol has shown. The name of the daughter of the Hydria Tertulla, Axia Aeliana, whom she probably had from a previous marriage and who was probably adopted by her last husband, Terentius Museus presupposed a familial connection with Q. Axius Aelianus, equestrian procurator under Alexander Severus.³⁰¹⁹ If this connection is correct, then Hydria Tertulla might well have lived in the third century, at any rate still in the pre-Constantinian period.

According to Dresken-Weiland, however, she belongs to the Constantinian time, as the reliefs of her re-worked column sarcophagus of a provenance from Rome show.³⁰²⁰ On the foreground of this Christian sarcophagus, buried in Arles, is Judas' kiss of Christ. However, it has been observed that Judas' kiss of betrayal belongs to a small group of less usual biblical subjects, which occur on late fourth-century sarcophagi at Arles coming perhaps from the same

³⁰¹⁵ Cf. *RS* I 239. Dated to c. 350. Here the man's head lacks the forehead wrinkles of Valerius but resembles it in physiognomy as well as in hairstyle.

³⁰¹⁶ Kovács, *Kaiser, Senatoren und Gelehrte*, 234, table 14,1.

³⁰¹⁷ Alan Cameron, "The Date and the Owners of the Esquiline Treasure," *AJA* 89.1 (1985): 140, n.20.

³⁰¹⁸ *CIL* 12 675=*ILS* 1208=*ILCV* 178 (Arelate (Gallia Viennensis)). *PLRE* 1, 882 Hydria Tertulla. No *PLRE* entry for Axia Aeliana.

³⁰¹⁹ Eck, "Das Eindringen des Christentums," 391-92 n.56 (eventually 3rd century); *PIR*² A 1688; *PIR*² A 1692; *PIR*² H 236.

³⁰²⁰ Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 48 n.224; *RS* III 62 (mid-fourth century). Weiß, *Soziale Elite und Christentum*, dates the sarcophagus between 300-310 and Constantinian time.

workshop.³⁰²¹ Five male figures, all in tunica, three in pallium, the fifth and probably the second in paenula, all in sandals, represent apostles. The sarcophagus lid decorated with two busts and the *tabula* with the inscription name both deceased. Moreover, it is a rare case when the woman is represented with her daughter, while usually the busts on the lids are reserved for couples.³⁰²² One can compare the sarcophagus of Hydria Tertulla and Axia Aeliana with the lid of the Constantinian strigillated sarcophagus at S. Sebastiano, on which two busts are placed in front of parapetasma.³⁰²³ They are still in the raw state and could have been chiseled into a woman's bust or the bust of a man.³⁰²⁴ There is no indication of the age or the date of death for both women.

First, a portrait bust of one of the deceased, probably Axia Aeliana, is placed to the left of the *tabula* and in front of the parapetasma held by two Victorias. The young woman with a double neckless has a round child face. She wears a double tunic with sleeves, with the top one girdled and *contabulata*. The *tunica contabulata* is a masculine attribute, and no other child is dressed in such a manner on the early Christian sarcophagi. The *parapetasma* behind Axia Aeliana is widened so deeply that a remodeling of this part when finishing the child's face is highly likely. The small size of the child's head indicates that it was worked from head *en bossage*.³⁰²⁵ The neck, which is too thin, is masked by the necklace. The hypothesis of an alteration is supported by traces of remodeling on the shoulder and the back of the head. In the left hand she holds a grape, which a bird picks. Thus, in the lower part Axia Aeliana is shown with typically feminine attributes: the grape and the dove.³⁰²⁶ Traces on the garment behind the bird also indicate a remodelling. Hence, judging by the clothes, this bust would have been of a man in its origin. It is not clear why the dress has not been modified, but there are other examples of this inconsistency.³⁰²⁷ The dove was chiseled into the lap of the girl from the hand of the man; the tunic is girded. The initial position of the hand can be compared to that of the bust, which is an example of the reworking of a female bust into a male bust.³⁰²⁸ In order to transform the scroll of the original into the bunch of grapes, it was necessary to rework the lower edge.

Second, in the middle section the rectangular *tabula inscriptionis* in a contoured frame is held by two winged cupids. A frontal female portrait bust, probably of Hydria Tertulla, appears to the right of the *tabula ansata* and in front of a parapetasma which is held by male cupids. She holds her right hand in front of her breast in a speech gesture. Little Axia wears a double necklace, while,

³⁰²¹ Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*. RS III 83a, 86. Judas' betrayal with a kiss is the only episode depicted from the Passion of Christ: RS I 650 *pace* Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 177.

³⁰²² E.g., RS I 772 (the first third of the fourth century).

³⁰²³ RS I 220.

³⁰²⁴ Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 86.

³⁰²⁵ Studer-Karlen, "Quelques réflexions," 562.

³⁰²⁶ Similar to the girl in RS I 896.

³⁰²⁷ RS I 664, II 33. Studer-Karlen, "Quelques réflexions," 562.

³⁰²⁸ RS I 771 (first third of the fourth century); Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 85-86.

remarkably, her mother on the other side of the *tabula*, is represented without any jewels. It is hardly imaginable that this sarcophagus was ordered during the life of the child. In fact, the child was not expected to die before the parents.³⁰²⁹ There was certainly no mass production of sarcophagi,³⁰³⁰ however, there may have been readily available half-executed models.

Another Christian *clarissima femina* Marcia Romania Celsa died at the age of thirty-eight years in Arles c. 330-35.³⁰³¹ Her well-preserved sarcophagus, equally produced in Rome, was purchased by her husband, *vir clarissimus* and former *consul ordinarius* Flavius Ianuarinus 2.³⁰³² On the front side of the chest the center of the frieze is constituted by a group of three figures. In the middle there is a woman, seen from the front and spreading her hands in the attitude of prayer: an *orans*. She wears a long tunic, which falls on her shoes, leaving visible only the front part of it, and a long palla draped over her head. Notably, the face is carved carefully, and it must have been the portrait of the deceased. She has her hair combed behind. The hands are remarkable for their size and certain heaviness. At her feet there is a bundle of scrolls. On either side the praying woman is accompanied by apostles who turn their head towards her. The lid depicts three youths in fiery furnace, with putti in the central medallion, and the adoration of the magi. The front frieze shows Moses/Peter striking the rock, the arrest of Peter, the multiplication of the loaves, the healing of the blind man, and the raising of Lazarus. There are three scenes from the life of Peter and three scenes from the life of Christ, with three Hebrews in the furnace, and the three wise men on the lid.

Thereafter, in Illyricum the Christian cemetery of Manastirine was situated north of the city walls of Salona. Honoria, wife of Paulus Constanius, *vir clarissimus, ex proconsule Africae*, was buried at Manastirine after she died in 375.³⁰³³ She was interred together with her spouse, predeceasing him, in an undecorated marble sarcophagus. As proconsul of Africa in 374,³⁰³⁴ Constantius held one of the key posts traditionally occupied by the senatorial aristocracy of Rome. His building inscriptions from Africa Proconsularis made known his *gentilicium* Paulus.³⁰³⁵ Constanius is further known from epigraphy to be a father of Paulinus [---]io and Antonius Paulus.³⁰³⁶ His family name and prestigious office in the provincial administration point to a belonging to an established noble family.

³⁰²⁹ Koch, "Zu Kinder-Sarkophagen;" Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi*, 455.

³⁰³⁰ Koch, "Zu den Kinder-Sarkophagen," 161-83.

³⁰³¹ *AE* 1974, 418 (Arelate (Gallia Viennensis)). No *PLRE* entry.

³⁰³² *RS* III 37 (around 330).

³⁰³³ *CIL* 3 9506=*ILS* 1287=*ILCV* 78a=*AE* 1914, 74 (Salona (Dalmatia)). Gauthier, *Salona* 4, 401-404. *PLRE* 1, 441 Honoria.

³⁰³⁴ *CIL* 8 17517=*ILAlg.* I 472 (Ain-Neschma (Africa Proconsularis)). *ILAfr.* 274 (Thuburbo Maius (Africa Proconsularis)). *AE* 1914, 58=*ILAfr.* 274b (Thuburbo Maius (Africa Proconsularis)).

³⁰³⁵ *CIL* 8 23849 (Castellum Biracsaccarenium (Africa Proconsularis)). *AE* 1903, 241=*AE* 1904, 145 ((Aradi (Africa Proconsularis))).

³⁰³⁶ *ILAlg.* I 472=*CIL* 8 17517 (Ain-Nechma); *CIL* 8 23849 (Castellum Biracsaccarenium).

Honorina, styled as *dulcibus eximie carissima*, who died aged thirty,³⁰³⁷ was buried together with her predeceased *parvula*. The funeral inscription of Constantius however was carved upon his death on the already installed sarcophagus at the side of the epigraphic field with the epitaph of his predeceased wife. The Christian verse epitaph in hexameters (vv.1-5) calls spouses merely by their *cognomina*, yet their titles show precisely their position in the society. Thereby, the one-name form of all members of this family corresponds to the genre of their epitaphs, where one is confronted with a display of affection. However, at the beginning of the inscription, Constantius styles his wife firstly as the *coniunx Constanti*, secondly as the *parvorum mater*, while her own name Honorina comes in the third and last place. This is not simply a discursive asymmetry between men and women as such; in its basis lays a certain social gender asymmetry, which operated within all spheres of life.

Another sarcophagus from Manastirine, the main municipal cemetery at Salona, housed remains of Deogratia, *clarissima femina*, who lived in the late fourth or early fifth century.³⁰³⁸ Three matching fragments of the sarcophagus lid are preserved.³⁰³⁹ Yet another fragment of the lid from the sarcophagus of *clarissima* Augustina comes from Salona and perhaps from Manastirine as well.³⁰⁴⁰ Her epitaph provided with consular dating records that she was buried in 395.³⁰⁴¹

Further, senatorial women feature prominently as landholders in late Roman Africa. *Clarissima femina* Eutychia possibly owned estates in Africa in the late fourth century, since her agents were there around 380 (Symm., Ep. 1.70).³⁰⁴² At the same date, Fasgania, another *clarissima femina*, owned land in Africa (Symm. Ep. 1.74).³⁰⁴³ Augustine in a letter written in 390/91 mentions a *clarissima*, an owner of the *fundus Thogonoetensis* near the *castellum* Fussala in the Hippo area, who lived in a distant city, but tried to keep the bishop out of her estate (Ep. 20.10.1). Another *clarissima femina*, Petronia, a resident of Carthage, had an estate near the Bagradas river in the territory of Uzalis (Aug. Civ. 22.8).³⁰⁴⁴ Albina, *clarissima femina*, whose family owned property in Africa, transferred ownership of her land to her brother's children, and devoted herself to an ascetic life (Jer. Ep. 32.2, 45.7, 127.2.4).³⁰⁴⁵ Another Albina, mother of Melania the younger, stayed for seven years in Africa and had property there, while supporting the city of Thagaste, where she partly lived, with her money (Aug. Ep. 124-6, Vit. Mel. Gr. 34-5, V. Mel. Lat. II.2).³⁰⁴⁶ Many of the Christian epitaphs from the region set up in the churches are dated to the late fourth or early fifth

³⁰³⁷ As in the case of Honorina, death ages are often rounded figures, showing numerical distortions due to illiteracy.

³⁰³⁸ CIL 3 9574=ILCV 185 (Salona (Dalmatia)). No PLRE entry.

³⁰³⁹ Gauthier, Salona 4, 547-48, no. 246 with photograph.

³⁰⁴⁰ Ibid., 420-21, no. 170 with photograph. No PLRE entry.

³⁰⁴¹ CIL 3 9523=13122 (Salona (Dalmatia)).

³⁰⁴² Disselkamp, Christiani senatus lumina, 44 (probably pagan). PLRE 1, 319 Eutychia.

³⁰⁴³ Disselkamp, Christiani senatus lumina, 44-45 (probably pagan). PLRE 1, 324 Fasgania.

³⁰⁴⁴ No PLRE entry.

³⁰⁴⁵ Disselkamp, Christiani senatus lumina, 50-51 (Christian). PLRE 1, 32 Albina 1.

³⁰⁴⁶ Ibid., 51-52 (Christian). PLRE 1, 33 Albina 2; 593 Melania 2 (the younger).

century on architectural grounds. A funerary mosaic in a church near Cirta in Numidia mentions *clarissima femina* Asella perhaps in the late fourth or early fifth century.³⁰⁴⁷ The Christian formula *in pace*, which most frequently occurs at the end of short epitaphs, follows as usual the name and the rank of the deceased.

As for the physical support, many of the verse epitaphs were made in the *opus tessellatum* technique, such as one for Astania, *nobilis et atavis clarissima femina magnis*, who was buried in the Basilica Alexandriana in Tipasa in Mauretania Caesariensis in the late fourth or early fifth century.³⁰⁴⁸ Most of the commemorative mosaic inscriptions pertain to church pavements, and in case of the metric epitaphs some care has been taken to assist the reader in recognizing the poetic nature of the text by the arrangement of lines.³⁰⁴⁹ The epitaph of Astania comes from the floor mosaic from the north aisle of the basilica of Alexander. The poem in dactylic hexameters is a funerary praise dedicated to the *bona familiis mater pia, sedula coniux*. The text evokes her feminine, marital, and parental virtues,³⁰⁵⁰ following the classical model. Astania's eulogist attempted a composition of classical hexameter verse, however, the phonology of his everyday speech intruded in a few places into his endeavor to adhere to classical prosody.

Then, Insteia Diogenia, wife of Insteius Tertullus, received a tombstone near Thimida Regia in Africa Proconsularis perhaps in the fourth century.³⁰⁵¹ Both were pagan ('*dis manibus sacrum*' formula). Her husband, who dedicated the funeral inscription for Insteia Diogenia, *femina merens*, was *vir clarissimus*. He is presumably to be identified with either Attius Insteius Tertullus, the urban prefect of 307-308,³⁰⁵² or one of his descendants. What is important is that Insteius Tertullus, if he is different from city prefect, was in any case a member of the same *gens*. The epitaph speaks for an African origin of the family.³⁰⁵³

Next, *clarissima femina* Stefanilla Aemilliana was the wife of M. Insteius Tertullus. The couple is attested by two surviving bronze seals from Rome,³⁰⁵⁴ probably dating from the late fourth century, which reveal that they both were Christians depicting a cross and a palm branch. The inscriptions are not funeral as Disselkamp claims.³⁰⁵⁵ It has been claimed that these two documents belong to the Constantinian period and that the *gens Insteia* could have converted early, perhaps from the reign of Maxentius. For Chastagnol, such a conclusion is both arbitrary and unlikely as the seals and the various inscriptions mentioning Christian Insteii are manifestly very posterior to the

³⁰⁴⁷ *ILAlg.* II 1996 (Chabersas (Numidia)). *PLRE* 1, 117 Asella 2.

³⁰⁴⁸ *CIL* 8 20908=*ILCV* 190=*CLE* 1836 (Tipasa (Mauretania Caesariensis)). *PLRE* 1, 118 Astania.

³⁰⁴⁹ See also *ILCV* 3436 (Tipasa (Mauretania Caesariensis)), another contemporary verse epitaph in dactylic hexameters for a certain Basilius from the floor mosaic in the south aisle of the same basilica.

³⁰⁵⁰ The *titulus* of Anicia Faltonia Proba mentions her *fides* and her chastity: *CIL* 6 1775.

³⁰⁵¹ *CIL* 8 876 (Thimida Regia (Proconsularis Africa)). *PLRE* 1, 257 Insteia Diogenia.

³⁰⁵² *CIL* 5 2818 Patavium (Venetia); *CIL* 6 1696. *PLRE* 1, 883-84 Tertullus 6.

³⁰⁵³ Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 49. *PLRE* 1, 22 Stefanilla Aemilliana 3.

³⁰⁵⁴ *CIL* 6 37126=*ILCV* 136; *CIL* 6 41339.

³⁰⁵⁵ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 50 (Christian).

reign of Constantine. This evidence concerns only the descendants of prefect, and in fact fairly distant ones.³⁰⁵⁶ Nothing allows one to affirm the Christian convictions of Maxentius' functionary. The urban prefect is much more likely to have been a pagan. Obviously, this would be certain if one could securely identify him with the African widower who placed his deceased wife under the invocation of *di manes*.

Summarizing, of fourteen inscribed monuments from the provinces, 6 senatorial women were commemorated by their husbands (Bruttia Aureliana; Vinicia Marciana; L. Peducea Iuliana; Hydria Tertulla; Marcia Romania Celsa; and Insteia Diogenia). To these perhaps one more (Honorio) could be added, who was buried in the family tomb together with her child-daughter and husband. Two women more were possibly commemorated by their husbands (Adelfia and Astania). Three children of both genders were remembered by their fathers (Honorio's *parvula*, Axia Aeliana, and *puer* L. Nonius Faustinus), while one of them (Axia Aeliana) was perhaps an adoptive daughter. *Clarissima femina* (Nonia) Laudicia was similarly put to rest by her father. The commemorator is unknown for another five women and one female child (Deogratia; Augustina; Asella; anonymous *clarissima* from Dertona as well as *clarissima* from Trier with her child-daughter). Funerary poetry is represented by three inscriptions (for the anonyma from Trier, Honorio, and Astania).

Overall, four women are known by their exact age (Bruttia Aureliana (37), L. Peducea Iuliana (13), Marcia Romania Celsa (38), and Honorio (30)), but the round numbers are suspicious. Nine were married (Bruttia Aureliana, Marcia Romania Celsa, Honorio, Vinicia Marciana, Adelfia, Hydria Tertulla, Astania, Insteia Diogenia) including L. Peducea Iuliana, who was only thirteen. To these may be added the anonyma from Trier, who had a daughter. Apart from her, four more women had children (Honorio, Vinicia Marciana, Hydria Tertulla, and Astania). The children mentioned are Axia Aeliana, *parvula* of Honorio, and *clarissimus puer* Faustinus. The family status of his sister, *clarissima femina* (Nonia) Laudicia, is not known as well as that of *clarissima* from Dertona, Deogratia, Augustina, and Asella.

On the whole, ten inscribed funerary monuments are certainly Christian, one is pagan (Insteia Diogenia), and the other three are uncertain (Bruttia Aureliana, Vinicia Marciana, L. Peducea Iuliana)). Five monuments are of Italian origin. Two sarcophagi are firmly established as originating from Modena in Aemilia: one comes from the necropolis of the Largo di porta Sant'Agostino (Bruttia Aureliana) and another one was found reused near the Chiesa di San Pietro (Vinicio Marciana). One more probably also was from Modena, found in the necropolis area in the northwestern suburbs of the city, at the city gate of Ganaceto (L. Peducea Iuliana). The epitaph of the anonymous *clarissima* is of an unknown location from Dertona in Liguria. The sarcophagus of

³⁰⁵⁶ Chastagnol, *Les fastes*, 50.

Adelfia pertains to the catacombs of St John in Syracuse. Three more come from Dalmatian Salona in Illyricum, of which two certainly belonged to the cemetery of Manastirine (Honorina and Deogratia), and the remaining one perhaps also pertains to the same cemetery (Augustina). Two more are of a provenance from Rome interred in Arles (Hydria Tertulla and Marcia Romania Celsa). The sepulchral inscription of the anonymous *clarissima* and her daughter from Trier is of unknown provenance. Three inscriptions come from the provinces of Roman Africa. Two of them were set up in the churches: one near Cirta in Numidia (Asella) and another in the Basilica Alexandriana in Tipasa in Mauretania Caesarensis (Astania). Yet another one of unknown origin was discovered near Thimida Regia in Africa Proconsularis (Insteia Diogenia).

2. Commemorators in provinces

Senatorial women are similarly recorded as dedicants of late antique inscribed funeral monuments in the western provinces of the empire. Thus, in Illyricum, Aelia Saturnina, *clarissima femina* is documented in the late third or the first half of the fourth century in Dalmatian Salona.³⁰⁵⁷ She commemorated her predeceased *benignissimus maritus*. The husband of Aelia Saturnina, Antonius Taurus, was *vir perfectissimus*, who died aged fifty-five. His possibly Christian sarcophagus – the inscription in the *tabula ansata* was found near a basilica³⁰⁵⁸ – is otherwise undecorated.³⁰⁵⁹ *Centenarii* and *ducenarii* remained *perfectissimi* in the fourth century. The unusual phrasing suggests that Taurus was perhaps only given the status of *ducenarius* on retirement.

Further, the main imperial residence north of the Alps, Trier equally accommodated imperial officials in the fourth century. Principia, wife of an anonymous imperial official, buried her husband in Trier in the late fourth or fifth century.³⁰⁶⁰ Her spouse, whose name is not preserved on the inscription, was former count (*ex comite*), but it is not possible to know what kind of *comitiva* he exercised. However, all *comites* were already of senatorial rank by the end of the fourth century. The *tabula* confirms that the couple was Christian. The plural of ‘*posuerunt*’ points to a group of commemorators.

Thereafter, in Italy, [---a] Maxima, *clarissima femina*, is recorded at Castel Madama near Tibur in Regio I in the mid or late fourth century.³⁰⁶¹ She commemorated her husband, with whom she lived nine years in marriage, by having built for him completely (*a solo*) the funerary monument (*memoriam*). Maxima was the wife of Nonius Tineius Tarrutenius Atticus, *clarissimae*

³⁰⁵⁷ CIL 3 8712=ILCV 513 (Salona (Dalmatia)). PLRE 1, 804 Ael(ia) Saturnina.

³⁰⁵⁸ Gauthier, Salona 4, 685-88, no. 378 with photographs.

³⁰⁵⁹ For the drawing of the sarcophagus: Nenad Cambi, “Les sarcophages de Manastirine. Sarcophages decorees et typologie,” in *Salona III. Manastirine: établissement preromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone*, eds. Noël Duval et al. (Rome: Ecole française de Rome), 229, fig. 100.

³⁰⁶⁰ CIL 13 3692 (Augusta Treverorum (Belgica II)). PLRE 1 Anonymus 155.

³⁰⁶¹ CIL 14 3517 (Castel Madama (Latium)). Michel Christol, “Remarques sur la carrière de L(ucius) Mummius Faustianus, consul ordinaire en 262,” in *L’Africa romana. Mobilità delle persone e dei popoli, dinamiche migratorie, emigrazioni ed immigrazioni nelle province occidentali dell’Impero romano. Atti del XVI convegno di studio Rabat, 15–19 dicembre 2004*, vol 3, eds. Aomar Akerraz, et al. (Rome: Carocci, 2006), 1852 n.55. PLRE 1, 572 ...a Maxima 2.

memoriae vir, who died aged twenty-eight. Her predeceased husband was a Roman senator and a pagan, member of the pontifical collegium (*XVvir sacris faciundis*). He held the office of *praetor tutelaris*, the official responsible for matters of guardianship. Maxima was presumably a mother of Nonius Atticus Maximus and Nonia Maxima, *clarissima femina* and a wife of Avianius Vindicianus, mentioned on two *fistulae* from an aqueduct near the Tiber in the late fourth century.³⁰⁶² Nonia Maxima was perhaps a sister of Nonius Atticus Maximus, praetorian prefect of Italy in 384 and consul in 397. It should be noted that Nonius Atticus Maximus owned an estate in Tibur. Still in the family context, one wonders about the nomenclature of the young senator which makes possible a link between the descendants of Pupien, the Ovinii, and the Tarrutenii: [---]nius Tineius Tarrutenius Atticus, known only by his funeral inscription. *PLRE* restores ‘Nonius’ owing to a forcible approximation with Nonius Atticus.

Moreover, in the onomastics of this young deceased, the *nomen* ending in [---]nius, is associated with Tineius and Tarrut[---] and with the *cognomen* Atticus. J. Martindale, proposing a decidedly late date, wanted to see in this couple close relatives of Nonius Atticus Maximus, prefect and correspondent of Symmachus and Ambrose, and Nonia Maxima, a wife of Avianius Vindicianus and a probable relative of Symmachus. He therefore restored his *nomen gentile* as [No]nius. The frequency of the *cognomina* Atticus and Maximus is such that it would be difficult to deduce a kinship. The alliances contracted between the Pupienii, the Tineii, and the Ovinii, rather suggest that the restitution [Ovi]nius or [Pupie]nius – the latter less preferable for reasons related to the *ordinatio* – would make more sense. The name Tarrut... is almost certainly a very rare *gentilicium* Tarrutenius, attested only once for the aristocracy with Tarrutenius Paternus, *adlectus* under Commodus, who had at least one daughter. F. Jacques prefers Ovinus and is followed by Chausson, who also suggests Pupienius, although pointing to a problem with the *ordinatio*.³⁰⁶³ The Clodii Pupieni, like the Caesonii Rufiniani, with whom the Ovinii similarly contracted alliance, seem rooted in the territory of Tibur, from where they originate or rather where they owned a property as wealthy senators. The bonds of patronage they have with this city from generation to generation were more important than the simple possession of a residence.³⁰⁶⁴ Although links between Pupienii, Ovinii, Tineii, Tarrutenii, and Nonii are certain, the details remain unknown.

Then, aforementioned Septimia Severina, *clarissima femina*, commemorated in Tolentinum in Picenum her predeceased husband Flavius Iulius Catervius, *comes sacrarum largitionum* of

³⁰⁶² *CIL* 15 7399. *PLRE* 1, 572 Nonia Maxima 5.

³⁰⁶³ François Chausson, “Un portrait de groupe avec dame: autour de Cornelia Praetextata,” *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 7 (1996): 343.

³⁰⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 343-44.

Gratian in 379.³⁰⁶⁵ Catervius was probably of senatorial origin. He came from the western part of the empire, perhaps from Tolentinum in Regio V, where he was buried. The sarcophagus inscription on the central area of the lid's front records the commission of not only a sarcophagus, but also a mausoleum to put it in (*sarcofagum et pant(h)eum cum tric(h)oro disposuit et perfecit*). Septimia Severina built the mausoleum for her husband and for herself while she was still alive. The day of her husband's death was October 17, while the funeral took place only on November 28: the delay of forty-three days is explained by the duration of the construction program. The mausoleum built as a family grave was probably a domed circular funerary chapel with three apses (*panteum cum tricoro*), as in some similar burials,³⁰⁶⁶ and received also the couple's son Bassus, who died prematurely. The names of Septimia Severina and her son suggest relation to the family of Septimius Bassus and L. Valerius Septimius Bassus, *praefecti urbi* from 317 and 379/83 respectively.³⁰⁶⁷ The surveys confirmed the presence of three bodies, those of the two spouses and that of their son Bassus, who predeceased his mother.³⁰⁶⁸

In Italy one finds the example of the placement of the sarcophagus in the monumentalized context first in the late fourth century.³⁰⁶⁹ This funerary monument, built in the shape of a circular pantheon with three apsed niches, was however demolished at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The imposing 'city gate' sarcophagus was kept elevated above four lions that already supported it in the ancient mausoleum. The 'city gate' type of sarcophagi was an eclectic genre that originated from a mixture of eastern and western motifs and whose production appears to be principally restricted to Rome and predominantly intended for commissioners of high rank, as was the case of Catervius who had held a prestigious post in the imperial palace. Of the three-piece inscription engraved on his tomb, an explicitly Christian funerary poem in hexameters inscribed on the back of the lid and on the upper edge of the chest's back of the sarcophagus is dedicated to both spouses.³⁰⁷⁰ Another epigraphic poem inscribed along the front edge of the lid in its lower area was in elegiac couplets.³⁰⁷¹ It was dedicated to the premature death of little Bassus.

Furthermore, this luxurious sarcophagus dated to the last decade of the fourth century is decorated at all four sides. The reliefs on the front include the Good Shepherd, an allegory of Christ, here flanked by a vine and an olive tree, and St Peter and St Paul on the sides, with the portraits of Septimia and Catervius on the lid. On the right side there is the Adoration of the Magi, while on the

³⁰⁶⁵ *CIL* 9 5566=*ILS* 1289=*ILCV* 98 (Tolentinum (Picenum)). *RS* II 148. Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 92 with n.801; Jutta Dresken-Weiland et al., eds., *Himmel, Paradies, Schalom: Tod und Jenseits in antiken christlichen Grabinschriften* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2012), 160-63 no. II.7.

³⁰⁶⁶ Aldo Nestori, *Il mausoleo e il sarcofago di Flavius Iulius Catervius a Tolentino* (Vatican: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1996). *PLRE* 1, 830 Septimia Severina 1.

³⁰⁶⁷ Delmaire, *Les responsables des finances*, 77.

³⁰⁶⁸ See Nestori, *Il mausoleo e il sarcofago*, 99-149.

³⁰⁶⁹ Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 168.

³⁰⁷⁰ *CLE* 1560a (in postica, in operculo et in arca).

³⁰⁷¹ *CLE* 1560b (in antica, in operculo).

lid the monogram of Christ between two lambs is shown. Notably, on the left side the three Jewish children refuse to worship Nebuchadnezzar, with the monogram of Christ between two doves on the lid. The iconographical conflation of the Magi as a reference to Christ's Epiphany with the Three Youths transmits the message of the promised salvation.³⁰⁷² The spouses Septimia and Catervius appear within a clipeus on the back. The clipeus with the couple on the backside is placed in a square frame at whose corners are, at the top two monogrammed crosses with the alpha and the omega, and at the bottom two doves. In a rather unusual way the sarcophagus brings together three different types: the front of the chest has a central relief and two at the sides separated by strigils, the sides fall into the 'city gate' type, while the rear part follows the type with the *imago clipeata* with the two spouses clasping each other's right hand, flanked by strigili as on the front.³⁰⁷³ Moreover, different hypotheses, such as a likely execution by different carvers, or possibly the adoption of several models of reference indicated by the same commissioner, were raised to explain a stylistic gap that characterizes the sarcophagus' reliefs, more dynamic and expressive in the panels on the sides, and more flat and rigid, particularly in the drapery, in the front depiction of the couple.

What is more, the sarcophagus at Tolentinum provides a dual presentation of the spouses. On the front of the lid the figures of the couple are shown individually in each of the acroteria. Although they each turn slightly, as if to acknowledge the Good Shepherd figure on the center of the chest, they are actually depicted in quite secular terms. In fact, the Good Shepherd represented on the front, at the center, was originally a pagan personification of the philosophical notion of philanthropy. The Good Shepherd figure, similarly occupying the center of the strigillated sarcophagus in the Palazzo Corsini and shown accompanied by flanking portraits, belongs to 'a nexus of themes which (once again) involve ideals that inspire the shared experiences of the couple – love, commitment, concord, and above all the qualities of tranquil prosperity associated with the pastoral idyl.'³⁰⁷⁴ The institution of marriage continued to be represented as a social cornerstone: portraits of the couple remained high profile and continued to use conventional iconographies.

In contrast, their Christian identity is made clear by details in the image of their *dextrarum iunctio* on the back, which pick up on the unequivocally Christian scenes that decorate each side panel of the sarcophagus. In fact, Christian imagery now infiltrates this scene, which appears in a new format. The use of the *dextrarum iunctio* group in overtly Christian sarcophagi shows how in formal terms the 'core' group of the two standing figure remains the same as before. But by the later fourth century the 'pagan' figures of Concordia and Hymenaeus no longer accompany them.

³⁰⁷² Thomas Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 79; Galit Noga-Banai, *The trophies of the martyrs: An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 54-5.

³⁰⁷³ Marco Ioli, *Il sarcofago paleocristiano di Catervio nel Duomo di Tolentino* (Bologna: R. Patron, 1971).

³⁰⁷⁴ Huskinson, "Reading Identity," 96.

Presumably they had no place in an emphatically Christian iconography, which replaces them with Christ and his saints as witnesses and guarantors of the couple's relationships, who were now framing the dead on the late Roman sarcophagi. Here the pair is shown as half-figures in a roundel contained within a square panel: They face outward, again looking self-confident and socially successful in their dress and attributes. But the Christian monograms and symbolic doves in the spandrels of the panel give them a religious Christian context, which is emphasized in the scene where, in place of the old *pronuba* figure, the hand of God extends a wreath in blessing. The metonymical hand of God on the Tolentinum sarcophagus had been explicitly transformed into the person of Christ holding the wreath over each head.³⁰⁷⁵ Similar to compositions in which Peter and Paul are crowned, this depiction expresses the couple's relationship with Christ that is both triumphal and individual.³⁰⁷⁶

Thus, the sarcophagus of Catervius commissioned by his widow in its peculiar form corresponds to her wishes. Although Gehn considers the sarcophagus to be produced by a provincial workshop in the western part of the empire,³⁰⁷⁷ Koch has persuasively shown that the whole group came from one of Rome's workshops.³⁰⁷⁸ While Catervius appears twice in the late antique toga costume, Septimia wears both times *palla* or veil as a 'symbol of position'. A veil covers the back of the head, obscuring the rest of the coiffure. The practice of veiling women's heads was more prevalent in the eastern part of the Roman Empire,³⁰⁷⁹ yet here the head appears covered twice. The viewer cannot glimpse the hair modestly stowed out of sight beneath the veil. The head-covering appears in the funeral imagery in the late fourth century. It was a characteristic of a good wife, modest and attentive to household affairs (rather than intellectually and artistically inclined), as can be seen in funerary depictions. This mode of adornment – the hairstyle as well as the voluminous draping of the body – equally accentuates the high social position of the figure.

In summary, of four sepulchral monuments, three senatorial women commemorated their husbands in the provinces (Aelia Saturnina, Maxima, and Septimia Severina), while one of them (Septimia Severina) commemorated also her son. To there may be added Principia, who was a co-dedicant of the funeral monument. All four inscriptions are in prose, except of the epitaph by Septimia for her son Bassus, which is a funerary poetry. Their age is unknown, but there are data for the length of marriage for two of the women. Thus, Septimia Severina had a son and lived sixteen years in marriage until her husband's death at fifty-six, and Maxima was married for nine years, with her spouse deceased aged twenty-eight. Aelia Saturnina's husband died at the age of fifty-five, while Principia, although also married, left no further information preserved on the

³⁰⁷⁵ RSI 241.

³⁰⁷⁶ Huskinson, "Reading Identity," 90-91.

³⁰⁷⁷ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*.

³⁰⁷⁸ Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 326 no 68.

³⁰⁷⁹ Elsner, *Art and Rhetoric*, 172.

fragmentary inscription.

Overall, as for the religious affiliation, Maxima was pagan, while the other two women were Christian, with Aelia Saturnina, who was probably Christian. Two funerary monuments come from the Italian cities: one of unknown provenance found at Castel Madama in Latium (Maxima), and another, the sarcophagus made in Rome, installed the mausoleum of Catervius and found in the Chiesa di San Catervo at Tolentinum (Septimia Severina). The latter was a family burial: the surveys confirmed the presence of three bodies, those of the two spouses and that of their son Bassus, who predeceased his mother. One more inscription comes from Salona, and was found near a basilica (Aelia Saturnina). Yet another one is of unknown origin from Trier (Principia).

3. Joint burials in provinces

In the West the sarcophagi production features most prominently in Italy and Gaul. Although most of the sarcophagi came from Rome's workshops, provincial workshops were active until the early fifth century. Thus, in Italy, *clarissima femina* Bel(licia), a wife of Flavius Arcadius, *vir clarissimus*, was buried at Praeneste in Latium.³⁰⁸⁰ This Christian couple commissioned their sarcophagus while still alive and were subsequently buried in 339/60. The inscription mentions also *vir clarissimus* Flavius Arcadius, but his relation to the couple is not certain. The *tabula inscriptionis* was found in the catacomb of Sant'Ilario ad Bivium.

The presence of craftsmen from northern Italy operating in Rome in the late fourth century has been proposed on account of the form and style of some luxurious 'city gate' sarcophagi. Next, the anonymous wife of Gorgonius, aforementioned *comes rerum privatarum* of Valentinian II in 386, is not mentioned in the epitaph on the strigillated 'city gate' sarcophagus, dating to the late fourth century, acquired from Rome for her spouse from Ancona in Picenum. She, however, appears depicted twice on the sarcophagus of her husband, which he commissioned for himself.³⁰⁸¹ The sarcophagus was made in Rome and presumably transported to Ancona for the burial of *comes*.³⁰⁸² The woman is portrayed in a dual presentation of the couple on the funeral monument dedicated to Gorgonius: once as a standing figure in the image of their *dextrarum iunctio* on the back, and again as a kneeling one at the feet of Christ on the front. Despite the omission of Gorgonius' wife from the inscription, the sarcophagus focuses on a married couple, where they stand together in a central niche under an elaborately decorated pediment. They are close to each other as they exchange the conventional handshake (*dextrarum iunctio*), which symbolizes their marital relationship.³⁰⁸³

³⁰⁸⁰ CIL 14 3416 (Praeneste (Latium)). PLRE 1, 160 Bel(licia).

³⁰⁸¹ CIL 9 5897=ILS 1290=ILCV 99 (Ancona (Picenum)).

³⁰⁸² Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 324 no 132.

³⁰⁸³ Elsner, *Art and Rhetoric*, 336. For the sarcophagus of Flavius Gorgonius, see RS II, 54-56.

First, on the now destroyed back of the sarcophagus in the cathedral of Ancona the spouses were shown clasping each other's right hand in the *dextrarum iunctio*; the left hand of the wife is draped over the shoulder of the husband. The pair was flanked by two columns.³⁰⁸⁴ Unlike the sarcophagus in Tolentinum,³⁰⁸⁵ where the busts of the couple are portrayed in a clipeus, at Ancona Flavius Gorgonius appeared with his spouse, who is not recorded in the inscription, as full-standing figures on the back. Here the standing pair was shown facing each other. On the sarcophagus, with the central *dextrarum iunctio*, a combination of biblical scenes and conventional motifs is used to commemorate the mix of secular and religious elements in a couple's life. The long-established iconography of the marriage scene identifies them with 'traditional' social values and with the blessings of love and concord, while their dress adds connotations of worldly success. However, Christian imagery now intrudes the scene on the back, which reemerges in a new format.

Second, the Christian scenes on the front panel and both sides set Gorgonius' marriage in a religious context. The use of a *dextrarum iunctio* group in overtly Christian sarcophagi displays in formal terms the continuity of the 'core' group of the two full-length figures. On the sarcophagus of Gorgonius, where the *dextrarum iunctio* depicted on the back, the couple is also shown on the front of the sarcophagus as small figures kneeling at the feet of Christ, participating in his glory. Both the man and the woman abase themselves at the feet of Christ, as it is inappropriate to look directly at his holy face. Their Christian identity is made clear on the front, while on the back, the conventional accompanying figures disappear. Presumably they had no place in an emphatically Christian iconography, which replaces them with Christ and his apostles as witnesses and guarantors of the couple's relationships.

Further, the so-called Stilicho sarcophagus in the Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milan was presumably commissioned for a distinguished military official and his wife in the later part of the fourth century.³⁰⁸⁶ It was perhaps used for *magister militum*, and has clear similarities with the sarcophagus from the mausoleum of the Anicii. Thus, current consensus seems to be that the Milanese sarcophagus was made in Rome, rather than in a northern workshop, and transported to Milan.³⁰⁸⁷ The couple is depicted three times. First, the spouses appear in a roundel on the lid, held by cupids, with Christ the Teacher below them. Second, on both long sides of the Milanese sarcophagus, the pair of the deceased is reproduced at the feet of Christ. On the one hand, the main face of this masterpiece of early Christian sculpture shows the couple kneeling in the *traditio legis* scene. On the other hand, the back depicts seated Christ between the twelve apostles at the gate of a city in the *maiestas domini* scene. Elsner mistakenly states that Christ is portrayed with his feet

³⁰⁸⁴ For a photograph, see Wilpert, *I sarcophagi cristiani antichi*, 1, pl. XIV (4).

³⁰⁸⁵ RS II 148.

³⁰⁸⁶ RS II 150, pl. 59,3-8, 60,1-2; 61,1-2. Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 47. 89. Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage*, 100, table 23.

³⁰⁸⁷ Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 324 no 133.

anointed by kneeling women.³⁰⁸⁸ In fact, although reduced in perspective, the deceased are regularly depicted at the foot of Christ, with the man to the right and the woman to the left. Both times the woman is wrapped in the *palla*, while the man is clearly wearing the *chlamys* costume.

In the gesture, the representations are modified, however: in the *traditio legis* on the front side the deceased are shown in a *proskynesis* pose, so almost completely concealed by their robes, while in the teaching scene the pair rather stands. The iconography was adapted to produce binary images of gender represented in two scenes of the high-ranking military official and his wife together (the third one in the *dextrarum iunctio*). For the sake of the rigorous symmetry of the sarcophagus it suddenly offered the woman ‘equal visual weighting with the man’: the couple is represented on apparently equal terms standing in the presence of Christ.³⁰⁸⁹ The newly arranged kneeling scenes of the city gate sarcophagi, depicting the man and woman as a pair, offered the woman ‘her own specific role, equal to his, in the performance of a *proskynesis* and demonstration of faith which governed their union blessed by Christian god’.³⁰⁹⁰

In turn, the demeanourously subdued attitude of the couple on the front and on the back gave way to a relaxed, upright gesture in the clipeus portrait, which demonstrates the conjugal concordia with a tender gesture. The woman shows rich material, bort-filled garments and jewels. The female figure in the clipeus has a ‘two-tier’ coiffure, similarly to Adelfia on the sarcophagus in Syracuse (fig. 76).³⁰⁹¹ The demonstration of the matrimonial concordia is embedded in an environment that shows the prosperity and the high social standing of the spouses. The hairstyle of the woman in the clipeus is in no way progressive, but, on the contrary, conservative, going back to the Constantinian period.³⁰⁹² One might interpret this as a sign of a conscious, deliberate conservatism, befitting the general image.³⁰⁹³

Then, if these largely identical specimens show a certain variation in the choice of the motifs as well as in their arrangement on the sarcophagus’ chest and finally in the design of the individual motifs, further exemplars, produced locally, according to the wishes and the representational habits of their clients, may differ from the sarcophagi made in Rome. Thus, in the Saint Sauveur Cathedral in Aix-en-Provence, the metropolis of *Narbonensis Secunda*, there is yet another city gate sarcophagus in the chapel of St Mitre, so inbuilt that only the well-preserved facade is visible.³⁰⁹⁴ It probably was not exported from Rome, but was made in the local workshop.³⁰⁹⁵ The *traditio legis*

³⁰⁸⁸ Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*, 158.

³⁰⁸⁹ Huskinson, *Roman Strigillated Sarcophagi*, 139.

³⁰⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 139-40.

³⁰⁹¹ Kiilerich and Torp, “Hic est: hic Stilicho,” 325. *PLRE* 1, 13 Adelfia.

³⁰⁹² Heads with the ‘two-tier’ coiffure can be seen also on the other fourth-century sarcophagi, e.g., Junius Bassus’ sarcophagus. One may likewise mention a head in the Museo Torlonia dated around 350 to 375, with the double-torus hairstyle with elaborate tongue-shaped fringe locks: Kiilerich and Torp, “Hic est: hic Stilicho,” 325.

³⁰⁹³ Kiilerich and Torp, “Hic est: hic Stilicho,” 325.

³⁰⁹⁴ *RS* III 25.

³⁰⁹⁵ Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 330 no 131.

motif where Christ is flanked by all the twelve apostles is shown in the main face. In the *traditio legis* scene Christ holds an opened scroll, yet the interpretation he is handing over to Peter has now commonly been abandoned. The image of the opened scroll conveys the idea that Christ is proclaiming his new law rather than passing it to Peter.³⁰⁹⁶ The depiction – originating from Rome – highlights the special status of the apostles Peter and Paul, yet Christ is the central figure of the scene.³⁰⁹⁷ The deceased spouses are, as usual, given at the feet of Christ; in their posture and habitus they correspond to the other representations on the ‘city gate’ sarcophagi. The woman is dressed in the *palla*, and the man wears the *chlamys*.

Thereafter, the heavily damaged front of the late fourth-century columnar sarcophagus in the cathedral of Mantua reveals a Christian representation framed by a seven-arch architectural structure.³⁰⁹⁸ The sarcophagus was made in Rome and exported to Mantua.³⁰⁹⁹ To the left at the foot of the paradise hill a part of a clearly diminished female figure has been preserved, in which Wilpert saw a personification of the church. Dresken-Weiland is, however, right to suggest the representation of the tomb owner. This should also be the case, according to Gehn, for the figures encountered again on the two sides of the sarcophagus. On the right side a female figure stands as an *orans* under the middle arch of a three-arch arcaded row, showing a medieval rework. In each of the intercolumnia there is a *chlamydatus*, placed frontally, but with the head turned toward the middle. The two *chlamydatus* can hardly represent the tomb owner, but they are also no biblical staff. They add a real setting to the scene. Gehn suggests rather relatives or friends who played a significant role in the life of the deceased. On the left side of the middle intercolumnium the deceased pair is represented in the *dextrarum iunctio*. Only here, of all the corresponding representations of late Roman art, the man is not dressed in the toga, which together with the slender alteration of the columns, must be ascribed to the medieval transformation of the sarcophagus. On the right side, where the tomb owner features again, his portrait is not worked out. He thereby appears on the face side as well as on both short sides, but the portrait characteristics were perhaps not previewed.³¹⁰⁰

In the East, Flavia Iulia Flaviana from Laodicea Combusta in Phrygia is known to be a daughter of senator (*συνκλητικός*) Gaius Nestorianus and the wife of Marcus Iulius Eugenius.³¹⁰¹ Laodicea was not an insignificant place: connected to the Roman road network, it was an urban center of an important group of imperial estates with many large villages around. The funeral epigram is dated to around 340. It belonged to a marble sarcophagus found half buried in the ground

³⁰⁹⁶ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*.

³⁰⁹⁷ Roald Dijkstra, *The Apostles in Early Christian Art and Poetry* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 374-75.

³⁰⁹⁸ RS II 151; Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 112, 114; Studer-Karlen, *Verstorbenen Darstellungen*, 126; Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*.

³⁰⁹⁹ Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 325 no 134.

³¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 117.

³¹⁰¹ ILS 9480=MAMA I 170 (Laodicea Combusta (Phrygia)). PLRE 1, 343 Flavia Iulia Flaviana 2.

in a field. Her husband, son of Cyrillus Celer, served in the *officium* of Valerius Diogenes, governor of Pisidia (στρατευσ[ά]μενος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Πισιδίαν ἡγεμονικῇ τάξ(ε)ι) and retired after suffering persecution as a Christian. Local initiatives in persecution made 312 a very difficult year for many Christian communities. In this year Eugenius, an official (*officialis*) on the staff of Diogenes, was tortured repeatedly but survived. Shortly afterwards he became a bishop of Laodicea for twenty-five years.

Eugenius, at the end of his twenty-five years of episcopacy, could be honored for complete rebuilding from its foundation of the church of his seat and for providing it with splendid annexes. Almost a third of his epitaph are dedicated to the construction of the church, which he completely built up from the foundations up with all its decorations, i.e. stoai, tetrastoai, paintings, fountains, a propylon and all appropriate architectural ornaments. In the last line, he observes that in view of the approaching death he had provided for a base (πέλτον) and a sarcophagus for himself to adorn his church and his family.³¹⁰² Growing prestige of evergetism run parallelly with the lack of resources. A number of Christian notables rivaled in generosity in accordance with their rank and respective financial possibilities. In epigraphy, except for the bishop of Laodiceia Kekaumene, Marcus Iulius Eugenius, who had previously held office in the provincial administration of Pisidia, no men who rose from imperial servants to clergy are known. Of fourth-century higher clerics and bishops attested in the literary sources, a few have come from civil bureaucratic career, however.³¹⁰³ Numerous examples in the Code confirm that decurions tried (by any means available) to leave municipal councils: by beginning service at the palace or by obtaining – by means of *suffragium* – *codiciles* confirming their clarissime, provincial governorship, or the title of count.³¹⁰⁴

The Christian epitaph mentions the social status and the family relations of the deceased, but at the same time it shows the decline of the *cursus honorum* inscriptions and the development of an *elogium*. The final formula – ‘to the glory of the church and my family’ (εἰς κόσμον της τε εκκλησίας κὲ του γένους μου) – exemplifies a typical prestige statement. New is the emphasis on ecclesiasticity, which gained its place in the inscriptions only from the fourth century. Eugenius is a witness of the transition. He was born in the last quarter of the third century in the village of Kousseia, the son of a great landowner and a curial in Laodicea Combusta. He became great like many of his non-Christian and Christian leaders with the desire for social mobility, social advancement.

That Eugenius came by birth from a Christian curial family, is simply presupposed in the inscription – otherwise a baptism mention must have been made. The father of Eugenius, Cyrillus

³¹⁰² For the architectural reconstruction of the church, see Jutta Dresken-Weiland, “Ein wichtiges Zeugnis zum frühen Kirchenbau in Kleinasien,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 48/49 (2005/2006): 70-76.

³¹⁰³ Potter, *Constantine the Emperor*.

³¹⁰⁴ See *CTh* 12.1. Dresken-Weiland, “Ein wichtiges Zeugnis.”

Celer, lived in the countryside. The escape of the rich curiales began from the cities. While legislation sought to block these efforts to escape their curial duties, there were three ways to such a rise: the imperial service, the marriage and, later, the entry into the clergy (*CTh* 16.2.2, since 313). Iulius Eugenius struck out all three in a row. The way of this bishop is not so typical for many of his contemporaries. First, in his old age the bishop was proud of his initial career as *officialis* of *praeses Pisidiae*, which served for him as an entry to the empire's officialdom. Second, he was equally proud of his marriage to Flavia Iulia Flaviana, and thus his marriage to the family of the Roman senator, Gaius Nestorianus, who is otherwise unknown. Iulius Eugenius names his father-in-law, which is atypical for funeral inscriptions of this kind. A marriage into a senatorial family was a realistic possibility only for the smallest part of his curial peers.

When, by his position, the senator automatically occupied one of the first places in the province, he undoubtedly did not belong to the elevated circle of the *ordo senatorius*, who held the highest offices, and represented the real leadership of the empire. For the ambition of Eugenius it must have sufficed to marry the daughter of a *vir clarissimus*, of whose religious affiliation nothing is in fact known. Eugenius had gained not an insignificant career factor, especially since it was possible, since the third century, to keep the title of a *clarissima femina* for senatorial daughters who had married someone below their rank. This decision, given in *Digest* (1.9.12), shows that the interest of Eugenius was not exceptional.

Christian decurion Eugenius saw a second career factor in the service in the *militia*. A. Weiss wrongly states that 'Eugenius schildert in der Inschrift zunächst seinen Militärdienst und die Hochzeit und dann seinen Austritt aus dem Heer unter dem pisidischen Statthalter Diogenes...'.³¹⁰⁵ Eugenius, however, did not enter the military, but, like many of his contemporaries, the civilian service in the imperial bureaucracy, in the *officium* of *praeses*. Eugenius entered it at the time, which, in the context of the tetrarchic provincial and administrative reform, offered great opportunities to rise.³¹⁰⁶

Further, Eugenius, the bishop of Laodikeia Katakekaumene in Lykaonia, mentions his marriage with a senatorial woman, Flavia Iulia Flaviana, in his funeral inscription. The wedding must have taken place before 312, for Eugenius, in the inscription, first describes his imperial service, then the wedding, and then his departure from the *militia* under Pisidian governor Diogenes, who was in office until 312 and carried out the persecution against Christians under Maximinus Daia. The father of Flaviana, Gaius Nestorianus, was a senator. His daughter, *contra*

³¹⁰⁵ Weiß, *Soziale Elite und Christentum*, 197.

³¹⁰⁶ Wolfgang Wischmeyer, "M. Iulius Eugenius. Eine Fallstudie zum Thema 'Christen und Gesellschaft in 3. Und 4. Jahrhundert'," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 81 (1990): 225-46; Dresken-Weiland, "Ein wichtiges Zeugnis," 67-76; Rudolf Haensch, "Der Kirchenbau in der dioecesis Asiana: Ein Vergleich mit dem Kirchenbau in den Patriarchaten Antiocheia und Jerusalem und dem in Italien", in *Die Christianisierung Kleinasien in der Spätantike*, ed. Walter Ameling (Bonn: Habelt, 2017), 331-32.

Eck, did not lose the *clarissime* with the marriage.³¹⁰⁷ The Christian faith of his wife is not mentioned explicitly by Eugenius, but it is implied. In contrast to intermarriages between, especially high-ranking, Christian women and pagan men, the reverse option, marriages between Christian men and pagan women, appears to be much rarer, and it is not at all problematized by the church. The senatorial father of Flaviana, Gaius Nestorianus, was likely a Christian. Eck also holds this for probable.³¹⁰⁸ Eugenius thereby became a bishop at some time after his wedding.

Like many members of the upper class in the whole empire, *curiales* and senators, he understood the building activity as duty within a tradition of *euergetism*. There he gained his fame and distinction. Bishops built not only churches. In the first half of the fourth century Eugenius and many of his fellow-bishops had to deal with the destroyed or dispossessed Christian congregations. Thus, a representative large-scale architecture of the church building began on a scale, which attempted to imitate the imperial foundations. For Eugenius, the greatness and importance of his foundation was particularly expressed in the perfection of the decor, which included not only building sculpture and *opus sectile* and mosaics, but also a picture program, of which, unfortunately, one does not learn from the inscription. Not only did bishops like Eugenius donate and build churches: they had their non-clerical curial peers competing with them. It led to a new *euergetism*, which was mainly reflected in the building activity, and in which bishops and *curiales* competed with one another. The inscription testifies to the importance of the Christian upper class in the later Roman Empire after the Constantinian change. First of all, it is important to point out clearly: the circle of men like Eugenius was very small.

Therefore, regarding the joint burials in the provinces, two married couples are known by name from their funeral inscriptions: Bel(licia) and Arcadius as well as Flavia Iulia Flaviana and Eugenius. To these can be added the anonymous wife of Gorgonius, who is depicted on the sarcophagus from Ancona, but not mentioned in his epitaph. The funerary inscriptions recording Bel(licia) and Flavia Iulia Flaviana are in Latin prose and Greek verse, correspondingly. Both were Christian, as the latter was the wife of the bishop. The former comes from the West, from Praeneste in Latium, found in the catacomb of Sant'Ilario ad Bivium (Bel(licia)), while the latter originates from the East, from Laodicea Combusta in Phrygia (Flavia Iulia Flaviana) found in the field outside the city. The anonymous wife of Gorgonius must have also been Christian, as was his religion and as depicted on the sarcophagus. Three more sarcophagi portraying senatorial couples were made in Rome and exported to the Italian cities: the aforementioned sarcophagus of Gorgonius in the Cathedral of Ancona, the so-called 'Stilicho' sarcophagus in the Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, and the sarcophagus in the Cathedral of Mantua. One more sarcophagus for senatorial

³¹⁰⁷ See Eck, "Das Eindringen des Christentums," 394. Chastagnol, "La législation du *clarissimat*."

³¹⁰⁸ Weiß, *Soziale Elite und Christentum*; Eck, "Das Eindringen des Christentums," 394.

spouses made by the local workshop is in the Saint Sauveur Cathedral in Aix-en-Provence. The Christian identity of the deceased is confirmed by the iconography of the sarcophagi.

Subsequently, of twenty-one inscribed monuments from the provinces, nineteen senatorial women and minors recorded as commemorands, four acted as commemorators, and two joint burials of spouses are known from the epitaphs, while further four married couples can be identified by iconography of the sarcophagi. Only four women are known by their exact age: 13, 30, 37, 38; the round numbers are unreliable, however. Sixteen women were married. To these can be added four brides portrayed on the sarcophagi. The youngest married one was only 13. The length of marriage is indicated for two women: 16 and 9 years. Funerary poetry is represented by five inscriptions, the rest are in prose.

Afterwards, as for the religious affiliation, thirteen inscribed funerary monuments are unquestionably Christian, two are certainly pagan, and the other four are uncertain, three of which are probably Christian. Eight sepulchral monuments record women who were interred in the Italian cities, although some of the sarcophagi may have been of the origin from Rome (Modena, Dertona, Castel Madama, Praeneste as well as Tolentinum and Syracuse). To these can be added the sarcophagus of Gorgonius from Ancona and two inscribed sarcophagi from Milan and Mantua. Four funeral inscriptions originate from Dalmatian Salona in Illyricum. Two more are from Arles. To these can be added the local sarcophagus for the senatorial couple in the Saint Sauveur Cathedral in Aix-en-Provence. Two sepulchral inscriptions are from Trier. Three epitaphs come from the provinces of Roman Africa: one from near Cirta in Numidia, another from Tipasa in Mauretania Caesarensis, yet another from near Thimida Regia in Africa Proconsularis. In the East, one monument was installed at Amasia in Helenopontus, while another was set up at Laodicea Combusta in Phrygia.

To summarize, fifty female senatorial commemorands, including minors, of whom the majority comes from Rome (thirty-one), and the rest from the provinces (nineteen) is known from the funeral inscriptions of the fourth-century Roman empire. Of eight commemorators, one half is coming from Rome, while another half is from the provinces. Four married couples from Rome, named in the epitaphs, who commissioned their own tombs, are known, with another two from the provinces, excluding further four depicted on the sarcophagi. Only eight inscriptions from Rome are poetry compared to five from outside the city.

Rome's eleven commemorative inscriptions indicate the age of the deceased women or minors: 5, 6, 14, 16, 17, 17, 18, 29, 30, 30, and 46. Four more women from the provinces are known by their exact age: 13, 30, 37, 38; the round numbers are not trustworthy, however. The married status is confirmed for eighteen women from Rome, while in the provinces seventeen women were

married. Wives represented on the sarcophagi could perhaps be added to this number. Another eleven from Rome were young and perhaps all unmarried, while the status of others is unknown.

Regarding the religious affiliation, Rome yields three pagan epitaphs, with two more originating from the provinces. The rest are undoubtedly Christian, with six more probably Christian, while other four are of an unidentified religious affiliation. Twenty-five funeral inscriptions are pertaining to Rome's catacombs and churches, while the remaining are of unknown provenance within the city. Eleven sepulchral monuments documenting senatorial women come from Italian cities. Four funeral inscriptions originate from Dalmatian Salona in Illyricum. Two more come from Arles. To these can be added the sarcophagus for the senatorial spouses in the Saint Sauveur Cathedral in Aix-en-Provence. Two sepulchral inscriptions are from Trier; thus amounting to five from the Gallic provinces. Three epitaphs are from the provinces of Roman Africa. In the East, only a single monument from Phrygia is known.

III. In ostentationus expression of faith: dedicatory inscriptions

1. Pagan

With regard to the genre of inscriptions recording senatorial women, the largest group of *tituli* made up of funerary inscriptions is followed by dedicatory inscriptions, which in their turn are followed by statue bases with honorific inscriptions. The Phrygianum on the Vatican hill reveals a series of dedications erected by members of one family among other monuments. The family dedications were installed by C. Caenonius Rufius Volusianus *signo* Lampadius, city prefect in 365, his son Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, two daughters, Sabina and Rufia Volusiana, with her husband, Petronius Apollodorus.³¹⁰⁹

First, Rufia Volusiana, *clarissima femina*, was a daughter of Rufius Volusianus and Caecinia Lolliana. She received the *taurobolium* and *criobolium* with her husband Petronius Apollodorus on June 16, 370. In that year she also dedicated together with her husband an altar to Rhea and Attis.³¹¹⁰ Second, another daughter of Rufius Volusianus, Sabina,³¹¹¹ is possibly to be identified with Sabina, *clarissima femina* in the mid or late fourth century, a wife of Iulius Naucellius, the owner of property near Spoletium, which she gave to her son Sabinus (*Epigr. Bob.* 3, 2).³¹¹² She also erected an altar to Attis and Rhea in the Phrygianum with a dedicatory inscription dated to 377.³¹¹³

The Phrygianum dedications by women list their initiations as well as priesthoods. Third, anonymous *clarissima femina*, *sacerdos maxima M(atris) d(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae)*, who received the *taurobolium* and *criobolium* for the second time (*taurobolio criobolioque repetito*) dedicated an

³¹⁰⁹ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*. PLRE 1, 975 Rufia Volusiana.

³¹¹⁰ CIL 6 509=IG XIV 1018=CCCA-03 236.

³¹¹¹ PLRE 1, 788 Sabina 2.

³¹¹² PLRE 1, 788 Sabina 3.

³¹¹³ CIL 6 30966=IG XIV 1019.

altar on April 5, 383.³¹¹⁴ It means that the previous one took place in 363, twenty years earlier. She was possibly the wife of Q. Clodius Flavianus, *vir clarissimus* and holder of various Roman priesthoods, who received the *taurobolium* on the same day.³¹¹⁵ However, she is not named as his wife in the inscription, but appears independently from the dedication of her husband. From the dedication of two separate altars by a single married couple one can deduce a particular piety of *clarissima femina*, but also her corresponding wealth. Thus, the election of a female aristocrat to the position of chief priestess of the Magna Mater was always associated with the hope that she would equip the sanctuary with generous donations. On the current evidence, she is the last priestess of Magna Mater. The last two *taurobolia* took place on May 23, 390.³¹¹⁶

The Phrygianum under the Vatican basilica of St Peter's was a shrine to Magna Mater and Attis with most of the dedications inscribed on votive altars, claiming explicit and intimate bonds with these gods. Yet, more than private religious allegiances in a private space, some of the Phrygianum's dedications list regular cursuses. Both Caecinia Lolliana and C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus *signo* Lampadius, with their titles, are boastfully named by their son Volusianus junior, who, however, lists only a single of his own offices in 390.

Next, *clarissima femina* Caecinia Lolliana lived in the mid to late fourth century.³¹¹⁷ She was one of the heirs of Postumianus (Symm. *Rel.* 30.1), and was possibly his daughter. She became the wife of C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus *signo* Lampadius and mother of four sons, among whom Ceionius Rufius Volusianus. A dedicatory inscription, testifying to her property ownership in Africa Proconsularis, reads, 'In this property of Rufius Volusianus, a man of *clarissimus* rank, Caecinia Lolliana, a woman of *clarissimus* rank, with their four sons, men of *clarissimus* rank, *procurator* Thiasus set [this] up'.³¹¹⁸ Rufius Volusianus, in whose land property *procurator* constructed a building, either some mausoleum or some sanctuary, belonged to a famous senatorial family of Rome. The building inscription is close in its sounding to a funerary dedication.³¹¹⁹

A now lost altar to Magna Mater and Attis of May 23, 390,³¹²⁰ recording Caecinia Lolliana as priestess, *deae Isidis sacerdos*, and her spouse, was dedicated by her son, Ceionius Rufius Volusianus on the occasion of his *taurobolium* a second time, twenty years after the first. Then, perhaps his sister Rufia Volusiana received the *taurobolium* at the same time.³¹²¹ Disselkamp points

³¹¹⁴ *CIL* 6 502=*ILS* 4150.

³¹¹⁵ *CIL* 6 501=*ILS* 4149.

³¹¹⁶ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 23-24 (pagan).

³¹¹⁷ *PLRE* 1, 511 Caecinia Lolliana.

³¹¹⁸ *CIL* 8 25990=*ILS* 6025 (Thugga (Africa Proconsularis)). André Chastagnol, "La famille de Caecinia Lolliana grande dame païenne du IV^e siècle après J.-C.," *Latomus* 20 (1961): 746.

³¹¹⁹ Similar Latin dedicatory building inscriptions from North Africa that also have a funerary 'flavor': *CIL* 8 21531=9725=*ILS* 6021 and *AE* 1955, 140.

³¹²⁰ *CIL* 6 512=*ILS* 4154=*CCCA*-03, 244. Silvia Orlandi, ed., *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio. Libri delle iscrizioni latine e greche (Napoli, Volume 7)* (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2008), 54-55 with drawings.

³¹²¹ *PLRE* 1, 976 Ceionius Rufius Volusianus 3.

out that Caecina Lollina is one of the last two known recipients of the *taurobolium*, but the altar inscription clearly commemorates the ritual undergone by her son.³¹²² Volusianus junior takes up more than half of his dedication to boast his parents' titles and offices. The altar itself was a fine monument completely covered with reliefs. While the front of the altar was occupied by the dedicatory inscription, the right side featured a bull and a tree, the left side depicted a ram and a tree, and the back side had torches, two jugs, a *patera* and a *lituus*. The relief on the top of the altar also included animals, with rams being sacrificed.

The Phrygianum was thereby filled with dedications of Volusianus Lampadius' family and specifically women. Furthermore, the epitaph of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus *signo* Kamenius dated to September 4, 385, when he died aged forty-two, provides his cursus and the list of priesthoods.³¹²³ He added two more Roman priesthoods since his Phrygianum dedication (19 July 374), which catalogs only priesthoods.³¹²⁴ Kamenius' funerary monument found in what must have been a family villa at Antium begins with a ten-line poem proclaiming how he had equaled the achievements and virtues of his father, grandfathers, and forefathers, an ornament to his family and the senate, cut off too soon, deeply lamented by his wife and children (*te dulcis coniunx lacrimis noctesque diesque cum parvis deflet*). Nothing more, however, is said about his unnamed spouse, left widow with young children, or her participation in the initiations. Kamenius is possibly related to Caeionius Camenius and Caeionia Fusciana,³¹²⁵ who as Christians were doubtless a later generation, perhaps his children.

Of another senatorial couple, Fabia Aconia Paulina, *clarissima femina*, a wife of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, is recorded as *sacrata apud Aeginam Hecatae, tauroboliata, hierophantia* on the funerary altar from Rome in the mid to late fourth century (fig. 68).³¹²⁶ The senatorial aristocracy of Rome put an effort to preserve the state priesthoods, not merely because of its conservatism, which underlined its religious activity, as Cameron states, but also because of the status concern. Priestly titles were not just ones in sequence of the titles and offices in the cursus. They were partly substitutes for the high imperial offices, access to which was considerably limited and competition for which became more intense. Moreover, the 370-90 series of dedications by the circle of Volusianus Lampadius include Sabina and Paulina, both hierophants of Hecate as well as *tauroboliatae* equal to their male counterparts.

These dedications were therefore not entirely private, because they were not entirely inaccessible to the public, which was not the case of the initiations memorialized. One Mithraeum

³¹²² Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 33-34 (pagan).

³¹²³ *ILS* 1264=EDR164602 (Antium (Latium et Campania)).

³¹²⁴ *AE* 1953, 238.

³¹²⁵ *CIL* 6 21787=*ILS* 8533=*ILCV* 96a (Coem. Priscillae). Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 100 (probably Christian). *PLRE* 1, 376 Caeionia Fusciana.

³¹²⁶ *CIL* 6 1779=*ILS* 1259. *PLRE* 1, 675 Fabia Aconia Paulina 4.

at Rome was dominated by at least three generations of one family, the Olympii, located somewhere on their property.³¹²⁷ Paulina, is called as Isiaca in her own honorific inscription,³¹²⁸ but not on her husband's funerary monument.³¹²⁹ Their joint funerary dedication and her honorary statue show that Paulina was initiated into the Eleusinian (*apud Eleusinam*) and the Lernean mysteries (*apud Laernam*), and into the cults of Hecate (*sacrata apud Eginam Hecatae; hierophantia*), Magna Mater (*tauroboliata*), and Isis (*isiaca*), the most exclusive elite form of religious expression.

What about all these initiation cults? ³¹³⁰ Cameron concludes that the cults of this small group of late fourth-century aristocrats were nothing more than initiations by exclusive circles. The *taurobolium*, bull sacrifice for the benefit of one person, was shared by both male and female Phrygianum dedicants. Like Pretextatus, Paulina was initiated into the mysteries at Eleusis, but also into the mysteries of Hecate on Aegina and Dionysus and Demeter at Lerna, presumably during her husband's proconsulship of Achaea in 364, when he succeeded to exempt Eleusis from the recent prohibition of nocturnal sacrifice. Paulina is recorded as *tauroboliata*, an Eleusinian initiate, a hierophant of Hecate, and an initiate of Dionysus, but she highlights that she took part in the original mysteries of Hecate on Aegina and of Dionysus at Lerna, once-in-a-lifetime experiences. Cameron thereby suggests that Paulina and her husband had perhaps 'experienced the real thing rather than the ersatz mysteries now being celebrated in Rome'.³¹³¹

Thereafter, a dedicatory/building inscription comes from the ruins of ancient Henchir Fegousia in modern Algeria,³¹³² where several paleographically similar inscribed architectural blocks were found. Two fragments of a lintel contain two incomplete texts engraved on its opposite sides and dated to the late fourth century.³¹³³ The first text is a dedicatory verse inscription in hexameters. The second inscription mentions the property of [A]mpelius and [Ma]ximilla,³¹³⁴ senatorial landholders, on the site formerly called Henchir Fegousia in Numidia. The inscription records the construction and dedication of a building located in a *praetorium* belonging to Ampelius and his wife Maximilla. The word *praetorium* has a very broad meaning and can refer to all kinds of public buildings. Both landowners belonged to the senatorial order and perhaps resided in the

³¹²⁷ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*.

³¹²⁸ *CIL* 6 1780=*ILS* 1260=*LSA*-1474.

³¹²⁹ *ILS* 1259. For Paulina's titles, *ILS* 1259-61.

³¹³⁰ One of the earliest dedications dated to 319 commemorates a *taurobolium* of a woman of equestrian rank (*honesta femina*) called Serapis, *sacrata [deum] Matris et Proserpinae*, with Fl. Antonius Eustochius, *sacerdos Phryx maximus*, that is probably priest of Cybele at Rome, who according to the inscription, administered the *taurobolium* and *criobolium*, *CIL* 6 508=*ILS* 4146=*CCCA*-03, 235. Joan Carbonell Manils, "Inscripciones inéditas del Phrygianum y de las necrópolis vaticanas (Girona, Arxiu de la Catedral, ms. 69 de pere Miquel Carbonell)," *ZPE* 194 (2015): 261, no. 2.

³¹³¹ Cameron, *The Last Pagans*, 138-39.

³¹³² *AE* 2001, 2087: ((Hr Fegousia) Numidia Militiana). Pierre Morizot and Xavier Dupuis, "Moenia quisque facit famae eternae studet ille. La dédicace versifiée des praedia d'un clarissime à Henchir Fegousia (Numidie méridionale)," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 145.2 (2001): 893-917, figs. 9 and 12.

³¹³³ Mastino and Ibba "I senatori africani: Aggiornamenti," 366.

³¹³⁴ No *PLRE* entry.

villa. For Ampelius an identification was proposed with Publius Ampelius of Antioch, proconsul of Africa in 364 or with *clarissimus* Ampelius whose lands in Sardinia are mentioned by Symmachus.³¹³⁵ For Maximilla a connection with the Maximi who had a tomb in the nearby plain of Kessour is proposed.³¹³⁶ The creed of the land aristocracy is most clearly expressed in the fourth-century building inscription from Souk el Arba du Bargou in modern Tunisia, which – attached by the male and female members (*clarissima femina* and *puella*) of the senatorial family as a plaque on a warehouse – reads, ‘To preserve the property given by the parents is a matter of luck, but to enlarge it is a matter of virtue’.³¹³⁷ Reading these documents, it is clear that these great aristocrats seem to have been especially concerned about maintaining the traditional way of life and values in an apparent indifference to religious change and conflict in the region with the rivaling Christian communities.

Dedications were made in fulfilment of a vow. The dedicant who redeemed the vow, *clarissima puella* Iunia Cyriaca was a daughter of Aurelius Symphorus and Iunia Affiane.³¹³⁸ The authors of *PLRE* conclude from the building inscription that her father restored some baths at Rome. It, however, does not appear from the partly destroyed inscription dated to the late third or early fourth century. According to the text, Iunia Cyriaca rebuilt the aforementioned baths *ob votum parentum*. The predicates ‘*instruc(serunt)*’ and ‘*rest(itue)runt*’ used in plural point to a group of founders. Since they acted jointly ‘*ob votum parentum*’, they should be considered brothers and sisters. Evidently, Iunia Cyriaca and her siblings had a considerable fortune, presumably inherited from their parents. It is not known which public baths were concerned. Since there are no indications to the contrary, Disselkamp assumes in case of Cyriaca, as for many others, that she belonged to paganism due to the early dating of the inscription,³¹³⁹ but this methodology is flawed.

The issue how and on what grounds certain individuals are tagged as ‘pagan’ and as such fed into the statistical machinery/calculation of the dominant scholarly narrative, shows the fundamental workings of this analytical lens and challenges wider methodologies underlying the statistical approach to the ‘Christianization’ of late antique aristocracy. Two vast subjects – complex religious identities in fourth-century empire and scholarly discourses on the ‘Christianization’ of late antique senatorial elite, and senatorial women, in particular, – seen through the focused lens of epigraphy-based case-studies have conceptually relied on the idea of neat divisions between the central categories of religious identity – Christians and ‘pagans’ – and, methodologically, on constructing sweeping narratives of landslide shifts in religious affiliations.

³¹³⁵ *PLRE* 1, 56 Ampelius 1.

³¹³⁶ *CIL* 8 2518 (El Kessour (Numidia)).

³¹³⁷ *IL Afr.* 207=AE 1909, 14 (Souk el Arba (Africa Proconsularis)).

³¹³⁸ *CIL* 6 29706=ILS 5719. Silvia Orlandi has kindly pointed out to me that this inscription is perhaps not from Rome, but comes from an unknown town in Latium where the Albani family had some properties. *PLRE* 1, 26 Iunia Affiane; 237 Iunia Cyriaca 2; 871 Aurelius Symphorus.

³¹³⁹ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 30 (pagan).

However, when the available evidence is far from conclusive the religious identity should be at best treated as unsure and retain a fundamental uncertainty and a fade-in-out quality.

Furthermore, recent studies on women's influence in the Christianization of the aristocracy in late antiquity are often immersed in statistical approaches. The topic of the women's role in aristocratic conversions was addressed by Brown already in 1961, when he published his short but influential article on the Christianization of the Roman aristocracy, arguing for women's influence.³¹⁴⁰ After that, largely prosopographical investigation of Barnes showed that the process of 'Christianization' has been significant much earlier in the century than Brown and many after him assumed.³¹⁴¹ Further, Cooper demonstrated that the insinuations of womanly influence is a topos in the late Roman sources, which should not necessarily be read as reflecting accurately the agency of women in Christianization.³¹⁴² Then, Salzman reviewed the role of women in upper-class conversion chiefly again through prosopographical studies but also as a result of reassessment of the rhetorical character and implicit strategies of the most important texts.³¹⁴³ However, Mathisen has challenged the basis for her quantitative methodologies and again suggested that although women's influence with regard to the conversions was administered subtly, it had great effect on the religious choice.³¹⁴⁴

2. Christian

Jerome's letter of 400 records Paula singing Alleluia while *pontifex* Publius Caecilius Caecina Albinus listening fondly to his Christian granddaughter (*Ep.* 107.1).³¹⁴⁵ Apart from the Caecilian women, so Prudentius' poem too, listing noble houses to convert to Christianity, distinguishes the Anicii (*CS* 1.551-7). Jerome corresponded with a rich woman called Furia, who married the eldest son of Anicia Faltonia Proba and Petronius Probus (*Ep.* 54.14).³¹⁴⁶ Christian senatorial benefactions aided to construct and embellish churches, and the *gens Anicia*, one of the senatorial dynasties known for cultivating a close relationship with the imperial family, was especially keen. Their involvement in the Roman church of the fourth century was profound, and they are attested as having made numerous gifts of buildings, sculptures, and mosaics to the churches of the capital during the age of tolerance and beautification inaugurated by Constantine.

³¹⁴⁰ Brown, "Aspects of the Christianization," 1–11.

³¹⁴¹ Barnes, "Statistics and the Conversion," 135–47.

³¹⁴² Cooper, "Insinuations of Womanly Influence," 150–64. On women in late antiquity, see Antti Arjava, *Women and the Law in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Susanna Elm, *'Virgins of God': The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Gillian Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Judith Evans Grubbs, *Law and Family in Late Antiquity: The Emperor Constantine's Marriage Legislation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

³¹⁴³ Salzman, "Aristocratic Women," 207–20; eadem, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy*.

³¹⁴⁴ Mathisen, "The Christianization of the Late Roman Senatorial Order," 257–78; idem, "The Christianization of the Late Roman Aristocracy bis: A Response to Michele Salzman's 'Rejoinder' to Ralph Mathisen's Review Article," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*. 1.14(1/2) (2007): 233–47.

³¹⁴⁵ *PLRE* 1, 675 Paula 2.

³¹⁴⁶ *PLRE* 1, 375–76 Furia.

Among their benefactions was a baptistery for the fourth-century basilica of St Peter in Rome. Some contemporaries suspected, however, that their highly visible role as patrons of Roman Christianity was a matter of social climbing. The cultural patrons of fourth-century culture may have had mixed motives, however, and followed different models for elite female appropriation of sanctity. While Faltonia Betitia Proba was a Christian version of the old Roman *materfamilias*, and advocate of fertility and family values, Olympias was an advocate for the cult of virginity.³¹⁴⁷

Christian elite females share one form of public communication with their male counterparts: aristocratic women and men alike commissioned monuments and images. As a part of the commemoration strategies of powerful families, the financial capital of the aristocrats was invested into the extensive construction and decoration of churches.³¹⁴⁸ Thus, Anastasia, *clarissima femina*, and her husband commissioned a pavement mosaic in St Peter's in 366-84.³¹⁴⁹ They fully funded the work (*sumptu proprio*) for the *splendor* of the basilica. Now, in the justification of the public constructions in the late antique inscriptions from Rome dominated an idea that these buildings contribute to the *splendor* of the city. The *splendor* was considered to be a proper feature of the monuments themselves and appears for the first time as a concept characterizing the buildings in the reign of Constantine, although the provinces saw it clearly already before the fourth century.³¹⁵⁰ Curiously, similar vocabulary was used to characterize a senatorial matrona, whom the aristocracy's social self-image afforded a key role. She was the 'ornament' of the family, part of the *senatorum splendor*.

The language used by the mosaic inscriptions thereby linked text to the material of mosaic and enabled aristocratic patrons to make complex statements not only about their religious affiliation and cultural erudition, but also about their high-level status. After 384, Gallus, son of Anastasia, equally commissioned a mosaic in St Peter's.³¹⁵¹ He dedicated a poem in two elegiac couplets – the inscription that is now lost. In 391, Flavius Anastasius, *vir clarissimus, tribunus praetorianus*, was in charge of a column dedication in St Peter's.³¹⁵² Thus, Christian building and

³¹⁴⁷ Kate Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996). *PLRE* 1, 732 Faltonia Betitia Proba 2.

³¹⁴⁸ In 393/94 Ambrose of Milan preached a sermon *Exhort. virg.* 10-12 (*PL* 16, 339-40) in Florence, which referred to the relics of Agricola and Vitalis, martyrs of Bologna, being used to consecrate a church in Florence. A pious wealthy widow, Juliana (no *PLRE* entry), had a church built in her city, in Florence (perhaps the *basilica Ambrosiana* mentioned by Paulinus; the Basilica of St Lawrence) and, during the dedication ceremony in March 394, Ambrose praised the 'holy widow' in her presence, and that of her children. The sermon is given as part of a service with two purposes: the dedication of the church using the relics of martyrs, and the dedication of Juliana's daughter to virginity (hence the focus on virginity of most of the sermon). It is not explicitly attested whether she was of senatorial rank, yet she certainly must have been rich enough to afford the construction of a basilica. See Frances Murray, *Cult of Saints*, E05209 - <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E05209>

³¹⁴⁹ *CIL* 6 41331a=*ICUR* 2 4097 (Basilica S. Petri apostoli, baptisterium). Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 54-56 (Christian; early fifth century). *PLRE* 2, 76 Anastasia 1.

³¹⁵⁰ Behrwald, *Die Stadt als Museum*, 54.

³¹⁵¹ *CIL* 6 41336a=*ICUR* 2 4122=*ILCV* 1759 (Basilica S. Petri apostoli). Gallus is perhaps Rufius Viventius Gallus, *PLRE* 2 Gallus 3.

³¹⁵² *AE* 1959, 64=*ILCV* 1857c=*ICUR* II 4778c=*AE* 2000, 187.

votive inscriptions, although differing little in their formulas and structure from pagan ones, limited themselves to listing the highest office or offices of the aristocrat, which he held at the moment of the dedication or had held recently before it.³¹⁵³ F. Chausson points out to the extreme rarity of the name Anastasius/-a among the fourth-century elite and proposes to see in Flavius Anastasius a possible brother of the *Gallus Anastasiae natus*, who at the end of the fourth century had seen accomplished building works in the basilica of St Peter, and who could be a descendant of Cesar Gallus.³¹⁵⁴

Fourth-century Christian mosaic inscriptions commemorating senatorial patronage have been found across the later Roman Empire. Christian patronesses erected and adorned churches and chapels in cities across the Mediterranean, decorating the apses, walls and floors of many of these structures with marbles and mosaics. Apart from the religious beliefs of newly-Christian benefactresses and benefactors, mosaics functioned as images in Christian spaces meant to be read in their physical spaces against the backdrop of classical traditions. Thus, a mosaic dedication honoring the aristocratic woman comes from Celeia, the capital of Noricum Mediterraneum in the diocese of Illyricum. Amantia was a wife of Marcellinus, *vir clarissimus*, and probably a *clarissima femina* herself, possibly in the fourth century.³¹⁵⁵ She was perhaps related to Amantius, consul in 345. Together with her husband she dedicated a now lost building inscription on the floor mosaic in the central aisle of a basilica at Celeia in Noricum.

Aristocratic donations were specifically addressed to fund commemorative structures. Thus, Turrentia Honorata together with her children and husband made an homage to martyrs.³¹⁵⁶ *Clarissima femina*, she was the wife of Anicius Auchenius Bassus, ‘*restitutor generis Aniciorum*’, city prefect in 382-83.³¹⁵⁷ Turrentia Honorata perhaps descended from Turrentius Honoratus, a Christian. Honoratus was the husband of Aurelia Iovina whom he buried at the cemetery at Concordia after ten years in marriage, as recorded in the early fifth-century epitaph on the sarcophagus with Christian symbols.³¹⁵⁸ Turrentia Honorata had several children, two of whom were presumably Anicius Auchenius Bassus, consul of 408, and Tyrrania Anicia Iuliana.³¹⁵⁹ Thus, Olybrius’ wife has been identified as a daughter of Anicius Auchenius Bassus and Turrentia Honorata. Yet, as Cameron points out, since the name Turranius was not uncommon in the early

³¹⁵³ Niquet, *Monumenta*, 184.

³¹⁵⁴ Chausson, “Une soeur de Constantin: Anastasia,” 146-48.

³¹⁵⁵ *CIL* 3 14368(19)=*ILCV* 152a (Celeia (Noricum Mediterraneum)). *PLRE* 1, 50 Amantia: ‘*f(femina) eius*’.

³¹⁵⁶ Rita Lizzi Testa, *Le trasformazioni delle élites in età tardoantica: atti del convegno internazionale, Perugia, 15-16 marzo 2004* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2006), 105. *PLRE* 1, 437 Turrentia Honorata 3.

³¹⁵⁷ Cameron, “Anician myths,” 142; Bassus may have been adopted into the gens Anicia, the male line being extinct.

³¹⁵⁸ *CIL* 5 8772=*ILCV* 816b (Concordia Sagittaria (Venetia)). Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen*, 286.

³¹⁵⁹ *PLRE* 1, 468 Tyrrania Anicia Iuliana 3.

fourth century, and Bassus himself was born c. 355, how could the consul of 379 marry the daughter of an urban prefect of 382, even when assuming a teenage bride.³¹⁶⁰

At any rate, Turennia Honorata and Anicius Auchenius Bassus, as well as their children, who were ‘devoted to God and the holy men and women (*sanctis*)’,³¹⁶¹ erected an inscription with Christian symbols to commemorate, according to Boin, a joint act of benefaction, although the inscription does not specify what exactly they donated (fig. 69).³¹⁶² Bassus is known to have bestowed other urban gifts and received some public recognition in cities from Naples to Beneventum. This inscription found near the Ostian church of S. Aurea records a late fourth-century commemoration made by Turennia Honorata and her husband as patrons. However, the only tangible indication of fifth-century cult activity in the area is an inscribed column, reused in a later building that records the name ‘S[ancta] Aur[ea]’, although most recent investigation may be leading towards confirmation of the basilica in this area.³¹⁶³ In the account (from 384) of Damasus’ attempt to eliminate the bishop of the Luciferians, Ephesius, as a heretic by judicial inquiry before *praefectus urbi* Bassus, his long-standing affiliation with the Catholic faith is awaited as a prominent prefect’s mark.³¹⁶⁴ The inscription with the christogram emphasizes not only Bassus’ devotion to god and the saints, but also of his wife and children. However, the preserved late fourth-century *tabula* decorated with the Greek cross comes rather from the sepulchral monument.³¹⁶⁵

Holy Land pilgrimage equally gave rise to the senatorial religious foundations. In this way aristocratic women who had boundless resources at their disposal publicly communicated their memories of Helena through mimesis and monuments’ commissions. The first Latin monastic foundations in Palestine date back to Melania, Paula, and Melania the younger.³¹⁶⁶ Thus, Melania 1 founded a monastery in 378 in Jerusalem, in which lived fifty nuns. After twenty-seven years of life in Jerusalem she returned to Nola in 400, and brought a relic of the True Cross for Paulinus of Nola, which she had received from the bishop of Jerusalem Johannes II.³¹⁶⁷ In turn, Paula left Rome in 385 and traveled to Bethlehem, where she founded a pilgrims’ hostel, three women’s monasteries and a men’s monastery in 389 (Jer. *Ep.* 108.14.20).³¹⁶⁸ Also, the wealthy widow Fabiola from the *gens Fabia* made donations not only in Rome, but also in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, where she

³¹⁶⁰ Cameron, “Anician myths,” 138 n.23.

³¹⁶¹ *CIL* 14 1875=*ILS* 1292=*ILCV* 91 (Ostia). Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 69-70 (both Christian).

³¹⁶² Douglas Boin, *Ostia in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 79.

³¹⁶³ Douglas Boin, “Late Antique Ostia and a Campaign for Pious Tourism: Epitaphs for Bishop Cyriacus and Monica, Mother of Augustine,” *JRS* 100 (2010): 201, n.21-22.

³¹⁶⁴ *Coll. Avell.* 2,85. Prud., *Contra Symm.*, I v. 551 and 558. Von Haehling, *Die Religionszugehörigkeit*, 388-89.

³¹⁶⁵ Di Stefano Manzella, *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano*, 271, no. 3.5.6; Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 69; Winfried Schmitz, “Die spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Grabinschriften in Köln (4.–7. Jahrhundert n. Chr.),” *Kölner Jahrbuch* 28 (1995): 665 n.8.

³¹⁶⁶ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 186. *PLRE* 1, 674-75 Paula 1; 592-93 Melania 1 (the elder); 593 Melania 2 (the younger).

³¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 81-82 (Christian).

³¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 85-85 (Christian). *PLRE* 1, 674-75 Paula 1.

spent some time.³¹⁶⁹ After returning to Rome, Fabiola, who died in 399, embarked on a joint project to build a *xenodochium* in Portus, together with the wealthy nobleman Pammachius (Jer. *Ep.* 77). Thereby, memories of Helena were evoked to buttress family continuity, on the one hand, and the appropriation of sanctity by elite women, on the other.³¹⁷⁰

Church building activity is also witnessed far on the frontiers of the empire. A dedicatory inscription from Syrian Anasartha records Mavia, who built a shrine of St Thomas in 426:³¹⁷¹ ‘Mavia, of female nature, [admirable (?)] glory (and) [pride (?)] of prudence, [and of piety (?)], and of wifely affection, built [this] martyr shrine of the holy Thomas. In the times of the 10th indiction, the [year] 737’ (of the Seleucid era).³¹⁷² A fragmentary stone lintel with the inscription broken on both sides is said to have been found in a church outside the city walls. The location of the *martyrium extra muros* erected by Mavia is noteworthy. The inscription commemorates the construction of the martyr shrine of ‘the holy Thomas’, and the saint can only be the apostle Thomas, whose relics were kept in nearby Edessa. The cult of St Thomas was widespread in northern Syria and the apostle had the *martyrium* dedicated to him at Edessa, as mentioned by Socrates and Sozomen, and visited by Egeria late in the fourth century. I. Shahîd points out that the rulers of Edessa, an Arab dynasty, the Abgarids, venerated Thomas, and perhaps also the Tanukhid Arabs, considered him as their specific patron saint.³¹⁷³ The transition of his relics to Edessa in 394 would only have added an impetus to the cult of St Thomas in the region.³¹⁷⁴

Furthermore, the main interest in the inscription, however, lies in determining the identity of the Arab lady. The first editor of the text, R. Mouterde, argued that she must have been related to Queen Mavia and suggested she was her granddaughter born of the marriage of Mavia’s daughter to Victor, the proposal adopted by the authors of the *PLRE*.³¹⁷⁵ If the dedicant had been the daughter

³¹⁶⁹ Edward David Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312-460* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 191; Carlos Machado, “Roman Aristocrats and the Christianization of Rome,” in Lizzi Testa and Peter Brown, *Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, 493-94. *PLRE* 1, 323 Fabiola.

³¹⁷⁰ Leslie Brubaker, “Memories of Helena: patterns in imperial female patronage in the fourth and fifth centuries,” in *Women, Men and Eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London: Routledge 1997), 63. *PLRE* 1 593 Melania 2 (the younger), together with Albina and Pinianus, went to Palestine in 417 and also built a monastery there. They furnished the churches and monasteries of all provinces with altar decorations, precious robes, church equipment and other consecrated offerings (*Vit. Mel.* Gr. 19). See, Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 82-83 (Christian).

³¹⁷¹ The date is computed according to the Seleucid era, which corresponds to 425/426. The 10th indiction year allows for the narrowing of the date to 23-30 September 426. Denis Feissel, “Les matryria d’Anasartha,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 14 (2002): 201-220. *PLRE* 1, 569 Mavia; *PLRE* 2, 736 Mavia.

³¹⁷² *SEG* 39 1569=AE 1947, 193 (Anasartha (Syria)). Feissel, “Les matryria d’Anasartha,” 206.

³¹⁷³ Ifan Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), 222-27, hypothesizes that the veneration of St Thomas by the Tanukhid Arabs, dwelling near Anasartha, in the area where the Tanukhid *foederati* were settled, could suggest that St Thomas may have been their patron saint just as St Sergius was one for the Ghassanids/Jafnids in the sixth century. It reminds of Sergiopolis, outside the walls of which the Ghassanids erected a *martyrium* for St Sergius. The opinion that this is a local martyr, based mostly on the omission of the title ‘Apostle’ in the inscription, is rejected by Feissel, “Les matryria d’Anasartha,” 206.

³¹⁷⁴ Paweł Nowakowski, *Cult of Saints*, E01620 - <http://csa.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E01620>.

³¹⁷⁵ See also J. H. W. F. Liebeschuetz, *East and West in Late Antiquity. Invasion, Settlement, Ethnogenesis and Conflicts of Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 253, ‘a Saracen princess Mavia, probably a granddaughter of the famous Saracen queen of the same name, built a shrine of St Thomas’.

of Victor, she would have been a *clarissima femina*. This seems to be a possible identification based primarily on the date of the inscription. It is unlikely, on grounds of age alone, that Mavia lived on for five decades after the rebellion, and was alive in 426. The inscription was found outside the city limits of Anasartha in southern Syria, not far from the Euphrates, to the north of the fortifications of the city. The find-spot may suggest a connection, but the name Mavia was not unique. Shahid concedes that the name ‘Mavia’ is not uncommon, but states that it is restricted to some famous women among the Arabs in pre-Islamic time.

Mavia became queen of the Saraceni after her husband’s death and waged war successfully against Romans in Palestine and Phoenicia until c. 373/8, when she made peace, marrying her daughter to Victor and securing the consecration of the hermit Moses as bishop of her people. Victor, *magister equitum* in the East in 369-c. 379 and consul in 369, was a zealous Christian and rivaled to build a monastery himself in the suburb of Constantinople. However, the temptation to see this daughter, whose name is not known, in the Mavia in the inscription should be resisted.³¹⁷⁶

Shahid rightly points out that there is no evidence that Mavia had a granddaughter through marriage of her daughter to Victor or that the presumed daughter was named Mavia. He, however, considers that the editor is right in affirming the Mavian connection of the honorand. Moreover, he believes that the difficulty in entertaining an identification with the queen on chronological grounds is not insuperable, while the praises of Mavia recited in the inscription, when set against the aftermath of the second Arab revolt in the reign of Theodosius, could point to the identification of the dedicant as Mavia the rebel queen herself rather than her granddaughter. However, Shahid’s identification of the dedicant is unlikely given the date. It is highly doubtful that Mavia would have been still alive c. 50 years after the uprising to build the shrine as a woman advanced in years.

In addition to the indication that she was responsible for the construction of the *martyrium extra muros*, the inscription enumerates her virtues.³¹⁷⁷ Virtues praised in the dedication are *σωφροσύνη καὶ εὐσέβεια*. In the inscription she appears as a devout woman whose pious act was the erection of a church in honor of the apostle. Although the career of Mavia fully corroborates the epigraphic reference to her virtues, these were conventional ones, the kind that would be included in a commemorative inscription. However, one of her virtues, the last, *φιλανδρία*, is not so conventional. Mavia’s conjugal love brings to mind a record in the ecclesiastical accounts that she was widowed. The implication of her *φιλανδρία* is that she did not remarry and remained faithful in her love for her husband after his death. In Shahid’s opinion, the implication of the widowed state brings Mavia of the inscription very close to the widowed queen. It is in fact uncertain that the Mavia who is documented on the inscription of 426 had any connection with the queen. Feissel

³¹⁷⁶ Lenski, *Failure of Empire*, 206 with n. 295.

³¹⁷⁷ *AE* 1947, 193; *PLRE* 2 736. Feissel, “Les martyria d’Anasartha,” 205–209.

suggests a coincidence of names, and sees no arguments for any links of Mavia the dedicant with Mavia, who led the rebellion of the Nicene Tanukhid Arab tribes against the Arian emperor Valens. Fisher and Liebeschuetz questioned any links of Mavia's *martyrium* (and even Mavia herself) with nomadic Arabs. They state that the inscription attests only to the religious activity of a, probably Greek-speaking, woman bearing a name of Arabic origin, and says nothing about her possible office as phylarch.³¹⁷⁸

IV. Portraying women and marital ideal: honorific inscriptions

1. Honorands in Rome

Late Roman women rarely received public honors. First, most of the dedications coming from Rome bear familial character, blending public and private. The awarders of such statuary preferred to catalog the traditional virtues and good deeds of female honorands in the honorific inscription, adopting the standard vocabulary of praise from portrayals of women in literature and funeral epigraphy. Such language did not recognize the women with other terms more appropriate for their public stature and achievement. Second, women of senatorial descent holding religious office, like Vestals, continue to receive honorific statuary, restricted however to the Atrium Vestae in the Roman Forum. This public image is largely presented in terms of traditional values.

Furthermore, sculptural portraits themselves were increasingly replaced by paintings and mosaics, as well as by works in small formats. Frescos and mosaics, decorating churches, offered new possibilities for senatorial representation. However, sculpted portraits of non-imperial aristocratic women continued to be produced.³¹⁷⁹ Statuary dedications for women of senatorial rank were now limited to a closer family circle and the private house, however. Unfortunately, fourth-century female portrait heads and surviving statuary are all found out of archeological context. Besides, only a few standing statues remain: public statues of women now became rarity.

In the domestic context, honorific statuary for women often accompanied dedications for their husbands. Anicia Faltonia Proba, *clarissima femina*, a descendant of a distinguished family and wife of Sextus Petronius Probus, received a honorific statue in Rome in 395. A fragmentary plaque from the base for the statue of Proba, 'wife, daughter and mother of consuls', erected by two of her sons preserves the honorific inscription:³¹⁸⁰

Something similar to the consular robes of us brothers, the cloaks of honor, the third which they held, we present with this inscription; I, Probus, fulfill these duties towards my beloved mother, repaying with statues the gifts that she had given.

³¹⁷⁸ Greg Fisher, *Between Empires: Arabs, Romans, and Sasanians in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 105-107; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, "Nomads, phylarchs and settlement in Syria and Palestine," in *Settlements and Demography in the Near East in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Colloquium, Matera 27-29 October 2005*, eds. Ariel Lewin, Pietrina Pellegrini (Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2007), 144.

³¹⁷⁹ Kathrin Schade, "Women," in Smith and Ward-Perkins, *The Last Statues of Antiquity*, 249-58.

³¹⁸⁰ *CIL* 6 1754=LSA-1461.

To Anicia Faltonia Proba, an adornment of the Amnii, the Pincii and the Anicii, wife of a consul, daughter of a consul, mother of consuls. Anicius Probinus, of *clarissimus* rank, consul, and Anicius Probus, of *clarissimus* rank, quaestor (*quaestor candidatus*), sons overwhelmed by their mothers merits, dedicated [this] (trans. Machado).

The first four lines are in verse, in two elegiac distichs, and each line of inscription corresponds to a line of verse. Set apart, these are clearly distinguished from the dedicatory inscription, and carved side by side. The verses differ from the rest of the text not only in style and layout, but also in date, having been inscribed after Anicius Probus' elevation to consulship in 406.

Only the upper fragment of the marble base is extant, whose provenance is uncertain. A number of honorific statuary for Proba and her husband was set up by their children. The familial character of these dedications indicates that they must have come from a family villa or monument, possibly even from the family's mausoleum in the area of the basilica of St Peter.³¹⁸¹ What is more, Anicia Faltonia Proba composed the aforementioned Christian *carmen sepulcralis* inscribed in the episylum of the mausoleum of the Anicii sometime between 390 and 394.³¹⁸²

First, the statue was installed by Proba's sons, Anicius Probus and Anicius Probinus, when the latter became consul in 395. Second, the base was 're-dedicated' and the verse inscription added in 406, with the promotion to consulship of Anicius Probus. Moreover, this monument was part of a sequence of dedications carried out in that year by family members in name of Proba and her spouse, one of the most distinguished Roman aristocrats of the time.³¹⁸³ Thus, another marble statue of Anicia Faltonia Proba, 'mother of consuls', was erected by her son and daughter-in-law in Rome in 395.³¹⁸⁴

To Anicia Faltonia Proba, trustee of the ancient nobility, ornament of the Anician family, example of the preservation and teaching of chastity, descendant of consuls, mother of consuls. Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius, of *clarissimus* rank, consul ordinarius, and his wife of *clarissimus* rank Anicia Iuliana, most devoted children, dedicated [this] (trans. Machado).

Proba receives recognition for her personal and domestic virtues; the inscription praises her as the mother of consuls, which reflects on her conjugal devotion and social status. The inscription presents an image of a matron, in which her public role is limited to perpetuation the line of consuls within the family. The statue was dedicated by Proba's son, Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius and her daughter-in-law, Anicia Iuliana, when Olybrius was consul in 395. The provenance of the base is uncertain, but the character of this dedication is familial.

³¹⁸¹ Machado, "Building the Past," 511-12.

³¹⁸² *CIL* 6 1756b.

³¹⁸³ *CIL* 6 1752, 1753, 1755, 1756.

³¹⁸⁴ *CIL* 6 1755=*LSA*-1462.

Yet another now lost statue of Anicia Faltonia Proba, which is of uncertain provenance, was erected by her son and daughter-in-law in Rome in the same year: ‘To Anicia Faltonia, the most illustrious and most blessed, most chaste woman. Hermogenianus Olybrius, man of *clarissimus* rank, ordinary consul, and Anicia Iuliana, woman of *clarissimus* rank, gave [this] gift’.³¹⁸⁵ The language in these honorary inscriptions does not differ much from that found in the women’s epitaphs. They catalog the more traditional domestic virtues for which Proba is praised. The dedication bears a domestic character, which would be suitable for a family villa. The provenance of the base is uncertain and the base itself is no longer extant, but the private character of this dedication indicates that it may have come from a family place of the honorand.

Dedications to a female honorand and a patron are even rarer. Aforementioned Tyrrania Anicia Iuliana, *clarissima femina*, the wife of consul Olybrius, received an honorific statue in Rome erected by a client in 379:

To Tyrrania Anicia Iuliana, of *clarissimus* rank, wife of Quintus Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius, of *clarissimus* rank, governor (*consularis*) of Campania, governor (*proconsul*) of Africa, prefect of the City, praetorian prefect of Illyricum, praetorian prefect of Oriens, consul (*consul ordinarius*). Flavius Clodius Rufus, of *perfectissimus* rank, [set this up] to [Iuliana] his eternal patron (trans. Machado).³¹⁸⁶

This large marble base of the statue was reused, with the dedication carved over a previous erased inscription. It was found in the vicinity of S. Pietro in Vincoli on the Oppian hill. The statue honor was awarded to Tyrrania Anicia Iuliana, wife of consul Quintus Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius. Her patronage, which seemingly motivated her client to erect the inscription in the first place, is mentioned simply in two final words of the inscription (*patronae perpetuae*) only to be eclipsed by the catalog of public offices of her husband. The *cursus* Iuliana’s spouse listed in detail occupies most of the text, with the dedication scheduled for his consulship. Clearly, not only he, as much as Iuliana, was expected to take note of this devoted action, but the dedication to his wife itself exemplified the honor of Olybrius. The inscription merely states that she is the wife of a consul,³¹⁸⁷ defining her through her male counterpart. The statue was dedicated by Flavius Clodius Rufus, a client of Iuliana of equestrian rank (*vir perfectissimus*), who is otherwise unknown.

Compare the following inscription honoring a senatorial woman of Rome as priestess:³¹⁸⁸

³¹⁸⁵ *CIL* 6 1756a=*LSA*-1463.

³¹⁸⁶ *CIL* 6 1714=*ILS* 1271=*LSA*-1270. Disselkamp, Christiani senatus lumina, 74-75 (Christian). *PLRE* 1, 468 Tyrrania Anicia Iuliana 3.

³¹⁸⁷ See *CIL* 6 1519. Lucia Silia T[---], whose name is not wholly preserved, was equally the wife of a consul. The provenance of the marble *tabula*, now in Vatican museums, is unknown, and the inscription is of doubtful antiquity. *PLRE* 1 prefers the fourth century to the third-century dating.

³¹⁸⁸ *CIL* 6 1780=*ILS* 1260=*LSA*-1474.

To Fabia Aconia Paulina, of *clarissimus* rank, daughter of Aco Catullinus, of *clarissimus* rank, former prefect and consul ordinarius, wife of Vettius Praetextatus, of *clarissimus* rank, prefect and consul designate, initiated at Eleusis to the god Iacchus, Ceres and Cora, initiated at Laerna to the god Liber and Ceres and Cora, initiated in Aegina to the gods, tauroboliate, initiate of Isis, hierophant of the goddess Hecate, *graecosacranea* of the goddess Ceres (trans. Machado).

This lost inscription, probably from a base for a statue of Fabia Aconia Paulina, priestess and wife of Vettius Praetextatus, comes from Rome of the late fourth century. The dedication lists different priesthoods held by Paulina, as well as the initiations in which she participated.³¹⁸⁹ The inscription highlights the fact that they took place in Greece, most likely under the proconsulship of Achaia of her husband Vettius Agorius Praetextatus. Machado suggests that the strong pagan character of this inscription implies that it was originally installed in a domestic context, possibly one of the properties of Paulina's husband in Rome. The inscription must be dated after 384 since it records Praetextatus' position as consul designate at the time of his death, but probably earlier than the end of the fourth century, by which time Paulina would probably have been dead. *CIL* proposes the year 387 as the most likely date for the dedication,³¹⁹⁰ based on the possibility that this was simultaneous with another statue of Praetextatus of that year,³¹⁹¹ and, although this cannot be proved, it accords with the other contemporary examples of double statuary for spouses.

Other highly-placed priestesses were themselves honored by senatorial women. *Vestales*, the priestesses of Vesta in the state religion of Rome, kept receiving public statues until the late fourth century. Coelia Concordia, a *virgo Vestalis maxima*, received an honorific statue dedicated to her by Fabia Aconia Paulina, wife of Praetextatus, in Rome in 385.³¹⁹²

To Coelia Concordia, chief vestal virgin. Fabia Paulina, of *clarissimus* rank, took care of the making and setting up of this statue, on account of her outstanding purity and remarkable piety concerning divine reverence, and because she [Coelia] had previously arranged a statue to be dedicated to her [Fabia's] husband, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, of *clarissimus* rank, unique and deserving above all things, by the virgins and priests of her order (trans. Machado).

The Vestal virgins and their senatorial patronesses and patrons are documented by sculptures and inscriptions from the *atrium Vestae* at the foot of the Palatine in the Roman

³¹⁸⁹ Mommsen assumed that the last line was copied with a mistake, and that it should read '*hierophantiae deae Hecatae Graec[ae] (vel Graiae), consacraneae deae Cereris*' ('hierophant of the Greek goddess Hecate, initiated into the cult of Ceres'). See *CIL* 6 1780, with observations of Fritz Mithof and Heike Niquet in *CIL* 6, p. 4759.

³¹⁹⁰ *CIL* 6, p. 4760.

³¹⁹¹ *CIL* 6 1778.

³¹⁹² *CIL* 6 2145=*ILS* 1261=*LSA*-1510. Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 28-29 (pagan). *PLRE* 1, 218-19 Coelia Concordia.

Forum.³¹⁹³ However, the statue for Coelia Concordia was rather installed in Paulina's family's domus on the Esquiline, and not as a rule in the House of the Vestals. References to specific benefactions of this sort are rare, nevertheless. More often, the dedicatee's sanctity and religious scruples are listed as appropriate reason for the honor. Coelia Concordia is the latest known Vestal on the current evidence.

The headless statue of Coelia Concordia of large-grained white marble had probably its portrait head worked separately. An engraving and a drawing from the sixteenth century have made it possible to identify the headless statue as the one discovered at that time with its base in the Vigna Cesi at the 'Arco of S. Vito' near Sta. Maria Maggiore.³¹⁹⁴ Water pipes with the name of Vettius Agrarius Praetextatus, husband of the awarder, confirm that this was the site of family's *horti*.³¹⁹⁵

As for the iconography, the reused statue without its head depicts a woman dressed in a sleeved undergarment (*chiton*) and a heavy outer garment (*himation*) covering her legs. Its upper border is depicted across the waist in a loose roll of material. Notably, she has an attribute, a large circular medallion that once featured colored stones. It is placed between the breasts and hangs from a broad section of fabric that probably was part of a veil (*suffibulum*) which concealed the head and which was commonly worn by priestesses and priests, represented on high-imperial period statues of Vestal virgins. The head of the statue (re)used for Coelia Concordia equally appears to have had vittae, fillets, religious wear displayed by the aforementioned high-imperial statue of a Vestal. The ends of these fillets were discernable on the shoulders when the statue was discovered.³¹⁹⁶

The portrayed is standing with weight over her left leg. Both upper arms are lowered and rest alongside the body, while both forearms probably projected away from it. The right arm would have reached out in a religious gesture, likely holding a libation bowl (*patera*), and the left would have supported the end of the heavy *himation*. The traditional gesture of sacrifice, as well as the clothing, are appropriate for a portrait statue of the chief Vestal virgin.³¹⁹⁷

Fabia Aconia Paulina put this statue up, because Cloelia Concordia had erected a statue to her husband, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus. Coelia Concordia as chief Vestal virgin was responsible, as the inscription informs us, for the setting up of a statue, in 385, to Praetextatus, who died in late

³¹⁹³ Niquet, *Monumenta*, 189. Their statue honors with this closed sacred precinct evidently did not have the same degree of publicity as the senatorial monuments on the fora. The same is true for the limited circle of dedicants, which consisted mainly of priests and close family members.

³¹⁹⁴ *LSA*-1296 on the base *LSA* 1510.

³¹⁹⁵ *CIL* 15 7563. Note the absence of indications of senatorial status, like many proprietors of *fistulae aquariae* or the Vestal virgins. However, *PLRE* 1, 187 Attia Campanilla is known to be *clarissima femina* from a *fistula aquaria* perhaps from the third or fourth century, see *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, vol. 69 (Rome: Bretschneider, 1941), 191 no 28. Her name is preserved on the fragments of the water pipe found at Rome in what must have been the place of her domus, see, *LTUR* 2 39 (W. Eck). Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 27 considers her to be pagan on account of the early dating of the inscription and in the absence of Christian markers.

³¹⁹⁶ *LSA*-1296 (by J. Lenaghan).

³¹⁹⁷ See also *LSA*-777, *LSA*-839, *LSA*-1409, *LSA*-1472, and *LSA*-1473.

384.³¹⁹⁸ After his death Symmachus in a letter to his brother Flavianus discusses the process of the erection of the statue by the Vestals to Praetextatus in 385 (*Ep.* 2.36.2-3.). The statue, however, was adapted from a first or second-century monument.

Regarding gender and status, daughters of senators were part of the college of pontiffs as the Vestal virgins, a prestigious religious office in Rome. Vestal virgins thereby could belong to the *ordo senatorius*, even if they are not otherwise attested as senatorial. Another *virgo vestalis maxima*, Claudia received a statue in Rome in 364. It was installed as was a traditional practice in the *atrium Vestae*. The name of the chief Vestal honored was later erased from the inscription on the base for the statue (l.5) (fig. 22).³¹⁹⁹

On account of her chastity, purity, and admirable knowledge in ritual and religion, to ... chief Vestal virgin. The members of the pontifical college, of *clarissimus* rank, under the acting leadership of Macrinus Sossianus, of *clarissimus* rank, higher priest [set this up] (trans. Machado).

The dedication was carried out by the college of pontifices under the leadership of Macrinus Sossianus, a man of *clarissimus* rank. The inscription recording the dedication by the college of priests, highlights their social status as men of *clarissimus* rank. The base was found in the *atrium Vestae* in the Roman Forum in 1883, where it remains *in situ*. The date of the dedication, 9 June 364, is recorded on the side of the base.

A debate arose regarding the identity of the chief Vestal virgin to whom the statue was dedicated, as there are clear marks of erasure. The authors of *PLRE* suggest that she should be identified as the Vestal Claudia, whose conversion to Christianity is mentioned by the Christian poet Prudentius in the passage, which celebrates the adoption of the new religion by members of the Roman aristocracy (Prud., *Perist.* 2.527-8). Her ‘religious betrayal’ is taken to explain the *damnatio memoriae*,³²⁰⁰ as her name was erased from the honorific inscription certainly after she converted to Christianity, and the date of this dedication does not disprove such identification. It has been also attempted to identify her with Christian Claudia, perhaps *clarissima femina*, buried near Rome.³²⁰¹ Her metric epitaph with chi-rho (v. 1 in hexameter, vv.2-3 in elegiac couplet), which is preserved only in the manuscript, is recored to come from *ager Veranus* and pertaining to the coemeterium Cyriacae ad S. Laurentium.³²⁰²

³¹⁹⁸ LSA-1671.

³¹⁹⁹ CIL 6 32422=ILS 4938=LSA-1508. *PLRE* 1, 206 Claudia 4.

³²⁰⁰ Another Vestal virgin, Primigenia, was, as related by Symmachus, condemned by the college of *pontifices maiores* for immorality (*Ep.* 9.147, 148). Remarkably, Primigenia, who was found guilty of unchastity, is one of only two women named in Symmachus’ extensive correspondence (the other being an exemplary senatorial *matrona* Paulina).

³²⁰¹ ILCV 163 adn.

³²⁰² ICUR 7 18594=ILCV 163. *PLRE* 2, 298 Claudia 1 (fourth or sixth century). Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 60-61 (Christian; late fourth or early fifth century); Dresken-Weiland, “Tod und Jenseits,” 129-130, no. I.20.

Furthermore, family members feature prominently among the sponsors of the monuments for senatorial women set up in the domestic context. Above-mentioned Aemilia Andronice,³²⁰³ *clarissima et spectabilis femina*, received a honorific statue in Rome in the late fourth century. Disselkamp wrongly identifies the genre of the inscription as funeral.³²⁰⁴ The now lost statue base found on the slope of the Esquiline hill, near the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, once contained an inscription:

To Aemilia Andronice, of *clarissimus* and *spectabilis* rank, granddaughter of city prefect, daughter of count of Africa, daughter-in-law of count of the first order, *dux* of Isauria, wife of count of the sacred largesse³²⁰⁵

Aemilia Andronice was clearly a woman of high status, being the wife of the important palatine official and a relative of many high-level imperial functionaries from both civil and military bureaucracy. Her family is a good example of fourth-century transfers between East and West, that is, before the division of the empire.³²⁰⁶ While none of her male relatives can be identified, although the titles and offices recorded indicate a date at the end of the fourth rather than at the beginning of the fifth century, none of her female ancestors is even mentioned. With accent placed exclusively on the lineage of her male relatives shown up to the third generation, the honorific inscription for Andronice defines her as an offspring of the important office-holders glorified as a family, stressing at the same time the sense of the family values. The long litany of office titles ascribed to her grandfather, father, father-in-law, and husband, which fills all the space in the preserved part of the inscription, demonstrates the lofty position of the family with impeccable genealogy of the family's imperial office-holding. The dedication is dated more narrowly to the period between 370 and 384 on the basis of her *spectabilitate*, deriving from her husband's rank. The awarder is not recorded on the surviving fragment of the inscription, but the high-ranking ancestry paraded in the honorific text at its finest hints at a dedication by a family member.

However, late antique senatorial women were commonly honored with statues that accompanied those of their husbands. So, L. Baebia Sallustia Crescentilla, *clarissima femina* and wife of Lucius Crepereius Rogatus, received a honorific statue in Rome in the late third or the beginning of the fourth century: 'To Lucia Baebia Sallustia Crescentilla, of *clarissimus* rank, matron of old sanctity and most excellent and modest wife of Crepereius Rogatus, of *clarissimus* rank' (fig. 10).³²⁰⁷ The inscription records a dedication to Crescentilla, who is extolled for her

³²⁰³ *PLRE* 1, 64 Andronicene; *CIL* 6, p. 4731; Chastagnol, "Les femmes dans l'ordre senatorial," 27.

³²⁰⁴ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 99 (probably Christian), speculates about her religious affiliation solely on the grounds of the dating.

³²⁰⁵ *CIL* 6 1674=LSA-1391. For the drawing, see Orlandi, *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio*, 137.

³²⁰⁶ Chastagnol, "Les femmes dans l'ordre senatorial," 27 and Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 40.

³²⁰⁷ *CIL* 6 1398=ILS 1204=LSA-1322. *PLRE* 1, 231 L. Baebia Sallustia Crescentilla.

traditional moral qualities associated with married women. *Veteris sanctitatis matrona* not only labels Crescentilla as a pagan, but also highlights that she embodied the exemplary virtues of the Roman matrona of the republican time. The text portrays her as an exquisite and particularly chaste wife of L. Crepereius Rogatus, *pontifex Solis* and member of different religious associations (*septemvir* and *insignis lupercus*). Her family origin is not known. The cognomina of both may indicate, however, an African origin.³²⁰⁸

Furthermore, the statue was dedicated with the one, honoring the husband of Crescentilla (fig. 11).³²⁰⁹ The left side of both statue bases is decorated with urceus, while the right side with patera. The awarder of both statues is unknown. Lanciani stated that these bases were probably found during the excavation of the *mihtraeum* of the *vicus Patricius*, a structure that belonged to a private *domus*, but no record of their provenance is available.³²¹⁰ However, Rogatus was responsible for the building of an unspecified structure (*aedes*) mentioned in his inscription, which is taken to suggest that his base was originally inside or near it. Since only religious offices are mentioned, it is possible that the structure had a religious function. As the *terminus post quem* for a priest of the Sun god is the year 274, when the cult was instituted, Rogatus is probably to be dated between the last years of the third and the first half of the fourth century, and so is Crescentilla.

Statuary for the senatorial wives was equally placed by husbands themselves. In setting up these monuments to their spouses, the senatorial men were able to raise their own profiles by advertising their accomplishments, even though erected in the domestic space. Paterna (Eu)nomia, *clarissima femina*, received a bronze statue erected by her husband in Rome in the mid-fourth century (fig. 15): 'To Iulia Paterna Eunomia, a woman of *clarissima memoria*, an excellent wife and most beloved for her merits. Lucius Turcius Secundus Asterius, a man of *clarissimus* rank, presented [this] bronze statue'.³²¹¹ In l.1, the first name is uncertain. While *PLRE* proposes Aemilia, Mithoff points out that the space available requires a shorter name and suggests Iulia. She was perhaps the mother of Turcius Secundus, the husband of Proiecta. The statue was made of bronze, as the top of its marble base has marks of fittings for the feet of a bronze statue, including a dowel hole. The base was found in 1870 in Piazza San Marco, in front of the basilica of St Mark. Disselkamp speaks of the funeral inscription dedicated by Asterius in the mid or late fourth century,³²¹² but the genre is honorific, however. Yet it was found with a statue (fig. 8)³²¹³ dedicated to Lucius Turcius Secundus, from the *gens Turcii*, the husband of the honorand and the awarder of her statue, who was active in the middle of the fourth century. The statue thereby is dated to 340-60.

³²⁰⁸ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 29-30 (pagan).

³²⁰⁹ *CIL* 6 1397=LSA-1321.

³²¹⁰ Rodolfo Lanciani, "Miscellanea Topografica," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 19 (1891): 305-329 and 341.

³²¹¹ *CIL* 6 1773=LSA-1470. *PLRE* 1, 297 Paterna (Eu)nomia 2.

³²¹² Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 43-44 (probably pagan).

³²¹³ *CIL* 6 1772=LSA-1469.

Despite the rank predicate *clarissimae memoriae femina*, which signifies that she was dead by the time of the dedication as is often used in the funeral commemorations, the honorific inscription, albeit formulaic, bears a private character. This association, together with the character of the dedication, indicates that this was the site of the *domus* of Secundus on the Oppian hill.³²¹⁴ The monument for Secundus was dedicated by the *ordo* of Amiternum soon after the end of his term as *corrector* of Picenum and Flaminia. On this occasion also the woman's bronze statue was erected by her spouse beside his own one.³²¹⁵

Thereafter, a number of fourth-century non-imperial female portrait heads are preserved.³²¹⁶ None of them can be certainly identified with a senatorial woman, in view of the lack of inscriptions, apart from the re-used statue for Coelia Concordia dedicated by Fabia Aconia Paulina found near its accompanying inscribed base. The Capitoline bust could possibly portray a Vestal virgin as it has holes for an unusual head ornament (fig. 81),³²¹⁷ and the veiled portrait head of the woman set on a draped statue from Italy in the Villa Doria Pamphili follows a type favoured by the Vestals.³²¹⁸ Furthermore, the hairstyle of both is particular and individual. Female honorific imagery preserves its traditional elements: the aristocratic woman is dressed appropriately to her status. There was, however, no recognizable senatorial iconography in the portraiture of noble women, taking into account garments and hairstyles. In contrast to the image of the empress, portraits of private or non-imperial women remained conventional for longer periods.

Lastly, goddesses (fig. 65)³²¹⁹ and female personifications³²²⁰ continued to be honored by the public statue dedications in Rome and the other cities of the empire, although on a lesser scale. Statues for Diana, Minerva, and Victoria were possibly intended as a manifestation of traditional piety, but apart from religious implications, esthetic reasons for the dedication are not excluded. Female virtues personified (Wisdom, Generosity, Good Will) also received the honor of public statues. Furthermore, during the fourth century such statuary was restored or transferred from neglected places to more central locations within the city of Rome.³²²¹ However, like literary works commissioned and written by men, these most familiar patterns of religiosity and the matrix of values that such female images represented were exploited to structure male public discourse-through-monuments.

³²¹⁴ LTUR 2, 204-205 (F. Guidobaldi); Niquet, *Monumenta*, 28, 190.

³²¹⁵ Niquet, *Monumenta*, 190.

³²¹⁶ Kathrin Schade, *Frauen in der Spätantike, Status und Repräsentation: eine Untersuchung zur römischen und frühbyzantinischen Bildniskunst* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2003).

³²¹⁷ LSA-592 (J. Lenaghan) (late fourth century); Ensoli and La Rocca, *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, 576-7, no. 260 (M. Bergmann: 370-400).

³²¹⁸ LSA-2122 (J. Lenaghan) (fourth century).

³²¹⁹ See CIL 6 124=30700=LSA-1505; AE 1946, 108=110=LSA-2323; CIL 8 24584=LSA-2338; CIL 6 1775=41422=LSA-1471; CIL 6 526=1664=LSA-791.

³²²⁰ LSA-1595 and LSA-1596.

³²²¹ E.g. CIL 8 20965=LSA-2314.

2. Awarders in Rome

Late antique senatorial women of Rome also acted as statue co-dedicants. Thus, *clarissima femina* Caeionia Marina co-awarded an honorific statue to Munatius Plancus Paulinus in Rome perhaps in the mid-fourth century. The lost base for this posthumous statue of Paulinus, governor of Pannonia in the early first century, records a dedication by Crepereius Amantius, a descendant, with his wife: ‘To Munatius Plancus Paulinus, of *clarissimus* rank, governor of Pannonia for seventeen years. Crepereius Amantius, of *clarissimus* rank, and Caeonia Marina, of *clarissimus* rank, his wife, (set this up) to his ancestor.’³²²² The original findspot of this base is unknown.³²²³ Munatius Plancus Paulinus was consul in 13 and *praeses* of Pannonia under the rule of Tiberius from 26 to 37. Crepereius Amantius, his descendant, might be identified with Flavius Amantius, consul of 345. It is obviously a dedication by which the couple wanted to document the descent from Munatius Plancus Paulinus.³²²⁴ Morris assumes that Plancus was perhaps an ancestor of Caeionia Marina, who may have been related to Ceionii Rufii.³²²⁵

Another *clarissima femina*, Antonia Marcianilla, together with her husband, dedicated a statue of Quintus Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus, her father-in-law, consul, praetorian prefect and prefect of the city. A fragmentary plaque from the statue base dated to 355-56 preserves the honorific inscription:

(Statue) of Mavortius. To Fl(avius) Lollianus, of *clarissimus* rank, quaestor (*quaestor candidatus*), urban praetor, curator of the banks of the Tiber and large works and aqueducts, governor (*consularis*) of Campania, count inside the palace and judge representing the Emperor, count of the East and judge representing the Emperor, governor (*proconsul*) of the province of Africa and judge representing the Emperor, prefect of the City and judge representing the Emperor, count of the first order in the Palace for the second time, praetorian prefect, consul (*consul ordinarius*). Placidus Severus, of *clarissimus* rank, his son, to a most religious father, and Antonia Marcianilla, a woman of *clarissimus* rank, his daughter-in-law, to a most virtuous father-in-law (trans. Machado).³²²⁶

From the front of the partially lost marble base, broken in two, only the lower part survives. Both fragments of this inscription awarded by Lollianus’ son Placidus Severus with his wife Antonia Marcianilla were found on the Aventine hill. The lower part was discovered near the church of S. Alessio, while the exact findspot of the upper fragment is not indicated. The familial

³²²² CIL 6 1743=LSA-1445. PLRE 1, 559 Caeionia Marina 2.

³²²³ It was first recorded as in the Palazzo of Cardinal Crescenzi in the Campus Martius, next to the Pantheon, see Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae*, pl. 15.

³²²⁴ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 34-35 (pagan).

³²²⁵ John Morris, “Munatius Plancus Paulinus,” *Bonner Jahrbücher Band* 165 (1965): 88–96.

³²²⁶ CIL 6 1757=37112=ILS 1232=LSA-1426. PLRE 1, 553 Antonia Marcianilla.

character of this dedication suggests that it was installed in a domestic space.³²²⁷ Disselkamp wrongly considers the inscription to be funeral and names Antonia Marcianilla, together with her husband, as a commissioner of the tomb for her father-in-law.³²²⁸ Quintus Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus *signo* Mavortius made a long and fine career under Constantine and his dynasty. Since the honorific text refers to his consulship of 355 and his praetorian prefecture in 355-56, the latter must be the date for the dedication.

Yet another *clarissima femina*, Anicia Iuliana,³²²⁹ dedicated the statue of Anicia Faltonia Proba, her mother-in-law and ‘mother of consuls’ together with her husband, Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius, as ‘most devoted children’.³²³⁰ The statue was erected in Rome in 395, when Olybrius, the son of Faltonia Proba was consul. A lost base for the statue of Anicia Faltonia Proba from Rome records another dedication by her son and daughter-in-law of the same year.³²³¹

Another statue erected in Rome in 395 was one to Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus, consul and praetorian prefect (fig. 7). It was also dedicated and erected by his daughter-in-law, Anicia Iuliana, and his son Olybrius:

To Sextus Petronius Probus, summit of the house of the Anicii, governor (*proconsul*) of Africa, four times praetorian prefect of Italy, Illyricum, Africa and the Gauls, consul ordinarius, father of consuls. Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius, of *clarissimus* rank, *consul ordinarius*, and his wife of *clarissimus* rank Anicia Iuliana, most devoted children, dedicated [this statue] (trans. Machado).³²³²

The provenance of this marble statue base is uncertain. A number of dedications to Probus and his wife Proba were all dedicated by their son and daughter-in-law. Sextus Petronius Probus was praetorian prefect on four occasions and consul on one occasion. The date of his death is uncertain, but it probably happened in 388. The familial character of these dedications indicates that they must have come from a family house or burial.³²³³ Anicia Proba is recorded on the bronze tablet found in Tusculum and dated to the end of the fourth or to the beginning of the fifth century.³²³⁴ It is likely that the persons mentioned in the inscription are not consul of 371, Sextus

³²²⁷ *LTUR* 2, 132 (F. Guidobaldi)

³²²⁸ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 34 (pagan).

³²²⁹ *PLRE* 1, 468 Anicia Iuliana 2.

³²³⁰ *CIL* 6 1755=*LSA*-1462.

³²³¹ *CIL* 6 1756a=*LSA*-1463.

³²³² *CIL* 6 1753=*ILS* 1267=*LSA*-1460.

³²³³ Machado, “Buildign the Past,” 511-12. This dedication was part of a series of dedications carried out by members of the family in name of Probus and his wife Proba in that year: *LSA*-1459, *LSA*-1461, *LSA*-1462 and *LSA*-1463.

³²³⁴ *CIL* 14 4120,2=15 7157=*ILCV* 62. *PLRE* 1, 731-31 Anicia Proba 1 was more probably his sister than his wife. Compare *CIL* 15 7132=6 32033, although it could also refer to *PLRE* 1 732-33 Anicia Faltonia Proba 3. Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 89-90 (Christian); See the *tabula immunitatis*, *CIL* 6 32033.

Claudius Petronius Probus and his wife Anicia Faltonia Proba, but rather two of their children, Anicia Proba and Flavius Anicius Petronius Probus, consul of 406.³²³⁵

Apart from the co-dedications, monuments commissioned by Roman senatorial women could provide a fairly overt form of public discourse, even though it was not necessarily a ‘female’ discourse in any subversive sense. Thus, Fabia Aconia Paulina awarded a statue to Coelia Concordia, *virgo vestalis maxima* in Rome in 385.³²³⁶ First of all, Paulina, who ‘took care of the making and setting up’ of the statue, had spotlighted her own senatorial rank. The inscription records the dedication of a statue to a chief Vestal virgin, who was responsible for the setting up of the statue, dedicated to the husband of Fabia Paulina, awarder of the present statue. The phrasing of ll.11-16 seems to be a quotation of the dedicatory inscription to Praetextatus. Paulina’s dedication honored only the chief Vestal virgin, although Symmachus’ letter (2.36.2) suggests that the statue honor was decided by the vestals as a group. Machado finds it possible that the statue for Praetextatus was an initiative of Concordia, or that it was considered within her function to perform it, despite no precedent, or that Paulina merely chose the *Vestalis maxima* as a representative for the whole college.

Similarly, perhaps in the third or fourth century, *clarissima femina*, L[---]ia Aurelia Epiphania, whose name is only partly reconstructed on the fragmentary inscription, awarded a dedication to a Vestal virgin, whose name is lost.³²³⁷ The fragments of the statue base were found in the *atrium Vestae* in the Forum Romanum between 1883 and 1884. The honorand must have been a *Vestalis maxima*, a chief vestal virgin. Thus, Aurelia Epiphania dedicated an honorific statue to the Vestal, in gratitude for help and protection (*beneficiis eius iuta adque protecta*), in the traditional place. The nomen gentilicium could be completed as Laelia, Larcia or Luccia. Epiphania’s family origin is not mentioned. Obviously, it is an inscription of thanks to an unknown, friendly Vestal virgin, who helped Epiphania and protected her. This apparently close friendship with a Vestal virgin and the early dating of the inscription clearly indicate Epiphania’s pagan religious affiliation.³²³⁸

3. Women’s honorific inscriptions in provinces

Statues for senatorial women were still awarded by provincial cities, their institutions and officials. A number of statue bases survived originating from the Italian cities. A statue base of Fulvia Augurina, a woman of senatorial rank (*clarissima femina*), comes from the city of Formia in

³²³⁵ Domenico Vera, “Massa fundorum. Forme della grande proprietà e poteri della città in Italia fra Costantino e Gregorio Magno,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Antiquité* 111.2 (1999): 996.

³²³⁶ *CIL* 6 2145=*ILS* 1261=*LSA*-1510.

³²³⁷ *CIL* 6 32425=*AE* 1996, 177. Rüpke and Glock, *Fasti sacerdotum*, 667, Anonymus 39, restores the *pronomem* to Lucia and dates the dedication to the second half of the second century (‘vielleicht spätantonianisch-Severischer Zeit’). Yet the space available requires a longer name. *PIR*² A 1651, on the awarder. *PLRE* 1, 280 L...ia Aurelia Epiphania.

³²³⁸ Disselkamp, *Christiani senatus lumina*, 31-32 (pagan).

Campania in the first quarter of the fourth century: ‘To Fulvia Augurina, of *clarissimus* rank, wife of Publius Helvius Aelius Dionys(i)us, of consular rank, governor (*corrector*) of Campania, the people of Formia publicly [set this up]’.³²³⁹ The awarder of the statue honor is recorded as the people of Formia (*Formiani*). It was dedicated to Fulvia Augurina as wife of governor of Campania perhaps in the early fourth century, *vir consularis*, Publius Helvius Aelius Dionysius 8. The statue was thereby dedicated to Augurina as part of the honors awarded to her husband.

Few statue dedications to female patrons are preserved from the fourth century,³²⁴⁰ although the conferral of this honor was more common in earlier times. The base for a posthumous statue of *clarissima femina* Helvidia Burrena Modesta, a local notable, records a dedication made by the citizens of Interamna in Tusciam et Umbria:

The honey of Leucadius. To Helvidia Burrenia Modesta, granddaughter of Helvidius Burrenus Severus, of *clarissimus* rank, daughter of Burrenia Severa, woman of *clarissimus* rank, memorable in chastity, wisdom and innocence among all past [women]; on account of her service and love, the citizens of both sexes (*cives utriusque sexus (sic)*) of the city of Interamna, with funds collected, [set this up] to their patron after her death (trans. U. Gehn).³²⁴¹

The base is dated to 338, as recorded in the dating inscription on the side. In l.1, with Leucadius being surely a *signum*, Gehn and Machado accept the reading ‘*mel*’ as a reference to the character of the honorand. The now lost inscription records only the honorand’s grandfather (l.4) on the mother’s side and the mother (ll.4-5), which is understood as due to the greater importance of this family line. Burrenia Severa, *clarissima femina*, was the mother of the honorand, whose virtues listed in the inscription resemble those of earlier centuries (*pudicitia, sapientia, innocentia*).³²⁴² The grandmother of Modesta is not recorded, so is her father. A member of an aristocratic family, Modesta was a descendant of patrons of the city and a patroness herself as obligations of patronage were hereditary. Thereby, the statue commemorated an offspring of the influential family (at both local and imperial level) co-opted as a protector of the local community.

The statue of Modesta is also notable for being a unique case of a monument dedicated to a woman not only in Tusciam et Umbria, but also in all the provinces of *Italia urbicaria*. A posthumous dedication, it focuses on the family of Modesta’s mother suggesting that the monument was also a tribute to her forebears. The monument set up for Modesta is also exceptional because it was decided by ‘the citizens of both sexes of the city of Interamna’, an extremely rare reference for the period. The inscription equally records that the monument was erected through a collection of

³²³⁹ *CIL* 10 6084=ILS 1212=LSA-2044 (Formia (Campania)). *PLRE* 1, 125 Augurina.

³²⁴⁰ E.g., *CIL* 6 1714 and *AE* 1915, 37, from Africa Proconsularis.

³²⁴¹ *CIL* 11 4180=LSA-1635 (Interamna Nahars (Tusciam et Umbria)). *PLRE* 1, 605 Helvidia Burrenia Modesta.

³²⁴² *PLRE* 1, 827 Burrenia Severa 1.

resources (*aere conlato*), suggesting that female population have participated in the fundraising for this statue: known to have taken place in the early empire, it has no parallels at such a late period.³²⁴³ While the dedication of a statue was a political decision, it is not known how this resolution has been voted on and/or decided, and what would have been the role of women in the political life of these cities.³²⁴⁴

Honorific statues to female notables as part of family dedications, were most commonly granted by children to their parents. A statue of an anonymous local noble woman³²⁴⁵ was erected by her son and daughter-in-law in Verona in the period from the late third to the late fourth century: ‘... Aurelius Vincentius, son, of *clarissimus* rank, and Tenagenonia Claudia, of *clarissimus* rank, daughter-in-law, to her beloved mother-in-law’.³²⁴⁶ The inscription on the fragmentary base was first recorded in Verona in 1851. The name of the honorand is lost on the inscription. She was the mother and mother-in-law of the awarding couple. Aurelius Vincentius, the son of the honorand, and his wife Tenagenonia Claudia, the awarders, were both of senatorial (*clarissimus*) rank. Tenagenonia was a female member of the family of the Tenaginones known from the mountainous region north of Verona.³²⁴⁷ All, honorand and awarders, were probably members of the local aristocracy. The statue and the accompanying inscription were certainly set up in a private context, possibly the family’s house, or the family mausoleum.

Alföldy suggested that the awarder was identical with, or a descendant of, Marcus Aurelius Vincentius, governor (*praeses*) of Tarraconensis in the late third or early fourth century.³²⁴⁸ As Alföldy points out, the awarder’s name (*cognomen*) Vincentius, derived from an adjective by adding the suffix *-ius*, points to a date not earlier than the later third century; such onomastic forms were particularly fashionable in the fourth century.³²⁴⁹ Tenagenonia Claudia, *clarissima femina*, who co-awarded, together with her husband, a statue to her mother-in-law in Verona, is a rare example of female senatorial dedicators of statue honors in the provinces.

Private, non-imperial benefactors are rare in late antiquity, and independent benefactions by women, even if senatorial, were even less frequent. In the East, a headless seated statue of Scholastica from Ephesus is dated to the last quarter of the fourth to fifth century. Statues were a form of public communication long considered appropriate for wealthy women in the eastern cities.

³²⁴³ See *AE* 1964, 106 and *AE* 1998, 416.

³²⁴⁴ On the decision-making process related to the offering of a public honor and the role of local agents and institutions in the production of the monument as mentioned in honorific inscriptions, see Carlos Machado, “Estátuas e vida cívica: O caso da Tuscia et Umbria na Antiguidade Tardia,” *Revista Diálogos Mediterrânicos* 5 (2013): 60-61.

³²⁴⁵ No *PLRE* entry.

³²⁴⁶ *CIL* 5 3345=*AE* 1980, 502=*LSA*-1598 (Verona (Venetia et Histria)).

³²⁴⁷ Geza Alföldy, “Ein spätrömisches senatorisches Ehepaar in Verona,” *Epigraphica* 41 (1979): 82-3. No *PLRE* entry.

³²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 81.

³²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 80. The inscription was dated to the late third to late fourth century by Geza Alföldy, *Römische Statuen in Venetia et Histria: epigraphische Quellen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1984), n.203, and to the fourth century by *Année Épigraphique*.

The inscription records a rare example of a benefactress in Ephesus: ‘Stranger you see this statue of a very pious learned woman, Scholastica, who, with some part here having fallen down, provided an amount of gold for the renovation’ (trans. Lenaghan).³²⁵⁰

Scholastica was evidently a wealthy Christian lady of Ephesus in the late fourth or fifth century, possibly of noble birth. She is otherwise unknown, but is an interesting figure. Scholastica represents one of the latest known public statues dedicated to a woman benefactor of the non-imperial background. Scholastica, the honorand, is praised for her piety – securely Christian piety, as indicated by the cross that opens the inscription – her generosity, and her learning.³²⁵¹ The awarder is not stated.

The life-size seated statue of Scholastica of coarse-grained white marble was found in 1955 together with its base that mentions Scholastica spending money for the renovation of the bath.³²⁵² Both statue and the accompanying base were found in the apse-hall of the ‘Baths of Scholastica’, which now bear her name, where they remain *in situ*. Both the cube-shaped base and in colored marble are exceptional for Ephesus: it was apparently an architectural element, perhaps a plinth for a column, before being used as a statue base for Scholastica. The statue represents a seated woman, having the right arm in a tight arm sling, and the left arm resting on her left upper leg. It is not clear whether she was holding a scroll or two sticks in her left arm. The scroll was an attribute of a good wife, modest and attentive to household affairs – as opposed to intellectually and artistically inclined – and can be equally seen in funerary representations. Scholastica is sitting on a folding chair with floral ornaments between her legs. She wears himation and sandals. The inscription and the statue do not belong to the same period: it is an example of a re-ensemble of a high imperial statue with a fourth-century base.

Further, honorific monuments communicated status and promoted a specific notion of womanhood. Also in the East, a posthumous honorific inscription of an unknown senatorial woman with her glorious (male and female) ancestry was dedicated by (a decree of) the people of the metropolis of Amasia in Helenopontus in 376/77:

(To) ... woman, cousin of Earinus and Sabina, both of *clarissimus* rank; niece of Marius and Arinthea, of the former consuls; daughter of Primus junior, who have pleased the emperors, and Aglaeia, woman of senatorial rank. To her, who lived without reproach incomparable in beauty and way of life, and who made her family and her country proud. The people of the metropolis [dedicated this] in her memory.³²⁵³

³²⁵⁰ LSA-742=IK Ephesos 12, 453. No PLRE entry.

³²⁵¹ Clive Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 70-1, 80, 96 proposes a date in the fifth century on the basis of the letter forms.

³²⁵² LSA-741 set on base LSA-742.

³²⁵³ J. G. C. Anderson et al., eds., *Studia Pontica III. Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (Brussels, 1910), 99: (Amasia (Helenopontus)).

Thus, ἡ συγκλητική Aglaeia, wife of Primus iunior and mother of an anonymous woman, is remembered in the inscription.³²⁵⁴ Her husband, Primus iunior was perhaps *palatinus* in the East before 376/7, that is, he possibly had held office at court under Valens. The tense of the participle ζήσασαν indicates that Anonyma 10 was dead when the inscription was drafted. Equally, the traditional final formula μνείας χάριν (‘[dedicated this] in memory of’) is frequent in late antique Christian epitaphs. The honorific phrase ‘σεμνύσασαν τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν πατρίδα’ is an old topical, status-stamped statement. Another woman, Arinthea, *clarissima femina*, was possibly a daughter of Flavius Arintheus, *magister peditum* in the East c. 366-78 and consul in 372.³²⁵⁵ She was the wife of Marius, perhaps senator in the East in the late fourth century. They were aunt and uncle of an anonymous woman, who was perhaps also *clarissima* as was her mother, Aglaeia. All her relatives appear to have been of senatorial rank. Daughter of Primus iunior and Aglaeia, cousin of Earinus and Sabina, niece of Marius and Arinthea, she was a native of Amasia and died in 376 or 377. This was a posthumous dedication, and the emphasis on the woman’s family suggests that this monument was also a dedication to her ancestors and living relatives.

Furthermore, *clarissima* (λαμπροτάτη) Sabina was a wife of Earinus, *vir clarissimus*, and a cousin of an anonymous woman.³²⁵⁶ Between 358 and 361, there was something of a north Anatolian ascendancy at the heart of the imperial government involving three officials, two of them very high-ranking, at the height of Themistius’ ascendancy. Whether this is a coincidence or not cannot be determined explicitly; but to dismiss out of hand the possibility of the rise of a loose-knit group, perhaps to some extent facilitated by Themistius, would certainly be incautious. A generation later, Earinus, *clarissimus* and son-in-law of a probable *palatinus*, came from Amasia. He pursued a bureaucratic career and was perhaps a member of the eastern senate under Valens.³²⁵⁷ Primus iunior and Earinus were thereby civil servants of a new type that proliferated from the mid-fourth century under the reign of Constantius II and perpetuated under Valens.

Finally, the monument memorializing the local woman that did good was decided on, and almost certainly paid for, by the citizens of the city. The statue must have been a marble one, since imperial permission was needed for a metal statue from the 340s. From 398, at least in case of dedications to imperial officials, all statues, not only in bronze, but also in marble, required consent of the emperors before being set up, which probably played part in the decline of the statue habit.³²⁵⁸ Last but not least, like in the case of the Amasian statue, the aristocratic promotion of family and genealogical continuity was therefore multifaceted: it furthered the long-standing

³²⁵⁴ *PLRE* 1, 30 Aglaeia; 1038 Anonyma 10.

³²⁵⁵ *PLRE* 1, 103 Arinthea.

³²⁵⁶ *PLRE* 1, 788 Sabina 1.

³²⁵⁷ Skinner, *The Senatorial Aristocracy of Constantinople*, 135.

³²⁵⁸ Bryan Ward-Perkins, “The End of the Statue Habit, AD 284-620,” in Smith and Ward-Perkins, *The Last Statues of Antiquity*, 307.

ideological reading of women as exemplifications of the honor of men, supported an equally venerable commitment to family, and advanced specific lineage claims.

Overall, it may be said that, firstly, most funeral inscriptions mentioning aristocratic women, both as commemorated and commemorators, independently from the religious affiliation, highlight their senatorial rank and status. Female aristocrats had to marry an office-holder to replicate the status of their parents. Their epigraphic formulae are highly stereotypical and standardized over centuries. Of the sepulchral inscriptions, most epitaphs were dedicated by men to women as wives, daughters, and mothers. Women acted as commemorators of their husbands, children, and parents. Funerary relief portraits equally, showing respectably clad women, represent foremost high social standing, wealth, and learning. The portrait *clipeus*, frontal busts, and *dextrarum iunctio* group was a repertory of funerary art available for a choice of representation of the deceased woman. The senatorial elite demonstrated clear preference for austere, monumental tombs, turning sarcophagi into memorials. Secondly, dedicatory inscriptions provide epigraphic information about the religious allegiances of their patrons. The religious affiliation of pagans and Christians is often clear from the different phraseology of their epitaphs. Although shown primarily through their phraseology, the iconography offers support when identification is uncertain. Even with their conventional terminology votive and building inscriptions convey a wealth of information about the family relationships of dedicatees and dedicators. Finally, honorific inscriptions set up for senatorial women saw drastic reduction in comparison to previous centuries, and are now found mostly confined to domestic contexts. Changes in the senatorial self-understanding of the resident aristocrats of Rome are seen as an explanation for new types of epigraphic texts and iconographies, which stressed values of marriage.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to investigate the effects of the transformation of the institutions of the imperial state in the fourth century on the self-representation of the senatorial aristocracy as integrated into the imperial system. For the first time, aristocracies from throughout the Mediterranean world were amalgamated in one hierarchically-structured institution. Viewing the Mediterranean world in the period covered by this thesis – from the accession of Constantine I to the death of Theodosius I – as characterized by the same political, economic and institutional factors, the period, whose end, by contrast, marks the beginnings of a divergence between the West and the East, I explore the cultural impacts of the formation of a new trans-regional governing class of the fourth-century Roman Empire. Two paradigms of the relationship between state and senatorial aristocracy shaped modern historiography.

Firstly, the conflict paradigm of senatorial resistance against the imperial state, which, according to its narrative, shaped the relationship between aristocrats and emperors, breaks down if one sees the state not as inert administrative machine, but as ‘an ensemble of groups’ whose interests had an autonomous social character.³²⁵⁹ The change in the imperial and senatorial self-representation, with relative independence of senatorial representation from the imperial model, was not underpinned by a conflict of these two social forces. Imperial policies were inseparable from the powers and pressure of important groups within imperial aristocracy, and the leading families in the Roman senate were amongst the main beneficiaries of the fourth-century shifts in governmental structure. In the course of this examination it becomes clear that a conflict model, so often postulated as a determining relations between the aristocracy and state, is in no way an adequate explanation for the changes in honorific epigraphy and representational art. Given the quality of imperial relations with both the old senatorial nobility in Rome and the new service elite, and the continued importance of both senates as a source of legitimacy for fragile imperial rule, the period saw intense collaboration between the imperial aristocracy and the court. The increased integration of the Roman senators into the imperial system allowed to establish and enlarged the senators’ powerful networks of patronage. Instead of senators simply monopolizing the offices and the institutional machinery of the Roman state for their private interests, emperors through the select appointments to the high governmental posts were able to manipulate aristocratic patronage and personal power networks.

Although not purely an ideological composition, the *Notitia Dignitatum* illustrates and highlights the unity and cohesion of the later Roman Empire at the time when they had all but disappeared. Both the *Notitia* as well as much of the imperial legislation constructs an order, a united empire that encompasses the whole inhabitable world and is carefully structured by a

³²⁵⁹ Banaji, *Exploring the Economy*, 53.

hierarchy of officials. This ideological outlook has been linked to the imperial court, with its interest in the language of unity and assertion of imperial strength at a time of dissolution. Further, the rhetoric of the honorific inscriptions allows tracing a far-reaching shift in the public image of the emperor and the imperial aristocracy. An ideological representation of the emperor as *dominus*, a new honorific epithet which now had become an obligatory part of imperial titulature, and the empire as ‘divine monarchy’, received official sanction by the imperial court. Senators as commissioners of epigraphic texts represented him no longer as Roman magistrate, one of the senators, but as universal ruler. With the idea of the Roman empire as a unified world-state, the self-understanding of the empire’s aristocracy had also changed. The self-representation of the senate was shifted from that of a republican elite to that of an institution, whose members surpassed divisions of geography, ethnicity, and culture. The ideological picture, beloved of late antique orators, of the senate as an explicitly global class similar to the standardized language deployed by the commissioners of honorific monuments. In the relationship to the emperor, both the senate of Rome and that of Constantinople had found themselves dealing with a court that was not expected to be any close until 395. Thus, symbols of proximity to the distant emperor became manifested by aristocrats with regular frequency.

Secondly, rather than a landscape of conflict, the opposite paradigm has long been proposed, namely, the domestication of aristocracy by the imperial state. It emphasizes the symbiosis of state and aristocracy and sees leading Roman families as deeply entrenched in imperial institutions. It assumes that the expansion of imperial power increased the dependence not only of new men, but also of resident aristocrats on the material and symbolic resources provided by the imperial state. Both resident senators and the aristocracy of service hence became wholly dependent on the ruler. According to this narrative, the fourth century saw the success of late-antique emperors in taming the power of senators and turning them into ‘domesticated’ elite. In order to attain high office in imperial hierarchies late Roman senators had to strive to secure imperial favor. With the withdrawal of emperors from Rome and with the tightening of the court ceremonial, rendering the emperor less accessible than ever before, demonstration of symbols of closeness to the emperor proliferated. Members of a much expanded and salaried imperial administration thus claimed to derive their authority directly from the sacred emperor, whose representatives they all were. If the emperor was a universal ruler who was divinely ordained, the authority of imperial officials was an emanation of the beneficence of a sacred ruler. This narrative goes further to underscore the ‘transformative power’ of a new ideology, which is said to reconfigure the position of imperial aristocracy in the structures of imperial rule, and made it possible to reduce the power of the senate by dissolution of the former privileges of the traditional governing elites of the Roman empire by means of the fiscal machinery of the state. It interprets thereby the reform of the senatorial order as an expression of the

omnipotent authority of the late Roman emperor, able to reorganize the social elites of the empire into a system in which honor, rank, and privileges of status depended on the imperial center alone. This paradigm is heavily influenced by the view that the later Roman Empire constituted a highly centralized monarchical state.

However, the social differentiation rested on existing social hierarchies, with the strong institutional traditions of the senatorial order. The Roman senate as well as the Constantinopolitan one were a crucial source of legitimacy and political support for emperors, as evidenced by constant communication, reciprocal expressions of high esteem, mutual public honors, legal privileges as well as senatorial participation in government. Further, most members of the newly expanded imperial administration were recruited from a distinguished crust of wider provincial stratum, whose world was in fact an extension of traditional oligarchic life. A reflection of this continuity was the fact that holders of higher dignities retained and expressed their provincial ties in acts of local philanthropy including constructional benefactions, in the pursuit of imperial tax remissions, financing and conduct of ceremonies. Also, imperial policies of resisting pressures from the military or civilian bureaucracy or legislating in favor of one or another reflect the fact that key sections of bureaucracy were active social agents of a new type of political and monetary regime in the fourth century. A large and increasing portion of the emoluments of the imperial office-holders were now drawn in gold. The new senatorial elite enforced changes on the central authority, which found itself increasingly adapting to the social realities, but trying, concurrently, to limit the power of the new groups in a pattern of legal responses that vacillated between resistance and concession. The late Roman state was the site of vicious power struggles among various groups of its ruling elite, rather than the 'dominate' or 'divine monarchy', the ideological self-representations it created.

Overall, the nobility of the later Roman Empire was neither a class of rebellious aristocrats attempting to undermine the foundations of central authority, nor a subaltern group, in the sense of domesticated aristocracy submitting to the imposed on them fiscal and other burdens. The relationship between aristocracy and central authority was that of tension and reciprocated support. The economic basis of the bureaucratic onslaught in the fourth century was the rapid accumulation of large quantities of gold through which a new senatorial aristocracy was strengthening its positions. The narrative of domestication deriving from the epigraphic texts and panegyrics portrays society as a sophisticated hierarchy structured by the quasi-divine position of the emperor. The assumed unbridgeable chasm between emperor and aristocracy was supposedly mirrored in the separate development of the portrait types appropriate to each, explaining the extant similarities as equally suited to illustrate the participation in the imperial power and the distinction from the imperial person. But the harmonious ideological image existed alongside a society marked by recurrent struggles among the elites, by this time predominantly senatorial, whose most

distinguished representatives were the recipients of honorific statues in the centers of power. The fourth-century configuration thereby exhibits profoundly subtle and infinitely complex set of arrangements between state and aristocracy, which neither traditional model of proto-feudal take over and recalcitrant aristocracies nor the revisionist model of a 'domesticated elite' can fully grasp.

Thereafter, regarding the dominance within the aristocratic society, it is clear that the reconfiguration of the relationship among senatorial elites and their representation occurred. The pervasive imagery of office-holding and status symbols that runs through the art and epigraphic texts of late antiquity reflects the nature of the Constantinian order, where at the highest levels there was no longer any distinction between senators and bureaucracy. The placement of the monuments, some of them gilded, to high-ranking administrators immediately next to those to resident senators in the Roman Forum, both by the emperor's command and on request by the senate, was an impressive demonstration of unanimity between emperor and imperial aristocracy. The senatorial families who dominated the city of Rome in the early fourth century could continue to flourish only as part of a much larger governing senatorial elite that would comprise the high-ranking officials of the army and the civil bureaucracy. The consolidation of the new aristocracy, the *clarissimi* of the reigns of Constantine and his successors, in the expanded governing elite formed the powerful social base of a monetary economy based on circulation of gold. The fourth-century developments in senatorial self-understanding as reflected in the honorific statuary, state monuments, and the senatorial sarcophagi are exemplified by a change from distinctively togate senators and chlamydate emperors in the early fourth century to the adoption of the chlamys by later fourth-century senatorial aristocracy.

Taken together, the transformation of the Roman state and the expansion of the monetary economy impacted the social and symbolic world in which aristocrats lived. As emperors were no longer a personal presence in the old capital, the unfettered domination of the fourth-century resident aristocracy over the city of Rome ensued, which is reflected in the progressively increased opportunities for their self-representation. Also, the new senate of Constantinople created by Constantius primarily as an office-holding aristocracy was reshaping the new imperial capital. Unlike in the West, eastern provincial aristocrats strived for direct engagement in the work of imperial government. But imperial bureaucracy was now separated by new institutional and symbolic boundaries from the local elite: a shift in statue honorands shows an increase in number of emperors and provincial governors at the expense of local benefactors and women. The narrow circle of highest-ranking senatorial office-holders who saw their ambitions for rank and distinction accommodated by emperors came to dominate the political scene in the later fourth century in Rome and Constantinople.

Thereafter, purely civilian element, the provincial administration and palatine bureaucracy, remained sharply distinct from the military aristocracy. There was no single social hierarchy in the fourth-century Roman world: civilian provincial administrators, court bureaucrats, and military officials pursued different careers. The late imperial legislation was the site of continuous pressures from these different factions of the ruling class. Late antique aristocracies were essentially divided, that is, ensembles often characterized by fragmentation and internal conflict. Through the targeted deployment of various media of self-representation senatorial aristocrats sought distinguish themselves from less successful peers and to convert the financial capital into symbolic one. The present study could be regarded as an attempt to bring to the light the world of the emperor's men behind the language and imagery of the late Roman monuments.

Appendix I. Fourth-century senatorial honorific inscriptions not included in *PLRE*

	Name	Inscription	Office	Date
1	?	CIL 6 41347=LSA-1581=EDR093579 (Forum Traianum): --- / [---] mīro [---?] / [---a]uctoritatē / [---e]ruditori / [---? comiti sacri consis]torii, /(5) [--- loco celeberrimo] memo/[r--- ad exe]mplum / [--- statuum auri splend]ore ful/[gentem ---]+us impe/[rator ---]exit / ---.	<i>v.c., comes sacri consistorii</i>	mid-IV to early V
2	?	CIL 6 41369=LSA-1800=EDR093601 (Forum Traianum): --- / [---]SSI++[---] / [---]m generis +[---] / [---] tituloru[m ---] / [---]+nio dispo[---] /(5) [---]+te vincen[te (?) ---] / [---] magis+[---] / ---?	? <i>v.c.</i> , civilian imperial office-holder	IV
3	?Aradius	CIL 6 41345=EDR093577 (Forum Traianum): ---? / [---]RADIVS+[---] / [--- ite]m praecepe[runt ---] / [--- sumptu] publico ut inaura[retur ---] / [---]+ noluit inaur[ari ---] / ---?	<i>v.c.</i> civilian imperial office-holder	331–70
4	?	CIL 6 40779b=31520=EDR118904 (Forum Traianum): [---]M[---] / [---]ili vir[o clarissimo? ---?] / [--- o]fficioru[m ---] / [--- h]onori[b]us ---] / ---?	<i>v.c.</i> , civilian imperial office-holder	340/350–end IV
5	?	CIL 6 41368=LSA-1799=EDR093600 (Forum Traianum): ---?/[--- di]sponi o[mn]i[us] / [---]mo anno o[mn]i[us] / [---]cibus iun[ct]is / [---]+ merito [---] / [---] iustrata[re] / [---]+AC+[---] / ---?	? <i>v.c.</i> , civilian imperial office-holder	IV–V
6	?	CIL 6 41370=LSA-1801=EDR093602 (Forum Traianum): --- / [---]ris mu[ndi] / [---]+itate / [---] iustratus / [---] monu[mentu]m +itati / [---]+[+2?+] / ---	? <i>v.c.</i> , civilian imperial office-holder	IV–V
7	?	CIL 6 41371=LSA 1802=EDR093603 (Forum Traianum): ---/ [---] moribus [---] / [---]m laudib[us] ---] / [---]tione fac[ere] / [---] salutaris [---] / ---?	? <i>v.c.</i> , civilian imperial office-holder	IV–V
8	?	CIL 6 41372=LSA-1803=EDR093604: ---? / [---] quod de / [---]te servari / [---]+e quorum / [---] ven[er]atione / [---]s eques (?) / ---?	? <i>v.c.</i> , civilian imperial office-holder	IV–V
9	?	CIL 6 41373=LSA-1254=EDR093605 (Forum Traianum): --- / [---]ENTIALI[us] / [---]+++ate sollicit[us] a[ut] / [---]m sperari potuerat a[ut] / [---]vit modes[tus] / ---?	? <i>v.c.</i> , civilian imperial office-holder	IV–V

10	Attius Caecilius Maximilianus <i>signo</i> Panchar(i)us	CIL 6 41332=LSA-1252=EDR075878: Panchar[i]. Attio Caecilio Maximiliano, c(larissimo) [v(iro)], quaest(ori), praetori candidato, [p]raef(ecto) aerarii Saturni ac pariter vicem tuenti cons(ularis) aquar(um), corr(ectori) Lucaniae et Britt(iorum), [p]raef(ecto) annonae urbis Romae, [c]uius diligentia ac provisione [a]dventu ad urb(em) Romam d(omini) n(ostri) [C]onstanti maximi victoris [a]c triumf(atoris) semper Aug(usti) [an]nona populo et fortissimo [mil]iti adfatim subminiſtrata eſt / ---?	<i>v.c., praef. annonae</i>	357
11	?	CIL 6 41346=EDR093578 (Forum Romanum): --- / [---]+[---] / [--- secun]do cōnſ(uli) [ordinario], / [praef(ecto) prae]torio p[er ---], / [ob insignem? e]rga [se benevolentiam?] / ---	<i>v.c., consul, praefectus praetorio</i>	
12	P. Cae[---]?	CIL 6 41350=EDR093582: P(ublio) Ca+[---] / [p]rōvi[nc---] / ---?	? <i>v.c.</i>	mid-IV to mid-V
13	?	CIL 6 41353=LSA-1583=EDR093585 (Forum Romanum): ---s / [---]+us / [---] v̄(ir) c̄(larissimus) / ---	<i>v.c.</i>	IV
14	?	CIL 6 41354=EDR093586 (Forum Romanum): [---]us, v(ir) c(larissimus) / ---?	<i>v.c.</i>	IV
15	?	CIL 6 41355=EDR093587 (Forum Romanum): ---? / [---]RA[---] / [---] v(ir) c(larissimus) [---?]	<i>v.c., IV or V</i>	IV
16	?	CIL 6 41356=EDR093588 (Forum Romanum, near curia): ---? / [---]tullin[---] / [---]+[---] / ---?	? <i>v.c.</i>	IV–V
17	?	CIL 6 41357=LSA-1584=EDR093589 (Forum Romanum): --- / [---]+SVSV+[---] / [--- prae]f(ect-) urbi pra[---] / [---]+i viri praemiis s+[---] / [---] ordinis iudicium [---] / [--- clarissi]mum (?) virum tem[pore? ---] / ---?	<i>v.c., ?praefectus urbi</i>	IV–V
18	?	CIL 6 41358=LSA-788=EDR093590 (Forum Iulium): --- / [---] v(ir) c̄(larissimus) [---?] / [praef(ectus)] urbi [---?] / [vice] sacra [iudicans] / [c]uravit.	<i>v.c., praefectus urbi</i>	IV–V
19	?	CIL 6 41359=EDR093591: [-----?] / [--- praef(ectus)? u]rbi [---?] / [---]t.	<i>v.c., ?praefectus urbi</i>	IV–V
20	?	CIL 6 41360=EDR093592 (Forum Romanum): ---? / [---] v(ir) c(larissimus) / [--- prae]f(ectus) urbi / ---?	<i>v.c.</i>	IV–V
21	?	CIL 6 41361=EDR093593 (Forum Augustum): ---? / [---]++[---] / [---? praef(ectus)?] urbi [---?].	<i>v.c., ?praefectus urbi</i>	IV–V
22	?	CIL 6 41362=LSA-1585=EDR093594 (Forum Romanum): --- / [--- pr]ovin[ciae ---, comiti ordinis pri]mi (?) iter(um), / [--- pr]aefectorum / [---]++[---] AC++[---] / ---?	<i>v.c., ?comes ordinis primi</i>	IV–V
23	?	CIL 6 41363=EDR093595 (Forum Romanum, near curia): ---? / [--- ?iudex sa]crarum cō[gnitionum ---] / ---?	<i>v.c.</i>	IV
24	?	CIL 6 41364=EDR113164: ---? / [---]Ivir [---] / [---]ali+[---] / ---?	? <i>v.c.</i>	IV

25	?	CIL 6 41365=EDR093597 (Forum Romanum): --- / [---? patron?]o origi[nali?, ---] / [---]um im[---] / ---?	?v.c.	IV
26	?	CIL 6 41366=LSA-1586=EDR093598 (Forum Romanum): --- / [--- provi]ncia Crę[tae ---] / [--- sta]tuam au[ratam ---?] / [---]sti[tu---] / ---?	?v.c., ?provincial governor	IV
27	?	CIL 6 41367=LSA-1798=EDR093599 (Mercati Traianei): ---? / [---]+ARO+[---] / [--- co]nsideratio[---] / [---]+nomin[---] / ---?	?v.c.	IV
28	?	CIL 6 41374=EDR093606 (Mercati Traianei): ---? / [---] August[---] / [---] iamdudum mis[---] / [---]+ITANIS[+2+]+E D[---] / [---] l]audabilis [---] / [---]DE[---] / ---?	?v.c.	IV–V
29	Albinus+? [---]]or Aquilinus+	CIL 6 41315=EDR093554 (Coem. Praetextati): ---/ [---] Albin[o] (?) / [+4+]ori / [---] Aquilin[o], / [c]o(n)s(uli), [---]m[in[---] / ---	v.c.	IV–V
30	?	CIL 6 41322(=31810)=ILCV 77 adn.=EDR093557: --- / [---, praet]ori can[didato, ad]e[ct]o inter patri[cios, +4?+], / consuli ord[inario], / M(arcus) Servilius Servil[ianus] / ((:christogramma)) alumnus.	v.c., <i>consul ordinarius</i>	271– 330
31	?	CIL 6 41323=EDR093558 (Forum Romanum): --- / [--- c]ons(ul) [---] / [---? iudex sacrarum] cog[nitionum ---] / ---?	v.c.	312– 337
32	?	CIL 6 41324=LSA-1575=EDR093559 (Forum of Nerva): --- / [---] iudi[c---] / [---]riae ite[m ---] / [--- c]orr(ectori) Flam[ini]ae et Piceni, ---?, / [VII]vir(o) e[pulorum, s[---]. / Huic [---] / [---? Consta]ntinus +[---] / [---]SEM[---] / ---?	v.c., <i>corrector Flaminiae et Piceni, VIIvir epulorum</i>	mid-III to mid-IV
33	?	CIL 6 41325=EDR093560 (Forum Traiani): --- / [--- sacer]dos (?) +[---] / [---]udiorum [---] / [--- s]acraru[m ---] / ---?	v.c.	312– 337
34	?	CIL 6 41326=EDR093561 (Mercati Traianei): ---? / [---?]T(---?) Fl[---] / [---?] prov[---] / ---?	?v.c. or ?v.p.	312– 337
35	?	CIL 6 1792=LSA-1477=EDR149389 (Forum Romanum): --- / [---]I[---] / dd. nn.(dominis nostris) [nobb. Caess. Fl(avio) Iulio] / Crispo e[t Fl(avio) Cl(audio) Constantino co(n)s(ulibus)] / statu[m po[suit?] / sumpt[u p]ublico [---].	?v.c.	271– 400
36	Alfius Proculus	CIL 6 1335=EDR109216: P(ro) honore / Alfio Proculo c(larissimo) v(iro), q(uaestori) k(andidato), / C(aius) Vivius Constitutus.	v.c., <i>quaestor candidatus</i>	321– 324
37	Lucillus <i>signo</i> Amasobius Gaudentius	CIL 6 1738=EDR111535: Hono(re) pr(aeturae) tr(iumfal)is / Lucillum / Achilleus patrono. // A/ma/xo/bi. // Ga/ude/nt/i.	v.c., <i>praetor triumphalis</i>	III–IV

38	?	CIL 6 1793=LSA-1478=EDR121037: [---] / Probitate morum indus/triaque vivendi adque utris/que litteris erudito, iam inde / a maioribus suis inlustribusq(ue) / familiis civitatis patrono, cuius / opera ac beneficio recepit civitas elemen/tum, cuius meatum series temporis vetus/tasque consumserat: nam eius cura sump/tuque aqua <non> modo non diist necessa/riis usibus civitatis, berum etiam in eru/endo plurimis iocis splendidissimum / urbi prestitit ornamentum. Huic igitur ob / haec insignia genera meritorum statuam Saenen/sium ordo decrevit adque in aeterne urbis / privatis eius aedibus conlocavit. Dedic(ata) Idus Aug(ustas) dd. nn. / Arcadio III et Honorio II / Augg. cons.	v.c., ?governor of Tusciana et Umbria	371–430
39	?	CIL 6 37093=EDR114642: ---? / [---]lis [---] / [--- b]ene de r[e p(ublica) ---] / [--- merit]o ob egre[gi---] / [---] viri[---] / ---?	v.c.	394
40	Octavius Clarus	AE 2005, 765=LSA-2013 (Emerita Augusta (Lusitania)): D(omino) n(ostro) Fl(avio) Gratiano / Pio Felici victori ac triumphatori semper Au/gusto Octavius / Clarus v(ir) c(larissimus) agens / vicariam p(rae)fec/turam famu/lus eius posuit.	v.c., vicarius of the Spanish provinces (agens vicariam praefecturam)	IV
41	Vsulenius [Bro...?] / Vicarius Usulenius Prosper (or Prosperius)	HE 8, 2002: 180=LSA-2000 (Corduba (Baetica)): -----] / Vicario Usulenio Prosperi[o(?)], / v(iro) c(larissimo), c(onsulari) p(rovinciae) B(aeticae), statuam equestrem / [-----.	v.c., consularis of Baetica	367–383
42	?	LSA-58 (Corinth (Achaia)): [---] / ἀνθυπάτου ψήφω καὶ [---]σιουν / Μουσάων θεράποντος ἐν Ὑμ[-----] / εἰκόνα λαϊνέην στήσατο π[---]	v.c., ?governor (proconsul) of Achaia	337–370
43	?	LSA-187 (Aphrodisias (Caria)): [...] / τὸν λαμπρ[ότατον] / κόμιτα ν. φίλον τῶ[v] / βασιλέων σωτῆ/ρα τῶν ἐθνῶν κτί/στην καὶ ἐπανορθω/τὴν καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως.	v.c., comes	324–400
44	?	LSA-1148 (Bostra (Arabia)): ... / ὑπατικὸν Συρίας Πα/λαιστίνης Αὐρηλ(ιος) / Κάσσιος οφφικ[α]λ[ι]ς / τὸν πατρώνα κ[α]λ[ι] / εὐεργέτην,	v.c., governor (consularis) of Syria Palaestina	326–350
45	Alexander	LSA-1153 (Aphrodisias (Caria)): Ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ / εἰκόνα λαϊνέην μὲν / Ἀλεξάνδροιο δικαίου / ἡ Φρυγίας μήτηρ / μητέρι τῇ Καρίας / τῆς ζαθέης ἀρχῆς τέκμαρ / ἄμβροτον ἐνθάδ' ἔπεμψεν / πᾶς δὲ λόγος μείων / τ' ἀνδρὸς εὐφροσύνης. / εὐτυχῶς.	v.c., ?governor of Phrygia	311–358

46	Eusebius	LSA-11 (Caesarea Maritima (Palaestina Prima)): ΕΥ[---]ς τύπος [-] / [--ca. 7--]ησα ἱερο[----]μον Εὐσέβι[ον], / κοιρανὴν [--ca. 9--] ἔχει γέρας ἐκ τῶν [-]. / τοῦτο καὶ ἐβ[--ca. 8--]ν εἶχεν ὀφειλόμ[ενον]. / ἔργων δ' ἀν[--ca. 7--] καὶ δαυομένοισιν [-] / οὐ χρυσὸν [--ca. 10--] προτιμότερον. / οὕτω [ἐς] Θεὸν ἔσχεν [ὄλ]ον νόον, εὐσεβίη [τε] / μᾶλλον κοιρανέειν ἤθελεν ἢ δυνάμ[ι]. / λισσομένῳ δ' ἐπένε[υσε]ν Ἀλυπῶ ἐν [--] / ἀντ' εὐεργεσίας πολλάκις ἧς ἔτυχ[ε].	v.c., ?governor of Palaestina Prima	mid-IV to mid-V
47	Nomus	LSA-12 (Caesarea Maritima (Palaestina Prima)): δημοτέρη τίμησε Νόμον χρυσέη ἐνὶ μορφῇ / ἡ πόλις εὐνομίῃ μεμελημένον ὄρχαμον ἀνδρῶν / οἱ δρόμῳ ἐξάνουσιν ἐφημοσύνην βασιλῆων.	v.c., ?governor of Palaestina Prima	IV–V
48	?	LSA-61 (Corinth (Achaëa)): --- ἀνθ]ύπατον κὲ ἀρισ/[τοπολείτην,] Ἡσύχιος ἀνέ/[θηκε ὑπὲρ πόλεως Ἐ]φυρηνων.	v.c., ?governor (<i>proconsul</i>) of Achaëa, 324-450	300–350
49	Hegias	LSA-102 (Athens (Achaëa)): τὸν λαμπρότατον (ivy leaf) / Ἥγείαν, τὸν Τιμοκράτους, / ἄρξαντα τὴν ἐπώνυμον / ἀρχὴν φιλοτειμότετα, / καὶ πανηγυριαρχήσαντα / περιφανέστατα, ἡ πόλις / σύνπασα τὸν ἑαυτῆς / ἐυεργέτην τειμῶσα / ἀνέστησεν (ivy leaf)	v.c., eponymous archon	324–450
50	Oecumenius	LSA-151 (Aphrodisias (Caria)): τὸν σὲ νόμων πλή/θοντα, τὸν Ἰταλι/ώτιδα Μοῦσαν v./ v. Ἀτθίδος ἡδυεπεῖ / v. κερνάμενον μέλιτι / τῇιδ' Οἰκουμένιον / τὸν αἰοίδιμον ἡγεμό/νῃα v. στήσε φίλη / βουλὴ τῶν Ἀφροδισιέω(v)· / τῷ γὰρ δὴ καθαρῶι φρέ/να καὶ χέρα, τί πλέον / εὔρεῖν v. μνημοσύ/νης ἀγαθῆς ἄλλο πά/ρεστι γέρας; leaf	v.c., governor (<i>praeses</i>) of Caria	IV
51	Eunomius	LSA-282 (Side (Pamphylia)): Εὐνομίου σοφίην [--] / [.]αρ[....]αν[.]μ[.]κε[---]	v.c., ?governor of Pamphylia	mid-IV to mid-V
52	?	LSA-425 (Athens (Achaëa)): [---ἀ]νθυπάτου / ---νησιν ἐγείρας / ---v ὀφειλομένην.	v.c., governor (<i>proconsul</i>) of Achaëa, 324-450	380–500
53	Rufius	LSA-432 (Tegea (Achaëa)): Ἦπιε, καρτερόθυμε, σαόπτολι, ὕπατε / Ῥοῦφε, / ἄντεχε, σῆς Τεγέης μένο· ὄβριμε, / ἄντεχε πᾶσιν / δυσμενέσιν, δώρω δ' ἐπαγ(ά)λλεο / ᾧ βασιλεύς σοι / ἀντ' ἀρετῆς δῶκε·, στήσαν δὲ / πόλεος ἄριστοι.	v.c., civilian imperial office-holder	324–450
54	?	LSA-459 (Ephesus (Asia)): τῶν ἀσηγηγνέων π[---]αν / ἀντ' εὐηγεσίας μεγαλ[---]	v.c., governor (<i>proconsul</i>)	?LIV

55	Faustinus	LSA-527 (Prusa ad Olympon (Bithynia)): [---] Φαυστῖνον / τὸν λαμπ(ότατον) καὶ / περίβλ(επτον) ἀπὸ τριβ(ούνων) / νοταρίων, ἀντὶ / πολλῶν εὐεργε/σιῶν ἀνέστησαν /(dove and cross) ἡ πόλις. (cross, dove and ivy leaf)	<i>v.c. et sp.</i> , former or honorary <i>tribunus et notarius</i> , 381- 500	IV–V
56	Flavius Annius Chrysobius <i>signo</i> Anatolius	LSA-539 (Cibyra (Caria)): Φλ(άουιον) Ἄννιον Χρυσόβιον, τὸν καὶ / Ἀνατόλιον, τὸν λαμπρότ(ατον), / Φλ(άουιος) Ἄννιος Ἀνατόλιος, / ὁ λαμπρότ(ατος) ἀπὸ κομήτ(ων), / τὸν γλυκύτατον / υἰόν.	<i>v.c.</i>	381– 500
57	Flavius Annius Anatolius	LSA-539 (Cibyra (Caria)): Φλ(άουιον) Ἄννιον Χρυσόβιον, τὸν καὶ / Ἀνατόλιον, τὸν λαμπρότ(ατον), / Φλ(άουιος) Ἄννιος Ἀνατόλιος, / (4) ὁ λαμπρότ(ατος) ἀπὸ κομήτ(ων), / τὸν γλυκύτατον / υἰόν.	<i>v.c., ex comitibus</i>	IV
58	Eulalius	LSA-540 (Sinope (Paphlagonia)): Ὁ κρατερός πολιοῦχος / ἄναξ ἡγήρατο ταύτην, / νεύματι τῷ σφετέρῳ, / χαλκοτύπου παλάμαις / στήλην Εὐλαλίοιο, τὸν / εὖ ἐνόησατο θεσμός / πειθόμενον σκήπτροις / αἰὲν ἀκηρασούς· / δέρκεό μοι, φίλος, ὧδε / νοήμονα τέκτονα χαλκοῦ / Ἡφαίστου σοφίης σῶμα / μιμησάμενον.	<i>v.c.</i> , ?governor of Paphlagonia	IV
59	Eutropius	LSA-611 (Ephesus (Asia)): ⫲ τήνδε φιλαγρύπνων / ὀλίγην χάριν εὖραο μόχθω(ν) / Εὐτρόπιε, ζαθέης Ἐφέσου / θάλος, οὐνεκα πάτρην / μαρμαραεῖς κοσμήσας / ἐυστρώτοις ἀγυαῖς.	<i>v.c.</i> , ?governor (<i>proconsul</i>) of Asia	380– 500
60	?	LSA-664 (Nicomedia (Bithynia)): [---]ΟΝΑΣΤ[---] / ἐν τε νόμοις ΜΕΙΕ..ΗΑ καὶ ἐν γνώμασιν ἄριστον, τερπνὸν ἄγαλμα βίου, δῖγμα δικαιοσύνης	<i>v.c.</i> , civilian imperial office holder, IV-V	IV
61	Rufius	LSA-675 (Perge (Pamphylia)): ἄρχον Παμφύλων [καὶ πατ]/ρίδος ἀστέρα [---] / Ῥοῦφον ὀρᾷς π[αροδῖτ’], / εὐδικίης πρύτα[νιν] / οὗ κλέος ἀντολ[ίηνδε] / καὶ ἐς δύσιν ἡγ[---] / πιστὴ κυδίσ[τη Πέργη] / ἐπιχονό[ις].	<i>v.c.</i> , governor of Pamphylia	IV–V
62	Quadratus	LSA-796 (Thespieae (Achaia)): [---] ἀναστήσαντα Κοδρᾶτον / [---]νὴν γήραϊ καὶ καμάτῳ / [---] ἀμειψόμενοι φιλότητος / [---]ροι· μνήμ’ ἀρετῆς Ἑλικῶν / [ἐπιμελουμέν]ου τοῦ δις γύμνα[σιάρχου] Θεσπιάδου.	<i>v.c.</i> , ?civilian imperial office holder	IV- mid-V
63	Panhellenius	LSA-2530 (Sagalassus (Pisidia)): Βουλὴ καὶ / δῆμος σε, / Πανηλλήνιε, / ὕπαρχε, / ἔνθα θεῶν / τέμενος ἴδρυ/σεν ὥστε / θεόν. / Χαίρουσιν δὲ /(10) θεοί, χαίρει / δὲ τύχη Σα/γαλάσσου, / ἄγχοθι δ/ερκομένη / τὸν μακαρέσσι / φίλον.	<i>v.c.</i> , ? <i>praefectus praetorio/vicari us</i>	IV
64	Iunior	LSA-62 (Corinth (Achaia)): [Τ]ίς τύπον εἰμερόεντα Ἰούνωρος ἀνθυπάτοιο / ἥρπασε, τίς μορφήν τῇ(ι)δ’ ἐνέγλυψε λίθω(ι); / μορφήν λαοτόμος μὲν ἐῆ(ι) μειμήσατο τέχνη(ι) / Ἑλλάδι κόσμον ὅλον μητρὶ χαριζόμενος. / [σ]τῆσε δ’ ἀγασσάμενός μιν ἀμύμων Εὐτυχιανός / [ἀ]ντὶ κασιγνήτου εὖ διέπων Ἐφύρην. / Ψ(ηφίσματος) Β(ουλῆς).	<i>v.c.</i> , ?governor (<i>proconsul</i>) of Achaia	300– 374

65	?	LSA-30 (Constantinople): [---] ἔθηκεν [---] / [---] ἔργα / (3) [---] ΑΡΩΣ [---] / [---] ΟΓΟΣ [---] / [---] ΕΤΕΥΞΑ [---] / (6) [---] Σ / [---] ΣΕΝΑΣΦΑΝ [---] / [---] ΟΥΣΗΛΕ [---] / (vacat) [---] ΟΥΜΕΓ [---]	<i>v.c., praefectus urbi</i> of Constantinople	?MIV
66	Anatolius Tatianus (PLRE 1, 875 Tatianus 2)	LSA-197 (Aphrodisias (Caria)): Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι· / Φλ(άουιον) Κλ(αύδιον) [Ιουλιανόν] Θεοδόσιον / v. τὸν αἰώνιον / καὶ εὐσεβέστατον / v. Αὐγουστον / Ἀντώνιος Τατιανὸς / v. ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) ἡγεμὼν / πᾶν τὸ ὀρώμενον / ἔργον τοῦ τετραστώου / (10) v. ἐκ θεμελίων καὶ τὸν περικειμένον σύμπαν/τα κόσμον τῇ μητροπόλει / v. κατασκευάσας. leaf; LSA-223 (Aphrodisias (Caria)): Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι· / Φλ(άουιον) Κλ(αύδιον) Βάλητα / v. Αὐγουστον / Ἀντ(ώνιος) Τατιανὸς / ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) ἡγεμὼν / (5) ἐπαρχείας / v. Καρίας. leaf.	<i>v.c., governor of Caria</i>	379–450
67	Eustathius	LSA-516 (Smyrna (Asia)): Εἰκὼν Εὐσταθίου / πέλω, φίλος· εἰμὶ / δὲ μάρτυς / ἀμφοτέρων κραδίας πα[ν]/ετήτυμος, ὅσσα μὲν αὐτὸ[ς] / βουλὴν ἐσθλὰ ἔοργε / πονεύμενος, ὅσα δ' ἐ / βουλὴ / ἀνθυπάτων τὸν ἄρι/στον ἀμείψατο κυ/δαίνουσα. (ivy leaf)	<i>v.c., governor (proconsul) of Asia</i>	361–63; 364
68	?	CIL 6 41348=LSA-1582=EDR093580 (Forum Romanum): [[---] c(larissimo) v(iro)] / ---. Dedicat[---] / [Fl]aviis Ant[onio et Syagrio conss.].	<i>v.c.</i>	IV–V
69	Tenagenonia Claudia	CIL 5 3345=LSA-1598=EDR077908 (Verona (Venetia et Histria)): --- / [A]ur(elius?) Vin[ce]ntinus fil[ius] / v(ir) c(larissimus) et Tena/genonia Clau/dia c(larissima) f(emina) nurus / socruī kar(a)e.	<i>c.f.</i>	382
70	?	AE 1990, 951=CLEOr 00020=ala 2004, 8 (Aphrodisias (Caria)): [---] / [---]S / [---]N inemptum / E[---] ca. 20 [---]II de marmore lingua / fundere iura sua O[---]RUM quae referre tribunal / (5) v.	? <i>v.c., ?governor</i>	271–330
71	?	LSA-221=ala 2004, 15 (Aphrodisias (Caria)): [---]ομνν.οι ιιι[---] / [---]φίλον τῶν βα[σιλέων][---]	<i>amicus principum</i>	III–IV
72	Helladius (cf. PLRE 1, 412 Helladius 5)	LSA-222=ala 2004, 16 (Aphrodisias (Caria)): τῆς μεγάλης ἀ/ρετῆς τοῦτον / μέγαν ἡγεμονῆα / Ἑλλάδιον / [K]ᾶρες στῆ[σα]ν / [ἀ]μειβόμε[νο]ι.	? <i>v.c., governor (praeses) of Caria</i>	300–350
73	?	CIL 6 40780=EDR077957: ---? / [---]+[---] / [domin]o nostr[o Fl(avio) Iul(io)] / [Const]antio [---] / [se]mper Aug(usto) / [---] praef(ectus) urbi / ---?	<i>v.c., praefectus urbi</i>	300–350
74	?	CIL 6 41344a=LSA-1572=EDR093576: ---? / [---] praef(ecti?) urbi v+[---] / [---] et magnifici vi[ri] / [---]N[+3+]++[. impe]rio patris mei r[---] / [---?] decretum senatus am[p]lissim[i] ex +[---] / [---?] nostra[e] u[s]i[bi]bus ur[be]m aeternam [---]. // --- / [---]s ord[---] / [---?] Valent[iniani] et Valent[is]? --- / [---] secun[d---] / [---]bus [---] / ---? // ---? / [---]ONA[---] / [---?] celeberrimo lo[co] ---? / [---?] Ru[fius] [---] / ---? // ---? / [---]e iustas [---] / ---? // ---? / [---]VS[---] / [---]JONE[---] / ---? // --- / [---]VS / ---? // ---? / [---]REN[---] / [---]EIV[---] / ---?	<i>v.c., praefectus urbi</i>	337–361

Appendix II. Fourth-century senatorial statue garments

Table 1. Fourth-century senatorial honorific statues wearing the toga

LSA#	Garment	Date	Location (city, province)	Accessories/Attributes	Honorand
852	High imperial toga (<i>toga contabulata</i>)	Late 3 rd -early 4 th century	Italy	closed strapped boots (<i>calcei patricii</i>), <i>capito velato</i> , scroll bundle	senatorial order
1130	high imperial toga	Early-mid 4 th century	Bulla Regia (Africa proconsularis)	scroll bundle	provincial governor (proconsul of Africa) (base LSA-1184)
903	high imperial toga	324-337	Rome	scroll bundle	senator and deputy prefect of the city of Rome (vicarius urbis Romae), C. Caelius Saturninus <i>signo</i> Dogmatius (base LSA-1266)
44	high imperial toga	334-342	Puteoli (Campania)	scroll bundle	provincial governor (proconsul of Africa), Quintus Flavius Maesius Lollianus <i>signo</i> Mavortius (base LSA-43)
46	high imperial toga	365-379	Puteoli (Campania)	scroll, <i>capsa</i>	provincial governor (<i>consularis</i> of Campania), Virius Audentius Aemilianus (base LSA-41)
907	high imperial toga	late 4 th century (probably c.370)	Rome	closed strapped boots, rectangular box	senatorial order
2132	high imperial toga	late 3 rd -early 4 th century	Carthage (Africa proconsularis)	closed plain boots, scroll bundle	senatorial order, imperial office-holder
154	late antique toga	late 4 th century	Aphrodisias (Caria)	closed strapped boots, inkpot, scroll bundle. The missing right hand may once have held another attribute, possibly a scroll or a pen.	senatorial order
1036	late antique toga	late 4 th – early 5 th century	Ephesus (Asia)	closed strapped boots, <i>mappa</i> , scepter (<i>scipio</i>), scroll bundle	senatorial order
1034	late antique toga	late 4 th – early 5 th century	Ephesus (Asia)	closed strapped boots, scroll bundle	senatorial order
1033	late antique toga	late 4 th – early 5 th century	Constantinople		senatorial order

Table 2. Fourth-century senatorial honorific statues wearing the himation, chlamys, or cuirass

LSA#	Garment	Date	Location (City, Province)	Accessories/Attributes	Honorand
728	Himation	4 th - mid-5 th century	Ephesus (Asia)		provincial governor (proconsul of Asia), Damocharis (base LSA-727)
152	himation	4 th century	Aphrodisias (Caria)	Scroll, scroll bundle	probably governor (<i>praeses</i>) of Phrygia, Alexander, (base LSA-153)
2696	himation	4 th -5 th century?	Elis (Achaia)	Rectangular box	provincial governor (proconsul of Achaia), Flavius Severus (base LSA-2695)
1168	chlamys	4 th -5 th century	Constantinople		senatorial order, imperial office-holder
21	chlamys	late 4 th century	Corinth (Achaia)	Scroll bundle	Probably proconsul of Achaia or another high imperial office-holder (praetorian prefect, vicar)
15	chlamys	late 4 th century	Corinth (Achaia)	belt (<i>cingulum</i>), crossbow fibula	Probably provincial governor (proconsul of Achaia) or another high imperial office-holder (praetorian prefect, vicar)
150	chlamys	late 4 th – early 5 th century	Aphrodisias (Caria)	finger ring, scroll, scroll bundle	governor (<i>praeses</i>) of Caria, Oecumenius (base LSA-151).
1160	chlamys	late 4 th – early 5 th century	Constantinople	belt, scroll bundle	senatorial order, imperial office-holder
2095	cuirass	late 3 rd – first half of the 4 th century	Aquincum (Pannonia Valeria)	belt, sword, scroll, scroll bundle	military officer
201	cuirass	second half of the 4 th – 5 th century	Aphrodisias (Caria)	spear, sword, scabbard, quiver with arrows, scepter	military officer

Table 3. Fourth-century senatorial busts

LSA#	Garment	Date	Location (city, province)	Accessories/Attributes	Honorand
2102	High imperial toga (toga contabulata)	late 3 rd - early 4 th century	Arettium (Tuscia et Umbria)		senatorial order?
879	high imperial toga (fig. 82)	third quarter of the 4 th century	Rome?	inscribed tabula	Cethegus, <i>vir clarissimus</i>
1109	high imperial toga	4 th century	unknown provenance		senatorial child
1553	high imperial toga	4 th century	West?		probably senatorial order
142	high imperial toga	late 4 th – early 5 th century	Athens (Achaëa)		senatorial order
2363	late antique toga	late 4 th century (original), re-worked	Thessalonica (Macedonia)		senatorial order, imperial office-holder
205	late antique chlamys	late 4 th - early 5 th century	Aphrodisias (Caria)	fibula	senatorial order, imperial office-holder
2282	chlamys	late 4 th – early 5 th century	Sebastopolis (Helenopontus)	fibula	senatorial order, imperial office-holder
447	chlamys	late 4 th – early 5 th century	Stratonicea (Caria)	crossbow fibula	senatorial order, imperial office-holder
20	chlamys	late 4 th - 5 th century	Corinth (Achaëa)		provincial governor (proconsul of Achaëa)
450	himation (or late antique chlamys)	late 4 th – early 5 th century	Asia Minor		senatorial order?
2135	himation	late 3 rd – early 4 th century?	Rome		?

Appendix III. Figures

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Fig. 1. Togate portrait statue with base of C. Caelius Saturninus *signo* Dogmatius, senator and deputy (*vicarius*) prefect of the city, erected by his son Caius Flavius Urbanus, *consularis*. Rome. 324-337. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano inv. no. 10493, 10494



Fig. 2. Base for a statue of Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, consul and orator, probably posthumous. Rome. Early fifth century. Musei Capitolini, Tabularium, inv. no. NCE 3037



Fig. 3. Base for a posthumous statue of Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, consul and historian. Rome. Early fifth century. Musei Capitolini, Tabularium, inv. no. NCE 3035



Fig. 4. Lower part of the base for a re-erected gilded bronze statue of Flavius Taurus, praetorian prefect; ordered by the emperors. Rome, Forum of Trajan. 364-367. Deposit of Basilica Ulpia, inv. no. FT 14450



Fig. 5. Base for a posthumous statue of Nicomachus Flavianus, praetorian prefect; ordered by the emperors. Rome, Forum of Trajan. 431. Deposit of basilica Ulpia, inv. no. FT 14451

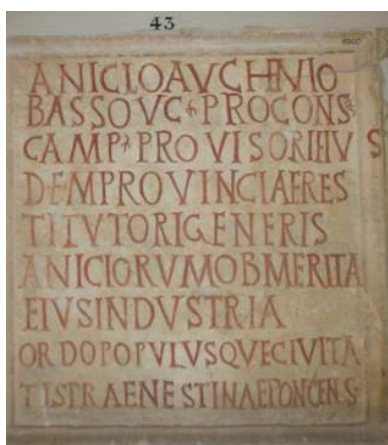


Fig. 6. Base for a statue of Anicius Auchenius Bassus, governor (*proconsul*) of Campania. From Praeneste (Campania). Late fourth century. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria 37.43, inv. no. 6960



Fig. 7. Plaque from the base for a statue of Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus, consul and praetorian prefect; erected by his son Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius, consul, and Anicia Iuliana, daughter-in-law. Rome. 395. Musei Capitolini, inv. no. NCE 2499



Fig. 8. Base for a bronze statue of Lucius Turcius Secundus, prefect of the city; erected for its patron by the city of Amiternum. Rome. 340-350. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria between walls XXXVII and XXXIX, inv. no. 9292



Fig. 9. Base for a bronze statue of Attius Insteius Tertullus, prefect of the City; erected for its patron by the guild of wholesale dealers (*magnarii*). Rome. 307-310. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria XLVII.45, inv. no. 9269



Fig. 10. Base for statue of Lucia Baebia Sallustia Crescentilla, wife of Crepereius Rogatus. Rome. Late third-early fourth century. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria dei Candelabri, inv. n. 2769



Fig. 11. Base for a statue of Lucius Crepereius Rogatus *signo* Secundinus, senator and priest. Rome. Late third-early fourth century. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria dei Candelabri, inv. no. 2778



Fig. 12. Base for a statue of Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, prefect of the annona; erected for their patron by the grain surveyors (*mensores*) of Portus. Rome. 389. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti, inv. no. 2151



Fig. 13. Base for a gilded bronze statue of Iulius Festus Hymetius, governor of Africa Proconsularis; erected by the provincials of Africa, with imperial permission. Rome. 376-378. Musei Vaticani, Cortile della Pigna, inv. no. 22646



Fig. 14. Base for a gilded bronze statue of Lucius Aurelius Avianius Symmachus, consul and prefect of the city; ordered by the emperors. Rome, Forum of Trajan. 377. Musei Vaticani, Cortile della Pigna, inv. no. 5173

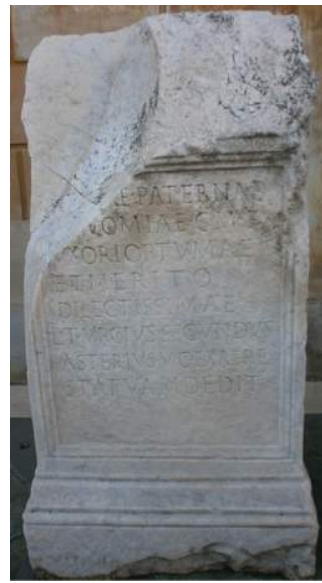


Fig. 15. Base for bronze statue of [---]a Paterna Eunomia, senatorial woman; erected by her husband. Rome. Mid-fourth century. Musei Vaticani, Cortile della Pigna, inv. no. 5167



Fig. 16. Base for a statue of Marcus Nummius Albinus, consul. Rome. 345. Palazzo Barberini, in entrance garden



Fig. 17. Base for a memorial statue of L. Septimia Pataviniana Balbilla Tyria Nepotilla Odaenathiana. Rome. Fourth century. On the corner of via di S. Cosimato and Piazza S. Callisto



Fig. 18. Fragmentary base for a statue of Caius Caelius Saturninus *signo* Dogmatius, praetorian prefect; set up by his son Caius Caelius Urbanus, *consularis*. Rome. 325-335. Rome, Mexican Embassy to the Vatican, Via Ezio 49, in the garden



Fig. 19. Base for a statue of Faltonius Probus Alypius, prefect of the city and patron. Rome. 391. Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, NCE 5715



Fig. 20. Base for a statue of Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus *signo* Kamenius, priest and governor (*consularis*) of Numidia. Rome. 374-380. Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, inv. no. NCE 4793



Fig. 21. Fragmentary base for a statue of Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, prefect of the city. Rome. 314-315. Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, inv. No. NCE 5504



Fig. 22. Base for a statue of a chief Vestal Virgin (name erased). Erected by the senatorial priests of Rome, under Macrinus Sossianus. Rome, House of the Vestals. Inv. no. 12465



Fig. 23. Base for a statue of Vulcacius Rufinus, consul and praetorian prefect; erected by inhabitants of Ravenna. Rome. 347. Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano, entrance courtyard, inv. no. 707

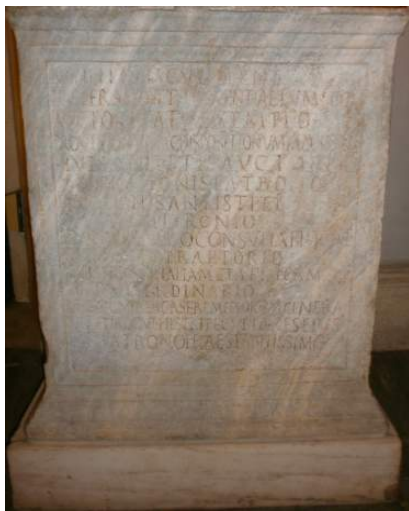


Fig. 24. Base for a statue of Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus, consul and praetorian prefect; erected for their patron by provincials of Venetia et Histria. Rome. 378. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala del Galata, inv. no. NCE 2552



Fig. 25. Base for a bronze statue of Lucius Turcius Apronianus, prefect of the city; erected by the city of Spoletium. Rome. 346. Musei Capitolini, inv. no. NCE 2545

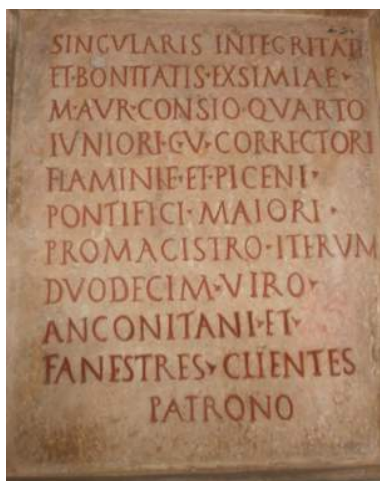


Fig. 26. Plaque from the base for a statue of Marcus Aurelius Consius Quartus Junior, governor (*corrector*) of Flaminia et Picenum; erected to their patron by the cities of Ancona and Fanum. Rome. 325-345. Musei Capitolini, Sala del Fauno, inv. no. NCE 2638



Fig. 27. Top of the base for a statue of Attius Caecilius Maximilianus, prefect of the *annona*. Rome, vicinity of the imperial fora. 357. Musei Capitolini, Tabularium, inv. no. 6758, NCE 3033



Fig. 28. Base for a statue of Flavius Sallustius, consul and praetorian prefect; erected by the provincials of Spain. Rome, Forum of Trajan. 364. Deposit of Basilica Ulpia, FT 14452, inv. no. 3435



Fig. 29. Base for the re-erected gilded bronze statue (now posthumous) of Flavius Eugenius, consul designate; commanded by the emperors. Rome, Forum of Trajan. 355-360. Deposit of Basilica Ulpia, inv. no. FT 14454

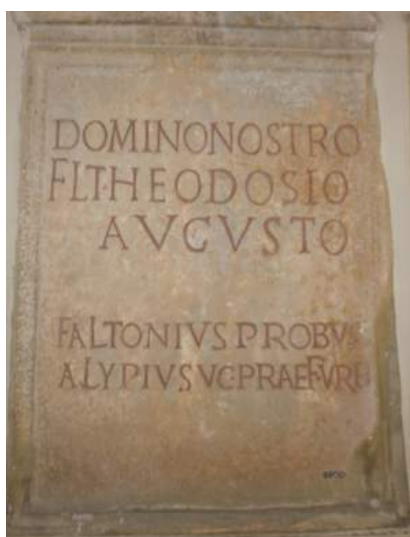


Fig. 30. Base for a statue of Emperor Theodosius I, erected by Faltonius Probus Alypius, prefect of the city. Rome. 391. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria XLI 15, inv. No 6900



Fig. 31. Middle part of the base for a statue of Emperor Constantius II, erected by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, prefect of the city. Rome, Forum. 357. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria XXXIX 13, inv. No. 6915



Fig. 32. Base for a statue of Emperor Constantius II, erected by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, prefect of the city. Rome, from Forum. 357. Musei Vaticani, Cortile della Pigna, inv. no. 5163



Fig. 33. Lower part of the base for statue of Emperor Constantius II, erected by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, urban prefect. Rome, Forum. 357. Sopr. For.-Pal., inv. no. 12719; by the arch of Septimius Severus



Fig. 34. Base for a statue of the deified Emperor Constantine I, erected by Flavius Crepereius Madalianus, prefect of the *annona*. Rome. 337-340. Musei Capitolini, courtyard of Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. no. 6768



Fig. 35. Base for a statue of Emperor Valens, erected by Placidus Severus, acting (*agens vices*) praetorian prefect. Rome, Forum. 364-378. In the central square. Sopr. For.-Pal., inv. no. 12448/12471



Fig. 36. Base for a statue of Emperor Theodosius I, erected by Ceionius Rufius Albinus, prefect of the city. Rome, Forum. 389. In front of the Senate-house. Sopr. For-Pal. inv. no. 12457



Fig. 37. Base for a statue of Emperor Arcadius, erected by Ceionius Rufius Albinus, prefect of the city. Rome, Forum. 389. Central area of the Forum, by the Sacra Via. Sopr. For.-Pal., inv. no. 12435



Fig. 38. Lower part of the base for a statue for emperor, probably Constantine, set up by Versenus Fortunatus, *curator* of the aqueducts and of the Minicia. Rome, Forum. 324. Area of Lacus Iuturnae. Sopr. For.-Pal., inv. no. 12475



Fig. 39. Base for a statue of Emperor Constantine I, erected by *curator* of the water-supply Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus. Rome, Forum. 328. Area of Lacus Iuturnae. Sopr. For.-Pal., inv. no. 12461



Fig. 40. Base for a statue of Emperor Constantius II, erected by prefect of the city Flavius Leontius. Rome, Forum. 355-356. On Sacra via in front of so-called 'Temple of Romulus', inv. no. 12519



Fig. 41. Base for a statue of Emperor Constantine I, erected by Quintus Attius Granius Caelestinus, caretaker of the bed of the Tiber and sewers of the sacred City. Rome. 312-324. Deposit of Basilica Ulpia, inv. no. FT 14455)

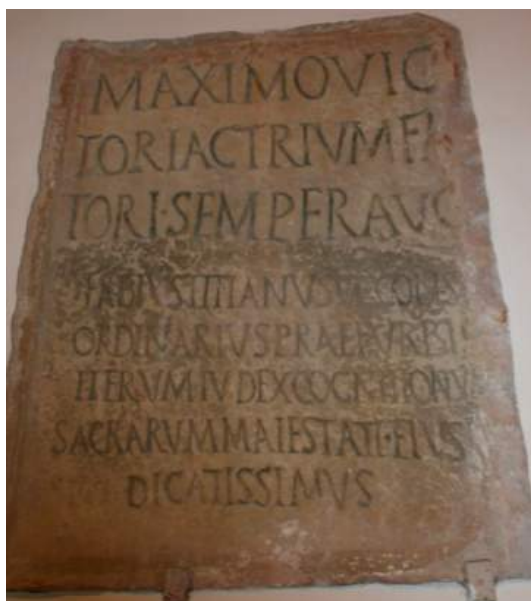


Fig. 42. Base for a statue of Emperor Magnentius erected by Fabius Titianus, prefect of the city. Rome. 350-351. Musei Capitolini, inv. no. NCE 2525

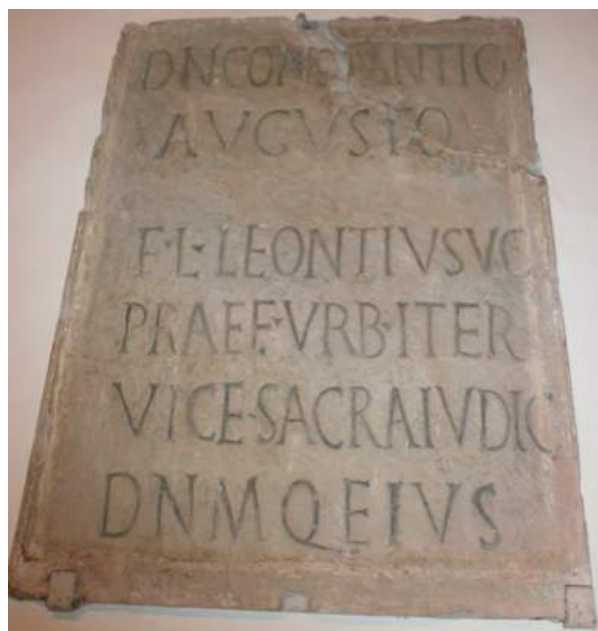


Fig. 43. Base for statue of Emperor Constantius II, erected by Flavius Leontius, prefect of the city. Rome. 356. Musei Capitolini, inv. no. NCE 2528



Fig. 44. Base for a statue of Emperor Constantius II, erected by Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, prefect of the city. Probably from Ostia. 353-355. Musei Capitolini, inv. nos. 7143 and 7114



Fig. 45. Base for a statue of Archon Hegias, of *clarissimus* rank, eponymous archon and Panegyriarch. Athens (Achaea). Fourth century. Epigraphic Museum inv. no. 10512

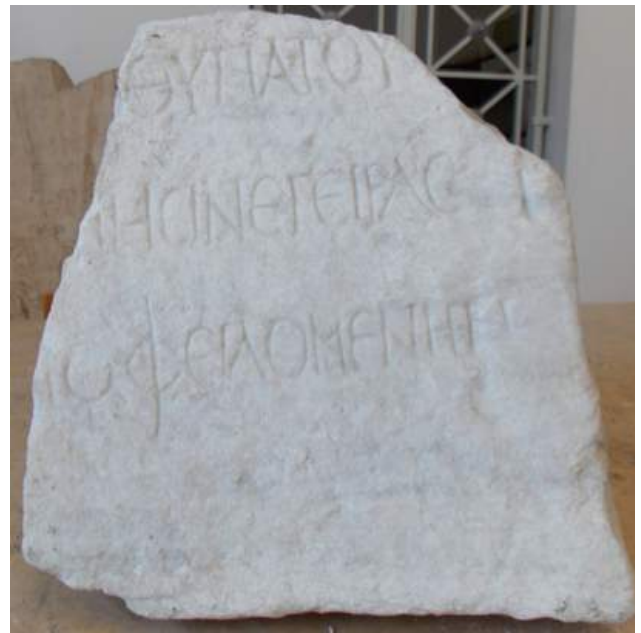


Fig. 46. Fragment of the base for a statue of governor (proconsul) of Achaea. Athens (Achaea). Fourth to fifth century. Epigraphic Museum, inv. no. 4117

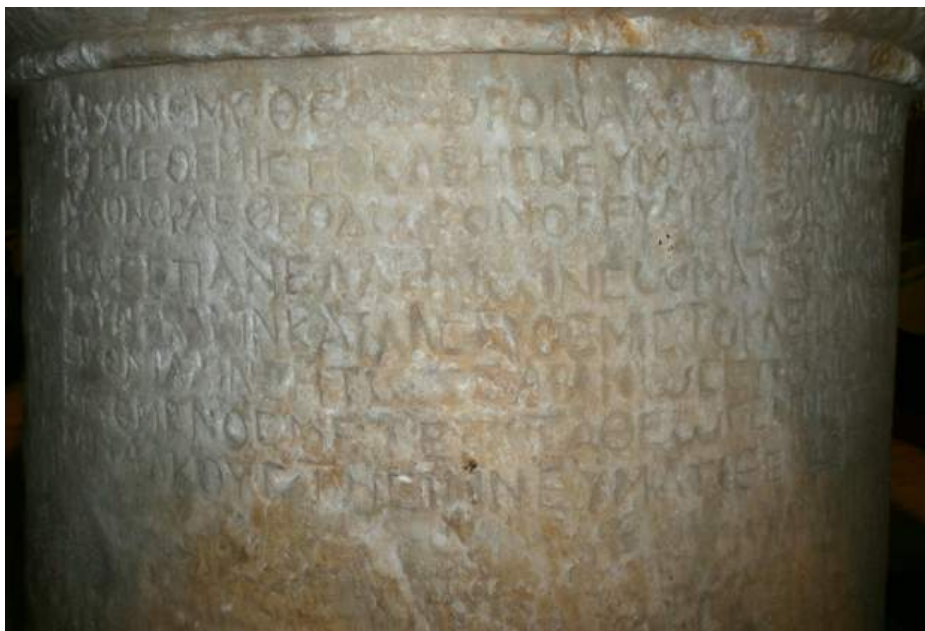


Fig. 47. Base for a statue of Theodorus, governor (proconsul) of Achaea. Athens (Achaea). 379-395. Athens, Church of Agia Aikaterini, under the altar table



Fig. 48. Base for a statue (subject unstated), re-erected by Turcius Apronianus, prefect of the city. Rome. 362-364. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria III, 20, inv. no. 8946



Fig. 49. Fragment of the plaque from the base for a statue, set up by 'Iulianus', prefect of the city. Rome. Fourth century. Antiquarium Comunale del Celio, inv. no. NCE 5710

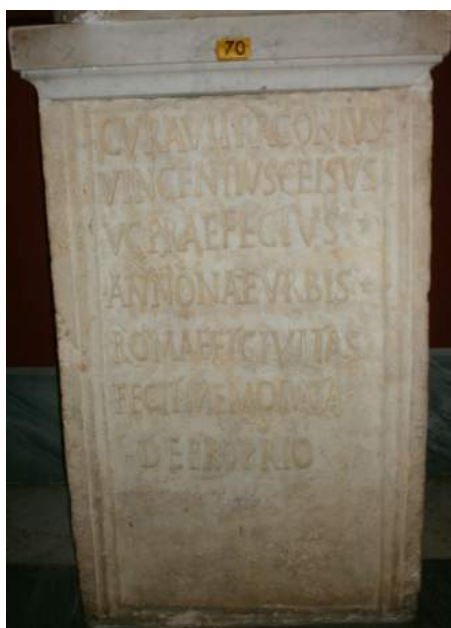


Fig. 50. Base for a statue (subject unstated), re-erected by Ragonius Vincentius Celsus, prefect of the *annona*. From Ostia (hinterland of Rome). Late fourth century. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala delle Muse, inv. no. 324



Fig. 51. Base for a statue (subject unstated), re-erected by Fabius Titianus, prefect of the city. Rome, Forum. 339-341. Roman Forum, in front of basilica Aemilia (no inventory number)



Fig. 52. Base for a statue (subject unstated), re-erected by Fabius Titianus, prefect of the city. Rome, Forum. 339-341. On Sacra via near the so-called 'Temple of Romulus' Sopr. For.-Pal., inv. no. 12479



Fig. 53. Base for a statue (subject unstated), re-erected by Fabius Titianus, prefect of the city. Rome, Forum. 339-341. on the Sacra via near the so-called 'Temple of Romulus'. Sopr. For.-Pal., inv. no. 12509



Fig. 54. Base for a statue (subject unstated), re-erected by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, prefect of the city. Rome, Forum. 377. In front of Basilica Iulia, Sopr. For.-Pal., inv. no. 12440



Fig. 55. Base for a statue (subject unstated), re-erected by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, prefect of the city. Rome, Forum. 377. In front of Basilica Iulia, Sopr. For.-Pal., inv. no. 12441



Fig. 56. Base for a statue (subject unstated), re-erected by Gabinius Vettius Probianus, prefect of the city. Rome, Forum. 377. Basilica Iulia, Sopr. For-Pal., inv. no. 12445



Fig. 57. Base for a statue (subject unstated), re-erected by Rufius Volusianus, prefect of the city, at command of Emperors Valentinian I and Valens. Rome, probably Baths of Caracalla. 365. Musei Capitolini, inv. no. 7099



Fig. 58. Inscription recording the re-erection of a statue (subject unstated) by Tanaucius Isfalangius, prefect of the city. Rome. 372-375. Musei Capitolini, Sala del Fauno, inv. no. NCE 2674



Fig. 59. Building inscription of Centullus Valerianus, *curator aquarum et Miniciae*. Rome. 312-324. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, scale, inv. no. NCE 2713



Fig. 60. Building inscription recording the works done by Eustochius, *consularis aquarum*, under C. Caeionius Rufius Volusianus, prefect of the city. Rome. 365. Musei Capitolini, Sala delle colombe, inv. no. NCE 1999



Fig. 61. Building inscription commemorating the restoration of the theater by Constantine and his sons carried out by *clarissimus comes* Severus. Emerita Augusta (Lusitania), 337. Mérida, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, 7467 A, inv. no. 7467



Fig. 62. Monument with statues of the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I, erected by Lucius Valerius Septimius Bassus, prefect of the city. Rome, Forum. 379-383. South-east end of the forum square, inv. no. 12470.



Fig. 63. Gate inscription recording *magister utriusque militiae* Stilicho and statues to Emperors Honorius and Arcadius, set up by the Senate and People of Rome and carried out by prefect of the city, Flavius Macrobius Longinianus. Rome. Outside Porta Maggiore (side of the ancient Porta Praenestina). 401-402



Fig. 64. Gate inscription recording *magister utriusque militiae* Stilicho (erased) and statues to Emperors Honorius and Arcadius, set up by the Senate and People of Rome and carried out by prefect of the city, Flavius Macrobius Longinianus (erased). Rome. Porta Tiburtina. 401-402.



Fig. 65. Base recording the restoration of a statue of the goddess Diana, by the senator Auxentius. Rome. Late third-late fourth century. Rome. Musei Capitolini, atrio, inv. no. NCE 2388



Fig. 66. Dedication to Hercules made by Marcus Iunius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus, *praetor urbanus*. Rome. 321. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo nuovo, galleria 59, inv. no. NCE 1638



Fig. 67. Altar erected by Lucius Ragonius Venustus, *augur publicus populi Romani Quiritium, pontifex Vestalis maior*. Rome. 390. Musei Capitolini, inv. no. NCE 2498

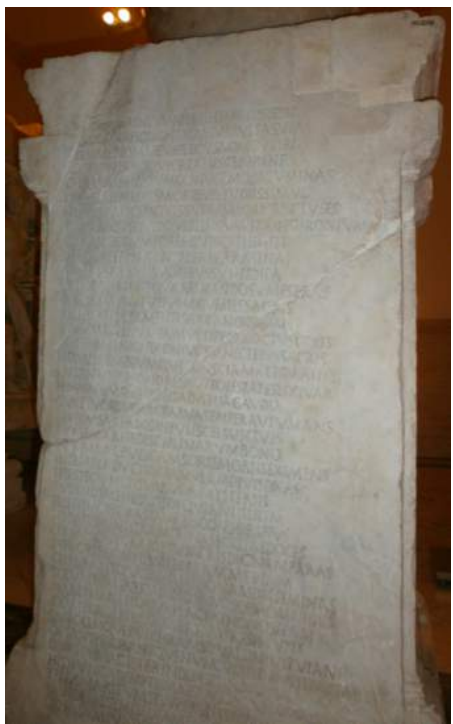


Fig. 68. Funerary monument of Vettius Agorius Pretextatus and Fabia Aconia Paulina. Rome. 384-387. Musei Capitolini, inv. no. NCE 2543

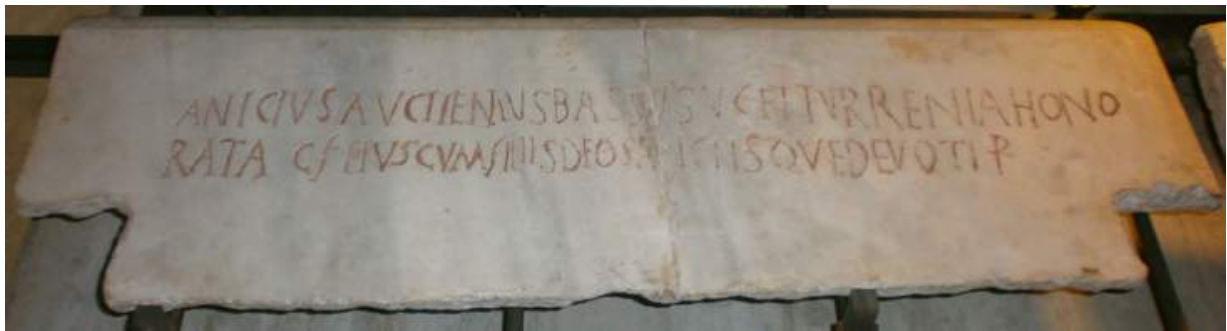


Fig. 69. Sepulchral monument of Anicius Auchenius Bassus and Turrenia Honorata. Ostia. Late fourth century. Lapidario Cristiano ex Lateranense, inv. no. 32160



Fig. 70. Sarcophagus of Roscia Chalcedonia, Didyme, Simplicius, and Innocentius. Rome. 375. Catacombe di S. Sebastiano, cripta.



Fig. 71. Lid of a sarcophagus of T. Flavius Postumius Varus provided by Sextilia Iusta. Rome. Early Fourth century. Cimitero acattolico di Testaccio, in reuse



Fig. 72. Tombstone of Rufus Festus *signo* Avienius. Rome. Second half of the fourth Century. Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria, 45, 47, inv. no. 6858



Fig. 73. Tombstone of Iohanna. Rome. Last decade of the fourth or the first quarter of the fifth century. Musei Vaticani, Lapidario Cristiano Ex-Laterense, sala 2, inv. no. 33453



Fig. 74. The Palazzo Corsini sarcophagus, RS I 945. Rome. Late third to early fourth century. a) Lid. Palazzo Corsini, in the entrance gallery. b) Chest. Palazzo Corsini, in the entrance hall



Fig. 75. The Ludovisi sarcophagus, *RS I 86*. Rome. First third of the fourth century. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Cristiano, inv. no. 31408 (ex 26)



Fig. 76. Sarcophagus of Adelpia. *RS II 20*. Catacombs of St. John, Syracuse, Sicily. Chest: second quarter of the fourth century; lid: possibly later. Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, inv. no. 864



Fig. 77. Sarcophagus of Iulia Latronilla. Unknown provenance. *RS II 102*, front. Early fourth century. Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum.



Fig. 78. Sarcophagus of Octavia Baebiana. Unknown provenance, front. *RS II 105* Second quarter of the fourth century. Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum



Fig. 79. The Borghese sarcophagus, RS III 428, front. Rome, Mausoleum of the Anicii. Late fourth century. Musée du Louvre, MR 688, inv. no. MA 2980.



Fig. 80. Edict of the prefect of the city Tarracius Bassus. Rome. 375-76. Musei Capitolini, NCE 65 (fr. a), NCE 67 (fr. b), NCE 66 (fr. c), NCE 70 (fr. e), NCE 68 (fr. f), NCE 69 (fr. h).



Fig. 81. Bust of Furius Maechius Gracchus dedicated by his son Cethegus. Rome. 369-371. Musei Capitolini, Sala del Fauno, inv. no. NCE 2687



Fig. 82. Portrait bust of a woman in Phrygian marble and with holes for headgear. From Rome or its environs. Late fourth century. Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala dei Capitani, inv. no. 404



Fig. 83. Opus sectile mosaic panels from the basilica of Iunius Bassus. Rome. Second quarter of the fourth century. 1-2: Palazzo Massimo alle Terme; 3-4: Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori.



Fig. 84. Arch of Constantine, Rome. 315. *Ingressus*.



Fig. 85. Arch of Constantine, Rome. 315. *Oratio*.



Fig. 86. Arch of Constantine, Rome. 315. *Largitio*.



Fig. 87. Base reliefs of the obelisk of Theodosius. Hippodrome of Constantinople. 390. East side. Istanbul



Fig. 88. Base reliefs of the obelisk of Theodosius. Hippodrome of Constantinople. 390. North side. Istanbul



Fig. 89. Epigram on the pedestal of the obelisk of Theodosius, recording erased and later re-inscribed name of the city prefect Proculus. Hippodrome of Constantinople. 390. South-east part of the pedestal. Istanbul

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